CAESAREA MARITIMA

A RETROSPECTIVE AFTER TWO MILLENNIA

EDITED BY

AVNER RABAN
AND
KENNETH G. HOLUM

WORLDWIDE 2.97

CAESAREA MARITIMA

DOCUMENTA ET MONUMENTA ORIENTIS ANTIQUI (DMOA)

STUDIES IN NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY AND CIVILISATION

EDITED BY

P. M. M. G. AKKERMANS, C. H. J. DE GEUS, E. HAERINCK
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VOLUME XXI

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E.J. BRILL
LEIDEN · NEW YORK · KÖLN
1996

Publication of this book was supported by a grant from
the Baron Edmond Benjamin de Rothschild Caesarea Foundation

The authors are grateful for the financial support of the Center of Maritime Studies of
the University of Haifa

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production
Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Caesarea Maritima : a retrospective after two millennia / edited by
Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum.
p. cm. — (Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui ; v. 21)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 9004103783 (cloth)
1. Caesarea (Israel)—Antiquities. 2. Excavations (Archaeology)—
—Israel—Caesarea. I. Raban, Avner. II. Holum, Kenneth G.
II. Series.
DS110.C13C33 1996
933—dc20 96-17561
CIP

Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Caesarea maritima : a retrospective after two millennia / ed. by
Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum. – Leiden ; New York ;
Köln : Brill, 1996
(Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui ; Vol. 21)
ISBN 90-04-10378-3
NE: Raban, Avner [Hrsg.]; GT

ISSN 0169-7943
ISBN 90 04 10378 3

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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Preface

Since the early 1960s, Baron Edmond de Rothschild has initiated and underwritten efforts to bring to light the hidden archaeological treasures of Caesarea Maritima. These efforts have benefited thousands of visitors to the site as well as scholars studying the history of the ancient city and its creative role in religion and culture. Currently the baron's support makes itself felt more strongly than ever. It comes directly through the Caesarea Foundation, the charitable arm of the Rothschild legacy, while on the site the staff of the Caesarea Development Corporation, engaged in promoting the economic prosperity of the environs, is always ready with assistance.

Two years ago the baron invited me to his home in Caesarea, where he suggested that it would be a propitious time to call leading scholars from around the world into session for a multidisciplinary symposium focused on Caesarea. His idea was to promote a scholarly reevaluation of its harbor Sebastos as a prime example of sophisticated Roman engineering, as well as searching discussion of the other building ventures of Herod the Great at Caesarea, of the architectural and artistic legacy of this ancient urban center, and of the role it played in the formation of Jewish rabbinic thought and in the early history of Christianity.

The baron offered to sponsor this scholarly event and to cover all expenses, including the room and board of participating scholars and their spouses. It was also his idea that this gathering and exchange of views should be followed by prompt publication of a first-class volume containing the symposium papers. This volume would furnish public libraries and the academic world with an up-to-date and comprehensive collection of studies about Caesarea as a world cultural monument, a status that the site received officially not long ago from UNESCO and the European Parliament. Thus the Caesarea Foundation allocated a generous budget to facilitate production of the volume, and the publishing house E. J. Brill of the Netherlands agreed to publish it in its Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui series. To represent the international side of the community of Caesarea scholars, I invited my long-time colleague in the excavations, Kenneth G. Holum of the University of Maryland, to serve with me as co-chair of the symposium and co-editor of the symposium volume.

The symposium took place at the Dan Caesarea Hotel, January 3–11, 1995. About fifty prominent scholars from Israel and around the world participated actively, either presenting papers, presiding over sessions, or joining in the ensuing discussions. Fourteen thematic sessions formed the official substance of the gathering, but the leisure periods between sessions in the comfortable surroundings of the hotel afforded many opportunities for fruitful discussion and exchange of ideas, as did guided tours to various archaeological sites in Caesarea and the environs, and further afield to Shuni, 'Ein Tsur and Yad Ha-Nadiv, Beth Shean (Scythopolis), and Ẓippori (Diocaesarea). Visits to the Caesarea Museum at Kibbutz Sdot Yam, to the exhibit

"King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea" in the nearby Rally Museum, and to a special exhibition from the current excavations at the University of Haifa's Hecht Museum enabled participants to examine the major archaeological finds at firsthand. Professor Yehuda Hayut, acting president of the University of Haifa, hosted a reception on behalf of the sponsoring academic institution. In an evening session, Mr. Shai Raz of the Caesarea Development Corporation laid out the present and future prospects of the Caesarea region for commercial, industrial, recreational, and residential development and for tourism. A meeting with Mrs. Kemmi Zehiran, director of the Caesarea Tourist Development Project, which sponsors the current large-scale excavations, gave the foreign guests a special opportunity not only to consider current thinking about how this world cultural monument is to be studied, restored, and preserved for future generations – and how economic feasibility is to be balanced with the integrity of the cultural heritage – but also to express their own ideas and sometimes even reservations to Mrs. Zehiran as effective delegates of the international scientific community.

In the end the baron's felicitous conception for the symposium and his generosity in facilitating it made it a success that surpassed everyone's expectations. I trust that the present volume maintains the high scholarly standards that characterized the discussions in January 1995, so students of Caesarea's role in the urban, religious, and technological heritage of our civilization will be able to share in our debates and carry them further. It is the sincere hope of everyone who assisted in preparing this volume that it corresponds with both the cultural importance of Caesarea and the generosity of our benefactor. All of us present it cordially as a token of our gratitude to Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

Avner Raban
University of Haifa

Acknowledgments

The editors express their gratitude to the scholars represented here for revising and submitting their papers after the January 1995 symposium in record time (most of them!) and for by and large using the proper format. At the Center for Maritime Studies, University of Haifa, Shula Livne and Nira Karmon handled administrative matters and correspondence as efficiently during preparation of the volume as they did during the symposium itself. At the University of Maryland, Darlene King typed or retyped a number of the manuscripts. Hayim Lapin and Marsha Rozenblit read a number of the chapters and improved them significantly. Representing the Combined Caesarea Expeditions, Aaron Levin provided additional photographs, while Anna Iamim worked diligently and with great skill preparing the site maps. Elaine A. Myers of the University of Toronto prepared a bibliography on Caesarea, as yet unpublished, that improved the bibliography of this volume. We were indeed fortunate to engage Frances Kianka as copy editor of this long and complicated manuscript. To her we owe much of the clarity, consistency, and grace of style achieved in these pages.

Avner Raban
University of Haifa

Kenneth G. Holum
University of Maryland

List of Abbreviations

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AnalBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ANRW	*Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BAR Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
Caesarea Papers	*Caesarea Papers: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea,* ed. R. L. Vann. *JRA*, suppl. 5 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992)
CAHEP	Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project
CCE	Combined Caesarea Expeditions
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CTh	*Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes,* ed. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Mayer, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Berlin, 1905)
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
Frova, *Scavi*	A. Frova et al., *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Rome, 1966)
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HE	*Historia Ecclesiastica*
Herod's Dream	K. G. Holum, R. L. Hohlfelder, R. J. Bull, and A. Raban, *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York-London, 1988)
Holum et al., "Preliminary Report"	K. G. Holum, A. Raban, C. M. Lehmann, D. le Berrurier, R. Ziek, and S. Sachs, "Preliminary Report on the 1989–90 Seasons, in *Caesarea Papers,* pp. 79–111

IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IGLS	*Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*
IJNA	*International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal*
JAR	*Journal of Anthropological Research*
JECM	Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
Jones, *LRE*	A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964)
Joseph. *AJ*	Josephus, *Bellum judaicum*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray (Cambridge, Mass.,-London, 1927)
Joseph. *BJ*	Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*, trans. R. Marcus (Cambridge, Mass.,-London, 1943)
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
Kadman, *Coins*	L. Kadman, *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima*, Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium 2 (Tel Aviv-Jerusalem, 1957)
Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*	C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (forthcoming)
Levine, *Caesarea*	L. I. Levine, *Caesarea under Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1975)
Levine, *Roman Caesarea*	L. I. Levine, *Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological-Topographical Study*, Qedem 2 (Jerusalem, 1975)
Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*	L. I. Levine and E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima, 1975, 1976, 1979, Final Report*, Qedem 21, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1986)
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
MonPiot	*Monuments et mémoires*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation E. Piot
Oleson et al., *Finds*	J. P. Oleson, M. A. Fitzgerald, A. N. Sherwood, and S. E. Sidebotham, *The Finds and the Ship*. Vol. 2 of *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project 1980–1985*, ed. J. P. Oleson,

	BAR Int. Ser. 594 (Oxford, 1994)
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PG	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca,* ed. J. P. Migne
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
Raban, *Site*	A. Raban, *The Site and the Excavations.* Vol. 1 of *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, 1980–1985,* ed. J. P. Oleson, BAR Int. Ser. 491 (Oxford, 1989)
Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992)	A. Raban, K. G. Holum, and J. A. Blakely, *The Combined Caesarea Expeditions: Field Report of the 1992 Season,* The Recanati Center for Maritime Studies, Publication no. 4 (Haifa, 1993)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RBibl	*Revue biblique*
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
Ringel, *Césarée*	J. Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine: étude historique et archéologique* (Paris, 1975)
RömMitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
SC	*Sources chrétiennes*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,* ed. P. Roussel et al. (Leiden, 1923–)
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*
WA	*World Archaeology*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

Note to Readers: For transliteration of Hebrew texts, this book uses the system described in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* "Instructions for Contributors" contained in the *AAR/SBL Membership Directory and Handbook* (Atlanta, 1993). The handbook also contains abbreviations for biblical and rabbinic journals and ancient texts. For classical, late classical, and patristic journals and texts, see abbreviation lists in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 2nd ed., ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford, 1970), and in *A Patristic Greek Lexicon,* ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961).

List of Maps and Aerial Photographs

Note on the Maps

Maps 1–4 in this volume represent data in the Caesarea Graphics Archive. All the current excavators of Caesarea have contributed to this archive, which also includes material from most of the earlier excavations at the site. The archive is being assembled with the special support of the Caesarea Tourist Development Project, the University of Maryland School of Architecture, and the Combined Caesarea Expeditions.

Using a laser theodolite, surveyors Stephen Sachs and Thomas Wilkinson of the University of Maryland established a network of known points across the site. These points permit current surveyors to position individual excavation areas accurately. Based on the known points, surveyors then hand draw excavated features at 1:50 in consultation with the excavators. These are "stone-by-stone" drawings, which means that each stone is addressed individually and in context. Stones in secondary use are noted. All architectural elements are recorded, including walls, doorways, juxtapositions of walls, relationships between walls and floors, wells and water channels, and patterns of collapse. Once recorded manually, these data are digitized and thus brought into the archive. The computer software used is AutoCAD. The archive actually resides in the computer's fixed disk drive and on a large number of backup diskettes.

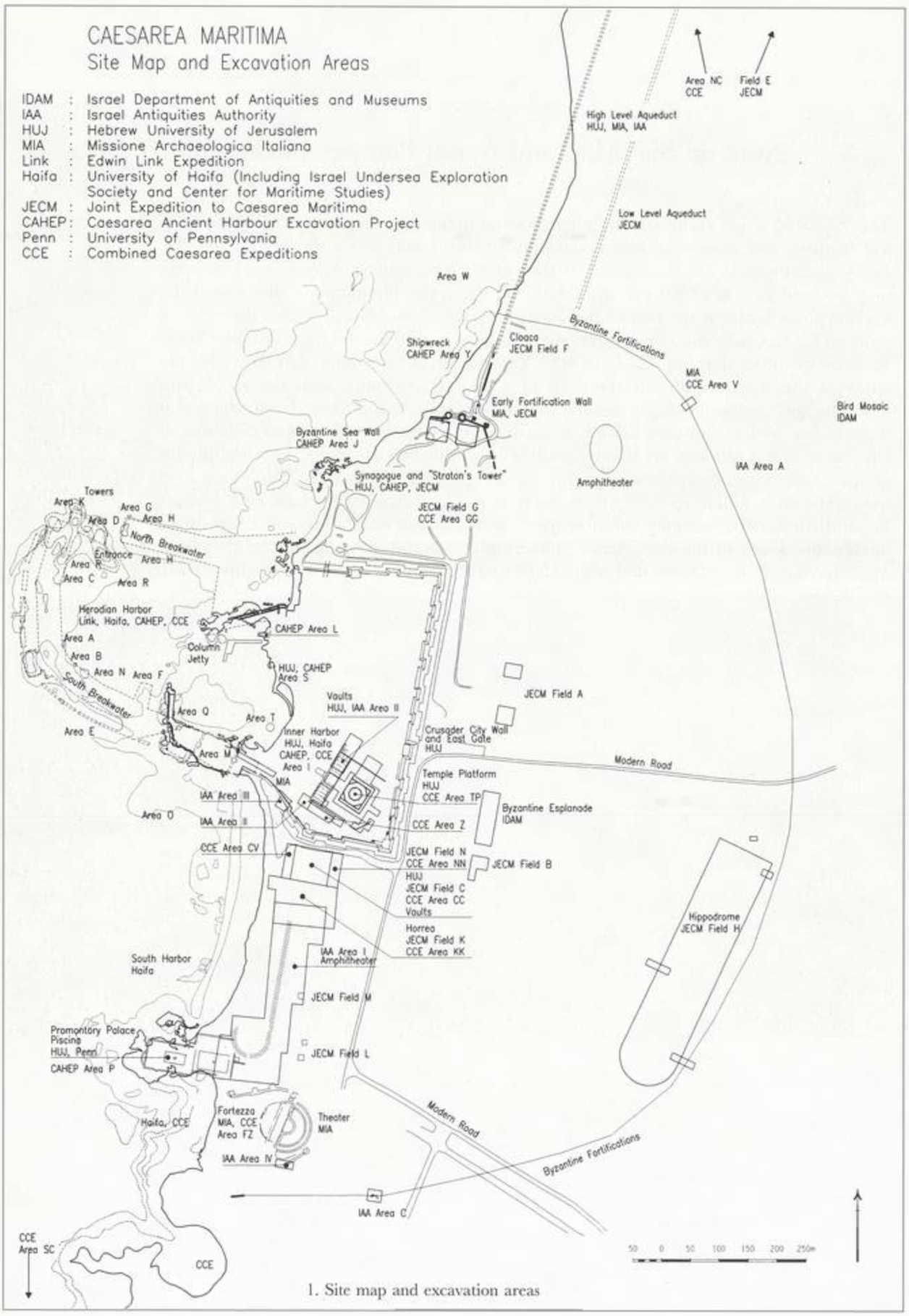
AutoCAD files are structured to permit accurate plots as the excavation progresses, printed on a laser printer or plotter. Supervisors receive up-to-date plans, and computer files are stored daily or periodically to preserve a chronology of the excavation. Thus excavators can also study newly uncovered structures in relation to structures already excavated and removed. As excavation proceeds and excavators begin to date their finds, AutoCAD files can be copied and modified into plans of individual buildings or architectural phases. The archive includes sections and elevations as well as plans, and the software is designed for three-dimensional manipulation of the data, so preparing isometric and perspective illustrations is relatively easy. It is equally convenient to produce multicolor plots, in which different kinds of architectural features appear in distinct colors – for example, blue for wells and water channels, orange for ovens and hearths – or in which colors are used to separate structures belonging to different architectural phases. Also readily available are block plans at different levels of detail, such as the site maps included in this volume.

The archive improves the process of excavation by providing a constant reminder of the broader architectural context. The system adopted offers an accurate, detailed, and cost-effective way of recording architectural data that also eliminates the threat of lost or damaged drawings. Multiple printouts at any scale are available at low cost, and they are of publishable quality.

Anna Iamim
Jerusalem

Note on Site Map and Aerial Photographs

The following pages contain a site map showing major topographical and archaeological features and a series of four aerial photographs taken above the site on July 10, 1995, six months before conclusion of the current excavations. Map 1, the site map, may be used as a key for locating features on the aerial photographs, along with the foldout phase maps at the end of the volume. Aerial photograph 1 shows the villas of modern Caesarea at the upper right, the Old City within the Islamic/Crusader fortifications in the center, and Kibbutz Sdot Yam at the bottom right. On the right, the curve of the Byzantine fortification circuit is visible, enclosing both the Reifenberg amphitheater on the northeast and the hippodrome on the southeast. Underwater features visible include remains of the breakwaters of King Herod's harbor Sebastos at left center and a modern breakwater south of it paralleling the shore. In aerial photograph 2, the ancient city's southern quarter occupies the upper right, Sdot Yam is in the right center, and at the lower right the pattern of gardens of uncertain date appears in sand dunes. In Antiquity, offshore reefs at the lower center protected secondary anchorages south of the city. Aerial photographs 3 and 4 show in greater detail the main terrestrial areas excavated from 1992 to 1995 from the Old City southward to the theater.



1. Site map and excavation areas

1. Ancient Caesarea and Harbors, July 10, 1995 (North)

2. Ancient Caesarea and Harbors, July 10, 1995 (South)

3. Detail of Recent Excavations, July 10, 1995 (North)

4. Detail of Recent Excavations, July 10, 1995 (South)

Introduction: Caesarea and Recent Scholarship

With this book, and the archaeological excavations it represents, Caesarea at last begins to rank among the well-known classical Mediterranean cities.[1] Investigation of its art and architecture, its urban development and economy, its metropolitan role in the province of Palestine, and its contributions to religious thought and political ideology all prove exceptionally rewarding.

Caesarea Maritima, more commonly Caesarea Palaestinae in the ancient texts,[2] was a foundation of Herod the Great. The Jewish king chose the coastal site of a decrepit Hellenistic town named Straton's Tower, Στράτωνος Πύργος; it dated back, perhaps, as Robert Stieglitz proposes in this volume, to the early third century B.C.E. and bore the name of a general of the Egyptian king Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The archaeologists have found little of Straton's Tower except quantities of Hellenistic pottery, but its plan appears to have influenced the arrangement of Caesarea's main temple and harbor, while for Jews its city wall long marked the border of Eretz Israel.[3]

Herod built Caesarea 22-10/9 B.C.E. during a flurry of construction activity that characterized the third decade of his rule. Like its sister city Sebaste in Samaria, the new city honored Herod's Roman patron Caesar Augustus. Flavius Josephus, who wrote accounts of Caesarea's founding into both the *Jewish War* (1.408-15) and the *Jewish Antiquities* (15.331-41), mentioned the normal accoutrements of a classical city that Herod built – theater and amphitheater, marketplaces and public buildings, streets laid out on a grid plan – but especially praised the new city's religious center. This was the spectacular Temple of Roma and Augustus, housing two colossal divine images, set on an elevated platform that dominated both the harbor and the city. Massive foundations of this temple have just come to light in the excavations (see maps 2–3), and fragments of architectural sculpture also discovered permit Lisa Kahn in this volume to propose a reconstruction of its colonnades and architraves. She observes, however, that the stones of this temple were not "white stone," or marble, as Josephus suggested (*BJ* 1.408, *AJ* 15.331), but the mundane local kurkar sandstone coated with a hard stucco that would have taken a high polish. Josephus lavished further enthusiastic words on the harbor Sebastos, named likewise for Augustus, but here there was no exaggeration. A triumph of ancient engineering and technology,[4] Sebastos provided

[1] For the literary sources, however, Levine, *Caesarea*, and Ringel, *Césarée*, remain essential guides. Likewise helpful, though much outdated on the archaeological side, are Levine's *Roman Caesarea* and the popular introduction *Herod's Dream*.

[2] Also Caesarea Stratonis, etc.; see I. Benzinger, *RE* 4 (1894), s.v. Caesarea (10), 1291–92.

[3] See the chapter by Ephrat Habas in this volume.

[4] See Raban, *Site*, and chapters in this volume by Christopher Brandon, Robert Hohlfelder, and Raban himself.

Herod's kingdom with a much-needed deepwater port, and its builder no doubt profited handsomely from customs duties (*portoria*) and other revenues.[5]

When the Romans annexed Judaea in 6 C.E., they made Caesarea the administrative headquarters and seat of the governors, notorious among them Pontius Pilate. During the First Jewish War, 66-70 C.E., the general Vespasian wintered at Caesarea with his troops, who in 69 apparently proclaimed him emperor there. Thus, sometime in the next decade, Vespasian rewarded the city for being "first in loyalty," refounding it as a colony of Rome: *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesariensis*.[6] Promotion of Judaea's governors to *legati Augusti pro praetore* when the Jews had been crushed, and stationing a second legion in the province in the second century, accelerated the process of Romanization. The rabbis would call Caesarea "daughter of Edom," meaning daughter of Rome, because the city projected Roman culture forcefully in the land of the Jews.

In the meantime Herod's city had become a focus of primitive Christianity. St. Paul lay in prison there ca. 60–62 and came before the governors Felix and Festus in their *praetorium*, formerly Herod's palace, excavated now by a University of Pennsylvania team, as Barbara Burrell explains in this volume. In Acts of the Apostles, chapter 10, Cornelius, centurion of the Italian cohort, receives the apostle Peter into his home in Caesarea, presumably within a few years of the crucifixion of Christ, and accepts Christianity with his family and friends. The circle of Cornelius appears to have been the first urban and Gentile Christians anywhere and thus established a paradigm for emerging Gentile Christianity.[7]

Recent underwater excavations on the harbor breakwaters indicate tectonic slumping of their seaward parts by early in the second century,[8] so it is unlikely that Herod's main harbor long retained its full capacity, yet import and export trade kept Caesarea relatively prosperous through the rest of Antiquity, along with thriving local agriculture, industries, and the administrative and judicial functions of the governors. Emperors such as Vespasian, Hadrian, Septimius Severus, and Diocletian benefited the city with new aqueducts, public buildings, and imperial visits.[9] After the Second Jewish

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[5] The τελώνης John, mentioned in *BJ* 2.287, likely collected customs duties in Caesarea according to F. Vittinghoff, *Portoria*, in *RE* 22 (1953), 374. Cf. *AJ* 14.206 for the *portoria* of Joppa owed to Rome in Julius Caesar's time. In this volume, chapters by Robert Hohlfelder and John Oleson deal with economic aspects of Sebastos.

[6] B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, rev. ed. (New York, 1992), 349, shows that *Prima* did not mean, as commonly assumed, that Caesarea was the first Flavian colony chronologically. That is, *Prima* does not mean that Vespasian necessarily refounded Caesarea in 69 or shortly thereafter.

[7] They predated, for example, the Pauline communities studied by W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven, 1983). For recent comment, see E. Krentz, "Caesarea and Early Christianity," in *Caesarea Papers*, 262.

[8] See Raban's chapter.

[9] K. G. Holum, "Hadrian and Caesarea: An Episode in the Romanization of Palestine," *Ancient World* 23 (1992), 51–61.

War, 132–135 C.E., the emerging system of Roman highways in the province, now renamed Palestine, made it almost literally true, as Israel Roll points out in his chapter, that in this part of the world "all roads led to Caesarea." The high imperial culture of the Antonine Age reclothed Herod's city, built originally of the local kurkar, in imported marbles, while the city's pantheon became an eclectic mix of gods such as the Ephesian Artemis and Dolichenus, worshiped most frequently in the East, with cults like Mithraism more common in the western, Latin provinces.[10] Symptomatically, the colony had municipal institutions of normal Latinate type, with *duumviri* and a local senate of *decuriones*, and most of the inscribed stones that survive from the second and third centuries are in Latin.[11]

Beneath the surface, new social, religious, and intellectual currents were stirring. By the end of the second century a large and prosperous Jewish community had established itself in the city, and its rabbis, men like R. Hoshayah and R. Abbahu, both gathered disciple circles about them and issued legal decisions that contributed to the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds.[12] On the Christian side, after the Second Jewish War it was in the coastal cities of Palestine, Gaza and Caesarea, and in a few other places, that churches mainly flourished,[13] and, as head of the community in the provincial metropolis, Caesarea's bishop held special authority. Welcomed by the bishop, the Christian scholar and theologian Origen emigrated to Caesarea from Alexandria in 231, bringing his library with him, and it was in Caesarea that he completed the *Hexapla*, six parallel texts of the Old Testament, certainly "the major text-critical accomplishment of Christian antiquity."[14] After Origen's death in 254, the only *Hexapla* remained in Caesarea, for to copy it was impractical, and so did the much expanded library.[15] A generation later Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea ca. 314–338, used it to write his apologetic works and biblical commentaries; his outstanding contributions to European culture, however, were the *Ecclesiastical History*, which established a new genre of history, and the initial formulation of the ideology of the Christian Empire.[16]

In his *Martyrs of Palestine*, Eusebius left a vivid image of Caesarea on the verge of change. Much under the thumb of the provincial governor and his men, its inhabitants still crowded the amphitheater on the birthday of the city goddess, or Tyche, to witness the deaths of allegedly atheist Christian criminals.[17] When Constantine put an

[10] See the chapters by Moshe Fischer and Rivka Gersht.

[11] See Holum's chapter, and Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions* (forthcoming).

[12] See Levine, *Caesarea*, especially chapter 5; see also the chapters by Levine, Ephrat Habas, Marc Hirshman, and Ze'ev Weiss in this volume.

[13] See most recently J. E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places* (Oxford, 1993), 62.

[14] Krentz, "Caesarea and Early Christianity," 266.

[15] See the chapter by David Runia.

[16] On Eusebius, see the chapters in this volume by Lorenzo Perrone, David Satran, and Hélène Ahrweiler.

[17] Eusebius *Mart. Pal.*, especially 11.30.

end to this, however, and began the state-sponsored conversion of the Empire to Christianity, Eusebius turned his eyes to Jerusalem and praised Constantine's *martyrion* at the Lord's Tomb, built 326–333, passing over in silence the process of Christianizing his own city. At mid-century a governor or other prominent Caesarean still celebrated Tyche's birthday, it appears, by presenting to a friend an expensive bronze cup, now in the Louvre, decorated with images of the city's founding and sacrifice to the goddess before her temple.[18] Yet in the fourth or fifth century, the church, as elsewhere, took over Caesarea. As the archaeologists have discovered, by the mid-sixth century an octagonal church, decorated and revetted in marble, had replaced King Herod's Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Temple Platform (see maps 3–4).

This empirewide Christianization profited Caesarea immensely. Constantine's mother Helena created a paradigm for Christian pilgrimage when she journeyed to Jerusalem, quite likely via Caesarea, in 326, and the New Testament sites she discovered promoted the discovery of others and the rebirth of Palestine as the Christian Holy Land.[19] Caesarea could attract pilgrims with its own New Testament Holy Places, the Bath of Cornelius and the House of St. Philip and the Four Virgin Prophetesses (cf. Acts 21:8), and eventually its own *martyria* and other churches distributed across the urban landscape. Moreover, as a government center, road junction, and seaport, endowed furthermore with a rich agricultural hinterland, it participated fully in a demographic and economic upswing that affected the entire province between the fourth century and the seventh, partly the result of Christian tourism, immigration of Christians, and imperial investment.[20] The evidence at Caesarea is mostly archaeological, notably an increase in occupied villages, villas, and farms in the hinterland[21] and a new city wall of the late fourth or early fifth century that encompassed two or three times the earlier built-up area (cf. maps 3–4). Caesarea did lose some political ground. The emperors divided the province twice by the end of the fourth century, leaving the governor at Caesarea with jurisdiction over just the first of three Palestines, and at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 the see of Jerusalem won ecclesiastical preeminence.[22] Yet in 536, still Caesarea's heyday, the Emperor Justinian promoted the governor to proconsul, elevating his official rank and salary and granting him appeal jurisdiction over the other Palestines, "because he presides over the province in which Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared on earth" (*Nov.* 103).

From the fourth century on, there were also changes in the style of urbanism, evi-

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[18] E. Will, "La coupe de Césarée au Musée du Louvre," *MonPiot* 65 (1983), 1–24; cf. *Herod's Dream*, 14–15, figs. 5–6, and Gersht's chapter in this volume, fig. 2.

[19] On this compare R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy* (New Haven, 1992), with Taylor, *Christians*.

[20] M. Avi-Yonah, "The Economics of Byzantine Palestine," *IEJ* 8 (1958), 39–51; *Herod's Dream*, 162–99; K. G. Holum, "The End of Classical Urbanism at Caesarea Maritima, Israel," in *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski*, ed. R. I. Curtis (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1989), 2:87–104; cf., however, Leah Di Segni's more moderate chapter in this volume.

[21] E.g., Y. Ne'eman, *Archaeological Survey of Israel: Map of Ma'anit* (Jerusalem, 1990); Y. Hirschfeld and R. Birger-Calderon, "Early Roman and Byzantine Estates near Caesarea," *IEJ* 41 (1991), 81–111.

[22] See the chapter by Ze'ev Rubin in this volume.

dent in both physical and written remains. First, the amphitheater, scene of the martyrdoms, fell out of use and its stones were quarried for use in other buildings; then Herod's theater, much rebuilt in the second and third centuries, succumbed to stone robbing; finally, even the great hippodrome in the city's southeastern quarter disappeared (see map 4). The local kurkar still made up the city's fabric, but now masons dressed the stones less carefully – they would be plastered anyway inside and out, both for appearance and to prevent rapid weathering – and the stones generally shrank to sizes more easily transported by pack animal. Marble architraves gave way to arcades in new public buildings, but architects still employed the imported stone in monumental structures for pavements, revetments, colonnades, and liturgical furniture. Ancient marbles and other luxury stones, the legacy of Caesarea's urban past,[23] were reused widely, including columns, capitals, and even statuary. Parallel changes characterized the spoken language of public discourse. Caesarea's Latinate institutions, *duumviri* and *decuriones*, succumbed by about 300, and henceforth all public inscriptions were in Greek. As elsewhere in Palestine, the schools of Caesarea taught from the Greek classics, training young men of wealth and talent in the art of effective oratory in the proconsul's court, on occasions of public display, or in the private audiences of powerful men.[24] One of the young Caesareans succeeded admirably. Procopius, named for Caesarea's first Christian martyr, passed into the service of Justinian's general Belisarius, and wrote thoroughly secular histories, panegyric, and invective that belong in the first rank of later Greek literature.[25]

In the 620s, on the eve of the Muslim conquests, the Persian King Khusrau, victorious over the Roman emperor, taunted his defeated enemy that God had delivered to him Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Caesarea.[26] Ranking with these, Caesarea at this late date was still no mean city, and neither the bloodless Persian conquest of 614 nor the extended Muslim siege that ended with Caesarea's fall in 640 or 641 likely destroyed it.[27] Instead it was subsequent social and economic dislocations, among them the flight of Caesarea's Greek-speaking Christian aristocracy, that brought classical urbanism at Caesarea, in all of its richness, to a precipitous decline. The best index of deurbanization so far available, brought to light in the current excavations, is intensive garden agriculture that developed in the city's Southwest Zone within the half century after the conquest.[28]

The chapters that follow discuss the antiquities of Classical Caesarea, from Hel-

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[23] J. Alchermes, "*Spolia* in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse," *DOP* 48 (1994), 167–78.

[24] Cf. the chapter by Hayim Lapin in this volume; G. Downey, "The Christian Schools of Palestine: A Chapter in Literary History," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12 (1958), 297–319; and, more generally, P. Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (Madison, Wisc., 1992).

[25] Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley, 1985). Procopius mentions his native city infrequently, mostly in the *Secret History*; cf. the chapters in this volume by Di Segni and Holum.

[26] Quoted in Levine, *Caesarea*, 135–39, but Khusrau listed Caesarea first.

[27] K. G. Holum, "Archaeological Evidence for the Fall of Byzantine Caesarea," *BASOR* 286 (1992), 73–85.

[28] See the chapter by Yosef Porath in this volume and cf. Raban's chapter.

lenistic Straton's Tower, through Caesarea's Herodian, Roman, and Byzantine[29] periods, and ending with the Muslim conquest. After about two centuries of decay and impoverishment, Muslim Qaisariyah emerged in the ninth century; Moshe Sharon's catalogue of Arabic inscriptions, also included here, provides both an illuminating contrast and a sample of the rich epigraphic, archaeological, and literary sources now available for students of the revivified Muslim town and for the Crusader principality that succeeded it in 1101.[30] Yet there is wisdom in the view that Classical Caesarea and its contributions to European culture are a closed topic that has its own focus, and that is the perspective adopted in the chapters that follow.

Since Caesarea's culture is well represented in both literature and material remains, this book needs to be read not only in light of Caesarea's Classical history but in the context of expanding knowledge of the archaeological site. Of course, this was a major urban center, so from Antiquity to the present its name and location were never lost, although the Mamluks from Egypt destroyed Crusader Caesarea in 1265 and 1291 and it sank thereafter into near total desolation. As in the Byzantine, Muslim, and Crusader periods,[31] the ruins remained an attractive source of building materials, ancient marbles and other stones, that could be quarried easily and shipped by sea up and down the Levantine coast, as far away as Alexandria to the southwest and Tyre, Beirut, and Tripoli to the north. This accounts for the poorly preserved state of what was once a glorious, luxuriously equipped city and for the relatively meager inventory of statuary and inscriptions. Meanwhile, coastal processes worked destruction on the harbors and aqueducts, and spread a blanket of dune sand three or four meters deep over what remained of ancient Caesarea.[32]

European interest in the Christian Holy Land eventually brought a few explorers.[33] First to draw a plan of the ancient remains was Richard Pococke, who visited Caesarea in 1738. Napoleon's abortive campaign northward from Egypt in 1799 yielded the rel-

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[29] This volume, including maps 2–4, employs terminology for historical periods conventional in Israel and the archaeology of the Middle East generally. "Byzantine" usually means the fourth (or fifth) century to the seventh, while periods thereafter are "Islamic" or "Arab" and "Crusader." Cf., however, Holum's chapter.

[30] Cf. H. W. Hazard, "Caesarea and the Crusades," in *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, ed. Charles T. Fritsch, *BASOR*, suppl. 19 (Missoula, Mont., 1975), 79–114; J. L. Lamonte, "The Lords of Caesarea in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 22 (1947), 145–61; *Herod's Dream*, 201–36. Muslim and Crusader Caesarea have been especially well represented in recent excavations; see, e.g., Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*; Holum et al., "Preliminary Report"; and Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992).

[31] Stones of Herod's temple, for example, reappear in the octagonal church that succeeded it on the Temple Platform. The Reifenberg amphitheater (see below) and the theater *cavea*, convenient for quarrying building stones, had probably vanished by the end of Antiquity. Sharon's chapter discusses ancient marbles reused for Arabic inscriptions.

[32] A. Reifenberg, "Caesarea: A Study in the Decline of a Town," *IEJ* 1 (1950–51), 20–32; M. Rim, "Sand and Soil in the Coastal Plain of Israel," ibid., 33–48; see now the chapter by Mart and Perecman in this volume.

[33] On what follows, see R. L. Vann, "Early Travelers and the First Archaeologists," in *Caesarea Papers*, 275–90; and Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 3–7.

atively accurate and detailed map of Colonel Pierre Jacotin. Two nineteenth-century maps, both likewise based on actual visits to the site, contain data of real value to the archaeologist. The first is the detail of Caesarea published by A. L. Mansell for the French navy in 1863 as part of a navigational map of the coast, the second the Caesarea map that C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener included in the British *Survey of Western Palestine* (1882) after Captain Conder's brief visit in April 1873.[34] Later in the same century Caesarea received new colonists. In 1884 the Ottoman authorities relocated twenty families of Bosnian refugees from Europe on the site of Crusader Caesarea in what is now called the Old City. The village never prospered, and from the archaeologists' point of view simply promoted the extraction of building stones. Europeans resident in Palestine, such as L. Oliphant, G. Schumacher, and L. Haefeli, alerted the newcomers to the commercial value of ancient treasures, and they dug everywhere for marble statues, decorated architectural fragments, tombstones, and small artifacts to be sold to antiquities dealers.[35] In 1918 or 1919, for example, Rev. O. H. Knight, encamped in the vicinity with workmen constructing a railroad, saw "Turkish" trenches south of the town that had exposed a cemetery "judging by the bones and skulls," along with much pottery, lamps, and a mosaic pavement. The trenches extended "as far as the Naumachia, and ran round inside it, so that the foundations of the top tiers were laid bare." From Knight's description and the position of these trenches, it appears that the Bosnians had discovered King Herod's "amphitheater" or hippodrome, rediscovered and fully explored during the current large-scale excavations (maps 1–3).[36]

Such was the knowledge of the archaeological site when Haefeli published the first monographic study of Caesarea in 1923, a work based on Josephus, the New Testament, and cursory familiarity with the physical site.[37] Further progress in the archaeology of Caesarea was long in coming. During the next forty years, as systematic excavation implanted itself in Palestine and the new state of Israel, at Caesarea there were only chance finds and a few rescue missions (see map 1 for locations).[38] In 1945, for example, J. Ory of the British Mandate Department of Antiquities reported remains

[34] The maps are conveniently printed in Vann, "Early Travelers," 278–85, with bibliography. It should be noted that both the Mansell and the Conder and Kitchener maps record a large salient, no longer visible, in the Byzantine fortification east of the Crusader city, while on the Mansell map the Byzantine and Crusader fortifications include seawalls with rectangular towers apparently dismantled between 1863 and 1874 (cf. map 4). Remarkably, also, Jacotin as well as the two nineteenth-century maps show the high- and/or low-level aqueducts traversing the Byzantine wall and extending to the Crusader fortifications (cf. maps 2–4).

[35] E.g., H. Thiersch, "2. Archäologischer Jahresbericht, 3. Caesarea Palaestinae," *ZDPV* 37 (1914), 62–63; E. Schiler, "Caesarea and Its Sites" [Hebrew], *Qardom* 18 (1981), 69–72; A. Wegman, "First Days in Caesarea and the Museum in Sedot Yam," ibid., 104–9.

[36] O. H. Knight, "Notes on Caesarea and Neighbourhood," *PEQ* 52 (1920), 79–80; cf. maps 2–3 in this volume and Porath's chapter.

[37] L. Haefeli, *Caesarea am Meer: Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt nach Josephus und Apostelgeschichte*, Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen 10.5 (Münster, 1923).

[38] On what follows, see Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 7-14, and Raban, *Site*, 55–65.

of a Byzantine synagogue exposed during winter storms north of the Old City, which M. Avi-Yonah examined, together with the sector to the east, in 1956 and 1962 on behalf of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem (HUJ).[39] In 1950, army trenching exposed a mosaic pavement 11.5 x 13.4 m. displaying eleven species of birds and at least fourteen of mammals; in 1955, S. Yeivin of the Israel Department of Antiquities (IDAM) excavated the site, which has now been plausibly identified as a suburban villa.[40] Yeivin also exposed the so-called "Byzantine esplanade" in 1951, where a farmer's tractor had struck one of two colossal Roman statues that flanked the entrance (*propylaia*) to an unidentified building of the Byzantine period.[41] Yet the critical development during this period was not excavations but the founding in 1940 of Kibbutz Sdot Yam adjacent to the site on the south. One of Sdot Yam's pioneers, Aharon Wegman, persuaded his associates to assemble chance finds that turned up during construction or agricultural operations in what has since become the Caesarea Museum, one of the richest collections of its type in the country.[42] In the meantime, in 1950, B. Reifenberg recognized in an aerial photograph the oval imprint of an amphitheater in terrain northeast of the Old City that still has not been excavated.[43]

Large-scale excavation at Caesarea began only in 1959–60, when archaeologists first comprehended that this was a single urban and maritime site that merited systematic recovery of all phases of occupation (see map 1). In 1960 Edwin Link, a pioneer of underwater exploration using SCUBA gear, brought a team of divers that identified the submerged breakwaters of Herod's harbor Sebastos.[44] In five campaigns (1959–64) the Missione Archaeologica Italiana (MAI), directed by Antonio Frova, explored the outer perimeter wall, proving it to be Byzantine (map 4), and exposed part of an inner perimeter (maps 2–3), previously unknown, north of the medieval fortification circuit. The Missione devoted most of its effort, however, to excavating the Herodian theater south of the Old City and to the ruins of the imposing fortress (*fortezza*) that succeeded it in the sixth or seventh century.[45] Between 1960 and 1964 Avraham Negev of the

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[39] M. Avi-Yonah, "Caesarea," *IEJ* 6 (1956), 260–62; "Césarée," *RBibl* 64 (1957), 243–46; "The Synagogue of Caesarea (Preliminary Report)," *Louis Rabinowitz Bulletin for the Study of Ancient Synagogues* 3 (1960), 44–48; also "Caesarea," in *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. E. Stern (Jerusalem, 1993), 1:278–79; A. Negev, "Caesarea," *IEJ* 13 (1963), 146–48; "Césarée," *RBibl* 70 (1963), 582–85.

[40] R. Reich, "On Some Byzantine Remains," *'Atiqot* (Eng. ser.) 17 (1985), 206–12.

[41] S. Yeivin, "Excavations at Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology* 8 (1955), 122–29.

[42] Wegman, "First Days in Caesarea"; see also R. Gersht and U. Shavit, eds., *The Sedot-Yam Museum Book in Memory of Aharon Wegman* [Hebrew] (forthcoming).

[43] Reifenberg, "Decline of a Town," 24–26; cf. D. Roller, "The Wilfred Laurier University Survey of Northeastern Caesarea Maritima," *Levant* 14 (1982), 95, 100–102, but it is now clear that this is not the "amphitheater" mentioned in Josephus *BJ* 1.415 and *AJ* 15.341.

[44] For the history of underwater exploration at Caesarea, see Robert L. Hohlfelder, "Marine Explorations," in *Caesarea Papers*, 291–94, and in Raban, *Site*, 65–71, 96–98; see also Raban, *Site*, 71–96.

[45] A. Frova, "Caesarea Maritima (Israele), Rapporto preliminare della I campagna di scavo della Missione Archeologica Italiana," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche* (1959), 1–33; and Frova, *Scavi*.

Hebrew University supervised clearing operations within the Old City that brought to light barrel-vaulted substructures forming the western facade of the Herodian Temple Platform and, on the platform itself, the ruins of a triple-apsed Crusader basilica. He also cleared the moats in front of the medieval fortifications and removed dune sand from the southern preserved section of the twin high-level aqueduct, north of the site along the shore.[46]

In the 1970s and 1980s, archaeologists applied a higher level of archaeological sophistication to research at Caesarea, introducing stratigraphic excavation using balks, scientific ceramic analysis, and a variety of modern underwater techniques useful for studying the harbors. The American Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM), directed by Robert J. Bull, conducted twelve summer seasons of excavation between 1971 and 1987. This team explored many parts of the site outside the Old City,[47] including the low-level aqueduct, which it dated to the fourth century (map 4), a well-preserved suburban bath from the Byzantine period that Fred L. Horton, Jr., discusses in this volume, and a Byzantine public building that appears from inscriptions to have housed an imperial revenue office.[48] In 1973 and 1974 John Humphrey, under JECM auspices, studied Caesarea's hippodrome, now one of the best-known facilities of its type from the Roman East.[49] Among other outstanding JECM finds were a marble statue of the city goddess (Tyche) of Caesarea[50] and, south of the Old City, a cult center of the Roman god Mithras, located in a barrel-vaulted warehouse (*horreum*), one of a complex of such vaults then thought to date from Herod's time.[51] The Joint

[46] Only brief notices and popular articles were published, e.g., A. Negev, "Caesarea," *IEJ* 11 (1961), 81–83; "Césarée Maritima," *RevBibl* 69 (1962), 412–15; "Where Vespasian Was Proclaimed Emperor, Caesarea Maritima on the Coast of Israel," *Illustrated London News* 6482 (1963), 684–86; "The Palimpsest of Caesarea Maritima," ibid., 6483 (1963), 728–31; also his pages in "Caesarea" in *New Encyclopaedia*, ed. Stern, 1:272–78; "The High Level Aqueduct at Caesarea," *IEJ* 14 (1964), 237–49; and his popular book *Caesarea* (Tel Aviv, 1967).

[47] Again, relatively little has been published. See R. Wiemken and K. G. Holum, "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Eighth Season, 1979," *BASOR* 244 (1981), 27–52; R. J. Bull, E. Krentz, and O. Storvick, "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Ninth Season, 1980," *BASOR*, suppl. 24 (1986), 31–55; R. J. Bull, E. Krentz, O. Storvick, and M. Spiro, "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Tenth Season, 1982," *BASOR*, suppl. 27 (1990), 69–94; for earlier seasons, see L. E. Toombs, "The Stratigraphy of Caesarea Maritima," in *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon*, ed. P.R.S. Moorey and P. J. Parr (Warminster, 1978), 223–32; and R. Bull, ed., *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Preliminary Reports in Microfiche* (Madison, N.J., 1985), helpful but not widely available.

[48] K. G. Holum, "Inscriptions from the Imperial Revenue Office of Byzantine Caesarea Palaestinae," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 333–45.

[49] J. H. Humphrey, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Hippodrome at Caesarea Maritima," *BASOR* 213 (1974), 2–45; "A Summary of the 1974 Excavations in the Caesarea Hippodrome," ibid., 218 (1975), 1–24; *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London, 1986), 477–91.

[50] R. Gersht, "The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima," *PEQ* 116 (1984), 110–14; R. Wenning, "Die Stadtgöttin von Caesarea Maritima," *Boreas: Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie* 9 (1986), 113–29; and Gersht's chapter in this volume.

[51] R. Bull, "The Mithraeum of Caesarea Maritima," *Textes et mémoires* 4 (1978), 75–89; J. A. Blakely,

Expedition also restudied the inner perimeter wall, proposing to date it to Herod's foundation, and devoted much attention to Caesarea's streets. By excavating numerous street fragments in various sectors, mostly Byzantine in date, the team recovered the orientation of the original Herodian grid and the dimensions of some of the city blocks (*insulae*) (maps 2–4).

During the same period, in 1975–76 and 1979, a team from the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, directed by Lee I. Levine and Ehud Netzer, excavated a well-preserved Islamic dwelling quarter in the northwestern sector of the Old City and beneath it a large Byzantine building of unknown function.[52] Netzer also began exploring the "Promontory Palace," in his view the royal palace (*basileia*) that Josephus mentions in Herod's city. Located on a peninsula jutting into the sea northwest of the theater, this palace consisted of colonnades and ranges of rooms built around a rectangular, rock-cut pool designed, according to Netzer, for swimming (maps 2–4).[53] In the winter of 1985–86, Ronny Reich and Michal Peleg, in a rescue excavation conducted on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), identified a south gate of the outer (Byzantine) perimeter wall beneath a factory of the neighboring kibbutz.[54] Yosef Porath, likewise of IAA, conducted a number of rescue excavations in Caesarea and the vicinity and explored various aspects of the city's aqueduct system.[55]

In the meantime, exploration of Caesarea's harbors and coast continued sporadically under the auspices of the Israel Undersea Exploration Society, as Elisha Linder discusses in his memoir in this volume, and of Haifa University's Center for Maritime Studies (CMS), founded in 1972. In 1975–76 Avner Raban of CMS headed an elaborate survey for the Israel Electric Company, then planning a nuclear power station on the coast, which discovered tectonic slumping of 4 or 5 m. in the outer Herodian breakwaters, a principal cause of their early demise. In 1979–80 Robert L. Hohlfelder and Avner Raban organized the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP), which John Oleson, R. Lindley Vann, and Robert Stieglitz subsequently joined as co-directors. This organization studied Caesarea's harbors and associated land sites intensively for a decade, including shipwrecks and anchorages to the north

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The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Excavation Reports, vol. 4: *The Pottery and Dating of Vault I: Horreum, Mithraeum, and Later Uses* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1987).

[52] Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*. In his chapter in this volume, Joseph Patrich suggests that Levine and Netzer's "Byzantine public building" was a *horreum*.

[53] See the chapters by Ehud Netzer, Kathryn Gleason, and Barbara Burrell in this volume. A. Flinder, "A Piscina at Caesarea: A Preliminary Survey," *IEJ* 26 (1976), 77–80, thought this a commercial fish tank, and others have remained skeptical. John Oleson, in Raban, *Site*, 160–67, considers Netzer's general interpretation "quite reasonable" but interprets the pool as a saltwater *piscina*, like those of Late Republican *villae maritimae* in Italy, for keeping ornamental and edible fish.

[54] M. Peleg and R. Reich, "Excavations of a Segment of the Byzantine City Wall of Caesarea Maritima," *ʿAtiqot* (Eng. ser.) 21 (1992), 137–70.

[55] Y. Porath, "Pipelines of the Caesarea Water-Supply System" [Hebrew], *ʿAtiqot* 10 (1990), 101–10 (Eng. summary, 19–20); "Caesarea, the High Aqueduct (Jisr ez-Zarqa)," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 12 (1994), 28–29.

and south dating from the Hellenistic through Crusader periods, but devoted most attention to Herod's harbor Sebastos.[56] The project not only established that Josephus had described the breakwaters accurately but also recovered details of their design and construction. In building Sebastos, Herod's "master builders" had employed imported materials and the technology of hydraulic concrete that had been developed in Italy.[57]

The 1990s brought revitalized projects and new scholarly resources to Caesarea. In 1990 Kathryn Gleason and Barbara Burrell, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, renewed work on Netzer's Promontory Palace. They have since extended the excavation from the buildings east of the pool to an upper terrace and a second peristyle to the east surrounded by further rooms (maps 2–4).[58] A year earlier, in 1989, Raban and CMS had already organized the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE) in collaboration with Kenneth G. Holum of the University of Maryland, and in 1993 Joseph Patrich of the University of Haifa joined Raban and Holum as the third CCE director. This team has devoted its attention again to continuing exploration of Sebastos under water; to the outer (Byzantine) perimeter wall; and to submarine and field survey, remote sensing, and geological studies inside the ancient site and to the north and south along the coast. Within the Old City, CCE has expanded the known limits of the Hellenistic and Herodian Inner Harbor, identified and studied the Early Christian church, octagonal in plan, on the Temple Platform, and has excavated Islamic and Crusader dwellings and public buildings both above the Inner Harbor and on the Temple Platform. To the south of the Old City, CCE undertook the excavation of a complete *insula* of Roman and Byzantine Caesarea to study the development of the urban plan.[59] Under CCE auspices, William J. Bennett, Jr., and Jeffrey A. Blakely of Archaeological Assessments, Inc., have excavated another Herodian *horreum* vault, the next one south of Bull's Mithraeum vault. The aim of this excavation was to exploit the ceramics found in the well-stratified and protected context of this *horreum* for evidence of trade goods passing through Caesarea's port.[60]

In 1992 the Israel Antiquities Authority and several government and private agencies organized the Caesarea Tourist Development Project to excavate ancient Caesarea, both within the Old City and south along the coast. The purpose was to develop a more engaging archaeological park and thus to encourage tourism, while

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[56] CAHEP has already published two of four planned final report volumes: Raban, *Site*, and Oleson et al., *Finds*.

[57] See the chapters in this volume by Hohlfelder and Brandon.

[58] See B. Burrell, K. Gleason, and E. Netzer, "Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19 (1993), 50–57, 76, and the chapters in this volume by the same three authors.

[59] See Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," with associated ceramic, numismatic, and mortuary reports in *Caesarea Papers*, 112–80; Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992); also D. Everman, "Survey of the Coastal Area North of Caesarea and of the Aqueducts: Preliminary Report," in *Caesarea Papers*, 181–93; C. M. Lehmann, "The Combined Caesarea Expeditions: The Excavation of Caesarea's Byzantine City Wall, 1989," *AASOR* 52 (1994), 121–31. Preliminary reports on the 1993–95 seasons will soon appear in *Caesarea Papers II*.

[60] See Blakely, in Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 61–68. A final report is now in progress.

simultaneously easing unemployment among recent immigrants to Israel from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union by putting them to work in the excavations. Funding would be sufficient to employ the local laborers and staff throughout the year, and to finance a restoration team that would perform necessary stabilization and consolidation at once in addition to limited reconstruction. The project director for IAA has been Yosef Porath, who has excavated and processed finds continuously for nearly four years, since March 15, 1992, in large tracts both inside the Old City (area II) and along the coast to the south (areas I, III–IV; see map 1). In area II, Porath and his team excavated several of the barrel-vaulted substructures that form the Temple Platform's western facade and discovered an adjacent nymphaeum (maps 2–3). In Area I to the south he has found an Early Christian church, a Roman/Byzantine public bath, Roman and Byzantine dwellings (maps 3–4), and the spectacular ruins of the amphitheater that Herod built, as Josephus reports, when he founded Caesarea (maps 2–3).[61] Most recently, in autumn 1995, the IAA project undertook a rescue excavation in area IV that brought to light a segment of city wall and one or two round towers just south of the theater, corresponding closely with the disputed segment that the Italian Missione found in the north (maps 1–2). This last discovery appears to settle a debate among the archaeologists of Caesarea about the course of that wall, showing that it enclosed not only part of the site in the north but also the entire tract south of the Old City, at the latest by the era of Herod and his descendants.[62]

Later in 1992 and in 1993, the other excavators of Caesarea began likewise to participate in the Caesarea Tourist Development Project. Since then it has provided workmen, logistic support, and assistance with stabilization during summer excavation seasons for the University of Pennsylvania project at the Promontory Palace and for CCE excavations south of the Old City and on the Temple Platform, where in 1995 massive foundations of Herod's Temple of Roma and Augustus came to light (maps 2–3). Moreover, the University of Haifa, through the Center for Maritime Studies, organized CCE excavations likewise on a year-round basis. This enabled Raban to expand excavation of the Inner Harbor over most of the space left available by surviving Bosnian buildings and to continue earlier work on the southwest and south flank of the Temple Platform, exposing the southern retaining wall and remains of an apparent sigma-shaped market building of Roman and Byzantine date (area Z on map 1; cf. maps 2–4).[63] Joseph Patrich, meanwhile, has explored three urban *insulae* south of the Old City entirely or in part, area KK and, to the north and east of it, areas CC and NN,

[61] For a summary, see Porath's chapter in this volume.

[62] The date of the wall, whether Hellenistic or Herodian, remains for the time being an open question; see Raban, Blakely, Roller, and T. W. Hillard on "the problem of Straton's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers*, 7–48.

[63] Raban first excavated the "sigma" market in the framework of CAHEP's 1987 season; see A. Raban and R. Stieglitz, "Caesarea, Ancient Harbor, 1987," *IEJ* 38 (1988), 276–78; for a design parallel, Byzantine in date, cf. the so-called *exedra* at Beth Shean: R. Bar-Nathan and G. Mazor, "City Center (South) and Tel Iztabba Area; Excavations of the Antiquities Authority Expedition," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 11 (1992), 43–44.

where JECM had worked earlier (map 1). These excavations exposed a complex of warehouses (*horrea*) from the Byzantine period that Patrich discusses in this volume, together with other urban buildings: a tavern (with couches for reclining), several shops, a well-preserved *latrina*, and further government offices near the "imperial revenue office" excavated by JECM twenty years before (map 4). Representing the Herodian and Roman periods here are urban villas, the earlier vaulted *horrea*, and the *carceres* (starting gates) of King Herod's amphitheater, brought to light most recently (autumn 1995).

In January 1996, as this book goes to press, the Caesarea Tourist Development Project has terminated large-scale excavations and turns now to promoting interpretation of the data acquired. In just four years – a very brief period compared to the roughly forty years since the first formal excavations – this project has produced an explosion in knowledge of ancient Caesarea. It has expanded by many times the total area excavated. Where earlier expeditions, by chance or design, had scattered isolated trenches across the terrain, the excavators of 1992–95 undertook to expose continuous tracts of urban Caesarea and complete buildings or building complexes (maps 2–4). This has been no "clearing operation" but a proper scientific exploration that has produced not only impressive ruins and art objects of immense public interest but a rich archive of computer files, field notes, photographs, and drawings, as well as storerooms filled with artifacts and samples awaiting evaluation. Early on, moreover, the project laid to rest the old depressing notion that plundering and commercial exploitation of Caesarea's ruins since Antiquity had left little to reward the archaeologists' labors. Much of Herod's amphitheater survives, even to the kurkar seating; walls regularly stand 3 or 4 m. high; and above barrel vaults are substantial remains of second stories.

With this book, therefore, the Tourist Development Project begins at an early date to yield scientific fruit. The illustrations include high-resolution color aerial photographs, part of a continuous series that documents the excavators' progress since 1992, and the first accurate phased maps of urban Caesarea prepared with modern laser surveying instruments and stored and processed by computer.[64] The book contains several chapters, fitted out properly with photographs and drawings, that function in effect as preliminary archaeological reports of the 1992–95 excavations as interpreted by the excavators themselves. Yosef Porath's theme is the evolution of land use in the ancient city to the end of Antiquity as revealed in the Southwest Zone, the principal scene of his excavations in 1992–95. Results in the Inner Harbor, in Avner Raban's view, witness continuous human efforts to overcome natural coastal processes that by the end of Antiquity had converted most of the harbor's inner basin into dry land. Joseph Patrich offers a working typology of *horrea* excavated in various parts of the city, especially south of the Old City, and probes the issue of how the urban grain supply was organized. The chapters by Ehud Netzer, Kathryn Gleason, and

[64] See the Note on the Maps, above.

Barbara Burrell, read together, set forth the original design of the Promontory Palace and later modifications, indicating general continuity of function at least until the fourth century.

Scholars will welcome several chapters in this volume that publish for the first time neglected bodies of archaeological material from Caesarea. Yehudit Turnheim and Asher Ovadiah present the first corpus of decorated architectural fragments, mainly architrave, frieze, and cornice blocks from the theater, and Rivka Gersht, an authority on the classical sculpture of Caesarea, assembles an interesting group of gods and goddesses, attempting to distinguish cult images from those with a decorative function. Of outstanding importance, because such material is scarce, is Moshe Sharon's formal corpus of Arabic inscriptions from Qaisariyah, the Muslim successor of the Classical period city. Readers will find other chapters interesting because they propose or exemplify innovative methodologies. Varda Sussman suggests that decorated ancient lamps be read as an index of personal and group identity. Clayton Lehmann, a specialist in Greek and Latin inscriptions, promotes a "postprocessual" reading of the texts in terms of the monuments that contain them, the intentions of the ancient sponsors, and the didactic agendas of the modern interpreters. For Jeffrey Blakely, ceramics are not just a dating tool but, if processed with the required sophistication, allow statistically based study of the ancient economy, eventually on the proper "annual" basis. On a more practical level, John Oleson exploits statistics for various categories of objects found during CAHEP excavations for general insights about the harbors' history.

Other chapters address obscure or controversial issues in Caesarea's urban history. As mentioned above, Robert Stieglitz proposes new hypotheses about the founding, history, and city plan of Straton's Tower. Exploiting the numismatic evidence, Dan Barag shows that Sebastos, as Avner Raban has likewise argued, maintained an independent status from Herod's founding of Caesarea until Vespasian refounded it as a Roman colony. Kenneth Holum addresses the general issue of periodization. Perhaps "Byzantine" is a misleading term for the final centuries of antique Caesarea, if the critical ruling class of *bouleutai*, or municipal senators, maintained the ideals and practice of classical urbanism to the very end of Antiquity. Three chapters evaluate Roman and Byzantine Caesarea from different perspectives as an epicenter of ancient Palestine. Israel Roll draws together the latest evidence for the network of Roman highways leading to and from Caesarea, concluding that in the Roman era "Caesarea clearly emerges as the main *caput viae* for the official traffic in the province." Directing her attention to the Byzantine era, Leah Di Segni discovers by contrast that the provincial capital drew only part of the provincial business of government and administration to itself, and that in jurisdiction, for example, and tax collecting the imperial government just as often visited its subjects in their own cities and villages. Ze'ev Rubin takes up the conflict of personalities, ideologies, and civic loyalties that led to Caesarea's political defeat in 451 when the bishop of Jerusalem formally replaced Caesarea as metropolitan of Palestine.

The authors' dearest hope, however, is that this book will reveal a continuity between the stones of the ancient city now being excavated and the culture that flour-

ished there, that study of the city's archaeology will promote understanding of how Caesarea created, sustained, and transmitted art, ideas, and other manifestations of culture. The link is not difficult to establish. Years ago, for example, JECM excavated a small bath house in the city's northeastern suburbs, dated to the end of Caesarea's Byzantine period. In his chapter, Fred L. Horton, Jr., proposes that this was neither a public bath like that more recently revealed by the IAA excavations, nor a private bath belonging to a suburban villa, but an establishment operated for profit and of a type that was to characterize medieval towns in the region. Thus Caesarea fostered ancient ritualized bathing culture and helped transmit it, in modified form, to the Middle Ages. At a more exalted level, other chapters in this book deal with the culture of power. Kathryn Gleason writes that when King Herod visited Rome he acquired ideas about architecture and power that likely affected the juxtaposition of Caesarea's royal palace with the amphitheater and theater. In Barbara Burrell's view, the palace then remained, as *praetorium* of Roman procurators and legates, an instrument of Romanization, of the diffusion of Roman power and culture in the East. In microcosm this case reveals the same truth about power and cultural change in the Roman world that Fergus Millar has recently emphasized. For him the last phase of the pagan emperors' rule in the Near East is exemplified by the vivid scene in Eusebius: his portrait of Emperor Maximinus, present at Caesarea in 306/7 C.E., presiding in person over Roman-style beast fights in Caesarea's amphitheater – probably the oval Reifenberg amphitheater on the northeast (map 3) – and also ordering Christian martyrs executed before him in the same arena.[65] Millar then draws attention to the irony that within a few years Christianity would triumph over paganism in the same city and in the Empire as a whole, observing that this development was a consequence of the emperor's ability to project his power effectively.

The point here is that the Roman culture of power depended on cities like Caesarea, for it was the conglomerated populations of urban centers that provided not only a constituency for public or commercial bathing establishments but an enthusiastic audience for chariot races, beast fights, and the final contests of Christian martyrs. As is well known, the contests were not just public entertainments but potent demonstrations of imperial or aristocratic patronage and social hierarchy.[66] Caesarea appears to have been singularly well equipped with arenas for these contests, and thus archaeological evidence survives at this site to study their evolution. Hence in architectural design and the terminology used to describe it, King Herod's "amphitheater," as John Humphrey explains in his chapter, was a transitional building constructed before stone amphitheaters and "true" hippodromes finally went their separate ways. Of course, this book also discusses another kind of archaeological evidence for the link between architecture and power. As Moshe Fischer demonstrates, in the second century the urban builders at Caesarea adopted the imperial *Marmorstil* from Asia Minor for decorating

[65] F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge and London, 1993), 23. He cites Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 6–7.

[66] Cf. P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris, 1976).

public architecture, evident especially in the carved architraves and cornices. From this evidence, ideas about imperial hierarchy appear to have conditioned both the artist's style and local taste.

That Caesarea, brought to light now by the archaeologists, was a conglomerated urban center also affected its Jewish and Christian communities profoundly, and helps account for the contributions to religious thought and literature that have made the city famous. In the second and third centuries, as in the time of the centurion Cornelius, Caesarea's Jews and Christians found themselves enmeshed in a multifaceted and pervasive pagan society filled with distractions. In his chapter, Ze'ev Weiss shows that, despite rabbinic warnings, Jews participated in the theater, amphitheater, and hippodrome as both spectators and participants. Studying synagogue inscriptions of Caesarea's Jewish community, Lee I. Levine finds that the city was also a meeting ground for distinct Jewish cultures: the conservative, rural, Aramaic-speaking one of Palestine and the more urban and cosmopolitan Greek-speaking Jewish culture of the Diaspora. That Caesarea was a kind of bridge between Jewish Palestine, or Eretz Israel, and Gentile lands is also the implication of rabbinic debate and sometimes uncertainty over the status of Caesarea in Jewish law. In her chapter, Ephrat Habas proposes a framework for understanding the evolution of rabbinic thought on this issue. Caesarea was on the frontier of the Jewish Holy Land. Well positioned for merchants and travelers by land and sea, and with a prosperous class of prospective consumers, the city presented itself to both Jewish rabbis and the Christian scholar and theologian Origen of Alexandria as a natural site for gathering and teaching circles of disciples. In his chapter, Hayim Lapin shows that Christian and Jewish academies developed in the third century along strikingly similar social and organizational lines, even though their attitudes toward the broader culture would differ dramatically after the victory of Christianity.

David Runia's chapter, a contribution to the history of ancient libraries, deals with the cultural role of the famous library of Origen, preserved and expanded by his disciples Pamphilus and Eusebius. Runia shows that from Origen's collection this library preserved virtually the entire extant corpus of the first-century Jewish-Alexandrian scholar Philo, and indeed that its special strengths were in non-canonical Jewish literature and literature on the history and antiquities of the Jews. Such a collection was obviously at home in a city with a large and vibrant Jewish community. Moreover, links between Origen and the Jews account for the borrowings from Philo of Origen's contemporary R. Hoshayah and for a series of clear Jewish tamperings with the text of Philo.

This heady urban environment, in which books were readily available to the curious on either side, naturally promoted rabbinic and patristic thought. Thus Marc Hirshman's chapter discovers in the Aggada – rabbinic material of non-legal, exegetical, or evocative character – points of contact with the non-Jewish culture of Caesarea such as borrowings from Greek, images derived from the emperor's or provincial governor's court, or debates with Origen or his school on the incorporality of God. On the Christian side, Lorenzo Perrone concludes that the originality of Eusebius lay in

moving away from the allegorizing tendencies of Origen toward "a more literalistic and historical approach to the Bible." This literalistic approach, grounded in the historical and philological side of Caesarean thought that the great library encouraged, proved critical as groundwork for the emerging Antiochene tradition in theology and Christology. Fittingly, in a book devoted to urbanism, David Satran draws attention to the original anti-urban strain in the thought of Origen and Eusebius, who cast their gaze toward the Heavenly Jerusalem and exalted the desert above the tumult and vices of the city. In Eusebius, however, martyrs and churches in effect reconciled Christianity to the city, for the city, especially his own Caesarea, not only became the arena of the martyrdoms that he described but, with the later dedication of churches, was transformed into a terrestrial model of the celestial City of God. Finally, Hélène Ahrweiler draws out the implications of the Christian imperial ideal that Eusebius articulated, suggesting that it was the main cultural artifact that Caesarea bequeathed to Byzantium and thus to European culture.

Thus archaeology at Caesarea has illuminated many varieties of human culture. None has attracted greater public interest, however, perhaps because it entails diving with SCUBA gear, than the technology of ancient harbors. The ruins of Caesarea's Herodian breakwaters and the recent excavations have contributed much to making harbor archaeology a valued branch of studies in ancient technology, and this technology is appropriately the topic of several chapters in this book. To understand the challenges of harbor construction first requires research into the geological setting, summarized lucidly here by Yossi Mart and Ilana Perecman, who also explain the natural coastal and tectonic processes that caused Herod's harbor and other manmade structures at Caesarea to deteriorate. Christopher Brandon concentrates on the use of hydraulic concrete in the construction of Herod's harbor, what he calls "arguably the most intriguing aspect of Roman engineering technology." New data from Caesarea and other sites enable Brandon to explain the prescriptions for harbor construction in Vitruvius' *De architectura*. Several scholars then present research on other harbors across the Mediterranean that display the same design or technology as have come to light at Caesarea. Elpida Hadjidaki's topic is the Hellenistic harbor at Phalasarna in western Crete, corresponding with what we know of the original harbors at Caesarea, those of Straton's Tower. David Blackman contributes comparative data from harbors in France, Italy, and Turkey that were more similar in date and technique to Herod's Sebastos. The parallels that Piero Gianfrotta discusses come from the Bay of Naples region, origin of the famous pozzolana that was the critical component in hydraulic concrete. Finally, Robert L. Hohlfelder, a principal excavator of Sebastos, draws attention to parallels between Herod's creation and the contemporary harbor of Paphos on Cyprus. His proposal is that anonymous "master builders" from Italy in King Herod's service brought the technological innovations to Caesarea in the 20s B.C.E. and that they moved on to Paphos after 15 B.C.E. where their work is likewise evident. This chapter, then, identifies a possible specific mechanism of technological and cultural transmission.

It is well known that underwater excavations at Caesarea, and much terrestrial work

as well, have been the achievement of volunteer archaeologists, amateurs with other livelihoods who are guided by a handful of professional scholars. In his chapter, Alexander Flinder makes clear that the amateur status of these volunteers by no means diminishes the skill and erudition that many have brought to the excavation and interpretation of Caesarea, and indeed to the creation of underwater archaeology as a discipline. In his concluding memoir, Elisha Linder recalls that in Israel the new discipline was indeed just such a collaboration between amateurs and professionals, from the early 1960s creation of the Israel Undersea Exploration Society, and that critical in its evolution have been Haifa University's Center for Maritime Studies, the underwater excavations at Caesarea conducted by CAHEP and CCE, and, nearly from the beginning, the involvement and support of Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

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PART I

ANCIENT HARBORS: GEOMORPHOLOGICAL CHALLENGE AND TECHNOLOGICAL RESPONSE

1

Caesarea: Unique Evidence for Faulting Patterns and Sea Level Fluctuations in the Late Holocene

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Pottery fragments embedded in sand dunes south of the Crusader wall in Caesarea (fig. 1) have become a *cause célèbre* that led to one of the fiercest polemics in the community of geologists in Israel. Oysters that had clung to the pottery had suggested that the sherds had been submerged in a marine environment. Therefore it was presumed that the Caesarea area was submerged in post-Byzantine times and then reemerged to its previous elevation.[1] Because drastic and abrupt global sea level variations of more than 15 m. in the last 1,500 years did not take place, a faulting mechanism comprising subsidence, drag, and rebound was suggested. Similar evidence for subsidence and reemergence that was encountered in Akhziv, in northern Israel, further embellished the argumentation for intensive up and down faulting during historic times in the coastal plain of the southern Levant.[2] On the other hand, arguments for neotectonic stability in the coastal plain of Israel that explained the occurrence of the pottery as artifact could not credibly account for the submergence of the Herodian moles in Caesarea, and consider them *in situ* features. Thus the determination of historic sea levels and the reconstruction of the neotectonic regime in Caesarea became a linchpin in every geomorphological interpretation of the coastal Levant.

The measurement of absolute, *ergo* global, sea level variations is critical in the reconstruction of past climatic variations because of the subtle quantitative balance between glaciers and the sea. The growth of glaciers, in colder global climates, draws water from the sea and causes the sea level to plunge. Vice versa, warmer climates melt some of the glaciers and lead to rising global sea level. These global variations of sea level are also known as eustatic variations. The actual measurement of eustatic sea level variations is complicated, however, because the indications for such changes could also result from local or regional geological offsets of the coastal zone known as isostatic sea level changes or neotectonic activity. In principle, sea level variation that was mea-

[1] D. Neev, G. Almagor, A. Arad, A. Ginzburg, and J. K. Hall, "The Geology of the Southeastern Mediterranean Sea," *Geological Survey of Israel Bulletin* 68 (1976), 1–51; D. Neev, N. Bakler, and K. O. Emery, *Mediterranean Coasts of Israel and Sinai* (New York, 1987), 93–109.

[2] Z. Lewy, D. Neev, and M. W. Prausnitz, "Late Holocene Tectonic Movements at Akhziv, Mediterranean Coastline of Northern Israel," *Quaternary Research* 25 (1986), 177–88.

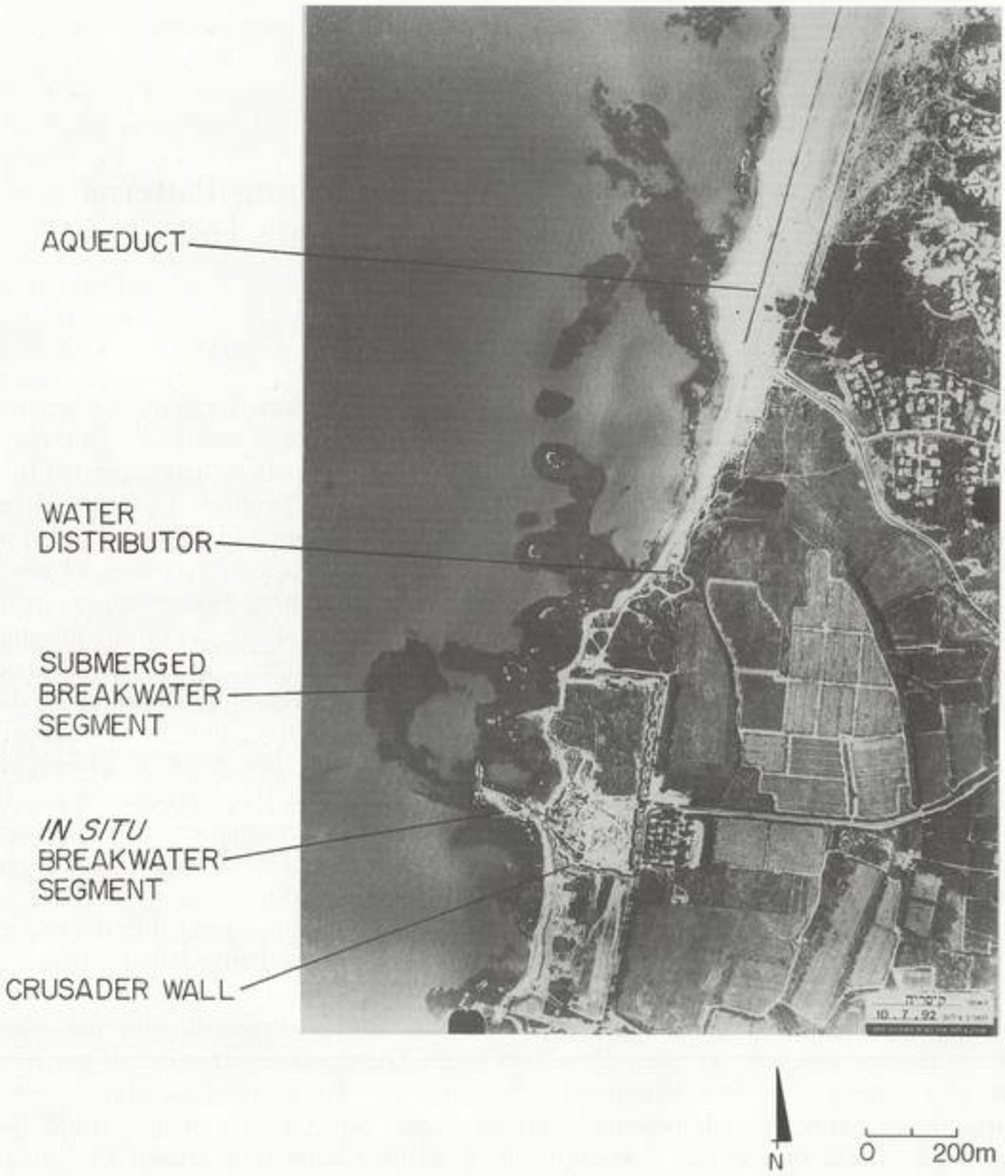

Figure 1. Aerial photograph of Caesarea and its outskirts on land and sea. The general layout of the breakwaters can be readily seen, although most of their lengths are now submerged. Only the sections close to the present coastline seem to remain at their original level. The rectangular pattern of the Crusader wall is readily discernible. The arrow shows the southern edge of the high aqueduct, extending south along the coast to the place where its destruction by wave erosion can be seen. Courtesy Ofek Ltd.

sured in many places should indicate a eustatic variation, but, as Emery et al. have shown, this is no mean feat.[3] Emery et al. compiled measurements of numerous tide gauges in various sites around the Mediterranean Sea and discovered that whereas some sites show a drop in sea level, others indicate a rise, and others still suggest stability. Because neotectonic processes are abundant, and their sense of offset is variable, the determination of eustatic (i.e., absolute and global) sea level change is very difficult to prove and to verify.

In view of these methodological complexities, Caesarea allows one to use a multidisciplinary approach for investigating sea level variations and patterns of neotectonic activity during the last two thousand years. The juxtaposition and congruence of abundant and well-dated coastal archaeological relicts, and low tidal range, were merged with detailed geophysical and geodetic data to designate Caesarea as a scientifically unique site. Multidisciplinary studies in Caesarea indicate apparently equivocal geologic information that bears paleoclimatic significance. Some archaeological evidence suggests that the coastal plain there has been geologically stable since the Roman period, whereas other discoveries indicate that the shallow continental shelf has subsided during that time span. If the sea level during Roman times was similar to the present one, it is conceivable that the weather of the two periods was comparable as well. This study presents the results of geophysical surveys at sea and geodetic measurements on land. The ambiguity and equivocality of the archaeological data regarding the geological regime seem apparent, but this study attempts to prove that the conflicting evidence was derived from the occurrence of a series of coast-parallel geological faults at the shallow continental shelf off Caesarea. Neotectonic activity along these faults during post-Herodian times led to the subsidence of their western flank, whereas their eastern flank remained stable. That stability prevailed at least since the construction of Caesarea, so that the sea level there did not change during the last two thousand years. The stability of the coastal zone, merged with the low tidal range of the eastern Mediterranean, with abundant archaeological evidence for ancient sea levels, and with geophysical findings, suggests that the Herodian port of Caesarea could serve as a global benchmark of sea level variations.

The Geological Layout of the Coastal Zone of Caesarea

The coastal zone of the southern Levant is built primarily of alternating series of late Pleistocene sandstones and loams. The sandstones comprise quartz grains, biogenic fragments, and calcareous matrix. The quartz originates from the sandy sediment transport of the Nile River; it is carried northeastward by the longshore current and redeposited along the coasts of Sinai and Israel. The littoral sand has been brought onshore by waves and wind in many places, and its accumulations built a series of

[3] K. O. Emery, D. Aubrey, and V. Goldsmith, "Coastal Neotectonics of the Mediterranean from Tide-Gauge Records," *Marine Geology* 81 (1988), 41–52.

coastal and inland dunes. Calcareous sandy material, which was dissolved by and redeposited from the rainwater percolating in the dune, provided the matrix that cemented the unconsolidated sand into eolianite, commonly known as kurkar. Consequently the coastal sand dunes turned into ridges of calcareous sandstone that, in many places, trends parallel to the coastline and in some localities builds the coastal cliffs. Because this system of sedimentary transport was active throughout the Quaternary, it shifted up and down the coastal zone, from the foothills to the shelf break, concurrently with the Pleistocene sea level variations.[4] Caesarea and its harbor were built on such a sandstone ridge along the shore. The proximal parts of the moles were also founded on the sandstone, but the distal sections of the breakwaters were constructed on unconsolidated sediment that fills the offshore trough.

Two factors hamper the reconstruction of the paleogeography of Caesarea to its state prior to Herodian times. First and foremost is intensive stone quarrying, which flattened the tops of many hills in a manner similar to natural wave abrasion. The second masking factor is the calcarenitic beachrock, another type of late Quaternary calcareous sandstone that abounds in the coastal zone. Like the fossil dunes, the beachrock comprises local sand grains – mostly quartz and partly calcareous – cemented together by calcareous matrix. That matrix, however, was deposited from seawater, either due to local evaporation or as an outcome of biogenic activity. In places where the calcarenite was deposited on the eolianite, the distinction between them requires sophisticated determinations.

Numerous linear escarpments along the seafloor were discerned on the continental margin of the southern Levant, offsetting the uppermost sediments and indicating neotectonically active faults. Geophysical surveys encountered abundant evidence to associate the marine cliffs and the offset sediment with faults that displace the underlying seismic reflectors along the continental slope.[5] The faults were grouped by their orientation into two main series, trending NW-SE and NNE-SSW. The abundant faults are the NNE-SSW trending, slope-parallel normal faults, which downthrow their western, seaward flank. These faults are associated tectonically with the subsidence of the SE Mediterranean basin.[6] On the other hand, Garfunkel et al. attributed the evidence of recent offset along the continental slope to slumping, and suggested that the conti-

[4] A. Horowitz, *The Quaternary of Israel* (New York, 1979), 84–108; G. Almagor and J. K. Hall, "Morphology of the Continental Margin off North Central Israel," *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 32 (1983), 75–82; Y. Mart and D. F. Belknap, "Origin of Late Pleistocene Submerged Marine Terrace on the Outer Continental Shelf, Northern Israel," *Geo-Marine Letters* 11 (1991), 66–70.

[5] Neev et al., "Geology," 1–51; Z. Ben-Avraham, "The Structure and Tectonic Setting of the Levant Continental Margin, Eastern Mediterranean," *Tectonophysics* 146 (1978), 313–31; Y. Mart, "Quaternary Tectonic Patterns along the Continental Margin of the Southeastern Mediterranean," *Marine Geology* 49 (1982), 327–44.

[6] D. J. Stanley, "Post-Miocene Depositional Patterns and Structural Displacement in the Mediterranean," in *The Ocean Basins and Margins*, vol. 4-A, ed. A. E. M. Nairn, W. H. Kanes, and F. G. Stehli (New York, 1977), 77–149.

nental margin of central Israel is neotectonically stable.[7] Faults and neotectonic activity were reported from the proximal continental shelf as well, where Neev et al. showed three coast-parallel faults off Caesarea, and attributed the subsidence of the moles to neotectonic displacement along these faults.[8]

The coastal zone of the southern Levant is commonly considered to be an area of marginal neotectonic activity and low seismic risk.[9] Indeed, the region did not suffer a destructive tremor since the initiation of its modern resettlement nearly 150 years ago. However, historical records for more than two thousand years indicate that the coastal cities of the southern Levant were repeatedly damaged by earthquakes,[10] with an average regional recurrence periodicity of approximately 350 years.[11] The last catastrophic earthquake occurred in the coastal plain of Israel in 1752 (see appendix below). Historic reports of neotectonic activity along the coast of the southern Levant are mentioned in contemporary documents, which are evidently biased and probably exaggerated. Therefore the seismological evidence that can be derived from historic documents and texts is subjective, based on scarce geological data, and unavoidably ambiguous in its interpretation. Nevertheless, because this is the only source of eyewitness reports, it is invaluable (see appendix). It should also be noted that, although most of the seismic activity in the Levant is associated with the Dead Sea rift, some historical records of certain earthquake destruction show that the hardest-hit communities in the Levant were those along the Mediterranean coast.[12] These latter records suggest that some of the epicenters were either along the coastal plain or in the southeast Mediterranean continental margin. Furthermore, offshore earthquakes commonly trigger tsunamis, or tidal waves, that could devastate coastal communities, and indeed most of the coastal cities of the Levant had been hit by tsunamis (see appendix). Tsunamis travel well across the seas, and some tidal waves that hit the coasts of the Levant could have originated off Anatolia or Greece. However, a local source for tsunamis should not be dismissed unconditionally, because it corresponds with abun-

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[7] Z. Garfunkel, A. Arad, and G. Almagor, "The Palmahim Disturbance and Its Regional Setting," *Geological Survey of Israel Bulletin* 72 (1979), 1–56.

[8] D. Neev, N. Bakler, S. Moshkovitz, A. Kaufman, M. Magaritz, and R. Gofna, "Recent Faulting along the Mediterranean Coast of Israel," *Nature* 245 (1973), 254–56.

[9] E. Arie and N. Rabinowitz, "Probabilistic Assessment of Earthquake Hazard in Israel," *Tectonophysics* 167 (1989), 223–33.

[10] D. H. K. Kallner-Amiran, "A Revised Earthquake-Catalogue of Palestine," *IEJ* 1 (1950), 223–46; A. Ben-Menahem, A. Nur, and M. Vered, "Tectonics, Seismicity and Structure of the Afro-Eurasian Junction: The Breaking of an Incoherent Plate," *Physics of the Earth and Planetary Interior* 12 (1976), 1–50; D.H.K. Amiran, E. Arieh, and T. Turcotte, "Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas: Macroseismic Observations since 100 B.C.E.,"*IEJ* 44 (1994), 261–305.

[11] J. P. Poirier, B. A. Romanowicz, and M. A. Taher, "Large Historical Earthquakes and Seismic Risk in Northwest Syria," *Nature* 285 (1980), 217–20.

[12] N. N. Ambraseys, "Data for the Investigation of the Seismic Sea-Waves in the Eastern Mediterranean," *Seismological Society of America Bulletin* 52 (1962), 895–913; Ben-Menahem et al., "Tectonics."

dant evidence for late Quaternary, earthquake-triggered slumps along the continental slope of Israel.[13]

Earthquakes take place along fault planes, and commonly leave behind superficial evidence of their occurrence, such as small escarpments or offset features along discernible lineaments. However, along the coastal plain of the southern Levant such features are difficult to assess because of abundant anthropogenic features. Bartov et al. studied the nature of linear features in rock in that region, and concluded that most of the linear geomorphological features in the region were probably artifacts, and that it was very difficult to differentiate between manmade and neotectonic linear features.[14] As the coastal plain of Israel has been cultivated for nearly ten thousand years, this conclusion is hardly surprising. On the other hand, the proximal continental shelf of the Levant is a reasonable area in which to look for evidence of neotectonic activity: it shares the same tectonic constraints as the coastal plain but has been less affected by anthropogenic modifications. Archaeological evidence, which is occasionally present in the shallow shelf, can provide information about the age and style of neotectonic deformation.[15] The erosional effects of waves and sediment transport cannot be ignored in this marine environment, but human interference there would be readily discernible.

High-resolution seismic reflection surveys were carried out in the proximal continental shelf off Caesarea, using a 3.5 kHz sub-bottom profiler and radio and GPS (global positioning system) navigation equipment. The seismic data encountered two ridges of Pleistocene sandstone, aligned along a N-S trend. One ridge was found at water depths of 25–40 m. and the other along the coastline, partly exposed and partly submerged. The proximal ridge has been intensively quarried by man and abraded by the sea, so that large segments of its exposed part form flat-top islets barely reaching sea level. Similar features were not detected in the distal ridge, which is distinguished by a rounded hill of rocky outcrops. The sandstone ridges are transected by faults in numerous locations, and the displacement along most of the faults downthrows the western block. Conspicuous is a series of N-S trending faults that cut across the proximal ridge, and apparently control the morphological transition from land to sea. The throw along the faults, measured along displaced reflectors attributed to the sandstone, is 1–3 m., and larger offsets were measured in the distal ridge. The displacements take place along straight linear lineaments that can be traced along hundreds of meters. This rectilinear orientation of the displacement patterns, and the offset of seismic reflectors attributed to rock strata, suggest that the displacement phenomena are faults and not slumps.

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[13] G. Almagor and Z. Garfunkel, "Submarine Slumping in the Continental Margin of Israel and Northern Sinai," *American Association of Petroleum Geologists Bulletin* 63 (1979), 324–40.

[14] Y. Bartov, Y. Mimran, and I. Karcz, "Lineaments in the Coastal Plain of Israel," Geological Survey of Israel, Report MM/4/76 (1976), 1–14.

[15] See, e.g., A. Raban, "Recent Maritime Archaeological Research in Israel," *International Journal for Nautical Underwater Exploration* 12 (1983), 229–51.

Archaeological Evidence

Ancient harbors in the eastern Mediterranean are excellent sites for measuring late Holocene land upheavals, neotectonic displacements, and eustatic sea level variations because the tidal ranges in that region are less than ±30 cm., and port installations can be archaeologically dated very accurately. Relicts of ancient breakwaters, docks, and quays provide well-dated evidence for the contemporary sea level everywhere, but in the eastern Mediterranean their usefulness as markers of historic sea levels is outstanding.[16] Caesarea is a remarkable site at which to measure historic sea level fluctuations because of its vast and sophisticated harbor complex. The harbor was operational almost continuously from the Herodian until the Early Byzantine period (first–fourth centuries C.E.), and it was maintained and repaired repeatedly until the Islamic period, in the eighth century. Thereafter the harbor was used intermittently for another five centuries until the end of the Crusader period. Many documents and relicts regarding the city and its harbor throughout these thirteen centuries still exist, and the layout of the ancient construction has been deciphered by modern archaeologists and historians such as Hohlfelder and Oleson,[17] Raban,[18] Oleson et al.,[19] and Hohlfelder.[20]

Caesarea Maritima, one of the largest and most elaborate harbors of the Roman world, was founded by King Herod on the rocky shore of the eroded ridge of late Pleistocene calcareous sandstone. Two large breakwaters were constructed, extending seaward from the coastal ridge. The breakwaters provided a safe anchorage and areas for docks and warehouses that encompassed more than 20 hectares (ca. 50 acres). The southern breakwater extended more than 300 m. to the west, then turned north for about 500 m. The enclosing arm, the northern breakwater, extended westward perpendicular to the coast for nearly 300 m. (fig. 2). Although Caesarea was an active urban center for thirteen centuries, the historical records indicate that the harbor did not maintain its nautical prominence continuously,[21] and necessary repairs were

[16] N. C. Flemming, A. Raban, and C. Goetschel, "Tectonic and Eustatic Changes on the Mediterranean Coast of Israel in the Last 9000 Years," in *Progress in Underwater Science*, ed. J. C. Gamble and R. A. Yorke (London, 1978), 33–93.

[17] R. L. Hohlfelder and J. P. Oleson, "Sebastos, the Harbor Complex of Caesarea Maritima, Israel: The Preliminary Report of the 1978 Underwater Exploration," in *Oceanography: The Past*, ed. M. Sears and D. Merriman (New York, 1980), 765–79.

[18] Raban, "Recent Research," 229–51; idem, "Sebastos, the Royal Harbor at Caesarea Maritima: A Short-lived Giant," *IJNA* 21 (1992), 111–24.

[19] J. P. Oleson, R. L. Hohlfelder, A. Raban, and R. L. Vann, "The Caesarea Ancient Harbor Excavation Project (C.A.H.E.P): Preliminary Report on the 1980–1983 Seasons," *JFA* 11 (1984), 281–305.

[20] R. L. Hohlfelder, "Procopius' *De aedificiis* 1.11.18–20: Caesarea Maritima and the Building of Harbors in Late Antiquity," in *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives*, ed. I. Malkin and R. L. Hohlfelder (London, 1988), 54–62.

[21] Raban, "Sebastos."

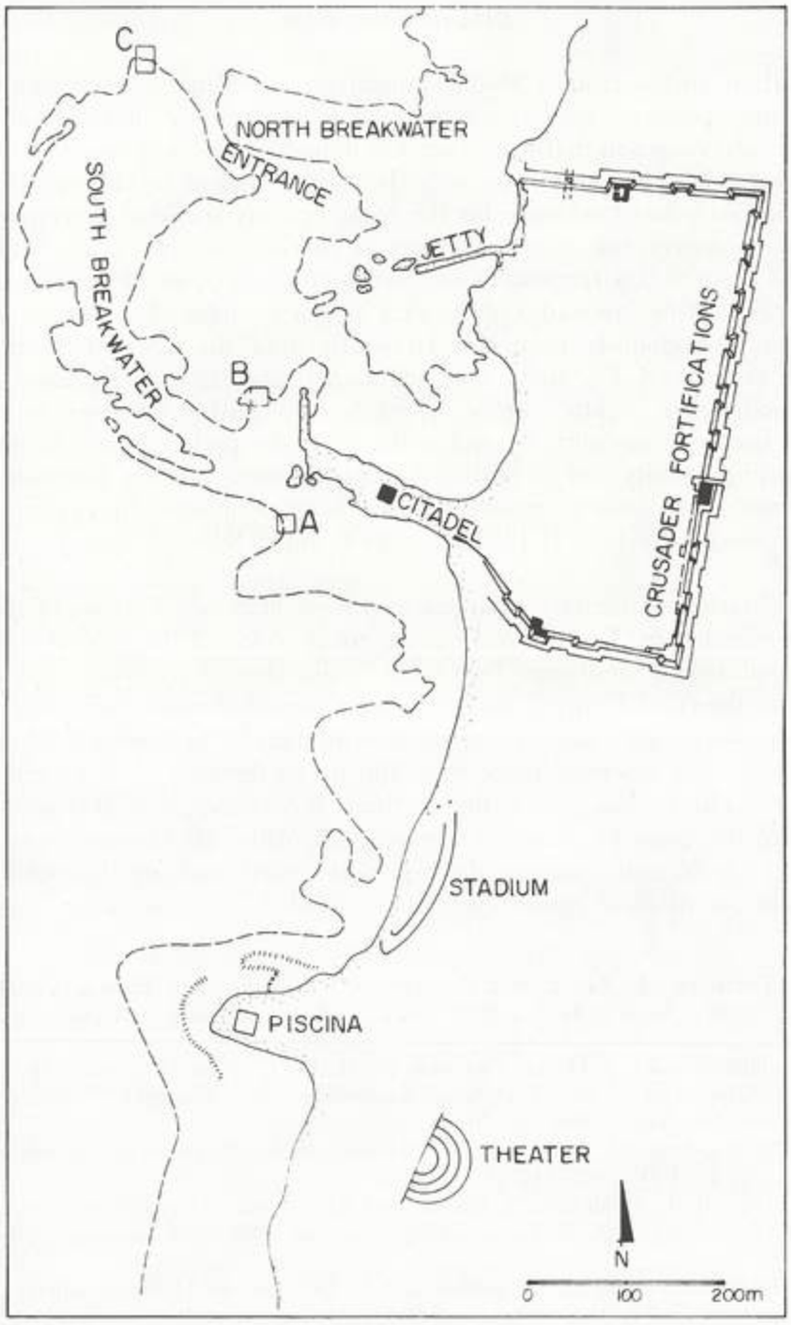

Figure 2. General map of Caesarea and its harbor. The submerged parts are shown by dashed lines. Note the location of the sluice-gate (A), the submerged landing platform (B), the eastern entrance tower (C), as well as the piscina and the stadium (hippodrome?).

delayed for many years.[22] It is known that the harbor was hazardous to ships in the Crusader period, and the city was served by boats that ran between the damaged port and ships that stood at anchor in the nearby open sea.[23]

The archaeological findings at Caesarea present apparently conflicting information, upon which the coastal paleogeography from 2,000 to 750 years ago could be reconstructed. Some evidence suggests a period of lasting geological stability and invariable sea level from Herodian times to the present,[24] for example, the large rectangular pond (*piscina*) that was cut into the hard sandstone some 500 m. south of the southern mole. This pond could easily be made operational today because its water circulation system is at the present sea level.[25] Similarly, a sluice channel, which was cut into the sandstone by Herodian engineers at the base of the southern breakwater, to generate wave-pump currents to flush the harbor, is also located at the present sea level. However, it should be noted that all the findings that suggest structural and oceanographic stability are detected either on land or at water depths of less than 2 m.

In contrast to the archaeological evidence on land, which indicates structural stability and similarity of sea levels between the Roman period and the present, evidence from marine archaeological excavations in the Herodian harbor of Caesarea indicates subsidence of several meters. Submerged segments of the breakwaters, such as quays and platforms, presently in water depths of 5–8 m., were built at shallower depths.[26] A section of a loading platform on the southern breakwater was discovered northwest of the citadel at a depth of approximately 5 m. It seems that whereas the citadel and the adjacent mole were constructed on hard eolianite, the submerged platform was set on unconsolidated sediment.[27] Because its paved structure is clear evidence that it was originally a subaerial structure, the present submerged location of the platform suggests at least 5 m. of subsidence. Additional evidence for offshore subsidence was found near the entrance to the Herodian harbor. An intact segment of the original breakwater wall is preserved there in excellent condition, from its foundations to its paved top. The breakwater at this place is approximately 3 m. high, and presumably about an additional one m. of the structure extended above the water line.[28] At present the paved top of the breakwater is at a depth of 4 m., suggesting subsidence of approximately 5 m. It is conceivable that, concurrent with the political decline of Caesarea, the breakwaters deteriorated and were neglected for many years. Storm and earthquake damage may not have been repaired, and some of the ashlars might have been

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[22] Hohlfelder, "Procopius."

[23] R. Gertwagen, personal communication, 1991.

[24] E. Mazor, "On the Stability of the Mediterranean Coast of Israel since Roman Times: A Discussion," *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 23 (1974), 149–51.

[25] A. Flinder, "The Piscina at Caesarea: A Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 26 (1976), 77-80; Raban, *Site*, 243–93.

[26] Flemming et al., "Tectonic Changes"; Raban, "Recent Research"; idem, "Sebastos."

[27] Raban, *Site*, 293–97.

[28] Ibid., 279–86.

removed and reused, so the collapse and submergence of the breakwaters may not necessarily be conclusive evidence of geological subsidence.[29]

Geophysical Measurements

In order to reconcile the equivocal and apparently conflicting archaeological data, we conducted a series of detailed seismic reflection surveys on the shallow continental shelf off Caesarea, and carried out submarine observations. The surveys encountered two distinct types of marine terrains, rocky outcrops and unconsolidated sediment. The rocky outcrops form the two ridges of calcareous sandstone in the surveyed area. The sandstone had a clear signature in the seismic profiles, distinguished in its irregular patterns. The unconsolidated sediment comprises mostly sand, which was encountered mainly in the trough located between two ridges of rocky outcrops of the calcareous sandstone. Sand was also encountered in eroded embayments in the sandstone ridges. The seismic signature of the unconsolidated sand shows weak bedding patterns. In some places the sand is underlain by a seismic reflector characterized by strong and smooth seismic stratification. We presume that this reflector represents a loam layer. The loam commonly forms lenses in the seismic profile, which could represent the fill of a preexisting erosional channel. In several places where the present seafloor is inclined, the top of the loam is inclined as well. If the loam indeed occurs in channels, the tilt of its upper horizon is post-depositional.

Being well aware that the linear western edge of the coastal eolianite ridge could be faulted, the survey repeatedly traversed the submerged western edge of that ridge looking for structural offsets of the seismic reflections of the rocky layer at the transition zone between the ridge and the trough. We discovered a series of faults at the western edge of the coastal eolianite ridge trending approximately N-S, nearly parallel to the general orientation of the coastline. The faults downthrow their western flank, and apparently control the western edge of the coastal ridge (fig. 3). The faults seem to offset the seismic reflectors attributed to the sandstone by 1–3 m., and they coincide with small escarpments on the seafloor, also trending N-S, that truncate the coastal eolianite ridge. The escarpments and the faulted offsets of the seismic reflectors were found north and south of the Herodian breakwaters, and their extrapolated extensions transect these (fig. 4). Large boulders, scattered along the course of the breakwaters, dispersed the seismic signal, so that the records obtained there are not coherent, but submarine observations of the eolianite escarpments support the interpretation that the sandstone ridge is faulted.[30] The continuous linearity of the trace of the fault is not ubiquitous, and it seems that the neotectonic regime of the coast of Caesarea could be

[29] Hohlfelder, "Procopius."

[30] D. Neev, E. Shachnai, J. K. Hall, N. Bakler, and Z. Ben-Avraham, "The Young (post Lower Pliocene) Geological History of the Caesarea Structure," *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 27 (1978), 43–64; Neev et al., *Mediterranean Coasts*, 52–53; Raban, "Recent Research."

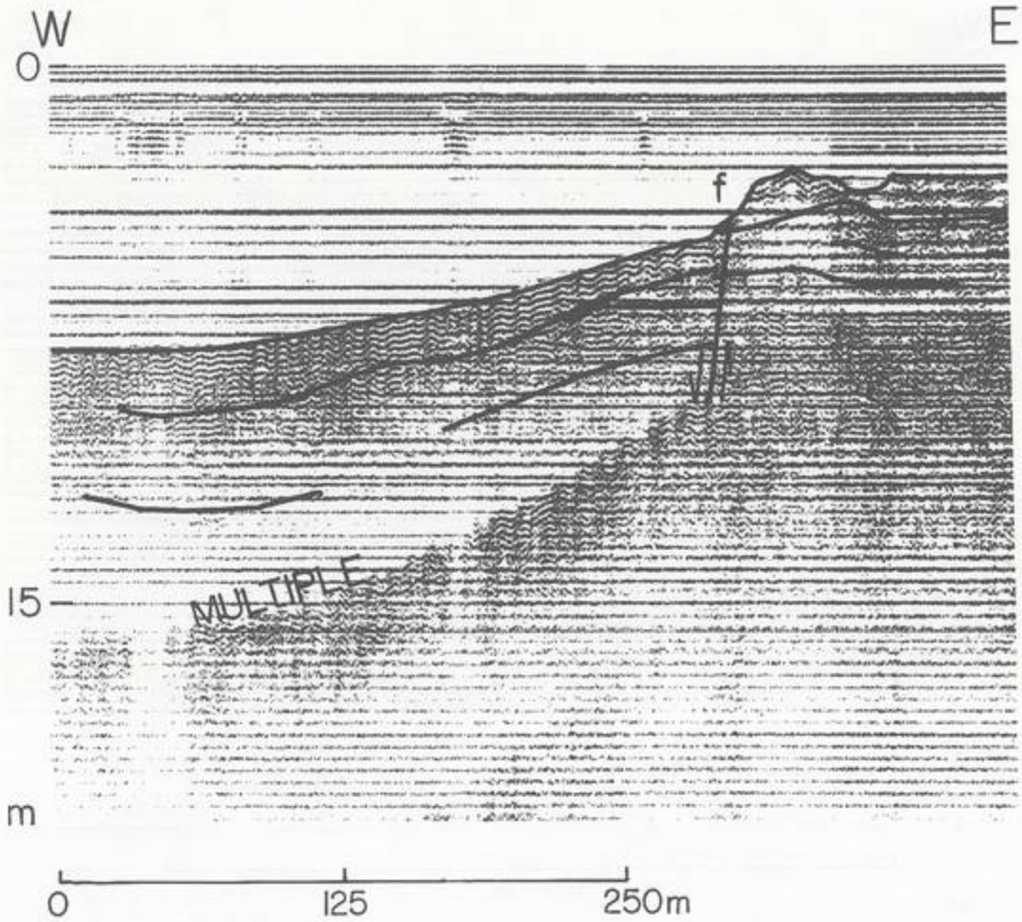

Figure 3. Seismic reflection profiles across faults in the shallow continental shelf at Caesarea, north (a) and south (b) of the Herodian harbor. The faults show that the western block was downthrown by approximately 1–2 m. The northern profile was surveyed west of the eroded aqueduct, and the southern profile west of the stadium.

shaped by a series of parallel faults, each less than 2 km. long. A fault of that length could accommodate a throw of 1–3 m. It is inferred that these faults were active after the construction of the harbor of Caesarea, and they caused the subsidence of the western extension of the moles.

The coast-parallel faults, which transect the breakwaters and caused their subsidence, are not the only faults off Caesarea. A N-S trending fault in the trough, west of the ridge and the breakwaters, shows displacements of 4–6 m. (fig. 5). Furthermore, other faults that transect the distal sandstone ridge are also associated with escarpments at the seafloor, and they offset seismic reflectors of the eolianite as well. Thus the faults

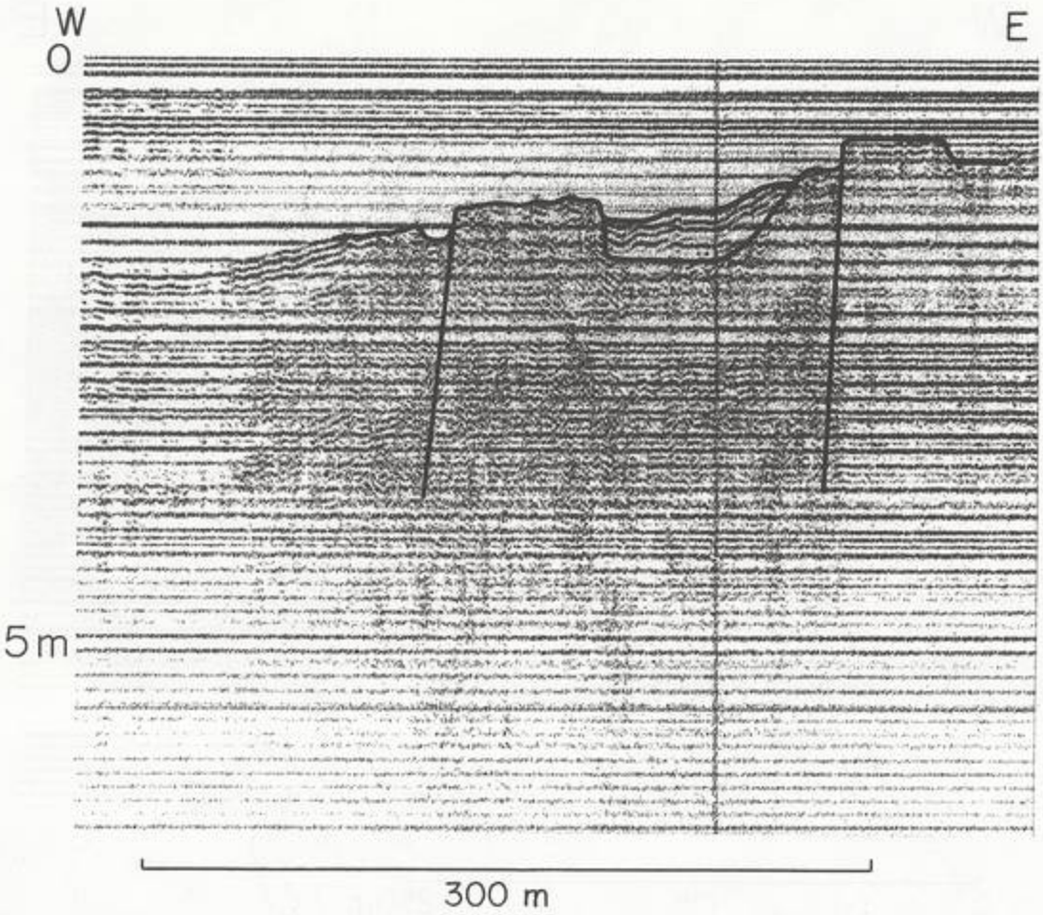

Figure 3b.

that offset the moles of Caesarea are not a unique feature but are part of a system of late Quaternary coast-parallel faults. Whereas evidence for recent faulted offsets on land is ambiguous,[31] there is ample evidence for late Quaternary tectonic activity off the shore of Caesarea.

Discussion: The Neotectonic Regime off Caesarea

One of the principal tectonic factors that shaped the continental margin of the southern Levant since the early Pliocene is the regional subsidence of the southeast Medi-

[31] Bartov et al., "Lineaments."

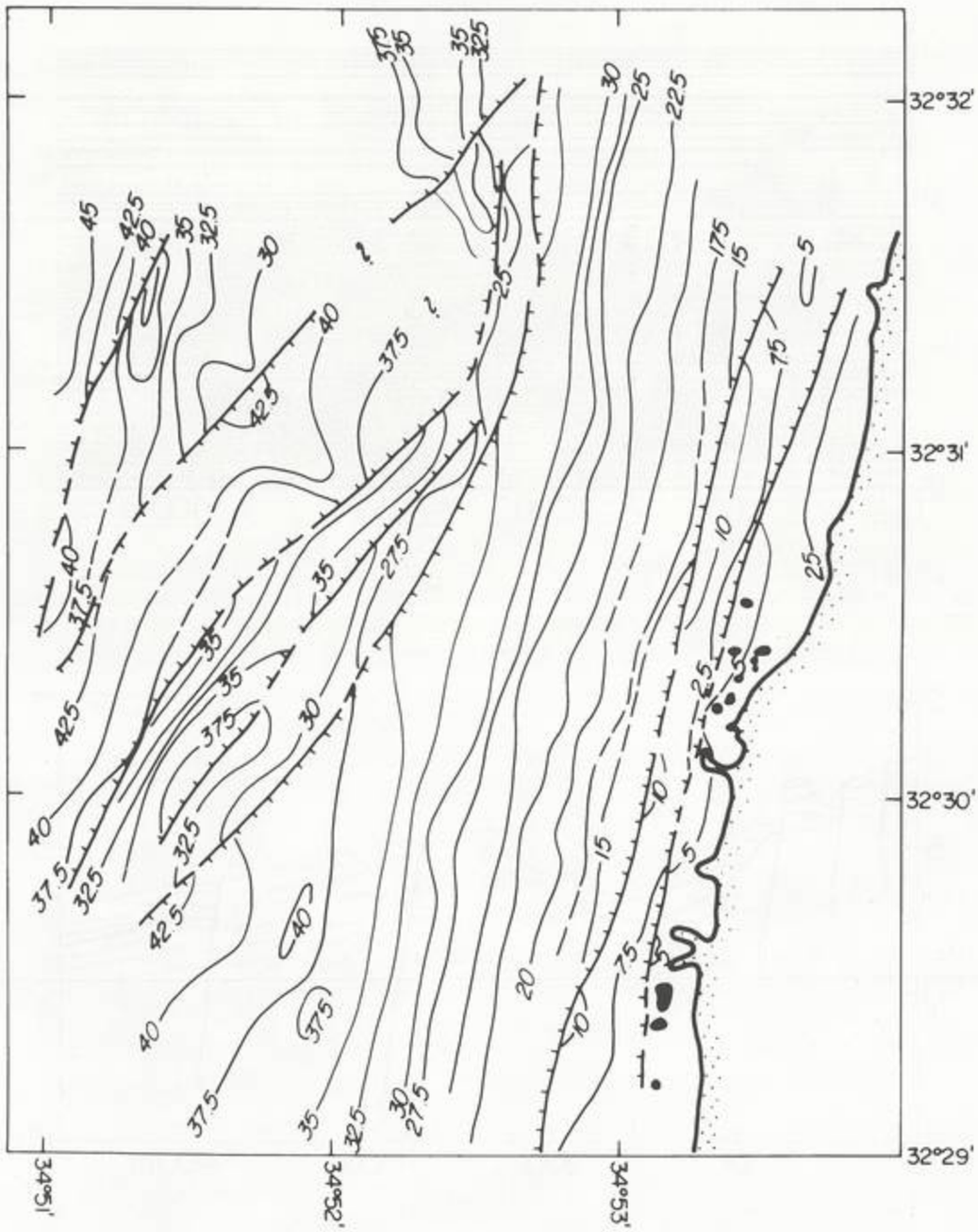

Figure 4. Structural contour map of the top of the sandstone layer in the proximal shelf off Caesarea showing two main trends of neotectonic faults toward NE-SW and N-S. The N-S trending faults are predominant close to the shore, and both systems are present in the distal sandstone outcrops.

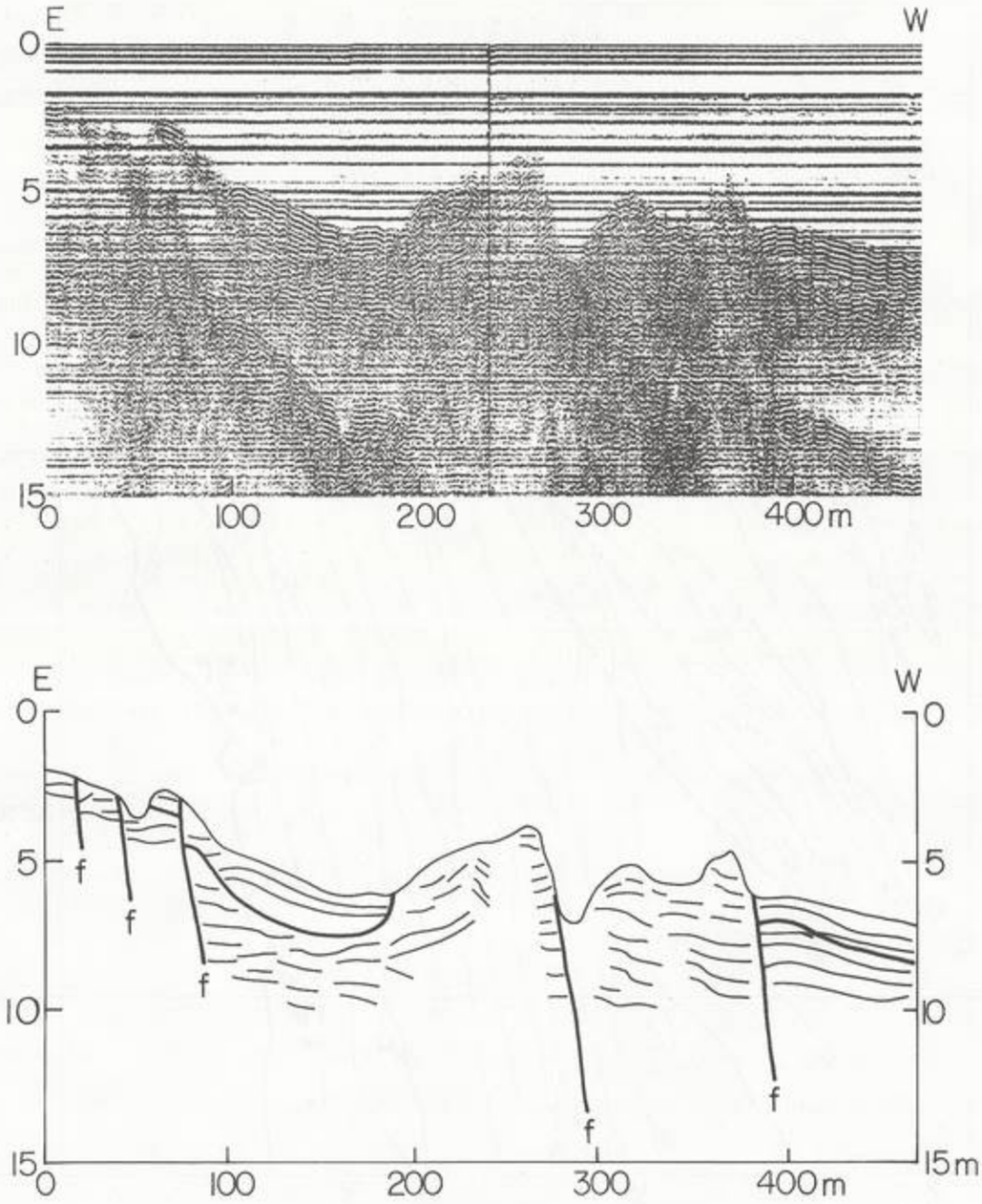

Figure 5. Seismic reflection profile (top) and its interpretation (bottom) show that faults in the sandstone ridge off Caesarea are numerous. The faults displace the sandstone layers and commonly downthrow their western flank.

terranean basin.[32] This process is associated with a regional fault system that trends NNE-SSW along the continental shelf and slope, and conforms with the eastern edge of the southeast Mediterranean basin.[33] The tectonic effects of the Mediterranean basinal subsidence[34] are indicated by the numerous normal faults along the continental margin, which downthrow their western, seaward flank and cause numerous slumps.[35] Many of the faults deform the uppermost sediment at the seafloor, implying their late Quaternary age, but their age cannot be determined more precisely than that.

Geological and archaeological data have led to conflicting interpretations of the neotectonic regime and the reconstruction of sea level in the region of Caesarea during the last two thousand years. Neev et al. first reported the occurrence of three coast-parallel faults in the proximal offshore zone near Caesarea[36] and subsequently estimated a vertical displacement of 6 m. across the fault that transects the Herodian breakwaters.[37] Evidence for neotectonic activity in Caesarea was also reported by Raban, who described subsidence of 4–6 m. of the western segments of the Herodian breakwaters.[38] Raban further suggested that the moles were already partly submerged in the second century C.E.[39] Numerous shipwrecks that were discovered on the submerged ruins of the southern breakwater are evidence that the safe Herodian haven of the first century C.E. became a poorly protected anchorage in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

The tectonic regime along the Mediterranean shore of Israel is controversial. The dispute focuses around two main topics: whether the shore is determined by faults or not, and what the rate of offset is along these ambiguous coastal faults in the late Quaternary. Neev et al. and Lewy et al. suggested that sections of the coastal plain of Israel were submerged in historic times and cited evidence from numerous sites, including Caesarea, to corroborate their claim.[40] Others argued for prolonged neotectonic stability along the coast. Nir and Eldar showed that little variation in groundwater level in ancient wells in the coastal plain occurred in historic times, and inferred that no significant tectonic offsets have affected the coastal plain during the last three

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[32] Stanley, "Post-Miocene Depositional Patterns."

[33] Neev et al., "Geology"; Mart, "Tectonic Regime."

[34] Y. Mart, "Superpositional Tectonic Patterns along the Continental Margin of the Southeastern Mediterranean: A Review," *Tectonophysics* 140 (1987), 213–32.

[35] Almagor and Garfunkel, "Submarine Slumping."

[36] Neev et al. "Recent Faulting."

[37] Neev et al., "Geological History"; D. Neev, E. Shachnai, J. K. Hall, N. Bakler, and Z. Ben-Avraham, "The Young (post Lower Pliocene) Geological History of the Caesarea Structure: Reply," *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 27 (1978), 146–49; Neev et al., *Mediterranean Coasts.*

[38] Raban, "Recent Research."

[39] Raban, "Sebastos."

[40] Neev et al., "Geological History"; Neev et al., *Mediterranean Coasts;* Lewy et al., "Tectonic Movements."

thousand years.[41] Mazor and Ronen suggested that the evidence for major structural displacements in historic times is either misinterpreted and unreliable, or is manmade and should be considered an artifact.[42] Mazor presumed that not only have the land archaeological relicts in Caesarea maintained their original levels, but that the submerged sections of the breakwaters were originally built at their present depths as well. He concluded that structures such as the *piscina* or the flushing channels serve as evidence for neotectonic stability in Caesarea.[43]

Convincing evidence of the neotectonic stability of the coastal plain of Caesarea is provided by the high aqueduct, which was an important component of the city's water supply system.[44] The high aqueduct is approximately 9 km. long and runs from the southern edge of Mount Carmel westward across the coastal plain, then south along the coast (fig. 6). The high aqueduct comprises two parallel and joined-together raised water channels, built on two series of columns and vaults. The left part of the aqueduct is dated to the Herodian period; the right part of the aqueduct was built in 130–140 C.E. by the legions of the emperor Hadrian. The subsequent aqueduct section matched precisely the design of its predecessor, column for column and vault for vault, and was supported against the older structure. In spite of its age and repeated repairs, the present average gradient of the aqueduct system, from the eastern side of the coastal plain to the water distribution system at the city walls (fig. 6), is nearly 0.4 percent. The gradient is compatible with that recommended by Vitruvius in the first century B.C.E. and indicates that the slope of the aqueduct remained unchanged since its construction.[45] The precision of the geodetic measurement is not better than ±0.25 m. due to difficulties in determining the level of the ancient plaster in places. The survey also avoided locations where the aqueduct transects the marshes, and subsidence was readily discernible. The gradient measurements verified previous observations that significant changes in the elevation of the water source of the Caesarea coast did not occur in the last two thousand years.[46]

The only segment of the high aqueduct that is destroyed and eroded is located nearly 750 m. north of the Crusader wall, where severe wave erosion damaged and ruined the vaulted structure. The common explanation was that the erosion of that 400 m.-long segment occurred as a result of the construction of the Herodian harbor.

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[41] Y. Nir and I. Eldar, "Ancient Wells and Their Geoarchaeological Significance in Detecting Tectonics of the Israel Mediterranean Coastline Region," *Geology* 15 (1987), 3–6.

[42] Mazor, "Stability"; A. Ronen, "The Origin of the Raised Pelecypod Beds along the Mediterranean Coast of Israel," *Paleorient* 6 (1980), 165–72.

[43] Mazor, "Stability."

[44] Oleson et al., "Preliminary Report on the 1980–1983 Seasons."

[45] Y. Porath, "Pipelines of the Caesarea Water Supply System" [Hebrew, with Eng. abstract], *'Atiqot* 10 (1990), 101–10.

[46] A. Reifenberg, "Caesarea: A Study in the Decline of a Town," *IEJ* 1 (1950), 20–32; Raban, *Site*.

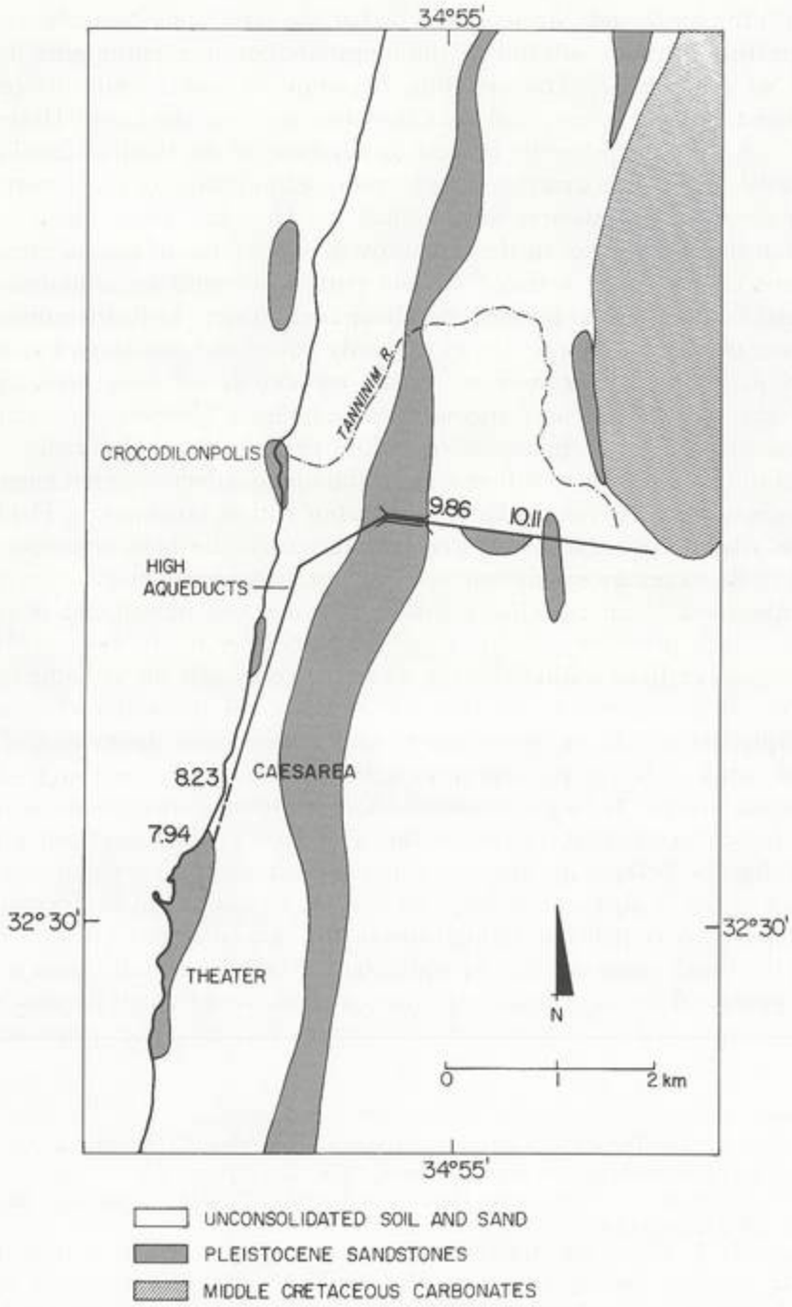

Figure 6. Generalized geological map of the coastal plain of Caesarea and southern Mount Carmel, and of the high aqueducts of Caesarea. Numbers along the aqueduct mark the elevations of the base of the water channel of the Herodian aqueduct. These elevations slope gently at an average gradient of ±0.4, as suggested by Vitruvius.

Reifenberg,[47] Inman,[48] and Nir[49] suggested that the large moles interfered with the northward transport of littoral sand by the longshore currents, entrapping the coastal sand south of the harbor. The resulting depletion of sand north of the harbor enhanced coastal erosion there, and thus the aqueduct was damaged. However, this assumption fails to account for the immediate response of the sand accumulation patterns to coastal protruding structures, and to the second stage in the construction of the aqueduct system. Breakwaters smaller than the Herodian ones, which have been constructed in the Israeli coast in the last thirty-five years, led to coastal erosion within a few years of their construction.[50] Similar patterns of sand accumulation south of the moles and erosion to their north should have been evident in Roman times as well. However, had the engineering design of the early aqueduct been inefficient and environmentally wrong, and indications of coastal erosion should have been discernible after 120 years, would Hadrian's engineers have built an obviously and unquestionably doomed structure? The juxtaposition of the Herodian and Hadrianic aqueducts suggests that the erosional process that damaged both aqueducts was not triggered and initiated by the construction of the Herodian harbor and its breakwaters. Furthermore, the travelers Al-Muqqadasi and Al-Idrisi remarked that the high aqueduct was still functioning in the seventh century but was defunct in the ninth.[51]

The collapse of the high aqueduct north of Caesarea was indeed caused by coastal erosion, but it took place nearly eight hundred years after the harbor was built, and thus a process other than coastal erosion should have caused the aqueduct's demise. Our geodetic measurements found that the elevation of the water channel of the Herodian aqueduct is 8.23 m. above mean sea level north of the destroyed segment and 7.94 m. south of it (fig. 6), sloping at 0.36%, close to the gradient of the whole structure (again, within ±0.25 m. precision). A neotectonic displacement along a fault that might have transected the trend of the aqueducts could have been a plausible explanation for the belated destruction, but the unchanging Vitruvian slope of the aqueduct across the eroded section suggests that the structure was not destroyed by a major earthquake. A convincing, though speculative, explanation to this phenomenon is that two thousand years ago the coastal eolianite ridge was wider than at present, and thus it protected the aqueduct from wave erosion, even though parts of the ridge were probably quarried off. Only after the western section of the ridge was down-

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[47] Reifenberg, "Caesarea."

[48] D. L. Inman, "The Impact of Coastal Structures on Shorelines," *Coastal Zone '78 Symposium*, American Society of Coastal Engineers (San Francisco, 1978), 2265–72.

[49] Y. Nir, "The Destruction of the Roman High Level Aqueduct," in *Harbor Archaeology*, ed. A. Raban, BAR Int. Ser. 257 (Oxford, 1985), 185–94.

[50] Z. Carmel, D. L. Inman, and A. Golik, "Directional Wave Measurement at Haifa, Israel, and Sediment Transport along the Nile Littoral Cell," *Coastal Engineering* 9 (1985), 21–36; Y. Nir, "Sedimentological Aspects of the Israel and Sinai Mediterranean Coasts" [Hebrew], Geological Survey of Israel, Report GSI/39/88 (1989), 1–130.

[51] Cited in Reifenberg, "Caesarea."

faulted could the waves approach the aqueduct and erode its columns in the destroyed section. The reconstruction of the road pattern off Caesarea, suggesting that a major road ran west of the aqueduct during Roman times,[52] further substantiates this interpretation. Downfaulting of the western segment of the eolianite ridge in Caesarea, which led to the coastal erosion of the aqueduct, could be correlated to the earthquake that shook the coastal plain of the southern Levant in 672 C.E., soon after the Muslim conquest. The earthquake, which could have been caused by neotectonic displacement along the coastal fault of Caesarea, might have led to the submergence of the western section of the coastal calcareous sandstone ridge, and to the subsidence of the breakwaters. This conjectural explanation is somewhat supported by the historic reports that the 1261 earthquake caused the submergence of islands between Acre and Tripoli, so that subsidence of sandstone islands in the shallow continental shelf of the Levant would not be unique to Caesarea. Furthermore, a stadium (hippodrome?) was active in Roman times near the coast, not far from the royal palace (fig. 2). The stadium was damaged by the waves, probably in the early second century C.E., and it seems plausible that another earthquake hit the southern section off Caesarea and lowered the relicts of the sandstone ridge so that the waves could reach the coast. Raban encountered damage to the moles also from that time,[53] and co-occurrence with the earthquake of 130 C.E. (see appendix) might have been of structural significance.

The discrepancy between the amount of subsidence of the breakwaters of the Herodian harbor in Caesarea and the amount of the throw of the coastal faults, measured in the present survey, requires some elaboration. We identified the seismic reflector formed by the top of the sandstone layer, and measured its displacement along the faults. Displacements of 1–3 m. along the coastal faults were determined, compared with the subsidence of 4–6 m. of the archaeological relicts in the harbor. It is conceivable that the engineering failure in the harbor was triggered by the neotectonic offset, and augmented by the weight of the 1,100 m.-long breakwater system. The moles were approximately 12 m. wide and more than 4 m. high, and towers and storage facilities further increased the structural load on their foundations.[54] The foundations of the proximal part of the breakwaters were set on the calcareous sandstone, but further seaward they were founded on the unconsolidated sand in the inter-ridge trough. Assessing the combined effects of the prolonged structural load and the abrupt seismic concussion, it seems reasonable to presume that the excessive subsidence of the breakwaters was augmented by engineering-induced processes, such as differential compaction or solifluction.[55] It could be argued that the displacements in the shallow continental shelf off Caesarea are slumps,[56] in view of the numerous slumps along Israel's

[52] See the chapter by Israel Roll in this volume.
[53] Raban, "Sebastos."
[54] Raban, *Site.*
[55] P. Davis, "Preliminary Results of Fault Study, North Herodian Breakwater," unpublished report (1983), 1–8.
[56] D. Sivan, personal communication, 1994.

continental slope.[57] However, the faults off Caesarea are not restricted to the rock-sediment contact but commonly transect the rocky sandstone ridges. The gentle gradients of the terrain of the proximal shelf seems not to be most favorable for slumping, and the orientation of the faults on the continental shelf are very similar to the trend of the regional shelf-edge faulting system.[58] Thus we suggest that the seismic displacement of the sandstone series in coastal Caesarea occurred along the fault planes.

In spite of the neotectonic stability of the Caesarea coastal plain, the coastal land-sea transition there is controlled by coast-parallel faults, and the adjacent shallow continental shelf, as well as the western section of the coastal eolianite ridge, subsided as the result of neotectonic activity. That subsidence led to the demise of the Herodian moles, and enabled the waves to break closer to the shore and to erode the beach. Such processes could account for the damage not only to the high aqueduct but to the Herodian hippodrome as well.

Conclusions

Seismic reflection profiles in the shallow continental shelf present evidence of late Quaternary tectonic activity in the coastal zone of central Israel, which formed geological faults in the late Pleistocene calcareous sandstone. The present coastline in Caesarea is shaped by one of these faults, oriented approximately N-S. By merging the geophysical data with archaeological information, one may conclude that the subsidence of the Herodian breakwaters in Caesarea was triggered by displacements along the coastal fault, which was active in the last two thousand years, downthrowing its western flank. The high aqueducts that maintained their gentle gradient during that time span indicate further that the eastern flank of the coastal fault was not displaced. Consequently the flushing channels of the harbor and the present level of the *piscina* show that sea level two thousand years ago was similar to that of today.

Appendix

Historic Earthquakes and Tsunamis on the Southeastern Mediterranean Coast of the Levant

Efforts to estimate the damage, casualties, and magnitude of a natural disaster from surviving literary accounts should be attempted with great caution. Ancient writers commonly did not have specific data on the various catastrophes they reported, and often they used stock phrases and descriptions in their accounts of catastrophic events. In the absence of other information, however, such texts are useful, but should never be considered definitive, and archaeological data, when available, can provide more

[57] Almagor and Garfunkel, "Submarine Slumping."
[58] Mart, "Tectonic Regime."

reliable indicators. The following list, compiled from previous catalogues,[59] indicates the tremors that might have affected the coast of the southern Levant. The catalogue is restricted to possible southeastern Mediterranean epicenters, and earthquakes that affected the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea rift were not included. Excluded also are seismic events that affected Antioch, which, although not far from the Mediterranean coast of northern Syria, is located on the northern extension of the Dead Sea rift as well. The tectonic significance of damage attributed to tsunamis is even more ambiguous because the tidal waves could have originated either along the Levant margin or in the Anatolian or Hellenic margins.

Earthquakes in the Coastal Levant

19 C.E.	Destruction at Sidon
130	Strong earthquake in Palestine; Caesarea, Lydda, and Emmaus damaged
348	Destruction of Beirut
365	Earthquake casualties in Gaza, Nablus, and Jerusalem, destruction of Apollonia; tsunami damage associated with the 363 earthquake along the Dead Sea rift (?)
419	Earthquake destruction in Afek (Antipatris)
672	Strong earthquake in Ascalon, Gaza, and Ramle
1063	(July) Earthquake damage in Latakie, Tripoli, and Acre
1091	(17 Sept.) Many towers fell from the ramparts of coastal cities
1127	Destruction at Tyre
1170	(29 June) Disastrous earthquake damage and loss of life; Caesarea damaged; partial collapse of the walls of Tyre
1261	Damage along the coast of Lebanon; submergence of islands between Tripoli and Acre (date and exact location uncertain)
1752	Destructive earthquake along the coast of Syria and Palestine
1873	(14 Feb.) Tyre damaged
1898	(19 March) Haifa damaged
1903	(29/30 March) Earthquake felt in Gaza and Jaffa
1908	(28 Dec.) Earthquake in Alexandria; probable offshore epicenter
1940	(27 Jan.) Earthquake in Haifa
1951	(30 Jan.) Earthquake felt throughout Israel; epicenter probably off the coast of Tel Aviv. M (Richter scale) = 5.7?

[59] Kallner-Amiran, "Earthquake Catalogue"; Ambraseys, "Seismic Sea-Wave"; Ben-Menahem et al., "Tectonics"; Poirier et al., "Historical Earthquakes"; K. W. Russell, "The Earthquake of May 19 A.D. 363," *BASOR* 260 (1985), 47–64; *Seismological Bulletin 1985: Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas during the Year 1984,* Institute for Petroleum Research and Geophysics, Seismological Division, no. 3 (Holon, Israel, 1985), 1–191; R. Armijo, A. Deschamps, and J. P. Poirier, *Carte seismotectonique de l'Europe et du bassin méditerranéen,* Institut de Physique du Globe (Paris, 1986), 1–61 and map; Amiran et al., "Earthquakes."

1955	(12 Sept.) Off the coast of Alexandria. M = 6.1
1957	(18 July) Off the coast of Sidon; felt from Jaffa to Tripoli
1984	(24 Aug.) Felt in many places in northwestern Israel; epicenter 20 km. SE of Haifa M = 5.1

Tsunamis in the Coastal Levant

590 B.C.E.	Destruction at Tyre; tsunami
525 B.C.E.	Destruction at Tyre and Sidon; tsunami
140 B.C.E.	Damage in Acre and Tyre; partial subsidence of Tyre island; tsunami (?)
92 B.C.E.	Damage to coastal cities in Egypt, Israel, Syria, and Cyprus by tsunamis
20–26 B.C.E.	Flooding at Pelusium; submarine epicenter?
115 C.E.	(13 Dec.) Destruction of Antioch; Caesarea and Yavne hit by a tsunami
306	Destruction at Tyre and Sidon; tsunami
502	Destruction at Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut; damage from tsunamis in Lebanon and northern Palestine
542	Damage in Tripoli, Byblos, and Beirut; sea receded by 2 miles (?)
551	(9 July) A great tsunami hit the coast from Tripoli to Caesarea; destruction of Beirut; sea receded for 2 miles
746	(18 Jan.) Tsunami hit the Levant coast
881	Tsunami hit Acre
1032	Tsunami at Gaza and Ascalon
1034	(5 Jan.) Acre hit by tsunami; sea receded and returned after an hour (according to Yahya of Antioch); destruction in Ramle
1068	(18 March) Tsunami hit Ashdod and Yavne on the southern coast of Israel; sea receded and returned violently; destruction in Ramle
1114	Widespread tsunami damage to coastal cities
1303	(8 Aug.) Damage in Egyptian, Palestinian, and Syrian coastal cities; tsunami hit Alexandria, Gaza, and Acre; probable eastern Mediterranean source
1402	Tsunami hit the Lebanese coast; destruction at Acre and Tyre; sea receded a mile (?) and then invaded the land
1496	Tsunami at Jaffa; sea receded for the distance "of a day's walk"; damage in Jaffa, Ramle, and Gaza, as well as Jerusalem
1546	Tsunami in Jaffa; date uncertain
1759	(30 Oct.) Damage in Beirut; unconfirmed report of 2.5 m. tsunami in Acre; probable eastern Mediterranean epicenter
1856	(12 Oct.) Tsunami at Haifa, probably due to an earthquake near Crete

2

Cements, Concrete, and Settling Barges at Sebastos: Comparisons with Other Roman Harbor Examples and the Descriptions of Vitruvius

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Sebastos, the harbor of Caesarea, was built on a coastline that had no natural feature such as a bay or headland, a fact common to a number of Roman harbors. The resulting need to create manmade harbors drove the Romans to conceive particular construction technologies that enabled them to build out into the open sea. The principal technology they developed was hydraulic concrete which, when formed into massive blocks that could withstand battering from the waves, provided foundations for seawalls, wharves, lighthouses, and warehouses.

The remains of concrete structures currently lying underwater at Caesarea Maritima exhibit prime examples of Roman concrete engineering skills. This chapter examines these remains and compares them with a few relevant examples from other Roman harbor sites and with the descriptions provided by Vitruvius. In particular, the new evidence that has been revealed from excavations in area K at Caesarea has enabled a reinterpretation to be made of Vitruvius' typology of construction techniques and also of previous studies on this, notably by Blackman, Oleson, and Yorke and Davidson.[1]

The innovative style of Roman imperial architecture was significantly due to the development of structural concrete, with its inherent ability to be shaped and to transfer loads, which owed its origins to the Greeks who had used it in a limited manner, for example, as a means of leveling courses of stone. The Romans realized the full potential of this material and used it for a variety of purposes including in foundations, within structural cores in walls, and in arches, vaults, and domes (such as in the 43 m. diameter concrete dome of the Pantheon in Rome built around 120 C.E. and still

[1] Previous relevant discussions on Roman harbor technology are included in D. J. Blackman,"Ancient Harbours in the Mediterranean," *IJNA* 11 (1982), 79–104, 185–211; J. P. Oleson, "The Technology of Roman Harbours," *IJNA* 17 (1988), 147–57; J. P. Oleson and G. Branton, "The Technology of King Herod's Harbour," in *Caesarea Papers*, 49–67; and R. A. Yorke and D. P. Davidson, "Survey of Building Techniques at Roman Harbours of Carthage and Some Other North African Ports," in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours*, BAR Int. Ser. 257 (Oxford, 1985), 157–64.

standing today). However, it is the use of this material in its hydraulic form in submarine structures that is arguably the most intriguing aspect of Roman engineering technology.

Roman concrete differed from modern concrete not only in its chemical makeup but also in the manner in which it was placed. It was actually a lime and sand mortar, into which large lumps of aggregate, approximately 100–300 mm. in length, were individually placed by hand, building up its mass layer by layer. For increased strength and for hydraulic uses, volcanic sand (pozzolana) was added to the mix as well as crushed pottery or tiles.[2] Modern concrete, however, is a mixture of cement (an amalgamation of lime, clay, and metallic salts) combined with a fine aggregate, being usually a sharp sand, and a coarse aggregate comprising crushed stone, approximately 25 mm. in diameter. Unlike Roman concrete, the ingredients are all mixed together dry before water is added and the material poured into the formwork.[3]

It must have been in the vicinity of Puteoli that the large-scale use of pozzolana in underwater structures was conceived and perfected, probably by trial and error, during the construction of the early phases of one of the numerous ports and harbor facilities in that region. Vitruvius provides some of the only surviving descriptions of construction methods from the Roman era, and he includes references to the use of hydraulic concrete in the building of harbors. In book 2 he describes the raw materials for Roman concrete:[4]

> Chapter V, Lime.
>
> 1. . . . Lime made of close-grained stone of the harder sort will be good in structural parts . . . After slaking it, mix your mortar, if using pitsand, in the proportions of three parts of sand to one part of lime; if using river or sea-sand, mix two parts of sand with one of lime. These will be the right proportions for the composition of the mixture. Further, if using river or sea-sand, the addition of a third part composed of burnt brick, pounded up and sifted, will make your mortar of a better composition to use.
>
> Chapter VI, Pozzolana.
>
> 1. There is also a kind of powder which from natural causes produces astonishing results. It is found in the neighbourhood of Baiae and in the country belonging to the towns round about Mt. Vesuvius. This substance, when mixed with lime and rubble, not only lends strength to buildings of other kinds, but even when piers of it are constructed in the sea, they set hard under water . . . they set into a mass which neither the waves nor the force of the water can dissolve.

Roman engineers and builders tended to use a pure as possible limestone to make their lime for mortar. However, this lime, which had only between 0.1 to 1.0% of clay impurities, produced a non-hydraulic mortar, whereas if they had used limestone with 8 to 20% clay, an aluminum silicate, it would have actually made a hydraulic lime.

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[2] For a description of Roman concrete construction, see Vitruvius, *The Ten Books on Architecture,* trans. M. H. Morgan (New York, 1960), 45–49.

[3] Comparisons between modern and Roman concrete are discussed in J-P. Adam, *Roman Building: Materials & Techniques,* trans. A. Mathews (London, 1994), 73–79.

[4] Vitruvius, trans. Morgan, 45–49.

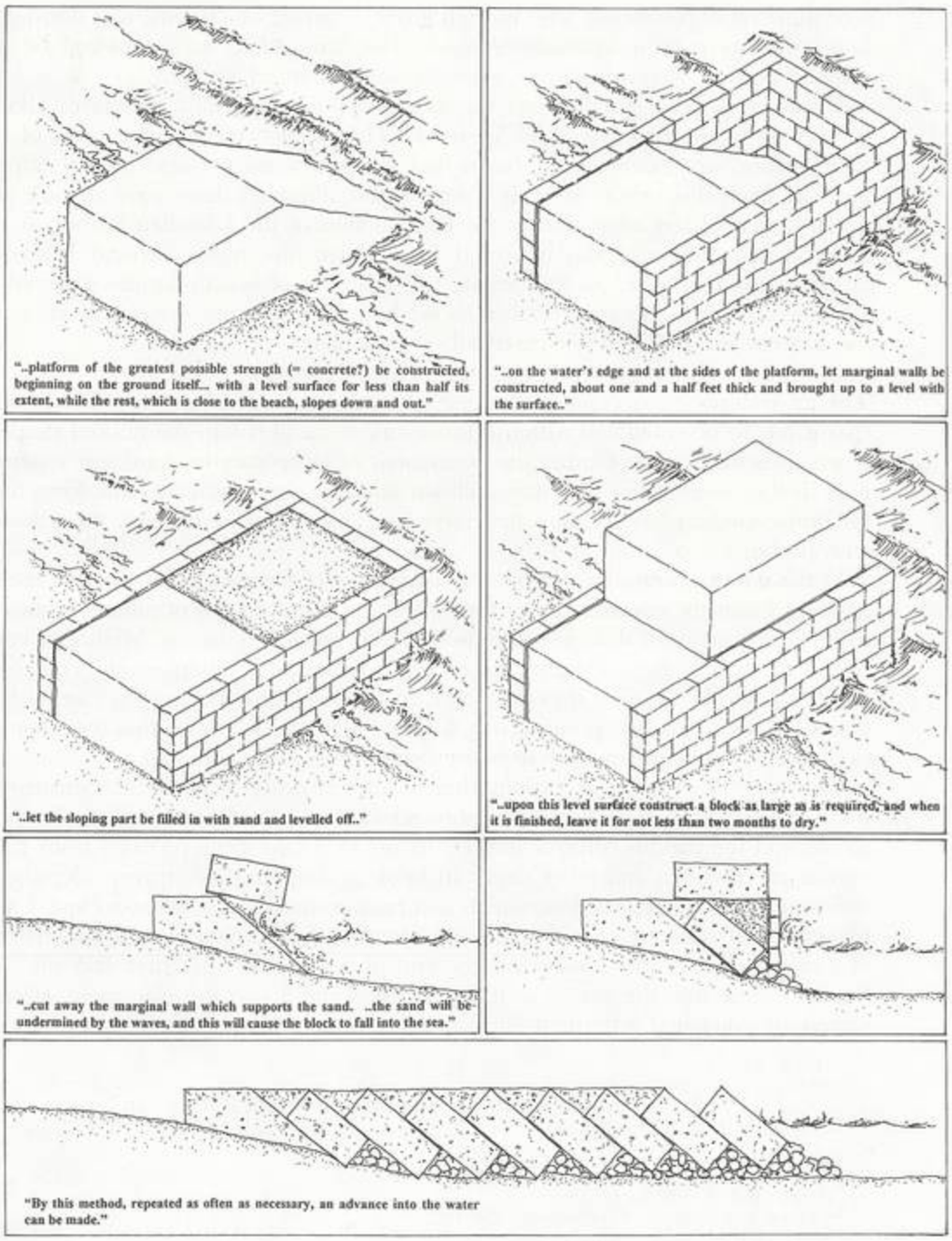

Figure 1. Hypothetical reconstruction of the sequence of construction of a mole using Vitruvius' Type 2 technique. Except as noted, all illustrations are by the author.

The addition of pozzolana, with its high levels of silicate of alumina, to a non-hydraulic lime converts it to a hydraulic version. The same effect was achieved by adding crushed pottery, again due to its source as an aluminum silicate.[5]

Vitruvius is very specific that the pozzolana for hydraulic structures should be sourced from the region around Vesuvius. This is confirmed by the work of Oleson and Branton who have clearly shown that the pozzolana at Caesarea was shipped all the way from this region to what is now Israel, although there were suitable sources much closer.[6] Even later, during the construction of the Claudian harbor at Portus, the volcanic sand was also imported from Baiae (the region around Vesuvius), as described by Pliny (*NH* 36.70), despite the existence of exactly similar material in the vicinity of Rome. This conservatism shows how little they understood the chemistry of the process and how much they relied on experience.

The all-important aspect when working with concrete, either above or below water, is that it has to be contained within a formwork to mold it into the desired shape while it sets. It is the design of either the permanent or temporary containment systems, and how they evolved to suit the contextual variations in site conditions, that form the basis for understanding how Roman structures were built, and particularly those associated with harbors.

Yorke and Davidson have proposed a typology of formwork construction methods.[7] Method 1 was the construction of formwork around or on top of natural features such as reefs. Examples of this exist at Sabratha and possibly Thapsus. Method 2 consisted of the erection of pre-fabricated panels onto driven piles. Alternatively, complete box sections could be lowered into the water, into which the concrete was cast, either in a flooded state or partially pumped out. Method 3 comprised forms that were completely prefabricated on dry land before being floated into place and sunk.

Vitruvius' description of various designs of formwork used in the construction of piers and breakwaters is, however, more relevant and has been used here in the comparisons of the various construction techniques that have been revealed from the excavations at Caesarea and other sites.[8] In book 5, chapter 12, Vitruvius identifies three different types of construction, which can be summarized as follows: Type 1 was the placement of concrete within a flooded containment system; Type 2 was the casting of concrete blocks above water on the end of a pier and after they had set allowing them to settle into the sea so as to extend it; Type 3 was the placement of concrete within an evacuated watertight enclosure.

Type 1:

> 2. . . . . If there is no river in the neighbourhood, but if there can be a roadstead on one side, then, let the advances be made from the other side by means of walls or embank-

[5] Adam, *Roman Building*, 73.
[6] Oleson and Branton, "Technology," 58–60.
[7] Yorke and Davidson, "Survey," 158.
[8] Vitruvius, trans. Morgan, 162–64.

ments, and let the enclosing harbor be thus formed. Walls which are to be underwater should be constructed as follows. Take the powder which comes from the country extending from Cumae to the promontory of Minerva, and mix it in the mortar trough in the proportion of two to one.

3. Then, in the place previously determined, a cofferdam, with its sides formed of oaken stakes with ties between them, is to be driven down into the water and firmly propped there; then, the lower surface inside, under the water, must be levelled off and dredged, working from beams laid across; and finally, concrete from the mortar trough . . . must be heaped up until the empty space which was within the cofferdam is filled up by the wall. This, however, is possessed as a gift of nature by such places as have been described above.

Type 2:

3. . . . But if by reason of currents or the assaults of the open sea the props cannot hold the cofferdam together, then, let a platform of the greatest possible strength be constructed, beginning on the ground itself or on a substructure; and let the platform be constructed with a level surface for less than half its extent, while the rest, which is close to the beach, slopes down and out.

4. Then, on the water's edge and at the sides of the platform, let marginal walls be constructed, about one and one half feet thick and brought up to a level with the surface above mentioned; next, let the sloping part be filled in with sand and levelled off with the marginal wall and the surface of the platform. Then, upon this level surface construct a block as large as is required, and when it is finished, leave it for not less than two months to dry. Then, cut away the marginal wall which supports the sand. Thus, the sand will be undermined by the waves, and this will cause the block to fall into the sea. By this method, repeated as often as necessary, an advance into the water can be made.

Type 3:

5. But in places where this powder is not found, the following method must be employed. A cofferdam with double sides, composed of charred stakes fastened together with ties, should be constructed in the appointed place, and clay in wicker baskets made of swamp rushes should be packed in among the props. After this has been well packed down and filled in as closely as possible, set up your water-screws, wheels, and drums, and let the space now bounded by the enclosure be emptied and dried. Then, dig out the bottom within the enclosure. If it proves to be of earth, it must be cleared out and dried till you come to solid bottom and for a space wider than the wall which is to be built upon it, and then filled in with masonry consisting of rubble, lime, and sand.

6. But if the place proves to be soft, the bottom must be staked with piles made of charred alder or olive wood, and then filled in with charcoal as has been prescribed in the case of foundations of theatres and the city walls. Finally, build the wall of dimension stone, with the bond stones as long as possible, so that particularly the stones in the middle may be held together by the joints. Then, fill the inside of the wall with broken stone or masonry. It will thus be possible for even a tower to be built upon it.

It is likely that Types 1 and 3, as described by Vitruvius, were limited to depths of up to 1.5 m. and possibly 2 m. Beyond these depths it would have been difficult to construct a formwork enclosure (Type 1) or a watertight cofferdam (Type 3) as he has described. It would also have been very difficult to hand lay concrete and aggregate in water deeper than 2 m. Type 2 could have been used to construct moles into relatively deeper water since the majority of the work was actually carried out on the sur-

face. If the description is taken literally, then an interpretation can be made as described in figure 1, although there is no evidence from harbor sites that have been studied to date to suggest that this was ever done. There are examples of the use of Type 1 in a number of Roman harbors, notably Antium, Cosa, and Portus.

Cosa was one of the earliest harbors to have used hydraulic, pozzolana-based concrete in the construction of its breakwater, and has been dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E. It has been studied by the Cosa Port Excavations under the direction of Anna Marguerite McCann. The excavations revealed a series of irregularly spaced concrete piers, ranging in size from 6.3 x 12.6 m. to 6.8 x 10.5 m. on plan, which stretched out over a distance of 150 m. from the shoreline.[9] These piers were combined with mounded rubble to form the principal breakwater to the harbor in Antiquity, and the hypothetical reconstruction shows these concrete piers as foundations to a timber jetty as well as a lighthouse set into the end of the breakwater. The remains of the concrete piers retain the impressions of lapped vertical boarding and the negatives of horizontal tie-beams that pass through each block. It is apparent that these piers were cast within a flooded formwork similar to Vitruvius' Type 1. Thin narrow boards, approximately 15 cm. in width and probably with sharpened ends, were driven vertically into the seabed and overlapped one with another. The lap provided sufficient seal to retain the concrete but was not watertight. Horizontal tie-beams and external rails would have held the formwork together and provided the strength to resist the buffeting from swells (fig. 2).

It is unlikely, however, as suggested by McCann, that there was any prefabrication of the formwork, primarily because the purpose of lapping the boards was to enable a reasonable seal to be achieved between them when they were driven individually and not as a composite structure, and it is easier to drive in a board against the face of another rather than side by side. A prefabricated unit would have had the boards fixed to a frame, and they would have been flush joined side by side. It would have also been very difficult physically to manhandle large prefabricated panels into position, let alone fix them without subjecting them to severe racking stresses. The forms were cast in water that ranged in depth from 1.5 m. to 2 m. The silting up around the piers by as much as 2 m. as well as a change in sea level of 1 m. have resulted in the remains of the original piers being substantially buried. The distinct change in material at approximately 1 m. above the current sea level from a pozzolana-based material to a tile aggregate mix defines the original top of the piers, which would have been 2 m. above the ancient sea level. It can therefore be hypothesized that the original concrete piers were probably 4 m. in overall height. The seabed at that time was sand, as suggested by John David Lewis, and the concrete blocks subsequently settled into it due to tectonic liquefaction of the sand in a similar manner to parts of the breakwater at Caesarea.[10]

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[9] E. K. Gazda, "The Port and Fishery: Description of the Extant Remains and Sequence of Construction," in A. M. McCann et al., *The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa* (Princeton, 1987), 74-79.

[10] E. K. Gazda and A. M. McCann, "Reconstruction and Function: Port, Fishery, and Villa," in McCann et al., *Cosa*, 137.

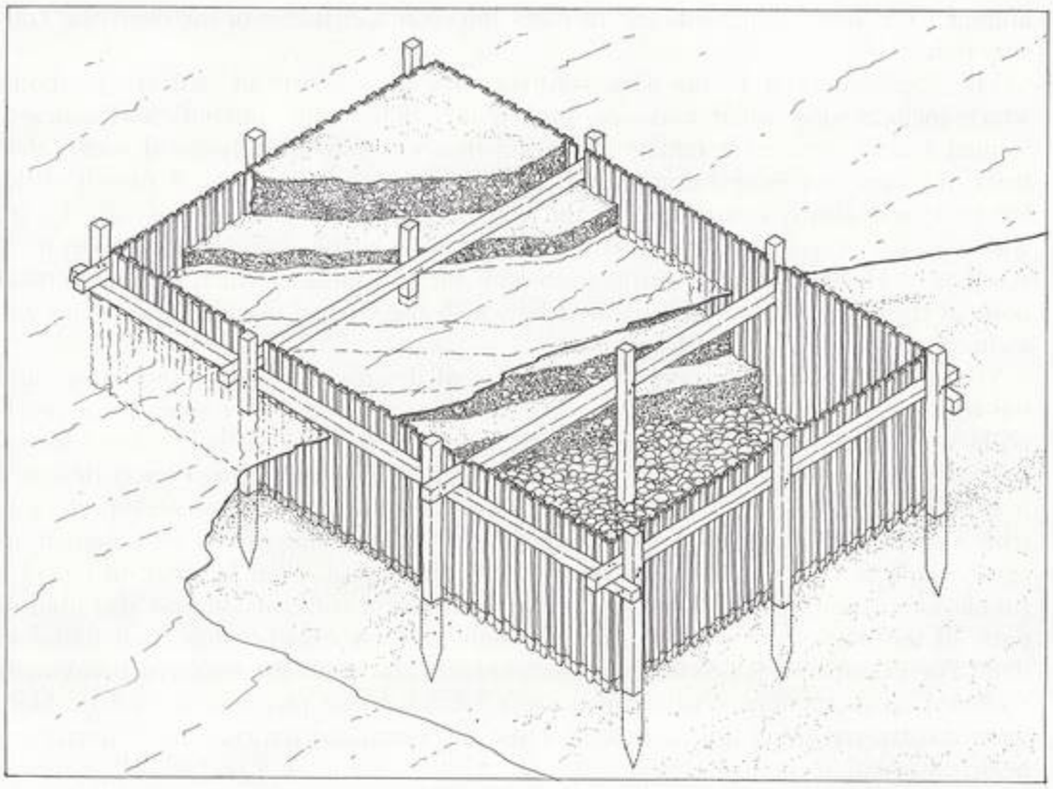

Figure 2. Hypothetical reconstruction of a Type 1 form as used at Cosa

There is evidence that this method of construction was also used at Antium and in parts of the Claudian harbor at Portus, as well as others.[11] Antium had an approximately semicircular harbor enclosure made up of two moles with the entrance probably to the east. There are well-preserved remains of the concrete which formed the eastern and western moles up to about 100 m. from the shoreline. Hydraulic concrete blocks were cast within a form comprised of lapped vertical boards driven into the seabed, secured by crosspieces and ties onto an internal structure of piles. These vertical piles perforate the interior of the moles in three or four rows at approximately 2.5 m. centers. The mole was originally continuous with a width of about 10 m.,

[11] A description of the harbor construction at Antium is given in E. Felici, "Osservazioni sul porto neroniano di Anzio e sulla tecnica romana delle costruzioni portuali in calcestruzzo," *Archeologia subacquea* 1 (1993), 71–88, and the Claudian harbor at Portus in O. Testaguzza, *Portus* (Rome, 1970).

although it is now segmented, and in parts still retains elements of the overlying construction.[12]

The breakwaters of Portus were constructed with a variety of different methods, which include solid ashlar masonry, sunken hulls filled with concrete, and concrete formed within permanent timber shuttering that was subsequently faced with either brick or ashlar and ranged dramatically in width from 3 m. to 17 m. A stretch of the left mole was clearly constructed in the Vitruvius Type 1 method. This is a 5.5 m. wide concrete strip 3 m. high overall but cast onto a rubble foundation at a depth of 1.5–2 m.[13] Horizontal cross beams flush with the top surface, which tie into vertical posts at the edges, indicate the method by which the vertical formwork boarding was secured, as suggested by Enrico Felici.[14]

Yorke and Davidson describe several different designs of concrete shuttering, and the remains of some are well preserved *in situ*. However, they were mainly constructed in wet site conditions rather than underwater and are more closely related to terrestrial engineering techniques, although having similarities with the Type 1 design.[15]

It is clear that this Type 1 technique was only applicable in shallow sites, preferably with a sandy bottom which could take piles and boards being driven in, although, as can be seen at Cosa, Portus, and Thapsus, this method also can be used on top of a rubble foundation. It is likely that this type of concrete construction was also used in parts of the breakwater at Caesarea, although no clear evidence has been found to date. For example, it is possible that the concrete blocks on the southern breakwater recorded on survey line 3, which measure 4.7 x 3.6 m. on plan and are 1.7 m. high, were constructed using this method.[16] They still retain the impressions of horizontal beam casts within the top surface and lie in a tumbled line on a bed of kurkar rubble at a current depth of 5.5 m. (fig. 3), although it would have been shallower in Antiquity, probably 1.5 to 2 m. Whether the rubble was laid to reduce the depth of water onto which the blocks were to be cast, or whether it acted as a foundation cushion has yet to be established. It is likely, however, that these blocks were originally part of a continuous stretch of concrete, similar to that on the western mole at Portus, but when subjected to settlement due to tectonic activity, broke into segments along the lines of intermediate timber beams. Several other Roman harbor sites also contain the remains of concrete blocks which still retain the impressions of timber frames and cross beams, including Astura, Misenum, Puteoli, and Pyrgi.

What is especially interesting about Caesarea is the degree of sophistication in the formwork designs of some of the other underwater concrete structures. One of these, in area G, was a prefabricated version of Vitruvius' Type 1, which overcame the problems associated with trying to drive piles or boarding into a rocky seabed. Area G,

[12] Felici, "Osservazioni," 71–81.
[13] Testaguzza, *Portus*, 69–81.
[14] Felici, "Osservazioni," 94.
[15] Yorke and Davidson, "Survey," 161–63.
[16] J. P. Oleson and A. N. Sherwood, in Raban, *Site*, 213–14.

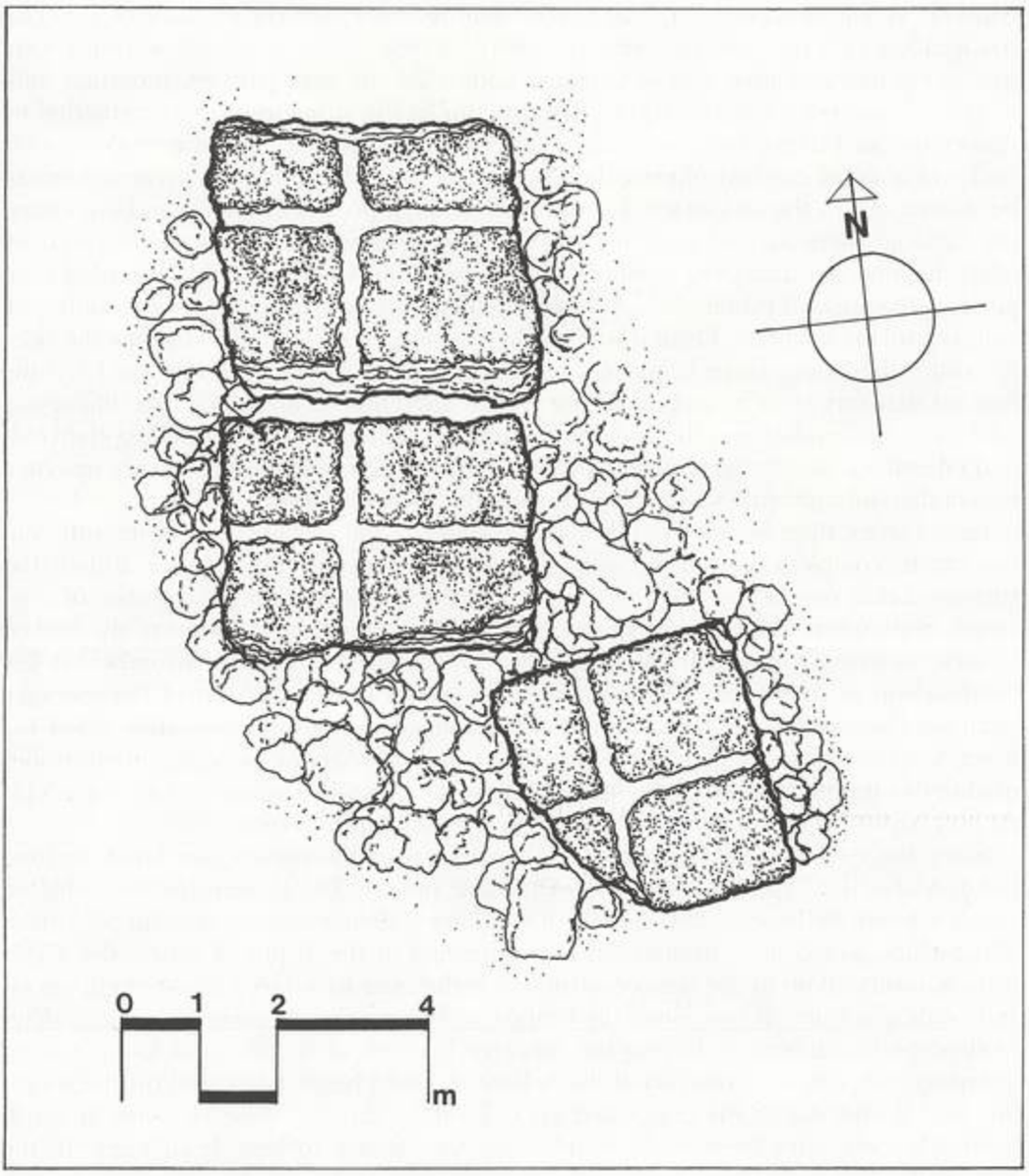

Figure 3. Type 1 constructed(?) concrete blocks on survey line 3 at Caesarea. Drawing by P. Dessauer and L. Reynafarje

which is at the western end of the northern breakwater, has the remains of concrete blocks 15 x 11.5 m. on plan and 2 m. high.[17] These blocks were cast within a form that comprised a double wall of planking with a 23 cm. gap between, mounted onto a 29 x 29 cm. sleeper beam (fig. 4). The interior of the structure was strengthened by timber ties and struts, but there was no bottom or floor to it. The watertight double wall was a novel method of providing buoyancy to enable the prefabricated form to be floated out to the site intact. The internal bracing provided rigidity and countered the racking forces as well as acting as platforms from which the enclosure could be filled. Floated out along the northern breakwater, the structure could be settled onto an already prepared rubble seabed by simply filling the void formed by the double wall with pozzolana concrete. Once it was on the bottom, rocks were piled against the sides to ensure that it remained in place. Divers working off the internal bracing filled the flooded structure layer by layer with pozzolana-based mortar and stone and tufa aggregate. As it had no bottom, the concrete bonded to the rubble bedding, filling the voids and ensuring a solid bearing. The elegance of this design of formwork is only matched by another solution that was evolved to cast the concrete in area K.[18]

Herod more than likely put enormous pressure on the architect-engineers and contractors to complete the harbor within the shortest possible time. Avner Raban has suggested that one of the ways this was achieved was by building a number of construction islands at the outset at strategic locations around the perimeter of the harbor to serve as bases from which the breakwaters could be extended concurrently.[19] A key location was at the *terminus* of the main outer breakwater to the west of the entrance channel. However, since the depth of water in that area was approximately 3.5–4 m., it was too deep to use a Type 1 formwork. It would have required laying an enormous quantity of rubble to reduce it to a practical working depth, a solution that was adopted at Thapsus as well as for the outer piers at Cosa and at Portus.

Since the work in area K was not an extension of the breakwater but a starting point, Vitruvius' Type 2 was also not a possible option. The design that was adopted was a variant of Type 3, but instead of building a double-walled, waterproof cofferdam, which would have been difficult to construct in this depth of water, the architect-engineers chose to use ship construction techniques to achieve a watertight enclosure with a bottom. It was internally braced with a matrix of beams, posts, and diagonal props in addition to having the inherent strength of mortise and tenon jointed boarding. Since it was constructed like a boat, it could be prefabricated on the shoreline and floated out to the designated area. To date, three of these caissons, or single mission barges, have been studied and have been shown to have been made to the

[17] Oleson, in Raban, *Site,* 127–30.

[18] C. J. Brandon, "The Concrete Filled Barges of King Herod's Harbour of Sebastos," conference proceedings, *RES Maritimae,* Nicosia, Cyprus, 1994.

[19] A. Raban, "Sebastos, the Herodian Harbor of Caesarea: How It Was Built and Operated," *CMS News, Report No. 19* (Haifa, 1992).

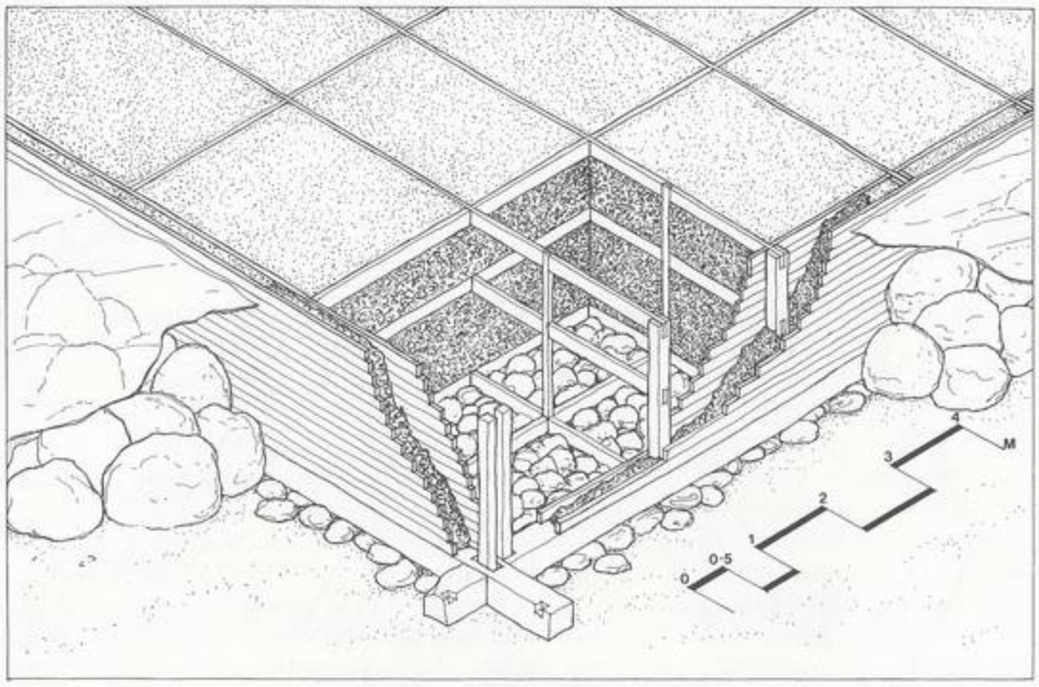

Figure 4. Caisson design as used in area G. Drawing by S. Talaat

same design.[20] They were 14 x 7 m. on plan and approximately 4 m. high, and one at least had an inner central compartment 2.5 m. wide and 6.5 m. long (fig. 5).

They were built with planking, edge fastened with mortises and tenons which were transfixed with treenails in the same manner as traditional shell-first ship construction. Built like barges, they were constructed on a nearby beach, and after being launched were loaded with a layer of pozzolana-based concrete to a depth of 0.5 m. and allowed to set before being towed out to the site. Anchored in place, lighters and barges transferred more concrete into them to settle them onto the seabed (fig. 6). It would have required only 1.5 m. of fill to sink them, and as with the "G" type forms, rubble was piled against the sides to secure them in place and to protect them from being undercut. When in place on the bottom, the caisson had a freeboard of between 0.5 m. and 1 m.

Analysis of the concrete in the second layer shows that it was actually not a hydraulic mix, but simply a lime sand mortar with a stone and tufa aggregate. This also confirms that it was a variant of Type 3, since Vitruvius designates it as a design suitable for situations where pozzolona is not available. It has been suggested that this short-

[20] Brandon, "Concrete Filled Barges."

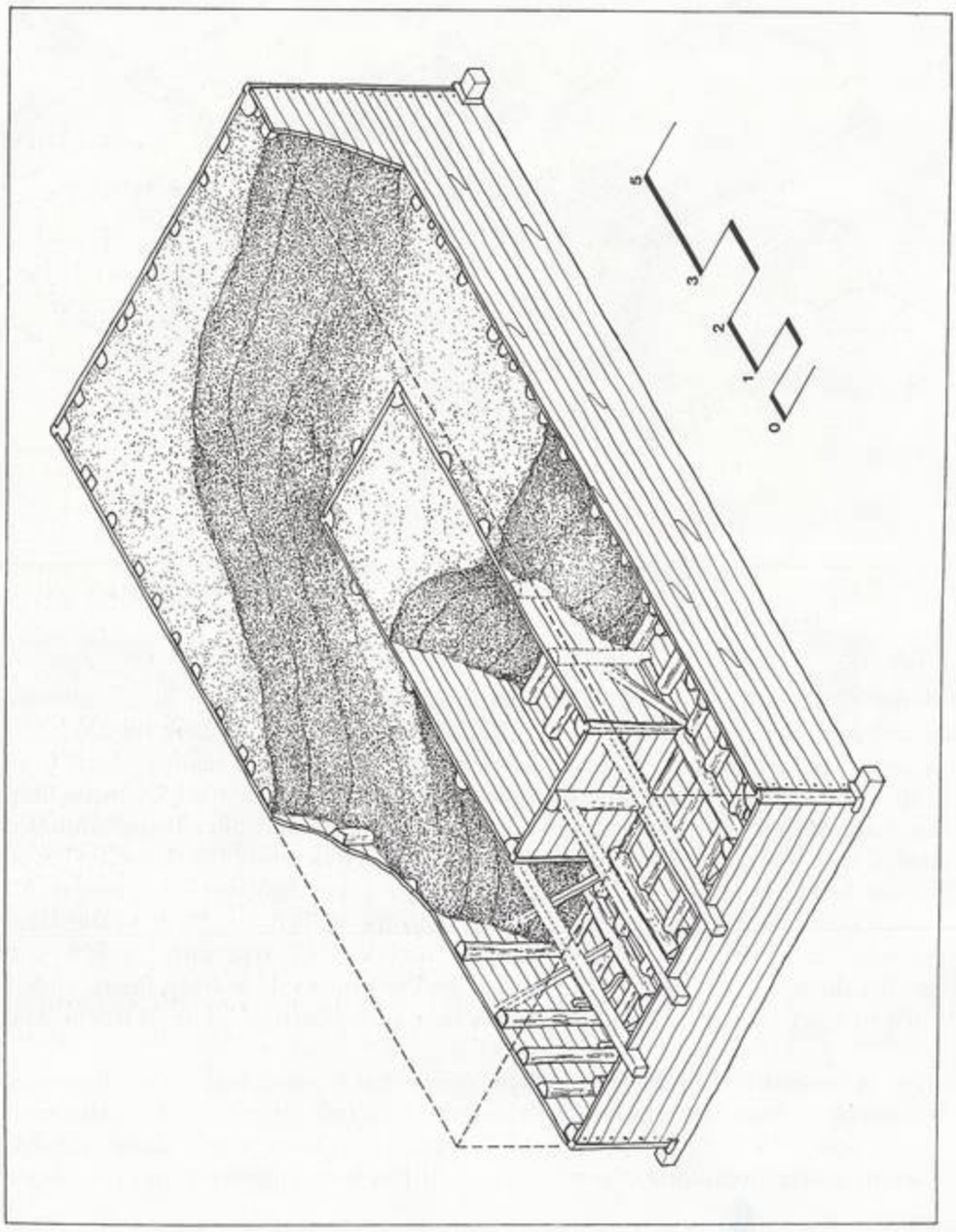

Figure 5. Caisson, or settling barge, as used in area K

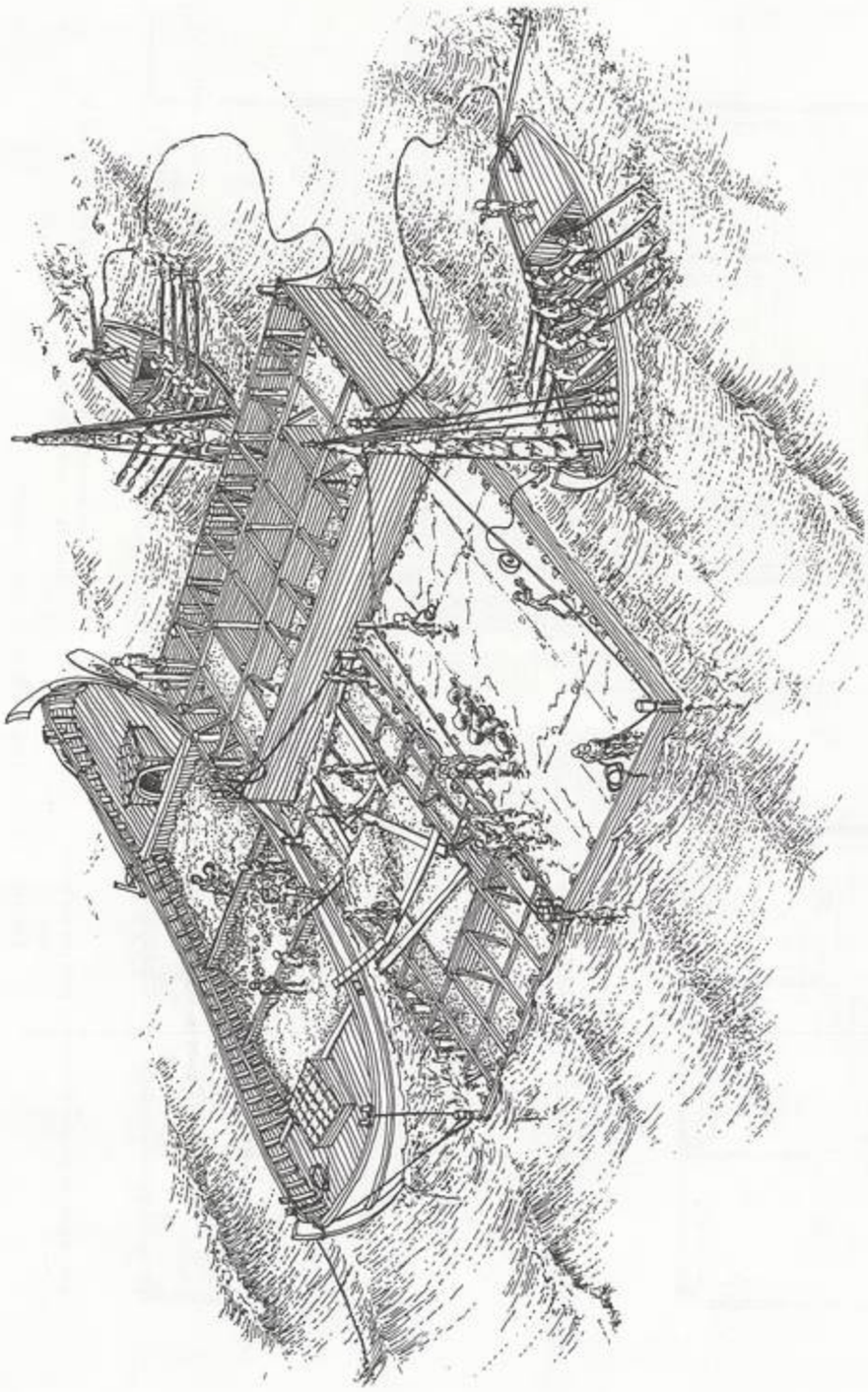

Figure 6. Hypothetical reconstruction of barges being sunk in area K

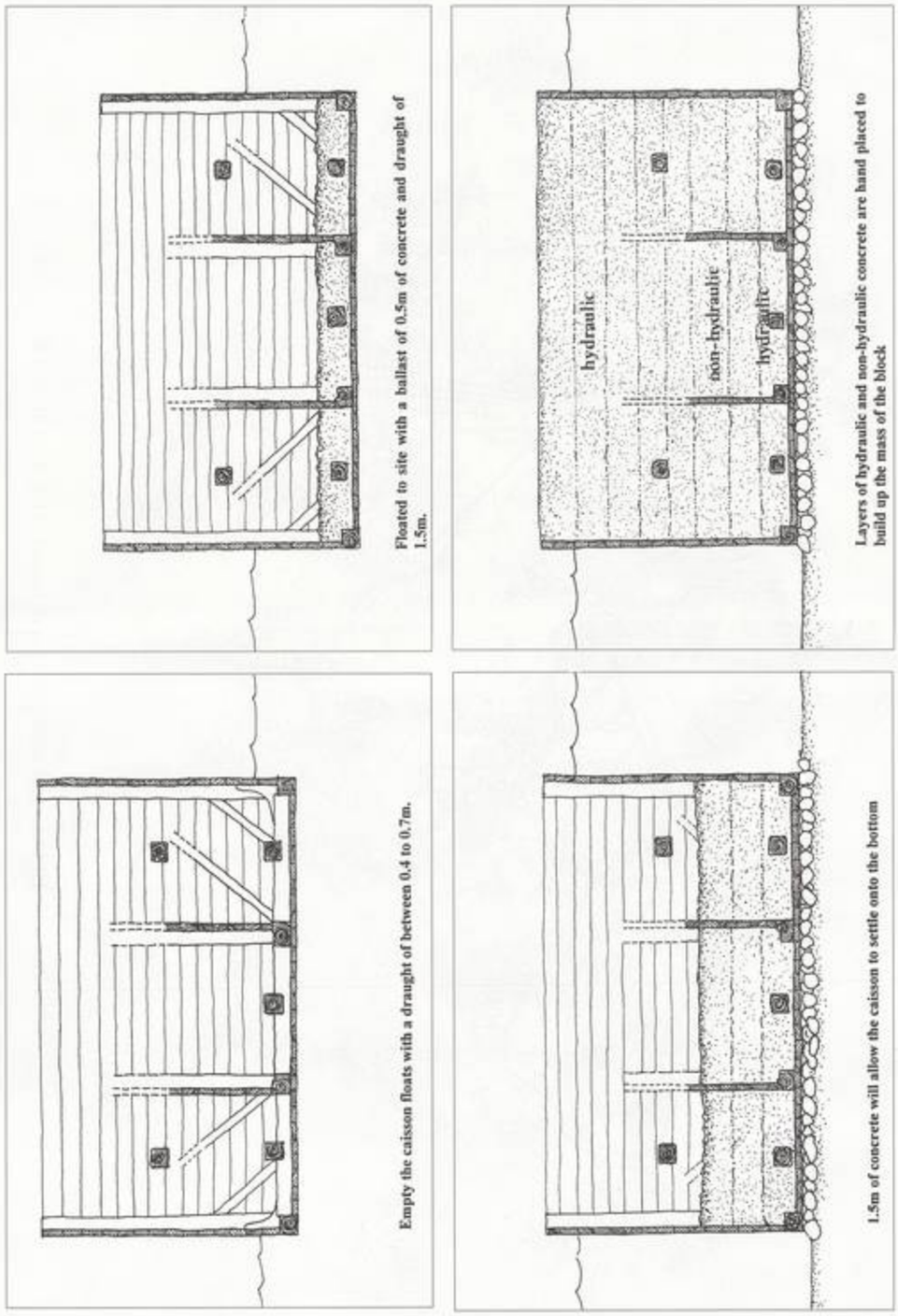

Figure 7. Layers of concrete in the blocks in area K

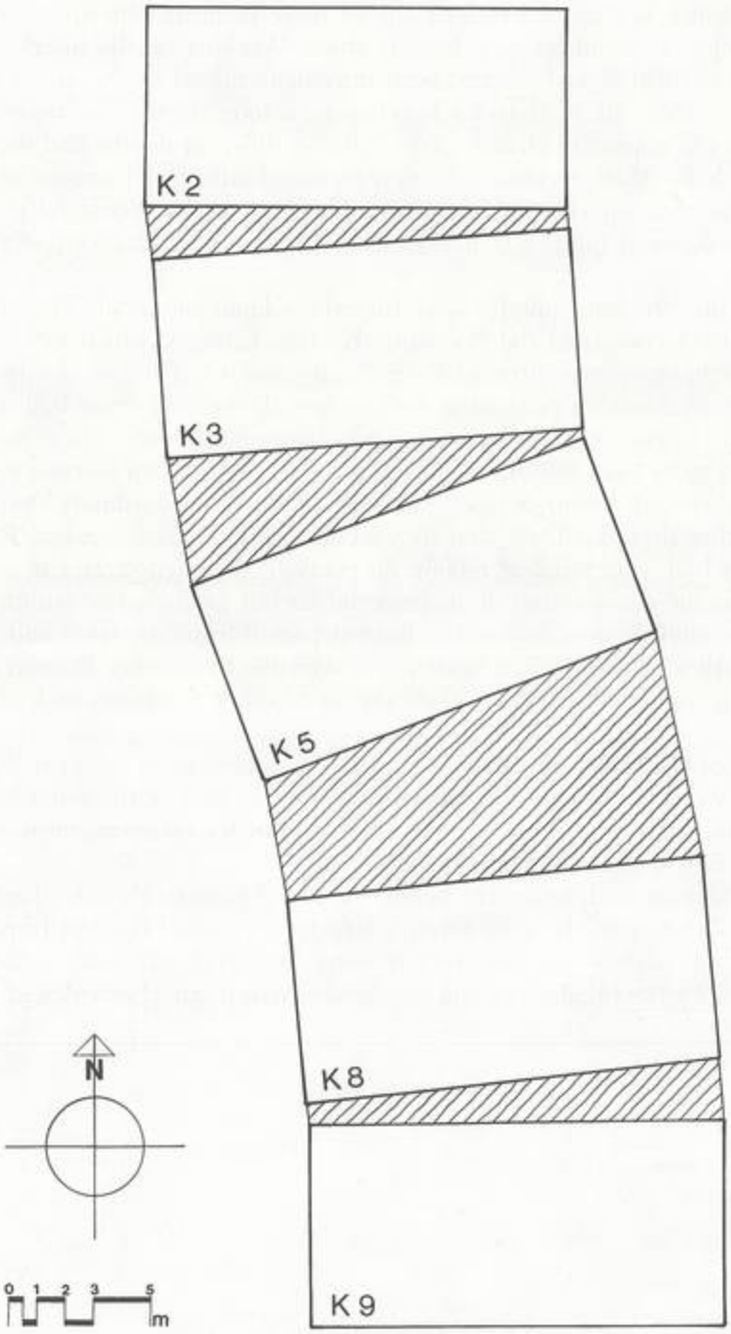

Figure 8. Infill sections between the blocks in area K

age of what was a key ingredient was due to there being insufficient time at the outset of the project to build up an adequate stock. Working off the interior framework, the caisson was filled layer by layer, with pozzolana added to the upper ones (fig. 7). The caissons were sunk next to each other in a loose header arrangement (fig. 8). Today the blocks appear in chaotic order lying at different depths and inclinations. As described by Yossi Mart, tectonic subsidence caused differential settlement local to the fault lines that ran adjacent to area K.[21] This movement disjointed the structures, opening gaps between the blocks and causing variations in settlement depth.

It is obvious that these techniques were incredibly labor intensive. They also required skilled resources to construct the "G" and "K" type caissons, which were by their very nature only temporary structures, to a very high standard. The logistics and manpower resources required to ship pozzolana and timber all the way from Italy to Israel and then to hand lay concrete, sometimes within flooded formwork, to construct a mole that extended more than 800 m. in length is a feat that is hard to comprehend today.

Although there are no other clear examples of these extraordinary designs of formwork from other sites, it is likely that they were not unique to Caesarea. Roman architect-engineers had a tradition of relying on previous experience, and in a sensitive situation such as the construction of an Imperial harbor at Caesarea, within a very tight schedule, it is unlikely that they would have departed from any tried and tested methods. Until further archaeological evidence is available from other Roman harbor sites, it is difficult to judge the extent of their use or of other variations in Vitruvius' typology.

The reuse of Caligula's barge that shipped the obelisk from Egypt to Rome as permanent formwork for concrete in the construction of part of the outer breakwater at Portus, and the caisson at Les Laurons, although not for concrete, do suggest that the "K" type caisson was used later elsewhere.[22]

The rapid demise and settlement below the sea of Caesarea's outer harbor provides a unique opportunity to study in detail a largely untouched Roman Imperial harbor. Like Portus, the harbor was constructed using numerous different methods. Further excavations along the breakwater will inevitably expand our knowledge of Roman harbor technology.

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[21] See the chapter by Yossi Mart and Ilana Perecman in this volume.

[22] S. Ximenes and M. Moerman, "The Roman Harbor of Laurons: Buildings and Structures," in A. Raban, ed., *Archaeology of Coastal Changes,* BAR Int. Ser. 404 (Oxford, 1988), 229–52.

3

Further Evidence for the Use of Concrete in Ancient Harbor Construction

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Among the most impressive features of the harbor at Caesarea Maritima are the concrete structures built in wooden formwork, already so ably investigated under water, published, and discussed. These remains have given a new impetus to the search for parallels elsewhere and to the restudy of those already known. The discussion in this chapter does not seek to be exhaustive, but will focus on the remains, of similar date and/or technique to the Caesarea structures, that have been discovered at Les Laurons near Marseille; at Side in Pamphylia; at Anzio and other sites on the coast of Latium; and at Marseille itself.

The harbor of Les Laurons is situated on the Bay of Fos (ancient Fossae Marianae) east of the mouth of the Rhône. It probably began in the third century B.C.E. as a small port for the export of cut stone from quarries just to the north, and as a port of call for local traffic. Much construction dates from the first century C.E., and the port may have become, with Fos, a supplementary outport to the riverine port of Arles. It seems to have continued in use until the end of the seventh century C.E.[1]

The harbor is protected by two breakwaters, well placed on either side of the entrance to provide maximum protection for the harbor basin, which comprises three creeks: north, south, and east. The north creek is further protected by a jetty and apparently at least partly lined by dressed stone quays; these remains were only superficially studied before being destroyed in 1968 during the construction of a power station for Electricité de France – an experience which shows that the threat to our maritime heritage comes not only from the private entrepreneur! The experience of archaeologists at Caesarea seems to have been much more positive in this respect.

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[1] I should like to express my special thanks to Enrico Felici, for valuable discussion by correspondence; to Antoinette Hesnard, for showing me her records during my visit to Marseille in June 1994; and to Paul Knoblauch, for twenty-five years of friendship, collaboration, and argument.

This account is based on S. Ximenes and M. Moerman, "The Roman Harbour of Laurons: Buildings and Structures," in A. Raban, ed., *Archaeology of Coastal Changes*, BAR Int. Ser. 404 (Oxford, 1988), 229–52. See also references there, to which now add: Ximenes and Moerman, "L'Anse des Laurons: structures portuaires," *Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique* 7 (1988), 121–29; and "Le quai de la crique est du port romain des Laurons: étude architecturale," ibid. 8 (1989), 179–91. The definitive study has now been presented by Martine Moerman, *Le port romain des Laurons (Martigues)*, doctoral dissertation (Université de Provence, 1993); publication in preparation.

All that survives now in the north creek at Les Laurons are the building complexes on the east shore (villas?), supplied by an aqueduct.

The south creek contains no clear remains of harbor structures, and is partly filled in. The east creek is further protected by a jetty projecting from its northern shore, 19 m. long, 9.50 m. wide narrowing to 7 m., and 0.75–1.80 m. high; it is extended by a number of wooden piles which seem to have supported a timber landing stage. Inside this jetty to the east lies a remarkable quay, around which are some 120 cut blocks whose role is not fully clear.[2]

The quay was constructed in the early first century C.E., with a superstructure of cut stone and a substructure of rubble fill in prefabricated timber formwork. The wooden caisson measures 22.90 x 2.20 m. and is now submerged to a depth of 1–1.5 m. It was clearly built out of the water. Its floor of wide, fitted planks, presumably intended to be watertight, was nailed to a horizontal frame of beams (14 x 18 cm. in section on the short sides and 11 x 18 cm. on the long sides), and then turned upside down. Two longitudinal horizontal beams strengthened the floor. A total of 32 vertical rectangular piles (13 x 11 cm. in section) were dovetailed into and nailed to the bottom frame of beams; a series of triangles and Roman numerals on the piles and on the beams close to the dovetails clearly relates to the assembly of the caisson. The wall planks fitted into grooves in the upper side of the frame beams. The excavators plausibly assume that the structure was completed and strengthened by an upper frame similar to the lower one.[3]

The caisson was then ready to be lifted into the water with ropes (remains of two ropes were found *under* the quay structure during excavation). Then, as it was filled with rubble, and the woodwork became saturated and lost its buoyancy, the caisson slowly submerged under the weight. Groups of cylindrical timber piles were fixed vertically around the quay – clearly to hold the joints intact under the increased pressure from the fill, and to keep the caisson in position; they were almost certainly driven in *before* being attached to the formwork. The problems of actually getting formwork into position are well discussed in a recent article by Oleson.[4]

A date in the early first century C.E. appears plausible for the Les Laurons quay, and this gives particular interest to comparison with remains of formwork found at Caesarea and other roughly contemporary sites, and with the text of Vitruvius written in the previous century. The timbers of the formwork at Les Laurons are much less massive than those at Caesarea, and the dimensions of the caisson are longer and narrower (22.90 x 2.20 m. compared with 15 x 11.50 m. for the concrete block in area G at Caesarea);[5] there is no double walling at Les Laurons; there are no tie-beams

[2] Ximenes and Moerman, "Roman Harbour," figs. 4, 7 (N creek), 5 (S creek), 8–9 (E creek).

[3] Ibid., figs. 10–16.

[4] J. P. Oleson and G. Branton, "The Technology of King Herod's Harbour," in *Caesarea Papers*, 49-67, esp. 60–65; cf. J. P. Oleson, "The Technology of Roman Harbours," *IJNA* 17 (1988), 147–57, esp. 149–52.

[5] Area G (W tip of N breakwater): J. P. Oleson, "Herod and Vitruvius: Preliminary Thoughts on

(*catenae*) within the structure; and there *is* a floor. Oleson and Brandon assume that the Caesarea caissons were prefabricated on shore and floated into position, though this is not one of the methods described by Vitruvius; a similar procedure must be assumed for Les Laurons also, though there are differences at Les Laurons which have to be explained (existence of a floor; lack of tie-beams). On this we must await the final publication of Les Laurons by Mme Moerman.

At Les Laurons we have evidence of use of the latest techniques, which might surprise one at a site of relative insignificance. Most of the structures, however, are of traditional type – the two rubble breakwaters, the inner jetties, and the (now lost) ashlar quay – even though they may be of similar date. Much of the evidence has unfortunately been lost; again we must await the final publication to learn whether more can be added to the preliminary reports. If we *do* have to assume that contemporary structures were built in different techniques, then we must suppose that particular attention was paid to one particular feature, while other structures were constructed or reconstructed in cheaper traditional methods.

Hohlfelder had already pointed out that at the same period in Kenchreai traditional rubble breakwaters were thought sufficient; he had argued that local engineers would not have had easy access to the innovations that distinguished Sebastos. I had argued in response that it is likely that the innovations were soon widely known, and that the constructions at Kenchreai must be explained as resulting from a deliberate choice, perhaps influenced by economic considerations.[6] If the two techniques were used at Les Laurons in structures of similar date, then we clearly do have there an example of deliberate choice. It is generally accepted now that Herod imported engineers as well as materials from central Italy for the work at Caesarea;[7] it seems that a similar procedure must also have been used at Les Laurons, on a much smaller scale.

At Side in Pamphylia the NE mole was built of concrete in formwork up to water level, and of ashlar above water level.[8] The (SE) head of the NE mole bears imprints

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Harbour Engineering at Sebastos, the Harbour of Caesarea Maritima," in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology*, BAR Int. Ser. 257 (Oxford, 1985), 165–72; Oleson, "Technology," 153–54; Oleson, in Raban, *Site*, 127–30; cf. 280–81, 287 (Raban). For the newly discovered formwork in area K (N end of the S breakwater), see Christopher Brandon's chapter in this volume.

[6] R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Building of the Roman Harbour at Kenchreai: Old Technology in a New Era," in Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology*, 81–86; D. J. Blackman, in I. Malkin and R. L. Hohlfelder, eds., *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives* (= *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3.1 [1988]), 7–20, esp. 7–8. Hohlfelder's chapter in this volume shows that our views are now close.

[7] Cf. Hohlfelder, "Building," 81; Oleson, "Herod and Vitruvius," 165, 168, 172; Oleson and Branton, "Technology," 56–60.

[8] H. Schläger, "Die Texte Vitruvs im Lichte der Untersuchungen am Hafen von Side," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 171 (1971), 150–61; P. Knoblauch, *Die Hafenanlagen und die anschliessenden Seemauern von Side*, Untersuchungen in der Gegend von Antalya 11, Turkish Historical Society (Ankara, 1977). The remains described here are the only ones included in this chapter which cannot be certainly ascribed to a date close to that of the Caesarea structures; I have included them because of the interest of the techniques

in its concrete of the formwork: horizontal planking, with vertical piles on the inner side. The piles were 30 x 15 cm. in section, and stood at intervals of 0.80 m.; Schläger thought that they were used on the inner side at the head of the mole only, and not on the long sides, but Knoblauch disagrees. The mole head is 7.5 m. wide and 3 m. high, with the concrete and formwork just reaching sea level.[9]

This feature was studied by Schläger and discussed by him in his last public lecture before his untimely death; the lecture notes were prepared for publication by Knoblauch, whose contribution to the study of the harbor at Side has been underestimated. His fuller study of the harbor, in a book that has been largely and unjustifiably ignored, gives fuller details on this mole and on the rest of the harbor.

The concrete and formwork construction is used only in the stretch NW of the main harbor entrance; the stretch to the SE is built of rubble and mortar with ashlar facing on both sides, and the two gaps in it (*Rinnen*) probably served as anti-silting devices, according to Knoblauch. To the NW of the harbor entrance the concrete and formwork construction is built in stretches of 10–11 m., with slight changes in course (the total length of the mole is 225 m. and its width 7 m.). One westerly stretch (G6) still preserves in place the lowest course of ashlar resting on the concrete; another stretch (G5), some 40 m. from the head of the mole, has the upper surface of the concrete laid bare and still well preserved, with the grid of slots clearly visible: the slots are 30 cm. wide and deep and 2 m. apart, and run across to the outer edge of the mole; in one or two places the concrete is still preserved above the slot.[10] The presence of cross timbers at the top of the formwork serves to confirm the excavators' hypothesis of a second, upper frame of beams in the formwork of the quay at Les Laurons.

Knoblauch was able to correct one point in Schläger's article: the inner vertical piles were used along the sides of the mole and not only at its head; he helpfully notes that these inner verticals would probably have remained in place even if the planking was removed and reused, and in that case would have served a useful secondary purpose in protecting ships' hulls when moored against the sides of the mole.[11] Further, in view of the presence of these verticals along the sides of the mole, Knoblauch prefers the second alternative already mentioned by Schläger, but rejected by him: the use of double-walled formwork.[12]

Valuable new evidence for concrete and formwork construction has been provided by Enrico Felici's study of Roman harbor sites in Latium, notably Antium and Astura.[13]

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used. Schläger does not propose a date; Knoblauch suggests the fifth–sixth century C.E., but I would prefer the later second century C.E.

[9] Schläger, "Die Texte Vitruvs," 150–53 and figs. 3–5; Knoblauch, *Die Hafenanlagen,* 28–31 and figs. 5, 71, 74.

[10] Schläger, 153–54 and fig. 6 (*südöstlich* on p. 153 is a mistake for *nordwestlich*); Knoblauch, 29–31 and figs. 75–77.

[11] Knoblauch, 30 and fig. 78.

[12] Schläger, 156–60 and figs. 7–8; Knoblauch, 31 and figs. 79–80.

[13] Well published in the first volume of the new *Archeologia subacquea* (1993), 71–104: "Osservazioni sul porto neroniano di Anzio e sulla tecnica romana delle costruzioni portuali in calcestruzzo."

In this chapter I can only highlight certain details of his work; the article deserves close attention by those interested in the subject.

Antium must have had a port since the Volscian period, but the principal ancient remains belong to the large-scale work undertaken under Nero (as attested by Suetonius *Nero* 9). We are thus dealing with work carried out half a century after Caesarea (and probably somewhat later than Les Laurons).

The archaeological remains had already received attention in the nineteenth century C.E. and again in the twentieth century, by Lanciani, Lugli, and Schmiedt.[14] The port has converging moles: the E mole runs S and then curves slightly W; the W mole runs S for about 100 m. from the shore and then turns E to run parallel to the coast for about 850 m., overlapping the head of the E mole to provide a protected harbor entrance, opening eastward and thus protected from the dominant southwesterly storms (Libeccio and Ponente).

Many previous researchers, including myself, had thought that the moles of the Neronian port were built with a system of separate *pilae,* linked by arches, to avoid the harbor infilling with silt brought by the littoral current. But Felici insists that there was no such use of *pilae;* in any case, he thinks that they would have provided insufficient protection on this exposed coast.[15] Lugli also thought that there were circular apertures through the moles to help with de-silting, but Felici puts forward two arguments against this: (1) the littoral current was not powerful enough to transport silt (and I should guess that in that case it was also too weak to scour the harbor basin); (2) in any case, according to Felici, modern harbor engineers contest the idea that such channels would help with the siltation problem (on which I would comment that nevertheless we cannot exclude a priori the possibility that Roman harbor engineers believed that they *would* help).[16]

Most of the remains of the moles are now rubble piles submerged to a depth of 1–8 m., but two sections of the E mole and three sections of the W mole still break surface.[17] These structures were built of *opus caementicium* (pozzolana and tufaceous chips); the horizontal layers of the successive "casts" are clearly distinguishable – in color, quality, or thickness – and there are also vertical junction lines. The above-water superstructure was faced in *brick,* and under water a large number of cavities in the concrete, thoroughly studied by Felici, attest the use of formwork.

In the E mole two "blocks" still emerge from the water, rising to 1.20 m. above sea level; there is a passage between them, which according to Felici is clearly not origi-

[14] See esp. G. Lugli, "Saggio sulla topografia dell'antica Antium," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 7 (1940), 153–88; other references in Felici. Lugli and Schmiedt exploited the first air photos of Antium, taken in 1939.

[15] Personal communication, Nov. 27, 1994.

[16] Evidence for de-silting methods: Blackman, "Ancient Harbours in the Mediterranean," *IJNA* 11 (1982), 199–202 (referring to de-silting channels at Mytilene, Egnatia, Centumcellae, and Caesarea Maritima).

[17] "Blocchi est I/II"; "blocchi ovest I/II/III" – counting outward from the shore. Introduction: Felici, "Osservazioni," 73–74 and figs. 4–6; E mole: 74–76 and figs. 7–11; W mole: 77–81 and figs. 12–20.

nal. Both blocks have many traces of the timber formwork, as holes or impressions in the concrete. Felici's analysis has shown that the moles were built out from shore with a recurring "module," with horizontal cross-timbers about 1 m. above sea level and extending across only part of the width, and vertical timber piles descending to the seabed, at intervals of ca. 2.5 m.[18] Submerged to the E of these two "blocks" are some large portions of similar nucleus, which leads Felici to suppose that the mole was originally twice as wide (ca. 12 m.). If so, then the original construction method was to build out from shore parallel pairs of concrete blocks ca. 6 m. wide and 2.50 m. deep, in a sort of advancing checkerboard pattern, with timber formwork needed around two and three sides alternately (and probably removable for re-use when the concrete was nearly set).

In the W mole three "blocks" still emerge above sea level, rising to various heights. The gaps between them are not original – in fact, from its base to the N edge of the outermost of the three "blocks" the mole is built on a solid concrete platform (*platea*), wider than the mole itself. This platform has a clear outer edge, and immediately beyond it "Block III" was built directly on the sandy seabed.[19] The imprint of the timber shuttering of the formwork is clearly visible on the E side of "Block III," and some slivers of timber survive on the W side. Felici adduces as parallels the imprints found at Side, Portus, Carthage, and Cosa (the piers on the breakwater).[20]

On "Blocks" I and II remains of the *super*structure are also visible. "Block I" seems to have the complete sequence of eight "casts" or levels above the *platea*, and one of them seems to have been a walkway, since it is at the same height as the floors of structures behind the shore platform (the *grotte*), and the level above has traces of brick facing. Some vertical timbers seem to run up into this level all the way from the seabed.

The shore platform or *platea*[21] can be discussed only briefly, and it must be stressed that reinforced shorelines and riverbanks must be treated as a distinct category requiring specific construction methods, which are not necessarily identical with those of free-standing harbor structures. The shoreline at Anzio facing the harbor basin was built up with layers of concrete, cast in blocks within formwork, which may have been at least partly removed as the work progressed. A large number of vertical post-holes are traceable up to the surviving upper surface of the platform, and others may lie buried still within the concrete. The seaward edge probably served as a quay; Felici estimates

[18] Felici, 76 n. 19, compares the intervals of ca. 2 m. at "Sidone" (read "Side").

[19] I am grateful to Felici for further discussion of this point. He confirms that there is no evidence here of any subsidence, and thinks that this is because of the effective use of vertical timber piles (*destinae*). This is clearly a factor not to be underestimated.

[20] Felici, 79 n. 20, and references there. His references to the Cosa publication (E. K. Gazda in A. M. McCann et al., *The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa* [Princeton, 1987], 74–78, 81–82) show that he is thinking only of the breakwater piers: planking impressions on Pier 1 and the holes for formwork ties in Pier 2. Formwork was also used around the Spring House, but that is a very different type of structure (see below).

[21] Felici, 82–85 and figs. 21–23.

its original height at 2 m. above mean sea level. However, no remains survive of any mooring facilities (e.g., bitts) or other features indicating a quay face (e.g., steps). As has been mentioned already, this same *platea* formed the foundation for the first part of the W mole (which cannot have been arched – at least not at or below sea level). Felici firmly dismisses Lugli's theory that there was a *darsena* at the base of the W mole.[22]

As for the area west of the W mole, including the "West Moletto," clear evidence was found for the insertion of vertical timbers at mid-height in concrete construction; and good clear imprints were found of the bottom edge of the timber shuttering in a layer of mortar – that is, to hold the shuttering fast and to relieve pressure on the vertical timbers.[23]

The mole at Astura probably dates from the first half of the first century C.E.. Its first section, running out from the shore, provides evidence of a somewhat different construction method: a series of *pilae* were built, apparently on a solid platform or *platea;* and then the space between them was filled in, by setting a long horizontal beam longitudinally between the *pilae* and fixed into them, and then laying transverse timbers, and also oblique timbers set into the *pilae* themselves; the longitudinal beam was supported by vertical *stipites*. The oblique timbers (*catenae*) seem to have held the outer formwork on the long sides, within which were poured levels of cementwork different from that of the *pilae*.[24]

It is not clear whether there was any interval between the two construction phases – the construction of the *pilae,* and the infilling between them – but certainly in the second phase the *pilae* became a key structural element in a continuous mole. There are in fact some indications of an interval in time between the two phases: the W side of *pilae* II and III, later covered by the concrete fill of phase 2, originally had brick facing.

Thus two of the northern *Bogenmolen* (arched moles) proposed by Lehmann-Hartleben are in considerable doubt, and the only candidates left in Latium are those at Terracina to the SE and Centumcellae to the NW. We may have to regard *Bogenmolen* as an almost purely Campanian phenomenon, and especially of the Phlegraean area: for example, Puteoli, Misenum, and Nisida. Felici thinks that the purpose of the construction method used at Astura was to save time and money – caissons were complex and costly to construct. It is worth recalling that Lehmann-Hartleben never maintained that the purpose of *Bogenmolen* was harbor de-silting – it was just the new, *economical* fashion.[25]

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[22] Felici, 83 n. 26.

[23] Felici, 85–88 and figs. 24–30.

[24] Felici, 91–92, figs. 36–37 and pl. I; for the combination with oblique *catenae,* Felici (n. 34) compares Cosa, where Pier 2 seems to have had one diagonal timber within the formwork. For Schmiedt's air photo and plan see Blackman, "Ancient Harbours," 89, fig. 6.

[25] K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres, Klio,* Beiheft 14 (Leipzig, 1923; repr.

There have been many references to the correspondence, or not, of the remains of concrete and formwork construction that have been studied in recent years, with the methods described by Vitruvius. This has encouraged me to include a third site studied by Felici, as a rather extreme example of deviation: the port-canal of Circeii.[26] Felici describes the structures at the head of the N mole (probably Neronian), of which the principal feature is the *re-use* of massive lumps of concrete, some still preserving a facing in *opus reticulatum*. Between them was laid a network of timber beams, with some of the vertical beams inserted into holes dug through the reticulate facing of the concrete. The horizontal timbers will have held side shuttering, and then concrete must have been poured over the internal timber framework.

This is very rough and ready work, but on reflection one sees that it is much like many modern harbor structures in the Mediterranean, where the remains of ancient harbor installations have been incorporated as foundations; and what is more, if one assumes that the re-used lumps of concrete were too massive to have been transported for re-use, then they would have had the advantage of being settled, solid foundations. The possibility of subsidence of harbor structures into the seabed, and the causes of this, are an important subject which deserves fuller treatment than is possible here.[27]

In his general discussion of building methods, Felici notes that at Antium we see the use of the flooded type of caisson, made possible by the use of pozzolana, and attested by the imprints of the side shuttering set into fresh mortar; he points out that at a site like Antium it would have been more manageable to fix the rectangle of piles (*destinae*) into the seabed and then add the shuttering: use of this quick-setting mortar made possible (according to Felici) a modular construction, using segments already set as one or two sides of the next caisson. Felici also suggests that the absence of traces of timber shuttering at the internal vertical joints indicates that where possible the shuttering was removed and re-used; he agrees with Oleson's argument that the mortar was brought to the bottom in tubes, and notes that at Antium, as elsewhere, the imprints of the *catenae* are found at sea level or above. He stresses that water level provided a demarcation between building methods: the more complex timber armatures were assembled *above* water level.[28]

Felici also refers to the caisson of Les Laurons, which he thinks was not intended to

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Aalen, 1963), 163–68; essentially a Campanian phenomenon: 167; purpose: 168. Blackman, "Ancient Harbours," 83–85 and nn. 18, 27; 197 and n. 86 (cf. 87, fig. 5 for the Stabiae wall painting showing an arched breakwater; 195, fig. 7 for the arched mole at Puteoli). Add now S. E. Ostrow, "The Topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the Eight Glass Flasks," *Puteoli: Studi di storia antica* 3 (1979), 77–140. Felici, personal communication, Nov. 27, 1994. The piers at Cosa (in Etruria) do not belong here, in my view (though a wooden gangway may have run across them).

[26] Felici, 93, fig. 38 and pl. II.

[27] See Blackman, "Ancient Harbours," 196–97.

[28] Felici, 95–99.

be watertight, even though it had a floor. Examples cited of formwork which *was* intended to be watertight are rather shore embankments than freestanding harbor-works: Felici quotes as parallels the shore embankments of Lake Nemi and the river port of Minturnae.[29]

A fascinating new example of timber and concrete construction in a shoreline embankment, serving as a quay, has been discovered in the new excavations at Marseille (Place Jules-Verne site). So far the excavator, Antoinette Hesnard, has published only brief reports and a few illustrations. The reports speak of quays "built in timber or in wood according to the techniques described by Vitruvius for hydraulic works." I quote one passage in full: "The humidity of the terrain has preserved the timbers of a caisson and the planks lining the foundation trench of a great quay with very deep foundations. The timber quay is formed of two rows of piles, between which planks are inserted, re-using fragments of ships' timbers, lying on a bed of clay. The interior is filled with stones. Three buttresses, carefully shored, reinforced the construction against the pressure of the earth behind."[30]

Most of this text and most of the illustrations refer to the timber quay in front of the *dolia* store (first–second century C.E.), which reminds one of the Roman quaysides of northern Europe, for example, London, but one illustration depicts "a Roman quay of the early first century C.E., with a view of the foundations in hydraulic concrete and the timbering of the construction trench." We eagerly await a full description and discussion.

What *is* clear is that the techniques used in building solid shore embankments (*berges renforcées*) and shoreline quays are not necessarily the same as those used in building freestanding moles and breakwaters.

[29] Felici, 97, n. 45 (p. 98); see also C. F. Giuliani, *L'edilizia nell'antichità* (Rome, 1990), 133–34 and figs. 5.8–9.

[30] See esp. A. Hesnard, "Place Jules-Verne," in *Le temps des découvertes: Marseille, de Protis à la reine Jeanne* (Marseille, 1993), 55–59, esp. 57, 59 (top picture); more general accounts in Hesnard, "La découverte du port romain," *Méditerranée* 1 (March–April 1994), 32–37; A. Hesnard and M. Pasqualini, "Port et navires romains de Marseille," *Archéologia* 290 (May 1993), 32–33.

PART II

CAESAREA AND COMPARATIVE HARBOR STUDIES

4

The Hellenistic Harbor of Phalasarna in Western Crete: A Comparison with the Hellenistic Inner Harbor of Straton's Tower

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The Hellenistic Harbor at Straton's Tower[1]

Few harbors from the Hellenistic period have survived to the present day and been studied by excavation. The Inner Harbor at Caesarea is one example.[2] However, the great harbor built there by Herod in the first century B.C.E., which aspired to rival Piraeus in size, was not the first harbor on the site, and it is on the earlier constructions that this chapter concentrates.

According to Josephus, Herod noticed a coastal settlement called Straton's Tower, which had fallen into ruin but could benefit from his generosity.[3] More detail has emerged from several decades of survey and excavation by Avi-Yonah,[4] Negev,[5] Hohlfelder,[6]

[1] There is a dispute regarding the chronology of the original construction of Straton's Tower. For the opposing views, see A. Raban, "In Search of Straton's Tower"; D. W. Roller, "Straton's Tower: Some Additional Thoughts"; J. A. Blakely, "Stratigraphy and the North Fortification Wall of Herod's Caesarea"; T. W. Hillard, "A Mid-1st c. B.C. Date for the Walls of Straton's Tower?" all in *Caesarea Papers*, 7–48; and Raban, *Site*, 271–74.

[2] For excavations at the inner basin of Caesarea, see Raban, *Site*, 131–37, and idem, "Sebastos: The Royal Harbour at Caesarea Maritima: A Short-lived Giant," *IJNA* 21.2 (1992), 111–24. For Herod's harbor, see J. P. Oleson, "Herod and Vitruvius: Preliminary Thoughts on Harbour Engineering at Sebastos, the Harbour of Caesarea Maritima," in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology*, BAR Int. Ser. 257 (Oxford, 1985), 165–72; J. P. Oleson, R. L. Hohlfelder, A. Raban, and R. L. Vann, "The Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project: Preliminary Field Report on the 1980–1983 Seasons," *JFA* 11 (1984), 281–305; and J. P. Oleson and G. Branton, "The Technology of King Herod's Harbour," in *Caesarea Papers*, 49–67.

[3] Joseph. *BJ* 1.408; *AJ* 15.331.

[4] M. Avi-Yonah, "Caesarea," in "Notes and News," *IEJ* 6 (1956), 260–61.

[5] M. Avi-Yonah and A. Negev, "Caesarea," in "Notes and News," *IEJ* 13 (1963), 146–48.

[6] R. L. Hohlfelder, "Byzantine Coin Finds from the Sea: A Glimpse of Caesarea Maritima's Later History," in Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology*, 179–84; "The 1984 Explorations of the Ancient Harbors of Caesarea Maritima," *BASOR*, suppl. 25 (Philadelphia, 1987), 1–12; "Procopius *De Aedificiis* 1.11.18–20: Caesarea Maritima and the Building of Harbours in Late Antiquity," in I. Malkin and R. Hohlfelder, ed., *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1988), 54–62; idem, "The First Three Decades of Marine Explorations," in *Caesarea Papers*, 291–94; idem, "The Changing Fortunes of Caesarea's Harbours in the Roman Period," ibid., 75–78.

and Raban[7] of the Center for Maritime Studies. R. L. Vann writes that "as a result of the past few decades of field-work, the early town begins to emerge as a coastal settlement focused around its two harbours."[8]

The southern harbor, called the Inner Harbor by the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project, was thought to be 40 m. wide and 100 m. long,[9] but recently has proved to be much larger, about 250 x 100 m. in size.[10] The earliest sherds found in it date to the second century B.C.E. and the latest to the first century C.E.,[11] so it must have belonged to the Hellenistic settlement. The harbor is oval in shape and is lined by an internal quay, with a mooring stone *in situ*[12] (both the quay and mooring stone belong to a later phase). Near the quay the harbor was artificially deepened by cutting into the bedrock sandstone (kurkar) to give the harbor a depth of at least 2 m. The ancient sea level is identified by abrasion notches on the quay wall and by marine fauna remains on its face.[13] Within the same area was found a freshwater basin that probably dates to the Hellenistic period.[14]

There are also remains of defensive fortifications of the Hellenistic town.[15] Two towers 12 m. in diameter have been found on land on the northern shore of the area, with an associated wall and long quay nearby.[16] Under water there is a round tower 13 m. in diameter.[17] These towers probably were part of defenses that encircled the Hellenistic town and possibly two harbors, forming a double λιμὴν κλειστός,[18] one on the northern and one on the southern side.

The task of reconstructing the town of Straton's Tower is made extremely difficult by the many subsequent phases of building, from Herod's day to modern times. In many details, however, the harbors and their fortifications bear striking resemblance to those of the closed harbor at Phalasarna in western Crete (fig. 1), which was aban-

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[7] A. Raban, "Caesarea Maritima, 1983–84," *IJNA* 14 (1985), 155–77; Raban, *Site;* idem, "Straton's Tower"; A. Raban and R. Stieglitz, "Caesarea Maritima 1987," in "Notes and News," *IEJ* 38 (1988), 273–78; Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 79–111.

[8] R. L. Vann, "Man Made Features: Straton's Tower," in Raban, *Site,* 25–27; R. L. Vann, "Early Travelers and the First Archaeologists," in *Caesarea Papers,* 275–90, gives a summary of archaeological work to modern times. See also the chapter by R. R. Stieglitz in this volume.

[9] Raban, "Sebastos," 116.

[10] A. Raban, personal communication.

[11] Raban, "Sebastos," 117; Holum et. al., "Preliminary Report," 89.

[12] Raban, *Site,* 133–34.

[13] Raban, "Sebastos," 117; Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 89.

[14] Raban, *Site,* 137; idem, "Sebastos," 119.

[15] See above, n. 1.

[16] Raban, *Site,* 26, 143–49.

[17] Ibid., 90.

[18] A. Raban, "Straton's Tower," 22 and 72, fig. 2. For discussion of closed harbors, see K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (Leipzig, 1923), 65–74; important recent work is summarized by D. J. Blackman, "Ancient Harbours in the Mediterranean," *IJNA* 17 (1988), 147–57, 185–211.

Figure 1. Map of western Crete with major ancient coastal towns. Map by M. Strongilou

doned in the first century B.C.E. It was never reinhabited or overbuilt, down to the present day, and thus provides a laboratory for studying Early Hellenistic harbor installations.

Phalasarna

Phalasarna[19] lies on the far western coast of Crete, facing the western Mediterranean. The ancient city reached its peak in the fourth to third centuries B.C.E., and its λιμὴν κλειστός was mentioned by Skylax and by Dionysios Kalliphontos[20] (fig. 2). A 90 m. high rocky promontory dominates the sea, and has at its highest point an acropolis with at last two temples, public buildings, and cisterns. The bottom of the cape is pro-

[19] For the research to date, see E. Hadjidaki, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at the Harbor of Phalasarna in West Crete," *AJA* 92 (1988), 463–79; and F. Frost and E. Hadjidaki, "Excavations at the Harbor of Phalasarna in Crete: The 1988 Season," *Hesperia* 59 (1990), 513–27. For the ancient literary sources regarding the town and its rediscovery in the nineteenth century, see Hadjidaki, "Phalasarna," 466–68.

[20] Skylax, 47; K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1855), p. 42. Dionysios Kalliphontos, 120; ibid., p. 242.

tected by a 550 m. long stretch of double fortification walls with three defensive bastions *in situ* all constructed of sandstone material from nearby quarries in an isodomic style. Part of the town's fortifications formed in Antiquity the west side of the harbor, which lay along the southern foot of the acropolis.

Inscriptions[21] and coins[22] found at Phalasarna show that the town was a strong maritime state during the fourth century B.C.E. Its wealth seems to have derived mainly from piracy and mercenary service.[23] According to Strabo, the Cretans succeeded the Tyrrhenians in piracy at the beginning of the third century B.C.E., and, together with the Cilicians, they seem to have been the toughest and most able pirates of the Mediterranean.[24] Plutarch reports on their fast ships, which set out from ports that possessed towers and ship sheds. Phalasarna's harbor, as we shall see, was ideal for pirate hideouts, as it was hidden behind steep cliffs that made it invisible from the sea.[25]

This port is particularly remarkable for three reasons: (1) its monumental military architecture and its harbor engineering were unusual in the Greek world; (2) it has not been overbuilt since the Roman conquest of Crete in 67 B.C.E., thus its port and city are intact; (3) because of violent tectonic movements in 68 C.E. and 365 C.E., this part of western Crete has been raised 6.6 m. above sea level,[26] so that the entire port is now on land, and, like the old port of Straton's Tower, 100 m. from the sea.

Excavations begun in 1986 and still in progress have provided the following information regarding the port's construction. The port was built in a preexisting lagoon, parts of which were deepened by cutting into the rock, and was connected to the sea by an artificially dug channel 50 m. long and 10 m. wide (fig. 2). Remains of the rock-cut faces along the channel are still visible, and excavations have proved that it was at least 2.0 m. deep, deep enough to allow passage of warships having a draft of 1.2 m. This artificial channel is unique in the Greek world; nothing similar has been discovered. All other closed harbors said by Skylax to have existed in Greece during the fourth century B.C.E. were created by closing off coves with moles and jetties. In addition, a second channel was dug to help with the desilting of the area.

The harbor, which measured 100 x 75 m., was then encircled by enormous curtain walls, all connected to the city's fortifications by five round or square towers, thus fitting perfectly the description of Skylax, who called it a "closed port."

Two of the towers that have been excavated so far, although much smaller than those at Straton's Tower, have a fascinating architecture. A round tower 9 m. wide is

[21] M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1939), 131–33.

[22] J. N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* (Paris, 1890), 268–71.

[23] E. Hadjidaki, "The History of Cretan Piracy," *Festschrift for Dimitri Djordjevich: Scholar, Mentor, Patriot* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1992), 51–61.

[24] Strabo 10.4.9.

[25] Plutarch *Pompey* 24.1.

[26] P. A. Pirazzoli, J. Ausseil-Badie, P. Giresse, E. Hadjidaki, and M. Arnold, "Historical Environmental Changes at Phalasarna Harbor, West Crete," *Geoarchaeology* 7 (1992), 371–92.

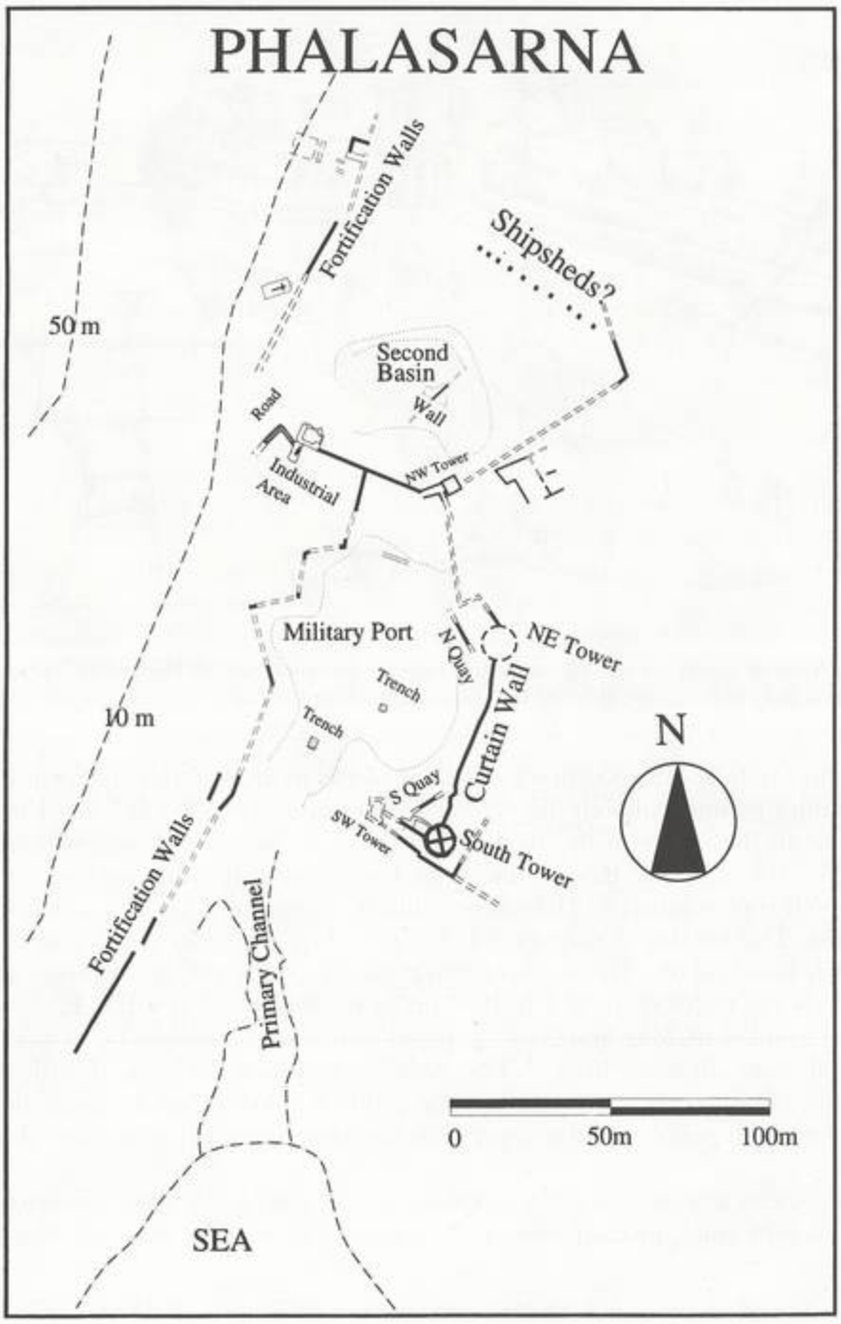

Figure 2. Plan of Phalasarna harbor. Plan by Ellie Cassese

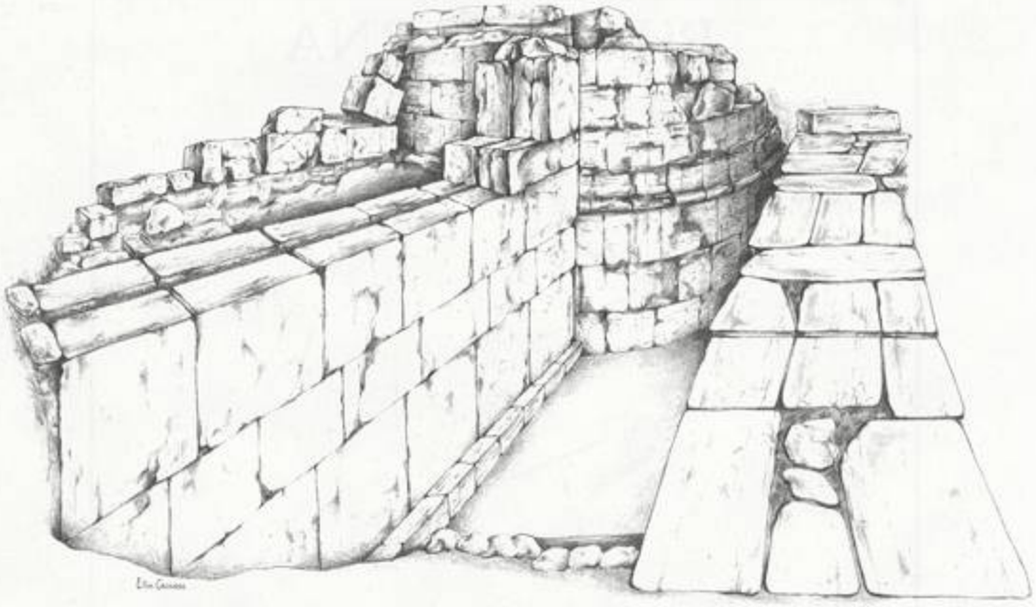

Figure 3. View of round tower with associated walls at the south side of Phalasarna harbor; compare with Raban, Site, 361–62, figs. II.2 and II.3. Drawing by Ellie Cassese

built upon carefully carved bedrock of ashlar blocks in an isodomic style, with the faces of the stones polished smooth (fig. 3); each stone measures 1.2 x 0.7 x 0.4 m.,[27] similar in size to the stones of the underwater tower at Straton's Tower which measure 1.5 x 0.5 x 0.6 m.[28] The base of the tower has a carved molding on the stone (κυμάτιον), which was common in Hellenistic military architecture but is unusual for a harbor tower. The interior of the tower is buttressed by two cross walls, and its sections filled with loose rubble. Hundreds of black glazed sherds and other pieces of pottery from inside the tower fill date it to the end of the fourth century B.C.E.

A water tank 4 m. long and 2 m. deep was added to the tower's outer side by three additional walls adjacent to it.[29] The walls of the tank are coated with hydraulic cement and finished with an outer coating of black color. It has a mosaic floor made from colored sea pebbles, and a depression for gathering silt that is covered with lead sheathing.

There is also a square tower smaller in size, 6.5 m. wide, whose interior is completely filled by solid, medium-size crude stones[30] (fig. 4). The isodomic blocks of this

[27] Hadjidaki, "Phalasarna," 463–74; Hadjidaki and Frost, "Phalasarna 1988," 515, fig. 2.
[28] Raban, *Site*, 90.
[29] Frost and Hadjidaki, "Phalasarna 1988," 516–17, pl. 79 a–c.
[30] Ibid., 517–24, pl. 80, fig. 4.

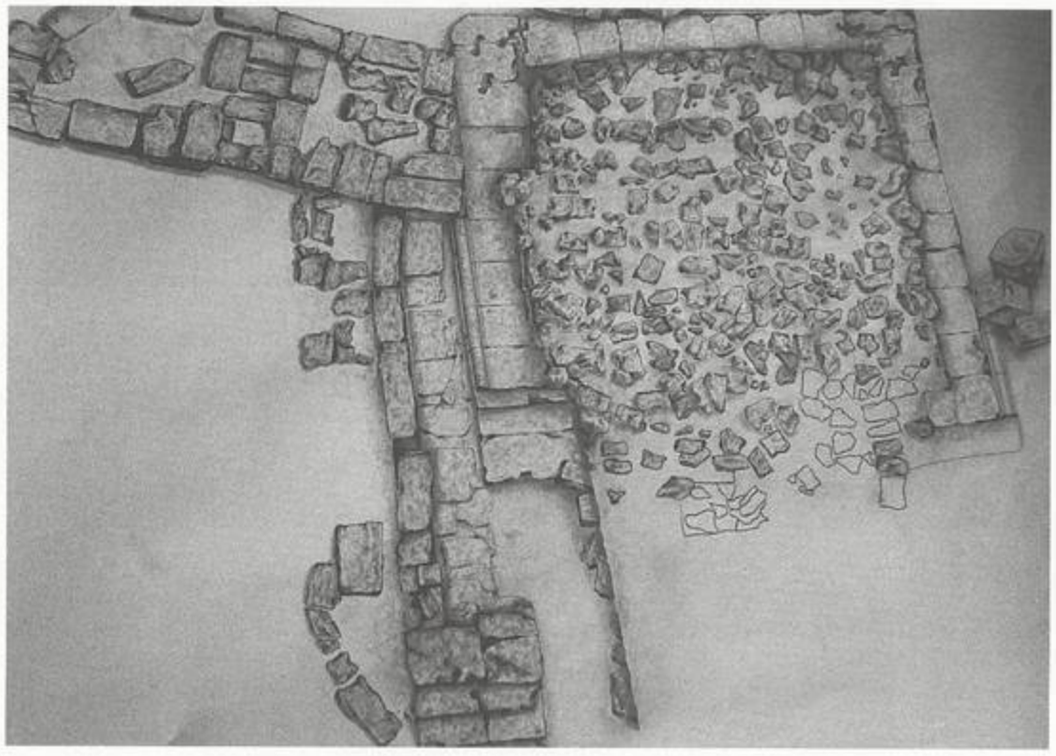

Figure 4. View of square tower with rectangular gateway at north side of Phalasarna harbor. Drawing by Ellie Cassese

tower are connected to one another with metal clamps. One of the clamps has been found, and consists of an iron rod bent to fit a Z-shaped socket, with molten lead then poured around to fill the socket and prevent rusting and swelling of the iron. The exterior faces of the blocks were decorated with περιτένειαι (drafted margins), and all measure 1.18 x 0.65 x 0.43 m.

Again, as in the case of the round tower, there is a κυμάτιον low around the base. Much of the tower's masonry, however, was robbed in the second century B.C.E. to construct a gateway. It adjoins the square tower, and its rectangular shape is 5 m. long and 3 m. wide. On its southern face there is a doorway 1 m. wide, and on its west side a stairway has been partly excavated that probably joins with the nearby northwest tower, on which excavation has just begun.

From the western side of this complex a broad double wall 50 m. long extends to meet the fortifications that line the base of the acropolis. Where the wall meets these defenses, there is an enormous polygonal structure that has been only partly excavated (fig. 5). It consists of a long retaining wall of rectangular blocks 1.8 m. high, which

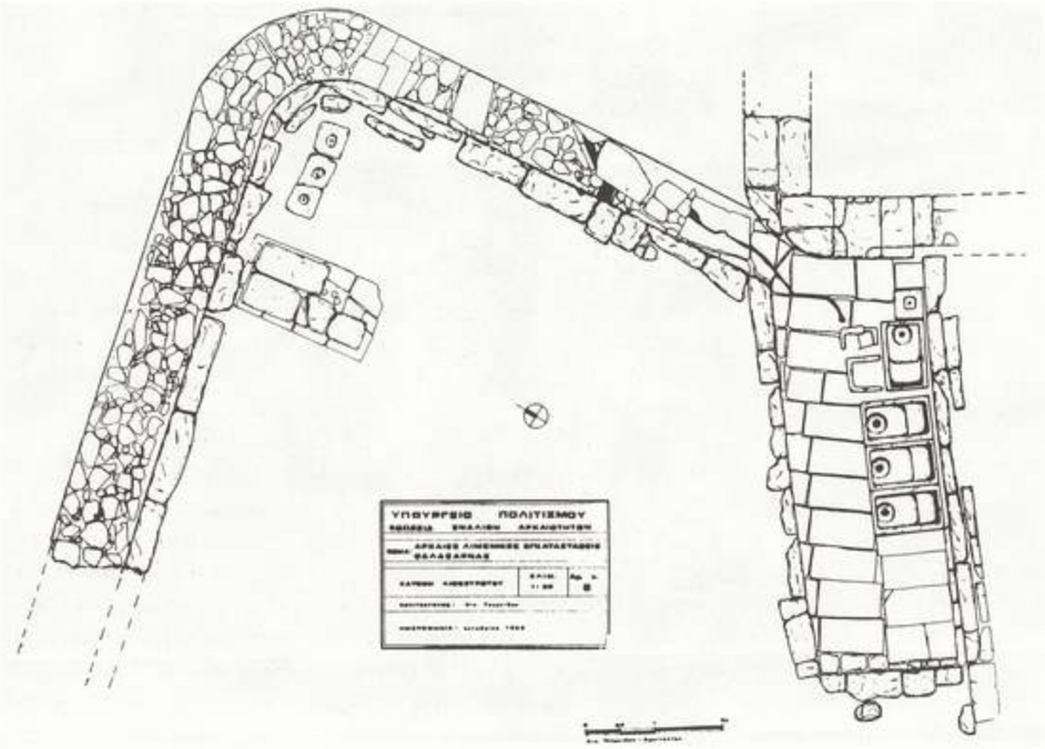

Figure 5. Plan of long polygonal wall with adjoining basins and paved road. Plan by K. Tagonidou

curves at its northern end, and continues west again for a total perimeter of 20 m. Around its northern perimeter there is a paved road made of smooth cobbles that are resting on a sublayer of crumbled sandstone. This is most likely part of the main road that connected the port with the main town. This road is very similar to the long avenue at the ancient town of Olynthus,[31] and may have been the sacred road to the temple.

Adjoined to the south side of this wall is a large room 6 m. long and 2 m. wide. Inside the room were found four sandstone basins carved in the shape of baby baths. Their interior contained a carved step, and at the bottom there is a depression that was once lined with lead. In one of them the lead remains intact. They rested on a carefully constructed floor paved with large rectangular blocks. The baths were filled with large chunks of unbaked clay and tailings from the processing of metallic ore. It

[31] D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus: Domestic and Public Architecture,* vol. 12 (Oxford, 1946), 170–78, pls. 141–47.

is presumed that this was a small industrial zone of the Late Hellenistic period, that the baths were used for washing clay and metal, and that the long wall was probably part of an enclosure that still awaits excavation.

Also discovered were the first 10 m. of the harbor's north quay between the partially excavated NE tower and the N tower (fig. 6). It consisted of thick limestone blocks arranged in a header and stretcher line, called by the ancients λίθυς ἐναλλὰξ φορμηδὸν καὶ παρὰ μήκος.[32] The headers are 1.12 m. long, 0.6 m. wide, and 0.4 m. high, and bear traces of sea erosion. The measurements of these blocks are nearly identical to those of the Hellenistic quay by the seashore at Straton's Tower.[33] One of the blocks bears a hole with rope marks inside, and obviously was used as a mooring stone. The quay is 0.8 m. high from base to top, and was half submerged. This leaves only 0.4 m. draft, and only 0.4 m. extension above the water, too little for triremes. Small craft were probably tied to this quay, from which they could bring supplies and personnel out to ships at the center of the harbor, where the water was deep.

Finally, at the back of the military port, there is an inner basin, 50 x 25 m., lined with finely crafted walls[34] (fig. 7). Thus far only one wall has been excavated, to a length of 12 m. It is constructed isodomically, and has a height of 1.2 m. and a width of 0.55 m. The top surfaces of the wall bear marks from erosion, and 0.3 m. below its surface the ancient water line is visible. Although right next to the sea, this basin contained only fresh or brackish water, and had only occasional contact with the sea. I am sure this installation was used for the harbor, but I still cannot guess its function. However, it is striking that a similar basin of brackish water was located adjacent to the inner basin at Straton's Tower.[35]

The harbor at Phalasarna seems to have been destroyed by the Romans under the general Metellus Creticus during the war against the Mediterranean pirates in 68–67 B.C.E.[36] The port fell into disuse, was abandoned, and quickly silted up. In 66 C.E. and 365 C.E. two major earthquakes lifted this part of western Crete 6.6 m. above sea level,[37] while tsunami waves buried whatever was not already hidden by silt. Long abandoned by its citizens, and hidden beneath the earth 100–200 m. from the coast, the harbor of Phalasarna survived relatively intact to the present day.

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[32] *Inscriptiones Graecae* 2/3², 1668.15.

[33] Raban, *Site*, 143–49.

[34] Frost and Hadjidaki, "Phalasarna 1988," 524, pl. 82b.

[35] Raban, *Site*, 133–37; Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 89.

[36] Hadjidaki, "Phalasarna," 476; Hadjidaki and Frost, "Phalasarna 1988," 525; F. Frost, "The Last Days of Phalasarna," *Ancient History Bulletin* 3 (1989), 15–17.

[37] For the tectonic displacement, see Hadjidaki, "Phalasarna," 466, and Pirazzoli et al., "Environmental Changes."

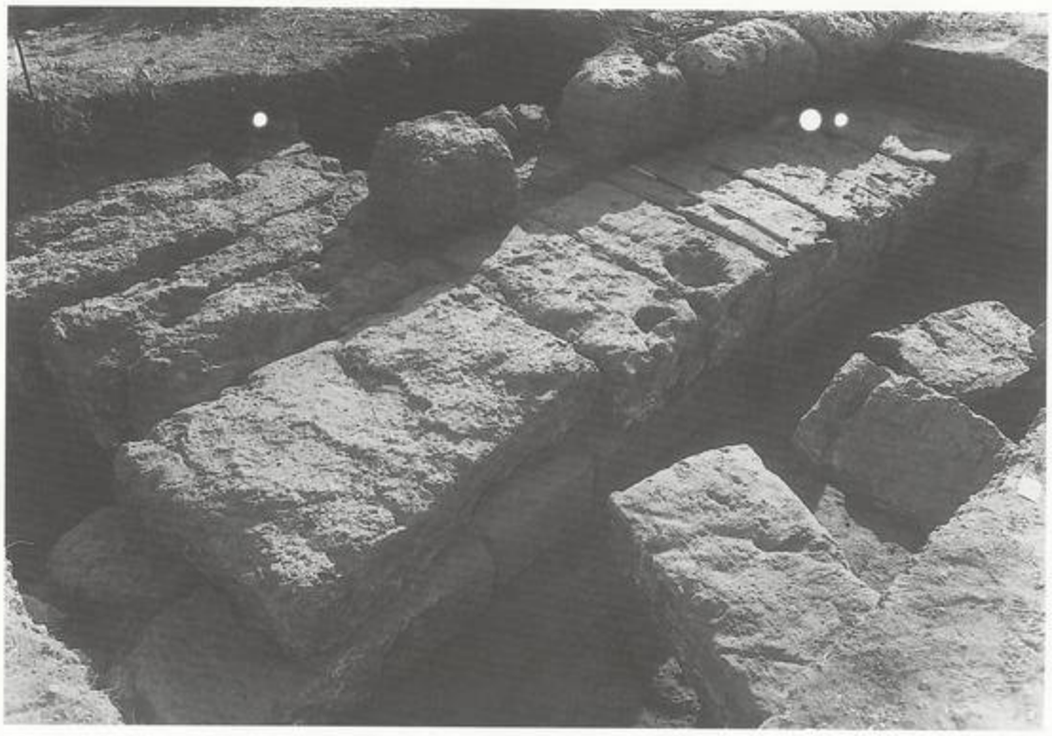

Figure 6. Quay with headers and stretchers. Photograph by C. Agourides

Conclusions

There are a number of striking similarities between the Hellenistic harbors of Phalasarna and the alleged harbor of Straton's Tower: (1) both were carved out of sandstone in preexisting lagoons near the sea; (2) both had a depth of 2 m. or more; (3) both were built next to freshwater sources; and (4) both were surrounded by walls and towers.

Thus both Phalasarna and Straton's Tower illustrate harbor types that were invented in the Classical period. Each is a λιμὴν κλειστός, since it is surrounded by the city walls. In addition, one must consider the Phoenician tradition of building artificial basins. The earliest of these at Motya dates to the sixth century B.C.E.,[38] but it is too

[38] J. S. Whittaker, *Motya, a Phoenician Colony in Sicily* (London, 1921), 185–93; J. du Plat Taylor, "Motya, a Phoenician Trading Settlement in Sicily," *Archaeology* 17 (1964), 91–100; D. J. Isserlin, "New Light on the 'Cothon,'" *Antiquity* 45 (1971), 178–86; idem, "The Cothon at Motya: Phoenician Harbor

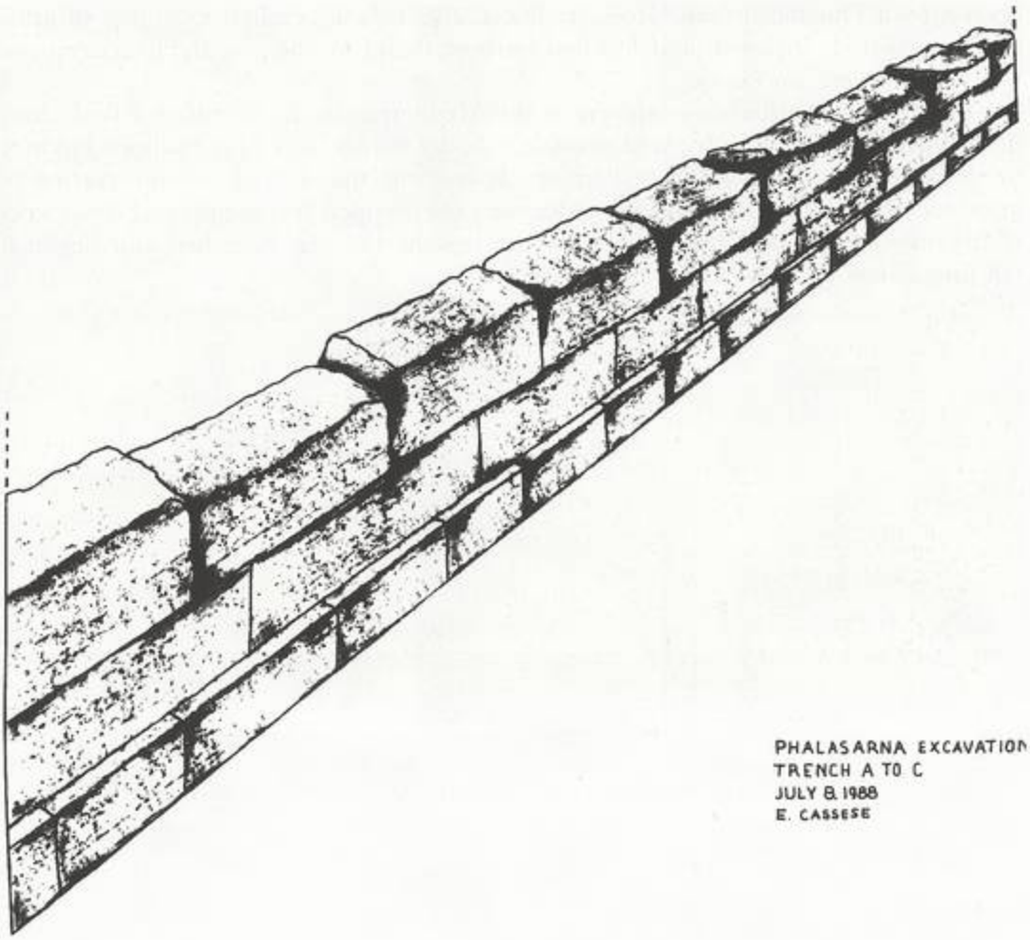

Figure 7. Side view of long retaining wall in the inner basin of Phalasarna. Drawing by Ellie Cassese

small to be a harbor, while the most famous, called Κώθων, at Carthage dates to 200 B.C.E.[39] Earlier construction at Carthage is an excavated channel 15–20 m. wide that dates to 400–350 B.C.E.[40] Thus the evolution of harbor design seems to have

Works," *Archaeology* 27 (1974), 188–94; D. Harden, *The Phoenicians* (London, 1962), 32, 37, 126, 130–31.

[39] H. Hurst, "Excavations at Carthage 1974: First Interim Report," *Antiquaries Journal* 55 (1975), 11–40; 56 (1976), 177–97; 57 (1977), 232–62; 59 (1979), 19–49; H. Hurst and L. Stager, "A Metropolitan Landscape: The Late Punic Port of Carthage," *WA* 9 (1978), 334–46.

[40] Hurst, "Carthage" (1979), 20–22; Hurst and Stager, "Metropolitan Landscape," 338–39; also L. Stager, "Excavations at Carthage 1975, the Punic Project: First Interim Report," *AASOR* 43 (1976), 169.

been a joint Phoenician and Greek tradition, although the earliest examples of artificially excavated, enclosed, and fortified harbors found to date, as at Phalasarna and Straton's Tower, are Greek.

I suggest that the harbor engineers of the Mediterranean had evolved a fairly standard harbor design, which could provide safe anchorage and port facilities for hundreds of years without silting or damage. It is ironic that Herod, in constructing an immense artificial harbor upon the older one, overstepped the engineering knowledge of his time. Within two hundred years, the new harbor was breached and began to fall into disuse.

5

Harbor Structures of the Augustan Age in Italy

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University of Viterbo

While King Herod the Great was building his new city and harbor of Caesarea, Emperor Augustus was engaged in a general reorganization of the Roman Empire. His plan included a new design for the complex maritime system in the Mediterranean Sea.[1] The core, indeed the starting point, of the system was the harbor facilities on Italian territory in the vicinity of Rome, mainly along the central Tyrrhenian Sea, where ports were extensively developed by Augustus.

However, the Empire's broader need for harbors could not be satisfied by the sites along the Tiber. In fact, since the beginning of the second century B.C.E. a greater volume of trade and business was channeled through the harbor of Puteoli, known also as the Delus Minor of the Phlegraean coast (fig. 1).[2]

In addition to its role as terminal for Rome's maritime trade, mainly oriented toward the eastern Mediterranean and the East generally, the coast of the Phlegraean Fields, especially Baiae, was a densely populated area. It was considered a pleasant vacation site for Rome's political and financial élite (the "villa society," to use the well-chosen expression of J. D'Arms).[3]

From literary evidence we also know that, from early Augustan times, the region was crowded with both small and large construction facilities. These included not only those that built the great luxury villas of the Roman *nobilitas*, but also daring and impressive shipyards never before realized on such a scale.[4]

These construction facilities, private and public, differed in both character and function. To private investors and entrepreneurs belonged fish farming facilities, which were very well known at Baiae where they had developed extensively thanks to the discovery of some special construction methods. These facilities were developed by an enterprising builder with an appropriately "fishy" surname, Lucius Sergius Orata (i.e.,

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[1] J. M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Rome, 1984), 87–182, 383, 476; M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum: Les infrastructures, les dispositifs et l'histoire de la marine militaire sous l'Empire romain* (Rome, 1986), 472–502.

[2] C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique, histoire et topographie* (Paris, 1907); *Puteoli*, ed. F. Zevi (Naples, 1993).

[3] J. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and the Owners from 150 BC to AD 444* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

[4] F. Castagnoli, "Topografia dei Campi Flegrei," in *I Campi Flegrei nell'archeologia e nella storia, Atti dei Convegni dei Lincei 33, Roma 1976* (Rome, 1977), 51–72.

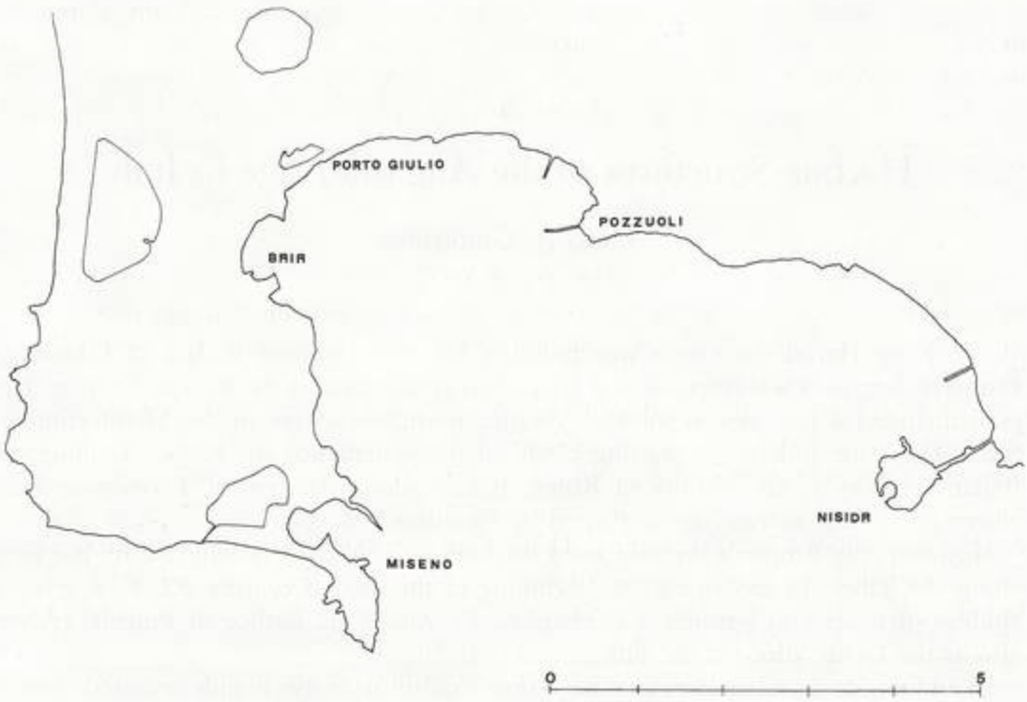

Figure 1. Gulf of Puteoli (Naples), general plan

Lucius Sergius Dory), who was attributed with inventing the *suspensurae* used in the underpaving of thermal baths (*calidaria*), which were quite numerous in and characteristic of the Phlegraean area.[5]

The large shipyard facilities were publicly owned and were operated for government purposes. They were, nonetheless, probably built with the aid of private funds, as with the public building program during the Augustan period. The first facility was the Portus Iulius, settled by Agrippa on the coastal lakes of Averno and Lucrino in 37 B.C.E.; then came the great harbor of Misenum, already operating for the military fleet during the second part of the Principate (ca. 10 C.E.); the long breakwater of the Puteoli harbor; the shipyards near the little island of Nisida; and the numerous facilities for the defense of the area outside the harbors along the entire coast from Nisida to Misenum.

[5] Val. Max. 8.1.1; Pliny *NH* 9.168.

These great and certainly long-term building efforts, unprecedented and unrivaled in the ancient world, made Puteoli and the Phlegraean Fields important centers for maritime engineering. There are broad echoes of their importance persisting throughout Augustan literature, mainly in Horace (*Od.* 2.18, 20–22; 3.1, 33-35; 3.24, 1–4) and Virgil (*Aeneid* 9.710–16), but also in a geographer such as Strabo (5.4.6), or reflected in the technical literature, for example, in Vitruvius' *pulvis puteolanus* (2.6.1).

Archaeological research in the past few years, together with information from aerial photography and from the cartography of the previous centuries, has critically increased our knowledge, both topographical and analytical, of these maritime structures. As did much of the Phlegraean coastal area, these structures almost disappeared into the sea, having collapsed as a result of bradyseism (the geological phenomenon that affects the entire area).[6]

First of all, many of the installations discovered were part of a complex system that had different but complementary functions, both military and commercial. The harbors of Misenum and Puteoli played a critical role, but minor areas or harbors (Nisida, the Campanian islands, Ventotene, and Ponza) were also important for the general control of the lower Tyrrhenian Sea. This region was in an excellent strategic position for navigation in the Mediterranean: it is not a coincidence that, along with the adjoining Gulf of Naples, the area now hosts the NATO base for Southern Europe and the Sixth Fleet of the U.S. Navy.

The main and characteristic feature of the maritime topography of this area is certainly the harbor of Puteoli, as it appears with its spectacular architecture in the foreground on souvenir glass flasks such as those in Prague, Odemira, Populonia, the Pilkington Museum, Cologne, Ostia, and Ampurias, with a long breakwater spanned on arcades supported by *pilae* (pillars).[7]

The remains of the Roman breakwater are now completely overwhelmed by modern renovations, but it was visible for centuries, as is attested by many maps drawn by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travelers. The breakwater was 372 m. long, set on a row of at least fifteen *pilae* on a square plan, slightly arched to support the force of the waves (fig. 2).[8] The *pilae* each had a stone mooring link, and they were lined up east-west, to provide protection from the southerly winds that are common in harbors along the Tyrrhenian Sea. The breakwater was probably built during the Augustan age when Puteoli received a new colony. It was restored under Hadrian, and later under Antoninus Pius.

The same technique, which was also used for the external part of the Portus Iulius

[6] Castagnoli, "Topografia"; P. A. Gianfrotta, "Puteoli sommersa," in *Puteoli*, ed. Zevi; G. Di Fraia, N. Lombardo, and E. Scognamiglio, "Baia sommersa," in *Archeologia subacquea. Studi, ricerche, documenti* 1 (Rome, 1993), 21–70.

[7] S. E. Ostrow, "The Topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the Eight Glass Flasks," in *Puteoli: Studi di storia antica* 3 (1979), 77–126.

[8] Dubois, *Pouzzoles*, 249–61; Castagnoli, "Topografia," 62–64.

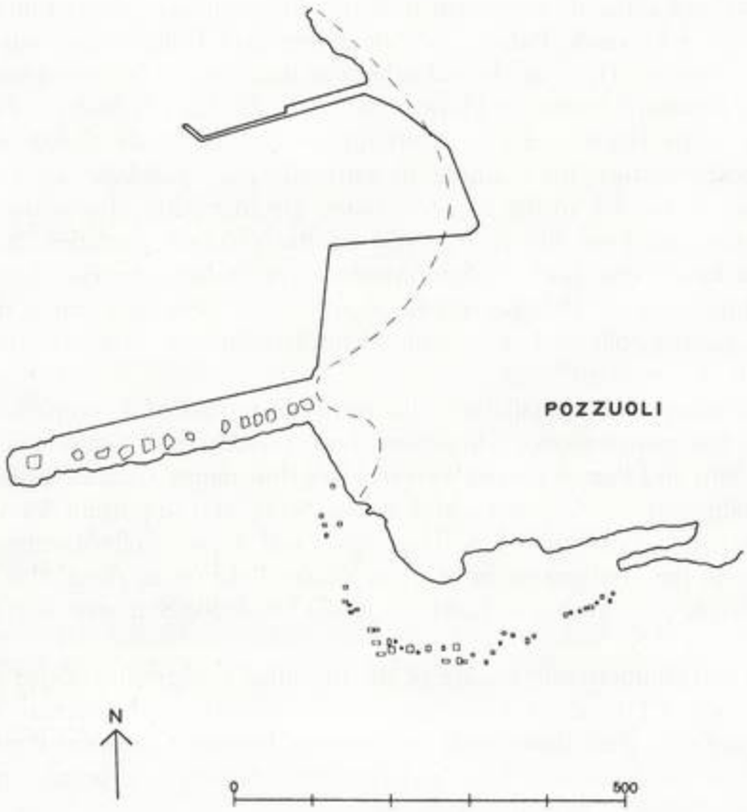

Figure 2. Puteoli, harbor and area below Terra Rione

and more frequently along the Baiae coastline, was used to lengthen the structures built out into the sea around Terra Rione by installing a number of *pilae*.[9]

Other similar structures were built on the northeastern side of the island of Nisida: situated on the southeast side of the Gulf of Puteoli, the island today retains its primarily military role. On the narrow strip of land that connects the island with the coast are modern buildings housing the offices of the NATO military forces for Southern Europe.

Here, until now, remains of the ancient harbor's installations were unknown: recent underwater archaeological research, carried out to permit the construction of large

[9] G. Camodeca, "Per una storia economica e sociale di Puteoli fra Augusto e i Severi," in *Civiltà dei Campi Flegrei* (Naples, 1992), 149–50, pl. I.

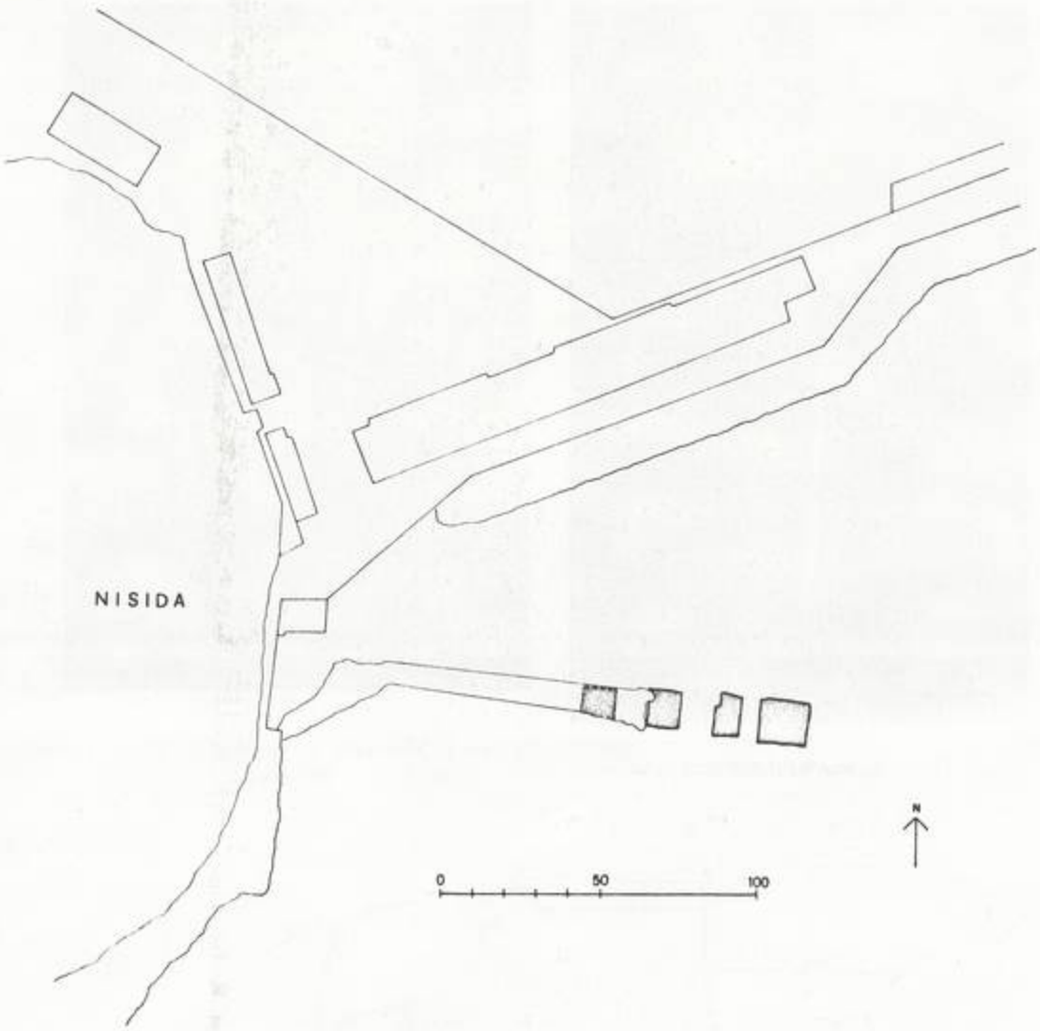

Figure 3. Nisida, the pilae still in situ

rock breakwaters, has noted three *pilae* still *in situ* on the seabed (fig. 3). These are the surviving structures; many others have been overwhelmed, not only by the breakwater, but also by the fill that was brought in during the second half of the last century to form the land strip where the main NATO offices are now located. The earlier situation is documented by maps of the Bourbon period, such as Antonio Rossi's 1838 map which clearly shows several rows of *pilae:* they had a square plan, similar to those

Figure 4. Nisida, detail of a pila

Figure 6. Misenum, the head of the Punta Terone breakwater

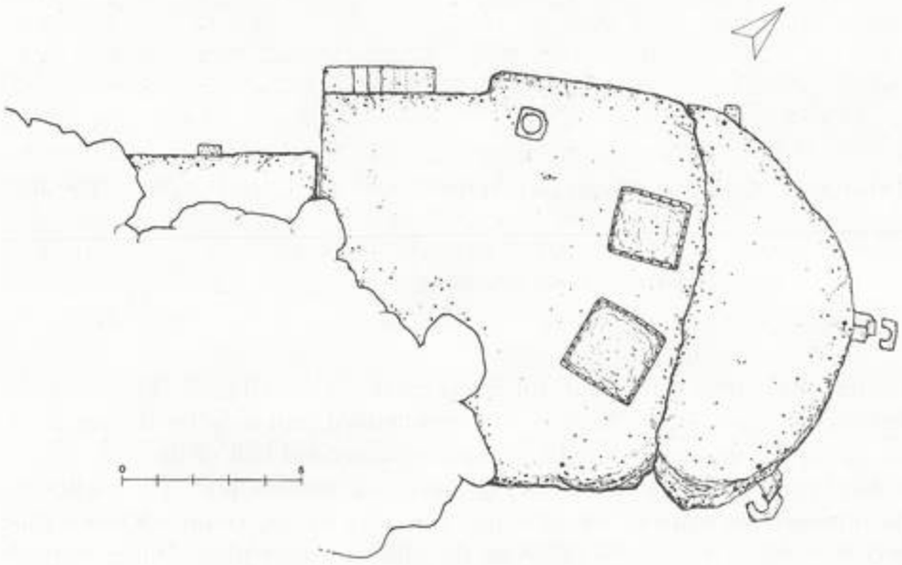

Figure 5. Misenum, the Punta Terone breakwater

at Puteoli, and were positioned both where the stone block breakwater is now located and further inside, toward the rear.[10]

The furthest of the *pilae* is perfectly preserved. It is 9.50 m. high and extends 1.80 m. below sea level; it has an irregular quadrangular plan, with sides measuring 7.70, 9.02, 14.20, and 15.20 m. (fig. 4). A solid and impressive tower was built of successive castings of *opus caementicium* and tufa fragments, which on the sides of the *pila* seem to form a sort of *opus reticulatum*. The angles are rounded, and the plan of the successive castings of concrete can be seen. In some sections there are holes that were used for wood posts and the beams of the scaffolding. This was a double bulkhead scaffolding, watertight so that it remained dry during construction. The tufa blocks (in these *pilae*, the term *opus reticulatum*, even if it gives an idea of the arrangement, is technically incorrect) could thus be placed in good order inside the scaffolding to achieve maximum cohesion.

The same type of construction is found for the breakwaters that protected the two entrances to the harbor of Misenum (fig. 10).[11] On the Punta Terone side, the underwater structures consist of a row of eight *pilae*, most of them still standing (only two are collapsed): a long breakwater runs alongside them, but today it is hidden by blocks from a modern cliff (fig. 5). The *pilae* are parallelepipeds, rectangular at the base, each one of different dimensions; they rise from the sandy bottom to different heights: from 3 m. to 6.50 m. going toward the center of the harbor entrance. Some of them have holes that were left by the vertical and horizontal beams of the scaffolding, and the horizontal lines of the casts of concrete (see figs. 8, 9).

Of the breakwater beside the *pilae* there remains today only the curvilinear head of concrete, from which some mooring stones are visible (figs. 5, 6): four can be distinguished, all cut systematically at the center (perhaps destroyed during World War II when submarines came for refueling to the Misenum harbor), with the cut part found on the seafloor (fig. 7). On the inner side of the breakwater one can recognize a flight of steps used for boarding or disembarking from ships. Even further within (ca. 100 m.), from an area of destroyed and collapsed structures (perhaps an inside arm of the wharf built on *pilae*), come some architectural fragments of honorary monumental buildings: two torsos of marble statues (an Aphrodite of the Hera Borghese type and a man wearing a toga), and two statue bases with inscriptions, both honorific.[12] On the side of the entrance known as the Punta Pennata, another row of *pilae* can be seen (fig. 10): they are very similar to the previous ones and form a right angle.

Thus, from the general plan, with the submerged breakwater mentioned above (fig.

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[10] Gianfrotta, "Puteoli," 123–24.

[11] K. J. Beloch, *Campanien: Geschichte und Topographie des antiken Neapel und seiner Umgebung*, 2nd ed. (Breslau, 1890), 194–96.

[12] See F. Zevi, in *Atti del XX Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1980* (Taranto, 1987), 262–63. One of the statue bases, dated to the first half of the third century C.E., is dedicated to a former *scriba* of the military fleet, C. Iulius Maro, by the fish traders of Misenum; another later inscription is almost completely abraded.

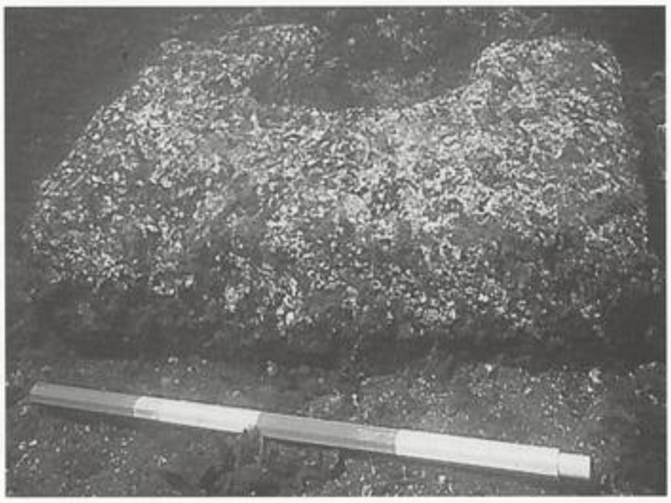

Figure 7. Misenum, Punta Terone, one of the mooring stones, cut and collapsed

10), the general form of the Misenum promontory surrounded on every side by the sea, and the harbor divided into two basins, we can now recognize the harbor of Misenum as seen in the well-known painting from Stabiae, today in the National Museum of Naples.[13]

Returning now to our starting point, we have seen that a great number of harbor structures were built in central Italy (and also the breakwaters of the island of Ponza and of Egnazia in the lower Adriatic, which are of the Augustan age).[14] They are more or less contemporary with the construction of the Caesarea harbor, possibly a little earlier. They were built with the aid of a new, shared technical knowledge, which is shown by the use of the same building techniques and perhaps the same workmen.

These builders were especially experienced in the use of the hydraulic materials peculiar to the Phlegraean Fields, thanks to which they could achieve extraordinary harbor structures.[15] The properties of pozzolana, or *pulvis puteolanus*, a soft volcanic

[13] K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenlangen des Mittelmeeres*, Klio, Beiheft 14 (Leipzig, 1923; repr. Aalen, 1963), 224–27, fig. 11.

[14] Completely unpublished are the recent discoveries of the remains of *pilae* on the Roman breakwater of the harbor at Ponza: it was built during the Augustan age and is very similar to those of the Phlegraean coast, even if today it is part of the modern dock. For the harbor of Egnazia, possibly of the Augustan age or a little later during the first half of the first century C.E., see a preliminary general plan in A. Freschi, "Egnazia 1979: Ricerche subacquee," in *Atti del XIX Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia, Taranto 1979* (Naples, 1980), 450–55.

[15] J. P. Oleson and G. Branton, "The Harbour of Caesarea Palestinae: A Case Study of Technology

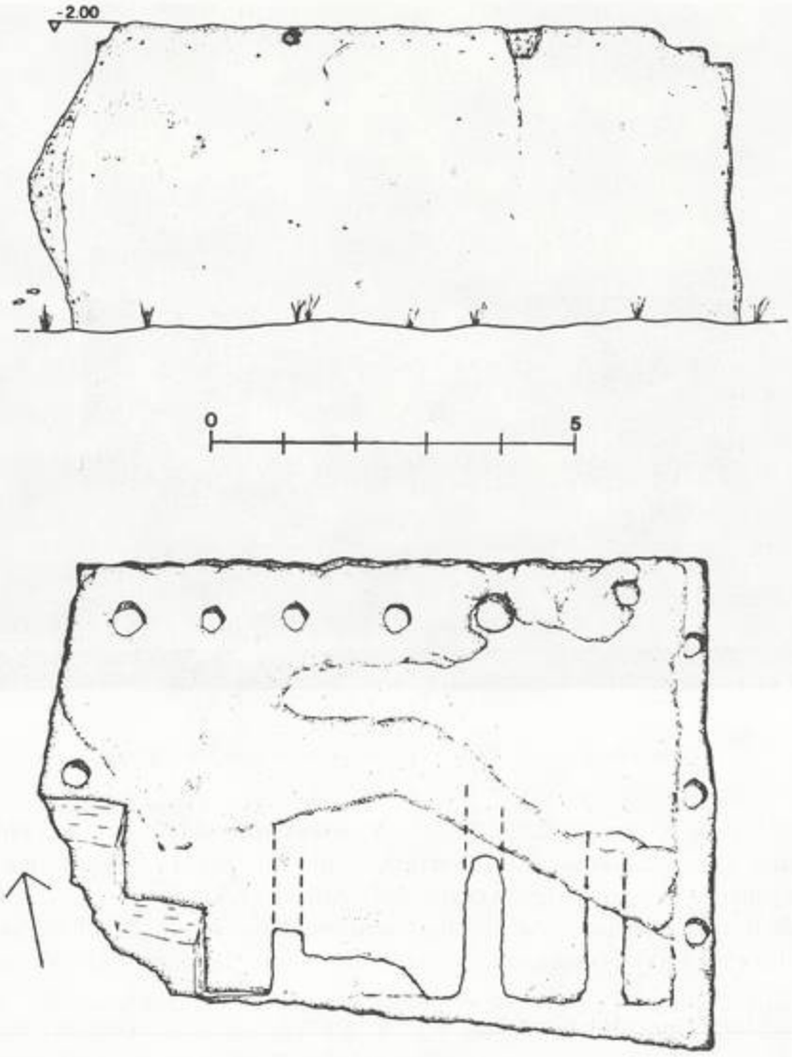

Figure 8. Misenum, Punta Terone, details of a pila with the vertical and horizontal holes of the beams and the horizontal line of the casting of concrete

Transfer in the Roman Empire," in *Geschichte der Wasserwirtschaft und des Wasserbaus im Mediterranen Raum, VIII. Internationalen Symposium zur Geschichte des Wasserbaus* (Merida, 1991), Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig, Heft 117 (1992), 396–405. The presence of "Italian" workmanship has rightly been detected in the construction of Herod's "winter palace" at Jericho: F. W. Deichmann, "Westliche Bautechnik im römischen und rhomäischen Osten," in *RömMitt* 86 (1979), 474; more recently Oleson and Branton, "The Harbour," 397–98.

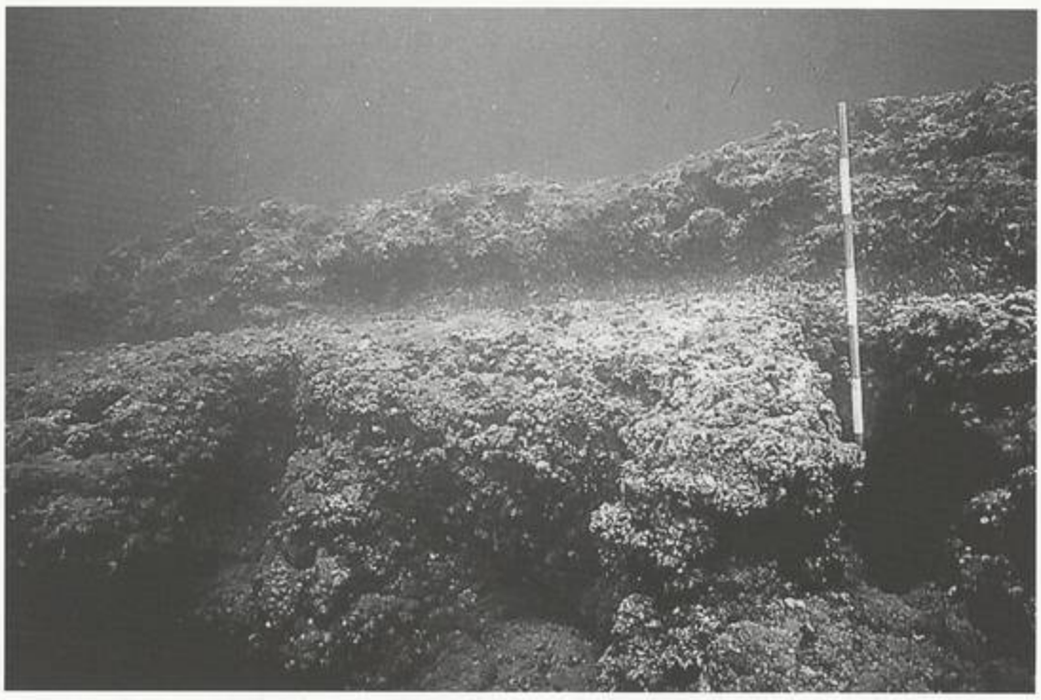

Figure 9. Misenum, Punta Terone, detail of concrete casting

rock, are extolled by Vitruvius (2.6.1; 5.12.2–3), who wrote only about the Phlegraean pozzolana and that of Cumae and Sorrento, and by Seneca (*Quaest. nat.* 3.20.3: "Puteolanus pulvis si aquam attigit, saxum est"). Strabo (5.4.6) attributed to pozzolana the main role in the construction of the harbor installations along the Phlegraean coast so that the shores could be transformed into basins where the biggest ships could moor safely.

The critical importance of pozzolana was so great for harbor structures that it was also transported to distant regions, as shown by the analysis made of the concrete of the breakwaters of the Caesarea harbor.[16] This is not surprising. There were many connections between Puteoli and the Palestine area, as attested by the significant Jewish community that had already been settled in the Phlegraean city for quite some time (Joseph. *BJ* 2.104) when the apostle Paul arrived in 61 C.E. after a long voyage on grain ships that had sailed through the eastern Mediterranean from Alexandria. More or less from the same area came a flourishing community of Nabataean Arabs that had settled at Puteoli, along with the *mahramta* of the god Dusares, as witnessed

[16] Oleson and Branton, "The Harbour," 398–401.

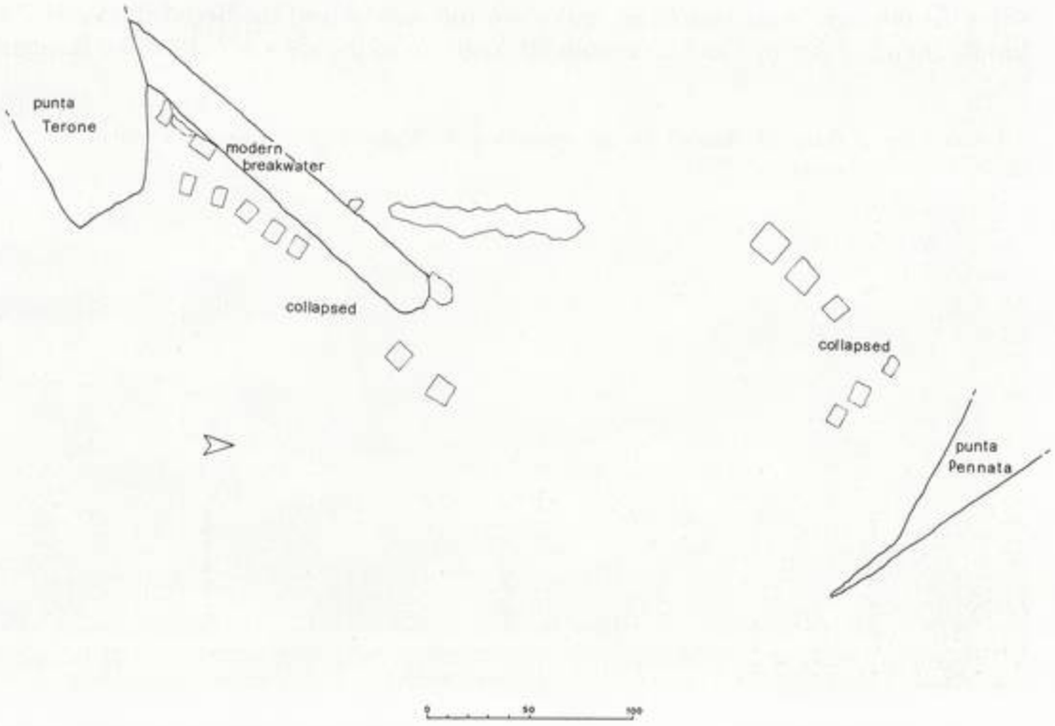

Figure 10. Misenum, general plan of the harbor entrance

by many inscriptions found in the commercial area now underwater due to bradyseism.[17]

Therefore, instead of other ballast (*saburra*), pozzolana would have been an appropriate return cargo for many ships (perhaps especially for the Alexandrian ones) that arrived at Puteoli from the Mediterranean, bringing food supplies for Rome and exotic goods from the Far East ("navigia inania et vacua et similia redeuntibus": Pliny *Panegyr.* 31). Pozzolana was transported on the return voyage of Egyptian grain ships, and hence could serve the purpose at Caesarea of building a very large new harbor substructure.[18] Caesarea was part of the trend toward increasing trade, which was of critical importance for Rome and for the political world system of the new Augustan

[17] F. De Romaniis, "Puteoli e l'Oriente," in *Puteoli*, ed. Zevi, 64–65.

[18] Emperor Caligula could rely on a quick connection between Italy and Palestine: he suggested to King Herod Agrippa that he not follow the long and difficult route along the coast from Brindisi to the province of Syria, but go straight to Alexandria, with the favorable winds, using the military ships reserved for people of his status (Philo Alex. *Contra Flaccum* 26).

order. In this new trade system an important role was played by Herod the Great, a faithful friend of Agrippa and a sure ally of Augustus in the eastern part of the Roman Empire.[19]

I would like to thank M. Rendeli for the translation, E. Scognamiglio for the photographs, and F. Esposito for the drawings.

[19] Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa*, 450-60. Recall that Augustus saved Palestine from famine by allowing Herod to buy grain in Egypt and by facilitating its transport by sea between 24 and the 21 B.C.E. (Joseph. *AJ* 15.305–7).

6

Caesarea's Master Harbor Builders: Lessons Learned, Lessons Applied?

Robert L. Hohlfelder
University of Colorado at Boulder

Nearly two thousand years ago, Caesarea Maritima entered the Mediterranean commonwealth that flourished under the Roman eagle. Few urban centers had such a distinct and glorious inauguration into this community. In just over a decade (22–10/9 B.C.E.), a gleaming port arose from a desolate and barren coastline in the eastern Mediterranean to become a major international crossroads. Upon its completion, Caesarea stood as a testimony to the brilliance of the millennial tradition of urbanism in the Near East and to the level of sophistication, specialization, and opulence that characterized cities in the world of Rome.[1] Although King Herod was well known as a patron of monumental buildings, cities, and grand structures both within and beyond the boundaries of his own kingdom, he may well have viewed his new seaside capital as the capstone of his efforts to define and enhance his contemporary and historical image through an expensive and expansive building program. Much was invested in the port city that bore the name of his Roman patron, Augustus Caesar, including Herod's regal ambitions to become a more influential figure in the economic and geopolitical arena of his day.

As the supreme testimony to his dreams of international influence and immortality, the king spared no expense in the construction of Caesarea. Fortunately, we have the

[1] I would like to thank the following agencies and individuals associated with the University of Colorado for their generous support of my research at Caesarea Maritima and Paphos: the Graduate Committee on the Arts and Humanities, the Council on Research and Creative Work, Dean Charles R. Middleton of the College of Arts and Sciences, and Professor James N. Corbridge, formerly the university chancellor. At an early stage of CAHEP's fieldwork, and before Caesarea's unique archaeological richness had been fully confirmed, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Geographic Society took a "chance" and partially funded several seasons of underwater explorations at King Herod's port city. To a great extent, all that has happened at Caesarea since 1981 has directly evolved from their endorsement and financial assistance. I am happy to acknowledge the continuing support of the National Geographic Society for my survey work in and around the Paphos harbor. Without such benefactors, the legacy of Antiquity beneath the Mediterranean would forever remain unknown.

Much of Caesarea's story is contained in the following recent major publications, which also include the earlier and more specialized bibliography: Oleson et al., *Finds; Caesarea Papers;* Raban, *Site;* and *Herod's Dream.*

familiar passages of Flavius Josephus, written decades after Herod's floruit, that described the face of his city in considerable detail (AJ 15.331–41; BJ 1.408–14).[2]

The various archaeological missions that have probed the ruins of Herod's city since the 1950s have added significant details to our understanding of its original configuration, with the current massive archaeological effort now under way by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) and the University of Haifa being of particular note.[3] While far more will be learned in the years ahead, one can now say with confidence that Josephus did not exaggerate Caesarea's elegance or grandeur. For example, his account of Sebastos, the Herodian harbor complex, was not magniloquently hyperbolic, as W. M. Thomson claimed in 1861, but was actually understated in many respects.[4]

From the moment of its birth, Caesarea was one of the finest examples of a Graeco-Roman city in the vast Mediterranean empire of Rome. And in that description, Graeco-Roman city, is the key to understanding the raison d'être of this metropolis. Herod consciously decided to create a port that would be a western enclave in the eastern Mediterranean.

Like all ports, Caesarea stood at the intersection of an extensive land and sea transportation network. People, products, and ideas could have easily moved in both directions through its harbors and gates. But the king's focus for his new gateway metropolis was in one direction. Although its geographical setting was at the overlap of two rich legacies and traditions, he decided not to recognize this cultural duality in the buildings and monuments that distinguished his city. Herod's vision for Caesarea was for it to serve as a permanent, open window to Rome and as a reflection of the majesty of the imperial world that lay beyond its harbors. Through his royal enclave, the West entered his kingdom.[5]

With such a goal in mind, it is not surprising to find the imprint of Rome in the structures and city plan of Herod's capital. It is very likely that master builders from the West may have played a critical role in the actual construction of the city and its principal public monuments.[6] Most certainly, there is compelling archaeological

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[2] A recent translation of these two passages that is sensitive to the technological nuances of the text is by J. P. Oleson, in Raban, *Site*, 51–53.

[3] The Combined Caesarea Excavations (CCE) also continues its summer fieldwork at King Herod's city in and around the excavations conducted by the IAA and the University of Haifa; see Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992). The underwater caisson excavations in the harbor, conducted in 1992 under the aegis of the CCE by the author, were inexplicably omitted from this report, although a photograph of excavations in area R3 does appear (fig. 5), along with a summary paragraph of description (pp. 4–5). For a progress report on this project, see R. L. Hohlfelder, "Romancing the Mud in the Harbor of Caesarea Maritima, Israel," forthcoming in *Ancient History in the Modern University*, ed. T. Hillard et al. (Sydney, 1995).

[4] W. W. Thomson, *The Land and the Book* (London, 1861), 495.

[5] The pottery imports reflect this orientation to the Aegean and the West. See Oleson et al., *Finds*, 156; J. A. Blakely, "Ceramics and Commerce: Amphorae from Caesarea Maritima," *BASOR* 271 (1988), 31–50; and the chapters by Jeffrey A. Blakely and by John P. Oleson et al. in this volume.

[6] Western master builders may also have worked for Herod at Jericho on his winter palace. See F.

evidence, if not direct literary testimony, to suggest that imported technology provided the underpinnings of the building program for Sebastos. The extensive use of pozzolana imported from the Bay of Naples and the use of wood, brought in from points beyond the eastern Mediterranean for use in building construction forms recently found in the sea, suggest western expertise.[7]

How these men arrived at Caesarea with their knowledge of hydraulic concrete and a fledgling tradition for using it in a marine environment can only be surmised. We know from a later period of Rome's history that the emperor Trajan (98–117 C.E.) was frequently asked by his legate and friend Pliny to dispatch technical experts to oversee major urban construction projects throughout the cities of Pontus and Bithynia in Asia Minor (Pliny *Ep.* 10.37, 39). Usually, however, Trajan rejected these requests and instructed his governor to use local resources, clearly stating that competent builders were available in his provinces (Pliny *Ep. 10.*40, 62).

One can imagine similar appeals from governors and cities flooding to Rome in an unending stream. Such was the reality of imperial hegemony, for citizens and subjects all looked to the capital. But unless the situation in Pontus and Bithynia was unique, and there is no reason to believe that it was, far more requests must have been rejected than approved.

The precise reasons why some petitions received official blessing, while most did not, are not recoverable from extant sources. The Trajan-Pliny correspondence suggests that it was most likely imperial fancy and perceived self-interest rather than fixed policy that determined which ones were honored and what form such aid took. There were no criteria for evaluating or determining which entreaties provoked imperial benefaction and which did not. The decision to intervene was personal and, if the Trajan-Pliny letters are an accurate guide, almost whimsically subjective. For those who sought imperial assistance, the whole process must have been maddeningly unpredictable, and, of course, absolutely final in its outcome. Imperial decisions were not subject to higher review.

A similar procedure for requesting imperial intervention probably began as soon as Augustus had firmly consolidated his position after the civil war with Antony had ended at Actium (31 B.C.E.). Since client kings were such an integral part of the political order of the Empire, requests for patronage and aid of all sorts probably came from these regal personages as well.

Given the grandeur of King Herod's urban project, the individual to whom it was dedicated, and the potential importance of the port city to imperial interests in the region, it seems quite likely that the king of the Jews made such a petition. As the archaeological evidence from the sea suggests, technical assistance was given for

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W. Deichmann, "Westliche Bautechnik im römischen und rhomäischen Osten," *RömMitt* 86 (1979), 474.

[7] J. P. Oleson, "Herod and Vitruvius: Preliminary Thoughts on Harbour Engineering at Sebastos, the Harbour of Caesarea Maritima," in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology*, BAR Int. Ser. 257 (Oxford, 1985), 168, and J. P. Oleson and G. Branton, "The Technology of Herod's Harbour," in *Caesarea Papers*, 56–66.

constructing the first artificial harbor out into the open sea from a disadvantageous coastline.

Master builders with knowledge of the most advanced construction techniques were dispatched east to oversee, and perhaps participate in, the creation of sophisticated harbor installations that went well beyond the engineering traditions of the age. The project Herod had proposed for Caesarea stretched the technology of the day, for the site he had designated for his port city offered few features to encourage its selection on its own natural merits. It was especially ill-suited for the scale of the maritime project he had envisioned, but politics and economics, not nature, determined the king's decision.[8]

Since site selection was not in the purview of the master builders, they could only cope with the ramifications of the king's choice. They brought with them their technology and the tools of their trade to confront the sea at a location that they never would have chosen themselves. Their task was to implement the king's dream and to do it as quickly as possible.

Most of the Caesarea publications to date have called these western technical specialists "engineers."[9] Today this designation is invested with a thick coating of educational, methodological, and social nuances and preconceptions that most likely did not apply to their ancient counterparts. It would be far more appropriate simply to call these unknown individuals "master builders." Their approach was probably far more practical and pragmatic than theoretical. Long years of apprenticeship, rather than formal education, provided a foundation of experience to permit these men to move beyond their previous accomplishments when unique challenges presented themselves. They knew how to create new solutions for physical problems.[10] It is less likely that they always knew why things worked as they did.

The exciting story of their successes and failures is being recovered from beneath the waters of Caesarea. Several decades of underwater explorations, beginning in 1960 with Edwin A. Link and continuing today under the aegis of the Center for

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[8] But when the challenges of the exposed location of Caesarea had been successfully met, ancient harbors could then be sited anywhere politics or economics dictated, providing adequate resources and determination were available. Such was the legacy of Sebastos. In that regard, as well as in its technological features, Herod's harbor was a "modern" one.

For the king's motives for building Caesarea and its grandiose, elaborate, and expansive harbor installations, see *Herod's Dream*, 73.

[9] The use of the term in the Caesarea literature is ubiquitous. See, e.g., Raban, *Site*, 286 and passim; *Herod's Dream*, 101 and passim; Oleson and Branton, "Technology of King Herod's Harbour," 51, and in most other publications that deal with the harbor construction. I hope "master builders" will gain currency in the future for reasons suggested in the text.

[10] As Oleson points out, the only surviving Roman literary text dealing with harbor construction appears in Vitruvius, *De Architectura* (5.12.2–6). It was published before work on Sebastos had started (Oleson, "Herod and Vitruvius," 169). The master builders of Herod's harbor worked beyond what Vitruvius had summarized as the state-of-the-art instructions for using pozzolana. They were on their own to devise new solutions for the site's unique natural features and challenges.

Maritime Studies of the University of Haifa, have produced astonishing results.[11] Many publications on the wonders of the submerged portions of the harbor installations now exist, and others are in progress. This chapter discusses only three design features of Herod's innovative harbor building program that may have seen almost immediate replication elsewhere in the Mediterranean after their initial employment at Caesarea.

Early in the explorations of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP), the remains of an independent, submerged mole were discovered running parallel to a section of the main Southern Breakwater.[12] It appeared to be a discontinuous structure that merely breached the surface in Antiquity (fig. 1).

Its function was to provide a first line of defense or protection for the principal enclosing arm where it would have been particularly vulnerable to heavy storm seas running in from the southwest. Waves would have lost much of their force and kinetic energy as they rolled across this barrier. The main structure would have been spared much of the destructive power of a violent sea smashing into it. In addition, wave spray over the seawall that ran down the axis of the Southern Breakwater would have been reduced. The warehouses and magazines that Josephus tells us were built against this spinal wall would have been drier and safer for whatever cargoes might have been stored there prior to loading on merchantmen for overseas shipment or on land transport vehicles for conveyance to inland destinations.

We do not yet know how far along the course of the Southern Breakwater this freestanding secondary mole extended, what its configuration might have been beyond the sections that have been explored to date, or how successful it was. No earlier examples of such an installation in an ancient harbor are known, so it may well be that Caesarea's subsidiary breakwater was the first example of an attempt to mitigate and control the force of the sea in such a fashion. CAHEP's excavators believed that it represented one of the several experiments and design innovations intended to address the relentless natural challenges posed by the difficult siting of the port city on an unforgiving coast.

CAHEP's excavators also found the entrance of a small channel leading into the massif of the Southern Breakwater itself. It has been suggested that it was a component of a flushing system, constructed as part of the original harbor design, intended to counteract the seaborne sediments that threatened any enclosed basin constructed along the eastern Mediterranean littoral.[13] Sand-free water from wave

[11] A. Raban, "Marine Archaeology in Israel," *Oceanus* 28 (1985), 59–65; R. L. Hohlfelder, "The First Three Decades of Marine Explorations," in *Caesarea Papers*, 291–94; and A. Raban and R. L. Hohlfelder, in Raban, *Site*, 55–98.

[12] For a preliminary discussion of this design feature, see A. Raban and R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Ancient Harbors of Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology* 34 (1981), 59; a fuller discussion is offered by J. P. Oleson, "Area E: The Subsidiary Breakwater," in Raban, *Site*, 120–23.

[13] Early mention of this sluice channel, identified as part of a flushing system, appeared in Raban and Hohlfelder, "Ancient Harbors," 58 and 60, and in R. L. Hohlfelder et al., "Sebastos, Herod's

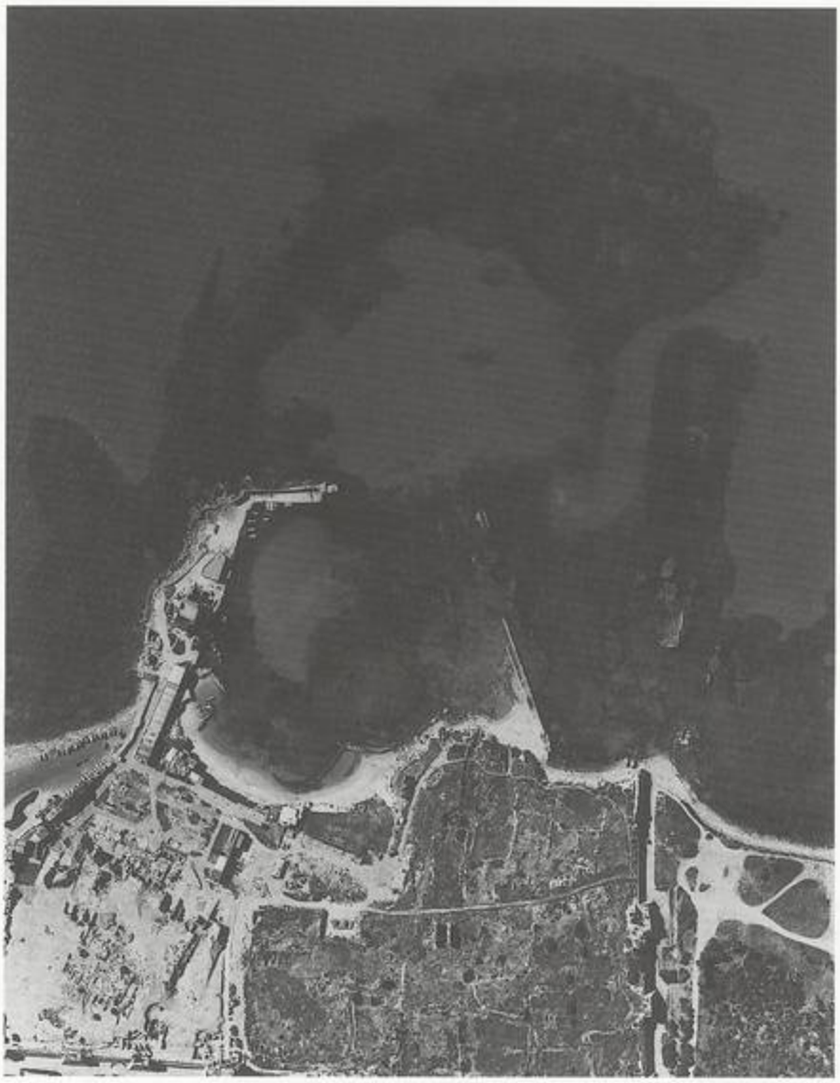

Figure 1. An aerial view of Sebastos (N to the right). A segment of the subsidiary breakwater is visible as a spit of rubble on the exterior southern face of the Southern Breakwater. Photograph by Ofek

Harbor at Caesarea," *Biblical Archaeologist* 46 (1983), 137. See also Oleson and Branton, "Technology of King Herod's Harbour," 86.

tops flowed into the anchorage through this and other channels in some controlled manner to help create an outflowing current that would scour away sediment that had washed in through the entrance channel as well as unwanted emanations from the city's sewers or drains.

It is still unknown whether or not such a scouring current could have been manufactured by such channels or how many inlets would have been necessary to have any meaningful impact on water flow and sand deposition within the enclosed harbor. There is some evidence from recent underwater excavations that calls into question the efficacy of the alleged flushing system. The presence of mud layers throughout the harbor, dating to moments when the breakwaters were functioning as intended, hints at the nonexistence or ineffectiveness of an artificially induced countercurrent.[14] A significant outward water flow, necessary for flushing out the enclosed basin, would not have permitted the calm conditions requisite for the deposition of mud, which in some locations was almost a meter thick.

There is the very real possibility that this channel simply fed a *piscina* constructed on the breakwater itself. A parallel for such an arrangement was discovered at Kenchreai, Greece, where another Roman harbor site was under construction at the same time as Caesarea.[15] But, assuming that the channel was an original component of the Herodian installation intended to provide some amelioration of the persistent siltation, its existence provides another example of the genius of the master builders of Sebastos. They had identified a future problem before construction had begun and had incorporated a design feature into their building program to address it.

One other enigmatic element of the harbor studied by CAHEP excavators was a pair of concrete blocks uncovered west of and outside the entrance channel on an unusual axis in relation to the *termini* of both breakwaters and to the harbor entrance (figs. 1–2). These blocks have been identified as the remains of the bases of towers that supported the monumental sculpture that Josephus said adorned the gateway to Sebastos.[16]

The problem posed by these foundations is not their function but their location near the entrance channel itself. These two towers, "yoked together" in some way (to use Josephus' phrasing), would have been at the very least a hindrance to ships

[14] For a discussion of the enigmatic mud deposits in Caesarea's harbor, see R. L. Hohlfelder, "An Experiment in Controlled Excavation beneath Caesarea Maritima's Sea 1990," *BASOR* 290–91 (1993), 95–107, and "Romancing the Mud," forthcoming, where the appearance of mud as a possible indicator of the inefficacy of the alleged de-silting system is raised.

[15] R. L. Scranton, J. W. Shaw, and L. Ibrahim, *Kenchreai Eastern Port of Corinth, Vol. 1: Topography and Architecture* (Leiden, 1978), 25–35, where a series of *piscinae* were located on the south mole. On the building of Kenchreai, see also R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Building of the Roman Harbour at Kenchreai: Old Technology in a New Era," in Raban, *Harbour Archaeology*, 81–86.

[16] For an early mention of these blocks, see R. L. Hohlfelder and J. P. Oleson, "Sebastos, the Harbor Complex of Caesarea Maritima, Israel: The Preliminary Report of the 1978 Underwater Explorations," in M. Sears and D. Merriman, eds., *Oceanography: The Past* (New York, 1980), 774; the fullest description appears in R. L. Vann, "Area K: Twin Towers West of Entrance Channel," in Raban, *Site*, 149–51.

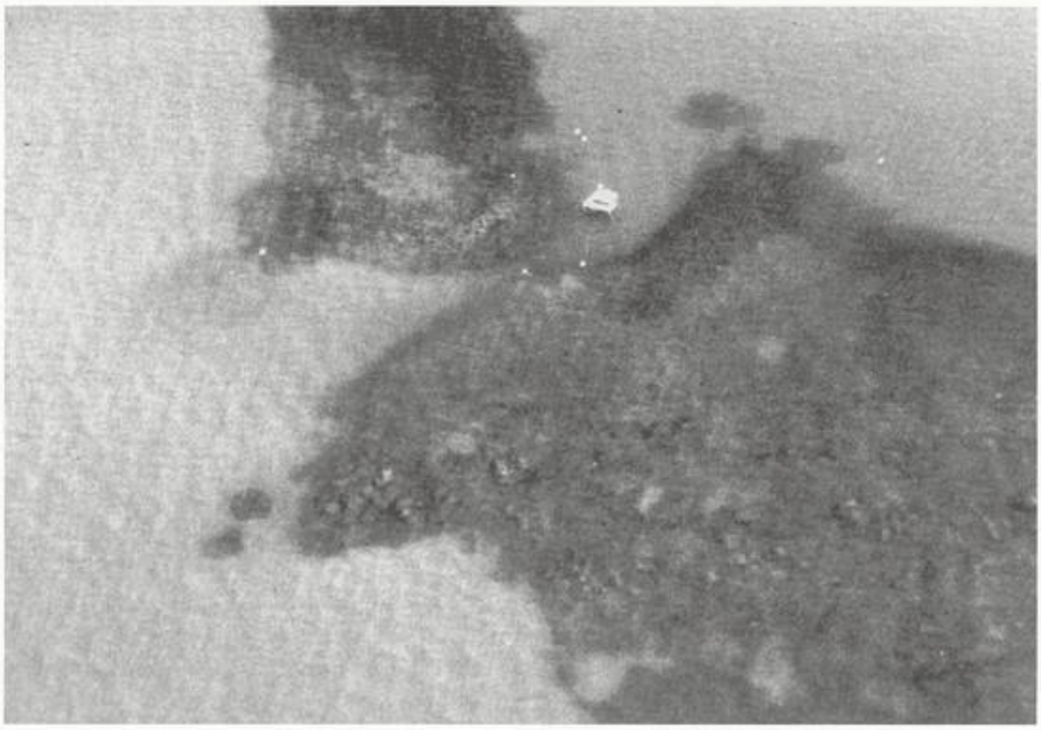

Figure 2. The ancient entrance channel at Sebastos is now blocked by rubble spill (N to the left).The remains of a large structure appears in the SW corner of the Northern Breakwater. The rubble pile at the terminus of the Southern Breakwater (area K and the "lighthouse" site) is visible, as are the two statue bases and/or pilae north and west of the harbor mouth. Photograph by Bill Curtsinger. Copyright National Geographic

entering or exiting the harbor, particularly when the sea was rough. More likely, they posed a serious hazard to the passage of larger ships into or out of the outer basin. Maneuvering something other than a small dinghy or coastal craft in or near Caesarea's channel posed sufficient obstacles and dangers, when all conditions were ideal, without adding another one that might have proved fatal when they were not. There must have been some reason why the bases were positioned where they were. But what was it?

Several possibilities are likely. The towers with sculpture surmounting them might have provided some navigational aid to incoming ships, but probably only after they had been guided to the harbor entrance by other more conspicuous markers.[17] Josephus mentioned that the great Temple of Roma and Augustus standing on the

[17] Oleson and Branton, "Technology of King Herod's Harbour," 56.

artificial podium abutting the Inner Harbor was visible to mariners far at sea. It would have been a familiar and distinct architectural signature of Sebastos.

The two large structures that stood at the *termini* of both breakwaters probably would have been sufficient points of reference for incoming mariners as well, since they clearly demarcated the harbor entrance.[18] One of these buildings has tentatively been identified as a lighthouse (figs. 3–4), possibly even the Drusion mentioned by Josephus.[19] Such a suggestion may be correct, although the lighthouse need not have been located at the harbor entrance.[20] A position on higher ground, perhaps on the one commanding outcrop of bedrock in the sea, where Straton's Tower (if there ever was such an eponymous structure at this settlement) may have stood, would have been a better location in many respects. Today it is the site of a restaurant that now delights tourists with its unparalleled view of the ruins on land and sea. In Antiquity, the locale may have served a very different function for visitors.[21]

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[18] For the concentration of blocks on the southwestern corner of the Northern Breakwater, some of which still carry lead casings for iron clamps, see A. Raban and J. P. Oleson, "Area D: Entrance Channel and Head of Northern Breakwater," in Raban, *Site*, 113–15. The blocks, with their unusual lap joints and clamps, clearly were part of a massive structure. At one time this building was identified as a tower, perhaps the Drusion mentioned by Josephus (*AJ* 15.336); see Raban and Hohlfelder, "Ancient Harbors of Caesarea," 59. It has also been identified as a possible site of a lighthouse; see Hohlfelder et al., "Herod's Harbor at Caesarea," 140.

Across the entrance channel to the west, another large concentration of blocks appears, reaching from the ocean floor to within 1.5 m. of M.S.L. It, too, has been suggested as the site of a lighthouse; see. R. L. Vann, "Underwater Excavations in Herod's Harbor at Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology News* 16 (1991), 64, and idem, "The Drusion: A Candidate for Herod's Lighthouse at Caesarea Maritima," *IJNA* 20 (1991), 137. Both structures, whatever function they may have served, would have clearly defined the entrance channel, reducing the need or value of the proximate statue towers as navigational aids.

[19] It appears at this location in the J. Robert Teringo painting that accompanied the article on King Herod's harbor that appeared in *National Geographic;* see R. L. Hohlfelder, "Herod the Great's City on the Sea," *National Geographic* 171 (1987), 263. This painting (fig. 3) has been reproduced many times and in many places since its first publication.

In this position, the lighthouse could easily have been lined up with the Temple of Roma and Augustus by incoming mariners to mark a specific course to the harbor entrance.

[20] While lighthouses did appear on breakwaters (see Vann, "Drusion," 125, 126, and 127 for such locations at Alexandria, Portus, and Leptis Magna), they did not have to be located where they were vulnerable to the ravages of the sea (at Kenchreai, a Late Roman lighthouse may have stood on shore at the base of the north mole; see Scranton et al., *Kenchreai* 1:21). Positions on nearby heights in the harbor area would have served equally well and perhaps better.

At Paphos, the breakwaters were not of sufficient size to accommodate a large lighthouse. Such a structure, if one did exist, probably stood on the hill behind the harbor. R. L. Hohlfelder and J. A. Leonard, "Underwater Explorations at Paphos, Cyprus: The 1991 Preliminary Survey," *AASOR* 51 (1993), 57. Cf. W. Daszewski, who announced the discovery of a lighthouse base in his excavations near the House of Theseus on Oct. 19, 1994 (*Cyprus Bulletin*, Oct. 31, 1994, 3). Whether or not this tower base belonged to a lighthouse, which would have been sited in a most unlikely location in the heart of an exclusive residential area, is not yet certain. A position on a topographic prominence, such as the nearby hill where a modern lighthouse now sits, would seem to have been a more advantageous choice.

[21] See R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Caesarea Maritima Coastline before Herod: Some Preliminary Observations," *BASOR* 252 (1983), 67.

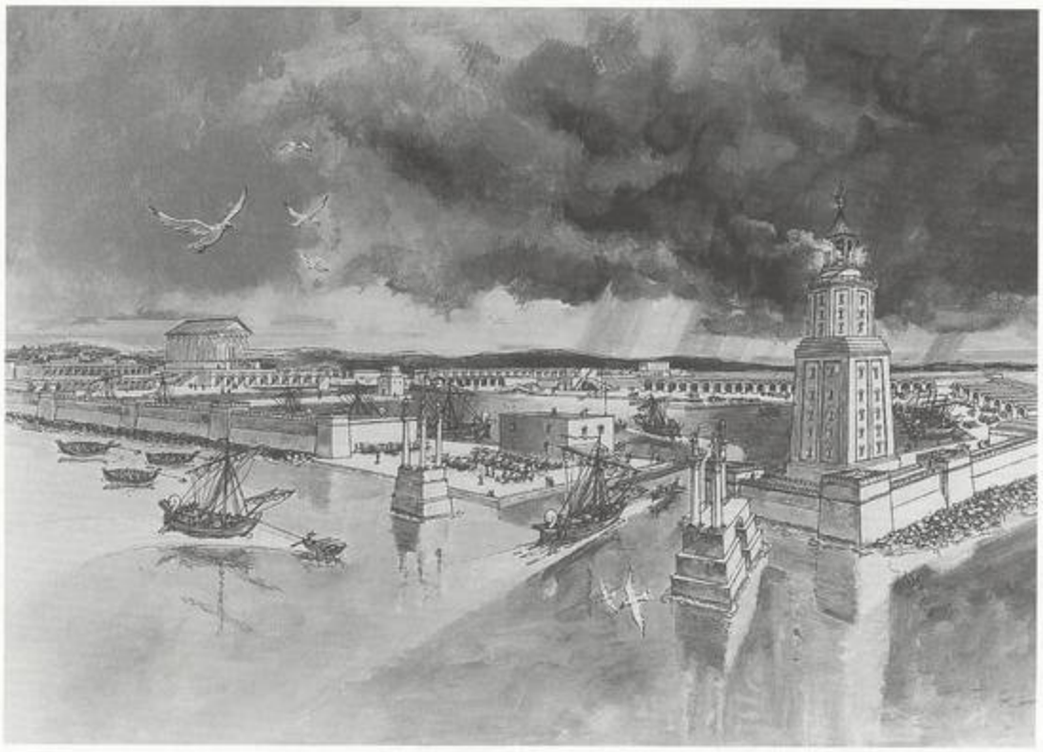

Figure 3. Painting of the main harbor installation of Sebastos by J. Robert Teringo of National Geographic, first published in 1987 to present current thoughts about the harbor. Although new data from the continuing excavations challenge some of the imagery, it remains the most dramatic and accurate visual presentation of King Herod's harbor. Courtesy of National Geographic

Wherever the lighthouse was located, it probably was in use not only at night but also by day, when it actually might have been more helpful to incoming ships. A column of billowing smoke would have extended its height and enhanced its value as a landmark and navigation point several fold. For those captains bearing in on Sebastos by day, wisps of smoke from the lighthouse may have been the first visual sign of Herod's city. The next confirmation of the port's position would have been the sight of the great temple and/or the lighthouse itself.

Although ancient ships could and did sail at night, most arriving vessels tried to make port before dusk. But for those captains who had badly timed their journeys and had failed to make landfall before losing the sun, or for those ships forced to travel at night, the lighthouse's fire beacon would have announced the location of Caesarea's safe haven. Ships that arrived after dark, however, probably would have awaited first light, standing at anchor outside the enclosed basin before attempting to

Figure 4. Drawing of "lighthouse" site made in 1990 at the outset of excavations in area K2 at Sebastos. Twin statue bases and/or pilae stand apart from the main structure. Courtesy of CAHEP

maneuver through the entrance channel. On the other hand, adverse weather conditions might have forced some captains to try a much more difficult night entry.

For ships about to enter the harbor mouth, probably under tow or haulage, the large structures on either side of the entrance channel would have clearly defined the proper and safe course. The colossal statues on their concrete foundations might have provided additional navigational guidance for marking the entrance, but this aid may have been offset by the potential danger they posed to marine traffic.

The yoked towers also might have been *pilae*, as Oleson and Branton recently suggested.[22] Above water the towers were linked to provide some type of platform for the monumental statues that distinguished and bracketed the harbor mouth. Below sea level, they were two distinct, discontinuous structures placed to provide one final measure of protection to the harbor mouth. Waves and currents rolling along the exterior face of the Southern Breakwater toward the entrance channel would have encountered one last manmade obstacle before reaching the most vital and vulnerable component of the harbor complex. Their presence might also have restricted the buildup of sandbars near the harbor mouth.

Oleson and Branton cited possible parallels at Puteoli in the Bay of Naples and elsewhere in Italy.[23] Although these *pilae* were not exactly like the Caesarea ones, the differences were in degree, not kind. As these scholars have stated, they may well have been of the same technological tradition.

There is another possibility to consider. If one looks carefully at aerial photographs of the harbor entrance, an interesting anomaly is visible (figs. 1, 2, 5). The *terminus* of the Southern Breakwater is less wide than the main structure to the south, even allowing for visible distortions of its Herodian configuration caused by the dumpage of rubble into the entrance sometime in the 690s C.E. or later.[24] It appears to lack the outer face of rubble spill, the *prokumatia* mentioned by Josephus, that baffled in-

[22] Oleson and Branton, "Technology of King Herod's Harbour," 56.

[23] Ibid. See also the chapter by Piero Gianfrotta in this volume.

[24] The exact width of the harbor entrance to the Outer Basin is unknown. Early estimates, ca. 20–30 m., were too low (e.g., Hohlfelder et al., "Herod's Harbor at Caesarea," 139, although still supported by Raban, *Site*, 282). The western face of the channel has not yet been located, so speculation is still all that is possible. See my estimate of ca. 85 m., based on measurements from the line of concrete blocks forming areas K2, K3, K5, etc. to the pierhead of the Northern Breakwater (fig. 5).

As Oleson cautions, however, a large entrance would have facilitated easy ingress and egress from the enclosed basin of Sebastos, but would have rendered it more vulnerable to storms. See J. P. Oleson, "Area D3: Probe for West Wall of Entrance Channel," in Raban, *Site*, 119. Such a wide entrance, however, compared favorably or was a bit narrower than harbor mouths at other major Imperial ports. See Vann, "Drusion," figs. 3, 5, and 7 for the plans of Alexandria, Portus, and Leptis Magna. Roman Kenchreai's entrance was well over 100 m.; Paphos, on the other hand, was just over 40 m. See Scranton et al., *Kenchreai* 1:fig. 5; J. R. Leonard and R. L. Hohlfelder, "Paphos Harbour, Past and Present: The 1991–1992 Underwater Survey," *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* (1993), 375.

The date of the blocking of the harbor entrance and the extent to which its original size was reduced remain controversial questions. Raban would date the blockage and the complete sealing of the channel to the time of the Anastasian renovation ca. 500 (Raban et al., *Field Report* [1992], 3 and passim). I argue

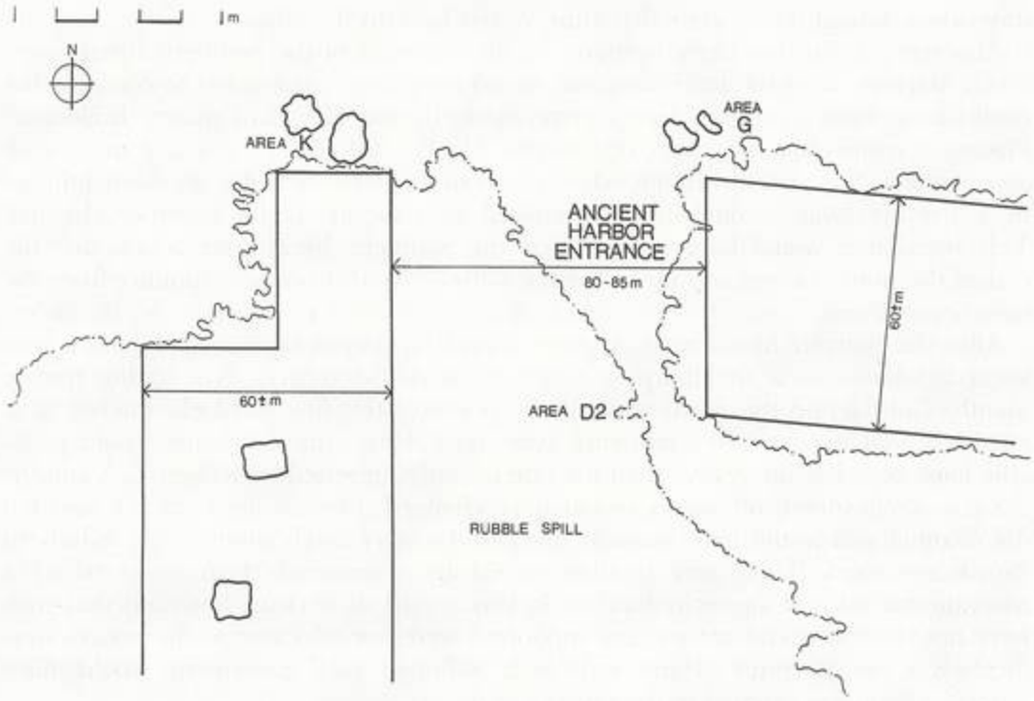

Figure 5. A hypothetical rendering of the harbor entrance to the outer basin of Sebastos. Drawing by Kathryn H. Barth

coming waves and prevented them from rolling directly against the concrete blocks with their full kinetic energy intact (figs. 1–2).

Could it be that originally the Southern Breakwater did not extend as far as what is now called area K2 by its excavators, but stopped some distance to the south, as aerial photographs may indicate?[25] If that were the case, the off-breakwater statue towers might once have played a clearer role in traffic flow into the entrance channel. Perhaps local sailing procedures or pilots for Sebastos required that entering ships

for a later partial dumping of rubble into the entrance to reduce, but not close, the harbor mouth; see "An Experiment in Controlled Excavation," 104, and R. L. Hohlfelder, "Anastasius I and the Restoration of Caesarea Maritima's Harbor: The Numismatic Evidence," in A. Biran and J. Aviram, *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), 687–96.

[25] In the comments following the presentation of this paper, A. Raban commented that the "missing" section of the *prokumatia* had been sheared off and had disappeared beneath the sand during a very localized subsidence that did not affect the rest of area K and the Southern Breakwater. One wonders at the surgical precision of such an event and the highly selective damage it caused. I believe I offer an explanation that is at least as credible.

stay to one side of them, while departing vessels hove to the other.

At some point in the Early Roman era, an extension of the Southern Breakwater, much narrower than the main structure, could have been constructed to correct what would have been a serious design error made by the Herodian master builders.[26] Placing a relatively narrow spit of concrete blocks (each ca. 14 x 7 x 4 m.) on an approximate N-S axis to a point where the extension reached the northern limit of the other breakwater would have diminished the exposure of the entrance channel. This renovation would have insured that the Southern Breakwater overlapped the end of the northern one and protected the harbor mouth from seas running from the west or southwest.

After the concrete blocks were in place in area K, they could have provided a base for a lighthouse or a multipurpose tower to mark the western face of the harbor mouth. Considering the narrowness of the platform this line of blocks offered, it is not likely that too massive a structure ever stood there. Any lighthouse would probably have been less impressive than the one recently suggested by Robert L. Vann.[27]

Such a renovation, of course, would have changed the way ships entered and left the channel and would have brought the yoked towers much closer to the Southern Breakwater itself. Their new position would have rendered them less vital as a navigational aid and almost redundant in this regard. It is clear, however, that they were not removed. The statues they supported were not relocated to the breakwaters themselves, as Josephus clearly indicated, although such placement would have rendered them less exposed to the ravages of the sea.

This suggestion for the unusual positioning of the tower bases is offered only as one more hypothesis for the current excavators to test in their future fieldwork.[28] To date,

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[26] See Christopher Brandon's chapter in this volume for a discussion of the excavations and survey of the extraordinary single-mission barges constructed in such meticulous detail that distinguish area K. A. Raban informed me that all 20+ C-14 samples taken in and around area K provide an average date early in the first century C.E. (ca. 10 C.E.?), some years after the actual construction of the harbor. But allowing for normal deviations of C-14 dating, this cluster of somewhat later dates can only be described as interesting, not definitive. Dendrochronological dates, which will provide far more accurate chronological reference points, are not yet available for the K samples.

[27] Vann ("Drusion," 137) estimates its possible height to be ca. 40 m., but allows that a reconsideration may be necessary as fieldwork continues.

[28] See Brandon in this volume for arguments against this suggestion. Although I had a chance to hear his paper and to discuss my hypothesis with him and A. Raban before, during, and after the session at which I offered this possible reconstruction, I shall have to respond to his specific comments in another venue after I have had an opportunity to study his written text.

Another significant body of evidence relevant to this question is the pottery recovered during excavation beneath these single-mission barges, particularly from the tunnel cut in area K2. A preliminary field reading of some of these artifacts seemed to indicate first-century C.E. sherds in this assemblage.

Since the locus from which these artifacts were recovered was as close to being a sealed deposit as one is likely to find in harbor archaeology, the publication of all the ceramic material from this excavation will provide important, and perhaps definitive, data for establishing the date of construction of this segment of the Southern Breakwater.

The appearance of apparent wreckage from a ship in area K, tentatively assigned to the reign of

Oleson's contention that the towers functioned as *pilae* is the simplest explanation, although one wonders whether they would have had any meaningful impact on the dynamics of the entrance channel. But as all archaeologists have learned and relearned in the field, in simplicity there is often truth. It may well be that they represented one more experiment in deflecting current and silt from a harbor entrance. Their purported functional value may have outweighed the obvious risk factor in the minds of the master builders.

After Sebastos was functioning as the main harbor of Caesarea, sometime after 15 B.C.E. as I have argued elsewhere, what happened to the master builders from the West who had completed their special assignment for King Herod?[29] What was their next harbor project or, stated another way, where did they apply the lessons learned at Caesarea?

Although a major harbor installation was under construction at Kenchreai, Greece, the archaeological data uncovered there in the 1960s do not suggest that any of the three features discussed above or any other distinct aspect of Caesarea's construction, notably the extensive use of hydraulic concrete, was employed at Corinth's Saronic Gulf port.[30] More traditional methods of harbor construction, most likely funded by local sources and employing Greek builders, were followed there, for it is likely that Corinth constructed its eastern municipal harbor from its own resources and without imperial easement of the considerable financial burdens inherent in such an undertaking.

Kenchreai's construction over an extended period of time was far more typical of how maritime installations came to be than the sudden genesis of Sebastos backed by royal patronage. The building of Corinth's eastern harbor counters an assumption one could easily make. It would be a mistake to assume that the new technological advances embodied in Caesarea's breakwaters immediately swept away all other methods of construction or repair, for the evolution of harbor design was not rigidly linear.[31] The nature and extent of new installations or renovations of existing facilities

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Domitian, might well date from the time of the construction of the concrete spit. See A. Raban, "Area K," *C.M.S. Newsletter* 21 (1994), 3, for a brief report of this find.

[29] R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Changing Fortunes of Caesarea's Harbours in the Roman Period," in *Caesarea Papers,* 76. There I suggest that A. Raban disagrees with my dating for the completion of the harbor (n. 13). My comment was based on a reading of a draft of Raban's paper and not the final version as it appears in *Caesarea Papers,* 74; it appears that we now agree on this point. Sebastos was largely finished and functioning when M. Agrippa visited King Herod's port city in 15 B.C.E. Final work on the support structures on the breakwaters, however, could have continued for years after the harbor's ceremonial dedication.

[30] Hohlfelder, "Roman Harbour at Kenchreai," 83–85; Scranton et al., *Kenchreai,* 1:19.

[31] I follow here the observations of J. P. Oleson, who also notes: "What we can see across time is the gradual evolution of a repertoire of techniques that gave each succeeding Mediterranean culture greater flexibility in design and a better chance of success": Oleson, "The Technology of Roman Harbours," *IJNA* 17 (1988), 148. See also D. Blackman, "Bollards and Men," in I. Malkin and R. L. Hohlfelder, eds., *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1988), 8. Blackman slightly misinterprets my comments in "Roman Harbour at Kenchreai," 85. I did not say, nor mean to imply, that hydraulic concrete

did not depend on technology alone. Political and economic considerations were the more likely determinants. With imperial or royal support, more was possible faster. If only municipal funding was available, things moved at a slower pace, and more traditional solutions to problems were likely to have been employed. A port city's needs and its available resources determined the face of its harbor.

But it is true that Caesarea did open a new technological door for the ages that followed. Henceforth harbors could be constructed anywhere political or economic considerations dictated, providing adequate financial support existed. Of course the Caesarea experience was unique, and the technological explosion that it represented did not mean that all Mediterranean harbors constructed or repaired after 15 B.C.E. would follow or modify that model. One, however, that was also blessed with imperial patronage, may have (fig. 6).

A situation that may well have occasioned the imperial dispatch of master harbor builders, perhaps even some of those that had worked for King Herod, occurred in 15 B.C.E. An earthquake struck Paphos, the Roman capital of Cyprus, in the same year that Marcus Agrippa visited Caesarea to commemorate the completion of the harbor installations (fig. 7). It must have caused massive devastation, for Augustus himself personally provided assistance to the Paphians, no doubt in response to the appeals of those residents who had survived the crisis and to the entreaty of the provincial governor who resided there. According to Dio Cassius (54.23.7–8), the only source for this catastrophe, the emperor also permitted the city to add the honorific "Augusta" to its official titulature. At that time, as he noted, this designation had some significance, since it required a confirmation vote of the Roman Senate. By the author's day (ca. 230s C.E.), as he also asserted, cities on their own initiative adopted this title, thereby diluting its honorific importance.

Dio Cassius regrettably provided no details on the extent of the damage to the city or to the harbor, but one can assume that the disaster was of great magnitude, or the emperor would not have personally intervened. Any substantial tectonic activity would surely have damaged the breakwaters, which appear to have rested on the sandy ocean floor without the benefit of the riprap foundations found underlying the enclosing arms of Caesarea's outer basin. Liquefaction of the underlying sediments must have occurred whenever a substantial earthquake struck nearby. This momentary outflow of sand would have resulted in subsidence of portions of the breakwaters with resultant damage to any structures that stood on them. In this instance, it is

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was ever an *arcanum* (his word, not mine) per se, kept in some way from builders who may have been commissioned locally to construct or repair a municipal harbor. My argument was that the composition and means of employment of this material might have remained unfamiliar or improperly understood (= "secret" in this context) to workmen who may never before have been called upon to execute a complicated commission in a marine environment, such as the construction of breakwaters into the open sea.

The underlying issues, however, are how fast new technology spread in the Roman world and how this transfer of knowledge occurred. Blackman asks these questions as well ("Bollards and Men," 7); at this time we can only speculate.

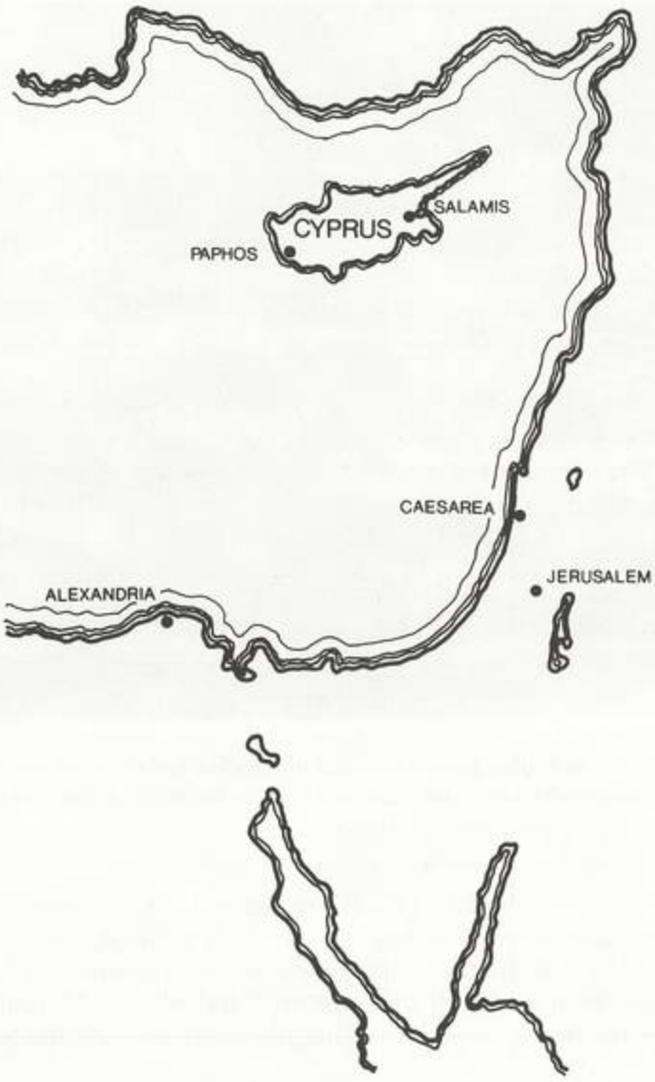

Figure 6. Paphos, the Roman provincial capital of Cyprus, stood on the major west to east sea lane in imperial times. Ships destined for Caesarea most likely stopped at this Cypriot port before commencing the last leg of their journey. Depending upon winds and sea conditions, this final segment may have taken twenty-four to thirty hours. Sketch map by Kathyrn H. Barth

Figure 7. An aerial view of the Paphos promontory and the modern harbor of the port city (looking N). The anchorage today is shielded by only one breakwater. In Antiquity, there were two. Photograph by David Rupp

hard to imagine how an earthquake of sufficient intensity to warrant imperial benefaction would not have severely wounded the harbor installations. Further, any restoration efforts in the provincial capital sponsored by Augustus would surely have embraced its harbor, for it was both the most vital and vulnerable installation in the port of Paphos and the major emporium along the entire western and southern coast of Roman Cyprus.[32]

Of course, imperial aid came in many forms.[33] There can be no certainty that

[32] There is still no archaeological evidence to confirm that the harbor was damaged at any time during one of the several earthquakes that struck Paphos during the Roman era. The eventual subsidence of the breakwaters is an incontrovertible fact, but the date and cause of this slumping remain uncertain.

[33] For example, at Caesarea Maritima there is a numismatic record of imperial assistance for repairing or renovating Portus Augusti, as Sebastos was then called, during the reign of Trajan Decius (249–251 C.E.). Cf. Hohlfelder, "Changing Fortunes," 78, and Oleson et al., *Finds,* 161. Raban, however, feels the Portus Augusti coin series was an unfulfilled plea for imperial assistance to resuscitate an installation that had slipped beneath the sea more than a century before; see "Sebastos: The Royal

master builders were actually dispatched to Paphos to repair what nature had damaged. Money might have been the extent of the Augustan intervention. But relief in some form was extremely likely, since the emperor himself had decided to help his Cypriot capital recover and went so far as to allow the restored capital to add his name to its own official nomenclature. Skilled master builders who had just finished, or were finishing, their assignments at Caesarea might have been candidates for this new commission. The extent of the disaster and the nature of the structural damage to the Cypriot capital would have determined what competencies were required. No texts exist that make this connection, but under the sea, the technological signature of the builders of Sebastos seems visible in the extant remains of the ancient Paphian harbor.

To date, only underwater survey has been conducted in the harbor of Paphos by two teams of scholars, one headed by W. Daszewski in 1965 and the most extensive one by the author in 1991 and 1992.[34] There was also an amateur effort by British military engineers and sappers between 1959 and 1961 and an informal investigation by Avner Raban in the early 1970s. No excavation, however, has yet been undertaken by any archaeological mission, although recent dredging in the basin of the harbor and in the modern entrance has uncovered numerous artifacts and provided incidental information about the ancient facility.

In the absence of any systematic and extensive underwater excavation, the following observations about the function and date of the extant underwater structures can only be preliminary. West of the entrance of the ancient harbor, a rubble spur projected from the outer face of the western breakwater for a distance of at least 50 m. (figs. 8–9). Today it is mostly obscured by modern spill dumped into the sea during harbor renovations in the 1980s, but it was far more apparent in 1965 when Daszewski explored this area. In Antiquity this structure, which might have been gapped in its design, had been constructed to afford protection to the harbor mouth

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Harbour at Caesarea Maritima – A Short-lived Giant," *IJNA* 21 (1992), 111. Such a petition would have been unusual (perhaps unique?) in Roman civic coinage. Reverse types normally commemorated actual events, traditions, or real benefactions that loomed large in a city's self-identification and civic pride. They were not normally used to recall municipal structures long out of service.

At Caesarea in the mid-third century C.E. or at Kenchreai, where a harbor coin of Antoninus Pius may have commemorated some imperial gift to the port (R. L. Hohlfelder, "Pausanias II, 2, 3: A Collation of Archaeological and Numismatic Evidence," *Hesperia* 39 [1970], 328), we cannot be sure what form any imperial aid may have taken (e.g., a donative, tax relief, or authorization for a special levy on transshipment trade, etc.). Certainly at Caesarea, the geopolitical circumstances in Palestine and the eastern Mediterranean were not the same ca. 250 C.E. as they had been ca. 22 B.C.E. It is not likely that master harbor builders from the West were dispatched by Trajan Decius. It would have been left to local authorities to use best whatever financial assistance they had received from Rome.

[34] For the literature on the port city of Paphos and the harbor installations specifically, see Hohlfelder and Leonard, "Underwater Explorations at Paphos;" Leonard and Hohlfelder, "Paphos Harbour, Past and Present," 365–80; and R. L. Hohlfelder, "Ancient Paphos beneath the Sea: A Survey of the Submerged Structures," forthcoming in *Cyprus and the Sea*, ed. V. Karageorghis (Nicosia, 1995). These articles also explain in some detail the extant structural features of the harbor.

Figure 8. Renovations to the western breakwater at Paphos in the 1980s, namely, the addition of a ca. 23 m. wide rubble baffle, allowed the port authorities to remove a seawall that had once formed the main defensive line against storms. Ruins in the sea south of the remains of the Frankish Fort mark the line of the ancient spur. Photograph by R. L. Hohlfelder (looking E)

from storms from the west. It baffled incoming waves and diverted them from rolling across or through the entrance with all their kinetic energy intact. At the same time, it deflected or diverted sediments from entering the main basin. It was a design feature intended to control harbor siltation (fig. 10).

Such a spur might have dated from the original *limen kleistos* constructed by Ptolemy I late in the fourth century B.C.E. or from sometime later in Paphos' Hellenistic history, but an Early Roman date seems more likely. Its sophisticated double function of deflecting waves and deterring sediments from entering the harbor installation speaks more of Roman technology than that of earlier eras.

In its intent, it is not unlike the purported *pilae* near Caesarea's harbor mouth or even the line of concrete blocks of area K currently under exploration (if my contention stated above is correct), but this deflector may have been more effective at achieving the purposes for which it had been constructed. Its mass, length, and angle in relation to prevailing wave patterns and current would have rendered it more

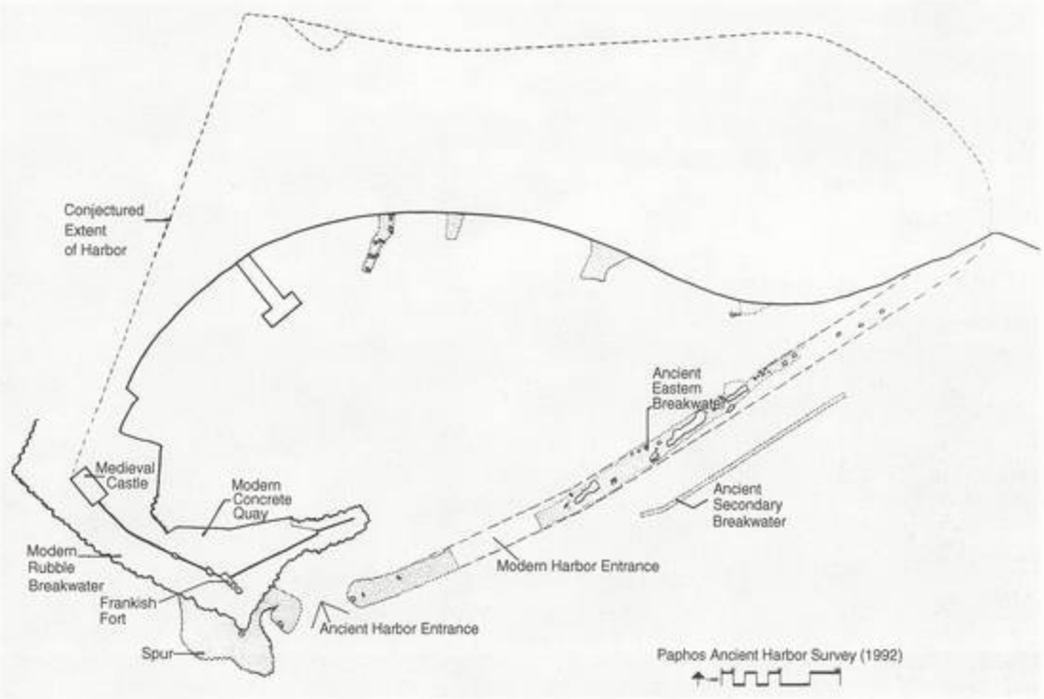

Figure 9. Extent of the closed basin of the Paphos harbor. Drawing by Kathryn H. Barth

efficient in protecting the Paphos entrance channel from the perennial banes of waves and sand. Could this installation have been added during repairs to the Paphos harbor following the catastrophe of 15 B.C.E.? Could it have been constructed by master builders who had faced a similar situation elsewhere, specifically at King Herod's city on the sea, and subsequently had modified their earlier efforts to fit the needs of a new site and to accommodate their previous experience? No certain answers to these questions are possible in the absence of underwater excavations, but this scenario provides a likely starting point for future fieldwork at Paphos.

Two other structures have striking similarities to alleged design features in Herodian Sebastos. The eastern breakwater of the Paphian harbor now lies in ruins, the victim of earthquake damage over the past two millennia, centuries of neglect, and the demise of the city's status as an international emporium on the major sea-lanes of the eastern Mediterranean (fig. 11). Seaward of this structure, just below mean sea level (M.S.L.), is a secondary or subsidiary breakwater that runs parallel to the course of the main one for ca. 100 m. of its length (fig. 12). It appears to shield at least two large channels (ca. 4 m. in width) that were cut through the main massif of the eastern breakwater at some time in its long existence.

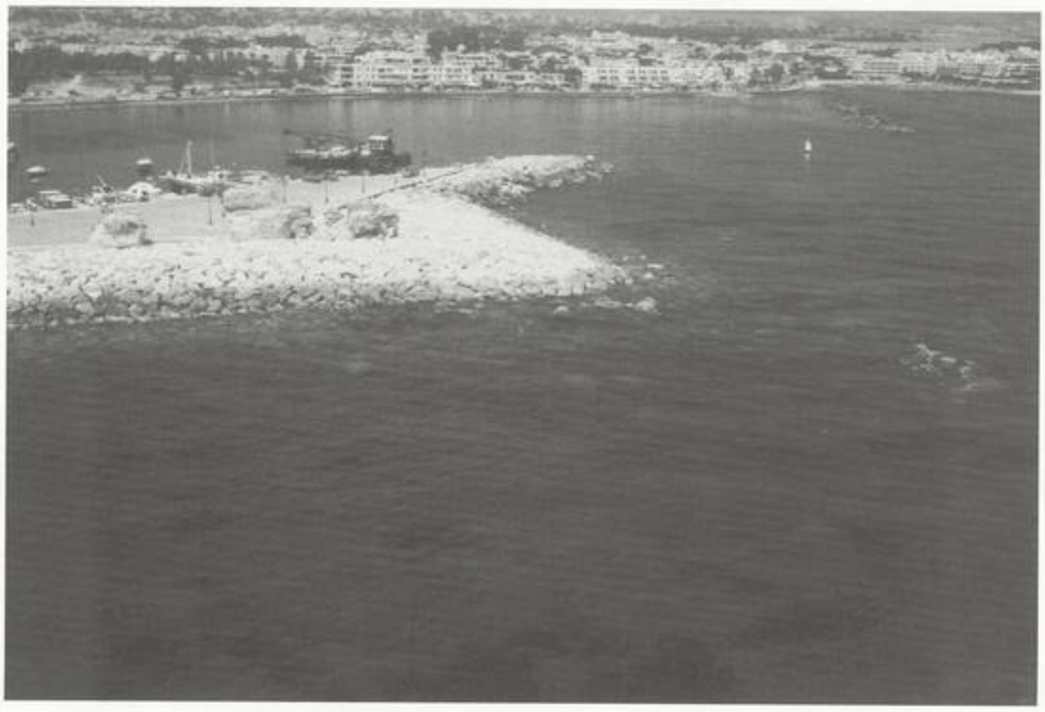

Figure 10. The remains of the spur at Paphos are visible underwater extending from the southern point of the modern rubble breakwater face. Photograph by R. L. Hohlfelder (looking NE)

Although the purpose of the second parallel breakwater is not yet known for certain, one is struck by its position vis-à-vis the main structure and the breach channels it shielded. As at Caesarea, it may have been constructed to afford a first line of defense to the eastern breakwater and/or to protect the manmade breaches from incoming storms that might have ripped into the enclosed basin if it had not existed.

In this case, the channels probably were cut to attempt to provide exits for the silt-bearing current that would have entered the harbor mouth and circulated clockwise. Without such outlets to the sea, sediments would have begun to clog the eastern portion of the harbor, quickly rendering it useless without extensive dredging. By changing the basic design of the eastern breakwater and physically embedding in it a structural solution to the siltation problem, the builders or renovators manifested a most advanced knowledge of using harbor design to combat natural forces. What is unknown, of course, is whether such features actually functioned as intended.

As stated before with regard to the deflecting spur, the purpose of these features

Figure 11. The remains of the eastern breakwater at Paphos and the subsidiary structure running parallel to it. Photograph courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus

cannot yet be ascertained definitively nor can their date. They might have been original elements, but it seems unlikely that breach channels would have been in place when the city walls ran down the spine of the eastern breakwater all the way to the harbor entrance. Any passageways beneath the fortification system could have compromised the city's defenses by providing entry points for determined enemy soldiers. Since it is likely the fortifications of the city were maintained in some fashion or another until Rome had dealt with the Cilician pirate menace in the early 60s B.C.E. and had absorbed Cyprus into its empire in 58 B.C.E., the channels were probably of later date. Once again, 15 B.C.E. or the years immediately following could have been a time when both the breach channels and the subsidiary breakwater designed to protect them, while still permitting the egress of silt to the open sea, were constructed. By then a *limen kleistos* would have been a military anachronism during the Roman quiescence that had descended on the island.

One can note again that both features in slightly different forms seem to have been part of the design of King Herod's harbor. There, as noted above, excavators have

Figure 12. An artist's sketch of the Roman harbor of Paphos, after the earthquake of 15 B.C.E. It incorporates literary evidence, survey data, and considerable creative imagery. Drawing by Christopher Brandon

found a secondary mole designed to protect the Southern Breakwater and at least one, and possibly more, channels cut through the massif of this structure. At Caesarea the channel(s) was seen as part of a sluicing or flushing system intended to permit water to enter the harbor; at Paphos their purpose was exactly the reverse. But both functions would have addressed the same underlying problem – the deposition of sediments in an enclosed basin.

Perhaps there were Caesarea antecedents for the Paphos harbor repairs. If so, the lessons learned at King Herod's harbor were quickly applied at another important eastern Mediterranean provincial capital and international port city. Imperial interest, involvement, and investment might well explain the rapid deployment of the new technological advances. At this moment, however, given the absence of underwater archaeological data from Paphos, this is only speculation offered as a working hypothesis. Future fieldwork beneath the sea at Aphrodite's city will confirm or refute it.[35]

[35] No excavation beneath the sea has yet been undertaken, but underwater survey on reefs and in bays near the Paphos promontory continues; see R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Cave of the Amphoras," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58 (1995), 49–51.

PART III

CAESAREA'S CITY PLAN AND URBAN ARCHITECTURE

7

The Evolution of the Urban Plan of Caesarea's Southwest Zone: New Evidence from the Current Excavations

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Much information about ancient Caesarea has been gathered during the current excavation project, which began on March 15, 1992, and planned to run till the end of 1996. The current excavations were initiated to promote tourism at Caesarea and to provide employment for the people of the nearby town of Or-'Aqiva, most of whom are new immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The areas selected for excavations were dictated by the project's financiers and were limited to a narrow longitudinal strip along the coast. The daily work is carried out by Israeli archaeologists from the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) and the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE; University of Haifa with summer collaboration of colleagues from the United States). During the summer a team from the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) also participates in the project. Each group is responsible for a certain field (map 1). This chapter presents mainly the results of work carried out by the IAA. As the work is still in progress and the uncovered evidence is being processed, additional evidence and analysis may modify or alter the thesis discussed below.[1]

The major written source for the first century of Caesarea is Flavius Josephus. According to Josephus, King Herod decided to construct a harbor town in an area donated to him by Octavian. The construction project took twelve years (22/21–10/9 B.C.E.) and consisted of an artificial harbor named Sebastos and an adjacent civilian town named Caesarea. The construction of an artificial harbor was unique among Herod's many building projects. Josephus devoted lengthy paragraphs to describing the harbor's construction (*AJ* 15.331–38; *BJ* 1.409–13), but gave minimal information con-

[1] The excavations, which are a part of a large-scale tourism project, are financed by the Israeli government. The excavations are carried out in collaboration with the National Park Authority, the Caesarea Development Corporation, and Kibbutz Sdot Yam. My thanks to these agencies and to the long list of people and institutions that make the project possible.

The staff of the IAA excavations at Caesarea consists of: director, Y. Porath; field archaeologists (in alphabetical order), Z. Gil, I. Gonen, A. Gorzealzni, P. Gundelman, K. Gur, D. Lipkonsky, Y. Lotan, E. Oren, O. Pery, Sh. Sander, A. Yas'ur; registrar, G. Rosenblum; architect, L. Filipov; surveyors, R. Mossayev, S. Borstein; photographers, A. Pery, A. Rosen, T. Sagiv; pottery restoration, H. Halel; pottery statistics, D. Thouval; publications, I. Kritzman; technology and metal detecting, Y. Drei; administration, M. Zadiq; J. Edelstein refined the English.

cerning that of the town (*AJ* 15.339–41; *BJ* 1.408, 414). His description of the town mentions houses around the harbor arranged with streets at equal intervals, a palace, a temple for Augustus and Rome set on a hill facing the harbor, an agora, a theater, and an amphitheater. Of this list of buildings and monuments, only the Temple Platform and the theater were properly located before the twentieth century.[2]

The Southwest Zone (SWZ) of Roman and Byzantine Caesarea is considered to be the built-up area west of the Cardo Maximus and south of the Decumanus Maximus of the ancient city. Sections of the street grid have been uncovered by the former and the current excavations, but no street has yet been identified as having been the main one. A committee of the present excavators at Caesarea considered, for the sake of common terminology, that the N-S street, now under the eastern Crusader fortification, will be called "Cardo Maximus" and the E-W street adjacent to the N facade of the Temple Platform will be called the "Decumanus Maximus." All the other streets will be termed according to their order in the street grid (map 2).

The Topography of the SWZ before Herod's Construction

No domestic or public architecture of the Hellenistic period was uncovered in the SWZ until now.[3] The geography of the SWZ in the Hellenistic period was much different than in recent times. The IAA excavations revealed that the pre-Herodian shoreline reached about 50 m. east of the modern line. The limit on the E was a low kurkar (local sandstone) crest, with abrasion tablets in front. A small island, now under the Crusader citadel, existed on the NW, and a peninsula was located on the SW. East of the kurkar crest lies a longitudinal valley with fertile soil, which served as farmland for the local inhabitants. The valley was drained westward to the sea through a depression in the kurkar crest (now under Decumanus S2). The surface rose gently N and S of the drainage outlet to a level of no less than 12 m. above mean sea level (M.S.L.).

The SWZ in Herod's Time (22–4 B.C.E.)

Three monuments of the several mentioned by Josephus in Herod's Caesarea were located in the excavated section of the SWZ: the temple, the theater, and the amphitheater (cf. map 2).

Herod planned Caesarea and Sebastos to be his foremost maritime center. Therefore the first and most important construction project for the new city was the artificial harbor. It seems that it was the initial one, as its failure would have meant no fur-

[2] C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. 2 (London, 1882), 13–29.

[3] Several cist graves of the Hellenistic period, all cut into bedrock and disturbed later, were uncovered under the Promontary Palace in the fields of IAA and Penn.

ther fulfillment of Herod's plans for the site. The arrangement of the harbor's quays, which projected west of the original shoreline for about 450 m., was followed by sedimentation of the sea-drifted sand south of the new harbor. This is a well-known phenomenon along the Israeli coast, where human intervention is followed by seaward enlargement of the sandy shore. The newly formed land was immediately used for one of the public entertainment facilities constructed for Herod's Caesarea, the amphitheater.[4]

Public entertainment facilities – theater, hippodrome/circus, and amphitheater – were usually built on the outskirts of planned cities of the Graeco-Roman world. They required large open areas for the gathering of mass crowds before, during, and after performances. The architects of planned cities intentionally constructed entertainment facilities in the open areas of the city's suburbs, either within the walls of the city or just beyond them. Herod's Caesarea was planned on similar principles. The two public entertainment facilities mentioned by Josephus – the theater and the amphitheater – were located in the open area south of the new Caesarea.

The third monument, the Temple of Roma and Augustus, was constructed "on a hill directly opposite the harbor entrance" (*BJ* 1.414). The natural hill was artificially extended and elevated by several constructed "cells" filled in with soil,[5] a construction method very similar to the tiers of Herod's amphitheater. The result was a large oblong platform, called the Temple Platform.[6] Recent excavations have revealed much additional information about the platform which is discussed below.

At this writing, we are familiar only with some sectors of the original contours on the N, W, and S sides of the Temple Platform. This results from the limited excavations and the later construction that has blurred the original shape. The perimeter walls of the Temple Platform were constructed of large kurkar blocks laid in courses of intermittent headers and stretchers, with typical margin dressing (fig. 1). We are best acquainted with the W facade, thanks to Negev's expedition in the early 1960s,[7] a sondage of CAHEP in 1987,[8] and the IAA excavations under way since 1992. The IAA excavations at the Temple Platform revealed that its original W facade was different than published earlier. The so-called "Harbor Vaulted Magazines," dated by Negev to Herod's time,[9] belong to a period of construction about three centuries later.

The elevated W facade of the Temple Platform had two constructed projections, each 21 m. long, that enclosed a paved low terrace above the eastern quay of Herod's

[4] Cf. Y. Porath, "Herod's Amphitheatre at Caesarea, Preliminary Notice," *'Atiqot* 25 (1994), 11–19 (Hebrew), 188 (English); idem, "Herod's 'Amphitheatre' at Caesarea, a Multi-Purpose Entertainment Building," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 15–27.

[5] Cf. A. Negev, *Caesarea* (Tel Aviv, 1967), 22.

[6] Cf. *Herod's Dream*, 89, fig. 54.

[7] Negev, *Caesarea*, 21–25.

[8] Raban, *Site*, 138–42, figs. II:81–84, 86, 87.

[9] Negev, *Caesarea*, 24.

1. External wall of Temple Platform with margin dressing, view looking east. Photograph by Asef Pery

harbor (map 2). A revetment wall joined the two constructed projections. It was built of one course of kurkar blocks with margin dressing arranged in intermittent headers and stretchers, exactly the same as those of the external perimeter of the Temple Platform. The revetment wall and the lower terrace at the western side of the Temple Platform have been exposed in very limited sectors. For the time being it is not certain whether a staircase led from the western terrace to the top of Herod's Temple Platform. The probability of a wide staircase in that area is based upon the existence of such a staircase in the Byzantine period, and this will have to be investigated in future excavations.

The full length of the S facade is unknown as its SE corner has not yet been located. The SW corner, which is about 90 degrees, was already exposed when the surveyors of the Palestine Exploration Fund visited the site in 1873. Its eastward continuation was revealed in the CCE excavations of 1992–94, and it lies on a straight line.

Only a very short section of the N facade, its corner with the W facade, was excavated in 1994 by the IAA. The two facades meet at an angle of about 107 degrees. Its eastward continuation has not yet been revealed. It is worth mentioning that the S facade of the Temple Platform makes a similar angle to Cardo W1. It seems that the W and S facades were oriented to the E quay of Herod's harbor while the N facade (and probably the E facade) was oriented according to the street grid.

This evidence points out that the exposed perimeter walls of the Temple Platform did not have any sense of symmetry.[10] One cannot yet conclude, or speculate, any further reconstruction upon such remains. The same is true for the Temple of Roma and Augustus built by Herod. Some solid foundations of the temple's substructure were unearthed in the current excavations, but no freestanding section of the temple itself has ever been uncovered *in situ* on the Temple Platform. [Editor's note: CCE discovered substantial remains of the Temple's foundations in 1995, as in map 2; see Introduction.]

Our knowledge of the other areas of Herod's Caesarea is very limited. The agora of Herod's city has not been located in the SWZ; it should lie elsewhere in the unexcavated areas north or east of the Temple Platform. No other constructions of Herod's Caesarea, public or private, have yet been excavated in the SWZ. The areas east and south of Herod's amphitheater were not inhabited during Herod's phase of the city.[11]

It seems that the inhabited sections of Herod's Caesarea did not stretch south much beyond the Temple Platform. Most of the area lay bare, without any development,

[10] This is indicated by the following evidence: (a) the S facade is perpendicular to the W one, but the N facade forms an angle of 107 degrees to the W one; (b) the S facade seems to run in a straight line, whereas the W one is recessed; (c) the width of the northwest projection is twice the width of the southwest one.

[11] The evidence from the Promontory Palace in the southwest tip of Caesarea is not conclusive enough to date its construction to Herod's day; cf. Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 149–77; B. Burrell, K. Gleason, and E. Netzer, "Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19.3 (1993), 50–57, 76. But, according to the results of the unpublished IAA excavations, it can be dated to a few years after Herod's death.

and only the two public entertainment facilities were constructed in the open area. Herod's theater was excavated by the Italian archaeological mission in 1959–63.[12] His amphitheater was recently discovered by the IAA team.[13] The original phase of both monuments will not be discussed below as the basic evidence has already been published.

The SWZ in the Roman Period (First-Second Century C.E.)

The development of Caesarea accelerated a decade after Herod's death. The Roman procurators, who replaced Herod Archelaus, chose Caesarea – not Jerusalem – as their official residence. The political change catapulted Caesarea forward, far beyond King Herod's "dream." The process reached its zenith about sixty years later when Jerusalem was destroyed in the Jewish war against the Romans, and Caesarea was granted the status of a *colonia* by the emperor Vespasian. The destruction of Jerusalem left Caesarea as the most important city in the Holy Land, without any rival. The city flourished and enjoyed urban expansion, fairly reflected in the excavated fields of the SWZ (maps 2–3).

The open area E of Herod's amphitheater and N of the theater was rearranged in a major architectural modification about the middle of the first century C.E. One of the first projects was providing level ground suitable for the southward extension of the built-up area of the city. The longitudinal depression between the E wall of Herod's amphitheater and the kurkar crest was filled with layers of soil, kurkar chips, and city waste. It included vast amounts of local and imported pottery dating from the late first century B.C.E. to the early first century C.E. and more than one hundred coins. As yet only twenty-one coins have been identified. The six latest coins were minted by Herod Archelaus, ruler of Judaea from 4 B.C.E. to 6 C.E. Coins of the emperor Nero (58–68 C.E.) were found in several installations arranged on top of the fill before the area was converted into a built-up area. The two coin groups may serve as a chronological framework for the leveling project.

Only the western section of the filled-up area, adjacent to the E cavea of Herod's amphitheater was horizontally leveled. It was filled flat to the level of the uppermost tier, about 8.50 m. above M.S.L., along the external wall. A colonnade was erected on top of the E external wall, replacing the original balustrade.[14] A second parallel colonnade, 5 m. east of the first, was arranged on top of a stylobate that was laid into the fill. The remains of the two colonnades represent a gallery that was constructed along the E side of Herod's amphitheater. The exposed *in situ* remains of the gallery (five column bases, one with the original column shaft) are all of marble, even though

[12] Frova, *Scavi*, 167–74.
[13] Porath, "Preliminary Notice," and idem, "Entertainment Building."
[14] Cf. Porath, "Entertainment Building," 8, fig. 6.

marble construction became common only during the second century C.E.[15] The writer assumes that the marble gallery was a replacement for an earlier one made of local stone (see below), of similar appearance to the "peristyle courtyards" in the Promontory Palace[16] and the Roman residence excavated by the IAA.

The area E of the gallery was leveled with a slight slope from S to N. It was arranged according to a master plan for the street grid in that sector, and the gradient of the street was calculated to allow the water to flow in the drain channel under the street. A long section of a N-S street, Cardo W1, and four perpendicular streets, Decumani S2–S5, were uncovered in the SWZ by early and recent excavations. Short sections of N-S streets were uncovered by the Italian mission in the northern area of the city (Main Cardo and Cardo E1?).[17] Segments of several streets were excavated by the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM) and CCE. The accumulating evidence (excluding the recent project) has enabled the drawing of a clear geometric grid of parallel and perpendicular streets over the entire city (map 2).[18]

Three successive pavings were uncovered in the streets of the SWZ: the original street was paved with kurkar blocks worn out from use; the second was of limestone; and the latest was a mixture of reused lime flagstones from the second street and local kurkar blocks. Each street had a drain channel beneath it. The drained water was conveyed north under the paved street, and turned west to the sea under Decumanus S2 (arranged in the pre-Herodian natural outlet of the valley east of the kurkar crest).

The area excavated by the IAA east of Herod's amphitheater was not inhabited in Herod's time. It was developed for residential use in the first century C.E. Some residences (*villae urbanae*) were constructed there in the second half of the century. The external E wall of the villas bordered the earliest kurkar paved strip of Cardo W1, without any sidewalk.[19] Cardo W1 was arranged almost parallel to Herod's amphitheater, the longest and most impressive building in that area. It may suggest that the newly constructed streets and insulae in the SWZ were built as a direct southern extension of the already existing street grid of Herod's city south of the Temple Platform.

Roman cities were known for their wide streets, with a stone-paved central part, a colonnade on each side, and pedestrian sidewalks between the colonnades and build-

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[15] Massive marble construction was common in the Levant beginning in the first half of the second century C.E. and on; see H. Hodge, "Palmyra and the Roman Marble Trade," *Levant* 20 (1988), 215–30; M. L. Fischer, "Marble Imports and Local Stone in Architectural Decoration of Roman Palestine: Marble Trade, Techniques and Artistic Taste," in N. Herz and M. Wealkens, eds., *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade* (Dordrecht, 1988), 161–70. See also Fischer's chapter in this volume.

[16] Cf. the chapters by Ehud Netzer, Barbara Burrell, and Kathryn Gleason in this volume.

[17] Frova, *Scavi*, 263–66.

[18] *Herod's Dream*, figs. 50, 86.

[19] Two lines of *tabuns* (cooking and baking ovens) were revealed on both sides of Cardo W1. They were dug into the post-Herodian leveled area and protected under surfaces that are related to the earliest paving and the Roman residence. These imply that a dirt road preceded the paved street in the years between the leveling project and the construction phase. As the city prospered and developed, the residential area spread south with paved streets.

ings. For the time being it is apparent that Cardo W1 was a narrow street, more a wide alley than a "canonical" street, ever since its original phase. It had only a stone-paved area, bordered on both sides by buildings, without pedestrian sidewalks.

An additional component of Caesarea's infrastructure that accompanied the streets was the water supply system. The main external source of drinking water was the High Level Aqueduct, reaching Caesarea from the north. The aqueduct terminated about 40 m. north of the city wall with the round gate towers.[20] A device, similar in function to the *castellum* described by Vitruvius (*De Architectura* 8.6.1–2), was constructed where the water was diverted into several terracotta pipelines. The pipes were installed along the streets, leading toward consumers in different sections of the city.

The IAA excavators working in the SWZ found that the earlier buildings of the Roman phase were self-sustaining in terms of water supply. The Roman residence had a well on its W side and a large vaulted cistern under its courtyard. A very similar situation prevailed at the Promontory Palace.[21] No pipes from the municipal water supply system have ever been found along the earliest paved streets (wornout kurkar) in the SWZ. It seems that the municipal water supply reached the area south of Decumanos S2 only in the following phase.

Herod' amphitheater underwent several alterations during the Roman period.[22] The accumulated result was a huge U-shaped hippodrome with tiers on three sides. The audience reached the renovated tiers by several staircases descending from the gallery on the E cavea, and ascending through the longitudinal *ambulatorium* on the W cavea. Herod's renovated amphitheater functioned as a typical hippodrome for about a century, until it was replaced by the much larger hippodrome on the east side of the city (map 3). Humphrey dated the construction of the E hippodrome to the second century C.E.[23] Another factor that may have affected the decision to construct the new hippodrome was the possible eastward advance of the sea after the partial submersion of Herod's harbor.[24]

The alterations to the Temple Platform had a different chronological pace than Herod's amphitheater and its vicinity. The northern projection of the W facade was elaborated with a splendid nymphaeum. Three niches were carved into the stones of

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[20] The High Level Aqueduct did not proceed further south as was suggested by the Italian mission (cf. Frova, *Scavi*, fig. 375) or as drawn on the maps of Roman Caesarea (cf. *Herod's Dream*, figs. 50, 86; Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, plan opposite table of contents; also map 3 in this volume). For further updated details, see Y. Porath, "The Water Supply to Caesarea" A Reassessment" in J. Patrich, D. Amith, and Y. Hirschfeld, eds., *Ancient Aqueducts of the Holy Land* (forthcoming).

[21] The water supply for the earliest phase of the Promontory Palace was from a well that was excavated by the UP and from a huge vaulted cistern that was uncovered by the IAA in 1994 (unpublished). My thanks to Barbara Burrell and Kathryn Gleason for permission to use unpublished material from the UP excavations.

[22] Cf. Porath, "Entertainment Building," 21–23.

[23] J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Los Angeles, 1986), 480.

[24] The partial submersion of the breakwater has been dated to the end of the first century C.E.; cf. A. Raban "Caesarea Maritima 1993," *C.M.S. News* 21 (August 1994), 4.

Herod's wall. The work was executed without any regard for the joints between the stones, indicating that it did not originate in Herod's day. It seems that the water reached the nymphaeum through a metal pipe, of which only a groove in the stones remains, and gushed from spouts on either side of the central niche. The water drained into a rectangular basin, with waterproof plaster that was painted blue. The wall and niches of the nymphaeum were also plastered and painted. The niches probably held statues, a common decoration in Roman nymphaea. Two statues were uncovered in secondary use near the nymphaeum. One statue, a figure of the Genius of Caesarea, was uncovered by Negev.[25] The other one, an unidentified female figure, was found on August 4, 1994, in the IAA excavations. The nymphaeum was located at an important point in the city plan, less than 15 m. from the E quay, and had a practical function beyond the ornamental. Three components of the city's life, each representing water consumers, mingled here: street, harbor, and cult center. The water was drawn from the general system in clay pipes along the Main Decumanus, and gushed from the lost spouts about one meter lower than the bottom of the High Level Aqueduct. The high freestanding wall of the Temple Platform allowed a fall of more than 3 m.

The recessed W facade of the Temple Platform was coated with white calcareous plaster and was repaved at a slightly higher level. A few coins were uncovered under the stone paving that reached the bottom of the plastered wall. The most recent coin was a Judaea Capta coin of the emperor Titus (79–81 C.E.). It is not yet clear whether the nymphaeum was built at the same time as the reshaping of the recessed facade.

The area west of Cardo W1 and north of Decumanus S2 was constructed with commercial buildings. The JECM uncovered several vaulted halls fronting the Mediterranean N of Decumanus S2. They were probably used for storing goods related to the harbor commerce, and represent a fragment of the warehouses (*horrea*) in use in such an important city.[26] The vaults served as an elevated platform for a superimposed luxury building. The results of the excavations generally dated these vaults to the Herodian period (22 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.). The writer assumes that these warehouses were built under the Roman procurators, and shared the southward progression of the city in the first century C.E. One of the vaulted warehouses was converted into a Mithraeum toward the end of the first century C.E.[27]

The SWZ was thoroughly annexed to the built-up area of Caesarea during the Roman period. Its evolution was very rapid, and all the area was covered with public and private buildings before the end of the first century C.E. The infrastructure of the SWZ at that stage did not achieve its full standard, as no municipal water system has yet been revealed. The SWZ inhabitants were dependent on local water from wells and cisterns, or carried water from the public fountains in the vicinity of the Temple Platform.

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[25] A. Negev, "Early Roman Caesarea" [Hebrew], *Mada* 1 (1966), 143.
[26] Cf. *Herod's Dream*, 87–89.
[27] Ibid., 148–53.

The SWZ in the Late Roman Period (Second-Fourth Century C.E.)

The SWZ participated in the general prosperity of Caesarea, Palestine, and the Roman Empire in the second and the early third century C.E. (map 3). Most of the area of the SWZ had already been developed in the previous period, with a paved street grid and constructed insulae. The new era was characterized by massive construction throughout the city. The prosperity is reflected in the excavated section of the SWZ as well. One of the new projects was the repaving of the street grid with hard limestone blocks. The stones were polished by foot traffic and do not bear any vehicle marks. Cardo W1 remained in an arrangement similar to its worn kurkar predecessor. Some decumani were of wide canonical arrangement, with colonnades and pedestrian sidewalks, unlike Cardo W1. This is best observed at Decumanus S3, where the later alterations and stone robbery have not completely blurred the original setting.[28] The street colonnade of Decumanus S3, west of its intersection with Cardo W1, was made of imported marble, whereas its eastern continuation was made of the local kurkar sandstone. The marble street colonnade was incorporated into the marble gallery east of Herod's amphitheater (see above and n. 17). As the writer considers the gallery to have been erected in the first century C.E., he assumes that the marble gallery was a replacement for an earlier one made of plastered local stone. It seems that the limestone streets and the marble colonnades were executed during the same construction project in the first half of the second century C.E.

Short segments of lead pipes, uncovered under the pedestrian sidewalk of Decumanus S3, may indicate that the SWZ was connected to the municipal water supply by the same street reconstruction project.

These reconstructions of the streets and gallery were followed by several alterations in the buildings of the insulae. One example of these changes is a large complex with a public bath that was built on top of the Roman residence. The W side of the complex was planned as if the gallery and the E cavea of Herod's amphitheater were still standing when it was constructed. The well of the Roman residence was filled in before the construction of the Late Roman complex, and it is reasonable to assume that the water supply for the bath was provided by an extension of the newly developed municipal water supply system.

A major change occurred in the area of Herod's amphitheater. This monument gradually ceased to be used for public entertainment, and its land was used for other purposes. At first only its northern half was neglected after the larger E hippodrome was constructed in the Roman period (see above). The southern half functioned in a truncated version for gladiatorial and wild beasts training and performances, that is, as a Roman *amphitheatrum*.[29] Coins minted by the emperor Hadrian (117–138 C.E.),

[28] The earliest wornout kurkar paving phase was not found under Decumanus S3 at this stage of the excavations, but it certainly existed there according to evidence from other streets in the SWZ.

[29] Transformation of a truncated hippodrome into a Roman *amphitheatrum* was a common phenomenon in Palestine; cf. Beth Shean/ Scythopolis: Foerster and Y. Tsafrir, "The Excavation Project at Beth

found on the floor of the reduced Herod's amphitheater, may date its transformation from a hippodrome into a Roman *amphitheatrum* to the first half of the second century C.E. The south half was also deserted after a while, when a canonical *amphitheatrum* was constructed in the NE zone of the city ("Reifenberg's amphitheater"; map 3).[30] The entire area of the former Herod's amphitheater was annexed to the built-up insulae west of Cardo W1 at the end of the process. The shrine in the E cavea was extended westward, over the former arena, after the *amphitheatrum* was moved northeast.

Some extensive modifications were made in the Temple Platform in the later part of the Roman period. The perimeter walls of the platform were elevated, probably in preparation for a reconstruction of the temple. Several vaulted halls were constructed in place of the recessed sunken courtyard at its W facade. The plastered floor above the vaults extended the area of the Temple Platform westward, and served as an open courtyard for the renewed temple. The vaulted halls were certainly used for storing the goods shipped through the harbor. The alteration of the W facade of the Temple Platform probably coincided with a westward shift of the harbor's E quay, recently uncovered by the CCE excavators.[31]

The southern vaults (north of Decumanus S2) and their superstructures functioned without major change throughout the Late Roman period. The finds in the area of the superstructures indicate that they served an administrative purpose.[32]

It seems that the Promontory Palace continued to be an important site during the Late Roman period. The archaeological remains of this phase are very poor. Two columns with Latin and Greek inscriptions[33] may indicate that this was the praetorium of the Roman governors of the province.

Herod's theater was renovated several times between the second and the fourth century C.E.[34]

Shean: Excavations at the Amphitheatre and Its Vicinity" [Hebrew], *Hadashoth arkheologioth* 91 (1985), 24–30 ; Schechem/ Flavia Neapolis: E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1993), 1357–58; and probably Gerasa as well: A. A. Ostrasz, "The Hippodrome of Gerasa: A Report on the Excavations and Research 1982–1987," *Syria* 66 (1989), 73–74.

[30] A sondage was done by Negev in 1950 at the area suggested by Reifenberg for the *amphitheatrum;* cf. A. Reifenberg, "Caesarea: A Study in the Decline of a Town," *IEJ* 1 (1950–51), 25–26. Negev's sondage did not reveal any tiers or large-scale architecture. The evidence was not conclusive enough to negate Reifenberg's proposal, and the area deserves reexamination; cf. Negev "Early Roman Caesarea," 144.

[31] See Raban's chapter in this volume.

[32] Cf. *Herod's Dream,* 153.

[33] Cf. Burrell, Gleason, and Netzer, "Herod's Seaside Palace"; B. Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns from Caesarea Maritima," *ZPE* 99 (1933), 287–95; and Burrell's chapter in this volume.

[34] Cf. Frova, *Scavi,* 175–86.

The SWZ in the Byzantine Period (Late Fourth-Early Seventh Century C.E.)

The Byzantine city (map 4) generally continued the Late Roman one. The architectural complexes uncovered west of Cardo W1 belong naturally to the later phase of that long period, during which were made the many minor changes normal for a vital city. The area west of Cardo W1 is the widest excavated section in Byzantine Caesarea (more than 10,000 m.^{2} at the end of 1994), and is the best preserved area in the ancient city. It seems that most of the uncovered complexes in the SWZ were used for religious, commercial, administrative, or leisure (entertainment?) purposes, and only 25% or less of the area fronting the sea was left for wealthy private houses.

The Temple Platform was reshaped in the Byzantine period, and an octagonal building was constructed over its southern portion. The excavators assume that the octagonal building was a Christian *martyrium*.[35] Our knowledge of the rest of the Temple Platform in the Byzantine period is minimal as it was later destroyed to below the Byzantine living surfaces. A wide staircase was constructed at about the middle of the W facade, to bridge the height difference between the top of the Temple Platform and the E quay of the Byzantine harbor.

The CAHEP excavators uncovered a polygonal building adjacent to the western section of the S facade of the Temple Platform.[36] It is composed of several small rooms arranged around a polygonal courtyard, and was used for commercial purposes.

The large Roman administrative complex north of Decumanus S2 was reconstructed in the Byzantine period and retained its previous function. Greek inscriptions set into the mosaic floor of its rooms indicate the administrative nature of the building.[37] The administrative building probably continued west over the vaults of the Roman *horrea*. These vaults were reconstructed in the Byzantine period and used mainly as storage facilities.

The depression of the arena was gradually filled in with city garbage in the Late Roman period, and both public and private buildings were constructed over it in the Byzantine period. Long sections of the marble gallery were dismantled and replaced by ordinary walls of these buildings. The three decumani that originally reached up to the marble gallery proceeded west over the tiers and filled arena, with the westward advance of the city. The streets were repaved at a slightly higher level with a renewed drainage system and a new water supply system. The new streets were made of kurkar blocks and some recycled limestone blocks from the previous street grid. Decumanus S3 of the Byzantine period lost the wide, open appearance it had had in the previous period. Its pedestrian sidewalks were annexed to the built-up insulae on both sides. Decumanus S3 is an example of the extension of the constructed area of the insulae

[35] Cf. *Caesarea Papers*, 100–108.

[36] Cf. A. Raban and R. R. Stieglitz, "Caesarea, Ancient Harbour, 1987," *IEJ* 38 (1988), 276–78.

[37] Cf. *Herod's Dream*, 169–71, figs. 12, 123; K. G. Holum, "Inscriptions from the Imperial Revenue Office of Byzantine Caesarea Palaestinae," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, 333–45.

over the pedestrian sections of the street, a well-known process in many cities during the Byzantine period.

The insula W2S3 (framed by Cardines W2-W1 and Decumani S2 and S3) was subdivided into almost equal portions by two east-west alleys. The two alleys faced each other, but an altitude difference of more than 3 m. prohibited free passage between them. The northern section of the insula functioned as a large storage area,[38] and the southern one was occupied by a large public bath complex. The western parts of both complexes – that is, the *caldarium*, several other rooms of the bath complex, and some storage halls – were constructed over the dismantled and buried tiers and filled arena.

The same arrangement prevailed at the insulae south of Decumanus S3. Each insula extended west over the fill in the former Herod's amphitheater. Every insula was subdivided by alleys that branched off the paved street and terminated at a dead end. The alleys were an extension of the paved streets; each had a drain channel underneath, and some a water pipe as well. Several alleys had a stone threshold for doors that allowed the alley to be closed or the inner part of the insula to be shut off, according to the needs and habits of the insula's inhabitants.

By the end of 1994 only the western half of insula W2S4 was excavated. Here, too, the area was subdivided by alleys. The northwest quarter of the insula was occupied by several small units, each consisting of one room with openings facing the alleys that branched off the paved street. The rooms were found empty, without any finds or installations that might indicate their function. Judging from the plan, we assume that this area was a marketplace (*macellum*) or a corridor storeroom. The southwest quarter of the insula was used for private houses, and a large section belonged to a splendid residence with two marble-paved courtyards surrounded by rooms of multicolored mosaic and opus sectile floors.

The area south of Decumanus S4 was badly damaged by post-Byzantine activities (stone robbery, cemetery use, and agriculture). The beautiful patches of multicolored mosaic and opus sectile floors imply that at least some of the area was occupied by private residences. The houses spread south almost to the vicinity of the theater and beyond the area of the former Promontory Palace. Several subterranean silos were uncovered south of Decumanus S4. These are identical to those uncovered at the northern half of insula W2S3 (discussed by Joseph Patrich in this volume). Remains of a church and a small chapel (crypt?) were found south of the former circular section of Herod's amphitheater and over the southern end of the E cavea respectively. These remains may reflect the ancient tradition of the pagan amphitheater shrine in the Roman period. The area of the theater changed its purpose during the latter half of the Byzantine period and was converted into a military camp.[39]

The western side of the fill in Herod's amphitheater was partially removed in the later phase of the Byzantine period, probably due to the eastward advance of the sea

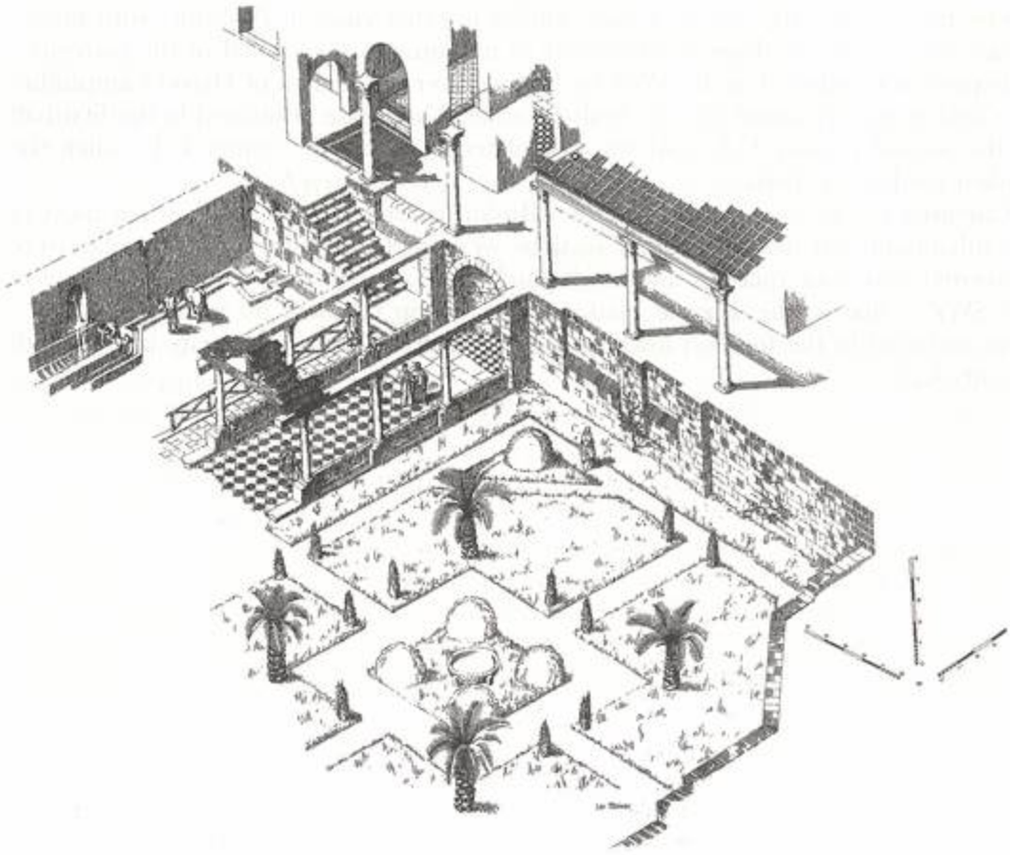
[38] See Patrich's chapter in this volume.
[39] Cf. Frova, *Scavi*, 159–64.

2. "Sunken garden" with apsidal hall, view looking east. Photograph by Kenneth G. Holum

that followed the submersion of Herod's harbor (see above and n. 23). The area facing the beach was terraced down to the new shoreline by solid revetment walls, of which only foundations were preserved. At one section, a strip of the fill was removed to the full width of the former arena, as far as the eastern tiers, about 35 m. wide and more than 4 m. high. Revetment walls were constructed to support the high fill on the north, east, and south sides. An apsidal hall was built on the new ground, with marble screens supported by pilasters for walls, opus sectile floor, and marble-lined apse. A marble-paved corridor north of the apsidal hall led to a staircase that bridged the height difference between the sunken area and the splendid residence above it. An extension pipeline from the municipal water system along Cardo W1 drew water to a fountain in a semicircular niche in the north revetment wall. All the surplus water was diverted southward in a channel that ran under the marble floors of the corridor and apsidal hall. No architectural remains of that phase were found south of the apsidal hall, and we assume that an irrigated garden was planted there (figs. 2, 3). The sunken area was a private lower terrace of the wealthy residence above it and served as a "sunken garden" for its inhabitants.

Conclusion

The remains of ancient Caesarea uncovered in the SWZ reflect the evolution of the entire city. It is noteworthy that no signs of any general, violent destruction, from natural causes or human activities, have been found throughout the Roman-Byzantine city. All the architectural alterations that have been noted are those of a city living in peace. It is possible to follow three main phases, of unequal duration, in the life of Roman-Byzantine Caesarea:



3. Artist's reconstruction of the "sunken garden." Drawing by Lev Filipov

(1) The construction of a civilian city named Caesarea, next to the royal artificial harbor of Sebastos. The harbor's construction and maintenance were considered more important than the civilian city at the time of Herod and his son Archelaos (22 B.C.E. – 6 C.E.). The construction of the infrastructure for the new city included two public entertainment facilities (theater and amphitheater) at the open area south of the city.

(2) Transformation from an ordinary city to *the* political and economic center of the province of Judaea. This phase began when Caesarea was chosen as the seat of the Roman procurators. It reached its zenith after the city gained the status of a Roman *colonia* and Jerusalem, its political rival, was destroyed. The flourishing city expanded to the open areas east of Herod's amphitheater. The city and the two public entertainment facilities coexisted for about a century.

(3) Continuous evolution of the city. The general economic, social, and political pro-

cesses affected the city's life at a pace similar to other cities in Palestine (with higher peaks and less severe depressions related to its status as the capital of the province). The process is reflected in the SWZ by the takeover of the area of Herod's amphitheater and its incorporation into the built-up zone. This phase originated in the first half of the second century C.E. and was completed in the sixth century C.E. when the sunken garden was built.

Caesarea lost its importance after the Muslim conquest of 640 C.E. when most of the inhabitants left the city. Larger sections were neglected, and former insulae were converted into stone quarries and small patches of farmland. Only a small fraction of the SWZ – that is, the Temple Platform and a strip of about 50 m. to the south – were included in the fortified town that emerged from the vestigial city in the ninth century C.E.

8

"Amphitheatrical" Hippo-Stadia

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The title chosen may mystify, for there is no such word as "hippo-stadia" in any dictionary, ancient or modern, nor is it likely that the ancients would have invented such a term, but for the *cognoscenti* it is intended to suggest that our thinking about Roman entertainment buildings has not been sufficiently flexible. We were taught to believe that amphitheaters, theaters, circuses/hippodromes, and stadia were quite different building types, with clearly differentiated functions. It is now clear that this was not always so. This realization was forced upon me by the extraordinary discoveries made at Caesarea by the excavations of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) directed by Dr. Y. Porath, and I must give credit to him and his colleagues for this work and thank him for kindly sharing it with me in advance of its publication.[1] Who would have anticipated this discovery? It came as one of the greatest surprises in the archaeology of Caesarea. Already he and I have debated whether in the modern literature it should be called an amphitheater or a stadium: "multipurpose entertainment building" is my suggested compromise. (Alternatively, we may eventually agree upon plain "hippodrome.")

In any event, Dr. Porath has proved me wrong, exposing the error of my ways when I wrote, in 1985, about the hippodromes of the Near East in my book *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London, 1985). The new discovery shows, above all, that one should never underestimate Herod. That was my chief mistake. Based on the analogy of hippodromes in other parts of the late Hellenistic and early Roman world, and following upon the evidence that R. Bull's Joint Expedition in the mid-1970s produced about the only hippodrome that was then known in Caesarea – namely, that the hippodrome on the outskirts of the city dated in its built form to the second century and not to the time of Herod – I had written that "the occasional horse-races at Caesarea (in the quinquennial games) would not have necessitated the construction of a permanent building" (p. 529). That's true: they didn't "necessitate," but Herod did it anyway!

The problem was not just my underestimation of Herod. More seriously, it was my too strict interpretation of the words that Josephus uses for these structures at various

[1] For a preliminary report on the discovery, see now Y. Porath, "Herod's "Amphitheatre" at Caesarea: A Multi-Purpose Entertainment Building," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 15–27.

points in his history. In the late Republic and early Empire, the terminology for Roman entertainment buildings, and especially for the building that we would later know as the "amphitheater," was still in flux. Here I must inject a rapid review of the various sports buildings. In classical Greek we find a clear distinction in meaning and in design between the "theater," literally a place for seeing, viewing, or watching; the "stadium," literally a racecourse a stade long, and so primarily for athletes; and the "hippodrome," literally an equestrian racecourse, a place for racing horses and chariots – all these, of course, are Greek words. But the Roman building form that they came to call the *amphitheatrum* (meaning literally a double theater, and so a place for viewing from all sides, i.e., with seats all the way around the ring) at first had no name of its own at all, since it simply made use of the forum in Italian towns, converting the space into more or less an oval arena with bleachers all around. J.-C. Golvin's reconstruction of the arena in the Roman Forum is "rather like a truncated stadium,"[2] although K. Welch[3] prefers to restore it as roughly oval. Golvin already made a link between the shape of the Roman Forum and the early first century-amphitheater at Cherchel built by Juba II (24 B.C.E.–23 C.E.; the Cherchel amphitheater has straight sides with curved ends and resembles a half-sized stadium about 100 m. long – contrast that, for example, with the long axis of the Pompeii amphitheater, at 68 m.). The Roman Forum continued to hold gladiatorial shows until the mid-20s C.E. When in Italy such structures began to be purpose-built away from the local forum, they received the Latin name *spectacula* (again, like the word theater, emphasizing the "viewing" aspect, and meaning "the performance or event or spectacle watched"), as in the case of Pompeii whose amphitheater dates to around 80 B.C.E. This word applied to the building is shorthand for *spectacula gladiatorum* or *spectacula gladiatorii muneris*. Welch writes that "it is the very lack of iconographic specificity of the auditorium that was probably responsible for its functional name of *spectacula*" (p. 77 n. 42). The word *amphitheatrum* did not come into use until Augustan times (Welch calls it a "neologism with a refined Greek ring to it"). Augustus was responsible for the first purpose-built structure in the city of Rome, the amphitheater of Statilius Taurus in the Campus Martius, dated to 30 B.C.E.

The Greek language, though, in the late Republic and very early Empire usually does not use the word "amphitheater" as a noun to label that new, non-Greek, Roman building type. The word as a noun would still have been too new for contemporaries to use it as a technical term to describe buildings as early as Herod's in Palestine. Greek instead uses the *adjective* ἀμφιθέατρος/-ον ("amphitheatral"), meaning "having seats for spectators all around," applied to structures such as the stadium or the hippodrome, the contrast with the theater being implied – that the "amphitheatral" building, whatever it might be, had seats *all the way round*. Note that its meaning does not have anything to do with the *type of events* typically held in a canonical Roman amphi-

[2] J.-C. Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain* (Paris, 1988), pl. Vb, and J.-C. Golvin and C. Landes, *Amphithéâtres et gladiateurs* (Paris, 1990), 59.

[3] "The Roman Arena in Late-Republican Italy," *JRA* 7 (1994), 69–78.

theater. As Golvin and others have suggested, it carried the implicit idea of the shape of a double theater, back to back, with *scaenae frontes* removed. Specifically, then, we find in *IG Rom* 4.845 and 861 mention of a στάδιον ἀμφιθέατρον λευκόλιθον, "stadium with seats all the way round (adjective) built of white stone," at Laodicea ad Lycum. We also find the reference in the Greek writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 4.44) to the Circus Maximus in Rome as the "amphitheatrical hippodrome"; again, he simply stresses the continuity of the seats. Strabo (17.1.10) calls the building at Alexandria Taurus ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον. From Augustus onward the terminological confusion gradually became resolved as the use of the Greek adjective ἀμφιθέατρος as a neuter noun ἀμφιθέατρον became reserved for the rather new Roman building type of the amphitheater: thus in *IG Rom* 1.1024.27 (Berenice, first century B.C.E.), and elsewhere in Strabo (14.1.43, Nyssa), and then also Josephus in the passages most relevant to us (*AJ* 15.268, Jerusalem; *BJ* 1.33.8, Jericho; *AJ* 15.341 and *BJ* 1.21.8, Caesarea). We may also note that synagogues too had seats "all the way round."

Josephus, who had strong Italian and Roman connections and relied upon Augustan sources, belonged to and understandably reflects this age before the use of the adjective "amphitheatral" and its noun had become more narrowly defined. Thus we should understand references in him to an "amphitheater" to mean an "amphitheatral" building, that is, one with seats all the way round. The new building found by the IAA at Caesarea certainly meets this definition, and once again we can say that Josephus was *not* wrong. I was wrong when I applied too narrow and anachronistic meanings to his words. This new building at Caesarea is an "amphitheatral stadium" or "amphitheatral hippodrome." One or the other is probably the Greek phrase that was applied to it when it was first built. Later, as Josephus himself shows in other passages (*AJ* 18.57; *BJ* 2.172), it was called simply the "great stadium," presumably because by then the Roman term *amphitheatrum* had become too closely associated with a different kind of building. It is no accident that this is the name it came to carry. At any rate, it needed to take on a different name after a new Roman "true" amphitheater was built at Caesarea, whenever that was (presumably not before the mid-first century C.E.?). There is no problem about what the Caesarea building is. It is a hippodrome or stadium with seats all around. Our problem is only with the terminology – what may be called the "terminology trap."

But if we now consider this building in the light of other entertainment buildings in the Greek East, we can see a pattern emerging. This pattern is precisely that many elongated arenas of this kind doubled as stadia and hippodromes, serving for both athletic events and equestrian events, among others. I began to notice this in my book in 1985, but I had not pursued it there to its logical conclusion. This, in fact, is the reason why true hippodromes are hard to find in much of the Greek East, and why eastern "hippodromes" as such are rarely mentioned in Greek epigraphic and literary sources. It is now clear that they are hiding under another name, that of "stadium." The entertainment building that is present in large numbers in Asia Minor is not the hippodrome but the stadium. At Alexandria too there was a combination stadium-hippodrome, with an arena not necessarily much more than 51 m. wide, with a barrier,

that definitely served for both athletics and equestrian events. At Cyrene the arena of the "stadium" was a maximum of 58 m. wide but long enough for equestrian events. At Gortyn the arena of the undeniable hippodrome was only 51 m. wide near the gates. At Anazarbus the arena was about 64 m. wide, and it had a barrier, yet must have doubled as a stadium and hippodrome. At Caesarea in Cappadocia chariot races were held in what was called in the ancient sources (Basil) a stadium – thus another combination stadium-hippodrome. And there should be more to add. The stadium at Aphrodisias is about 262 m. long and 59 m. wide, with two curved ends. Equestrian races definitely were held at Aphrodisias, as we know from epigraphic sources, but no separate hippodrome is known: the chances are that they were held in the "stadium." Note in particular the second- or early third-century inscription (*CIG* 2758) that refers to the providing of starting gate mechanisms (ἀφετηρίας μαγγάνων), suggesting that the mechanism was installed as needed and not left permanently in place.

We have then a widespread class of buildings in the Greek East that falls midway between the narrower and shorter "typical" Greek stadia and the wider and longer "typical" Roman circuses. In Asia Minor and the rest of the Greek world most stadia are close to 200 m. in length (i.e., basically to produce a track a stade long), but longer ones are attested in three cases at Aphrodisias, Nyssa, and Laodicea. Two fall around 270–280 m. in length. None has known barriers or gates, but that does not exclude their former existence. Nyssa, Augustan in date and referred to as an "amphitheater" by Strabo, has now gone; the arena of Aphrodisias has not been excavated. The structure at Laodicea on the Asopos is about 380 m. long; no gates or barrier are known, but a building of this length surely should have catered to equestrian events: that length is not required simply for athletics. These buildings seem to have been deliberately designed longer and wider than the classical stadium precisely to accommodate a wider range of events, especially equestrian ones. And they fit very well with the new building at Caesarea, now known to have been about 290 m. long, with a hint of starting gates beginning to emerge, and with an arena about 50.35 m. wide.

Very recent work in the Caesarea arena has found evidence of a double foundation, ca. 2.5 m. in overall width, conforming to the axis of the arena, which could have supported a low vault on top of which might have rested basins of water to create a *euripus* or barrier common in Roman circuses. The width is adequate for such a barrier. Evidently the presence of a barrier would not prevent such a building from also functioning for athletics (see the recent discovery of a barrier in the arena of the Gerasa hippodrome[4]), though whether this barrier would belong to the very first phase of the structure is an important question that remains to be answered, since other structures below the arena seem to relate to a later phase of the building (see below). Also supporting the equestrian function of the Caesarea building are the remains of a tribunal on the long left-hand side of the seating, corresponding in location to that of the *pulvinar* in the Circus Maximus. It may be identified with the tribunal in Caesarea's "great

[4] A. A. Ostrasz, "The Hippodrome of Gerasa: A Report on Excavations and Research 1982–1987," in *Jerash Archaeological Project 1984–1988*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1989), 51–77.

stadium" mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* 2.172; *AJ* 18.57) in the time of Pontius Pilate. It would lie directly overlooking the finishing line of equestrian events in the opposite right-hand track. Use of the Caesarea building for equestrian events is confirmed also by the discovery of a Greek inscription dedicated by Merismos ἱπποτρόφος found in the shrine under the podium wall. With that title the owner is in question, pointing to racing in the Greek style, without the factions.

The connection may be made with the hippodrome at Gerasa, a building that was always identified as a hippodrome from its first discovery because of the presence there of built starting gates – and, as we now know, a built *euripus* ca. 160 m. long. Note, too, that this building is much later, dated now to the second half or end of the second century C.E. (probably Severan in view of the dedications to the ruling house). Because it is later, the hippodrome elements (starting gates, barrier) are integral and its design is more Roman or western. We always used to think of the hippodrome at Gerasa as being an anomaly among hippodromes because it is so much smaller in arena length and width than the other monumental Roman hippodromes. Yet it *was* a hippodrome because it had built starting gates and turning posts and barrier. Its arena length was a mere 245 m., its width only 50 m. But it was not only a hippodrome, for an inscription shows that it housed athletes as well as horses. The most recent work has shown that only the five equestrian starting gates on the right-hand side were equipped with an opening mechanism (the other five must have been for the teams to exit the arena), so it functioned with races in the Greek style with no more than five teams racing. Its dimensions are likely to be a close match to those of the new building at Caesarea – in fact, Gerasa now turns out to be shorter than Caesarea. If Gerasa held equestrian events, as it certainly did, then all the more so could Caesarea. In a multipurpose building of this kind, some loss of convenience for athletic or other equestrian races had to be accepted, but both were quite feasible.

When I wrote my book, I took the narrow position that, in the absence of evidence of permanent, built gates and permanent, built barrier and turning posts, a building was not a hippodrome/circus and did not/could not have held equestrian races. This is plainly wrong. Intermingling of events is not only possible, it is to be expected. For this is precisely what had long happened in the greatest and oldest of all Roman entertainment buildings, the Circus Maximus. The Circus Maximus since its inception doubled as a stadium. It featured runners, boxers, and wrestlers from Etruscan times. Athletics continued to be held through the late Republic and into the Empire, with major "Greek style" athletic performances put on at various times. Wild animal shows (*venationes*) were held through the second century B.C.E., and notably in 169, and were held almost exclusively in the Circus until the late Republic, with performances continuing there even until the reign of Nero, after which the Colosseum was built. Even *ludi scaenici* were originally held in the Circus (as in 167 B.C.E.). This is no surprise since a stadium in Rome, but only a temporary one, is not attested until 46 B.C.E., in the Campus Martius, then a second in the time of Augustus, but no permanent one until Domitian at the end of the first century C.E.

At Caesarea, the inaugural games of 11 B.C.E. included horse races, musical con-

tests, athletes, gladiators, and wild beasts. The same events probably continued in the quinquennial festival. All these events needed just two buildings. Theater performances, such as the musical contests, were of course held in the theater. Note also, on the evidence of Rome, that gladiatorial combats could also be held in theaters and circuses. That would leave the wild beasts, equestrian events, and athletes in the IAA building. Thus Caesarea possessed a "theater" and a "double theater" to cater to the totality of events, and both of them were part of (even bonded to, it seems, from the recent work) Herod's palace. Here is a true palatial complex, a tighter grouping than even Augustus could create in Rome because of the inherited landscape there. There may be certain parallels with Pompey's theater complex in Rome.[5]

In Palestine outside Caesarea, the picture is again becoming clearer thanks to the Caesarea discovery. Herod did not build separate hippodromes. He built combination "amphitheatral hippo-stadia." Thus at Jerusalem we should now be looking for both a theater and a combination hippodrome-stadium to house the quinquennial games founded in 28 B.C.E. by Herod for musicians and actors in the former building, and for athletes, wild beast fights with each other and with men, two- and four-horse chariots, and horseback riders in the latter. H. A. Harris was probably right about this.[6] Herod always wanted to put on performances of the kind found in the Greek Crown Games which he also patronized and presided over in 12 or 8 B.C.E. – and those included equestrian events. At Jericho we have the rather anomalous building discovered by E. Netzer, τὸν καλούμενον ἱπποδρόμον, a phrase that tells us, accurately in fact, that this is not like a "real" hippodrome – as it is not, with its rectangular shape of 315 x 83 m. and no trace of seats on the long sides (so much less monumental than the Caesarea building).[7] (Note the use of the same phrase for a building at Nicopolis in Egypt.) Probably Lämmer was right to see this building at Jericho as being at the same time both Josephus' amphitheater and hippodrome.[8] It, too, was multipurpose. As for Tarichaeae, we still cannot be sure, since it has not yet been found. Most probably the "hippodrome" there was like the stadium at nearby Tiberias, although Lämmer's attribution of it to Herod Antipas remains unproven.

In passing, we may bring into the picture the recently excavated "amphitheater" at Beth Shean.[9] It copies the form of the Cherchel building, combining the forms of the canonical stadium and amphitheater, and can well be called an "amphitheatral stadium." Evidently it started life, or was intended to start life, as a stadium, similar to the new structure at Caesarea, but then was modified to come closer to what we think of

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[5] A suggestion already made by Kathryn Gleason as a result of her excavations on Herod's Promontory Palace.

[6] H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletics and the Jews* (Cardiff, 1976), 37–39.

[7] E. Netzer, "The Hippodrome That Herod Built in Jericho" [Hebrew], *Qadmoniot* 13 (1980), 104–7.

[8] M. Lämmer, "Griechische Wettkämpfe in Galiläa unter der Herrschaft des Herodes Antipas," *Kölner Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 5 (1976), n. 90. My criticisms of Lämmer's hypotheses on Palestinian hippodromes in my book (pp. 528–33) thus turn out to be ill-founded. Lämmer was probably right, to say that the "very great amphitheatre" in the plain at Jerusalem was really a hippodrome.

[9] *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 6 (1987–88), 35–38.

as an amphitheater, but with straight segments in the center of the sides instead of the continuous oval. Perhaps then by its original design it too was intended to house a wide range of events, though the internal width of only 45 m. would have restricted the number of equestrian competitors. The newly excavated building at Neapolis (Nablus; unpublished) can also be seen to belong to the same pattern, though presumably second century in date. With estimated arena length of 270 m. and width of 48.6 m., it closely matches Caesarea and Gerasa. Certainly it, like Gerasa, functioned for chariot races, since gates are preserved, but it too could have been a combination stadium-hippodrome.

We must conclude, then, that "hippodrome" and "amphitheater" were interchangeable terms for Josephus: in either case he has in mind the same shape of building, but multipurpose with respect to events staged therein. Note, too, that even under Claudius gladiatorial and wild beast fights were being held in the Circus Maximus after every fifth race.

The later part of the story is no less interesting. Note, particularly, the continued combination of athletic and equestrian events in a single building even after the construction of new purpose-built hippodromes in the Roman (western) style – by which I mean having longer arenas, wider arenas, permanent gates, and permanent barrier and turning posts. These new "true" Roman-style hippodromes begin in the Greek East not before the second century C.E., and many are later. The virtue of these, and the reason for their construction, was not so that equestrian events could be held for the first time in these cities – they already were being held, but we must stress that equestrian events had been rather minor: already in the late Hellenistic period there had been a decline of interest in equestrian events at the Greek games, and this continued through the first century C.E. Rather, the "true" Roman-style hippodromes permitted the whole quality of the racing to be upgraded. Late Roman sources also show that even then these buildings were called "stadia" or "hippodromes" more or less indiscriminately, as particularly in the cases of Caesarea and Alexandria. They were built because the older, shorter, and narrower buildings did not lend themselves to racing in the Roman style. Particularly the problem must have arisen for traveling charioteers who were used to the longer and more uniform racing conditions of the western circuses. The introduction of these "true" hippodromes, though, definitely preceded the arrival of the circus factions. They were still to come. But it reflects the increasing uniformity in racing conditions imposed by the races of the Roman West, muscling out the old Greek tradition that went back to the racing conditions and features of the Olympic and Crown games.

In the case of Caesarea, we may speculate that the new and purpose-built Roman-style hippodrome built at the back of the town in the second century was built not because it *had* to be – in the sense that the stadium by the sea had become inundated or ruined for other reasons – but because equestrian events now demanded their own separate building with track comparable in length to the western circuses in order to raise the standard of the racing. Permanent gates were also definitely a "plus" for equestrian races. Only with that and with other features (white lines, lanes, judges'

boxes, mechanisms in starting gates) could the whole quality of the racing be upgraded, leading in turn to greater specialization by charioteers and greater "professionalism," if I dare use that word. Construction of Roman-style hippodromes in the East may also have been spurred by the establishment of the new Pythian games founded by Septimius Severus in the early third century, at which equestrian events may have been intended to play a much larger part than they had in the older games of the city. There is no reason why the old stadium could not have continued to function after the second century, though in another role (see below). The athletic events would simply have moved to the new hippodrome with the equestrian.

Thus the wheel has turned full circle – from equestrian events in the Caesarea "stadium" to athletic events in the Caesarea hippodrome, proving nicely the interchangeability of the buildings and of their terminology. Similarly, in the Greek East, as Louis Robert has shown,[10] gladiatorial and wild beast events were regularly held ἐν σταδίοις, for most Greek cities did not possess a true Roman purpose-built amphitheater.

What happened to Herod's "Hippo-stadium" after the new Roman-style hippodrome was built on the edge of the city (now thought to be roughly Hadrianic)? The most recent work suggests, tentatively, that in its second major phase Herod's building was indeed converted into an amphitheater: an amphitheater-like oval arena would have been created in the southern half of the building, utilizing the existing semicircular end. This is a well-known phenomenon, particularly in the stadia of Asia Minor, where it is normally attributed to Late Antiquity. But in Palestine, the phenomenon seems to be much earlier. Thus the second-century hippodrome at Neapolis was converted into an amphitheater probably by the third century. At Beth Shean it has been suggested that an original stadium was truncated to create a true amphitheater as early as the second century. At Caesarea we lack a full new cavea built across the arena of the original building, but there may simply have been an enclosure wall to define the new arena, as happened also in some of the examples in Asia Minor. The hypothesis of conversion to amphitheater seems to be supported both by the presence of sub-arena tunnels and rooms, including well-preserved metal rings of the kind normally found in amphitheater substructures (not in circuses). Second, the shrine located not far from the beginning of the semicircular end on the east side (and thereby on the axis of a new oval arena inserted into the building) brings to mind the shrines of Nemesis and other chthonic/ underworld gods present in many western amphitheaters. Sculptural finds being studied by R. Gersht support this chthonic connection (see her chapter in this volume). Finally, the suggestion that the building was formally converted to an amphitheater raises new questions about "Reifenberg's amphitheater" discovered further north – unless Caesarea, like several other major cities, had two amphitheaters, one primarily for use by the military units stationed in the capital.

But to return to Herod's building: Josephus misleadingly applied the word "amphitheatron" but that meant simply "with seats all around," to make the contrast with the (adjacent) theater where the seats were arranged in a semicircle. Quickly this building

[10] L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris, 1940), 21 and 35.

seems to have assumed the name of "the great stadium." My coined term of "hippo-stadium" may be more accurate in reflecting the fact that equestrian events were a major reason for its construction. In any event, it belongs to a widespread class of buildings in the Roman East that accommodated both athletics and equestrian events. It passed through a number of phases as an entertainment building, culminating, it seems, from initial indications, in an amphitheater, at which point its north half would have been truncated. Here, finally, is a Roman-style amphitheater, intended for what modern historians think of as typical amphitheater performances.

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King Herod's Temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea Maritima

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Between the years 22 and 10/9 B.C.E., Herod, king of Judaea, founded Caesarea Maritima, renewing an older city known as Straton's Tower. As a client of Rome, Herod named his new foundation Caesarea, honoring his patron, Caesar Augustus. Such flattery went even further with the construction of a temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus.[1] While such homage to the imperial cult was not at all foreign to the eastern provinces, in Israel imperial cult worship strongly defied the beliefs of the Jews. This dichotomous situation resulted from the personal and political needs of Herod the Great. Rome considered Herod to be Jewish enough for their purposes, setting up a local king, but, at the same time, problems with his lineage would cause Herod to rely heavily on his patron for the maintenance of this status. Herod's claim to kingship was marred by his descent from a family outside the priestly caste. His mother was a Nabataean, while his father, Antipater, an influential official of the Hasmonaean dynasty, was an Idumaean, of a people that had only recently adopted Judaism. Although this satisfied the rules for Jewish descent at the time, Herod was no priest, and this meant that his position as king of the Jews would always be tenuous.[2]

It was, however, the combined personal ambitions of Herod along with the exigencies of Rome that gave shape to the new urbanism attested to at Caesarea. The ancient world provided few more glorious ways to achieve lasting fame than to build great cities, and it was through his building programs that Herod best left his mark and at the same time brought a merger between his culture and that of Rome.

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[1] I wish to thank the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the American Schools of Oriental Research for the George Barton Fellowship that funded a part of this study. I am also grateful to the staff and directors (both past and present) of excavations at Caesarea who helped in this project, and to the directors of CCE for permitting me to use material from the CCE excavation and for providing drawings and photographs.

In 1989 the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE), directed by Kenneth G. Holum and Avner Raban, began excavation of the so-called Temple Platform. The author worked in this area during the 1990 season, anticipating that remains of this temple might be uncovered.

[2] I appreciate comments from Ephrat Habas and Hayim Lapin on these points of descent. See S.J.D. Cohen, "The Origins of the Matrilineal Principle in Rabbinic Law," *American Jewish Studies Review* 10 (1985), esp. 25–29.

This new urbanism is well reflected in the first-century C.E writings of Flavius Josephus.[3] It is from the descriptions by Josephus that one can visualize the polished white Temple of Roma and Augustus raised upon a mound overlooking the harbor of Caesarea. Josephus tells us that this temple was remarkable for both its size and its beauty and that it was visible from a great distance to those entering the harbor. According to the apparently eyewitness account of Josephus, the temple contained a cult statue of Augustus "modeled after and not inferior to" the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia and also a statue of Roma which Josephus compared to the Hera of Argos by Polykleitos.[4]

Until recently it was assumed that any monument of this stature in the ancient world would have been constructed of marble.[5] The magnificent vestiges of the Greek East and the Augustan transformation of Rome support such expectations. Herod, however, seems to have been influenced by the appearances of such marble structures while maintaining the local building traditions of his own kingdom. As Ehud Netzer has shown in his work, almost unfailingly Herod was able to produce magnificent architectural programs by using materials close at hand. Rather than import marble, Herod employed the local kurkar at Caesarea, just as he had used local stone for his palaces at Jericho, Masada, and Herodion.[6] Archaeological evidence suggests that the same approach also applied to Herod's religious edifices. It is now widely accepted that even the Temple in Jerusalem, which shone a brilliant white and was adorned with radiant gold details, merely consisted of gessoed local limestone.[7] The Augusteum and palace complex on the

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[3] Similar descriptions occur in Joseph. *BJ* 1.408–15 and *AJ* 15.331–39.

[4] Joseph. *BJ* I.415

[5] Following the 1990 field season, the author discussed with Kenneth Holum the question of the stone used for this temple. Although marble seemed fitting for such a magnificent structure and is sometimes named in English translations, Josephus wrote λευκὸς λίθος (*BJ* 1.408) and λευκὴ πέτρα (*AJ* 15.331), i.e., "white stone."

[6] Interestingly, while the materials were local, the workmen were not necessarily so. The *opus reticulatum* seen at his palace in Jericho clearly suggests Italian workmanship, but at the same site stone and brickwork are formed to create details such as columns that, once plastered and fluted, passed for the genuine article. See E. Netzer, "Herod's Building Projects: State Necessity or Personal Need?" *Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981), 58, who also remarks on the local building materials used by Herod. The question is also well examined by Moshe L. Fischer and Alla Stein, "Josephus on the Use of Marble in Building Projects of Herod the Great," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1994), who make it clear that while revetments or decorative articles were made from imported marble, the architecture itself was of local stone. I am grateful to Dr. Netzer for his comments on this topic and to Dr. Fischer for supportive comments and an offprint of this article.

[7] According to Josephus (*BJ* 5.223), the Temple "appeared from a distance like a snow-clad mountain; for all that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white" (trans. Thackeray). Systematic excavations beside the Temple Mount beginning in 1968 under the direction of Benjamin Mazar and the recent work of architects such as Leen Ritmeyer and his wife Kathleen, "Reconstructing Herod's Temple Mount in Jerusalem," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 15 (Nov.–Dec. 1989), 23–53, have given form to the earlier projects such as those of Sir Charles Warren, who during the 1860s was able to investigate sections of the Mount. Joseph Patrich in his article "Reconstructing the Magnificent Temple Herod

acropolis at Samaria-Sebaste was also of local calcareous stone.[8]

Analysis of the archaeological remains at Caesarea, in light of the comparative material from other Herodian constructions, has led to the conclusion that here, too, Herod built his famous temple out of the local stone, a kurkar, probably quarried within miles of the site.[9] Since 1989 the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE), directed by Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and more recently Joseph Patrich, have excavated a series of trenches aligned east-west across the surface of the huge artificially raised podium or "Temple Platform" that rises over the harbor. These trenches cross the area where Avraham Negev had exposed foundations of Byzantine construction, later identified as a single octagonal structure. It was not until 1990 that evidence associated with pre-Byzantine levels was identified. The most significant pre-Byzantine remains consist of a kurkar block (1.32 x 0.80 x 0.80 m.) uncovered *in situ*, set in a hard gray mortar in trench TP1 (fig. 1). This block was uncovered along with the ghosts of two other blocks that could be seen as impressions in mortar, continuing to the north of the block. To the south, this north-south foundation course apparently abutted an east-west course that has been robbed out. The construction fill associated with these stones was dated by the ceramic evidence to the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman period, otherwise referred to as Herodian.[10] While the use of kurkar seemed appropriate for the substructural members of Herod's temple, only in 1991 did I suspect that the superstructure would also have been constructed of this material. A preliminary examination of the site then revealed approximately sixteen appropriate kurkar fragments in the vicinity of the Temple Platform, and it was then apparent that there were indeed remains of the elusive temple.

Built," *Bible Review* 4 (1988), 16–29, presumes that the pure white of the temple facade was achieved with whitewash. In conversation with the author, Patrich stated his view that Herod did not use marble in any of his building projects.

[8] The phasing of the temple at Samaria-Sebaste is still controversial: the original Herodian stratum is identifiable, although the date of the first remodeling is debated. For the early excavations see G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, and D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908–1910* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), who saw a two-phase construction of the temple and forecourt, dating the second phase to the Severan period. The site was further excavated in the 1930s; see J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, and E. L. Sukenik, *Samaria-Sebaste, Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931–1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935*, vol. 1, *The Buildings at Samaria* (London, 1942). At that time a third or medial stage was proposed, perhaps dating to late Herodian years. Ehud Netzer, "The Augusteum at Samaria-Sebaste: A New Outlook, *Eretz-Israel* 19 (1987), 97–105, has reconsidered the question of phasing and returned to the two-part scheme of the original excavators, although he has suggested a new reconstruction. He rejects the middle phase proposed by the Joint Expedition and sees it rather as the final stages of the Herodian construction. Dan Barag, "King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste," *PEQ* 125 (Jan.–June 1993), 3–18, has accepted Netzer's phasing scheme.

[9] Geologists David Thomas and Raymond Buyce from the Mercyhurst Archaeological Institute have been carrying out the identification of quarries and associated samples from the site with the aim of learning which quarries were used at which times. It is hoped that eventually the Herodian quarries will be precisely identified.

[10] For area TP excavations published to date, see Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 100–109, and Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 53–60.

Figure 1. View of TP1 from N, kurkar blocks and bedrock with traces of two other blocks. Photograph by Lisa C. Kahn

The designation of the artificial podium as "Temple Platform" was correct. Excavations have now provided further insight into the structure of this mound. It is located directly overlooking the ancient Inner Harbor, and there can be little doubt as to its role in the Herodian program. Clearly this is a manmade structure. With the exposure of bedrock in several trenches near the center of the platform, it is evident that a natural rise in the landscape was enlarged through artificial means in order to provide a level high place. This natural high spot was used previously, although the nature of this Hellenistic occupation is unclear.[11]

Development of the natural topography into the dramatic Herodian city is only beginning to be understood. Current excavation along the western side of the Temple Platform as well as on top of the platform is revealing important data. At this time the exact chronology of the platform's construction is still being considered. What has

[11] Wall **5057** in TP5 may represent ruins from the time of Straton's Tower. This wall remains in four courses.

become clear, however, is that the construction was multiphased and that the present remains represent a number of programs of major building and rebuilding.

According to the excavator, seven phases have been recognized thus far.[12] Phase 1 consists of the ashlar walls characterized by blocks finished with margins and leaving moderately high bosses on the exposed surfaces. These were employed with an alternation of headers and stretchers. They are visible on the S and E walls of a later vault at the SW corner of the platform, on the E or back wall of the third vault, and on a projecting wall at the north end of the platform front, and blocks of the same type have most recently been discovered below the western facade of the later vaults. These finds are contributing to the definition of the form of the original platform. It is now apparent that projecting wings, flanking the Inner Harbor basin, were part of the original Phase 1 design (cf. Porath, this volume; also maps 2-3).

Excavations in 1984 and 1987 of the foundation trench associated with the Phase 1 wall in the SW vault suggested to the excavators a date no later than the early first c. B.C.E.[13] Technically, the construction matches walls and towers at the north of the site,[14] so Raban has proposed that they represent fragments of the late second-century B.C.E. fortifications of Straton's Tower. Current reexamination of the Temple Platform facade, however, suggests a different scheme. The Phase 1 walls now appear to be Herodian, and during the 1993–94 winter season there were at least two phases of vault construction overlying them.[15] Apparently the initial vaulting system (Phase 2) was remodeled numerous times, raising the surface of the platform by several meters. This was achieved with higher vaults still springing from the original side walls. Perhaps one major remodeling coincided with the construction of the Byzantine octagonal structure. The extant vaulting may be a Roman or Byzantine addition to the Herodian platform. The existing large vaults along the front of the platform are apparently of later phases than the original Herodian project.

Herodian remains on top of the Temple Platform have so far proved sparse. Herodian building fragments that remained are generally so large that it was simply easier to fill around and over them than to remove them. When monumental rebuilding occurred, presumably in the fourth century, a new and continuous surface was established with little visible trace of the earlier Herodian/Roman structures. Such a renewal of the city was evidently of great magnitude.

Excavation of the Inner Harbor area to the west of the Temple Platform facade has revealed much of the original harbor basin as well as a grand stairway climbing up to the center of the platform (cf. maps 2-4). While the date of the exposed

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[12] Yosef Porath is presently conducting the excavation of this area, and I thank him for his time in sharing with me his latest finds and theories.

[13] Raban, *Site,* 138–42.

[14] Cf. *Herod's Dream,* 49–53.

[15] This is the theory of Avner Raban, communicated to the author during a conversation at the site in January 1994. Raban believes Phase 2 to have been associated with the Herodian temple. For the alternative theory of Yosef Porath, see his chapter in this volume.

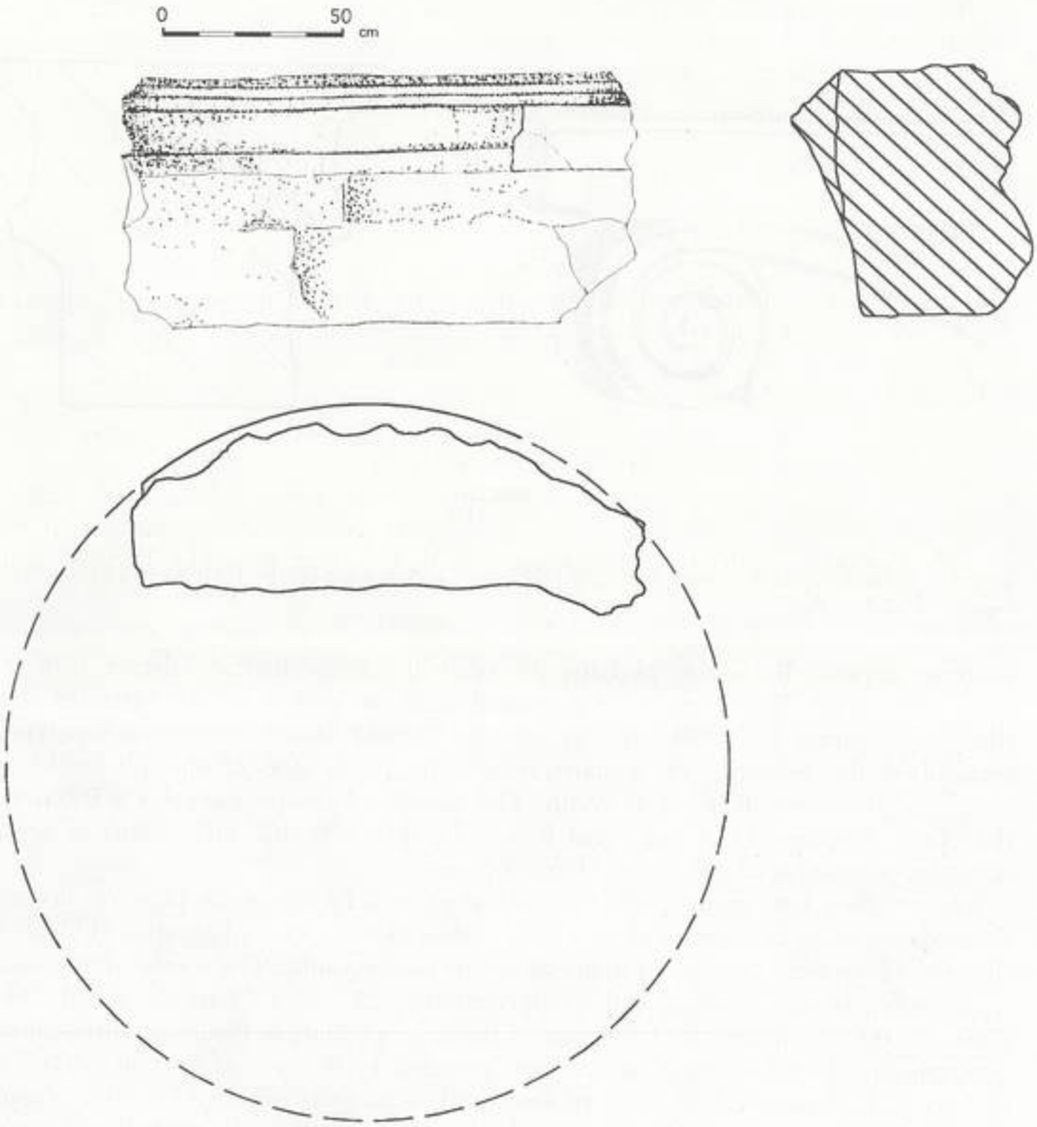

Figure 2. Column base fragment: surface, profile, and top. Graphics by J. Hopper based on drawings by Y. Dukhovny

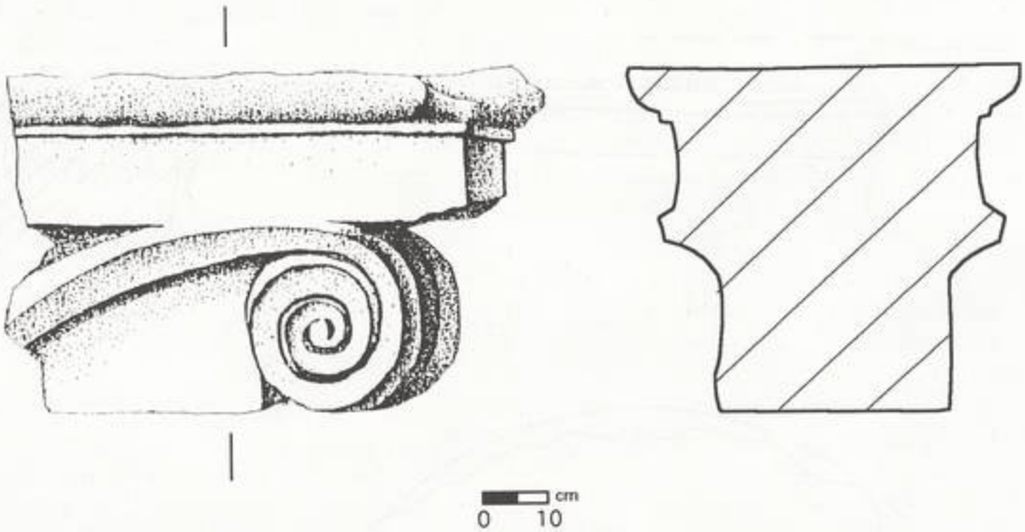

Figure 3. Column capital fragment, side view and corner profile. Graphics by J. Hopper based on drawings by Y. Dukhovny

staircase appears Byzantine, perhaps the original scheme had a staircase with the same orientation. The remains of a second staircase leading to the platform were discovered during the 1994 summer season. Farland Stanley, the area supervisor, established the existence of a stairway on the south side of the platform and excavated to at least 6 m. of its width. The associated ceramics suggest a Byzantine date for this stairway too, but again it may be theorized that such points of access echo the positioning of the earlier Herodian ones.

It is not clear how many vaults formed the western facade of the platform because the collapse of all but one of these vaults makes their exact configuration difficult to discern. There were possibly as many as ten or twelve vaults. The southernmost vault is the only one still standing and is approximately 21 x 7 x 13 m. As stated, these vaults do not appear to have been part of the original Temple Platform, although the description of Josephus might suggest their presence by the time of his visit in the first century C.E.[16] Although the use of structural vaulting is unproven in the original Temple Platform, it is possible that the builders used this sturdy method of support rather than terracing the platform with solid fill, which would have been an enormous task. Such a plan certainly would reflect the more grandiose construction of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The Temple Mount was an enlargement of a natural high place, as was the Temple Platform at Caesarea. During the Herodian reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, this high area was greatly expanded, creating a

[16] Joseph. *AJ* 15.331.

very large artificial platform (the form is irregular but approximately 489 m. long x 318 m. wide). This enormous platform was not a solid construction, but rather hollowed with various supporting vaults, cisterns, and tunnels. Vaulted rooms lined the southern side of the platform and are thought to have been shops.[17] These were not structurally part of the Mount, but nonetheless fronted the platform near the main entrance or place of access. It has been assumed that the vaults built into the Temple Platform at Caesarea were not shops but instead warehouses associated with the shipment of goods through the busy port. Josephus also presents the possibility that such vaults were employed as dwellings for the sailors.[18] Whatever their use, they would also have functioned as supporting members for the platform above, which was extended to the west when this series of vaults was added and the form of the platform modified.

Much closer in scale and location to Caesarea is the temple complex at Samaria-Sebaste. Herod built this temple, located at the summit of a hill, when refounding the city that, like Caesarea, would be named in honor of Augustus. The dramatic setting of this temple, atop a windblown plateau overlooking magnificent terrain, as well as the position of the temple at Caesarea with the pounding sea below, bear witness to exalted notions of Herod's royal power and the divine inspiration of Rome and Augustus.

The temple at Samaria-Sebaste was also constructed upon an artificial platform. Its placement on an uneven hilltop necessitated a great deal of terracing for its construction. The temple loomed approximately 4.5 m. above the level of a large forecourt, at the highest point of the natural landscape. The forecourt (62 x 51–53 m.) was initially constructed over earth-filled retaining walls. The masonry of the retaining walls incorporates headers on edge with occasional courses of stretchers. During the second phase of construction, which Netzer has recently stated may actually be Herodian as well, alterations in the original plan saw the introduction of vaulted subterranean corridors constructed along the east and west sides of the forecourt.[19] Above, twenty-four steps led up to the temple from the forecourt. These went the full width of the facade (21.8 m.). The podium was undecorated.[20]

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[17] In addition to the many passageways and vaults within the Temple Mount, a series of vaulted structures lined the southern side and are attested to only by the burnt imprints of their forms on the platform walls. These vaults are presumed to be shops, burnt by the Romans during the destruction of the Temple. These are described by the Ritmeyers, "Reconstructing," 40.

[18] *AJ* 15.331. He describes "arches" in front of the quays used for this purpose.

[19] Crowfoot et. al, *Samaria-Sebaste,* 126–27, compares the use of artificial platforms for temple forecourts with other early Roman sites, particularly Jerusalem, where Herod practically doubled the area of the Temple Mount and in so doing created many subterranean corridors, and finds it to be a usual practice in Syria as well as Israel with sites such as the Temple of Artemis at Jerash and the Temple of Heliopolis at Baalbeck. For a recent reevalution see Netzer, "The Augusteum at Samaria-Sebaste."

[20] Crowfoot et. al, *Samaria-Sebaste,* 33, point out that the lack of decorative moldings makes this temple podium more Hellenistic in style than Roman.

Of great importance to this study is the fact that the remains of the earliest phases of the temple of Augustus at Samaria-Sebaste attest to it also having been constructed of local stone. At Caesarea a number of fragments have come to light upon or near the Temple Platform that can be closely matched to remains from Samaria-Sebaste. A fragment of a column base (fig. 2) removed from the Temple Platform at Caesarea in 1994 is very much like the bases excavated by Reisner at the temple at Samaria-Sebaste.[21] These local stone bases, still found in front of the temple at Samaria-Sebaste, are of Attic type and were all dated by the excavators to the Herodian building but were also reused in the later remodeling of that structure. They feature a lower torus below an angular cavetto and then an upper torus with a flat torus and fillet above. They are 1.90 m. wide. The fragment from the Temple Platform at Caesarea has a preserved diameter of 2.01 m. but was originally even larger (perhaps ca. 2.20 m.), as the surface of the lower torus is badly preserved. Like the bases at Samaria-Sebaste, this fragment does not have an attached plinth and is Attic type.

It was noted at Samaria-Sebaste that there were not any columns or column shafts *in situ*, although at least ten drum fragments were discovered in the vicinity of the summit, and these were of the same scale as the bases (1.06–1.32 m. in diameter).[22] At Caesarea this is also the case, and although no column fragments are known *in situ*, there are a number of drum fragments scattered throughout the debris on the platform and reused in the structures at the west side of the platform where several massive column fragments were incorporated in the area near the stairway up to the platform.[23] One fragment built into the stairway has a reconstructed diameter of 1.20 m. and a height of 0.56 m. Another fragment reused nearby is of similar scale (height of drum 0.60 m.) and has a projecting band, probably forming part of the base.[24] A large-scale drum was recut and reused as a well top in the same area. It was hollowed out in the center and slightly squared and then cut in on one side. The original diameter was over 0.80 m. Judging from the diameter of the top band on the base fragment, the lower column shaft diameter may have been as large as 1.70 m.

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[21] The base fragment, which did not come from a stratified context, was shown to the author by Avner Raban. Remains of six were reported by the excavator at Samaria-Sebaste: Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations*, 191–92. Four still stand at the north and east sides of the temple, and two other fragments were identified reused in an Arab tower and in nearby debris. The four at the temple were found below their original level and three had been overturned, presumably for the removal of the slabs below them. These were identified as Attic in style.

[22] Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations*, 192. It was also noted that the temple columns were not monolithic as were those of the Street of Columns and the basilica.

[23] While this reuse points to a later, probably Byzantine, construction of this stairway, it may be a reconstruction and enlargement of the Herodian platform.

[24] One of the bases at the temple at Samaria-Sebaste also had an adjoining drum (Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations*, 191, no. 1), and although the overall height of this particular base is only 1 cm. more than the height of the fragment at Caesarea, only 0.145 m. of it is shaft and the rest base molding.

Evidence for the order of these columns is slim. A beautifully carved capital fragment (fig. 3), however, excavated by Negev, suggests that this temple was of the Corinthian order.[25] This finely chiseled kurkar fragment preserves the upper corner of the capital. Broken just below the volute, it preserves one corner with its meeting volutes and the abacus above. At the corner there is a space left between the two volutes. On each side the volutes spiral inward forming three concentrically spiraling bands before culminating at the central knoblike protrusion. The bands of the volutes step outward as they diminish toward this center. The line formed by the stem across the calathus is at about 45°, gently sloping upward to the top of the spiral where it is almost a horizontal band. This supports the abacus, which extends out past the volutes at the corner while tapering at the sides. The abacus has a squared molding along its base, and above its straight edge carries a sharply cut astragal below a beveled top. The fragment is broken before reaching the center, although its inward-curving edges are evident.

A capital fragment from Samaria-Sebaste was thought by its excavator, C. S. Fisher, to have been from the Herodian temple and has a similarly molded abacus and channeled volutes.[26] Another capital found in the basilica exhibits the unusual gentle slope of the volute stems like that preserved on the Caesarean fragment.[27]

Other sites in addition to nearby Sebaste can provide parallels for the capital fragment at Caesarea. The site of Suwêda, only about a hundred miles away in the Haurân region of SW Syria, provides interesting comparative forms. Daniel Schlumberger described the capitals from the temple at Suwêda as "transitional" in style and development.[28] He placed this type between the earlier heterodox forms of the Hellenistic East and the Imperial forms of the normal style, influenced by Rome. The capitals reveal an exuberance and freshness explained by Schlumberger as a naive juxtapositioning of the older styles of the region with the new imperial forms. He sees this as an expression of artistic freedom resulting from the less structured local milieu. Regional influence, specifically Nabataean, is cited in conjunction with the deeply rooted Hellenism of southern Syria in the propagation of this transitional style. It was during this period, in 23 B.C.E., that the region became part of the domain of King Herod and should, therefore, be examined here.

Based on epigraphical evidence, the excavator dated the temple at Suwêda to 50–28 B.C.E.[29] Its capitals, like the fragment at Caesarea, also show a widely

[25] Moshe Fischer has also examined this fragment and dated it stylistically to the Herodian period.

[26] This is illustrated in Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste,* pl. LXXXIV, 2–3, found on the summit.

[27] Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste,* pl. LXXXIV, 5. The capital found in the basilica has a simple abacus with merely a straight edge below a small molded upper edge. The volutes uncoil at a similarly relaxed angle, although they curl into a simpler mass with only two turns of the spiral.

[28] D. Schlumberger, "Les formes anciennes du chapiteau corinthien en Syrie, en Palestine et en Arabie," *Syrie* 14 (1933), 283–317.

[29] This was excavated by H. C. Butler, *Publications of the American Expedition to Syria 1899–1900* (New York, 1903), 327–35. More recently, J. Dentzer-Feydy, "Décor architectural et développement du Hauran du 1er siècle avant J.-C au VIIe siècle après J.-C.," in *Hauran I: Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie*

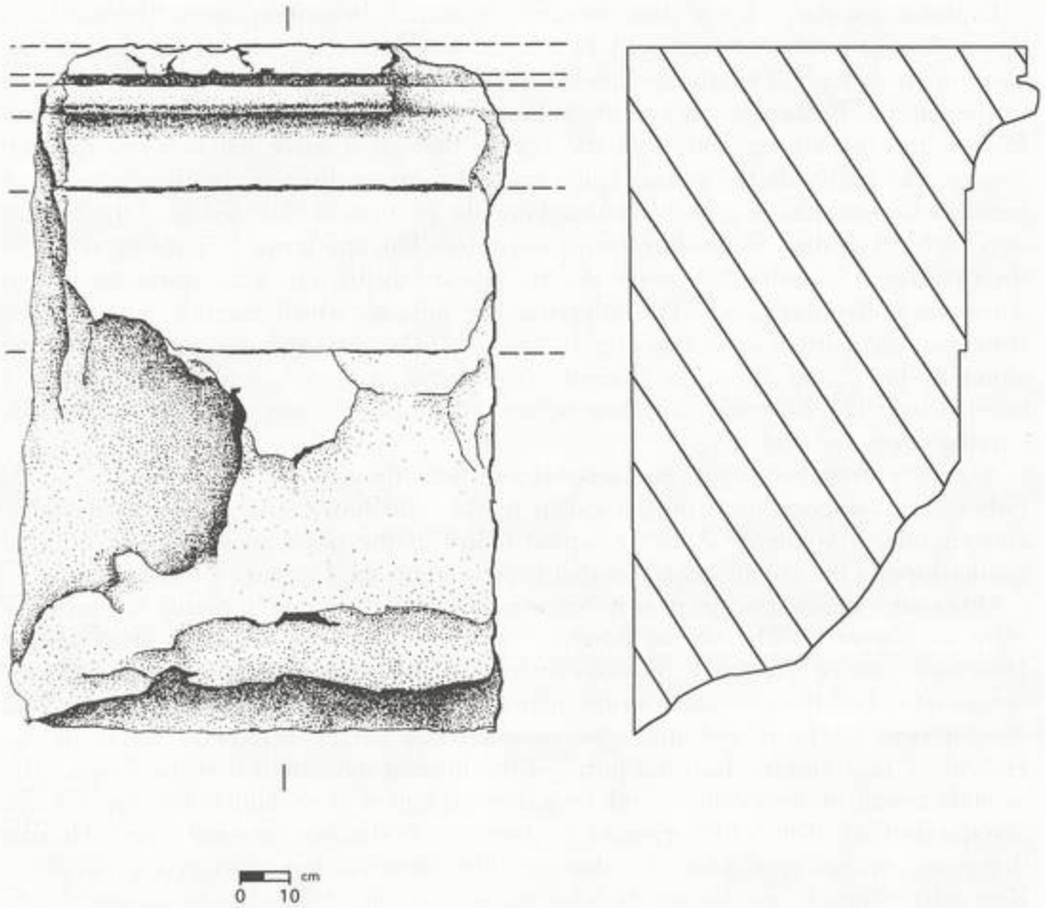

Figure 4. Architrave fragment, surface and profile. Graphics by J. Hopper based on drawings by Y. Dukhovny

sloping volute stem, although these are decorated with a cable pattern. The column bases here are also of the Attic style. The columns are plain and are proportionally ten times the column diameter in height (according to Vitruvius this is standard).[30] The temple at Suwêda is hexastyle with eight columns on each side, and seven in the rear. It is approximately 12 x 14.60 m. The intercolumniation is varied, diminishing from the center. The architrave is unusual in that it reveals a deco-

du sud a l'époque hellénistique et romaine, ed. J.-M. Dentzer (Paris, 1986), 269–77, has compared this temple with other regional structures and suggests a slightly later date in the first century C.E.

[30] For discussion of this see M. W. Jones, "Designing the Roman Corinthian Order," *JRA* 2 (1989), 47.

rative carved band below three plain ones along the temple front.[31]

At Caesarea evidence for the reconstruction of the architrave was uncovered near the center of the Temple Platform in the summer of 1992 (fig. 4). A large fragment preserved to a height of 1.35 m. was buried in the Byzantine fill. Like the architrave at Suwêda, this seems to have been divided into four parts. The cymation, upper fascia, and part of the surface of the next fascia are visible.[32] The surface is plain, without evidence of any decorative carving.

The frieze can possibly be restored from two matching fragments (fig. 5) identified in the trench dug by Negev to the south of the octagonal structure. Preserving monumental moldings (cyma reversa over a torus), these extend 0.20 m. outward, and while an upper edge is found intact, the bottoms of both are broken away. Without an exact height preserved, the height has been restored to 1.01 m., based on the standards of Vitruvius.[33]

Dentils above the frieze can be restored from the discovery of a dentil fragment (fig. 6) left lying on the western edge of the platform.[34] Fine white plaster still coats the interior space between the two intact dentils on the left part of this block. Above this, the uppermost portion that can be represented by our hard evidence is the upper cornice with soffits (fig. 7). The soffits were decorated with low, flat modillions alternating with rosettes. A block found in Negev's trench reveals one rosette between two modillions. This is preserved to 0.63 m. in height and 0.94 m. in length. Although larger, this piece is almost identical in form to those excavated from the Herodian temple at Samaria-Sebaste. Those at Samaria-Sebaste, however, have carved decorated moldings, while the outer sides on the example at Caesarea remain plain.[35] So far, this block presents the only decorative carving found.

These seven fragments (fig. 8) present almost all the details for the temple order.[36] Using these extant fragments and restoring the height of the column shaft according to Vitruvian ratios of proportion, the height of the temple from the base to the top of the cornice is approximately 20.5 m.[37] Nearly contemporary parallels in Rome

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[31] Butler, *American Expedition*, 327–28.

[32] The division into four fasciae is based on the scale of the first (0.32 m. in height) in relation to the extant height of the block. Typically the fasciae diminish in height as they descend.

[33] Vituvius 3.5.10 states that the frieze is one-fourth the height of the architrave. Because of the incomplete state of these fragments, the identification of them as frieze blocks must remain tentative since they may also be cornice fragments.

[34] This was perhaps excavated by Negev, but was found in 1991 partially submerged in the soil. The block preserves two complete dentils and the start of a third. The finished sides indicate that this (0.70 m.) was the full width of the block. The dentils are approximately 0.20 x 0.25 m. The block is 0.79 m. high and projects 0.5 m.

[35] Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations*, 194. These all have a crowning corvetto and ovolo.

[36] Additional fragments are still turning up. Joseph Patrich pointed out a reused block above the vaults that may have been a plinth and at least two unstudied fragments are now visible in Negev's trench in area TP, one previously excavated and out in the open and another in the E balk of that trench.

[37] According to Jones, "Roman Corinthian Order," 40–41, Vitruvius recommends that the height of

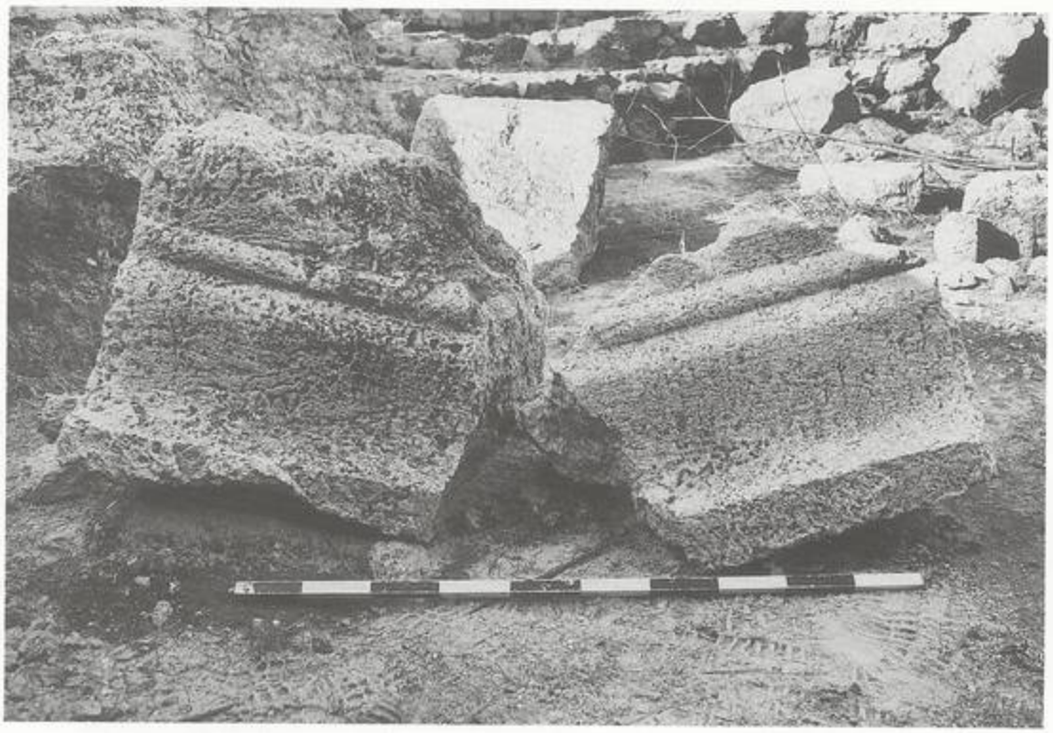

Figure 5. View of two molded fragments possibly from frieze, located in Negev's trench, area TP. Photograph by Lisa C. Kahn

include the Temple of Mars Ultor (2 B.C.E., too late to be seen by Herod), with columns 17.74 m. in height, and the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (ca. 20–5 B.C.E., which certainly would have been seen by Herod), with columns 14.83 m. high.[38] With the addition of plinths below the column bases and a typical stylobate and stereobate, this temple would have towered more than 22 m. up to the cornices and quite a bit higher to the top of the roof.

While the use of Vitruvian ratios of proportion can give us possible reconstructions, I have intended these merely as a guide and have followed them with varying degrees of precision. Mark Wilson Jones has tested these ratios and found that outside Rome, and particularly in the East, the rules were less stringently adhered to, although by the Augustan period many ratios were becoming more standardized. Herod apparently built his temple at Caesarea with a very basic understanding of Roman

the column shaft be eight times the lower diameter of the column. Based on the diameter of the upper moldings of the base, a lower diameter of 1.70 m. has been reconstructed and accordingly a column height of 15.98 m. (52' 5").

[38] Jones, "Roman Corinthian Order," 66.

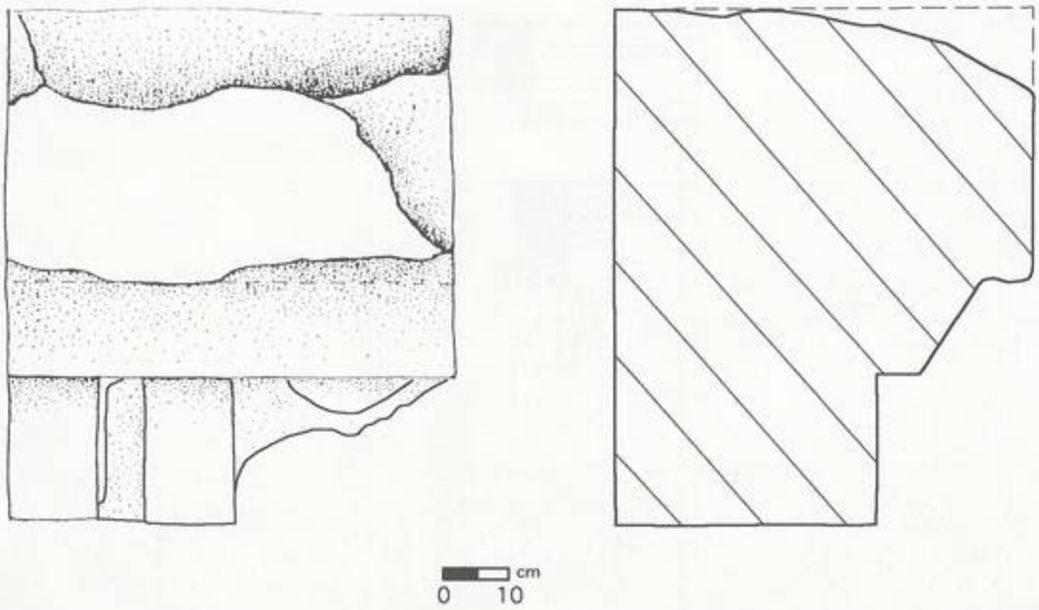

Figure 6. Dentil block, surface and profile. Graphics by J. Hopper based on drawings by Y. Dukhovny

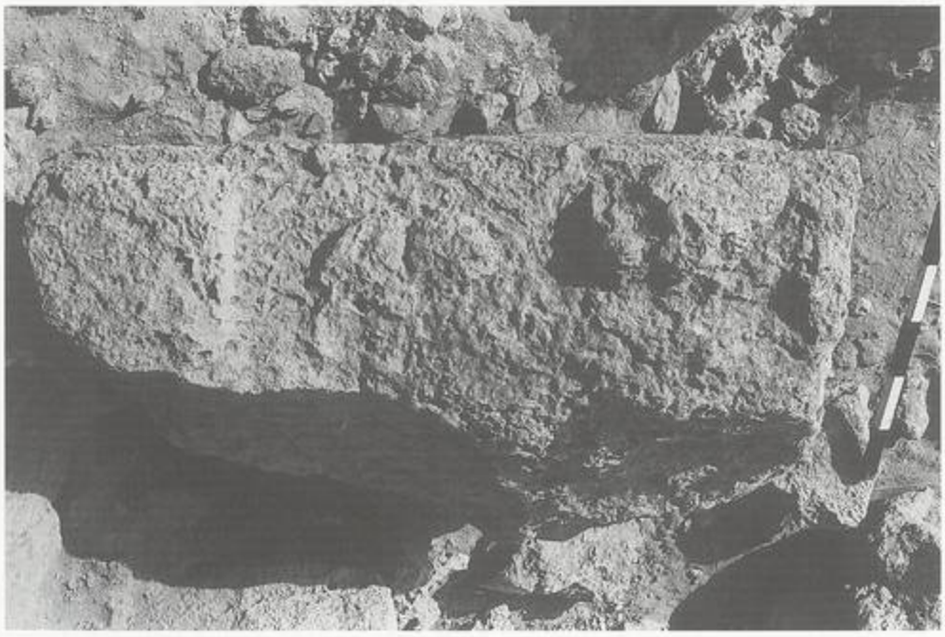

Figure 7. View of soffit fragment, located in Negev's trench, area TP. Photograph by Aaron Levin

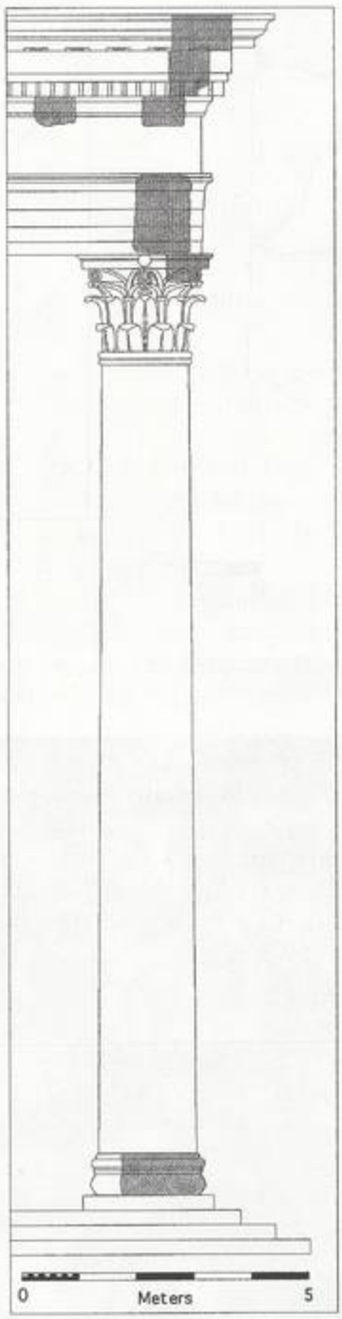

Figure 8. Reconstruction of Temple elevation showing placement of existing fragments. Graphics by William Isenberger and J. Hopper

architectural principals. He made what appeared to be a very "Roman" structure, while at the same time being influenced by the Hellenistic developments of the order as well as a native sense of his materials.

At this point it is possible to offer only a preliminary reconstruction of the plan. It seems most appropriate that the temple faced the sea. Vitruvius recommends this sort of orientation, and Josephus suggests this in his description.[39] The orientation and position of the temple can be gleaned from the large block found imbedded in mortar with its associated remains (fig. 1). This stone represented a north-south foundation course that on the south abutted an east-west course, now robbed out. The latter might indicate the southern extent of the stereobate. Furthermore, if one extends the centerline of the western staircase, it extends through the centerline of the later octagonal structure. Assuming that the Byzantine staircase preserves the alignment of the earlier access, then that same centerline might be used to reconstruct the width of the temple. The distance from the southern limit of the stereobate to this centerline would then equal half the width of the temple. Using this method, CCE architect Steven Sachs has been able to estimate the temple width at 30.99 m. This is very close to any estimates generated from the actual fragments. Hexastyle (like both Herod's temple of Augustus at Samaria-Sebaste and the contemporary temple at Suwêda), with a varying intercolumniation of approximately two times the lower diameters, will also equal about 30 m. Such theory will have to suffice until further excavation reveals additional evidence.

While the plan may be somewhat hypothetical, the kurkar blocks are not, and by calculating the size of this structure from the extant fragments, it is clear that this enormous temple was every bit as remarkable as Josephus tells us it was and that with a facade between 25 and 30 m. in height, which was raised even further on the large platform over the harbor, this temple would have easily been seen from quite far out at sea. One can imagine this beautiful temple with its kurkar construction hidden beneath a gleaming layer of white stucco. High above the port, looking out toward Rome, this pagan temple built by the king of the Jews was a tribute to the imperial power of Augustus and to a culture that was reshaping the cities of the world.

[39] Vitruvius 4.5.1. Joseph. *AJ* 15.331. Perhaps this was a two-cella temple, with one cella housing the statue of Augustus and the other, behind it, housing the statue of Roma. I owe this suggestion to Robert J. Bull.

10

Warehouses and Granaries in Caesarea Maritima

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University of Haifa

Caesarea was a maritime city with an elaborate harbor. Later it also became the provincial capital of Judaea/Palaestina. Storage facilities no doubt occupied large areas of the city. The recent excavations enable us to distinguish several different types of storage facilities, to locate many of them on the actual city plan, and to evaluate their significance in the economy and administration of Caesarea.[1]

The storage facilities uncovered in the recent excavations of the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE) and the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) south of the Crusader town cover ca. 25% of the excavated area (fig. 1), a most significant percentage. In fact, area KK – an entire insula of the Byzantine city (fig. 2) – consists almost entirely of warehouses. As for the location of the warehouses on the city plan, except for those of the Inner Harbor, all are located at some distance from the harbor area. This does not mean, however, that ships docked at the opposite shore. At Ostia, for example, the warehouses (*horrea*) are distributed throughout the city, not necessarily in the immediate vicinity of the Tiber. Besides, warehouses were required not only for the import-export trade through the harbor but for storing the local food supply of the city's residents.

This study concerns large warehouses and storage facilities, rather than the small storage spaces of retail shops. Large warehouses were used to store every type of merchandise. The containers used – mainly jars and amphoras found at the site – help to suggest the type of goods that were stored within them. It is reasonable to assume that for purposes of the import-export trade, when a warehouse served as a relatively short-

[1] The excavations, in the framework of the Project for Promoting Tourism to Caesarea, are being carried out by two expeditions: the IAA expedition (areas I, II, and III), directed by Dr. Yosef Porath, and the University of Haifa expedition, as part of the CCE, directed by Avner Raban (areas I and Z) and Dr. Joseph Patrich (areas CC, KK, and NN). The excavations began on March 15, 1992, and have continued year round since then. The excavations at area KK began on May 16, 1993, at area CC in November 1993, and at area NN on July 1, 1994. I am indebted to my team members for their collaboration: field supervisors, David Reshef, Dror Ben-Yosef, Shalom Rotgizer, Ziev Bar-Or, Alon Mosko, Sherry Pinkas, Hedva Van-Dam, and Saar Nudel; registrars, Michal Oren-Paskal and Yael Arnon; photographers, Zaraza Friedman and Jonathan Gottlieb; pottery restorers, Rachel Polak and Stanley Richman; administrative manager, Moshe Tsadiq; and surveyors, Ofra Lazar, Anna Iamim, and Yevgeni Preisman. Architectural conservation work in the field was carried out by a team headed by David Tsel and Jacques Neger. Joshua Drei (Yeshu) operated the metal detector.

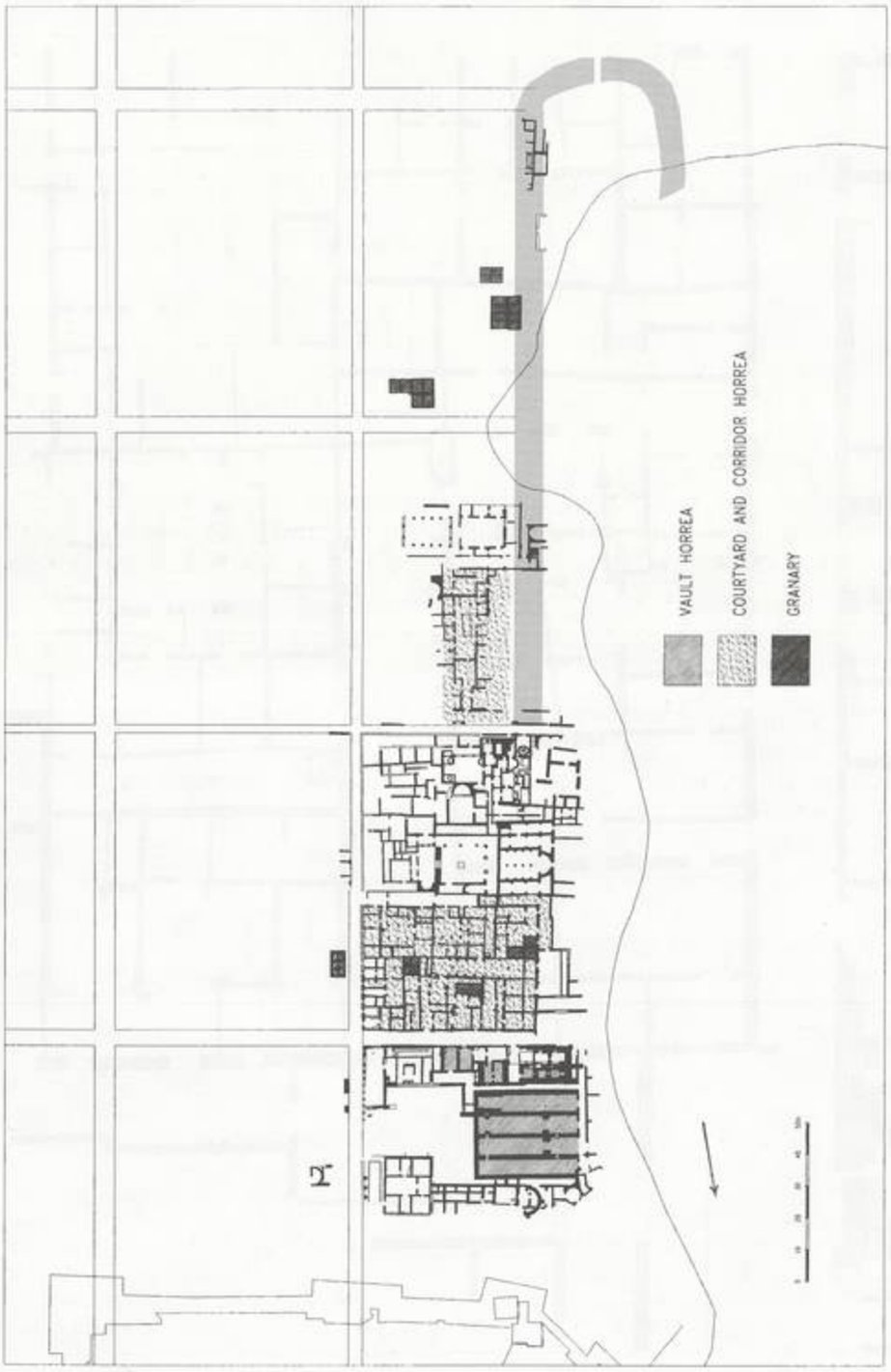

Figure 1. Map of the Late Roman/Byzantine storage facilities uncovered south of the Crusader wall

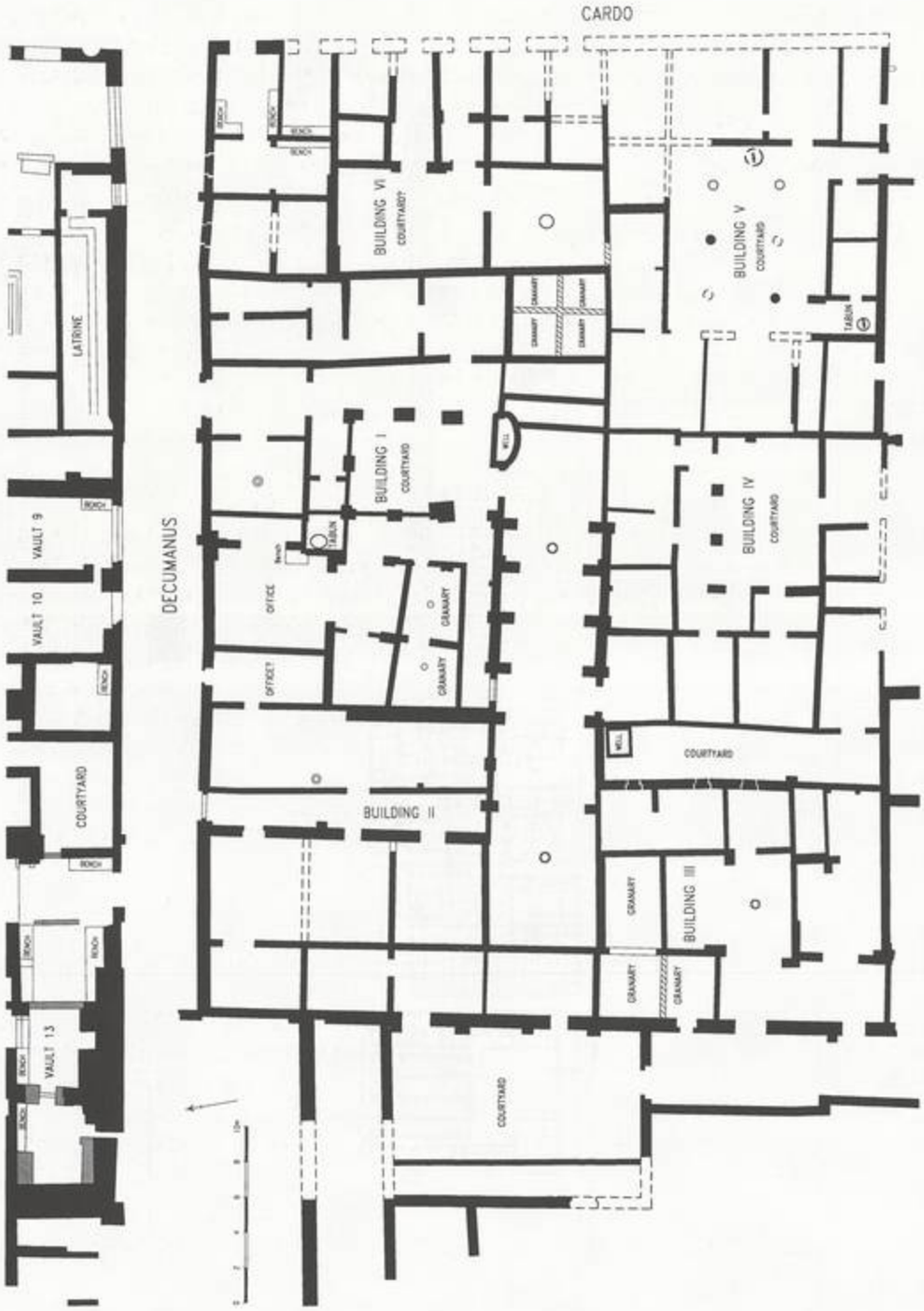

Figure 2. Area KK, general plan

term storage area, the merchandise remained in its original containers (perishable sacks and basketry, or longer-lasting jars and amphoras), whereas for long-term storage purposes, the merchandise was transferred from the smaller, space-consuming amphoras to larger containers such as underground granaries and large *dolia*.

It is useful to examine briefly the architectural and urban aspect of warehouses and granaries in general. According to Rickman,[2] the commercial structure par excellence for the Greeks was the *stoa*, which could be adapted to a multitude of uses and was so suitable for flanking the sides of an *agora* or a harbor, as in the case of the harbor *stoa* at Miletos. The *porticus* was the Roman transformation of the Greek *stoa* for storage purposes. In Republican Rome, the Porticus Aemilia, constructed in 193 B.C., served as the first emporium; later the Porticus Minucia became the great storage and distribution center. *Horrea*, that is, warehouses for commercial storage, first occurred in Rome by the end of the second century B.C.E. Their basic groundplan included a row of deep, narrow rooms. The same is true at Ostia and in the provinces. In both Rome and Ostia the rows of rooms are arranged mainly in two ways, defining two types of *horrea*: the corridor type and the courtyard or quadrangle type. The concept of the courtyard *horrea* in Rome derived from an eastern, Hellenistic influence. At Portus (the harbor of Ostia) and sometimes in Rome, the courtyard design was abandoned, and the rows of rooms were arranged back to back. This arrangement fits the mole *horrea*, as in the case of the harbor *horrea* of Portus and Leptis Magna.[3]

In the provinces of Asia Minor and Africa and in Judaea/Palaestina, the *horrea* consisted of only one row of very deep rooms, all opening onto the same side. According to Rickman,[4] such *horrea* reflect a Middle Eastern tradition, their origin being in the great palaces and temple ensembles of that region, although such storage rooms are also well known in Minoan Crete, for example, in the Great Palace at Knossos and at Phaestos.

The roofs of the various types of Roman *horrea* could be either vaulted or gabled, built of beams and tiles,[5] or flat, built of beams and mortar, as in the warehouses of the Northern and Western Palaces at Masada.[6]

Types of Horrea *at Caesarea Maritima*

In Josephus' description of the Herodian harbor (*BJ* 1.408–14; *AJ* 15.331–41), there is no reference to any storage buildings along the moles, only to vaulted chambers

[2] G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge, 1971), 148–55.
[3] Ibid., 123–37, 148.
[4] Ibid., 151–55.
[5] Ibid., 83.
[6] E. Netzer, *Masada III. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports: The Buildings, Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem, 1991), 37–75, 171–98, 301–7.

Figure 3. The Mithraeum *horrea*, vault 11, looking east

(ψαλίδες) for lodging sailors. Nor have underwater surveys and excavations along the submerged moles revealed the existence of any mole *horrea*.

On land, four types of *horrea* can be distinguished: (1) vaulted; (2) courtyard; (3) corridor; and (4) composite *horrea*.

Whereas vaulted *horrea* have been known for some time in the antiquities of Caesarea, the other three types have been uncovered and identified only in more recent excavations. In chronology, the first type is the earliest, appearing already in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods; the other three types are Byzantine structures. Their components and features (see below) indicate that they served a variety of storage purposes.

At present, then, the following *horrea* are known in Caesarea.

(1) Vaulted *horrea*. Two *horrea* belong to this group: the Mithraeum *horrea* and the Inner Harbor *horrea*. The Mithraeum *horrea* consist of a series of four parallel vaults ca. 30 m. long, 5 m. wide and 5 m. high, all opening to the west (figs. 3–5).[7] In their

[7] Vault 1 was excavated by JECM during two seasons in 1973 and 1974; see R. Bull, in J. A. Blakely,

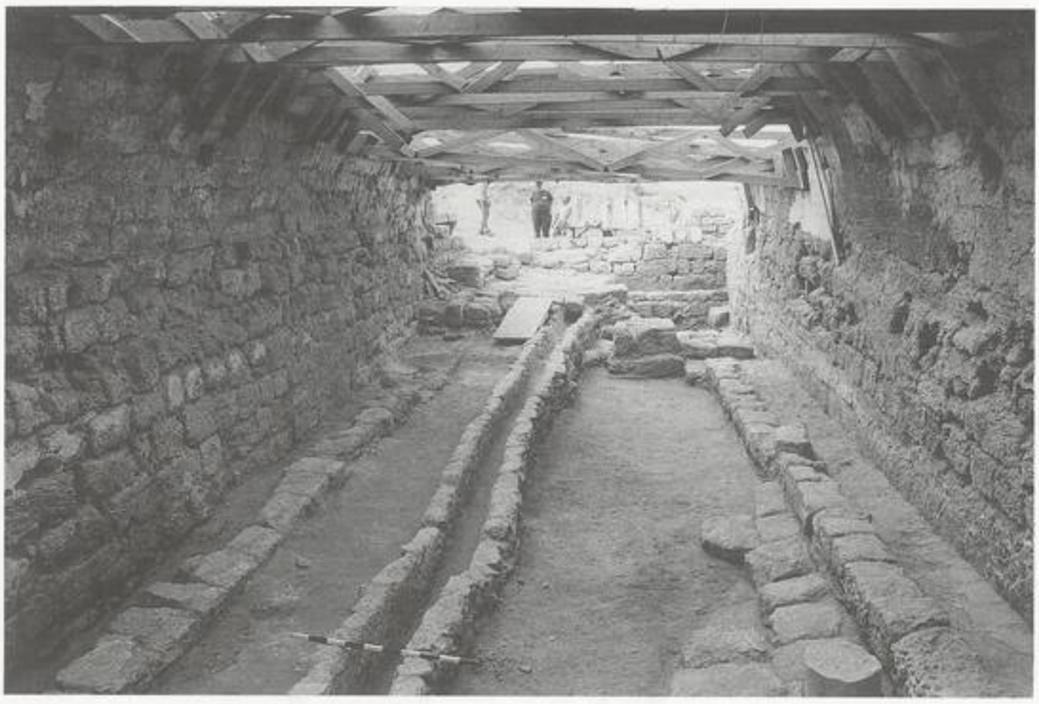

Figure 4. The Mithraeum *horrea*, vault 12, looking west

groundplan they resemble the Masada and Samaria warehouses, but the roofs of these warehouses were flat. The Masada warehouses were constructed by Herod, while those of Samaria are post-Herodian, being attributed to the third Roman period.[8] The Mithraeum *horrea* reflect a Middle Eastern tradition. They constitute one architectural complex. Arched openings near the front and a second toward the rear end of the lateral walls provide access between adjacent vaults. When first explored in the early 1970s by the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM), they were considered to be *horrea;* however, in light of the recent excavations, this generally accepted assump-

Caesarea Maritima, the Pottery and Dating of Vault 1: Horreum, Mithraeum, and Later Usage (Lewiston, N.Y., 1987), 7. During this time the other vaults were surveyed and soundings were dug therein. Since 1989 the excavation of vault 2 has been the undertaking of the Caesarea Maritima Vault Project (CMVP), directed by J. A. Blakely and W. J. Bennett, Jr. on behalf of Archaeological Assessments, Inc. The western part of the vaults, identified as area CV, has been excavated by CCE since 1993. Excavations of vaults 1, 11, and 12 were resumed on a large scale on January 1, 1995 on behalf of CCE by the University of Haifa expedition.

[8] Netzer, *Masada III,* 37–75, 171–98, 301–7; J. W. Crowfoot et al., *The Buildings at Samaria* (London, 1942), 133, pls. V and LXXI.

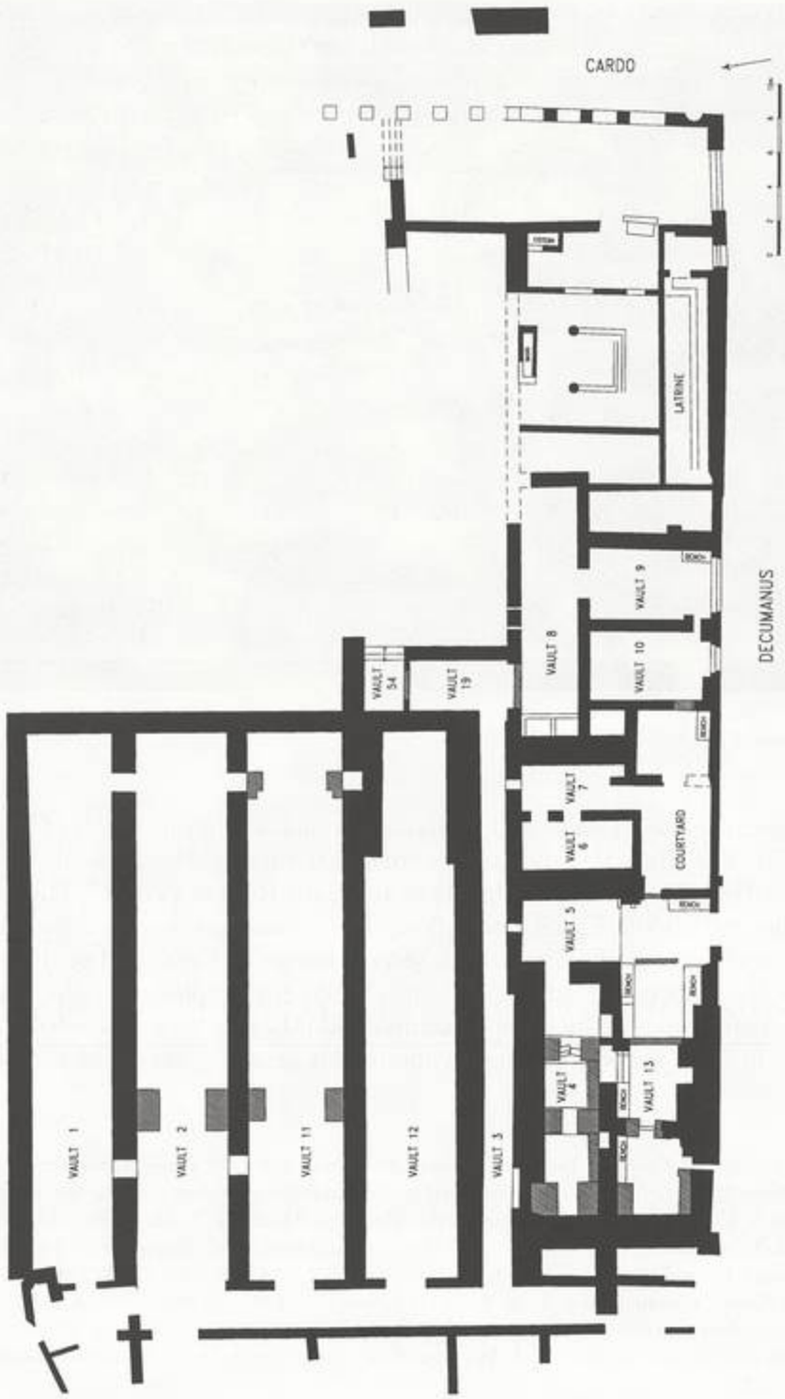

Figure 5. The Mithraeum *horrea* and vaults in area CC north of the decumanus, general plan

tion still needs to be confirmed. A serious issue is the means by which these vaults were closed on the west and the date of this closure. The JECM excavations in vault 1 claimed that it was originally constructed under Herod the Great and served as a *horreum* until the mid-first century C.E. At the end of that century or at the beginning of the next, the rear part of vault 1 was transformed into a Mithraeum and remained a shrine until the mid to late third century. It later reverted to use as a warehouse until the seventh century.[9] However, CCE excavations at area CV11 in the summer of 1994 indicated that vault 12 was constructed in the Late Roman period.[10] Similar results were obtained by the University of Haifa excavations at vault 3 (= CC3), and by CMVP excavations at vault 2 in the summer of 1995. The construction of the Mithraeum *horrea* should be dated to the second or third century.

The Inner Harbor *horrea* (figs. 6–7) had been considered Herodian in date[11] until the recent IAA excavations indicated that they were constructed ca. 300 C.E. The complex consists of two series of six parallel vaults flanking a broad staircase. The vaults were erected over the open square below the Herodian Temple Platform. They are 21 m. long, 5–5.2 m. wide, and 6 m. high, and open to the west; the side walls are 1.4 m. thick. At each end of the side walls, arched openings 2.6 m. broad allowed passage from one vault to another. A window in the upper part of the rear wall provided access to light and ventilation through a vertical shaft (fig.7). Their plan and location suggest that these vaults served as *horrea*, although it is not yet clear how these *horrea* were closed on the west side.

The other vaults in area CC, on the north side of the decumanus (fig. 5) were constructed in the fourth or fifth century. They are smaller than the Mithraeum *horrea* and seem to belong to two separate structures, each of two stories. Some vaults (nos. 4–7) served as warehouses; others (nos. 8–10, 19, and 54)[12] served as passages and support for structures on the upper story. Vault 13 served in its final stage as a tavern, and vault 3 was an alley.

(2) Courtyard *horrea*. The main structure (i.e., building I) uncovered in area KK (fig. 1), south of the decumanus, is of this type. The building (figs. 8, 9) consists of several rooms and halls surrounding a courtyard (5.35 x 5.65 m.) paved with flagstones and surrounded by porticoes 2.05–2.50 m. wide, lined by two corner pilasters and a central one. It is entered from the north through an antechamber (3.8 x 5.5 m.). The

[9] Blakely, *Vault 1*, 38–39, 149–51.

[10] K. Mills, A. Shaffer, and J. Stabler, "Field Report, Area CV, July 23, 1994" (unpublished manuscript, Caesarea, 1994), 5.

[11] A. Negev, "Caesarea," in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1993), 1:273; *Herod's Dream*, 88–89.

[12] The system of vaults was first explored by the JECM, which also published a general plan; see R. J. Bull, E. Krentz, and O. J. Storvick, "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Ninth Season, 1980," *BASOR Supplement* 24 (1986), 41, fig. 13. Excavations of the vault system were resumed in 1993 within the framework of the current project. Vault 19 was discovered in November 1994, and vault 54 in November 1995.

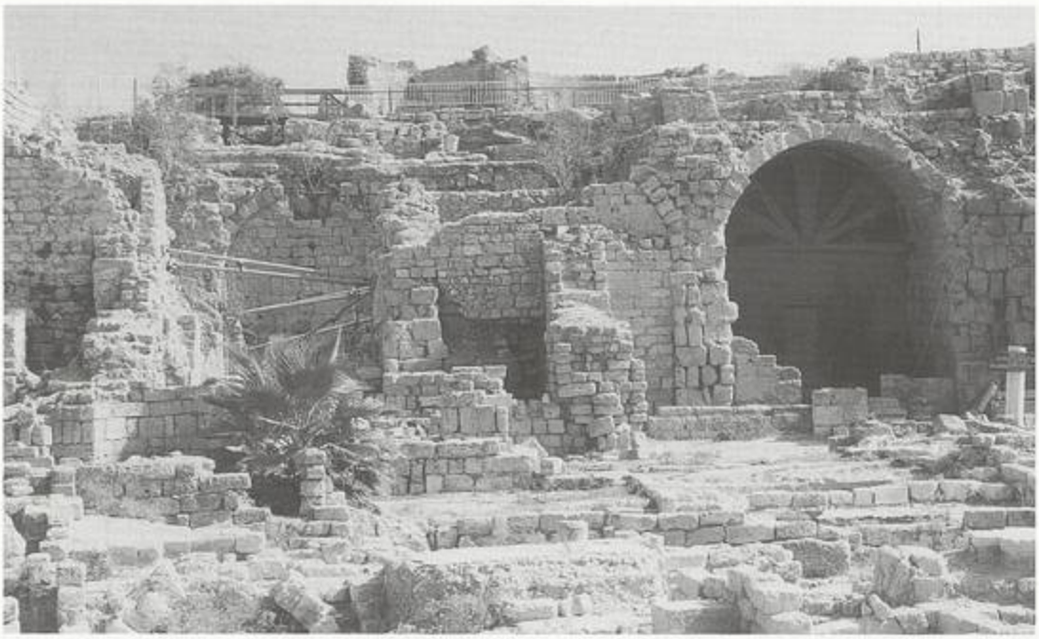

Figure 6. The Inner Harbor *horrea*, general view looking east

Figure 7. The Inner Harbor *horrea*, vault 3, general view looking east

Figure 8. Area KK, general view looking west. Notice the courtyards of *horrea* I, IV, and V.

entrance (1.8 m. wide) is flanked by two jambs with trapezoidal bases. The south wing is a transverse *dolia* hall (fig. 10), ca. 32 m. wide and 5.6 m. deep, the roof of which was supported by arches resting on six pairs of pilasters attached to the side walls. The walls are plastered, and the floor is paved in white mosaic. Access was through two doors, one from the south portico, near its southwest corner, and the other from the western extension of this portico. Many fragments of *pithoi* or *dolia*, smashed into tiny pieces, covered the floor. At either end of the hall, two large *dolia* are inserted under the floor up to their rims, which are 42 cm. in diameter.

Building I also contains a *dolia* room with a single sunken *dolium* west of the antechamber (fig. 11). A *dolia* hall is a feature that reappears in the corridor *horreum* (building II) and the composite *horreum* (building III), described below, and in building VI along the Cardo (dimensions 5 x 6 m.). Yet another *dolia* hall was uncovered in the IAA excavations along the Inner Harbor, and a *dolia* room also in CCE area Z.

In building I, underground granaries are located under two of the rooms (fig. 12). A large room (6.5 x 7.3 m.) located at the structure's northwest corner contains

Figure 9. The courtyard of building I in area KK, looking north

a colorful mosaic floor and two benches (fig. 13), and might have served as the office or archive of the *horrea*. Two niches next to its east wall might have held cupboards for files and documents. Many lead bullae were retrieved throughout the area.

(3) Corridor *horrea*. Building II (fig. 14), which is the next building along the decumanus, west of building I, is a corridor *horreum*. The corridor is 15.5 m. long and 1.8–1.9 m. wide. Jambs with trapezoidal bases flank the entrance, which is 1.2 m. wide. On the east side of the corridor is a *dolia* hall 15.9 m. long and 4.5 m. wide, with one pair of pilasters and a single *dolium* under the mosaic floor. The *dolium* is small, 24 cm. in diameter at its rim. A well is located near the west wall on the inside. On the west side of the corridor there are three simple storerooms, 5.8 m. long and ca. 5 m. wide. Another room (6.4 x 2.9 m.), on the northeast corner of the building, might have served as an office.

Two other *horrea* of this type were uncovered south of the bath house by the IAA expedition. The *horrea* are parallel to each other, each with a corridor ca. 33 m. long (figs. 1, 15–16). The east unit deserves special attention. The entrance to the corridor was through an opening in the north end that was 2 m. wide and had a

Figure 10. The *dolia* hall of building I, area KK, general view looking west

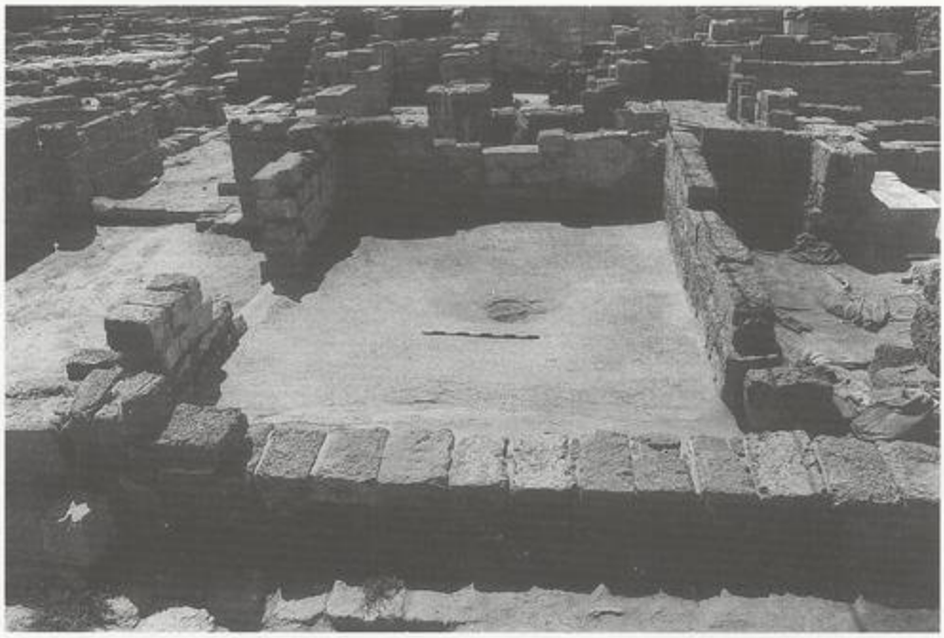

Figure 11. Building I, area KK, *dolia* room near the antechamber, looking south

Figure 12. Underground granaries in building I, area KK

Figure 13. The office of the courtyard *horreum*, building I, looking south

Figure 14. Building II in area KK, corridor *horreum*, general view looking south

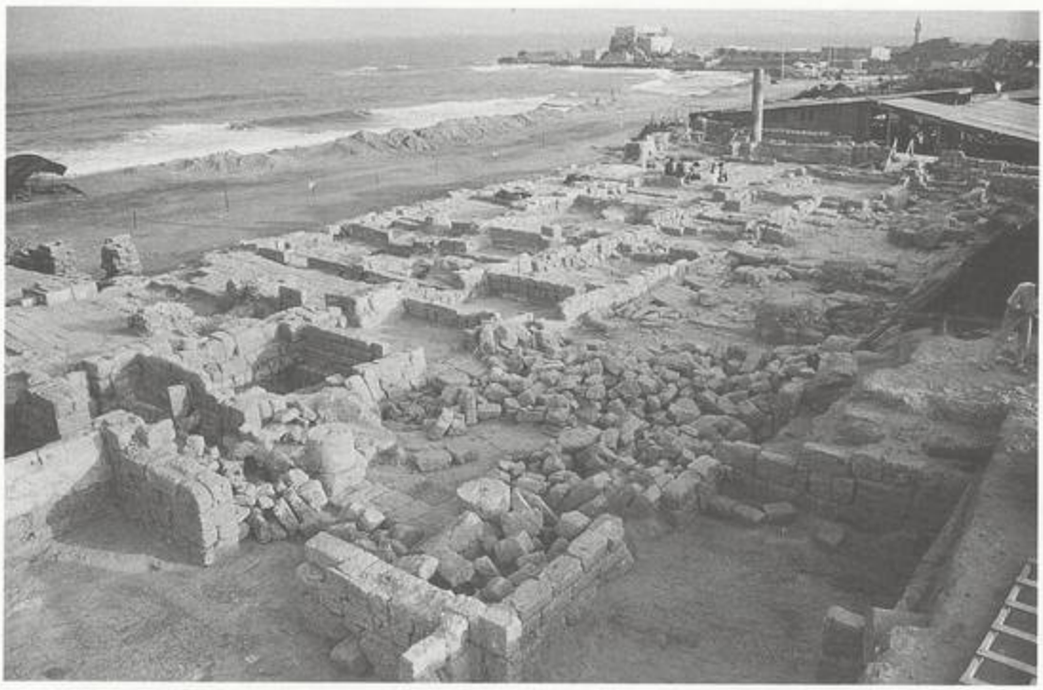

Figure 15. Corridor *horreum* in IAA area I, south of the bath house, general view looking north

marble sill. The corridor is 3 m. wide for its first 9.5 m. and 6.75 m. wide thereafter. Each wing comprises ten rooms, 2.8–2.9 m. wide, and at the inner end there is a portico 1.85 m. wide with two columns between a pair of pilasters (*distylos in antis*) forming a facade leading to a side room (6.90 x 5.65 m.) and an inner space. This spacious part of the complex, paved with colorful mosaic floor, may have served as the office or archive for the *horreum*. The patterns of the mosaic pavement are similar to those found in the office of building I described above.[13]

(4) Composite *horrea*. Building III (fig. 17), located southwest of building I, is of this type. On the west there is a corridor 17 m. long and 3.95 m. wide. It is entered from the north and is paved with a crude white mosaic floor. Three openings lead east to

[13] The north-south, stratum 4 building in squares A-E/2-3 of the main excavated area of Levine and Netzer (*Excavations*, 17, 44–48, 59–65), overlooking the present harbor from the north (if indeed a single structure), might have been a corridor *horreum* as well. The excavators also considered this identification as a warehouse as a possibility. Stratum 4 is dated to the Late Byzantine period. A cluster of six granaries was uncovered at the south end of the building, but Levine and Netzer (*Excavations*, 62) could not determine its date. See also Raban, *Site*, 176, who dates these bins (in CAHEP area S) to the Early Arab period, suggesting that they served for storing oil.

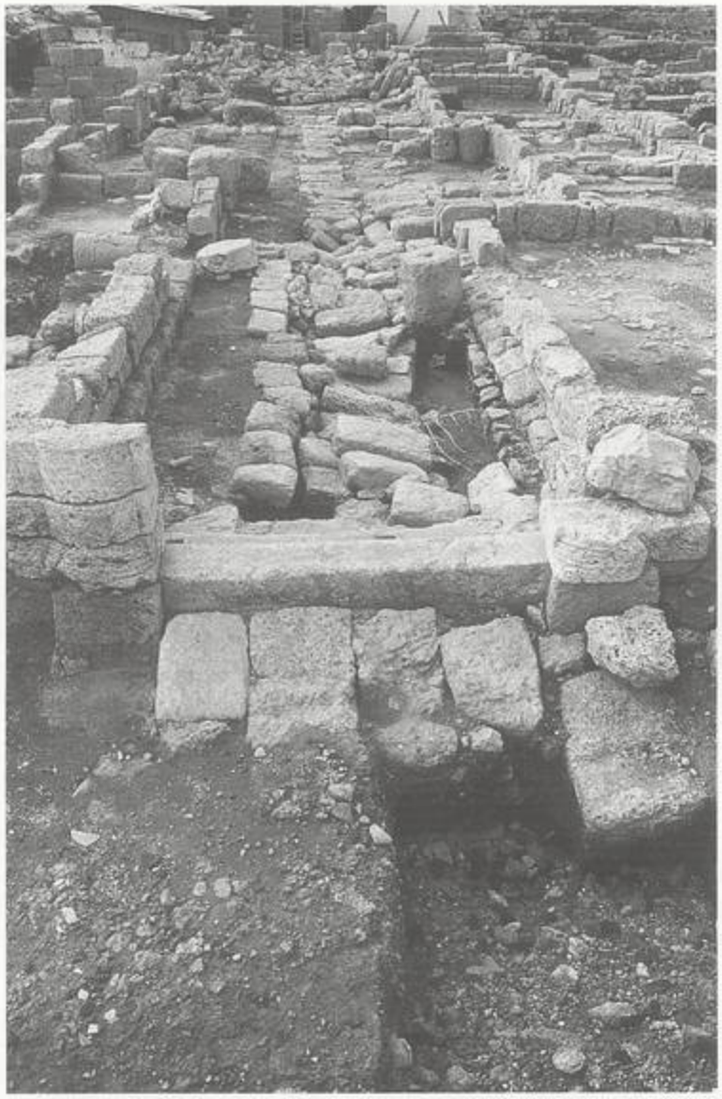

Figure 16. Corridor *horreum* in IAA area I, general view looking south

the storage rooms and halls. The storage halls consist of a very long room (19 x 5 m.) with an opening 1.85 m. wide and a shorter one (9.15 x 4.90 m.) with an opening 1.95 m. wide, both of the ancient Palestinian tradition; a *dolia* hall (7.25 x 5.30 m.) with a single *dolium* under its floor; and three underground granaries (nos. 7, 8, 9 in table 1).

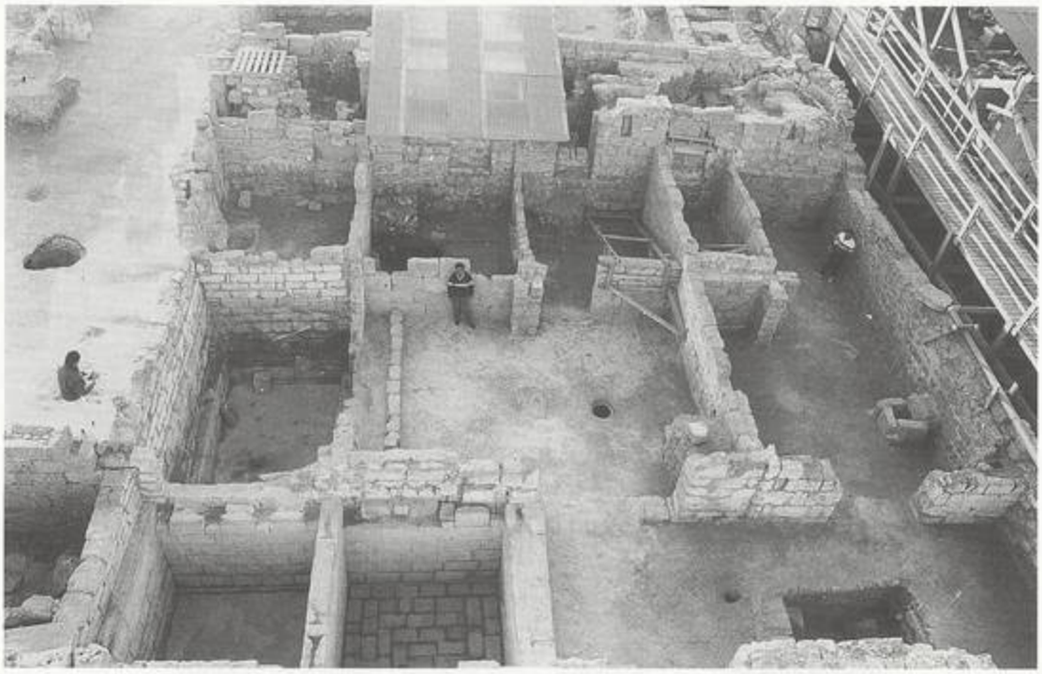

Figure 17. Building III in area KK, composite *horreum*, general view looking east

Characteristic Features and Installations in the Storage Buildings

(a) There are simple storerooms 3–6 m. long, paved with flagstones, plaster, beaten earth, or mosaic floors. The barrier walls between adjacent rooms are 20–30 cm. thick (in one case, only 18 cm. thick), and are constructed of stretchers.

(b) There are transverse *dolia* halls with flat ceilings and tile roofs supported by arches that spring from pairs of pilasters attached to the longitudinal walls. The walls are of white plaster, and the paving is crude white mosaic. Large *dolia* were standing on the mosaic floor, and one or two *dolia* were inserted under the floor, on the longitudinal axis of the hall, to collect the contents of an entire vessel in case of breakage. There are instances of a single *dolium* inserted under the mosaic floor of a room. (Such rooms are thus referred to as "*dolia* rooms.") These arrangements indicate that liquids, rather than grains, were stored in the freestanding *dolia*. A somewhat similar arrangement for draining a warehouse where liquids were stored was found in two of the Masada storage halls.[14] This arrangement may be considered equivalent to the *dolia defossa* type of *horrea* encountered at Ostia and Boscoreale.[15]

[14] Netzer, *Masada III*, 40–41, 117–19.

[15] K. D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge, 1975), 147; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1973), pl. XXVd; Rickman, *Roman Granaries*, 73–76.

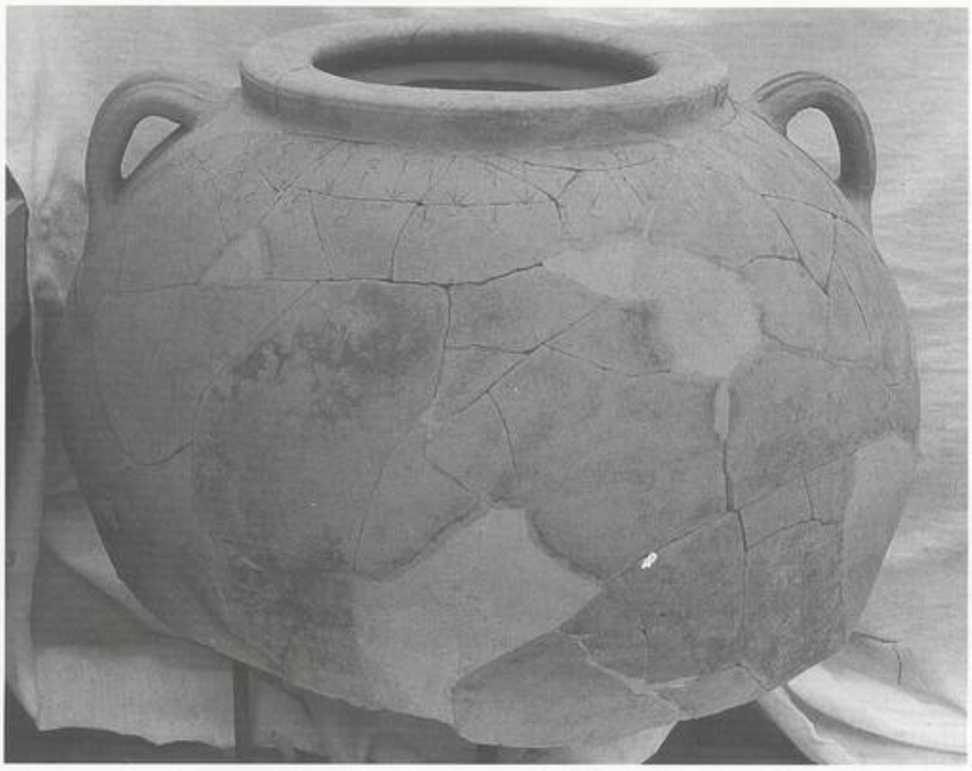

Figure 18. *Dolium* (upper part), IAA excavations. Courtesy of Y. Porath

A *dolium* (Greek πίθος) is a large storage jar for wine, oil, grain, and so on (fig. 18). In the literary sources there are references to *dolium vinarium* and *dolium olearium*. The wine *dolium* was lined with pitch, and oil storage containers were steeped in oil lees (*amurca*) for a week.[16] In our finds, no resins were observed on the sherds, so it is likely that these were oil *dolia*.

At Sepphoris, a hall with eight freestanding *dolia* containing lentils was found; no vessel was inserted under the floor of this room.[17] *Dolia* or *dolia* sherds were found in many coastal sites, from Yavneh Yam in the south to Ramat Ha-Nadiv on the Carmel, not far from Caesarea.[18] In Yavneh Yam, a vessel was found sunken under a mosaic floor.[19]

[16] White, *Farm Equipment*, 146.

[17] I thank Ze'ev Weiss for this information. See now Z. Weiss and E. Netzer, *Sepphoris* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1994), 26–27.

[18] Y. Hirschfeld and R. Birger-Calderon, "Early Roman and Byzantine Estates near Caesarea," *IEJ* 4 (1991), 86, fig. 5.

[19] E. Ayalon, "Giant Jars from Yavneh Yam," in M. Fisher, ed., *Yavneh Yam and Its Environment* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1991), 80–88.

Noteworthy is the transverse arrangement of a *dolia* hall in a storage building, whether on a wing of a courtyard *horreum* or as a wing of a corridor *horreum*, which facilitated movement and activities inside the hall between the *dolia*.

(c) Underground granaries, appearing singly or in a group, have been known for many years from various excavations within the Crusader walls of Caesarea. Until now, most were dated to the Umayyad to Fatimid period.[20] Approximately six more clusters were found in recent excavation by the IAA and CCE. Area KK is, for the time being, the only place where the ground floors of the buildings in which the underground granaries were incorporated were preserved to a considerable height. There is good stratigraphic evidence to date them to the Byzantine period. Those in IAA area I should be similarly dated.[21]

Most granaries were partially looted before being covered by debris. Granaries 8 and 9 in KK building III (see table 1) are exceptional because they are preserved to their entire height (figs. 19, 20). They were roofed by four lateral wooden beams set into depressions in the inner revetting wall (figs. 20, 21). The height of the depressions indicates that the beams were ca. 25 cm. thick and 18 cm. wide; they supported the mosaic floor of the upper, ground floor rooms. It is likely that all the underground granaries were roofed in this manner. The fill opening for each silo was presumably in the middle of the upper room, that is, in the middle of the silo's ceiling.

Each unit is rectangular in shape, revetted from the inside by ashlars embedded in a thick layer of white lime mortar, and paved by a mosaic floor or by flagstones with a cavity in the middle. Since the walls are not plastered, the containers were not used for the storage of oil, as has been suggested,[22] but rather for grain storage (fig. 21).[23] In fact, in the process of sifting and flotation of the fill above the floor in the three silos in areas KK9 and KK29, a significant amount of carbonized kernels of grain were retrieved.[24]

The region of Caesarea, the Sharon, was known as a land of grain and was praised

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[20] *Herod's Dream*, 208–11; A. Negev, *Caesarea* (Tel Aviv, 1967), 67–68; Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 62, 64–65; Raban, *Site*, 176–77, figs. 164–66; Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 25, fig. 48; 56–57, figs 120–22.

[21] Byzantine granaries of similar type were found in Apollonia, under the Muslim wall, which was erected at the end of the seventh century. I thank the excavator, Israel Roll, for this information. However, there seems to be good reason to date the silos in areas TP and I to the Early Fatimid period (Raban et al., *Field Report* [1992], 57). It seems that silos that look quite similar were built in Caesarea in two separate periods, Late Byzantine and Early Fatimid. But the quality of the later mortar was inferior to that of the Byzantine (A. Tsatskin, "Application of Soil Micromorphology and Geochemistry Techniques for Examining of Anthropic and Constructional Materials in Caesarea," unpublished interim report, University of Haifa, 1994).

[22] Raban, *Site*, 176–77; *Herod's Dream*, 208–9.

[23] As also Negev, *Caesarea*, 67–68. Negev (ibid., 275) refers to the numerous cellars or underground storage areas within the walls of the Crusader town as Byzantine remains, suggesting that goods brought in by sea were stored therein.

[24] A similar process of examination is being undertaken for all the other bins. The botanical analysis is being done by M. Kisler of Bar Ilan University.

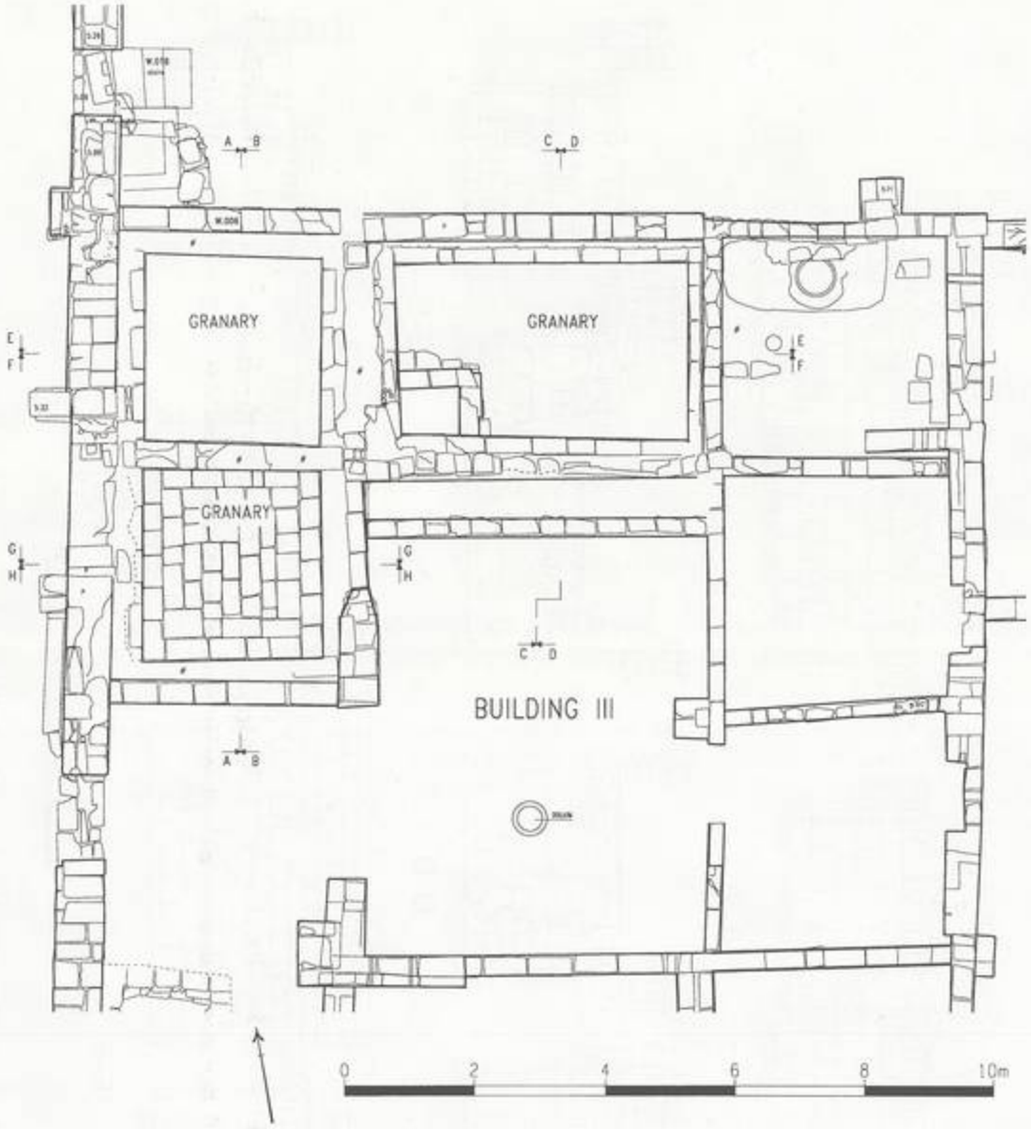

Figure 19. Granaries 8 and 9 in building III, area KK, plan

as such as early as the Eshmunezer inscription, dated to the Late Persian or Early Ptolemaic period.[25] Many centuries later, the tenth-century author Al-Mukaddasi praised the white bread of Caesarea.[26]

[25] *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, pars prima, t. I.1 (Paris, 1881), pp. 13–15.
[26] G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Beirut, 1965), 474.

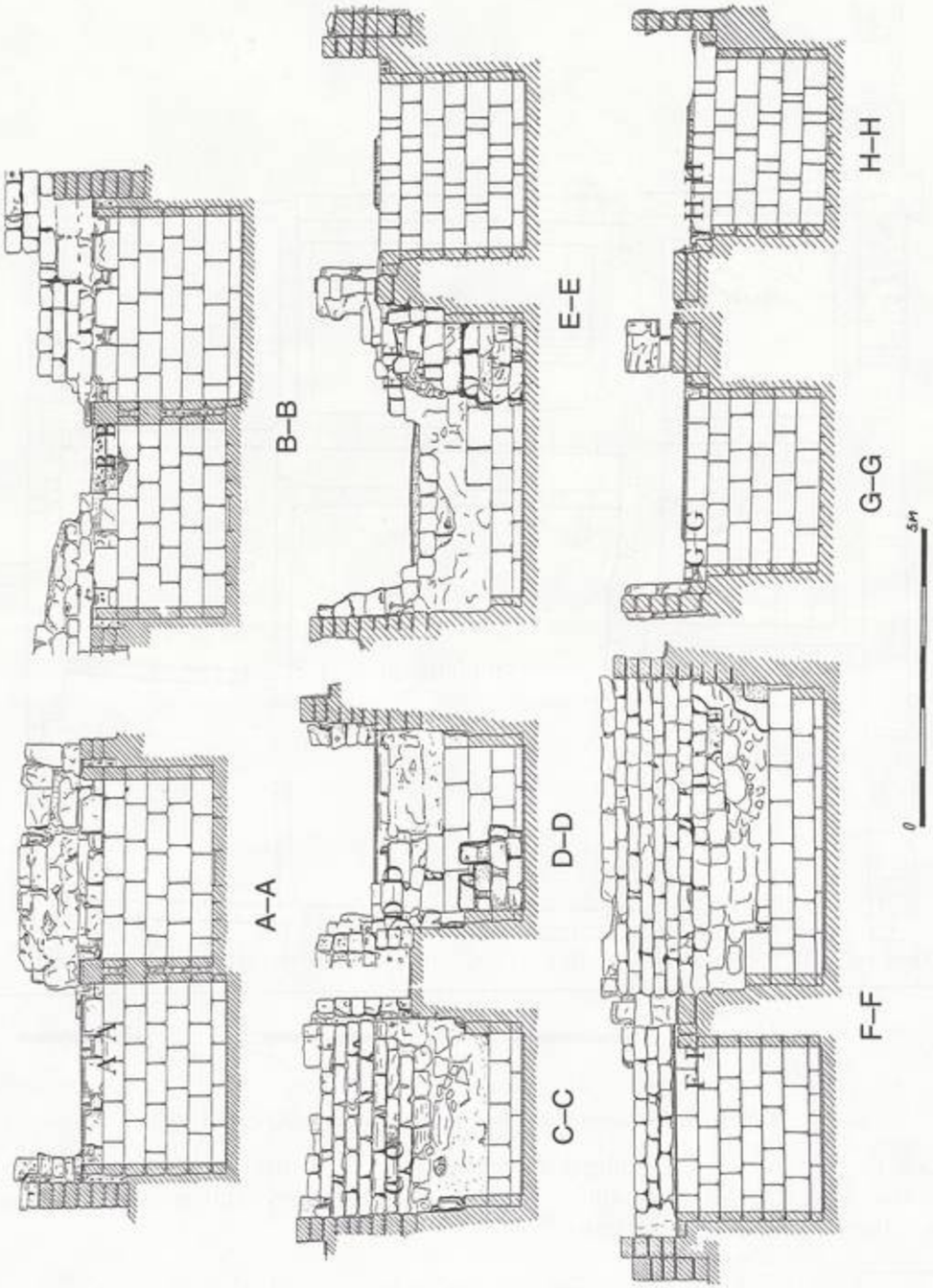

Figure 20. Granaries 8 and 9 in building III, area KK, elevations A–H (cf. fig. 19)

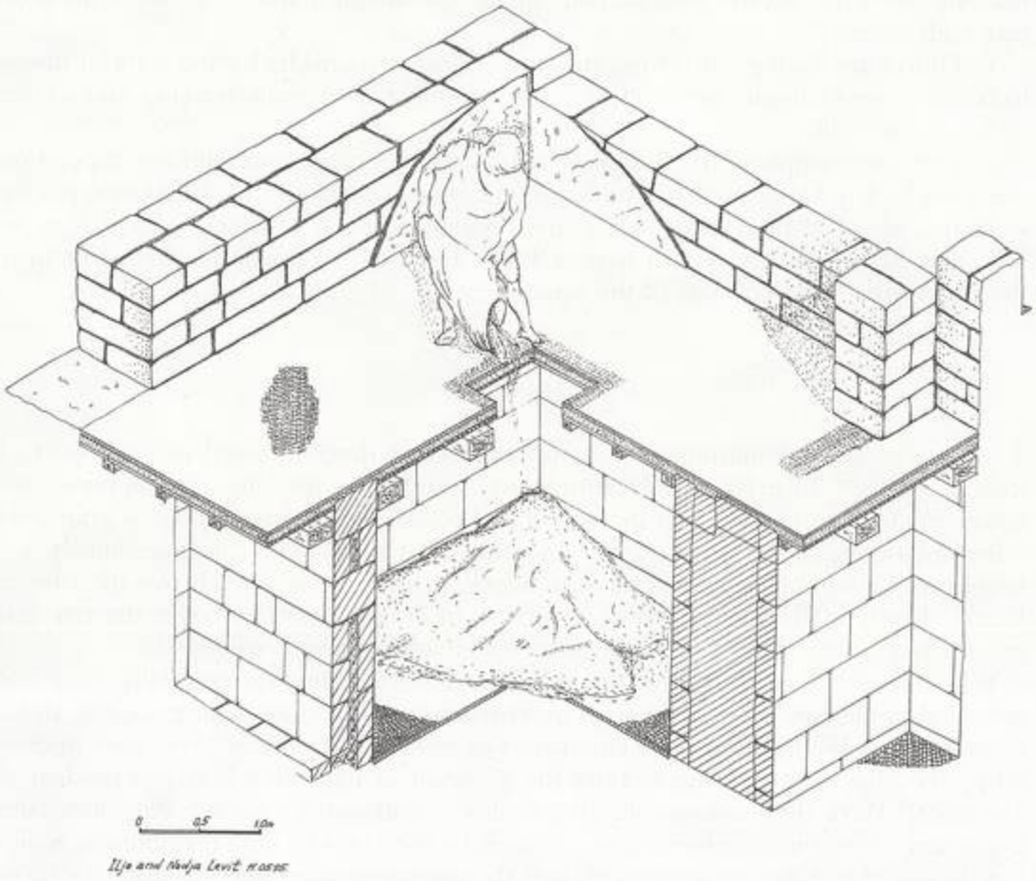

Figure 21. Granaries 8 and 9 in building III, area KK, reconstruction

Grain must be kept dry when stored. The safe limit for moisture in stored grain is usually between 10% and 15%, depending upon the type of grain, the climate, and the length of storage. Grain also must be kept cool, if possible below 60 degrees F (16 degrees C), and free from vermin, which tend to breed if the grain overheats. If grain is stored loose, or in bins, the walls of a granary must be capable of supporting considerable lateral thrust, as the lateral pressure of grain is about two-thirds of the vertical pressure.[27] The mortar recommended by Pliny and others was lime and marble mortar, mixed with oil lees (*amurca*), which also served as an insect repellent.[28] It seems

[27] Rickman, *Roman Granaries*, 1–2.

[28] K. D. White, *Roman Farming* (London, 1970), 189, 196–97; idem, *Greek and Roman Technology* (London, 1984), 62–63.

that the oily white mortar characteristic of the Caesarean granaries is due to its mixture with *amurca*.[29]

(d) Offices are distinguished from the simple storage rooms by having colorful mosaic floors, more elaborate architecture, and sometimes even stone benches and alcove niches in the walls.

(e) The water supply of the Byzantine structures under discussion did not depend on the aqueducts of Caesarea or on underground cisterns that collected rainwater, but on wells that accessed the nearby *aquifer* (the present elevation of which is ca. 1.5 m. at NN, and 0.5 m. at the western part of KK). The wells were constructed in or near the courtyard or the corridor of the *horreum*.

Discussion

The greatest part of maritime commerce in ancient times involved the transport of food products.[30] In a Roman-Byzantine city, warehouses for long-term storage were constructed primarily to collect the *annona* and to insure a regular supply of grain and other foodstuffs, at reasonable prices, to the inhabitants. These responsibilities belonged to the authorities – imperial, municipal, or ecclesiastical. Such was the case at Rome already in Republican times, as well as in other cities. The larger the city and its population, the larger the extent of its warehouses and granaries.

Who owned and who operated the storage facilities of Caesarea, especially those that occupied insula KK (which, although divided into six separate buildings, is one architectural unit)? Were they private enterprises or municipal facilities? Were they operated by the imperial government under the governor of Palaestina Prima (a resident of Caesarea)? Were these *annona*-collecting facilities controlled by the *dux Palaestinae* (also a resident of the city), or were they operated by the church? Perhaps different buildings belonged to different authorities, and the managers were different from the owners?[31]

One of the municipal officials in each city was the "grain buyer," or *sitones*,[32] who was in charge of supplying grain for the city. In the Late Roman and Byzantine administrative system, which was bureaucratic and centralized, the proper supply of

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[29] This is perhaps the reason for the oily character of the underfloor cement encountered in the area S bins (Raban, *Site*, 176–77). A microscopic examination of two mortar specimens, one from a Fatimid bin and the other from a granary in area KK22, indicated the superior quality of the latter (Tsatskin, "Application of Soil Micromorphology"). The partition walls encountered in many cases were intended to decrease the lateral pressure.

[30] A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*, BAR Int. Ser. 580 (Oxford, 1992), 17–20.

[31] Concerning the organization and operation of Roman civilian *horrea*, during both the Early and the Late Empire, see Rickman, *Roman Granaries*, 163–212, 307–11.

[32] Y. Dan, *The City in Eretz Israel during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1984), 87, 99; Jones, *LRE*, 735; D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1969), 114.

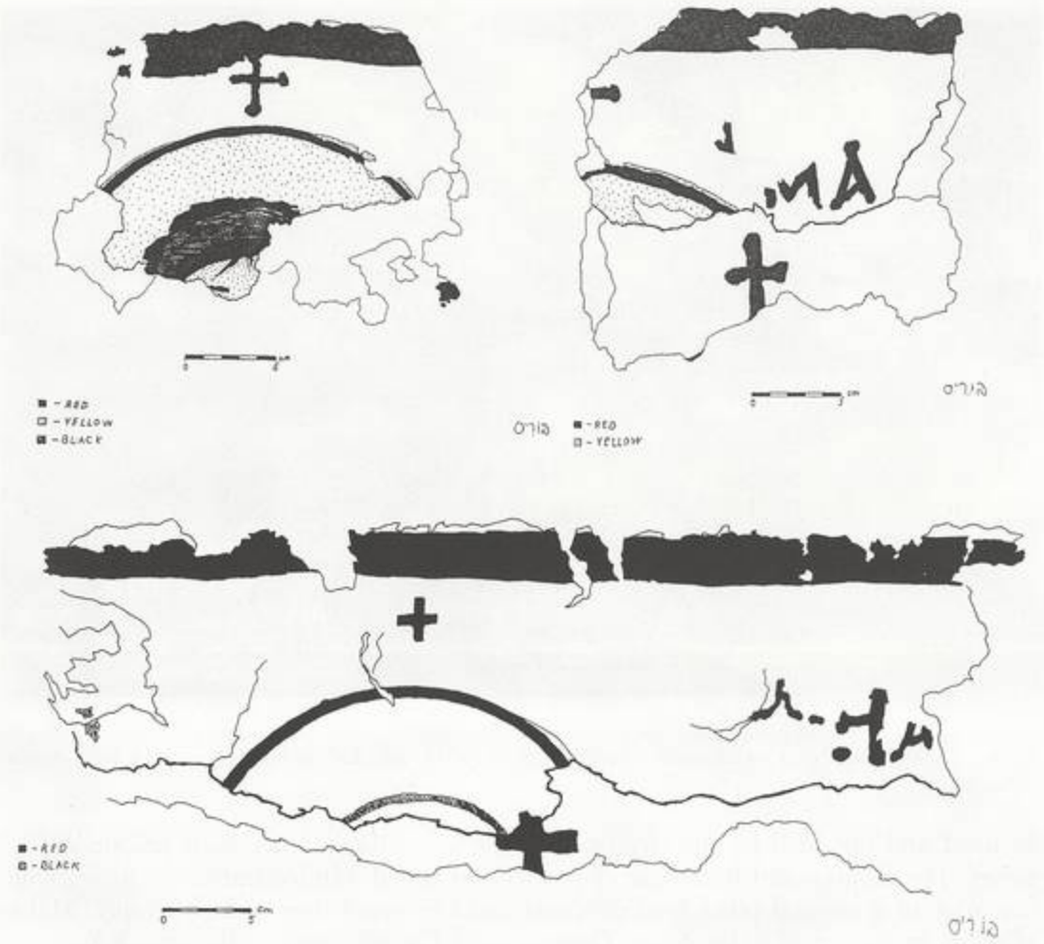

Figure 22. Depictions of icons of Christian saints uncovered in debris in the antechamber of building I, area KK

grain and other food for citizens was the concern of the imperial government, not only of the municipal authorities, especially in a case of a provincial capital such as Caesarea. The *mesites* is known from Greek papyri in Egypt as the official in charge of government granaries and of weighing the grain.[33] A *mesites* is mentioned in one of the Caesarean inscriptions, but it is not certain whether his function was similar to that in Egypt.[34] Large warehouses should therefore be conceived as public buildings, con-

[33] Dan, *The City in Eretz Israel,* 112.

[34] B. Lifschitz, "Une inscription byzantine de Césarée en Israel," *Revue des études grecques* 70 (1957), 118–32, esp. 124; Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions,* no. 110.

Figure 23. Depiction of a *crux gemmata* found in debris in the *dolia* hall of building I, area KK, stucco remains

structed and operated by the city or imperial authorities, rather than private enterprises. The Roman and Byzantine emperors also issued statutes and edicts to regulate the price of grain and other food products and to control their orderly supply. Many of them are preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus.*[35] The proximity of the area KK storerooms, the Mithraeum *horrea,* and the area NN granaries to area CC, which seems to be a provincial administrative center, suggest that these areas were state warehouses. On the other hand, many finds imply that the church might have played a significant role in operating them.

For example, frescoes depicting icons of saints (fig. 22) were uncovered in the debris of the antechamber of building I,[36] and in its *dolia* hall were found plaster blocks with depictions of crosses of the *crux gemmata* type (fig. 23, 24). These, as well as a eucharistic bread stamp (fig. 25); two ampules depicting St. Menas (fig. 26), indicating con-

[35] *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions,* ed. and trans. C. Pharr (Princeton, 1952), 2.33.1; 14.16, 17, 19, 25, 26; 15.1.12.

[36] Depictions of Christ and the twelve apostles are found on the west wall of CC vault 9, which served as a passage vault, and drawings of three saints have been uncovered on the south wall of CC vault 11.

Figure 24. *Crux gemmata* found in building I, area KK, reconstruction

nections with Egypt; an ampule depicting a stylite saint (originating in Syria?) (fig. 27, 28), retrieved from the well of building II; and a marble screen plate depicting a cross surrounded by a wreath (fig. 29) from building VI, may all indicate that the buildings were operated by persons of religious piety, perhaps ecclesiastical officials. (A church might have been located in an upper story of building I.) The buildings might have served as welfare facilities operated by the church to distribute food to the poor rather

Figure 25. Eucharistic bread stamp found in the north portico of the courtyard of building I, area KK

than as *horrea* operated by imperial or municipal authorities. On the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that all these finds indicate simply religious piety, not ecclesiastical property or welfare activities.[37] Considering the evidence as a whole, it seems that these *horrea* were for civilian use and were under the supervision of the provincial governor.

Taken together, the storage facilities of Caesarea shed light on the city's economic, administrative, and social life. These topics have not yet received the attention they deserve, and this study should be considered a preliminary one undertaken while the excavations are still in progress.

[37] For pagan religious dedications in *horrea*, see Rickman, *Roman Granaries*, 312–15.

Figure 26. Ampule depicting St. Menas found in building I, area KK

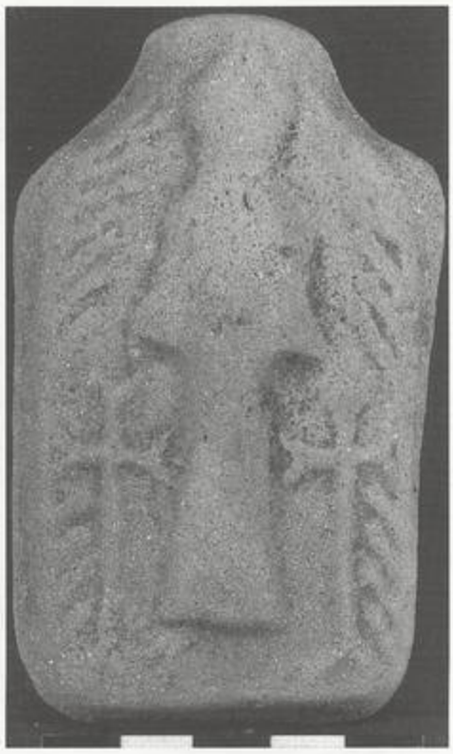

Figure 27. Clay ampule depicting a stylite saint, found in the well of building III, area KK

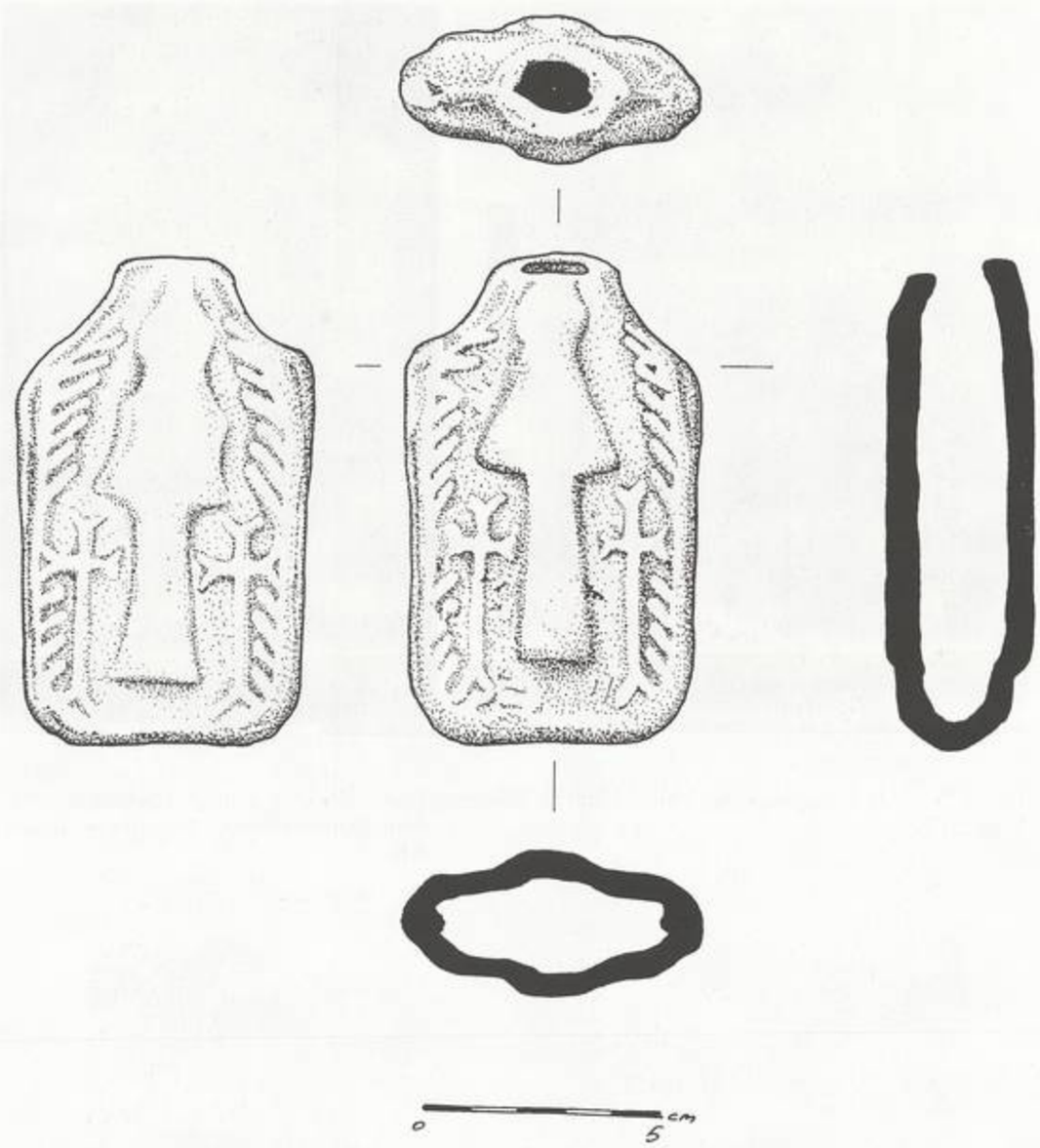

Figure 28. Ampule depicting stylite saint from building III, area KK, drawing

Figure 29. Fragment of a marble screen plate depicting a cross surrounded by a wreath, found in building VI, area KK

TABLE 1
Granaries in CCE Areas KK and NN

KK	Bldg.	Cluster	Single	Area (m.^{2})	Courses	Presrvd ht.	Orig. ht.	Capacity (m.^{3})
1	I	+		1.6 x 2.3	2	0.55	2.1	7.73
2	I	+		1.6 x 2.3	2	0.55	2.1	7.73
3	I	+		1.6 x 2.3	2	0.55	2.1	7.73
4	I	+		1.6 x 2.3	2	0.55	2.1	7.73
5	I		+	2.5 x 3.5	7	2.40	3.15	27.56
6	I		+	2.8 x 3.1	3	1.15	2.40	20.83
7	III		+	4.4 x 2.7	6	2.40	2.40	19.49
8	III	+		2.8 x 2.9	7	2.40	2.40	19.49
9	III	+		2.8 x 3.0	6	2.25	2.25	18.90
N								
10		+		1.8 x 1.7	2	0.55	1.80	5.51
11		+		1.8 x 1.7	2	0.55	1.80	5.51
12		+		1.8 x 1.7	2	0.55	1.80	5.51
13		+		1.8 x 1.7	2	o.55	1.80	5.51
14		+		1.8 x 1.7	2	0.55	1.80	5.51
15		+		1.8 x 1.7	2	0.55	1.80	5.51
							Total: 177.19	

11

A Sixth-Century Bath in Caesarea's Suburbs and the Transformation of Bathing Culture in Late Antiquity

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During their last field season in 1964, the Italian Archaeological Mission to Caesarea Maritima undertook the excavation of a small, domed structure, which the excavators quickly identified as a bath complex, located about one kilometer north of the city's walls and 300 m. east of the high aqueduct. Giuseppe Struffolino, who also served the mission as a draftsman, directed the mission's efforts at the site and published his results in its final report.[1] In 1975 the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM), under the direction of Robert J. Bull, returned to the site (Field E)[2] for preliminary soundings and thereafter devoted the next two full field seasons (1976 and 1978) to its excavation under the supervision of Robert C. Wiemken. Preliminary reports of these seasons to the Israel Department of Antiquities are reproduced in a microfiche collection.[3] Kenneth G. Holum et al. included a brief description of the site in their popular work on Caesarea,[4] and in a recent article the present author published an account of the excavation and a preliminary interpretation of the site.[5]

The excavated remains occupy an area of approximately 525 m.^{2} and contain the most usual components of a Roman bath: *praefurnium, apodyterium, caldarium* with two *solia, tepidarium, unctorium,* and *frigidarium* (fig. 1). Other identifiable features include a latrine and a large decorative pool[6] covering some 53 m.^{2} West of the *praefurnium* and north of the latrine there is a service court. Surrounding the *frigidarium* are four rooms with floors in opus sectile, and to the south of the *frigidarium* there is a courtyard. The

[1] Frova, *Scavi,* 294–304.

[2] As it is known in the nomenclature of the Joint Expedition.

[3] R. J. Bull, ed., *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Preliminary Reports in Microfiche* (Madison, N.J., 1987), chaps. 8 and 15.

[4] *Herod's Dream,* 182–85.

[5] F. L. Horton, Jr., "Bathing in the Face of the Enemy: A Late Byzantine Bath Complex in Field E of the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima," in *The Yahweh/Baal Confrontation and Other Studies in Biblical Literature and Anthropology: Essays in Honor of Emmett Willard Hamrick,* Studies in Bible and Early Christianity 35 (New York, 1995), 150–66.

[6] This pool was remarkable for the rows of ceramic pots fixed into the plastered sides of the pool, perhaps for the breeding of fish. Indeed, many freshwater fish bones were found in the residue excavated from the pool, many belonging to the famous "St. Peter's Fish." For a similar construction in a much shallower pool at Sataf, see S. Gibson and A. Kloner, "Sataf—An Archaeological Project of Landscape and Environment in the Judaean Hills" [Hebrew], *Qadmoniot* 23 (1990), 103.

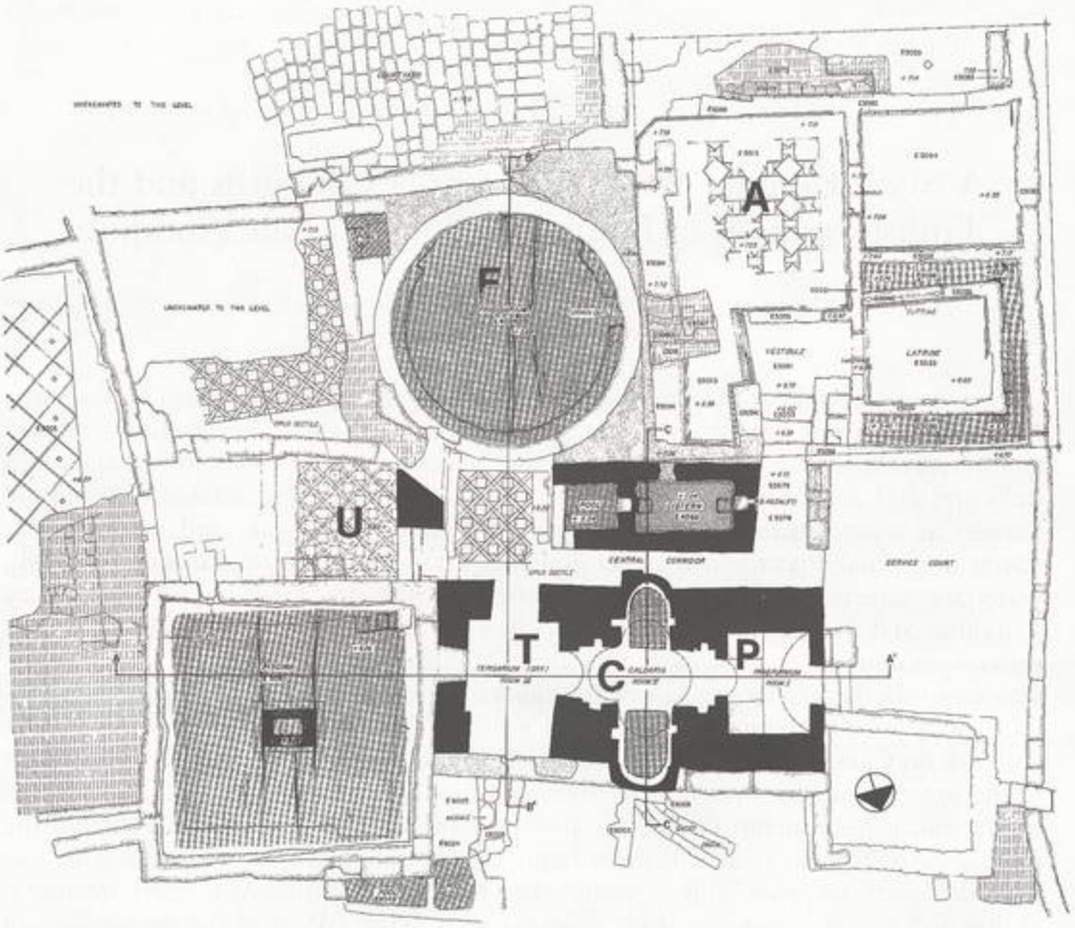

Figure 1. Top plan of Field E at the end of the 1978 season: A = *apodyterium;* C = *caldarium;* P = *praefurnium;* T = *tepidarium;* U = *unctorium;* and F: *frigidarium.* Drawing by Ken Smith, courtesy of the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima

frigidarium itself contains a large circular pool[7] with a bench. There is also a small pool to the southeast. The bath received water from the high aqueduct, located almost a

[7] The usual term for such a pool is a *piscina.* (On the terminology for baths, see I. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea: The Architectural and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* [Aarhus, 1990], 1:153–66.) The reason for not using it in this chapter is that the large decorative pool to the east of the *tepidarium* is a *piscina,* that is, a pool for fish. This is such a highly unusual feature of a bath complex that in antiquity the term *piscina* had been appropriated for many of the pools used for bathing and swimming. Janet DeLaine has written two important reviews of the scholarship on Roman baths and bathing customs: "Recent

half kilometer to the west, and this water was collected in a cistern built one meter above the floor level. Ceramic pipes under the floors brought water to the various structures of the complex.

One entered the bathing facility from the large courtyard south of the complex, and undressed in the *apodyterium*[8] to the west of the *frigidarium*. Next, one stepped into the *frigidarium* proper where one perhaps employed the small pool in the southeast corner of the room as a footbath. Stepping around the large pool in the middle of the *frigidarium*, the bather would continue into a marble entranceway south of the *tepidarium* where there was a small, sunken cold-water pool that served as a *labrum* where one might douse oneself with cold water before entering the warmth of the *tepidarium*. The *tepidarium* was the bather's first extended stop in the bathing process. This room, which was heated by flues in the walls that vented the hot air from the hypocaust system, allowed the bather to become acclimated to the heated environment of the bathing facilities before taking on the high temperature of the hot bath. The *tepidarium* of the bath in Field E was furnished with two frescoes in red, one a "Tree of Life" and the other a jeweled cross (fig. 2).[9]

Following this period of acclimation in the *tepidarium*, the bather would enter the *caldarium* where two *solia* were available for a hot bath. A conventional hypocaust system furnished heat to these two rooms, and workers kept the furnace burning from the *praefurnium* to the west of the *caldarium*. Following the hot bath the bather would return to the *tepidarium* to readjust to a cooler temperature and then would step back through the entranceway and enter the *unctorium*[10] to the east side, which provided benches where one might sit and apply warm oils to the body. One then returned to the *frigi-*

Research on Roman Baths," *JRA* 1 (1988), 11–32, and "Roman Baths and Bathing," *JRA* 6 (1993), 348–58.

[8] Identification of this room as the *apodyterium* is made on the basis of its relationship to the *frigidarium* and on existence of the bench that runs north-south along its eastern wall. In his report for the 1978 season, Wiemken refers to this room as the "geometric mosaic room" (Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche*, chap. 15, p. 72). For a description of the typical location and function of the *apodyterium*, see Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, 1:153.

[9] Joseph Patrich has discovered a cross of similar design in a cross-vault he believes probably served a public purpose (see his chapter in this volume). It is possible that the same artist is responsible for both.

[10] If, indeed, one had not already done so *before* the bath. F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1992), 38–39, suggests that bathers might have applied such oils before a bath, after a bath, or both. Identification of this room as an *unctorium* is based on both its position in the bath sequence and the benches built into the north, east, and south walls. In his discussion of this room, Wiemken in his 1976 report conjectures its use as that of an *apodyterium* because of those same benches (Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche*, chap. 8, p. 10), but that the room does not open to the outside and has an entrance only from the hallway between the *frigidarium* and the *tepidarium* both argue against this identification. This possible detour between the *frigidarium* and the *tepidarium*, however, does represent some difficulty in that it disturbs the straight-line progress of the bather in the usual axial bath. (See below on architectural typology.) The digression, though, is quite minor and should likely be accepted as a small anomaly in architectural style. Yegül refers to an *unctorium* as a "warm room" (ibid., 38); and although there is no special provision for heating this room in the Field E complex, the heat of the bath itself would

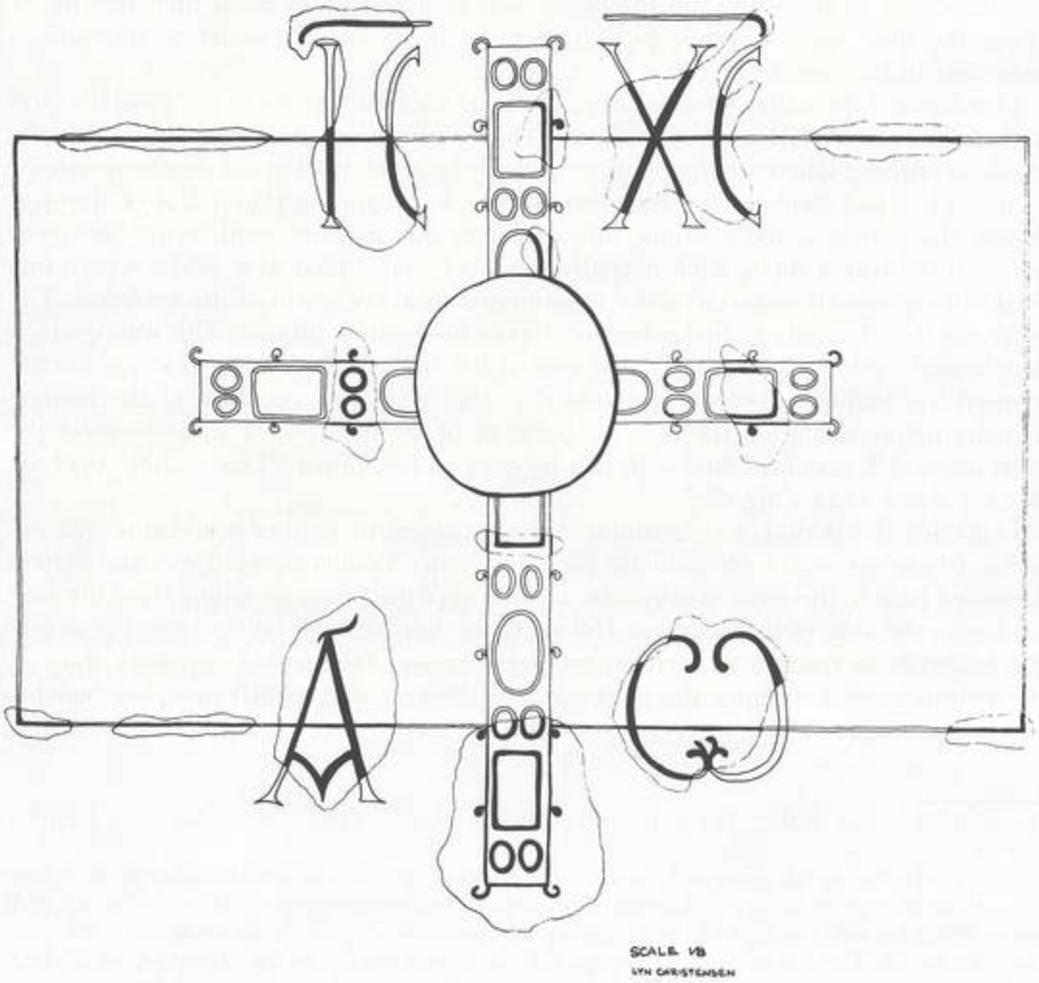

Figure 2. Fresco of a jeweled cross in the *tepidarium*. Drawing by Lyn Christensen, courtesy of the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima

darium where a long, leisurely immersion in the circular pool there provided a languid ending to the bath.

The movements of the bather comprise the basis for the current architectural typol-

almost certainly keep this room warm. It should be added that the application of oils at this point in the bathing process does not eliminate the possibility or even probability of a final application of oils elsewhere in the complex at the conclusion of the bather's sojourn in the *frigidarium*, perhaps at the hands of a masseur as suggested in *Herod's Dream*, 184.

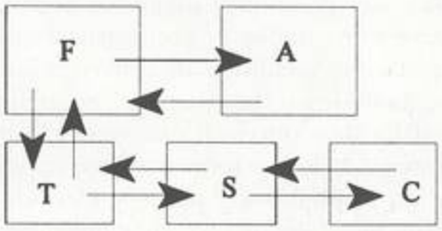

Figure 3. Plan of a parallel-row type bath: A = *apodyterium;* T = *tepidarium;* S = *sudatorium;* and C = *caldarium.* Drawing by the author, after Nielsen, *Thermae at Balnea,* 2:51

ogy of baths first devised by D. Krenker and most recently revised by Inge Nielsen.[11] Those baths that require the bather to retrace steps are called "row type" baths (*Reihentyp*), and those that lead the bather through the stages of bathing without such retracing of steps are "ring type" baths (*Ringtyp*). The arrangement of the bath in Caesarea's Field E is, in Krenker's terminology, a *Reihentyp.*[12] Nielsen's system, which takes account of right-angled turns in the bather's route through a row-type bath, would have us call the bath in Field E a "parallel-row type,"[13] indicating the 180-degree turn the bather must take in moving from the *apodyterium* to the *caldarium* (fig. 3).[14]

The Date of the Field E Complex

All of the excavators have agreed that the site represents a private bath installation constructed in the sixth century of our era.[15] The excavators held it to be private because of the small size of the *caldarium* which could accommodate no more than two

[11] D. Krenker, "Vergleichende Untersuchungen römischer Thermen," in *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen* (Augsburg, 1929), 1:174–305; Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea,* 2:50–52.

[12] Krenker, *Die Trierer Kaiserthermen,* 1:177–78.

[13] Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea,* 2:51.

[14] The bath in Field E lacks a *sudatorium* (sweat bath). On the nature and function of the *sudatorium,* see Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea,* 2:159–60, and Yegül, *Baths and Bathing,* 384. Although Wiemken in his 1976 report (Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche,* chap. 8, p. 9) thought it possible that Room III of the complex might be a *sudatorium,* he deserts this possibility in his 1978 report. Since a *sudatorium* requires its own *praefurnium* and has both *suspensura* and tubulation (Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea,* 1:159), this is not a possible identification for Room III.

[15] Frova, *Scavi,* 302. Wiemken, in his 1976 report (Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche,* chap. 8, p. 16), using the stratigraphic terminology developed by Lawrence E. Toombs ("The Stratigraphy of Caesarea Maritima," in *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon,* ed. P.R.S. Moorey and Peter Parr [Warminster, 1978], 223–32) put the construction in the 6b or Middle Byzantine period (450–550 C.E.) but modified this dating in his 1978 report to a date in the 6a or Late Byzantine period (Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche,* chap. 15, p. 68).

bathers at a time.[16] The main question of usage has been whether it remained a private bath or came to serve some public or ecclesiastical function at a later time.

Struffolino contended that the building was converted in the seventh century to an unspecified Christian use and termed the structure "un edificio christiano."[17] This contention was misconstrued by the American excavators to mean that Struffolino considered the bath a baptistry,[18] but that term nowhere appears in his discussion of the site. As Albrecht Berger has pointed out,[19] perhaps the most common function of bath installations associated with churches was for the convenience of pilgrims. Further, by the period of our site's construction, even monastic rules had dropped their objections to baths, and monks too joined in the bathing culture of the Byzantines.[20] Finally, Fikret Yegül has reminded us that some baths under the control of bishops also served the poor as well as pilgrims and clergy.[21] To say, then, that a bath structure served some kind of "sacred use" or was a "Christian building" is not necessarily to say that it was used as a baptistry. Unfortunately, Struffolino never made clear exactly what he meant, so the reader is left to speculate. It is important to point out that, although Struffolino does not specify the "sacred use" he believes might have been served by the installation in Field E, for parallels he draws the reader's attention not to the many Palestinian baptisteries of Late Antiquity but to the bathing installations associated with churches or monasteries.[22]

As mentioned above, both Struffolino and Wiemken agreed on the matter of the date of the construction of the Field E complex, although each came to his results by different routes. Struffolino reached his conclusions on the basis of architecture, whereas Wiemken reached his on the basis of ceramic and coin evidence.

The two investigators, however, differed on the matter of phasing. Struffolino based most of his decisions about phasing on art historical grounds. First of all, he held that decoration of a secular, private structure with such religious ornamentation as that to be found in the *tepidarium* was not acceptable in the sixth to seventh centuries.[23] Further, he could not imagine that devout Muslims would countenance the Christian frescoes in a structure they would use on a regular basis, and yet those frescoes had not been effaced.[24] Finally, Struffolino believed the fresco cross in the *tepidarium* could on art historical grounds, be dated to the first part of the seventh century.[25] He concluded from all this, therefore, that the conversion of the complex to its "sacred use"

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16 See *Herod's Dream,* 184.

17 *Scavi,* 293.

18 See, for instance, *Herod's Dream,* 182.

19 *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit,* Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 27 (Munich, 1982), 38–39.

20 Ibid.

21 *Baths and Bathing,* 319.

22 Frova, *Scavi,* 302–3.

23 Ibid., 303. I challenged this belief in "Bathing in the Face of the Enemy," 162–63.

24 Ibid.

25 Frova, *Scavi,* 302.

occurred early in the seventh century and that it ceased to be used after the Muslim conquest.

Wiemken dated the end of the bath's function by reference to evidence taken from the silt in the north drain of the latrine. Since the latrine was flushed both by water from the *frigidarium* and from the southern *solium* of the *caldarium*, the latrine is integrally related to the functioning of the bath complex as a whole. In a sense, its fate portends the fate of the entire bath. By dating the latest point at which the latrine functioned, one can also date the end of the complex's function as a bath. The evidence Wiemken holds to be important for this dating is twofold: (1) a coin that could be dated 602–608 C.E., and (2) a whole lamp he assigned to the middle of the seventh century.[26] It was his belief that the drain ceased to function shortly after these deposits were laid, that is, the latrine was no longer being flushed by water from the large pool in the *frigidarium* or from the southern *solium* of the *caldarium*. He believed that the Umayyad occupation of the site consisted almost entirely of robbing activities.[27]

There are two additional subphases in Wiemken's analysis of the pre-Umayyad bath. The first is a modification of the *caldarium* and the *praefurnium*. In his 1976 report,[28] he suggested that the south apse of the *caldarium* was an addition to the completed structure, and in 1978 he reported that the discovery of the north apse of the *caldarium* was a confirmation of his view.[29] He further contended that Room 1, the present *praefurnium*, was enclosed only after the construction of the bath, and also that the service court to the west of this room might have been expanded at the time of this enclosure.[30] This beautification/enlargement project Wiemken assigns to the "Late Byzantine" (6a) period.

A second subphase involved the repair of the bath's water system largely through the provision of new pipes laid unceremoniously on top of floors instead of beneath them. One such pipe reached from the large pool in the *frigidarium* to the latrine right over the eastern bench of the *apodyterium*.[31] and another from the *frigidarium* to the great

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[26] *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche*, chap. 15, pp. 79–80. The coin was subsequently read simply as belonging to the sixth–seventh centuries. For additional discussion of the lamp (E.5.50/6.12.10), see below.

[27] Ibid., chap. 15, p. 82.

[28] Ibid., chap. 8, p. 5.

[29] Ibid., chap. 15, p. 79. Wiemken's belief that the addition of these apses represented a quest for a classical architectural form for the bath is not supported by the most recent research into bath structures. Although the opposing apses correspond to a popular style, there are also many rectangular *caldaria* in baths of the period, as, indeed, the *caldarium* in our complex once was. The purpose of the alteration, evidently, was to provide for individual bathing in two *solia* instead of bathing in a single *alveus*. For further on the architectural features of *caldaria*, see Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, 1:156, and Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 409–11 and 417–19. Yegül's architectural discussion is limited to North Africa and Asia Minor, but his evidence is sufficient to challenge the point made by Wiemken. For a catalogue of baths in the Levant, consult Nielsen's second volume.

[30] Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche*, chap. 8, p. 5.

[31] It is not quite correct to say that this pipe put the bench out of use, as Wiemken says (Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche*, chap. 15, p. 80), but it certainly created an unsightly impediment to traffic from the *apodyterium* to the latrine.

ornamental pool (*piscina*) outside of and east of the *tepidarium*. This second pipe ruined a small step-pool on the southeast corner of the *piscina* The remaining structure of this small pool, however, was not removed but simply left in place.[32] Wiemken assigned this repair to the "Latest Byzantine" occupation of Caesarea (614–640 C.E.).[33]

Although there is insufficient data to arrange these two very different reconstructions chronologically with absolute certainty, there seems to this writer to be a logical order that is virtually impossible not to accept. One reconstruction is a small expansion and, arguably, a beautification of the structure. The other consists of several ad hoc repairs to the water system, done hastily and, evidently, without any concern for aesthetics. If the beautification/expansion work had been done *after* the repair of the water system, it is difficult to understand why that repair was not improved visually in some way. Thus it is most logical to believe that the beautification/expansion came first and the repair came second, but at present there is no archaeological evidence in the form of datable materials to confirm or deny this belief.

The question of absolute dating for the structure is anything but a closed subject. Apparently Wiemken used the reign of Justinian I (527–565 C.E.) as a *terminus post quem* for the structure because several coins from the time of Justinian were found in sealed construction loci, and no field readings of the coins yielded a specimen that could be dated later than Justinian. Following the issuance of the 1978 preliminary report, however, Peter Lampinen undertook a thorough study of the coins from Field E. In general, his results were not much different as they might affect the date of construction loci except in one case, a coin from a probe underneath the floor of the latrine. Lampinen recognized this coin (E.5.137C-83) to be an imitation Justinian coin, copied from an Alexandrian coin. These coins, which he believes may have been manufactured in Palestine, date anywhere from late in Justinian's reign until some time in the first half of the seventh century.[34] Although this dating does not rule out a date for construction in the middle of the sixth century, it would also be consistent with a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the complex in the last part of the sixth century or even in the first part of the seventh century. Ceramic evidence from these same construction loci would be consistent with any of these dates.

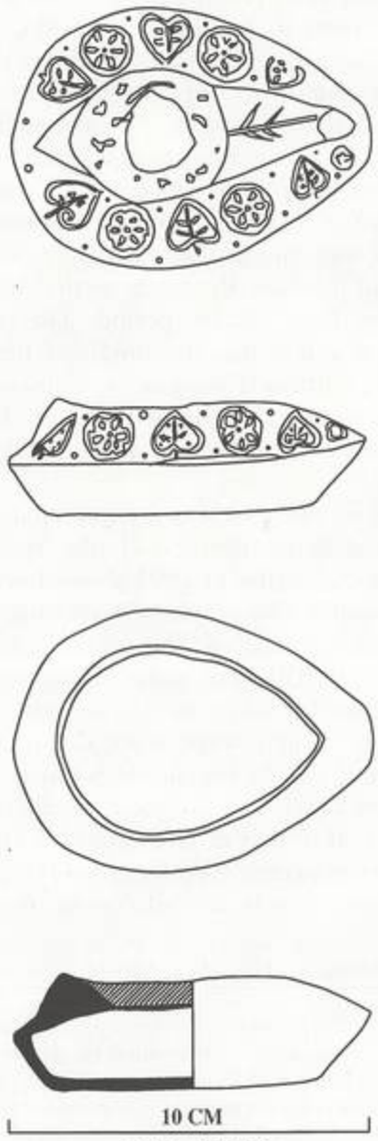
To decide when the complex went out of use as a bath is also not an easy matter. As previously discussed, the latrine is also the focus for this discussion because the latrine is integral to the flow of water in the complex. When water ceased to flow through the channels of the latrine, it had also ceased to flow within other structures in the bath. Any datable material within the silt of those channels should be able to establish a *terminus post quem* for cessation of the bath's functions.

As is often the case in the excavation of latrines, the silt in the Field E latrine, locus **5043**, was a treasure trove of ceramics, coins, and other artifacts. Wiemken cites two

[32] Ibid., chap. 8, p. 4.

[33] Ibid., chap. 15, p. 79.

[34] I am indebted to Peter Lampinen for discussing this coin with me in a long telephone conversation.



Lamp 6.12.10

Drawing: Patricia H. Horton

Figure 4. Late Byzantine/ Early Arabic lamp. Drawing by Patricia H. Horton

items, a coin and a whole lamp, to establish a *terminus* at the end of the Byzantine occupation of Caesarea.[35] The field reading for the coin was 602–608 C.E., but Peter Lampinen's report makes it clear that this coin (E.5.50.C-17) is yet another imitation Alexandrian/Justinian coin with the same indeterminate date (late sixth or early seventh century) as that found underneath the tessellated floor of the room.

The lamp in question (E.5.50/6.12.10; fig. 4) was initially read as belonging to the seventh or eighth century C.E. In the report on ceramic lamps prepared by Kenneth Vine and Glenn Hartilius, our lamp is classified as a "Type 30" lamp, which they date to the sixth–seventh century C.E.[36] In the graph that accompanies their discussion, the authors show that lamps of this type at Caesarea were associated in over 90% of the field readings with pottery of the Late Byzantine period but only less than 40% of the readings with pottery of the Early Arabic period. The main distinctions between a Type 30A lamp and a Type 30B is that the nozzle of the Type 30B is undecorated, and the shoulder decoration features birds, grapes, vines, or medallions. Our lamp has a decorated nozzle, but its shoulder decoration fits the Type 30B requirement. The authors suggest that Type 30B may represent a "slightly later" date within the general period than Type 30A.[37]

Also deposited within the silt of **5043** was a remarkable collection of pottery. Three of the five buckets contained sherds deemed "Early Arabic" in the field. Additional study of these sherds during the spring of 1994 showed acceptable Byzantine parallels for all of them, with the possible exceptions of a cooking pot lid (E.5.48.1) and a jar rim (E.5.49.2). The lid has a diameter of 22 cm., is slipped dark gray (5YR4/1), and its ware is a thin yellowish red (5YR5/6) material containing large white grits with a few air holes. Tzaferis regards this lid as an Arabic form.[38]

Sherd E.5.49.2 represents a light-ware storage jar. Its ware is reddish yellow (5YR6/2) and slipped white (5Y8/2). The fabric is hard, "clinky," and contains large white inclusions. The author has found no good parallel for the rim of this vessel as yet, but the ware seems related to that of jars found by Tushingham in his excavation of the Armenian Garden in Jerusalem.[39] Tushingham regarded these jars as Byzantine, and although J. Magness has recently argued convincingly for the Umayyad date of

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[35] Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche*, chap. 15, pp. 79–80.

[36] Ibid., chap. 16, p. 68.

[37] I am grateful to Glenn Hartilius for discussing his copious research on the lamps of Caesarea as it bears upon this lamp. In the course of our conversation he directed me to the important article by Arie Kindler, "A Seventh Century Lamp with Coin Decoration," *IEJ* 8 (1958), 106–9, which deals with a lamp of our type from Caesarea, bearing impressions of seventh-century coins, and to the parallel lamp shown in Frova, *Scavi*, 265, fig. 334.

[38] V. Tzaferis, *Excavations at Capernaum, Vol. I: 1978–1982* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1989), 70–71 and 69, fig. 52.35. See also his report on Kursi-Gergesa: "The Excavations of Kursi-Gergesa," *'Atiqot* (Eng. ser.) 16 (1983), 33 and 59, figs. 6.13–16. See also P. Delougaz and R. C. Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat al-Karak* (Chicago, 1960), 33 and pl. 54.17. Tzaferis disagrees with R. H. Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis*, vol. 1 (Wooster, Ohio, 1973), 321, that red ware for this form represents an earlier date, pointing out that red ware is common to all phases of occupation (Tzaferis, *Capernaum*, 71).

[39] A. D. Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967* (Toronto, 1985), 322, figs. 31.8–9.

Tushingham's "Byzantine" occupation levels, in the case of these jars, she accepts both as pre-Umayyad.[40]

If the datable materials in that silt can give us a *terminus post quem* for the final period of the drain's use, so can the datable materials in loci above that silt. The silt layer is locus **5043**. Above this locus are loci **5041**, **5038**, **5030**, **5029**, **5007**, and **5001**. Locus **5001** is a 20 cm. layer of windblown sand that covered all of Area 5. Only in this topmost layer (**5001**) was there anything that might be assigned to the very latest Byzantine occupation or earliest Islamic occupation.[41] The other five loci had no pottery that we can date securely later than the middle of the seventh century, and the readings were uniformly either generally "Byzantine" or "Late Byzantine."[42]

This information leaves us far short of a conclusive date for the cessation of the bath's function, but the ceramic evidence, at least, leaves open the possibility of a brief continued use after 640 C.E. Struffolino's objection to this on the basis of the frescoes in the *tepidarium* is valid only if we believe that the complex left Christian hands after the Muslim conquest. Holum et. al. remind us that the Muslim conquest of Caesarea did not result in a complete break with the city's Christian past.[43]

The evidence now seems to favor caution with regard to the date of the building of the complex and its use as a bath. It seems prudent to think of the structure as a late sixth-century structure that went out of use shortly after the Muslim conquest of 640.

The Field E Bath and the Development of Bathing Culture in Late Antiquity

The minor redating suggested above underscores the point I made with the title of my earlier essay on the complex.[44] The bath stood outside the defensive walls of Caesarea; and, if our dates are correct for the complex, during the Persian conquest of 614 C. and the Muslim conquest of 640 C.E., the owners/operators of the bath would have had to desert it at some point to take refuge in the city.

It is surprising to learn that we have no archaeological record of either conquest in the remains of Field E. Although the structure was eventually stripped of its marble facings and floorings, there was no dismantling of the bath itself. The record is one of deterioration, not destruction.[45] Indeed, the greatest enemy of the bath was its own water system, not invaders. I have agreed with Wiemken that the ad hoc repairs to the water system that so disfigured the structure were probably the result of a silting

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[40] "A Typology of the Late Roman and Byzantine Pottery of Jerusalem," doctoral dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 722, 730–34.

[41] This information is based on the field readings recorded in the supervisor's field book. Unfortunately, the contents of bucket 65 were not saved, so I have been unable to examine the pottery itself.

[42] A single piece of Cypriot Red Slip from locus **5041** was discarded at the time of reading.

[43] *Herod's Dream,* 205–6.

[44] "Bathing in the Face of the Enemy."

[45] Ibid., 150.

up of its pipeworks because of inadequate provision for drainage.[46] There is no evidence to suggest that the persons responsible for the repairs ever understood the reason for their necessity, for there is no evidence of any new provision for drainage away from the site. This means that while the repair worked for a time, it likely did not work for an extended period. The breakdown of the repair and the cessation of the bath's function probably occurred at the same time.

All of the interpreters of this complex, including the present author, have been willing to accept Struffolino's conjecture that the bath was originally the private bath of a wealthy villa owner in Caesarea's northern suburbs. This conjecture was based on the small size of the actual hot-bath facility that could accommodate no more than two bathers at a time. Recent studies of bathing culture in Late Antiquity, however, have given us reason to reexamine this belief.

There is no doubt that the region of Field E was part of a larger suburban area populated by wealthy owners who spared no expense on the ornamentation of their fine homes.[47] The question is whether we must conclude that the Field E bath was part of such a structure because of the smallness of the actual bathing area. To that the answer must be in the negative and is best put in the words of Fikret Yegül:

> There is an overall tendency in late antiquity toward the reduction of large communal pools in favor of small and individual bathing facilities – basins, tubs, and bathing alcoves (significant exceptions can be found in the Islamic baths at Khirbat al-Mefjar and in Qasr al-Hayr East). This may be an indication of the necessity for conserving water; it may also have a more profound social and ethical significance in the evolution of bathing habits, from communal to individual, due to the emphasis placed on the privacy of the body and bodily functions in keeping with Christian and Islamic thought.[48]

Nielsen likewise makes reference to the increase in numbers of simple, row-type bath structures, though she ascribes this trend more to economic conditions than to ethical/moral sensibilities.[49] The reduction in bathing space was often offset by an increase in communal space or what Yegül calls the "bath-hall" or "lounge-*apodyterium*," often containing an ornamental pool as something of a replacement for the large pool of the classical *frigidarium*. These were public meeting halls that not only replaced the function of the communal *frigidarium* but created new space for civic functions.[50]

The bath complex in Field E reflects many of these general developments. The bathing facilities themselves are quite small and compare favorably to the general trend in newly built bath structures.[51] The complex in Field E compensates for the small size

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[46] Ibid., 158. Cf. Bull, *Preliminary Reports in Microfiche*, chap. 15, p. 80.

[47] See R. Reich, "On Some Byzantine Remains," *'Atiqot* (Eng. ser.) 17 (1985), 206–12, for a discussion of a large mosaic floor belonging to such a luxury villa. See also *Herod's Dream*, 181–82.

[48] Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 461 n. 88.

[49] Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, 1:152.

[50] Yegül, *Baths and Bathing*, 329.

[51] Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit*, 90–93. In many cases, though, the great baths from earlier times were continued in use (ibid., 46–47).

of its heated facilities with other spacious rooms in opus sectile and a courtyard. Perhaps its major concession to ancient tradition is the large pool in the *frigidarium* that would allow several bathers to relax in the cool waters together.

I believe we should also take the outdoor *piscina* to be an additional indication of the communal nature of the Field E complex. Whether the pool was for decoration or for the storage of freshwater fish for eating, the installation suggests service to a larger group of people than might be able to use the actual bathing facilities at one time.

It is possible to believe, therefore, that the Field E complex was established and maintained as a commercial enterprise for the wealthy Christian denizens of the northeastern suburbs of Caesarea, perhaps a small "town hall" of sorts as well as a bathing and dining institution. Because of the small heated space, the primary cost to the bath's owners was most likely for the water they diverted from the upper aqueduct.[52]

This theory also helps explain the nature of the ersatz repairs on the water system. Although it is difficult to understand why a wealthy villa owner would decide to repair his private bath in a manner that did not reflect his social standing, it is not at all difficult to understand why a commercial operator of such a facility, driven by hard times, would have to make the choice between continuing the services of the bath with degraded facilities or ceasing operation altogether.

As to the possible operation of the bath after the Muslim conquest – if, indeed, we are able to demonstrate such an operation archaeologically – it might be well to imagine that the owners/operators of such an establishment would not be among the wealthy expatriates of Caesarea who relocated hastily after the conquest. Instead, like other artisans and small tradespeople, the owners would need to earn their living by pursuing the trades they had practiced before the conquest. Since there were still Christian inhabitants[53] of the area who might be willing to employ those bathing facilities that remained functional – albeit less well-to-do than their recently departed co-religionists – the facility would continue to provide them a living until the final breakdown of the water system, a breakdown that, among the hardships of the new day, was simply too expensive to repair.

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[52] This overhead is known in classical sources as the bath's *tutela*. Cf. Nielsen, *Thermae et Balnea*, 1:122 and 122 n. 1. Nielsen specifically makes reference to the cost of water from an aqueduct as being part of the *tutela* (ibid., 1:123).

[53] Perhaps we ought here to include the possibility of serving the continuing trickle of Christian pilgrims who were undaunted by the recent change in Caesarea's fortunes. As Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit*, 38, points out, pilgrims were a major clientele of the baths. Although the conquest almost certainly reduced the number of Christian pilgrims substantially, we have no reason to believe they ceased their travels through Caesarea altogether; cf. *Herod's Dream*, 217.

PART IV

THE PROMONTORY PALACE: ARCHITECTURE AND POWER

12

The Promontory Palace

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An astonishing and impressive picture was revealed to those attending the archaeological conference held at Caesarea in January 1995. During the last twenty to twenty-five years, but especially in the last five, the urban character of the southern region of the city has emerged in ways archaeologists had never foreseen. The blocks of streets anticipated by Robert Bull[1] are instead the site of three major building projects datable to Herod's reign (according to the order of their exposure): the theater, the Promontory Palace, and the hippodrome.

The public and monumental character of these buildings suggests that they were conceived as one complex, primarily for the celebrations that inaugurated the city, a kind of international exposition. Josephus (*AJ* 16.138–39) provides a very detailed account of the festivities at Caesarea, the first of which were held during its inauguration. He specifies that the games were organized in honor of the Roman emperor, who sent special equipment from his court in Rome for this purpose.

Herod was already at a very advanced age during these celebrations. His giant project on the Temple Mount was still in the stages of execution. Certainly festivities could not have taken place there until the construction of the royal, southern stoa on the Temple Mount allowed Herod to circumvent the restrictions imposed upon him in the holy precinct.[2] However, even once it was completed, the celebrations (perhaps linked to one of the three Jewish pilgrim festivals) were probably limited. The festivities organized by Herod at Caesarea had no such limitations and can, therefore, be regarded not only as marking the inauguration of the city but also as a sort of summation of his entire, huge building enterprise. There were thus good reasons for the construction of a festival site, alongside the port of Sebastos and the city of Caesarea.

Herod had no intention of dismantling these three great structures at the end of the celebrations; no doubt they were intended for the later use of the new city's residents. However, their locations were evidently based on immediate considerations, some of which are discussed below by Kathryn Gleason, who looks at the influence of Rome's Campus Martius on this architecture.

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[1] See *Herod's Dream*, chaps. 2–3.

[2] I have elsewhere dealt with the ingenious solution of building the royal stoa on its southern part, no doubt as a consequence of the latter restrictions. See E. Netzer, "Herod's Building Projects: State Necessity or Personal Need?" *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981), 57.

Also meriting consideration is another possibility that does not refute the statements above but does take into account the life-style of the royal house. It is possible that construction of the palace preceded most, if not all, of the buildings erected by Herod at Caesarea. The building of the harbor took several years. It can be assumed that the king was very eager to keep a close eye on these operations and to make his own contributions. Caesarea is not close to Jerusalem. Unlike Herodium or Jericho, this site could not be visited within a span of a day or two. On the other hand, Caesarea is located on the coast, and its climate is suited to recreation most of the year. For this reason it is possible that Herod launched his building operations in this city with the erection of his unique palace, the Promontory Palace, which enabled him to enjoy his visits to the port city even before its completion and grand inauguration.

The sequence of events was perhaps as follows: (1) erection of the palace; (2) construction of the harbor of Sebastos, followed by the extensive and well-planned city of Caesarea; and then (3) construction of the structures intended primarily for holding the celebrations.

In any event, the palace is given a prime place in Josephus' descriptions of the great building project at Caesarea. Josephus used the word *basileia*, which might be interpreted as both singular and plural. It seems unlikely that Herod would have built two or more large palaces within the city; however, the Drusion tower, which apparently served as the lighthouse to the harbor, might have held royal chambers. (This type of tower dwelling, known also from Herod's projects at Jerusalem and Herodium, is discussed further in appendix 1 below.)

The Promontory Palace, located west of the theater and south of the harbor, is the only site at Caesarea (other than the harbor) that juts into the sea (fig. 1). The location and the uniqueness of the building constructed upon it suggest the probability that it was Herod's primary palace at Caesarea. Its daring location, with the large swimming pool in its center, matches that of Herod's other palaces: first and foremost, the North Palace at Masada (stepping down Masada's precipitous edge); the ingeniously engineered Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium; the third palace at Jericho straddling Wadi Qelt; and the palatial wings at the top of the multistory towers at Jerusalem and Herodium.

The first involvement of the present author with the promontory at Caesarea was in 1975, when the following remains on the exposed portion of the site were first observed: a large pool, 35 x 18 m. in size, hewn into the rock at the center of the lower promontory (fig. 2); cuttings over the entire surface of the exposed rock, some creating 2–4 m. of relief in the eastern half of the promontory; the remains of walls built with ashlar blocks on the promontory's western half (fig. 3); and the remains of a mosaic floor (first noticed by Link in 1963),[3] which were barely visible beneath the sand fill east of the pool. While current opinion at that time held that the promonto-

[3] See C. F. Fritsch and I. Ben-Dor, "The Link Expedition to Israel 1960," *Biblical Archaeologist* 24 (1961), 52–55.

Figure 1. Aerial view of the promontory at Caesarea, looking west. Photograph by Z. Radovan

Figure 2. The swimming pool, at the center of the promontory, viewed from the remains of the *triclinium*. Photograph by Z. Radovan

ry, with its large pool, was a fish pond, a *piscina* (see below), it was clear to the author, from the above-mentioned elements, that a far more elaborate building surrounded the pool.

Preliminary excavations at the site took place in 1976, directed by Lee I. Levine and the present author on behalf of Hebrew University.[4] The only section that could be excavated stratigraphically lay under the beach on the east side of the pool, an area approximately 40 x 15 m. in size. The finds revealed in the limited 1976 excavations led to the hypothesis that a palace, with a large swimming pool at its center, had been built there during the reign of Herod the Great.[5] The ceramic finds from one of the

[4] See E. Netzer and R. Bar-Nathan, "The Promontory Palace," in Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 149–77.

[5] In any event, these results did not support the theory that the pool was a pond for breeding fish, a view expressed by A. Flinder, "A Piscina at Caesarea: A Preliminary Survey," *IEJ* 26 (1976), 77–80. It is true that the large pool is connected to the sea by a series of channels, intermediate pools, and

Figure 3. Remains of walls situated west of the swimming pool, looking north. Photograph by Z. Radovan

palace floors suggested that it was laid at the end of the Second Temple period, but this evidence came from a small sounding, and the question of the date of the building's construction was deferred for future work.

In 1990 Hebrew University returned to the promontory for a full season of excavations in collaboration with Kathryn Gleason and Barbara Burrell of the University of Pennsylvania.[6] During this and the 1992 seasons, many details of the building and the various stages of its development came to light, including ceramic evidence that the palace was first renovated in the early and mid-first century C.E. Excavations after 1992 (under the direction of the University of Pennsylvania) shifted to the upper promontory, but questions about the western, lower promontory continue to be answered with small probes and trenches.

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sluices, evidence of its use for the raising of fish. However, there is no proof that this setup existed from the outset, and it can reasonably be assumed that it was added to the pool at a later stage; in my opinion, this is beyond any doubt. (From the very start of my studies I regarded this pool as a swimming pool.)

[6] The results of this season were first reported in B. Burrell, K. Gleason, and E. Netzer, "Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19.3 (1993), 50–57, 76.

The focal point of the palace was the central pool. Its present depth is ca. 1.2 m., which could mislead one to think that it was not intended for swimming. An analysis of the surrounding remains led to the conclusion that the level of the floor around the pool was ca. 80 cm. above the present height. The original depth was thus ca. 2 m., which is reasonable for swimming. In any event, swimming pools were an important component in many of the Hasmonaean and Herodian palaces.[7] The Hasmonaeans, it seems, integrated swimming pools of various sizes and types into their palaces, and Herod later maintained and embellished these, as well as constructing new pools of his own. The main examples come from the winter palace complex at Jericho (the one in the third palace there is 90 x 42 m. in size)[8] and from Herodium (where a pool measuring 69 x 45 m. was constructed).[9] Even on top of Masada there exists a pool of 18 x 13 m., apparently built by Herod, if not earlier by the Hasmonaeans.[10] The closest parallels to Caesarea are two swimming pools integrated into Herod's second palace at Jericho: the first is of nearly the same size (32 x 18 m.);[11] and the second one was smaller but also surrounded by colonnades.[12]

Studies of the palace's water supply are under way and still inconclusive, but the supply to the central pool is more clearly understood. The intention for the original pool was probably to supply it with fresh ground water, which has been found close to the pool and in many places along the coast, at a considerable rate of flow. The pool itself was sealed with hydraulic plaster to prevent leakage, and beside it, at the southeastern corner, were hewn two square holes, the largest measuring 150 x 120 cm. The ground water was probably collected and conveyed to the swimming pool manually or via a lifting device. It seems that this system was not dependable, and two channels were subsequently cut between the pool and the sea on the south side. These channels were probably intended to supply the pool with seawater.

The pool was surrounded by open walks 2.6 m. wide. Beyond these, on three sides, there were colonnades 4.2 m. wide attested by a series of rectangular cuttings 140 x 60 cm. in size and 70 cm. apart. The best preserved example suggests that the cuttings were originally at least 70 cm. deep. These can best be explained as planters for flowers or shrubs. Their placement, cut into the bedrock and the ashlars of the surviving walls, suggests that they were part of the original construction. The columns of

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[7] See E. Netzer, "The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonaean Period at Jericho" [Hebrew], *Eretz-Israel* 18 (1985), 344–52. For a shorter version, see idem, "The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonean Period at Jericho, *Leichtweiss Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig, Mitteilungen,* 89 (1988), 1–12.

[8] See E. Netzer, "Architecture in Palaestina prior to and during the Days of Herod the Great," *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz, 1990), 46–47.

[9] See E. Netzer, *Greater Herodium,* Qedem 13 (Jerusalem, 1981), 11–15, 28–30, and idem, "Architecture," 47–48.

[10] See E. Netzer, *Masada,* vol. 3, *The Buildings: Stratigraphy and Architecture,* the Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports, ed. J. Aviram, G. Foerster, and E. Netzer (Jerusalem, 1991), 481–82, 647.

[11] See Netzer, "Architecture," 45.

[12] Ibid., fig. 10 on p. 45.

the colonnades were most probably placed in the space between the planters, with an intercolumniation of 2.3 m., as is customary in palaces built by Herod. The presence of these colonnades is corroborated by the uniform width of the colonnades' walks, partly preserved in the lines of parallel walls and partly by cuts into the bedrock which have been preserved to a height of 2–3 m. above the estimated floor level.

A main, central room that evidently served as a reception room and *triclinium*, with two symmetrical rooms on either side, which were also used for reception purposes, was revealed in the excavations. The initial shape of the central room was rectangular (an apse was added later). A barrel-vaulted ceiling is suggested by the great width of the walls on the north and south sides. The *triclinium* was initially entered through a central doorway or a series of three openings in the western wall. During a later stage, this wall was demolished and replaced by the surviving stylobate, probably topped by a portico in the form of a *distyle in antis*.

The remains of quarried bedrock preserved to a height of ca. 2–3 m. above the floor level of the ground floor is the main clue to the existence of a second story. If only a single-story building had been intended, greater effort would have been invested in carefully shaping the pool and the areas around it during the quarrying process. A second floor would have had the advantage of having windows without being exposed to the force of the waves. The above-mentioned configuration of the colonnades and walks on the ground floor suggests that the second story featured either balconies open to the sky or a second, elevated series of colonnades.

Surviving evidence suggests, however, that the ground floor was the main floor, and entrance to the building in the first phase was directed to this level. The approach route to the building was at its northeast corner, the external area of which has been largely destroyed by the sea. It is only possible to draw its basic outlines according to the cuts in the rock and the meager remains of walls. Since the area east of the building is 3–4 m. above the level of its ground floor, it was thus necessary first to descend to this level. Once a visitor passed through the doorway to this stairwell, they could either descend to the ground floor or ascend to the second floor. During a later stage the stairwell was eliminated and relocated further west. At the same time some of the stairs were dismantled and a limestone floor was laid on top of a fill. This renovation of the palace is that dated by an assemblage of fine ceramics, exposed under this limestone floor, to the decades prior to 70 C.E.

There is no doubt that the palace was meticulously planned and that symmetry was one of the principles of its design (figs. 4–6). From the remains cut and built into the promontory, one can determine with great certainty the outlines of the building even on the poorly preserved north, west, and south sides, enclosing a rectangle whose dimensions were about 83 m. long and 51 m. wide. Evidently the outer walls were extremely thick in order to withstand the force of the waves and were built using the same technology employed in the construction of the harbor. The outer walls on the building's second floor were no doubt much thinner.

This symmetrical building was set on a rocky promontory of irregular formation, and two projections jutting out from the basic rectangle respond to the site. The one

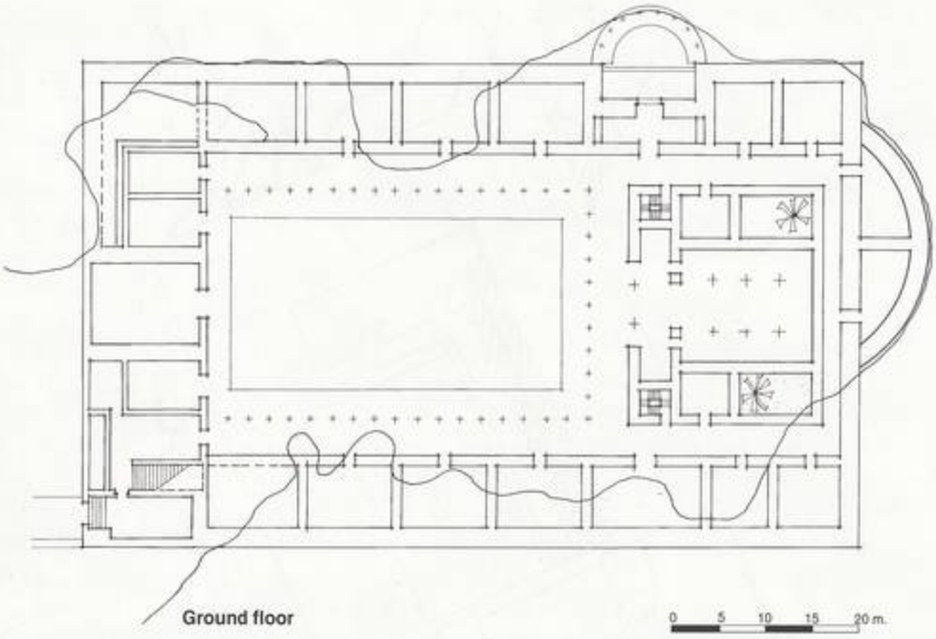

Figure 4. Reconstructed plan of the Promontory Palace, ground floor. West to right. All drawings and plans are by the author

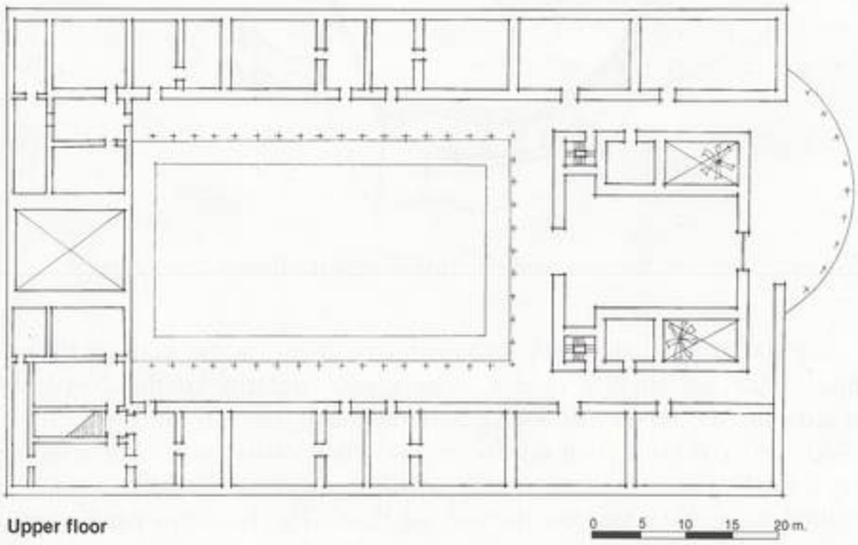

Figure 5. Reconstructed plan of the Promontory Palace, upper floor

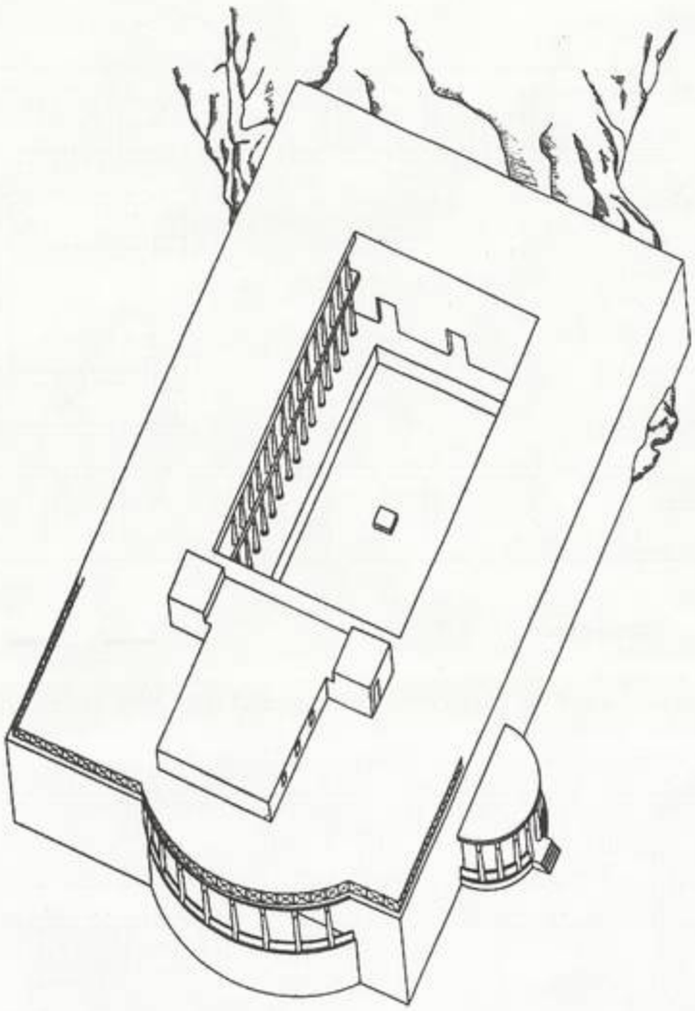

Figure 6. Reconstructed isometric view of the Promontory Palace

on the west was semicircular with a diameter of 26 m., while that on the south was also semicircular but smaller in size. The great similarity to the North Palace at Masada calls for the reconstruction of a semicircular balcony on the west. This balcony could not have been open on the ground floor, owing to the force of the waves; however, a solid wall at sea level would permit the construction of a semicircular balcony defined by a colonnade on the second floor. The southern projection can perhaps be associated with an entrance into the palace from boats. The estimated size of this Herodian palace was thus some 4,400 m.^{2} with the projecting semicircles. If the

second story is included, a figure upwards of 8,000 m.^{2} can be projected.

All indications from the archaeological investigations suggest that the palace, as constructed by Herod, was limited initially to the lower promontory and was eventually connected to the theater and hippodrome by gardens and walks. The University of Pennsylvania Excavations have revealed a courtyard and reception complex on the upper promontory that are currently dated primarily to the Roman and Byzantine periods, although an early phase may be represented here (the reception room with stone hypocaust).

The quality and merits of this unusual building led to its continued use, evidently as the seat of the Roman procurators and governors, for hundreds of years, an assumption corroborated by the exposure of a pair of columns in 1990[13] (see the chapter by Barbara Burrell in this volume).

Appendix 1

The Drusion Tower at Caesarea, One of the Multistory Towers Devised and Built by King Herod

The study of Herodium has led to the identification, among Herod's building projects, of an unusual group of structures with a common denominator, which have been termed "multistory towers." The following four towers can be assigned securely to this group: the three towers in Jerusalem (named Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamne) and the round eastern tower at Herodium (fig. 7). Clear archaeological data also is available for the Phasael tower and the eastern tower at Herodium; the detailed literary description of the three towers in Jerusalem provided by Josephus served as the basis for the study and definition of this group. The northeastern tower of the Antonia fortress towers in Jerusalem and Drusion tower at Caesarea (irrespective of whether or not it also served as a lighthouse) also can be added to this list. This group of towers has several common features which were first defined by the present author during his study of Herodium.[14]

None of these towers stood on its own. All of them were integrally incorporated either within a definite structure (Herodium and the Antonia) or within fortifications, as was the case in Jerusalem and probably also at Caesarea where, according to Josephus' description, the port was surrounded by a wall. The presence of palatial chambers in these towers becomes evident both from the literature (with regard to Jerusalem) and from the analysis of the finds in the field (with regard to Herodium). In the latter case, the royal chambers at the top of the eastern tower solved the problem of the lack of a view from the inner palace and the shifting climatic conditions

[13] See B. Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns from Caesarea Maritima," *ZPE* 99 (1993), 287–95.
[14] Netzer, *Greater Herodium*, 79–84.

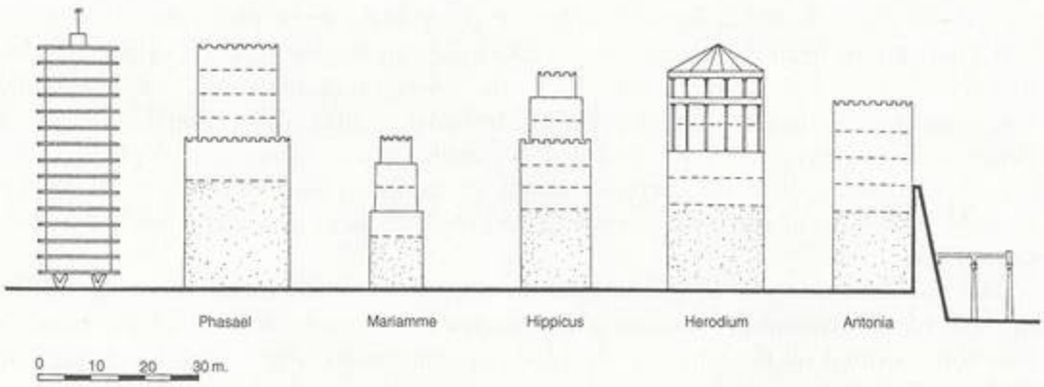

Figure 7. Schematic sections of various multistory towers built by Herod compared with a modern multistory building. The dotted parts were solid. After Netzer, *Greater Herodium*, 82

within it, particularly during the hottest hours of the day. It should be mentioned that the existence of a water cistern on the round tower at Herodium and the reference to a cistern on the Hippicus tower in Jerusalem, together with the reference to bathrooms in Jerusalem, were of great help in grouping together these towers and arriving at the conclusion that all of them contained royal chambers. Tentative royal chambers could also have existed in the southeastern tower of the Antonia, here too solving problems of view and climate for those residing in this palatial fortress. In view of this, it seems that the Drusion tower at Caesarea, if it indeed also belonged to the series of multistory towers, could also have contained royal chambers. Ports can generally be regarded as noisy and rough places, but no one disputes the fact that Sebastos, the port of Caesarea, was rightly a source of great pride and pleasure for the builder-king.

Appendix 2

The Hippodrome at Jericho

Nowadays it seems improper to deal with entertainment and sports structures built by Herod the Great at Caesarea without a parallel discussion of the structure studied by the present author in Jericho in 1975–76,[15] which was termed "the hippodrome," as well as Josephus' reference to entertainment and sports structures in the City of Palms in connection with the last days of Herod.

The site of the hippodrome in Jericho was known to scholars as Tell es Samrat, a tell whose southern slope has the form of a theater's cavea (fig. 8). It was first studied

[15] E. Netzer, "The Hippodrome That Herod Built at Jericho" [Hebrew], *Qadmoniot* 13 (1980), 104–7.

Figure 8. General view of Tell es Samrat, facing northwest. Note the numerous soundings sunk during the 1975 and 1976 seasons. Photograph by Z. Radovan

by Charles Warren in 1868 as part of a series of trial excavations he conducted on nine tells in the Jericho Plain, following which he mentioned Tell es Samrat as being of no interest.[16]

Following a new study of Tell es Samrat, and the area to its south (fig. 9), by the present author in 1975–76, it was possible to define the following three units comprising a single architectural complex (figs. 10, 11): (1) a racecourse measuring ca. 315 x 82 m.; (2.) a cavea of a theater; and (3) a structure measuring 70 x 70 m. on top of a built podium ten or more meters in height, which is adjacent to the cavea on its rear side.

To the best of my knowledge, the structure studied is in accord with historical events described by Josephus which took place in Jericho: (a) he mentions a theater in which Herod assembled the youths brought from Jerusalem after they had been found responsible for the removal of a golden eagle that was fixed above one of the Temple's doorways; being unable to stand on account of his illness, Herod delivered his severe

[16] C. Warren, *Underground Jerusalem* (London, 1876), 530–31.

Figure 9. A view of the racecourse, facing south, photographed from the top of Tell es Samrat. Photograph by Z. Radovan

reprimand while lying on a couch on the stage (*AJ* 17.161);[17] (b) he mentions a hippodrome in which Herod assembled many dignitaries who were to be executed the moment he died (*BJ* 1.659; *AJ* 17.175);[18] (c) he mentions an amphitheater in which the army and Herod's heirs were assembled immediately after the king's death; his will, which had previously been the cause of so many problems and tragedies, was now read out and the army swore allegiance to the new rulers (*BJ* 1.666; *AJ* 17.194).

To date we have no knowledge of any other structure in Jericho, from any period, that could have been used for one (or more) of the following functions: a theater, an amphitheater, or a hippodrome. The racecourse to the south of Tell es Samrat, on the side bordering on the cavea-shaped structure (as indicated by the excavations), is ca. 82 m. wide and ca. 315 m. long! It was suitable for both horse and chariot races and track-and-field events. Its proximity to the cavea (in front of which, we assume, stood

[17] Although in some of the translations it is called "amphitheater," Benedict Niese translated it as "theater."

[18] In the latter source he calls it "the so-called hippodrome."

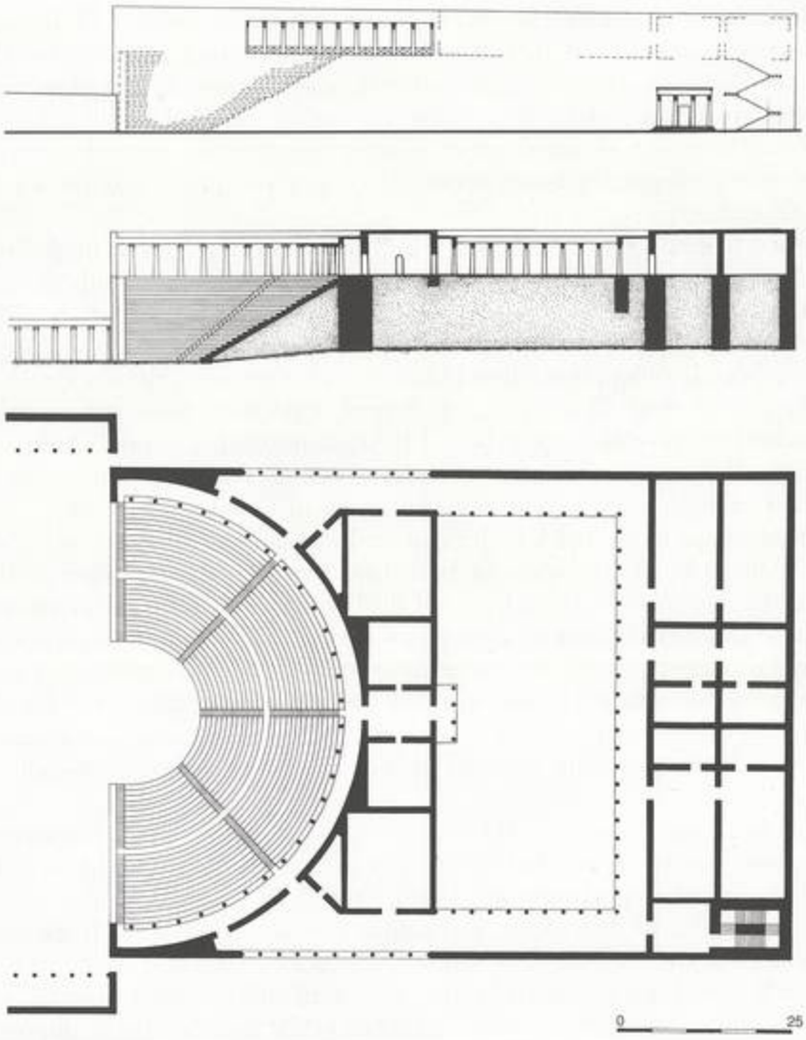

Figure 10. Restored plan, section, and eastern elevation of the original Herodian building whose remains comprise Tell es Samrat

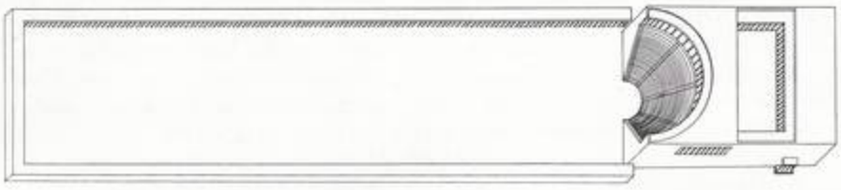

Figure 11. Restored isometric view of the Herodian complex which existed in the area of Tell es Samrat. Drawing by E. Netzer

a stage that could be dismantled when necessary) also made possible the holding of all the other activities mentioned in connection with the games founded by Herod in Jerusalem and Caesarea (aside from combat with wild animals). It should be mentioned that even though the racecourse in Jericho was not surrounded on all sides by tiered benches, it was necessary to invest great effort in leveling the ground surface and in constructing an encompassing fence in order to create conditions suitable for races on such a grand scale.

The elevated building (figs. 10, 11), on top of the artificial platform, might have been used either as a reception edifice or, alternatively, as a gymnasium with (tentatively) a large peristyled courtyard in its center.[19] It might also have been used as a multipurpose-building for the above two functions as well as other ones.

The unique, outstanding connection between a racecourse, a theater's cavea, and a huge building measuring 70 x 70 m., on top of a podium, leads me to regard this structure as multipurpose one. Elsewhere I have mentioned it as one of the structures characterizing Herod's tendency to combine several functions under one roof.[20] Another good example of this trend is to be found in Greater Herodium.

The similar shapes of the track in Jericho and the stadium exposed in the 1930s in Samaria-Sebaste (a broad rectangle in both cases) call for the inclusion of the latter structure in this discussion.[21] Here I do not deal with the possible additional functions of the stadium in Samaria, but in view of its shape and to some extent also the few finds at Jericho, I propose that the racecourse in Jericho be reconstructed as flanked on three sides by colonnades. In any event, I find no better explanation for the racecourse in Jericho other than a track intended primarily for horse and chariot races, irrespective of whether Josephus referred to it as a hippodrome or a "so-called hippodrome" (see above).

There should be no doubt that the structure recently exposed at Caesarea by the Israel Antiquities Authority was built primarily as a hippodrome, even though it was also intended for other purposes. Its length, which is presently unknown, can be assumed to be similar to that of the racecourse revealed in Jericho. If we also make the assumption that the number of benches in a structure intended for horse and chariot races would have been greater then that in a structure intended from the outset to serve as a stadium – for example, twelve benches in the former case as opposed to six in a hypothetical structure of the size of the stadium at Samaria – the engineering effort required to construct a hippodrome equal in length to the one in Jericho and

[19] Moreover, a structure in this setup also answers a question that needed to be posed. Why was the hippodrome structure selected for the detention of notables from all parts of the country, who were probably not apprehensive since they were unaware of the bitter fate that had been ordained for them? In my opinion, not only was this structure, rising above a podium more than 10 m. high, a most suitable place for their safe internment, but according to the evidence we found, its splendor made it a fitting location for the sojourn of these dignitaries even under conditions of detention.

[20] See Netzer, "Herod's Building Projects," 48–61, 73–80.

[21] See J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, and E. L. Sukenik, *Samaria-Sebaste*, vol. 1, *The Buildings at Samaria* (London, 1942), 41–50.

with a width equal to that in Caesarea was, according to preliminary calculations, six or seven times greater than that required for the building of the hypothetical stadium. (If we consider the volume of construction required in these cases, the ratio is ca. 1,200 $m.^3$ for a stadium versus ca. 8,000 $m.^3$ for a hippodrome.) The main building effort was thus focused on horse and chariot races, even though the racecourse was also used for other events. The magnificent installation at Caesarea, therefore, should be simply termed a "hippodrome," even though other activities took place there. In any event, in Caesarea, in contrast to Jericho, there was also a theater, and some of the activities mentioned by Josephus in connection with the games established by Herod there in honor of the emperor (such as wrestling, gymnastic exercises, and musical performances) were evidently held in this structure, while in Jericho, as mentioned above, all such activities took place in one installation (a multipurpose entertainment building of some sort)[22] and were all viewed from the same benches.

[22] See the chapter by John Humphrey in this volume, and Y. Porath, "Herod's 'Amphitheatre' at Caesarea, a Multi-purpose Entertainment Building," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 15–27.

13

Ruler and Spectacle: The Promontory Palace

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Herod built his palace at Caesarea during an innovative period in the development of palace complexes in the Mediterranean world.[1] In fact, the very word palace, from *palatium,* began its development in Rome at this time, with Augustus' construction of his *domus* on the Palatine Hill overlooking the Tiber River and Circus Maximus. This chapter examines architectural developments in Rome as they might bear upon the urban questions of the southwest area of Caesarea Maritima: a palatial complex integrated with a theater and "amphitheater" (stadium/hippodrome).[2] It assumes that the association between Augustus, Marcus Agrippa, and Herod, spanning more than a quarter century, included active discussion of their common and continuing interest in the adaptation of eastern and western Mediterranean architectural forms to address issues of political power and, later, legacy. Herod's buildings served as important tools in his continual negotiations for independent rule of Judaea, which he maintained despite and because of his status as a client king of the Roman Empire. His ideas and built works may well have influenced developments in Rome during his lifetime and after.[3] Within this architectural dialogue, the interplay of the royal residence and the places of public spectacle is particularly significant because it represents the relation-

[1] The author would like to thank the University of Pennsylvania for its support of the Promontory Palace excavations, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Graduate School of Fine Arts, with additional support from the University Research Foundation, the J. M. Kaplan Fund, the University of Cincinnati, and private contributors. Since 1992, we have been participants in the Caesarea Development Project, whose support has been essential to the rescue excavations on the upper promontory. No single source, however, matches the contributions of our volunteers. I am grateful to my colleagues Barbara Burrell, Ehud Netzer, and Kenneth G. Holum for their collaboration and assistance with this study.

All translations of ancient texts are from the Loeb Classical Library editions.

[2] In addition to chapters in this volume, see B. Burrell, K. Gleason, and E. Netzer, "Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19.3 (1993), 50–57, 76; and Levine and Netzer, *Excavations.* On the theater, see Frova, *Scavi;* and on the "amphitheater" Y. Porath, "Herod's 'Amphitheatre' at Caesarea, a Multi-purpose Entertainment Building," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research,* ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA,* suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 15–27.

[3] W. L. MacDonald, "Hadrian's Circles," in *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown.(1908–1988),* ed. R. T. Scott and A. R. Scott, Studies in the History of Art 43 (Washington, D.C., 1993), 395–408.

ship of the ruler to his subjects as their benefactor, but also as an individual whose hegemony can be at their pleasure.

This study considers the monuments Herod would have seen while visiting Rome. His two visits took place in very different periods of Rome's urban history. During the first visit in 40 B.C.E., Herod was handed his kingship at thirty-three years of age, with the support of Mark Antony and Octavian (then twenty-three; his friend Marcus Agrippa was the same age, and in Rome as *praetor urbanus*). Pompey and Julius Caesar had earlier employed architecture to give substance and expression to their individual struggles to establish new regimes. Their works drew on the models of Pergamon, Alexandria, and other eastern Mediterranean provinces, as well as more familiar Italic forms.[4] Octavian was completing the unfinished works of Julius Caesar. Herod's visit to Rome took place some eighteen years before the founding of Caesarea; nevertheless, Herod made no other visit to Rome before planning his new city, and this first trip should have provided a basis for its initial planning,[5] augmented by discussion and correspondence with courts at Rome during the interim. The second visit, in 17 B.C.E., took place long after the Battle of Actium, when Augustus, now securely in power, had turned from eastern forms to reflect upon how Republican ideals would characterize, even immortalize, his reign and its architecture. It was the year of the long-planned Secular Games, an event that brought the themes and buildings of his reign as *princeps* together. Perhaps this great festival also inspired Herod to consider the legacy of his city, then some five years under construction.

Both visits, and meetings with Augustus and Agrippa in between, took place amidst innovative new developments in the relationship of the *domus* to entertainment complexes in Rome. Particularly instructive are the Theater, Portico, and Domus of Pompey the Great, a complex seen by Herod in its original form during his first visit and after Augustus' restorations during his second; and the Domus Augusti above the Circus Maximus, which was not as yet conceived during Herod's first visit, but was fully evolved by the time of his second one. The design principles underlying these two building complexes, each of which integrates a royal residence with public buildings, illuminates the planning and design of Herod's *basileia* at Caesarea.

Description of the Palace and Southwest Area of Caesarea

Herod constructed three major monuments in the southern part of Caesarea, according to Josephus (*AJ* 15.331, 341; *BJ* 1.408, 415): the palace, the theater, and the

[4] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 13.35 complains that Caesar had summoned a Greek architect to enlarge Rome; cf. J. B. Ward Perkins, *Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1978), 214–15.

[5] In fact, Herod is not known to have built any new structure at this point in his political career, and it may be that seeing Alexandria, Rhodes, and then Rome with a clear view to establishing his kingship marked this trip as a seminal one, architecturally as well as politically. Joseph. *AJ* 14.375, 15.1; *BJ* 1.277–88.

Figure 1. Aerial photograph of the palace in relationship to the theater and the "amphitheater." Photograph by OFEK, Ltd.

"amphitheater" (stadium/hippodrome). These are all now known archaeologically, although there is much to be learned about their urban context and the connection between the buildings. The "amphitheater" runs north-south along the coast. The palace, to the west and perpendicular to it, was built on two levels of the rocky promontory (figs. 1, 2). The main palace structure (discussed in this volume by Ehud Netzer) was built out on the lower promontory at sea level. The upper promontory

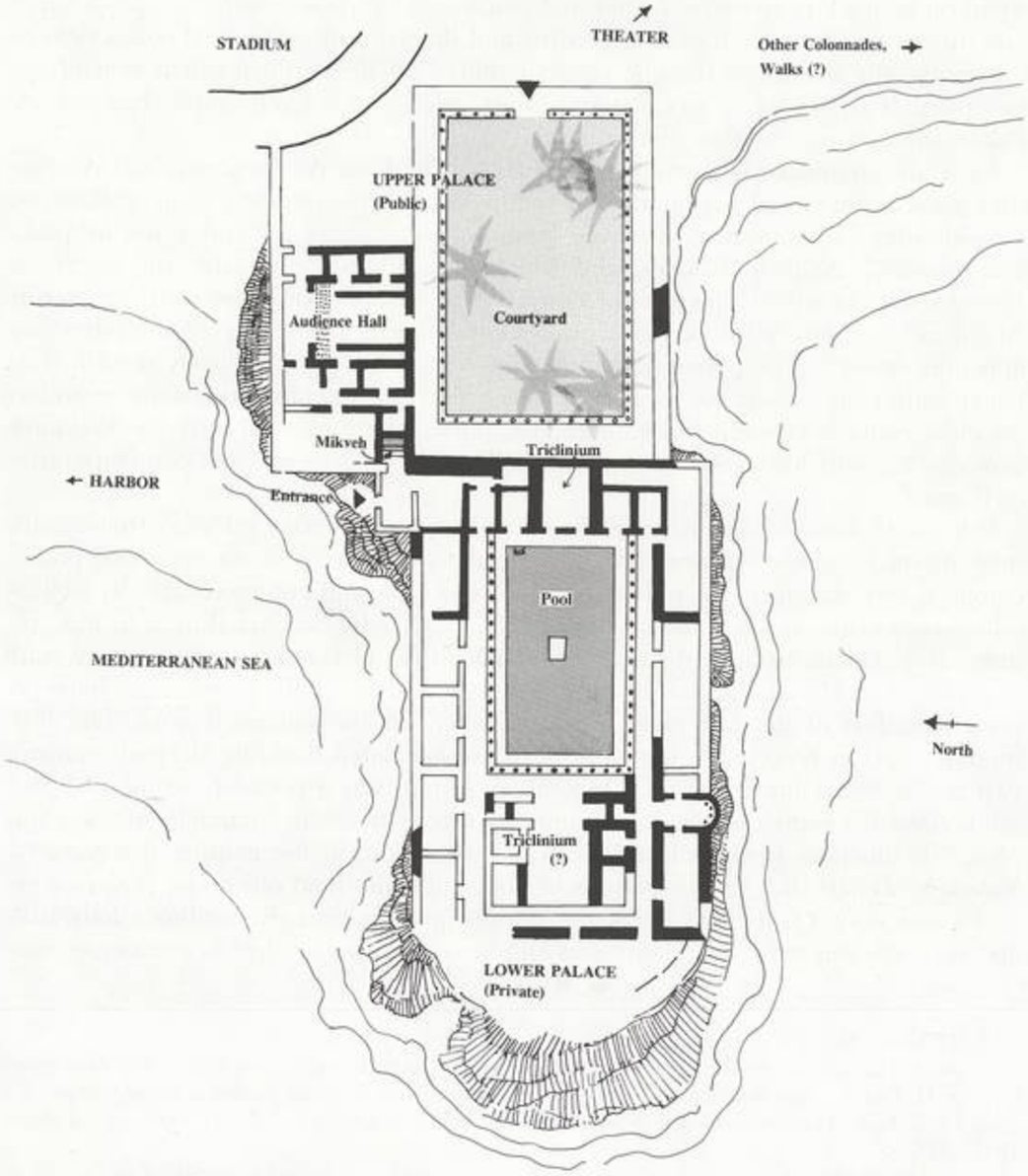

Figure 2. Promontory Palace, late first century B.C.E. Plan by H. Williams and K. Gleason

stood on bedrock nearly 6 m. higher and connected the palace to the "amphitheater" and theater, probably by means of gardens and shaded walks. The final component of the group, the theater, is the one element shifted off the cardinal orientation of the city plan. It is skewed to face the northwest, taking both levels of the Promontory Palace squarely into its view (fig. 1).

Such an assemblage is common in the Hellenistic East. At Pergamon and Alexandria, palaces are virtual neighborhoods in which public monuments, temples, theaters, hippodromes, amphitheaters, libraries, *heroa*, and sanctuaries are connected by parks and gardens.[6] Antioch, Rhodes, and Mytilene may also be notable influences, as Herod spent considerable periods of time in these cities, on occasion with Agrippa or Augustus, and donated buildings to these cities during the course of his reign (see appendix below).[7] The public monuments of Alexandria are specifically described as being within the *basileia*, an expanded palace district.[8] Josephus frequently mentions the close contacts between Judaea and Alexandria, whose physical setting would have provided a model for Caesarea, as it did for Herod's predecessors and contemporaries in Rome.[9]

It is worth considering the possibility that Josephus' primary reference to Herod's magnificent *basileia* at Caesarea (*BJ* 1.409) may similarly refer to an expanded palace complex, one that included public places of spectacle and entertainment, as well as other monuments as yet undiscovered (see the chapter by Barbara Burrell in this volume). It is difficult to draw the lines of such a district at Caesarea in its current state of archaeological investigation, but it is noteworthy that no other residences have yet been identified in the first phase of development in the southwest area. The Promontory Palace, however, is not to be seen as an isolated domestic element amidst a vast public entertainment district, but rather it, too, was a public building, one that symbolized the source of the munificence shown in the other buildings of the complex.[10] It functioned primarily as a place of reception, in the manner described by Vitruvius (*De arch.* 6.5.2): "for persons of high rank who hold office and magistracies, and whose duty it is to serve the state, we must provide princely vestibules, lofty halls and very spacious peristyles, plantations and broad avenues finished in a majestic man-

[6] I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces* (Aarhus, 1994) is particularly useful here.

[7] See Strabo 15.7.19 for the palace and hippodrome at Antioch; on theaters joined to palace quarters, see H. Lauter, "Les éléments de la REGIA hellénistique," in *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome*, ed. E. Lévy, Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiques 9 (Leiden, 1987), 354–55.

[8] Strabo (17.1.8) notes that the palatial district encompassed one-quarter to one-third of the city in his day and (17.1.9) refers to the *basileion* on the promontory Lochias.

[9] F. Castagnoli, "Influenze alessandrine nell'urbanistica della Roma Augustea," in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore di A. Adriani*, ed. N. Bonacasa and A. di Vita (Rome, 1984), 520–26.

[10] F. Coarelli, "Architettura sacra e architettura privata nella tarda repubblica," in *Architecture et société de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 66 (Rome, 1983), 191–217.

ner . . . because in such palaces, public deliberations and private trials and judgements are often transacted."[11]

Herod's First Visit to Rome

During Herod's visit to Rome in 40 B.C.E., the ruling families did not live in palaces: the *regia* was a cult place, and the political climate and lingering Republican tradition made the construction of expensive residences a sign of the misuse of power. Julius Caesar had been the only ruler to push the boundaries of this definition by living in the *domus publica*, as both dictator and *pontifex maximus*.[12] That said, generals since Scipio Aemilianus (125 B.C.E.), returning from campaigns in the eastern Mediterranean with great wealth, booty, and taste for luxuries seen abroad, had built ornate villas around the edges of Rome to display the fruits of their victories. Called *horti*, these verdant residences, influenced by the *basileia* of Alexandria and the *paradeisoi* of Hellenistic monarchs, boasted lushly planted gardens and parks with exotic plantings, promenades, water features, and various entertainment buildings.[13] By the late first century B.C.E., Augustus' adviser, Maecenas, had to move a cemetery to make room for his *horti* on the Esquiline (Horace *Sat.* 1.8.7).[14]

The *horti* of the Campus Martius may have been of particular interest to Herod, for here, on lands traditionally used for athletics and public gatherings, Pompey the Great, and later Mark Antony and Agrippa, owned properties that they developed to negotiate their assumption of power with the people of Rome. Herod, arriving in Rome to receive his kingship, would have seen the first of these combined residence/public entertainment complexes: Pompey's visibly modest *domus* beside his grand, luxurious public theater complex in the Campus Martius (fig. 3).[15] This region of the city was

[11] Nielsen (*Hellenistic Palaces*, 209) emphasizes that the prime purpose of the palace in newly established Hellenistic dynasties was "to emphasize the omnipresence and omnipotence of the king. The task of the architect was to . . . express the king's visibility and accessibility to his subjects and his isolation from and superiority to them."

[12] See above; the *pontifex maximus* probably lived in the *domus publica* (attached to the Atrium Vestae) and "worked" in the *regia*. See T. P. Wiseman, "*Conspicui postes tectaque digna deo:* The Public Image of Aristocratic and Imperial Houses in the Late Republic and Early Empire," in *L'Urbs: Espace urbain et histoire* (Rome, 1987), 398–409, esp. 396.

[13] For example, the Horti Sallustiani included a hippodrome, nymphaeum, 3 *piscinae*, a cryptoporticus, baths, and a tribunal; the Horti Luculliani featured dining rooms, and libraries open to the public. See E. La Rocca, "Il lusso come espressione di potere," in *Tranquille dimore degli dei*, ed. M. Cina and E. LaRocca (Venice, 1986), 3–35; also L. Richardson, Jr., *A Topographic Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore, 1992).

[14] Maecenas' *horti* are of particular interest in this regard, as the Promontory Palace, too, was built on the thoroughly cleared and sealed remains of an earlier cemetery of uncertain, but probably non-Jewish, origin.

[15] Although Herod stayed only a week, he seems to have spent much of that time with Mark Antony, who held office in the Porticus Minucia Vetus, adjacent to the Porticus of Pompey, and lived in Pompey's

in the exciting process of transformation from an open floodplain with architecturally unstructured uses – voting areas, military assembly points, temples and cult places, tombs, race tracks, and athletic grounds – to an area formally structured into building complexes and gardens connected by shady porticoes.[16] In the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., the Campus Martius would serve as the ground upon which Marcus Agrippa and Augustus explored and developed an integration of the public, the dynastic, and the spectacular. On this first visit, however, Herod saw only the works of Pompey the Great and Julius Caesar. The Opera Pompeiana were fully constructed: a popular and beautiful arrangement of a theater, temples, porticoes, groves, a senate house, shops, statuary, art galleries, fountains, and gardens – and Pompey's own house.[17] With further plans for the development of the Campus Martius in the works and new buildings under construction, it may have appeared at that time as though a new Alexandria was emerging on the floodplain of the Tiber.

The Opera Pompeiana

The general Gnaeus Pompeius' political ambitions led him to create, on the grounds of his own *horti,* not simply a permanent theater and quadriporticus open to the public, but a complex that appears to be a new forum for the city, designed around the theme of Pompey's protectress in his eastern campaigns, Venus Victrix (fig. 4).[18] Immediately next to it, perhaps on the south flank, Pompey built a *domus* that appeared to those arriving from the Circus Flaminius like a small boat tied to a great ship (Plutarch *Pomp.* 40.5). The house was modest, to avoid censure,[19] but its placement next to his *monumentum* was a radical move that did not go unnoticed. To the north lay extensive porticoes and, at the time of Herod's visit, the *horti* of Agrippa beyond. To the south lay what, on the Severan plan, appear to be markets (Velleius Paterculus 2.48).

Domus Carinae, a likely venue for the celebratory banquet given in Herod's honor (Cicero *De nat. deorum* 2.4.11; Joseph. *BJ* 1.285).

[16] R. Lanciani, "Porticoes: A Characteristic Roman Institution," in *Ancient and Modern Rome* (Boston, 1925), 69–82.

[17] K. Gleason, "Porticus Pompeiana: A New Perspective on the First Public Park of Ancient Rome," *Journal of Garden History* 14.1 (1994), 13–27; eadem, "The Garden Portico of Pompey the Great," *Expedition* 32.2 (1990), 4–13.

[18] The remains are known primarily from the Severan marble plan of Rome (see below), confirmed by the remarkable correspondence between the plan and aerial photos and building plans of the medieval neighborhood that now covers it. A. M. Caproferra Cencetti, "Variazioni nel Tempo dell'identità funzionale di un monumento: Il Teatro di Pompeo," *Rivista di archeologia* 3 (1979), 72–85; P. A. Gianfrotta et al., "Scavo nell'Area del Teatro Argentina 1968–69," *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologia Communale di Roma* 81 (1969), 25–36.

[19] " . . . but even [this house] was not large enough to excite envy, so that when he who succeeded Pompey as its owner entered it, he was amazed and inquired where Pompey the Great used to sup" (Plut. *Pomp.* 40.5).

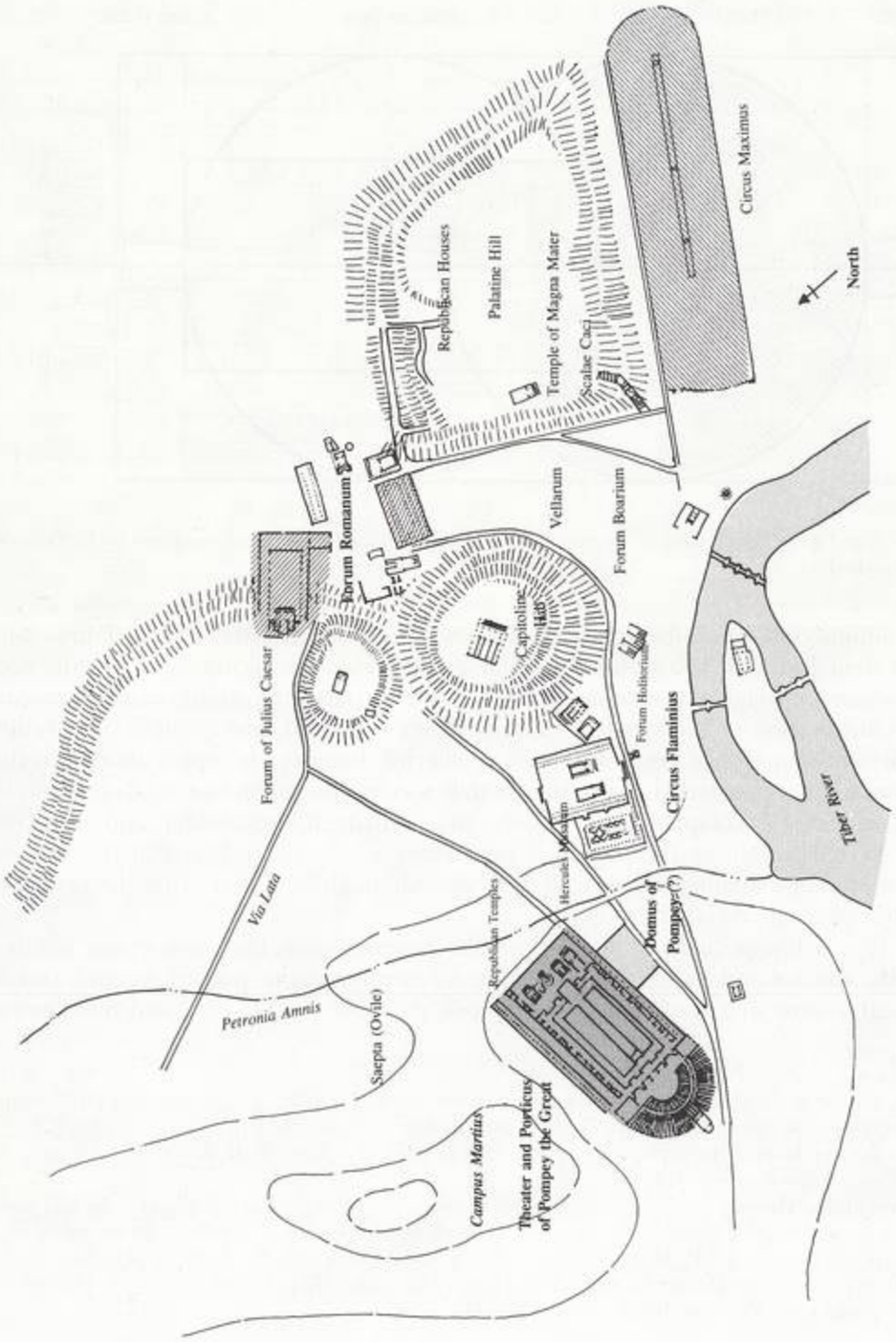

Figure 3. Rome in 40 B.C.E. Plan by K. Gleason

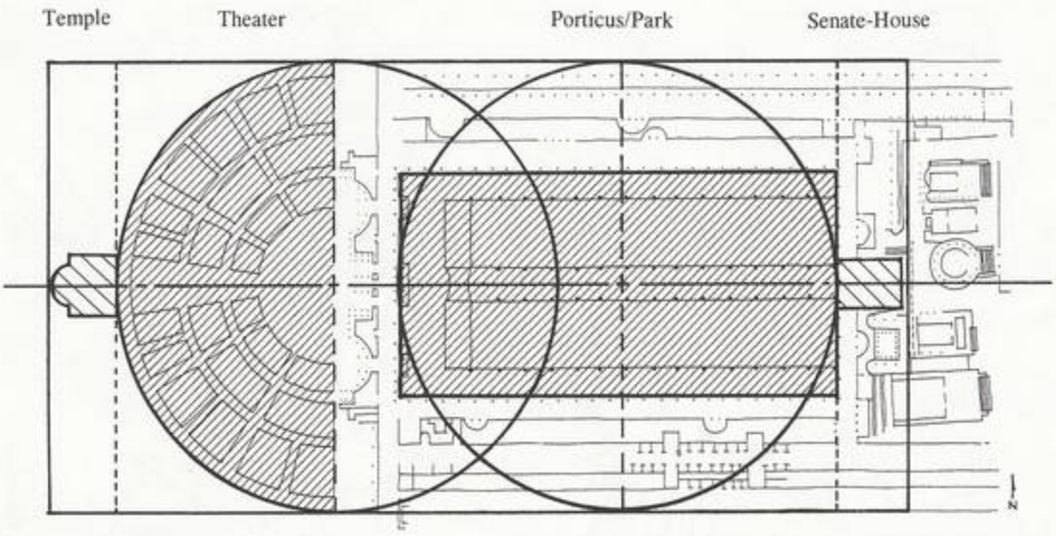

Figure 4. The Opera Pompeiana: (a) Severan plan fragments, (b) geometric analysis. Plans by K. Gleason and L. Cockerham

Preliminary study of the surviving evidence suggests that the Opera Pompeiana were designed around two principles: clear geometry and proportions; and sequences of movement through the complex that juxtaposed particular architectural elements and ornamentation to the viewer.[20] The complex is unified into a single large building, entered at points of controlled access, offering Pompey the opportunity to offer entertainments without risking the unrest that seemed to haunt him in Rome.[21] The themes of victory, conquest, and empire that ornament the theater and porticoes appear staged to delight the public as beneficiary of the conquests with the aim, in doing so, of consolidating support for his rule. Although he failed in the latter objective, the public appreciated the gift.[22]

The Opera Pompeiana, as depicted on the Severan plan, have two major components: the theater and the *porticus*, enclosing a central grove or park.[23] At each end of the broad avenue that marked the central axis, the curia (on the east) and the Temple

[20] Gleason, "A New Perspective," 18–20.

[21] On the use of the theater to counter political unrest, see E. Frézouls, "La construction du theatrum lapideum et son contexte politique," in *Théâtre et spectacles dans l'Antiquité* (Leiden, 1984), 193–214; P. Gros, "La fonction symbolique des édifices théâtraux dans le paysage urbain de la Rome augustéenne," in *L'Urbs: Espace urbain et histoire*, 319–46.

[22] "Would that Pompey had died two years before the outbreak of the Civil Wars, after he had completed his theater and the other public works with which he surrounded it!" (Velleius Paterculus 2.48).

[23] Vitruvius *De arch.* 5.9.1; Martial 11.47.3; Propertius 2.32.20. On the Severan plan, see G. G. Carettoni et al., *La Pianta Marmorea di Roma Antica: Forma Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1960), 103–6; E. Rodríguez-Almeida, *Forma Urbis Marmorea* (Rome, 1981), 130–34.

of Venus Victrix (on the west) faced each other. This layout sets up a visual correspondence between the senate house, which held Pompey's statue, and the temple, which presumably held the statue of Venus Victrix. As protectress of Pompey, as well as of gardens, she faces back across the grove at the curia. To circumvent the senatorial ban on permanent theaters, Pompey claimed his theater was simply a flight of steps to the Temple of Venus Victrix (Tertullian, *De spect.* 10), which in fact they appear to be in visual perspective from the senate house (fig. 5).[24] This may also be seen as an attempt to surpass the temple complex at Praeneste by using the compressive quality of perspective to suggest a temple atop a steep hill – quite an achievement on the flat Campus Martius.

The Influences of Herod's First Visit to Rome on the Later Planning of Caesarea

The lessons drawn from Herod's own visits to Hellenistic cities, as well as his observation of the Roman interpretation of them in the Campus Martius, suggest that, from the outset, the initial plan for Caesarea called for a broad, urban vision of a palace, governed by the Hellenistic geometries of planning, in which the residence stood in appropriate and visually significant relationship to spectacles sponsored there.

In Herod's architecture at Caesarea, three aspects seem to draw as much from Roman example as from the Hellenistic East, due in particular to the need to confront political instability in Rome as in Judaea.

First, Herod encountered the traditional Republican notion that public monuments are an appropriate expenditure of wealth, while luxurious private residences (e.g., *horti*) are not, which seems to have had the effect of making the placement of the *domus* of the ruler a particularly potent political statement to the populace. This situation initially existed for Herod as well, as it had not affected his Hasmonaean predecessors. Herod, like his contemporaries in Rome, sought to find a balance that would express *dignitas* suitable to his rule, while maintaining political stability in a conservative climate. At Caesarea, Herod would build with fewer constraints, but only after decades of developing his architecture in response to political pressures.[25]

Second, Herod incorporated at Caesarea a new form of theater and hippodrome developed in response to the riots and mobs that disrupted Rome and Italy during the Civil Wars. Hellenistic theaters and stadia, with seating set into the hillside and an open arrangement of stage buildings, allowed mobs to gather with no means of con-

[24] Unlike later Roman theaters with their permanent stage buildings, that of Pompey's theater would have been a temporary structure, such as that depicted in the Domus Augusti and wall paintings from Campagna in the first century B.C.E. See R. Beacham, *The Roman Theater and Its Audience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 65–83.

[25] His creative development of towers within his fortresses and palaces may be an example here. See the chapter by Ehud Netzer in this volume.

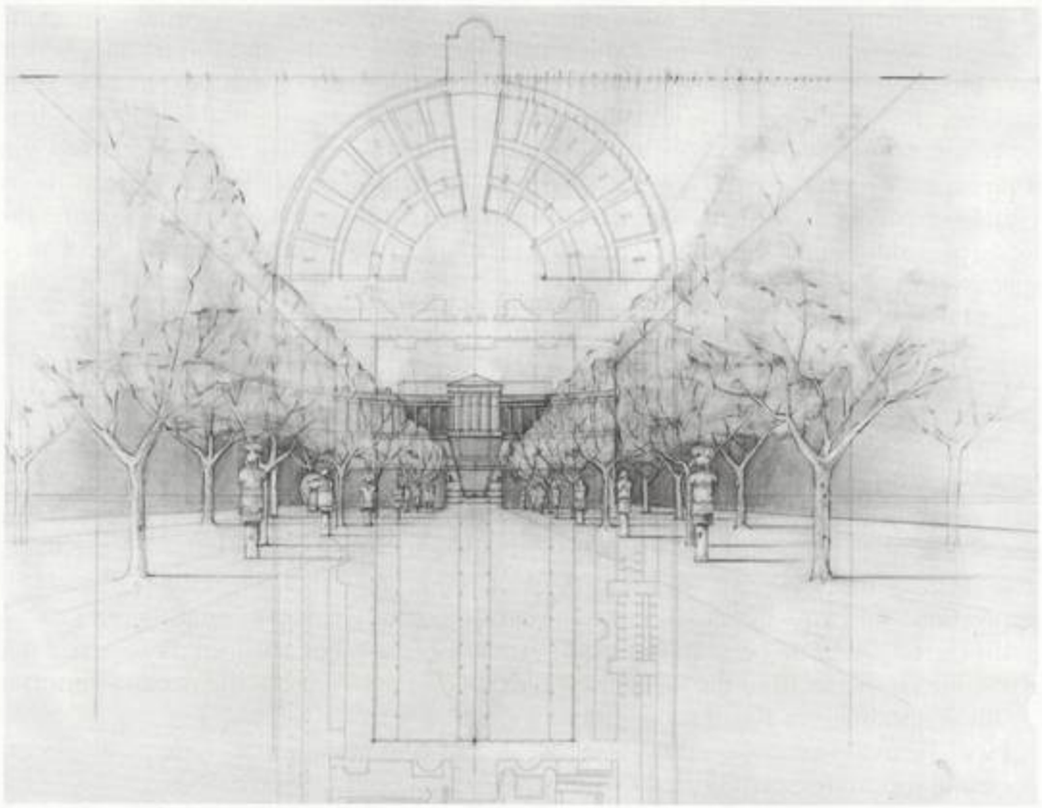

Figure 5. Perspective view of the theater/temple down the central axis of the *porticus* from a point just outside the curia. Drawing by L. Cockerham

trolling them.[26] Pompey, in his theater and porticoes, and Julius Caesar and Augustus in the Forum Iulium and in the renovation of the Circus Maximus employed free-standing structures that allowed the portals to be guarded at ground level. The theater at Caesarea, like those in Rome and Italy, united the cavea and stage structures into a single building that could only be entered at the portals. The post-scaenam area at Caesarea is largely unexcavated, but we might expect here, too, a quadriportico with controlled access points.[27] The first phase of the "amphitheater" also featured raised seating, with access through the portal at the end of the arena and a *vomitorium* for dignitaries beneath the seats.[28] At the palace, Netzer has suggested that the residence on the lower promontory stood alone, and the full quadriportico was only added after

[26] Beacham, *The Roman Theater*, 83.
[27] See Frova, *Scavi*, 173.
[28] Porath, "Herod's 'Amphitheatre,'" 17.

completion of the hippodrome and theater, when the additional reception space and security of a courtyard were needed.[29]

Finally, Rome offered specific design lessons that Herod absorbed from a variety of buildings whether standing, in the planning stage, or under construction. The unified complex designed by Pompey demonstrated how axial planning can emphasize key symbolic relationships to all but the most oblivious visitors. An example of how these principles, augmented by lessons from Herod's second visit to Rome, may have been incorporated into the theater is discussed below.

Herod's Second Visit to Rome

In the same year that Herod began Caesarea, 22 B.C.E., he met with Marcus Agrippa on Mytilene. During the years since Herod's first visit to Rome, Agrippa had undertaken the development of the Campus Martius: the Pantheon, completion of the Saepta Julia, the Basilica of Neptune with its Porticus Argonautarum, the Agrippan baths, as well as reorganizing Rome's water system (fig. 6). Much of this development had taken place on his *horti*, which encompassed the area north and west of the Opera Pompeiana, extending south as far as the Tiber.[30] Agrippa extended the Opera Pompeiana and the Saepta Julia into an orthogonally disposed area of buildings, groves, a lake, canals, and gardens, across the southern area of the Campus Martius. Strabo (5.3.8), writing in 7 B.C.E., describes the setting in detail:

> In fact, Pompey, the Deified Caesar, Augustus, his sons and friends, and wife and sister have outdone all others in their zeal for buildings and in the expense incurred. The Campus Martius contains most of these, and thus, in addition to its natural beauty, it has received still further adornment which present[s] to the eye the appearance of a stage-painting – all this affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from. And near this is [the Campus of Agrippa] with colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theaters, and an amphitheater, and very costly temples . . . giving the impression that they are trying to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory.

It is difficult to imagine that the plans for such an ambitious program did not figure in Agrippa's conversations with Herod on Mytilene.

Herod traveled to Rome to rejoin his sons before returning home some time during the year 17 B.C.E., and it is possible that he was present for the Secular Games. The *ludi* that Augustus planned for this centennial celebration focused, not on the traditional site of the Tarentum alongside the Tiber and the worship of the Capitoline Jupiter, but on the glory of Rome and the accomplishments of Augustus, with Agrippa at his side. The significance of the entire building campaign staged by these two men

[29] Vitruvius (6.5.1) notes that "the common rooms are those in which, though uninvited, people can come by right, such as vestibules, courtyards, peristyles."

[30] Agrippa bequeathed his *horti* to the Roman people on his death (Cass. Dio 54.29.4).

was brought to life in the course of the celebrations, many of which would have taken place in the Campus Martius.[31] Whether or not Herod was able to be present at the ten-day event, it was actively being planned more than two years beforehand – Virgil *Aen.* 6.792–3 mentions it before his death – and must have been nearly as impressive in the planning or in the retelling.[32] Netzer's suggestion that the later years of development at Caesarea were geared toward a festival that would be the culmination of Herod's own architectural works and reign seems very likely in this context (Joseph. *BJ* 15.136–41).

Augustus' major statement about his own relationship to the Roman people is his residence, not a new structure in the Campus Martius, but one amidst the houses of the great Republican families on the Palatine, surrounded by the most ancient public and mythical landscapes of the city. The building and its appointments were visibly modest, but here the overall urban design, not the single building, is of importance: the approach and positioning of the building in its context was ambitious.[33] To achieve the association of his reign with the cults and myths of Rome, Augustus used a design approach that stressed visual sequences rather than a grand orthogonal plan such as that employed on the Campus Martius.

Wiseman has identified two phases to the development in the Palatine residence.[34] In the first, between the thirties and twenties B.C.E., Octavian established the relationship of the *domus* to the Tiber, to the Circus Maximus, and to the legends of Romulus (fig. 6). Also in this period, he established the Temple of Apollo Palatinus. Visitors arrived from the Tiber, passed through the bustling Forum Boarium, up along the area traditionally sacred to Romulus, and climbed the ancient *scalae Caci*, past the Magna Mater temple to the *vestibulum* of Augustus.[35] The path offered a moving series of encounters with significant places rather than a straight, axially planned entry into a monumental complex. The peristyle of Augustus' house looked out over the Circus Maximus and was just barely visible from it. There Augustus had completed the renovations planned by Julius Caesar (Pliny *NH* 8.20–21; *Res gestae Divi Augusti* 19). In sum, he created a complex sequence of associations that, while not geometrically organized in a single architectural complex like Pompey's, nonetheless established the unity of the Palatine palace and Circus Maximus so firmly in Roman perception that later emperors would subsequently formalize it, and produce many reiterations elsewhere.[36]

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[31] Augustus completely renovated the Opera Pompeiana, removing the political themes in favor of a broader celebration of the Empire and peace, and paying respect to Julius Caesar by closing the curia, the place of his assassination, and placing Pompey's statue in the garden. Gleason, "A New Perspective," 25–26.

[32] The schedule of events was engraved on two columns, one marble and the other bronze, placed in the city well beforehand, and, presumably, remaining in place for some while afterward, *CIL* VI 32323-26. I am grateful to Ann Kuttner for this reference.

[33] Wiseman, "The Public Image."

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 402.

[36] This is the phase of the Domus Augusti that must have inspired the temple/palace at Samaria-

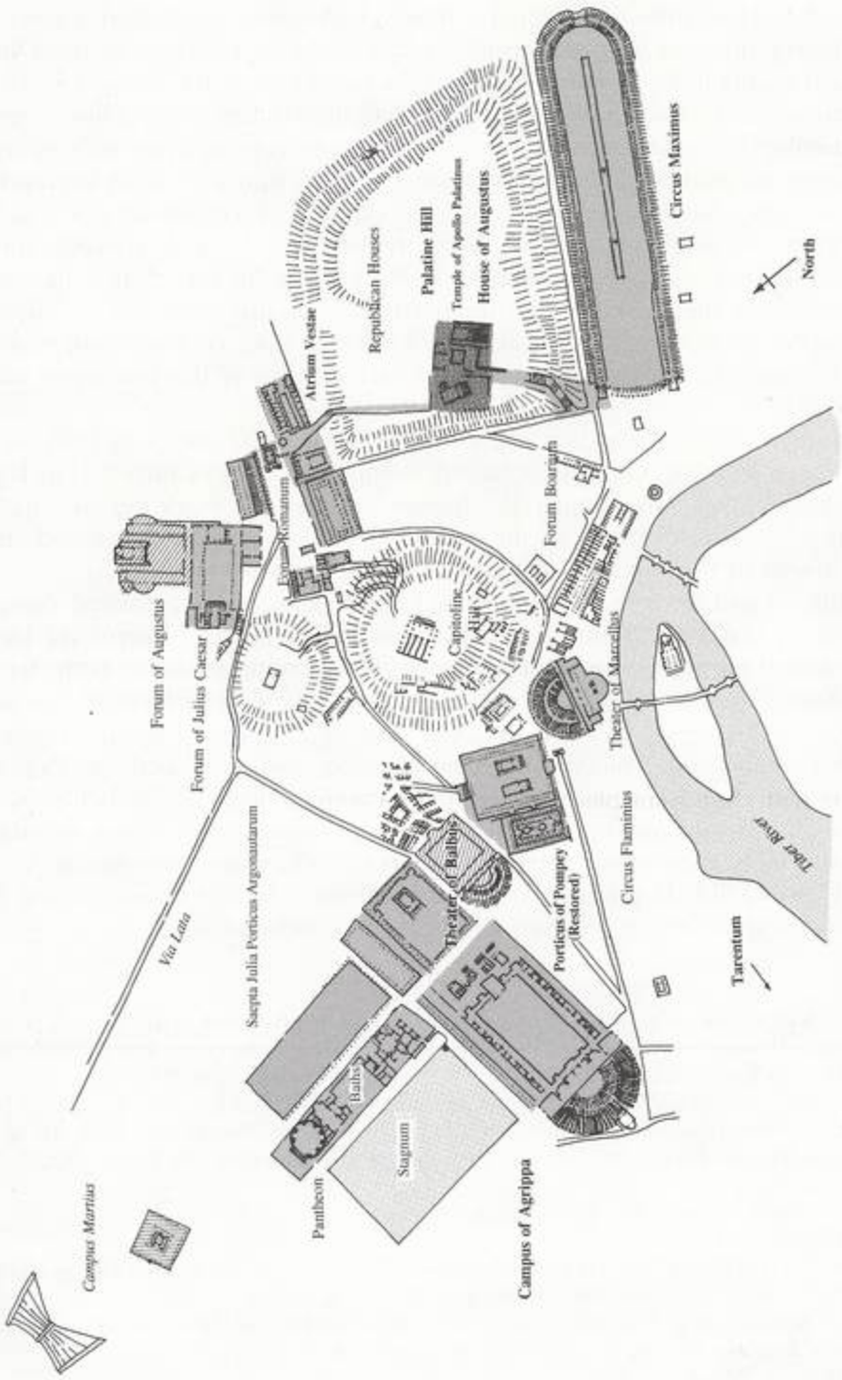

Figure 6. Augustan Rome ca. 10 B.C.E. Drawing by K. Gleason

During the Secular Games of 17 B.C.E., however, Augustus celebrated a new connection to the city, different from that which he had established during the 20s. During these years, his agents had purchased lands on the other side of the *domus*, toward the Forum Romanum and Atrium Vestae, where he had undertaken construction or restoration of a number of dynastic monuments.[37] In this new approach, again, employing a design strategy of sequential associations along a path, rather than an overarching architectural scheme, Augustus avoided any visual dominance, emphasizing a sequence from the Forum, the symbolic heart of Rome replete with his own dynastic monuments, up past the *vestibula* of other distinguished citizens to his own.[38] It is significant that Augustus made the *vestibulum* on the north side of his *domus* the culminating moment along the route, rather than full view of the entire palace, thus employing the Republican language of the vestibule to announce the status of the personage within the residence.[39]

The penultimate event of the first portion of the Secular Games was held on the Palatine, in the complex of Augustus' *domus* and temples. A choir of boys and girls performed a hymn composed by Horace (the *Carmen Saeculare*), "to mark the fact that the spirit of Rome . . . was incarnate in the *princeps*."[40] Seven days of games and entertainments followed in the Circus Maximus below and elsewhere in the city.

Herod returned to Caesarea with his sons, and the next year convinced Agrippa, then stationed on Mytilene, to tour his building projects in Judaea (Joseph. *AJ* 15.12). Later they traveled together through Asia Minor. This period, beginning with the second trip to Rome, must surely mark a second phase in the development of Caesarea, if not a new character in Herod's projects generally. Netzer sees the results of Agrippa's visit in the later palaces at Banias, Jericho, and the Northern Palace at Masada, with their clear archaeological traces of Roman craftsmen.[41] Nielsen perceives a general shift in Herod's architecture from the more modest dwellings of a "national" ruler to the more expressive "personal" palaces of the years after Actium.[42] The years from 17 to 15 B.C.E. seem an important milestone in this transition and may offer a reasonable date for the planning of the theater and stadium.

Sebaste, which scholars have noted has a very similar plan and siting. As it was newly finished or under way by 27 B.C.E., Herod could not have personally seen its model firsthand. G. Foerster cited in D. Barag, "King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste," *PEQ* 125 (1993), 17 n. 20.

[37] The list includes the completion, creation, or restoration of the Curia Julia, the Temple of Divus Iulius, the Rostra Julia and Augusta, renovations of the temples of Castor, Saturn, and Concord, as well as the basilicas Iulia and Paulli; the arch of Augustus was completed in 19 B.C.E. (Richardson, *Topographic Dictionary*, 173, 23).

[38] Again, following Wiseman, "The Public Image,"403–9.

[39] Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 174.

[40] H. S. Jones, "The Princeps," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 10, *The Augustan Empire*, ed. S. A. Cook and M. P. Charlesworth (Cambridge, 1934), 150–51.

[41] E. Netzer, "Architecture in Palaestina prior to and during the Days of Herod the Great," *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz, 1990), 37–50.

[42] Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 211–17.

Summary of Influences from Herod's Second Visit to Rome

In planning the palace amid the entertainment complexes of southern Caesarea, Herod could draw strongly from the development of the Campus Martius as a place of nationalistic and dynastic celebration, although it does not appear that residences of the powerful played a role there any longer. For this, he could turn to the heart of Rome: the Domus Augusti with the Circus Maximus on the one side, with its ritual approach from the Tiber, and on the other side, the connection from the Forum Romanum.

In terms of physical form, the relationship of the southwest area of Caesarea to the Campus Martius remains the stronger. The orthogonal, Hellenistic planning is clear in both. But the many irregularities of the Caesarea plan, particularly the relationship of the theater and palace, may better be explained by understanding the importance of the experience on the ground – how the architectural spaces allowed Herod to communicate with his populace and honored guests through processions and events, through the first perceptions they would have had of his palace, and through the simple movement from palace to theater to stadium, every day as well as on festival days. Such sequences were important in the architecture of the Campus Martius, but the house of Augustus may have offered ideas about palace and spectacle that Herod could reinvent at Caesarea.

The relationship between the "amphitheater" and the palace is a formal, orthogonal one, in which the *vestibulum* and porticoes of the palace open on to the curved end of the race track, currently thought by the excavator to be the main entrance,[43] perhaps with a separate *ambulatio* for visiting dignitaries to reach the *vomitorium* on the east side. The experience of returning to the palace from the tribunal through the gardens and colonnades that led to the *vestibulum* perhaps established the relationship as clearly as any formal architectural gesture.

The relationship between the theater and the palace is more complex and literally scaenographic, since the axis of the theater forces the spectator to look out at the palace as if it were part of the stage scenery. It may be possible to understand this relationship in greater detail, drawing from both the lessons of the Porticus of Pompey and the House of Augustus.

Seated in the cavea of the theater, spectators directly faced the palace if the scaenae frons was absent, or an articulated architectural facade if the scaenae frons was in place.[44] The remaining archaeological evidence is not conclusive as to whether the Herodian theater had a permanent or temporary stage building, but it seems that at least the upper section of the scaenae frons may have been temporary when Herod built it.[45]

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[43] Porath, "Herod's 'Amphitheatre,'" 17.

[44] The scaenae frons had a central square exedra flanked by smaller concave niches. Surfaces were plastered and painted to imitate marble revetment. See A. Frova, "Caesarea: The Theater," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1993), 273.

[45] Temporary did not mean inexpensive; temporary stage buildings were used throughout the

The best representation for the appearance of such a temporary scaenae frons is a wall painting from the Domus Augusti itself (fig. 7).[46] (The architecture of these structures is thought to have been drawn initially from that of the *vestibulum* of a Hellenistic palace.[47]) Through the central door – according to Vitruvius 5.6.8 known as the *aula regia* – one glimpses scenes of buildings and landscapes that Beacham regards as being of local significance.[48] Remains of the Herodian stage building at Caesarea show a square door to the *aula regia* with flanking semicircular *hospitalia*. While the latter differ from painted descriptions, the central royal door appears quite similar. If such a wooden scaena frons is imagined in the theater at Caesarea, it is quite possible that visitors seated in the tribunal would look through the *aula regia* and see Herod's *regia* (fig. 8): a classic Maritime palace extending out to the real source of Herod's munificence: Rome and the rest of the Mediterranean.[49]

This study is a first sketch of the southwest area of Caesarea, as best as can be judged within the rapidly changing archaeological zone. To date, the theater, palace, and amphitheater have been discussed as individual building elements, each with its particular archaeological and historical challenges. But none of these buildings individually is remarkable within Herod's larger development program. Rather, the greater contribution to our understanding of Caesarea lies in assessing Herod's creation of a quarter of the city devoted to those buildings that in the Hellenistic traditions had expressed the fruits of peace and empire within palace districts: theaters, sports arenas, public places to walk, gather, and petition officials. At Caesarea, these places provided spectacles, entertainment, and a secure setting for the ruler to address his subjects en masse. Yet in the larger context of Judaea, many such Hellenistic structures and activities were unwelcome and represent Herod's attempt to balance his Hellenizing ambitions with his desire to rule his country independently. In the years to come, excavations north and west of the theater will undoubtedly reveal new elements to enrich and alter this sketch. Seen in the context of the larger historical and cultural relationship with Rome, it is already evident that Herod was not simply following the models of the Hasmonaeans or of the Romans. He commissioned innovative projects based on his observations and discussions with Augustus and Agrippa (in Rome and in the eastern Mediterranean) about cities, architecture, landscape, and power in the early Roman Empire. Planned in considered response to both the coastal site and the social

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Augustan period, even at a time when permanent ones were also installed. Wooden stage sets allowed each locale to "mould the structure to reflect their own theater in its particular social and aesthetic context" (Beacham, *The Roman Theater*, 57).

[46] G. Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (Mainz, 1983).

[47] Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 19–20.

[48] Beacham, *The Roman Theater*, 76–78.

[49] Herod made one more trip to Italy before the opening ceremonies at Caesarea, but it is not clear from Josephus whether it was to petition Augustus about his sons in Aquileia (*AJ* 15.81) or in Rome (*BJ* 1.452). If so, it was in 12 B.C.E. In either case, it would appear that both Herod and Augustus were pursuing matured themes designed to perpetuate their dynasties as they entered the later part of their reigns (Herod at sixty-one, Augustus at fifty-one).

Figure 7. Fresco from the Domus Augusti depicting a wooden stage building with a landscape scene in the *aula regia*. Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma

Figure 8. View of the Promontory Palace from the theater, computer-corrected to remove a later fortification wall and to reconstruct the basic outlines of the palace. Graphics by K. Gleason and L. Workman

needs of a new city, the palace/entertainment complex preserved in the southwest quarter of Caesarea offers an important new contribution to the history of urbanism in the Roman world.

Appendix

Building Operations in Judaea and Rome

Date	*Judaea*	*Rome*
63	Pompey captures Jerusalem; Antipater chief minister	Begins Opera Pompeiana
55		Opera Pompeiana open Basilica Julia begun
54		Saepta Julia begun(?) Basilica Paulli restored
52		Curia Hostilia burns.
51		Forum Julium begun
50		Julius Caesar redevelops forum and comitium.
47	Herod governor of Galilee	
46		Forum Julianum and Temple to Venus Genetrix dedicated
44	Herod in Syria	Julius Caesar assassinated
42		Ahenobarbus begins restoration of Temple of Neptune. Temple of Mars Ultor vowed Temple of Saturn rebuilt Rostra Augusti dedicated
41	Herod tetrarch of Galilee	
40	HEROD VISITS ROME via Alexandria, Rhodes. Kingship	
38	Herod joins Antony at Samosata.	
37	Herod assumes kingship; builds Antonia; Jericho to Cleopatra First buildings at Masada	
36	Aristobulus killed at Jericho; Cleopatra visits Herod.	Regia burns, restored Temple of Apollo Palatinus vowed
35	35: Herod's first palace at Jericho Western palace at Masada	30s: Domus Augusti Phase I
34		Basilica Paulli completed
33		Agrippa overhauls water system of Rome.
32	First Arab war	Augustus restores Theater of Pompey.
31	Earthquake	Circus Maximus burns, restored
30	Actium. Herod, Octavian on Rhodes, Egypt, Antioch	Battle of Actium
	Nicolaus of Damascus to Herod's court from Alexandria	

30	30-25: Herod builds new palace over Hasmonaean phases at Jericho. North Palace at Masada	
29	Execution of Mariamne	Temple of Divus Julius dedicated; 29-26
28	Actium games in Jerusalem	Mausoleum of Augustus begun Stadium Augusti; Temple of Apollo Palatinus dedicated
27	Sebaste begun; Herod marries Mariamne II.	Pantheon built (25)
26	Saepta completed by Agrippa	
25	Herod in Arabia with the Romans	Agrippa's Basilica of Neptune built with Porticus Argonautarum
	Droughts	Agrippa begins Baths
24	Herodium begun	
23	Herod begins palace in Jerusalem.	Theater of Marcellus begun. Mausoleum of Augustus completed
22	Herod begins Caesarea. Meets Agrippa on Mytilene	Temple of Jupiter vowed
21		
20	Herod meets Augustus in Syria.	
19	Reconstruction of Temple begins.	Aqua Virgo opens. Agrippa completes baths. Theatrum Balbi begun Arch of Augustus
18	Temple sanctuary opens.	
17	HEROD TO ROME to meet his sons living with Vedius(?) Pollio	Ludi Saeculares. Theatrum Balbi nearly done
15	Marcus Agrippa visits Judaea	House of Vedius Pollio razed
14	Herod, Agrippa to Asia Minor Lesbos, Chios, Byzantium, Ephesus, Samos, Rhodes, Chios	Basilica Paulli burns. Vesta burns, restored
14	Herod's third palace at Jericho	
13	Antipater to Rome with Agrippa	Ara Pacis decreed Theatrum Balbi dedicated Theatrum Marcelli dedicated
12	Herod and sons meet Augustus at Aquileia/Rome; Herod presides over Olympic Games at Athens	Agrippa dies.
10	Dedication of Temple Dedication of Caesarea	
9	Loss of Augustus' favor	Ara Pacis dedicated
8	Reconciliation	
7	Alexander and Aristobulus executed	
4	Herod dies.	

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Palace to Praetorium: The Romanization of Caesarea

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In 1990 the University of Pennsylvania expedition began work at the Promontory Palace, a site that has been postulated to be Herod's palace at Caesarea Maritima.[1] If this identification continues to hold true, it follows that the palace, with the rest of Herod's strongholds, passed into the hands of Roman overlords when Judaea became a province. Caesarea's matchless port facilities, easy communications with Italy, and position as a Graeco-Roman city in a Jewish province made it the logical choice for chief headquarters of Roman government; and Herod's palace, with its great size and strategic, even commanding, location, was the logical choice for the praetorium, or residence of the Roman governor. Indeed, immediately upon Herod's death and while his will was still being contested, the procurator of Syria, Sabinus, tried to take all Herod's strongholds, presumably including this one, under his own control.[2] When St. Paul was brought to Caesarea for trial, he was held in custody at the headquarters of the governor Antonius Felix, at "Herod's praetorium" (Acts of the Apostles 23:35): this proves that Herod's residence at Caesarea was held to be an instrument of government rather than just part of his personal patrimony.

Nonetheless, a building that originated as the palace of a king (in the case of Herod, one of many palaces) may have had to undergo some changes to become a seat of Roman government. This chapter seeks to determine what those changes might have been by examining both literary and archaeological evidence for Caesarea's praetorium and for other governors' residences known from the rest of the Roman Empire. We can then compare these data with our finds from the Promontory Palace, and see whether that complex structure fits the picture of a Roman praetorium.[3]

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[1] See the chapters in this volume by my colleagues Kathryn Gleason and Ehud Netzer, to both of whom I am indebted for much help and insight.

[2] Joseph. *BJ* 2.16–18; *AJ* 17.221–23.

[3] The term "praetorium" had broader meaning, but in this chapter I confine myself to that of "governor's residence," as Acts 23:35 implies. See I. A. Richmond, s.v. "Praetorium," in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1970), 874, and n. 21 below.

The Praetorium at Caesarea: Literary References

Written sources afford us few hints of what the features of the praetorium at Caesarea were. Acts 23:35, cited above, assures us that there was provision for prisoners, though they may have been accommodated under some form of house arrest rather than in a cell or jail. Later in Paul's custody (Acts 25:23), King Herod Agrippa II and his sister Berenike, while visiting the new governor Porcius Festus at Caesarea, heard Paul defend himself in a room called the *akroaterion,* most likely within the praetorium. As the room accommodated the governor presiding as well as the king and his sister in full state, with a retinue of high officers and prominent citizens in attendance, it was presumably a large and impressive auditorium or courtroom.[4]

Though not a room, the best documented feature of the praetorium was the *bema,* or tribunal of justice; it was from the *bema* at Caesarea that Porcius Festus heard the Jews accuse Paul (Acts 25:6–7 and 25:17). The *bema,* however, was not a static feature but a throne upon a dais, which could be set up anywhere.[5] Pontius Pilate had his *bema* set up in the great stadium of Caesarea, perhaps that adjoining the Promontory Palace (see Yosef Porath's chapter in this volume), when he wished to surround the crowd of Jews who had come there to protest his bringing iconic standards into Jerusalem, and who had been lying prone around his house (perhaps the Promontory Palace) for five days.[6] Acts 12:21 says that King Herod Agrippa I was enthroned on the *bema* when he was acclaimed as divine and stricken with his fatal illness, and Josephus states that he was in the theater presiding over the games in honor of Caesar at the time.[7]

The evidence from Jerusalem confirms that from Caesarea: the *bema* of justice had to be either replicable or movable. This was especially so in a Jewish province, since there were times when the Jews were unwilling to enter a Gentile residence, even that of the governor. In the events connected with the trial of Jesus, Pontius Pilate sat upon the *bema* at his praetorium in Jerusalem (Matt. 27:19, 27); Mark 15:16 specifies that it was set in the *aule* (court). This praetorium was likely Herod's palace in the upper city of Jerusalem.[8] The events are most clearly specified in John 18:28–19.13: Jesus was inside the praetorium, but the Jews stayed outside to avoid defilement on the Passover. Pilate himself went in and out of the building for his inquiries, but finally had Jesus brought out, then took his seat on the *bema* at a stone-paved place outside, known in

[4] B. Tamm, *Auditorium and Palatium,* Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology 2 (Stockholm, 1963), 13, 15–17.

[5] For representations in many media, see H. Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen* (Darmstadt, 1984).

[6] Joseph. *BJ* 2.169–74; *AJ* 18.57.

[7] *AJ* 19.343–47.

[8] E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ,* vol. 1, rev. and ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar (Edinburgh, 1973), 361 on praetoria in general, n. 38 for bibliography on this one in particular.

Hebrew as Gabbatha. Later, Gessius Florus also received Jews not inside the palace but in front of it.[9]

Back in Caesarea, the praetorium continued in use until Byzantine times: in a Samaritan revolt in 555 C.E., the governor of the province, Stephanos, was killed in his own praetorium, and his possessions in the building were pillaged.[10] The last known reference to the praetorium at Caesarea is as late as 627 C.E., when the Persian district governor interrogated the monk and soon-to-be martyr Anastasius there, much as Paul had been interrogated centuries before. Anastasius, however, was jailed in the city's fortress, not in the praetorium itself.[11]

It is notable that in almost all these cases it is the governor's judicial role that is enacted in the praetorium or its environs. He heard cases in its auditorium, in its court, or outside its gates. This is, however, a reflection of the interests of our sources, and does not rule out other activities of the governor or of his staff in the praetorium.

The Praetorium at Caesarea: Inhabitants and Chronology

It would be helpful to know what sort of staff and what sort of activities the praetorium at Caesarea was supposed to accommodate. The functions of the Roman governor were administrative, judicial, and military insofar as he had forces to command. Inscriptions from Caesarea mention the governors themselves (entitled prefects, procurators, *legati*, and later *praesides*), and also financial procurators, who may have resided outside the praetorium. The titles and numbers of the Judaean governor's staff (*officium*) or of lower ranks of officials are not yet clear.[12] It is possible that there were very

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[9] Joseph. *BJ* 2.301 and 328. Also note that the golden shields that Pilate dedicated to Tiberius in Jerusalem were hung up in "Herod's palace" (Philo *Leg.* 299, note the use of plural form), which is identified with "the house of the governors" (*Leg.* 306). Philo's use of the term *epitropoi* for governors is nonspecific to Roman terminology; see Philo *Leg.* 132.

[10] John Malalas, *Chronographia* 18.119, ed. L. Dindorf, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, vol. 26 (Bonn, 1831), p. 487, where Stephanos is *archon* of the city; in Theophanes the Confessor, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (repr. Hildesheim, 1963), vol. 1, p. 230, Stephanos' title is *eparchos* (prefect); and in the *Excerpta historica iussu Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta: excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1905), vol. 3, p. 173 no. 48, Stephanos' surname is Syros and his title *anthypatos* (proconsul).

[11] W. E. Kaegi, Jr., "Some Seventh Century Sources on Caesarea," *IEJ* 28 (1978), 177–81; A. Pertusi, "L'Encomio di S. Anastasio Martire Persiano," *AnalBoll* 76 (1958), 5–63, esp. 28–29 n. 2. See also R. C. Wiemken and K. G. Holum, "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Eighth Season, 1979," *BASOR* 244 (1981), 27–52, esp. 27–29; and K. G. Holum, "Inscriptions from the Imperial Revenue Office of Byzantine Caesarea Palaestinae," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 345. Though Holum would identify Byzantine structures near the *skrinion*, or "archives building," as the praetorium where Anastasius was questioned, there is no necessary association in our sources between the tax office and the governor's palace. It is instead more likely that "Herod's praetorium" continued in that function through the Roman and Byzantine periods down to the short-lived Persian occupation.

[12] B. Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns from Caesarea Maritima," *ZPE* 99 (1993), 287–95, esp.

few in the imperial bureaucracy, and positions were not standardized from province to province.[13]

The status of the province, its governors, and presumably its bureaucracy changed a good deal over time. In 6 C.E. the new province of Judaea first came under Augustus' direct control and the oversight of the *legatus* of Syria and his four legions. The governor in Caesarea was an official of equestrian rank with the title "prefect" and a handful of auxiliary troops as a garrison for internal order; these may have formerly been Herod's own troops.[14]

With the goodwill of the emperor Claudius, Herod's grandson, Herod Agrippa I, became king of Judaea from 41 to 44 C.E. and presumably reclaimed his grandfather's palace, but at his death both province and palace reverted to Roman officials, this time with the title of procurators.

At the beginning of the first Jewish revolt, after September 66 C.E., a Roman army of more than thirty thousand came to Judaea; Vespasian soon gathered a force twice as large, and their base and winter quarters was Caesarea.[15] The army's presence no doubt meant an increased demand for accommodations, and it is possible that the praetorium was used to help fill that demand, at least for the elite among the commanders. After the revolt had been subdued, however, the army left Caesarea; even the auxiliary units were transferred, and the Legion X Fretensis, though stationed in Judaea, had its main camp in Jerusalem.[16] Still, some military presence would have remained in Caesarea, if it were only the governor's personal troops or bodyguard.

After the stresses of the revolt, the province was upgraded to rule by imperial *legati* of praetorian rank, who at least in some cases combined administration with command of Judaea's legion.[17] They had procurators under them for financial administration, and military tribunes or *legati* to act for them at the legionary camp.[18] Sometime in the early second century, a second legion was sent to the province, and the position of governor was accordingly upgraded, to be filled by an ex-consul.[19] In the upsets of the late third century there may have been some additional military presence at Caesarea as well.[20]

We may assume, by analogy with other provinces (see below), that as the governor

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294–95; the imminent appearance of the corpus of inscriptions from Caesarea by C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum may help to remedy this lack.

[13] P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (London, 1987), 20–21; A. W. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (London, 1993), 50–52. There also may have been more people in the governor's *cohors*, including family, friends, and other hangers-on.

[14] E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1976), 145–47.

[15] Joseph. *BJ* 2. 503–12, 3. 29, 64–69; Smallwood, *The Jews*, 306–7.

[16] Smallwood, *The Jews*, 331–33.

[17] Ibid., 332 n. 2, 549–50.

[18] Ibid., 555–57.

[19] W. Eck, "Zum konsularen Status von Iudaea im frühen 2. Jh.," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 21 (1984), 55–67.

[20] Smallwood, *The Jews*, 529 n. 6, 544.

increased in status and gained military responsibility, his staff increased. It is also logical to assume that in times of crisis, for example, with troops in residence in or near the city, the praetorium had to offer facilities to more personnel. But unfortunately there is no source to tell us exactly who, besides the governor himself, lived or worked in the praetorium at Caesarea.

Other Governors' Residences

There are several buildings in the Roman Empire that have been convincingly identified as the residences of Roman governors. We may now examine these buildings to see how they compare with one another and with the Promontory Palace. Each building will be described generally regarding the reason for its identification, its size and its placement within the city plan, its structure, facilities, and decor. The buildings are illustrated all in the same scale, with their (likely) public areas to the left, more private areas on the right. Other relevant details such as historical references, changes in status, and staffing may be added where they are known.

A few problems crop up in the search for comparanda. First, as has been noted, the Romans called several kinds of buildings besides governors' residences "praetoria." These could include a general's tent, his house in or near a permanent fortress (as distinguished from his headquarters in the *principia*), a pleasure villa, a roadside rest house for higher officials, or even an emperor's residence.[21] So the name alone is not a sign of comparability with the building at Caesarea.

Second, some archaeologists have had an unfortunate tendency to call any especially large, luxurious, or otherwise impressive building that they have excavated a "palace" or even specifically "the governor's palace," without much more proof than its size or impressiveness. It then takes a great deal of debunking to eliminate these buildings from the better-documented group.[22] For this reason I confine my comparison group to buildings that have been confirmed as governors' residences by some additional evidence, mainly by inscriptions.

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[21] See n. 3 above. For the basic discussion, see Th. Mommsen, "Praetorium," *Hermes* 35 (1900), 437–42, and R. Egger, "Das Praetorium als Amtssitz und Quartier römischer Spitzfunktionäre," *Sitzungsberichte, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 250 (1966), 4. Abhandlung.

[22] See primarily N. Duval, "Existe-t-il une 'structure palatiale' propre à l'antiquité tardive?" in E. Lévy, ed., *Le système palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 19–22 juin 1985* (Leiden, 1987), 463–90, with references to earlier works; also S. Ellis, "The 'Palace of the Dux' at Apollonia, and Related Houses," in G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds, eds., *Cyrenaica in Antiquity; Society for Libyan Studies Occasional Papers I*, BAR Int. Ser. 236 (Oxford, 1985),15–25; and now I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal* (Aarhus, 1994), 209–17. For the purposes of this chapter I also considered buildings at Apamea, Aphrodisias, Apollonia, Bou Arada, Carnuntum, Djemila, Lambaesis, Muru de Bangius, Nea Paphos, Ptolemais, Stobi, and Volubilis, as well as others yet more remote in placement and function.

Colonia

The Council House of modern Cologne was built on the remains of its Roman predecessor, the praetorium of Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (fig. 1), residence of the governor of Germania Inferior. An altar to the Preserving Gods was found near the site in 1630; on it the *legatus Augusti* Quintus Tarquitius Catulus stated that under his care the praetorium, which had fallen into ruins, was restored to a new appearance.[23] Also found on the site was an inscription commemorating the fact that the emperor Commodus, with Didius Julianus as his *legatus pro praetore,* restored the praetorium (perhaps with its portico) after its destruction by fire, probably sometime after 184 C.E. When part of the site was opened to excavation after the destruction of the Council House in World War II, bricks and roof tiles stamped with the name of Didius Julianus were indeed found.[24]

The Colonia praetorium is estimated at 180 x 180 m. or 32,400 m^2, taking up two blocks on the city's grid.[25] It was not central in the town, but was placed at the city wall overlooking the eastern gate and the Rhine harbor below. Most of the excavation has concentrated on this east wing, as little has been possible on the side facing the ancient city and under the modern one. Another problem is that intensive use and rebuilding has left little more than sub-basement levels of the praetorium for archaeologists to interpret.

This was probably the site of the residence of the imperial legates to the army of Germania Inferior even before the province was incorporated in 83/84 C.E. There are a few remains of the Augustan period, when Germanicus was stationed in the city. North-south terrace walls and an apsed structure appeared by the mid-first century C.E. Vitellius was presumably taken from here to be proclaimed emperor in January 69, and while he was being carried around in his nightdress to be saluted, a stove set fire to his dining room back at the praetorium (Tac. *Hist.* 1.56 f; Suet. *Vit.* 8). Subsequent phases had impressive niched and porticoed facades, but also rows of small (service or barracks?) rooms on the east side. The last, fourth-century phase, illustrated here, featured a great hexagonal hall in the center of the east wing. Due to the depth and scantiness of the remains, it is difficult to determine how these rooms connected with facade or courtyard, but it is likely that they faced out on the portico, overlooking the city wall and the river.

The governor of Germania Inferior was a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in charge of both the province and its legions; his military *legati* commanded one legion in Bonn, anoth-

[23] *CIL* XIII 8170, now likely removed from association with the renovation after 184; see below n. 24. As there is a great deal of the complex that has not yet been explored, however, the phases of the east wing should not be held as prescriptive. P. La Baume, *Colonia Agrippinensis* (Cologne, 1958), 22–29; H. Signon, *Die Römer in Köln* (Frankfurt, 1970), 17, 61–75.

[24] *CIL* XIII 8260; W. Eck, "Niedergermanische Statthalter in Inschriften aus Köln und Nettersheim," *Bonner Jahrbucher* 184 (1984), 97–115, esp. 97–105.

[25] G. Precht, *Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum römischen Praetorium in Köln,* Rheinische Ausgrabungen 14 (Cologne, 1973).

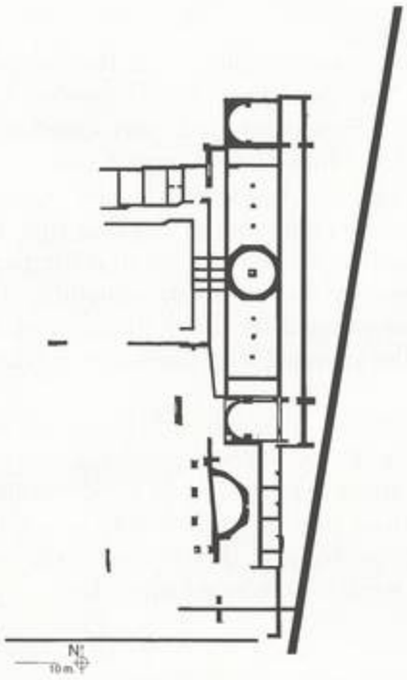

Figure 1. Colonia, praetorium. All drawings by Bill Matson

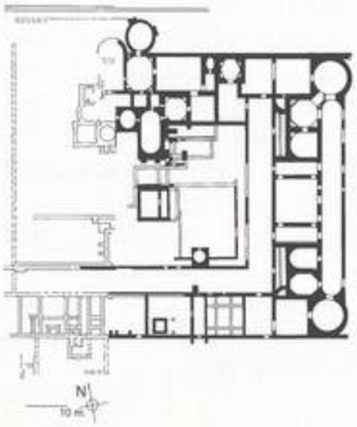

Figure 2. Aquincum, governor's palace

er in Vetera. His staff, or *officium*, has been estimated at about two hundred, most of them military personnel, though many may have worked and lived in the camp, not the praetorium.[26] The governor was preceded by six lictors, and probably also had a bodyguard of cavalry and foot soldiers, two contingents of 480 men each, commanded by a centurion. The military staff was headed by the *cornicularii*, probably three in number; the *frumentarius* probably started out as a quartermaster, but later had police duties and was perhaps in charge of the jail.

The chief of staff was the *princeps praetorii*, who had his own assistant *adiutor principis*. In the first century, a slave of the emperor was *dispensator* (treasurer) for the governor in Colonia. The taxes and finances of the province, however, were in the hands of a *procurator Augusti* stationed in Trier, not Colonia.

In his judicial functions, the governor was helped by *comites*, *adsessores*, and *consiliarii*. There were three *commentarienses* (keepers of minutes) for judicial affairs, with *speculatores* in charge of investigations. For record-keeping, there were *librarii* (book copiers) and

[26] T. Bechert, *Römisches Germanien zwischen Rhein und Maas: die Provinz Germania Inferior* (Munich, 1982), 42–45.

exacti or *exceptores* (to take dictation), as well as interpreters, seers (*haruspices*), and *victimarii* for sacrifices. Unfortunately, one cannot tell how many of these personnel lived or worked in the praetorium of Colonia.

Aquincum

Under the emperor Trajan, Pannonia Inferior was made a separate province, with one legion, a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* as governor, and a capital at Aquincum, present-day Budapest.[27] There the palace of the governor (fig. 2) has been identified as a large complex set on an island in the Danube. In the center of the building's south side, near an entryway, was a shrine, perhaps to a local god previously revered on the site and identified with Mercury; altars around the walls of the room were dedicated by successive governors of the province, giving the building its likely identification.

The palace, estimated at 150 x 140 m. (21,000 m^2), took an imposing position outside both the military and the civil settlements, overlooking the shipyards and the military camp on one side, and turning a brave facade toward the unsubdued East on the other.[28]

In its original Trajanic phase, the complex probably centered on a large court, to which rooms were added in several later phases. It may have suffered dilapidation in the Marcomannic wars, but was upgraded, perhaps early in the third century (after 214 C.E.), when former consuls began to be appointed as governors. The palace was abandoned in the second half of the third century, when the danger of invaders may have forced the governor to move across the river into the legionary camp. Afterward the capital of the province was moved away from Aquincum.

As it has been exposed so far, the building had rooms ranged on at least three sides of the court. The fourth, west side overlooking the Danube appears to have been little explored by archaeologists. Workrooms, service, and storage areas seem to have been relegated to the south side of the complex, along with the shrine near the entry mentioned above. In the inner court was an imperial shrine on a podium approached by steps, perhaps tetrastyle prostyle in form, which held an over-life-size limestone statue of a togate emperor. Nearby a statue of Nemesis was found, suitable for a place where justice was meted out. This central area may be called the public part of the palace, but it was not as strongly segregated from the private areas as, for example, at Dura-Europos (see below).

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[27] J. Szilágyi, *Aquincum* (Budapest, 1956), esp. 29–30 and *Beilage* II; K. Sz. Póczy, *Aquincum* (Budapest, 1974), 20–22; K. Póczy, "Pannonian Cities," in A. Lengyel and G.T.B. Radan, eds., *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia* (Budapest, 1980), 239–74, esp. 255–58; J. Fitz, *The Great Age of Pannonia (AD 193-284)* (Budapest, 1982), 14–15.

[28] Published plans seem to range more in the 100 x 100 m. area. There has been some debate on the date of the Aquincum palace, but I have not been able to consult the following Hungarian articles: J. Szilágyi, "Az Aquincumi helytartói palota," *Budapest régiségei* 18 (1958), 53–77; and I. Wellner, "Az Aquincumi helytartói palota épitésének kora," *Archaeologiai értesitó* 97 (1970), 116–25.

The rooms on the north were probably private, and came to include a luxurious bath complex with painted walls and mosaic floors; this complex jutted into the formerly open court. The great east wing displayed the facade of a portico flanked by round towers, and its grand symmetrical suite of mosaic-floored reception rooms turned its back on the public court. This wing could be approached from the court by only two corridors leading out onto the portico; in this cold climate all the rooms, even the corridors and portico, were heated by hypocausts. A pair of small latrines was tucked into the corners of the reception suite.

A good deal is known about the governor's staff in this province.[29] From the time of Trajan it probably numbered around a hundred, and may have doubled after 214, when Caracalla increased the province's size and army and made the governorship consular. The financial procurator and his staff were stationed elsewhere, at Poetovio. In fact, the situation is quite comparable to that at Colonia in Germania Inferior, above. The officials most likely to be associated with the governor's palace included the high-ranking administrative *cornicularii, commentarienses,* and *quaestiones* for legal matters, ten *speculatores* for criminal investigations, and one interpreter each for Sarmatian, German, and Dacian. A *haruspex* and *victimarius* provided for religious matters, while messengers (*principales*) and attendants (*immunes*) were probably selected from among the soldiers stationed at the camp. It is again not known, however, how many and which of these officials may have lived or worked in the palace itself. It is possible, indeed, that few of them did, but that the palace mainly served as the governor's residence, its public areas as his court, and its resplendent rooms for the reception of his guests.

Gortyn

The praetorium at Gortyn (fig. 3) has long been known, thanks to the many inscriptions found among its ruins, and especially to a statue base found before its north facade which specified that it was to stand "before the entrance of the new praetorium."[30] Its intermittent excavation has extended through the entire twentieth century; it is only now being restudied and brought to publication.[31] A complex of around 100 x 120 m. (12,000 m^2), it lies in the center of Gortyn, capital of the Roman province of Crete and Cyrene, on a major intersection, probably forming part of a planned imperial center.[32]

The latest hypothesis is that a large, palatial residence for the governor of Crete and

[29] J. Fitz, "Administration and Army," in Lengyel and Radan, eds., *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia,* 125–40.

[30] M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae,* vol 4, *Tituli Gortynii* (Rome, 1950), 284b.

[31] A. Di Vita, "Atti della Scuola," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 55, n.s. 39 (1977), 343–65, esp. 350–57, for the more traditional phases hypothesized by A. M. Colini; and A. Di Vita, "Atti della Scuola 1988–89," ibid. 66–67, n.s. 50–51 (1988–89), 427–82, esp. 469–71, for the current view.

[32] A. Di Vita, "L'Anfiteatro ed il grande teatro romano di Gortina," *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 64–65, n.s. 48–49 (1986–87), 327–51, esp. 344–47.

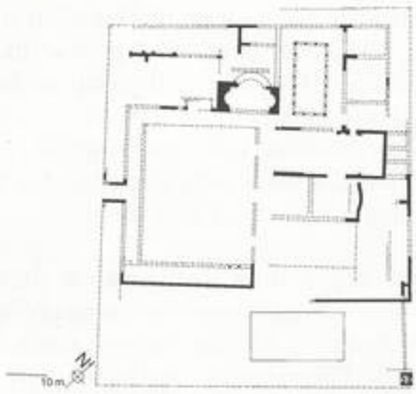

Figure 3. Gortyn, praetorium

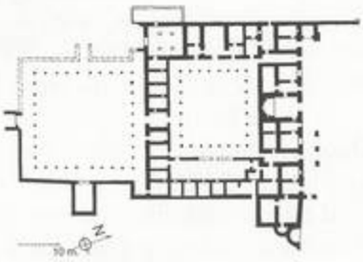

Figure 4. Dura-Europos, Palace of the *Dux Ripae*

Cyrene was built in the first century C.E. in an area previously occupied by houses, a necropolis, and the Hellenistic city wall. This first phase, illustrated here, has been restored with entry from the south into a monumental porticoed courtyard. Axial to the entry and facing onto the courtyard was a room almost 22 m. long, though perhaps subdivided, with a shallow apse in its back wall; nearby was another large room equipped as a bath, with hypocaust heating and a basin with central fountain.

In the second century a temple, probably dedicated to Augustus and/or the emperors, was attached to the east side of the complex. Also in the early second century, large bath buildings superseded the halls of the first phase. The current excavators infer from the great size of these baths, and from the appearance of tabernae on the north facade of the block, that the entire complex had been converted to public facilities, and thus that the governor must have given up his principal residence and moved to Cyrene. The baths, however, despite their size, may not have been inconsistent with residential use. Moreover, the proconsuls and other officials of the province were still making use of this area in the late second century, as is shown by their inscriptions, which were reused by the *consularis* of Crete in his later building.[33] Again, in the third century some construction was done on the praetorium under one Claudius Acilius Cleobulus, whose exact dates and office (perhaps proconsul) in Crete are unknown but who is now known to have gone to the high office of *praeses* of Syria Palaestina under Probus (276–282 C.E.)[34]

At the complex's northwest corner is a long hall, currently interpreted as hypaethral, with a deep apse on its short side, opposite its main entry at the columnar north facade of the building. This has commonly been identified as the basilica, a fourth-century

[33] Guarducci, *Inscriptiones*, 301 and 302; the latter recently downdated (incorrectly) by G.W.M. Harrison, *The Romans and Crete* (Amsterdam, 1993), 290, 316, to refer to the emperor Geta instead of his uncle, Septimius Severus' brother.

[34] Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns," 289–90.

audience hall, though recent finds have attributed its form to the time of Heraclius in the seventh century.[35] Nonetheless, the inscriptions do indicate that some part of the Gortyn praetorium complex was known as "the basilica." Two matched bases of the fourth century found here mention a *consularis* Fortunatianus Servilius and one Kalopodes, *logistes* of the city, as being in charge of the basilica; and nearby, distances could be measured "from the basilica."[36] Though "basilica" is usually the term for a separate public building, Vitruvius listed basilicas among the rooms that men of rank needed even in their houses.[37]

The northwest sector of the baths was probably damaged in an earthquake in 365, and between 379 and 383 C.E. Oikoumenios Dositheos Asklepiodotos, *consularis* of Crete, claimed to have rebuilt "the new praetorium" from the foundations up, according to two bases for statues of Gratian, Valentinian, or Theodosius.[38] Again, the judicial function was never far from this complex, as inscriptions of the fourth and fifth century found in the area specify that they are to stand beside or before the doors of Justice.[39] Statues representing gods, emperors, governors, and other officials were also abundant finds here.

Gortyn differed from Caesarea in being the capital of a senatorial province (with proconsul and *quaestor*, and later a *consularis* as governor), rather than an imperial one. It therefore may be presumed that its staff was not as comparable to Caesarea's as those of other imperial provinces discussed here.

Dura-Europos

A large complex at the northeastern edge of Dura-Europos has been identified as the Palace of the *Dux Ripae* (fig. 4) by *dipinti* on its walls; it was probably built by Elagabalus' reign, and, like the rest of the city, was destroyed in 256 C.E.[40] Ignoring

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[35] Di Vita, "Atti della Scuola 1988–89," 470.

[36] Guarducci, *Inscriptiones*, 336a and b, 341.

[37] Vitr. *De Arch.* 6.5.2: "for men of rank who, from holding offices and magistracies, have social obligations to their fellow-citizens, lofty entrance courts in regal style, and most spacious atriums and peristyles with plantations and walks of some extent in them, appropriate to their dignity. They need also libraries, picture galleries, and basilicas, finished in a style similar to that of great public buildings, since public councils as well as private law suits and hearings before arbitrators are very often held in the houses of such men."

[38] Guarducci, *Inscriptiones*, 284a and b.

[39] Ibid., 313, 323, 325. For this use, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1948), 25–27, 99–100.

[40] M. I. Rostovtzeff, A. R. Bellinger, F. E. Brown, C. B. Welles, eds., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Ninth Season of Work 1935–1936*, Part 3: *The Palace of the Dux Ripae and the Dolichenum* (New Haven, 1952), 1–96, esp. 30–40. The identification is questioned by F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 B.C.–A.D. 337* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 133. Though it would be convenient to have more evidence for the office of *dux ripae*, the name of its holder, Domitius Pompeianus, appears in three of the six *dipinti* of entertainers (nos. 945–50) painted in the palace's room 7; one wonders in whose house such formulae would be painted, if not in his. Certainly the identification of the building is not incontrovertible, but that is true of every one of these buildings, even the ones at Colonia, Aquincum, and Gortyn.

the grid of the city, including its military camp, the complex commands and takes its orientation from the city wall and the steep cliff down to the Euphrates shore that the *dux* was to guard.

The *dux ripae* was not specifically a governor, but a military official appointed to a special command of this border; though subordinate to the consular *legatus* of Syria (as, indeed, were the prefects and procurators of Judaea headquartered at Caesarea), he perhaps also took on the role of civil governor for the whole Middle Euphrates area.[41]

The palace was around 88 x 63 m. (5,544 m^2), and divides rather readily into two wings: public (toward the city) and private (away from the city, toward the Euphrates cliff). The outer, public wing consisted of an earth-floored peristyle court with central entryways on two adjacent sides; opposite one entry was a deep room which perhaps was a shrine for military standards, and opposite the other was the (guarded) entry to the inner, private wing. This also centered on a peristyle court, but was surrounded by rooms, including stables (with outside entry), service quarters, storerooms, and a more grandiose suite of a large room flanked on each side by two smaller rooms facing out onto the center of the court. Though these various parts are not strictly symmetrical, there was a great effort toward apparent symmetry in both the public and the private wing.

This private wing had a yet more private sector: its far side presented a solid wall to its courtyard, and what was beyond could be reached only via two corner corridors. This ultimate side was a porticoed terrace overlooking the Euphrates shore, and facing out onto it was the most luxurious suite of the entire complex. It consisted of a central room with an apsed rear wall, flanked by two blocks of three and four rooms respectively. It was in one of these side rooms that actor-entertainers in the troupe of the *dux ripae* Domitius Pompeianus painted their names in tabellae ansatae. That room probably served as their headquarters and greenroom, allowing direct entry to the apsed and false-vaulted central room where the *dux* himself offered their entertainment to his guests.

Recent work by Susan B. Downey has focused on the palace's private wing and its reception rooms.[42] She has proved that the porticoed terrace was not so broad as originally restored, but was considerably longer, with another private suite of rooms at its east end. Downey found that suites of grand central rooms flanked by side rooms like those at Dura-Europos were common to luxurious houses of Late Antiquity. Her work indicates, however, that the separation of public outer portico spaces (usually sizable peristyles) from residential sectors of reception rooms and more private suites, as at Dura-Europos, may be a truer sign by which to distinguish a palatial or gubernatorial residence.

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[41] Rostortzeff et al., *Palace of the Dux Ripae*, 93–94.

[42] S. B. Downey, "The Palace of the Dux Ripae at Dura-Europos and 'Palatial' Architecture of Late Antiquity," in R. T. Scott and A. R. Scott, eds., *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 182–98.

The Promontory Palace at Caesarea

As has already been mentioned, the grounds for identifying the Promontory Palace (fig. 5) as the praetorium of Caesarea hinge on its identification as Herod's palace. At the start of each of his descriptions of the foundation of Caesarea, Josephus wrote that Herod built "a most magnificent palace" (*BJ* 1.408) or "a very costly palace" (*AJ* 15.331) in the city. As is usual in Greek, Josephus uses the plural *basileia* to mean "palace," though it cannot be ruled out that there were other royal buildings in Caesarea, and thus other contenders for the position of praetorium.[43] Jerusalem, for example, had both the Antonia fortress/palace and Herod's palace in the upper city; and Netzer has restored the Drusion tower in Caesarea itself to have palatial rooms.[44] On the other hand, in all the years of excavation at Caesarea, no other building that remotely resembles such a palace has yet been found.

Inscriptions found in the Promontory Palace do mention governors, civic officials, and the emperors they honored, and thus could have been set up in the Roman praetorium, where these officials would congregate.[45] On the other hand, similar inscriptions have been found, and could have stood, elsewhere in the city. Thus the Promontory Palace's identification has not yet been confirmed in the way that that of the buildings at Colonia, Aquincum, Gortyn, and Dura-Europos has, and so cannot be taken for granted.

The original state of the Promontory Palace as it was built under Herod is discussed elsewhere in this volume (see the chapters by Ehud Netzer and Kathryn Gleason). In sum, its public wing consisted of a porticoed courtyard of ca. 42 x 65 m., with rooms on its north side, estimated at 23 x 56 m.; farther out on the promontory, a private wing of ca. 44 x 80 m. (not including a possible apsidal end) was probably two-storied, and centered on a great freshwater swimming pool. Thus the palace can currently be restored to an area of at least 7,538 m^2.

The public wing was originally planned in concert with the amphitheater, to the original stage of which its north wall bonds.[46] It underwent few changes in its basic form in the Roman period, but this is not surprising. The *aule,* or court, is the prime feature of a king's palace, just as the word itself, in Greek and in English, came to mean the personnel as well as the palace.[47] The large, open court lined with shaded porticoes (and perhaps, in its earliest phase, beautified with garden plantings) afforded

[43] LSJ, s.v. *basileion*; K. H. Rengsdorf, *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus,* vol. 1 (Leiden, 1973), 297–98, s.v. *basileion,* where there are many clear cases of a plural referring to a single building complex.

[44] E. Netzer, *Greater Herodion,* Qedem 13 (Jerusalem, 1981), 79–84.

[45] Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns," 295.

[46] *Pace* our colleague Yosef Porath; where the walls are of equal sizes they bond. One of the palace's walls abuts rather than bonding with a wall at the south end of the amphitheater, but this is because this particular palace wall is much smaller in scale; bonding it with the larger amphitheater wall would have weakened the one without strengthening the other to any purpose. For this and for many other insights into the structure, I am indebted to our expedition's architect, Howard Williams.

[47] LSJ, s.v. *aule.*

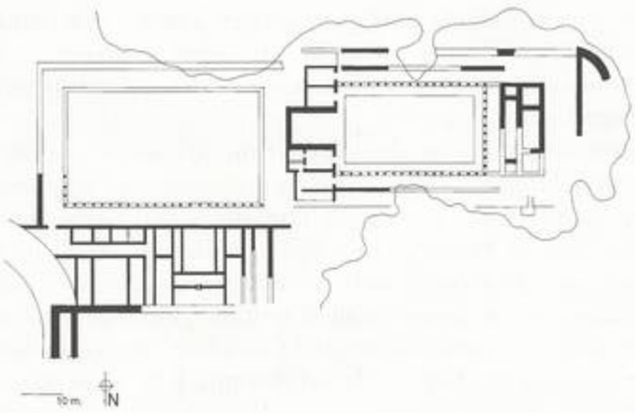

Figure 5. Caesarea Maritima, Promontory Palace

space for large gatherings, whether civil or military. Its floor was plaster or crushed stone on top of earth fill, which recalls the beaten earth floor of the outer courtyard of the palace at Dura-Europos. The base for a large rectangular feature, perhaps an imperial monument or even the emplacement for a *bema*, stood at the court's midpoint. A later concern for adequate water supply prompted the addition of cisterns below the courtyard's floor, and a well at its western end. At the bottom of the well were more than fifty lead scrolls, probably curse tablets common in other Graeco-Roman contexts; their study is still in process, and may reveal such details of life at Caesarea, and perhaps of activities in the Promontory Palace, that archaeology can seldom provide otherwise.

Though the south side of the palace's public wing has been eroded away by the sea, the north side featured a grandiose suite of rooms with mosaic floors. It centered on a grand hall with two side aisles partially separated by columns, giving it a T-shape. The top bar of the T, on the cold, north side, was heated by a hypocaust system, with stone *suspensurae* like those in other late Hellenistic baths.[48] This was evidently thought to be such a good idea that in Roman times the heating system was extended to rooms on the east, using only bricks for the *suspensurae* (some stamped with the insignia of the Legion X Fretensis) instead of stone. These eastern rooms parallel an identical set on the western side, both flanked by service corridors: the result is a grand, symmetrical suite. The central hall, with aisles reminiscent of a basilica, could certainly have accommodated a dais or *bema* in the crossbar at its end.

Out on the promontory itself, the private wing in Herod's time was a series of rooms

[48] D. B. Small, "Late Hellenistic Baths in Palestine," *BASOR* 266 (1987), 59–74, esp. 62, table 1. At the Promontory Palace, as with most of Small's examples, some brick *suspensurae* were used in the first phase, but only in front of the *praefurnium*, where the heat would have been most intense.

around a peristyle; a great rockcut pool with a central statue base stood in its midst.[49] A staircase at the northeast corner probably led up to a second floor; this elevation above storm and spray probably allowed views out over the sea as well as toward the pool and the greenery around it.

One of the earliest alterations on site affected the private wing's northeast staircase: though excavation still continues, a tentative reconstruction of its phases can be made, thanks to several deposits of fine and imported pottery and lamps found in these contexts.[50] Around the mid-first century C.E., the wall that bounded the staircase's lower landing on the east was taken down, and the landing itself was raised by a new level of paving so as to pass over the former wall. This renovation likely allowed a new entry to the private wing from the public courtyard to its east, and could be associated with events such as the palace's transfer to Herod Agrippa I in 41 or its return to Roman governors in 44.

The same staircase was the site of one of the latest renovations in the Promontory Palace as well. In the Byzantine phase, probably in the sixth century C.E., the fine limestone facing blocks of this stair were removed for use elsewhere, and the stairwell was filled with thousands of fragments of mortar and white wall plaster, much of it painted, but almost no earth or other type of inclusion. This should mean that there was a thoroughgoing redecoration of the palace at this time, from which this was the debris. The former staircase was leveled off with a white plaster floor; a slight difference between this floor and the level of the poolside rooms was accommodated with a sloping ramp. A lead pipe found within the ramp probably led fresh water from an aqueduct or cistern to the pool, indicating that it was still in operation in the Byzantine era.

On the long axis of the private wing on the promontory was a symmetrical five-room dining suite that looked west across the great pool. Originally a large rectangular room was flanked on each side by two smaller rooms. Like similar suites at Aquincum, Dura-Europos, and probably Colonia, it turned its back on the public wing and faced out toward the water.

The central room was refloored at least four times, at least twice with fine mosaic. The latest one is a central panel of geometric patterns perhaps imitating opus sectile. The use of plain white tesserae for the sides of the room may indicate that it was meant to hold dining couches, though the contemporary mosaics of the two closer flanking rooms had similar central geometric panels set in white. The room originally had a plain back wall, for which the kurkar bedrock of the promontory had been trimmed; its side walls were very thick, indicating that it may have been vaulted, at least in its later stages. Fragments of mosaic made of tiny glass tesserae in gaudy colors, mainly geometric where any pattern is discernable, and natural scallop shells set into red-

[49] Report of the original excavations: Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 149–77.

[50] This important material is being studied and will soon be published by Andrea Berlin and Varda Sussman.

painted stucco, both indicate how the walls and perhaps ceiling may have been decorated. The scallop shells may hint at a "grotesque" marine theme, suitable to the location near the sea.

Later there were improvements to the back wall of the central room. First the bedrock behind it was hollowed out to accommodate a central apse; the mosaic that covered the rest of the room floored the apse as well. Afterward, however, the apse was transformed by addition of a semicircular pink plaster basin for water, probably with a fountain in its center.

The addition of the apse may have involved a renovation of the ceiling to add a semidome at that end of the room. The earliest known apses were associated with grottoes and fountains, but by the early Empire were being incorporated into public buildings as well.[51] The apse held sacral associations, which it retained even when incorporated into auditoria and dining rooms. Such dining rooms were not specific in function, but could be used as reception rooms or for meetings. The most famous apsed dining room is of course the *Cenatio Iovis* in the Domitianic palace on the Palatine, but even in a private house in Herculaneum, the *Casa dello scheletro*, an apse was added before 79 C.E. to make a "Cyzicene oecus" style dining/reception room more impressive.

The effect of an apse appears to have been to glorify the master of the house, who would have moved from his seat as *summus in imo*, on the left-hand couch of a typical triclinium, to an isolated position at the *domina mensa* within or before the apse, where he could be the cynosure of all eyes.[52] In the *Cenatio Iovis*, the apse was "the setting for the semi-divine majesty of the Roman emperor";[53] in Caesarea, as at Dura-Europos, it probably enhanced the glory of his representative, the governor.

The central room may have originally had a front wall with a door, but this was soon removed and the room opened out with columns or pillars instead. The area of the room was later extended out into what had formerly been the pool. A prominent gable may have then marked out the importance of the room within the peristyle.[54] A small marble-lined basin set near the entrance may have been a footbath, or perhaps a pool for small fish for the table.

A rear room in the northeast of the suite was later subdivided to provide space for a small private bath, consisting of a floor- and probably wall-heated *caldarium*, and a

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[51] Tamm, *Auditorium*, 147–205; on the (not necessarily imperial) connotations, see N. Duval, "Comment reconnaître un palais impérial ou royal? Ravenne et Piazza Armerina," *Felix Ravenna* 115, 4th ser., fasc 1 (1978), 27–62, esp. 49–50.

[52] Stat. *Silv.* 4.2 v.6, admittedly a poetic metaphor rather than an architectural term (the poet performs before Domitian at a banquet); L. Bek, "Questiones Conviviales: The Idea of the Triclinium and the Staging of Convivial Ceremony from Rome to Byzantium," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 12 (1983), 81–107.

[53] J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Architecture* (New York, 1977), 108; S. Ellis, "Power, Architecture and Decor: How the Late Roman Aristocrat Appeared to His Guests," in E. K. Gazda, ed., *Roman Art in the Private Sphere* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1991), 117–34.

[54] *Cenationes* with *fastigia*: Tamm, *Auditorium*, 196.

room sharing its wall, perhaps a *tepidarium*, beyond it; an extra wall was installed on the east side of the *tepidarium*, perhaps for insulation from the cold outer court. The two rooms did not interconnect, but both could be approached through the room just to the west, which formed part of the symmetrical dining-room suite on this side. The possible *tepidarium* could also have been entered via a small alcove connecting to the room to its north. The earlier marble floor slabs of the new bath rooms were removed for a plain white mosaic with black margin lines, and the walls were white-plastered. Brickstamps of the Legion X Fretensis found set in the *praefurnium* of the *caldarium* give the alteration a firm Roman (post-67 C.E.) date.

The order of bathing that this complex provided is not clear, probably because it had to be adapted to existing conditions; each bathing room could in fact have been used separately. The presence of a swimming pool in the center of the private wing probably dictated the location of the other facilities conveniently nearby. The great pool could have served as a *natatio* within the order of bathing, or could have been approached independently, as it had been before.[55]

Debris found in the rockcut chimney of the *praefurnium* indicates that the *caldarium* went out of service in or after the third century C.E. At that time a new *caldarium* was installed in the southeast corner of this wing; found in its floor were coins of the Tetrarchy as well as the two columnar bases whose last inscription was added between 293 and 305 C.E.[56]

The addition of a bath directly next to what probably continued to be used as a dining room needs to be explained. Of the other praetoria, Aquincum, Gortyn, and Dura-Europos all preserve the remains of baths, generally in the private wing or with entry directly from it. Gortyn's first phase even included a bath near a large apsed hall. Of course, bathing facilities near reception rooms had also been prevalent at the Herodian palaces, like the Northern palace at Masada or the Third Palace at Jericho. The location of the new Promontory Palace baths, probably dictated by convenience of access to the pool, may have been fortunate if the governor's dinner parties were rather on the luxurious side. Hot baths could be used as an adjunct to a dinner party, so that host and guests could clear their heads and stomachs, allowing them to eat, and especially to drink, yet more.[57]

As mentioned above, extensive renovations to the private wing's northeast staircase indicate that the Promontory Palace was still in use in the sixth century, in the Byzantine era. The bath rooms that were no longer in use had their doors blocked and were filled with debris, but the main suite of the private wing was still open; coins

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[55] Small, "Late Hellenistic Baths," is thought-provoking in this context, but the lack of indicators such as tubs and basins at the Promontory Palace makes the determination of an "Italian" or a "Palestinian" bathing procedure difficult.

[56] Burrell, "Two Inscribed Columns"; B. Burrell, K. Gleason, and E. Netzer, "Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19.3 (1993), 50–57, 76, esp. 56–57.

[57] This was a special vice of the emperor Gaius: Philo *Leg.* 14. Also Petron. *Sat.* 72-73; Pliny *NH* 14.139; Celsus *Med.* 2.17.

found on its floors date to at least 527–538 C.E.[58] Subsequently, the white mosaic floors of the suite's side rooms were burnt black, indicating the end of the building. This may have come about in the Arab invasion of the seventh century, though the exact date is still uncertain.

Perhaps the latest change to the Promontory Palace was the transformation of the pool in the private wing from a freshwater swimming pool to a seawater fish pool.[59] As the channels, sluices, and intermediate pools for the fish pool cut through the bedrock where the walls of the western (seaward) end of the private wing once stood, we must assume that this end, and more probably the entire building, was in a state of decay or destruction when the fish pool was installed. A deposit of whole lamps of Palestinian type found in one of the rock cuttings dates to the Umayyad or Abbasid periods of Islamic occupation, in the seventh to ninth century.

Conclusions

The Promontory Palace turns out to be very closely comparable to the four confirmed governors' residences elsewhere. It possessed or had added to it each of the features common to the other buildings: large courtyards for public, probably judicial, use; luxurious private facilities, including painted walls, mosaic floors, and heated baths; and a grand, symmetrical dining and reception suite in the center of the private wing, which turns its back on the public areas of the building and, indeed, the city, for the sake of the far view toward the river, the border, or the sea.

Though all the buildings are large, comparison in terms of sheer size is not as simple as might be expected. Several of them went through complicated development, of which not all phases are well documented. The earliest phases are especially vague, though these would in fact be the ones best comparable to the original scale of the Promontory Palace at Caesarea. Colonia, Aquincum, and Gortyn, though restored by their excavators to be the three largest complexes, have not been fully exposed, and their perimeters are still uncertain. Nonetheless, the Promontory Palace probably fell somewhere between Aquincum and Dura-Europos in magnitude, and that without taking into consideration the probable second floor of the private wing.

Of course, the Promontory Palace displays some idiosyncrasies as well. Its reception suite faces a closed pool rather than an open view, which could only be found on the

[58] Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 166.

[59] A. Flinder, "A Piscina at Caesarea – A Preliminary Survey," *IEJ* 26 (1976), 77–80; idem, "The Piscinas at Caesarea and Lapithos," in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology: Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours*, BAR Int. Ser. 257 (Oxford 1985), 173–78. We were happy to have the benefit of Sir Alexander's expertise on a visit to the site during this conference. See also J. A. Higginbotham III, "Artificial Fishponds in Roman Italy during the Late Republic and Early Empire," doctoral dissertation (University of Michigan, 1991), 246; though Italian fishponds were generally constructed earlier, there is some evidence for them as late as the fourth and fifth centuries C.E.

west end of the Promontory, whose walls are now too ruined by the sea to be completely restorable. On the other hand, this is due to the fact that the Promontory Palace was built earlier than any of the other buildings, at a time when the "portico-style" facade shown at Colonia, Aquincum, or Dura-Europos was not yet dominant. Also, the Promontory itself determined the design of the Promontory Palace, whereas the others were placed on less challenging terrain.

The Promontory Palace shows the most striking structural similarity to the Palace of the *Dux Ripae* at Dura-Europos, down to the apsidal ends built into their main dining/reception rooms. Most of all, they share the strict separation of public court from private wing, a characteristic that Downey has suggested to be the best indicator of palatial function. One might say that Dura-Europos was the specially built, third-century version of what was needed for the residence of an eastern governor, especially one who controlled a smaller province. The Promontory Palace was its predecessor: perhaps not as conveniently arranged as it would have been if, like Dura-Europos, it had been built for its function; but it had been serving that function very adequately for more than two hundred years when the palace at Dura-Europos was built.

As for that function, literature has not suggested that Herod's praetorium at Caesarea served as anything but the governor's residence, the site of his justice, and the place of custody for his prisoners. The Promontory Palace offers space for all these functions: perhaps a movable *bema* before the gate of its public court, south of the amphitheater; another *bema* in the center of the court; and a closed auditorium, perhaps on the court's north side.

The evidence from the other governor's residences, especially in the imperial provinces, could show what the staffing of the Caesarea praetorium might have been. Unfortunately, however, there are few cases where the rooms in the building can be correlated with their functions. Colonia's praetorium was all but stripped to its foundations. Aquincum had shrines that may have been under the control of the governor's *haruspex* and *victimarius*; no shrines were found at Caesarea. Dura-Europos offers the best evidence for possible guardrooms and waiting rooms, but there is nowhere near enough space for quartering a full bodyguard, which numbered 480 men for the governor at Colonia. It is likely that the bodyguard of the *dux* lived at the military camp on the other side of town, with only a few messengers and attendants on daily call at the palace, and we may hypothesize a similar situation at Caesarea. All of the palaces presumably had the usual domestic offices, including storage and servants' rooms. As it happens, the best correlation between room and staff is at Dura-Europos, where the personal theatrical troupe of the *dux* painted their names on the wall of their room; but their presence was no doubt due to the personal taste of that *dux*, and cannot be extended to other provinces.

The rooms of justice, suggested in the court in Aquincum and assured in the praetorium at Gortyn, were certainly used by the governor and his judicial associates, but it is unlikely that the latter lived or had offices on the premises. Such offices should have been provided for the copiers, takers of dictation and of minutes, and perhaps

the interpreters on the governor's staff, but unfortunately these functions leave little archaeological evidence.

The Promontory Palace preserves no specific quarters or offices for the governor's staff (perhaps one hundred strong, if Colonia and Aquincum are any guide), nor is there any sign of additional rooms added in the early second century, when that staff should have doubled in size. But in this, the Promontory Palace is again like other documented governor's residences: at Aquincum, though the governor's army and staff would have been doubled in the third century, the only change in this palace was the addition of some extra-luxurious bath rooms for the governor's own use. Perhaps the improvements to the reception suite at the Promontory Palace (bath, apse, later fountain, and extension) could also be tied in with augmentation of the governor's status, to *legatus* after 70 C.E. or to former consul after 108.

Thus the existence of governmental offices and official buildings at Caesarea outside the Promontory Palace should not be taken as contradictory, but as a situation to be expected. There were many provincial officials to accommodate (most notably, perhaps, those in charge of finances); but the sources do not locate any of them in the governor's residence, except for the governor himself.

To sum up, the Promontory Palace at Caesarea is similar in all significant aspects (features, structure, and size) to confirmed governors' residences elsewhere in the Roman world. In addition, no building so appropriate to the purposes and form of a Roman praetorium as the Promontory Palace has been found at Caesarea. Further exploration may be decisive, but thus far we should continue to treat the Promontory Palace as most likely to have been the praetorium of the Roman governors at Caesarea.

PART V

SCULPTURE FROM CAESAREA, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

15

Marble, Urbanism, and Ideology in Roman Palestine: The Caesarea Example

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In memory of Aharon Wegman, who was for many of us the torch lighting the secrets of Caesarean antiquities.

From the first century on, the Romans developed a marble architecture based on Greek imports that were accompanied by Greek artisans who became the first *marmorarii*. Under Augustus, who left behind a Rome "marmoream . . . quam latericiam accepisset" (Suet. *Div. Aug.* 28.3), Luni/Carrara in Italy became the main source of marble, as it still is today for the modern luxury market. In addition to the use of Carrara marbles, the Romans continued to import into Italy marbles from Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa, as we learn from written sources and the results of laboratory analysis.[1] All these represent a sort of revolution in the concepts of architectural planning, design, and decoration.

The Principate, including the consolidation of the provincial system, provided the framework for the expansion of marble quarrying and the marble trade as well. Marble seems to have become a symbol of the linkage between Rome and the provinces.[2] This process developed slowly but surely during the first century C.E. until marble production and the marble trade were organized as an imperial system at the beginning of the second century C.E. Within this system, marble began to be commercialized in all Mediterranean countries, and even outside their boundaries, as was the case in many branches of the Roman economy from the end of the first century B.C.E. on.

A system of marble quarrying and marble diffusion had been established, thanks mainly to the revolutionary changes that occurred in Roman economy, technology, politics, and social structures.[3] Its main characteristics are the development of an effi-

[1] As evident from contributions published in N. Herz and M. Waelkens, ed., *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade* (Dordrecht, 1988).

[2] P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1988), 323–33.

[3] Of the many studies by J. B. Ward-Perkins on this issue, see his last one, "Nicomedia and the Marble Trade," *PBSR* 48 (1980), 23–69, with bibliography; for summaries and specific issues, see, e.g., J. C. Fant, ed., *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade*, BAR Int. Ser. 453 (Oxford, 1988); Herz and Waelkens, eds. *Classical Marble*, passim; for a summary, see H. Dodge, "Ancient Marble Studies: Recent Research," *JRA* 4 (1991), 28–50.

cient transport system by sea, by river, and on land; a combination of central control of quarries, which came under imperial ownership, and a decentralized system of "overseas agencies"; an economic rationalization of production including new quarrying methods, standardization, and prefabrication, and leading *inter alia,* to the appearance of the *marmorarii* as a link with "overseas agencies" and regional workshops; and the existence of a highly developed municipal administration interested in and economically able to afford the purchase, transport, and use of marble products despite the existing difficulties, even during the crisis-ridden third century C.E.[4]

After having been inspired by the Augustan "revolution," including architecture and art and their significance, the cities of Asia Minor in the Flavian period began to develop a rich veneer style employing local marble, the *Marmorstil.*[5] The Roman marble quarrying and trading system, organized and developed at the turn of the first and second centuries C.E., created a framework for the spread of this marble style. It seems likely that this development was influenced by several factors in addition to the availability of marble. The stimuli for this long-term development were the political and social changes begun in the Empire and its provinces by Augustus.

Marble, Urbanism, and Ideology in Roman Palestine

Having entered the imperial marble system, Roman Palestine's building policy and artistic activity were obviously dictated by the rules of that system. Palestine became dependent on foreign marble sources and specialists.

It seems quite obvious that marble was used in Palestine for both architectural decoration and statuary, as well as for sarcophagi and minor arts. Unfortunately, this situation has no support from historical sources. The only ones mentioning marble imports in general, and the use of some specific marble items in particular, are the Jewish and the Christian sources.[6] Even without going into details concerning the origin, production, and transport of marble, these sources sometimes suggest the imperial character of the use of marble, by emphasizing the deep impression a look at "marble Rome" had on people.

Nevertheless, the erection of marble structures in existing Palestinian towns is evident. Thus, for example, Caesarea, Ascalon, and Scythopolis received new marble structures that overwhelmed older buildings, even though these cities were not affect-

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[4] I follow here the main ideas developed in my forthcoming *Marble Studies: Roman Palestine and the Marble Trade* (Constance, 1995).

[5] Zanker, *The Power of Images;* S. Walker, "The Burden of Roman Grandeur: Aspects of Public Building in the Cities of Asia and Achaea," in A. King, and M. Henig, eds., *The Roman West in the Third Century: Contributions from Archaeology and History,* BAR Int. Ser. 109 (Oxford, 1981), 189–97.

[6] For the issue in general, see S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* (Leipzig, 1910), 53; for some specific aspects, see Tziona Grossmark, in Fischer, *Marble Studies,* appendix.

ed by the Jewish Wars (66–135 C.E.) and thus obviously had no special need for rebuilding.

In fact, in Judaea Herod became one of the first promoters of the new policy, intensively implanting buildings in existing complexes or building over them. Since Herod's activity clearly belongs to the transition from Hellenistic to Roman architecture and art, it is difficult to decide whether temple structures (including large courtyards) erected during this period at Samaria and Caesarea were designed under Roman influence or were still oriented toward Hellenistic designs.

Marble, introduced into the country after the turbulent period of the Jewish Wars, certainly changed the designs used up to that time. In a continuation of Herodian building activity, at least at Ascalon and Caesarea, *Marmorstil* contributed to the redesign of buildings erected previously under Herod using local stone. These became civic centers bearing the new image typical of Roman imperial structures, including the message implied in their architectural and sculptural design.

Basing ourselves on the background described above, we may now have a glance at some items representing the intensive impact that the importation of marble had on "new" Caesarea after the Hadrianic period. As many of the architectural and sculptural items have been partly published, I present here only some of those that are relevant to the discussion.[7]

Architecture

Marble architecture at Caesarea is represented by components of assemblages typical of Corinthian facades, namely, architraves and friezes, cornices, and column capitals. *Architraves and friezes* are worked from one piece of marble. Some of them[8] are decorated by an acanthus scroll of remarkable decoration. Two acanthus ranks grow from acanthus leaves framing the left and right edges of the item. The prototypes are probably decorations located in Asia Minor, in Ephesus and its vicinity; however, Severan examples from Leptis Magna seem to be closer to our item.[9] In general, acanthus scrolls of marble occurring in Roman Palestine are composed of flowers and leaves clearly growing from the stem to the center of the medallions. Another piece consists of two fragments of an inscribed architrave-frieze.[10] The inscription is carved on the two upper fasciae of the frontal side and reads: [*coloniae*] *primae Fl(aviae) Aug(ustae)*/ [*Cleo?*]*patra mater eius f(ieri) i(ussit)*. Both frontal side and back sides were carved with the

[7] In almost all cases I refer to already published material collected in Fischer, *Marble Studies*, and, for sculpture mainly in R. Gersht, "The Sculpture of Caesarea Maritima" [Hebrew], doctoral dissertation (Tel Aviv University, 1987).

[8] E.g., Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CAR 14. Frova, *Scavi*, ill. on p. 17.

[9] W. Koenigs and W. Radt, "Ein kaiserzeitlicher Rundbau in Pergamon," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 29 (1979), 317–54, pl. 118.2–3; cf. M. F. Squarciapino, *Sculpture del Foro Severiano di Leptis Magna*, Monografie di Archeologia Libica 10 (Rome, 1974), pls. LVII–LX.

[10] Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CAR 19–10; cf. B. Lifshitz, *Latomus* 22 (1963), 783–84; cf. *L'Année épigraphique* 1964, 73–74, no. 188.

same accuracy, and the decoration of both is identical. Acanthus scrolls with leaves and flowers in their center cover the frieze. The elegant and artistically well carved scroll slightly differs from that of the friezes described above. That the surface of the frieze is not covered by a screen of dense medallions and leaves, as well as the high quality of the craftsmanship, make it possible to date it earlier in the second century C.E., but in any case not in the first century C.E. as suggested by the editors of the inscription.

Arcuated architrave-friezes,[11] which are arranged today in the area of the pulpitum of the theater, were part of an arcuated structure, perhaps a Syrian pediment decorating the scaenae frons of the theater. *Protruding architrave-friezes*[12] also are items that protruded from a wall as part of the architectural design, typical of the scaenae frons of Roman theaters. A special group of *Architrave-friezes with decorated fasciae*[13] are worthy of mention. They have richly decorated fasciae, a frieze covered by scrolls and decorated soffits. As almost all items are severely damaged, their design is to be restored by assembling their details. The architrave seems to have been divided into two fasciae, contrary to the usual tripartition. The upper fascia is decorated with a scroll forming oval medallions, whereas ivy leaves, vine leaves, and grapes are enrolled at intervals in the middle of them. In one case a bird is depicted in one of the medallions. The architrave is crowned by an astragal, ovolo, and a running dog. The frieze is only partly preserved in two cases. It probably was decorated with a scroll of acanthus leaves and flowers as in the regular architrave-friezes found at Caesarea. The frieze is crowned by an ovolo. The soffits are decorated with framed rows of running dog, ivy leaves, or scales.

Cornices found at Caesarea[14] may be divided into several groups mainly following the arrangements of their profiles. Items of *Group I* are decorated with the following profiles: ovolo, dentils, cyma reversa, coffers and modillions, fillet, astragal, sima composed of standing palmettes. Those of *Group II* are of the same design as group I, except for the absence of the ovolo in the lower edge of the item and the existence of a profile composed of triangular leaves (*Blättchenstab*) instead of the cyma reversa separating the lower components from the modillions. The lower surface of the modillions is covered at intervals by acanthus leaves and curled palmettes. The anthemion of the sima is of the same type as in group I. Items of *Group III* were decorated as the cornices of the previous group, except for the design of the sima, which consists of an anthemion of upright standing curled palmettes and inverted acanthus leaves. Artifacts attributed to *Group IV* are decorated, in general, with the same profiles as the previous groups. Only the corona differs here; it is covered by a fluted profile (*Pfeiffenfries*). The items of this

[11] Fischer, *Marble Studies,* CAR 21a–b–24.

[12] Ibid., CAR 25–28.

[13] Ibid., CAR 29–37.

[14] Following Fischer, *Marble Studies,* CAR 38–56; for one of them see A. Frova, *Caesarea Maritima (Israele): Rapporto preliminare della I^a campagna di scavo della Missione archeologica italiana – Istituto Lombardo* (Milan, 1959), pl. XIII, fig. 17: "pezzo angolare di trabeazione."

group can be divided into two subgroups: those of *Group IVa* have ovolo, dentils, and cyma reversa, whereas in *Group IVb* the ovolo is lacking. Two variants may also be noted for this group. Group IVa is represented by a corner fragment of entablature. Decoration starts with ovolo, dentils, and cyma reversa. Modillions are squared, unprofiled, with acanthus leaves and shingled motif (*Schuppenmuster*) beneath them. The corner modillion is adorned by a curled palmette beneath it. Coffers are decorated with flowers and leaves. Modillions and coffers are framed by an intermittent ovolo. The fluted corona is separated from the sima by an astragal. The sima is covered by an anthemion consisting of a continuous rank (scroll) composed of alternating curled palmettes tied at the bottom, standing upright and acanthus leaves turned downward. At the corner, two half-palmettes, one on each side, are tied by a straight band running over a squared bulk. This design seems to represent a type common in Asia Minor during the Hadrianic period.[15] The items of the second variant, group IVb, have the same design as group IVa except for the ovolo, which is missing here from the profiles starting the cornice from below.

Capitals dominating Roman Caesarea are of Corinthian style, reflecting a trend typical of second century C.E. sites receiving Proconnesian marble, such as Pergamon, even Athens, Ostia, Leptis Magna, Ascalon, and others. Some were unearthed by the Italian expedition that excavated the theater, and they probably belong to it. Others, spread over the different areas of the site or arranged in the courtyard of the Sdot Yam Museum, are of unknown origin. According to the historical, epigraphic, and numismatic sources of Caesarea, they could have been part of the numerous monumental structures that stood in the capital of the province. However, their attribution to those structures would be difficult to verify.[16] Besides the great variety of Corinthian capitals, having much in common with the Asia Minor and North African repertoire, figured capitals revealed at Caesarea are worthy of note: one of them reflects the veneration of Tyche as well.

A glance at the remains of Caesarean marble architecture should be sufficient to compare it with the monumental facades of the Asia Minor *Marmorstil* such as the Ephesian Library of Celsus or the Northern Gate of the Milesian Southern Agora.

Sculpture

The greatest part of the marble sculpture found in Israel also originated in Caesarea Maritima. This has been pointed out several times by excavators and archaeologists

[15] S. Pülz, *Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Bauornamentik von Didyma,* Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Beiheft 35 (Tübingen, 1989), pl. 35.6: Temple of Hadrian, at the "Kuretenstrasse"; see also V. M. Strocka, "Wechselwirkungen der stadtrömischen und kleinasiatischen Architektur unter Trajan und Hadrian," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 38 (1988), 291–307, pl. 40.2: Library of Celsus, ground floor.

[16] Nevertheless, an artistic and isotopic examination of capitals from Caesarea has made it possible to attribute a group of capitals of the same type, size, and isotopic features to a certain architectural structure, in this case, perhaps the theater. See M. L. Fischer, M. Magaritz, and Z. Pearl, "Isotopic and Artistic Analysis of Corinthian Capitals from Caesarea: A Case Study," in *Caesarea Papers,* 214–21.

who dealt with the Palestinian metropolis.[17] Among the most spectacular discoveries were two headless seated statues of Roman emperors that had been reused to embellish the entrance to the forecourt of a Byzantine palace. One of the statues is of white marble, the other of porphyry.[18]

The following is a brief description of some of the most outstanding examples of Caesarean sculpture. The already mentioned *porphyry*[19] *headless seated statue*, probably of Hadrian, is located near its replacement site during the Byzantine period, namely, the area of the "Street of Statues."[20] The shape of the toga conforms to the fashion of the first and second centuries C.E., and Avi-Yonah concludes that the person depicted is the emperor Hadrian, a conclusion supported by historical, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence. Such a monumental statue could have been part of a temple dedicated to the emperor, in this case a Hadrianeum. A Byzantine period inscription carved on a monumental pillar of the Roman period mentions a Hadrianeum.[21] Attempts to identify this statue as one of the monumental statues erected by Herod in the Temple of Augustus and Roma (Joseph. *BJ* 1.21.7 [414]) or as a statue of Titus[22] are to be rejected on artistic and chronological grounds. That a porphyry statue was found at Caesarea again emphasizes the city's special status among Palestinian cities, where such statues are otherwise completely lacking. Together with this statue, a marble statue of an *Emperor* or *Demos* was found.[23] The statue recalls the representation of Olympian Zeus, but its identification has given rise to numerous debates, opinions being divided between representations of the emperor Claudius or Zeus and the rep-

[17] A first attempt at a summary has been undertaken by Gersht, "Sculpture." Some of the sculptures were unearthed by the first excavations carried out immediately after the Israeli War of Independence or by the Italian expedition under the direction of Antonio Frova (1958–63). Many sculptures come from the theater excavated by the latter and probably belonged to it, as sometimes stated by Frova and his team. Others were uncovered during the salvage excavations carried out by A. Negev in the area of the Temple of Augustus and Roma and by the American Joint Expedition. See Frova, *Scavi*.

[18] S. Yeivin, "Excavations at Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology* 8 (1955), 122–29, figs. 5–6, 8; for the porphyry statue and its possible identification with the statue of Hadrian, which could have been part of the Hadrianeum, see M. Avi-Yonah, "The Caesarea Porphyry Statue," *IEJ* 20 (1970), 44–47; for statues of *togati*, our examples included, see H. R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz, 1990), 44–47, no. 247; 77, pl. 66-M31.

[19] A material quite unique among the statuary of Roman Palestine. It seems that marble and porphyry were quarried and commercialized according to the same principles. For a short summary of the main porphyry quarries in Egypt, namely, Mons Claudianus (Mons Porphyrites), see D.P.S. Peacock, "The Roman Quarries of Mons Claudianus, Egypt: An Interim Report," in: Herz and Waelkens, eds., *Classical Marble*, 97–101; for the use of porphyry for monumental statuary, still invaluable is R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 6 (Berlin, 1932).

[20] H. 2.45 m.; total height was ca. 3 m., and the weight ca. 7 tons; Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CSC 129; Gersht, "Sculpture," 40–41, no. 35; Goette, *Togadarstellungen*, 155, pl. 66.2.

[21] Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 21–22.

[22] P. R. Diplock, "The Date of Askalon's Sculptured Panels and an Identification of Caesarea Statues," *PEQ* 103 (1971), 13–16; idem, "Further Commentaries on 'An Identification of the Caesarea Statues,'" *PEQ* 105 (1973), 165–66, pls. XVII–XX.

[23] H. 2.70 m.; Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CSC 130; Gersht, "Sculpture," 41–42, no. 36.

resentation of the *demos* of Caesarea.[24] Its workmanship, however, makes possible a dating in the second or the beginning of the third century C.E. If one of these two statues represented an emperor and the second the *demos* (presumably of Caesarea), a combination of imperial and local feelings was once again achieved, as in the case of the statues of Tyche. To these statues, a *torso of an over life-sized cuirassed statue* is worthy of being added.[25] Undecorated cuirassed statues became common during the Antonine period, following the tendency to a certain verism at the time of Trajan including the emphasis on the *cingulum*.[26]

A group of statues representing the Caesarean Tyche should complete this short review. One of them is a *Tyche of Amazon type*[27] as she is depicted on Caesarean coins.[28] The goddess is represented as a standing woman dressed in a short peplos with right breast bare, a himation that falls over her left shoulder and rests on her right thigh, and a sword girdle that crosses her chest. She rests on her left leg, while her right leg is bent forward and her foot rests on the prow of a ship. Near her left leg is depicted a small figure holding an anchor. According to evidence from coins, mainly from the middle of the second century C.E. on, and to other artistic representations, the statue may be reconstructed as wearing on her head a turret or a basket (*kalathos*) and holding in her right hand a bust of the emperor, while her left hand supports a spear. The prow of the ship and the person holding the anchor would represent the port at Caesarea, which played a crucial role in Herod's decision to build the city. Tyche as the city goddess holding the image of the emperor is correctly interpreted by Gersht as a synthesis of imperial and local feelings.

Some further examples of the representation of Tyche have been uncovered in Caesarea, including two statues of Tyche of the Fortuna type.[29] It seems clear that in Caesarea Tyche was depicted as both an Amazon and as Fortuna. In some cases Tyche is represented standing between the columns of a temple (her own?). Tyche was venerated at Caesarea, and her statues probably decorated the sanctuaries and main monuments of the city.

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[24] See C. C. Vermeule and K. Anderson, "Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Holy Land," *Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 934 (1981), 11.

[25] Sdot Yam Museum, CM 52.1; h. 0.80 m.; discovered in 1952 west of the hippodrome; Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CSC 132; Gersht, "Sculpture," 43–45, no. 38.

[26] K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zu Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin, 1978), 161, cf. 128–29.

[27] CM 71.1. h. 1.36 m.; discovered in 1971 by the Joint Expedition; Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CSC 120; Gersht, "Sculpture," 27–29, no. 20; dated by her (ibid., p. 27) to the end of the first to the beginning of the second century C.E. See also R. Gersht, "The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima," *PEQ* 116 (1984), 110–14, and contra: R. Wenning, "Die Stadtgöttin von Caesarea Maritima," *Boreas* 9 (1986), 113–29.

[28] Kadman, *Coins*, 53–56.

[29] For the first, see Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CSC 121; IAA no. 69.1017, h. 1.35 m.; assembled from several fragments found in the Crusaders town; cf. Gersht, "Tyche," 112–14, fig. 4; also Wenning, "Stadtgöttin," 126; see Gersht, "Sculpture," 31–32, no. 25. The second one, Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CSC 122, was part of the Ustinow Collection and was later acquired by the National Gallery of Oslo; cf. Ringel, *Césarée*, 116, pl. XV.1.

Another monumental marble sculpture is worth mentioning, namely, the Artemis Ephesia.[30] This goddess is not represented in any other art form occurring in Caesarea; therefore it seems likely that her cult was not one of the city cults. Nevertheless, the existence of a statue of Artemis Ephesia in Caesarea seems to point toward extensive connections between Caesarea and the city of Ephesus. The statue could have belonged to an Ephesian community in Caesarea composed of officials, traders, soldiers, and/or artisans (e.g., *marmorarii!*). It is noteworthy, however, that only one other statue of Artemis Ephesia was uncovered in the region, at Gadara, one of the cities of the Decapolis.

Because Caesarea was founded by Herod as a new city, and the emperor's cult was from the beginning propagated as the main one, it seems likely that monumental sculptures were created primarily for the purposes of the imperial cult. As far as we know, Caesarea had no traditional deities or cults, despite its earlier history as Straton's Tower. One may only assume that, during the Hellenistic period, Phoenician or Hellenized Phoenician and Egyptian deities such as Isis were worshiped, as was usual in other east Mediterranean towns.[31] It seems that the lack of traditional gods was compensated for in Caesarea by the imperial cult, which was strongly emphasized. Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to state that a part of the varied pantheon of gods represented there should be attributed to the imperial cult. Although about 25% of Caesarean sculptures may be identified as representations of gods,[32] since all are headless it is difficult to state whether they were cult statues and thus reflect the cults worshiped in Caesarea. The following gods are depicted: Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Asklepios, Athena, Hygieia, Isis, Kybele, Mithras, Serapis, and Tyche. In fact, only two temples have been identified in the city: the Temple of Augustus and Roma, erected at the foundation of the city by Herod and unearthed in the early 1960s, and the Late Roman Mithraeum, which was set up in one of the southern warehouses of the Herodian harbor.[33] On the other hand, there are some indications of the existence of a Hadrianeum as noted above, and a Tiberieum, as revealed by the well-known inscription of Pontius Pilatus.[34] As for the Hadrianeum, Avi-Yonah's identification of the large porphyry statue as the emperor Hadrian makes it likely that it was the cult statue of this temple. The cult statues of Augustus and Roma are lost, but signs of the imperial cult may be seen in connection with statue of Tyche of the Amazon type. At any rate, judging from sculpture, coins, and gems, Tyche seems to have been the most venerated deity in Caesarea. On coins she is often depicted as Astarte or an Amazon

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[30] Fischer, *Marble Studies*, CSC 119; IAA 62.94.; exhibited in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem; h. 1.585 m.; Frova, *Scavi*, 206–15, figs. 262–66; see Gersht, "Sculpture," 22–24, no. 15.

[31] *P. Oxy.* 1380, lines 93–99; cf. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XI (London, 1915).

[32] Following Gersht, "Sculpture," 138.

[33] Joseph. *BJ* 1.414. Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 19; Ringel, *Césarée*, 40–42; for the Mithraeum see R. J. Bull, "A Mithraic Medallion from Caesarea," *IEJ* 24 (1974), 187–90.

[34] Frova, *Scavi*, 217–20, arguing against an identification with a temple; Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 20–21, on the contrary, prefers such an identification.

beneath the central arch of a temple, probably her own. Both in statutes and on coins she seems to hold the protome of the emperor, thus representing the linkage between the imperial cult and local policy and cult. The statue of Tyche represented as an Amazon was unearthed in an area south of the Street of Statues. Later a podium to which this statue belonged also came to light. In addition to these, a figured capital with the head of Tyche instead of the abacus flower was found in the same area.[35] It seems likely that all these discoveries together point toward the existence of a cult site dedicated to the Caesarean Tyche.

Imperial Cult

The imperial cult was one of the most important developments of the Roman period beginning with Augustus, and from the start it was practiced in conjunction with the worship of the traditional gods. Paul Zanker clearly pointed out that, in fact, the imposition of a well-organized imperial cult provided a common basis for the newly created Empire. Contrary to the generally accepted theory that Augustus rejected such a cult, the architecture and art of this period indicate a subsequent fulfillment of this policy.[36] Following Augustus' example of changing the visual aspect of Rome, "cities of marble" began to be built in the provinces as signs of "the new self-assurance." In circumstances where competition among cities was encouraged, the provincial aristocracy became the intermediary of the imperial building policy.[37] Already Vitruvius, a contemporary observer of these changes, states in the *praefatio* of his *decem libri* that the majesty of the Roman Empire must be reflected in public architecture, and accordingly he recommends that each Italian town should have a shrine (*aedes*) in the middle of the rear wall of the city hall. In fact, this occurred throughout the Roman world. The imperial cult generated deep transformations in the civic space of almost all cities: thus Ephesus was redesigned under Augustus.[38] A popular practice, however, became the dedication of architectural structures (such as porticoes, staircases, colonnades, and so on), sometimes including cult statues to various gods and the emperor.[39] Forums, basilicas, and temples housing cult statues were objects of architectural and sculptural decoration. A special place seems to have been occupied by the *gymnasia* or bath-*gym-*

[35] M. L. Fischer, "Figured Capitals in Roman Palestine. Marble Imports and Local Stones: Some Aspects of 'Imperial' and 'Provincial' Art," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1991), 119–44, no. 4, with bibliography.

[36] Zanker, *The Power of Images,* esp. 74–76, and fig. 60: the erection of his huge Mausoleum in Rome already in 28 B.C.E.(!) and the existence of colossal statues of Augustus himself leave no doubts about this tendency.

[37] Zanker, ibid., 323–24; Walker, "Roman Grandeur," 190, 192.

[38] S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1984), 133–40, fig. 3.

[39] Price, *Rituals,* 140, and 149: at Ephesus, a royal portico is dedicated to Artemis, Augustus, and Tiberius; at Rhodiapolis, a temple and cult statues are dedicated to Asklepios, Hygieia, the Sebastoi, and the City!

nasion, which became a sort of second agora for the city, and where the Hellenistic king's cult was continued in its new, imperial form in the aspect of the so called *Kaisersaal.*[40] These complexes should be viewed as a reflection of the imperial cult in its political orientation and flexibility. Special imperial space was created using porticoes, steps, and special rooms attached to existing spaces or newly created ones. Temples dedicated solely to the emperor or shrines and other features attached to existing temples became quite usual, whereas an accommodation of the imperial cult within the city civic space is evident, representing the relationship between the emperor and the cities. To the exclusive representations, which should be attributed in general to emperors, belong cuirassed statues, nude statues, large civilian statues dressed in abundant togas, and colossal statues. It was very rare for anyone except the emperor to be shown in armor.[41] Colossal statues are exclusively a type of artistic representation of god and emperors. Such a tradition, in addition to that of colossal architecture, originated in the East, including Persia and Egypt, and was also promoted during the Hellenistic period with the aim of emphasizing the importance of the kings. Herod the Great seems to have tried to compete with these achievements: large structures for the imperial cult crowned the new cities of Caesarea and Samaria-Sebaste founded by him, and, according to Josephus, two colossal statues – one of Augustus as Zeus Olympios and a second of Roma as Hera of Argos – adorned the temple in Caesarea. The huge structure of the Herodium, often compared with the Mausoleum Augusti at Rome, should not be forgotten in this context.

Tyche represented the city's essential elements as linked with the imperial power. In Ascalon, Isis-Tyche is probably connected with other representations of imperial victory. In Caesarea, the representation of diverse types of Tyche doubtlessly signifies the varied beliefs associated with her cult. As already mentioned, this goddess was very often portrayed on coins and gems. Her representation as both patron of the city and its harbor and, by holding a protome of the emperor, as a reflection of the linkage with the Empire and its main cult, is relevant as well.

Conclusion

In summarizing the type of impact that the importation of marble had on the urban and ideological aspect of Roman Caesarea, it should be pointed out that it became in some ways a "little Rome," much like other provincial capitals or main cities throughout the Empire. It seems clear that by studying the use of marble a common factor is revealed which can be helpful in analyzing Caesarea vis-à-vis other parts of the Empire. Unfortunately, no architectural complex using marble from the Roman peri-

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[40] Price, *Rituals*, 110, 143–44; cf. F. Yeguel, "A Study in Architectural Iconography: *Kaisersaal* and the Imperial Cult," *Art Bulletin* 64 (1982), 7–31.

[41] Price, *Rituals*, 181–88, esp. 186; Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen*, 147–48; H.-G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1968).

od has thus far been unearthed, except for the theater. Hence this study must be considered an interim survey.

The marble supplied to ancient Israel during the Roman period originated mainly in the quarries of Asia Minor, especially Marmara (Proconnesus) and Afyon. About 50–60% of the marble recorded in Israel originated in Proconnesian quarries, which makes the mention of Proconnesus as a major source of marble by the Jewish Talmudic literature even more plausible. Because Caesarea seems to have been the marble harbor of Roman Palestine, this ratio obviously also reflects the origin of Caesarean marble. Proconnesian marble was almost exclusively used for architecture and sarcophagi, whereas Afyon marble was often used for all categories of items. In general, Greek marble was rather seldom in the Palestinian inventory. The Pentelikon quarries, which are relatively better represented, supplied marble for both statuary and sarcophagi, whereas marble from Thasos, Hymmetus, and Paros can be attributed to only a restricted number of sculptures. As to Carrara marble, it is not surprising that no single artifact seems to be conclusively from this source. This fact reflects the situation mainly of the eastern Mediterranean, where a considerable increase of Asia Minor marble is noted. The same tendency can also be observed in the West, even at Rome and Ostia.

First of all, however, one should note the number of marble items in Roman Palestine in relation to other provinces that also imported marble, such as those of Western Europe and North Africa. Despite the lack of any comprehensive study of marble importation into other provinces and the fact that great amounts of marble have disappeared, a glance at the items recorded indicates that Roman Palestine had a comparatively low level of marble use. While in other provinces entire civic complexes were built and decorated using marble, Palestinian towns used this material quite selectively. Recent excavations at Scythopolis seem to prove this point again: only for two of a series of six or seven buildings was imported marble used.

Another point also bears emphasis. This concerns the use in Palestine of marble from a limited number of quarries. Marble was imported into Palestine from only six quarries of white marble, in contrast to other provinces, such as Tripolitania, that imported marble from about fifteen of these quarries.

The facts pointed out above, together with the characteristics of the items imported into Palestine, again stress the special nature of the Palestinian marble microcosm within the imperial framework. Judging from the results of excavations at Caesarea and Scythopolis, the character of the implanted buildings was rather representative: civic centers, theaters, temples. Sculptural decorations that may be attributed to them point to connections with various gods, but the imperial cult seems to have dominated. The use of colossal statues, including cuirassed statues, and combinations with other gods are evident as well. The situation described here resembles that of Italy and the provinces during the Principate.

Summing up, it seems likely that the architectural and artistic activity employing marble deeply affected the exterior aspect of Roman Caesarea, thus reflecting the changes in policy and ideology that occurred in the country.

16

Miscellaneous Ornamented Architectural Elements in Roman Caesarea

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The extended archaeological excavations at Caesarea Maritima have unearthed a number of ornamented marble blocks. Some are perfectly carved and adorned, others are only partly worked or unfinished, while the rest are in a very bad state of preservation, defaced or broken. It is most likely that the blocks were brought in quarry state from Asia Minor, while decoration and finishing were being executed on site, before the block was put into place.[1] The majority of the blocks found belong to the scaenae frons of the theater and date to its Severan period (figs. 1–2); the remainder come from other buildings in the town and are probably of earlier date. The blocks have never been systematically published.

The blocks are similar in design and ornamentation to the marble blocks of the Roman theater at Beth Shean[2] and also to the ornamented entablature blocks of local stone found in the recent excavations at Beth Shean, in the Roman temple at Kedesh, and in other Roman sites (fig. A, p. 302). On a number of blocks, however, the carving and ornamentation are of a different design (fig. B, p. 303).

This chapter lays out a typology with the aim of establishing the iconographic and stylistic sources of the ornamentation. The discussion of the ornated marble blocks from Caesarea Maritima is selective, concentrating on certain representative specimens.[3] It is based on a comparison of the Caesarea Maritima blocks with those of the Roman theater at Beth Shean – also carved from marble brought from Asia Minor, with parallels in Asia Minor itself – and with fragments carved in local stone from Eretz Israel and the Syro-Phoenician region.

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[1] This chapter was completed with the support of the Department of Art History, Tel Aviv University.

For a discussion of importing and working of the marble, see A. Ovadiah and Y. Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls in Roman Architectural Decoration in Israel* (Rome, 1994), 105–7, 111–12, and 126, as well as other works listed in the bibliography there.

[2] See Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls.*

[3] Because of the selectivity of the discussion, only representative and reasonably well preserved blocks are described and their dimensions reported. The typology of the architrave and cornice blocks is based on their design and decoration. The following abbreviations are used to represent the block types: A = architrave with frieze; AR = arch; C = cornice.

Figure 1. General view of the theater and architectural fragments, looking east. Photograph by the authors

The Theater

Architrave and Frieze Blocks

Each architrave is surmounted by a pulvinated frieze, both cut in one and the same block, as in the Beth Shean theater.[4] Most of the friezes are in a poor state of preservation; their ornamentation appears to be simpler and of inferior design and execution than the Beth Shean friezes. Many of the blocks have lost their soffit.

On examination, the ornamentation of the architrave blocks from the scaenae frons of the theater reveals two types:[5]

[4] Carving the architrave and the ornamented frieze out of the same block was common practice in the Roman period. Such blocks have been found in Tyre, Samaria-Sebaste, Shuni, Beth Shean, and Beth Guvrin; Y. Turnheim, "Formation and Transformation of the Entablature in Northern Eretz Israel in the Roman and Byzantine Periods," *ZDPV* (forthcoming, 1996). In the Capernaum Synagogue the frieze is carved on the same block as the cornice; Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 140–41.

[5] Most of the friezes surmounting the architrave blocks are damaged or destroyed. It is impossible to know if the friezes were all ornamented in the same way or whether, in this case as well, two frieze types were used. The remains of the decoration on frieze blocks AI 8, AR 4, and AR 5 might indicate the latter possibility. The same is true for the soffits: most of the preserved ones are on the projecting, three-

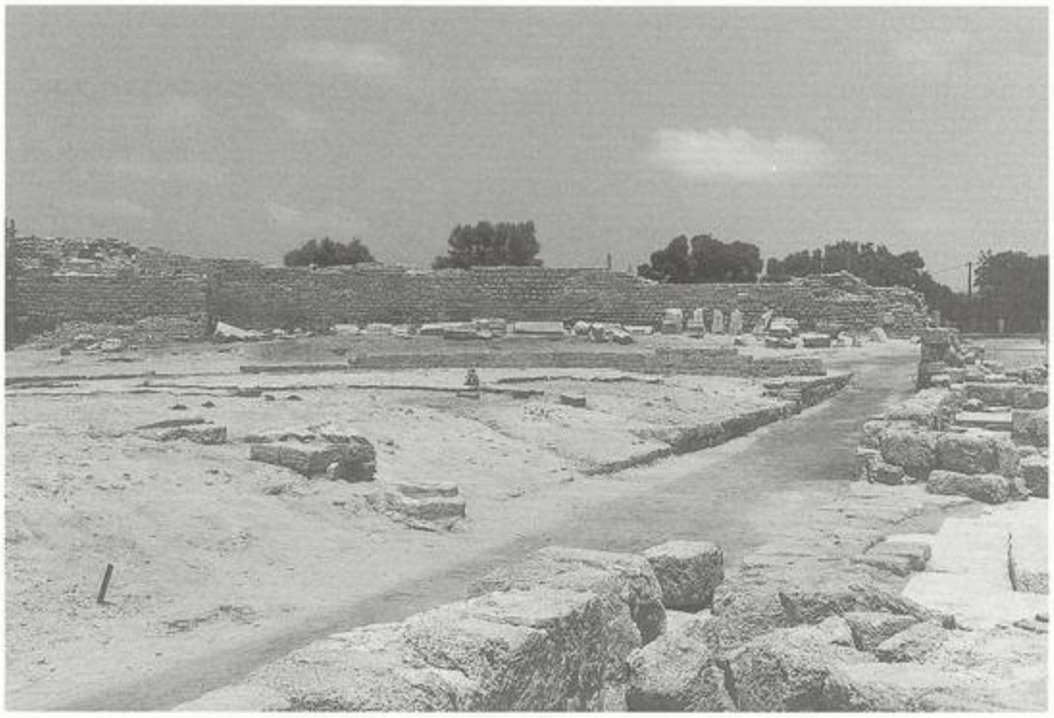

Figure 2. Architectural fragments in the theater's area, along the Byzantine road, looking north. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Type AI is found on the majority of the blocks (AI 1-13, figs. 3–13).[6] The architrave is divided into three graded fasciae separated from each other by an astragal decorated with bead-and-reel, as in the Beth Shean theater, except that in Caesarea Maritima the fasciae themselves are decorated in low relief. The upper fascia is carved with oval

faced blacks (AIII) and on most of them they are the only ornamentation to have survived (see below, "Architrave Blocks with Three Faces").

[6] Dimensions of a sample of blocks of this type (l. = length; h. = height; w. = width):

Block AI 1 (inv. no. 92.6071). l.: 2.90 m.; h.: 0.80 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.65 m; h. of frieze: 0.34 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 14 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.30 m.; fasciae (lower and middle one together): 10 and 16 cm.

Block AI 3 (inv. no. 92.6136) (dimensions of the surviving fragment). l.: 1.03 m.; h.: 0.68 m.; h. of frieze: 0.35 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 15 cm.; fasciae: 13, 12, and 10 cm.; w. of soffit: 0.54 m.

Block AI 4 (inv. no. 92.6084). l.: 2.10 m.; h.: 0.76 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.60 m.; h. of frieze: 0.40 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 9 cm.; fasciae: 13 and 11 cm.

Block AI 8 (inv. no. 92.6078). l.: 1.49 m.; h.: 085 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.62 m.; h. of frieze: 0.34 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 15 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.36m.; fasciae: 14, 8, and 8 cm.; w. of shelf: 5 cm.

Figure 3. Architrave and frieze (defaced), block AI 3. Photograph by Aaron Levin

scrolls of vine branches "peopled" with bunches of grapes,[7] vine or ivy leaves (AI 4, figs. 6–7), or a single bird (AI 3, figs. 4–5).[8] These scrolls are made up of two intertwining branches sprouting stylized sprigs and leaves. The depiction is very stylized and makes much use of the drill, especially in the bunch of grapes. The bird that "peoples" the second scroll from the right (AI 3, fig. 5) is also stylized, its elongated body filling the whole scroll, the end of its tail, and its wings, beak and feet reaching to the outlines of the scroll. The artist or artisan has been able to accentuate the eye and the curved beak and to create tension between mass and space. In the middle fascia one can detect a line of flat and denticulated leaves, the point of each leaf touching the bottom of the stem of the next one (AI 4, fig. 7; AI 5, fig. 8; AI 7).[9] Unfortunately,

[7] For the occurrence of vine trellis in architectural decoration in Eretz Israel, see Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, appendix.

[8] There is a certain likeness between this ornamentation and that of the fasciae of the doorway to the Temple of Ba'alshamin at Si'a in Syria; M. Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* (London, 1974), pl. 99. Oval scrolls are also carved on some of the soffits in the temple at Perge (authors' photograph).

[9] The leaves are similar in shape to those carved on the architrave crowning of some of the blocks

Figure 4. Block AI 3, detail. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 5. Block AI 3, detail (stylized bird). Photograph by Aaron Levin

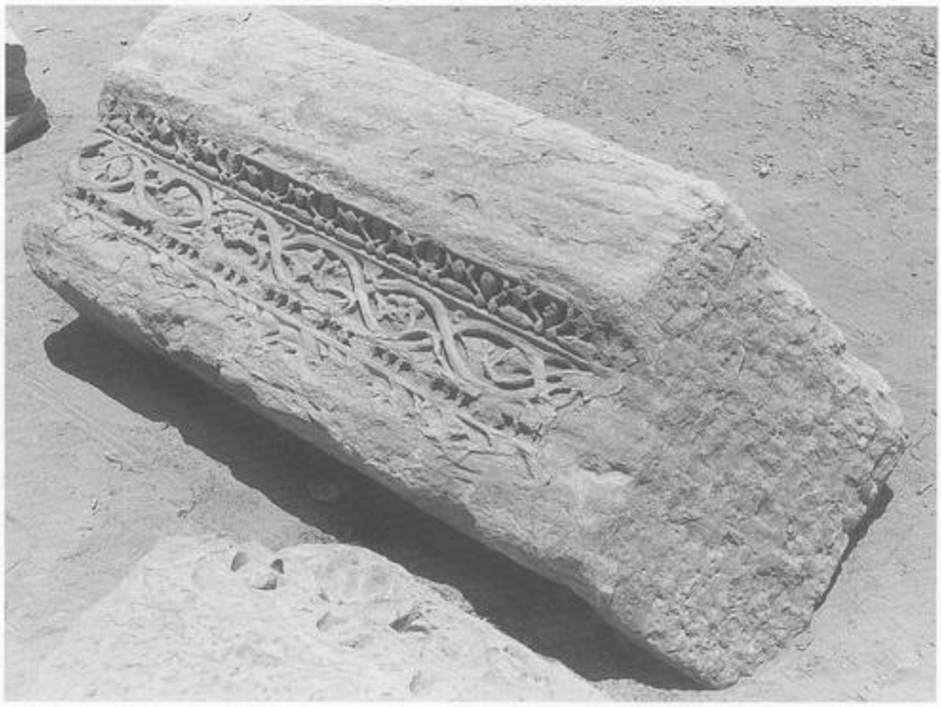

Figure 6. Architrave and frieze (defaced), block AI 4. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 7. Block AI 4, detail. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 8. Decorated architrave block AI 5 and its soffit. Photograph by Aaron Levin

the lower part of most of the blocks is broken so that it is difficult to know what ornamentation was carved on the lower fascia (AI 5, fig. 8).[10]

The architrave crowning of these blocks is adorned, from bottom to top, with a band of bead-and-reel and above that a pattern of egg-and-dart (with diamond-shaped darts)

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from the scaenae frons at Beth Shean; Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, Type II, p. 101 n. 37. They also recall the denticulated leaves found on architectural elements from Kasioun; Z. Ilan, "A Survey of Ancient Synagogues in the Galilee" [Hebrew], *Eretz-Israel* 19 (1987), 169–98, ill. 19. A similar leaf pattern decorates the cornice of the podium in the theater at Hierapolis; D. de Bernardi-Ferrero, *Teatri classici in Asia Minore*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1966–74), fig. 101.

[10] Ornamentation carved on an architrave fascia is rarely found in classical architectural decoration. On the upper fascia of the arch of the Beth She'arim mausoleum one can detect scrolls "peopled" with flowers (Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, ills. 282–83). Scrolls of vine trellis containing a bird are found on the lintel (or fascia) of the synagogue at Chorazim (H. Kohl and C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea* [Leipzig, 1916; repr. Jerusalem, 1973], figs. 85–86). An architrave block(?) from Meroth has vine trellis carved on it (Z. Ilan and E. Damati, *Meroth – The Ancient Jewish Village* [Hebrew] [Tel Aviv, 1987], 48), as does the entablature of the northern *thalamos* in the temple of Bel at Palmyra (H. Seyrig, R. Amy, and E. Will, *Le Temple Bel à Palmyre* [Paris, 1979], 1:42, 44–45, etc.). *Meander*-decorated fasciae occur in the Temple of Jupiter at Damascus (K. S. Freyberger, "Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte des Jupiter-Heiligtums in Damaskus," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4 [1989], 61–86, fig. 1 and pl. 22a–d), in some of the buildings at Hauran (Es-Sanamen: ibid., pl. 23b; K. S. Freyberger, "Das Tychaion von as-Sanamain: Ein Vorbericht," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4 [1989], 87–108, pl. 38a–b; Slim: ibid., pl. 38c; Mushennef: ibid., pl. 38d; H. C. Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*, Publications of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900, vol. 2 [New York, 1903], 318, 364 fig. 127), and also on some of the architrave blocks unearthed at Beth Shean (yet unpublished). This rare convention is also

and a cavetto, which, although hardly preserved, seems to have been decorated with a common trailing branch (AI 8, figs. 10–11]).[11] It is noteworthy that there is a correspondence between the bead-and-reel and the egg-and-dart bands (the "shell" of the eggs is joined to the reels and the darts/lozenges are placed in the middle of the beads), as was common in the ornamentation in Asia Minor during the second century C.E.[12] On most of the blocks the pulvinated frieze and its decoration are totally destroyed.[13]

The ornamentation on block AI 1 (fig. 12) is, for the most part, destroyed; fragments of the architrave crowning and the top part of the ornamentation of the upper fascia are all that survives. However, the reasonably well preserved soffit is decorated with a garland of elongated laurel leaves or a bud pattern, framed with a band of triangular leaves. Block AI 8 (fig. 10) is carved on three faces and apparently projected from the wall of the scaenae frons.[14] Its decoration is much eroded, but one can detect three ornated fasciae, the architrave crowning and its components, and the frieze scrolls. The rear part of the block that should fit into the wall is roughly worked with clear traces of apparently later smoothing and polishing.

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found at Rome in a fragment from the *cryptoporticus* of the Domus Tiberiana (C. F. Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums* [Vienna-Cologne, 1971], 267, pl. 953), on a fragment of the Severan period from the Domus Augustana (S. Neu, *Römisches Ornament. Stadtrömische Marmorgebälke aus der Zeit von Septimius Severus bis Konstantin,* doctoral dissertation [Münster, 1972], pl. 22b), and also in the later stage of the Flavian Palace on the Palatine (late third to early fourth century: J.M.C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *PBSR* 18 [1950], 1–43. pl. X2). Scrolls are carved on the second fascia of the Temple of Castor at the Forum Romanum (D. E. Strong and J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Temple of Castor in the Forum Romanum," *PBSR* 18 [1962], 1–30, esp. 18–19) and on other buildings from the Julio-Claudian period. The convention of ornamentation on all three fasciae occurs in the Flavian period but is already rare in these later times, occurring only in imitation of the earlier styles. The drawings of the entablature of the Temple of Divus Hadrianus show garlands carved on the upper fascia of the architrave (D. Strong, "Late Hadrianic Architectural Ornament in Rome," *PBSR* 21 [1953], 118–51, fig. 2), but Strong is of the opinion that this is a reconstruction based on the decoration of the Castor temple (ibid., 124). Neu believes that fascia ornamentation is a baroque phenomenon signifying the ultimate stage in the deterioration of tectonic ornamentation; Neu, *Römisches Ornament,* 79 and n. 235.

[11] A trailing branch like this can be seen on some of the architrave blocks of the Beth Shean theater; Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* blocks 34–36. This pattern together with a band of bead-and-reel and a band of egg-and-dart is typical of the cavetto ornamentation on the architrave crowning of many monuments in Asia Minor; ibid., 121 n. 17; see also n. 20 below.

[12] Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture,* 202. Such correspondence between the bands of the ornamentation is characteristic of Greece and Asia Minor but is rare in Eretz Israel and the neighboring countries; Y. Turnheim, "Architectural Decoration in Northern Eretz-Israel in the Roman and Byzantine Periods" [Hebrew], doctoral dissertation (Tel Aviv University, 1987), 119–20; E. Weigand, "Baalbek, Datierung und kunstgeschichtliche Stellung seiner Bauten" *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1924), 77–99, 165–96, esp. 170, 174.

[13] Block AI 10 retains the molding of the frieze to its full height. Although the ornamentation is quite obliterated, it seems that an additional molding was added above the frieze, as it was with Type AII.

[14] Like some blocks at the Roman theater in Beth Shean (Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* blocks 26–30 and 50, pp. 51–56, 63–64), except that the soffits in Beth Shean are unornamented; see also n. 32 below.

Figure 9. Undecorated face of architrave block AI 5 with soffit. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 10. Architrave and frieze, block AI 8. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 11. Block AI 8, detail. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Of the badly broken block AI 5 (figs. 8–9) there remains the lower part of the architrave from the upper fascia downward, including the soffit and its ornamentation. The architrave ornamentation, from top to bottom, comprises: on the upper fascia, scrolls "peopled" with ivy leaves; and on the middle fascia, a pattern of leaves, the two separated by a band of bead-and-reel. The lower fascia seems to be separated from the higher ones by a rope pattern[15] and has a garland of laurel leaves for decoration. The

[15] This convention, whereby the fasciae are separated by a rope pattern, also figures on architrave blocks in Caesarea Maritima and other places, but is much rarer than separation by a band of bead-and-reel. The rope pattern apparently originated in the East (Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 92) and thence was exported to Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean. As early as the Hellenistic period, it appears in Pergamon separating the fasciae of the architrave (E.-L. Schwandner, "Beobachtungen zur hellenistischen Tempelarchitektur von Pergamon," in W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, eds., *Hermogenes und die hochhellenistische Architektur* [Mainz, 1990], 85-103, figs. 17-18). It is especially found in the Eastern Empire (Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums*, 276) and in North Africa (G. Caputo, *Il Teatro di Sabrata* [Rome, 1957], pl. 65: the theater at Sabratha) but can also be seen in Rome on the Arch of Titus and in late Hadrianic structures that display technical and stylistic links to Asia Minor (Strong, "Architectural Ornament in Rome," 133–34). As for its incidence in Eretz Israel, it became part of the local decorative repertoire (Turnheim, "Architectural Decoration in Northern Eretz-Israel," 35–55). The rope pattern is frequently used as a division between architrave fasciae throughout the Roman world.

ornamentation, which was originally planned to adorn the soffit for most of its length, has for some reason been interrupted halfway. The architrave, too, seems not to have been carved along the whole length of the block. Perhaps the placing of the block was altered while it was still being carved. As a result, the block was cut to smaller dimensions and its carving left incomplete,[16] the unornamented part intended, apparently, to fit into the wall of the scaenae frons. Block AIII 3 (fig. 28) shows a similar phenomenon. A second possibility is that, after completing the outline of the soffit and planning its ornamentation, the craftsmen did not complete the work because of some mistake in the planning and design of the soffit, or for some other reason. Circumstances make it clear that the carving of the block in question began with the soffit, proceeding subsequently to the other faces (see also n. 32 below). Most of the floral ornamentation of the soffit is destroyed: the main part that survives is the frame done in a pattern of triangular leaves.[17] It seems that the block was intended to project from the scaenae frons (like blocks AI 8, fig. 10; and AIII 1–9, figs. 26–30), but it has been ornamented on one face only. The original plan may have been to ornament the projecting blocks (group AIII) in the same way as the other blocks of the architrave, but for some reason the plan was not carried out (see n. 31 below).

Type AII is represented on four blocks (AII 1–4, figs.14–18).[18] The architrave is designed with three graded fasciae, separated from each other by two astragals with bead-and-reel ornamentation, and a pulvinated frieze carved with acanthus leaf scrolls. Overall, this type resembles the adorned blocks of the Roman theater at Beth Shean,[19] despite showing a few features from Asia Minor. The architrave crowning comprises a band of egg-and-dart and the trailing branch on the cavetto, in a manner similar to Type AI and to a number of blocks from the Beth Shean theater. Above the pulvinated frieze an additional molding carved with egg-and-dart can be detected. This design is identical to that conventional in Asia Minor[20] and also found on single blocks of the Beth Shean theater.[21] The friezes of these four blocks have not survived well:

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[16] A similar occurrence can be observed in the Roman theater at Beth Shean; Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 105–6 and n. 4.

[17] A soffit ornamented with a trailing branch and framed in an uncompleted pattern of triangular leaves has also survived on block AI 12. Although the block is damaged, the rope pattern separating the two lower fasciae is well preserved. The soffit of block AI 3 was similarly designed, but is very badly damaged.

[18] Dimensions of a sample of blocks of this type:

Block AII 2 (inv. no. 92.6063). l.: 1.60 m.; h.: 0.72 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.51 m.; h. of frieze: 0.32 m. (with an additional ovolo molding); h. of architrave crowning: 12 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.27 m.; w. of shelf: 5 cm.; fasciae: 10, 7, and 6 cm.

The dimensions of a block with exceptional ornamentation (AII 1), carved on all faces, are given in n. 22 below.

[19] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 25–65.

[20] In Asia Minor an additional molding ornamented with bead-and-reel is usually carved at the bottom of the architrave crowning, as it is on Type AI; Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, chap. 7, n. 17; see also n. 11 above.

[21] Ibid., blocks 38–39, p. 107 and n. 8.

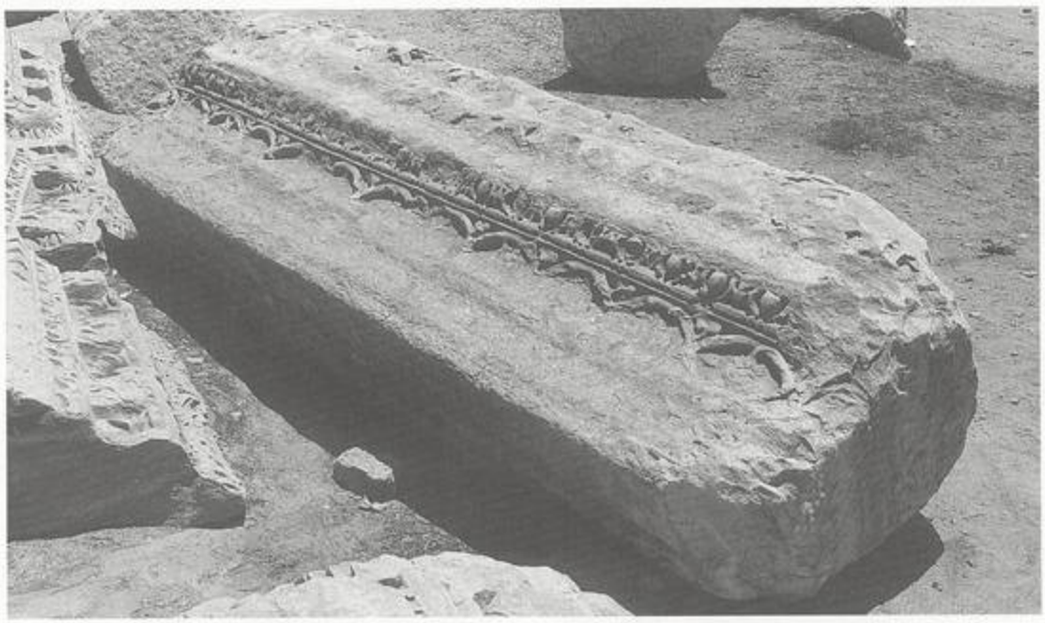

Figure 12. Architrave and frieze (defaced), block AI 1 with soffit. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 13. Architrave and frieze (defaced), block AI 10. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 14. Architrave and frieze, block AII 1. Photograph by the authors

Figure 15. Top and rear faces of roughed-out block AII 1. Photograph by the authors

complex acanthus leaf scrolls "peopled" with leaves and shoots are distinguishable.

Block AII 1 (figs. 14–17) has survived in its entirety.[22] Its front face, that is, the frieze and architrave, is designed with precision, but on the top face of the block (fig. 15) a three-fascia architrave and a flat frieze have merely been roughed out. The frieze is framed at each end by a vertical acanthus half-leaf, just as are the friezes of the Beth Shean theater.[23] The frieze is densely adorned and consists of two entwined and curling acanthus branches which intersect to form oval scrolls "peopled" with leaves and sprigs (fig. 14). The frieze design resembles several in the theater of Hierapolis (Pamukkale),[24] as well as the plant pattern on block "A" at Tyre,[25] although at Tyre the carving is coarser. The soffit of the block is carved with a decoration of trailing ivy. The fourth (rear) face of the block, showing the craftsman's chisel marks, is roughed out for two fasciae, the architrave crowning and a flat frieze. Why the ornamentation was not completed is unclear: was there a hitch or a blunder, or perhaps the block was intended for some use that in the end was not realized? In any event, we have the opportunity to follow once again the different stages in the production of architectural decoration.[26]

The upper part of the frieze on block AII 3, which forms part of the external-peripheral wall of the theater, has been quite destroyed, so that we cannot know if it originally terminated with an additional egg-and-dart molding like the other blocks of this type, to which it is identical in all other respects.

Of block AII 4 (fig. 18A) there remains only part of the architrave and a well-preserved soffit decorated with a trellis framed with a cyma reversa pattern.

To Type AII must also be attributed seven blocks from a stone arch (AR 1–7, figs. 19–25),[27] some unfinished, and one retaining a Greek character that is almost certainly a chiseler's mark. These seven blocks have been decorated on both faces, but one face is unfinished, although a frieze, cavetto, and fasciae are clearly detectable.

The decoration of the architrave of several of the blocks is both carelessly and clumsily done: the three fasciae and the dividing moldings have been carved and decorated with a bead pattern, instead of the customary bead-and-reel, but on some blocks the carving is incomplete; on the architrave crowning of blocks AR 4 (figs. 20, 22) and AR 6 (fig. 25), small arches have been marked, probably with the intention of carving

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[22] *Block AII 1.* Front face: l.: 2.22 m.; h.: 0.74 m.; h. of frieze: 0.33 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 12 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.27 m.; w. of shelf: 5 cm.; fasciae: 10, 7.5, and 3.5 cm. Upper surface: w.: 0.52 m.; fasciae: 17, 13, and 3.5 cm. Rear face: h.: 0.63 m.; h. of frieze: 0.25m.; h. of architrave crowning: 14 cm.; fasciae: 13 and 8.5. Soffit: w.: 0.40 m.

[23] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* blocks 6, 8–9, 18, and 29.

[24] S. Türkoglu, *Pamukale (Hierapolis)* (Istanbul, 1986), 16.

[25] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* 134, ill. 261.

[26] Ibid., 105–7.

[27] Dimensions of a sample of blocks of this type:

Block AR 2 (inv. no. 92.6112). h.: 0.78 m.; w. of lower surface: 0.43 m.; w. of soffit frame: 0.19 cm.

Block AR 3 (inv. no. 92.6111). h.: 0.80 m.; w. of lower surface: 0.43 m.; w. of soffit frame: 0.29 cm. The four blocks found close to the theater (inv. nos. 92.6446–49): h.: 0.73–0.78 cm.

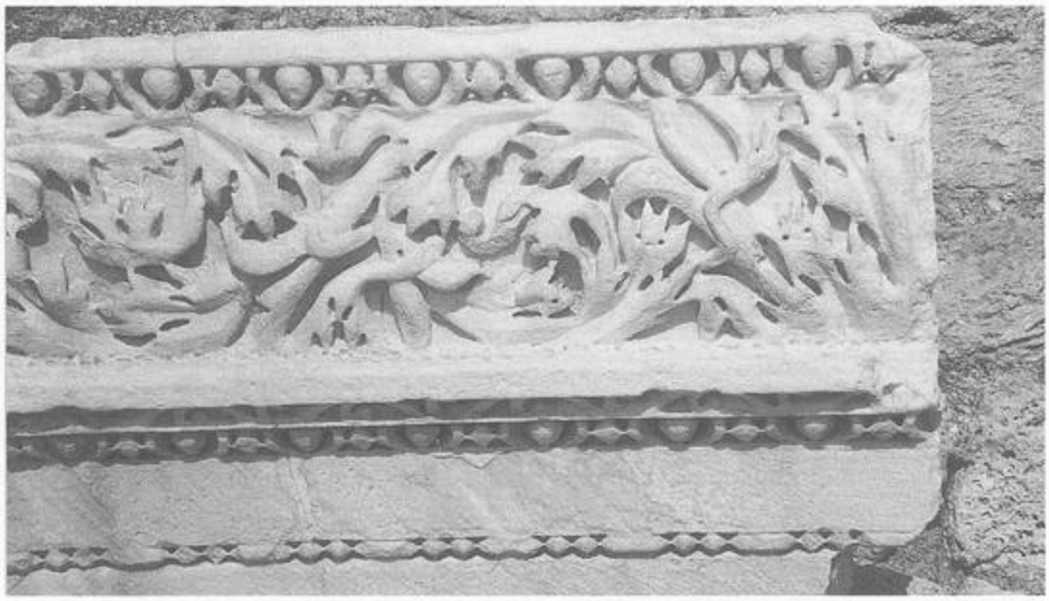

Figure 16. Front face of block AII 1, detail. Photograph by the authors

Figure 17. Front face of block AII 1, detail. Photograph by the authors

Figure 18. Architrave and frieze, block AII 2. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 18A. Decorated soffit of architrave, block AII 4. Photograph by Aaron Levin

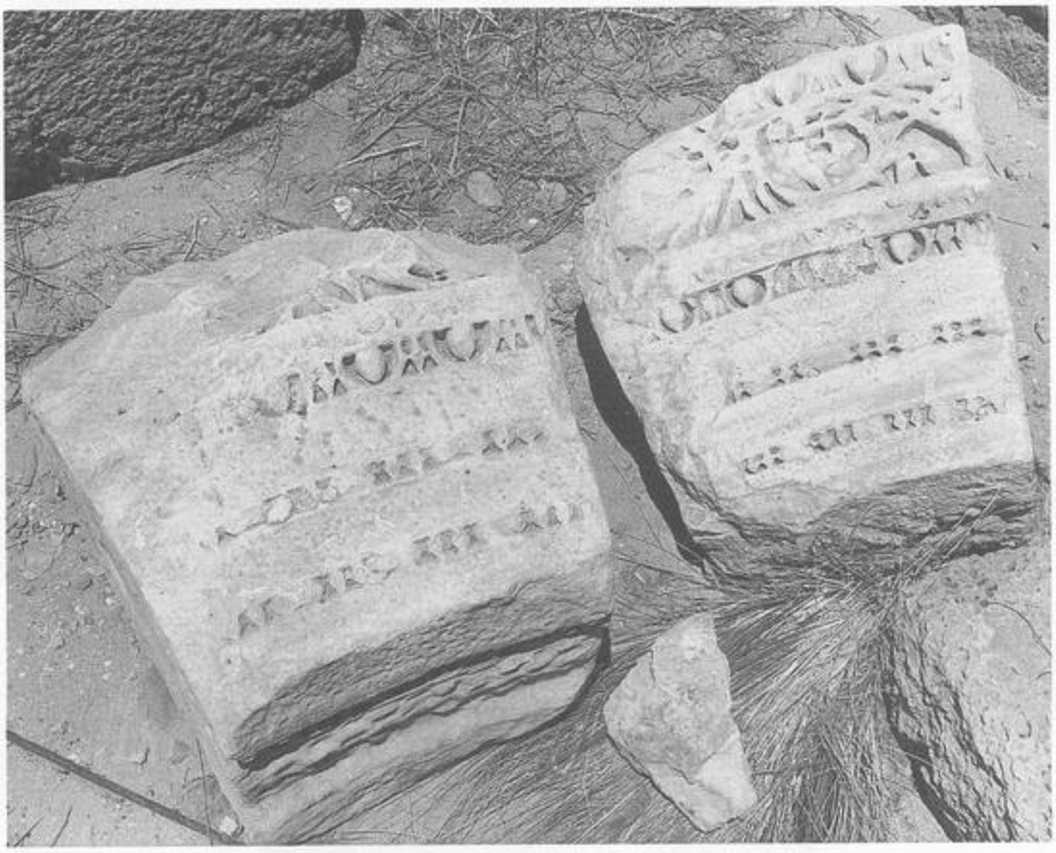

Figure 19. Arch blocks AR 2 and AR 3. Photograph by Aaron Levin

a flute pattern.[28] The cavetto is missing, and there is no trace of the egg-and-dart pattern that usually figures on the architrave crowning. On block AR 6 (fig. 25) there survive, in addition to the architrave, the scrolls and a partly finished band of eggs above the frieze. The careless and unskilled execution of these blocks is perhaps due to some defect in them, so they were reused as practice material for apprentices. An alternative explanation is that apprentices so damaged the blocks in their attempts to carve them that they had to be thrown aside.

The ornamentation of blocks AR 2 (fig. 19) and AR 5 (figs. 20, 23) retain the common decorative conventions, but the friezes show a high quality of carving and a skill that recalls block AII 1 (figs. 14, 16–17). On the rear side of block AR 5 (fig. 21) only

[28] A similar flute pattern is carved on the architrave crowning of the arch of catacomb no. 20 in Beth She'arim; N. Avigad, *Beth She'arim*, vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1976) [English version], pl. XXXII(2).

Figure 20. General view of arch blocks AR 4, AR 5, AR 7, and AR 8. Photograph by Aaron Levin

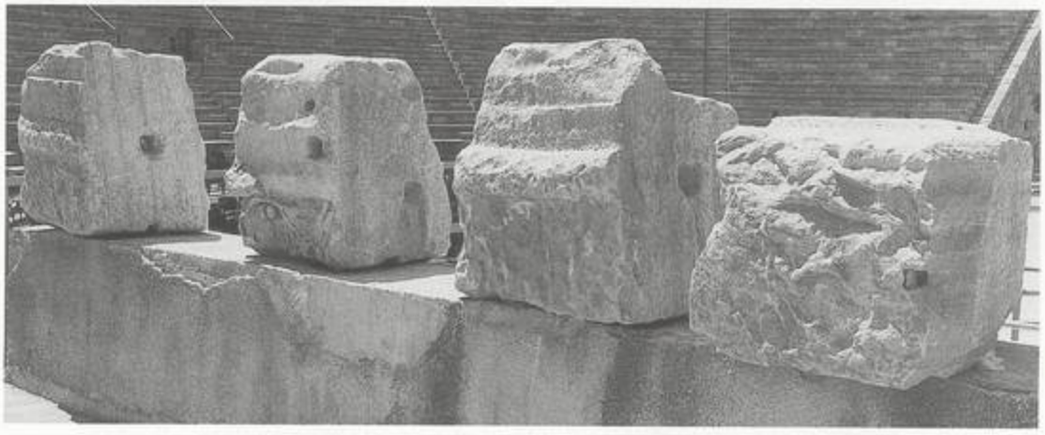

Figure 21. Roughed-out and unfinished rear face of arch blocks AR 4, AR 5, AR 7, and AR 8. Photograph by Aaron Levin

part of the ornamentation of the frieze has survived, including acanthus leaves and a scroll with a six-petaled rosette within it. Although the decoration is badly preserved, one can make out on blocks AR 4 (figs. 20, 22) and AR 5 (figs. 20, 23) an unusual type of scroll "peopled" with large rosettes, in the manner of the Serapis frieze (fig. 45) and the adorned lintel of the Beth Shean theater.[29]

The soffits of these seven arch blocks retain only broken and defaced traces of their ornamentation. Some of the blocks, it seems, were carved with garlands of laurel leaves (AR 2, fig. 19; AR 4, figs. 20, 22; AR 5, fig 23; AR 8, fig. 20) or a leaf pattern (AR 3, fig. 19; AR 5, figs. 20, 23). Blocks AR 2 and AR 3 have retained a fragment of a cyma reversa pattern framing the pattern on the soffit. On other blocks the soffit has been roughed out but not carved, or it may be that the ornamentation has not been preserved.

[29] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* ills. 240–41.

Figure 22. Arch block AR 4. Photograph by Aaron Levin

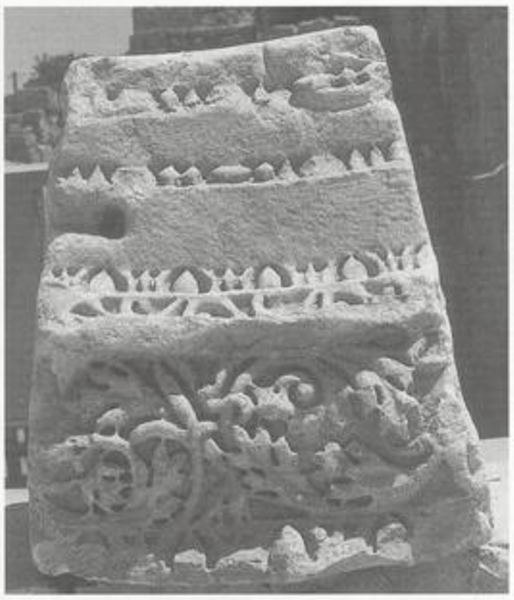

Figure 23. Arch block AR 5. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Architrave Blocks with Three Faces

Architrave blocks that were apparently intended to project from the wall of the scaenae frons were found in the excavation area (AIII 1–9, figs. 26–30).[30] These were similar to several blocks of Type AI (AI 5, figs. 8–9; AI 8, figs. 10–11; and even AI 6), and to blocks from the Beth Shean theater (see n. 14 above), except that the ornamentation on the blocks of Type AIII is incomplete.[31] They were roughed out on three faces, and the rear part, which should have been built into the wall, was left unworked. On the three partially worked faces, three fasciae and a frieze were at the preliminary

[30] Dimensions of a sample of blocks of this type:

Block AIII 1 (inv. no. 92.6142). l.: 1.44 m.; h.: 0.96 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.62 m.; h. of frieze (unornamented): 0.25 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 32 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.32 m.; h. of architrave: 0.39 m.; h. of shelf: 7 cm.; fasciae: 17, 12, and 9 cm.; w. of soffit: 0.53 m.; w. of ornamentation: 23 cm.; l. of frame: 0.68 m.

Block AIII 3 (inv. no. 52.6067). l.: 1.44 m.; h.: 0.96 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.62 m.; h. of frieze (unornamented): 0.25 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 32 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.39 m.; h. of shelf: 7 cm.; fasciae: 17, 12, and 9 cm.; w. of soffit: 0.53 m.; w. of ornamentation: 19 cm.; l. of frame: 0.63 m.

[31] For lack of typological features, namely, the ornamentation of the architrave, these blocks have been excluded from the typology. The similarity in form between them and the architrave blocks AI 5 and AI 8, which have ornamentation on their fasciae and architrave crowning, raises the possibility that these blocks were intended to be decorated in the manner of those blocks, but their carving was not finished.

Figure 24. Arch block AR 7. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 25. Arch block AR 6. Photograph by the authors

cutting stage, but the soffit ornamentation was fully carved.[32] In most cases, the front face had been diagonally cut off, perhaps for some secondary use.[33] The soffits, of Milesian type, were ornamented in patterns similar to those used at the Beth Shean theater: a garland of laurel leaves or buds,[34] a trailing branch,[35] and a leaf pattern. In most cases, the pattern was framed in cyma reversa molding, decorated by flat, triangular leaves, grooved at their center.[36] The addition of a decorative frame to the sof-

[32] In the Roman theater of Beth Shean there occurs a similar instance where the soffit is ornamented and the decoration of the other sections of the architrave remains unfinished; Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, block 40. However, it should be noted that the blocks from Beth Shean that are decorated on three faces have an undecorated soffit; ibid., p. 79; see also n. 14 above.

[33] A similarly cut block, embedded in a wall and projecting from it, was found at Side; A. M. Mansel, *Side, 1947–1966 Yillari Kazilari ve Arastirmalarinin Sonuçlari* (Ankara, 1978) [Turkish], fig. 104.

[34] Y. Turnheim, "The Bud-Wreath – A Local Variation of a Classical Ornament," *ZDPV* 106 (1990), 162–71.

[35] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 81–83.

[36] This pattern may be a simplified version of a leaf pattern (*Blattkyma*) that first appears in Flavian ornamentation and then, in different variations, during the Antonine and later periods (Strong, "Architectural Ornament in Rome," pl. XXXIc; Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums*, 262–63, 276–77, pls. 119a–d, 122, 123), but it could also be a simplification of a cyma reversa pattern; M. Wegner, *Ornamente kaiserzeitlichen Bauten Roms: Soffiten* (Cologne-Graz, 1957), pls. 2b, 3b, 6a, 30a–b. One of the soffits in Limyra, Asia Minor, displays a stylized and simplified cyma reversa pattern in the form of triangles grooved down their center; E. Dinstel, "Bauornamentik am Theater von Limyra," *Jahreshefte des Österrecihischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 57, Beiblatt (1986–87), 141–220, fig. 23; see also n. 51 below.

Figure 26. Roughed-out architrave blocks with three faces (AIII), general view. Photograph by the authors

fit ornament is only found on richly embellished structures that required extra investment from both the patrons and the artists or craftsmen; simpler buildings are not adorned in such an expensive way.[37] Even the soffits of the Beth Shean theater did not have decorative frames, although one can detect moldings prepared for this purpose. There are many instances where soffit frames have been ornamented with a cyma reversa pattern, both in Rome[38] and in Asia Minor.[39] In Caesarea Maritima, a number of architrave blocks (AII 4, fig. 18A; AIII 8, fig. 30; AR 2; AR 3, fig. 19) have soffits framed by a cyma reversa ornament, but overall, this convention is uncommon in Eretz Israel.

[37] On block AI 12 the ornamentation of the frame was begun but not completed. An unornamented and even uncarved frame is known from various sites in Asia Minor, e.g., Limyra (Dinstel, "Bauornamentik," figs. 15, 20–22, 24); Myra (ibid., fig. 21); Miletos (M. Wegner, "Soffiten von Ephesos und Asia Minor," *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 52 [1978–80], fig. 3, pls. 4a–b, 5–6, 15, 17); Aizanoi (ibid., pls. 9a–b); Baalbek (Th. Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*, 2 vols. [Berlin-Leipzig, 1921–23], 1:pl. 82). Even in Rome itself one can find soffits with unornamented frames; Wegner, *Ornamente kaiserzeitlichen Bauten Roms*, pls. 15a, 20a–b, 21a, 23a–b.

[38] Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums*, pls. 7, 71, 118d.

[39] Wegner, "Soffiten von Ephesos und Asia Minor," pls. 8, 11, 12, 14, and 80. Soffits with a cyma reversa pattern as a frame are found in Asia Minor as early as the Hellenistic period (Priene: ibid., fig. 1).

Figure 27. Roughed-out architrave blocks with three faces (AIII), general view. Photograph by Aaron Levin

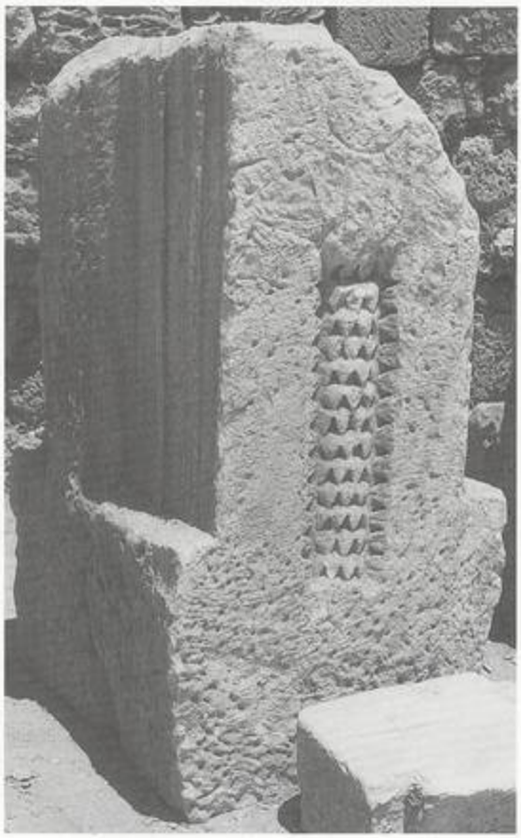

Figure 28. Roughed-out architrave block with three faces and decorated soffit (AIII 3). Photograph by Aaron Levin

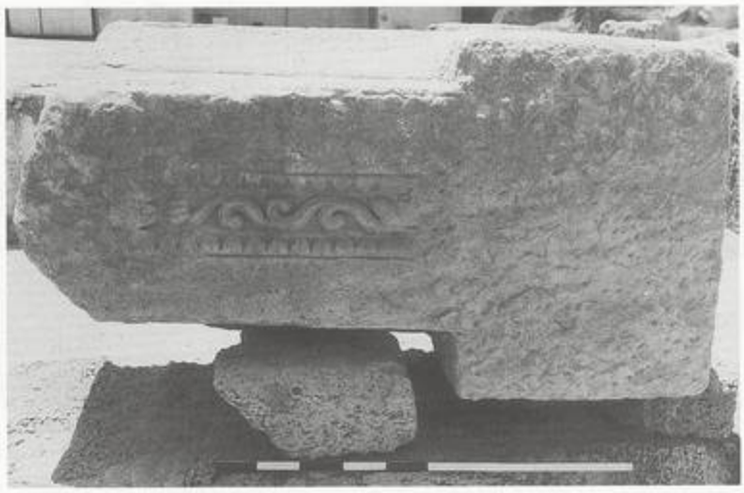

Figure 29. Roughed-out architrave block with three faces and decorated soffit (AIII 4). Photograph by Aaron Levin

Soffit Patterns

The range of soffit patterns in the Caesarea Maritima theater is quite wide: a stem of laurel leaves composed of a garland of stylized, succulent leaves (AIII 3, fig. 28; AR 2, fig. 19; AR 4, figs. 20, 22), a trailing branch (AI 3; AI 5, figs. 8–9; AII 4, fig. 18A; AIII 1; AIII 4, fig. 29; AIII 6–7), a garland of buds (AI 1, fig. 12), ivy (AII 1), and a pattern of stylized leaves (AIII 2; AR 3, fig. 19; AR 5). Block AIII 8 (fig. 30) has a guilloche.[40] On block AIII 2 the decorative frame is incomplete. On some other blocks the soffit ornamentation was not completed or has been thoroughly defaced (e.g., blocks AI 3; AI 5, figs. 8–9; AI 12; AIII 7; AIII 9; AR 3, fig. 19). Where traces of ornamentation are distinguishable, the most prominent feature is the frame of stylized, triangular leaves. It should be borne in mind that the soffit has been preserved chiefly on the three-faced blocks (AIII). Decorated soffits have also been preserved on a few of the arch blocks (AR 2–5, fig. 19). Many ornamented architraves have lost their soffit altogether.[41]

[40] It is noteworthy that the various types of guilloche, which form the prevalent motif of soffit ornamentation at Beth Shean (Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* 81), are scarcely to be met with in Caesarea.

[41] Ornamented soffits survive only on blocks AII 4, AII 1, AI 12, AI 8, AI 5, AI 3, and AI 1; block AI 8 was intended to project from the wall but is ornamented on all three faces; block AI 5 was also intended to project, but it is ornamented on one face only.

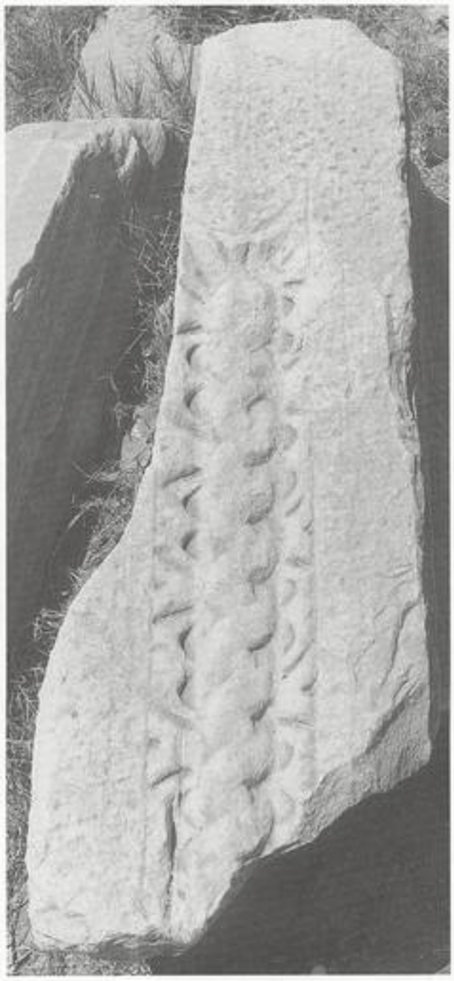

Figure 30. Roughed-out architrave block with three faces and decorated soffit (AIII 8). Photograph by Aaron Levin

Cornices

Those cornice blocks[42] from the Caesarea Maritima scaenae frons that have survived bear a marked likeness to those of the Beth Shean theater, although here also two main types are distinguishable.

Type CI (fig. A). This type is characterized by its resemblance to the entablatures

[42] The typology of the cornice blocks is based on their decoration.

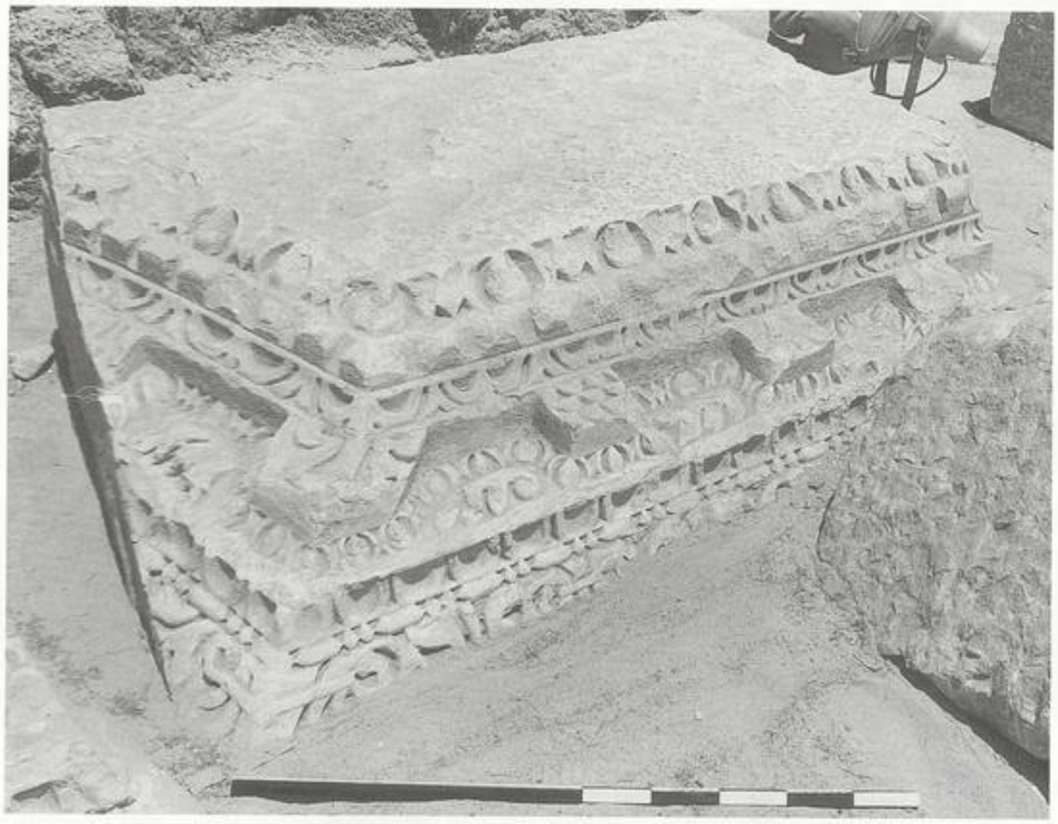

Figure 31. Cornice of Type C1. Photograph by Aaron Levin

found in Eretz Israel, Syria, and Jordan.[43] The majority of the preserved blocks belong to this type (CI 1–12, figs. 31–32, 34).[44] It displays the canonical Syrian sequence. The moldings and ornaments, from bottom to top, are:

At the bed-molding of the cornice, an ovolo ornamented with a pattern of egg-and-dart, with dentils and with cyma reversa;[45]

in the center, modillions and coffers: the modillions usually ornamented with pal-

[43] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 69–75; Turnheim, "Formation and Transformation of the Entablature."

[44] Dimensions of a sample of blocks of this type:

Corner Block CI 1 (inv. no. 92.6083). l.: 1.73 m; h.: 0.47 m.; w. of upper surface: 1.23 m.; w. of lower surface: 0.82 m.

[45] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 69; Turnheim, "Formation and Transformation of the Entablature."

Figure 32. Cornice of Type CI. Photograph by Aaron Levin

mettes or acanthus leaves, and the coffers with rosettes or occasionally also a mask (fig. 35);

on the upper part of the cornice, the corona decorated with a band of flutes, and a bead-and-reel pattern carved over the corona. On the *sima* is an anthemion composed of inverted and alternating acanthus and palm leaves, of the type familiar from the Roman theater in Beth Shean.[46]

[46] Unlike the other ornaments mentioned above, this version of the anthemion pattern is typical of marble entablatures imported from Asia Minor but rare in Eretz Israel and the Syro-Phoenician region. The alternately reversed acanthus-palmette pattern also figures in several places on the temples at Baalbek, as well as on the lintel of the main entrance to the Roman temple at Kedesh, but never as a *sima* ornamentation. On the other hand, it can be found, rather stylized, decorating the *sima* on several of the gable blocks from the facade of the Chorazin synagogue. The sparse distribution of this type of anthemion contradicts Ward-Perkins' theory as to the dominant influence of "the imported marble style"; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Nicomedia and the Marble Trade," *PBSR* 48 (1980), 23–67, esp. 50.

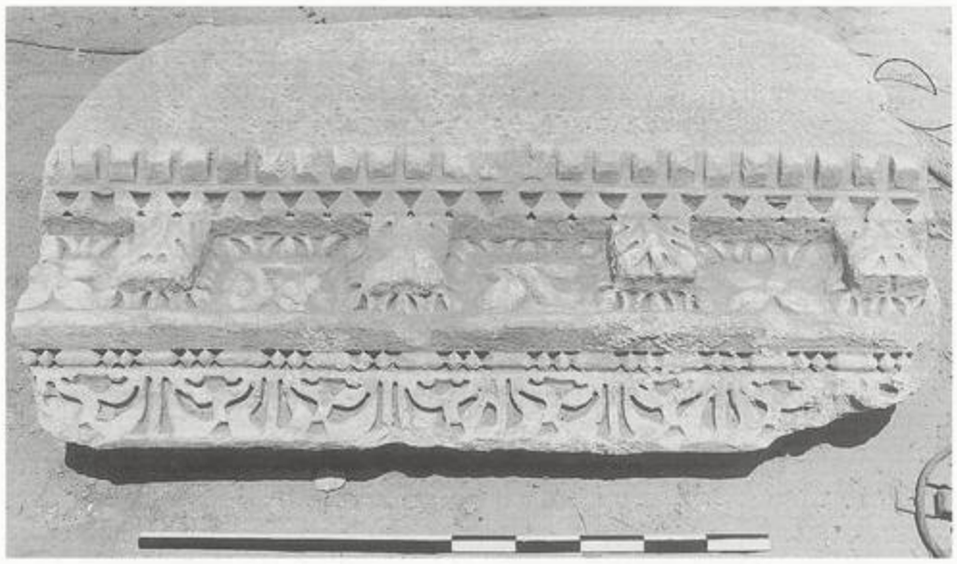

Figure 33. Cornice of Type CII. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Several of the blocks of this type (a variation of CI) have the corona unornamented like those of Type CII. The remaining elements of the entablature of these blocks are identical to the other blocks of Type CI, which is widespread throughout Eretz Israel and Syria.[47]

Type CII (fig. B). This type (blocks CII 1–6, figs. 33–34)[48] is exceptional, having no parallel in Eretz Israel and also rare in Syria and Lebanon.[49] In Asia Minor, however, it is common.

The moldings and ornaments, from the bottom up, are:

The bed-molding of the cornice with only two bands of ornamentation,[50] one of

[47] The corona's ornamentation may not have survived because the corona protrudes from the cornice. Another possibility is that there was no ornamentation to begin with, as on Type CII.

[48] Dimensions of a sample of blocks of this type:

Block CII 1 (with a windblown rosette) (inv. no. 92.6700). l.: 1.50 m.; h.: 0.37 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.95 m.; w. of lower surface: 0.50 m.

Block CII 7 (now located behind the theater, to the right) (inv. no. 92.6489). l.: 1.40 m.; h.: 0.45 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.75 m.; w. of lower surface (the part that has survived): 0.40 m.

[49] Although it is possible that the cornices of this type are unfinished, the definition of Type CII is based on the repetition of the decorative scheme and its parallels found in Asia Minor.

[50] We have no way of knowing if originally there was an additional band of egg-and-dart below the dentils, as is usual in the other entablature blocks. This may have been the original form of the block to be placed above the frieze blocks, which were crowned with an ovolo ornamented with egg-and-dart, as in Type AII architraves; cf. Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, p. 74, blocks 38–39.

Figure 34. Cornice blocks of Types CI and CII. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 35. Cornice block with a mask in the coffer. Photograph by the authors

dentils and the other of a triangular leaf pattern,[51] the latter replacing the cyma reversa pattern;

in the center, modillions and coffers as in Type CI.

The upper cornice has, characteristically, the following elements:

Over the unornamented corona, a band of bead-and-reel. On the *sima* an anthemion composed of closed "fan palmettes" alternating with wide-open acanthus(?) leaves.[52]

This type of anthemion differs from the types common in Eretz Israel and Syria,[53] reminding one, instead, of the anthemia on the Captives' Facade in Corinth,[54] in the Temple of Venus and Rome,[55] and in the Hadrianeum in Rome,[56] although in Caesarea Maritima the pattern is simplified.[57] This type of anthemion is widespread in Asia Minor, where it adorns entablatures having a decorative scheme similar to that of the Caesarea Maritima cornice.[58] Other versions of the pattern are to be found on the *sima* ornamentations in the temples at Theos[59] and at Magnesia.[60]

In both types of cornice, the modillions are framed in an egg pattern and ornamented with palmettes, fleshy acanthus leaves, and scales in the manner of the modillions on the theater at Beth Shean. The coffers are carved with plant patterns, a pomegranate, and occasionally a mask.[61]

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[51] A triangular leaf pattern occurs also on the Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek (Wiegand, ed., *Baalbek,* 2:fig. 67); and again on the soffit frames (see above, "Architrave Blocks with Three Faces," and n. 36; also Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* appendix, n. 8). It is also possible that this is a clumsy and corrupted version of a cyma reversa.

[52] Strong ("Architectural Ornament in Rome," 135 and n. 76) designates this pattern as "open and closed fan palmettes" and compares them to the "lotiform" and "fan palmettes" at the mausoleum of Hadrian in Rome (ibid., pls. XXXVId–e). It should be added that a trailing branch curls out to the left and right from the base of the leaves in all these examples.

[53] Y. Turnheim, "The Sources of Imported Ornaments and Their Adoption in Eretz Israel: Test Case – The Anthemion" [Hebrew], *Motar* (forthcoming).

[54] Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture,* pl. 205.

[55] Strong, "Architectural Ornament in Rome," fig. 3.

[56] Ibid., fig. 3, pl. XXXIa; Leon, *Die Bauornamentik des Trajansforums,* pl. 1002.

[57] There is a similar anthemion ornamentation on the cornice of catacomb no. 20 at Beth She'arim (Avigad, *Beth She'arim,* figs. 36–37) and also on a fragment of a mausoleum (?) there. For a discussion of this topic, see Turnheim, "The Sources of Imported Ornaments."

[58] Hadrian's Gate in Antalya: Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture,* pl. 170; the Agora at Perge: M. Edip Özgur, *Perge: Ein Reiseführer* (Istanbul, 1988), pl. 86.

[59] M. Schede, *Antikes Traufleisten-Ornament* (Strassburg, 1909), pl. X (61).

[60] Ibid., pl. XI (72–73).

[61] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls,* 74, ills. 228–29. Among the cornices unearthed at the theater one can distingush a number of corner cornices and a fragment of a gable with ornamentation identical to that described here.

Discussion

In both types of architrave from the theater one can find ornamental features typical of Asia Minor, but which are rarely found in northern Eretz Israel and the neighboring countries:

(1) an additional band of bead-and-reel on the architrave crowning of Type AI and a cavetto ornamented with a trailing branch on architraves of Type AI (figs. 11–12) and AII (figs. 16–18);[62]

(2) the correspondence between the different bands of ornamentation on Type AI architraves (bead-and-reel and egg-and-dart, figs. 7, 11);[63]

(3) the form of the frieze, surmounted by an additional molding, decorated with an egg-and-dart pattern (figs. 16–18, 22–25; for architraves of Type AII, see also above, nn. 11 and 20);

(4) the soffit ornamentation has a cyma reversa molding decorated with a pattern of triangular leaves (figs. 28–29).

The other components of architrave moldings and ornamentation are identical to those known in Eretz Israel and Syria and are also found in Asia Minor. The same is true with regard to the various features of Type CI cornices. The pattern of anthemion carved on the *sima* is also found in Asia Minor, but has no parallel in Eretz Israel and Syria other than the cornices of the Beth Shean theater. It should be noted that the ornamentation of Type CII cornices is frequently met with in Asia Minor, but has no counterpart in Eretz Israel or Syria.[64]

It may be that Type CI cornices usually surmounted Type AI architraves, as is frequently found in entablatures in Eretz Israel (fig. A). Type CII cornices could be associated with Type AII architraves, while the ovolo molding added to the top of the frieze supplements the cornice bed-molding (fig. B); in such cases the bed-molding of the cornice comprises two elements only, instead of the three conventional in Eretz

[62] Cf. Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture,* 202.

[63] Cf. Turnheim, "Architectural Decoration in Northern Eretz-Israel," 119–21; Weigand, "Baalbek," 170–74. Vandeput maintains that this correspondence figures on monumental structures dated to the first half of Hadrian's reign; L. Vandeput, "The Re-Use of Hadrianic Architectural Elements in Basilica E1 at Sagalassos," in M. Waelkens, ed., *Sagalassos I. First General Report on the Survey (1986–1989) and Excavations (1990–1991)* (Louvain, 1993), 93–107, esp. 98.

[64] This pattern of ornamentation is to be seen on the gables of several lintels and windows of the Temple of Bel at Palmyra (Seyrig et al., 46, figs. 3–6, 60–61). The upper cornice of the market gate in Damascus displays a variant of this anthemion with a sharp-pointed leaf inserted between each pair of leaves. The corona is unornamented but has a bead-and-reel decorated astragal at its top; Freyberger, "Untersuchungen," figs. 2–3, pl. 25b. The entablature of the southern external portico of the basilica at Beirut is not unlike this one: it is made up of two parts with the egg-and-dart pattern surmounting the frieze being carved on the same block (as in the Type AII architraves at Caesarea Maritima). Here, too, the corona is plain and is surmounted by a similar-looking, albeit less stylized, astragal and anthemion; J. Lauffray, "Forums et Monuments de Beryte (à suivre)," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 7 (1944–45), 13–80, esp. fig. 6, pl. IXa.

Israel.[65] The triangular leaf pattern on the cornice and the soffit frames is not known from any other site in Eretz Israel, but we may have here a distorted cyma reversa ornamentation.

Pedestals

Among the architectural elements found in the theater were a number of square pedestals of varying size.[66] These pedestals comprise a square dado enclosed between two projecting slabs with diagonally cut edges. The diagonal slabs (above and below) are cut with graded profiles and are surmounted by another, square, slab (pedestals 1 and 2, figs. 36–38). Some of the pedestals are incomplete, which permits us to follow the stages of their working. Most of the pedestals retain a horizontal mark in the center of the dado, which reveals that they were worked in two stages: first one half was carved and then the second. Pedestal 3 (fig. 36) displays this most clearly: one half is finished and the second only roughed out.[67] It is intriguing that the unfinished half is narrower than the finished one, perhaps by chance or by accident. Some of the pedestals retain a projecting, vertical "belt" running the whole height of the pedestal (figs. 26, 37). It seems possible that this "belt" served some technical purpose during the carving and ornamentation process, being cut away on completion of the work. Such a "belt" also survives on pedestal 5 whose top half has been sawn, probably for some secondary use. Other pedestals are either incomplete or have been damaged by wear and defacement.

Pedestals like these have been discovered *in situ* in the west colonnade of the basilica at Samaria-Sebaste.[68] Another pedestal, supporting a column with an Attic base, was found on the west side of the basilica. A pedestal worked in one piece with an Attic base was uncovered in Caesarea Maritima (fig. 38).[69] Pedestals of this design can

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[65] One of the Type AI blocks (block AI 10) has retained, above the frieze, a band of egg-and-dart, as has Type II, but the state of preservation of the other Type AI blocks is too poor to know if they also had this same feature (see also n. 13 above).

[66] Dimensions of the sample of pedestals that were measured:

Pedestal (1) (inv. no. 92.6060), gray marble. l.: 0.565 m.; w.: 0.57 m.; h.: 0.40 m.; base diameter of the column it supports: 0.42 m.

Pedestal grooved across the middle (2) (inv. no. 62.6073). l.: 0.78 m.; w.: 0.76 m.; h.: 0.55 m.

Pedestal with "belt" (4). l.: 0.62 m.; w.: 0.66 m.; surviving h.: 0.43 m.

Pedestal lying on its side. l.: 0.92 m.; w.: 0.92 m.; h.: 0.75 m.

[67] A pedestal worked in two parts has also been found at Philippopolis (Shahba) in Syria; K. S. Freyberger, "Die Bauten und Bildwerke von Philippopolis: Zeugnisse imperialer und orientalischer Selbstdarstellung der Familie des Kaisers Philippus Arabs," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 6 (1992), 293–311, pl. 64a–b.

[68] J. W. Crowfoot, K. M. Kenyon, and E. L. Sukenik, *Samaria-Sebaste*, vol. 1, *The Buildings at Samaria* (London, 1942), pl. LI2; Frova, *Scavi*, 108.

[69] Pedestals like these, of Proconnesian marble, worked in one piece with an Attic base, have been found in quarry state in quarries in Asia Minor; J. C. Fant, *Cavum Antrum Phrygiae: The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia*, BAR Int. Ser. 482 (London, 1989), figs. 15–16;

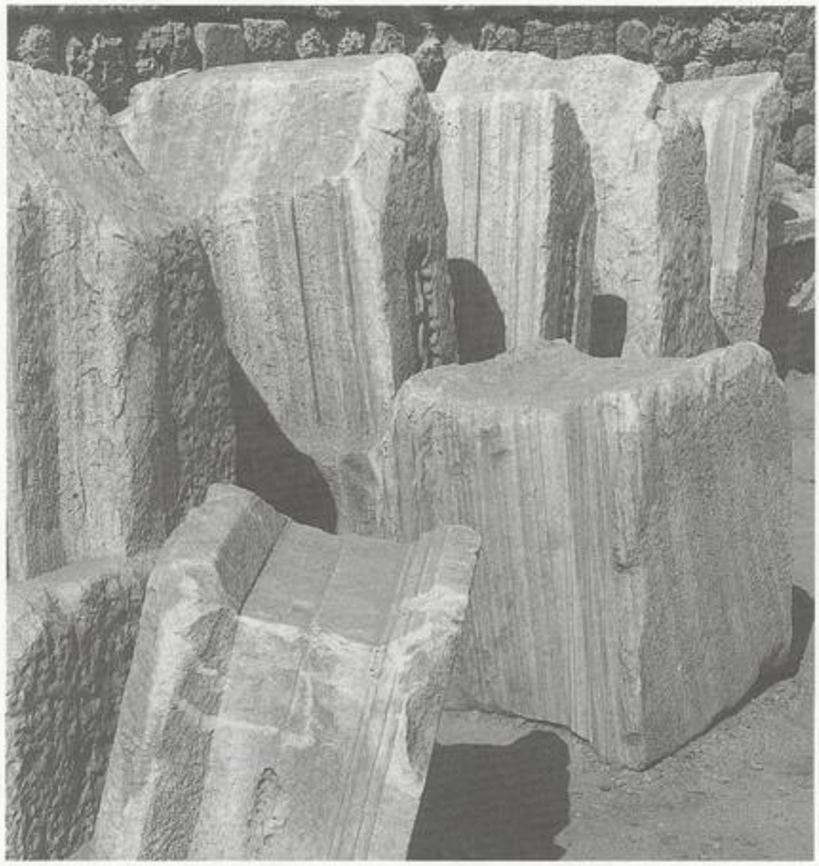


Figure 36. Unfinished pedestal. Photograph by Aaron Levin

also be found in ancient synagogues.[70]

Some of the Caesarea Maritima pedestals may have been intended for the statues standing in the niches of the theater area, after the manner of the statues placed within the arch near the city gate of Perge.[71] In Aphrodisias, pedestals of similar design

N. Asgari, "Observations on Two Types of Quarry-Items from Proconnesus: Column-Shafts and Column-Bases," in M. Waelkens et al., eds., *Ancient Stones: Quarrying, Trade and Provenance, Interdisciplinary Studies on Stone Technology in Europe and the Near East from the Prehistoric to the Early Christian Period* (Louvain, 1992), 73–80, fig. 23. None of these specimens shows signs of a "belt."

[70] E.g., Ḥorvat Summaqa: Y. Turnheim, "The Architectural Decoration of the Synagogue at Khirbet Summaqa," in S. Dar, ed., *Khirbet Summaqa, Final Report of the Excavation* [Hebrew] (forthcoming).

[71] M. T. Boatwright, "The City Gate of Plancia Magna in Perge," in E. D'Ambra, ed., *Roman Art in Context, An Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1993), 189–207, pl. 87.

Figure 37. Unfinished pedestal with a "belt." Photograph by Aaron Levin

and proportions served equally for setting up column bases and statues.[72] Also, in the Severan forum at Ascalon, a pedestal of similar design is carved in the lower part of the relief of Nike standing on Atlas' shoulders.[73] It is not unlikely that this design was common in the period, which would explain, despite divergences of detail, the overall similarity between all these examples. Another find from the theater area is a single block of marble, quite exceptional in design and ornamentation (fig. 39). It has three moldings: a broad, flat one; a narrower flat one; and a third, cyma reversa molding.

[72] J. de la Genière and K. Erim, eds., *Aphrodisias de Carie: Colloque du Centre de recherches archéologiques de l'Université de Lille III, 13 novembre 1985* (Paris, 1987), pl. 7.

[73] Frova, *Scavi*, 180; L.-A. Stager, s.v. "Ascalon," in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1993), 1:110.

Figure 38. Pedestal with an Attic base. Photograph by Aaron Levin

This is decorated with a full and fleshy cyma reversa ornament, of a type rare in Eretz Israel and quite different from the pattern figuring on the cornices. The broad molding is carved with trailing ivy branches, bunches of grapes, and tendrils. The narrow molding is undecorated. It is hard to reconstruct the architectural member to which this fragment belonged – perhaps a doorpost like that of the Roman temple at Kedesh[74] or the molded and ornamented doorposts of ancient synagogues.[75] The ornamentation is in a good state of preservation; the carving is both free and precise and a testimony to the skill of its craftsman.

[74] M. Fischer, A. Ovadiah, and I. Roll, "The Roman Temple at Kedesh, Upper Galilee: A Preliminary Study," *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984), 146–72, pl. 28(2).

[75] A vine trellis with leaves and clusters decorates the doorposts of the synagogue at Horvat Kanaf, as does a stylized variant of the cyma reversa pattern, the two ornaments being separated by a pattern of egg-and-dart and a band of bead-and-reel; E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh* (Jerusalem, 1935), pls. XXIb. Doorposts with a similar profile, but unornamented, frame the main entrance to the synagogue at Ḥorvat Summaqa; Turnheim, "Khirbet Summaqa." A lintel and doorposts with vine trellis ornamentation are also found in the Baʿalshemin temple at Siʿa; Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture,* fig. 99.

Figure 39. A fragment from a doorpost (?). Photograph by the authors

Many blocks were found in the theater area without ornamentation, some roughed out for working, others partly worked, their ornamentation either incomplete or destroyed deliberately or by erosion. Among these were found two arched architrave blocks that had formed part of a semicircular exedra in the center of the scaenae frons; their ornamentation was not preserved. One of them retained traces of scrolls on the upper fascia as in Type AI architraves.

Some of the blocks were found in the roughly fashioned state typical of the preliminary-preparation stage in quarries of the Roman period, while others had been smoothed and polished by various methods, for example, block AI 1 (fig. 12). On many of the blocks, however, the surface texture was not that of the Roman period. These had apparently been sawn and polished in a later period for reuse, damaging their original form. Such reuse may have been the reason for the various saw-cuts found, such as the diagonal cut in the front face of the three-faced blocks (see above, "Architrave Blocks with Three Faces"). Some blocks retained traces of rust or color from the iron or lead pins used to join or reinforce them, but which had been stolen at some point in time. One metal pin was discovered preserved in its original hole in the center of the bottom of the capital.

Ornamented Architectural Elements from other Sites in Caesarea Maritima

Only a minority of the architrave blocks were found outside the theater area. Two marble blocks comprising a frieze and architrave, today placed in the area of the

Figure 40. One of the two marble blocks with Latin inscriptions (side A). Photograph by Aaron Levin

Crusader town near the podium of the Herodian temple, are carved and ornamented on two faces (front and rear), similar to the decorative scheme of the blocks of the scaenae frons of the theater (figs. 40–44).[76] The upper fascia of the architrave is separated from the central one by a rope pattern (see n. 14).

The frieze on one side of these two blocks (side A, figs. 40–41) has been defaced, but one can detect remnants of acanthus leaf scrolls "peopled," apparently, with plant motifs such as rosettes (similarly to the friezes over the entrances to the Beth Shean theater).[77] The two blocks, unearthed during the 1960s excavation of Crusader remains, have a Latin inscription engraved on them naming the town and its titles. The inscription is dedicated to an unknown man by a woman named Cleopatra.[78] The frieze on the second side (side B, figs. 42–44) is decorated with "peopled" scrolls, the pattern composed of a single branch that twines upward and downward forming round scrolls "peopled" alternately with rosettes and leaves. The branches or sprigs that form

[76] Dimensions of the two blocks:

Larger block (surviving). l.: 2.25 m.; h.: 0.96 m; w. of upper surface: 0.65 m.; lower w.: 0.55 m. Side A (with inscription): h. of frieze: 0.25 m.; h. of architrave crowning: 19 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.60 m.; fasciae: 14, 12, and 8(?) cm. Side B (with scrolls): h. of frieze: 0.25 m.; w. of shelf: 9.5 cm.; h. of architrave crowning:10.5 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.48 m.; fasciae: 12 and 12 cm. (the third fascia has been destroyed).

Smaller block (inv. no. 92.6281) (surviving). l.: 1.50 m.; h.: 0.80 m.; w. of upper surface: 0.70 m.; lower w.: 0.57 m. Side A (with inscription): h. of frieze: 0.29 m.; h. of architrave capital: 18 cm.; w. of shelf: 6 cm.; fasciae: 15 and 12.5 cm. (the third fascia is broken). Side B (with scrolls): h. of frieze: 0.25 m.; w. of shelf: 6 cm.; h. of architrave crowning: 14 cm.; h. of architrave: 0.54 m.; fasciae: 12, 12, and 8 cm.

[77] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 86–88.

[78] A. Negev, "Early Roman Caesarea" [Hebrew], *Mada* 11 (1966), 136–45, esp. 136–37.

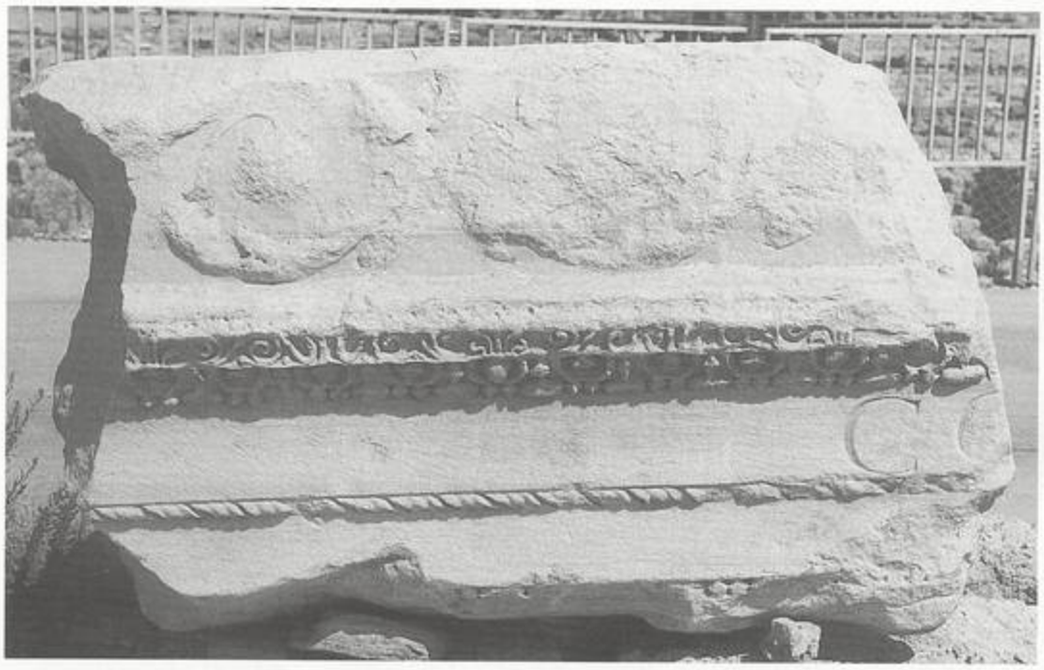


Figure 41. The second of the two marble blocks with two characters of a Latin inscription (side A). Photograph by Aaron Levin

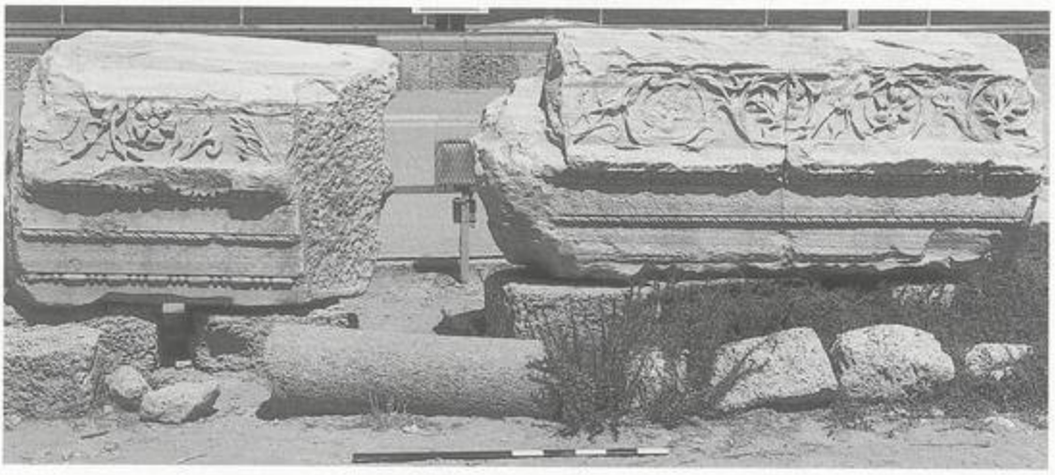


Figure 42. Side B of the two marble blocks (figs. 40–41). Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 43. Detail of figure 42. Photograph by Aaron Levin

the scrolls are very thin and almost leafless. The pattern is one that resembles that on the lintels of the Beth Shean Roman theater,[79] but there is an essential difference in execution, carving, and artistic conception. The composition in Caesarea Maritima is more refined, freer, and less dense than the Beth Shean one, whose deeper carving seems to suffer from *horror vacui*. The same is no less true with reference to the friezes of the Caesarea Maritima theater and to the ornamentation generally found in the Severan period in Eretz Israel and its neighboring countries.[80] The two marble blocks display genuine style, particularly in the shaping of the rosettes. Drilling is also detectable.

The frieze on these two blocks is of similar design to the two frieze blocks discovered in basilica E1 of the Temple of Antoninus Pius at Sagalassos, Asia Minor, which are dated to the reign of the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius.[81]

[79] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, ills. 238–44.

[80] Y. Turnheim, "Acanthus Scrolls 'Peopled' with Flowers: A Classical Ornament in the Architectural Decoration in Eretz Israel in the Roman and Byzantine Periods," *Rivista di archeologia* 18 (1994), 118–25.

[81] Vandeput, "The Re-Use of Hadrianic Architectural Elements," 99, figs. 78–79.

Figure 44. Detail of figure 42. Photograph by Aaron Levin

However, the elongated and awkward proportions of the canonical patterns decorating the Caesarea Maritima architrave give reason to date it to a later time, perhaps to the Severan period. The architrave of the two blocks is decorated in conformity with the familiar conventions of Type AII from the theater, with the difference that the former have a rope pattern dividing the two upper fasciae instead of a bead-and-reel pattern and also an extra bead-and-reel molding on the architrave crowning (as in Type AI), thus displaying the correspondence characteristic of the architectural decoration of Asia Minor (see above, "Discussion," item 2).

Other blocks have been found in the area of the town, on which a frieze or part of the architrave with similar ornamentation has been preserved.

A block retaining only a part of its frieze, with no architrave, is today displayed in the courtyard of the Israel Museum (inv. no. 3607204). It is ornamented with the bust of a bearded man with a *kalathos* on his head, apparently Serapis (fig. 45).[82] To the right of the figure is a large acanthus leaf scroll "peopled" with a flower of four denticulated petals.[83] The scroll ends in a diagonally aligned branch with a trailing branch twined around it. On both sides of the figure's head is carved a pattern of half-palmettes with curling ends sprouting from the scroll, a common motif of Severan orna-

[82] In 1953 a tiny bronze protome of Serapis was found in the Caesarea Maritima sand dunes; R. Gersht, "The Sculpture of Caesarea Maritima" [Hebrew], doctoral dissertation (Tel Aviv University, 1987), no. 81. This statuette also has a *kalathos* on its head, reminding one of the statue of Serapis of Bryaxis; J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 279.

[83] For a discussion of the pattern of acanthus leaf scrolls "peopled" with flowers and the development of the motif of a flower within a ring, see Turnheim, "Acanthus Scrolls."

Figure 45. Frieze block with Serapis. Photograph by the authors

mentation. The iconography recalls that of the Beth Shean theater depicting a bust of Dionysos.[84] In the design of the plant motifs, such as the half-palmette, the rosette and the acanthus leaves, there is a distinct resemblance to the shaping and carving of the leaves on other blocks from the Beth Shean theater:[85] the carving is three-dimensional and excels with its plasticity, and clearly shows use of the drill. The incorporation of human busts, gods, and personifications into "peopled" scrolls is common in Roman ornamentation and frequently found in both architectural decoration and mosaic floors (Sepphoris-Zippori, Schechem-Nablus, the Orpheus Mosaic from Jerusalem, Antioch, and others). The conjunction has no particular symbolic meaning, although when gods are depicted it may not be merely for purposes of ornamentation.[86]

Conclusion

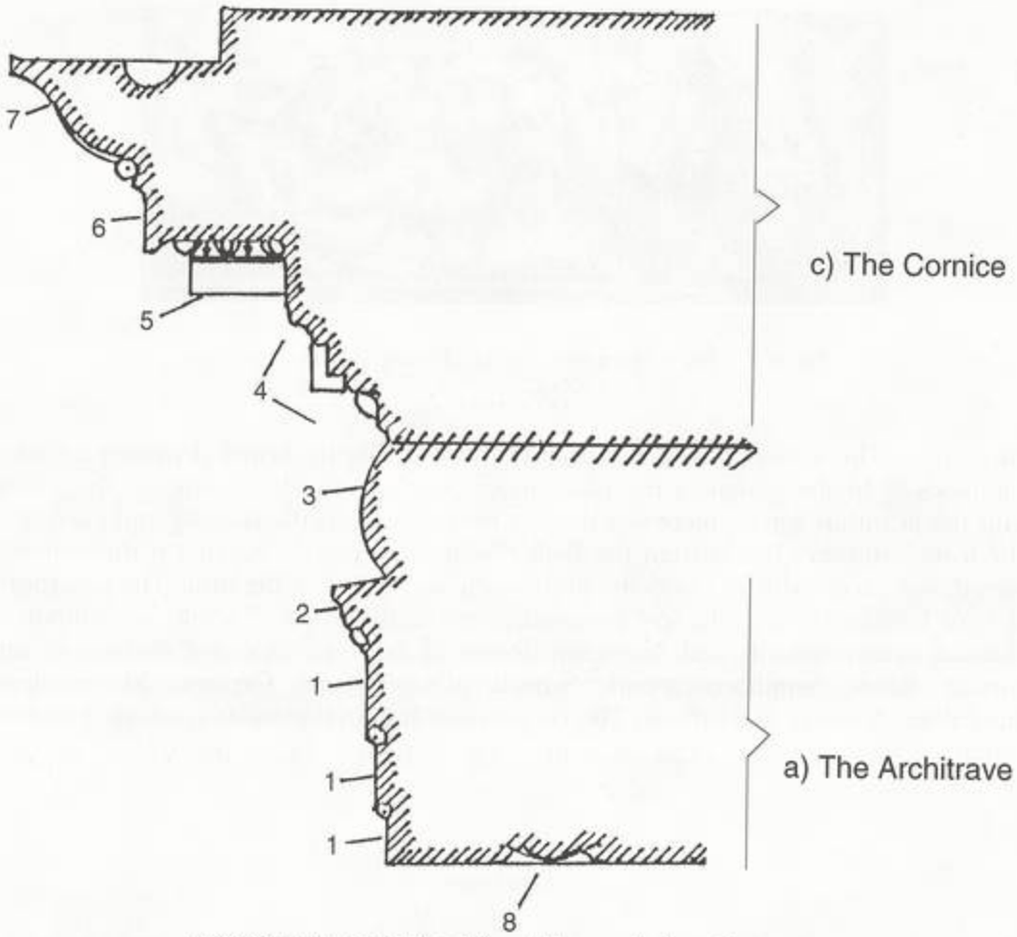
The ornamented blocks from the scaenae frons of the Caesarea Maritima theater display decorative schemes anchored in the repertoire of the eastern Mediterranean. Caesarea Maritima remained an important port after the Herodian period and well into the third century C.E., and maintained contacts with Asia Minor and other centers of the Roman Empire. This exposed its population, artists, and craftsmen to a range of cultural and artistic influences. The import of marble and artists or craftsmen from different marketing centers is sufficient to explain the variety of types of ornament in the Caesarean repertoire in contrast to the uniformity met elsewhere in the north of Eretz Israel (the "Syrian canonical sequence").[87] On the other hand, the mar-

[84] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, block 7, figs. 50–51.

[85] Ibid., blocks 1, 4, 20, 22, 24, and 44.

[86] Y. Turnheim and A. Ovadiah, "Dionysos in Beth Shean" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 71 (1994), 21–34, esp. 29; Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls*, 97–98.

[87] Turnheim, "Formation and Transformation."

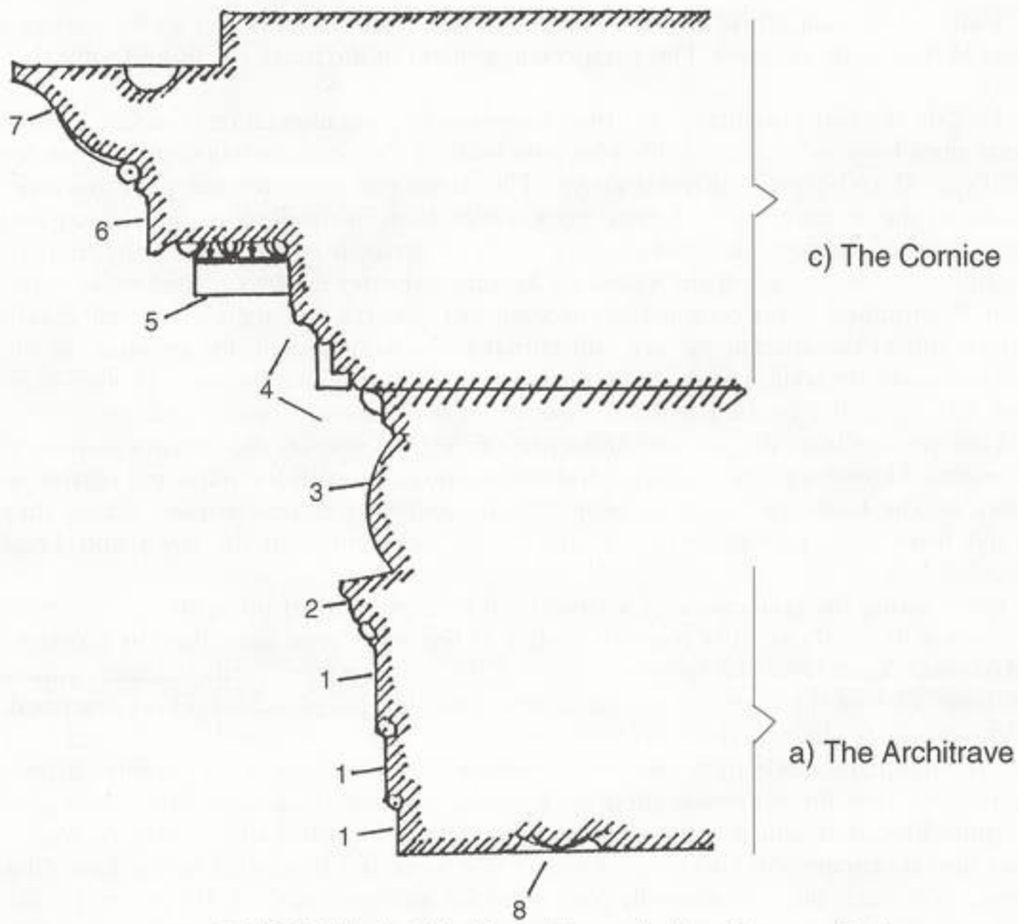


CORNICE; (4) bed-molding; (5) modillions and coffers; (6) corona; (7) *sima*
ARCHITRAVE; (1) *fasciae*; (2) architrave crowning; (3) frieze; (8) soffit

Fig. A. Theater entablature: section, cornice Type CI with architrave and frieze Type AI. Drawing by the authors

ble imports are not a satisfactory explanation for the frequency of features typical of Asia Minor in the Caesarea Maritima decorative repertoire. After all, the scaenae frons of the Beth Shean theater was also ornamented in marble from Proconnesus (the island of Marmara), but characteristics of Asia Minor are rarely found there.

One must also take into account that most of the fragments unearthed in Caesarea Maritima are inferior in design and execution to the ornamented blocks of the Beth Shean theater scaenae frons. The scrolls on the Beth Shean friezes, "peopled" with



CORNICE; (4) bed-molding; (5) modillions and coffers; (6) corona; (7) *sima*

ARCHITRAVE; (1) *fasciae*; (2) architrave crowning; (3) frieze with additional ovolo moulding; (8) soffit

Fig. B. Theater entablature: section, cornice Type CII with architrave and frieze Type AII. Drawing by the authors

human figures and animals, are particularly outstanding.[88] The conventional leaf scrolls on the Caesarea Maritima friezes pale in comparison to the richness of the Beth Shean ornamentation. No doubt, the poor state of preservation of many of the blocks from Caesarea Maritima helps to create this impression, but the numerous blocks found in quarry state, or with incomplete ornamentation, attest to the reliance of the

[88] Ovadiah and Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls.*

Caesarea Maritima artists or craftsmen on conventional patterns and to the carelessness of their craftsmanship. This is especially evident in the frieze scrolls and soffit decoration.

Despite the conventionality and the plainness of its ornamentation, Caesarea Maritima does have some remarkable elements such as the ornamentation on the fasciae of Type AI architraves discussed above. The carving of the canonical patterns, especially on the architraves, is of more even quality than in the Beth Shean theater and demonstrates technical skill and mastery of the material. It is also noteworthy that the architectural decoration of the Caesarea Maritima theater displays considerable ambition, for instance, in the combination of a number of decorative types in a single entablature and in the attempt to vary and enrich the ornamentation, for example, in the decoration of the soffit frames. Nevertheless, it remains true that the work is often careless and insensitive to the particular qualities of the ornament being used.

Can we attribute the marked influence of Asia Minor on the ornamentation in Caesarea Maritima to the artists or craftsmen who came with the imported marble to work on the Caesarea Maritima project?[89] If so, then, for some reason, before they could bring their commission to a conclusion, they quit both the town and Eretz Israel.[90]

Considering the abundance of architectural elements turned up in the recent excavations at Beth Shean, it is regrettable that so few have been unearthed in Caesaera Maritima. Apart from the ornamentation of the scaenae frons of the theater, almost nothing is left of the town's magnificent structures that Josephus and others described. Although no architectural elements of local stone have been found, the discovery of many sarcophagi made from this stone, and apparently carved in the locality, strongly suggests that the stone was used for masonry purposes. Caesarea Maritima's geographical location, which had contributed to its flourishing and affluence in Antiquity, was also its enemy. Architectural elements that were not destroyed in the lime kilns were, from early on, systematically plundered for building material. However, the discovery or identification in recent years of works of sculpture and sarcophagi in various parts of the town gives hope that further ornamented architectural elements are waiting to be found. In view of the importance and status of the town for hundreds of years, and of the testimony of the literary sources, we have a right to be somewhat disappointed that so few of the treasures that embellished its streets and structures have reached us. We must hope that future finds will bring us some pleasant surprises.

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[89] This is the opinion of Ward-Perkins ("Nicomedia and the Marble Trade"), but the phenomenon is known from a number of sites in the Roman world, although no evidence has been found for its occurrence in Eretz Israel. On the anthemion pattern, see n. 46 above.

[90] There is no artistic evidence, or indeed any other sort of evidence, that craftsmen from Asia Minor were active in Eretz Israel during the Severan period.

17

Representations of Deities and the Cults of Caesarea

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Representations of deities make up approximately one-fourth of the sculpture uncovered at Caesarea. Among them are Apollo, Asklepios and Hygieia, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Athena, the Ephesian Artemis, Cybele or Nemesis, Isis, Serapis, Mithras, and the Tyche of Caesarea. Some of the representations are statuettes, a few are over life-size, and the majority are under life-size. As many of the statues are headless, the possibility that some could have been portrait statues should be considered in discussing their connection with the cults of Caesarea. It is therefore necessary to examine all complementary evidence gleaned from the literary sources and the archaeological finds (temples, shrines, coins, gems, inscriptions, and so on) before trying to determine the function of each of the sculptures.

The only significant literary data on cult statues in Roman Caesarea is provided by Josephus (*BJ* 1.414; *AJ* 15.339), who tells us about the statues of Augustus and Dea Roma within the temple dedicated to them. Another source of information is Eusebius' report on the persecutions against the Christians (*Martyrs* 4.8), where cult statues within temples are mentioned. However, with the exception of Tyche's birthday, Eusebius does not refer directly to any specific cult. No cult statue is recorded by Jewish and Islamic literary sources.

Temples and shrines are the proof one may expect for the existence of cults of deities in a Roman city. In Caesarea, however, the remains of only one shrine and two temples have been discovered: the temple of Augustus and Roma mentioned by Josephus[1]

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[1] For permission to publish the newly discovered statues and study their archaeological context, I am indebted to Yosef Porath (IAA), Avner Raban, Kenneth G. Holum, Joseph Patrich (CCE), and their extraordinary teams. I thank Rina and Arnon Angert for permission to publish statues from the Sdot Yam Museum. This chapter is dedicated to the memory of a very special friend, Aharon Wegman, the founder of the museum, who was the first to introduce me to the sculpture of Caesarea.

Two other Caesarean edifices, a Tiberieum and a Hadrianeum, are known from the inscriptions. As the buildings have not yet been found, it is not possible to determine whether they were temples or had some other public function. On the Tiberieum and Hadrianeum, see Frova, *Scavi*, 217–20; Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 19–22; Ringel, *Césarée*, 44–45, 97–103; *Herod's Dream*, 109–10. On the suggestion that the Tiberieum functioned as a library, see G. Labbé, "Ponce Pilate et la munificence de Tibère: L'inscription de Césarée," *REA* 93 (1991), 277–97.

Figure 1. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Caesarea cup, detail: Apollo in front of a temple. Photograph: M. Chuzevilles, Musée du Louvre

and a temple of Mithras.[2] Though not mentioned in the literary sources, the structure is unequivocally associated with Mithras' cult because of the small marble medallion found in 1973 between the eastern bench and the altar. On the medallion Mithras *tauroctonos* is depicted, accompanied by Cautes and Cautopates holding torches, and by the busts of Sol and Luna.[3]

In 1993 the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) uncovered a shrine built into the eastern seats of the Herodian "amphitheater."[4] The remains of the shrine show a division

[2] Discovered by the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM) in field C, vault 1, south of the Crusader fortifications. On the Mithraeum see L. M. Hopfe and G. Lease, "The Caesarea Mithraeum: A Preliminary Report," *Biblical Archaeologist* 38 (1975), 1–10; R. J. Bull, "The Mithraeum of Caesarea Maritima," *Textes et mémoires* 4 (1978), 75–89; *Herod's Dream,* 148–53.

[3] R. J. Bull, "A Mithraic Medallion from Caesarea," *IEJ* 24 (1974), 187–90; R. Gersht, "The Sculpture of Caesarea Maritima" [Hebrew], doctoral dissertation (Tel Aviv University, 1987), cat. no. 78; *Herod's Dream,* 152, cat. no. 73. The walls of the Mithraeum were painted with Mithraic scenes. Only three of the paintings survive on the south wall near its east end; they are badly preserved, and the scenes can hardly be identified. One depicts two male figures facing each other and shaking hands (perhaps Mithras and Sol); the object seen between them is probably an altar (*Herod's Dream,* 151–52).

[4] The structure has not yet been dated. The excavation is conducted by Dr. Y. Porath, and the shrine

Figure 2. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Caesarea cup, detail: Tyche, Hygieia, and Asklepios. Photograph: M. Chuzevilles, Musée du Louvre

into three small rooms with niches. The niches are somewhat similar to those seen on the cup in the Louvre,[5] where Apollo (fig. 1), Asklepios, Hygieia, and Tyche (fig. 2) are represented in a religious ceremony. Sculptures of all four deities were found at Caesarea. The type of Tyche depicted as Dea Roma, dressed as a fighting Amazon, standing with one foot on the prow of a ship, and accompanied by the personification of the port, is widely represented in the sculpture (fig. 3)[6] and on the coins[7] of

was uncovered by Eldad Oren, field I. On the Herodian amphitheater, see Y. Porath, "Herod's 'Amphitheatre' at Caesarea, a Multi-Purpose Entertainment Building," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research, JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 15–27.

[5] Dated to the second or third. quarter of the fourth century C.E.: E. Will, "La coupe de Césarée de Palestine au Musée du Louvre," *MonPiot* 65 (1983), 1–24; *Herod's Dream*, 13–15.

[6] R. Gersht, "The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima," *PEQ* 116 (1984), 110–14; R. Wenning, "Die Stadtgöttin von Caesarea Maritima," *Boreas* 9 (1986), 113–29; Gersht, "Sculpture," nos. 20–21, 92; *Herod's Dream*, 11–16, cat. no.1; L. Y. Rahmani, "Un autel funéraire romain à Césarée Maritime," *RBibl* 85 (1978), 268–76.

[7] Kadman, *Coins*, 50, 154 Type 1; M. Rosenberger, *City-Coins of Palestine: The Rosenberger Israel Collection*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1975), 3–24, nos. 19, 37, 69, 109, 132–33, 162.

Figure 3. Tyche of Caesarea. Photograph by Aharon Wegman

Caesarea.[8] The marble hand holding a headless bust (fig. 4)[9] is further evidence, showing the resemblance between the image on the cup and on the coins and sculptured figures. The scene of sacrifice in front of the statue of Tyche on the cup[10] indicates

[8] A Tyche of this type is also represented on a gem in the Hecht Museum, University of Haifa, inv. no. H-2216: M. Hershkovitz, "The Gems of the Hecht Museum Collection, University of Haifa" [Hebrew], *Michmanim* 7 (1994), 29, 32 no. 4. One may not rule out the possibility that the gem is of Caesarean provenance.

[9] Taken from the sea north of the theater; h.13.5 cm., Sdot Yam Museum, inv. no. CM.86.01. The fingers are damaged. The bust, dressed in an undergarment and an upper garment, has a circular base. It is held so that the back leans on the palm and the front faces outward: Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 22.

[10] A scene of sacrifice in honor of Tyche is also shown on Caesarean coins of Trajan Decius and

Figure 4. Hand holding a headless bust, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Israel Zafrir

the importance of the goddess for the inhabitants of Caesarea, who according to Eusebius (*Martyrs* 11.30 [Greek version]) still celebrated her birthday on the fifth day of March 310.

Doubtless Tyche had a temple (or temples) at Caesarea. It is in front of a temple that her cult statue is revered on the cup in the Louvre; and she is shown standing within a temple on several Caesarean coins,[11] very often accompanied by Dionysos and Demeter.[12] Kadman refers to the three deities as the Caesarean Triad, saying that "when the Triad appears in a temple, it is the temple of Astarte which is represented, the goddess always standing under the central arch, flanked in the outer intercolum-

Erennius Etruscus (249–251 C.E.); see A. Berman, "The Museum Coins," in *The Sedot-Yam Museum Book in Memory of Aharon Wegman* [Hebrew], ed. R. Gersht and U. Shavit (forthcoming) ; Kadman, *Coins*, 132, no. 176. Berman claims that the figures flanking the altar are priests, not deities.

[11] Kadman, *Coins*, 50, 154 Type 4; Rosenberger, *City-Coins*, 2:nos. 19, 133.

[12] Kadman, *Coins*, 50, 154 Type 5; Rosenberger, *City-Coins*, 2:nos. 50–53, 63, 69–70. The deities are identified according to their attributes (Kadman, *Coins*, 53–56).

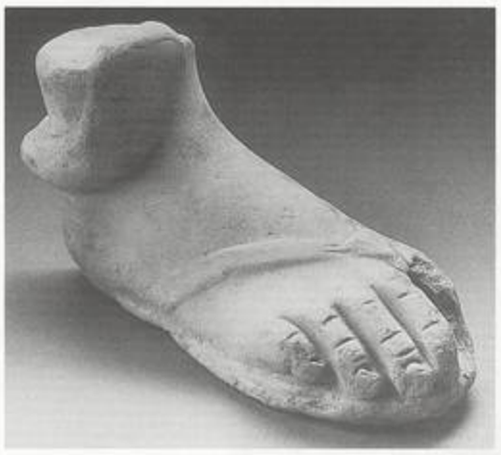

Figure 5. Isis foot. Photograph by Assaph Pery, IAA

Figure 6. Serapis foot. Photograph by Tzila Sagiv, IAA

niations by smaller figures of her consorts."[13] The triad is interpreted by Kadman in light of the syncretism of the age, while referring to Plutarch who associates Dionysos with Apollo and Osiris, and Demeter with Isis.[14]

Apparently, syncretism is the key for understanding the function of the shrine uncovered in the Herodian amphitheater. In 1993–94 the IAA expedition found seven ex-voto feet: four came from the shrine itself, one from the vicinity of the shrine, and two others from the Byzantine bath complex; these two most probably also belonged to the shrine. Of the seven feet, two bear Greek inscriptions (only one is readable), and four are entwined with snakes. In one (fig. 5) the snake is a cobra, the sacred snake of Isis.[15] In another the snake terminates as a human bust (fig. 6). Though the face and hair are corroded, it is doubtless the bust of Serapis that is shown in front, at the joint of the foot and leg.[16] The name of a third deity who was revered in the shrine is known

[13] Kadman, *Coins,* 54.

[14] Ibid., 55–56.

[15] Though Isis was conceived as a cobra, snakes of different species were also associated with her. It is therefore possible that the other two feet entwined with snakes were also offered to Isis. Several slabs dedicated to the goddess bear imprints of feet (e.g., M. Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults of Moesia Inferior and Thracia* [Leiden, 1983], 20–23, pl. IX; G. Manganaro, "Peregrinazioni epigrafiche I: Nuove dediche con impronte di piedi alle divinità Egizie," *Archeologia Classica* 16 [1964], 292–93, pls. LXIX–LXX.1). These are probably linked with the story of Apuleius (*Met.* 11.17) about the goddess' silver feet which the believers used to kiss in her temple.

[16] On this type see S. Dow and F. S. Upson, "The Foot of Sarapis," Hesperia 13 (1944), 58–77; M. Le Glay, "Un 'Pied de Sarapis' à Timgad, en Numidie," in M. B. de Boer and A. Edridge, eds., *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* (Leiden, 1978), 2:573–77.

from the inscription [τ]ῇ Κόρῃ [Β]άρβαρος, engraved on the stump of one of the feet. The foot was dedicated to Kore-Persephone by Barbaros, otherwise unknown.[17]

The worship of Kore was usually joined with that of her mother, Demeter.[18] It is possible that their cults were also associated at Caesarea. The appearance of Demeter in Caesarean coins together with Dionysos and Tyche enables one to suggest that the shrine of Isis, Serapis and Kore was also consecrated to the Caesarean Triad. Demeter, Kore, and Tyche were assimilated with Isis since the Hellenistic period.[19] We have good reason to believe that the association of the Caesarean Tyche with Isis goes back to the Hellenistic settlement of Straton's Tower where Isis was called ἡ ἀγαθή,[20] and that the celebration of Tyche's birthday on the same day of the *Navigium Isidis*,[21] March 5th, is not coincidental.

Isis does not appear on the coins of Caesarea; she is, however, identified on several Caesarean gems as Fortuna-Tyche.[22] Her representations in sculpture, though not very impressive, are valuable evidence in establishing her cult in Roman Caesarea. In one, a lead figurine, she is holding a cornucopia and is accompanied by her son, Horus-Harpocrates (fig. 7).[23] In a fragment found in 1993 by the IAA expedition, the goddess is identified by the characteristic knot of drapery on her breast.[24]

The cults of Isis and Serapis were closely linked.[25] They shared temples and were frequently mentioned together in inscriptions dedicated to them.[26] In Caesarea, Isis and Serapis shared a shrine, where they were honored as *Agathoi Daimones*, the patron

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[17] My thanks to Holt Parker for help in reading and interpreting the inscription. For Barbaros as a proper name, see *SEG* 13 (1956), no. 492; 16 (1959), nos. 166, 257, 286; 20 (1964), no. 353; 23 (1968), no. 477; 24 (1969), no. 602; 30 (1980), no. 1886.

[18] P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972), 1:199.

[19] Fraser, ibid. and 2:335 n. 73; F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée* (Leiden, 1973), 1:71, 86–93, 209; 2:57, 78, 81, 137, 142, 152, 179, 206, 211; 3:2,16–17, 102, 104, 247, 266–67, 271–72; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge-London, 1987), 27; J. G. Griffiths, ed. and trans., *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis Book* [*Metamorphoses, Book XI*] (Leiden, 1975), 126–27, 142, 147, 151, 241, with further bibliography; F. Jesi, "Iside in figura di Kore?" *Aegyptus* 41 (1961), 74–87.

[20] *P. Oxy.* XI, 1380, Invocation of Isis, 94–95.

[21] F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (New York, 1956), 97; Griffiths, ed., *Apuleius*, 31.

[22] A. Hamburger, "Gems from Caesarea Maritima," *'Atiqot* (Eng. ser.) 8 (1968), 11, 30, nos. 71–77. Hamburger relates no. 78 to the same group but identifies the figure merely as Isis (ibid., 11, 31).

[23] H. 7.2 cm., Sdot Yam Museum, inv. no. CM.81.2: Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 79.

[24] Such a knot is perhaps the explanation for the garment falling between the legs of the figure standing at the side of an altar in the collection of the Sdot Yam Museum (Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 53). A similar arrangement of drapery is also seen in representations of Nemesis; c.f. M. B. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman State, and the Games* (Leiden, 1993), pls. IV, XI; M. Edip Özgür, *Skulpturen des Museums von Antalya*, vol. 1, *Ausflug in die Mythologie und Geschichte* (Istanbul, 1987), no. 23.

[25] S. A. Takács, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World* (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1995); R. A Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden, 1981).

[26] See n. 25 above; L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Berlin, 1969). Isis and Serapis are also mentioned in an inscription from Samaria-Sebaste: J. W. Crowfoot et al., *The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957), 37, no. 13, pl. V.1.

Figure 7. Isis and Horus-Harpocrates, lead figurine, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Aharon Wegman

Figure 8. Serapis as Hades, statuette. Photograph by Assaph Pery, IAA

deities of the city and of domestic prosperity.[27] "Already in the fourth century," writes Fraser, "*Agathos Daimon* and *Agathe* Tyche had become so closely associated as to be almost identified: altars, dedicatory stelae, and other monuments frequently bear the inscription Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος Ἀγαθῆος Τύχης in which it is not possible to distinguish between the two deities. This fusion, partial or complete, probably extended to other contexts than the purely domestic, and it appears probable that the *Agathos Daimon*, like the *Agathe* Tyche, came to personify the Fortune of Cities."[28] Despite the differences in the visual representations of the Caesarean Tyche and Isis, the fact that Isis was called ἡ ἀγαθή by the former inhabitants of Caesarea and was considered to be

[27] On Serapis as *Agathos Daimon* and his partner Isis *Thermuthis*, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:209–11 and notes in 2:356–60; M. Pietrzykowski, "Sarapis – Agathos Daimon," in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, 3:959–66.

[28] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:210.

Thermuthis, the partner of Serapis *Agathos Daimon*, makes it easier to accept the association between the two goddesses. Apparently, syncretism in this particular case is more involved with some common characteristics of Tyche and Isis than with their visual appearance. Thus the possibility that the central section of the shrine in Herod's amphitheater was dedicated to the Tyche of the city should not be ruled out.

The complementary evidence for the cult of Serapis at Caesarea is richer than that of Isis. Serapis appears on Caesarean coins[29] and gems[30] in three forms: as a bust, as a standing figure, and as Hades seated on a throne and accompanied by Cerberos.[31] A headless statuette of Serapis as Hades (fig. 8) was found in December 1993 by the IAA expedition in the vicinity of the *vomitorium* of the Herodian amphitheater not far from the shrine. Three representations of Serapis in the form of a bust wearing a κάλαθος or *modius* are displayed in the Sdot Yam Museum: a bronze statuette (fig. 9)[32] and two rings. On one of the rings he is depicted within a temple. Another bust of Serapis is carved on a fragmentary marble frieze decorated with scrolls.[33] Apparently the frieze ornamented a structure dedicated to the god, possibly a temple.

Of all the above-mentioned representations of Serapis in Caesarea, the Serapis-Hades statuette (fig. 8) is perhaps of the greatest interest. It suggests another aspect of the cult of Serapis at Caesarea as the lord of the underworld.[34] The chthonic aspect of Serapis is also referred to as *Agathos Daimon* on account of his snake form.[35] One may therefore assume that the statuette of Serapis-Hades, which was found in close proximity to the shrine, originally came from the place consecrated to Isis, Serapis, Kore, and Tyche.

Recently, not far from the shrine, the IAA expedition uncovered a fragmentary statue of Hecate (fig. 10). The goddess, depicted in an archaistic style, is accompanied by the Graces dancing around her, facing out and holding hands.[36] Hecate is a goddess of complex personality associated with many deities,[37] and credited with power in heaven, on the earth, and in the sea (Hes. *Theog.* 411–52). The lack of complementary evidence for her cult in Caesarea makes it difficult to interpret the function of the stat-

[29] Kadman, *Coins*, 56–57; Rosenberger, *City-Coins*, 2:nos. 29–30, 32–33, 40–41, 45, 54–56, 64, 67, 72–75, 117, 137, 151, 159–60, 170, 183.

[30] Hamburger, "Gems," 5–6, 25, nos. 1–7.

[31] Ibid., no. 5.

[32] Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 81.

[33] Displayed in the Isreal Museum: Gersht, "Sculpture," 145; A. Ovadiah and Y. Turnheim, *"Peopled" Scrolls in Roman Architectural Decoration in Israel* (Rome, 1994), 144, fig. 269.

[34] On Serapis as Hades/Pluto, see J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (Leiden, 1972), 27–35.

[35] See A. B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (New York, 1965), 2.2:1125–29; O. Jakobsson, *Daimon och Agathos Daimon* (Lund, 1925), 111–12, 121–33, 159–60. However, Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:357 n. 164) claims that Cook and Jakobsson overemphasized the chthonic aspect of *Agathos Daimon*.

[36] For the type see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 7 vols. in 14 (Zurich, 1981) (= *LIMC*), 6.1:1004–5, nos. 217–20.

[37] Ibid., 985–88, 1012–18; E. Tripp, *Dictionary of Classical Mythology* (London, 1970), 261.

Figure 9. Serapis, bust, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Israel Zafrir

Figure 10. Hecate and the Graces. Photograph by Tzila Sagiv, IAA

ue. Because Hecate is a chthonian goddess, and is associated with Kore and Isis,[38] one may suggest relating her statue to the shrine. Like the *Agathoi Daimones*, Hecate became the patroness of cities and private houses, especially as the protectress of crossroads, entrances, gates, and city walls.[39] In Caesarea she may also have been connected with the Herodian amphitheater for she can, according to Hesiod *(Theog.* 435–39), grant victory in athletics and success in horsemanship.[40] This hypothesis can be supported by the horse races that were held in Caesarea to celebrate the foundation of the city

[38] *LIMC* 6.1:985–88, 1009, nos. 286, 1018; Griffiths, ed., *Apuleius*, 118, 147–48, 152.

[39] *LIMC* 6.1:987. On the Graces (*Charites*) as gate protectresses, see *LIMC* 3.1:192–93, 198 §K, nos. 28–34.

[40] A Roman dedication on a stele from Stratonikeia informs us that the quinquennial competition and gladiatorial (or bullfighting) show was celebrated in honor of Zeus, Hecate, and Nemesis. A rider with his horse raising its foreleg and placing it on a wheel is carved on the stele: Hornum, *Nemesis*, 309–10, no. 273.

and were repeated every five years (Joseph. *BJ* 1.415). Additional evidence is given by the inscription mentioning Μέρισμος the charioteer, recently found in the area of the shrine.

Asklepios and Hygieia were also closely connected with Serapis and Isis;[41] thus it is likely that their cults were also incorporated into the shrine. The four deities were blessed with healing powers, and ex-voto feet were dedicated to all of them.[42] Furthermore, many scholars have classed Asklepios with the chthonian deities.[43] It is therefore possible that in Caesarea he was associated with Serapis not only as the god of medicine but also as an underworld deity.

Even though there is no evidence that the cults of Asklepios and Hygieia were directly connected with the shrine in the amphitheater, it seems clear that the Caesareans considered them among the most important deities of the city. Nevertheless, Asklepios is never shown on the coinage of Caesarea, but Hygieia does appear seated on a rock and feeding a serpent on a coin of Decius (249–251 C.E.).[44] Both deities are represented on the gems[45] and in sculpture. Remains of two statues of Hygieia are displayed in the Sdot Yam Museum;[46] both are versions of the type depicting the goddess standing and feeding a snake from a *phiale* (fig. 11). The statues of Asklepios present at least three versions: in one the god's left arm is bent backward with the forearm placed on the buttock;[47] in the second the left arm, completely covered by the himation, is supporting the hip (fig. 12);[48] and in the third the young god is leaning on a staff attached to the left side of the body with only fragments of the snake coiled around the staff remaining.[49] A staff entwined with snake, uncovered in 1993,[50] probably also belonged to a statue of Asklepios.

But the most valuable evidence for the importance of Asklepios and Hygieia in Caesarea is their representation on the fourth-century cup in the Louvre (fig. 2). Unlike

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[41] Stambaugh, *Sarapis*, 75–78; Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis*, 2:112, 135–36, 162, 195 n. 3; 3:258–61; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris, 1970), 375. In Olbia (Moesia Inferior), Serapis, Isis, Asklepios, Hygieia, and Poseidon shared a temple (Takács, *Isis and Sarapis*, 191).

[42] Le Glay, "Sarapis," 573–89; H. S. Versnel, ed., *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 1981), 108–9, 124, with further bibliography. A fragmentary foot bearing a dedication was found in an underground healing complex (Serapeum?) in Jerusalem; see: E. Schiller, "Guide to Christian Historical Sites and Holy Places in Israel" [Hebrew], *Ariel* 85–87 (1992), 158.

[43] E. J. and L. Edelstein, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (Baltimore, 1945; repr. New York, 1975), 2:65–67, with further bibliography.

[44] Kadman, *Coins*, 58–59, no. 142. Hygieia is also depicted on two lead tesserae; see A. Hamburger, "Surface-Finds from Caesarea Maritima – Tesserae," in Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 200, nos. 88–89.

[45] Hamburger, "Gems," 11–12, 31, nos. 83–88.

[46] Gersht, "Sculpture," nos. 18–19; R. Gersht, "Roman Copies Discovered in the Land of Israel," *Classical Studies in Honor of David Sohlbert*, ed. Ranon Katzoff (Ramat Gan, 1966) (forthcoming).

[47] Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 1; Gersht, "Roman Copies."

[48] Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 2.

[49] Found in 1994 by the IAA expedition, area +T, locus **6156.**

[50] Found by the IAA expedition, area IW, locus **271.**

Figure 11. Hygieia, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Israel Zafrir

Figure 12. Asklepios, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Aharon Wegman

the statue of Tyche, they look very much alive; Asklepios shakes Straton's right hand (*dextrarum iunctio*) as Hygieia watches from the side. Obviously, without the inscriptions we would probably identify the figures as Serapis and Isis. Asklepios is dressed in an entirely different manner to what is known from his statues, and seems to have a small *modius* on top of his head. Hygieia is holding an unusual attribute that looks like an ear of corn, an attribute usually associated with Kore, Demeter, or Isis.[51] Thus we may refer to Asklepios and Hygieia on the cup as syncretistic deities.

Apparently the foundation of Straton's Tower is not what is depicted on the cup, nor should Asklepios be associated with Eshmun[52] or considered *Leontoukhos*.[53] Very likely the *Navigium Isidis* and Tyche's birthday are here celebrated. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Straton was a common name; it is therefore possible that the

[51] The ear of corn is also an attribute of Serapis *Agathos Daimon;* see Pietrzykowski, "Sarapis," 962.

[52] Will, "La coupe"; G. Finkielsztejn, "Asklepios Leontoukhos et le mythe de la coupe de Césarée Maritime," *RBibl* 93 (1986), 420.

[53] Finkielsztejn, "Asklepios," 419–28.

Straton on the cup, a fourth-century official, was in charge of providing beasts for the arena. The scene at the back of the cup depicts the arrival of the ships and the unloading of the captured animals.[54] On shore, Asklepios-Serapis welcomes Straton for his success. Apparently the Caesareans, like the Delians, considered Asklepios as the protector of mariners.[55] The sacrificial scenes in front of the images of Apollo and Tyche (figs. 1, 2) may confirm the hypothesis, since Apollo was the god of shores and embarkations,[56] as Tyche was the protectress of the Caesarean port and seamen.

Unlike the seated image on the cup, on the coins Apollo is shown standing,[57] and is represented as a bust on the gems.[58] No important information on the status of Apollo in Caesarea is obtainable from these representations, nor from the Kitharoidos Apollo in the Israel Museum (fig. 13).[59] Tracing Apollo's syncretism in the region, one may point to a possible link between some aspects of Apollo and some aspects of Serapis and Isis and perhaps even of Kore and Hecate in Caesarea: the chthonic and healing aspects; the association with all growth and vegetation; and the protection of dwelling entrances and streets.[60]

In August 1993 the IAA expedition found an archaistic torso of a male deity in the vicinity of the shrine (fig. 14). The type with the hair covering the nape of the neck and two locks descending toward the chest is common in statues of Apollo and Dionysos. Without attributes it is therefore difficult to determine which one of the gods is depicted in this statue. For now, only two heads are identified as Dionysos.[61] Thus the only evidence for a possible cult of this god in Caesarea is his appearance on the coins.[62] Judging from the fact that Dionysos is depicted on some of the coins together with Tyche and Demeter, and since the two goddesses have already been related to the shrine in the amphitheater, it is conceivable that Dionysos was also among the gods worshiped in this shrine, perhaps in association with Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates.[63]

The evidence for the cults of the other deities whose images were found in Caesarea

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[54] Will, "La coupe," figs. 10–11; cf. the Great Hunt in the Piazza Armerina: W. Dorigo, *Late Roman Painting* (London, 1970; Milan, 1966), 133–42; A. Carandini et al., *Filosofiana: The Villa of Piazza Armerina* (Palermo, 1982), 197–230, pls. XXVII–XXXI, 56–60.

[55] Bruneau, *Recherches*, 375.

[56] Tripp, *Dictionary*, 66.

[57] Kadman, *Coins*, 58–59; Rosenberger, *City-Coins*, 2:nos. 25, 31, 34, 119.

[58] Hamburger, "Gems," 7, 26, nos. 15–17.

[59] Inv. no. 63.2341, Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 4.

[60] Cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:196; Tripp, *Dictionary*, 66. Apollo was also associated with Harpocrates; see Bruneau, *Recherches*, 375; Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis*, 2:155–56; K. Schefold, "Zur hellenistischen Theologie Alexandrias," *ΑΝΤΙΔΩΡΟΝ, Edgar Salin zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1962), 169.

[61] R. J. Bull and L. E. Toombs, "Notes and News, Caesarea," *IEJ* 22 (1972), 179–80, pl. 40b; Gersht, "Sculpture," nos. 28–29; *Herod's Dream*, 144, fig. 101, cat. no. 63.

[62] Kadman, *Coins*, 53–56; Rosenberger, *City-Coins*, 2:nos. 104–5, 107, 138, 174, 185 and n. 12 above.

[63] On the association between Dionysos, Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates, see Stambaugh, *Sarapis*, 55–59.

Figure 13. Apollo Kitharoidos, Israel Museum. Photograph: IAA

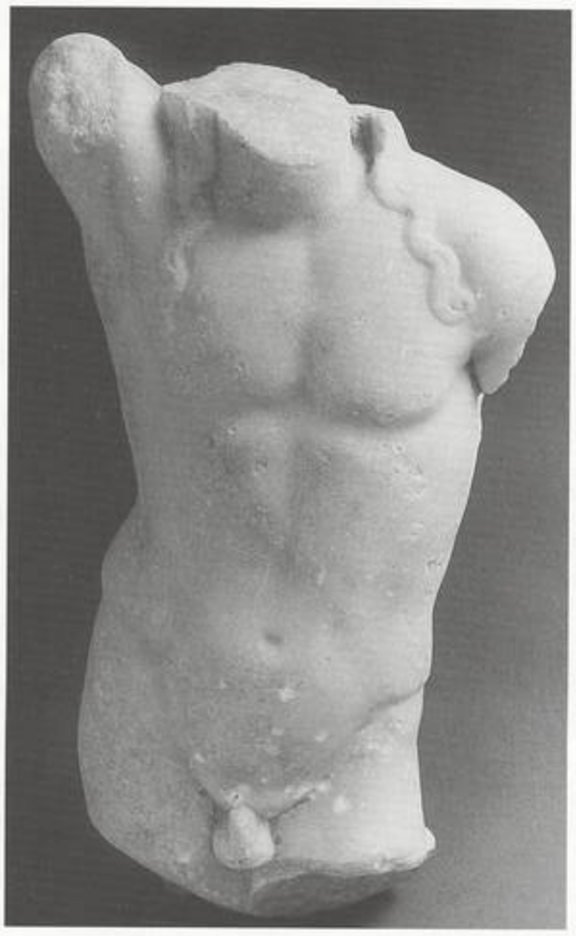

Figure 14. Apollo or Dionysos. Photograph by Assaph Pery, IAA

is even more scanty. The statue of the Ephesian Artemis,[64] found north of the theater, is dated by Frova to the time of Hadrian. Frova suggested that it was in the Hadrianic period when the cult of the Ephesian Artemis penetrated Caesarea. If Frova's assumption is correct and there was a cult of the Ephesian Artemis in Caesarea, then the lead

[64] Frova, *Scavi*, 206–15, figs. 262-66/11; A. Frova, "La statua di Artemide Efesia a Caesarea Maritima," *Bollettino d'arte* 47 (1962), 305–13; R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephsos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (Leiden, 1973), 6, 63–64, 69–70, 90, 104, 115, pls. 7–9; Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 15.

seal in the Sdot Yam Museum, bearing the image of the goddess flanked by a pair of stags, could have been used publicly.[65]

The identification of the fragmentary statue found by the Italians in 1962 is uncertain (fig. 15).[66] Frova related the pair of paws to the right of the figure to a lion and thus considered that the statue represented Cybele.[67] However, it is possible that a griffin, not a lion, accompanied the figure; in this case the goddess should be identified with Nemesis.[68] Found in the "piazza" behind the *skene*, the statue could have come from either the theater or the nearby amphitheater. Both goddesses were connected with buildings used for games: Cybele with circuses[69] and Nemesis with theaters, amphitheaters, and circuses where gladiatorial or hunting events took place.[70] With no complementary evidence, however, one may not be able to determine the exact identification and function of the sculptured figure.[71]

The statue of Athena (fig. 16)[72] could have been a cult statue, but statues of the goddess were sometimes displayed in public places other than shrines and temples. Thus the Caesarean Athena could originally have been placed in the forum or in a workshop, for Athena was the patroness of artists and craftsmen.[73] Likewise, the bronze head in the Sdot Yam Museum[74] could have been a votive dedicated to the goddess in her temple, if there was one in Caesarea, or used privately to ensure the success of its owner, as with gems.[75]

Turning to the statues of Aphrodite, we find ourselves on even less firm ground. As the statues are headless, it is difficult to tell whether they were intended to represent the goddess or were portrait statues in her guise.[76] In view of the multiplicity and vari-

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[65] Inv. no. CM.71.1. The goddess is similarly represented on lead tesserae (Hamburger, "Surface-Finds," 190, 197, nos. 15–19), and on a fragmentary terracotta lamp found recently by the IAA expedition.

[66] Frova, *Scavi*, 197–98, figs. 245–46/4; Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 27.

[67] For representations of Cybele accompanied by a single lion, see M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1982), no. 334; vol. 3 (Leiden, 1977), no. 311; vol. 4 (Leiden, 1978), no. 149; vol. 7 (Leiden, 1977), nos. 10, 64, 110, 158.

[68] Cf. Edip Özgür, *Skulpturen*, nos. 23, 25; Hornum, *Nemesis*, 318–20, pl. IV.

[69] Represented riding on the back of a lion; see J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1986), 273–75.

[70] Hornum, *Nemesis*, 43–90.

[71] Hamburger identifies Nemesis on a gem and on several lead tesserae. These unfortunately are not very helpful in identifying the statue: Hamburger, "Gems," 13, 32, no. 93; idem, "Surface-Finds," 195, 201, nos. 94–96.

[72] Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 16; Gersht, "Roman Copies."

[73] Tripp, *Dictionary*, 116; *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 138.

[74] Probably of a bust or a statuette; h. 2.3 cm.: Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 80.

[75] For representations of Athena on gems from Caesarea, see Hamburger, "Gems," 8, 27–28, nos. 32–42

[76] The statues of Tyche-Fortuna (Gersht, "Tyche," 112–14; Gersht, "Sculpture," nos. 25–26) fall into the same category; cf. Livia and Sabina as Fortuna: M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies* (New York, 1977), figs. 18, 826. For portrait statues in the guise of Aphrodite, see H. Stuart-Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections at Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* (Oxford, 1926; repr.

Figure 15. Cybele or Nemesis. Photograph by R. Gersht

ety of her images, one may be allowed to assume that Aphrodite was revered by the Caesareans. Still, we lack the evidence to determine whether the goddess was worshiped privately or publicly, or to prove which of the statues was used as a cult statue, especially since images of Aphrodite were also kept in private houses and sometimes even displayed in gardens.

The representations of the goddess in sculpture include the *Pudica* (fig. 17),[77] the Crouching,[78] the *Marina*,[79] and the *Pontia Euploia* (fig. 18)[80] types. Venus *Marina* and

Rome, 1968), 237, no. 34 pl., 90; Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, figs. 107–9, 147–48, 227, 239–42.

[77] Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 8; another piece was found recently by the IAA expedition.

[78] J. H. Iliffe, "A Copy of the Crouching Aphrodite," *QDAP* 2 (1933), 110–12, pl. XLIII; Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 7.

[79] Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 6. The Venus *Marina* statue was mistakenly identified by C. Vermeule, *Jewish Relationships with the Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Boston, 1981), 5, 55, ill. I, as a young divinity or ruler.

[80] Found in 1993 by the Combined Caesarea Expeditions. R. Gersht, "Seven New Sculptural Pieces from Caesarea," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, 113–16, no. 3.

Figure 16. Athena, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Aharon Wegman

Figure 17. Aphrodite *Pudica*, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Aharon Wegman

Figure 18. Aphrodite *Pontia Euploia*. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman, CCE

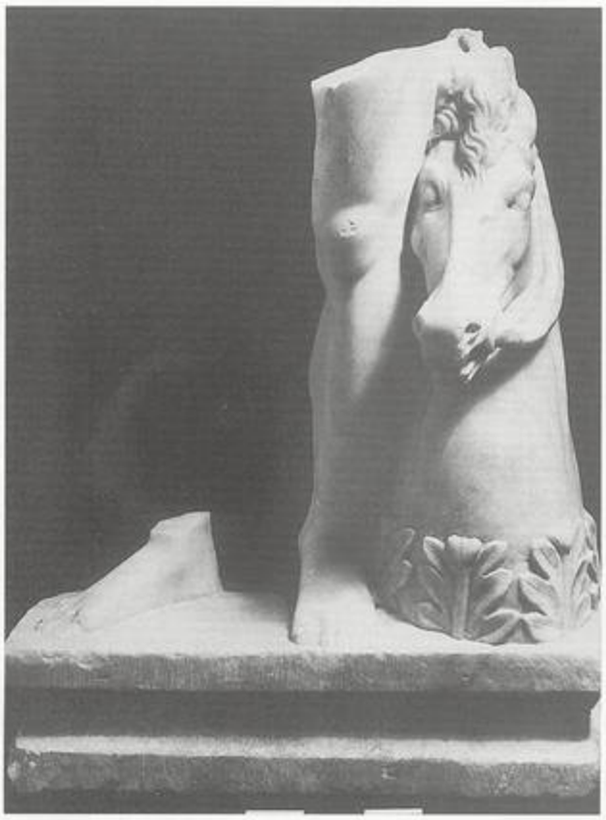

Figure 19. Dioscurus standing beside a bust of his horse. Photograph by Assaph Pery, IAA

Aphrodite *Pontia Euploia* are associated with representations of nymphs.[81] Also connected with water is the Crouching type which is often considered a fountain figure.[82] It is not surprising that statues of Aphrodite and other divinities associated with water decorated the Roman city of Caesarea. I have already mentioned Apollo, Asklepios, and Tyche as the protectors of seamen. The *Marina* and the *Pontia Euploia*, in the case they were not fountain figures or portrait statues, could also be considered to protect seafarers. To these we may add the Dioscuri, who were also associated with Isis and

[81] Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, 49; J. Inan, "Aphrodite, Tänzerin oder Wassernymphe," in *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann*, ed. H. U. Cain, H. Gabelmann, and D. Salzmann (Mainz, 1989), 273–80; G. Becatti, *Ninfe e divinità marine: Ricerche mitologiche, iconografiche e stilistiche*, Studi Miscellanei 17 (Rome, 1971).

[82] B. S. Ridgway, "Greek Antecedents of Garden Sculpture," in *Ancient Roman Gardens*, ed. E. B. MacDougall and W. F. Jashemski (Washington, D.C., 1981), 15–16; B. Kapossy, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit* (Zurich, 1969), 12–19.

Figure 20. Dioscurus, bust, Sdot Yam Museum. Photograph by Israel Zafrir

Agathe Tyche as the protectors of navigators.[83] Though a cult of the Dioscuri in Caesarea cannot be proven, there is no doubt that the twin brothers had some role in the city. They appear on a coin of Philip Senior (248 C.E.), standing beside their horses on both sides of an eagle supporting a wreath,[84] and on a gem.[85] Their sculptured images, as in the case of Athena, were either in public or private use. In one (fig. 19), a fragmentary marble statue found by the IAA expedition in 1992, the Dioscurus is standing beside a bust of his horse;[86] in the other, a bronze bust, the Dioscurus is shown with a star on his head (fig. 20).[87]

Recent excavations in Caesarea have made it possible to reexamine some of the cults of the Roman city not only through numismatics or inscriptions[88] but also through sculpture. While for some cults the sculptural and complementary evidence is insufficient, it seems convincing for others. In addition to the accepted cults of Augustus, Dea Roma, Mithras, and Tyche, the newly discovered evidence also points to the cults of Isis and Serapis, apparently in association with Tyche, Kore, Demeter, Asklepios, Hygieia, Apollo, and possibly Hecate and Dionysos. Though the cults of these deities have been dealt with in relation to the shrine in the Herodian amphitheater, it is not unlikely that some of these deities also had other or separate places of worship. It is hoped that more temples and shrines will be revealed so that it will perhaps be possible to ascertain the cults of other deities whose statues were found at Caesarea, such as those of Athena, Aphrodite, the Ephesian Artemis, Cybele or Nemesis, and the Dioscuri.

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[83] Bruneau, *Recherches,* 399, 464, 537; Griffiths, ed., *Apuleius,* 157, 195; M. Albert, *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* (Paris, 1883), 54–66; *LIMC* 3.1:610.

[84] Kadman, *Coins,* 68, 75, no. 116.

[85] Hamburger, "Gems," 9, 29, no. 54.

[86] On the type see *LIMC* 3.1:572, nos. 52–54, 615, no. 32; Ch. Picard, "Sur un groupe mutilé d'Éleusis: Le Dioscure à la protomé chevaline," *BCH* 82 (1958), 435–65.

[87] The statuette was found by Arnon Angert in 1981; h. 5.2 cm.: Gersht, "Sculpture," no. 82.

[88] One is a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus, another is dedicated to Zeus Sôsipolis (B. Lifshitz, "Le culte de Jupiter Dolichenus à Césarée (Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne)," *RBibl* 73 (1966), 255–56; idem, "Césarée de Palestine, son histoire et ses institutions," *ANRW* 2.8 (1977), 503; Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions,* no. 126.

PART VI

CAESAREA'S ECONOMY AND SOCIETY: THE EVIDENCE OF OBJECTS

18

Toward the Study of Economics at Caesarea Maritima

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Archaeological Assessments, Inc.

Herod the Great financed most of his activities by controlling regional trade, so it is clear that he understood many aspects of the international exchange system of his time. His understanding of this economic system led him to conclude that he could successfully alter the regional patterns of exchange by constructing a massive port that would dominate the exchange system of the eastern Mediterranean basin. To fulfill this vision, Herod chose to expend the massive amounts of capital necessary to construct his new port city at the ruined site of Straton's Tower, naming the city Caesarea Maritima and its port Sebastos.

For the last 125 years, archaeological research has concentrated on the structural remnants of this great site. We can now talk of Herod's city plan and its most important structures based on actual physical remains that have been excavated.[1] During this same period, however, data have not been collected that would allow modern scholars to understand and interpret the ancient economic system that caused Herod to plan, construct, and subsequently support the site. Modern scholars do a great injustice if they do not at least attempt to focus on economics. Moving toward an understanding of the ancient exchange systems that supported Caesarea Maritima and Sebastos should be a primary long-term research objective of modern scholarship. The question is how to approach this problem.

Most studies of ancient economics and exchange have been based primarily on preserved ancient texts. The large synthetic studies of Rostovtzeff[2] and Finley,[3] for example, were textual works supplemented by a limited amount of true archaeological data. The archaeological data employed in these early studies were collected using archaeological methods and theories that today must be viewed as antiquated,[4] and therefore

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[1] I wish to thank Dr. Robert J. Bull for allowing me to use unpublished data collected by the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima in 1978 and 1980; Dr. W. J. Bennett, Jr. for his organizational insight; and Brauna J. Hartzell, my wife, for preparing the figures.

See *Herod's Dream* and various chapters in this volume.

[2] M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1957).

[3] M. I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (London, 1973).

[4] The theory and methodology for comparing archaeological remains from around the Mediterranean basin to study ancient systems of exchange and economics have been developing since the early ampho-

the conclusions based on archaeological data in these works must be used with caution.

The textual data can now be supplemented with a limited amount of recently excavated archaeological evidence, especially from the major ports of Benghazi,[5] Carthage,[6] and Ostia.[7] Using these new data, along with the more traditional data sources, some archaeologists and economic historians have presented new syntheses of international exchange in the Roman and Byzantine periods.[8] These syntheses are generally based on what I call the annual view of ancient exchange,[9] a view that studies changes in economic activity.[10] Why has this view of ancient exchange been adopted?

The Annual View of Exchange Systems

Food is grown in all parts of the world as part of an annual, seasonal cycle. Seeds are sewn, crops nurtured, and grain harvested, and the next year the cycle is repeated. Viticulture, olive production, fruit production, and even fishing, all major food-producing activities in the Mediterranean basin, are seasonal. Even in today's industrial world, the exchange of goods is viewed as an annual cycle, with one year being com-

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ra studies of Heinrich Dressel. Compare, for example, H. Dressel, "Ricerche sul Monte Testaccio," *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1878), with M. G. Fulford and D.P.S. Peacock, *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission*, vol. 1 pt. 2, *The Avenue du Président Habib Bourguiba Salammbo: The Pottery and Other Ceramic Objects from the Site* (Sheffield, 1984) to see the magnitude of the development and changes.

[5] See J. A. Riley, "The Coarse Pottery from Benghazi," in J. A Lloyd, ed., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice)*, vol. 2 (Tripoli, 1979), 91–467; and P. M. Kenrick, *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice)*, vol. 3, pt. 1, *The Fine Pottery* (Tripoli, 1985).

[6] See Fulford and Peacock, *Carthage*; J. W. Hayes, "Pottery: Stratified Groups and Typology," in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *Excavations at Carthage Conducted by the University of Michigan 1975*, vol. 1 (Tunis, 1976), 47–107; J. A. Riley, "The Pottery from Cisterns 1977.1, 1977.2, and 1977.3," in J. H. Humphrey, ed., *Excavations at Carthage Conducted by the University of Michigan 1977*, vol. 6 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1981), 85–124; and R. S. Tomber, "Pottery from the 1982–83 Excavations," in John H. Humphrey, ed., *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1988), 437–528.

[7] See esp. C. Panella, "Appunti su un gruppo di anfore della prima, media e tarda età imperiale," in *Ostia III: Le Terme del Nuotatore: Scavo degli ambienti III, V, VI, VII*, Studi Miscellanei 21 (Rome, 1973), 460–633.

[8] See, e.g., M. G. Fulford, "Economic Interdependence among Urban Communities of the Roman Mediterranean," *WA* 19 (1987), 58–75; idem, "To East and West: the Mediterranean Trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in antiquity," *Libyan Studies* 20 (1989), 169–91; idem, "Territorial Expansion and the Roman Empire," *WA* 23 (1992), 294–305; R. S. Tomber, "Quantitative Approaches to the Investigation of Long-Distance Exchange," *JRA* 6 (1993), 142–66; and Greg Woolf, "Imperialism, Empire and the Integration of the Roman Economy,"*WA* 23 (1992), 283–93.

[9] The term "annual view" is based on the production cycle being one year. It does not assume that specific years must be studied individually; rather, years can be grouped and studied on a decennial, centennial, or even sesquicentennial basis depending on what is required in the analysis.

[10] For the best summary of the rationale and some of the assumptions behind such types of analysis, see Tomber, "Quantitative Approaches."

pared with, and interpreted in light of, the previous year(s). In the ancient world, where the "shelf life" of goods was far more limited, the annual/seasonal view was the only possible means of comparison of economic exchange. Crops could be harvested only at a certain time, and the weather allowed shipping of those goods only during certain seasons. Therefore, according to the annual view, to understand the ancient exchange system it must be viewed as an annual one. This allows long-term trends to be identified and interpreted through continuous collection of annual data.

If the ancient exchange system is viewed on an annual basis, what role can archaeology and ceramics play as modern scholars seek to understand this system? First, it must be remembered that the exchange of ceramic-packaged goods was not the dominant component in this system but, rather, bulk grain transport and other food commodities shipped in sacks or casks.[11] Such shipments, however, rarely left a mark in the archaeological record.[12] Other commodities, however, were shipped in ceramic packages that remain in the archaeological record. This study considers only the exchange of commodities shipped in ceramic packages, that is, amphoras or *dolia*.[13] It is important to note that the ceramic amphoras (or *dolia*) were simply the packages of a now long-expended product. Therefore, surviving amphoras must be used as proxies to estimate the volume and types of goods once shipped in them.

Amphoras and the Annual View

A quarter century of modern amphora studies have advanced to the point where it is possible for the ceramic analyst to identify the region of production for most amphoras, the primary product carried by each amphora type, and the approximate time range when such an amphora would have been produced.[14] Clearly some forms are known better than others, but basic identification is possible. These same studies have highlighted three other aspects common to ancient amphoras. First, most tend to have been

[11] See Fulford, "Economic Interdependence," 59; and A. J. Parker, "Cargoes, Containers and Stowage: The Ancient Mediterranean," *IJNA* 21 (1992), 93–95.

[12] A. J. Parker, "Classical Antiquity: The Maritime Dimension," *Antiquity* 64 (1990), 342, explained that amphoras and other ceramic cargoes tended to be the lightest cargo and hence the one shipped at the top of the load. Because amphoras made up the bulk of the larger ceramic products, traveled atop the loads, and are easy to spot archaeologically, amphora ships are probably the easiest wrecks to identify. This may account for their numbers. These wrecks tend to be identified as merchant ships or bulk cargo ships for this reason. While this is possible and may account for their numbers, it is also possible that these are actually grain carrying ships that carried a top load of ceramics. If so, then these wrecks are not understood properly and are being misidentified. For a similar view see Fulford, "Economic Interdependence," 61. Lacking large, identifiable, and non-perishable products, such as ceramics, non-ceramic carrying ships may be very difficult to find.

[13] Ceramic commodities themselves such as fine wares, lamps, tiles, or bricks will not be considered at this time.

[14] For a summary, see D.P.S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide* (London, 1986).

made near the production center for the packaged product, almost always along a navigable river or near the sea.[15] Second, once the primary packaged product was emptied at a consumption site, the amphora was rarely refilled and reshipped by sea.[16] And, third, typological change of amphora morphology tended to be slow;[17] thus, unless the amphora was inscribed with a date, it is difficult to date it precisely to one century or another.

What were the dynamics of annual amphora movement within a functioning ancient economy such as that of Caesarea and its hinterland? Each year some number of amphora-packaged products from either local or distant production markets were transported to Caesarea, distant products by ship and local by cart. Once at Caesarea, what happened to these amphoras? Some local product-bearing amphoras were shipped out by sea and thereby left the regional Caesarea economic system. Some distant product-bearing amphoras were shipped to the Caesarea hinterland by cart and therefore left the archaeological record of the city of Caesarea. Other local and distant amphora types were sold either filled or empty to the local Caesarea populace and used locally. Other local and distant amphoras were broken and discarded or simply discarded, some entering the archaeological record in primary deposition, and the rest in secondary contexts, thrown in dumps or used as fill or grog in some construction or manufacturing process.[18] Can the archaeological record at Caesarea provide the data necessary for such economic study? The next three sections will examine aspects of the nature of archaeological deposits.

Pompeii-type Deposits

It is a rare archaeological situation that provides direct insight into the daily in-use pottery for a city at any given time.[19] One example when such in-use pottery can be identified is when the city (or part thereof) suffered a sudden and unexpected destruction. The eruption of Mount Vesuvius and the immediate destruction of Pompeii and

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[15] Peacock and Williams, *Amphorae*, 67–77.

[16] Parker, "Classical Antiquity," 343–45.

[17] For example, A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean & the Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1992), 32, wrote, "For reasons which are still unknown, amphoras do not for the most part exhibit the typological progression which is characteristic of fineware and which makes possible close archaeological dating of such pottery; on the contrary, an amphora form typically remains much the same for the whole time it is produced, but is then succeeded by a quite new form, but made of the same clay in the same region."

[18] For a discussion of the disposal of amphoras, see, E. Lyding Will, "Production, Distribution, and Disposal of Roman Amphoras," in G. J. Bey III and C. A. Pool, eds., *Ceramic Production and Distribution: An Integrated Approach* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), 269–73.

[19] This statement is in direct conflict with what the early archaeologists thought. For a discussion of the Pompeii Premise, see L. R. Binford, "Behavioral Archaeology and the 'Pompeii Premise,'" *JAR* 37 (1981), 195–208.

other Italian cities and villages on 24 August 79 C.E. left the ceramics in use on that day preserved in the archaeological record. Archaeological deposits caused by major destructive earthquakes in Palestine (e.g., Petra on 19 May 363 C.E. or Jerash on 18 January 749 C.E.) appear to have provided good examples of this same phenomenon. On the other hand, destruction of a site by invaders provides a somewhat altered version of this phenomenon because pottery may have left the site in the advent of the destruction or have been broken and lost during a siege.

When the Pompeii-type deposit is found in the archaeological record it is a boon because the pottery of daily life is recovered whole (or through reconstruction) in the relative amounts that were in use on the date of destruction. A century-old pot can be accurately identified in use, and it is clear when a vessel, or part thereof, is found in reuse (e.g., a wine amphora found in a kitchen used as a water jar). Hence the interpretive value of the rare presence of the Pompeii-type deposit in the archaeological record is enormous.

The Primary Archaeological Record

In the normal course of events during the ancient year, ceramics were broken and then they entered the archaeological record. Some of these ceramics were probably only a few days old when broken, whereas others were perhaps a century old. Ceramic vessels had a lifespan that was determined, in part, by the shape of the vessel, its function, and how often it was used.[20] Archaeologists must not forget that the typological dates they learn for ceramics are the periods of their production, not of their breakage.

Once a vessel broke, a number of things might happen to it or its constituent pieces. The sherds might be left where they broke, with the pieces possibly being reused,

[20] Studies of life-use of ceramics are rarely referenced in Classical and Near Eastern literature. See, e.g., G. M. Foster, "Life-Expectancy of Utilitarian Pottery in Tzintzuntzan, Michoacán, Mexico," *AA* 26 (1960), 606–9; N. David, "On the Life Span of Pottery, Type Frequencies, and Archaeological Inference," *AA* 37 (1972), 141–42; W. R. DeBoer, "Ceramic Longevity and Archaeological Interpretation: An Example from the Upper Ucayali, Peru," *AA* 39 (1974), 335–43; W. A. Longacre, "Pottery Use-Life among the Kalinga, Northern Luzon, the Philippines," in B. A. Nelson, ed., *Decoding Prehistoric Ceramics* (Carbondale, Ill., 1985), 334–46; C. Kramer, "Ceramic Ethnoarchaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology 1985* 14 (1985), 89–92; R. Bedaux and D. van der Waals, "Aspects of Life-Span of Dogon Pottery," *Newsletter Department of Pottery Technology (University of Leiden)* 5 (1987), 137–53; P. J. Arnold III, "Household Ceramic Assemblage Attributes in the Sierra de los Tuxtlas, Veracruz, Mexico," *JAR* 44 (1988), 357–83; and B. J. Mills, "Integrating Functional Analyses of Vessels and Sherds through Models of Ceramic Assemblage Formation," *WA* 21 (1989), 133–47. Direct archaeological evidence from Pompeii suggests that the median lifespan of amphoras may be longer than ethnoarchaeological research suggests. At its destruction in 79 C.E., 21% of the dated amphoras in use were more than thirty years old. This percentage may actually be less than the norm since at Pompeii these amphoras had to have survived the devastating earthquake of 62 C.E. For a discussion of these amphoras, see R. Laurence, *Roman Pompeii: Space and Society* (New York, 1994), 5–6.

buried, worn into a walking surface, thrown out of a window or door with the sherds being distributed across the landscape, or disposed of as garbage. Except for reuse, where the sherds continued in use, the other possible results or destinations are primary archaeological deposits: floors, occupational buildup, surfaces, or "primary" refuse deposits.

When the newly broken sherds entered the archaeological record, they were added to and mixed with a depositional record where, in all likelihood, other broken ceramics (residual ceramics) were already present. Thus there was a mixing of sherds already residual in the archaeological record with those just entering it. Given ceramic lifespans, how can one separate older newly broken sherds from newer residual sherds?

The archaeological record that was formed as a result of a depositional sequence, based on normal domestic, industrial, or commercial activities, tends to be a series of smallish localized deposits that built up over time, not massive deposition covering an excavation's entire sector. Such localized sequences may have a series of many deposits that are each of short duration and contain a limited amount of pottery.

The Secondary Archaeological Record

Sometimes massive earth-moving operations occurred as part of construction or defensive activities in antiquity. An old building might be demolished and filled in with debris, the construction of a new building might demand massive fill in order to prepare or stabilize the construction surface, or a fortification wall might need fill to provide additional defensive support. In these cases soil was sought. Here garbage dumps, dredge debris, abandoned structures, or an unoccupied high point might be dug up to provide "fill" for the new purpose. Such a deposit tends to be both massive and of highly mixed origin.

The archaeology of such a secondary deposit will provide a large volume of ceramics that can be quantified with great precision. Many times it is possible to obtain a date of deposition from the terminal date of the buried structure or the foundation date of the new construction. However, it must be remembered that virtually the entirety of such a deposit is residual – probably nothing in it dates to the time of deposition. Therefore, unless the preserved pottery can be well dated on typological or epigraphic grounds, which is rarely the case for amphoras, the dating and usefulness of the ceramics for interpretive studies are restricted.

Quantification and Ceramic Residuality at Caesarea

For ceramics to be evaluated under an annual approach, it is essential that they are quantified and that quantification allows valid comparisons to be made between different ceramic corpora. Recently, Orton and Tyers and Orton, Tyers, and Vince have shown that the estimated vessel-equivalent (*eve*) approach is the only statistically valid

means of quantification for ceramic comparisons both within and between ceramic corpora.[21] This is an important theoretical step, but a huge question remains: what is one comparing?

The ceramic content of each identifiable stratigraphic unit is the sum of the newly broken or discarded ceramics freshly deposited during the time of the unit's deposition plus those ceramics already present in the soil matrix that forms that unit, the residual sherds. What does this mean for a quantified corpus? How does one differentiate these two groups of pottery? How much of the ceramic record is residual?

These are difficult questions. Evans and Millett have provided one approach to this sort of analysis,[22] and here two additional studies will be examined. The first example is provided by the Attic fine ware excavated at Tell el-Hesi between 1970 and 1983. Attic fine ware is an ideal category to study this problem because it was manufactured for more than two centuries and even fragments of most forms can be dated with precision. Tell el-Hesi was a perfect site because a tight stratigraphic matrix was generated during excavation: four phases of Persian period occupation that spanned the fifth century B.C.E.[23] Risser and Blakely's figure 135 illustrates the chronologically mixed character of Phases Vc through IV. While some of this mixed chronological character may be attributed to lengthy ceramic lifespans, the fact the physical joins were made across phases[24] led the excavators to posit substantial residuality.

For a second example and one derived from Caesarea, Pompeian Red Ware (a cooking ware that was produced for international exchange) is immediately recognizable and has a determinable period of manufacture that has been the object of a number of studies during the past two decades.[25] While various fabrics comprising Pompeian Red Ware have been identified, the Pompeian Red Ware found at Caesarea is almost entirely Peacock's Fabric 1,[26] which is the same as Blakely, Brinkmann, and Vitaliano's Fabric 2 identified at Caesarea.[27] Peacock identified this fabric as originat-

[21] C. R. Orton and P. A. Tyers, "Statistical Analysis of Ceramic Assemblages," *Archeologia e calcolatori* 1 (1990), 81–110; idem, "Counting Broken Objects: The Statistics of Ceramic Assemblages," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 77 (1992), 163–84; C. R. Orton, P. A. Tyers, and A. G. Vince, *Pottery in Archaeology* (Cambridge, 1993).

[22] J. Evans and M. Millett, "Residuality Revisited," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11 (1992), 225–40.

[23] M. K. Risser and J. A. Blakely, "Imported Aegean Fine Ware in the First Millennium B.C.E.," in W. J. Bennett, Jr., and J. A. Blakely, *Tell el-Hesi: The Persian Period (Stratum V)* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1989), 69–137.

[24] Risser and Blakely, "Imported Fine Ware," table 2.

[25] For the classic summary of Pompeian Red Ware, see D.P.S. Peacock, "Pompeian Red Ware," in D.P.S. Peacock, ed., *Pottery and Early Commerce* (New York, 1977), 147–62. For recent research on the topic in Israel, see J. A. Blakely, R. Brinkmann, and C. J. Vitaliano, "Pompeian Red Ware: Processing Archaeological Ceramic Data," *Geoarchaeology* 4 (1989), 201–28; and A. M. Berlin, "Italian Cooking Vessels and Cuisine from Tel Anafa," *IEJ* 43 (1993), 35–44. For a recent mineralogical study of this ware, see J. Theodore Peña, "Internal Red-Slip Cookware (Pompeian Red Ware) from Cetamura del Chianti, Italy: Mineralogical Composition and Provenience," *AJA* 94 (1990), 647–61.

[26] Peacock, "Pompeian Red Ware," 149–53 and 156–60.

[27] Blakely, Brinkmann, and Vitaliano, "Pompeian Red Ware," 201–28.

ing in the region of Pompeii and suggested, with some qualifications, that it was produced from early in the first century B.C.E. until 79 C.E.[28] Later, Peña suggested that the fabric was introduced in the second century B.C.E. and that the possible region of production was somewhat larger.[29]

The entire corpus of Pompeian Red Ware cooking bowls and cooking bowl lids found in area G8 by the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM) in 1978 and 1980 was studied by Blakely, Brinkmann, and Vitaliano. Eighty-three of eighty-four sherds were identified as Peacock's Fabric 1. Blakely, Brinkmann, and Vitaliano suggested that production of this Pompeian Red Ware fabric may actually have extended past 79 C.E. because only one of their eighty-three examples was found in a context predating 70 C.E. This one example was a cooking bowl lid found in a second-century B.C.E. context that may not be related to the traditional Pompeian Red Ware cooking bowls.[30]

Figure 1 shows the stratigraphic distribution of the Pompeian Red Ware discovered in area G8. Based on this chart, many would suggest that production extended into the fourth century C.E. While such a date is doubtful, this figure highlights the dramatic extent of the residuality problem in ceramic analysis.

No archaeologist would deny that site formation processes move artifacts up in the archaeological record; the question is one of extent. Usually archaeologists simply state that a piece is residual based on authority: "It dates to no later than 79 C.E. and must be residual." It would be hard to suggest that the entire corpus of Pompeian Red Ware dates to the first century C.E. and that all of it in this depositional sequence was recovered in contexts where it must be viewed as residual. I believe that Pompeian Red Ware production probably extended into the second century C.E., and that much of this ware arrived at Caesarea Maritima in the late first century and the second century C.E.[31] Even assuming that this suggestion is true, one is still left with a large

[28] Peacock, "Pompeian Red Ware," 156–60.

[29] Peña, "Internal Red-Slip Cookware," 655.

[30] Blakely, Brinkmann, and Vitaliano, "Pompeian Red Ware," 220–21.

[31] "Pompeian amphoras" are well known from a distinct "black sand" fabric found in Dressel 1A (Peacock and Williams Class 3), Dressel 1B (Peacock and Williams Class 4), Dressel 1C (Peacock and Williams Class 5), and Dressel 2-4 (Peacock and Williams Class 10) amphoras. This "black sand" fabric is identical with Peacock's Pompeian Red Ware Fabric 1. David F. Williams (quoted in Blakely, Brinkmann, and Vitaliano, "Pompeian Red Ware," 225) places this ware's production at as yet unidentified kilns in the "Pompeii-Herculaneum region." Interestingly, "Pompeian" Dressel 2-4 amphoras represent 30% of the Dressel 2-4 amphoras found in a second-century deposit in the Terme del Nuotatore in Ostia: C. Panella, "La distribuzione e i mercati," in A. Giardina and A. Schiavone, eds., *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, vol. 2 (Bari, 1981), 76. For this reason it has been suggested by Willem Jongman, in *The Economy and Society of Pompeii* (Amsterdam, 1988), 124–28, that the production area of the "black sand" wares was larger than the "Pompeii-Herculaneum region" and that production of these wares may have extended past the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. in regions not destroyed. On the other hand, P. Arthur and D. F. Williams, "Campanian Wine, Roman Britain and the Third Century A.D.," *JRA* 5 (1992), 250–60, suggest a smaller but revitalized Pompeii-Herculaneum black-sand ceramic industry after the eruption of 79 C.E. Either view can be used to support late first- and second-century production of Pompeian Red Ware that reached Caesarea Maritima.

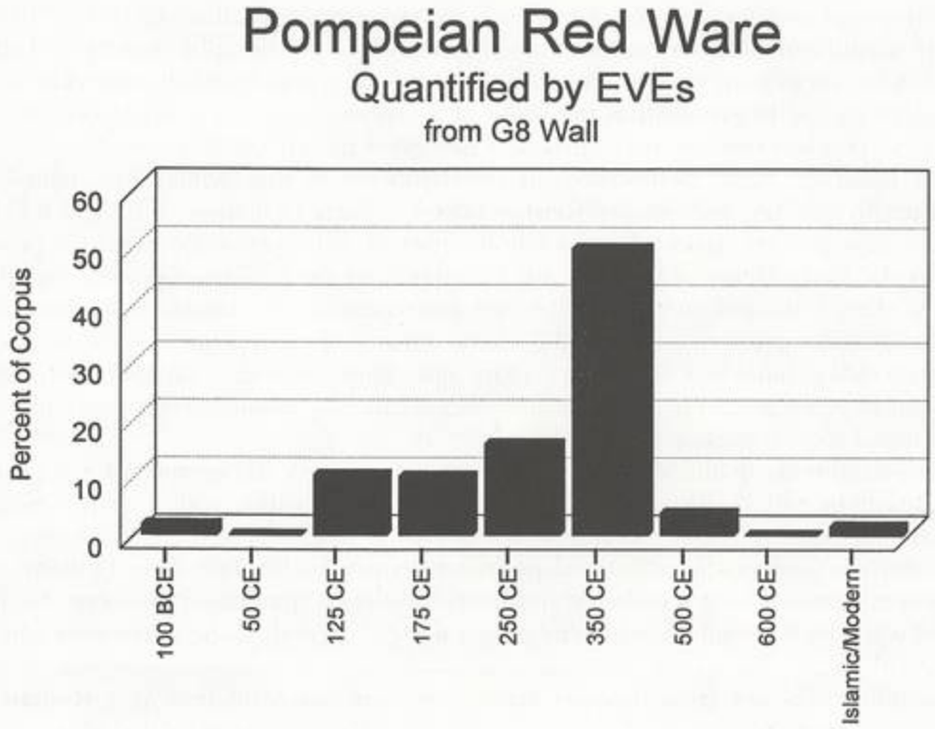

Figure 1. Bar chart showing the stratigraphic distribution of Pompeian Red Ware in area G8 at Caesarea Maritima. Each of the first eight phases in the stratigraphic sequence has been assigned a single date representing that phase's period of deposition within the sequence. The final two phases have been combined and called "Islamic/Modern." Chart by Brauna J. Hartzell based on data prepared by the author

amount of residual pottery within the stratigraphic matrix.[32] How do archaeologists account for varying ceramic residuality in their depositional statistics?

Quantification and Diversity across Caesarea

As archaeology has developed from pot hunting to become an ever more precise discipline governed by rules of stratigraphic excavation, the identification of smaller and smaller units of stratigraphic deposition has been made; from Bliss identifying levels of

[32] For other thoughts on residuality in this literature, see Riley, "Benghazi," 106–7; and Fulford, "Economic Interdependence," 61. For a different approach that attempted to measure residuality in the archaeological record, see Evans and Millett, "Residuality Revisited," 225–29.

cities atop one another,[33] to Reisner identifying structures from floor to floor,[34] to the current identification of the constituent soil layers of the stratigraphic matrix.[35] Today stratigraphic excavation yields a complicated matrix of generally small, interrelated soil layers that should be analyzed as the result of a depositional process as opposed to the static, independent deposits excavated and described by our predecessors.[36]

One result of these methodological developments is that while Bliss talked of Amorite (Bronze Age) pottery and Reisner talked of Early Hellenistic (332–198 B.C.E.) pottery, now archaeologists talk of a whole series of soil layers deposited in a period such as the Early Hellenistic period, for example, and the variety of pottery found in each of these restricted contexts. Given an awareness of the ceramic residuality and ceramic lifespan problems, the unique characteristics of each sequence are far more apparent today than even twenty-five years ago. Thus, instead of characterizing sites based on large excavated deposits, archaeologists can now quantify every layer in each depositional sequence excavated at the site.

When examining quantified data, what is the interpretive importance of comparing a kitchen floor with a street, with the floor of a storage facility, with a dump, even if they are all contemporary? Such a study would be insightful in describing diversity across various functionally different depositional sequences, but little else. The absolute differences between such sequences, however, have been minimized by economic historians who claim virtual homogeneity across a site.[37] In reality, the differences can be great.

The differences are great because many aspects of site formation at a Roman or Byzantine period occupational site are the result of conscious activities of ancients. Constructional activities, demolition activities, and aspects of daily life all caused mixing of contemporary materials with earlier materials, but in different ways and resulting in differing depositional sequences. As an example, four separate sequences have been quantified at Caesarea: Riley examined a series of dumps in Field H, the hippodrome;[38] Adan-Bayewitz studied the Late Byzantine building near the port;[39] Blakely reported the portside storage facility Vault 1;[40] and Blakely is preparing the

[33] E.g., F. Jones Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities, or, Tell el Hesy Excavated* (London, 1894).

[34] E.g., G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fisher, and D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1924).

[35] E.g., W. G. Dever and H. Darrell Lance, eds., *A Manual of Field Excavation: Handbook for Field Archaeologists* (Cincinnati, 1978).

[36] See, e.g., J. A. Blakely, "Historical Geography and Its Impact on the Analysis and Publication of Excavated Ceramics in the British and American Traditions of Palestinian Archaeology," doctoral dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1990).

[37] See, e.g., Tomber, "Quantitative Approaches."

[38] J. A. Riley, "The Pottery from the First Season of Excavation in the Caesarea Hippodrome, *BASOR* 218 (1975), 25–63.

[39] D. Adan-Bayewitz, "The Pottery from the Late Byzantine Building and Its Implications (Stratum 4)," in Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 90–131.

[40] J. A. Blakely, *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Excavation Reports*, vol. 4, *The Pottery and Dating of Vault 1: Horreum, Mithraeum, and Later Uses* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1987).

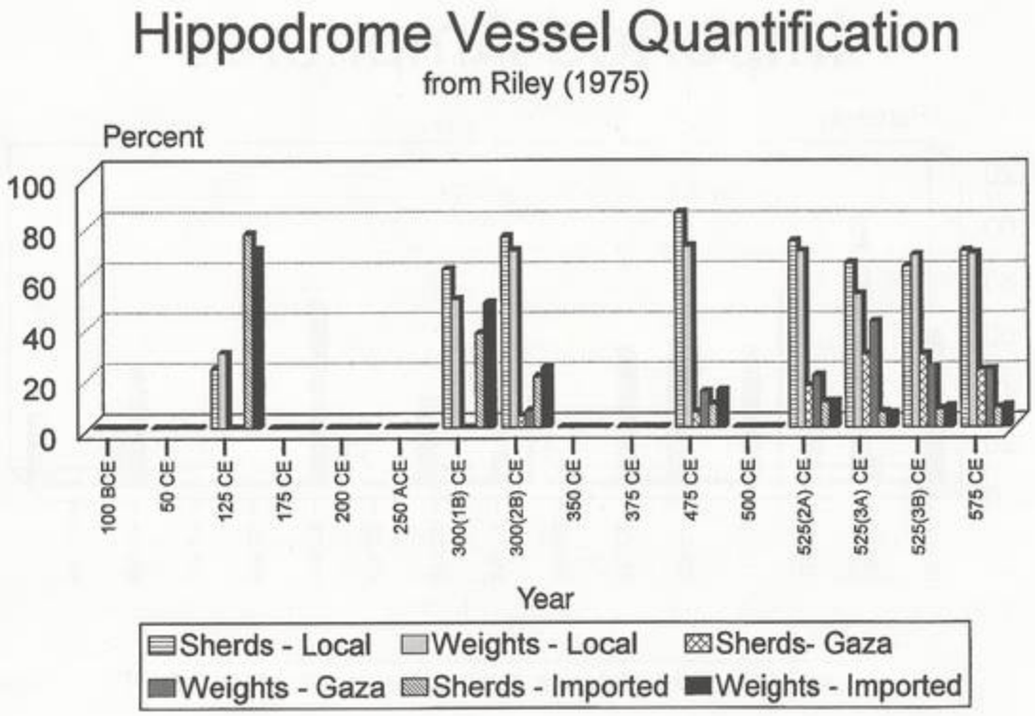

Figure 2. Comparative bar chart showing amphora quantification at Caesarea's hippodrome based on data provided by Riley (1975). Each of Riley's stratigraphic units has been assigned a single date representing that unit's period of deposition within his sequence. Chart by Brauna J. Hartzell based on data prepared by the author

area G8 deposits which built up along an inland fortification wall of Caesarea north of the Crusader fortress.[41]

For figures 2–5, the entire rim and base corpus of amphoras in these deposits has been selected for study. They have been divided into three categories for comparison: (1) Local amphoras, meaning both red and black Palestinian bag amphoras as well as

[41] J. A. Blakely, "A Stratigraphically Determined Date for the Inner Fortification Wall at Caesarea Maritima," in Henry O. Thompson, ed., *The Answers Lie Below: Essays in Honor of Lawrence Edmund Toombs* (Lanham, Md., 1984), 3–38; idem, "Stratigraphy and the North Fortification Wall of Herod's Caesarea," in *Caesarea Papers*, 26–41; W. J. Bennett, Jr., J. A. Blakely, R. Brinkmann, and C. J. Vitaliano, "The Provenience Postulate: Thoughts on the Use of Physical and Chemical Data in the Study of Ceramic Materials," in J. A. Blakely and W. J. Bennett, Jr., eds., *Analysis and Publication of Ceramics: The Computer Data Base in Archaeology*, BAR Int. Ser. 551. (Oxford, 1989), 31–44; Blakely, Brinkmann, and Vitaliano, "Pompeian Red Ware," 201–28; idem, "Roman Mortaria and Basins from a Sequence at Caesarea: Fabrics and Sources," in *Caesarea Papers*, 194–213. Preparation of the final report on these materials continues.

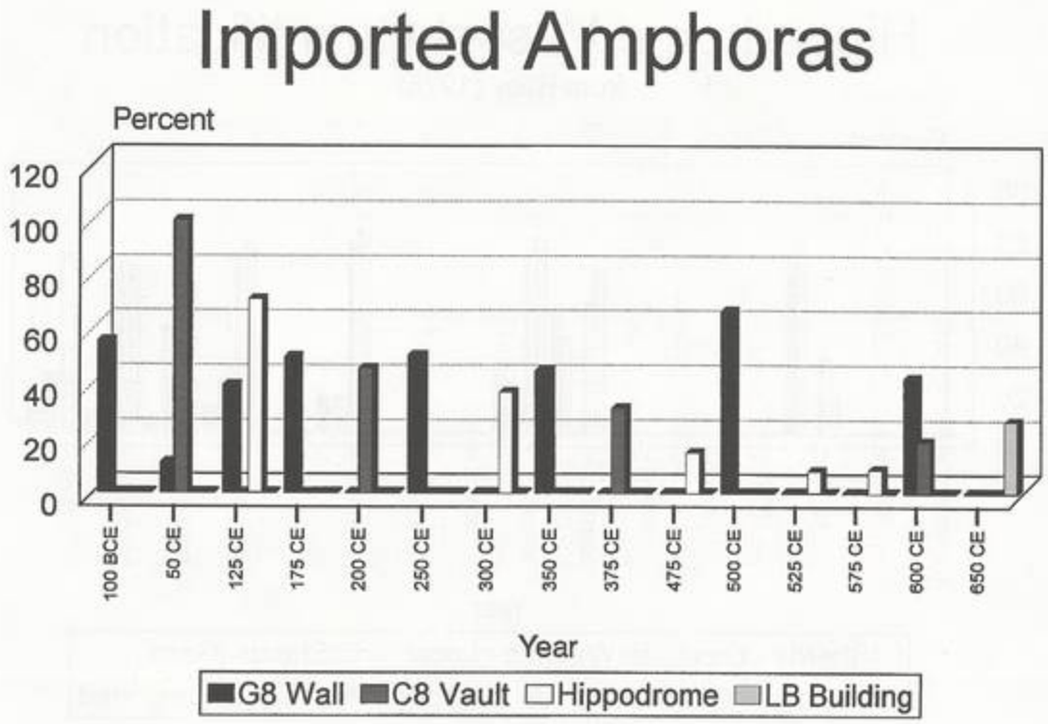

Figure 3. Comparative bar chart showing the percentage of imported amphoras present in various quantified deposits found at Caesarea. Each deposit has been assigned a single date representing that deposit's period of deposition. Chart by Brauna J. Hartzell based on data prepared by the author

the typical Hellenistic and Early Roman Palestinian amphoras; (2) Gaza/Ashqelon amphoras, meaning the traditional fourth–sixth century torpedo-shaped vessels known to have been manufactured in southern Palestine. Also included is what appears to be an earlier version of that vessel which, petrologically, appears to fit the same profile;[42] and (3) Imported amphoras, meaning all types of non-Palestinian amphoras.

Figure 2 illustrates hippodrome amphora data as quantified by Riley using RBH (rims, bases, handles) based on both numbers and weights. Riley's Dump Deposits 1B and 2B both date to about 300 C.E. and are probably samples of one larger dump deposit. Note that there are about twice as many imported amphoras in 1B as in 2B and that there are no Gaza/Ashqelon amphoras in 1B, whereas they represent about 5% of 2B. Riley's Dump Deposits 2A, 3A, and 3B all date to about 525 C.E. and, again, probably are samples of one larger dump deposit. Note that in 3A there are

[42] See Blakely, *Vault 1*, 40 no. 6, 230 no. 6, 235 no. 6, 239–40, and fig. 13 no. 6; J. P. Oleson, "Ceramics: General Discussion of Types and Catalogues of Unstratified Examples: B. Amphoras," in Oleson et al., *Finds*, 19–20, Class E; and Oleson's chapter in this volume.

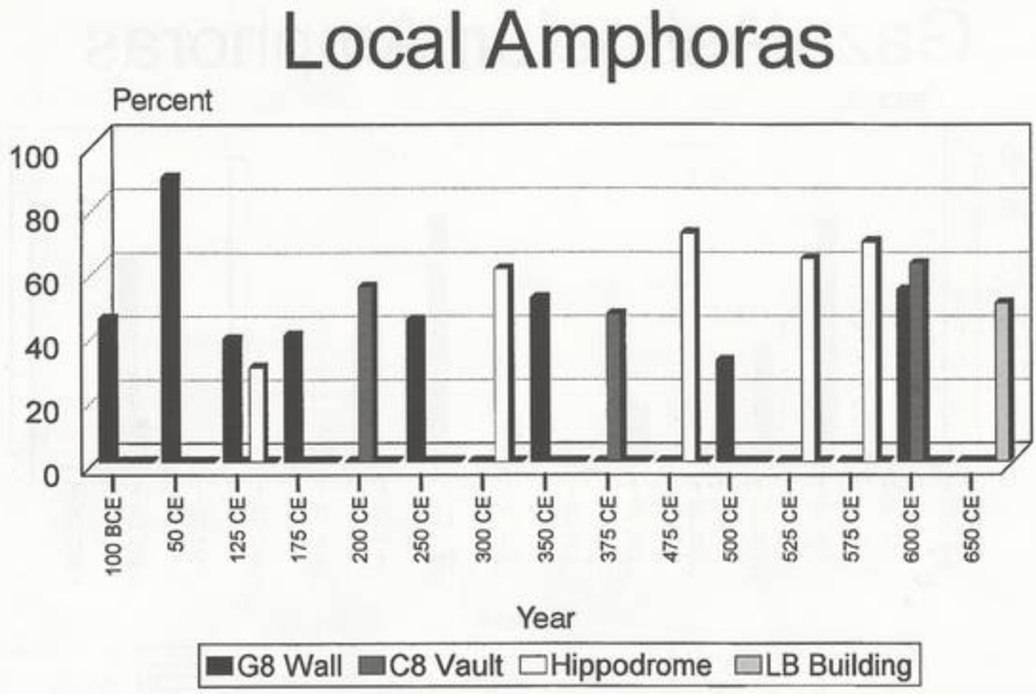

Figure 4. Comparative bar chart showing the percentage of local amphoras present in various quantified deposits found at Caesarea. Each deposit has been assigned a single date representing that deposit's period of deposition. Chart by Brauna J. Hartzell based on data prepared by the author

about twice as many Gaza/Ashqelon amphoras as in either 2A or 3B and that there are about twice as many imported amphoras in 2A as in 3A. These two observations show that in a large homogenized secondary or tertiary dump deposit, the differing formation processes of the primary deposits that ended up in this dump still impacts the composition of larger mixed deposits in a significant manner. In figures 3–5, the hippodrome data have been averaged for contemporary deposits to facilitate comparisons with other site data.[43]

Figure 3 compares the percentage of imported amphoras from the total recovered amphora population found at the four excavation units across the site. Note in particular that there are two non-dump deposits dating to ca. 50 C.E. In area G8 imported amphoras make up 10.9% of the amphora corpus, whereas at the same time in the area C8 vault imported amphoras make up 99.4% of the amphora corpus. There are also two deposits from ca. 125 C.E. Note that in area G8 imported amphoras make up 39.2% of the imported amphora corpus, whereas in the hippodrome deposit

[43] The hippodrome data is based on RBH weight statistics and does contain some bias.

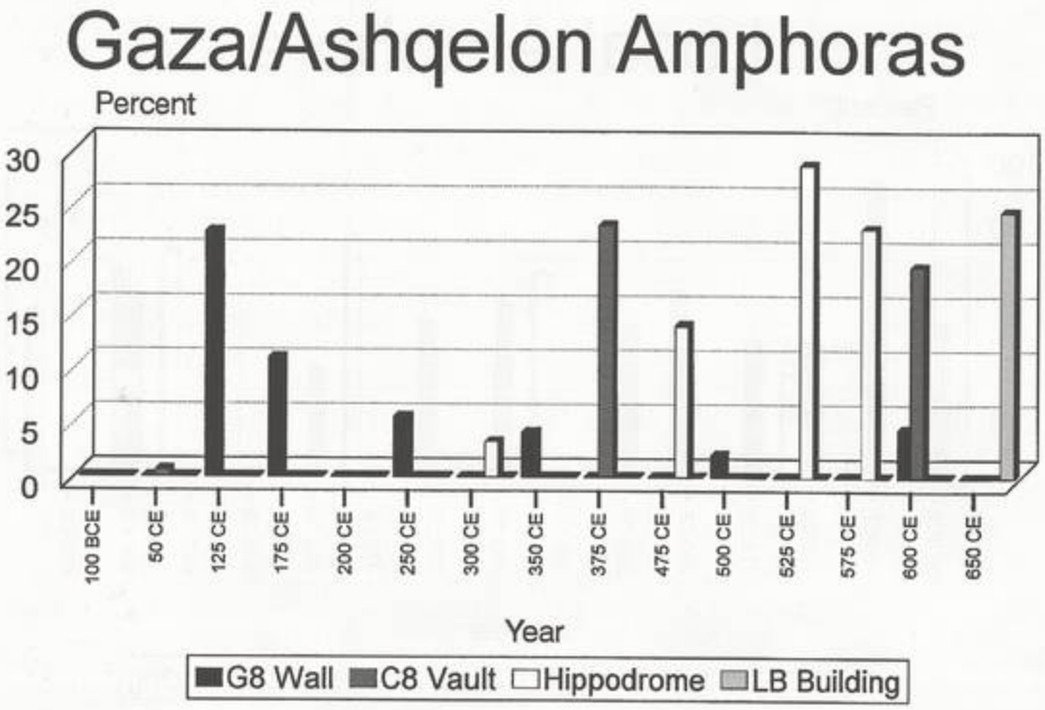

Figure 5. Comparative bar chart showing the percentage of Gaza/Ashqelon amphoras present in various quantified deposits found at Caesarea. Each deposit has been assigned a single date representing that deposit's period of deposition. Chart by Brauna J. Hartzell based on data prepared by the author

imported amphoras make up 70.6% of the amphora corpus. In general, note the roughness in nearly contemporaneous matches between contexts.

Figure 4 compares the percentage of local amphoras from the total recovered amphora population found at the four excavation units across the site. Again, note the contexts of 50 C.E. In area G8, the local amphoras make up 89.1% of the amphora corpus, whereas at the same time in the area C8 vault, local amphoras are totally absent from the corpus. In general, note the roughness in nearly contemporaneous matches between contexts.

Figure 5 compares the percentage of Gaza/Ashqelon amphoras from the total recovered amphora population found at the four excavation units across the site. Through the third century C.E., this class is present only in area G8 with the exception of one example found in the C8 vault. Where contemporaneous examples exist after the third century, such as ca. 600 C.E., again we see a great difference: 4.4% in the sample from along the G8 wall compared to 19.3% in the area C8 vault. Again, in general, note the roughness in nearly contemporaneous matches between contexts.

Figures 3–5 present data collected from the limited number of quantified deposits prepared to date at Caesarea. They highlight the fact that locally differing site formation events created distinct and distinctive archaeological records that have now been quantified by the archaeologist. To date, the analyst confronted with depositional and chronological diversity across a site has simply merged contemporary data, attempting to remove the depositional diversity across the site, and then compared across time.[44] With, typically, less than 1% of a site excavated, such operations are highly biased toward what has been excavated (typically secondary dumps and large public structures).[45] Therefore, one must question how one provides a static description of the site's amphoras for a given date or period. How can such a description be compared with another point in the site's history or to another site for the same date or period in order to draw economic conclusions?

The Examination of Caesarea's Archaeological Record

The preceding discussion has examined various aspects of the archaeological record and used examples to suggest how it manifests itself at Caesarea. It should be evident that each depositional sequence at Caesarea will be unique and that one can expect great variation within contemporary deposits. Such variation will result from the precise depositional activities that created each sequence as well as the exogenous aspect of how residuality will be manifested in each deposit. Identifying the various depositional sequences around Caesarea and determining the precise character of ceramic residuality within each depositional unit, given the confounding problem of variable ceramic lifespans, are the tasks confronting the ceramic analyst who properly quantifies his or her work and seeks to employ the annual view as a means of economic study.

As the archaeological record for the whole of Caesarea is sampled, additional depositional sequences will be quantified and our understanding of the archaeological record will grow; the horizontal diversity problem may diminish. With more sampled deposits, ceramic residuality and lifespan will be better understood in primary contexts, and in the end numerous quantified depositional sequences should become available for study. As this happens the prospect for investigating the amphoras in Caesarea's archaeological record at semi-centennial intervals may be possible, and given what particularistic aspects of the archaeological record might allow, such studies might even approach a decennial or even annual basis for some time periods.

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[44] On the inadvisability of doing this, see Evans and Millett, "Residuality Revisited," 229.

[45] This is akin to problems inherent in interpreting distribution maps. On this topic, see A. Fitzpatrick, "The Structure of a Distribution Map: Problems of Sample Bias and Quantitative Studies," *Acta Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum* 25–26 (1987), 79–112.

Amphoras not in Caesarea's Archaeological Record

It is one thing to identify and interpret the ceramics in Caesarea's archaeological record; it is entirely another endeavor to understand ceramic exchange between Caesarea and other Mediterranean ports. The number of distantly produced amphoras entering Caesarea is clearly different and distinct from those that eventually entered Caesarea's archaeological record. Some distantly produced amphoras were emptied at Caesarea, refilled, and then shipped by sea.[46] No part of them would remain in the archaeological record at Caesarea, and they would be virtually impossible to quantify. Likewise, many distantly produced amphoras probably left Caesarea by cart. No part of them would remain in the archaeological record there.

Each year some number of locally produced amphoras entered Caesarea by cart. Some number of them probably left by ship each year.[47] No part of them would remain in the archaeological record at Caesarea. Other locally produced amphoras that entered Caesarea were emptied and returned to the hinterland either empty or full. No part of them would remain in the archaeological record at Caesarea, and they too would be virtually impossible to quantify.[48]

The annual exchange of Caesarea amphoras, therefore, is the sum of those preserved in the archaeological record there plus those that were shipped in one direction or another through Caesarea. It is possible to account for some of these archaeologically,[49] but to account for others would demand one or more scholarly assumptions.

Some of the problems in the direct transformation of Caesarea's archaeological data into larger real world trade figures for amphoras have been examined. It should be clear that the problems of understanding the archaeological record at Caesarea pale in comparison to basic problems inherent in understanding an international economy based on uneven ceramic evidence.

If a direct transformation of Caesarea's archaeological data into exchange figures for amphoras is difficult, possibly an indirect approach would work. Archaeology at amphora production sites has clarified the period of production for the various amphora forms and their likely content.[50] A determination of annual amphora production figures from all known production sites could help clarify the volume of exchange. Can this be done? Limited textual data from Egypt has provided some particularistic annu-

[46] Parker, "Classical Antiquity," 343–45, indicated that while this occurred, it was rare.

[47] For a summary of these data and conclusions, see Tomber, "Quantitative Approaches," 142–66.

[48] That some were returned empty from Rome to its hinterland is known; see B. Sirks, *Food for Rome* (Amsterdam, 1991), 392, which calls attention to *CIL* 6.1785, a marble tablet found in Rome, stating that certain wine amphoras gathered through a *canon vinarius* must be returned to the landowner when empty. No one knows how common this practice might have been in Palestine.

[49] For example, estimates of the dispersal of distantly produced amphoras to inland Palestine could be achieved based on the archaeological record there, and estimates of exported Palestinian amphoras could be achieved through a study of the archaeological record at distant sites and regions.

[50] See, e.g., D. Adan-Bayewitz, *Common Pottery in Roman Galilee* (Ramat-Gan, 1993); and Peacock and Williams, *Amphorae*, 1–77.

al amphora production and cost figures, but it is unclear if these figures are typical.[51] Possibly ethnographic study of modern amphora production might suggest the approximate ratio of successfully fired amphoras to wasters. Then the study of ancient kiln waster piles might determine rough production figures, but such studies remain to be attempted and appear, at first glance, problematic too.

Since the international exchange of amphoras was conducted by ship, some understanding of the volume of this trade may be determinable from maritime evidence. Parker's tabulation of ancient shipwrecks has provided estimates of the relative volume of maritime commerce enumerated on about a decennial basis in most cases.[52] It is clear that the amphora cargo on these ships should be indicative of amphora production, not consumption.[53] Therefore, although a relative volume of amphora supply may be available to the economic historian, the exact manner in which these data could be used to determine an absolute volume of annual amphora exchange between ports remains problematic.

Parker's tabulation of known shipwrecks suggested the manner in which ceramic-packaged goods were shipped around the Mediterranean.[54] Based on the maritime evidence, Tomber suggests that amphoras represent 80% of the ceramic exchange and that other ceramics (fine wares, lamps, and other specialty ceramics) represent 20% of

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[51] See D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge, 1991), 167. Rathbone published texts that showed the cost of amphoras to be negligible when compared to the costs of the wine contained within, somewhere between 0.5% and 1.3% of the attested estate prices for wine. Also see H. Cockle, "Pottery Manufacture in Roman Egypt: A New Papyrus," *JRS* 71 (1981), 87–97. Cockle published three lease contracts between master amphora potters and landowners from mid-third-century Egypt. One, *P. Oxy* 3595, calls for the annual production of 15,000 four-chous jars, 150 double ceramia, and 150 two-chous jars, and allows for additional purchases by the landowner if more jars were needed. A second, *P. Oxy* 3597, calls for the annual production of 8,000 four-chous jars, 100 ceramia, and 30 two-chous jars, and allows for additional purchases by the landowner if more jars were needed. The third, *P. Oxy* 3596, calls for 4,000 four-chous jars, 100 ceramia, and 15 two-chous jars but does not allow for additional purchases of jars. Cockle also published "3395-3397: Three Leases of a Pottery," in P. J. Parsons, J. R. Rea, and E. G. Turner, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 50 (London, 1983), 234–44, where she corrects a previous reading in *P. Oxy* 3597, 30 in place of 35 two-chous jars.

[52] See A. J. Parker, "Shipwrecks and Ancient Trade in the Mediterranean," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 3 (1984), 99–113; idem, "Classical Antiquity," 335–46; idem, "Cargoes," 89–100; idem, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, figs. 5 and 7, and map 14.

[53] The status of shipwreck data in archaeological and historical thought has been summarized by Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 2: "It is scarcely surprising that the practical and intellectual tools needed to handle the resource are still inadequate. Even well-informed archaeologists fail to understand the limitation and advantages of underwater sites, and historians are uncertain what standing to award this new kind of evidence."

[54] See Parker, "Classical Antiquity," 342–43; idem, "Cargoes," 96; idem, "The Evidence Provided by Shipwrecks for the Ancient Economy," in *Thracia Pontica III: Troisième symposium international* (Sofia, 1986), 36; Laurence, *Roman Pompeii*, 53–54; and H. Mouritsen, *Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Élite: Studies in Pompeian Epigraphy*, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl. 15 (Rome, 1988), 16–17.

what ended up in the ceramic exchange system.[55] Could this hypothesis be used to determine the annual exchange of amphoras between ports? One advantage to using other ceramics to quantify ceramic exchange is that their forms tended to change more rapidly than amphoras, and therefore it is possible to date them more precisely. A second advantage is that once they were marketed, they probably did not reenter the exchange system. To use other ceramics to simulate amphora-based trade in an indirect manner simply adds yet another assumption. It would appear, therefore, that to use an indirect approach to quantify ceramic exchange between Caesarea and other Mediterranean ports according to an annual view is also problematic.

Prospects for Quantifying Amphora Exchange at Caesarea According to an Annual View

Twenty-five years of excavation across Caesarea and in the harbor of Sebastos have resulted in the collection of massive amounts of data, much of it unquantified but ultimately quantifiable.[56] These data come from shipwrecks, the harbor floor, dock storage facilities, domestic quarters, streets, public structures (some from possibly Pompeii-type deposits),[57] and massive secondary fill and dumps. These data span the second century B.C.E. through the thirteenth century C.E. Quantification of these raw data would provide data from numerous short duration deposits across the site as well as some massive secondary fills and dumps. Such quantified data could be integrated in a variety of ways to simulate ceramic economy that thrived at Caesarea from before Herod to the Crusades.

A simulation according to an annual view must consider all aspects of the site formation process. Variables would include ceramic lifespan, ceramic function, residuality, site deposition processes (e.g., shipwrecks versus Pompeii-type deposition versus primary deposition versus secondary deposition), and depositional variation across the site. The data must be collected and quantified according to appropriate archaeological methods and standards so that the factors affecting the archaeological data can be identified. Taken together, these data comprise the archaeological data available from Caesarea. Once compiled, these data should be made available to all interested parties in an electronic format that is augmented as newer data become available.[58]

Interpreting such data according to an annual view requires an evaluation and weighing of the data according to the assumptions deemed appropriate. At one level

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[55] Tomber, "Quantitative Approaches," 146.

[56] The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima has more than twenty tons of unanalyzed stratified pottery excavated in the 1970s and 1980s. Given the work of the last ten years, one must also assume that the Combined Caesarea Expeditions and the Israel Antiquities Authority projects at the site have equal, if not larger, unpublished corpora.

[57] For example, the destruction of the final Byzantine occupation of JECM's Field B.

[58] To prepare such a report solely on the data excavated by the Caesarea Maritima Vault Project is a current goal of the author. It is hoped that the format can be adopted by others.

the weight to accord ceramic residuality and lifespan are important, but so is the weight to accord ceramic diversity across Caesarea. Then there is the second level: how representative of total exchange at the site is the archaeological record at Caesarea and how does this vary over time?

The weights to be accorded these various factors are certainly debatable and would create potentially conflicting conclusions. The levels of confidence in simulations of ceramic exchange would also vary, even when using the same weighted factors, depending on whether one is conducting analysis on an annual, decennial, semi-centennial, or even centennial basis.

Conclusions

It appears that data can be generated from the archaeological record that could be applied toward creating an annual view of ceramic exchange at Caesarea. Because of a variety of problems inherent in the interpretation of the archaeological record, however, it will never be possible to obtain definitive answers to exchange questions with this approach. The analyst's answers will be dependent on his or her assumptions. On the other hand, it can hardly be doubted that the collection and continued study of such annual data at Caesarea will improve our current level of economic knowledge about the site.

Given the nature of the archaeological record, it must be asked if the annual view is the direction in which the analysis of economic exchange should proceed? The path is beset with obstacles. Alternatively, could one use the improved understanding of Caesarea's archaeological record to pose economic questions that are not based on an annual view? Could such questions be asked in a manner allowing them to be answered with fewer difficult assumptions than are required under the annual view? This latter path is attractive but remains unexplored. Successful exploration will require the joint and equal participation of economic historians and archaeologists in order to assure that the questions to be explored are useful to the economic historian and that the answers are respectful of the archaeological record.

19

Caesarea Illuminated by Its lamps

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Caesarea's long history is represented by a large number of clay lamps, left behind by generations of inhabitants and found in our time by the various excavations since 1951. The importance of the lamps in Caesarea lies in their being discovered after having been used to illuminate various private or public structures such as the theater, Mithraeum, stadium, harbor, or bath, or as street lighting. Only a few lamps originating from burials were discovered within the city.

Oil lamps were important functional utensils that changed over time as they were used. They were also decorated by artists in order to produce attractive objects, and thus their appearance changed during the various periods. In addition, part of the lamps' decoration was intended to convey a cultural message. This makes the lamps important sources of information about the life of the period, the cult, economic and cultural ties, and also the artistic taste or nationality of their users. Excavators have made efforts to date the lamps but have been able to assign only broad ranges, as many of the lamps were in use for long periods of time. The long span of use of each type of lamp is of little help in the close dating of assemblages.

Caesarea was built from the start at the center of the country, with good economic potential,[1] on the coast, and as a capital city, built to be a residence of foreign and local governors, a center of cultural activity, and above all a seaport or harbor. During the later periods, the town was inhabited by different communities with different cultures and faiths who coexisted in the city. This situation raises at least a few questions of special interest. To what extent are the imported lamps found in Caesarea due to its being a commercial seaport? What are the connections between the types of lamps found and the different groups of people that lived in the town? To what extent was the uniqueness of the culture and people of these different communities reflected in the use of different lamps with their particular symbols. Finally, were imported or locally made lamps more widespread in Caesarea?

There is evidence of a small number of sherds and lamps, scattered throughout the city, from the town prior to the Roman period, that is, from the Late Hellenistic period (third–first century B.C.E.).[2] Here I focus on only the three main periods of activ-

[1] M. Har-El, "Caesarea: City of Water and Prosperity" [Hebrew], *Israel – Land and People* 4 (1986–87), 163–78; Eng. summary, 15.

[2] D. W. Roller, "Hellenistic Pottery from Caesarea Maritima: A Preliminary Study," *BASOR* 236 (1980), 35–42; no lamps were published.

ity, as studied from the history of the lamps: the Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic periods.

The Roman Period

The Early Roman period (late first century B.C.E. to third century C.E.) is nicely portrayed almost in full, in a fill of a bath that was part of Herod's Promontory Palace, built at the seashore, at the back of the Roman theater.[3] The fill was rich in finds, especially fine imported ware including a large number of imported amphoras, and tiles of the Tenth Roman Legion. About five hundred fragments of pottery oil lamps were found, with quite a number of complete lamps or lamps that were assembled from fragments.[4] Part of these lamps form a well-known repertoire, with some exceptions.

According to the finds, the period may be divided into two parts: (1) from the late first century B.C.E. to the second half of the first century C.E., in which the percentage of lamps imported from the West, mainly Roman discus lamps, is almost 100%; and (2) the latter half of the first century C.E. to the third century C.E., in which we still find a wide supply of imports but from a wider range of sources that point to different connections, including eastern workshops such as those of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The lamps could have reached Caesarea either by sea[5] or through inland roads. The sea route seems more likely. The important factor now is the rise in the number of local Palestinian lamps, which form more then 80% of lamps found in the area of the Promontory Palace, a site that did not yield many later lamps (except for the Early Islamic lamps found in a well near the pool). We do not know the exact location from which the lamps were dumped into the bath area.

Sources of the Lamps from the Fill of the Bath: Late First Century B.C.E. to Mid-First Century C.E.

The Early Roman imported lamps from the bath were made in Italy, or copies were made in workshops established in Egypt. From Carthage in North Africa, there are one or two examples of lamps represented. From Delos, there is a boat-shaped lamp; and there are two fragments of local Herodian wheel-made lamps.

The Early Roman period displays its pagan Graeco-Roman culture by the abundance of discus lamps, the very same lamps used all over the Roman Empire. These lamps are well known for their beauty and are decorated in their central cavity – the

[3] B. Burrell and K. Gleason, "Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19.3 (1993), 50–57, 76. The lamps were studied for publication by the present author, who wishes to thank Barbara Burrell and Kathryn Gleason for permission to examine the finds there.

[4] The lamps were assembled by Dina Qastel.

[5] M. G. Fulford, "To East and West: The Mediterranean Trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity," *Libyan Studies* 20 (1989), 169–91.

discus – with scenes in high relief. Many of the designs are copies of known pieces of classical art, copied from sculptures, reliefs, and painting. Copies of such Roman lamps (Loeschke types I and IA; Broneer type XXI) were made in many other workshops in the Roman Empire. The Early Roman lamps were found throughout the area of excavations conducted over the years. Quite a large number of these lamps found in Caesarea bear on their base the incised signature in Greek letters of a well-known potter named Faustus,[6] an imaginative and productive craftsman. There was great demand for his products, and they spread throughout the Roman Empire and the Mediterranean as well. Faustus' signature, incised on the base of a large Roman lamp, was also found in the theater excavated in the 1950s by the Italian expedition under the direction of A. Frova; and a number of large-size lamps with one or two nozzles were found in the theater and other public buildings, where large lamps were useful.[7] It is not known whether Faustus himself was responsible for all these products, as he might have sold only the molds for lamps which were then made in other workshops outside Italy, Egypt, Cyprus, and other areas, as were other Roman discus lamps. Several of his lamps were found in the bath fill. Two identical lamps of his workshop from the fill portray a man and a woman seated on a coach, the man holding a head of a Medusa. They may portray Perseus and Andromeda, according to two identical discus fragments (fig. 1).[8]

A unique imported lamp on which the discus is decorated with Serapis, having a Roman voluted nozzle, may have come from eastern workshops as its reddish fabric is not Italian, nor is the impressed branch of grape decoration on its voluted nozzle or nozzles. The base of this lamp was knife-pared and decorated with a palmette in relief on the base of the nozzle between the volutes.

A boat-shaped lamp that "sailed" from Delos[9] to Caesarea is dated to the first century C.E. This is the only such representation of a boat that has been found in Israel. This type of lamp is thought to have had a votive function, and it may have been brought to the port of Caesarea for such a purpose.

Judging from the finds, in this particular place, and in others a well, there is as yet no evidence that the lamps were brought from the West as trade goods to be sold in the hinterland. It is more likely that they were intended for local use, as most were found in fragmentary condition and bear traces of everyday use such as soot on their wick-holes. For some of the lamps, only single examples exist, each of a different origin. Therefore, some of the lamps may have been imported by sailors for personal use

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[6] D. M. Bailey "Imported Lamps and Local Copies," in *Masada*, vol. 4, *The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Report: Lamps from Masada* (Jerusalem, 1994), 79–106; J.A. Riley, "The Pottery from the First Season of Excavation in the Caesarea Hippodrome," *BASOR* 218 (1975), 46: 91–92: two Herodian lamp nozzles from level 4B.

[7] Frova, *Scavi*, fig. 344; S. E. Sidebotham, in Oleson et. al., *Finds*, esp. fig. 48, L30 and L28 signed *Fausti*.

[8] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, 1984), vol. 1.2:640, I.120, I.121.

[9] P. Bruneau, *Delos*, vol. 26, *Les lampes* (Paris, 1965), pl. 27, 4536, 4537.

1A. and B.

2B.

2A.

4.

3.

5.

6.

Figure 1. Roman discus lamp with the signature "Favsti," from the fill of the bath at Herod's palace. Photograph by Ze'ev Radovan

Figure 2. Lamp with horse-shaped handle, from the fill of the bath. Photograph by Ze'ev Radovan

Figure 3. Candlestick type of lamps bearing Christian Greek inscription. Courtesy of IAA. Photograph by Ze'ev Radovan

Figure 4. Samaritan lamp with the seven-branched menorah. Courtesy of IAA. Photograph by Ze'ev Radovan

Figure 5. Samaritan lamp with depiction of chariots and double axe. Courtesy of IAA. Photograph by Ze'ev Radovan

Figure 6. "Caesarea" Early Islamic lamp with floral depiction of *Lycopus europeus* on the nozzle, from Herod's palace. Photograph by Ze'ev Radovan

on their boats, or by merchants and visitors passing through Caesarea, which was a main cultural and commercial center for many ethnic groups. Romans came by sea, and Roman troops were transferred from one place to another. Lamps are small objects that could have been included among the personal belongings of either soldiers or civilians. The lamp ensembles have close parallels with lamps found in other Roman towns and camps, especially those associated with the Tenth Legion stationed in Jerusalem, where pottery kilns were also recently discovered.[10]

Sources of the Lamps from the Fill of the Bath: Latter Half of the First Century C.E. to the Third Century C.E.

The sources of the lamps belonging to the second part of the Roman period in the fill of the bath are: (1) imported lamps: North Italian Factory lamps, Western Asiatic Ear/Omega lamps, Cretan "Ivy Leaf" lamps, Jerash decorated lamps; and (2) local lamps: Syro-Palestinian discus lamps, Herodian wheel-made lamps, "Samaria Darom" decorated lamps, Phoenician lamps.

Imported Lamps

Another group of lamps of north Italian origin was found in large numbers in the fill. These lamps, known as Factory lamps (Loeschke types IX–X, Broneer type XXVI), date from the latter part of the first to the third century C.E. and are easily recognized by their shape and reddish ware. Some of these lamps bear on their base, in relief, the signature of the potter Romanensis. Such lamps were also made outside Italy in workshops that operated in the East, in western Asia Minor, and had wide circulation throughout the Roman Empire and its military camps. For example, two lamps of this type were found in the fill; they are of outstanding size and have stamped circles on their shoulders. These lamps may have been locally made, perhaps associated with the Tenth Legion, whose tiles were also found among the debris of the bath. These lamps are of several varieties and influenced the fashioning of local Phoenician lamps.[11]

Another giant lamp, the first from Crete to be found in Israel, has been assembled from pieces and is still missing its handle.[12] It is mold-made, 35 cm. long, of light buff ware and lustrous finish. This lamp, known as the "Ivy Leaf" type, is dated in Crete and elsewhere from the second half of the first century C.E. and continued with some changes to the third century C.E.[13] None of the lamps found elsewhere exceeded 25

[10] B. Arubas and H. Goldfus, "Jerusalem, Binyanei Hauma" [Hebrew], *Hadashoth arkheologioth* 100 (1993), 63–67; *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 13 (in press).

[11] V. Sussman, "Northern Stamped Oil Lamps and Their Typology," *Michmanim* 4 (1989), 23–58: Haifa, pp. 25–26.

[12] V. Sussman, "A Giant Cretan Oil-Lamp from Herod's Seaside Palace at Caesarea," *IEJ* (forthcoming).

[13] H. W. Catling and G. B. Catling, in L. H. Sacket, *Knossos from Greek City to Roman Colony: Excavations*

cm. in length. Only a few of these lamps were found around the Mediterranean, with the exception of Cyrenaica, where quite a number of them are known in the excavations from Sidi Kherbish published by Bailey. The lamp is signed on its base with the initials of the well-known Gamos. The Gamos shop is likely to have been located in Knossos in Crete or, as suggested by Bailey, in Cyrenaica. The name *Gamos* appears on other types of lamps as well. Such a giant lamp could not have been brought to Caesarea by chance, but probably was chosen for a special purpose or occasion.

Another quite distinct group that originated in Asia Minor are the *omega* or ear-shaped lamps of the same period, of a very delicate ware known also from Jerash and Tarsus.[14]

There is a unique version of a very naive horse-shaped handle decorating an elongated lamp with arched nozzle (fig. 2). Such lamps are known to have been made in metal and clay, and are also known from Egypt.[15] An imported lamp from Jerash was also found. A few more were found in other parts of the city.[16]

Local Lamps

The number of the local "Herodian" lamps in the fill is rather small. The "Herodian" wheel-made lamps were undecorated and, for their beauty, relied solely on their design or shape and on the fine texture of their material. These lamps were intended to serve Jewish customers,[17] who may have been few at this spot – the palace and bath – or may express the degree of Hellenization there. Quite a number of these "Herodian" lamps were found in the synagogue excavated by M. Avi-Yonah,[18] and many were found in other places in the city in the recent excavations.[19]

A local version of the Herodian lamps is the mold-made and decorated Darom type of lamp.[20] The lamps in Caesarea and other sites in the Samaria region differ by having a conical handle. The decoration of the lamps is in geometrical linear relief, with patterns limited to zigzag imitating the egg and dart or the ovuli pattern[21] and, in a very naive version, floral scrolls surrounding the filling hole. In the same fill of the bath

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at the Unexplored Mansion, vol. 2, *The Lamps* (London, 1992), 257–323, pls. 228–88, 249–57, 272, 675; D. M. Bailey, *The Excavations at Sidi Kerbish, Benghazi (Berenice)*, vol. 3.2, *The Lamps* (Tripoli, 1985), pl. I, 7–18.

[14] J. H. Iliffe, "Imperial Art in Trans-Jordan: Figurines and Lamps from a Potter's Store at Jerash," *QDAP* 11 (1945), 1–19, pl. VIII, 146–51; H. Goldman et al., *Excavations at Guzlu Kule, Tarsus*, vol. 1 (Princeton, 1950), fig. 101, group XVI.

[15] C. M. Kaufmann, *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik, Terrakotten der griechisch-römischen und koptischen Epoche aus der Faijûm-Oase und anderen Fundstätten* (Leipzig-Cairo, 1915), pl. 58.

[16] Iliffe, "Jerash," pl. VIII, 155–56; pl. IX, 164, 174.

[17] D. Barag and M. Hershkoviz, "Wheel-Made Knife-Pared Lamps," in *Masada*, 4:24–58.

[18] M. Avi-Yonah, "The Synagogue of Caesarea, Preliminary Report," *Bulletin Rabinovitz* 3 (Jerusalem, 1960), 44–48.

[19] Sidebotham, in Oleson et al., *Finds*, fig. 25, L22.

[20] V. Sussman, *Ornamented Jewish Oil Lamps from the Destruction of the Second Temple through the Bar-Kochba Revolt* (Warminster, 1982).

[21] K. Vine and G. Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps from the Hippodrome of Caesarea Maritima – 1974,"

were found about five hundred fragments and several complete lamps of the common local Syro-Palestinian type of the second half of the first century to the third century C.E.[22] These lamps are known to have been in use almost throughout the country and were used by the entire population. These lamps also have a decorated discus, following the Roman tradition, and they continue to illustrate pagan art. A double axe is depicted on the center of the shoulder, together with the former stamped palmettes and ovuli patterns. The decorative patterns are numerous, and many are close to those of the Roman discus lamps decorated in relief, probably using the same mold pattern. Pagan scenes, including the favored erotic scenes accepted and found all over the country, especially in the Roman camps, are found in Jerusalem as well. The motifs on the lamps includes eastern elements such as the ibis and the crab of the Nile repertoire. These types of lamps were found in various places in the city,[23] the Mithraeum, the hippodrome,[24] and in a tomb near Caesarea.[25] Some of the motifs, those representing cult figures, were familiar to the Caesareans.

The Byzantine Period

The Byzantine period is the second prosperous period based on the lamps appearing from the Late Roman period (end of the third to the mid-fourth and fifth centuries C.E.). In the first part of this period there is still a small import of lamps that were in imitation of Corinthian Broneer types XXVII–XXVIII.[26] Such lamps were also made in either Cyprus or Egypt. Cyprus is represented by a fourth-century C.E. lamp decorated with a galloping horse,[27] which is a common import in many sites and in Caesarea itself.[28] Lamps of North Africa, Egypt,[29] and western Asia Minor are decorated with the seven-branched menorah.

The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies (Festschrift for S. H. Horn) (Berring Springs, 1986), 365–426, 428, fig. 4.

[22] P. P. Kahane, "Rock-Cut Tombs at Huqoq: Notes on the Finds," *'Atiqot* 3 (1961), 126–47.

[23] J. A. Blakely et al., *Caesarea Maritima, The Pottery and Dating of Vault 1: Horreum, Mithraeum, and Later Uses,* vol. 4 (New York, 1987), figs. 22, 68–70, 72; 24, 73; 25, 76–78.

[24] Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," figs. 2, 3, 5.

[25] A. Siegelman and Y. Ne'eman, "A Painted Tomb near Caesarea" [Hebrew], *'Atiqot* 21 (1992), 58–62.

[26] O. Broneer, *Corinth,* vol. 4.2, *Terracotta Lamps* (Haverford, 1930); S. Loeschke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (Zurich, 1919).

[27] J. Mlynarczyk, "Fourth Century A.D. Terracotta Lamps from Nea Paphos," in P. Astrom, ed., *Acta Cypria* (Jonsered, 1992), 255–71, figs. on pp. 267, 270: 6–7; 271: 8–10, with discussion on pp. 258–63; the horse is regarded as an allegorical motif rather than a hippodrome racehorse, and the form is dated to the fourth century C.E.

[28] Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," fig. 6.

[29] Sidebotham, in Oleson et al., Finds, pl. 4, L10; Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," fig. 26; L. A. Shier, *Terracotta Lamps from Karnos, Egypt: Excavations of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1978), 35. The shape of the handle is found only in Egypt.

The great bulk of the lamps are the products of local workshops. In the area of the Promontory Palace, only one lamp of the third/fourth century C.E. is represented. These lamps are better known from other locations, such as the Mithraeum.[30] These are local, almost pear-shaped lamps that, again, are typical of the Samaria region.[31] The lamps are descendants of the local discus lamps mentioned above. Part of the lamps have a discus that was mainly left undecorated; others were made with a wide filling hole. The shoulders bear decoration with impressed palmette or ovuli in their deteriorating style.

Only in this period can one identify, for the first time, lamps that were made especially for different cultural affinities. It is surprising that lamps made for the use of Jews in Caesarea were among the imported lamps decorated on the discus with the Jewish seven-branched menorah. The lamps may have originated in western Asia Minor, where Jewish merchants traded with Caesarea. The lamps have a wide, rounded body and a wide discus, short nozzle, and narrow, bare shoulders. The menorah is depicted in a special style, not known on local Palestinian lamps and other monuments. The branches are rounded and built in a ladder design that resembles the depiction of columns, and above them rise vertical flames. The menorah is flanked by a *shofar* and a *lulav*. One complete lamp from Caesarea was published by Reifenberg and Goodenough.[32] Another fragment that has been published is from the hippodrome;[33] more fragments were recently discovered.[34] Fragments of the same type of lamps were also found in the synagogue area. This type of lamp had a wide market and is found in Qasrawet in northern Sinai, Haifa, and Gamala.[35] The same type of menorah is copied onto an Egyptian lamp that would have been at home in Alexandria with other similar imported lamps stemming from the same sources and brought by the same trade routes. An identical lamp was made for Christian customers and is decorated with a cross flanked by two saints.[36] In the fourth century C.E. a local industry of lamps and figurines was established in Caesarea and filled a large part of the local demand. Another major group of lamps in use were made in the district of Samaria to which Caesarea belonged. There are a great number of lamps of the period found in Caesarea.

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[30] Blakely et al., *Caesarea Maritima*, fig. 23, 73–78.

[31] W. Neidinger, "A Typology of Oil Lamps from the Mercantile Quarter of Antipatris," *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), 157–69, pl. 24, 1–6; V. Sussman, "A Collection of Oil Lamps from Lehavot Haviva," in *Shomron Studies* (Tel Aviv, 1986), 195–205, figs. 78–80, 29–37.

[32] C. A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Arts* (New York, 1950), 147, no. 1; fig. on p. 146; E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, vol. 3 (Toronto, 1953), fig. 344.

[33] Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," p. 400, fig. 25.

[34] I thank Avner Raban, Joseph Patrich, and Yael Arnon for showing me their lamps, and allowing me to make use of them for this study.

[35] G. D. Weinberg, ed., *Excavations at Jalame, Site of a Glass Factory in Late Roman Palestine* (Columbia, Mo., 1988), fig. 6-6: 84, 86 of the fourth century C.E.; E. Oren, "Excavations at Qasrawet in North-Western Sinai, Preliminary Report, *IEJ* 32 (1983), 204–11, pl. 29B; Goodenough, *Symbols*, nos. 345–46.

[36] T. Waliszewski, "*Acclamatio crucis* sur une lampe romain," *Liber Annuus* 42 (1992), 305–12.

Local lamps

Local lamps include "Caesarea" lamps with closed discus and "Caesarea" lamps of coarse ware with open filling hole; and Palestinian local lamps: "Samaritan" lamps, Northern open discus lamps (Beth She'arim), "Northern Stamped" lamps (Phoenician), and Jerusalem Candlestick lamps. The local industry was established to serve mainly the Christian community of the mid-fourth to sixth century C.E. Two types of locally made lamps may be distinguished by their physical characteristics

For the first group, soft limestone molds for lamps and figurines were found in the excavations of A. Negev and of R. Bull.[37] Typologically the Caesarea lamps bear mixed elements of other contemporary lamps, the local Beit Nattif[38] with splayed nozzle, and the decorated Roman discus lamps. The shoulders were decorated with oblique lines, and the lamp had a small triangular, pyramidal handle. A relatively small number of lamps bearing crosses were found in Caesarea. As they were locally made, they may have been sold to other religious or national groups. Crosses are depicted on the same type of lamps found at other sites, for example, as offerings in a Christian burial near Caesarea.[39] These lamps are also decorated with human figures, water fowl which have a Christian connotation, and temple structures. These lamps had a wide distribution and have been found as far as the synagogue of 'Ein Gedi, Ascalon in the south, and Byblos in the north.[40]

Another version of the lamp with an open filling hole is also known at Caesarea. This type is more at home in the northern part of the country such as Beth She'arim.[41]

The second group of local lamps are known only from Caesarea. Although we did not yet find their molds, the lamps were already found in the excavations of S. Yeivin in 1951.[42] These lamps have some features in common with the first group, for example, the shape of the nozzle, and a fluted, starlike handle. They come in different sizes,

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[37] *Herod's Dream*, figs. 140–41; V. Sussman, "Moulds for Lamps and Figurines from a Caesarea Workshop," *'Atiqot* 14 (1980), 76–79; R. J. Bull et al., "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Ninth Season, 1980," BASOR, suppl. 24 (1986), 42, fig. 15. In Field C, areas 21 and 19 a potter was active, and there was an amphora workshop as well.

[38] D. C. Baramki, "Two Roman Cisterns at Beit Nattif," *QDAP* 5 (1936), 3–10, pl. X, 1–25.

[39] A. Siegelmann, "Roman and Byzantine Remains in the Northern Coastal Plain" [Hebrew], *'Atiqot* 21 (1992), 63-67, fig. 4; Eng. summary, 178.

[40] D. Barag and P. Porath, "The Synagogue at En Gedi," *Qadmoniot* 3 (1970), 97–100; lamp on p. 100; F. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I, 1926–1932* (Paris, 1939), pl. CLXXIV, 6601; idem, *Fouilles de Byblos II, 1933-1938* (Paris, 1958), fig. 744, 13788, 13804; *Herod's Dream*, figs. 140–41.

[41] B. Mazar (Maisler), *Beth Shearim, Report on the Excavations during 1936–1940*, vol. 1, *Catacombs 1–4* (Jerusalem, 1957), fig. 23.3; Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," fig. 62; Sidebotham, in Oleson et al., *Finds*, pl. 16, L25.

[42] S. Yeivin, "Excavations at Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology* 8 (1955), 122–29, fig. 2; C. J. Lenzen, "The Byzantine-Islamic Occupation at Caesarea Maritima as Evidenced through the Pottery," doctoral dissertation (Drew University, 1983; Ann Arbor., Mich., 1988), pls. 23–24; Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," fig. 13.

some of them quite large. The lamps are of very crude, dark brown ware, have flat bottoms, straight walls, and an open filling hole surrounded by a heavy rim, and are decorated with geometric patterns on the shoulders. They show evidence of poor firing and cracks. Some of the lamps bear crosses on the nozzle, scratched into the mold in thin, delicate lines that are almost unseen. Their common decoration on the nozzle is a double triangle.

Serving the Christian inhabitants are distinct candlestick type lamps that originated in Judaea-Jerusalem. Quite a number of lamps bear Greek inscriptions, for example, "The light of Christ shines beautifully for all" (fig. 3). Other lamps are decorated with rays and, on the nozzle, with a candlestick resembling a branch.

Judging from the great number of lamps associated with the "Samaritan" population, lamps were made in the Samaritan region. The Samaritans' large community is historically known to be of great importance during this period. The lamps associated with them[43] were found almost throughout the city and throughout the vast region known to have been inhabited by them. The lamps have typological affinities with other contemporary lamps, such as the Beit Nattif lamps in the shape of their nozzle and handle, but differ completely in the style of decoration. The lamps were fashioned with a closed discus that was opened only after being taken out from the kiln, and the decoration was applied in linear relief only to the nozzle and shoulders, never on the discus. Most of the lamps bear geometrical motifs, especially the ladder motif, which forms a standard frame for the lamps, to which the main decorations were added. These lamps represent a second wave of popular art and bear ornaments of outstanding quality, from which we may learn about the people that made and used them. A lamp from Caesarea, and another fragment in the Sdot Yam Museum, bear a Samaritan inscription: *ʾēn kā-ʾēl yĕšurûn* ("There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun"), probably within or on the front of a holy tabernacle.[44] The phrase is common among the Samaritans and appears on various artifacts.[45] It is copied from the Pentateuch, Deut. 33:26, the only part of the Bible in which the Samaritans believed.[46]

One of the symbols frequently depicted is the seven-branched menorah in various shapes (fig. 4).[47] The menorah was a common symbol for both the Samaritans and the Jews.[48] Also depicted are pagan subjects, but no human images. Some of the decorations hint at Christianity, for example, a cross within a circle. The Samaritans' syncretistic culture is indicated by the assembling of different motifs, which is very typical of the Samaritans who adopted features from all the surrounding cultures (e.g., char-

[43] V. Sussman, "Samaritan Lamps of the Third–Fourth Centuries A.D," *IEJ* 28 (1978), 238–50.

[44] I. Ben Zvi, "A Lamp with Samaritan Inscription," *IEJ* 11 (1961), 139–42.

[45] A. Zertal," The Samaritans in the District of Caesarea," *Ariel* (Eng. ed.) 48 (Jerusalem, 1979), 98–116, p. 113, figs. 5–6.

[46] The inscription on the other fragment differs; it will be published in A. Vagnan's forthcoming book.

[47] Cf. V. Sussman, "Samaritan Cult Symbols as Illustrated on Oil Lamps from the Byzantine Period" [Hebrew], *Israel – People and Land* 4 (1986–87), 133–46, fig. 4; Eng. summary, 13–14.

[48] Ibid., fig. 4; Sussman, "Samaritan Lamps of the Third–Fourth Centuries," pl. 39, 1–4, 6.

iots; a double axe, a symbol of Zeus?)[49] (fig. 5). The small chariots on the nozzle of the lamp in figure 5 are similar to those on which Helios rides in the Zodiac. This might also be an illustration of racing chariots and the weapon used in the double axe games that took place in the hippodrome in Caesarea where the lamp was found. Other frequent designs are facades of public buildings or temples, which is a common pattern on lamps. There are also a few palm trees and pomegranates with a dove among them. The dove is known to have been involved in the purification cult that was practiced on Mount Gerizim, equivalent to the Jewish one on Mount Moriah, and is therefore not entirely excluded. These lamps may also have served the Jewish population, though we know that they were regarded as not pure enough by the Jews. A variety of the lamps[50] have typological connections with lamps made in Yabneh[51] in the south, which may help to identify the population of Samaritans in Yabneh or the close cultural connections between the two. Samaritan lamp types continued to be made in different styles until the sixth–seventh century C.E.[52]

A seven-branched menorah is again depicted on imported lamps from North Africa found at the hippodrome.[53] This type was also discovered in the synagogue of the fifth–sixth century C.E., where the branches of the menorah are depicted in a *gamma*-shaped pattern, drawn in a single line, without the *lulav* and *shofar* or the *mahtah*. These lamps indicate once more the connections of the Jews of Caesarea with markets in the diaspora. It is interesting to note that not many lamps from North Africa were discovered in Caesarea, which was a port city, in contrast to their abundance in the northern port of Shiqmona, through which the lamps may have been imported and reached Caesarea.

Some of the lamps of Phoenician origin and the Northern Stamped lamps[54] are in the shape of a triangle with seven wick holes. This type was also discovered in the synagogue of Caesarea.[55] Ties between Caesarea and Phoenicia had already been established in earlier periods.[56] These types of stamped, decorated lamps were numerous in Shiqmona, which was probably the marketplace for lamps in this period.

Among the Byzantine lamps of the seventh century is a lamp from Caesarea, published by Kindler,[57] decorated with a contemporary coin stamped six times into the mold. The coin was minted probably by Heraclius in the reign of Constans II in the first half of the seventh century C.E. This manner of depicting coins on lamps is known

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[49] Sussman, "Samaritan Cult Symbols," figs. 9–10.

[50] Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," fig. 33; Sussman, "Lehavot Haviva," fig. 80, 38–39.

[51] V. Sussman, "Ancient Burial Cave at Rehovot," *'Atiqot* 5 (1969), 69–71, pl. XIV, 4–10; pl. XV, 8–13.

[52] Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," figs. 9–11, 14.

[53] Ibid., figs. 7–8.

[54] Sidebotham, in Oleson et al., *Finds*, pl. 17, L25.

[55] Sussman, "Northern Stamped Oil Lamps," fig. 30.

[56] Sidebotham, in Oleson et al., *Finds*, fig. 48, L31.

[57] A. Kindler, "A Seventh Century Lamp with Coin Decoration," *IEJ* 8 (1958), 106–9, pl. 24C, D.

in the Byzantine period also from North Africa. This type of lamp was popular in Syria, in the northern part of the country in Christian communities, and in Phoenicia, but the lamps reached the south as well and are quite common in Caesarea. The lamps were decorated with animals, birds, and crosses in relief.[58]

The Late Byzantine-Early Islamic Period (Sixth-Seventh Century C.E.)

This period is represented mainly by local lamps: Samaritan lamps, Kh. el Mefjer lamps of the seventh–eighth century, a few southern lamps, "Caesarea red ware" lamps of the eighth–ninth century, a few wheel-made, boot-shaped lamps, and wheel-made beehive-shaped lamps.

The next period, that of transition into the Early Islamic period (the Umayyad-Abbasid period), points to a different culture in lamps based on the previous typological tradition but with a marked change in the artistic conception. I mention only a few lamps from this period. One that had a wide distribution is known as the Kh. el Mefjer type.[59] It is decorated mainly with geometrics and vine scrolls and with a bird or dove depicted in linear relief on the front of the lamp.

Lamps of the eight to ninth century were made of a dark red-brown clay.[60] They bear a different style of decoration, but still follow the Byzantine artistic style. The shape differs, and there is a marked change in the handle which now resembles the sail of a boat, ridged, and standing upright across the shoulder. The lamps were densely decorated in linear relief: net pattern, interlocking circles, and medallions enclosing flowers or animals, which point to artistic connections with Iran in the north in the freestanding frieze of vigorous animals. Some lamps bear a new motif on both sides of the nozzle: a large flower, which is a typical Islamic motif used for jewelry as well. Within the channel of the nozzle is depicted a new kind of plant (fig. 6). I would identify it as one of the local sand dune weeds that surrounded the city, the *Lycopus europeus*.[61] It seems to me that these lamps were mainly at home in Caesarea.[62] Their number in other parts of the country is not large; a few are also known from Egypt,[63]

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[58] D. Adan-Bayewitz, "The Pottery from the Late Byzantine Building (Stratum 4) and Its Implications," in Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 90–129; Vine and Hartelius, "Ceramic Lamps," fig. 16.

[59] D. C. Baramki, "The Pottery of Kh. el Mefjer," *QDAP* 10 (1942), 65–103, pl. XVIII, 1–6; A. Eitan and M. Rosen-Ayalon, *Ramla Excavations: Finds from the VIIIth Century C.E.*, Israel Museum Catalogue 66 (Jerusalem, 1969), lamps and molds.

[60] Lenzen, "The Byzantine-Islamic Occupation," pls. 25, 27–29; N. Brosh, "Ceramic Remains: A. Pottery of the 8th–13th Centuries C.E. (Strata 1–3)," in Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 66–89.

[61] M. Zagrodsky, *Dictionary for Agriculture* [Hebrew-English], part 1 (Tel Aviv, 1940), p. 390; fig. 815, *Lycopus europeus*.

[62] Yeivin, "Excavations at Caesarea Maritima," fig. 2; R. J. Bull et al., "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Eleventh Season, 1984," *AASOR* 51 (1994), 67, fig. 4.

[63] Brosh, "Ceramic Remains," 66–89; Kaufmann, *Graeco-Ägyptische Koroplastik*, pl. 73, 4.

with which Caesarea had flourishing relations in the time of Ibn Tūlūn. The reddish clay could be found in the nearby foothills east of Caesarea.

The tenth century C.E. witnessed a renaissance of lamps manufactured on the wheel, among them the beehive lamp, which lasted until Crusader and medieval times. In this period imported lamps were scarce.[64]

Conclusion

The richness of lamps found at Caesarea suggests a prosperous city in the Early Roman period where fine ware from many foreign markets was imported. Caesarea had strong connections with the foreign western, classical world and the islands only in the Roman period.

In the following periods, from the third century C.E. onward, the main sources for lamps were within the country itself, the neighboring markets in Asia Minor, and, even closer, the local industry in Caesarea. Caesarea was part of the Samaritan region, as witnessed in the lamps since the second century C.E. and especially in the third–fourth century C.E. The local, inland ties of Caesarea, as represented by the lamps, were with Phoenicia, Samaria, and Jerusalem-Judaea. There were almost no trade relations or ties with Beth Govrin, and its Beit Nattif workshop is represented only by a miniature lamp found in the recent excavations. Nor were there connections with the Beth Shean valley: only one lamp from the Beth Shean workshop is exhibited at the Sdot Yam Museum. The imports of lamps are similar to what is found in other places and may demonstrate Jewish trade connections. The same picture is true for the rest of the country.

Until the mid-fourth century C.E., pagan art prevailed as the major style of lamp decoration, with the mid-third to mid-fourth century C.E. showing a decrease in activity.

In the Byzantine period we may distinguish different lamps made to be used by different religious or ethnic groups. The existence of synagogues, both Jewish and Samaritan, and of churches side by side in the same period draws a picture of coexistence between the different communities, cultures, and faiths during the Late Roman period and later in the Byzantine period, at least until the revolt of the Samaritans in the sixth century C.E.

On the other hand, the cultural rivalry between the different communities is demonstrated by the use of different lamps with different symbols, in order to stress their cultural separateness. However, the separation was not strict, and many of the lamps might have served all the communities. One question still to be answered is whether the different ethnic and religious communities lived in separate quarters during these periods.

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[64] Lenzen, "The Byzantine-Islamic Occupation," pl. 30.

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Artifactual Evidence for the History of the Harbors of Caesarea

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A large number and wide variety of ceramic and non-ceramic finds were recovered during the excavations of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP) from 1980 to 1985. This material has now been published as volume two of the CAHEP reports, edited by J. P. Oleson et al. (*The Finds and the Ship*, Oxford, 1994). The catalogues include 591 ceramic items and 303 non-ceramic finds (not counting those from the ship). The non-ceramic finds include gold and bronze rings, bronze and lead sculpture, fish hooks, lead fishing weights, bronze coins, stone anchors, glass vessels and ornaments, and miscellaneous nautical equipment such as lead sheeting and brailing rings, sounding leads, and a wooden sheave block. Taken as a whole, this corpus of material provides some new and tantalizing documentation for the history of Caesarea and its harbors, topics are treated in full in the report. This chapter discusses some problems concerning artifact deposition and recovery in the harbors and serves as an introduction to some of the historical implications of the artifact analysis.[1]

[1] This chapter is based largely on Oleson et al., *Finds*, chap. 5, which Oleson wrote making use of some statistics concerning ceramics and coins based on research carried out by Sherwood, Sidebotham, and Hohlfelder. These co-authors may not be in agreement with all the opinions expressed here. The tables presented here have been adapted from those published in Oleson et al., *Finds:* table 1 here is based on table V.1 there, table 2 on table V.2, table 3 on table II.2, table 4 on table II.35, table 5 on table II.3, table 6 on table II.36. I would like to use this opportunity to make a few additions and corrections to Oleson et al., *Finds*. The following books and articles were mistakenly left out of the bibliography for that volume, although they are cited in the text: Levine, *Caesarea;* Ringel, *Césarée;* Dick Whittaker, "Amphorae and Trade," in *Amphores romaines et histoire economique: Dix ans de recherches*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 114 (Paris, 1989), 537–39. The following new or newly identified references to parallels should be added to the discussions noted: net weights (pp. 68–70), see C. Baudoin, B. Liou, and L. Long, "Une cargaison de bronzes hellénistiques: L'épave *Fourmigue C* à Golfe-Juan," *Archaeonautica* 12 (1994), 98, for S5 (pp. 82–83), see 100–101; pitch in vessels (p. 34), see C. W. Beck,

As at most Mediterranean sites of the Roman and later periods, ceramic artifacts dominate the finds from the CAHEP excavations, constituting approximately 66% of the catalogued material (table 1). This predominant position, however, has been exaggerated by the deleterious effect of the marine environment on the artifacts manufactured from iron, glass, bone, and wood, and on basketry, textiles, leather, hollow-molded terracottas, and copper alloy coins. One has only to compare the statistics of the CAHEP finds with those of ancient land sites in this region, such as Samaria-Sebaste or the Cave of the Letters, or somewhat farther afield at sites such as Corinth, to see the difference.[2] Although waterlogged wooden artifacts can survive in extremely good external condition in an inundated site, the movement of the sand at Caesarea has destroyed all but a few of the wooden objects that constituted such an important part of Roman and Byzantine material culture. The importance of wood is reflected elsewhere in finds from the Judaean desert, from Roman Egypt, and in the frequent mention of wooden objects and carpenters in papyri.[3] The two wooden objects recovered – a net float and a sheave block – represent the exception, artifacts that drifted into a context where they were preserved from both mechanical and biological damage.[4] The same is true of the remains of the ship in area Y, although the scale of this artifact is much larger than that of the other three items and its large timbers more resistant to immediate destruction.[5]

Almost without exception, iron artifacts, usually nails, survived only as small fragments of the sand and pebble concretions cemented together by the iron oxides around the cast of the original object. No iron whatever was found in Deposit 2 in the harbor entrance channel, which otherwise seems such an ideal context for preservation.[6] Relatively pure copper spikes survived fairly well, but the surfaces of most copper alloy objects such as coins and small-scale sculpture were strongly affected by corrosion. In addition, the movement of the sandy seafloor in which some of them lay has removed

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"Ancient Pine Pitch," in W. P. Biers and P. E. McGovern, eds., *Organic Contents of Vessels* (Philadelphia, 1990); S16 (p. 103), see J. Cahil, "Chalk Vessel Assemblages of the Persian/Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods," in Y. Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David, 1978–1985*, vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1992), 190–274; stone anchors (pp. 84–85), see K. Raveh and S. A. Kingsley, "Stone Anchors from Byzantine Contexts in Dor Harbour, Israel," *IJNA* 23 (1994), 1–12, also compare the sheave block with W2 (p. 104) and the steelyard with M35-M36 (pp. 74–75); for a steelyard on shipboard, see now also F. Hocker et al., "Weight, Money, and Weight-Money: The Scales and Weights from Serçe Limani," *Institute of Nautical Archaeology Quarterly* 20 (1993), 13–21.

[2] Samaria-Sebaste: J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, and K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste*, III: *The Objects from Samaria* (London, 1957), 83; Cave of the Letters: Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem, 1963), 101–270; Corinth: G. Davidson, *Corinth*, XV: *The Minor Objects* (Princeton, 1952).

[3] See T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1913), 72–92; A.E.R. Boak and E. Peterson, *Karanis* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1931); Yadin, *Cave of Letters*, 123–35; J. Lindsay, *Daily Life in Roman Egypt* (London, 1963), 93, 99, 165, 192, 190–213, 330–31, nn. 12, 15

[4] Oleson et al., *Finds*, 86, 104, W1 and W2.

[5] See M. Fitzgerald, "The Ship," in Oleson et al., *Finds*, 163–223.

[6] Oleson et al., *Finds*, 91–105.

TABLE 1
Caesarea Maritima: Totals of Artifact Types from all Deposits

Ceramics by Major Wares	Total	% of Ceramics	% of All Finds
Amphoras	112	19.0	12.5
K ware	110	18.6	2.3
C ware	63	10.7	7.0
D ware	52	8.8	5.8
Italian terra sigillata	9	1.5	1.0
ETS I	99	16.8	11.1
ETS II	14	2.4	1.6
ARS	25	4.2	2.8
Misc. fine wares	63	10.7	7.0
Lamps	38	6.4	4.3
Terracottas	6	1.0	0.7
Ceramics by Category			
Amphoras	112	19.0	12.5
Utilitarian wares	225	38.1	25.2
Fine wares	210	35.5	23.5
Lamps	38	6.4	4.3
Terracottas	6	1.0	0.7
Total ceramics	591	100.0	66.1
Non-Ceramics	Total	% of Non-Ceramics	% of All Finds
Rings	2	0.7	0.2
Sculpture	3	1.0	0.3
Fish hooks	2	0.7	0.2
Fishing weights	155	51.2	17.3
Misc. nautical metal	4	1.3	0.4
Misc. metal	24	7.9	2.7
Coins	76	25.1	8.5
Stone	19	6.3	2.1
Glass	12	4.0	1.3
Bone	3	1.0	0.3
Wood	3	1.0	0.3
Total non-ceramic	303	100.0	33.9
Total of all catalogued finds	894		

the corrosion layer and given many of these copper alloy artifacts polished, but much reduced, surfaces.[7] Virtually all the glass recovered (only 4% of the non-ceramic finds; table 1) was found in small fragments and usually was very badly degraded as well – in one case reduced to a soft mush around an intrusive sand core that fortuitously preserved the shape of a stack of vessels.[8] Glass is commonly found in good condition in

[7] Ibid., 67, M4, pl. 7; pp. 81–82, N39–N42.
[8] Ibid., 132, G10, pl. 25.

land excavations at Caesarea, and at Corinth glass artifacts constituted 8% of the catalogued minor objects, ceramic and non-ceramic both.[9]

These environmental conditions had less effect on lead and stone objects, as reflected in the high absolute numbers and thus the high proportion of lead fishing and net-weights (51.2% of the non-ceramic finds; table 1), and, to a lesser extent, of stone objects, especially anchors (6.3% of the non-ceramic finds; table 1). These are just the sort of artifacts one would expect to find in a harbor environment, but it is their material composition as much as their original frequency that has determined survival in the record. While still in use, the harbor floor at Caesarea was carpeted with an ever-augmented and ever-decaying layer of artifacts composed of wood, plant and animal fibers, iron, copper, lead, glass, terracotta, and stone.

Although the supposition cannot be verified, it seems likely that the conditions within the harbor have also skewed the relative proportions of the ceramic objects found. For example, only two very fragmentary terracotta figurines (one possibly a theriomorphic vessel) were recovered during the CAHEP excavations, in contrast to the large number of such objects typical of urban sites in the region, such as Samaria-Sebaste, or at Corinth (where figured terracottas constitute 16% of the catalogued minor objects).[10] Most ancient figurines were thin-walled and hollow cast, and it is likely that their relatively fine and light fabric condemned to destruction virtually the entire original selection lost or discarded in the harbor. Grandjouan catalogued 894 molded terracottas and plastic lamps from the Roman period in the Athenian Agora, but even at this land site only the more solid portions of the figured terracottas survived.[11] At Sebastos, the typical ancient mold-made lamp suffered from the same vulnerability, resulting in a surprisingly small number of finds (38 items, 6.4% of the catalogued ceramics; table 1), usually in very poor condition.

It is more difficult to evaluate the effect of the marine environment on the differential survival of the remaining ceramic wares. One might expect amphoras to predominate as a result of their natural association with a commercial harbor, their thick, hard fabric, and sheer bulk, but the statistics do not bear this out. While amphoras constitute 19% of the catalogued pottery, fine wares, which might seem more vulnerable, constitute 35.5% and utilitarian wares 38.1% (table 1). At least part of this differential may be the result of our sampling technique, in which only "definers" (rims, handles, bases) from amphoras and definers or characteristic body sherds from other wares were saved for cataloguing. Most amphora body sherds were so stained and abraded by the marine environment that identification was virtually impossible. Isolated body sherds were more often kept for fine wares and, to a lesser extent, for utilitarian wares, but

[9] *Herod's Dream*, 79, 118, 167, 211; Davidson, *Corinth*, 76–121.

[10] Oleson et al., *Finds*, 63, TC1, pl. 5; p. 100, TC3, pl. 20. Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste*, 83: "a great many terracottas." Davidson, *Corinth*, 9–63.

[11] C. Grandjouan, *The Athenian Agora*, VI: *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period* (Princeton, 1961).

the differential was not extreme in the absence of the counting and weighing of all sherds.

The domestic wares, which are frequently thin-walled and delicate, constitute only 23.1% of the utilitarian wares (as opposed to 48.9% for kitchen wares and 28% for coarse wares),[12] but this percentage does not seem grossly out of proportion with their functions, particularly when augmented by the large number of fine-ware vessels with similar applications but of a finer finish.

Diachronic Patterns in Proportions of Finds

A century-by-century total of the ceramics catalogued by the CAHEP excavations (not including the six terracottas; table 2), in my opinion, provides a rough indication of changes over time in the intensity of trading activity through the harbor. This is a very positivist assumption, but it strikes me as sensible in view of the context, and the harmonious results of comparing several different types of ceramics.

Although the approximate dating of many of the artifacts prevents computation of the exact totals for any single century, the general tendencies are clear (see table 2). Only 12 ceramic vessels (2.1% of 585) have a lower chronological range in the third century B.C.E. or earlier, and only 9 (1.5%) are dated to the second century B.C.E. In fact, virtually all these early ceramics were associated with a shoreline feature (Deposits 6 and 7) that was part of the pre-Herodian, Hellenistic harbor.[13] Sixty-three vessels (10.8%) have a possible lower limit of the second century B.C.E. but a range that extends later, even as late as the sixth century C.E. Fifty-seven of these (9.7% of all ceramics), however, have a narrower range, between the second century B.C.E. and first century C.E. It should be noted that most of the very wide chronological units in this table were set up by Sherwood to accommodate utilitarian ware vessels for which it was difficult to find parallels.[14] If the vessels that date to the first century B.C.E. (7; 1.2%), the first centuries B.C.E. or C.E. (111; 19%), and the first century C.E. (77; 13.2%) are added to this group of second/first century B.C.E. to first century C.E. vessels, the total comes to 195 vessels (33.3%). Another 24 vessels (4.1%) have chronological ranges extending from the first century B.C.E. through the second, third, or fourth centuries C.E., and 47 (8%) are assigned ranges from the first century C.E. through the second, fourth, or fifth centuries. Although there is some imprecision, these statistics seem to show that there was a period of intense commercial activity in the harbor around the first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. I associate the beginning of this activity with the initiation of construction activity at the harbor site around 22 B.C.E.; it was augmented by Caesarea's role as the capital of the province of Judaea

[12] Oleson et al., *Finds*, 26–27, tables II.11–II.13.

[13] Ibid., 139–47, Deposits 6 and 7.

[14] See ibid., 25–26 and tables II.11–II.13. Oleson feels that some of these categories are much too wide.

TABLE 2
Caesarea Maritima: Diachronic Totals of Ceramic Wares (not including Terracottas)

Proposed Chronology	Amphoras Total	Amphoras %	Utilitarian Wares Total	Utilitarian Wares %	Fine Wares Total	Fine Wares %	Lamps Total	Lamps %	Total	Percent
IV B.C.E.	1	0.9	–		–		–		1	0.2
III B.C.E.	2	1.8	–		–		–		2	0.3
III/II B.C.E.	–		2	0.9	3	1.4	–		5	0.9
III/I B.C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
III B.C.E./I C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
III B.C.E./II C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
II B.C.E.	2	1.8	–		7	3.3	–		9	1.5
II/I B.C.E.	10	8.9	15	6.7	21	10.0	–		46	7.9
II B.C.E./I C.E.	–		5	2.2	6	2.9	–		11	1.9
II B.C.E./III C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
II B.C.E./IV C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
II B.C.E./V C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
II B.C.E./VI C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
I B.C.E.	4	3.6	2	0.9	1	0.5	–		7	1.2
I B.C.E./I C.E.	14	12.5	22	9.8	67	31.9	8	21.1	111	19.0
I B.C.E./II C.E.	–		12	5.3	–		1	2.6	13	2.2
I B.C.E./III C.E.	–		9	4.0	–		–		9	1.5
I B.C.E./IV C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
I C.E.	26	23.2	13	5.8	32	15.2	6	15.8	77	13.2
I/II	4	3.6	3	1.3	6	2.9	7	18.4	20	3.4
II	1	0.9	–		–		–		1	0.2
I/III	–		17	7.6	1	0.5	2	5.3	20	3.4
II/III	1	0.9	7	3.1	2	1.0	2	5.3	12	2.1
I/IV	–		6	2.7	–		–		6	1.0
I/V	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
II/IV	8	7.1	8	3.6	–		–		16	2.7
III	–		–		–		5	13.2	5	0.9
III/IV	14	12.5	1	0.4	6	2.9	1	2.6	22	3.8
III/V	2	1.8	–		–		–		2	0.3
IV/V	–		–		16	7.6	–		16	2.7
IV/VI	6	5.4	–		–		1	2.6	7	1.2
IV/VII	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
V	–		–		3	1.4	–		3	0.5
V/VI	1	0.9	–		1	0.5	1	2.6	3	0.5
V/VII	2	1.8	1	0.4	1	0.5	–		4	0.7
IV/VIII	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
VI	–		–		1	0.5	–		1	0.2
VI/VII	1	0.9	–		2	1.0	–		2	0.3
VIII/IX	–		–		–		3	7.9	3	0.5
Hellenistic	–		5	2.2	–		–		5	0.9
Hellen.-Rom.	–		31	13.8	–		–		31	5.3
Roman	4	3.6	3	1.3	–		–		7	1.2
Roman/Byz	2	1.8	–		–		–		2	0.3
Byzantine	3	2.7	4	1.8	4	1.9	–		11	1.9
Unknown	4	3.6	42	18.7	30	14.3	1	2.6	77	13.2
Total	112		225		210		38		585	

after 6 C.E. and continued through the reign of the Flavians, when Caesarea became the most important city in Palestine.[15]

The picture is less clear after the first century. Only one vessel (0.2%) can be dated simply to the second century. Ninety-nine vessels (16.9%) have date ranges that include or bracket the second century, but with lower and upper ranges extending from the first century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E. Fifty-three vessels (9.1%) could be designated only as Roman. Only 5 vessels (0.9%) are dated to the third century, but 60 (10.3%) have ranges that closely bracket the third century. There is, however, a real, although smaller, peak in the fourth to fifth centuries. Twenty-two vessels (3.8%) are dated to these centuries, and another 14 (2.4%) cluster around them. Only 25 vessels (4.3%) have chronological ranges that extend beyond the fifth century. Remember that table 2 includes many poorly dated wares. If we look at only relatively well dated classes, such as amphoras and fine wares, the peaks in the first centuries B.C.E./C.E. and the fourth/fifth centuries (tables 3–4) are very clear.

Few of the non-ceramic artifacts other than the coins can be closely dated, but they fit approximately the same pattern. The diachronic frequencies of these objects, however, are less convincing than the frequencies of ceramic wares as evidence for harbor activity, because the datable sample is a great deal smaller and more localized in distribution. Of the catalogued coins, for example, one (1.3%) dates to the first century C.E., 4 (5.3%) to the third century, and 49 (64.5%) to the fourth century.[16] All the fourth-century coins, however, were recovered from a hoard or purse lost in area H1 (21) and from surface deposits on land at area J (28). As such, it is difficult to determine what direct relationship they might have to the activity of ships in Sebastos. It is interesting that Parker concludes that amounts of coinage sufficient for purposes of trade are seldom found on ancient shipwrecks.[17]

Just as the intensity of trade activity in the harbor varied over time, so did the regions from which material was imported into the harbor. Because of time constraints, this factor will have to be discussed below, without detailed statistics.

Conclusions: The Design, Function, and History of Sebastos

There are many questions that an examination of the small finds from the CAHEP excavations might be expected to help answer. For example, are historical accounts of the construction of the harbor supported by the chronology of the finds? Do the finds somehow supplement ancient descriptions of the design of the harbor, or do they contribute to the deductions made from examination of the architectural remains? Can they be used to support theories concerning the decay and rebuilding of the harbor's breakwaters and docking facilities? Obviously, analysis of the finds provides a great

[15] Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 18–22, 31–36

[16] Hohlfelder, "Coins," in Oleson et al., *Finds*, 77–80, table III.3.

[17] T. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1992), 30.

TABLE 3
Caesarea Maritima: Summary of Amphora Chronology

Chronology		Total	Percent
IV B.C.E.	X	1	0.9
III B.C.E.	XX	2	1.8
II B.C.E.	XX	2	1.8
II/I B.C.E.	XXXXXXXXXX	10	8.9
I B.C.E.	XXXX	4	3.6
I B.C.E./I C.E.	XXXXXXXXXXXXXX	14	12.5
I C.E.	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	26	23.2
I/II	XXXX	4	3.6
II	X	1	0.9
II/III	X	1	0.9
II/IV	XXXXXXXX	8	7.1
III/IV	XXXXXXXXXXXXXX	14	12.5
III/V	XX	2	1.8
IV/VI	XXXXXX	6	5.4
V/VI	X	1	0.9
V/VII	XX	2	1.8
VI/VII	X	1	0.9
Roman	XXXX	4	3.6
Roman/Byz	XX	2	1.8
Byzantine	XXX	3	2.7
Unknown	XXXX	4	3.6
Total		112	

deal of information concerning the intensity, character, and routes of trade in and out of Sebastos across time. Can these data be used to deduce Herod's intentions in building such a grand harbor, the aspirations, setbacks, and the responses of the rulers and administrators who succeeded him, and the macroeconomics of Sebastos and Caesarea in the Mediterranean world?

Clearly, not all these questions can be answered through examination only of the finds recovered by CAHEP. Further excavation is required in both the harbor area and the city behind it, to say nothing of sites in the hinterland, Nevertheless, I tried to address some of these questions in the final report volume, in order to make it more than a simple listing of the finds from a harbor excavation.[18]

Design

The small finds strongly support historical sources that describe the site Herod selected for the construction of Sebastos as a small and derelict late Hellenistic harbor.[19]

[18] See Oleson et al., *Finds*, chap. 5.
[19] Joseph. *BJ* 1.408; *AJ* 15.331.

TABLE 4
Caesarea Maritima: Summary of Fine Ware Chronology by Deposit

Deposit Date	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	Percent
III/II B.C.E.	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1.4
II B.C.E.	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	7	3.3
II/I B.C.E.=L Hell.7	–	1	–	–	2	5	6	21	10.0	
II B.C.E./I C.E.	4	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	6	2.9
I B.C.E.	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
I B.C.E./I C.E.	26	3	12	4	12	3	3	4	67	31.9
I C.E.	12	–	9	1	8	2	–	–	32	15.2
I/II C.E.	1	–	3	–	2	–	–	–	6	2.9
I/III C.E.	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
II/III C.E.	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	1.0
III/IV C.E.	2	–	–	2	1	1	–	–	6	2.9
IV/V C.E.	2	–	–	13	1	–	–	–	16	7.6
V C.E.	1	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	3	1.4
Early Byz.	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	4	1.9
V/VI C.E.	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
V/VII C.E.	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
VI C.E.	0	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
VI/VII C.E.	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	2	1.0
Unknown	21	–	2	2	3	1	–	1	30	14.3
Total	88	3	28	27	29	11	10	14	210	100
Percent	41.9	1.4	13.3	12.9	13.8	5.2	4.8	6.7	100	

Late Hellenistic pottery was recovered only from Deposits 6 and 7, on land adjacent to the probable Hellenistic quay. The few Persian and Hellenistic potsherds scattered here and there on the seabed just offshore from this quay, in area Y, seem to have been eroded from adjacent shore deposits, although one amphora sherd may derive from a shipwreck.[20] No ceramics securely dated earlier than the first century B.C.E. were identified at the site of Sebastos itself during the CAHEP excavations. Either the site of the later breakwaters and basin was not in use as a harbor before Herod, or – less likely – his engineers completely cleared out and covered up the earlier cultural material while dredging and building. If some of this "first-century" B.C.E. material represented pre-Herodian activity, at least a scattering of second-century B.C.E. material would be expected as well.

The small finds recovered in the harbor entrance channel make it clear that the final configuration of the harbor, as seen today on the seabed, is essentially the same as the Herodian project described by Josephus: a long, curving southern breakwater and a shorter, straight northern breakwater framing a harbor entrance that faced north-

[20] For Deposits 6 and 7, see Oleson et al., *Finds*, 139–48. The isolated amphora sherd is A32, a Persian period "basket" amphora (18–20).

west.[21] Although it is likely that there has been some movement of ceramics and other heavy artifacts on the seafloor, the tight Herodian to early second-century C.E. chronology of the finds in Deposit 2 (in the harbor entrance channel) indicates that this channel was open from the very start of Sebastos' existence. Furthermore, the closing of the deposit sometime around the first quarter of the second century indicates that rubble had already begun to obstruct this channel and seal off the lowest deposits at this time.[22] It is possible that this rubble stems from the decay of the Southern Breakwater, which may already have begun to slump (see below). The recent, exciting discovery by A. Raban's team (Center for Maritime Studies, CMS) of traces of a shipwreck carrying lead ingots dating to the reign of Domitian, right on top of the tip of the Southern Breakwater, fits in with this interpretation.[23] Further support for this chronology has recently been obtained from analysis of the sedimentation of the harbor bottom, and the foraminifera trapped in the sediments. The sediments and foraminifera reveal that the breakwaters went out of use before 250 C.E., then were later rebuilt but no longer provided completely still water in the basin.[24]

Early in the excavation of the harbor, CMS archaeologists documented the presence of a north/south geological fault that runs across the harbor near the base of both Herodian breakwaters.[25] It was clear that at some moment during the Roman or Byzantine periods this fault shifted and either directly lowered the seaward portion of both breakwaters several meters or caused liquefaction of the sand on which they were founded, allowing them to slump below the surface. The effect may have been immediate or gradual, but in either case it would have inflicted enormous damage on the harbor structures and facilities. Even a small change in relative sea level would have caused rapid erosion of the surface of the breakwaters and the quays, releasing their interior fill and causing their collapse. Although there is as yet no way to date this catastrophic event with absolute certainty, the steep decline in finds from the harbor datable to the second century suggests that damage to the harbor works was already so

[21] Joseph. *BJ* 1.412; *AJ* 15.334–38; Raban, *Site,* 51–53, 279–88. Now see also R. L. Vann, "The Harbour Herod Built, the Harbor Josephus Saw," in B. Little, *Text-Aided Archaeology* (London, 1992), 103–20.

[22] In Oleson et al., *Finds,* 19–20, it was noted that the dating to the first century C.E. of the CAHEP Class E amphoras typical of that deposit was a bold proposal. At the conference, Dr. Jeffrey Blakely informed me that he had found a sherd of this class in a first-century C.E. deposit in his excavations in the C-Field Vaults, which I overlooked when assembling parallels for my Class E: Jeffrey A. Blakely, *Caesarea Maritima: The Pottery and Dating of Vault 1* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1987), 20, 40, no. 6, pp. 239–40. He also informed me that petrological analysis of the clay of this sherd indicated the same origin as Gaza wine amphoras (in press).

[23] A. Raban, "Caesarea 1993," *C.M.S. News* 21 (Aug. 1994), 4; S. Wolff, "Archaeology in Israel," *AJA* 98 (1994), 506.

[24] E. G. Reinhardt, R. T. Patterson, and C. J. Schröder-Adams, "Geoarchaeology of the Ancient Harbour Site of Caesarea Maritima, Israel: Evidence from Sedimentology and Paleoecology of Benthic Foraminifera," *Journal of Foraminiferal Research* 24.1 (1994), 37–48.

[25] Oleson et al., "The Caesarea Ancient Harbor Excavation Project (C.A.H.E.P.): Preliminary Report on the 1980–1983 Seasons," *JFA* 11 (1984), 281–305, esp. 283; Raban, *Site,* 13–21, 81–89.

severe that maritime activity had to be shifted elsewhere, perhaps to the Inner Harbor basin, the South Bay, or the beach by Sdot Yam.

The artifacts in Deposit 4, on the south face of the North Breakwater, are similar to those of Deposit 2, but in this case supplemented by Byzantine ceramics and coins as well.[26] This later assemblage fits in well with historical sources that refer to a reconstruction of the breakwaters by Anastasius II around 502. Although the artifacts do not prove that the rubble layer that seals the deposit is fill laid down by Anastasius' engineers, some obviously later material would be expected had the area remained open.[27] The upper layers of the rubble in the harbor entrance channel may also belong to this attempted reconstruction of the breakwaters.

Function

Analysis of the finds recovered by CAHEP allows for the first time documented and partly quantified discussion of how the harbor actually functioned. The easily anticipated fact that transport amphoras form a significant (although not overwhelming) proportion of the ceramic finds underlines the commercial character of Sebastos and its long-distance trading connections. The statistics for the pre-Herodian period are scanty, but they reveal a port with few trade links beyond the Levant and the Aegean, apparently importing wine for local consumption. Since the double-mouthed, amphora-like jars from Deposit 7 so far are not paralleled elsewhere, they should indicate the presence of local packing activity, probably of a fish product intended for consumption in the region.[28] The tanks in which they were found, adjacent to the Hellenistic quay, may have had some connection with the pickling or salting process.

Long-distance commerce expanded dramatically in the Herodian period, and large numbers of amphoras containing wine, and to a lesser extent oil and fish sauce, were imported from the Aegean, Italy, and the West. Of the 14 amphora classes belonging to the first century B.C.E./first century C.E. identified in the CAHEP corpus, 9 (64.3%) were non-Palestinian or probably non-Palestinian in origin, while 3 (21.4%) were Palestinian or probably Palestinian in origin, and the origin of 2 (14.3%) was unknown (table 5). There were two more non-Palestinian classes possibly of this period, and two classes of unknown chronology and origin. It is interesting that the absolute number of examples from this period yields more or less the same proportions: of the 44 amphoras, 14 (31.8%) are Palestinian in origin as opposed to 26 (59.1%) of non-Palestinian origin. Four (9.1%) were of unknown origin. What was exported in return is not evident in the finds. Rabbinical sources, however, report the export of olive oil, leeks, and dates from Caesarea to Rome, and indicate the impor-

[26] Oleson et al., *Finds*, 117–33.

[27] Procopius *Panegyricus* 19; Levine, *Caesarea*, 137; Oleson et al., "Preliminary Report on the 1980–83 Seasons," 294.

[28] Oleson et al., *Finds*, 20–21, 143–44, A97–A104, Class G, figs. 52–53, pls. 27–28.

TABLE 5
Caesarea Maritima: Diachronic Summary of Amphora Provenance from All Deposits

Origin	EMed	Pal	Loc	Aeg	NAfr	WMed	Itl	Spn	UnK	Total	Percent
Date											
IV B.C.E.	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.9
III B.C.E.	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	1.8
II B.C.E.	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	2	1.8
II/I B.C.E.	2	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	8.9
I B.C.E.	–	1	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	4	3.6
I B.C.E./I C.E.	2	–	–	3	–	1	2	4	2	14	12.5
I C.E.	–	13	–	3	–	7	1	–	2	26	23.2
I/II	1	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	1	4	3.6
II	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	0.9
II/III	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	0.9
II/IV	–	3	3	–	2	–	–	–	–	8	7.1
III/IV	–	4	–	8	–	–	–	–	2	14	12.5
III/V	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	1.8
IV	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	0
IV/VI	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	6	5.4
V/VI	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	0.9
V/VII	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1.8
VI/VII	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	0.9
Roman	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	2	4	3.6
Rom/Byz	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	2	1.8
Byz	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	2.7
Unknown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	3.6
Total	9	34	3	24	2	11	4	4	21	112	
%	8.0	30.4	2.7	21.4	1.8	9.8	3.6	3.6	18.8		

tance of the glass production and textile dyeing.[29] Blakely's discovery that the fabric of the Class E amphoras in Deposit 2 may be identical to that of the Gaza wine amphoras should indicate that this class also was used to ship Gaza wine, perhaps exported to the West through Caesarea.[30] It is likely, however, that many other substances were also shipped in these jars, both in primary and secondary applications. A recent article cites papyrological evidence for the use of a type of Gaza wine jar to ship cheese, beans, fish, fish sauce, sweetmeats, bread, wine, groats, wool, cakes, wheat meal, pickled fish, and pistachios![31]

Many of these "foreign" containers seem to have been intended for transshipment, since only a few of them can be paralleled so far in excavations on land at or near Caesarea, except at a harbor warehouse in Field C, where Blakely identified 10 different foreign classes and only one possibly Palestinian class in the Herodian levels.[32]

[29] Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 52–53, 56 n. 115.
[30] See n. 22 above.
[31] P. Mayerson, "The Gaza 'Wine' Jar (Gazition) and the 'Lost' Ashkelon Jar," *IEJ* 42 (1992), 76–80.
[32] Blakely, *Vault 1*, 39–42.

This warehouse may have been used to store imported amphoras intended for transshipment. Similarly, at least some of the regional ("Palestinian Bag") amphoras found in the harbor should have been brought to Sebastos for transshipment to the West. Although the product(s) they contained were consumed locally, to judge from the presence of such containers on land at Caesarea,[33] Palestinian Bag amphoras have now also been recognized in Early Imperial deposits in Italy and elsewhere in the West.[34] There is still no hard evidence, but it is possible that some of these containers were produced locally and filled with a local wine.

This international trade through Sebastos went into a drastic decline in the second and third centuries, with a partial recovery in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. At this later time, however, the trade patterns were somewhat different. Of the 11 amphora classes in the CAHEP corpus belonging to this period, 5 (45.5%) were non-Palestinian or probably non-Palestinian in origin, while 2 (18.2%) were Palestinian or probably Palestinian in origin, and the origin of 4 (36.4%) was unknown and thus probably not western Mediterranean (table 5). In terms of absolute numbers, however, Palestinian amphoras predominate among the 33 of known origin, with 15 examples (45.5%), rising to 71.4% (5 out of 7) for the latter part of the period. Talmudic sources of this period record that Caesarea was a distribution point for goods from Egypt.[35] Very few amphoras were imported from the western Mediterranean, only 4 out of 33 (12.1%). Most of the non-Palestinian containers consisted of Aegean wine amphoras (9 out of 33, 27.3%) that, given their rarity on land at Caesarea and other sites in northern Palestine, seem to have been intended for the most part for shipment elsewhere. Given their frequent appearance on land at Caesarea, the Class 48/49 (Gaza wine) amphoras were imported at least in part for the local market. Since the Gaza wine amphoras are found less frequently at inland sites in northern Palestine and Jordan, Sebastos may also have been a point for transshipment of this commodity to the West.[36] The importance of commercial ties between Caesarea and Rome in the third and fourth centuries is noted in Talmudic sources.[37] It is possible that some goods were imported from the West at this time in barrels rather than amphoras, and that the evidence for them consequently has been lost.[38] If our sampling of the ceramics can be trusted, bulk shipment of commodities came to a dramatic halt in the seventh century.

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[33] J. A. Riley, "The Pottery from the First Session of Excavation in the Caesarea Hippodrome," *BASOR* 218 (1975), 26–27; Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 91–97; Blakely, *Vault 1*, 89–91.

[34] F. De Caprariis et al., "Contenitori da trasporto dell'Area Siro-Palestinese," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 100 (1988), 308–10.

[35] Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 56.

[36] Blakely, *Vault 1*, 43.

[37] Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 56.

[38] On the question of the use of barrels, see Whittaker, "Amphorae and Trade," 537; Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 89, 94; and most recently N. Rauh, rev. of *Amphores romaines et histoire économique*, in *AJA* 98 (1994), 581.

TABLE 6
Caesarea Maritima: Summary of Fine Ware Types

Deposit	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total	Percent
Ware or Provenance										
ETS I (Syria?)	43	3	10	5	12	5	8	13	99	47.1
ETS II (Cyprus?)	3	–	7	1	2	1	–	0	14	6.7
Cypriot	4	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	5	2.4
Çandarli (?)	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	2	1.0
Tarsus, Kos, Knidos, Spain, North Italy, or Rhineland	2	–	3	–	3	–	–	–	8	3.8
Knidos, or Imit.	–	–	2	–	1	–	–	–	3	1.4
Misc. eastern Med.	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
ARS	4	–	–	17	2	2	–	–	25	11.9
TS (non-Italian) or eastern Imit.	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	2	1.0
Italian TS (no Ar.)	2	–	3	–	4	–	–	–	9	4.3
Arretine	–	–	2	–	1	–	–	–	3	1.4
Italian/Gallic TS	4	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	5	2.4
Belgic Terra Nigra	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0.5
Unidentified	23	–	1	2	3	1	2	1	33	15.7
Total	88	3	28	27	29	11	10	14	210	100
Percent	41.9	1.4	13.3	12.9	13.8	5.2	4.8	6.7	100	

The only other class of ceramics that moved through Sebastos in commercial quantities was fine ware, all of it produced elsewhere (table 6). The major sources of fine wares were Syria (for the ETS I ware), Cyprus or Asia Minor (for ETS II and other later wares), and possibly Asia Minor. Smaller amounts of western terra sigillata wares and African Red Slip ware also appear. Although the patterns of trade in Graeco-Roman fine wares are still the subject of much dispute, the largest Roman "tanker," the *myriophoros,* might easily have tucked away in its nooks and crannies fine ware vessels double the number of the ten thousand amphoras its name implies.[39] In his review of the mid-first-century Cala Culip wreck, Millett notes that the main cargo of the ship was olive oil, even though a subsidiary cargo of fine wares was numerically predominant.[40] It would be premature to speculate whether the fine wares were imported most often for local use and for shipment to Caesarea's hinterland or for transshipment in large amounts to ports elsewhere in the Levant. It is clear, however, from both archaeological and literary sources that Caesarea was not a significant producer of fine ware for export.

[39] On the character of the trade in fine wares, see D.W.J. Gill, "Pots and Trade: Space-fillers or *objets d'art,*" *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 111 (1991), 29–47; Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks,* 96; R. Tomber, "Quantitative Approaches to the Investigation of Long-distance Exchange," *JRA* 6 (1993), 142–66; for the *myriophoros,* see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World,* rev. ed. (Princeton, 1986), 172.

[40] M. Millett, "Samian from the Sea: Cala Culip Shipwreck IV," *JRA* 6 (1993), 418.

The circumstances in which the other types of ceramics reached Sebastos were very different. During the Herodian period and the first three centuries of the Empire, both the lamps and the utilitarian wares were overwhelmingly foreign in origin. Although the lamps can be paralleled on many of the sites in the region, those found in the harbor for the most part show signs of use and so cannot have been intended for resale elsewhere. Furthermore, only a relatively small number of lamps was found, making it risky to postulate that they were imported as trade goods. During this period, the utilitarian wares, particularly the predominant class of cooking ware (K ware), originate for the most part in the West, especially in central Italy. Unlike the case of the lamps, many of these vessels are not found at other sites in the vicinity of Caesarea and thus clearly arrived as galley equipment on ships originating in the West. The western lamps, and possibly some of the western terra sigillata, may have arrived in the same fashion. It is noteworthy that Parker emphasizes that household pottery, lamps, and glassware are only rarely found as cargoes on ancient Mediterranean wrecks.[41] During the Byzantine period, however, the utilitarian wares, like virtually all the other ceramics from the harbor, are regional in origin, suggesting that local ships and crews had taken over long-distance trade. This development is congruent with the growing importance of merchants of eastern origin in Italy and the West during the Later Empire.[42]

The non-ceramic finds from the harbor noted above are consistent with a site that accommodated and serviced large numbers of seagoing ships and fostered an active commercial life. The only possible hint of something out of order comes from the numerous lead fishing-net weights and the sounding leads. While fishing weights are documented as equipment(?) on the wrecks of Bronze Age to Roman trading ships,[43] these examples are more likely to have been lost by locals fishing within the harbor. In view of the strong possibility that the breakwaters began to sink late in the first century C.E., these weights, like the sounding leads found in the harbor,[44] take on added significance. They may indicate that Herod's breakwaters were of more use as artificial reefs enhancing a fishery than as protection from the sea, and that they had in fact become a hazard to navigation.

What purpose did Herod intend Sebastos to serve? The scale and magnificence of the harbor, in the context of Herod's other building projects, indicate that it was designed to have far more than local significance. As the harbor of Caesarea, a Gentile counterpart to the refurbished Jewish capital of Jerusalem, it was most likely intended to be a competitor in status and commerce to the long-established harbor of Alexandria. The enormous lighthouse is a good symbol of Herod's ambitions, while the name

[41] Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 96

[42] Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 54.

[43] Oleson et al., *Finds*, 68–70.

[44] Ibid., 73, 152, M30; two more sounding leads have recently been found in the harbor; see Raban, "Caesarea 1989," *C.M.S. News* 17 (April 1990) 6, and J. P. Oleson, "An Ancient Lead Sounding Weight in the National Maritime Museum," *Sefunim* 8 (1995), 29–34, pl. 2.

Sebastos ("Augustus") and the application of names from the Augustan royal house to identifiable parts of the complex – as recorded by Josephus – indicate the source of much of Herod's inspiration and support.[45] Even the technology that made the harbor possible, including enormous quantities of the pozzolanic additive for the hydraulic concrete, was imported from central Italy.[46] It is no surprise that, after the harbor's completion, Italy was one of the major sources of trade goods and of commercial ships. The apparent prevalence of ships of Italian origin may reflect either a relatively new and restricted tradition of locally based shipbuilding and large-scale maritime trade, or prejudicial regulations at Portus or Sebastos that gave Italian traders an advantage.

It is less obvious what role Herod intended the harbor to play in the transshipment of goods by sea and land, but presumably it was commensurate with the potential he created for long-distance trade with the West. He may have hoped Caesarea would serve as the main redistribution center in Palestine and replace Alexandria and Gaza as the paramount link between the Mediterranean world and the lucrative caravan routes to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Raban and others have proposed that the large harbor Sebastos was designed from the start to serve the international trade and compete with Alexandria, while the relatively unprotected anchorage in the south bay was devoted to coasting ships serving local markets.[47] Houston has cited a number of recent parallels for this sort of situation, and he provides convincing evidence that many Roman imperial harbors designed for the coasting trade in fact provided only rudimentary facilities or consisted of simply an unimproved beach.[48] The beaches further south, off modern Kibbutz Sdot Yam, may have served the same function, perhaps even with the addition of a jetty.[49] There may have been beach harbors of this sort all up and down the coast near Caesarea. Raveh, for example, argues that the small, relatively unimproved harbor at Dor, only 13 km. north of Caesarea, was an active anchorage even after the construction of Sebastos, designed to serve settlements in the adjacent plain.[50]

For at least the first century of its existence, Sebastos justified Herod's dream. According to the archaeological evidence, the initial period of flourishing maritime

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[45] Joseph. *BJ* 1.412; *AJ* 15.336; R. L. Vann, "The *Drusion:* A Candidate for Herod's Lighthouse at Caesarea Maritima," *IJNA* 20 (1991), 123–39.

[46] G. Branton and J. O'Brien, "The Technology of King Herod's Harbour," in *Caesarea Papers,* 49–67.

[47] A. Raban, "Sebastos: The Royal Harbour at Caesarea Maritima: A Short-Lived Giant," *IJNA* 21 (1992), 111–24; idem, "In Search of Straton's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers,* 7–22; *Herod's Dream,* 134–35; R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Changing Fortunes of Caesarea's Harbours in the Roman Period," in *Caesarea Papers,* 75–78

[48] G. W. Houston, "Ports in Perspective: Some Comparative Material on Roman Merchant Ships and Ports," *AJA* 92 (1988), 560–64.

[49] For evidence of a jetty, see E. Galili et al., "Underwater Surveys and Rescue Excavations along the Israeli Coast," *IJNA* 22 (1993), 65–69.

[50] K. Raveh and S. A. Kingsley, "The Status of Dor in Late Antiquity: A Maritime Perspective," *Biblical Archaeologist* 54.4 (1991), 198–207.

commerce through Sebastos passed with the early second century C.E., but by the fourth century Sebastos was once again involved with regional sea trade, and probably with the shipment of goods to the West as well. If, as seems likely, the outer basin of Sebastos was damaged and derelict during the second and third centuries, it is possible that merchant ships were accommodated in the harbor's inner basin or the beaches of the south bay or by Sdot Yam. It may be that these facilities were sufficient for the needs of the port city at this time, and for that reason the decay of the outer basin went unremarked in historical sources. The urgency with which repair of the outer breakwaters was viewed in the reign of Anastasius may result from the walling off and transformation of the inner basin to serve other uses, as documented by the most recent excavations there.[51] If ships once again had to anchor or even dock in the outer basin, they would have needed the protection of functioning breakwaters.

History

Perhaps the most specific application of the finds from the CAHEP excavations is the contribution they can make to our knowledge of the history of Sebastos through verification or clarification of the chronology, sources, and intensity of trade in the harbor.

Herod's international connections and the burgeoning consumer economies of Rome, Caesarea, and other large urban centers in the Early Empire gave Sebastos and Caesarea an economic jump start. By the end of the first century C.E., however, the situation had changed. The Jewish War had disrupted the regional population distribution and customary trade routes, and presumably the shape of the economy of Caesarea was affected as well. At the same time, there was the lucrative presence of Roman troops and the patronage of the Flavians. Levine and others have emphasized the prosperity of Caesarea during and immediately after the Jewish War, and the fact that the mint of Caesarea supplied all of Judaea in the second century.[52] At Samaria-Sebaste, in contrast, Crowfoot sees the small number of coin finds from the late first and second centuries as evidence for the "exhaustion of Palestine as a consequence of the revolts."[53] Nevertheless, the decline in the amount of imported ceramics at Sebastos in the second and early third centuries is rapid, steep, and long-lived, suggesting that the historical and numismatic evidence may not tell the whole story. Although there is some evidence for economic decline in Palestine in the mid-third century, archaeological and literary sources indicate that the second century was a period of general peace and prosperity at Caesarea and throughout most of the Roman Empire, one in which the regional economies were enlivened by long-distance trade. I do not completely accept Parker's conclusion from shipwrecks that the pace declined

[51] Raban, "Caesarea 1993," 5.
[52] *Herod's Dream*, 111–22; Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 31–33, 41–42.
[53] Crowfoot et al., *Samaria-Sebaste*, 43

after the first century C.E.[54] Given the important role of long-distance trade in this system, and the outstanding location and harbor facilities at Caesarea, why is there such slight ceramic evidence for this trade at Sebastos in this period? Accidents of survival cannot completely explain this phenomenon, since it can now be documented for all the major classes of ceramic wares.

As already suggested, the dearth of ceramics in the harbor datable to the second and third centuries may be related to the collapse of the breakwaters. It is interesting to note that it is precisely at this time that the Herodian warehouse in Vault 1 of Field C (on the South Bay), was transformed into a Mithraeum – the opposite of what one might expect if merchant activities were shifting from Sebastos to this area.[55] It may be that the jetty off Sdot Yam was the alternate harbor facility. Nevertheless, the identification by Raban of the remains of a shipwreck on the Southern Breakwater dated to the later first century, and of others of the late third century, indicate that the breakwater had become a navigational hazard rather than a protection.[56] Depending on this evidence and on historical sources, he dates the catastrophe to the late first or early second centuries. Hohlfelder, however, feels that continued imperial interest in the port and its city, testified to by Hadrian's visit and by "founder" coin issues struck on the occasion of donations by Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Macrinus, is not compatible with neglect and decay of the harbor's outer basin. He dates the collapse of the breakwater to the fifth century.[57] Hohlfelder cites a municipal bronze issue struck during the reign of Trajan Decius (249–253) and carrying the inscription *Portus Augusti* as evidence that the harbor could not have been derelict at that time. As he notes, however, the issue may well record "some restoration of its facilities." In fact, this restoration may have been a response to decay already in progress. To my mind, however, the chronological patterns in the finds from the harbor make it more likely that the breakwaters had begun to collapse and break up in the second century, and that a first reconstruction may have been attempted in the reign of Trajan Decius and commemorated on the local coinage.

According to our analysis of the finds, the port facilities somehow were restored in the fourth century – most likely by the addition of rubble to the crest and outer faces of the breakwaters – fostering renewed trade activity through the sixth century. Historical sources indicate that in the early fourth century the power and territorial control of Caesarea were at their greatest,[58] and the finds from the harbor show a sec-

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[54] Levine, *Caesarea*, 31–33, 41–43, 48–57; Ringel, *Césarée*, 147–82; K. Hopkins, "Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)," *JRS* 70 (1980), 101–25; K. Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (London, 1986); Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks*, 8–9.

[55] Blakely, *Vault 1*, 101–4.

[56] See n. 23 above, and A. Raban, "The Subsidence of Sebastos: When Were the Herodian Breakwaters in Caesarea Flooded?" *Thracia Pontica* 4 (1991), 339–60; idem, "Straton's Tower," 70.

[57] Hohlfelder, "Caesarea's Harbours," 75–78; idem, "An Experiment in Controlled Excavation beneath Caesarea Maritima's Sea, 1990," *BASOR* 290–91 (1993), 102–3.

[58] Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 135–36.

ondary peak around this time. Nevertheless, the effect of wave action and possibly continued submergence or slumping of the sub-bottom continued to cause problems, and by the end of the fifth century the breakwaters were once again ineffective. The panegyric by Procopius of Gaza praising Anastasius I for restoring the harbor structures in 502 probably refers to the further application of rubble to the breakwaters.[59]

At this point, we cannot say how long Anastasius' repairs lasted, since many of the reasons for the existence of Sebastos disappeared with the Islamic capture of the city in 640/41, the impoverishment of its hinterland, and the general decline of Mediterranean trade in the seventh century.[60] Sebastos never regained its importance. By the time the Crusaders arrived, wave action, neglect, and possibly continued subsidence of the sub-bottom had left the seaward portions of the two great breakwaters up to 10 m. below the surface, where they can still be seen today.

[59] *Panegyricus* 19; Levine, *Roman Caesarea*, 137; Oleson et al., "Preliminary Report on the 1980-83 Seasons," 294.

[60] Ringel, *Césarée*, 165–74; *Herod's Dream*, 201-35. K. G. Holum, "Archaeological Evidence for the Fall of Byzantine Caesarea," *BASOR* 286 (1992), 73–85, argues that the decline and depopulation of Caesarea in the seventh century came from economic stagnation rather than physical destruction by successive waves of invaders.

PART VII

CAESAREA AND ITS PEOPLE IN THE LIGHT OF INSCRIPTIONS

21

The City and the Text

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In the last few years I have investigated the ways in which the inscriptions of Caesarea convey information, not only explicitly by their content but also contextually by the physical appearance within the city of the monuments that bear them.[1] Of course, epigraphers make it their business to collect, establish, and comment upon texts, and I do not want to imply any disparagement of that good work. But here I follow a different line of inquiry: to ask not what explicit thing a person wanted to say when he inscribed a text or had one inscribed, but what implicit meaning he created as a consequence of producing an inscribed monument. I do not, therefore, offer a detailed explication of any of Caesarea's texts or groups of texts. Rather, I consider how it happens that things – including but not exclusively written things – have meaning, so that they tell us something about the people who made them and about their world. I then consider how thinking about inscribed monuments as cultural artifacts can provide information beyond that contained in the inscribed words alone. Finally, I observe that the history of those cultural artifacts includes the use we make of them now.

Ian Hodder's idea of negotiation is relevant here.[2] Through our words and gestures, through the noises we make, and through the things we create and use, we negotiate actively with other people, with the gods, and with nature. We present our understanding of the world, or some part of it, and explain and develop our role within it. And people, the gods, and nature respond, so that the negotiation continues, and culture, as the aggregate of negotiations, changes.

By symbols – buildings, rituals, garments, customs, and so on – we order the world and place its parts into meaningful connections that existed, exist, or will exist.

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[1] I thank Kenneth Holum from whom I have learned much as we work together on Caesarea's inscriptions. I also thank Robert Kaster and Clifford Ando for assistance with scholarship on late antique archives; Barbara Burrell whose questioning fostered some new thinking about multiple use of a single monument; and Nicole Etcheson and Brent Froberg who read the manuscript and helped me make significant improvements.

The results of this research were presented in "Observations on the Latin Dedicatory Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima," in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990, Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), 679–86; and at the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research in 1993, "The Epigraphical Habit at Caesarea." Material from both reappears here.

[2] I. Hodder, "Postprocessual Archaeology," in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 8, ed. M. B. Schiffer (Orlando, 1985), 1–26, esp. 5, 9.

Consequently, culture grows not only out of the history of our dealings with one another and with the world, but also out of our imagination, expectations, hopes, fears, and our desire to inform, please, and control each other and the gods, now and in the future. This view of culture has long appeared in literature, for example, in Victor Hugo's great novel about Notre-Dame: "vaste symphonie en pierre . . . oeuvre colossale d'un homme et d'un peuple tout ensemble une et complexe comme les Iliades . . . ; produit prodigieux de la cotisation de toutes les forces d'une époque."[3] The notion that the things we make somehow signify our values, ideas, and intentions appears, too, in various scholarly disciplines, where one tries to render the idea rather less evocative than does the novelist, and more systematic and rational. To understand what Chartres cathedral means, Clifford Geertz wrote, in order to illustrate his view of man and culture, one must consider not just the properties of stone and glass, not just the elements of Gothic style, but also "the specific concepts of the relations among God, man, and architecture that, since they have governed its creation, [Chartres] consequently embodies."[4] The architectural theorist and critic Christian Norberg-Schulz also thought of "the hierarchical and differentiated form of the cathedral" as a distillation of the ordered cosmos that gave meaning to human action in the Middle Ages. Norberg-Schulz characterized his view of the meaning of things in terms of Heidegger's phenomenology. "Man has to orient himself among the phenomena, and to preserve them by means of *symbols*." Human life takes place in "a small cosmos, *a system of meaningful places*."[5]

These sorts of ideas let Norberg-Schultz explicate great buildings of the early modern, modern, and postmodern period. These sorts of ideas inform, say, Richard Sennett's use of "concrete changes in public behavior, speech, dress, and belief . . . as evidence for making a theory about what expression is in society."[6] Moral philosophers reflect upon this essentially Weberian view of meaning in culture, too. Martha Nussbaum's work is most enlightening in this regard because of its strong sense of the concrete contingency of our moral identity and development, as we work our way through a world to which we respond but also which we help to create through our responding itself.[7] As John Barrett has noted, "The material world contains acculturated structures drawn upon and invested with meaning by human action."[8] Human beings, in this active model of the postprocessualists, do not merely respond passively

[3] V. Hugo, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, 2 vols., ed. of 1832 (Paris, n.d.), 124.

[4] C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), 50–51.

[5] C. Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture: Meaning and Place: Selected Essays* (New York, 1988), 17, 20, 25. See also Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York, 1938); S. Kostof, *The City Assembled* (Boston, 1992).

[6] R. Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man* (New York, 1977), 6.

[7] See especially the essays by Martha C. Nussbaum collected in *Love's Knowledge: Essays on Philosophy and Literature* (New York-Oxford, 1990). As a guide to her thought, see the review of this collection by R. Eldridge, "'Reading for Life': Martha C. Nussbaum on Philosophy and Literature," *Arion*, 3rd ser., 2.1 (1992), 186–97.

[8] J. C. Barrett, "Fields of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology," *Critique of Anthropology* 7.3 (1987–88), 5–16, at 9.

to their natural and social environments, but participate actively in modifying and creating those environments.

I turn now to examples of the explicit use of inscriptions to elucidate social contexts. Ramsey MacMullen focused on the question "Why did people make inscriptions?"[9] and admitted that he could not say why people put things on stone. He could say only that it all comes down to a sense of audience or of fashion, just as a few generations ago people tended to communicate socially by letter, then let that pleasant habit pass. MacMullen suggested that the increase in the amount of governing through the second century and the decline in the third partially accounts for the rise and fall of the epigraphical habit. But the increase in government cannot alone account for the increase in the epigraphical habit, because the habit extends into the realm of private as well as public documents, and therefore has probably more to do with Romanization as a whole than with government in particular.[10] I appreciate the concreteness of MacMullen's concern: he put himself into the "shoes of the man who chose or composed the text to be inscribed and took it to the stone-cutter and paid for the job" in a series of actions that probably took more attention than anything else he would do in a given week, even year. "For with our chosen words we address our whole community or posterity itself. Such close attention constitutes a clear sign of cultural significance viewed from the inside."[11]

Fergus Millar, too, wanted to explore the possibilities of a study of inscribed monuments as monuments and not merely inscriptions.[12] For example, he noted, the three versions of the text in the most famous of all inscriptions, the Rosetta stone, rarely figure together in a single study. People who look at this monument seem interested not in the significance of the three versions appearing together, but only in the content of the text itself or the circumstances of its decipherment.[13] Millar insisted that inscriptions can tell us much about "the fundamental structures of the values and assumptions which they embody."[14] But following him as he turns to the study of specific texts, his reader discovers that Millar, too, took great interest in what the texts tell us about what we want to know, not about what the monuments meant to those who placed them and who moved among them. Take, for example, the cup of Nestor, a Late Geometric vessel from Pithecusae with a graffito that reads: "I am the cup of Nestor, good for drinking; whoever drinks from this cup will at once be seized by the desire of lovely-garlanded Aphrodite." Millar used the cup to think about the transmission of the alphabet from the Phoenicians to the Greeks, about Greek literacy,

[9] R. MacMullen, "The Epigraphical Habit in the Roman Empire," *American Journal of Philology* 103 (1982), 233–46.

[10] Ibid., 334–37.

[11] Ibid., 244.

[12] F. Millar, "Epigraphy," in *Sources for Ancient History*, ed. M. Crawford (Cambridge, 1983), 80–136.

[13] Ibid., 85.

[14] Ibid., 119.

about early allusions to epic.[15] But these interesting issues all concern the text on that cup, not the questions why and on what occasion someone scratched the two hexameters on a cup, and how those who saw it, and those who read it, thought about it. The following observation in particular reveals Millar's point of view: "It is the fundamental limitation and problem of epigraphy that in reading an inscription we are always reading what someone wished to tell not us but his contemporaries."[16] One detects a certain resentment over the inconvenience of the evidence; far better to have the simple, pure, unintentioned content of the text. But the text does have a context, and an intention and a meaning that originate in a host of sources: the composer and the commissioner, the epigraphical tradition in which they produced it, the understanding of those who beheld it, the place in the city where it stood – or, for the cup of Nestor, the table on which it sat or the occasion when some bleary-eyed ancient lifted it up for his companions to behold. That deeply connected texture of meanings should not cause resentment, but engender recognition that the structures of ancient life compare to ours in complexity, and that the artifacts that those structures generated constitute an important source for our recovery of them.

I know of one extended attempt to answer the question "Why put this in stone?" Guy MacLean Rogers succeeded wonderfully in showing how thoughtful attention to the form and placing of a text as well as to its content illuminates a historical and urban context.[17] Rogers studied a decree of the beginning of the second century. It records C. Vivius Salutaris' foundation in Ephesus of a lottery system of public distributions and a regular reenactment of the birth of Artemis. All those who watched the ceremonies that the donation established could see the inscription on a wall of the theater, although they could not read the 568 lines of small letters without extraordinary effort. The inscription constitutes part of the ceremonies, Rogers showed, and thereby helps to evoke the mythical, Hellenistic, and Roman foundations of the city – in that order of importance – and link the benefactor Salutaris with his fellow citizens and heirs and with Roman governors and the emperor. Besides the pride of benefactor and city, the cultural connections comprise urban topography, tribal organization, social stratification, and institutional power and authority. This rich document offers much information when studied as a text in the printed edition. Thinking also about the setting of and reasons for its monumental display opens up whole new avenues of inquiry.

Not many of Caesarea's inscriptions have known contexts, yet we can imagine their setting within the city. Rogers' study can illuminate such a well-known Caesarean text as the architectural foundation by one Cleopatra for Caesarea, styled here the First Colony of Flavius Augustus.[18] I suspect that the blocks belong to the architrave of one

[15] Ibid., 93–94.

[16] Ibid., 108.

[17] G. M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (London, 1991).

[18] Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, no. 45. This volume illustrates each of the monuments described here.

of the *aediculae* of an elaborate Asiatic columnar facade such as the Library of Celsus in Ephesus. Her dedication not only wins Cleopatra the fame and honor of a founder, but connects her and her fellow citizens to the elevated status of Caesarea within the Roman imperial system consequent upon a Flavian grant of the 70s.

Like other Roman cities, Caesarea saw the dedication of honorific inscriptions on statue bases, slabs, columns, and in mosaic pavements.[19] These inscriptions persist from the first to the seventh century, and so represent an element of continuity in the appearance of public spaces ornamented with innumerable statues and other monuments bearing labels in Latin and Greek. They represent continuity in the manner in which the citizens recognized and honored benefactors, but also show transitions in the manner in which and the purpose for which the people of Roman and late antique Caesarea made public inscriptions. Caesareans of the Roman period set up honorific inscriptions as signs of public recognition of the benefits of patronage. These inscriptions commonly take the form of the *cursus* of the honored person. For example, sometime probably in the second century the decurions of Caesarea ordered a statue of one of its own members, Marcus Flavius Agrippa, installed on a marble base. The bronze statue has long since disappeared, but the base survives. It carries a Latin inscription in four lines:

> Marcus Flavius Agrippa, priest, *duovir,* orator of Caesarea, the first colony of Flavius Augustus. By decree of the decurions and at public expense. (*Inscriptions*, no. 3)

Charlotte Roueché, in another study sensitive to the cultural context of a group of inscriptions, has demonstrated a steady empire-wide increase, beginning in the second century, in the verbatim recording of the chants that a city's inhabitants uttered when officials arrived in the city, appeared in the circus, or presided over the dedication of a building.[20] Constantine and later emperors ordered their agents to report these acclamations to them and used these reports as they made decisions about personnel. Roueché describes the implications of this development for the evolution of the late antique city, where urban and provincial councils had largely become arms of the imperial administration and the people learned to express their political will in such spontaneous actions as riots and acclamations. Several inscriptions from Caesarea reflect the increasing importance of acclamations in Late Antiquity. For example, in one of the rooms in the governmental complex in field C lies this mosaic inscription, dating to the latter part of the sixth century:

> May the years of the most glorious proconsul Andrew, devoted to building, be many! (*Inscriptions*, no. 40)

We must imagine that governor Andrew, who was "fond of building," presided over

[19] The relevant texts are *Inscriptions,* nos. 2–39.

[20] C. Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 74 (1984), 181–99. See also J.-U. Krause, "Das spätantike Städtepatronat," *Chiron* 17 (1987), 1–80, at 36 with n. 166. The acclamations from Caesarea are *Inscriptions,* nos. 40–41.

the dedication of this monumental structure, indeed arranged for imperial and city funds to finance its construction. At some point in the dedication the crowd broke into carefully coached spontaneous cries of "many the years!" Reports of the episode, including verbatim transcriptions of this favorable response, went to the emperor. And when Andrew left the people of Caesarea a permanent reminder of his good offices, he had elements of the response incorporated into the inscription.

Perhaps a century earlier, the city of Caesarea ordered a statue of an imperial official named Nomus, probably governor of Palestine, installed on a granite column. The column carries an inscription in three Greek hexameters:

> Publicly, with a golden statue, the city honored Nomus, who is mindful of good order and a leader of men who hasten to accomplish the command of emperors. (*Inscriptions*, no. 26)

This particular text belongs to a class of honorific epigrams common in Late Antiquity.[21] In light of the role of acclamations in the Late Empire, I would suggest a meaning in Nomus' dedication beyond the gesture explained in the text itself, a meaning that did not figure, say, in Agrippa's. From the middle of the fourth century the law required that anyone erecting even a bronze statue of a governor secure permission from the emperor.[22] The emperor, therefore, knew about Nomus' dedication. I have not found evidence to show that emperors ordered their agents to record information concerning the dedication of statues, or other honorific gestures, by their subjects on behalf of their representatives, as they did with respect to acclamations. But if, as seems likely, the government collected such information, we must understand the purpose of such monuments as Nomus' statue and Andrew's acclamation not only as gestures of urban gratitude but also as literally substantial components of the dossiers of imperial officials.

Perhaps a motivation similar to that for inscribing acclamations and honorific dedications lies behind another category of late antique inscriptions, the architectural inscription that names an imperial and a local official:

> Under Flavius Euelpidius, count of magnificentissimate rank, and Elias, of clarissimate rank and father of the city, the basilica along with the marble revetment and the mosaic pavement and the steps of the Hadrianeum were constructed, in the first indiction, with good fortune. (*Inscriptions*, no. 59)

The inscription records the late antique renovation of the building in which it once stood, called the Hadrianeum, presumably once a temple to Hadrian but now adapted to secular or Christian use. A similar text in the floor of the Byzantine Esplanade records a construction of the late sixth century:

> Under Flavius Entolius, of gloriosissimate rank, general and proconsul; Flavius Strategius, of spectabilate rank, father and first man, built the arch together with the wall and the staircase from city funds, in the tenth indiction, with good fortune. (*Inscriptions*, no. 60)

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[21] L. Robert, "Épigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs," *Hellenica* 4 (1948), 35–114, at 108–9. Caesarea's honorific epigrams are *Inscriptions*, 26–27, possibly 39.

[22] A. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), 216–20.

From these two inscriptions one could draw a host of conclusions with respect to transitions and continuities in terms of nomenclature, rank, titulature, public benefaction, urban institutions, and so on, but here I want focus on presentation and authorization. The preposition "under" that begins each inscription means, of course, not only that the work happened when the respective officials held office, but also that these officials had something to do with getting the work done. In fact, Leah Di Segni has argued, the formula "under so-and-so" or "in the time of so-and-so" identifies the magistrate who authorized the expenditure of municipal or imperial funds.[23] And so the inscription itself, built into the structure, becomes an authorizing document.

Ancient Greeks and Romans did not deposit copies of public documents systematically.[24] The notion of storing documents for the purpose of retrieval and checking seems not to have developed until long after the ancient world passed into the medieval world.[25] Therefore the people of Caesarea did not distinguish the inscribed copy of any of the texts I have treated here as any more or less authoritative than a paper copy that might or might not have made its way into a collection of state papers or the personal daybooks of imperial, provincial, and municipal officials.[26] One could almost say that the Caesareans made their streets and public buildings their archive. But only almost, for public documents retained their value only for as long as they remained pertinent, as when an Athenian farmer paid off his mortgage and plucked from the earth the stones that marked off his field and burdened it with debt. The transience of public documents appears no more clearly than in Caesarea's honorific columns, many of which bear multiple dedications. The inscribers of later texts gave little thought to preexisting texts, and turned or upended the column to find a free space, letting the new text impinge on an earlier one, or casually erasing only the needed space occupied by an earlier one.[27]

The inscriptions on the columns are difficult to read now that the color once highlighting the letters has worn away. One must stop, walk around the columns – espe-

[23] L. Di Segni, "The Involvement of Local, Municipal, and Provincial Authorities in Urban Building in Late Antique Palestine and Arabia," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 312–32.

[24] See P. Culham, "Archives and Alternatives in Republican Rome," *Classical Philology* 84 (1989), 100–115. For ancient Athens see R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens*, Cambridge Studies in Oral and Literate Culture 18 (Cambridge, 1989), 34–94; with the additional nuance of J. P. Sickinger, "Inscriptions and Archives in Classical Athens," *Historia* 43 (1994), 286–96. The debate between John Matthews and Boudewijn Sirks in *The Theodosian Code*, ed. J. Harries and I. Wood (Ithaca, 1993), illustrates the difficulty of identifying the location of authoritative texts of law. C. M. Kelly, "Later Roman Bureaucracy: Going through the Files," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf (Cambridge, 1994), 161–76, makes the complexity and confusion of late antique administration a no-man's land between autocrat and bureaucrat.

[25] M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1993).

[26] In general, on archives and daybooks (*commentarii*) in Late Antiquity, see E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 205–23.

[27] *Inscriptions*, nos. 5–7, 9–20; on the transient nature of ancient public documents, cf. Thomas, *Oral Tradition*, 53–55.

cially if they bear multiple dedications – and decipher the abbreviations used. Did more than a few passersby have the leisure, let alone ability, to read the texts? Perhaps for the dedicator – whether city or individual – and for the person honored, it sufficed to have a monument set up. The dedication fulfilled *pietas,* recognized a benefaction, and entered a claim for future services. Perhaps, too, passersby found it enough to observe the existence of the inscribed stone, crowned sometimes by a portrait bust. One did not have to read the inscription to know that it contributed to the Roman system of values. These columns, placed in public buildings or on roadsides, furnished a comfortable background to a political culture with powerful moral underpinnings. They signified *pietas, constantia, philotimia* – the internalized values of Roman imperial culture.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the U-shaped structure above the vaults in field C received the name Honorific Portico. Reconstructions of the portico showed a series of columns with dedications to government officials.[28] A column with a dedication to the third-century imperial officer Timesitheus inspired that reconstruction, for it lay in the ruins of this building (*Inscriptions,* no. 8). Near it lay a statue base (ibid., no. 2), and the famous column with the dedication to Valerius Valerianus and two other dedications comes from nearby, where the road between the Crusader city and field C runs (ibid., nos. 5-7). But other honorific columns have since turned up far from field C, and no evidence compels the reconstruction of an Honorific Portico. Nevertheless, the fact that some of Caesarea's dedicatory columns carried some kind of sculpture, perhaps portraiture, reminds one of structures elsewhere in the Empire that incidentally displayed honorary statues, for example, the hemicycles of the Forum of Augustus in Rome.[29] The northern hemicycle contained statues of the Julii, the southern displayed statues of great generals of the Republic, and between the columns of the portico stood statues of officials who owed their advancement to the patronage of Augustus and his successors. An inscription accompanied each statue and identified the person honored and explained that person's career. Augustus seems to have set up a national gallery of *summi viri*[30] as part of his campaign to improve the prevailing state of morality. For, as we know from their accompanying inscriptions and from ancient accounts about them, such statues bestowed public fame, honor, and memory on the person honored and on his or her family. They validated the authority of the state in granting such an honor. Sometimes they constituted political propaganda by honoring an advocate of a particular policy. Most generally, they furnished examples of good conduct in public life. And most cunningly they acknowledged past favors and laid claim to future ones.[31]

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[28] The Joint Expedition's reconstructions have appeared only in unpublished presentations.

[29] Cf. C. C. Vermeule III, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste: The Purpose and Setting of Graeco-Roman Art in Italy and the Greek Imperial East,* Jerome Lectures, 12th ser. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1977); G. Lahusen, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrenstatue in Rom: Literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse,* Archaeologica 35 (Rome, 1983).

[30] Lahusen, *Ehrenstatue,* 138: "eine 'nationale' Galerie der *summi viri.*"

[31] Ibid., 133–41. Cf also Lahusen's citation of G. Alföldi on "Die 'programmatische Funktion der statuarischen Darstellungen' als Reflex der 'politischen und sozialen Ordnung des Imperium Romanum' und

In an earlier essay on Caesarea's inscriptions, I regretted that the editors of the corpora, in their focus on the texts, give little attention to the form of the monument and rarely illustrate anything but the text itself, which can be a small part of some monuments. I regretted, too, that the epigraphical indexes do not include a section on type of monument.[32] For example, in the corpora one finds a text such as:

Iulius Magnu(s)
(centurio) leg(ionis) XII Fulm(inatae). (*Inscriptions*, no. 121)

The description will say that the inscription appears on an altar from Caesarea. You learn from the printed edition that a centurion named Julius Magnus served with the Twelfth Legion. But the monument, richly decorated and either a dedicatory or funerary altar, offers much more than an inscription. It constitutes a concrete representation of Julius Magnus' religiosity, or at least his expectation that a conspicuous and expensive gesture of religiosity would find social and divine approval. The divine recipient possibly named in the broken top might have been Turmasgada, whom the soldiers of the Twelfth Legion would have encountered during their sojourns in Syria and Cappadocia. One can also see how Julius or his designer interwove the symbols of piety, army, and civic identity into the design. A legionary centurion would recognize the Victory on the back of the altar as an appropriate symbol. The Tyche on the right side, with her mural crown, rudder, sword, dolphin, and ship's prow, occurs often as a symbol of Caesarea.[33] Soldiers worshiped Minerva, who appears on the left side, in her Greek or Oriental guises, as a patron of military science. The eagle above the inscription on the front of the altar does not only symbolize the Roman legion; a Victory crowns the eagle in a scene that evokes a common Syrian religious and funerary theme.[34] Isolated as an inscription in two lines – as it appears in the corpora – this monument loses most of its meaning.

What do we do with these ancient documents, aside from extracting, as best we can, their ancient meaning? For, after all, they survive into modern contexts. In an editorial essay, Lewis Lapham wrote about attending a State Department dinner. Walking through the reception rooms, he reflected on the architectural ornament, furniture, decorative objects, and art that the department had assembled during the last thirty

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die damit verbundenen Konventionen": Alföldi, "Bildprogramme in den römischen Städten des Conventus Tarraconensis: Das Zeugnis der Statuenportamente," in *Homenaje a García y Bellido*, vol. 4, *Revista de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid* 28, no. 118 (Madrid, 1979), 177–275. I have not seen this article.

[32] Lehmann, "Dedicatory Inscriptions," 685.

[33] *Herod's Dream*, 10–17.

[34] See L. Y. Rahmani, "Un autel funéraire romain a Césarée Maritime," *RBibl* 85 (1978), 268–76, at 271–72. E. Puech, "Note d'épigraphie latine palestinienne: Le Dieu Turmasgada à Césarée maritime," *RBibl* 89 (1982), 210–21, argued for the restoration of the divine name Turmasgada in the gable of the altar, but the monument is too fragmentary for one to be sure of this restoration and so to identify the altar as a religious and not a funerary dedication.

years, authentic Americana that evoke the early American republic. The guests, on the other hand, belonged to the modern American oligarchy, which Lapham described as "antidemocratic in spirit and apt to define liberty as the power of money rather than the freedom of mind." Lapham dwelt upon the incongruity between the republican and imperial styles: one inspires and leads; the other rules. The guest of honor, George Kennan, played upon the incongruity when he related a "brief parable about a buzzing fly that imagined itself a great king." The guests applauded him as "a priceless antique, as rare in his own way as any of the other objects in the State Department's collection."[35]

At Caesarea we also walk through a place full of antiques and imagine ourselves surrounded by buildings, images, and, yes, inscriptions that once carried meaning for those who lived here, who also found themselves surrounded by, and even treading upon, such things. We recover and then use ancient experience. Like many who read this, I use illustrations as part of my teaching about another people and another time, and I expect those illustrations and the meanings I attribute to them to help my students participate in an imaginative recovery of ancient experience. Sometimes we allow the illustrations to work for themselves, as in a classroom in the drama department at my university, where a frieze depicts the Parthenon frieze. Very few students recognize the source of this design, and yet they come away from their classes with a sense that the dramatic topic of the day plays to a theater much larger than that room. In the History Department, the walls of the corridor reproduce Egyptian murals. Those who pass by cannot read their legends and iconography, yet the murals evoke the immensity of historical time. Teachers of children use edifying texts explicitly to negotiate good behavior and eager learning in their pupils, even if those signs posted or painted on the classroom walls appear in languages the students do not read, or do not yet read comfortably. The frieze, the mural, the Latin motto painted on a classroom wall – the unreadable honorific column and the decoration at the State Department – each of these things stands for something else: part of the Parthenon, an Egyptian wall, a moral or political idea. But each also has a meaning that changes because it involves a negotiation between those who made it and those who look at it as to what the maker wanted his or her audience to understand and how the original and all subsequent audiences wish to or have the ability to understand it.

Kenneth Holum has pointed out that the familiar statues in the Byzantine Esplanade meant one thing in their original context, another in their reused context in this plaza.[36] To us, in the context of our professional scholarship, and to the tourists who see them today, in a somewhat more relaxed context, or in a romantic or political one, they mean another thing or other things altogether.[37] Returning to Hugo's novel, one

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[35] L. H. Lapham, "Notebook: Art and Antiques," *Harper's* (December 1994), 9–11.

[36] K. G. Holum, "Caesarea Maritima in the Byzantine Period: Continuity and Change," in *Biblical Archaeology Today 1990,* 697–702, at 702.

[37] Cf. N. A. Silberman, *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East* (New York, 1989), esp. the introduction, "The Power of the Past."

could say that an ἀνάγκη compels us to negotiate with ourselves and with each other the meanings past and present of these ancient things. In the sense of a lugubrious fatality, ἀνάγκη made Hugo write his novel. He read the word on the wall of an obscure part of the cathedral, scratched, he imagined, by some Gothic hand. When he returned years later, the officious souls who make it their task to keep the old new-looking, and so mutilate it, had scraped off or patched the graffito. But the very fact of that erasure compelled Hugo to compose his story. The hand that once inscribed the word has passed away; so, too, the word; so someday the church. But word and church preserved something of the life of the ancient hands responsible for them, and Hugo has continued the act of preserving.

22

Synagogue Officials: The Evidence from Caesarea and Its Implications for Palestine and the Diaspora

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An area that has been relatively neglected in the study of Caesarea over the past generation has been the field of epigraphy. Although many inscriptions have been found in the course of the various excavations to date, few have been properly published. No corpus of either pagan, Christian, Jewish, or Samaritan material exists as yet, although C. M. Lehmann and K. G. Holum promise to publish one in the immediate future. Such a publication will be of enormous value in the study of the city, and even a cursory review of the data relating to specific topics is most revealing. Such is the case regarding Caesarea's synagogue inscriptions.

To date we know of seven such inscriptions found in Caesarea itself; all date from the fourth to sixth century and were discovered in the 1940s and 1950s:[1]

1. "Beryllos, archisynagogue and *phrontistes*, son of Jutus, made the mosaic [floor] of the triclinium from his own funds'
2. "God, help. A contribution of the people in the days of Marutha"
3. "A donation of Theodoros son of Olympus for the welfare of his daughter Matrona"
4. "Amos son of Gabriel made the semicircular stoa"
5. "Julis who made a vow donated . . . feet [of the mosaic floor]"
6. A partial rendition of Isa. 40:31 according to the LXX[2]
7. A fragmentary listing of the twenty-four priestly courses.

Two more inscriptions found elsewhere are relevant to our discussion:

8. A burial epitaph from Beth She'arim: "Jacob of Caesarea, an archisynagogue from Pamphylia. Shalom"[3]
9. An inscription from Biniyamina, just northeast of Caesarea: "One God, help Judah [the] Presbyter. Year 471."[4]

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[1] M. Schwabe, "The Caesarea Synagogue and Its Inscriptions," in S. Lieberman, ed., *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* [Hebrew] (New York, 1950), 433–49; B. Lifshitz, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives* (Paris, 1967), nos. 64–67; L. Roth-Gerson, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1987), nos. 25–29.

[2] Cf. Schwabe, "Caesarea Synagogue," 439–40.

[3] M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim* (Jerusalem, 1974), 2:no. 203.

[4] L. Di Segni, "A Jewish Greek Inscription from the Vicinity of Caesarea Maritima," *'Atiqot* 22 (1993), 133–36; D. Barag, "The Dated Jewish Inscription from Binyamina Reconsidered," *'Atiqot* 25 (1994), 179–81; cf. G. Herman, "A Jewish Tombstone from Binyamina," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 11 (1991–92), 160–61.

All told, these inscriptions reflect significant Hellenistic influence on the Caesarean Jewish community. First and foremost, all the inscriptions are in Greek. Second, the synagogue officials mentioned – Beryllos and Jacob – both bear the title "archisynagogue" and, in the case of the former, the additional title of *phrontistes*. Moreover, a triclinium or dining hall, typical of Greek temples and dining associations, is mentioned. Such rooms were not uncommon in ancient synagogues. Communal meals are noted in an edict preserved by Josephus with regard to the Sardis community;[5] an edict directed at the Jews on the island of Delos similarly speaks of communal meals.[6] A triclinium is explicitly mentioned in an inscription from the Stobi synagogue,[7] and kitchen facilities were discovered in the Ostia synagogue.[8] Most individual names in the above Caesarean inscriptions are of Greek or Roman derivation, and, in keeping with Greek custom, all dedications but one were made by individuals, and not the community.[9] Finally, the above-noted biblical quotation (no. 6), the only such quotation found in a Palestinian setting, was, of course, in Greek.

In addition to the above inscriptions, rabbinic literature also refers on occasion to the synagogues of Caesarea. What is fascinating is that this literary material offers a very different perspective on this local institution. Rabbis are noted as having preached and taught[10] as well as adjudicated[11] at Caesarean synagogues. In one tradition, many gathered in one such synagogue to listen to a sermon delivered by Jacob of Nevoraya, who proceeded to excoriate the patriarch and the wealthy, much to the delight of his listeners.[12] The subject of his discourse was the patriarchal preference to appoint the wealthy to the courts under his jurisdiction. The ending of this sermon is most revealing: "If you should want a word of Torah, there is R. Isaac the son of R. El'eazar in the Marudata synagogue of Caesarea. 'And God is in His holy sanctuary, be silent before Him' (Hab. 2:19) – [R. Isaac b. El'eazar is] like God in His holy sanctuary."

The question naturally arises as to whether these rabbinic sources speak of the same synagogues as those mentioned in the Greek inscriptions found in the city. Perhaps the former refer to different institutions that catered to a rabbinically oriented clientele and perhaps even to a largely rabbinic audience. The fact that Jacob of Nevoraya's sermon was directed against the patriarch who made these appointments, and against the wealthy who held these offices, may indicate that this synagogue, at the very least, was organized differently than some, if not most, of the others. Would a Beryllos, Julis,

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[5] *AJ* 16.164.

[6] Ibid., 14.214–16.

[7] A. T. Kraabel, "The Diaspora Synagogue: Archaeological and Epigraphic Evidence since Sukenik," in *ANRW* 2.19.1 (1979), 494–97.

[8] Ibid., 497–500.

[9] Cf. Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions*, 153-62.

[10] *y. Ber* 3:1(6a); *y. Nazir* 7:1(56a).

[11] *b. Yebam.* 65b; *y. Sanh.* 1:1(18a); *y.Bik.* 1(64a), 3:3(65d).

[12] *y. Bik.* 3:3(65d); *Midr. Sam* 7:6 (Buber 34b).

Theodoros, or Jutus have been offended by such a sermon? Were these barbs directed against leaders such as themselves?

One very poignant account in the Jerusalem Talmud indicates a rare awareness of the diverse synagogues in Caesarea at the time and, no less interesting, several quite contrasting rabbinic reactions to this diversity:

> R. Levi bar Hiyta went to Caesarea. He heard people [lit., voices] reciting the *Shema* in Greek. He wished to stop them. R. Yossi heard [about this] and became angry [with R. Levi]. He said: "Thus I declare: 'Whoever does not know how to read [this prayer] in Hebrew should not recite it at all?! Rather, one may fulfill the obligation of such recitation in any language one knows.'"[13]

This source is revealing on several counts. It is a dramatic statement regarding the cultural ambience within the Caesarean Jewish community. Knowledge of Hebrew was negligible, at least within this congregation. Not to be able to recite even the most basic of Jewish prayers (or even its opening verse) in its original language attests to a strikingly high degree of acculturation.

Of no less import are the contrasting reactions of these two sages. This first was appalled to hear the congregation uttering this prayer in Greek; the second was far less concerned and thus much more willing to allow for accommodation. There can be little question that both of these sages probably would have felt uncomfortable in such a liturgical setting, even thought R. Yossi was willing to make allowances for such behavior.

This gap between the rabbinic and epigraphical sources, of which we have seen evidence with regard to Caesarea, finds even more dramatic expression with respect to synagogue officials generally. In this latter area we find a baffling incongruity. Inscriptions tell us much about the archisynagogue, *pater*, and *mater synagoges*, presbyter, *phrontistes* (treasurer or administrator), archon, and *grammateus*, all of which are connected in one way or another with the synagogue. Rabbinic literature, on the other hand, has preserved very little regarding most of these titles and, instead, offers a great deal of information about another set of synagogue officials: the *ḥazzān*, charity officers, teachers, and other religious functionaries, about whom the epigraphical corpus is to a large extent silent. The amount of overlap is minimal and, as far as rabbinic sources are concerned, the refraction of other material – in this case, epigraphical – (e.g., the archisynagogue) is fragmentary and tendentious.[14]

How does one account for such a situation? One approach is to view the two types of sources – rabbinic and epigraphical – as simply supplementing each other. One might assume that the epigraphical material deals with the external aspects of the synagogue: who built the building, financed its ornamentation and mosaic floors, who were the officials who ran the institution administratively and socially, who controlled its finances, and so on? On the other hand, one could assume that the rabbinic material focused on the educational and liturgical dimensions of the synagogue: who con-

[13] *y. Soṭa* 7:1(21b).

[14] See my forthcoming *The Ancient Synagogue*.

ducted the worship services, distributed charity, taught the children, and served as the synagogue attendant. Such functionaries do not usually rate inscriptions or communal honors.[15]

However, the problem becomes even more acute when we consider that the issue is not merely one of an apparent discrepancy between rabbinic and epigraphical sources, but also between inscriptions from Jewish Palestine and those found elsewhere. When we examine the more than one hundred Hebrew-Aramaic inscriptions found in Roman-Byzantine Palestine, we find no trace of the terms regularly found in Diaspora inscriptions. Instead, the offices that do appear dovetail rather neatly with rabbinic sources. The *ḥazzān* is noted in three inscriptions, from Ḥorvat ʿAmudim in the Galilee, Apheca in the Golan, and ʿEin Gedi. A *parnas* and priest are mentioned at Naʿaran, and the latter designation appears also twice in the Susiya synagogue.[16] Even the title "rabbi," whatever it may refer to, appears some fifty times in Palestinian inscriptions, as against only seven in the Diaspora.[17] Thus the titles that constitute the focus of rabbinic discussions about the synagogue and related matters are the most prominent in Palestinian Semitic inscriptions. noteworthy also is the absence of any mention in the epigraphical material from Jewish Palestine of an archisynagogue, a presbyter (*zāqēn*), archon, *pater, mater*, and so on.

Moreover, there is a great deal of correlation between rabbinic material and the Palestinian inscriptions regarding the builders of synagogues and their donors. In contrast to the Diaspora evidence, where the benefactors were invariably individuals, sometimes officials, most Palestinian inscriptions speak of communal efforts. In no less than ten inscriptions coming from every part of the country, it is the community as a whole that is acknowledged as having contributed to the building of the synagogue. Such is the case at Ḥammath Tiberias,[18] Beth Shean,[19] and Beth Alpha[20] in the north;

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[15] This type of approach has been applied in other areas as well. For example, the case of the Second Temple that Herod built has received a great deal of scholarly attention over the years. Even the most casual perusal of Mishnah Middot and Josephus' descriptions of this building reveals some marked and even startling differences that have long baffled scholars. One of the more popular approaches to this enigma in the past has been to claim precisely this dichotomy; Josephus focuses on the exterior aspects of the building, while rabbinic literature deals primarily with its interior. (cf. Avi-Yonah, "The Second Temple," in M. Avi-Yonah, ed., *Sepher Yerushalayim* [Hebrew] [Jerusalem, 1956], 396–97). Moreover, the interior-exterior approach has been used extensively when dealing with the issue of Hellenization. Other than simply denying the phenomenon, which has become increasingly difficult with the passage of time and the accumulation of data, a favorite approach of the minimalists in this regard is to speak in terms of the shell and the kernel, that is, Judaism may have been influenced by Hellenism in some of its externalities, but it has preserved its "essential nature" and unique characteristics intact and relatively "undiluted." So, for example, L. Feldman, "How Much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine?" *Hebrew Union College Annual* 57 (1987), 83–111.

[16] J. Naveh, *On Stone and Moasic* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1978), nos. 20, 28, 58, 63, 75.

[17] These appear in five different inscriptions; cf. S.J.D. Cohen, "Epigraphical Rabbis," *JQR* 72 (1981–82), 1–17.

[18] Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic*, no. 26.

[19] Ibid., no. 46.

[20] Ibid., no. 43.

Jericho[21] and Naʿaran[22] in the east; Susiya (twice)[23] and Maon[24] in the south; and Ascalon[25] and Caesarea[26] along the coast. This emphasis on communal efforts corresponds with the one rabbinic source that addresses the issue of synagogue building directly: *Kōpîn bnê hāʿîr ze'et ze libnôt lāhem bet ha-kĕneset wĕ-liqnôt lāhem sēper tôrâ û-nĕbî'îm:*

"People in the villages may compel one another to build a synagogue and buy a Torah scroll or [book of] the Prophets."[27]

In general, according to one rabbinic tradition, synagogues belong to the community as a whole;[28] the practice of contributions by the congregation per se is thus readily understandable and went hand in hand with individual contributions as well.[29] The opposite, however, is not the case. Communal contributions were almost unknown in Greek-speaking environs, where individual contributions were almost exclusively predominant.

Our reference to Jewish Palestine, however, requires some explanation and elucidation. What we have noted above as reflective of this area is restricted to the Hebrew and Aramaic material. When we turn to the approximately seventy Greek inscriptions known to date, the offices familiar to us from Diaspora material are clearly in evidence. Archisynagogues are mentioned on six occasions in Greek inscriptions from Palestine, once from Jerusalem (Theodotos) and once from Caesarea (no. 1 above), twice from Beth Sheʿarim (Jacob of Caesarea, the archisynagogue of Pamphylia [no. 8 above], and Avitus), and twice from Sepphoris (Judah of Sidon and Suberianos Aphros from Tyre).[30] Other titles appear as well: presbyters in Caesarea (no. 9 above) and Jerusalem,[31] a *phrontistes* in Caesarea (no. 1 above),[32] a *pronomenos* or *pronoetes*[33] and *mizoteros* (?) from Tiberias,[34] and a *comes* from Sepphoris.[35]

Thus there is not only a marked discrepancy between Palestinian and Diaspora in-

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[21] Ibid., no. 69.
[22] Ibid., no. 64.
[23] Ibid., nos. 83, 84.
[24] Ibid., no. 57.
[25] Ibid., no. 53.
[26] Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions,* no. 25.
[27] *t. B. Meṣ* 11:23 (Lieberman 125); cf. also S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah,* vol. 9 (New York, 1988), 320–21.
[28] *m. Ned.* 5:5.
[29] Cf., for example, Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic,* nos. 7, 12, 18, 20, 29, 35, 50, 59-63, 71, and 75. See E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1993), 2:565–69; see also Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* no. 33, and generally, pp. 54–64.
[30] Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions,* nos. 19, 24, 27, and pp. 137 and 143.
[31] Ibid., no. 19.
[32] Ibid., no. 27.
[33] Ibid., no. 18.
[34] Ibid., no. 17.
[35] Ibid., no. 24.

scriptions, but also among those in Palestine itself, and the distinction appears to have been sharp and clear. Palestinian Greek inscriptions bear a strong resemblance to those of the Diaspora, while the Hebrew-Aramaic ones correlate rather well with rabbinic literature. Greek titles appear in Greek inscriptions, and this heavily Hellenized nomenclature undoubtedly held sway as a result of the extensive and intensive contact of these Jewish communities with the surrounding Graeco-Roman world. Since each of the terms that appear in Greek synagogue inscriptions of the Diaspora and Palestine has its parallels in Greek and Roman institutions, it is certain that Jews exposed to the wider Hellenistic scene not only adopted its terminology, but undoubtedly something of its modes of organization and administration as well. Rabbinic literature and the Hebrew-Aramaic inscriptions of Palestine, on the other hand, are limited to a specific geographical location: the interior hill country of Roman and Byzantine Palestine, with a special concentration in the Galilee.

Thus we have arrived at a basically geographical distinction, which appears rather compelling. The Greek inscriptions of Palestine, with their Greek nomenclature, all stem from Hellenistic settings, either Graeco-Roman cities such as Caesarea or Ascalon, or Jewish cities with a significant degree of acculturation. Moreover, almost all of the archisynagogues mentioned in these Graeco-Jewish inscriptions, to take but one example, had distinct ties with Diaspora communities. So, for example, was the case with the archisynagogues of Tyre and Sidon at Sepphoris, Beryllos of Caesarea, Jacob of Pamphylia at Caesarea, and, of course, Theodotos of Jerusalem, whose family presumably hailed from Rome.

However, it is also possible to view this difference in synagogue nomenclature, aside from the internal-external dimensions or the geographical distinction already noted, along urban-rural lines. The assumption, then, might be that much of rabbinic literature (especially Tannaitic) together with the Palestinian epigraphical evidence (primarily the Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions), derives primarily from the more rural segment of the population; Diaspora material, on the other hand, is basically reflective of an urban setting. Thus the fact that in Jewish Palestine an individual rarely builds a synagogue (or a large part of it) and that communal efforts predominate may indicate a more rural rather than urban setting. Such a distinction, however, is not altogether airtight. Some "congregational" inscriptions do, in fact, come from cities such as Hammath Tiberias, Beth Shean, and even Caesarea. Nevertheless, there is little question that villages often had rather different modes of communal organization, including ways of supporting a synagogue, than those of the large cities, particularly when these cities were heavily influenced by Hellenistic patterns.

Although it is always more attractive to try and adopt one of the three particular positions noted above, it would seem that all these considerations have, in fact, some measure of cogency. There can be no doubt that the epigraphical evidence on the one hand and the Talmudic material on the other offer differing perspectives, as do the Palestinian Greek inscriptions together with the Hebrew-Aramaic ones. To assume, for example, that inscriptions concentrate on the external appearance of the building and

the literary on the internal is, as we have noted, not altogether unreasonable, nor without parallel. Nevertheless, such a distinction is far from adequate. Rabbinic literature, for its part, is not totally oblivious to the physical aspects of a synagogue building nor to contributions made to it. Perhaps what we have in rabbinic literature is the sages' deliberate downplaying of prominent synagogue officials such as the archisynagogue. This may stem not only from rabbinic disinterest in the position per se, but also from possible tension between them.[36] Relations between the rabbis and the wealthy were often problematic during this period; a wealthy individual charged with running an institution that at least some rabbis wished to influence, but were not always able to, may not always have resulted in a harmonious relationship.[37]

On the other hand, the geographical argument is indeed compelling, especially in light of the remarkable compatibility between rabbinic sources and Palestinian Aramaic-Hebrew inscriptions, both in what they do and do not say. The weak point of this suggestion is that these two areas, the Diaspora and Palestine, were not mutually exclusive, neither in general nor in particular, with regard to this question. On the one hand, Jewish Palestine in rabbinic literature knows of the archisynagogue or *roš kĕnesset*, and, on the other, the title *ḥazzān* appears in several Diaspora contexts.[38] Therefore, a theory based solely on geographical considerations is not sufficient.

Finally, there can be no question that much of rabbinic material (especially Tannaitic) reflects non-urban contexts, as do most of the extant non-Greek epigraphical remains. To pursue this urban-rural line of reasoning further, however, we are missing some crucial ingredients. For example how were Jewish communities in the rural Diaspora organized? Were these synagogue dedications and modes of operation parallel to their Palestinian rural counterparts, to their urban Diaspora co-religionists, or perhaps to neither? It appears unlikely that Diaspora rural practice was similar to that of Palestine (examples from Hellenistic and early Roman Egypt would indicate the contrary), but we cannot be sure. Until we have more evidence in hand, this last possibility of an urban-rural distinction, remains highly speculative. Moreover, on rare occasions we find evidence, such as the fragmentary inscription from urban Caesarea which speaks of a "contribution of the people," cautioning us against this type of generalization.[39]

Thus, given the limited sources available, it is impossible to embrace any one of the above positions without reservations. Perhaps this is the true value of the diverse material at our disposal. Just as our sources are complex, so too may have been the reality of Late Antiquity. Any kind of oversimplification, of trying to fit all the evidence

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[36] On the tensions between the sages and communal leadership generally, see A. Büchler, *The Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris in the Second and Third Centuries* (London, 1909); L. I. Levine, *The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1989), 98–191, esp. 167–76.

[37] L. I. Levine, "The Sages and the Synagogue in Late Antiquity: The Evidence of the Galilee," in L. I. Levine, ed., *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (New York, 1992), 201–22.

[38] Apamea: Lifshitz, *Donateurs*, no. 40; Alexandria: *t. Sukk.* 4:6 (Lieberman 273).

[39] Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions*, no. 25.

into one particular mold, may well do unjustice to both the sources and the historical reality behind them.

When all is said and done, however, one fact can safely be asserted. For whatever reason, be it cultural, geographical, or sociological, synagogue officialdom in Jewish Palestine appears to have been significantly different from that of the Diaspora or even from the Hellenized areas of the country, both in the titles used and perhaps in function as well. Some common threads indeed existed, but clearly there were regional differences which, in turn, reflected a wide range of political, social, and cultural realities about which we are as yet only very partially informed. The situation in Jewish Palestine was indeed unique. Earlier Jewish practices seem to have survived more intact here than in the Diaspora, where the pressures of acculturation were more profound and intense.

In light of the above, it may well be the case that the Greek inscriptions from Caesarea and other cities of Roman-Byzantine Palestine offer a key to understand better the distinctions noted above. On the one hand, the Caesarea inscriptions are set squarely within the wider Diaspora tradition; the titles used there are the same as would be found in Syria, Asia Minor, or Rome. Nevertheless, the Caesarea inscriptions also contain elements characteristic of the Semitic epigraphical evidence found in Jewish Palestine at this time. One inscription, as noted, speaks of a contribution by the people as a whole (*laos*, i.e., the congregation; no. 2 above). Such inscriptions were usually written in Aramaic and have been discovered at Beth Shean, Ḥusifa, Naʿaran, Jericho, Susiya, and Maon. Hebrew names such as Amos and Gabriel also appear in these Caesarea inscriptions. Moreover, the Caesarea synagogue inscription listing the twenty-four priestly courses and their villages in the Gailee further bridges the Diaspora and Palestine. Other such Hebrew inscriptions have been found in Nazareth, Ascalon, Kissufim (near Gaza), and Yemen.

This combination of Diaspora and Palestinian practice is not unique to Caesarea, but was also found in other Palestinian cities as well. Ḥammath Tiberias boasted ten Greek dedicatory inscriptions bearing Greek and Latin names. Yet this same synagogue also featured a communal dedicatory inscription in Aramaic, along with Hebrew labels accompanying the zodiac signs in the center of the mosaic floor.[40] In several synagogue inscriptions discovered at Sepphoris several decades ago, a Hebrew inscription with a Hebrew name and the title "rabbi" was found together with a monumental Greek inscription bearing Greek names and titles.[41] A newly discovered Sepphoris synagogue, according to preliminary reports, contains seven Hebrew and thirteen Greek dedicatory inscriptions.[42] Here, however, the zodiac signs are accompanied not only by Hebrew labels but also the names of the months in Hebrew. Moreover, unique to

[40] M. Dothan, *Hammath Tiberias: Early Synagogues* (Jerusalem, 1983), 53–62,

[41] Neveh, *Stone and Mosaic*, no. 29: Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions*, no. 24.

[42] E. Netzer and Z. Weiss, *Zippori* (Jerusalem, 1994), 56–58. The exact numbers of Aramaic and Greek inscriptions were communicated to me orally.

this mosaic floor is a series of depictions of Temple offerings, each identified by its Hebrew name. Similar combinations of Greek and Hebrew elements appear in the other Palestinian urban settings, where evidence of a Jewish community has been discovered: Jaffa, Gaza, Ascalon, Gerasa, and Beth Shean.[43]

These Hellenized cities of Palestine thus formed a kind of meeting ground for two rather different Jewish cultures, that of more rural Jewish Palestine and that of the Diaspora. These two cultural worlds were, of course, not totally divorced from each other, and many influences from one, especially the latter, penetrated the other. Nevertheless, these two cultural orbits flourished in different geographical areas, with the Hellenized ambience represented most prominently in Palestinian urban settings. Although one often speaks of an all-encompassing Hellenistic-Roman *oikumene*, there yet existed within this vast area of the Roman Empire some fairly well-defined subcultures that succeeded in preserving a large degree of cultural and religious uniqueness.[44] With regard to the subject at hand, the societal organization in rural Palestine appears to have been more communally oriented, with less of an emphasis on the individual per se. Rabbinic material to a large degree reflects this cultural ethos, not necessarily because the rabbis were unaware nor unresponsive to the larger Hellenistic context, but simply because they chose to identify and comment on the world with which they were most in touch. The Jewish communities in the Hellenistic urban centers of Palestine such as Caesarea thus serve as a kind of bridge and meeting point for these communal patterns. They had one foot in the world of an Aramaic-speaking, more conservative, and rural Jewish Palestine, and one in the wider Roman-Byzantine world – an urban, cosmopolitan setting where Greek was the lingua franca.

[43] Cf. Stern, ed., *Encyclopaedia*, 2:565–69.
[44] Cf. F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 225–35.

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Arabic Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima: A Publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae*

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In the excavations carried out during the late 1980s and the early 1990s, Y. Porath, A. Raban, and K. G. Holum, directing two of the major archaeological expeditions in Caesarea, discovered a few Arabic inscriptions. One inscription was also found on the shore of Caesarea, south of the the Roman theater, by Arnon Angert, a member of Kibbutz Sdot Yam. A few years earlier another inscription was discovered south of the town between the present wall and the theater in the area excavated by R. J. Bull.

The excavations are far from complete, and many more inscriptions are expected, as the Arab settlement must have covered a large area both in the region of the silted Roman harbor and outside the present (Crusader) wall of the old city. The inscriptions, and indeed the clear remnants of the Arab settlement, attest to considerable Islamic activity in the town between the ninth and eleventh centuries. There has been no similar activity in the post-Crusader period.

Caesarea was the last town in Palestine to be conquered by the Muslims. For them the city was the symbol of Byzantine might, and its conquest was embellished as a great military achievement. Under Islam, Caesarea lost its position as the capital of the central Palestinian province of Syria, but became a very important coastal military post. The Umayyads built and fortified it against Byzantine naval attacks, and it was further built and fortified by the governors of Egypt.

The Arabic inscriptions discovered in the excavations are all epitaphs of Muslims. The earliest dated inscription is from the year A.H. 282/C.E. 895 toward the end of the Ṭūlūnid period (878–905), and the latest is from 370/980, the beginning of the Fāṭimid rule (969–1099). One inscription, discovered in the sea at the southern part of the medieval city, has been badly defaced. The parts that can be read, however, attest to a building in the city early in the Ṭūlūnid period. From the Late Ottoman period, one inscription in Turkish was found, an epitaph from 1321/1903.

The Inscriptions and their Background

Most of the Arabic inscriptions from Caesarea were discovered either south of the Muslim-Crusader city wall, where Y. Porath on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) and J. Patrich for the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE) have been excavating the Roman-Byzantine parts of the city (fig.1), or just inside the city next to the same wall on the north. In this area, the site of the ancient harbor (fig. 2), the excavations are directed for CCE by A. Raban, of the Center for Maritime Studies at the University of Haifa, and by Kenneth G. Holum of the University of Maryland.

In both cases the epigraphic material came from the same site, the Muslim cemetery which was located south of the city. The inscriptions represent, on the whole, pre-Crusader Muslim settlement. The inscriptions discovered by the Raban-Holum expedition within the Crusader wall of the city also came from the Muslim cemetery. The Crusaders used stones from the cemetery area, including those with inscriptions, in their building projects in the city. In most cases the Crusader builders broke and reshaped the marble blocks and slabs, for which reason a large part of the epigraphical find consists of fragments.

A group of inscriptions and inscription fragments, originating in the same areas and in the vicinity of the Roman theater, are kept at the local museum of the neighboring Kibbutz Sdot Yam.[1]

All the inscriptions were engraved on marble slabs and marble blocks of various sizes and shapes. The raw material was abundant: the ruins of ancient Caesarea were a vast source of marble originally used for building, paving, and decorating the Roman-Byzantine city. During the entire period of Muslim rule, as well as the time of the Crusaders, the site of the ancient city was a huge quarry. Some of the building material was used and reused for its original function, namely, for building and paving: marble and granite found their way to new buildings in the city itself but also to other sites. As late as the nineteenth century, marble building material was transferred from Caesarea to public buildings in Acre and elsewhere. A large amount of marble was used simple as raw material for the lime furnaces, especially after the complete destruction of the city under the early Mamluks in the thirteenth century.

The Arabic inscriptions were engraved on the marble that had been found in the ruins of the city with almost no interference with the shapes of the slabs and blocks.

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[1] I wish to thank the following institutions and individuals for permission to publish the inscriptions as well as for their help and encouragement throughout the research: the Israel Antiquities Authority; the Combined Caesarea Expeditions; the Museum of Kibbutz Sdot Yam; A. Raban, Y. Porath, and J. Patrich, directors of the expeditions; and Rina and Arnon Angert, the curators of the Sdot Yam Museum. Research on the Arabic inscriptions of Palestine is or has been supported by Israel's Scientific Fund, Leon Levy, New York, the Hagop Kevorkian Foundation, New York, and the Karen Freedman Fund, South Africa.

On the attitude of the Muslims to the sea and to naval power, see D. Ayalon, "The Mamluks and Naval Power: A Phase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe," *Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings*, vol. 1, no.8 (Jerusalem, 1965).

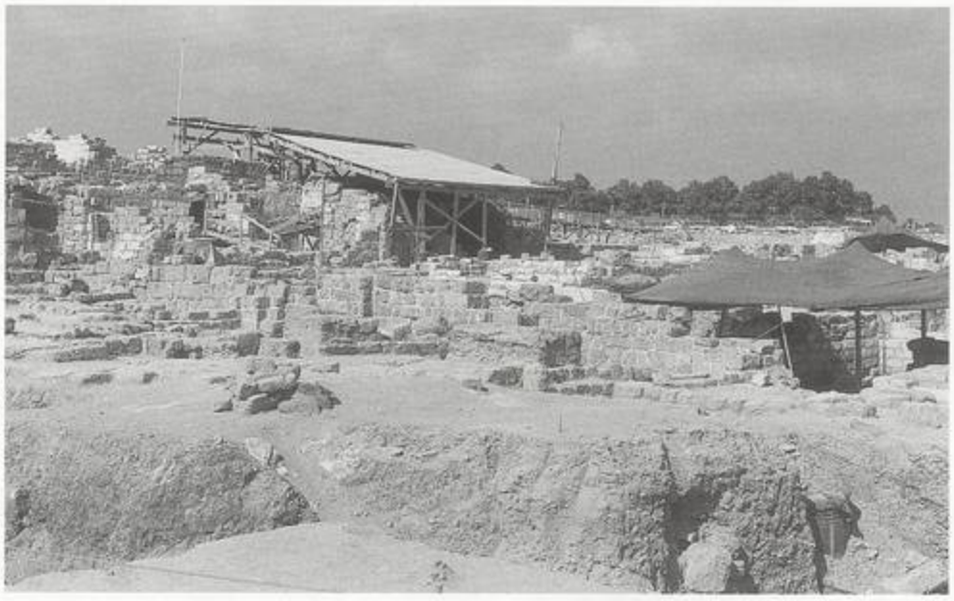

Figure 1. Area of Muslim cemetery south of the Muslim-Crusader city wall. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 2. Southwestern section of the Muslim city. Photograph by Aaron Levin

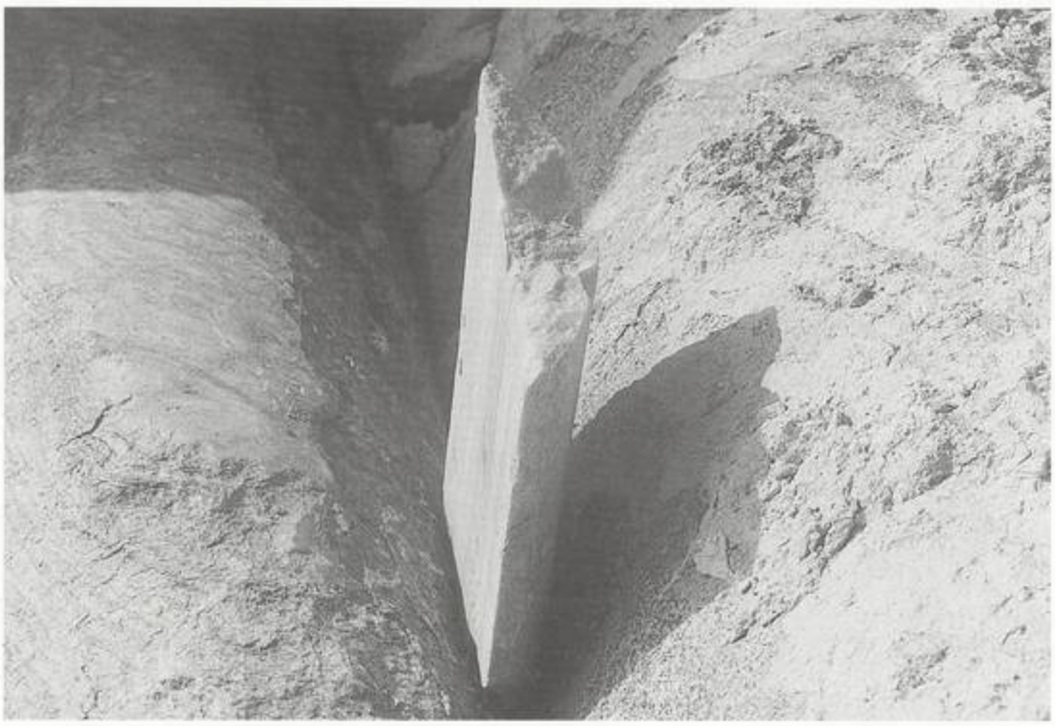

Figure 3. Slab of marble cut from an ancient column, ready to be inscribed. Photograph by the author

This is the reason for the many unusual shapes of the stones bearing the inscriptions: trapezoidal, prismatic, triangular, or with rounded back. The rounded-back stones represent the only interference with the original shape of the material, in this case, marble columns. Columns from the ruins of the town could be used in various ways. They were reused for their original function in new buildings or as "pins" inserted as a binding element into the wide walls of the city and its citadel when these were built and rebuilt by the successive rulers of Caesarea. Columns were also simply regarded as huge blocks of raw material from which a large number of thin slabs could be cut and polished, then used for engraving inscriptions, mainly epitaphs, for which long, narrow slabs were desirable (fig. 3). A column from which a few slabs were cut from one side of its rounded envelope could then be employed for domestic and other uses: its core could be dug out, for example, to form a trough or a basin (fig. 4).

The Arabic inscriptions, only very few of which are complete, represent but a minute remnant of the huge quantity of inscriptions that must have existed in the Muslim cemetery area south of the city and on many public and private buildings. The fact that the the southern part of the ancient city, including the Muslim cemetery, remained outside the Crusader city, turned this area into a source of building material for the Crusaders and their successors. It is not difficult to see how the relatively

Figure 4. Core of an ancient column reused after the cutting away of slabs for inscriptions. Photograph by the author

thin slabs of marble were the first candidates for the lime furnaces, and could easily be broken into small pieces and used as filling material in the mortar of later buildings in the city and elsewhere.

The inscriptions found thus far represent a period of some two hundred years from about the middle of the third/ninth century to the second half of the fifth/eleventh century. This is the time of the Ṭūlūnids, Ikhshīds, and Fāṭimids during which the Muslim rulers from Egypt paid special attention to the Syro-Palestinian coast and made genuine efforts to fortify its main strongholds, Caesarea included.

Muqaddasī (336/947–380/990), the Jerusalem-born geographer, who wrote around 980, during the early years of the Fāṭimid rule, left an extremely useful description of the main locations along the Syro-Palestinian shore, adding in each case, in his typical style, just the necessary notes to indicate the features peculiar to each site.

Starting from the south northward, Muqaddasī begins with Gaza: "a large city near the coast on the main road from Egypt"; then mentions Mīmās, a small fortified place named after Gaza (i.e., *Maiumas* Gaza); Ascalon, on the sea, a fortified town, very prosperous but with a poor anchorage and harmful sand flies; Jaffa, on the sea, small, regarded as the sea outlet of Ramlah, also as the "treasury of Palestine," well fortified

and with a good harbor (*mīnāhā jayyid*); then Arsūf, smaller than Jaffa, fortified and populated.

Next is Caesarea, from the description of which it is possible to appreciate the development of this city during the century of Egyptian rule in Syria and Palestine.

> On the coast of the Byzantine sea (the eastern Mediterranean) there is no city more beautiful, praiseworthy, and plentiful than Caesarea. It overflows with luxury and is full of useful products. Its location is pleasant and its fruit delicious. The town is also famous for its buffalo milk and white bread. It is protected by an impregnable fortress whose wall surrounds its inhabited territory. The drinking water of the inhabitants is drawn from cisterns and wells, and it has a beautiful Friday mosque.[2]

From this description it is possible to arrive at the following conclusions:

(a) Caesarea was fortified but was not a large town. Muqaddasī refers to the built and populated area of the town as *Rabaḍ*, a term reserved for describing a suburb of a large town. The city was, however, larger than Arsūf and, most probably, smaller than Ascalon. It had a strong fortress (ḥiṣn) as well as an encircling wall. The writer explicitly mentions these two elements of the city's fortifications (archaeological evidence supports this description).

(b) The city was fully populated.

(c) The city was prosperous, mainly due to its agricultural and dairy products.

(d) The city had no harbor. Muqaddasī makes a point of always mentioning the harbor whenever a coastal town has one, even if it is only a poor anchorage.

(e) The famous aqueducts of Caesarea had already fallen into disuse: the inhabitants drew their water from wells and cisterns.

The evidence of the inscriptions, judging from their size and skillful production, affirms Muqaddasī's description. There is no doubt that the government of Egypt, whether Ṭūlūnid, Ikhshīd, or Fāṭimid, paid special attention to the coastal towns because of the permanent Byzantine threat from the sea. The shipyards of Egypt kept on supplying the navy, but except for limited periods, supremacy on the sea remained in Byzantine hands. A harbor (*mīnā'*) was very important for commerce as well as for military purposes, but it also could be very hazardous if the enemy were to take possession of it from the sea. On the Syro-Palestinian shore, the Muslim governments therefore kept a few good harbors which they could defend and from which they could launch attacks on Byzantine territories when circumstances seemed favorable. The sites for these harbors were carefully chosen in strategic places with suitable topographical features. Usually, ancient, first-class harbors continued their function also under the Muslims. Thus, for example, Acre and Tyre were regarded as outstanding sea fortresses with excellent harbors. At one time or another, both possessed shipyards that supplied the Muslim navy, and were used as principal naval bases from which to launch attacks and to defend the littoral of Syria. Aware of the vulnerability of these harbors, the Muslim rulers paid special attention to their fortification from the sea, with towers

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[2] Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1906), 174.

guarding their entrances and heavy chains physically blocking them.[3]

Too many harbors were a liability, and even a danger, when the Muslim navy was weak and had limited operational scope. This is the reason for the neglect of many ancient anchorages and ports, such as those in Ascalon and Caesarea, the harbors of Jabneh (Jamnia) and of Ashdod and even that of Gaza.[4] In all these locations, and especially in Ascalon and Caesarea, simple anchorages were sufficient to carry the sea-trade activity, especially between Palestine and Egypt, and serve the local fishermen, if there were any. It was far more important to strengthen the fortifications of the coastal towns, including the construction of a strong wall along the coastline, so that the city, thus enclosed on all sides, could resist both land and naval attacks. This is the reason for the lack of proper harbors in Caesarea, in Ascalon, and even in Beirut under Muslim rule. To the north, only Tripoli is mentioned as having an excellent harbor "capable of containing a thousand ships," in the exaggerated language of Ya'qūbī who wrote in 891 C.E.[5] Most of the other coastal towns are said to have been "fortified" *(ḥaṣīnah)*.

The performance of Islam on the sea had its ups and downs. During the Umayyad period the Muslim navy was on the offensive a few times from its bases in Syria and Egypt. Only nine years after the capture of Caesarea and the establishment of Muslim authority in Syria and Egypt, the Muslim navy under Muʿāwiyah attacked Cyprus.[6] But neither this attack nor a subsequent expedition in 654 C.E. resulted in the occupation of the island, which kept its independence between the Byzantines and the Muslims. Two years earlier, in 652, the Muslims repulsed a Byzantine naval attack on Alexandria, and in 655 the Muslim navy, commanded by ʿAbdallah b. Saʿd, the governor of Egypt, and by Muʿāwiyah, then the governor of Syria, defeated the Byzantines in a great naval battle off the Lycian coast. The Arabic sources called the battle *dhū* (or *dhāt*) *as-sawārī* (that of the masts), because of the great number of the masts of the destroyed ships which floated on the water at the end of the battle.[7] Although the Byzantines were hit very hard, they still did not lose their supremacy on the sea.

The Muslim navy under Muʿāwiyah acted even far from the Syrian and Egyptian bases. In 672–73 the Muslims invaded Rhodes and established a settlement there, but had to evacuate the place eight years later after the death of Muʿāwiyah and the accession to the throne of his son Yazīd (680). Also under Muʿāwiyah, the Muslim navy ventured an attack on Sicily (*Siqiliyah, Siqilliyah*) and plundered Syracuse.[8] But all this

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[3] G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* (Boston-New York, 1890), 328–34, 342–52, and authorities there; Muqaddasī, 162–63.

[4] G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (London-Glasgow, 1894; repr. 1966), 104.

[5] Le Strange, *Palestine*, 348.

[6] Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh ar-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1879–1901), 1:2820–21.

[7] C. H. Becker argued for an earlier date for this battle – 31/ 651–52: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (= *EI*), 1st ed. (Leiden, 1913–36), 1:30b; and Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3087, speaks about the destruction of the "1,000 ship"-strong Byzantine navy under Emperor Constans II in 35/ 655–56, in a storm and not in a battle.

[8] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1863–66), 235.

activity on the sea, including sporadic expeditions in the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809), did not bring about the permanent presence of the Muslims beyond the Syrian shore. The great successes of the Muslim navy took place in the ninth century from North Africa and Spain, not from Syria and Palestine. Crete was won for Islam in 825 by a Muslim naval commander who came from Cordova, and the island, on which the Muslims built a city which they called Khandaq (Candia), remained in their hands for 135 years. In 961 the Byzantine general Nicephorus Phocas captured Candia and the island, and the Muslim population had to leave or convert to Christianity. The Muslim governments around the Mediterranean, including the Fāṭimids, who possessed a navy, could not prevent this Byzantine reconquest.

Before the Fāṭimids, the dynasty of the Aghlabids that established itself in Qayrawān in North Africa, in the first year of the ninth century, created a strong naval power in the western Mediterranean, and between 831 and 878 conquered the whole of Sicily and invaded southern Italy. When the Aghlabids were destroyed by the Fāṭimids in 909, Sicily was annexed to the newly created Fāṭimid Empire, and it was to remain in Muslim hands for two hundred years until its occupation by the Normans between 1060 and 1091. The Normans also occupied Malta (1090) and abolished any effective Muslim presence in the western Mediterranean as well.[9]

The Muslim successes in the western Mediterranean in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well as the great achievement of the conquest of Spain early in the eighth century, were due to the active involvement of the native North Africans, who had a long maritime tradition, in the building of, and operating, the Muslim navy. The successes of Muʿāwiyah, and of ʿAbdallah b. Saʿd, limited as they were, were also due to the contribution of the local Egyptian Copts to the Muslim navy.

However, on the whole, the Muslim military power was and remained on land and not on sea. The Muslims, especially those of the east, the bedouins who made up the first Muslim armies, feared the sea. Traditions were quoted, on the authority of the Prophet himself, that compared the sea to the Fire of Hell and compared those who venture to ride a boat to worms floating on a twig.[10]

It was even difficult to convince Arabs to settle in the coastal towns, and Muʿāwiyah transferred Persians to some of these towns that were permanently exposed to the danger of Byzantine attacks from the sea.[11]

In the period covered by the inscriptions, the ninth and the tenth centuries, Muslim sea power in the eastern Mediterranean was extremely limited, contrary to its vitality and offensive nature in the western Mediterranean. Any activity by the Muslim rulers on the Syro-Palestinian coast was of a defensive nature. The main coastal towns, which were built as fortresses, also served an important function in operations involving the ransom of Muslim prisoners who had been taken captive by the Byzantines, mostly in

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[9] *EI*, s.vv. "Crete," "Cyprus," "Rhodes," "Sicily."

[10] Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Beirut, 1969), 4:223.

[11] See, e.g., Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 116–17, 132–33.

skirmishes on the north Syrian and north Mesopotamian borders. In this context it is instructive to quote Muqaddasī's report:

> Along the seacoast of the capital (Ramlah) there are outposts (*ribāṭāt*), from which the summons to arms is given. The warships and the galleys of the Byzantines sail to them with Muslim prisoners for sale: every three prisoners for one hundred dinars. And in each of these outposts there are men who know the Greek language, for they have missions to the Byzantines and trade with them in provisions of all kinds. At the outpost (*ribāṭ*), whenever a Byzantine vessel appears, they give the alarm by lighting a beacon on the tower of the fortress if it be at night, or, if it is day, by making a great deal of smoke. From every fortress on the coast out to the capital (Ramlah) are built, at intervals, high towers, in each of which is stationed a company of men. As soon as they perceive the beacon on the tower of the coastal outpost, the men of the next tower above it kindle their own, and so on, one after another; so that hardly is an hour elapsed before the trumpets are sounding in the capital, and drums are beating from the city tower calling the people down to that coastal outpost, and they hurry out in force, with their arms, and the young men of the villages gather together. Then the ransoming begins. One prisoner will be given in exchange for another, or money and jewels will be offered, until at length all the prisoners who are in the Byzantine ships have been set free.[12]

The Inscriptions

The inscriptions are arranged as follows: first, inscriptions with certain dates, arranged chronologically, and then the fragments without dates, also arranged according to the dates suggested for each item. Every inscription is classified according to its subject and is accompanied by its date (either certain or suggested). This is followed by all the technical data pertaining to the inscription, its reading and translation accompanied by notes relating to its cultural or historical context. None of these inscriptions has been published previously in full.

1
Epitaph of a Muslim

270/884

Two fragments joined to form a part of a trapezoid-shaped slab of white-gray marble, the left part of which was broken and lost (fig. 5).

Dimensions: top: 0.28 m.; base: 0.55 m.; height: 0.30 m.; diagonal: 0.403 m. (cat. no. KK 17.050 L000, KK 17.051 L000).

Discovered by J. Patrich of CCE in area KK south of the present (Crusader) wall of the city, the location of the medieval Muslim cemetery (fig. 1).

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[12] Muqaddasī, 177, based on Ranking's trans.: G.S.A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo, trans., *Aḥsanu-t-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifati-l-Aqālīm*, Bibliotheca Indica, Collection of Oriental Works, The Asiatic Society (Culcutta, 1897).

Figure 5. Inscription no. 1, A.H. 270. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Two lines, angular, monumental script engraved in deep relief. Raised borders with foliage decorations in flat relief.

The original slab was part of a combination of two slabs or more over which a long and elaborate inscription was engraved.

The five words that survive from the original inscription permit the following reading and reconstruction.

Text

[Basmalah. Qul huwa allahu aḥad allahu aṣ-ṣamad lam yalid wa-lam yūlad wa-lam yakun]
(1) *lahu kufuwan aḥad [hādhā qabr . . . (name) b . . . (father's name) . . . tuwuffiya fī shahr . . .]*
(2) *min sanati sabʿin [wa-miʾatayn raḥimahu allah]*

Translation

[In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful. Say Allah is one. Allah is eternal. He begetteth not, neither is he begotten, and there is not] (1) any one like

unto him. (Qur'ān 112 in full; trans. based on Sale[13]) [This is the grave of . . . (name and father's name); he died in the month of . . .] (2) of the year seventy [and two hundred. May Allah have mercy on him].

Script

The monumental nature of the script is beyond doubt, and it goes well with the rich, sophisticated fashioning of the whole inscription. This includes the choice of excellent marble, the elegant fine decoration of the borders, the unusual, most probably triangular shape of the inscription, and the exact engraving in high relief of the letters. Three major decorative elements characterize the writing itself: "barbs" and traces of "swallow tails" at the heads of letters; the stretching and curling up of some letter ends (*dāl, hā', wāw*), in order to fill up gaps between high and low letters, as an independent decorative element; and the crowding of letters with the idea of forming each line into a rectangular block of letters. Within this rectangular block, some sets of letters were engraved in descending height to form a triangular shape (such as the *sīn*, the *bā'* and *'ayn*, and the *yā'* and *nūn* in the word *sab'īn* in line 2).

The *fā'* and *'ayn* have the same spearhead shape. All these elements considered together appear on inscriptions of this imperial class, from the middle of the third/tenth century.

Date

Since the date of the inscription was preserved only in part, without the word defining the hundreds, the year could be either 270 or 370. The writing and its decorations belong more to the first than to the second date. Late fourth century inscriptions of imperial nature had a far more elaborate foliage decoration integrally incorporated into the writing.

It is safe, therefore, to ascribe this inscription to the year 270 (884 C.E.), within the same period as inscription no. 2 of 282, which shows similar features.

2
Epitaph of a Muslim

282/895-96

Lower part of a prismatic-shaped block of marble of ancient origin, probably from an Early Byzantine building, with right-angle triangular bases, in secondary usage as a tombstone with the inscription on the sides at right angles to each other (fig. 6).

Dimensions: A: (Narrower side) 0.20 x 0.94 m. B: (wider side) 0.26 x 0.94 m. Reg. no. 38/92, area I, basket 2931.

[13] Qur'ānic verses numbered according to the Standard Egyptian edition. Trans.: G. Sale, *The Koran Translated into English from the Original Arabic*, with an introduction by Sir Edward Denison Ross (London-New York, n.d.).

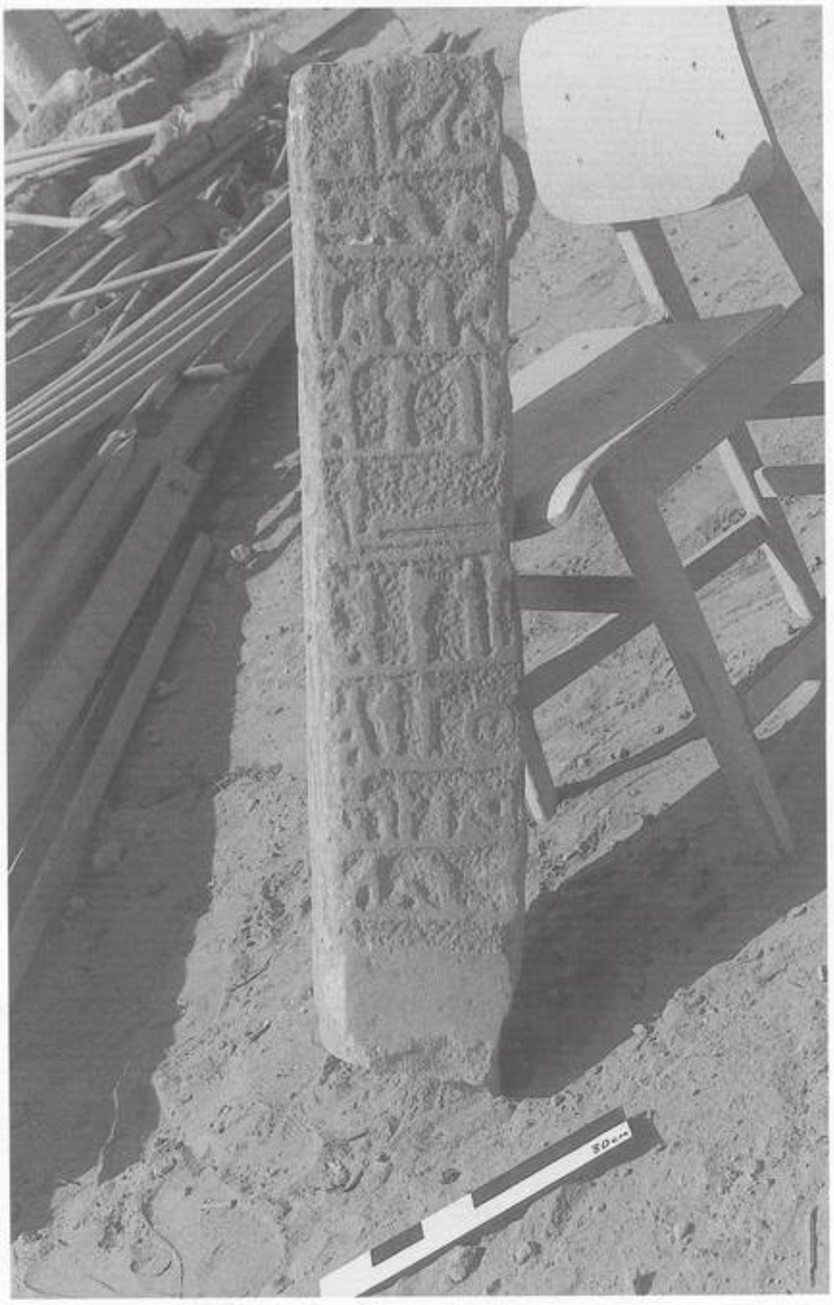

Figure 6. Inscription no. 2, A.H. 282, narrower side. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Figure 6A. Inscription no. 2, A.H. 282, wider side. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Discovered in 1992 in the excavations headed by Y. Porath south of the Crusader wall of the city, in the same general area as no. 1.

The top part of the original inscription, probably written on another block of similar dimensions, has been lost. It must have consisted of the customary opening of a funerary text and the name of the deceased. Nine lines (side A) and eight lines (side B), monumental, elaborate late third/ninth-century angular script, in relief; crowded, large flat letters (max. length 0.08 m.), with "barb" and spearhead endings. No dots, no vowels.

Only the last lines on both sides (A and B) read as one line; otherwise the text on each side reads separately.

Text

[. . . wa-huwa yashhadu annhu lā ilāha illā Allah]

Side A

1. *wa-anna*
2. *Muḥammadun* (sic)
3. *rasūl*
4. *Allah*
5. *ṣallā*
6. *Allah*
7. *ʿalayhi*
8. *wa-ālihi*
9. *raḥimahu*

Side B

[. . . . . tuwuffiya . . . sanat i]

1. *thatayn wa*
2. *thamānīn*
3. *wa-miʾatayn.*
4. *mulḥaqan bi-nabiyyihi*
5. *lā ilāha illā*
6. *Allah waḥdahu*
7. *la sharīka lahu*
8. (from line 9 of side A: *raḥimahu*) *Allah*

Translation

Side A

(continues side B)

[. . . he died while testifying that there is no God but Allah]

(1) and that (2) Muḥammad (3) is the messenger of (4) Allah. (5–8) May Allah bless him and his family. (9) May Allah have mercy on him (with side B, line 8).

Side B

(this is the grave of . . . He died on . . . the year)

(1–3) two hundred and eighty-two (4) joining his prophet. (5) There is no God but

(6) Allah alone. (7) He has no companion. (8) May Allah have mercy on him (with side A, line 9).

Script

The narrowness of the stone compelled the engraver to crowd the letters and the words in such a way that it was impossible to always keep the nonconnectable letters fully separated. No concession was made, however, on the then current fashion to decorate the letters with "barbs" or "swallow tails," and the word "Allah" with a geometrical element – two arches, a large one and above it a small one – between the *lāms*. The decoration of the word Allah with floral or architectural forms seems to have been a fashion between the late third and late fifth century, and probably later. In only those fragments hitherto found in Caesarea, there are three examples of this method of decoration.[14]

Contents

The missing beginning: The lost part of the original stone could have been a similar block as big as the present one, judging from the fact that it must have contained at least the *Basmalah*, the name of the deceased, and the day and month of his death. The complete original tombstone, for which fine, three-sided marble blocks were used, could have been more than 1.80 m. long and very impressive. The missing beginning of the inscription may be reconstructed from other epitaphs with similar texts. A good example is an epitaph from Fusṭāṭ dated A.H. 174. It starts with the *Basmalah* and is followed by "this is what ʿAbdallah b. Lahīʿah alḥḍrami testified: that there is no god but Allah alone . . . ," as in our inscription.[15]

The formulas in this epitaph are quite common, as well as the grammatical mistake (side A 1–2): *aw-anna Muḥammadun*.[16]

Line 4: The expression *mulḥaqan or mulḥiqan bi-nabiyyihi*, and similar formulas representing the hope of the Muslim to meet the Prophet in Paradise, are quite common in Islamic epitaphs. Thus we find an invocation asking God to make acquaintance between the deceased and the Prophet (*wā-ʿarrif baynahu wa-bayna nabiyyihi*), or to bring the two to meet one another (*wa-ʾjmaʿ baynahu wa-bayna nabiyyihi*), and similar words.[17] The usage of the verb *L-Ḥ-Q* in this context is particularly common in various combinations, especially the expression *wa-ʾlḥiqhu bi-nabiyyihi*: "and attach him to his prophet."[18]

The idea of the meeting of the righteous in heaven with the Prophet in the presence of God has its sources in the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. In the description of the

[14] For similar decoration on an inscription recently found in Ascalon, see M. Sharon, *ʿAtiqot* 26 (forthcoming).

[15] *Répertoire chronologique de l'épigraphie arabe* (= *RCEA*) (Cairo, 1931–91), 1:42, no. 55.

[16] Cf. *RCEA*, nos. 136, 138, 139, 161, 206, 207.

[17] Ibid., nos. 61, 62, 66, 71.

[18] Ibid., nos. 57, 58, 68, 81, 85, 89, 96, 117, 125, 192, and a very detailed inscription with all these formulas, no. 77.

delights enjoyed by the righteous in Paradise, God promises that all future virtuous generations would be attached (*alḥaqnā*) to them (Qur'ān 52:21). In two prayers, that of Abraham and that of Joseph, we find the same invocation: they both ask Allah to bestow on them the company of the righteous in Paradise. They both use in their invocations the verbal form *alḥiqnī* (Qur'ān 26:83, 12:101). The same idea, using the same verb, appears in many places in the *ḥadīth*. Thus it is reported that the dying Prophet, his head on 'Ā'ishah's bosom, was heard saying: "O Allah, forgive me and make me join the other prophets (or Archangel Gabriel)" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Faḍā'il aṣ-Ṣaḥābah*, no. 85; Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Da'awāt*, 77 no. 3561). One finds similar usage in another tradition in which the Prophet is reported to have said to his daughter Fāṭimah that she will be the first from his family to join him (*innakī awwalu ahlī luḥūqan bī*; ibid., no. 99). Similarly, the Prophet reportedly said to his wife 'Ā'ishah that if she wants to join him in Heaven (*in ardti al-luḥūq bī*), she should be satisfied with as little as possible in this world (Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Libās*, 38).

The missing part of the inscription

On the basis of similar epitaphs, it is possible to reconstruct the whole inscription. It began on side B (according to the marking above) of the top part of the stone. It consisted of eight or nine lines (["Basmalah, this is the grave of *fulān* b. *fulān*; he died in the month of . . . (?) the year"], and here begins the existing text). Side A must have begun with: ["He died while testifying that there is no god but Allah"] before continuing with the text on the preserved part of the stone. Originally, therefore, sides A and B consisted of seventeen lines each, usually one word per line.

Side B, lines 1–3: The year 282 began on 2 March 895 and finished on 19 February 896. This was an eventful year in the history of the Ṭūlūnid family, a detrimental year for the continuation of their rule. At the end of January or the beginning of February, Khumārawayh, the Ṭūlūnid ruler of Egypt and Syria, was assassinated in very strange circumstances by some of his eunuchs while he was visiting Damascus, and his death marks the quickly approaching end of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty.[19] Khumārawayh's son Jaysh was killed a year later by rebels from the North African units in his army, who put on the throne Hārūn, another son of Khumārawayh and the last of the Ṭūlūnids.[20] At the beginning of 292/905 an expeditionary force of the 'Abbāsid army occupied Egypt, Hārūn was killed like his brother by one of his Maghribi soldiers, and Egypt and Syria entered again, for a short period, under direct 'Abbāsid rule.[21]

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[19] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī at-Ta'rīkh* (Beirut, 1982), 7:474–75.

[20] Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:2153.

[21] Ibid., 3:2252–53.

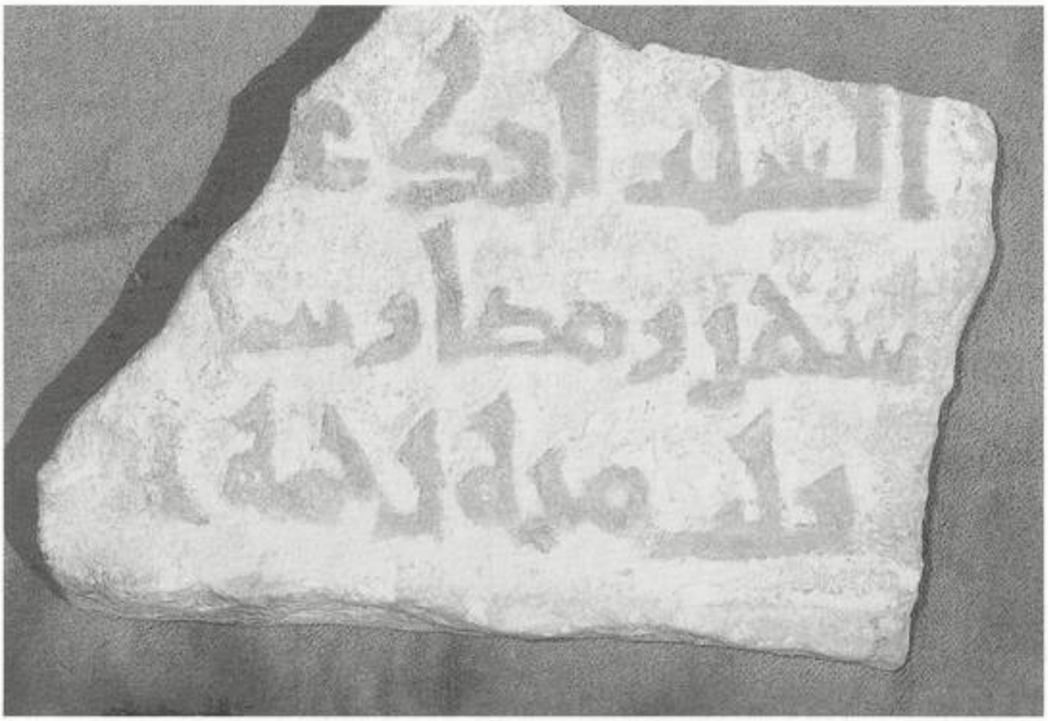

Figure 7. Inscription no. 3, A.H. 301. Private collection of Shay Hendler, Hadera. Photograph and technical information courtesy of S. Hendler

3
Epitaph of a Muslim
Saturday 11 Ramaḍān 301/Sat. 9.4.914

Bottom part of a slab of white marble found on the shore inside the Crusader city. Three (last) lines almost complete. Elaborate provincial incised, thick, angular letters decorated with "barbs" (fig. 7).

Dimensions: 0.24 x 0.21 x 0.05 m. Height of letters: 0.065 m. (max.).

Text

[Basmalah lā ilāha illā allāh waḥdahu lā sharīka lahu hādhā qabr fulān b. fulān tuwuffiya yawm]

1. *as-sabt aḥad ʿa[shar]*
2. *shahr ramaḍān sanat [iḥdā*
3 *wa]-thalāth miʾah raḥimahu allāh*

Translation

[*Basmalah.* There is no god but Allah alone. He has no companion. This is the grave of . . . He died on]

(1) Saturday, eleventh (2–3) Ramaḍān, the year three hundred and one.

Note on the reading

The formulas with which the inscription began could not have been different from those common at that period on epitaphs from Caesarea. As far as the date is concerned, there is hardly a place for more than one word after *sanah.* The only year in which Ramaḍan 11 fell on Saturday was 301, and the date corresponds to 4 April 914. Taking into consideration a mistake of one day, between the calculated date and the current date at that time, the year could be 304 or 309. In both cases 11 Ramaḍān fell on Sunday.

4
Epitaph of a Muslim

Rajab 311/14.10–15.11.923

A slab of white marble cut lengthwise from an ancient pillar discovered by the archaeological expedition under Raban and Holum in proximity to the southern gate of the medieval city, southwest of the Crusader church.

Dimensions: 0.40 x 0.65 m. (approx.). Seven lines of highly elaborate, monumental angular script, in relief, within well-defined borders, the top being some 0.075 m. wide and the lower 0.05 m. A very thin border on the left; no border on the right (fig. 8). The script, decorations, workmanship, and style are completely identical to the following epitaph. The inscriptions are almost identical twins except for the number of lines, the present inscription being only one line shorter than the following inscription. They were engraved by the same person and represent exactly the same style of calligraphy and ornamentation. The description of the artistic details in the following inscription, engraved only one or two months after this one, represents the writing on both of them.

Text

1. *Basmalah*
2. *lā ilāha illa Allah waḥdahu lā sharī*
3. *ka lahu. Hādā qabr Muḥammad b.*
4. *Ayyūb b. Dāwud raḥimahu*
5. *Allah wa-raḥima man taraḥḥama ʿalayhi*
6. *tuwuffiya fī rajab sanat iḥdā*
7. *ʿashrata wa thalāth miʾah*

Figure 8. Inscription no. 4, A.H. 311. Photograph by the author

Translation

(1) In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful. (2–3) There is no god but Allah alone. He has no companion. This is the grave of Muḥammad b. (4–5) Ayyūb b. Dāwud. May Allah have mercy on him and on whomsoever asks mercy for him. (6–7) He died in (the month of) Rajab, the year three hundred and eleven.

5

Epitaph of a Muslim

Ramaḍān 311/12.12.923–11.1.924

Two slabs of white-gray marble cut lengthwise from an ancient pillar, originally forming one slab, which broke in half (fig. 9). Both parts were found in proximity to each other some 70 m. east of the southern gate of the city, southwest of the Crusader church.

Dimensions: (parts joined) stone: 0.695 x 0.375 m.; thickness (max.) 0.115 m.; inscription: 0.59 x 0.345 m.

Eight lines, very elaborate, monumental square script engraved in deep relief, beautifully decorated mainly through the sophisticated stylization of characters. All ends of letters decorated with "barbs." The top of the second *lām* in "Allah" in lines 1 and 6 bends forward over the *ḥā'*. The beginnings of *'ayn* and *ḥā'* are ornamented with leaves, the *ḥā'* stylized in a form of knot, and the *fā'* and *yā'* and *bā'* and *yā'* (lines 5, 7) together represent a special category for they stand out in a snakelike combination. *Mīm* comes with a curving end finishing with a floriated element (line 1) or with an addition on top continuing the right wall of the letter and finishing with a "barb." The inscription is encircled by well-defined borders of different widths: widest on top, narrower at the bottom; narrower still and uneven on left and right. The left side of the stone is damaged, but the inscription was not affected.

Text

1. *Basmalah*
2. *lā ilāha illā allāh waḥdahu lā*
3. *sharīka lahu hādā qabr*
4. *'Abd al-wāhid b.'abd*
5. *al-wahhāb b. abī ghasīlah raḥimahu*
6. *allāh wa-raḥima man traḥḥama 'alayhi*
7. *tuwuffiya fī ramaḍān sanat iḥdā*
8. *'ashrata wa-thalāth mi'ah*

Translation

(1). In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful. (2) There is no God but Allah alone. (3) He has no companion. This is the grave of (4) 'Abd al-Wāhid b. 'Abd (5) al-Wahhāb b. Abū Ghasīlah. (6) May Allah have mercy on him and

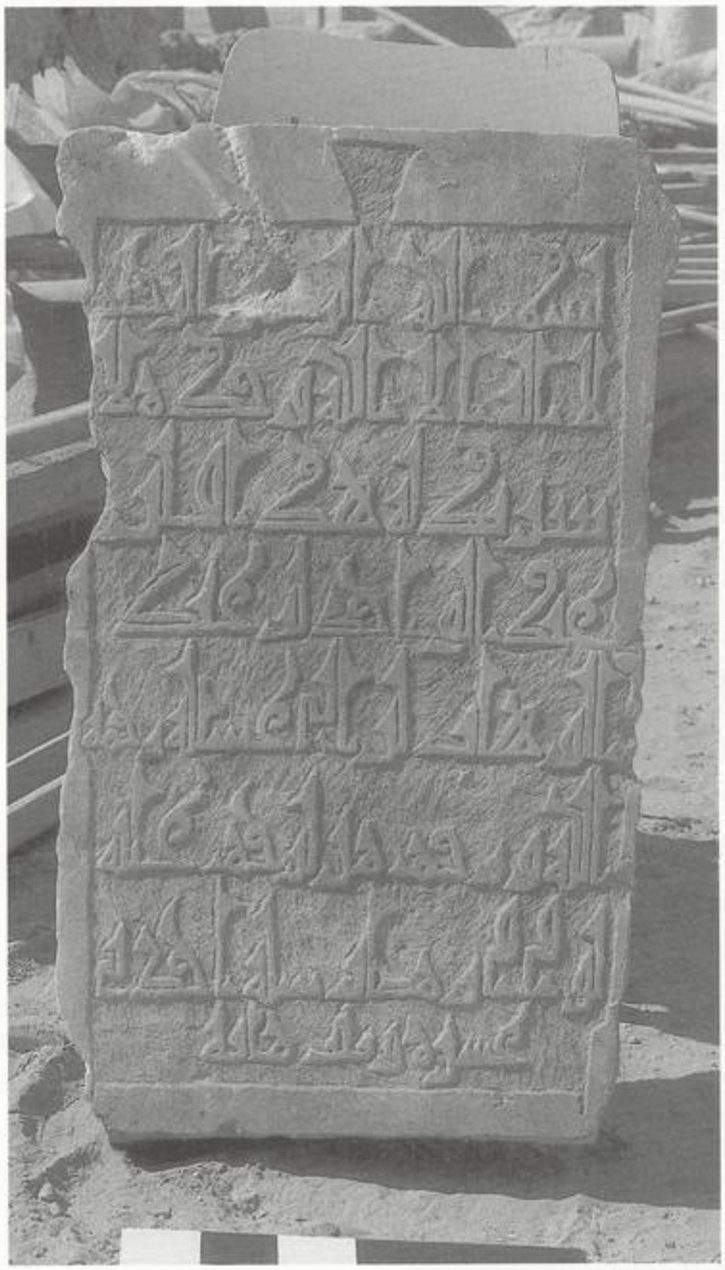

Figure 9. Inscription no. 5, A.H. 311. Photograph by Aaron Levin

on whomsoever asks mercy for him. (7) He died on Ramaḍān, the year (8) three hundred and eleven (12.12.923–11.1. 924).

Note

The inscription is from the generation of the renewed direct rule of the ʿAbbāsids in Palestine 292/905–323/935.

6

Epitaph of a Muslim

(Sdot Yam Museum)

Rajab 316/August 928

A slab of gray-white marble discovered at the medieval Muslim cemetery in the area excavated by Bull, and kept in the local museum of Kibbutz Sdot Yam near the ancient city of Caesarea (fig. 10). Initial reading by Arie Berman.

Dimensions: 0.33 x 0.17 m. Eight lines in elaborate angular provincial script, incised. All letters decorated with "barbs" and "swallow tails"; *mīm* endings curl up and finish with "swallow tail."

Text

1. *Bism Allah ar-raḥmān*
2. *ar-raḥīm hādhā qabr*
3. *Muḥammad b. ʿAlī tuwuffiya*
4. *yawm al-aḥad fī shahr*
5. *rajab min sanat sit aʿshar* (sic)
6. *wa-thalāth miʾah raḥimahu*
7. *Allah wa-raḥima man*
8. *taraḥḥama ʿalayhi*

Translation

(1) In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the (2) Merciful. This is the grave of (3) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. He died on Sunday in the month (5) Rajab, the year three hundred and sixteen. (7) May Allah have mercy on him (8) and on whomsoever invokes Allah's mercy for him.

Date

Since the day of the week (Sunday) and the month (Rajab) in the year 316 are mentioned, one can calculate the four possibilities for the full date. In Rajab 316/928, Sunday fell on the following dates: Rajab 5 = 24 August; Rajab 12 = 31 August; Rajab 19 = 7 September; Rajab 26 = 14 September.

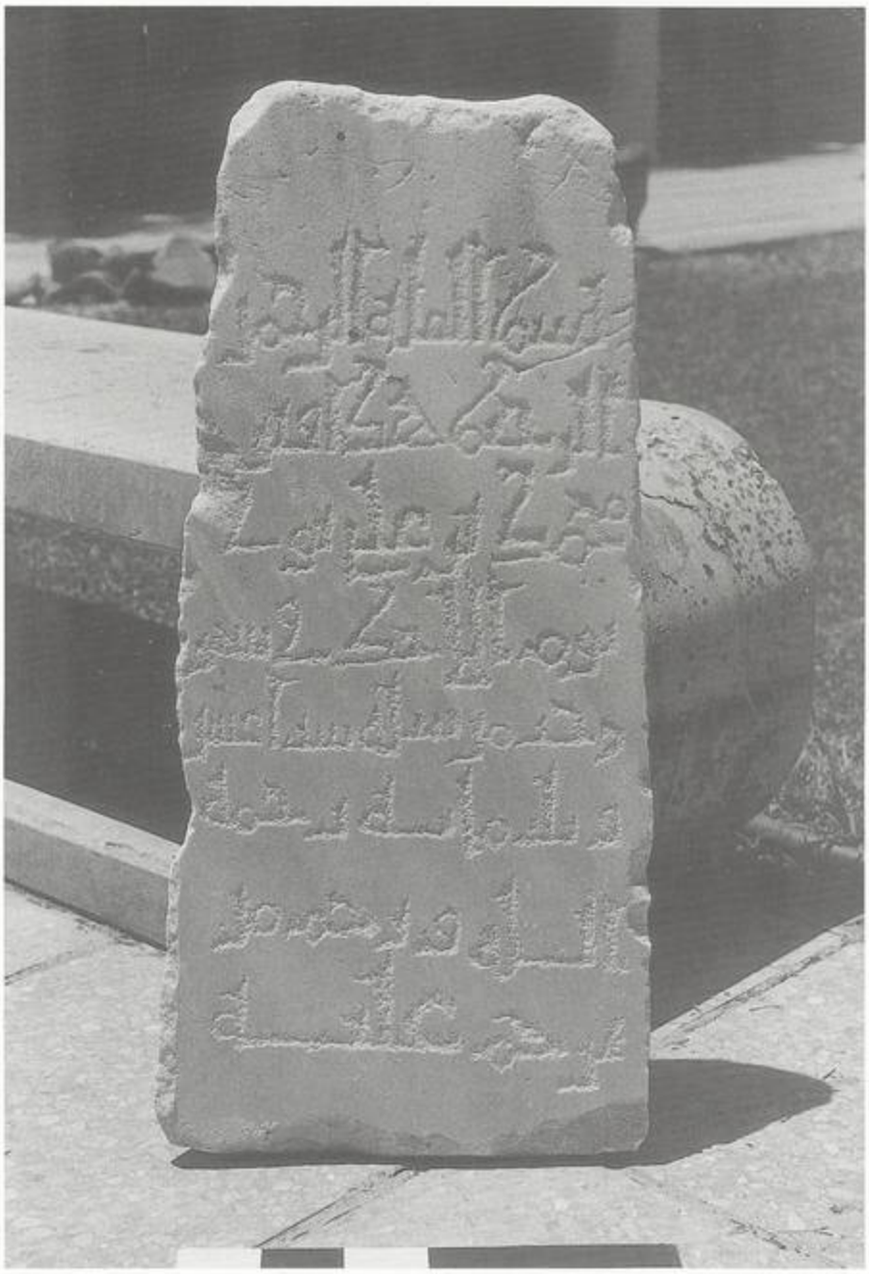

Figure 10. Inscription no. 6, A.H. 316. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Script

In spite of the provincial nature of the inscription, the script is very elaborate, and shows a high degree of professionalism present in the town. The writing represents the same style as that of the epitaphs from 311, and should have originated from the same artisan shop. Incised inscriptions were easier to produce and must have been cheaper than the elaborate ones engraved in relief. The person who engraved this inscription was well acquainted with the style of letter decoration in his time. To the already well-established decorations of "barbs" and "swallow tails," the artist also added elegant coiling of some letter ends, such as the end of the *mīm* or the top part of the *dāl*.

Language

Line 5: The number 316 representing the year does not follow the classical rules of grammar, according to which the year should have read (*min*) *sanati sitta ʿashrata*.[22] The combination *sitta aʿshar* in the inscription represents the spoken form of this number to this day, and shows that the corruption of the pronunciation of numerals in Arabic, which entered into the classical language, was common also among the Muslims.[23] The reason for this mistake is that the writers did not know how to divide the components of the numerals properly. This phenomenon is common in Arabic papyri from this period as well.[24]

Contents

The inscription date 928 C.E. coincides with the period of the governorship of Muḥammad b. Tughj, the Ikhshīd prince, in Palestine, for the ʿAbbāsid caliph Al-Muqtadir (908–932). Muḥammad b. Tughj took over Egypt in 935 and established his own dynasty there. This inscription also belongs to the short period of the reestablished ʿAbbāsid rule in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

Undated Fragments

7
Construction text
(Sdot Yam Museum)

264–270/878–883

A block of white marble in secondary usage, originally part of a door post, or a sarcophagus, broken on all sides. Found by Arnon Angert, a member of Kibbutz Sdot Yam, in the sea near the Roman theater. Badly mutilated and destroyed by water. Preserved in the Sdot Yam Museum (fig. 11).

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22 W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* (Cambridge, 1967), 1:256, 2:248.

23 Cf. ibid., 1:257.

24 S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic* (Oxford, 1984), para. 95b.

Figure 11. Inscription no. 7, A.H. 264–278. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Dimensions: 0.56 x 0.42 x 0.15 m. (max.).

The writing is very worn, and partly deliberately erased. The inscription was never finished.

Five lines in square monumental script with "barbs"; no points, no vowels, and no additional decorations.

Text

1. *Basmalah*
2. *amara biʿimārat hādhā al-burj (ath-thaghr?) almubārak Aḥmad*
3. *b.* Ṭūlūn *mawlā amīr al-muʾminīn aṭāla*
4. *Allah baqāʾahu rājiyan thawāba Allah wa-dhālika fī*
5. *tamām al-muḥarram* . . . (never finished)

Translation

(1) In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful. (2) Has ordered the construction of this blessed tower(?) (or: coastal fortress) Aḥmad (3–4) b. Ṭūlūn the servant of the Caliph (*amīr al-mu'minīn*), may Allah grant him long life, (he built it) hoping for Allah's reward, and this was (5) at the end of Muḥarram [the year . . .]

Contents

The reading of Ibn Ṭūlūn's name is certain. The word describing the building project is badly mutilated; it could be *burj* (a tower) or *thaghr*, a term usually reserved for the border posts, mainly the coastal towns on the Syro-Palestinian shores of the Mediterranean.

The stone with the inscription was discovered in the water next to the area of the Roman theater west of the main theater complex. A fortress with impressive towers was built in this area sometime after the Muslim conquest. A large part of it is still standing to its original height, including the towers. The inscription, which clearly speaks about a fortification in the area, seems to have belonged to this fortress which defended the city from the south and an anchorage that can still be seen south of the fortress. When the site of the Roman theater was excavated, some of the material from the top, post-Roman, layers was dumped into the sea. This is how the stone with our inscription most probably found its way into the sea.

It stands to reason that Ibn Ṭūlūn, who assumed the governorship of Syria in 878 C.E., would strengthen the littoral fortresses of the province, which was always exposed to Byzantine naval attacks. Muqaddasī describes in great detail Ibn Ṭūlūn's fortification of Acre because the builder was Muqaddasī's own grandfather, of whom the author is very proud. He describes in great detail the method this skillful man used to build the city wall of Acre right into the sea.[25] There is no reason to doubt that Ibn Ṭūlūn fortified other important coastal towns in addition to Caesarea.[26]

8
Epitaph of a Muslim
Middle to late third/ninth–early tenth century

A slab of marble, cut lengthwise from an ancient column, along about a quarter of its original diameter. Discovered by Y. Porath's team (Cat.: 6/93 Basket 22459), in the Muslim cemetery south of the Crusader wall (fig. 12).

Dimensions: 0.33 x 0.19 m. Height of letters: 0.09 m. (max.). Left and bottom parts broken and lost. Originally at least double in width and length (approx. 0.70 x 0.40 m.). Four lines, good, clear provincial square script in flat relief, engraved very shal-

[25] Muqaddasī, 162–63.

[26] On Ibn Ṭūlūn and his policies in Syria and Egypt, see Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fīal-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, n.d.), 1:313–21, 2:178–80; *EI*, "Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn"; *EI*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1960–95), s.v., and the bibliography there.

Figure 12. Inscription no. 8. Photograph by Aaron Levin

lowly; no points and no vowels. Decorative element: exaggerated elongation of certain letters (*alīf, bā', lām*), to fill up the whole space dedicated to each line. Traces of "barbs" at the endings of letters. Top border seems to be decorated with a faint zigzag line. This inscription represents a style of its own, with its elegant long and rather slender letters, and could belong to the beginning of the tenth century.

Text

1. *Bism Allah ar-[raḥmān ar-ra*
2. *ḥīm] Hādhā qa[br . . . one word]*
3. *bni* (sic) *'Alī b. 'Ab[d . . .]*
4. *raḍiya Allah 'an[hu tuwauffiya]*

Translation

1. Basmallah.
2. This is the grave of . . . (name)
3. b. 'Alī b. 'Abd (al- . . . one word)
4. May Allah grant him favor (he died)

Note

The invocation *raḍiya allāhu 'anhu* (line 4) served mainly for especially important Muslim persons such as the ṣaḥābah, the Prophet's companions, members of the Prophet's family, and great scholars. The inscription is badly mutilated, and any suggestion for reconstruction would be unfounded.

9

Beginning of Basmallah
(Probably an epitaph of a Muslim)

300–350/913–962

A fragment of a slab of marble; the right portion of a rectangular slab of a considerable length (judging from the size of the letters).

Dimensions: 0.45 x 0.40 m. (max.). One line in a monumental, highly elaborate angular script engraved in flat and shallow relief, surrounded by well-defined borders engraved one after the other, leaving about two-thirds of the stone, 0.24 cm. wide, as the central field for the inscription (fig. 13).

Letters decorated with "barbs," harmonized at the heads of the straight letters (*alīf, lām*) to form perfect mirror matching, and perfect spearhead. The tail of the *mīm* was raised up in an elegant curve which gives the word *bism* the appearance of a swan. No points and no vowels.

The word *Allah* is carefully decorated by an almost full ring between the two *lāms*. The filling of the space between the two *lāms* of Allah by a geometrical or architectural decorative element became very fashionable. The two *lāms* were deliberately separated to accommodate the decorative element, as we find in an inscription from

Figure 13. Inscription no. 9. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Ascalon, a few decades later than the present one. In the Ascalon inscription, which reads *al-mulk li'llāh* (dominion belongs to Allah), the space between the two *lāms* was decorated with a representation of a *miḥrāb*.

Text

Bism allah a[r-raḥmān a-raḥīm] . . .

Translation

In the name of Allah . . . [the compassionate, the merciful]

The choice of stone, the excellent artisanship involved in producing this inscription, and its monumental and imperial nature leave no doubt about the wealth, power, and prestige of the person who ordered it.

10
Fragment of an epitaph of a Muslim

ca. 350/961

A small fragment of a very large slab of white marble, broken on all sides, discovered by Bull in the area of the Muslim cemetery (area C32). A large piece from the fragment with three letters was broken and lost since the time of its discovery (fig. 14).

Dimensions (original fragment): 0.40 x 0.30 m. Superb-quality angular script, engraved in relief, large letters, decorated with "swallow tails," stylized to "ride," at the top, on each other, encircled by well-defined borders (width: about 0.05 m.). The space between the borders and the script is filled with elaborate floral decoration. No dots, no vowels. Judging from the remaining text, the whole inscription must have consisted of more than one slab. Photograph first published by R. Bull.[27]

Text

[Basmalah . . .]
[hādhā] qabr yū[suf]

Translation

(Basmala) . . .
This is the grave of Yū(suf) . . .

Note

Since the inscription was part of a gravestone it must have begun with the *Basmalah* and a few words from an appropriate Qur'ānic verse. The first two letters of the name of the deceased are clear, and it could have been *Yūsuf, Yūnus, Thawr, Thawbān, Nūḥ Nawfal*, or a few other combinations. Of all these names, the most common are Yūsuf and Yūnus. The elaborate script and the high quality of the artisanship involved in the production of the inscription as well as the typical shape of the letters put this inscription at the second half of the fourth/tenth century.

11
Epitaph of a Muslim

ca. 400/1010

A fragment of a large slab of gray-white marble perfectly prepared for this monumental inscription, with borders in relief leaving a well-defined, rectangular field for writing (fig. 15). Broken on the left and lost. Judging by the size of the fragment, the full inscription could have been engraved on more than one slab. Discovered by Porath's expedition (cat. reg. 6/93-1:11520).

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[27] R. Bull et al., "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Tenth Season, 1982," *BASOR*, suppl. 27 (1990), 82, fig. 12.

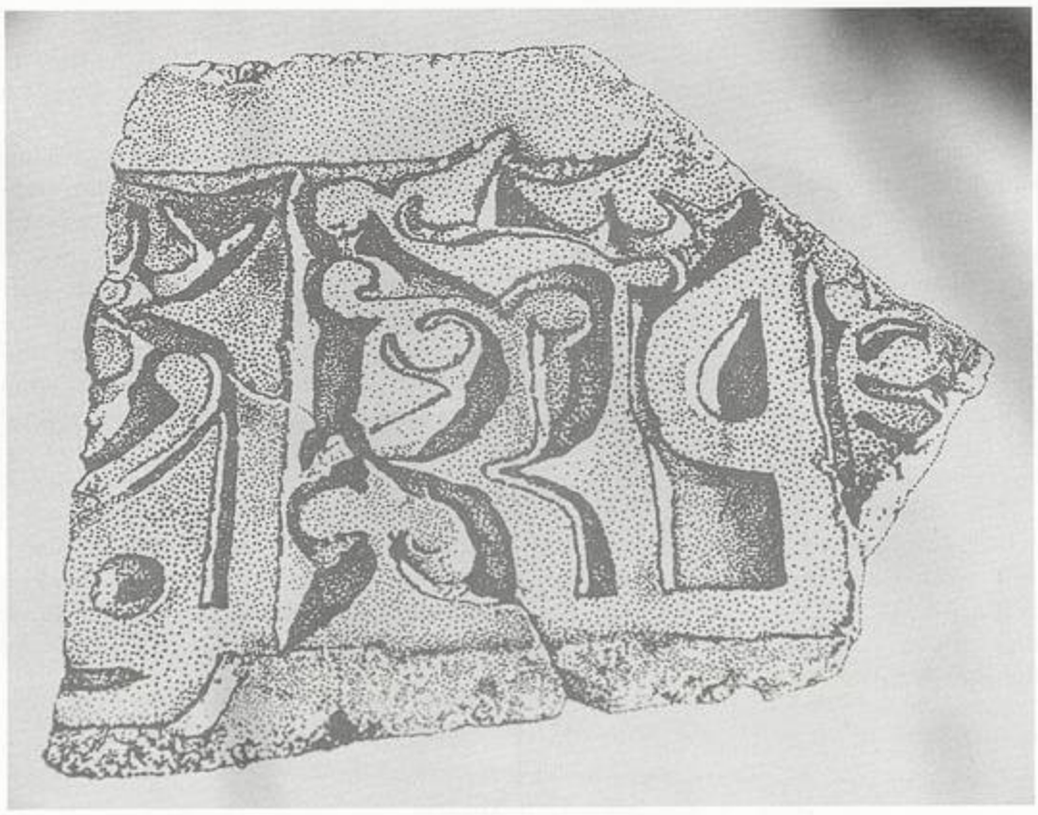

Figure 14. Inscription no. 10, ca. A.H. 350. Photograph first published by R. Bull et al., "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Tenth Season, 1982," BASOR, suppl. 27 (1990), 82, fig. 12

Dimensions: 0.49 x 0.36 m. One line of superb, monumental angular script, in high relief; elaborately decorated with "barbs," and with rich floral elements filling the open spaces between the letters and the border (as in no. 10 above). More leaves and roundels were added to complete the decoration of the field, so as to create a perfect rectangular combination.

Text

The text, from which only two words survived, is Qur'ān 25:10:

[tabāraka 'lladhī in shā'a ja'ala laka khayran min dhā]
lika jannāt tajrī [min taḥtihā al-anhār wa-yaj'al laka quṣūran].

Translation

(Blessed be he, who, if he pleaseth, will make for thee a better *provision* than this *which they speak of, namely,*) gardens through which rivers flow: (and he will provide thee palaces) (trans. of Qur'ān 25:10; Sale, 354).

Note

The choice of this verse, which deals with the description of Paradise, puts the inscription in the context of the Holy War (*jihād*). The verse itself in its Qur'ānic context, as well as according to most of the authoritative interpreters of the Qur'ān, deals with a specific problem that Muḥammad encountered from his Meccan countrymen. They wondered why Allah, who sent him as His Messenger, did not provide him with treasures and a "garden" and save him the need to find his livelihood, like an ordinary person, in the marketplace. The answer to these charges was given by this verse, which assured the Prophet that if Allah wants, he can provide him not only with one "garden" but with many gardens overflowing with water.[28] However, since the terminology used by the verse is identical to the terminology used in the Qur'ān for the description of Paradise (e.g., Qur'ān 61:12), one finds it in Islamic tradition in connection with the reward awaiting the martyr who dies in the *jihād*.[29] It is not surprising to find this verse used in an inscription from Caesarea which was regarded, since the Islamic conquest, as a major bastion in the Muslim naval defense against the Christian enemy.

The opulent nature of this inscription, the elegant decorations of its highly professional writing, attest that it must have been attached to an extremely rich burial place. The writing and decoration put the inscription early in the Fāṭimidperiod between A.H. 400–450 (1010–59 C.E.); but since the style of Caesarea is very elaborate throughout, it is possible to predate the inscription to the second half of the fourth/tenth century.

12
Unidentified
(Sdot Yam Museum)

early fourth/tenth century

A small fragment of a large triangular slab of white-gray marble, originally used for paving in a Byzantine building or street (fig. 16). for the engraving of the inscription, the triangular stone was turned with the basis up and the angle down. The first line of the inscription was engraved along the line of the basis, and the other line along the sides from top to bottom on the right side and probably from bottom to top on the left side, tracing a triangle with the letters.

Dimensions: 0.42 x 0.50 x 0.56 m. Two lines in monumental angular script, engraved in flat relief, with "barbs" and floral elements filling the space over the *bism* of the *Basmalah*. The wide border on the left suggests a large inscription placed at the center of the triangle, with borders all round.

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[28] Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an Ta'wīl 'Āyi al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1988); Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm* (Beirut, 1987), on Qur'ān 25:10.

[29] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Jihād:* 2–4.

Figure 15. Inscription no. 11. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Text

1. *Bism Allah*
2. *D or K*

Note

The writing represents the style common in the inscriptions of Caesarea from the end of the third century A.H. The decorative elements push the date to the early fourth century.

The first line does not continue with *ar-raḥmān*, but either a letter that could be *wāw*, *fā'*, or *qāf*. The only surviving letter in the second line could also be *dhāl*, *ṭā'*, or *ẓā'*. The extant text does not allow even a guess about the function of the inscription.

13
Epitaph of a Muslim
(Sdot Yam Museum)

A small fragment of a white marble slab with irregular shape (fig. 17).

Dimensions: 0.135 x 0.19 (max.). Two lines in good provincial angular script, engraved in flat relief, letters stylized and decorated with "barbs." The *ʿayn* in the first line has the shape of a leaf; no additional decoration, no dots, and no vowels.

Text

[tuwuffiya . . . date . . .]
1. *[rab]iʿ al-aww[al sanat . . .]*
2. *raḥimahu Allah . . .*

Translation

(he died on 1-29)
(1) Rabīʿ I, the year . . .
(2) May Allah have mercy on him.

Note

The type of the script, especially with the integrated decoration in the stylized *ʿayn*, allow the dating of this inscription around the year 300/912.

14
Epitaph of a Muslim
(Sdot Yam Museum)

A very small fragment of a slab of white marble, with irregular shape (fig. 18).

Dimensions: 0.16 x 0.09 x 0.13 x 0.10 x 0.13 m.

Two lines, one complete word and two letters, in good provincial angular script, professionally engraved in flat relief, within wide borders. Letters stylized and decorated in what seems to be the local fashion: "barbs" and "swallow tails," and the word Allah with geometrical or floral element. Only the ends of two lines survive.

Text

1. *[raḥmat] allah*
2. *[ʿalayhi tuwu]ffiya*

Translation

(1) . . . the mercy of) Allah (2)(on him). He died . . .

Note

The fact that the word *Allah* comes at the end of the line is proof that the word does not belong to the *Basmalah* but rather to the end of the inscription where the mercy of Allah is invoked for the deceased just before the date of his death.

Figure 16. Inscription no. 12. Photograph by Aaron Levin

As far as the decoration is concerned, again we encounter here the two *lāms* of *Allah* divided by the floral or geometrical elements that have often been encountered in some of the previous inscriptions.

15
Epitaph of a Muslim
(Sdot Yam Museum)

ca. 300/912

A fragment of the left bottom corner of a monumental inscription engraved on a slab of white-gray marble. Remnants of three words in angular script engraved in relief and decorated with "barbs"; no points, no vowels.

Figure 17. Inscription no. 13. Photograph by Aaron Levin

Text

rḥimahu Allah wa-raḍiya ʿanhu

Translation

May Allah have mercy on him and be pleased with him.

Note

The style of writing puts the inscription at the beginning of the fourth century ca. A.H. 300.

Figure 18. Inscription no. 14. Photograph by Aaron Levin

16
Fragment

after 350/961

A small fragment of a slab of white-gray marble. One visible word, in angular script engraved in relief, and decorated with "barbs" and high floral decoration over the letter *mīm*.

Text
fa-man (?)

Translation
and who.

17
Graffiti
(Sdot Yam Museum)

Primitive graffiti on both sides of a fragment of an ancient paving slab of gray-white marble.

Dimensions: 0.13 x 0.16 x 0.22 m.

Text

Side A: only one word readable from three lines:
ghfara or *ʿUmar*
Side B: in a later hand than A:
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad

Like most graffiti, it is not possible to assign a date to this inscription.

Inscriptions on Vessels

18
Stamp on a jar handle
early second/eighth century

A stamp on a jar handle about 0.022 m. in diameter discovered by A. Raban (cat. no. I4.1601 L174).

Two lines in early, simple, square script in relief (representing an incised mirror stamping mold) of the early second/eighth century (fig. 19).

Text

1. *barakah*
2. *ayyūb*

Translation

(1) Blessing (2) Ayyūb

Note

This and the following inscription are identical to many jar handle stamps with the same inscriptions, found in Nabi Samuel by Y. Magen. There was a large pottery factory in Nabi Samuel (Dayr Ṣamwīl), and its products reached Ramlah and Caesarea, to judge from a similar stamp found on a jar handle also in Ramlah.

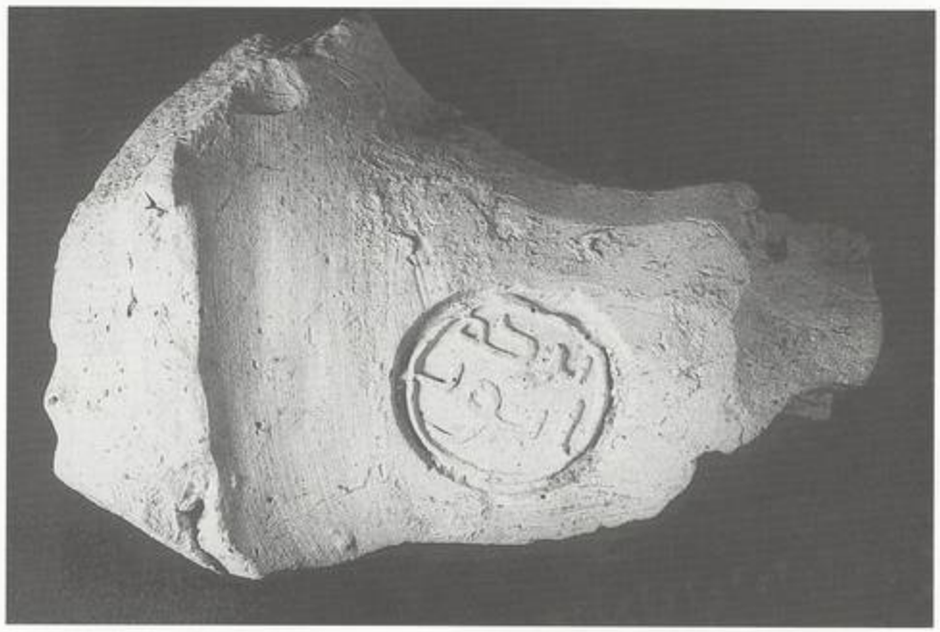

Figure 19. Inscription no. 18. Photograph by the author

Figure 20. Inscription no. 19. Photograph by the author

19

Stamp on a jar handle (fig. 20); details as above (no. 18). Discovered by J. Patrich (cat. CC51.210 L121).

Diameter 0.025 m.

Text

1. *barakah*
2. *liṣāḥibihi*

Translation

(1) Blessings (2) on its owner.

PART VIII

THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES: SOCIETY AND THOUGHT

24

The Jews and the Games in Roman Caesarea

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The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

It is well known that games and spectacles held a prominent place in Roman life. This is evident not only from the ever-increasing number of festival days during the Roman period, but also from the extensive construction of theaters, circuses, and amphitheaters throughout the Empire during the first three centuries of the common era.[1]

Herod the Great was the first to introduce games and spectacles to the Roman East, dramatically changing the leisure habits of the population. Athletic contests, gladiatorial games, and horse races were sponsored by the king during the inauguration of Caesarea.[2] These games were dedicated by Herod in honor of Caesar Augustus, and he arranged to celebrate them every fifth year. We find confirmation of their continuity at the time of Agrippa,[3] as well as from a dedication inscription of a Laodicean athlete, who participated in the games held at Caesarea at the beginning of the third century C.E.[4] Archaeological, historical, and artistic finds allow us to reconstruct the

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[1] This chapter is based in part on my doctoral dissertation, "Games and Spectacles in Roman Palestine and Their Reflection in Talmudic Literature" (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994), written under the supervision of Professor G. Foerster and Professor L. I. Levine. I thank them both for their invaluable guidance and advice.

[2] Joseph. *AJ* 16.136–10; *BJ* 1.415. According to Lämmer, the games at Caesarea were held in 11 B.C.E.; see M. Lämmer, "Die Kaiserspiele von Caesarea im Dienste der Politik des Königs Herodes," *Kölner Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 3 (1974), 130–35. For various reasons, D. Schwartz concluded that the games were held in 10/9 B.C.E, contradicting Lämmer's suggestion; see D. R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I – The Last King of Judaea* (Tübingen, 1990), 204–7.

[3] Joseph. *AJ* 19.343. On games during the time of Agrippa, see M. Lämmer, "The Attitude of King Agrippa I towards Greek Contests and Roman Games," in *Physical Education and Sports in the Jewish History and Culture* (Netanya, 1981), 7–17.

[4] *CIG* 4472. The inscription lists Aurelius Septimius Irenaeus' victories in the eastern Mediterranean area, mentioning Caesarea twice as a place of victory. The former are the World Severan games held at Augusta Caesarea, and the latter are the Isactium of Caesarea. As for the former, it is agreed that the reference is to Caesarea Maritima, founded by Herod the Great. The latter is sometimes identified with Caesarea Philippi (Paneas); see, e.g., F. M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine* (Paris, 1952), 2:160; L. Moretti, *Inscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome, 1953), n. 85; L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, and C. Mondésert, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1955), 4:no. 1265. Various reasons led D. Schwartz to suggest that both Caesareas mentioned in the inscription refer to Caesarea Maritima; see D. R. Schwartz, "Caesarea and Its 'Isactium': Epigraphy, Numismatics and Herodian Chronology," *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen, 1992), 167–81.

role of the games and their character in Caesarea during the Roman period. The shows were held at the various entertainment buildings that were scattered throughout the city. This study focuses on the cultural and social aspects of Roman entertainment, as reflected in Talmudic sources, rather than on the architectural or archaeological aspects of games and spectacles in Roman Caesarea.[5]

The Jews constituted an important part of Caesarea's population during the Roman period.[6] No doubt the Jewish community was aware of the entertainment buildings that flourished in their city, mostly during the first few centuries C.E. It has usually been accepted that most Jews followed the rabbis' prohibition, condemned the games and spectacles, and did not attend them.[7] However, an analysis of the material pertaining to the attitudes of Jewish society toward games and spectacles in Roman Palestine, mainly the plethora of valuable information in Talmudic literature, leads to a different conclusion.[8]

Because of the limited historical sources at our disposal, it is difficult to determine whether Jews attended the games during the Herodian period. However, it is clear from Talmudic and other sources that the Jews did frequent games and spectacles from the second half of the second century C.E. and on. Urbanization during this period, as well as the massive construction of buildings for entertainment purposes, apparently influenced the behavior of Jewish society and changed its attitudes toward games.[9] Henceforth the Jews participated in various games not only as passive onlookers, but even as actors, athletes, charioteers, and gladiators.

The rabbis, both Tannaim and Amoraim, based their objection to games and spectacles on moral and religious grounds. But while the Tannaim completely prohibited

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[5] On the archaeological finds of the three entertainment buildings excavated at Caesarea Maritima, see, for the theater, Frova, *Scavi;* for the hippodrome, J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London, 1986), 477–91; for the amphitheater, A. Reifenberg, "Caesarea: A Study in the Decline of a Town," *IEJ* 1 (1951), 20–32. D. Roller, "The Wilfrid Laurier University Survey of Northeastern Caesarea Maritima," *Levant* 14 (1982), 90–103.

[6] Levine, *Caesarea,* 61–85; idem, "The Jewish Community at Caesarea in Late Antiquity," in *Caesarea Papers,* 268–73.

[7] See, e.g., J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1914), 239–40; S. Krauss, *Persia and Rome in the Midrashim* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1948), 220; G. Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age* (Jerusalem 1980), 1:135–38; M. Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, A.D. 132–212* (Totowa, N.J., 1983), 81–83.

[8] This is based on extensive research on games and spectacles in Roman Palestine; see n. 1 above.

[9] During this period, the Jews not only settled in the Jewish towns of the Galilee, but also inhabited the pagan cities of Roman Palestine; see L. I. Levine, *The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem, 1989), 25–29. The Jewish community had been reestablished in Caesarea during the second half of the second century C.E.; see Levine, *Caesarea,* 9–10; I. M. Levey, "Caesarea and the Jews," in *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima,* ed. C. T. Fritsch (Missoula, Mont., 1975), 54–57. This process was accelerated during the time of R. Judah the President; see A. Büchler, "The Patriarch R. Judah I and the Greco-Roman Cities of Palestine," in *Studies in Jewish History,* ed. I. Brodie and J. Rabbinowitz (Oxford,1956), 179–244; L. I. Levine, "On Judah I and the Severan Age" [Hebrew], *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest,* ed. Z. Baras et. al. (Jerusalem, 1982), 93–118, esp. 110–11.

Jewish participation in games, the Amoraim used a different tone. They refrained from harsh condemnation and tried to persuade the community in a non-confrontational way. None of the Amoraim used Rabbi Meir's wording: "One should not go to theaters or circuses because entertainments are arranged there in honor of the idols,"[10] but rather as R. Shimeon ben Pazi, a third-century Amora, expressed his objection to games and spectacles: "Happy is the man that has not walked to theaters and circuses of idolaters nor stood in the way of sinners – that is, he who does not attend contests of wild beast."[11] The shift in the strategy of the Amoraim reflects the reality they faced. As the Jews now frequented the games, both as viewers and participants, the rabbis realized that if they did not change their tactics, no one would listen to them.

This new reality was also reflected in their sermons and academic teaching. During this period, many Amoraim used parables and terminology taken from the games in order to explain an unfamiliar word from the Bible, a verse, or a special point in a biblical story.[12] The rabbis knew that the games were not foreign to the people, and hoped that by using them as terms of reference they would bring their message and way of life closer to their community. If the Jewish community had not been frequenting the Roman buildings of entertainment, and was thus not familiar with the various forms of games and spectacles, the rabbis would have had no reason to use terms related to this alien world in their teaching. Increased use of phrases borrowed from the Roman world of entertainment is an indication of the relationship of the Jewish community, including the rabbinical leaders, to games and spectacles.

Despite the bulk of information in Talmudic literature concerning games and spectacles, Caesarea is almost the only city for which information regarding the specific nature of the performances, as well as the attitudes of Jewish society toward them, is available. Life in a pagan city included many daily temptations. The various forms of entertainment attracted the populace, and one can assume that this was also true of Caesarea's Jewish community. The few sources available regarding the first and the beginning of the second century C.E. make it difficult to determine whether the Jews of Caesarea frequented games and spectacles during this early period. The story of stealing the fruits in Caesarea, during the first century, where it is mentioned that the "pagans had gone to their circuses and they left the marketplace full of fruits and the Jews came and plundered it," may indicate that the Jews did not attend games and spectacles at that time.[13] Even if we are unable to prove the attitude of the Jewish community during the early period of Roman rule, toward the end of the second century, and especially during the third and fourth centuries C.E., sources are much more indicative of the situation. The sources relating to this later period not only illustrate the participation of Caesarea's Jews as spectators, but indicate that there were members of the Jewish community who were common participants in some of the shows.

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[10] *t. 'Abod. Zar.* 2:5 (Zuck. 462).
[11] *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 18b.
[12] See, e.g., *y. Sukk.* 5:4 (55c); *Exod. Rab.* 30:24; *Gen. Rab.* 22:9 (Theodor-Albeck 216).
[13] *t. Ohol.* 18:16 (Zuck. 617).

Caesarea's rabbis, as is evident from some sources, were themselves familiar, to a varied extent, with games and spectacles, and used them for reasons stated above, in their sermons.

Theater performances in the Roman world did not include classic comedy, tragedy, and satire. They were usually of a merrier and lighter bent, with an emphasis on mime and pantomime, which provided amusement of the simplest kind.[14] The themes used for mime were taken from everyday life in the village or town: romance, social satire, mythology, and religion. These shows combined movement, dance, mimicry, and clowning performed by an ensemble of actors. R. Abbahu, who lived at the end of the third century in Caesarea, makes reference to a short mime, originally consisting of a few acts, part of which runs as follows:

> . . . *They that sit in the gate talk of me* (Ps. 69:13). This refers to the nations of the world who sit in theaters and circuses . . . They then take a camel into their theaters, put their shirts upon it, and ask one another, "Why is it mourning ?" to which they reply, "The Jews observe the law of the sabbatical year and they have no vegetables, so they eat this camel's thorns, and that is why it is in mourning." And they introduce the mime into their theater, with his head shaven. And they say one to the other: "Why is his head shaven?" And they reply: "These Jews observe the Sabbath. And all they toil for throughout the week they eat on the Sabbath. But they have no wood to cook on: so they break up their beds and cook on them. And they sleep on the ground rolling in the dust. And they anoint themselves in oil, and that is why oil is expensive. And apparently this is why he was shaven bald, because he could not afford to 'soap' his hair in oil, so instead, for the sake of hygiene, he shaved all his hair."[15]

This mime, which was probably viewed by the inhabitants of Roman Caesarea, makes fun of the Jews and their customs in keeping the Sabbath and the sabbatical year. The number of actors cited by R. Abbahu, their role in the play, and the mention of animals brought onto the stage are in accord with known mime patterns and seem authentic. The hostility toward Jews as a minority, aroused by the mime, finds expression in this passage.[16]

Life in a city like Caesarea created tension between different sectors of the population. The theater stage served as an outlet for tension, and the mime was a fine tool for this purpose. In this case, it is difficult to determine the exact background of the mime to which R. Abbahu refers in his sermon. Is it to be understood as a sheerly

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[14] M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1961), 227, 248–52; W. Bear, *The Roman Stage*, 3rd ed. (London, 1968), 238; R. C. Beacham, *The Roman Theatre and Its Audience* (London, 1991), 129–50.

[15] *Lam. Rab.* Proem 17 (Buber 7b).

[16] Mime performances with anti-Semitic implications were staged in the Roman theater throughout the empire. See, for example, Philo's comment on the mime: Philo, *In Flaccum* 32–39; *Legatio ad Caium* 359. This is repeated again in the description of the Alexandrian Jewish delegation when it appears before Hadrian after the Diaspora revolt; see *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* 2:no. 158a, col. A, 6–7, and V. Tcherikover, *The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman Age in the Light of the Papyri* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1963), 163–64 .

anti-Jewish outburst, or is it a spontaneous reaction to certain Jewish customs? Even though this question remains unanswered, it is clear that the background of this story – observance of the sabbatical year, was well known during R. Abbahu's time and served the mime in his mockery of the Jews and their customs. R. Abbahu does not relate to the actual accusations in his sermon but, rather, uses them as indication of the immoral nature of the mime.

One passage in the Palestinian Talmud refers to a Jewish pantomime artist who performed in Caesarea's theater. This man, whose real name is unknown to us, is called *pantokakos* in the Talmud on account of his evil deeds. This *pantokakos* met R. Abbahu in Caesarea and described to him his work as a leading pantomime. Among his deeds at the theater, the *pantokakos* mentioned that he used to "adorn the theater, engaged the *hetaerae* (i.e., musicians and dancers), bring their clothes to the bathhouse, clap hands and dance before them, and clash the *babulia* before them."[17]

The *pantokakos* performed alone on the stage of Caesarea in two types of dances. The first, a dance accompanied by clapping hands, possibly refers to the hand movements of the dancer, an important element in pantomime performances. The other dance involved the *pantokakos* clashing *babulia*, which are cymbals according to Lieberman.[18] Pantomime, as we know from other sources, was based on historical and mythological themes, and a single actor played all the roles.[19] These performances featured dance without words, accompanied by a chorus and music. It is difficult to determine the content of the *pantokakos'* show, a parallel for which is found on a 206 C.E. Egyptian papyrus.[20] Was it only a dance accompanied by the rhythm of a percussion instrument, or a wider musical adaptation of a pantomime? In any case, the story of the *pantokakos* describes two types of shows held in Caesarea: pantomime and dancing with cymbals.

Among his responsibilities, as a leading pantomime, was to engage actors for the theater and teach them how to perform. A Jewish lady, as he describes to R. Abbahu, was seeking work in the theater. She came to the theater, lurked behind the columns of the scaenae frons while the *pantokakos* was working there, and asked him to hire her so that she could earn enough money to save her husband. It is unclear whether this woman's behavior indicates the participation of Jewish women in the plays, or whether this Jewish woman's request is an exception.[21] In any case, it is an indication of the

[17] *y. Ta'an.* 1:4 (64a); L. Ginzberg, *Geniza Studies* (New York, 1928), 1:403. Cf. Lieberman's comments on this story: S. Lieberman, *Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1984), 24–25 and notes.

[18] Lieberman, ibid.

[19] E. Wust, "Pantomimus," *RE* 18.3:834–70; Beacham, *Roman Theatre*, 140–53.

[20] W. L. Westermann, "The Castanet Dancers of Arsinoe," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 10 (1924), 134–44; M. Davis and B. A. Van Groningen, *Papyrological Primer* (Leiden, 1946), 91–92. A woman actor is depicted on a third-century mosaic found near Rome, dancing and clapping cymbals simultaneously; see W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* (Tübingen, 1963), 210–11.

[21] Women participated as actors in the Roman theater; see Bieber, *Greek and Roman Theater*, 236.

way players were hired in Caesarea's theater, and that women took an active part in the play.

Athletic contests, as well as chariot racing, were both held in Caesarea's hippodrome, as was customary throughout Roman Palestine. The hippodrome, sometimes called a stadium in literary sources, served as a multipurpose structure and was adapted to meet these needs.[22] Various games were held periodically in Roman Caesarea. Chariot races were first held there during the time of Herod the Great.[23] In the fourth century the city was praised for its excellent charioteers.[24] Among the contests known to have taken place there were the combat sports: wrestling, boxing, and *pankration*, which was a combination of the two.[25] Wrestling was tame compared with boxing and *pankration*, in which the fighters attached pieces of metal to their gloves. Running various distances, mainly multiples of the *stadium*, was another type of contest. Other competitions involved jumping, disc throwing, and javelin throwing.

Of all the athletic contests and chariot races that took place in Roman Palestine, combatant sport matches are given the most extensive mention in Talmudic literature. R. Jacob Bar Zavdi of Caesarea makes a comment that is the only direct evidence in Talmudic literature that may reflect the reality known in Caesarea. In order to clarify one biblical verse he uses a parable describing a combatant who came to Caesarea in order to compete.[26] Although R. Jacob Bar Zavdi does not specify any details regarding the combat itself, he does relate that some of the athletes who participated in the contests at Caesarea came from abroad. Foreign athletes, in fact, participated in the games held at Caesarea in the time of Herod the Great.[27] Aelius Aurelius Menander, who won the *pankration* contests in Caesarea in the second century, came from Aphrodisias,[28] and a boxer named Aurelius Septimius Irenaeus came from Laodicea, at the beginning of the third century.[29]

The winner of an athletic contest or chariot race was crowned with a palm branch as a sign of victory, in addition to receiving a wreath or a cash prize. R. Avin, a Palestinian sage, compares the victory of a charioteer in the hippodrome and his coronation with a palm branch to the waving of the palm branch (*lulav*) on the Feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkot*) as an expression of victory in the judgment before God:

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[22] Humphrey, *Roman Circuses*, 535–39.

[23] Joseph. *AJ* 16.137.

[24] *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, 32, ed. J. Rougé (Paris, 1966).

[25] Wrestling contests were held in Caesarea at the beginning of the fourth century C.E.; see Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 7.4. A boxer named Aurelius Septimius Irenaeus won the match held at the beginning of the third century C.E. in Caesarea: *CIG* 4472. Aelius Aurelius Menander was the victor in the pankration contests held in Caesarea in the second century C.E.; see Moretti, *Inscrizioni*, no. 72. For general information regarding these combatant sports, see E. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), 181–221; H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca, 1972), 22–27; M. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World* (New Haven, 1987), 23–87.

[26] *Mid. Ps.* 19:6 (Buber 83).

[27] Joseph. *AJ* 16.137–40.

[28] Moretti, *Inscrizioni*, no. 72.

[29] *CIG* 4472.

> What kind of victory is meant in the phrase *in the right hand there are pleasures of victory?* That kind in which the victor receives a palm branch. For according to the custom of the world, when two charioteers (*heniochos*) race in the hippodrome, which of them receives the palm branch? The victor' [says R. Avin]. Thus on new year's day [he continues], all the people of the world come forth and pass before God, actually no one knows who was victorious, whether the children of Israel or the nations of the world. . . . Only when the first day of Tabernacles comes and all children of Israel take up their festive palm branch in their right hand, then all people of the world know that in the judgment the children of Israel were proclaimed victorious.[30]

Although we do not know where R. Avin lived, his sermon is an exceptional description of a familiar reality known from the hippodrome of Caesarea, where the victors in chariot races or in athletic contests were crowned with palm branches. This can be seen in a funerary relief, found east of the eastern hippodrome at Caesarea Maritima, in which a young man described as an athlete stands near a prize vase and holds a victory palm branch (fig. 1).[31]

Gladiatorial games and wild animal baiting exhibited in the *arena* were the main spectacles viewed by the Romans in the amphitheater.[32] Slaves, prisoners of war, condemned criminals, and sometimes even hirelings participated in these games.[33] In Caesarea, these games were held in the hippodrome during the Herodian period. Only later, when a permanent amphitheater was built in the city, were they held mainly in their designated building.

The gladiatorial games (*munera gladiatorum*) involved two combatants. The *retiarius,* half-naked and armed with a net and a trident, fought against the *myrmillones,* who was armed with a shield and a sword and wore a helmet on his head. The battle continued until one of them was defeated or killed. Two kinds of animal baiting took place in the amphitheater, aside from the simple exhibition of the animals. Wild animals were either baited and killed by men (*bestiarii*), or preyed upon by other animals (*venatio*).

The types of contests, fighting techniques, and weapons used in the spectacles staged in the amphitheater of Caesarea were in accordance with Roman customs,[34] and are

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[30] *Mid. Ps.* 17:5 (Buber 64b).

[31] Ringel, *Césarée,* 115; *Herod's Dream,* 117, fig. 75.

[32] For general information see L. Friedlander, *Roman Life and Manners under the Roman Empire* (London, 1965), 2:40–90; J. Pearson, *Arena: The Story of the Colosseum* (New York, 1973); A. Honle and A. Henze, *Römische Amphitheater und Stadien* (Zurich, 1981).

[33] For a comprehensive study of this form of punishment in the Roman world, see T. Wiedemann, *Emperors & Gladiators* (London, 1992), 68–92; K. M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990), 44–73.

[34] For amphitheater games in Roman Caesarea, see Joseph. *AJ* 16.137. Prisoners of the first war against Rome were condemned to death in the arena of Caesarea: *BJ* 7.37–38. Christian martyrs were also executed in the Caesarea arena during the visit of the emperor Maximian: Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 6.1–2. Eusebius also lists some of the animals exhibited during the execution of Christian martyrs in the arena: *HE* 8.7.1.

Figure 1. Marble relief found east of the eastern hippodrome at Caesarea, now in the Caesarea Museum. The deceased, a young man, was an athlete and is portrayed standing beside a prize vase and holding a victory palm branch. Photograph by Aaron Levin

referred to in general in the Talmudic literature.[35] These games, as we know, involved high risks to their participants, as R. Aha, a third-century Amora who lived in Caesarea, expressed in one sentence: "When the day of Judgment arrives . . . you will be among those who behold the punishment of the sinners rather than among those who are beheld receiving punishment. You will be among the spectators rather than among the gladiators."[36]

It is preferable to be among the spectators in the amphitheater than actually to participate in the games and risk death, says R. Aha. In this way, your good deeds in this world credit you in the world to come, putting you on the right side, from where you will be able to view the punishments of the sinners without being hurt. This parable, whose origin Lieberman has found in a Greek proverb,[37] rhymes well in R. Aha's sermon dealing with the world to come, but in itself demonstrates the danger of the games performed in the amphitheater, which was well known to the spectators as well as the gladiators in Caesarea.

The economic crisis that beset the Roman Empire in the mid-third century C.E., which also left its mark on Palestine, forced certain people to engage in gladiatorial combat, for which they received handsome payment.[38] The search for sources of income during the crisis, together with the desire to gain glory that was not directly connected with the individual's legal or social status, led certain people, including some Jews in Caesarea, to take part in gladiatorial games during this period.[39]

Such a case, in which a certain man sold himself to a *ludus* (a school where gladiators were trained), came to the attention of R. Abbahu in Caesarea, as described in the Palestinian Talmud. This story appears in a debate in the Talmud, regarding the question of whether it is obligatory to free a Jew who hired himself out as a gladiator.[40] R. Abbahu, in opposition to the Talmud's final opinion, decided to redeem the man, claiming that his actions were for the sake of making a living. A variety of descriptions in Talmudic literature clearly indicate that the Jews were familiar with

[35] The *ludarius* or *monomachos* appearing in Talmudic literature is a person who took part in gladiatorial contests; see *Gen. Rab.* 96 (Theodor-Albeck 1200); cf. *Aruch completum,* ed. A. Kohut (Vienna, 1878–92), 5:176, "Monomachos," in Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud* (Berlin, 1898), 2:343. The *kynegos,* on the other hand, was a man who engaged in baiting and hunting wild animals within the walls of the amphitheater; see *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 28:3 (Mandelbaum 426–27); *Seder Eliyyahu Rabbah* 8; *Yalkut Shimoni, Va-Era* 182, etc.

[36] *Pesiq. Rab Kah.* 28:3 loc. cit.

[37] Lieberman, *Greek and Hellenism,* 29, n. 52.

[38] For example, as expressed by Resh Lakish: "If you were to sell yourself to *lanistae* (who purchase men to participate in gladiatorial contests), you would sell yourself for a high price" (*y. Ter.* 8:5 [45d]).

[39] The deliberations of the third- and fourth-generation Palestinian rabbis concerning the redemption of Jews sold as gladiators are explicit proof of this; see below. On this phenomenon in general, see L. Friedlander, *Roman Life and Manners* (London, 1965), 2:48–51; J.J.S. Gracia, "Gloire et mort dans l'arène: les représentations des gladiateurs dans la péninsule ibérique," in *Gladiateures et amphithéâtres,* ed. C. Domergue, C. Landes, and J. M. Pailler, Actes du Colloque à Toulouse et à Lattes 26–29 mai 1987 (Lattes, 1990), 185–95.

[40] *y. Git.* 4:9 [46b], and compare with *b. Git.* 4:9 [46b–47a].

gladiatorial games and wild animal baiting. This story indicates that members of the Jewish community were also active participants in the spectacles held in Caesarea's amphitheater.

The various sermons of Caesarea's rabbis which have been discussed so far provide a glimpse into the city's entertainment world. The rabbis' sermons clearly reveal that they were familiar with the forms of entertainment in their city, although they never meant to describe or document it for future generations. The purpose of these sermons was to transmit a clear religious and social message to the Jewish community. Unintentionally, they related details regarding games and spectacles in Caesarea. The sources not only prove that a variety of games were held in Caesarea, but also reveal social and cultural aspects relating directly to Roman Caesarea's world of entertainment. They also clearly prove that the Jewish population definitely participated in this world as spectators, and in some cases even as participants in the games. The *pantokakos*, whose prayers brought rain, was not necessarily "the dregs of the Jewish society in Caesarea," in Lieberman's words,[41] but it is, rather, the Talmud that presents him this way. It is possible that the *pantokakos* was not regarded as an inferior figure by the Jews of Caesarea that frequented the theater, but rather as a well-regarded personage.

Caesarea's rabbis were aware that the Jews frequented the games and spectacles in the city. Like other rabbis in Palestine, they understood that they could not successfully fight this social and cultural phenomenon and therefore chose a compromise. We are aware of their attempts to persuade their community to avoid participating in these secular forms of entertainment. R. Abbahu's sermon regarding the mime, described earlier, was meant to present the immoral nature of the mime. Thus he hoped to convince those who heard his sermon to abstain from frequenting the theater. R. Yose b. Hanina's interpretation of the verse "And he shall be as a chief in Judah, and Ekron as a Jebusite" (Zech. 9:7): "these are the theaters and the circuses in Edom (name of Roman Caesarea in Talmudic literature)[42] in which one day the chieftains of Judah shall publicly teach the Torah,"[43] expresses clear dissatisfaction with the entertainment in his city, Caesarea. On the other hand, the rabbis use metaphors borrowed from the entertainment world, despite their objections, as did R. Aha when demonstrating the dangers involved in gladiatorial games. This path chosen by the rabbis enabled them to criticize the behavior of which they disapproved, while at the same time speaking to the people in familiar terms, thus trying to bring them closer to Jewish teachings and practice.

To sum up, if what is described above is considered in a broader perspective, one notes a change in the attitude of the Jewish community toward Roman culture. Roman

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[41] Lieberman, *Greek and Hellenism*, 25.

[42] For the use of the term "Edom" designating Roman Caesarea, see Levey, "Caesarea and the Jews," 65–69.

[43] *b. Meg.* 6a; see also Levine, *Caesarea*, 63, 71–72.

Caesarea is an example of this phenomenon. Despite the objection of the early Jerusalemites toward the games and spectacles introduced by Herod[44] and the adamant objection of the Tannaim to this cultural world,[45] it is now clear that during the Roman period the Jews of Palestine, including the Jews of Caesarea, participated in games and spectacles on a regular basis. Thus Herod's dream of integrating Palestine culturally with the rest of the Roman Empire succeeded far beyond his reign and the boundaries of his realm.

[44] Joseph. *AJ* 15.274–81.
[45] E.g., *t. 'Abod. Zar.* 2:5 (Zuck. 462); *Sipra, 'Aharê-Môt* 9:13 (Weiss 86a).

25

The Halachic Status of Caesarea as Reflected in the Talmudic Literature

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In Jewish thought and law, Eretz Israel, the Land of Israel, has a special status. Eretz Israel is different from "other lands" (namely, the Gentiles' lands) in being intrinsically holy. This has a deep religous meaning, and the special relationship between Israel, the Chosen People, and Israel, the Holy Land, is often referred to and discussed in the Talmudic literature. When the status of a place is declared to be Eretz Israel, it not only assumes the religious aura pertaining to the Holy Land, but is also subject to several laws, rules, and customs that apply to Eretz Israel alone. The most important of these, in the practical sense, are the laws applying to agricultural produce in the Holy Land[1] (which have considerable financial implications, apart from their religious importance) and the traditional emphasis on the religious significance of residence in the Holy Land. It was therefore important for Jews to determine what exactly were the borders of Eretz Israel.[2] This is a far more complicated problem than it would seem at first glance, involving many different factors. In the framework of this study, some of the complex religious and practical issues involved in determining the borders of the Holy Land in Late Antiquity will be highlighted through the example of Caesarea Maritima. Caesarea is the best-documented case of halachic discussion of the status of a particular area; it boasted a large Jewish community, and its status was not a clearcut case of Eretz Israel or not Eretz Israel (in halachic terms). The determina-

[1] *Miṣwôt ha-tĕlûyot bā-'āreṣ*; hence referred to, for the sake of convenience, as "agricultural laws." I do not know of a comprehensive study of the agricultural laws. For the two most significant laws see Sh. Safrai, "*Mizvat Sh'vi'it* in Post Second Temple Reality" [Hebrew, Eng. abstract], *Tarbi'* 35 (1966), 304–28 and 36 (1967), 1–21; and A. Oppenheimer, "Setting Aside the 'First' Tithe in Post Second Temple Reality" [Hebrew], *Sinai* 83 (1978), 267–87. These rulings are dealt with in passing in several other works. A short survey and bibliography may be found in the introduction to my M.A. thesis, "Rabbi's Rulings Relating to the Area within the Borderlines of *Eretz Israel* [Hebrew, Eng. abstract] (Tel Aviv University, 1979), esp. 6–8.

This study draws generally on Habas, "Rabbi's Rulings," chap. 3, "Caesarea," 70–97. All dates are C.E. unless otherwise stated.

[2] For a general halachic survey of the terms *Eretz Israel* and *Land of the Gentiles*, see *Talmudic Encyclopedia* [Hebrew], 6th ed., vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1986), 196–99 and 199–235; *The Biblical Encyclopedia* [Hebrew], 5th ed., vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1978), s.v. Eretz Israel, cols. 603, 607–15 (sec. 2, "The Names and Borders of the Land") and 741–42 (sec. 9, "Its Holiness").

tion of the exact borderline of Eretz Israel in Caesarea's vicinity was therefore complicated and far from static throughout Antiquity. Luckily, it survived in several different, relatively detailed accounts that are also chronologically spaced, so that an examination of the case of Caesarea's halachic status in the Roman and Byzantine eras can give us an unusual insight into some aspects of the dynamic development of a halachic notion over a period of time, in practice and not only in theory.

One source is unique among the many surviving Talmudic descriptions and discussions of the halachic status of specific places because it describes, in some detail, the complete borderline surrounding the whole of the Holy Land of the Jews. This is the "*Bāraîtā*[3] of the Borders of Eretz Israel" (hereafter *BEI*).[4] Caesarea is not mentioned at all in the *BEI*, where the only pointer referred to between Ascalon and Dor is the wall(s) of Straton's Tower:[5] the territory up to the wall is considered Eretz Israel.[6]

Straton's Tower, at least partially and probably fully in ruins long before Caesarea was built, would not seem to be a natural place to be used as a marker along the maritime borderline of Eretz Israel, even before but certainly after Caesarea was built (22–10/9 B.C.E.), near or perhaps upon its very site.[7] In fact, the appearance of

[3] Literally, "exterior," a tannaitic piece of evidence found outside the Mishna itself.

[4] *BEI* is cited four times (in one case, in two distinct versions preserved in different manuscripts) in Talmudic compilations and, most important, also in the Reḥov Inscription. The most recent comprehensive study of this *bāraîtā'* (and the only one written after the inscription had been found) is Y. Sussmann, "The 'Boundaries of Eretz-Israel'" [Hebrew], *Tarbi'* 45 (1975–76), 213–57; Eng. summary, II–III. See ibid., n. 4 (p. 213) and nn. 5–6 (p. 214) for former commentaries and studies of the *BEI*.

[5] *Whwmt mgdl šrwšn* (line 13), according to Sussmann's reading ("Boundaries," 228). For a different reading of this line in the Reḥov Inscription, see the chapter by Robert R. Stieglitz in this volume; Stieglitz first suggested this reading in his earlier study, "Straton's Tower: The Name, the History, and the Archaeological Data," in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem June–July 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), esp. 647 (I thank Kenneth G. Holum for this reference). There are several other variants of the name in the other four (or five) versions of the *BEI* preserved in various Talmudic compilations.

[6] Thus only the city itself is considered Gentile land, while the *territorium*, which may belong to the city but is not within its walls, is Eretz Israel. This is not unusual; see, for example, further in the *BEI* (same line in the inscription): *whwmt 'kw* ["and the wall[s] of Acre"]. The distinction between the city itself and the rural territory probably has to do with several considerations, such as extensive Jewish settlement in some rural areas, the special importance of the status of rural areas for the matter of agricultural rules, and the more intensive pagan worship inside the cities (where the official temples were situated and the state and municipal cults and ceremonies took place).

[7] The exact pointer is "the *wall(s)* of Straton's Tower." This in itself is no problem; the *BEI* mentions several other (presumably well-known) specific points of reference in cities' *territoria* (or vicinity) along the borderline of the Holy Land, including the wall(s) of Acre (see n. 6 above). Some part of the wall could have been visible at the time the *BEI* was crystallizing. Other markers used by the sages for halachic definitions in the territory of Caesarea are mentioned below (i.e., all that sees water, or a well-used road). Raban's suggestion (A. Raban, "In Search of Straton's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers*, 7–22) that the ruins of the Hellenistic walls "may have served as a municipal and administrative boundary line between the city of Caesarea and the emporium of the royal harbour of Sebastos" (p. 22) can clarify at least the halachic conception of the harbor as an entity separate from the city of Caesarea; see below and n. 45.

Straton's Tower in the *BEI*, together with Caesarea's absence from it, seems to point at the *bāraîtā'*'s antiquity, and is sometimes taken as proof of it.[8] However, Straton's Tower is not necessarily identical with Caesarea in halachic terms.[9] Furthermore, there is hardly any evidence for any Jewish presence (which was one of the criteria normally used to decide upon a place's halachic status) in the ancient Phoenician site; this would seem to simplify its halachic status: Gentile land. Indeed, according to the *bāraîtā'*, the walls of the city are the borderline of Eretz Israel. But one would expect Caesarea, whose halachic status is discussed in various contexts in the Talmudic literature, to be mentioned in the *BEI* – assuming it existed when the borderline of Eretz Israel was determined in this *bāraîtā'*.[10]

The discovery of the Reḥov Inscription[11] gave us a much earlier text of the *BEI* than the four (or five) others preserved in different compilations.[12] The long (29 lines)

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[8] Sussmann, "Boundaries," 252 n. 272; see also nn. 9 and 10 below.

[9] Note the addition in the Tosepta's version of the *BEI* (*t. ebi.* 4:11, Vienna ms.; Lieberman 181): *wḥwmt mgdl šr wšynh* (?) *wdwr wšwrh dqysrh šwrh d'kw* (in the Erfurt ms.: *ḥwmt mgdl šršn dqysry wšwr' drwr wšwr' d'kw*). Lieberman claims the purpose of the "note" is to clarify that the wall of Straton's Tower is (identical to) the wall of Caesarea, rather than to add a further reference. See his (inconclusive) discussion in *Tos. Kiph.*, *ebi.*, 534. The variants are also discussed by Sussmann, "Boundaries," 228 with n. 83, and 256. The textual problems are, however, far from solved, and I hope to return to this subject in another framework. Moreover, the relationship between Caesarea and Straton's Tower seems to need further clarification in historical terms, which need to be based on evidence, not just literary but also archaeological. For a survey of the evidence see Raban, "Straton's Tower," passim. Duane W. Roller's paper, "Straton's Tower: Some Additional Thoughts," in *Caesarea Papers*, 23–25 (see also his references ibid., 23 n. 1) is a reminder that some of the questions concerning Straton's Tower remain unanswered. It is hoped that future excavations will yield more information.

It is also important to note that although halachic discussions were not, generally speaking, out of touch with "real life," and political, economic, and other considerations were taken into account, and were often decisive, sometimes these discussions do display the tense relationship with the "real life" situation inherent in any legal system or ethical code. Consequently, the halachic status of a given place cannot always be determined by its political status or demographic structure. (For other cases, see my studies on Ascalon: "Ascalon and 'the Boundaries of Eretz Israel' in the Mishnaic Period" [Hebrew with Eng. abstract], *Cathedra* 19 [1981], 3–10, and Bostra: "The Halachic Status of Bostra, the Capital of the Roman Province of Arabia" [Hebrew], forthcoming in *Zion*.)

[10] The *BEI* cannot be dated with any certainty. It is commonly supposed to be a very early *bāraîtā'*, since it seems to reflect, partially at least, an early state of the Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel. The absence of Caesarea from the *BEI* might be a further indication of its antiquity. The reference to Straton's Tower could be an additional consideration. However, since this argument is based on an *interpretation* of some of the evidence (see, for example, n. 7 above, and cf. T. W. Hillard's observations: "A Mid-1st c. B.C. Date for the Walls of Straton's Tower?" in *Caesarea Papers*, 42–48), no conclusive dating can be presented in the current state of knowledge.

[11] Published by Sussmann in *Tarbi'* 43 (1974), 88–158 (= Sussmann, "Inscription"), with some emendations a year later (*Tarbi'* 44 [1995], 193–95). See also S. Lieberman's emendations in *Tarbi'* 45 (1976), 54–63, and E. Qimron's remarks, ibid., 154–56.

[12] On the texts of the *BEI* see Sussmann, "Boundaries," 217–22. Sussmann also refers to earlier studies of the *BEI* (prior to the excavation of the inscription); see esp. ibid., 218 n. 22.

The inscription is dated to the sixth, or at the latest, the seventh century, thus antedating by several hundred years the first extant manuscripts of the different Talmudic compilations (for the dating, of both

inscription contains, in addition to the *BEI* itself, much halachic information that concerns Scythopolis (the nearest large city) and other specific places, among them Caesarea, which is mentioned in the Reḥov Inscription side by side with *mygdl šrwšn*:

> 13 The borderlines of Eretz Israel [from] where the Babylon(ian) immigrants possessed, the crossroads[13] of Ascalon and the wall(s) of *mygdl šrwšn*, Dor, and the wall(s) of Akko
> 22 . . . the following produce is tithed as *dĕmai* [produce that needs tithing, but it is not known whether it was indeed tithed] in Caesarea: the wheat . . .
> 23 . . . and cumin, these are permitted in Caesarea in (a) sabbatical year
> 24 and in other years of the sabbatical cycle they are to be treated as *dĕmai*, and some forbid the white *bulbusin* that come
> 25 from The King's Mountain [located in Eretz Israel]. And how far around Caesarea? As far as *ṣwwrnh* and *tbyth*'s Inn and *ʿmwdh*
> 26 and Dor and *kfr sbh*. And if there is a place that Israel [i.e., Jews] had acquired our rabbis are concerned over it. Shalom.[14]

The halachic status of Caesarea in the Reḥov Inscription is not as simple as that of Straton's Tower in the same inscription. In this case, the territorial boundaries of Caesarea in reference to the specific halachic issue at hand are defined in the inscription (and its parallel narratives), but it is added that (in addition), if places exist(ed) that had been purchased by Jews, the sages are concerned (= about the correct treatment and status of agricultural produce originating in these fields). The set of regulations concerning the treatment of various foods in Caesarea (in normal and leap years) might in itself only indicate that Caesarean Jews consumed mostly crops grown in and imported from the Holy Land. However, it is stated that the sages were also concerned about the status of those plots that were (or: had been) owned by Jews.[15] The term *ḥwššyn*, "are concerned," seems to indicate that different plots within the boundaries of Caesarea's *territorium* needed to be discussed per se, and their status decided individually, according to their specific histories.[16] In other words, Caesarea was perceived as a complicated case by the sages themselves. This view of Caesarea could stand either in juxtaposition to the simple status of Straton's Tower or else as a later development of an earlier simple status of the same site, in a former incarnation; the Reḥov

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the inscription and the text itself, see Sussmann, "Inscription," 152–56). The complex relationship between the dating of the (earliest) manuscripts and of the texts themselves is still very much under debate. The Reḥov Inscription seems to indicate that the traditions changed over the centuries rather less than some modern scholars tend to believe.

[13] This is the accepted interpretation of *pwršt* which must be in any case a pointer in the *territorium* of Ascalon.

[14] The Reḥov Inscription, translated from Sussmann, "Inscription."

[15] Whether at the time of the inscription, the original *bāraîtāʾ*, or at any other time we can only speculate. The demographic situation, and the situation of land ownership, in either the time of a halachic discussion concerning the status of a place or in any other time in its recent, ancient, or even mythological past were considered valid arguments in such discussions in many recorded cases.

[16] For the case of Scythopolis, whose halachic status was said to have been determined on the basis of the halachic status of one plot within it, see the chapter "Beit Shean" in Habas, "Rabbi's Rulings," esp. 38–42.

Inscription does not help to form a conclusion on this matter, nor do later halachic references to the status of Caesarea (which, however, reveal much change and development).

Caesarea is one of several localities from which Rabbi "lifted the ban" (*httyr*):[17] "Rabbi released Caesarea."[18] Rabbi, also known as "Rabbi Judah the Patriarch," the well-attested and influential leader at the turn of the second century, seems to have enjoyed a good standing with the Roman authorities. He was also an outstanding halachic authority and was the final compiler of the Mishnah. Caesarea's release is connected to Rabbi in several other references as well, such as the story about the citron sent to Rabban Shim'on ben Gamaliel with a message: "This fruit came into my possession from Caesarea."[19] The Palestinian Talmud version includes an additional

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[17] For convenience, the term *hattārā* will be translated as "release." Several halachic terms used in this study cannot be accurately translated into English.

[18] *y. Dem.* 2.22c: "[It has been taught (in a *bāraîtā'*):] Rabbi permitted [produce sold in] Bet Shean [to be eaten without separating tithes], Rabbi permitted Caesarea, Rabbi permitted Bet Guvrin, Rabbi permitted Kfar Ṣemaḥ, Rabbi permitted the purchase of vegetables immediately in the year following the seventh year [unconcerned that they might had taken root before the end of the seventh year], and everyone jeered at him [because of these innovations]" (*The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, trans. R. S. Sarason). On the release of Caesarea by Rabbi, see more below.

Most of the translations used in this chapter are the standard ones (always credited). They are used for the reader's convenience, and it should not be inferred that the author necessarily agrees with the translators' choice of terms or interpretations. Remarks on points of detail in these translations will be made only when they affect the argument presented here, for example, the bracketed "produce sold in" and "to be eaten without separating tithes" above in this note, which are the translator's interpretation, but cf. below.

[19] There are two accounts, in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Tosepta. *t. Dem.* 3:14 (Lieberman, 77): "He who sends [produce], whether to/by the agency of an *'am hā-'āreṣ* or to/by the agency of a *ḥaber*, must tithe [it]. R. Simeon b. Gamaliel says, '[If he sends] to an *'am hā-'āreṣ* he must tithe (this sentence is missing from an important manuscript). [If he sends] to a *ḥaber*, he must inform him [as to its status]. Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, *m'šh š* (= 'It once happened that) R. Yosé the student of Rabbi sent me a large citron from Sepphoris and he said, "This came to me from Caesarea," and I learned from it [this remark] three things: First, that it was certainly untithed, and it was unclean, and that he had in his possession only this one, for had he had in his possession another one, he would have separated tithes from it for this one'" (*The Tosefta*, ed. J. Neusner and R. S. Sarason, *Zeraim* [Hoboken, N.J., 1986], 91–92. See Lieberman, *Tos. Dem.* 3:14, p. 77, and *Tos. Kiph.*, ibid., pp. 230–31.

y. Dem. 3.23c: "[It has been taught (in a *bāraîtā'*):] Said R. Simeon b. Gamaliel, 'R. Yosé the Great sent me an etrog and said to me, "this came to me from Caesaria," and I learned thereby three things: (1) that it was certainly untithed, (2) that it was unclean, and (3) that he did not have another one in his possession. That it was certainly untithed – *because produce from Caesaria is deemed to be certainly untithed* [emphasis mine]; that it was unclean – because [in Caesarea] they sprinkle it with water [before selling it, to make it attractive, and thereby render it susceptible to uncleanness]; that he did not have another one in his possession – for if he had had another one in his possession, he would have separated tithes from it for this one. But let him then separate its tithes from itself? [That is, why did he not simply cut off a portion of the etrog to be tithe for the rest of it?] [No, he would not do that] because he scrupled in accordance with the position of Bar Kappara, for Bar Kappara said, "People do not normally send their fellows items that are defective" [and cutting off a portion of the etrog to serve as its tithe would render it defective]." But does not the Mishnah state: "R. Yosé permits [sending] certainly untithed

comment by a later sage: "R. Zeira asked of Rabbi Yassa: 'Is it not one of the fruits which are allowed (*muttārīn*) in Caesarea?' He said: 'And did not Rabbi release Caesarea, and (was not) Rabban Shim'on ben Gamaliel earlier than Rabbi?'" According to this source, the release performed by Rabbi was in relation to the crops. The regulations concerning the crops of the Holy Land (*miṣwôt ha-tēluyôt bā-'āreṣ*, the "agricultural laws") were no longer binding on Caesarea's crops. One generation earlier, in the second half of the second century, Caesarean fruits seem to have been both liable to tithing and presumed to be untithed. Produce sold in Caesarea was therefore presumed to have been grown in land liable to tithing. On the other hand, it was known to be *wadday* (literally: "certain"), namely, certainly untithed.

This means that the produce was grown by Gentiles (in Eretz Israel) or perhaps by Jews who did not tithe their produce, either because they did not recognize the need to do so, or because they thought this regulation was not valid in their particular fields, regarded by them as released. Many scholars would be glad to embrace the former alternative, but it should be pointed out that the number and the nature of discussions of the halachic status of Caesarea and of its adjacant non-urban territory indicate that it was considered problematic in the best rabbinic circles. There was a trend not to be hard on Jews who tilled land that was not clearly Holy Land, since they obviously had to sell some, or even most, of their produce to Gentiles (who would not pay more for tithed produce). Rabbi, the most important advocate of this trend, initiated a series of regulations intended to make life easier for Jews on the borders of Eretz Israel and other not thoroughly Jewish areas. Rabbi Zeira's question shows that he was not aware that the fruits of Caesarea had ever been "forbidden," and Rabbi Yassa's answer shows that the change in this respect was initiated by Rabbi: until his ruling to the contrary, the fruits of Caesarea were "officially" liable to tithing, and Rabbi was indeed the authority who declared them released. This is worth noticing, since the expression *hattārâ* can also mean releasing a place from the inherent impurity of the Gentile land, and Caesarea's status did indeed change in this respect as well. However, its release seems to have a complex history; unlike any of the other recorded cases of release, it survived in three completely different accounts.

Chapter 18 of *t. Ohol.* is concerned with different cases of defilement and ritual impurity. Halacha 13 starts with an anonymous definition of "the east of Caesarea": from against (*mi-kē-neged*) its tetrapylon up to its oil press. A testimony of Judah the Baker[20] follows. He testified that Caesarea's eastern *stoa* was pure.[21] Then we are told that "all

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produce [to one's fellow, without first separating its tithes], provided that he inform him [that the produce is certainly untithed]"? . . . [There is no contradiction. Rather, the *bāraîtā'*] came to inform you that even though he [Yosé] disagrees with the rabbis, he did not render the decision according to his own opinion.' R. Zeira inquired of R. Yosa, 'But is it [the etrog] not among [the kinds of] produce that are permitted in Caesaria [that is, that need not be tithed at all there, since they come mostly from outside the Land of Israel]?' He replied, 'Was it not Rabbi who declared Caesaria permitted? And R. Simeon b. Gamaliel lived before Rabbi!'" (trans. R. S. Sarason, *The Talmud of the Land of Israel*, 3:109–10).

[20] I.e., Judah *ha-nahtôm*, who could not have survived the Bar Kokhva revolt (132–135) by much.

[21] *t. Ohol.* 18.13 (Zuck. 617): "What is the east(ern boundary) of Qisri? From opposite its tetrapylon

the rest of her" (*û-šĕʾār kullāh*) is impure, being Gentile land. This text is problematic.[22] The *bāraîtāʾ* does not fit in well with the text preceding it, which is concerned with a different type of impurity, caused by "dwelling(s) of Gentiles" (*mĕdôr ha-goyyîm*), a halachic status particular to the Holy Land. This is also the concern of the first part of the parallel Mishnah,[23] which goes on to consider the eastern side of Caesarea as Eretz Israel.[24] The fact that sages were discussing the halachic status of Caesarea in reference to specific places within its territory probably indicates that it was a practical attempt to solve real problems rather than mere academic debates.

Apart from the very solid tradition of Caesarea's release by Rabbi, two more accounts of its release are preserved together in *t. Ohol.* 18.16–17 (Zuck. 617). The editors of *t. Ohol.* chose to include both these unusual pieces of evidence in spite of the third, simpler and more logical, tradition mentioned above (which was known at the time of the Tosepta's compilation). Since the compilers of this relatively early and reliable compilation preferred those two complex and not easily intelligible traditions, while they must have been aware of the more lucid and more easily understandable third one, the former deserve further attention in spite of their difficulties.

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to opposite its winepress. Judah the Baker testified about the eastern stoa (that it) is pure and all the rest of it is impure because it is Gentile land." *Styw* (vocalized *stav*, *stev*, or *istev*) usually means colonnade, gallery, stoa, but can also mean a mosaic floor. See Jastrow, 972; Lévi[2], 3:500; Sokoloff, s.v. *stw*, 372. For variants see *ʿasdē David* ad loc.; see also Lieberman, *Tosefeth Rishonim* (Jerusalem, 1937–39) [hereafter *Tos. Rish.*], 3:157 (sec. 10).

[22] Lieberman attributes the comment on "all the rest of it" (namely, all of Caesarea, probably meaning the city itself without the *territorium*, except for its "eastern *stoa*") being impure because it was Gentile land, to *anonymus*. The anonymous sage [*Tannāʾ Qammāʾ*] usually indicates the *communis opinio*. This is possible, although it could be part of Judah the Baker's testimony as well. Lieberman's further suggestion of an emendation is problematic, since it is based on an additional sentence that occurs in a single manuscript only, and does not even clarify this clearly incomplete *halacha*. However, see Lieberman, *Tos. Rish.* 3:157 (sec. 10–11). The information in this text is therefore incomplete and cannot result in definite conclusions. Even the statement that Judah the Baker testified to the purity of a certain eastern part of Caesarea can be understood in more than a single manner, since it cannot be ascertained whether purity in contrast to the defiling effect of graveyards (implying the status of Eretz Israel) or to the basic impurity of the "Gentile land" is referred to unless we ascertain whether the last phrase in this *halacha* is part of the testimony or part of the anonymous basic text, which we cannot do.

[23] *m. Ohol.* 18:9 (Goldberg, 135–36; see also Albeck, 187 and n. on p. 549): "The stoas have nothing of Gentile dwelling(s) about them. Rabban Simeon ben Gamaliel says: a (Gentile, in one manuscript) town in ruins has nothing of Gentile dwelling(s) about it. (The) east of Qisri(n) and (the) west of Caesarion (or: Qisrin in later editions) (are) graves (or: graveyards). (The) east of Akko was under doubt and sages declared it pure (clean). Rabbi and his court took a vote on Keini and declared it pure (clean)."

[24] Although defiled by graves: "The east (side) of Caesarea and the west (side) of Caesarion (are) graves (or: graveyards)." The problem of land being defiled by the existence of a graveyard, or even unmarked single graves, is discussed in the context of Eretz Israel which, unlike "the other lands," is holy, although defiled in some particular places. "The west" mentioned here is described as pertaining to Caesarion (Caesarea Philippi, or Paneas) in most of the manuscripts, although in several later ones the text reads "Caesarea." Interestingly, a Hellenistic graveyard has been found recently on the seashore on the west side of Caesarea.

The first narrative consists of two parts. Rabbi Judah ben Jacob of Beit Guvrin and Jacob son of Rabbi Isaac of Beit Gofnin testified that Caesarea was always (or: since early times) held by "them." It was then released without a vote, presumably because two reliable witnesses were considered sufficient for the purpose (which is acceptable in *halacha*). Rabbi Ḥannan remarked that it happened in a sabbatical year. Therefore, he tells us, Gentiles went to their circuses and left fruits unattended. Jews, who were now allowed to consume Caesarean fruits in a sabbatical year, availed themselves of the unguarded stock. When the Gentiles returned and saw what had happened, they said they should inquire whether the sages now allowed the consumption of pigs as well. The second narrative tells, in the name of Rabbi Zariqa, that on the fifth day of the second Adar in a sabbatical year (which unfortunately is not given) twenty-four sages voted Caesarea to be released, since everyone was entering her (= it).[25]

The only unequivocal information given in these difficult texts is that Caesarea (whether the city only or its territory as well cannot be discerned from the text) was under the status of "not-released" and later it was "released." In the first one, the editor added Rabbi Ḥannan's rather extraordinary story about the unfortunate events following the release right after the account of the testimony leading to the release. Of the persons mentioned, Rabbi Judah ben Jacob of Beit Guvrin and Jacob son of Rabbi Isaac of Beit Gofnin cannot be chronologically placed at all, and Rabbi Ḥannan is presumed to have been a late *Tanna* (late second century), but there is no solid textual basis for this presumption. The testimony can mean two completely different things, according to the identity of "they" who had possessed the soil. If "they" were Gentiles, Caesarea would be proven to be Gentile land, and therefore released from the obligations pertaining to the agricultural produce of Eretz Israel, among them the agricultural rules for the sabbatical year. If "they" who had "always" possessed Caesarea's soil were Jews, it would follow that Caesarea was Eretz Israel,[26] in which case the release based on the testimony would have to be release from the impurity intrinsic to the land of the Gentiles. There is reason to prefer the latter alternative. Not only is it preferred by the commentators, who probably had a corresponding text,[27] but we also know of rather early Jewish settlement in Caesarea and its vicinity (the term *mē-ʿōlām*,

[25] "Testified Judah b. Jacob of Bet Guvrin and Jacob b. Isaac of Bet Gufnin concerning Qisri that they possessed it from ancient times and declared it free without a vote. Said R Ḥanin, 'That year was the seventh year, and Gentiles went to their circuses and left the market full of fruits, and Israelites came and swiped them, and when they came back, they said, "Come, let us go to the sages, lest they permit them pigs also."' Said R. Zeriqa, 'On the fifth of Second Adar twenty-four elders voted concerning it and declared it free, for all were entering it [and it was clean, not regarded as Gentile land]'" (trans. Neusner, *The Tosefta* [New York, 1977], 132–33).

[26] Or, possibly, of similar status although not fully recognized as Eretz Israel (by analogy with other recorded cases).

[27] In some cases, the commentators possessed older and better manuscripts than those that have survived their times. They also had some useful oral traditions. In this case, for example, one important twelfth-century version has *šē-heḥezîqû bāh yiśra'ēl mē-ʿōlām* (that Israel had always [or: from very early times] possessed it).

literally: since the beginning of the world, should not be taken literally). It also fits in with the "deed" (*ma'aśeh*) cited, which could only have occurred, if such a strange thing could indeed have occurred at all, if sabbatical years had been valid in Caesarea before the release (making it Eretz Israel). The theft that followed, according to Rabbi Ḥannan, was not a natural result of the ruling, and not necessarily integrally connected to the testimony preceding it; the relationship between the two parts of the first narrative is probably more complicated, and in any case inconclusive. However, the account of these events seems to have the ring of truth, and it may well be that something extraordinary, of which we have only a distorted and partial account, happened at that time between Jews and Gentiles in Caesarea.[28]

The second account is no easier. Rabbi Zariqa is thought to be a late *Tanna* (distinct from his well-known *Amora* namesake, who could hardly be quoted in the *Tosepta*). Both the dating of the vote taken over Caesarea's halachic status and the number of the voting sages are highly unusual. The vote, Rabbi Zariqa says, really only affirmed an existing state of affairs; everyone was going into Caesarea anyway. This remark explains what kind of "release" was required in this case: Caesarea was declared "released" from the impurity of Gentile land (from which it was taken by "everyone" to be released anyway). According to Lieberman,[29] the vote (*minyan*) occurred after the sages realized that the people did not perform the agricultural laws in Caesarea (presuming it to be Gentile land), so they released it from the impurity of the Gentile land, and it became similar to the "surrounded towns" (*'ayyārôt ha-mublā'ôt*), which on their part were declared neither liable to tithing and other agricultural laws nor subject to the status of Gentile land. Lieberman probably accepted the reading found in the manuscript of *Yiḥûsē tannā'īm wa-'amôrā'īm*: "so that all would enter her (= it)";[30] a similar variant is found in a few other late texts. It must be pointed out that Lieberman's underlying presupposition that Caesarean Jews did not perform tithing and the sabbatical agricultural rules is not necessarily borne out in our sources (in whose validity he, in any case, did believe). The number of the voters is strange, but could be acci-

[28] The Talmudic literature seems to preserve in a vague and roundabout manner the memory of unusual occurrences shortly before the second revolt. A. Oppenheimer interprets these sources as evidence of unrest, possibly testified to as "Quietus' War" (or: Unrest), among the Jews in Palestine under Trajan, at the time of the much better documented Jewish revolts in several other eastern and western provinces; see A. Oppenheimer, "The Jewish Community in Galilee during the Period of Yavneh and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 4 [1999], 53–66, and the following discussion, ibid., 67–83. One may carefully suggest reading *t. Ohol.* 18.16–17 with Oppenheimer's reconstruction in the background. If this interpretation is correct, it would follow that the Jewish community in Caesarea may have been involved in the incidents throughout Palestine which led to massive Roman measures (such as much road building and repair in the 120s) and eventually to the Bar Kokhba revolt. This suggestion must remain in the realm of speculation until more information is available.

[29] *Tos. Rish.* 3:159.

[30] *Še-yĕhu ha-kol niknāsīn lē-tôkāh:* the change in meaning is the result of two letters trading places (*šhyw/šyhw*). A further variant: "so that (they) enter" (*še-yĕhu niknāsīn*, in *Kaptôr wa-perah*, ed. Lunz, 275, and the text seen by the commentator R. Samson of Sens).

dental; the date in the text is truly puzzling and has no significant variants to offer us a hint.

The third tradition is the clearest and most elegant of them all. Caesarea is included in a list of places released by Rabbi with the simple statement that: "Rabbi released Caesarea."[31] There is no reason to doubt Rabbi's involvement in the release of Caesarea: it is a firm tradition, raising no textual or historical problems (unlike the two other traditions, to which we shall return), and it fits in well with Rabbi's rulings and with his general policy.[32] Also, although we do not know when the academy (*Beit Midrash*) in Caesarea was founded, its golden age certainly started when Rabbi's pupil Rabbi Hoshayah became its head. It is reasonable to assume that Caesarea's formal "release" contributed to the process as well.[33]

The information on the release of Caesarea is both abundant and varied. The tradition of the Palestinian Talmud indicates that Rabbi released it specifically from the regulations binding on agricultural produce,[34] while the vote discussed above probably released Caesarea from the impurity of the Gentile land; Judah the Baker's testimony could relate to either type of release, and Rabbi Ḥannan's story was about the declaration of Caesarean produce unforbidden in a sabbatical year. How should the variety of versions be treated? In this particular case, it is possible that some, or even all, the relevant sources can be reconciled, since they could be records of different stages in a continuous discussion of Caesarea's status. Caesarea, or its territory up to the city walls, could quite possibly have been considered Eretz Israel in the first instance, while later its territory was released from the regulations concerning the agricultural produce of the Holy Land without a vote,[35] and a local vote declared the city released from the impurity of Gentile land, legitimizing the local custom.[36] Finally, Rabbi, who performed releases on a large scale as part of his general policy, may have released Caesarea. Although the Amoraic dialogue in *y. Dem.* 3.23c (cited in n. 19 above) indicates that he released Caesarea from the regulations concerning the agricultural produce of the Holy Land, it can be suggested that Rabbi also sanctioned a general release of Caesarea. The content of the said dialogue does not exclude the possibility that it transmits only part of Rabbi's original ruling, which seems plausible upon examination of Rabbi's general policy on releasing territories inside and bordering on

[31] See n. 18 above. The tradition mentioned above and in n. 19 cannot be assumed to be an independent source with any certainty.

[32] For an extensive bibliography, see Habas, "Rabbi's Rulings." Note especially A. Büchler, "The Patriarch R. Judah I and the Graeco-Roman Cities of Palestine," *Studies in Jewish History* (London, 1954), 179–244.

[33] Levine, *Caesarea*, 45; Sussmann, "Boundaries," 100 n. 75.

[34] See n. 19 above.

[35] This would not be a unique case; in certain areas within the boundaries of the Holy Land the agricultural rules were relaxed at certain periods, when it was deemed necessary to strengthen the local Jewish (rural) population. For Rabbi's involvment in such cases, see below.

[36] According to the better reading, see above and cf. nn. 29–30.

the Holy Land.[37] Some of the releases Rabbi performed drew criticism,[38] yet he systematically proceeded with his policy. If my interpretation is correct, Caesarea would be one of his easier cases; Rabbi could claim that he was not, as sometimes accused by his colleagues, initiating excessive reforms, but was only reaffirming the given state of affairs in Caesarea (although, of course, his authority did make quite a difference).

The changes in Caesarea's halachic status could be suggested to have proceeded in the following stages: until and including Usha,[39] Caesarea (in the wider sense, the whole *territorium*) was considered mostly Eretz Israel, though the city itself was not. In Rabbi's day, through local initiative, Caesarea was released from the agricultural rituals pertaining to Eretz Israel (by testimony, not vote) and the city itself from the impurity of Gentile land (by vote). In the same year, there was an outbreak of hostilities between Jews and Gentiles in Caesarea, of which we have only a fragmentary account. Rabbi, who was releasing territories as a policy,[40] sometimes against his colleagues' opinion, heard about the initiative of the Caesareans and sanctioned it.

A clear sign of an uncertain legal (or halachic) situation is the occurrence of consecutive ratifications for a law or ruling. Rabbi, as we saw, put his considerable authority behind the release of Caesarea (at the very least its release from the agricultural rulings), and the local custom had by then sanctioned Caesarea's status as Eretz Israel (or at least as "pure"); and yet, in later generations its status was still not unequivocally fixed.

The later evidence refers to specific parts of the city, namely, Caesarea's harbor and "dome(s)."[41] One Talmudic passage refers to a problem concerning divorce bills carried from one jurisdiction into another.[42] The messenger should be able to confirm that it was written and signed in his presence, whether the divorce bill originated in the Holy Land or in the land of the Gentiles. A case was brought before Rabbi Abbahu,[43] where the divorce was carried from Caesarea's harbor into the city, and he ruled that such a declaration was not necessary. The Talmud asks why should it have been a problem at all, literally: "is not Caesarea's harbor as (or: the same as) Caesarea?" The obvious reason for such a problem to arise would be that the city itself was generally considered at that time Eretz Israel, but the harbor area did not enjoy this status, at least not beyond the shadow of a doubt (see n. 45 below). In Jewish law, divorce is a very serious matter, and the requirements of form must be meticulously kept.[44] Therefore, in this particular case, making sure that the harbor was indeed of

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[37] For Rabbi's releases, see n. 32 above.

[38] For example, see Habas, "Ascalon and the 'Boundaries of *Eretz Israel*,'" esp. 7, on the release of Ascalon.

[39] The rabbinic center in Usha, fl. ca. 140–170.

[40] Eventually he had most of the territory of Eretz Israel released; see n. 32 above.

[41] *Kypt'* can read as either the plural or the singular form. For the meaning of the term, see Jastrow, 635; Lévi[2], 2:322; Sokoloff, 256, s.v. *Kyph*.

[42] *y. Giṭ.* 1.43b.

[43] Head of the Caesarean Academy, fl. in the last third of the third century.

[44] Divorce, or rather the personal status of the children born to a woman who has been (improper-

the same halachic status as Caesarea itself was of cardinal importance, and thus an authorized ruling from the head of Caesarea's academy was sought. The late Babylonian *Amora* Rabbi Avin's explanation, that the problem in question arose because the divorce bill was brought (not from the harbor area, but) from a ship still in sails, does explain away the apparent difficulty, but is not contemporary and belongs to a later stratum of the *sugya* (rabbinic pericope). It would seem that, although Caesarea was known by Rabbi Abbahu's time to be Eretz Israel, in a case of extreme importance, which however does not fall into the better known (and perhaps clearer) categories of ritual obligations concerning agricultural produce or ritual impurity (for which at least general rulings existed), even Caesareans needed to reaffirm what they knew, in a way, about the status of the harbor area. In other words, the harbor area was conceived by the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea as having a different nature from the rest of Caesarea, a more "Gentile" feel about it, and its roots less firm in the Holy Land of the Jews.[45]

In fact, the same applied, yet a few decades later, even to the release from the laws pertaining to agricultural produce.[46] Rabbi Manna was surprised to see that dried figs

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ly) divorced, is considered one of the few matters that can never be corrected. These children are *mamzerim* (bastards is not an exact translation), and are condemned to many irrevocable restrictions in their personal life. It is therefore an issue of the highest importance to insure that absolutely no mistakes, not even in form, occur in the process of conducting a divorce.

[45] It can be argued that the harbor belonged to the area enclosed by the old wall of Straton's Tower, and therefore was "Gentile land" according to the Jews' own rules. But in this case one would not only have to assume that the wall was still there, more or less intact (and not just some part of it, in ruins), forming a true enclosure, but also still explain why the question was asked of Rabbi Abbahu (since under this assumption there would be no uncertainty concerning the harbor's halachic status). Our source implies that the halachic status of the harbor area was not clearcut, and some Jews were not sure whether it was part of Caesarea or not. On the other hand, there is much evidence to show that Σεβαστός, or Portus Augusti, Caesarea's harbor, was in some ways an entity separate from the city, including the famous statue of Caesarea's Tyche and Sebastos (see *Herod's Dream*, 11–17, esp. 16); various coin legends, starting with Agrippa I and Nero; a couple of (non-Palestinian!) inscriptions; and some literary sources, including Philo and Josephus (listed in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, rev. and ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black, vol. 2 [Edinburgh, 1979], 116 and nn. 161–63). But the exact relationship between the city and the harbor has not yet been fully established; see, for example, ibid., 22, 112, and most recently A. Raban, "Καισάρεια ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῷ λιμένι: Two Harbours for Two Entities?" in *Caesarea Papers*, 68–74. It might therefore, once again, be useful to study what information the Talmudic literature offers. *y. Git.* 1.43b and a few other Talmudic references not relevant here could perhaps help illuminate the administrative and other aspects of the relationship between Caesarea and its port in the mid-third century by unfolding in some detail the halachic angle; I intend to dedicate a study to this matter in the near future.

[46] *y. Dem.* 2.22c: "Said R. Mana, 'I went to Caesaria and saw them treating fig-cakes as permitted [that is, exempt from tithing, in opposition to the rule of *m. Dem.* 2:1]. I asked R. Isaac bar Eleazar [about this], and he said, "Thus did Zugga treat them, as permitted."' R. Isaac bar Eleazar in the name of Zugga of Caesaria [said], '[In] every place from which the [Mediterranean] Sea can be seen, they [fig cakes] are permitted.' Some hold [that this permission obtains] as far as Migdal Maḥla, and others hold [that it obtains] as far as Maʿarat Telimon. Said R. Abba Mari, 'The words of the rabbis support this ruling: Kinds [of produce] which are forbidden in Caesaria: (1) wheat, (2) bread, (3) wine, (4) oil, (5)

were treated as "unforbidden."[47] He asked Rabbi Isaac bar Eleazar[48] about it, and was answered that it was in accord with a local ruling. Rabbi Isaac added a further local ruling: "All that which sees the water is released."[49] This ruling suggests that the harbor and its vicinity had, in some local rulings at the turn of the fourth century, a status different from that of the rest of the city. The *sugya* continues with a list of foods forbidden or partly restricted in Caesarea, very similar (but not identical) to the section dealing with Caesarea in the Reḥov Inscription,[50] and some remarks concerning the different treatment of the produce of Israel, Gentiles, and Samaritans in sabbatical years. Then the boundaries of Caesarea are defined,[51] and a further remark on certain produce sold in Caesarea being forbidden "because most of it comes from *Har ha-melek* (= the King's Mountain, which is in Judaea and definitely Eretz Israel; its produce would therefore be "forbidden")."[52] The phrase from line 26 discussed above,

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dates, (6) rice, and (7) cumin. And they did not specify fig-cakes [in this list, thereby implying that these are permitted].' But we have learned [in the Mishnah] 'rice and cumin' and we have specified them ?! Therefore [you must conclude that fig cakes are] permitted! These items are permitted during the seventh year, and during the other years of the sabbatical cycle they are deemed to be *dema'i*. . . 'These items are permitted during the seventh year'?! – Let them [rather] be treated during the seventh year as seventh-year produce [as forbidden for purchase and eating, lest they derive from fields whose owners have not observed the laws of the seventh year]. [No, we assume that] Israelites [in this region] desist [from working their fields in the seventh year], and Gentiles are exempt [from seventh-year restrictions], [and that] Israelites and Gentiles form the majority [in this market] over Samaritans [who are deemed liable to observe seventh-year restrictions but not in fact to do so]. 'During the other years of the sabbatical cycle [these items] are deemed to be *dema'i*.'?! Let them [rather] be treated as certainly untithed produce! [No, we assume that most] Israelites [in this region] tithe their produce, and [that] Gentiles are exempt [from tithing produce they grow in the land of Israel], [and that] Israelites and Gentiles form the majority [in this market] over Samaritans [who are deemed liable to tithe their produce but not in fact to do so]. How far [south does the market area of Caesaria extend, in which the above rules pertain]? [From] the way station of Amuda, the way station of Tibta as far as Kfar Saba and S|oran and Dora is deemed to be like Caesaria. R. Abahu in the name of R. Yoseå b. Hanina [said], 'Bulbous onions which are sold in Caesaria are forbidden [to be eaten without first separating tithes], because the majority of them come from Har Hamelekh ['the royal hill country,' that is, the Judaean hills, certainly part of the Land of Israel subject to tithing regulations].' R. Hiyya b. Adda said, 'This pertains to white [onions],' and the rabbis of Caesaria say, 'This pertains to red [onions]'" (*The Talmud of the Land of Israel, Demai*, trans. Sarason, 3:66–68).

[47] R. Manna fl. in the first quarter of the fourth century, frequent visitor to Caesarea.

[48] Fl. in the last quarter of the third century and perhaps early in the fourth century, lived in Caesarea.

[49] Continuing: "Some (want to) say up to The Tower of *mlḥa*. And some (want to) say up to the cave of *tlymon*." Both landmarks are unidentified at present. See Sussmann, "Inscription," 133 n. 328.

[50] For the irregular features of this halachic discussion. see Sussmann, "Inscription," 110 n. 114. For his discussion of the Caesarea section of the inscription, see ibid., 131–35, esp. 131 and nn. 306–8 (on the parallel account cited in n. 46 above).

[51] The order differs here from the parallel section in the Reḥov Inscription. See Sussmann, "Inscription," 134–35 for the pointers (unidentified as yet; one of them, at least, was an inn). However, for the purpose of the present study, it is not necessary to speculate on the exact location of these places.

[52] See Sussmann, "Inscription," 132 for line 24(–25) in the inscription and its relationship to this section of the *sugya*.

"and if there be a place bought by Israel our Rabbis are concerned about it," is missing in the Palestinian Talmud version.

The exact identity of Caesarea's "dome(s)"[53] is still a matter for speculation. They must have been roofed[54] structures with a round feature. "Domes" are mentioned in the Talmudic literature in some other places as well, notably Akko, another maritime Roman *colonia*. As in other cases, the halachic status of this type of structure in Caesarea was not indisputable; some priests would not pass under them, while others did.[55] At least one such construction was, according to our source, near an open place or a wide street or highway,[56] where the sages mentioned were strolling when they arrived at the said "dome." The exact identity of this dome (and of "domes" in general) cannot be ascertained as yet, and one can only speculate. Could it be the tetrapylon at the crossroads of two wide colonnaded roads, not far from the Temple Platform, through which the sages could have passed while strolling, as suggested by Kenneth Holum? Or could it be connected to the ψαλίδες mentioned in Joseph. *BJ* 1.413 as having been built for mariners putting in to harbor?[57] Ψαλίς could stand for a barrel vault, and if this was the meaning of "dome" in one or more of the references, then perhaps a further case of an anomaly in halachic status in Caesarea was connected to the harbor. Since the domes discussed in halachic contexts were in some cases (quite probably in all of them) situated in Eretz Israel[58] and certainly so in the present case

[53] See n. 41 above.

[54] Since most of the halachic problems involving "domes" presume they were "inhabited" (in the halachic sense) by Gentiles. This matter requires separate study, which I hope to present in a paper dealing with "Gentile dwellings" (*mĕdôr ha-goyyīm*) in Eretz Israel.

[55] In both relevant cases known from the Palestinian Talmud, the priests mentioned were sages, familiar with the rulings. See *y. Nazir* 6.56a: " . . . R. Nihome, son of r. Hiyya bar Abba, 'Father did not walk under the gateway [in the text: *kypt'*, for the meaning of which see n. 41 above] of Caesarea.' But R. Ammi did go under it. R. Hezekiah, R. Kohen, and R. Jacob bar Aha were walking in the piazza [in the text: *plty'*, for the meaning see n. 41] of Caesarea. They came to the gateway [*kyp'*]. R. Kohen went aside. They came to a clean place and he came back to them. He said to them, 'What were you doing [while I was unable to walk with you]?' Said R. Hezekiah to R. Jacob bar Aha, 'Don't tell him a thing.' We do not know whether it was because he was displeased, because a person must contract uncleanness in order to study Torah" (*The Talmud of the Land of Israel, Nazir,* 24:177–78, trans. Neusner [corrected]); and *y. Ber.* 3.6a: "R. Nehemiah, son of R. Hiyya bar Abba said, 'My father would not pass under the arch [*kpth,* see n. 41] at Caesarea [even though this was the shortest way for him to go to study Torah, for the arch could transmit the uncleanness of a corpse as a tent].' R. Ammi [in some manuscripts: would pass]. R. Hezekiah and R. Kohen and R. Jacob bar Aha were walking in the plazas [*pltywt'*, see n. 56] of Sepphoris [or: Caesarea]. When they reached the arch, R. Kohen separated from them. And when they reached a clean area, he rejoined them" (*The Talmud of the Land of Israel, Ber.,* 1:117–18, trans. Tz. Zahavy).

[56] *Plty'* (πλατεῖα, *platea*); Jastrow, s.vv. *plty'*, *plṭyh*, *plṭyy'* and *plty'*, *plṭyy'*, 1179; Lévi², 4, s.vv. *plty'*, *plṭyt'*, 49; Sokoloff, s. v. *Plṭyh*, 435.

[57] Simḥoni's Hebrew translation of Joseph. *BJ*, which has been subject to much criticism, reads here: "many *kippôt* were built there as shelter for those arriving on ships" (90); Thackeray translates: "inlets" (Loeb ed., 195), but offers two alternative translations, "vaulted chambers" or "crypts" (ibid., 194 note c).

[58] Most of the references describe circumstances where priests, who were also sages, were present near

(cited in n. 55 above), the latter speculation would suggest that early in the fouth century, either before or after the ruling discussed formerly (cited in n. 46 above), the harbor area was considered Eretz Israel proper. The former speculation would not necessarily touch upon the status of the harbor at that time.

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the dome (thus the immediate vicinity of the structure was Eretz Israel), but did not pass directly under it. See also n. 54 above.

26

Reflections on the Aggada of Caesarea

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Exactly one hundred years ago, the great Talmud scholar Yisrael Lewy began publication of his commentary on the tractate *Neziqin* in the Palestinian Talmud. He concluded that these parts of the Talmud originated in a recension different from that of the rest of the Talmud of the Land of Israel.[1] This insight was followed by attempts to puzzle out the source of this recension. Lewy's two great successors, J. N. Epstein and the then young prodigy, Saul Lieberman, waged a battle over Lieberman's attempt to place the origin of these tractates in Caesarea. The battle is far from over, though recent scholarship has found chinks in the armor of Lieberman's arguments. One of the arguments raised by Lieberman was the presence of uncommon Greek words in these tractates. This finding was called into question by M. Assis.[2] The logic of Lieberman's claim – that the Jewish works of Caesarea, the political center of Roman Palestine, would show a richer and greater use of Greek and Latin – seems to be compelling. Indeed, Lieberman himself noted Rabbi Abbahu's famous Greek pun, found in the Midrash.[3] Yet we do know that Greek and Latin loanwords underwent an irreversible process of simplification and translation as they were transmitted through late medieval manuscripts into printed editions.[4] Some three thousand loanwords of Greek or Latin origin are to be found in rabbinic literature, a testimony to the interaction of these societies.[5]

No one has yet hazarded a guess as to the specific locality of any of the great Amoraic collections of Aggada. We have not reached that level of sophistication in terms of the literary and philological aspects of these works or their overall composition. Thus scholars who were interested in the spiritual landscape of a certain geo-

[1] I. Lewy, "Interpretation des I. Abschnittes des palast. Talmud-Traktats Nesikin," *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Breslau* (1895). The history of the research on this tractate is consummately summarized in Y. Sussman, "Yerushalmi Neziqin Once Again" [Hebrew], in *Meḥĕqrê Talmûd*, ed. Y. Sussman and D. Rosenthal (Jerusalem, 1990–91), 1:55–64.

[2] M. Assis, "On the Question of the Redaction of Yerushalmi Neziqin" [Hebrew], *Tarbiẓ* 56 (1986–87), 155–57. Most recently, see C. Hezser, *Form, Function, and Historical Significance of the Rabbinic Story in Yerushalmi Neziqin* (Tübingen, 1993), 367–69.

[3] S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1950), 76–77.

[4] Idem, "The Leiden Yerushalmi Manuscript Once Again" [Hebrew], *Tarbiẓ* 20 (1950), 114–15.

[5] D. Sperber, "Greek and Latin Words in Rabbinic Literature," in idem, *Essays on Greek and Latin in the Mishna, Talmud and Midrashic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1981), 4–12.

graphical region had to rely on the attributions of statements to rabbis or groups of rabbis who were purported to have lived in that region. This endeavor is precarious at best, since the nature of rabbinic literature is such, especially in the realm of Aggada, that there is no assurance that the particular statement of an individual rabbi originated with that rabbi.[6] We often find statements attributed to Amoraic teachers of the third and fourth centuries already cited in Tannaitic collections of the earlier sages. The positions held in a debate attributed to third-century rabbis in *Genesis Rabbah* over the verse "Let us make man" are found already in Justin's second-century dialogue, there attributed to Jewish sages.[7]

One way of attempting to pin down the location of rabbinic Midrash could be to set it against that of the church fathers who operated in a given locale. Yet, as is well known, one of the most engaging and fruitful analyses involves R. Yohanan the Tiberian and Origen the Caesarean on the *Song of Songs*. Moreover, if we are to trust Eusebius' account, those surviving books of Origen's commentary on the *Song of Songs* were actually written in Athens, while the five latter books were composed on his return to Caesarea. All this goes to show that at our present level of knowledge, given the anthological nature of rabbinic literature, an attempt to draw the spiritual profile of a specific community is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

However daunting, it does seem worthwhile as a research project to collect the Aggadic oeuvre of the prominent rabbis who flourished in Caesarea, and analyze it on at least two levels. (1) Are there traces of Greek or Latin in their statements which point to either a greater familiarity with these languages or a propensity to use them in their statements? In other words, in spite of the vicissitudes of transmission, it might very well be that we can find more or different Greek attributed to Caesarean rabbis, as Lieberman posited in his monograph *The Talmud of Caesarea* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1931). (2) The second level would be a crossing of the Caesarean rabbis' theological and exegetical positions with those found in the Caesarean church fathers, especially those places attributed by the fathers to Jewish sources.

A first step in this project was actually published some sixty years ago by S. Zuri, who collected R. Yose b. R. Hanina's sayings and portrayed them against the backdrop of Caesarean life.[8] Much light has been shed on R. Abbahu the Caesarean, but we are far from any systematic attempt to speak of the Aggada of Caesarea. Finally, we have a group of rabbis called "the Rabbis of Caesarea," who appear numerous times in the Palestinian Talmud, but almost always in regard to legal issues, and rarely if ever dealing with Aggadic issues.[9]

I begin with some reflections on R. Hoshaya Rabbah, a prominent sage of the first

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[6] This difficult methodological problem is not unique to rabbinic literature. See A. Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars* (Oxford, 1991), 56, on the difficulty of discerning what originated in neo-Platonism, due to the dearth of sources of middle Platonism on certain subjects.

[7] See M. Hirshman, *Mikra and Midrash* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1992), 98.

[8] S. Zuri, *R. Yose b. Hanina of Caesarea* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1926).

[9] See W. Bacher, "Die Gelehrten im Caesarea," *MGWJ* 45 (1901), 304 and 310.

half of the third century, who is reported to have established a business in fish brine and taught in Caesarea.[10] It was H. Graetz who, in 1881, posited a connection between R. Hoshaya and Origen.[11] His suggestion was taken up and bolstered by W. Bacher, and is maintained by some more recent scholars as well.[12] This chapter examines some of the theological positions taken by R. Hoshaya, as well as the language in which they are couched, restricting the inquiry to his *mĕšālīm* (allusive tales or parables).

Two striking *mĕšālīm* are attributed to R. Hoshaya, and both revolve around the image of God. The first is from *Leviticus Rabbah:*

> The Rabbis say: all the prophets saw through a smudged window glass . . . but Moses saw through a polished one, that is what is written, and he beholds the likeness of God (*Num.* 12:8). R. Pinhas in the name of R. Hoshaya: To a king who appears (*niglā*) to his servant (*ben bêtô*) in his *othonion.* Since in this world the divine presence appears to individuals but in the world to come, what is written? "The presence of the Lord shall appear and all flesh, as one, shall behold" (*Isa.* 40:5) (*Lev. Rab.* 1:14 [Margulies 31–32]).

The parable is a wonderful exegesis of the entire verse in *Numbers:* "Not so with my servant Moses, he is trusted throughout my household . . . and he beholds the likeness of the Lord." The thrust of the parable is to pick up the trusted servant motif – captured in the words *ben bayit* – and show the degree of informality that characterizes the relationship of the king and his servant. The rare Greek loanword *othonion* was changed into the more common word *iconin* in the printed editions, and while the editor of the superb edition of *Leviticus Rabbah* noted that the correct reading was *othonion,* he was at a loss to identify the word. Lieberman in his notes to *Leviticus Rabbah,* makes a strong case for *othonion* being a linen housecoat.[13] On the basis of its usage in a text in the Palestinian Talmud, Lieberman shows that it was unseemly for the patriarch of the Jews to be seen in his *othonion,* and he was bidden to put on a *leinon,* a wool housecoat to greet his company. In our parable, then, it means that to Moses the trusted servant, God appeared in casual attire, as befits an intimate relationship.

It is only in the world to come that everyone will be privileged to have an intimate view of God. In this world it was only Moses, God's most trusted servant, who was on intimate terms with God and was privileged to have the *ĕkînâ* (divine presence) rest upon him. R. Hoshaya, then, is denying the possibility that God may have appeared since Moses' time to any but the select few. It will be only in the world to come that everyone will see God's glory. It is by way of an allusive tale, possibly drawn from the *realia* of his time, that R. Hoshaya makes his point.

The second *māšāl* is quite famous and has justifiably drawn the attention of many

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[10] Cf. Levine, *Caesarea,* 88. The date of R. Hoshaya's move, Levine suggests, was "around the year 230" and "coincided" with Origen's arrival, but no evidence is adduced for this date.

[11] *MGWJ* 30 (1881), 443.

[12] W. Bacher, "The Church Father Origen and R. Hoshaya," *JQR,* old ser. 3 (1891), 357–60.

[13] M. Margulies, *Midraš Wayyiqra Rabbah* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1958), 870. Cf., however, the Geniza fragment in Margulies, vol. 5, p. 14.

scholars. Found in *Genesis Rabbah*, it addresses the verses "Let us make man in our image" (*Gen.* 1:26):

> At the time when God created man, the angels mistook him and wanted to say before him *kadosh* (holy). To what is this comparable? To a king and an *eparchos* who were seated in a *karroucha* (carriage) and the people of the city wanted to say to the king, *domine*, but they did not know which (was the king). What did the king do? He pushed the *eparchos* and threw him from the carriage, and all knew the king. Thus at the time when God created man, the angels mistook him. What did God do? He cast a sleep upon him and all knew he was man, that is what is written: O cease to glorify man, etc. (*Isa.* 2:22) (*Gen. Rab.* [Theodor-Albeck 63–64]).

Alexander Altmann, in a fine essay on "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends,"[14] traced the Gnostic influences on the primordial man motif. His essay appeared the same year, 1945, as the discovery of the Nag Hammadi writings. Altmann suggested that the Gnostic background of this legend was the dualism and opposition of man to Satan and the Gnostic rulers. The legend in the Adam literature was designed to show man's rule over the powers of darkness who were subordinated to him. Altmann maintains:

> There is a subtle irony in the rabbinic statement that the angels "mistook" Adam for God . . . and wished to adore him. The point of describing this desire as due to a mistake can be understood only if held against the background of the Adam books. While the latter say that the angels were commanded to worship Adam, the midrashim change the character of the story by declaring that due to a mistake the angels wished to adore Adam.[15]

I think that in the light of the Nag Hammadi finds, we can gain further insight into R. Hoshaya's interpretation, advancing Altmann's fundamental insight.

In the accounts of man's creation in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* and *On the Origin of the World*,[16] man's bodily form is created but unable to rise. It is only after Sophia in the latter account sends Zoe, also called Eve, who pities him and says, "Adam, live! Rise up on the earth," that he rose up and opened his eyes. A similar account is found in Epiphanius' *Panarion*, there attributed to Saturnilus:

> But when, he says, man was made . . . they were unable to finish him because of their lack of power, and he lay on the ground and writhed like a worm crawling, unable to stand or do anything else, until the power above, peeping down and feeling sorry for him because he was its own image and appearance, in pity sent out a spark of its own power and through it raised man up and thus gave him life.[17]

We have, then, in our midrash a move that is in stark opposition to the nature of the creation of man. Adam's initial creation by God was such that man's essential divini-

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[14] The essay appeared in *JQR* 35 (1945), 371–91, and was reworked and republished in A. Altmann, *Essays in Jewish Intellectual History* (Hamden, 1981), 1–16.

[15] Altmann, *Essays*, 11.

[16] Both treatises are found in translation in J. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library* (Leiden, 1984), 152–79, esp. 153–54 and 172.

[17] *The Panarion of St. Epiphanius*, trans. P. Amidon (Oxford, 1990), 65–66.

ty was so overwhelming that the angels had no way of distinguishing between creator and creature. Rather than being an inferior creation of the lower powers that needs to be rehabilitated by Sophia, the midrash claims that the beneficent God had given so much glory to the creature that there was a need to diminish it in some manner. This was done by imposing on Adam a temporary state of helplessness – sleep. I think that R. Hoshaya was countering the Gnostic myth in its very essence.

Altmann also claims that the parable was fashioned out of the widely reported tale which said that Diocletian had forced his co-emperor Galerius to walk alongside his carriage.[18] I am not sure of Altmann's understanding of this source, since this event ostensibly took place well after R. Hoshaya's demise.

Altmann quotes Bacher who saw this midrash as "a protest either 'against the deification of man in the Christian dogma' or 'more probably against the bestowal of divine honors upon the Roman emperors.'"[19] I should like to follow up Bacher's suggestion by comparing R. Hoshaya's two parables with Origen's understanding of the creation of man in his homily on *Genesis*.

First, Origen makes perfectly clear that the image of God, in which man was made, is "our inner man, invisible, incorporeal, incorruptible, and immortal."[20] He goes on to castigate those "carnal men who have no understanding of the meaning of divinity," who suppose that it is man's flesh that was created in the "image and likeness of God." In his third homily on *Genesis*, Origen identifies the holders of this errant doctrine, who "supposed that God should be understood as a man, that is adorned with human members and appearance."[21] They are "the Jews indeed, but also some of our people." Most interesting is Origen's perception of the reason for their error. They have been led to attribute to God human physical features because of the "many passages of the divine scripture that God speaks to man." That is to say, in order to believe in the divine origin of the words of Torah, Origen says that the Jews were forced to conceive of God as assuming a bodily form in order to speak. Origen himself solves the problem with two different suggestions, the latter being that God "causes the sound of a voice to reach" man's ears.[22] This solution is very close if not identical with the rabbinic conception of *Bat-kol*, that remnant of prophecy in rabbinic times.[23]

De Lange has rightly seen this allegation of Jewish literalism "as part of the stock arguments against Jewish literalism."[24] It is fascinating to note that on a number of occasions in the early Tannaitic midrash (*midrāš halākâ*), when a blatant biblical anthropomorphic description of God is employed, the midrash claims that the depiction was

[18] Altmann, *Essays*, 7.
[19] Ibid., 11.
[20] Origen, *Homilies on Genesis and Exodus*, trans. R. Heine (Washington, D.C., 1982), 63.
[21] Ibid., 89.
[22] Ibid., 90.
[23] S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1962), 194–99.
[24] N. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews* (Cambridge, 1976), 44.

necessary so that the "nations of the world" would understand with whom they were in battle (e.g., Mekilta [Horovitz 130–31; Lauterbach 34]). In other words, the Midrash claims that the physical description of God was intended for non-Jews, who otherwise would not have understood the nature of the God of their enemies. I think that, along with the attempt to deny the validity of allegorical interpretation to one's religious opponent in Antiquity, not allowing him to de-literalize his text,[25] so, too, religious confrontation included the stock attempt to cast the opponent as holding a primitive conception of God.

What, then, is the image of God for Origen? He says: "what other image of God is there according to the likeness of whose image man was made, except our saviour who is the 'firstborn of every creature.'"[26] He later adds: "one sees God through the Word of God which is the image of God." Here, as in the beginning of the homily, Origen is heavily indebted to the *Gospel of John*. The homily opens: "In the beginning God made heaven and earth. What is the beginning of all things except our Lord and 'Savior of all, Jesus Christ, "the firstborn of every creature."' In this beginning, therefore, that is, in his Word, God made heaven and earth."[27]

Origen sees the Word as both the beginning of creation and God's image, which out of compassion for man "assumed the image of man and came to him."[28]

We return now to R. Hoshaya to take up a third parable, most likely to be attributed to him, that opens the great rabbinic collection on *Genesis*, *Genesis Rabbah*. There R. Hoshaya likens God to a king who engages a craftsman to build his palace, and the craftsman[29] "does not build on his own but he has *diptĕrôt* and *pinqāsôt* to know how to make the rooms and entrances, so, too, God looked into the Torah and created the world . . . 'beginning' is nothing other than Torah." As in the other two, R. Hoshaya employs a royal parable with Greek loanwords. For R. Hoshaya the beginning of everything was also God's word, embodied in Torah. Many have pointed out R. Hoshaya's similarity to Philo here,[30] but it is well to see how neatly R. Hoshaya both dovetails and conflicts with Origen's homily. Both see *Genesis* as proceeding from God's word. They differ on the exact nature of that word.

I conclude with some further reflections on what we took to be R. Hoshaya's anti-Gnostic parable above: man's close resemblance to God which necessitated his ejection from the carriage. Did R. Hoshaya mean that man in his physical body resembled God, which would lend support to Origen's allegations of Jewish literalism? I have, through the first of the three parables, painted a picture of R. Hoshaya who

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[25] E.g., *Contra Celsum* 4.38–50.

[26] Origen, trans. Heine, p. 65.

[27] Ibid., 47.

[28] Ibid., 65.

[29] Craftsman translates *'ûmân* rather than *architectos*, in Philo, since the entire homily revolves around the verse that uses *'āmôn*.

[30] See E. E. Urbach, *The Sages* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1969), 177 n. 40; G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927; repr. 1962), 1:267–68; I. Baer, *Israel among the Nations* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1955; repr. 1969), 130 n. 4.

praised Moses' familiarity with God, which will only be replicated at the end of days, when *all* people will see God. That last parable presented God's word, Torah, as the heart of creation. I should add one final, generally overlooked source that has bearing on our question. In a lovely vignette in the Palestinian Talmud, R. Hoshaya apologizes for not meeting his daily meal appointment with his son, Marinos', tutor. The tutor, who was blind, blessed R. Hoshaya for troubling to apologize and said to R. Hoshaya: "You have appeased someone who is seen but does not see; He who sees but is not seen will accept your appeasement" (*y. Pe'a* 8 [2lb]). R. Hoshaya is struck by the reply and asks for its source. It seems clear, then, that the first of Origen's negative attributes, God's present invisibility, was part of R. Hoshaya's intellectual environment. But invisibility does not mean that he also held God to be incorporeal.

I have tried to show that R. Hoshaya developed his theology by way of royal parables, rich in Greek words and taken from the *realia* of the world around him. The parable from *LR* that highlights the striking similarity of the king and his *eparchos* might be construed to intimate the corporeality of God. I have tried to show, following Altmann's lead, that this is a basically anti-Gnostic parable. I have also highlighted the similar contours of R. Hoshaya's exegesis of the first verse of *Genesis* and that of Origen.

Finally, Rabbi Hoshaya's son bore the Greek name Marinos. The son's tutor impressed Rabbi Hoshaya with the wonderful turn of phrase on the One who sees but is not seen. I fear that we shall not find conclusive proof as to the rabbi's beliefs. I have tried to make a case for "exegetical points of contact"[31] between R. Hoshaya's views and Origen's on *Genesis*. I have also pointed out the parables' use of Greek words and settings. Whether there were also points of contact between Origen's negation of anthropomorphism and R. Hoshaya's own theology remains a matter of speculation. Yet I show, in another study, what I believe to have been R. Akiva's view on this matter. If I am correct, I hope to have established a greater affinity between some of the rabbinic theological positions and those of the philosophical schools surrounding them.

[31] I am using J. Baskin's felicitous expression.

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Caesarea Maritima and the Survival of Hellenistic-Jewish Literature

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Ancient libraries and their fate exert a strong fascination. Umberto Eco was aware of this when he ended his novel *The Name of the Rose* with a conflagration, in which the contents of that magnificent library, including the last remaining copy of Aristotle's *On comedy*, were reduced to smoke and ashes.[1] Luciano Canfora's study on the fate of the Alexandrian library, which is closer to a novel than a work of scholarship, makes equally engrossing reading.[2] Perhaps nowhere is so much human endeavor compressed in so small a space as in a library. But, as we all know, these precious places of collective memory are only too vulnerable to the whims of war and conquest, the swift-moving vagaries of fashion, the slower onslaught of worm and damp. All the great libraries of the ancient world have disappeared without trace. The three minor exceptions that remain, important though they are, should in the first place make us aware of how much we have lost.[3] What we can do with the resources at our command is investigate the role that these lost libraries played in the development of ancient scholarship, and particularly in the transmission and preservation of the ancient texts that we still possess. A particulary interesting, if far from exhaustive, example of such an investigation is the subject of this chapter.

It so happens that one of the more important libraries in the long history of the ancient world was located in Caesarea Maritima. The so-called Ecclesiastical or Episcopal Library of this city most likely began as a modest collection of books, intended for the use of the clergy and other members of the local church as it grew in the century of steady expansion between 150 and 250 C.E.[4] Once it had absorbed the personal library of Origen and became the depository for his priceless hexapla and

[1] U. Eco, *The Name of the Rose* (London, 1983).

[2] L. Canfora, *The Vanished Library: A Wonder of the Ancient World* (Berkeley, 1989).

[3] The library of L. Calpurnius Piso and his resident philosopher Philodemus at Herculaneum, that of the Essene community at Qumran, and that of the Pachomian monastery at Nag Hammadi. The first was private; the other two belonged to an entire community.

[4] J. McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima as Origen Knew It," in R. J. Daly, ed., *Origeniana Quinta: Papers of the 5th International Origen Congress, Boston College, 14–18 August 1989* (Louvain, 1992), 3–25, rightly argues (p. 20) that Origen need not have started the library from scratch.

tetrapla manuscripts, its fame spread throughout the Christian world. Through the painstaking efforts of the priest Pamphilus and the bishops Eusebius, Acacius, and Euzoius, its contents were preserved at least until the sixth century,[5] and most likely until the Arab conquest. As for the situation today, it is hardly cause for surprise that not a single volume of its rich collection has certainly survived, though it is possible that one or two of the very oldest biblical manuscripts may have had a direct or indirect connection with the library.[6] As for the possibility of identifying any physical remains of the actual building, I leave that question entirely to the distinguished archaeologists and historians working at Caesarea. The chances are surely very slight.[7]

There are at least four areas in which the library of Caesarea played a decisive role in the preservation and dissemination of ancient texts and their contents:

(1) It served as a resource center for the study and copying of the Greek text of the Bible (and particularly of the Old Testament).
(2) It supplied Eusebius (and to a much lesser extent Jerome) with invaluable information on the history of both the early Church and incipient Christian literature.
(3) Through the excerpts cited by Eusebius in his works, numerous fragments from otherwise lost Greek philosophical works have been preserved.
(4) Last, but certainly not least, it ensured the survival of most of the non-canonical Hellenistic-Jewish literature that we still possess.

All four themes are important. It is remarkable how little concerted research has been carried out on them. Indeed, the history of the Caesarea library and its influence is a monograph waiting to be written.[8] The ambitions of this chapter, however, will have to be more modest. My theme is the fourth of the areas outlined above: the preservation of Hellenistic-Jewish literature. But even here I will need to restrict myself. I will not look at those documents, such as the Books of the Maccabees, that have been transmitted via the Septuagint. Also the writings of Josephus will fall outside my scope. It is not likely that the Caesarea library was alone responsible for the survival of these works, which soon after their publication gained a lasting popularity among Christian, and to a lesser

[5] As proven by the colophon of the sixth-century cod. Coisl. 202[2], cited by H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1914), 75.

[6] It has been argued by many scholars that two of the great Uncial Bibles, Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ) and Codex Vaticanus (B) may have originated in Caesarea or may have spent time in the library. In the former, at the end of the text of 2 Esdras and Esther, there is a colophon stating that the ms. was collated with a copy in the Caesarea library written by Pamphilus himself. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford, 1968), 176–82, is skeptical about these claims (see his ample documentation for further references).

[7] Cf. McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima," 20, who refers to speculations by A. Negev.

[8] See A. Ehrhardt, "Die griechische Patriarchal-Bibliothek von Jerusalem: Ein Beitrag zur griechische Paläographie," *Römische Quartalschrift* 5 (1891), 221–43, R. Cadiou, "La bibliothèque de Césarée et la formation des Chaînes," *Revue des sciences religieuses* 16 (1936), 474–83; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur,* 5 vols. (Freiburg, 1913–32), 2:10; T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 86–98; and some further outdated studies cited by McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima," 20 n. 131.

extent, pagan readers.[9] What does fall within my ambit will become clear during the course of this study. Hardly surprisingly, the role of protagonist has been assigned to the great Jewish-Alexandrian philosopher and exegete Philo, but it will emerge that he is by no means the only player in the cast.[10]

My aim in what follows is not to repeat various generalities on how important the library was or must have been, but rather to present as succinctly as possible the hard evidence that we have at our disposal as it has been preserved in a number of vital texts. It will be good, I believe, if we take a leaf out of the book of our archaeological colleagues. The history of texts is, until very recently at least, no less material than the bricks and stones that they uncover. The difference lies in the nature of the materials. Books find it more difficult to defy the centuries. But even here there are important differences between books and books, as we shall soon see.

My account will proceed in five steps, each corresponding to an important document or personage. The story is best told in reverse chronological order. Fittingly we begin with an illustrious modern library, the Austrian National Library in Vienna, inheritor of the treasures of the Imperial Library of the Habsburg dynasty.

The Viennese Manuscript

Our first document is codex Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 29, a magnificent eleventh century parchment manuscript containing works by Eusebius, John Philoponus, Philo, and Cyril of Jerusalem. In its present state it records only half of Philo's treatise *De opificio mundi*, but on the page preceding this treatise a *pinax* (table of contents) is preserved which proves that it once contained much more:[11]

> These works of Philo are contained in the manuscript:
> On the creation of the cosmos according to Moses (= *Opif.*)
> Of the Questions and Answers in Genesis the books 1 2 3 4 5 6 (= *QG* 1–4)
> Of the Questions and Answers in Exodus the books 1 2 and 5 (= *QE* 1–2)
> On the progeny of the sophist Cain and how he became a wanderer 12 (= *Post.*)

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[9] In his detailed study, H. Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden, 1972), does not even mention the role of the Caesarea library (see esp. 172–87). See further idem, "Josephus in Early Christian Literature and Medieval Christian Art," in H. Schreckenberg and K. Schubert, eds., *Jewish Historiography and Iconography in Early and Medieval Christianity* (Assen-Minneapolis, 1992), 3–138.

[10] Much of the research for this article was carried out in the course of preparing an account of the fate of Philo's writings and thought in the early Christian tradition. See now my *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey*, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 3.3 (Assen–Minneapolis, 1993), esp. chap. 1; for the abbreviations of Philonic treatises used in this article, see ibid., xv.

[11] For more details on this ms., including the text of the *pinax*, see L. Cohn, *Philo Alexandrini libellus de opificio mundi*, Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen 4.4 (Breslau, 1889), i–vii; and L. Cohn, and P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1896–1915), 1:xxxv–xxxvii (at the end of vol. 1 a photograph of the text of *Opif.* 74–77 is found).

On the Decalogue (= *Decal.*)
On the specific laws referred to the two genera of the Decalogue . . . (= *Spec.* 3–4)

If only these contents had not gone missing, for then we would have eight more treatises of Philo in the original Greek, namely, his *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus,* now only extant in an Armenian translation (with one book also in Latin).[12] In this connection an oddity should be noted. Book 1 of *Questions on Exodus* is mentioned, but then crossed out. Is this simply a scribal mistake that was immediately rectified? Or was that book unexpectedly missing? Today it has disappeared without trace. It is surely no coincidence that we now possess only two of the original five books of this work, albeit in the above-mentioned Armenian translation.[13] It would seem that what was not available to the scribe of the archetype of this Viennese manuscript, was also not available to the Armenian translators in sixth-century Byzantium, and is now also not available to us.

Even more interesting than the *pinax,* however, is a small additional note in the form of a cross placed further down the same page (fig. 1; fig. 2, with the cross magnified to about twice its actual size). We discern the following text:

ε
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ἐνσωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο
ε
π
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c

Εὐζοῖος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο
Euzoius the bishop had new copies made in codices

This Euzoius was bishop of Caesarea from about 376 to 379, until he was driven out

[12] In J. B. Aucher's edition of the Armenian translation (Venice, 1822), the *Quaestiones in Genesim* are divided into four books, and this practice is continued in modern translations. But originally it must have been divided into six books, as the *pinax* reveals. See the article of Royse cited in the following note.

[13] Cf. J. R. Royse, "The Original Structure of Philo's *Quaestiones,*" *Studia Philonica* 4 (1976–77), 54 and n. 87.

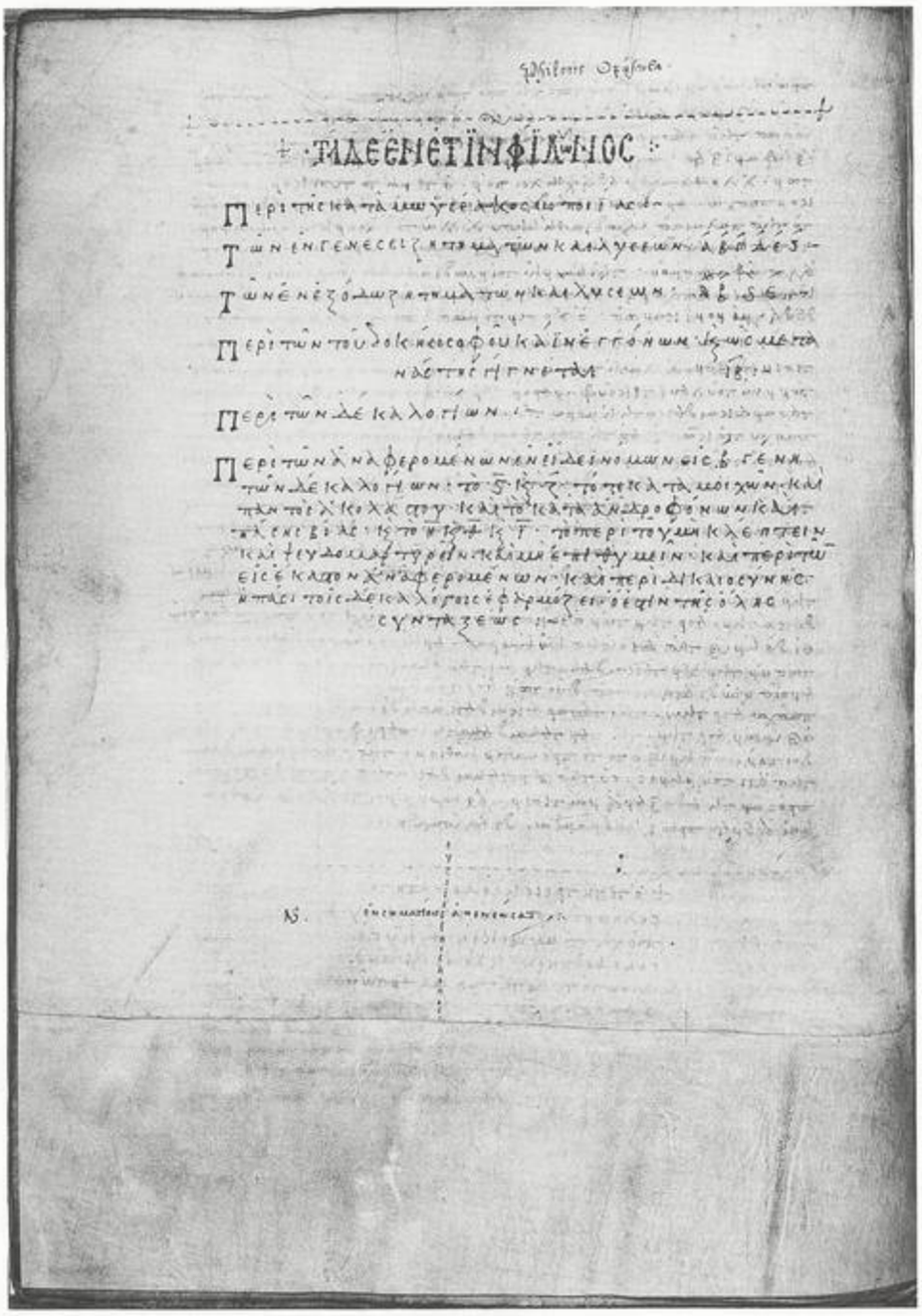

Figure 1. Codex Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 29, eleventh-century parchment codex, 34 x 24 cm. Fol. 146v, the *pinax* of the original contents of the manuscript and the "cross" of Bishop Euzoius of Caesarea. Photograph courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

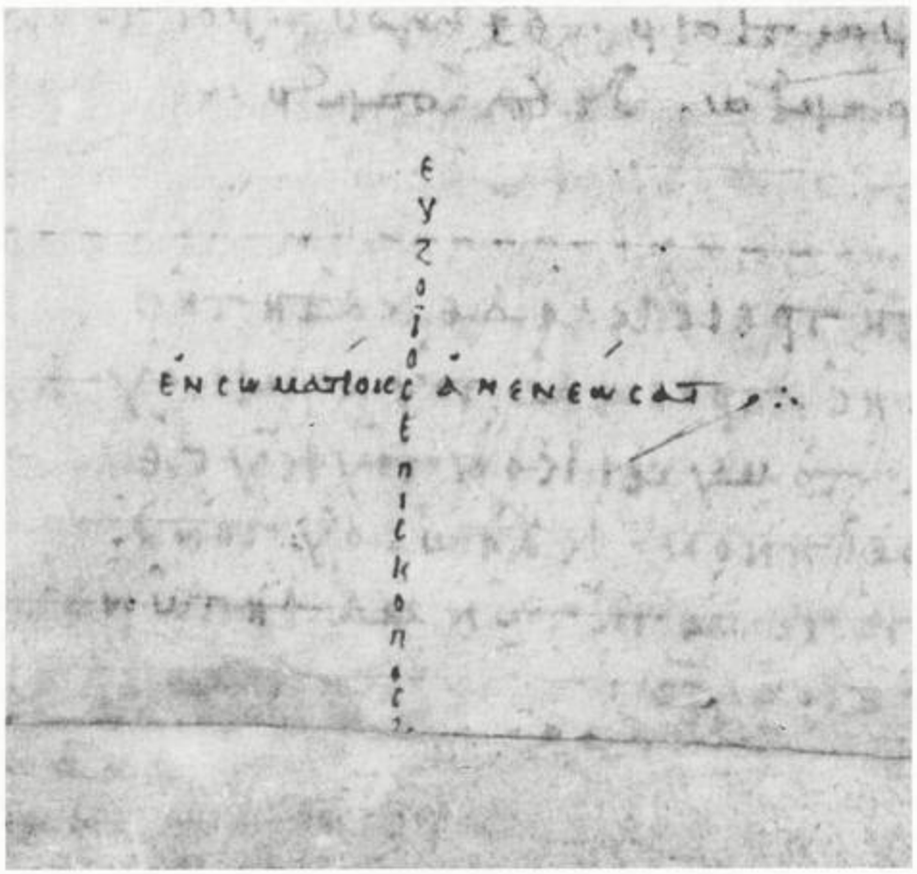

Figure 2. The "cross" of Bishop Euzoius of Caesarea, magnified to about twice its actual size, recording that Euzoius had the writings of Philo transferred to parchment codices. Photograph courtesy of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

of the city on account of his Arian tendencies. We owe our information on him to Jerome, who devotes a brief account to Euzoius in his work *On famous men* (§113). Jerome also tells us that he "set out to restore the Library of Origen and Pamphilus, which was deteriorating badly, by transferring it to parchment codices." This confirms in quite remarkable fashion the information given in the manuscript, even using the same technical terms.[14] In a letter (*Ep.* 34), Jerome associates Euzoius with another

[14] The Latin text reads: "plurimo labore corruptam iam bibliothecam Origenis et Pamphili in membranis instaurare conatus." The Greek term σωμάτια is less clear than the Latin *membrana,* for it can refer also to papyrus codices (or even to collections of rolls). The antithesis would then be codices versus rolls. But it may be assumed that this step had long been taken (compare the two third-century Philonic codices found in Coptos and Oxyrhynchus in Egypt), so that the contrast implied in the "cross" is between (damaged) papyrus codices and (long-lasting) parchment codices.

Caesarean bishop, Acacius – probably his predecessor – in this task of preservation and restoration. It is apparent that the papyrus rolls and codices in the library were deteriorating badly. The transferral to the much more durable material of parchment meant a watershed in the survival of the library's holdings.

Among the works on which attention was lavished were those of Philo, as the Viennese manuscript proves beyond all doubt. As for the quality of the text in this manuscript, its editor Leopold Cohn gives various examples of readings that it preserves and concludes:[15] "The extent to which manuscript V stands out in excellence and textual purity is in my view sufficiently demonstrated by these examples. Therefore there can be no doubt whatsoever that we should follow it as our most authoritative witness for the first part of the Philonic work, which by an unhappy fate is the only part that it preserves." In his reconstruction of the stemma, Cohn postulates one other lost manuscript intermediate between the Viennese codex and the original produced by Euzoius in the library of Caesarea.[16]

Jerome, *On Famous Men*

It is time to turn the focus of our attention to Jerome himself. The "monk of Bethlehem" spent the last thirty-five years of his busy life in the Holy Land (385–420), and so had ample opportunity to visit Caesarea and inspect for himself the treasures located in the library. Various pieces of evidence demonstrate that he made good use of it.[17] The most striking example is found in his biographical notice of Pamphilus, the priest of the Caesarean Church who was martyred in 309 during the persecution of Maximinus. Here we read (§75):[18] "The priest Pamphilus, close friend of Eusebius bishop of Caesarea, was so consumed with zeal for the library of divine writings that he copied out the greater part of the rolls of Origen with his own hand, copies which up to this very day are kept in the Caesarea library. I also came across twenty-five rolls of Origen's commentaries *On the minor prophets* executed in his hand, which I clutch to my heart and preserve with as much joy as if I thought I possessed the wealth of Croesus." As Courcelle has observed, this remark implies that Jerome had borrowed the precious rolls from the library and had them in his keeping, presumably because he himself was working on a commentary on the same books.[19]

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[15] Cohn, *Philo Alexandrini libellus*, vii (my trans.).

[16] Stemma, ibid., xxi.

[17] Collected by J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London, 1975), 135; cf. also P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969 = Eng. trans. of orig. Fr. ed., Paris, 1943, 2nd ed. 1948), 104–8.

[18] The latest edition of *De viris illustribus* is by A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gerolamo, Gli Uomini Illustri* (Florence, 1988). The word *necessarius*, which I translate "close friend," can also mean "relative." Eusebius became the adopted son of Pamphilus; cf. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 94. On Pamphilus' correction of manuscripts when in prison, see n. 6 above.

[19] Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 104.

Jerome's brief biographical notices are built up according to fixed patterns.[20] Thus we find that in every single case he mentions what he knows about the literary productivity of the person concerned. It may be cause for surprise that among the 135 biographical notices, Jerome also includes three that focus on non-Christian writers, namely, Philo, Seneca, and Josephus. They are taken up because in each case they have a direct connection – at least so Jerome thought – with the apostles. In Philo's case it was because Jerome uncritically accepts the legend of Philo Christianus: Philo had had conversations with Peter in Rome, and in his work on the Therapeutae he describes the beginnings of the Alexandrian church under the leadership of Peter's beloved disciple Mark.[21] So it happens that Jerome includes a list of Philo's works in his notice (§11), and this is our second important piece of evidence.[22] In translation his list reads as follows (additions in brackets are identifications with existent Philonic works):[23]

> Of this man there remain countless outstanding writings on the five books of Moses: one book *On the confusion of tongues* [= *Conf.*], one book *On nature and finding* [= *Fug.*], *On those things which we pray for with our mind and detest* [= *Sobr.*], one book *On learning* [= *Congr.*], one book *On the heir of divine things* [= *Her.*], one book *On the division of equals and opposites* [also = *Her.*], one book *On the three virtues* [= *Virt.*], one book *Why the names of certain persons in scripture are changed* [= *Mut.*], two books *On covenants* [not extant], one book *On the life of the sage* [= *Abr.*], one book *On the giants* [= *Gig.*], five books *That dreams are sent by God* [= *Somn.*], five books on *Questions and Answers on Exodus* [= *QE*], four books *On the tabernacle and the Decalogue* [= *Decal.* and *Spec.* ?], as well as *On victims and rewards or the accursed* [= *Spec.* I & *Praem.*], *On Providence* [= *Prov.*], *On the Jews* [= *Hypoth.* ?], *On the conduct of life* [= *Ios.* ?], *On Alexander* [= *Anim.*], and *That mute animals have their own reason* [also = *Anim.*] and *That every unwise person is a slave* [not extant, cf. *Prob.* 1]. On the life-style of our people (i.e., Christians) there is the book about which we spoke above, that is, on the apostolic men which he gave the title *On the contemplative life of suppliants* [= *Contempl.*], clearly because they contemplate the heavenly beings and pray to God without ceasing, and under other headings two books *On farming* = [*Agr.* & *Plant.*], two books *On drunkenness* [= *Ebr.* and one lost book]. There are also many other memorials to his ability which have not come into our hands.

In this list Jerome records more than thirty Philonic works, including some no longer extant. At the end of the list he claims that his list is not complete. The implication of the final words is that the books he does mention are in his possession. At least so the passage has been read by commentators.[24] But is this true? Did Jerome possess all these works? Or are we meant to read the passage differently?

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[20] Cf. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gerolamo*, 23.

[21] On the legend of Philo Christianus, see the texts collected in my *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, 1–7.

[22] For a detailed treatment of Jerome's knowledge of Philo, see ibid., 312–19.

[23] Text in Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gerolamo*, 97–99 (in the first line on p. 99 I read *precamur*). For the abbreviations of Philonic treatises used, see n. 10 above.

[24] E.g., S. von Sykowski, *Hieronymus als Litterarhistoriker: Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung der Schrift des hl. Hieronymus "De viris illustibus,"* Kirchengeschichtlichen Studien 2 (Münster, 1894), 69; Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 81.

It will be apparent to anyone acquainted with the Philonic corpus that this list is extremely complex and full of problems. In the present context it will not be remunerative to explain all its mistakes and further oddities.[25] The best clues on the provenance of Jerome's information are provided if we look more closely at what he says about those Philonic treatises that are no longer extant. First of all, we note that Jerome mentions five books of *Questions and Answers on Exodus*. This was of course precisely that work which Euzoius was unable to write out fully, as the Viennese cross informs us. Jerome writes his biographical notice some fifteen years after the Caesarean bishop was driven out of his see. Where would he have found his copy? Moreover, he mentions two books *On covenants*, which are only known to us because they are referred to by Philo himself in *Mut.* 52. Here Jerome very clearly gives the game away, for, as we shall soon see, this very fact is noted by Eusebius in the catalogue of Philo's works which he includes in his *Ecclesiastical History* 2.18. In fact, the briefest perusal of Eusebius' list shows conclusively that Jerome has simply taken over his information from Eusebius, making various changes along the way, which may well have been meant to conceal his dependence, but which not only failed to achieve this aim, but also resulted in diverse unfortunate errors.[26]

It is extremely unlikely, therefore, that Jerome could have had all these works in his possession, since some were not even available to Eusebius, who lived a century earlier. It is tempting to conclude that, when he implies that these works "have . . . come into our hands," he is trying to pull the wool over our eyes. During the past century Jerome's reputation as one of the greatest Christian polymaths has declined drastically, and he is now regarded above all as a habitual "name-dropper," who at all times seeks to inflate the scope of his learning.[27] But a kinder interpretation of the statement at the end of his list is possible. It is not necessary to take the phrase "our hands" as a *pluralis majestatis*. It may be meant in a more general sense. Jerome will have known (or inferred) that Eusebius was dependent on the Caesarea library for his information. Moreover, he himself was close enough to the library to feel an association with it. So the phrase may refer to the fact that these works were available in the library, as indeed they nearly all were. But because he uncritically takes over the information he found in his predecessor, his own list certainly *cannot* be taken to be an accurate reflection of the situation in the library at the end of the fourth century.

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[25] See Sykowski, *Hieronymus*, 96–97; C. A. Bernoulli, *Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Hieronymus* (Freiburg–Leipzig, 1895), 115–17, 182–85; Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gerolamo*, 257–59. In all cases the comments are far from exhaustive.

[26] In fact, many details of Jerome's list are only comprehensible through comparison with the Eusebian source. For example, in the case of the doublets of *Her.* and *Anim.* he has simply read "and" instead of "or" as given in Eusebius' text.

[27] This trend was initiated by the studies of Sykowski and Bernoulli cited in previous notes. See the conclusions reached by Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers*, 124–25.

Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*

It is already apparent that the evidence supplied by Eusebius is far more important than that of Jerome. As a young lad the later bishop of Caesarea became the assistant and later adopted son of the priest Pamphilus, giving him valuable assistance in the arduous task of restoring the library.[28] So when Eusebius took upon himself the task of composing a history of the Church up to his own day, it was natural that he turned to the material that was available to him in his immediate environment.[29]

Eusebius, just like Jerome later, is keen to give thumbnail sketches of the protagonists in his account, mentioning wherever possible what he knows about their literary production.[30] In Book 2 of the *Ecclesiastical History,* when discussing the beginnings of the church in Alexandria, he first launches the legend of Philo Christianus (§16–17), and then, wishing to underline the importance and reliability of Philo's evidence, he devotes an entire chapter to his writings (§18). This forms the third step in our investigation.

First of all, I give a translation of this chapter, adding letters in parentheses to indicate the steps in Eusebius' procedure and identifications with extant Philonic treatises in brackets.[31]

> Philo was copious in speech and wide-ranging in his thoughts. Since he was high-reaching and elevated in his studies on the divine scriptures, he produced a diverse and versatile exposition of the sacred scriptures.
> (a) He first went through the subject matter of the events in Genesis in connected sequence in the books which he entitled
> *The allegories of the sacred laws.* [= *Leg.–Post.*]
>
> (b) He then made detailed arrangements into chapters of the difficulties in the scriptures and gave their statement and solution in the books which he entitled respectively
> *Questions and solutions in Genesis and Exodus.* [= *QG, QE*]
>
> (c) There are besides these specially elaborated endeavors on particular problems, such as two books *On agriculture* [= *Agr., Plant.*]
> and as many *On drunkenness,*[= *Ebr.* (one book lost)]
> and others given distinct and appropriate titles, such as
> *On what the sober mind prays for and disavows* [= *Sobr.*]
> and *On the confusion of languages* [= *Conf.*]

[28] See esp. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius,* 93–105.

[29] Both the library of Caesarea and the nearby library of Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem), which is mentioned as a source of material in *HE* 6.20.1. The framework of the *History* is supplied by the earlier *Chronicle.* On both works see Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius,* 106–47 (but little is said about the debt to the library in Caesarea); see also R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as a Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), esp. 41–43, 72–76 on the use of libraries.

[30] See, for example, on Josephus 3.9.2–3, on Justin Martyr 4.18, on Clement of Alexandria 6.13–14.

[31] I have used the text in the Loeb Classical Library edition by K. Lake (Cambridge, Mass., 1926, 1975), which follows the critical edition of E. Schwartz (Leipzig, 1903). Lake's translation has also been valuable in the preparation of my own translation.

and *On flight and discovery,* [= *Fug.*]
and *On meeting for the sake of studies,* [= *Congr.*]
On who is heir of divine things
or *On the division into equals and opposites,* [= *Her.*]
and furthermore
On the three virtues which Moses describes with others, [= *Virt.*]
in addition to these
On those whose names are changed and why, [= *Mut.*]
in which he says two books *On Covenants* were composed [= lost]
His are also
On migration [= *Migr.*]
and (*On*) *the life of the sage who gained perfection in righteousness or the unwritten laws,* [= *Abr.*]
and furthermore
On the giants or *On the unchangeability of God* [= *Gig.–Deus*]
and five books *On that dreams according to Moses are sent by God.* [= *Somn.* 1–2, 3 books lost]
These are what have come down to us of the works on Genesis.

(d) On Exodus we are acquainted with
five books *Questions and Solutions in Exodus,* [= *QE* (= doublet)]
and *On the tabernacle,* [= *QE* book 2 (?)]
and *On the Decalogue,* [= *Decal.*]
and four books *On the Laws specially relating to the main divisions of the Decalogue,* [= *Spec.* 1–4]
and *On the animals for sacrifice and the kinds of sacrifice,* [= *Spec.* 1.162–256 (= doublet)]
and *On the rewards laid down in the Laws for the good and the punishments and curses for the wicked.* [= *Praem.*]

(e) In addition to all these some single volumes (μονόβιβλα) of his are recorded, such as
On Providence [= *Prov.* 2]
and the treatise composed by him *On the Jews,* [= *Hypoth.* (?)]
and *The politician* [= *Ios.*]
and furthermore
Alexander or *On whether irrational animals possess reason,* [= *Anim.*]
in addition to these
That every bad man is a slave [= lost]
which is followed by
That every good man is free [= *Prob.*]
After these he composed
On the contemplative life or *Suppliants* [= *Contempl.*]
from which we covered the details on the life of the apostolic men,
and
The interpretations of the Hebrew names in the Law and Prophets [= spurious]
are said to be his effort.

(f) This man traveled to Rome during the reign of Gaius. His account of Gaius' impiety, which he characteristically and ironically entitled
On the virtues, [= *Flacc.*, *Legat.*]
is said to have been recounted before the entire Roman senate during the reign of Claudius. His words (or treatises, λόγοι) gained so much admiration that they were thought worthy of deposition in libraries.

It is apparent from the sequence in the list that Eusebius has made some effort to introduce order into the mass of material that he has at his disposal. First (a) he mentions Philo's allegorical commentaries on Genesis, presumably meaning by this the treatises on Gen. 1–5 up to *De posteritate Caini* (because the following commentary *De gigantibus – Quod Deus* is mentioned later).[32] Then (b) he mentions the *Quaestiones*, which stand apart on account of their quite distinctive exegetical method. But after that he appears to have difficulty seeing the forest for the trees, and so introduces the vague category of "specially elaborated endeavors on particular problems," ordering them only – it would seem – by Bible book commented on. First (c) he lists all those works which have to do with Genesis, as he tells us when his listing is completed. Here we find the interesting information on the lost work *On covenants* noted above in connection with Jerome's list. Since the cross-reference to this work is found in the middle of another treatise, this is proof that he not only listed these works, but at some stage had made a careful study of them. Then (d) under the heading of Exodus, Eusebius includes those works that deal with Exodus and the rest of the Law. In this group of works there are at least two doublets. Moreover, it is hard to know exactly what the reference to a work on the Tabernacle refers to.[33] Next (e) Eusebius introduces a category of "single volumes," under which he can subsume various philosophical and apologetic treatises. Finally (f) he mentions Philo's work on contemporary politics in connection with his embassy to Rome.

Once again it cannot be our ambition to deal with all the questions that this list raises. We note immediately that it is more complete than what we found in Jerome, and is patently the latter's source. At first sight the list of titles looks very different from the standard sequence that we are used to in editions and translations of Philo, which was first established by Cohn as part of the research that went into the *editio maior*.[34] But once we have made the necessary identications and carefully examined the result, it emerges that the list in its totality in fact corresponds fairly exactly to the Philonic corpus such as we know it. This can be made clear by means of the following table.[35]

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[32] On this grouping of treatises under the name of *Legum allegoriae*, see E. Lucchesi, *L'usage de Philon dans l'oeuvre exégétique de Saint Ambroise: Une "Quellenforschung" relative aux Commentaires d'Ambroise sur la Genèse* (Leiden, 1977), 122–26, although I cannot agree with the further conclusions he draws from this fact.

[33] It is most likely to *Quaestiones in Exodum* book 2 (and perhaps to sections 50–124), but Schürer's suggestion that it refers to book 2 of *De vita Moysis* cannot be entirely dismissed; see the discussion in Royse, "Original Structure," 54–55 (with further references).

[34] See esp. L. Cohn, "Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philos," *Philologus*, suppl. 7 (1899), 385–437. Valuable work had earlier been done *inter alios* by E. Schürer in his famous handbook, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed., 3 vols in 4 (Leipzig, 1901–9), 3:633–95. The modern revision of this account by J. Morris, "Philo the Jewish Philosopher," in E. Schürer, G. Vermes et al., *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1973–87), 3:2, 809–70, is the best available, and contains many important observations on Eusebius' list.

[35] As I show in a brief conspectus in *The Studia Philonica Annual* 4 (1992), 78–79, Philo wrote at least 70–75 treatises that we know about. This means that the extant *Greek* corpus (38 works) forms about half, while *all* the extant works (± 50) amount to two-thirds of the total. See further the account of E. Schürer and J. Morris cited in the previous note.

(1) books available to us but not listed by Eusebius: *Opif. Mos.* 1–2, *Aet.*, *Prov.* 1
(2) books mentioned by Eusebius, but now only extant in translation: *QG* 1–6, *QE* 2, 5, *Prov.* 2, *Anim.*
(3) books mentioned by Eusebius but now lost: *QE* 1, 3, 4, lost books of *Leg. All.* (?), one book *Ebr.*, *Somn.* 3–5, *Hypoth.*, 3 books *On virtues*, twin of *Prob.* (?)
(4) books we know Philo wrote but probably unavailable to Eusebius: *On rewards* 1–2, *On covenants* 1–2, *On piety*, *On Isaac*, *On Jacob*, twin of *Contempl.*, *On numbers*, original of the fragment *De Deo*, the sequel to *Aet.*

There are thus four categories to consider.

(1) In the first we see that there are only four treatises in our corpus that Eusebius does not mention. Of these we know that he had access to *De opificio mundi*, because he cites it elsewhere.[36] The next two were probably overlooked.[37] The fourth treatise, book 1 of *De providentia*, was definitely *not* known to him, since he mentions book 2 as part of the "single volumes."[38]

(2) The second category indicates that all the works that we now only have in an Armenian or Latin translation were known to Eusebius, with some small exceptions which I shall mention directly.

(3) In the third category we encounter works that Eusebius mentions, but that are now wholly lost. These include the three books of the *Quaestiones* which, according to the likely interpretation of the *pinax* of the Viennese manuscript, were already missing by the time of Euzoius.[39] Of the *Hypothetica* we do possess substantial fragments, but our source for these is Eusebius himself, as we shall see in the following section.[40]

(4) The final category contains those works that we know Philo wrote, but were in all likelihood not available to Eusebius. As we have seen, he deduced the existence of *On covenants* from a cross-reference by Philo himself. The others he does not mention, but we know of their existence from other Philonic cross-references.

It will by now be clear that there is a major difficulty in interpreting this list. Eusebius' purpose is to record the *extent* of Philo's writings. The longer the list, the more impressive his source for church history becomes. This means that we cannot in all cases be certain that he actually had *access* to the works that he mentions. But, with the exception of *On covenants* and perhaps one or two other works that he may have deduced from references in other works,[41] the weight of the evidence is strongly in favor of this. We know that Pamphilus had made lists of the holdings of the library,[42]

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[36] See the next section on the *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

[37] Unless *On the Tabernacle* refers to *De vita Moysis*, as suggested in n. 33 above.

[38] We know that Eusebius means book 2 because he cites it at length in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*.

[39] See above, "The Viennese Manuscript."

[40] That *Flacc.* and *Legat.* belonged to a work consisting of five books is mentioned by Eusebius himself, *HE* 2.5.1. This work is probably to be identified with *On virtues*, but the matter remains controversial. See Morris, "Philo the Jewish Philosopher," 859–64.

[41] E.g., *That every bad man is a slave*, which can be deduced from *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 1.

[42] Eusebius writes that "in showing the extent of Pamphilus's zeal for divine things, I quoted as evi-

and that Eusebius had included a copy of these in his account of the martyr's life (if only we still had this work!). So it is eminently possible that Eusebius is basing his account of Philo's *oeuvre* on such a list. It is also possible that he assembled the rolls or codices present in the library himself, and used this collection as the basis of his list.[43] The doublets in the list might then be explained as the result of a double copy. It appears as good as certain that Eusebius' list does reflect the holdings of the Caesarea library at the end of the third century, even if it is not an *exact* indication of what was then present.

The fact that Eusebius' list so closely reflects the Philonic corpus we still have – that is, that most of what he knows we still have, and what he did not have does not emerge elsewhere – forms, together with the cross in the Viennese manuscript, the chief argument for the hypothesis that the survival of the corpus was brought about by its presence in the Caesarea library. As Emil Schürer asserted in his handbook:[44] "The whole tradition, direct and indirect probably derives, in the main, from the library at Caesarea. This view is supported not only by a note in the Codex Vindobonensis [Euzoius' cross], but chiefly by the fact that the tradition nowhere extends beyond the limits known to Eusebius." This hypothesis also forms the basis for the reconstruction of the history of the text that underlies Cohn and Wendland's great edition of Philo's works.[45]

It is possible to have a few doubts about the exhaustiveness of the hypothesis. For example, at least three pieces of evidence in the Armenian tradition – *De providentia* book 1, the fragment *De Deo*, and the fragment from *On numbers* – are not mentioned by Eusebius.[46] As I shall observe at the end of this chapter, the Caesarean route may not have been exclusive. By and large, however, the hypothesis, supported by the weight of Eusebius' evidence, cannot be wrong. Moreover, it is given strong support by more evidence, which will be our fourth step.

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dence the lists in the library that he had brought together of the works of Origen and of other ecclesiastical writers" (*HE* 7.32.3; trans. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library). It is not impossible that Philo would be included among the latter on account of his status as a church father *honoris causa*.

[43] Eusebius tells us (*HE* 6.36.3) that he collected together the letters of Origen and arranged them in roll-cases (τόμων περιγραφαί). In an essay entitled "On the Use by Eusebius of Volumes of Tracts," H. J. Lawlor, *Eusebiana: Essays on the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea* (Oxford, 1912), 138–45, analyzes the list and concludes that the works of Philo that it records were bound in five volumes of tracts (i.e., codices), which had probably been preserved in Origen's library. Much in his argument is highly speculative. But it is supported by the Oxyrhynchus codex of Philo, which contained seven or eight treatises (including the lost book *On drunkenness* recorded by Eusebius), but in a quite different sequence; see further J. R. Royse, "The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Philo," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 17 (1980), 155–65, and my *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, 23.

[44] I quote his words as translated and revised by J. Morris, "Philo the Jewish Philosopher," 821–22.

[45] Cohn and Wendland, *Philonis opera*, 1:i–iii.

[46] Note that Schürer and Morris hedge their first sentence with qualifications, but not the second.

Preparation for the Gospel

In another famous work, the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Eusebius sets out to demonstrate, in response to the strident attack on Christianity by the philosopher Porphyry,[47] that there is an essential harmony between the new religion and all that is best in pagan Graeco-Roman culture. To this end he quotes extensively from Greek, Jewish, and early Christian sources. It is clear from an examination of these quotations that Eusebius made use of a representative but basically fairly limited number of writings in these three areas. One must agree with Eusebius' editor, Karl Mras, that the provenance of these works can only have been the Caesarea library.[48] In the following table I give an overview, dividing the authors into three categories, with a special column added for Philo. The asterisks indicate that for these authors (or at least the documents quoted) Eusebius is our only source, while underlining marks Hellenistic-Jewish documents or sources.

Books of Philo cited	Other Hell.-Jud. authors	Christian authors	Pre-Christian and pagan Greek authors	
Opif.	*Aristobulus**	Julius Afric.*	Abydenus	Longinus*
Agr.	*Aristeas*	Bardesanes*	Alex. Aphrodisias	Numenius*
Plant.	Josephus	Clem. of Alex.	Alex. Polyhistor*	Oenomaus*
Conf.		Dionys. of Alex.*	Apollon. of Tyana	Philo of Byblus*
Spec. 1		Origen	Aristocles*	Plato
Hypoth.		Tatian	Arius Didymus*	Plotinus
Prov. 2			Atticus*	Plutarch
QG 2			Diodorus Siculus	Porphyry*
			Diogenenianus*	Severus*
			Dionys. Halicarn.	Xenophon

If we further recognize that Eusebius in this work always writes out his excerpts verbatim, it hardly needs to be emphasized how immensely valuable this compilatory work is for our knowledge of ancient authors. Once again our discussion has to be selective. Three aspects of the table are essential for our theme.

First, we note that Eusebius quotes twenty passages from eight different treatises of Philo.[49] The first five treatises we still possess in Greek, but for the last three the original text has been lost. Eusebius is the only witness to the work called *Hypothetica*. He must have had a copy available to him – presumably in the library – which later dis-

[47] See Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 174–86.

[48] *Eusebius Werke: Band VIII, Die Praeparatio Evangelica*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1956; 2nd ed. 1982), 1:lvii–lviii. See also by the same scholar, "Die Stellung der Praeparatio Evangelica des Eusebius im antike Schrifttum," *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 17 (1956), 209–17. But a more detailed examination of Eusebius' sources and their provenance remains a *desideratum*.

[49] The texts are *De opificio mundi* 7–12, 24–27, 29–31, 35–36; *De agricultura* 51; *De plantatione* 8–10, 18–20; *De confusione linguarum* 62–63, 97, 146–147; *De specialibus legibus* 1.13–17, 20; *Quod probus liber sit* 75–91; 2 fragments from *Hypothetica; De providentia* 2.3, 15–33, 50–51, 99–112 (Aucher); *Quaestiones in Genesim* 2.62; full details in my *Philo in Early Christian Literature*, 223.

appeared without trace.[50] So we may safely conclude that these eight writings at least were in his immediate vicinity. All of them, except puzzlingly the famous *De opificio mundi,* are present in his list in the *Ecclesiastical History.* It is reasonable to conclude that the other works in that list were there too. Moreover, there is another piece of hard evidence. In his work on the text of *De opificio mundi,* Cohn noted the remarkable convergence of textual readings in Eusebius' extracts from this work and in codex Vindobonensis that goes back to the archetype in the Caesarea library.[51]

Second, we observe that Eusebius cites directly from three other Hellenistic-Jewish authors: Aristobulus, Aristeas, and Josephus. Especially the first is intriguing. Aristobulus was active nearly two centuries before Philo. He too uses Greek philosophy to interpret and show the preeminence of Mosaic scripture. He is the only one of Philo's exegetical predecessors about whom we know anything at all. Once again there must have been a copy in the Episcopal Library.[52]

But, third, Eusebius' importance for our knowledge of Jewish-Hellenistic literature is not yet exhausted. He also preserves a considerable number of other fragments from authors dating to the second century B.C.E. These are also mainly exegetical, but – in contrast to Aristobulus – show little Greek philosophical influence. Some of them are in poetical form. They comprise the following authors: Aristeas the Exegete, Artapanus, Cleodemus Malchas, Demetrius the Chronographer, Eupolemus, Ezechiel Tragicus, Philo Epicus, Theodotus.[53] But – it is important to observe – these fragments form a different case from those we have discussed so far, for they are all transmitted via a Greek writer who was active in Rome in the middle of the first century B.C.E., Alexander Polyhistor.[54] For this reason I have also underlined his name on the table above. Here we have Hellenistic-Jewish material preserved for us through the combined efforts of a pagan Greek and a Christian author. Once again there must have been a copy in the library which Eusebius could ransack for his own purposes. It is additional evidence that the library was especially interested in material – also furnished by Philo's *Hypothetica,* two Josephan works,[55] and Philo of Byblus[56] – on the his-

[50] Jerome's mention is of course dependent on Eusebius.

[51] See *Philonis opera,* 1:xxxvii: "This view [that the archetype of the codex goes back to the Caesarea library] is brilliantly confirmed by the fact that Eusebius in the excepts which he took from the Philonic book *De opificio mundi* in almost every case agrees with the manuscript V to such an extent that we may rightly say that the very same source of the text is represented by both" (my trans.).

[52] See the standard monograph of N. Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos: Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur,* Texte und Untersuchungen 86 (Berlin, 1964). Translation by A. Yarbro Collins in J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* 2 vols. (London, 1983–85), 2:831–42. A full commentary is about to be published as vol. 3 of *Fragments from Hellenistic-Jewish Authors* by C. R. Holladay.

[53] Translations in Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha* 2:775–904; text, translation, and full commentary in C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic-Jewish Authors,* vols. 1–2 (Chico, Calif., 1983; Atlanta 1989).

[54] On this personage see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People,* 1:510–13, M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism,* 3 vols. (Jerusalem, 1974-84), 1:157–64.

[55] I.e., the *Antiquities* and *Contra Apionem.*

[56] On this Phoenician author see Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors,* 2:138–45.

tory and antiquities of the Jews. These works were especially useful for apologetic purposes, as Eusebius' own practice shows.

Origen's Library

If, therefore, we can be certain that the writings of Hellenistic-Jewish authors so far discussed were present in the library, how, we may ask, did they get there? The answer seems obvious, and forms our fifth and final step. These writings formed part of Origen's library which he took with him from Alexandria when he took up his residence in Caesarea in 233 at the invitation of Bishop Theoctistus.[57] Origen was given all the facilities he needed to set up a kind of biblical research institute. His personal library will have formed the nucleus of a collection which was vital for both the exegetical and apologetic activities in which he was so intensely involved.

This answer seems obvious. But once again we are justified in calling for hard evidence. How can we be sure that Philo and Aristobulus were part of Origen's library? After all, when Gregory Thaumaturgus reports on the curriculum of study that Origen offered his protégés, there is no mention of the study of non-biblical Jewish writings at all.[58] I see at least four specific arguments that support the conclusion that, in the case of these Hellenistic–Jewish writings, it was Origen's copies that formed the basis for the holdings of the library.

First, there is Origen's own use of Philo.[59] Although he explicitly mentions him only three times, there are many other implicit references, and it is apparent that he knew Philo's bulky *oeuvre* very well.[60] In his *Commentary on Matthew,* dated by Nautin to the last years of his life,[61] he quotes from Philo's treatise *Quod deterius* on the subject of castration, in a passage that goes on implicitly to condemn the drastic deed he carried out in his youth.[62] This work is part of the Allegorical Commentary, and is not one of the more popular Philonic treatises. Origen gives it its full title. We may infer, I believe, that he possessed a copy. A further example concerns a pseudo-Philonic work. In his *Commentary on John* Origen states that he found an etymology in "the interpretation of the names."[63] This is clearly a reference to the treatise *Interpretatio Hebraicorum*

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[57] For the details of Origen's move to and residence in Caesarea, see P. Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son œuvre,* Christianisme antique 1 (Paris, 1977), esp. 428–41.

[58] Cf. my remarks in "Philo and Origen: A Preliminary Survey," in Daly, ed., *Origeniana Quinta,* 333–34.

[59] See, in addition to the article just cited, my chapter in *Philo in Early Christian Literature,* 157–83, where I note that much work remains to be done.

[60] A list of texts in which Origen refers to Philo is given in *The Studia Philonica Annual* 6 (1994), 113–14.

[61] Nautin, *Origène,* 412.

[62] *Comm. in Matt.* 15.3, 10.354.30, ed. Klostermann-Benz.

[63] *Comm. in Joh.* 2.33, 90.18, ed. Preuschen.

nominum which is found in Eusebius' list of Philonic works.[64] Jerome, who published a revised Latin translation of this work, tells us that Origen was convinced that Philo was its author.[65] The path from Origen to Eusebius to Jerome is plain.

Second, there is the well-known passage at the beginning of Genesis Rabbah, in which Rabbi Hoshaya uses the image of a king and an architect in order to illustrate how God consulted the Torah in the creation of the universe.[66] I am convinced that the image is taken over from Philo's commentary on the creation account in *De opificio mundi*, and is meant to correct his Logos doctrine. The rabbi resided in Caesarea, and was on friendly terms with Origen.[67] Surely it was through this relationship that he was acquainted with Philo's works. It is the only place in rabbinic literature, as far as I know, where it is possible to detect a reaction to Philo's views, albeit under the cover of anonymity.

Third, attention has been drawn to our next piece of evidence by Father Barthélemy in his magisterial article on rabbinic interference in the text of Philo.[68] In a particular group of Philonic manuscripts there is undeniable evidence of tampering with the text which could have only been done by a rabbinic Jew, as becomes clear in the following examples:[69]

(1) Philo's Septuagint text is replaced by the more literal translation of Aquila.
(2) The theological term *logos* is three times replaced by *nomos* (i.e., the Torah).
(3) Ἰησοῦς (referring to the Old Testament Joshua) changed to Ἰωσοῦα.
(4) The passage "having placed his firstborn son at the head like lieutenant of a great king" (*De agricultura* 51) is altered to "having placed at the head his archangel whose name it is not necessary to mention" (i.e., the angel of death, Sammael).
(5) At least ten times in *De somniis* 1 the words "as Moses says" *vel sim.* are changed to "as Holy Scripture says," that is, objection is made to the view that Moses is author of the Torah.

Barthélemy argues that this remarkable phenomenon can best be explained by the fact that an edition of some or all of Philo's writings was ordered from Origen's scriptorium, perhaps by Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem for his episcopal library. I agree with Barthélemy that Caesarea is the most likely place for this tampering to occur, both

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[64] See above; further details on this work in Morris, "Philo the Jewish Philosopher," 869.

[65] *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum, praefatio, CCSL* 72.1, 59.1–60.3.

[66] *Genesis Rabbah ad* Gen. 1:1; the text is given in Eng. trans. in *Philo and Early Christian Literature,* 14; see further E. E. Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Jerusalem, 1975; 3rd ed. Cambridge Mass., 1987), 198–200, and my discussion in *Mnemosyne* 42 (1989), 410–12.

[67] The skepticism of N. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews: Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine,* University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 25 (Cambridge, 1976), 25–28, is unfounded. See the article cited in the next note.

[68] D. Barthélemy, "Est-ce Hoshaya Rabba qui censura le 'Commentaire Allégorique'? À partir des retouches faites aux citations bibliques, étude sur la tradition textuelle du Commentaire Allégorique de Philon," in *Philon d'Alexandrie. Lyon 11–15 Septembre 1966: Colloques nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris, 1967), 45–78.

[69] Further details in Barthélemy "Hoshaya Rabba"; summarized in my *Philo and Early Christian Literature,* 24–25.

because of the scriptorium and on account of the close contact enjoyed by Jews and Christians in this town in the first half of the third century. Once again we must conclude that a copy of Philo's works was present.

Fourth, the scanty references to Alexander Polyhistor and Aristobulus repay closer study. The only authors who refer to the former's collection of Jewish texts are Josephus, Clement, and Eusebius.[70] It is likely that Origen is the link between the last two. As for Aristobulus, he is referred to only by Clement, Origen (at *Contra Celsum* 4.51, in the same breath as a reference to Philo), Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea (who originally was a professor of Aristotelian philosophy in Alexandria), and Eusebius.[71] Once again the Alexandria–Caesarea connection is patent, and Origen is the likely intermediary.[72]

Alexandria and Caesarea

We have now reached the time of Origen and the beginnings of the library of Caesarea as an exegetical and apologetic resource center. Origen provides us with the necessary link to Alexandria, where the tradition of most of these writings discussed here must have begun.[73] When he moved from Alexandria to Caesarea, Origen took copies of these treasures with him, little knowing that this transferral would in the end – after the later intervention of his successors in the Caesarean Church, Pamphilus, Eusebius, Acacius, and Euzoius – lead to their preservation for posterity.

A danger of which we must be aware is what might be called Pan-Caesareanism. Even if it is highly probable that the Caesarean tradition was determinative in establishing the textual tradition as we have it today, this does not mean that *every single piece* of Philo that we have was necessarily transmitted *exclusively* via Caesarea. For example, Cohn and Wendland argued that the Coptos papyrus codex containing two treatises of Philo dating to about 285 showed such close similarities to the text derived from Origen's copies in Caesarea that it must have been a product of the scriptorium at Caesarea.[74] One must agree with Barthélemy that this hypothesis is unlikely and unnecessary.[75] Since all the works of Philo that we have ultimately come from a sin-

[70] Stern, *Greek and Jewish Authors*, 1:157–64.

[71] Walter, *Aristobulos*, 7–9.

[72] *Contra* Holladay in a preprint of the introduction to his forthcoming commentary (see n. 52 above), who argues that Origen's information could come from Clement, but does not take questions of transmission into account.

[73] Apart from Josephus, Clement of Alexandria is the first extant author to reveal acquaintance with these Hellenistic-Jewish works. It is almost certain that Philo's writings were preserved in the school of Pantaenus; cf. Barthélemy, "Hoshaya Rabba," 60, and my remarks in *Philo and Early Christian Literature*, 22.

[74] Cohn and Wendland, *Philonis opera*, 1:xlix, 3:viii. On this papyrus see C. H. Roberts, *Buried Books in Antiquity*, Arundell Esdaile Memorial Lecture 1962 (London, 1963), 11–15.

[75] Barthélemy, "Hoshaya Rabba," 59.

gle archetype that most likely was rescued from oblivion by Pantaenus in the catechetical school in about 160 C.E., and since Origen's copies came from the same source, it is to be expected that texts produced in both Egypt and Caesarea were going to share certain mistakes.

It is thus possible that a few minor strands of our Jewish-Hellenistic authors may have been preserved via Egypt. But, having rescued ourselves from the charge of Pan-Caesareanism, we should immediately return to the main theme of this chapter. The hard evidence that we have examined points unambiguously to the conclusion that the library of Caesarea, the jewel in the crown of the Christian city, played a decisive role in the preservation of most of the Hellenistic-Jewish works that we still possess. Even if not a single book – or a single brick for that matter – of the library remains, the many volumes of Philo and a considerable number of snippets of other Hellenistic-Jewish authors will continue to bear eloquent testimony to the magnitude of its achievement.

28

Jewish and Christian Academies in Roman Palestine: Some Preliminary Observations

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This study presents some features of the history of Jewish and Christian academies as they relate to Caesarea, and focuses primarily on the age before Constantine, before the public face of the Roman Empire began, slowly and fitfully, to take on a Christian character. Third-century Caesarea, however, was neither Christian nor Jewish, but was a Roman city, whose history and public life were inextricably linked to Rome. Caesarea was named for the first Roman emperor and had from its inception as Caesarea a temple of Roma and Augustus.[1] It also had a Tiberieum dedicated by Pontius Pilate and a Hadrianeum, probably going back to Hadrian's imperial visit in 129/30,[2] and was the seat of the Roman governor (whose title and status varied over time) from the deposition of Archelaus (6 C.E.) until the end of the Empire.[3] Not surprisingly, therefore, much of the public life of Caesarea, as reflected on coins and in public inscriptions, was carried out in Latin, at least until the mid-third century.[4]

Roman imperial civic culture, at Caesarea and elsewhere, entailed far more than the ability to have the occasional Latin or Greek inscription inscribed. It required a core of wealthy aristocrats who were willing (and, increasingly, who could be forced) to undertake the administration and financing of the cities' institutions.[5] Less tangibly,

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[1] Joseph. *BJ* 1.414; *AJ* 15.339; in both cases Josephus calls it a temple of Caesar (ναὸς [*AJ*: νεὼς] Καίσαρος), but holding a statue of Augustus and of Rome.

[2] See Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, nos. 44 (Tiberieum), 59 (Hadrianeum), and the literature cited there. On the date of the latter, see Levine, *Caesarea*, 42 and 176 n. 88.

[3] Caesarea had the status of a Roman *colonia* from the reign of Vespasian: Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 5.69. See also *Digest* 50.15.1.6 (Ulpian), 50.15.8.7 (Paulus). Titles: Kadman, *Coins*, 46 and no. 63 (*felix* and *constans*, perhaps associated with support of Septimius Severus in 193/4); ibid., 24 (see also nos. 88 and 91ff) (*metropolis*, after Alexander Severus).

[4] Based on the corpus published by Kadman, *Coins* (see especially pp. 168–74), coin legends are consistently in Latin beginning with the reign of Domitian. The evidence for the Latin inscriptions is summarized in Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, "Introduction: Provincial and Municipal Administration."

[5] According to P. Garnsey, "Aspects of the Decline of the Urban Aristocracy in the Empire," *ANRW* 2.1 (1974), 229–52, the compulsory element of this system of urban government was already discernible in the second century. For the later history of the decurionate, see Jones, *LRE*, 737–57. Although Jones traces the general decline of the bouleutic class (and its transformation into a hereditary caste), he can cite "obviously exceptional cases" (p. 755) from the Late Empire of the persistence of voluntary

civic life required an educated community, an elite urban population for whom Virgil or Homer and the classics of Greek drama, history, and rhetoric were part and parcel of one's everyday knowledge, and government resources (both imperial and municipal) were committed to fostering this kind of education.[6] The horizontal ties of education fostered among elites, both within and between cities, helped give "Graeco-Roman" culture its public character.[7]

Undoubtedly, such a system of education existed in Caesarea as well, although it is impossible to trace it in any detail in the first through third centuries.[8] At the very least, inscriptions from this period honor an orator (also priest and *duovir* of the city) and a philosopher.[9] Seemingly paradoxically, in the case of Caesarea in the third and early fourth centuries, we are best informed about two very different kinds of education taking place in communities that marked themselves off from the generality of city life: the education of Christians (best represented by Origen) and that of rabbinic Jews. In the age before Constantine, to be a Christian could be a dangerous proposition (even before the mid-third century when persecution is first directed by imperial edict).[10] Moreover, if the preserved Christian literature reflects the attitudes of its adherents, this was a group of people who passed judgment on the values and gods of a centuries-long religious tradition, a rather countercultural stance.

Jewish rabbinic education, too, was, from the perspective of the public civic life of the cities, a countercultural phenomenon; it emphasized a literature, a body of traditions, and languages that were inaccessible to Greek and Latin speakers and that were intimately tied to an ethnic Jewish world. Yet this is not as paradoxical as it might appear at first glance, since cities were not merely the carriers of a monolithic Graeco-Roman culture, but meeting points between cultures: most obviously that of the city itself with that of the majority population of the provinces, but also the points at which

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participation in the finances or governance of the cities, as well as public benefactions as a source of prestige; see also the chapter by Kenneth G. Holum in this volume.

[6] H. J. Marrou, *History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (New York, 1956), 303–7. Documentary evidence from the mid-third century for (the struggles of) a grammarian hired by his city may be found in P. J. Parsons, "Petitions and a Letter: The Grammarian's Complaint," in A. E. Hanson, ed., *Collectanea Papyrologia: Texts Published in Honor of H. C. Youtie* (Bonn, 1976), 2, 409–46; pp. 441–46 offer a review of imperial policy; for the later period see R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1988), 216–30.

[7] See, e.g., G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969), who discusses the participation of sophists in the late second and early third centuries in civic governments on the one hand, and their mobility, mutual connections across regions and imperial ties on the other; Kaster, *Guardians*, passim.

[8] For the later period see G. Downey, "The Christian Schools of Palestine," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12 (1958), 297–319.

[9] Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, nos. 3, 14, both possibly from the second or third century; the former certainly and the latter possibly reflect activity in these capacities in Caesarea.

[10] A convenient chronology of the persecutions of Christians is presented in R. MacMullen and E. N. Lane, eds., *Paganism and Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1992), 218–19. See also R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York, 1989), 419–91.

a bewildering array of religious and philosophical movements and associations came into contact with each other. In fact, the text discussed below, which was produced by Origen's most famous disciple, is the result of the fortuitous meeting of two mobile men, and is, to that extent, evidence of the way in which an education in a Roman city might be pursued. To inquire into the history of Christian and Jewish academies in Caesarea is therefore not only to address the history of two religious movements during their formative period, but also to uncover some of the diversity and complexity of later Roman civic life in Palestine.

Unfortunately, this is a problematic undertaking, and a brief discussion of some of the methodological problems is in order. For the Christian side of this topic, much of the material revolves around the life and teaching of Origen as it is expressed primarily in the encomium of Origen by a disciple (traditionally identified as Gregory Thaumatourgos) and in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Moreover, Origen's voluminous writings, as well as those of Eusebius, offer the actual literary output of the greatest luminaries of the "academy" however we define it. There are, of course, problems that need to be faced. The accounts of Eusebius and the address or encomium by "Gregory" are both hagiographic. The encomium is frustratingly difficult to assess: scholars have debated whether it should be attributed to Gregory Thaumatourgos, whether the disciple was a Christian at all, and, indeed, whether it is indicative of Origen's own chosen method as a teacher.[11] There also remain some uncertainties regarding the biography of Origen and, in particular, his connection with Ammonius Saccas and Plotinus.[12] Moreover, the later Origenist controversy, and the preservation of much of Origen's work in Latin translations that were both the result and the substance of that controversy, make a reconstruction of the "true" Origen difficult. Although these are not problems that should be minimized, we are nevertheless dealing with a rich body of material directly associated with teachers and disciples at Caesarea.

It is the Jewish side of the question of Jewish and Christian academies in Caesarea

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[11] P. Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977), 81–86, 183–97, challenges the identification of the author of the address with Gregory Thaumatourgos, an error that, according to Nautin, can be traced ultimately to Eusebius; against this view see H. Crouzel, *Origen*, trans. A. S. Worall (San Francisco, 1989), 2 n. 3. Moreover, according to Nautin, the curriculum is determined not by Origen's "method" as much as the requirements of giving a wealthy young Christian a good moral and philosophical, but private, education. Cf. A. Knauber, "Das Anliegen der Schule des Origenes zu Cäsarea," *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 19 (1969), 182–203; followed in large part by H. Crouzel, "L'École d'Origène à Césarée," *Bulletin de litérature ecclésiastique* 71 (1970), 15–27. Knauber, accepting the identification with Gregory Thaumatourgos, sees the school as designed to offer pagans (and according to Crouzel, Christians as well), a Christianized philosophical education.

[12] For an overview, see Crouzel, *Origen*, 10–12. The problem stems from somewhat different accounts, both attributed to Porphyry: one group from the *Life of Plotinus* 3, 14, 20, and the other from Porphyry's *Against the Christians* (quoted in Eusebius *HE* 6.19.2; for the Greek text of *HE* 6, see *GCS* 9). Among others, J. W. Trigg, *Origen: The Bible and Philosophy in the Third Century* (Atlanta, 1983), 259–60, argues that there were two Origens, one of whom was a pagan philosopher.

that is particularly problematic. More than half a century ago, S. Lieberman wrote a monograph on the *Talmud of Caesarea*, which argued that the tractate *Nĕzîqîn* (the *Babôt*) in the Palestinian Talmud had its origin in Caesarea.[13] If this were true, we would have a body of literature, the product of a rabbinic "academy" of Caesarea (albeit dating to a generation or two after Constantine, but reflecting earlier material),[14] to compare to that produced by Christians, especially Origen. Moreover, the way in which the sages who flourished in Caesarea were described in this text would offer both a way of controlling for the biographical anecdotes and legal traditions about these figures preserved elsewhere in rabbinic literature, and a corpus of traditions about Caesarean rabbis and their teachings to compare with what we could extract concerning Origen.

Unfortunately, recent work has called Lieberman's thesis of the Caesarean origin of Yerushalmi *Nĕzîqîn*, already challenged by J. N. Epstein, into question.[15] Without a specifically Caesarean *Sitz im Leben* for this tractate, this project of describing a Caesarean rabbinic academy dissolves. If we are to be able to say anything useful about Jewish academies in Palestine in the third and early fourth centuries, we will have to address the scattered stories and statements about schools, teachers, and disciples. Therefore, for this study I have collected traditions in Palestinian rabbinic works relating to academies and what goes on in them. In addition, in an effort to retain some specificity to Caesarea, I discuss the traditions about two Caesarean sages, R. Yose b. Hanina and R. Abbahu.[16] These texts reflect the interests, concerns, and biases of the rabbis responsible for Palestinian rabbinic literature (the Yerushalmi and the later Midrashim) and cannot be taken simply as descriptive of "events" the basic details of which are recoverable.[17] This study, therefore, does not attempt to trace the history of academies or any one academy, or to outline the biography of the two Caesarean sages discussed. Instead, I have tried to recover the range of statements that (later) rabbis

[13] S. Lieberman, *The Talmud of Caesarea* [Hebrew], *Tarbiz*, suppl. to vol. 2 (1931–32); with a reply to the criticism of J. N. Epstein, *Introduction to Talmudic Literature* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1962), 282–86, in Lieberman, *Siphre Zutta (The Midrash of Lydda)* [Hebrew] (New York, 1968), 125–36. Lieberman's conclusions were accepted and used by Levine, *Caesarea*, 61–105.

[14] Lieberman, *The Talmud of Caesarea*, 20: "Indeed, we have no proof that this Talmud (*Nĕzîqîn*) was arranged after the beginning of the second half of the fourth century CE."

[15] Epstein, *Introduction;* M. Assis, "On the Question of the Redaction of Yerushalmi Nezikin" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 56 (1986–87), 147–70; see also C. Hezser, *Form, Function, and Historical Significance of the Rabbinic Story in Yerushalmi Neziqin*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 37 (Tübingen, 1993), who discusses this problem with reference to earlier literature. For a reconsideration of the problems of Yerushalmi Neziqin see Y. Sussman, "*Wĕ-šûb ʿal yĕrušalmî nĕzîqîn*," in Y. Sussman and D. Rosenthal, eds., *Meḥqĕrê talmûd* (Jerusalem, 1990–91), 1:55–133.

[16] See the previous studies: S. Zuri, *R. Yose b. Hanina of Caesarea* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1926) and L. Levine, "R. Abbahu of Caesarea," in J. Neusner, ed., *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (Leiden, 1975), 4, 56–76.

[17] For a discussion of some methodological issues in the historiography of the rabbinic movement, see chapter 1 of my forthcoming *Rabbinic Civil Law and the Social History of Roman Galilee*, Brown Judaic Studies (Atlanta).

might make about the rabbinic *bêt midrāš* (study house) and two of its prominent representatives, in an effort to uncover attitudes and underlying historical relationships.

My very preliminary conclusions are as follows. On the basis of the literature preserved for Christian and rabbinic study, it is possible to argue that Christian "schools" in Caesarea consisted of disciple circles gathered around a particular master (the best known of whom is Origen). A study of the traditions about R. Yose b. Hanina and R. Abbahu yields a similar impression: the personality of the sage himself, and his relationships with his masters, disciples, and colleagues, are definitive of who a sage is. What is more, both the learned Gentile Christianity of Origen or Eusebius and Palestinian rabbinic Judaism appear to have been movements of wealthy elites engaged in the articulation of "orthodoxies" that would play an important role in transforming their respective communities. Still, there are important differences. Christian scholarship was turned, with greater or lesser hostility, toward the "classical" traditions of the Greek and Roman world. By contrast, the literary products of rabbinic academies largely ignored that world and addressed themselves to an Aramaic-speaking, ethnically circumscribed audience. Moreover, in some rabbinic Amoraic texts, "houses of study" are depicted as permanent communal institutions. If this is more than rabbinic rhetoric (and there is at least one epigraphically attested *bêt midrāš* to suggest that it is), this emphasis on the communal aspects of "academies" is a potential window into the transformation of the communal ethos of Palestinian Jews in later Roman Palestine.

First, with regard to the Christian "academy" of Caesarea, it is not clear that there was any one such thing. To be sure, the involvement of both Eusebius and Pamphilus in the defense of Origen,[18] the considerable laudatory attention Eusebius pays to both Origen and Pamphilus,[19] and, most significantly, the maintenance of Origen's library and his letters[20] bespeak something approaching institutional continuity. At the same time, we should not envision "academies" as having institutionalized curricula, but rather disciple circles organized around a particular teacher. This much is clear from Gregory's *Address of Thanks*, an encomium of Origen that Gregory gave before leaving Caesarea. In this address, Gregory stresses the intimate and, at least initially, unstructured nature of their relationship, whereby Origen, through arguments about the value of philosophy, attempts to convince Gregory to stay with him rather than follow his initial plan and go to Berytus and study Roman law.[21]

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[18] Eusebius refers to his apology for Origen, on which he collaborated with Pamphilus, in Eusebius *HE* 6.23.4, 33.4, 36.4. Only the first book survives, in the Latin translation of Rufinus: see J. Quasten, *Patrology* (Utrecht-Antwerp, 1966), 2:146.

[19] Biographical material on Origen is scattered in book 6 of Eusebius *HE*. Eusebius also wrote a life of Pamphilus (whose name he took as a surname), referred to in Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 11.3; see 11.1–4 more generally.

[20] Eusebius, *HE* 6.32.3, on Pamphilus' role in bringing together the works of Origen; 6.36.3 for Eusebius' role; for a discussion of the role of Pamphilus in copying the works of Origen, see H. J. Lawlor and J.E.L. Oulton, *Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine* (London, 1954), 2:332 (to Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 11.1). See further the chapter by David T. Runia in this volume.

[21] Gregory, *Address*, 6.74–80; for the Greek text, see H. Crouzel, *Remerciement à Origène, SC* 148 (Paris, 1969).

Before discussing the question of what and how one might have studied in a Christian "academy" in Caesarea, it is important to ask whom this school attracted. By his own testimony, Gregory was given a good upper-class education: rhetoric, then the study of Latin and law.[22] In fact, Gregory's family was sufficiently well connected that his sister married a lawyer on the staff of a provincial governor (ἄρχων) of Palestine, who, in turn, was highly placed enough to send a soldier with the authority to make use of public vehicles to accompany and transport not only the sister but Gregory himself.[23] For those who identify the author of the address with Gregory Thaumatourgos, his origin is assumed to be the city of Diocaesarea in Pontus.[24] Even if this identification (and assumed urban origin) are incorrect, the address describes a scion of a well-connected, wealthy family. And indeed, this seems to have been the background of Origen himself. Based on the biographical material in Eusebius, Origen was probably raised in Alexandria,[25] and certainly lived there as an adult,[26] received a traditional education as well as a Christian one,[27] and cultivated connections with bishops of other cities, especially Jerusalem and Caesarea, and ultimately relocated to the latter.[28] If Crouzel is correct in taking the notice in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* that Origen's father was executed by beheading to mean that he was a Roman citizen, Origen came from the rather select segment of the Roman world that had Roman citizenship before the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 C.E.[29] Origen is also described as having participated in an illustrious intellectual world (he is said to have been the disciple of Ammonius Saccas, the "founder" of the neo-Platonic school).[30] According to Eusebius, Origen was summoned to an audience with Empress Julia Mamaea, presumably as a result of his engagement in prominent philosophical circles.[31]

Once again, this background is not accidental. In fact, it corresponds quite closely to Eusebius' depiction of the heroes of the early fourth-century persecutions in the *Martyrs of Palestine*. We do hear, it is true, of the ascetic Peter-Abshelama from a village near Eleutheropolis,[32] or of Hadrian and Euboulos from the country of

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[22] Ibid., 5.50–62.

[23] Ibid., 5.65–69.

[24] Crouzel, *Origen*, 25; cf. Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius*, 2:221 (to Eusebius *HE* 6.30).

[25] At the very least, Origen's father was killed in Alexandria: Eusebius *HE* 6.1.

[26] See, e.g., ibid., 6.3.3; 6.6; 6.8.1, 6.

[27] Ibid., 6.2.7–15

[28] Connections with bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea: Eusebius *HE* 6.4, 6.19.1–19; relocation to Caesarea: ibid., 6.28 (232, the tenth year of Alexander Severus). See Crouzel, *Origen*, 14–25, for a discussion of the problems connected with this part of Origen's life.

[29] See Crouzel, *Origen*, 5.

[30] Eusebius *HE* 6.19.5–8 (presented as a quotation from Porphyry, *Against the Christians*). A different picture of the relationship between an Origen and Ammonius occurs in Porphyry *V. Plot.* 3; see above n. 12.

[31] Eusebius *HE* 6.21.3.

[32] Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 10.2 (10.3 in the long version adds the urban territory). Citation of *Mart. Pal.* follows the division in Lawlor and Oulton, *Eusebius*. For the Greek texts, see *GCS* 9.2: 907–50; for the Syriac of the long version, see W. Cureton, *History of the Martyrs in Palestine* (London, 1861).

Batanaea,[33] but by and large the list of martyrs reads as an index to the cities of Palestine and nearby areas.[34] Taken together with the information about Origen and his best-known disciples, this depiction suggests a major locus and core constituency for at least one segment of the developing Christian communities in Palestine in the third and early fourth centuries: the cities and their wealthy educated populations.[35]

It is Gregory's *Address of Thanks* that offers the most specific information about what the content of an education with a Christian master at Caesarea might consist of. In this case (and allowing for the approach and interests of Origen), it was a Christianized philosophical education, perhaps addressed, as Knauber has argued, to non-Christians.[36] The curriculum Gregory describes is largely a Graeco-Roman philosophical one: it begins with argument (dialectic), then moves on to physical studies, geometry and astronomy, as well as practical ethics.[37] Next the curriculum addresses the teaching of theology, which involves the study of "all those writings which exist of the ancient philosophers and hymnodes . . . except those of the atheists."[38] Strikingly, only then does the curriculum turn to scripture.[39] In that section, as in the discussion of "theology," it is not clear whether study consisted of long-term systematic reading of the Bible, or of selected, anthologized passages of "philosophical" interest. Knauber has pointed to typical stoicizing aspects of the curriculum described by Gregory.[40] In addition, running through the address are repeated reflections of a personal orientation within a Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition.[41] Thus, for example, Gregory apologizes for his rhetoric, "this graceful and truly Hellenic labor";[42] refers to Roman laws as "wise and precise and diverse and amazing and, if one may say so most Greek

[33] Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 11.29.

[34] Ibid., 1.1 (long) (Procopius, born at Aelia and served in the church in Scythopolis); 1.5c (Zacchaeus from Gadara); 1.5e (long), 2.1 (Alphaeus, born in Eleutheropolis, and later deacon and exorcist in Caesarea); 3.3 (short); 3.4 (long) (a group of martyrs that included one young man from Tripolis in Phoenicia, another, Romulus, who was a subdeacon at Diospolis, and Alexander of Gaza; the Gazan origin of the second Alexander is not given in the Syriac: Cureton, ed., Syriac text, p. 12); 3.4 (long) (Agapius came from Gaza to Caesarea to be martyred); 4.3 (short), 4.5 (Apphianus and Aedesius came from Gagae in Lycia to study at Caesarea); 7.1 (Theodosia of Tyre); 8.10 (Valentina of Caesarea); 9.5 (short) (Zebinas of Eleutheropolis); 9.6 (9.6–7, long) (Ennatha of Scythopolis); 11.1c, 4 (Valens, a deacon at Jerusalem); 11.1 and 11.3 (long) (Pamphilus came from Tyre and served as presbyter at Caesarea); 13.4 (short), 13.4–5 (long) (Silvanus, bishop of Gaza).

[35] For the presupposition that Christianity in this period was still largely an urban phenomenon, see R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1984), 83.

[36] Knauber, "Das Anliegen," 182–203; followed in large part by Crouzel, "L'École," 15–27. Nautin, *Origène,* 183–97, saw in this curriculum one designed for the private education of "Gregory."

[37] Gregory, *Address* 7–12.

[38] Ibid., 13.151–52.

[39] Ibid., 15.

[40] Knauber, "Das Anliegen," 194.

[41] See also the discussion of philosophical terminology, ibid., 187–91; and Crouzel, *Remerciement,* p. 117 n. 3.

[42] Gregory, *Address* 1.2.

(Ἑλληνικώτατοι)";[43] describes Origen's manner in engaging his students in argument as "Socratic" (Σωκρατικῶς);[44] and, in the context of a critique of the way in which Greek philosophers acquired their opinions, states "thus did our lovely and most learned Greeks philosophize."[45]

It is impossible to treat this simply as a "typical" Christian education in Palestine. We must allow for interests specific to Gregory as a young man, and goals particular to Origen's goals as the master of a disciple circle. Judging from the preserved material, the literary enterprise of Caesarean Christianity reflects a far greater emphasis on scripture than does Gregory. The vast majority of Origen's preserved work, as well as that which ancient accounts of his work refer to, takes the form of commentary or homily, much of it reflecting the philosophical and allegorizing agenda to which Gregory also refers.[46] In fact, in a letter to a disciple, Origen gives the study of scripture a rather stronger emphasis than did Gregory, even as Origen acknowledges the importance of the curriculum of "preparatory" studies.[47] If the recipient is to be identified with the author of the address, the contrast is all the more striking. Eusebius, another disciple from Caesarea, is perhaps best known for his historiographic and apologetic works, which reflect a no less deep involvement with Greek literature. However, Eusebius, too, wrote works on scripture, which might utilize Origen's allegorical method, or, as in the case of the *Onomasticon*, serve historiographic purposes.[48]

What does not seem unique to Gregory and his *Address* is his attestation to the close relationship between himself and Origen, or the depiction of his experience as conversionlike. The day they met was "truly the first day for me, the most valuable day of all, if one may say so, when the sun of truth began to rise in me."[49] In a passage that ties together his feelings for Origen with his religious experience, Gregory writes that somewhat later, "like some spark, desire (ἔρως), having hurled into the midst of my soul, took hold and burst into flame, for the holy, most alluring, most desirable of all Logos, because of its ineffable beauty, and for this man, his friend and prophet. So very much was I wounded by it, that I was persuaded to neglect all the affairs and studies which had seemed to be proper to us, both other [matters] and my lovely law, [to neglect] fatherland and those dwelling [there] as well as those here with whom we

[43] Ibid., 1.7.

[44] Ibid., 7.97.

[45] Ibid., 14.162.

[46] For the list of Origen's works (based on Jerome's Letter 33 to Paula), see Crouzel, *Origen*, 37–39, with the discussion, pp. 39–49; cf. Eusebius *HE* 6.24.1–4, 32.1–2, 36.2–3.

[47] *Letter of Origen to Gregory*, 1, 4. The letter is preserved in *Philocalia* 13 (*PG* 11, 88-92); I have referred to the text and translation in Crouzel, *Remerciement*, and the translation in Metcalfe, 1920. Nautin, *Origène*, 155–61, argues vigorously that the recipient is a former Caesarean disciple who has now moved on to study in Alexandria (hence the references to descent to Egypt), and against the identification of this Gregory with the author of the address.

[48] Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:338. For a discussion of the writings of Eusebius, see ibid., 309–45.

[49] Gregory, *Address* 6.73. Cf. the long version of Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 11.1, which speaks of Pamphilus' "divinity."

were dwelling. One thing was dear (φίλον) and beloved to me, philosophy and this divine human, the guide to it."[50] Love between disciple and master, at least, is echoed in Origen's letter to his disciple Gregory, perhaps the author of the *Address*.[51] Similarly, Eusebius took on Pamphilus' name as a kind of patronymic, which, it would seem, expresses an intense personal relationship. Nor does Gregory's insistence on the moral virtue of Origen himself, as the model for the ethical behavior he taught, seem unique to Gregory.[52] All of this appears to be characteristic of Roman, and particularly philosophical, education.[53]

On the face of it, if one may judge by the texts that the Palestinian Christian and rabbinic scholastic traditions produced, here are two very different models of advanced study. Whereas the works of Christian Caesarea are oriented toward the Greek world, the rabbinic works are located in a much smaller cultural circle that is both Jewish and Aramaic-speaking. Furthermore, Palestinian rabbinic literature suggests that a substantial amount of energy was devoted to the Mishnah, an enterprise for which there is no good counterpart in the Caesarean (or any other) Christian tradition, and which, again, points to the comparatively circumscribed character of the "academic" rabbinic community. This impression of fundamentally different curricula emerges from rabbinic texts describing what is studied in the *bêt midrāš*. Although occasionally the study house is identified as a place where public homilies or pronouncements are offered,[54] the stuff of the discourse of the *bêt midrāš* is usually depicted as legal in content.[55] True,

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[50] See, e.g., Gregory, *Address* 6.83–84, which continues (6.85) with an allegory on the suggestive 1 Sam. 18:1: "and the soul of Jonathan was connected with the soul of David."

[51] Origen refers to Gregory as his son, *Epistle to Gregory* 1, 4; and to his own πατρικὴ ἀγάπη ("paternal love") for Gregory (4).

[52] Gregory, *Address* 9–12.

[53] H. J. Marrou, *History of Education*, 206, 208–9. Compare Porphyry's biography of Plotinus, who was a near contemporary of Origen. For Porphyry, the personal life of Plotinus (e.g., his asceticism, *V. Plot.* 8; his ability to act as guardian for minors and to arbitrate cases, ibid., 9) is a vital part of who Plotinus was as a philosopher; the special "divinity" of Origen is also matched in, e.g., ibid.,. 10. The classic treatment of philosophical education as akin to conversion is still A. D. Nock, *Conversion* (Oxford, 1933), 164–86.

[54] For example, for homilies see: *y. B. Meṣ.* 2:12 (8d); *y. Hor.* 3:7 (48b); for public pronouncements: *y. ʿAb. Zar.* 2:2 (40d) (the public announcement on the part of R. Yohanan of a kind of medical treatment); *y. Šab.* 12:3 (13c) (*y. Hor.* 3:7 [48c]); *y. Taʿan.* 1:2 (64a) (both pronouncements of legal traditions; the latter [*y. Taʿan.*] has a parallel proclamation made in the *kĕništā' dĕ-bûlê* (the synagogue [meeting place?] of the *boulê*).

[55] This, for instance, is the implication of the prayer of Nehuniah b. Ha-qanah in both the Mishnah (*m. Ber.* 4:3) and the Yerushalmi (*y. Ber.* 4 [7d]). In *m. Beṣ.* 3:5 R. Tarfon was asked a legal question which he in turn brought to the *bêt midrāš*; see also *m. Yad.* 4:3, 4; *t. Ḥag.* 2:9 (*t. Sanh* 7:1) (with a presumably anachronistic setting: the *bêt midrāš* on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem). For Amoraic traditions see, e.g., *y. Ber.* 2 (4b) (*y. Moʿed Qaṭ.* 3:7 [83c]); *y. Ber.* 4 (7c-d) (*y. Taʿan.* 4:1 [67d]); *y. Ber.* 4 (8a) (*y. Taʿan.* 2:2 [65c]); *y. Šebi.* 4:6 (35c); *y. Bik.* 1:8 (64b); *y. Šab.* 4 (7a) (in this instance a legal passage is raised in the context of a *ryb'h* [festal meal?]); *y. Šab.* 6 (8c); *y. Šab.* 12:3 (13c) (*y. Hor.* 3:7 [48c]); *y. Pes.* 1:1 (27b); *y. Yoma'* 3:6 (40c); *y. Suk.* 2:7 (52c); *y. Taʿan.* 1:2 (64a); *y. Giṭ.* 5:4 (47a) (*y. B. Qam.* 9:3 [6d]); *y. Git.* 6:2 (48a) (*y. Qid.* 2:1 [62b]). Note, however, *y. Šab.* 6 (8c) (a *sidrā'* is where children study scripture); see

a long series of Palestinian rabbinic works (mostly later than the third century) and individual rabbinic statements (whose historicity is, to say the least, problematic) are structured as commentaries to scripture, but even these are commentaries of a much different sort than their Christian counterparts in terms of style and method.[56] Moreover, the texts produced by Origen and Eusebius display a kind of scholarly "bookishness" that is foreign to the rabbinic works.[57] Perhaps most striking, unlike the works of Christian Caesarea, the rabbinic texts are so presented (whatever their origin) as to appear to be polyphonic "communal" texts, lacking one consistent argument or authorial voice.[58] While it is possible to identify vast bodies of material written by Origen or Eusebius, there is none preserved that has been authored by their rabbinic contemporaries, from Caesarea or elsewhere. This is not merely a historiographical problem for moderns, but a basic cultural fact: the way in which Palestinian (and Babylonian) rabbinic circles preserved and circulated their material, and hence what knowledge consisted of and how it was to be gained and transmitted, is fundamentally different from the way Caesarean Christian circles in the third and early fourth centuries (and later) did.

At the same time, underlying these substantial differences in cultural and intellectual orientation, there may be basic structural similarities in the makeup of rabbinic "academies." To begin with, rabbis, at least those about whom stories are told in the literary sources, appear to have been wealthy, and the most prominent centers of rabbinic activity appear to have been Palestinian cities (Sepphoris, Tiberias, Caesarea, and Lydda).[59] This is in part because, like early Christianity, the rabbinic movement devel-

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also *y. Ma'aś.* 3:7 (50d) (scripture in the *bêt sêper*; *mišnâ* in the *bêt talmûd*). Notably, in the traditions from the Yerushalmi referring to curriculum, there does not seem to be a central focus on the Mishnah as Mishnah or on any other identifiable corpus of rabbinic tradition (see, however, *y. Ma'aś.* 3:7 [50d]; *y. Meg.* 3:1 [73d] [*y. Ket.* 13:1 (35c) with slight variations]). The role of the Mishnah in the cultural history of the Palestinian Amoraic movement requires further study.

[56] See R. Brooks, "Straw Dogs and Scholarly Ecumenism: The Appropriate Jewish Background for the Study of Origen," in C. Kannengiessen and W. L. Petersen, eds., *Origen of Alexandria: His World and Legacy* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1988), 63–95.

[57] The rootedness of Origen and Eusebius in the Graeco-Roman literary tradition has been noted above. Note, in addition, that Origen's commentary to John is also a rebuttal of another author, Herakleon; and note the importance of biblical manuscripts and versions to Origen's work (there is no analogy for the Hexapla in contemporaneous rabbinic literature), his acquisition of manuscripts of versions of the Bible (Eusebius *HE* 6.16–17); and the emphasis on Pamphilus' role in bringing together Origen's (and others') writings (ibid., 6.32.3, 36.3). Note, however, Amoraic traditions that refer to the "book . . . of R. Meir" with a distinctive orthography or text: *y. Suk.* 3:12 (54a) (*y. Meg.* 1:11 [72a]); *y. Ta'an.* 1:1 (64a); see also *y. Meg.* 4:1 (74d): R. Meir wrote a scroll of Esther from memory.

[58] A similar distinction (between Christian "authors" and rabbinic "authorship") is also drawn by J. Neusner, *Judaism and Story* (Chicago, 1992), 14–16; but in this work, as he does elsewhere, Neusner argues that rabbinic texts do, indeed, have consistent "arguments."

[59] See especially L. Levine, *The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem-New York, 1989), 23–42, whose focus is on the Amoraic period. Elsewhere ("Text, Money, and Law: The Literary and Social Background of Mishnah Tractate Baba' Meṣi'a'," doctoral dissertation [Columbia University, 1994], chap. III, B.1) I have considered the evidence for urbanization in the later Tannaitic period. For

oped against the background of the same social, economic, and political forces that shaped the social geography of the late antique world. Similarly, the traditions about R. Yose b. Hanina and R. Abbahu presuppose the resources and leisure to move freely (although in a somewhat more restricted orbit than Origen and Gregory).[60]

Some of the traditions in which these two rabbis appear reflect a setting in which the personal, charismatic power of the teacher is of particular importance. The deceased R. Yose b. Hanina appeared to a sage who desired that he (Yose b. Hanina) would appear to him.[61] The deathbed (or post-mortem) experience of R. Abbahu is given as an example of God's treatment of the righteous after their death.[62] The very columns of Caesarea are said to have wept upon his death.[63] During his life, R. Abbahu saw in a dream that the prayers of a certain person would successfully bring down rain, and prevented a non-intentional homicide because he could see a demon (*mazîq*) following hard after the aggressor.[64]

The traditions relating to R. Yose b. Hanina and R. Abbahu do not limit their significance to their "supernatural" powers. The practice of both rabbis has evidentiary value for correct ritual practice.[65] In keeping with the conventions of rabbinic literary representations of rabbinic study, our two rabbis, particularly R. Abbahu, are depicted as engaged in asking or answering questions or objections,[66] or, in the case of R.

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rabbinic wealth, at least up to the early third century, see S.J.D. Cohen, "The Place of the Rabbi in Jewish Society of the Second Century," in L. Levine, ed., *Galilee in Late Antiquity* (New York, 1992), 157–73.

[60] R. Yose b. Hanina: *y. Pe'a* 7:4 (20a) (Bostra); *y. Šebi.* 4:9 (35c) (dome [?] [*kyph*] of Akko); *y. Šebi.* 6:3 (36d–37a) (Arbel); R. Abbahu: *y. Ber.* 8 (11a) (Tiberias and "Daroma"); *y. Pe'a* 7:4 (20a) (Bostra); *y. Šab.* 8:1 (11a) (*y. Pes.* 10:1 [37c]; *y. Šeq.* 3:2 [47c]; cf. *Pes. Rab Kah. Pārâ* [ed. Buber, 38a]; *Tanḥ. B. Ḥuqat* 19 [p. 115]) (Tiberias); *y. ʿErub.* 3 (21c) (Alexandria); *Lev. Rab.* 35:12 (ed. Margaliot, pp. 830–31); *Lam. Rab.* 3:15 (to Lam. 3:17) (Bostra); see also *y. Pes.* 3:7 (30b) (*y. Ḥag.* 1:7 [76c]): R. Abbahu's son is sent to Caesarea.

[61] *Qoh. Rab.* 9:11 (cf. *b. B. Meṣ.* 85b) (the reading of the printed edition used for this paper is corrupt; it should read *d'yhmy* [better: *d'yʿhmy*] *lgyhʾ r ywsy*).

[62] *y. ʿAb. Zar.* 3:1 (42c) (*Gen. Rab.* 62:2 [ed. Theodor-Albeck, pp. 671–72]). In this version the vision of heaven can perhaps be seen as having taken place upon the moment of R. Abbahu's death. The rhetorical connection with the divine practice of showing the righteous their rewards so that they sleep in comfort suggests that this story was at least understood to take place before R. Abbahu's death. Cf. *Tanḥ. Bē-rêʾšît* 1; *Wa-yēhî* 4; *Tanḥ. B. Pĕqûdê* 7 (p. 131), in which the story is clearly set before death.

[63] *y. ʿAb. Zar.* 3:1 (42c); cf. Eusebius *Mart. Pal.* 9.12.

[64] *y. Taʿan.* 1:4 (64b) (vision about rain); *Lam. Rab.* 1:30 (to Lam. 1:3) (the murderous demon).

[65] R. Yose b. Hanina: *y. Ber.* 2 (5a); 4 (7b); R. Abbahu: *y. Ber.* 2 (4c) (*y. ʿErub.* 10 [26a]); *y. Ber.* 8 (11a) (in this case R. Abbahu modifies his own practice to agree with a sage of the location he was visiting); *y. Šab.* 6 (8a) (*y. Yeb.* 12 [12d]); *y. Beṣ.* 1:6 (60d); *y. Meg.* 3:1 (73d); *y. Meg.* 3:2 (74a). This phenomenon is not unique to these two rabbis.

[66] E.g., (1) R. Yose b. Hanina: (a) *y. Yeb.* 3:1 (7c); *y. B. Bat.* 3:3 (18a) (in both: before R. Yohanan); (b) *y. B. Meṣ.* 4:9 (9d) (R. Abbahu before R. Yose b. Hanina); (2) R. Abbahu: (a) before another sage: *y. Ber.* 2 (4b); *y. Dem.* 5:9 (24d) (*y. Git.* 4:9 [46b]); *y. Kil.* 2:5 (27d); *y. B. Meṣ.* 4:9 (9d); see also *y. ʿAb. Zar.* 1:1 (39d); (b) a sage (most frequently R. Zeʿera) before R. Abbahu: *y. Pe'a* 2:1 (18d); *y. Pe'a* 7:6 (20b) (cf. *y. Maʿaʿ. Š.* 5:3 [56c]); *y. Šebi.* 4:2 (35a) (cf. *y. Sanh.* 3: 6 [21b]); *y. Šebi.* 10:9 (39d); *y. Suk.* 3:12 (54a) (*y. Meg.* 1:11 [72a]); *y. Beṣ.* 1: 9 (60d); *y. Roš Haš.* 1:1 (58a); *y. Meg.* 1:6 (70b); *y. Ket.* 9:1 (32d); *y. Git.* 9:10

Abbahu, reciting traditional material before the master, R. Yohanan,[67] in other words, as engaged in a face-to-face, personal mode of instruction and discipleship. Various stories involve R. Abbahu as judging, but perhaps most significant is one tradition in which R. Abbahu is said to have objected because his view was not consulted,[68] because it opens the possibility that the authority to judge that is presupposed here is not official or institutional but personal.[69] It is assumed by one tradition that R. Abbahu, in the best traditions of patronage in the Roman empire, could attempt to intervene (in this case, apparently unsuccessfully) in a case that came before the proconsul.[70]

Thus, if the traditions of R. Abbahu and R. Yose b. Hanina can be taken as in some way representative of what one might say about a Palestinian rabbinic sage from Caesarea, at least from within rabbinic circles, rabbis, like their Gentile Christian counterparts, could be characterized as wise, holy, powerful men through whom one learned wisdom that would make the life of both this world and the next livable. Moreover, taking a somewhat broader and longer view of both rabbinic Judaism and the Christianity of the early church fathers, both groups appear to have been elitist groups that were engaged in articulating an "orthodoxy." The limits of the authority or power of rabbis in later Roman Palestine is still an open question. Similarly, the highly learned philosophical treatises of Origen do not represent Christianity as it was experienced in the lives of most people who might have identified themselves as Christians, even in the cities.[71] Nevertheless, these movements were significant. Well-placed, articulate groups can force the language and the lines along which contemporaneous and future debate will be carried out. Clearly, those who, like Origen, appropriated a Christianized Greek philosophy, shaped a Christian discourse that would deeply influence centuries of theological and institutional struggles. This they did not

(50d); *y. B. Meṣ.* 3:13 (9b) (*y. Šebu.* 8:1 [38c]); *y. Sanh.* 1 (19c); *y. Mak.* 2:1 (31c) (two traditions); *y. Šebu.* 4:10 (35). Note also those passages in which the unidentified "they" ask before R. Abbahu: *y. Ter.* 8:5 (45c) (*y. ʿAb. Zar.* 2:3 [41a]); *y. Yoma'* 1:5 (39a) (cf. *y. Yoma'* 5:3 [42c], *y. Suk.* 4:8 [54d]); *y. Yeb.* 4: 2 (5d) (*Gen. Rab.* 14:2 [ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 127]; 20:6 [p. 189]); *y. Yeb.* 11 (11d) (two traditions); *y. ʿAb. Zar.* 5:4 (47d).

[67] *y. Yeb.* 8:2 (9b) (*y. Qid.* 4:3 [65d]); *y. B. Qam.* 8:8 (6c) (in both: both R. Abbahu before R. Yohanan).

[68] *y. Ber.* 2 (4c) (*y. ʿErub.* 10 [26a]).

[69] This was the subject of my paper by me at the 1994 Association for Jewish Studies Annual Meeting; cf. Lapin, "Text, Money and Law," chap. III, B.2 and the literature cited there, and appendix 3, which lists rabbinic court cases in Tannaitic literature and the Yerushalmi. I hope to return to this subject in the near future.

[70] *y. Meg.* 3:2 (74a).

[71] See, e.g., MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire,* 25–42, on the significance of miracles (mediated by "face-to-face" contacts) in conversions to Christianity, especially before Constantine; see also pp. 68–73 on intellectuals; K. G. Holum, "In the Blinking of an Eye: The Christianizing of Classical Cities in the Levant," in A. Berlin, ed., *Public and Private Religion in the Ancient Near East* (forthcoming), on the significance of patronage in conversion. In addition, one can point to Origen's own testimony (e.g., *Contra Celsum* 3.52–53, 59, on Christian teachers and teaching) that Christians were not all of one kind, and that only some were fit for mysteries.

(or not only) through theologizing, but through the connections they forged between and among other urban intellectual Christians and, perhaps more important, between and among the leaders of Christian institutions.[72] I suspect that the ultimate success of rabbinic Judaism is at least partially tied to similar processes: the ability of the rabbinic movement to frame the discussion about the values and norms among wealthy educated members of Jewish communities, and the concomitant success of rabbis in presenting themselves and their disciples as ritual experts.

Nevertheless, there are significant differences between the depictions of Christian "academies" in Caesarea in the period before Constantine and their rabbinic counterparts. Of these, perhaps the most striking is the Palestinian rabbinic rhetoric of the *bêt midrāš*: the way in which literature of the Amoraic period pairs the institution of the *bêt midrāš* with that of the synagogue, as the central and identifying institutions of Jewish communities.[73] Thus, for instance, this institutional pair could be retrojected to biblical times: to King David is attributed the wish that "my words be said in my name in synagogues and study houses [forever]";[74] Solomon, when dethroned as divine punishment, "would go around to the synagogues and study houses and say: 'I Qohelet was king over Israel in Jerusalem'";[75] and the name of Ahaz is explained because he "laid hands on (*'āḥaz*) the synagogues and study houses."[76] Ahaz is explicitly compared to a wicked *paidagōgos* who willfully prevents the child in his charge from nursing in order to kill it. In a number of legal traditions that refer to the present, or at least to the recent rather than the distant past, the rules for both institutions are made to be identical.[77] Finally, one tradition identifies both institutions as the place where God is present.[78] It is impossible, of course, to separate this pairing from a rabbinic ideology

[72] E. A. Clark, *The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate* (Princeton, 1992), 11–42; see also idem, "Elite Networks and Heresy Accusation: Towards a Social Description of the Origenist Controversy," *Semeia* 56 (1992), 79–117, which includes graphs not printed in the book. (The other contributions to this issue of *Semeia*, entitled *Social Networks in the Early Christian Environment: Issues and Methods for Social History*, bear reading in this connection as well.)

[73] I have found no examples of pairing in the Mishnah or Tosepta, but the two institutions do occur together on lists of places requiring lighting: *m. Ter.* 11:10; *m. Pes.* 4:4. At least two examples occur in the Halakic ("Tannaitic") Midrashim: *Mek. Ba-ḥōdeš* 10 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin, p. 241, to Ex. 20:20); *Sipra Bĕ-ḥuqqôtay* 6:4 (to Lev. 26:31). In both cases these paired institutions are compared to the Temple. The discussion that follows utilizes the Palestinian Talmud almost exclusively; note, however, that there are many more such examples of pairings of *bêt midrāš* and synagogue in Amoraic midrashic texts.

[74] *y. Ber.* 2 (4b) (*y. Mo'ed Qaṭ.* 3:7 [83c] [R. Pinhas in the name of R. Yirmiya in the name of R. Yohanan]; cf. *y. Šeq.* 2:7 [47a], where the tradition is anonymous, but where the context suggests that an attribution to R. Yohanan may be presupposed), with reference to Ps. 61:5

[75] *y. Sanh.* 2:6 (20c) (R. Yose b. Hanina), citing Eccl. 1:12.

[76] *y. Sanh.* 10:2 (28b) (R. Honia in the name of R. Eleazar).

[77] *y. Šebi.* 8:2 (38a) (cf. *m. Ter.* 11:10); *y. Pes.* 1:1 (27b); *y. Meg.* 3:4 (74a) (one tradition introduced as a *bāraîtā'* states that one may not eat or perform other activities in either institution, but cf. *t. Meg.* 2:17 which refers only to synagogues; another tradition, attributed to R. Joshua b. Levi, and which occurs twice, states that both institutions "belong to the sages and their disciples," that is, presumably, they may do whatever they wish there).

[78] *y. Ber.* 4 (8d).

that sees the rabbinic study of a rabbinic Torah as central, and I make no claims here that others outside of the rabbinic community would have seen matters in quite the same light. Nor is rabbinic literature itself unanimous on this issue. Some rabbinic traditions betray hostility to synagogues,[79] and at least one reflects the valorization of the study house over the synagogue in almost sectarian and eschatological terms: "In the future the *ăbērîm* will tire of the synagogue [and go instead to] the study house."[80] What is of interest here is the central institutional role that the "academy" is made to play in rabbinic discourse.

Can we get beyond this discourse to some information about actual Palestinian academies? Much of the material that might be marshaled to address this question is far from unambiguous. Apart from the *bêt midrāš* inscription from Dabura (not found in association with the original building), attempts to identify "study houses" through archaeology (generally ancillary rooms in synagogues) are speculative at best.[81]

In the Mishnah, study houses are mentioned among other places (including synagogues, but also dark alleys) that require lighting, which plausibly suggests rooms in buildings.[82] However, in the Mishnah, "study houses" can also be said to meet in a

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[79] E.g., *y. Šeq.* 2:7 (47a) (set in Tannaitic, i.e., second-century, times): "Said R. Yose b. Qisama: 'I would be surprised if this synagogue was not a [former (?) site of] idolatry'"; *y. Šeq.* 5:6 (49b) (regarding the synagogue at Lydda): "How many souls did your father sink here: [for] there was no one to study Torah"; *y. B. Mes.* 2:9 (8d): petty theft in the synagogue. For a general discussion of rabbis and synagogues, see L. Levine, "The Sages and the Synagogue of Late Antiquity: The Evidence of Galilee," in Levine, ed., *Galilee,* 201–22.

[80] *y. Šebi.* 4:10 (35c). The tradition (attributed to R. Yona [P5] in the name of R. Hiyya b. Ashi [B2]) stops short of rejecting the synagogue. Citing Ps. 84:8, the idiom is one of rising "from strength to strength," but use of the verse also identifies the *bêt misdrāš* with the place of "God in Zion." The context of this passage (a series of traditions attributed to R. Yona) is also suggestive: it is preceded almost immediately by a statement about the share in the world to come of "one who dies in the seven years of Gog." For *hăbēr* as a sectarian term in earlier rabbinic literature see, e.g., *m. Dem.* 2:3 (and A. Oppenheimer, *The ʿAm Ha-aretz* [Leiden, 1977]). Just who the "fellows" referred to in this late Amoraic context are supposed to be is not clear; see, however, Levine, *Caesarea,* 95–97; and earlier in idem, *The Rabbinic Class,* 83–85, on the possibility of rabbinic "guilds."

[81] The Dabura inscription is now published as J. Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic: The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1978), no. 6; see also D. Urman, "Jewish Inscriptions from Dabura in the Golan" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 40 (1970–71), 406–8 = *IEJ* 22 (1972), 21–23. See, for instance, Z. Ilan, "Synagogue and Study Hall at Meroth" [Hebrew], in A. Oppenheimer et al., eds., *Synagogues in Antiquity* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1987) (Meroth); F. G. Hüttenmeister, "Synagogue and Beth Ha-Midrash and Their Relationship" [Hebrew], *Qadmoniot* 18 (1989), 40 and nn. 15–16 (references to Kh. Shema, Hammat Tiberias, and Hammat Gader); J. Maitlis, "On the Significance of the 'Revuʿah' in Kazrin" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 53 (1983–84), 466.

[82] See *m. Ter.* 11:10; *m. Pes.* 4:4; in *m. Ber.* 4:3; *m. Bes.* 3:5, the language of entering and exiting is utilized, perhaps figuratively. See also *t. Ber.* 2:13, in which "the *qsdwr* (Lat. *quaestor?* so S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshuṭah* [New York, 1955–88], 1:21) standing at the doorway" is referred to, again, possibly figuratively. Note also the string of traditions in "Halakic" Midrashim (notably in texts attributed to the so-called "Ishmael" school) that use the word "tent" in the Pentateuch as an occasion to retroject the *bêt midrāš* into the society of Israel in the desert, *Mek. ʿAmālēq* 1 (ed. Horovitz-Rabin, p. 193 [to Ex. 18:7]); *Sipre Num.* 90 (ed. Horovitz, p. 91 [to Num. 11:10]) (here the study house has an "opening" or "doorway"

room where grain is stored,[83] or even where it is currently growing,[84] that is, out of doors. The Yerushalmi presupposes considerably more institutionalization. At the very least, some traditions of the Palestinian Talmud seem to assume that "academies" meet in permanent facilities the distances between which, or between them and other landmarks, can be used as a measure.[85] At least one story speaks of "a certain (*ḥad*) *bêt midrāš*," that, from the wording of this brief statement, could be recognized as such from the road.[86] Others refer to a rabbi erecting a *bêt midrāš* building or major architectural features out of private funds.[87] On the other hand, the story of the children's game of "mock *bêt waʿad*" on a day on which the weather was bad "and the sages did not enter the *bêt waʿad*" allows for the possibility that such meetings could take place out of doors.[88]

Given the characterization above of both Christian and rabbinic "academies" as circles of disciples gathered around a master, those passages in which reference is made to the school of a particular person (alas, relatively rare) are particularly interesting.[89] It is perhaps possible to see such passages as references to similar kinds of "disciple circles." However, since one passage refers to the *bêt midrāš* of R. Hanina in connection with the construction or placement of the mezuzah (i.e., a structural aspect) and anoth-

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[*petaḥ*]); 113 (ed. Horovitz, p. 123 [to Num. 15:33]), 133 (ed. Horovitz, p. 177 [to Num. 27:2]).

[83] *m. Šab.* 18:1.

[84] *m. Men.* 10:9.

[85] *y. Šab.* 6 (8a) (*y. Sanh.* 10:1 [28a]): the distance between the *bêt rabbā'* of Bar Qappara and that of R. Hoshaya; the distance between the *sidrā' rôbā'* (of Tiberias) and the shop of R. Hoshaya. (Note, however, that a *sidrā'* can also be a place where children read their lessons out loud, *y. Šab.* 6 [8c]; see also *y. Beṣ.* 2:4 [61c] [*y. Ḥag.* 2:3 (78a)]; *y. Meg.* 4:1 [75a].) See also *y. Hor.* 3:7 (48a) (*Lev. Rab.* 5:4 [ed. Margaliot, p.113]), in which R. Hiyya b. Ba raises funds "in that *bêt midrāš* in Tiberias," implying a permanent structure.

[86] *y. Ber.* 2 (4b); *y. Moʿed Qaṭ.* 3: 7 (83c).

[87] *y. Peʾa* 7:4 (20b): R. Hanina built a *bêt midrāš* from the proceeds of the sale of honey; *y. Šeq.* 5:6 (49b): R. Abun built the gates to the "great *sidrā'*."

[88] *y. Meg.* 1:11 (71d) (Gen. Rab. 1:11 [ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 10]); *bêt waʿad* can be used as a synonym for *bêt midrāš*, as in *y. Yoma'* 3:6 (40c) (cf. *y. B. Qam.* 9:3 [6d]). See also *y. Meg.* 3:4 (74a): "Said R. Hiyya b. Ba: 'R. Yohanan [would] curse the women who spread out their garments in the open space of the study house (*'āwîrā' dĕ-bê midrāšā'*).'" Once again, an outdoor setting may be presupposed (i.e., the place where the study house meets).

[89] The *bêt midrāš* of R. Benaya (the stories all involve the activity of R. Yohanan there): *y. Šab.* 12:3 (13c) (*y. Hor.* 3:7 [48c]); *y. B. Meṣ.* 2:12 (8d); *y. Hor.* 3:7 (48b); *bêt rabbâ* of Bar Qappara and that of R. Hoshaya: *y. Šab.* 6 (8a) (*y. Sanh.* 10:1 [28a]); *sidrā'* of Bar Ula: *y. Šab.* 4 (7a); *y. Beṣ.* 1:6 (60c) (this tradition is followed by another, attributed to Rab, referring to the *sidrā'* of Asi, possibly a Babylonian institution); *bê midrāš'* of bar 'Ityin (R. La in the name of R. Leazar, R. Yasa in the name of the sages who entered and heard from the *bê midrāšā'* of bar 'Ityin): *y. B. Bat.* 6:2 (15c) (cf. *y. Giṭ.* 3:8 [45a], in which the identifying name of the *bêt midrāš* is not included); *bêt midrāš* of Hanina: *y. Meg.* 4:12 (75c) ("this is the practice of the *bêt midrāš* of R. Hanina"; and since the issue in question is the placement of the *mĕzuzâ*, we should presumably read this as a reference to the way in which the *mĕzuzâ* was installed at the "school of R. Hanina," rather than the legal traditions passed down by that school); R. Hanina built a study house in Sepphoris: *y. Peʾa* 7:4 (20b).

er tells the story of how R. Hanina built a *bêt midrāš* in Sepphoris, perhaps this is how we should understand these expressions: as structures associated with, and possibly built by, a rabbi. Even more suggestive are those passages which state that R. Yohanan sat and expounded in the *bêt midrāš* of R. Benaya. These last traditions allow for the possibility that what is implied in the expression *bêt midrāš* is a physical installation that could survive long enough for later generations, acting independently of the sage with whom the "academy" is associated, to function there.

In short, it is possible to describe *batê midrāš* on the basis of Palestinian traditions as rather more "institutionalized" (that is, organized to outlive the existence of a single master) than those of Christian Caesarea before Constantine. I have no intention of discounting the evidence within rabbinic tradition itself for the persistence and importance of informal, personal ties of collegiality (among fellow sages or fellow disciples) or obligation (between disciples and their masters) among members of the rabbinic movement.[90] Moreover, the discussion of the traditions of R. Yose b. Hanina and R. Abbahu above has suggested that cultivation of a close personal relationship (reflected in "Gregory's" address to Origen) might also characterize rabbinic master-disciple relations. However, the possibility of real institutionalization seems to be worth further exploration. At the very least, there is epigraphic evidence (not without its problems) for at least one "real" *bêt midrāš*. If Amoraic sources truly reflect the investment of resources in "academies" this would correspond to the roughly contemporaneous, but archaeologically far better attested, phenomenon of the investment of money in another communal institution that is identifiably Jewish, the synagogue. This, in turn, may be an index of the way in which at least some Palestinian Jews chose to mark out a Jewish communal ethos in later Roman Palestine.

To conclude, Christian and Jewish education in third- and early fourth-century Caesarea may have developed along similar lines. Teachers of both religious movements appear to have operated in an urban environment and to have attracted a wealthy urban clientele, but both can be seen as roughly independent masters of disciple circles. At the same time, Jewish and Christian intellectuals (in Caesarea and elsewhere) were engaged in a wider social and religious enterprise, and were participating in creating "orthodoxies" of language, belief, and ritual practice that would have extraordinary impact on their respective communities. Nevertheless, differences in subject matter, literary products, the languages in which teachings were transmitted, and perhaps even the extent to which resources were devoted to buildings for teaching, suggest some of the differences between these two religious movements. While the Christianity of Origen and Eusebius faced outward toward the world of classical philosophy and literature (however ambivalently), Palestinian rabbis appear to have faced inward toward the local Aramaic-speaking Jewish populations of Palestine.

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[90] C. Hezser, "Social Fragmentation, Plurality of Opinion and Nonobservance of Halakhah: Rabbis and Community in Late Roman Palestine," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 1 (1994), 234–51; Levine, *The Rabbinic Class*, 43–82. A. Saldarini, *Scholastic Rabbinism*, Brown Judaic Studies 14 (Chico, Calif., 1982), 79–92 and passim, who explores traditional Hellenistic school imagery in *'Abot R. Nat.*

Acknowledgments: I have benefited from the comments of the participants at the Caesarea Maritima conference on the paper presented there, of which this is a much revised version. I owe a special debt of thanks to Kenneth G. Holu ı vho read earlier versions of this paper, and who was kind enough to allow me to peruse his typescript of his and C. M. Lehmann's forthcoming volume of Greek and Latin inscriptions from Caesarea.

PART IX

ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, AND THEIR INFLUENCE

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Eusebius of Caesarea as a Christian Writer

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According to Hans Urs von Balthasar, a leading Roman Catholic theologian of our century but also a prominent scholar of patristic studies, if we remove Eusebius' Origenist brilliance, we are left with only a dubious semi-Arian theologian and a diligent historian.[1] Within such a judgment (and despite the tribute paid to Eusebius as a historian), there is apparently not much room for stressing his literary or theological originality. But an Origenist cast of mind can be appreciated also in another way, emphasizing rather the spirit of creative fellowship within the Origenist tradition, as has recently been done by Charles Kannengiesser. His brilliant essay shows how it is possible to make positive use of Origen's influence on Eusebius, when one tries to characterize the spiritual identity of the bishop of Caesarea.[2] Nevertheless, even this opposite result runs the risk of underrating the measure of originality to be found in the work of Eusebius and also, I would suggest, a certain displacement of mentality which took place in Christian intellectual society at the beginning of the fourth century.[3]

For this reason, although the discussion on Eusebius' Origenism is obviously very important (and still continues to attract interest), I will not directly venture into it once again, but shall try to evaluate the literary activity of Eusebius – and particularly his own pronouncements on it – in order to establish the real novelty in his purposes. Only after exploring the reasons why we should recognize the legitimacy of Eusebius' claims to novelty may we consider this fact, at least briefly, in view of the debate on his Origenism. Thanks to this analysis, I hope to answer the question that has been put properly by Kannengiesser, although in my opinion he did not give it enough weight:

[1] H. U. von Balthasar, *Origenes. Geist und Feuer: Ein Aufbau aus seinen Schriften*, 3rd ed. (Einsiedeln-Freiburg, 1991), 11. A similar mistrust of Eusebius' Arian connection, which was only partially tempered by admiration for the historian, was quite common in Christian antiquity and found its expression, for instance, in Photius *Biblioth.* 13.

[2] C. Kannengiesser, "Eusebius of Caesarea, Origenist," in *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*, ed. H. W. Attridge and G. Hata (Detroit, 1992), 435–66. His reconstruction is based on the assumption that Origenism represents "the most valuable guideline through the various stages of Eusebius' ecclesiastical career" (p. 436).

[3] I am not persuaded that one should see a perfect parallelism between the interpretation of scripture in Origen and the interpretation of history in Eusebius, as Kannengiesser invites us to do (see n. 4 below). For the changing cultural atmosphere of the fourth century, see M. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome, 1985), 110–12.

with all the Origenian premises, acquired by Eusebius through the biblical studies with his master Pamphilus, why did he "not become a scholar limited to the scientific study of the Bible?"[4]

What ecclesiastical writers could and should be in a Christian society was carefully expressed by the bishop of Caesarea when he wrote his historical diptych: the *Chronicle* and the *Ecclesiastical History*. In his most famous work, the attention given by Eusebius to literary activity and the interplay between orthodoxy and heresy became more systematic than in the *Chronicle*, so that the *Ecclesiastical History* works also as the first history of ancient Christian literature. This interest in writers and their works provides a major clue to understanding how Eusebius came to develop his own *oeuvre* as a Christian writer. According to the ideological assumptions laid down at the beginning of the *Ecclesiastical History*, also Christian orthodox teachers partake of the *diadochai*, the "successions of the Apostles."[5] This essential function, which should ensure the continuity of Christian tradition through history, is therefore not restricted to the bishops alone.[6] The importance of literary activity in itself is underlined by the *Ecclesiastical History* on the one hand through the documentary effort made in collecting materials on persons and writings, and on the other hand through the insertion of the heterodox teachers notwithstanding Eusebius' scruples of doctrinal conformity.[7]

Eusebius' attitude toward teaching and writing depends on the Alexandrian tradition, which exercised a decisive influence upon his formation. Despite the growing hierarchical authority of the bishop from the third century on, a consciousness of the special role pertaining to Christian teachers remained alive in Alexandria for a longer time.[8] Its influence on Eusebius is shown by the many pages he devoted to the portrait of Origen in the sixth book of the *Ecclesiastical History*. This biographical sketch, even if we take into account its apologetic tendency, offers a very clear idea of the principles and values that should inspire the conduct of a Christian writer. Besides the

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[4] Kannengiesser, "Eusebius," 437. J. Sirinelli, *Les vues historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée durant la période prénicéenne* (Dakar, 1961), 46, wonders, not without reason, how a follower of Origen could develop such a keen sense of history. On the contrary, Kannengiesser considers Eusebius' transition from a scripture scholar to a scholar of history not only as a continuation of Origen's collecting work for the *Hexapla* but also as a consistent application of his paradigm of letter and spirit.

[5] *Ecclesiastical History* (= *HE*) 1.1.1. The opening words of this passage indicate exactly the *diadochai* as the main theme of the work. The larger perspective of the prologue has been analyzed by M. Tetz, "Christenvolk und Abrahamsverheißung: Zum 'kirchengeschichtlichen' Programm des Eusebius von Cäsarea," in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum: Gedenkschrift für A. Stuiber, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, suppl. 9 (Münster, 1982), 30–46.

[6] See V. Twomey, *Apostolikos Thronos: The Primacy of Rome as Reflected in the Church History of Eusebius and the Historico-apologetic Writings of Saint Athanasius the Great* (Münster, 1982), 31.

[7] See, for example, Eusebius' appreciation of Bardesanes of Edessa (*HE* 4.30).

[8] The persistence of the early Christian office of the *didaskalos* was recognized as a special feature of Alexandria by A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 4th ed. (Leipzig, 1924), 371. For the more general phenomenon in the early Church until the third century, see U. Neymeyr, *Die christlichen Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Leiden, 1989).

priority of biblical studies, which is already given through the anecdotes on Origen as an *enfant prodige* of scriptural learning,[9] we are introduced on several occasions to a large field of secular studies, which should supplement and support the biblical ones. This relation is of course laden with tensions, as is proved by Origen's decision to abandon his previous profession as grammarian, and especially by the famous account of Porphyry's polemic about his "Hellenic" mind.[10] Nevertheless, Eusebius' description, instead of insisting on the reasons for friction, aims finally at a positive encounter between secular and Christian culture in order to reach a *polymathês paideia* like that displayed by a Clement of Alexandria, even if classical learning does not wholly escape an ancillary status.[11] At any event, in this peculiar experience what binds together profane and religious studies is a distinctive way of life, which is called (not incidentally) by Eusebius a "philosophical life" and is exemplified at its best by the ascetic choice of Origen.[12]

Eusebius himself was confronted directly with this same model in the person of his own teacher Pamphilus. What the bishop of Caesarea did briefly for Origen with the *Ecclesiastical History*, was done by him on a larger scale for his beloved master with the lost *Life of Pamphilus*.[13] We catch a glimpse of its contents in the *Martyrs of Palestine*, where the figure of Pamphilus is briefly evoked together with his disciples and fellow martyrs. Once again we see an ascetic community engaged in religious scholarship, which consists principally in working on a critical edition of the Bible, on that same path that had been opened up by Origen. Philosophical or other secular interests have not completely disappeared,[14] but the primacy of philological activity on scripture is

[9] *HE* 6.2.7: ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐξ ἔτι παιδὸς ἐνησκημένος. Eusebius ascribes the merit for Origen's early exercise on scripture to his father, Leonidas, who chose to initiate his son into it before starting with "Greek learning" (*HE* 6.2.8).

[10] See respectively *HE* 6.3.8–9 and 6.19.2–10. P. Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1977), 417, presents Origen's decision in terms of a "conversion" to scripture and the ascetic life. The difficult problems that the second passage poses have been in a certain sense exasperated by the solutions proposed by P.F. Beatrice, "Porphyry's Judgment on Origen," in *Origeniana Quinta*, Papers of the 5th International Origen Congress, ed. R. J. Daly (Louvain, 1992), 351–67, according to which "Porphyry's account appears absolutely truthful"! (p. 353).

[11] This conciliatory formula (as illustrated by *HE* 6.18.3–4 regarding the Alexandrian *didaskaleion* with its two-level program) reveals indeed some uncertainty, since the ancillary role is expressly stated only for the beginners; on the contrary, the advanced students would seem to profit from some autonomous practice in their profane studies. The philosophical exchanges of Origen tend here to confirm this impression, which is also corroborated by Gregory's *Address of Thanks* with its surprisingly thin presentation of biblical studies at Origen's school in Caesarea. For Clement of Alexandria see *HE* 6.13.5: ὑπόθεσιν ἡμῖν πολυμαθοῦς παρέχων παιδείας, with regard to his synthesis in the *Stromateis* among scripture, Hellenic and "barbarian" wisdom, and even with acceptable heretical teachings.

[12] In *HE* 6.3.6–7 Eusebius puts it in terms of a conformity between doctrine and life and vice versa.

[13] The introduction to Origen's life (*HE* 6.1.2: δέοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ ἰδίας ὑποθέσεως ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ σύνταξις) indicates an intention comparable to that fulfilled by the *Life of Pamphilus* (see *The Martyrs of Palestine* [= *Mart. Pal.*] 11.3: ἐπ' ἰδίας τῆς τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ὑποθέσεως βίου γραφῇ ἐν τρισὶν ἤδη πρότερον ὑπομνήμασι παραδεδώκαμεν).

[14] Hints at philosophical studies are to be found in relation to Pamphilus' disciples Edesius and

stressed by Eusebius in the portrait of Pamphilus and his school. Regarding his teacher, Eusebius presents him as still clinging fully to the Origenian pattern: like the great Alexandrian, Pamphilus, though well acquainted with secular learning, had been converted from it to the "science of Holy Writ."[15] As for the school, the foundation of the Caesarea library by Pamphilus, which was especially intended to preserve and promote Origen's heritage, directs its energies mostly toward that task. Such an archival propensity conveys at first the impression of a less creative activity in this group. On the other hand, collecting Bible manuscripts, books of pagan and Christian authors, and also official sources was the necessary precondition for Eusebius' work. Moreover, this scholarly zeal was sustained by that consciousness of intellectual superiority, enounced originally by Origen and taken over by Pamphilus, though such a sense of religious aristocracy did not prevent either of them from serving as presbyters of the Caesarean community. The same was true also for Eusebius, who was then similarly stimulated to commit himself as a teacher for his own church.[16]

The spiritual climate of Pamphilus' school surely orientated Eusebius' vocation as a Christian writer and impressed its basic tone on it, but that does not fully explain the specific characteristics of his writing. We have only to remember the simple fact that Pamphilus' philological activity absorbed him completely. The only literary product connected with his name is the *Apology of Origen*, written with the help of Eusebius, as Pamphilus was imprisoned, and completed after his death by his pupil. By comparison to that, Eusebius exhibits a multiplicity of literary concerns that found expression in a long series of writings. Just listing the works left by the bishop of Caesarea during more than forty years of literary activity provides us immediately with the impression of a truly many-sided scholar virtually unique on the Christian scene of his time.[17]

This is how we encounter the biblical philologist, who is able to put together such

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Porphyry both wearing the philosopher's robe (*Mart. Pal.* 5.2, 11.19), and to Pamphilus himself, questioned by Urbanus about his rhetorical and philosophical knowledge (*Mart. Pal.* 7.5).

[15] *Mart. Pal.* 11.3 (RL [= longer recension]): μετέβαινεν ἀπὸ τῶνδε [Berytus' schools, παιδευτήρια, where Pamphilus was trained] ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμην. For Pamphilus' acquaintance with Greek παιδεία, see also *Mart. Pal.* 11d (RL).

[16] According to Socrates, Acacius of Caesarea, before becoming Eusebius' successor, was also his disciple and left a life of his teacher, apparently in the same way as this one had done for Pamphilus (Socrates *HE* 2.4). Some hints at the ideal relationship between a teacher and his disciple may be gained from the *Against Hierocles* (= *Contra Hier.*), where Eusebius criticizes the fact that Apollonius' unique disciple does not fully partake in the wisdom and thaumaturgical deeds of his teacher (see chap. 29 in the edition cited in n. 26 below). For Eusebius' idea of a spiritual elite, see F. Winkelmann, *Euseb von Kaisareia: Der Vater der Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1991), 51, with reference to the *Demonstration of the Gospel* (= *DE*), 1.8 (ed. Mras, 39–40). It is not by chance that in *Praise of Constantine* (= *Laud. Const.*) 11.5 (ed. Heikel, *GCS* 7, 224) the Church is seen by Eusebius as a "school" open to everybody.

[17] For a general presentation of Eusebius' works, see J. Moreau, "Eusebius von Caesarea," *RAC* 6 (Stuttgart, 1966), 1052–88, who arranges them under different sections because of the difficulties in establishing a precise chronology. In this regard, Winkelmann, *Euseb von Kaisareia*, 188–91, offers a useful synopsis of the main divergencies in scholarly opinion.

a practical tool for Gospel studies as the successful *Canons* appended to the *Letter to Carpianus,* or who more ambitiously but no less effectively elaborates a lexicon of biblical geography with his *Onomasticon,* which probably served incidentally as a kind of guidebook for pilgrims and visitors to Palestine.[18] Then we meet the chronographer and first historian of the Church, not only thanks to the respective writings already mentioned above but also as the author of works devoted to contemporary figures and events such as the *Life of Pamphilus,* the *Martyrs of Palestine,* and even the *Life of Constantine* despite its panegyristic intentions. Before taking into our picture this further dimension of Eusebius as "publicist," we have to remember his main role as an apologist for Christianity, which forms the basis for his later interventions at the side of Constantine. Here the *magnum opus* of the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel* is surrounded by several other writings of apologetic interest: from the earlier *Extracts of the Prophets* to the later *Theophany.* The "political theologian" or ideologist of the Christian empire finally expresses himself in the *Praise of Constantine,* but this late work should not obscure how Eusebius continued at the same time to cultivate biblical interests (for instance, with his commentaries *On Isaiah* and *On the Psalms*) and to intervene in the theological debate against adversaries like Marcellus of Ancyra (with the *Against Marcellus* and *The Ecclesiastical Theology*).[19]

This broad spectrum of writings, which suggests at once the diversity of literary application in Eusebius, has nevertheless to be seen also in its underlying elements of unity. To a considerable extent, Eusebius' corpus is the consequence of a remarkable capacity for large projects, which was nourished technically by the habits of hard and meticulous work acquired under the guidance of Pamphilus and ideologically by a quite compact and steady outlook, that is, his apologetic conception of Christianity as the fulfillment of the Logos revelation through creation and history. Eusebius' ability to plan and execute vast literary enterprises is attested to by the numerous connections existing among his writings.

Let us take just some instances of this, leaving aside the best-known cases, such as the *Chronicle* and the *Ecclesiastical History* or the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel.*[20] Consider the relation between the two discourses known under the single title of *In Praise of Constantine* and the *Life of Constantine.* The conception of this last and very

[18] This presumed scope has been put forward by, among others, A. Louth, "The Date of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica,*" *Journal of Theological Studies,* n.s. 41 (1990), 120, and R. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, 1992), 99–100.

[19] The rough impression gained from this summary catalogue about the variety of Eusebius' literary concerns, which of course would be improved through a more detailed list, should be accompanied by an analysis of their respective weight. At least, considering the most important dimensions in Eusebius' series of writings, it will suffice here to remark, first, that the apologetic corpus is even larger than the historiographical one, and second, that his results in the field of biblical studies are decidedly more impressive than in the theological ones.

[20] Eusebius himself declares the link between the *HE* and the antecedent *Chronicle* (*HE* 1.1.6). On this point one should still refer to F. Overbeck, *Über die Anfänge der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung* (Basel, 1892). For the unity of the apologetic masterwork, see *Preparation for the Gospel* (= *Praep. Ev.*) 15.1.8–9, 15.62.16.

controversial work also answers the purpose of integrating with historical and specifically biographical details the ideal picture of the Christian emperor that Eusebius had traced in his discourses. The author himself intended the *Life* and the speeches (including Constantine's address *To the Assembly of Saints*) to be "a single literary whole," but one may also see the connection with the last part of the *Ecclesiastical History,* uniting in this way historiography and political theology.[21] We can observe the same phenomenon by considering the distinct perspective of Eusebius' apologetic writings. Among them, for example, the *Extracts of the Prophets* were not only aimed at supplying the historical indications of the *Chronicle* with the biblical proofs of Christianity's truth taken systematically from the Old Testament prophecies, but for the same reason should also be seen in their relation to the *Ecclesiastical History,* inasmuch as this represents the actual display and confirmation of that truth.[22] Moreover, since Eusebius sometimes attended simultaneously to different works, this gave him occasion to introduce cross-references among them in order to instruct the reader about their wider context, as we can see with the *Gospel Questions.* Even this minor product of Eusebius' biblical scholarship, written at the same time as the *Demonstration of the Gospel,* confirms us once again in the idea that the corpus of his writings is to a large measure a well-planned and connected whole.[23]

We could, however, have a less favorable impression of Eusebius' literary production, if we look at it from the point of view of its formal qualities. In this respect, we may note a discrepancy between the remarkable amount of the writings with their recognizable novelty of approach and structure, and the quality of their prose. In the opinion of most, beginning already with Photius,[24] the formal aspects of Eusebius' works leave a lot to be desired. Yet we should make an effort to differentiate this judgment, on the one hand remembering that traditionally for early Christian writers no importance was given to formal concerns and, on the other hand, noticing how nevertheless the bishop of Caesarea occasionally proved that he was able to do better than he normally did.[25] A good example is a work of controversy like the *Against Hierocles,* written

[21] See T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine,*" in *The Making of Orthodoxy. Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick* (Cambridge, 1989), 95, with regard to *Vita Const.* 4.32.46. Commenting later on *Vita Const.* 4.9–13, Barnes supposes even that in 325 Eusebius "was already thinking ahead to the day when he would compose a sequel to the *Ecclesiastical History* which he had recently brought down to 324, that is, a documented history of Constantine as a Christian emperor and protector of the Christian church" (p. 113).

[22] Eusebius declares the relation to the *Chronicle* in his introduction to *Extracts of the Prophets* (= *EP*), *PG* 22:1024A.

[23] For reciprocal cross-references in both works see, on the one hand, *DE* 7.3.18 and, on the other, *Gospel Questions* (= *QE*) 1.7.7. According to E. Schwartz, "Eusebios von Caesarea," *RE* 6 (1907), 1388, the *Gospel Questions* are a *parergon* to *DE.*

[24] Photius *Biblioth.* 13: τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμοῦ οὔτε ἡδὺς οὔτε λαμπρότητι χαίρων.

[25] Eusebius' language and style have not often been the object of specific studies, with a few exceptions. One of the most deserving is to be found in Winkelmann's introduction to his edition of *Vita Const.*

as an answer to a pagan attack on Christianity on the eve of the Great Persecution, where Eusebius displays rhetorical abilities in line with the norms of the Second Sophistic school.[26] But this is true, at least partly or tentatively, also for the contemporary supplements to the *Ecclesiastical History* (bks. 8–10) and naturally even more for the *Life of Constantine* and the official discourse given by the bishop of Caesarea to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the emperor's reign.[27] As is often the case, a different audience and a different topic determine also for Eusebius different literary results. This point should be kept in mind later on, when we examine the way the bishop of Caesarea tried to relate himself to what he intended to be the readership of his writings.

Apparently the most negative feature in Eusebius' literary performances is an aspect that emphasizes further a frequent trait of his style, laden with a tedious formularity by reason of its repetitive expressions and metaphors.[28] I mean his practice of reemploying previous materials in other works. *Reécriture,* in itself a typically academic vice, for a professional scholar like the bishop of Caesarea should not be taken as such a serious handicap as it has often been done. Eusebius' penchant for rewriting, when evaluated properly, appears understandable and legitimate in the particular context of his literary activity. This took advantage of the precious archival and bibliographical resources of the Caesarea library and in the same way pushed Eusebius into great enterprises which were grounded largely upon documentary evidence and were connected in a coherent design. Therefore, apart from few exceptions (the most noteworthy of them seems to be the *Against Hierocles*),[29] Eusebius had no problem reusing and adapting parts of earlier writings in later ones, since their content and argument were on similar lines. An interesting test case, within the rich ensemble of Eusebius' apologetic writings, is the process leading from the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel*

(*Eusebius Werke,* I.1. *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin,* ed. F. Winkelmann, GCS 7 [Berlin, 1975], lvii–lxiv).

[26] See the remarks of Forrat in M. Forrat and É. Des Places, eds., *Eusèbe de Césarée. Contre Hiéroclès, SC* 333 (Paris, 1986), 78–79, against the opinion of T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). See also M. Kertsch, "Traditionelle Rhetorik und Philosophie in Eusebius' *Antirrhetikos gegen Hierokles,*" *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980), 145–71.

[27] This point has been rightly stated by H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine: A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennial Orations* (Berkeley, 1976), xi–xii.

[28] A minor example of Eusebius' formularity, with regard to his vocabulary, can be taken from n. 13 above (the use of ὑπόθεσις and the related locutions). The frequent recourse to formulas strikes the reader of, for instance, *HE.* As to the metaphors, the bishop of Caesarea is especially fond of images linked to the shining of light, so that he may adequately express the radiant triumph of Christianity (cf. *Vita Const.* 2 with *HE* or with *Laud. Const.* 3.4).

[29] For the isolated position of *Contra Hier.,* one may refer to the introduction by M. Forrat, p. 10 (see n. 26 above). It is not certain that the *Gospel Questions* represent a new adaptation by Eusebius of materials pertaining originally to his lost *Against Porphyry.* This conclusion rests on the assumption that the *Gospel Questions* deal with objections formulated directly by Porphyry, but this is not the case since they do not primarily reflect polemical concerns; see L. Perrone, "Le *Quaestiones evangelicae* di Eusebio di Cesarea: Alle origini di un genere letterario," *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 7 (1990), 417–35.

to the *Theophany,* which presents itself as a sort of "popular" compendium of the major work. The *Theophany* in its turn was subject to a summarization, insofar as its theme was taken over once again by Eusebius, in a plainer form, with his speech *On the Sepulcher of Christ.*[30] The two stages of this process of rewriting stem clearly from didactic reasons, which disclose the pedagogic component underlying among other things Eusebius' commitment as a writer: if the bishop of Caesarea with the *Theophany* was looking for a larger audience on behalf of his apologetic view of Christianity, with the *Sepulcher of Christ* he was aiming to bring it home more specifically to Constantine. Of course, the fact of rewriting did not just respond to didactic purposes. It tried to bring up to date works that were connected in one or another form to the contemporary situation; this was especially true of the last three books of the *Ecclesiastical History.*[31] This draws our attention to Eusebius' readership and on the ways he tried to conserve and enlarge it.

At first sight one is tempted to think that Eusebius addressed himself preferably to a very selective readership. Not only the dimensions of his writings, as it is with the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel,* but also the amount of erudition and documentary evidence displayed therein seem to discourage an approach to them without the support of adequate preparation. In most cases, at the height of Eusebius' exigent *polymatheia* with its literary, historical, and philosophical knowledge, a cultured public has to be assumed as the intended readership of his works. Nevertheless, once again the bishop of Caesarea defies a too rigid classification, since he is also able to address a larger audience. Indeed, such a wider public is never completely forgotten, inasmuch as Eusebius is conscious of his pastoral responsibility as an ecclesiastical writer.[32]

Pedagogical concerns and didactic ability aiming at a potentially extended readership are exhibited by Eusebius in the *Letter to Carpianus,* which supplies the keys for using the *Gospel Canons.* This short piece, whose technical virtuosity does not contrast with its evident perspicuity, not only illustrates the role of Eusebius as a teacher, but

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[30] The *Theophany,* probably written after 324, summarizes the content of *Praep. Ev.* and *DE,* mostly in the first three books but also in the fifth one, moreover not without loans from *HE.* Eusebius himself refers to *DE* in *Theoph.* 4.37 and 5.1. On its further adaptation in the form of a βασιλικὸν σύγγραμα, see H. Gressmann, *GCS* 11.2 (Leipzig, 1904), xix, and Moreau, "Eusebius," 1069. Other instances of rewriting with regard to the apologetic works are discussed by D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, "Eusebius of Caesarea's *Commentary on Luke:* Its Origin and Early History," *Harvard Theological Review* 67 (1974), 55–63.

[31] For a recent summary of the presumed phases of composition, see M. Gödecke, *Geschichte als Mythos: Eusebs "Kirchengeschichte"* (Frankfurt a.M., 1987), 20–21.

[32] Winkelmann, *Euseb von Kaisareia,* 52–53, rejects a purely erudite vocation of Eusebius as a writer, rightly stressing its ecclesial dimension. See also Kannengiesser, "Eusebius," 440: "His projected research was rooted in his faithful experience of the Church, more than in secular scholarship and private learning." Concerning Eusebius' erudition, several attempts to reduce its width and depth (see, e.g., Barnes, "Panegyric," 108–9 with regard to historiography) have not succeeded in changing the traditional judgment on Eusebius as the most erudite of the church fathers (H. Fr. von Campenhausen, *Griechische Kirchenväter,* 4th ed. [Stuttgart, 1967], 65).

can be taken as a manifesto in miniature of the type of philological application to the biblical text that was fostered by Pamphilus and was carried on by the bishop of Caesarea within a more general frame of interests.[33] An example of different proportions and weight such as the *Ecclesiastical History* suggests an extensive readership, probably not restricted to the Christian camp but including, at least in intention, also pagan and Jewish readers.[34] A mixed audience has to be implied again for the *Against Hierocles,* though its main argument is directed at a pagan public. As a matter of fact, no other work among Eusebius' writings concedes so much to the mind of the contemporary pagan, thanks to its sharing in the classical values of *paideia* and *polymatheia.*[35] Other writings, more or less explicitly, declare they are acting as instructions for neophytes, though they might also aim at a pagan readership open to Christianity. The title *General Elementary Introduction* declares that Eusebius especially intended it to be for neophytes as well as advanced Christians,[36] whereas the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel* also have the pagans in mind. It is especially to them and to the new converts that the bishop of Caesarea in his major apologetic work intends to explain what Christianity is, reviewing the foundations of the classical cultural tradition critically in the light of it.[37] Whether the tiring itinerary through the massive *opus* responded or not to the declared intention may be an object of discussion. It is clear that in practice the *philologoi* have an advantage over other categories of readers, but the meaning of this word in Late Antiquity indicates precisely what we would call the "general cultivated readers."[38] Moreover, Eusebius' erudition did not prevent him from appealing

[33] Aspects and values of the philological exercise are committed to words such as φιλοπονία, σπουδή, πόνημα; see *Eusebii Ep. ad Carpianum et Canones I–X,* in Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece,* 26th ed. (Stuttgart, 1979), 73–74. This same attitude resounds in the occasional call to the φιλομαθεῖς for further reading (see, for instance, *DE* 7.3.18 and *QE* 1.7.7).

[34] The idea of an interreligious readership for *HE* has been convincingly argued by Gödecke, *Geschichte als Mythos,* 27-31.

[35] *Contra Hier.*14. A significant test is offered by the absence of biblical quotations. As his battlefield against the pretended superiority of Apollonius over Christ, Eusebius chooses that same classical culture to which Hierocles appealed. Not only Homer and Plato, but also novelists such as Antonius Diogenes (*Contra Hier.*17) are evoked by Eusebius for his purpose.

[36] Eusebius himself explains that he does not mean only the προβεβηκότες but also those ἄρτι τῷ θείῳ προσιόντες λόγῳ (*PG* 22:1024). The work, originally consisting of ten books, is preserved only in a part (bks. 6–9) known as *Extracts of the Prophets.* It should serve as an introduction to the Gospel and was perhaps linked to the biblical teaching of Eusebius. On his admission, this writing was composed after the *Chronicle* (see n. 22 above) and presumably preceded the *HE* (*HE* 1.2.2).

[37] *Praep. Ev.* 1.1.1 mentions both those still ignorant of Christianity (τοῖς οὐκ εἰδόσι) and the neophytes (τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἄρτι προσιοῦσιν). See the comment of Sirinelli: "Eusèbe songe à attirer au christianisme les païens cultivés, que reboute surtout, dans la religion nouvelle, le caractère irrationnel et péremptoire des croyances et des enseignements"; J. Sirinelli and É. des Places, eds., *Eusèbe de Césarée. La préparation évangélique, Livre I, SC* 206 (Paris, 1974), 37.

[38] Regarding Eusebius' call to the φιλόλογοι, see for instance *Praep. Ev.* 5.18.1, with the observation of É. des Places, *SC* 266 (Paris, 1980). This passage proves that Eusebius identifies the φιλόλογοι with τοῖς ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ φοιτῶσι in the usual educational institutions of the cities. The fact that Eusebius in *Praep. Ev.* does not lose his contact with a generally shared, and therefore somehow "popular," atmosphere of

to a similarly mixed audience in a more fashionable rhetorical form with the *Theophany* and subsequently at the imperial court with the panegyric on the occasion of Constantine's thirtieth anniversary.[39]

Eusebius' search for a larger public is witnessed by his effort to respond to contemporary issues, which among other factors stimulates him to provide new editions of his writings. It would be a simplification to suspect him simply of opportunism as he decided to remake his *Ecclesiastical History*. Of course, an opportunistic reaction to the altered political situation following Licinius' elimination cannot be excluded, but such a reaction has to be judged within the wider framework of Eusebius' literary activity with its peculiar habits.[40] Notwithstanding his erudite inclination, or indeed because of it, acting as a writer he felt himself as a man of his time. Despite the often remarked on static continuity of his theological outlook under the imprint of the Origenian model, the literary production of the bishop of Caesarea shows his attempts at keeping pace with his epoch.[41]

That he was sensitive to the call of polemics, often connected to persons and episodes of the day – although in Eusebius the apologist generally takes precedence over the polemicist – is proved in the last period of his life by the *Kampfschriften* on behalf of the Origenist party.[42] However, rather than the ecclesiastical controversies, it was the actual confrontation with paganism at the intellectual level that attracted most of his energies, from the *Against Hierocles* to the lost *Against Porphyry*, not to mention of course the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel*. If for the *Against Hierocles* it is not incorrect to speak of a piece of occasional writing, in relation to more limited polemico-apologetical needs and as such not susceptible to reuse,[43] the *Against Porphyry*

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cultural tradition was stressed by Zink, with regard to the presence of diatribic style; see O. Zink and É. des Places, eds., *Eusèbe de Césarée. La préparation évangélique, Livres IV–V, 1, 17, SC* 262 (Paris, 1979), 36–37.

[39] As for the *Theophany*, the pastoral intention emerges clearly in 4.36 (ed. Gressmann, 218), where Eusebius justifies his rewriting. For the implied audience of the *Tricennial Discourse*, a good indicator is once again the use of the Bible. It is possible to speak of both a "profane" use – meaning a rhetorical display of the scriptures (as, for instance, the parable of the Good Shepherd in *Laud. Const.* 1.7.9) – and a "mystical" one, insofar as the biblical language is transposed into a theosophical perspective. The different audience of *On the Sepulcher of Christ*, which consists of an ecclesiastical assembly, is mirrored by a larger and more direct presence of the Bible.

[40] The literary problems posed by the several editions of *HE* are quite complex and do not depend exclusively on Eusebius' pro-Constantinian disposition (Louth, "The Date of Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*," 113–23). See also Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 148–50 and n. 31 above.

[41] Eusebius' fundamentally static character as a "conservative theologian" of Origenian cast, whose cultural presuppositions derived wholly from the spiritual atmosphere of the third century, was emphasized by Kannengiesser, "Eusebius," 438.

[42] *Eusebius Werke*, IV: *Gegen Marcell. Über die Kirchliche Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcells*, ed. E. Klostermann, 2nd ed. by G. C. Hansen, *GCS* 14 (Berlin, 1972). Echoes of the post-Nicene debate are to be found in *On the Sepulcher of Christ*, although they do not modify the Origenian pattern of Eusebius' christology. Indeed H. de Riedmatten, *Les actes du procès de Paul de Samosate: Étude sur la christologie du IIIe au IVe siècle* (Fribourg 1952), 74, registers in it a stiffening of Origen's subordinationism.

[43] The urgency of these needs can vary according to the different dates of *Contra Hier.* suggested by scholars. Even if Forrat prefers to locate it at the end of the Great Persecution instead of at its begin-

engaged Eusebius in a fight with a major adversary, to be continued throughout the *Preparation of the Gospel* though not in such immediate form. In fact, the apologetic *summa* cannot be viewed simply as a response to the sharp criticism of Porphyry, inasmuch as the bishop of Caesarea is cultivating a greater ambition.[44] Taking into account the revolutionary situation in which the Christians found themselves after the end of the Great Persecution, Eusebius reveals his consciousness of a crucial transition. The sense of triumph that had previously accompanied his depiction of the Church's destiny through history is obviously reestablished and intensified after it had been shaken for a while. But now it also gives way to sentiments insisting on the necessity of a new cultural undertaking, which should restate the truth of the Christian religion at the same intellectual level of its critics. With respect to this task, no other work could have been more timely than the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel*, an enterprise comparable only to what Augustine did a century later with his *City of God* at a new turning point of Late Antiquity.[45]

Eusebius' measure of contemporaneity is emphasized by his occasional yet pointed vindication of literary novelty. To what extent are such claims to be taken as legitimate? Robert Grant has warned us against self-advertisement and plagiarization in Eusebius, but even for him it is impossible to deny to the bishop of Caesarea the quality of a profound innovator, as far as the *Ecclesiastical History* goes.[46] Our attention anyway should not be captured at once by this major instance, nor should we confine our analysis alone to the self-declarations of Eusebius. As he puts it, there are two sides to his assertions of innovation: on the one hand, with respect to pagan literature, he vindicates for some of his writings the status of a Christian alternative to preexisting models of classical literature; on the other hand, he makes a similar contention regarding early Christian literature, stressing in this way the pioneering character of his literary results.

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ning, this does not diminish her appreciation of Eusebius as an author for his time: he is "parfaitement conscient des problèmes de son temps . . . Il a écrit une oeuvre de circonstance qui révèle l'ardeur de toutes les passions du moment" (*Eusèbe de Césarée. Contre Hiéroclès,* 80).

[44] Sirinelli, after observing that Porphyry is second only to Plato with regard to the quotations, thinks that both *Praep. Ev.* and the *Against Porphyry* contain Eusebius' reply to the neo-Platonic philosopher (*Eusèbe de Césarée. La préparation évangélique, Livre I,* pp. 31–32). According to Zink, instead of considering *Praep. Ev.* just as a confutation of Porphyry, we should interpret his obsessive presence as a clue to Eusebius' psychology: "Eusèbe sentait en lui un maître, mais, situation déchirante, un maître qu'il devait combattre" (*Eusèbe de Césarée. La préparation évangélique, Livres IV–V, 1, 17,* pp. 27–28). I would prefer to stress indeed the competitive attitude of the bishop of Caesarea.

[45] A comparison with the Augustine not only of the *City of God* but also of the *Christian Doctrine* is insinuated by Sirinelli's penetrating judgment on the encyclopedic character of *Praep. Ev.*: "Elle vise essentiellement à reconvertir, dans les domaines les plus divers, ce qui constituait le bagage ordinaire du païen instruit. Tout ce que sa religion, sa culture mythologique ou historique, sa formation philosophique avaient pu lui apporter, est passé en revue et éclairé d'un jour nouveau" (*Eusèbe de Césarée. La préparation évangélique, Livre I,* p. 38).

[46] R. M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford, 1980), 39.

As is to be expected, Eusebius' competition with classical genres has an apologetic character. We see it in the fifth book of the *Ecclesiastical History*, where he introduces the story of the martyrs of Lyons. In this passage the bishop of Caesarea distinguishes himself from the ancient historiographers, who in his view were committed to the narration of military events impregnated with blood and murder, by opposing his own description of the Christians' peaceful struggle for truth and faith.[47] Similar ideas emerge also in the *Praise of Constantine*, when Eusebius states that he will not adhere to the rules of the pagan encomiastic tradition, since he not only will abstain from satisfying aesthetic expectations but in addition will be dealing with a new subject in the person of the Christian king with his virtues and his god-loving deeds.[48] Even if in this second case the formal concessions are in fact greater than in the first one, both the *Ecclesiastical History* with its documentary method and the *Praise of Constantine* with its unique fusion of Christology and political theology represented something really new compared to pagan literature.[49] The same can be said even more openly of the *Life of Constantine*, insofar as it is particularly difficult to find out a convenient category which fits the peculiar work that we have here. We should rather recognize the novelty of its form, which unites different genres into a new creation of Christian literature. According to Timothy Barnes' recent conclusions, we face a mixture of panegyric, historiography, and hagiography, which moreover (as was pointed out by Friedhelm Winkelmann) should be related to the development of a specifically Christian biography in the course of the fourth century, at least as one of his premises.[50] From this point of view, we can therefore agree with some of the initial pronouncements of the author, stressing once again the diversity of his work compared to pagan authors, both in the form (without rhetorical deceit) and in the content (concerned only with Constantine's religious policy).[51]

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[47] *HE* 5 Prol., 3–4 (note the expression τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν πολιτεύματος).

[48] For Eusebius' emphasis on the original character of his panegyric, see the Prologue: ἥκω δὲ βασιλικῶν ὑμνῶν καινοτέρας ᾠδῆς ἐν ὑμῖν ἀπαρξάμενος (*Laud. Const.*, ed. Heikel, 195). He repeats this concept through the image of a solitary path, echoing that already employed in *HE* 1.1.3: μυρίων δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ σπευδόντων πορείαν, *πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων* (Hom. *Iliad* 6.202) αὐτὸς τὴν ἀτριβῆ βαδιοῦμαι, ἧς οὐ θέμις ἀνίπτοις ἐπιβαίνειν ποσίν (ibid.).

[49] Formal debts of *HE* with regard to pagan historiography are mostly reduced to prologues and titles of chapters inserted at the beginning of the books; see G. del Ton, "Contenuto, struttura, scopi della *Storia ecclesiastica* di Eusebio di Cesarea," *Divinitas* 6 (1962), 325–27. As to the content of *Laud. Const.*, it is of course impossible to ignore its dependence upon a long-standing tradition of thought on sacral kingship, in both the pagan and the Jewish camp; see G. F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret and Evagrius* (Paris, 1977). As to the formal side, the influence of Menander's prescriptions regarding the βασιλικὸς λόγος has been underlined by Drake, *In Praise of Constantine*, 37–38.

[50] *Vita Const.* "represents a conflation of a panegyric and a documentary history of a hagiographical nature" (Barnes, "Panegyric," 110). The nearest analogies anyway are to be sought, according to Barnes, in *Mart. Pal.* and bk. 9 of *HE*. Winkelmann (*Eusebius Werke*, I, p. li) sees Eusebius as the first interpreter of a Christian encomiastic literature, which would be implemented by the Cappadocian Fathers and Athanasius. To evaluate *Vita Const.* adequately, one should not forget the biographical curiosity exhibited by Eusebius already in *HE* 6 and in the *Life of Pamphilus*.

[51] Eusebius elaborates on his deliberate abstention from rhetorical embellishments in contrast to pagan

As to early Christian literature, Eusebius' portraying himself as an innovator is supported mainly by the *Ecclesiastical History*, which as a matter of fact introduced a completely new genre into it, but such an innovation cannot be understood without considering its preparation through the *Chronicle*. Though this prior writing stems from an already practiced genre among pagan and Christian writers, Eusebius brings about an original realization of the preexisting pattern, competing also with pagan chronography.[52] The bishop of Caesarea takes advantage of his propensity for grammatical or philological tools – as we know it from the *Canons* or from the *Onomasticon* – so as to propose here an innovating synopsis of synchronisms for the general history of the world, from Abraham to his own time. The *Chronikoi kanones* are symptomatic of Eusebius' habit of mind: not only do they take leave of chiliastic reckonings, still present in his most significant predecessor, Julius Africanus, but even against this sophisticated representative of Christian Alexandrian culture they are able to exhibit a superior standard of scientific ethos aiming at the exact solution of pending chronological problems.[53] An analogous concern for exactitude lies behind Eusebius' search for documentary support in the *Ecclesiastical History*, despite all the apologetic bias and the eventual manipulations of evidence commanding it, and constitutes the principal factor for its peculiar results, which open a new chapter not only in the history of early Christian literature but of historiography altogether.[54]

In a similar manner, extensive quotation of sources accounts largely for the novelty of the *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospel*, notwithstanding the rich variety of apologetic literature since the second century, which was of course well known to Eusebius. The bishop of Caesarea shows how he is conscious of the existence of such a background, as he compares his work with previous writings, so as to confer a distinct profile on it. For that reason he mentions the several efforts made by preceding writers in order to perform what he now tries to do – that is, to demonstrate the truth

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authors and accuses them of falsifying the historical truth (*Vita Const.* 1.10 [ed. Winkelmann, 12]). Renewing the *topos* of the primacy of content over form, he asserts that the deeds would shine of themselves even without the help of his rhetoric. A second limitation regards these same deeds of the emperor, inasmuch as the bishop of Caesarea will expose only his religious performances (τοῦ τῆς προκειμένης ἡμῖν πραγματείας σκοποῦ μόνα τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλῆ συντείνοντα βίον λέγειν τε καὶ γράφειν ὑποβάλλοντος (1.11; ibid.).

[52] See A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg-London, 1979), and W. Adler, "Eusebius' *Chronicle* and Its Legacy," in *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*, 467–91.

[53] Winkelmann, *Euseb von Kaisareia*, 92, tends to play down the apologetic concern of the *Chronicle*, stressing rather its search for exact knowledge.

[54] On the limitations of Eusebius' use of evidence, see B. Gustafsson, *Eusebius' Principles in Handling His Sources, as Found in His "Church History," Books I–VII*, Studia Patristica 4 (Berlin, 1961), 429–41. The basic apologetic approach of *HE* (as noted once more by A. J. Droge, "The Apologetic Dimensions of the *Ecclesiastical History*," in *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*, 492–509) does not suppress the novelty of its method and literary form when compared to ancient historiography or earlier Christian writings. For this reason I still cling to Momigliano's judgment of Eusebius as the inventor of a new historiography grounded on documents; see A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), 79–99.

of Christianity – and vindicates for his enterprise a character of originality, although this comparison apparently includes almost everything that had been produced by early Christian literature: polemical treaties, commentaries on scripture, and homilies.[55] We may perhaps be not very wide of the mark if we suspect that here Eusebius measures his literary distance from and at the same time progress toward Origen himself. In any case, what resulted from these declared ambitions presented all the features of a *summa*, organizing the mostly separate traditions of polemical confrontation with pagans and Jews into a new organic work.[56]

Finally, to conclude this analysis about the recognizable dimension of literary novelty in Eusebius' writings, we could extend it to the *Onomasticon* or to the *Gospel Questions*, but the hitherto dominant impression would not change. These two works, both building upon Alexandrian philological activity, also confirm Eusebius in the role of an innovator, though in the case of the *Questions* this seems to be rather a consequence of our incomplete picture of ancient Christian literature than a proper attribution.[57]

Looking back now upon Eusebius' achievements as a Christian writer in view of the initial question about his Origenism, I am inclined to answer it at first in a seemingly quite simplistic and paradoxical way. I would assert that, in the last resort, what makes the difference between the bishop of Caesarea and the great Alexandrian exegete is precisely Eusebius' vocation as an "ecclesiastical writer" or as a Christian *philologos*. This does not mean of course to deny that Origen himself was a very prolific writer and even a truly noteworthy philologist, and this not only as an effect of his earlier profession of *grammatikos* but also in his later activity as interpreter of the Bible.[58] Nevertheless, as has been illuminatingly noticed by von Balthasar, his almost exclusive function as commentator on scripture proceeds essentially from the spoken word.[59] We

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[55] Ἐσπούδασται μὲν οὖν πλείστοις τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλή τις ἄλλη πραγματεία, τοτὲ μὲν ἐλέγχους καὶ ἀντιρρήσεις τῶν ἐναντίων ἡμῖν λόγων συνταξαμένοις, τοτὲ δὲ τὰς ἐνθέους καὶ ἱερὰς γραφὰς ἐξηγητικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μέρος ὁμιλίαις διερμηνεύσασιν, τοτὲ δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς δόγμασιν ἀγωνιστικώτερον πρεσεβεύσασιν, ἡμῖν γε μὲν ἰδίως ἡ μετὰ χεῖρας ἐκπονεῖται πρόθεσις (*Praep. Ev.* 1.3.4).

[56] In the words of Sirinelli, *Praep. Ev.* "possédait . . . tous les éléments d'un *Contre les Grecs*, d'un *Contre les Juifs* et d'un exposé doctrinal du christianisme. Séparés, ces traités n'avaient qu'une portée réduite, soit polémique soit édifiante. Le trait de génie d'Eusèbe est de les avoir associés dans un développement continu" (in *Eusèbe de Césarée. La préparation évangélique, Livre I*, p. 48).

[57] Eusebius is not the πρῶτος εὑρητής of the Christian "questions and answers," as I argued in the article cited above (n. 29) and in other contributions on this literary genre; see most recently "'Quaestiones et responsiones' in Origene: Prospettive di un'analisi formale dell'argomentazione esegetico-teologica," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 15 (1994), 1–50. For the rooting of the *Onomasticon* in Alexandrian tradition, see Moreau, "Eusebius," 1063.

[58] See B. Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe* (Basel, 1987).

[59] "Er hat ja selbst nie geschrieben, nur gesprochen, fast Tag und Nacht gesprochen, unermüdlich vor immer neuen, nachrückenden Schreibern. So sind schon seine Werke . . . nichts als das Hallen einer Stimme" (Balthasar, *Origenes. Geist und Feuer*, 12). Some analogies may be found here between Origen, who refuses until his old age the transcription of the homilies in Caesarea (*HE* 6.36.1), and Plotinus, who

cannot say the same thing about Eusebius: it is impossible for us to imagine him working without the shelves and the desks of the Caesarea library, while we have no difficulty in admitting this for Origen's intellectual personality, engaged as he was in school discussions, church preaching, doctrinal debates, and travels.[60] On the contrary, the figure of the erudite scholar, devoting most of his time to collecting sources, consulting books, and writing, prevails clearly in Eusebius, even if we catch some glimpses of his teaching and preaching or even of his traveling.[61]

In a second attempt toward a more precise definition of Eusebius' vocation as a Christian writer, we may say that his literary activity represents the most complete Christian version of the Hellenistic scholar, responding to the values of *polymatheia* through the multiple facets of his scientific interests. Tracing again a summary comparison, if Origen subsumes the variegated knowledge of Alexandrian culture into a Christian philosophy which aims essentially at understanding the inspired scriptures, in Eusebius this same knowledge maintains in part its autonomy. To recognize this does not imply taking away from the already established compactness of Eusebius' apologetic outlook, but only enables us to see how his mind works differently. We could apply to the bishop of Caesarea what Plotinus, according to Porphyry, said of Longinus: "He is indeed a philologist, but not at all a philosopher,"[62] without forgetting however that such a judgment is not entirely correct, since Longinus is in reality a philologist with philosophical interests. Another contemporary analogy is perhaps to be seen in Porphyry, Eusebius' great opponent, who in his youth had learned to appreciate *polymatheia* likewise through Longinus, before meeting Plotinus, who would purify him from the love of erudition for the superior knowledge of philosophy.[63]

Eusebius did not take this further step, as we might infer from his relation to the Bible, which was the center of Origen's literary and speculative efforts. Despite his Origenistic affiliation, he engaged only partially in exegetical work, writing his commentaries *On Isaiah* and *On the Psalms* in his old age, and moreover he did not give priority to allegorical interpretation which was typical of Origen.[64] It is possible to think that a certain reserve toward overall allegorizing had been nourished in Eusebius as

refrains for a while from writing and devotes himself to lecturing (Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 3).

[60] There is no need to evoke a peripatetic appearance of Origen around the harbor of Caesarea, as was suggested by A. McGuckin, "Caesarea Maritima as Origen Knew It," in *Origeniana Quinta*, 3–25. It is enough to record Origen's multiple activities during his lifetime as traced by Eusebius himself in *HE* 6.

[61] This can help us understand the criticism expressed by R. M. Grant, *The Uses of History in the Church before Nicaea*, Studia Patristica 11 (Berlin, 1972), 177–78, who misses "life" in *HE*.

[62] Φιλόλογος μέν, ἔφη, ὁ Λογγῖνος, φιλόσοφος δὲ οὐδαμῶς (Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 14).

[63] For πολυμάθεια in Longinus and Porphyry, see the introduction to Porfirio, *Sentenze*, ed. M. della Rosa (Milan, 1992), viii–xi.

[64] Literal interpretation prevails, though the entity of allegory may differ from work to work; see D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, "Eusebius von Caesarea," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 10 (Berlin-New York, 1982), 541.

an apologetical reaction to Porphyry's criticism of Origen,[65] but in fact the debate on allegory included even Christian critics like Methodius of Olympus. Eusebius' conduct is therefore the sign of a new atmosphere in the Christian intellectual society of the fourth century, which reflects a clear tendency to distance itself from the Origenistic heritage, or at least from its emphasis on allegory, to the advantage of a more literalistic and historical approach to the Bible. The bishop of Caesarea helped to encourage such tendencies through his works of history, geography, and apologetics, leaving a model that should represent one of the main factors for the genesis of the Antiochene tradition.[66]

[65] See n. 10 above , and M. J. Hollerich, "Eusebius as a Polemical Interpreter of Scripture," in *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*, 590.

[66] See the exemplary reconstruction of this crucial passage proposed by Simonetti, *Lettera e/o allegoria*, 125.

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The Idea of the City in Early Christian Thought: Caesarean Perspectives

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No early Christian community had a greater reason for pride than that of Caesarea. While never an ecclesiastical power of the order of Alexandria, Rome, or even Antioch – and eventually overshadowed by Jerusalem, its sister-city and rival – Caesarea was a metropolitan see which could boast two of the foremost names of the early Church: Origen (185–254) and Eusebius (ca. 260–340). Origen remains, to this day, the Christian intellectual *par excellence*. A very few others may have rivaled him in classical learning, philosophical acumen, scriptural scholarship, or theological creativity; none could offer the astounding combination of all of those gifts. Eusebius, while neither a philosopher nor speculative theologian of the highest order, was clearly a scholar, polemicist, and exegete of the first rank. His work as a historian, so problematic and so influential, would have been sufficient to assure his enormous fame. No less significantly, these two figures are easily the most prominent and prolific authors from the first three centuries of Christianity: their combined literary production can be measured against the sum total of all other surviving Christian literature from the period before the death of Constantine.

For the historian of Caesarea in the Late Roman period, however, the literary heritage of Origen and Eusebius must be considered a disappointment in certain respects. One pours over their voluminous writings in the vain hope of catching even the slightest glimpse of the immediate urban setting in which they lived and worked. So deeply informative of many other aspects of Late Roman and early Christian life, both Origen and Eusebius fall silent when it comes to the very city in which they dwelt, taught, and wrote. This is not to question the obvious fact that they have left us invaluable records of the history of the Christian community from Caesarea; rather, to observe that these records tell us much about ecclesiastical history and hierarchy in a virtually non-contextual manner. That is, we know much about Christianity in Caesarea – and the unique character of that Church and its congregation – but almost nothing about its distinctively Caesarean quality or its impact on the broader society and culture of the city. I would like to explore some of the more salient reasons for this resounding silence on their part, an examination that reveals the nature of their respective views of the relationship between the early Church and the cities of the Roman Empire. And while

we still may despair of writing a social history of urban life on the basis of the writings of Origen and Eusebius, we may be closer to an appreciation of the range and trajectory of early Christian attitudes toward the ideal and reality of the City.

We could do far worse than to begin our inquiry with a brief but expectedly acute observation made recently by Peter Brown. In the course of his study *The Body and Society,* in significant respects, an investigation of "the body and the city," Brown passes from the urbane rigor of Clement of Alexandria to the mystical asceticism of Origen:

> With Clement, we had been encouraged to look around us, at every detail of the life of a Christian in a great city; with Origen that busy world has vanished: we already breathe the changeless air of the desert. . . . A man whose heart burned with the hidden fire of the Scriptures, Origen's unhurried, timeless scholarship brought a breath of changelessness into the Christian communities of Alexandria and Caesarea, at the very moment when these communities had begun to hurry headlong into a new age of prosperity, fraught with occasions for compromise with the world and marked by intellectual recrimination and the flagrant quest for power among the clergy. . . . as an exegete and spiritual guide, Origen had presented the life of the Christian teacher as suspended above time and space.[1]

It will become clear, I trust, that we can confirm and even strengthen Brown's eloquent intuition: though to all appearances an urban intellectual until middle age in Alexandria, during the final (and enormously productive) two decades of his life in his academy and the Church of Caesarea, Origen in fact neither allows himself to be viewed within that context nor encourages any attempt to link the essence of Christianity with the idea of the city.

Indeed, it is remarkable just how little he allows us to see of the terrestrial *polis.* Origen's homilies are perhaps most disappointing in this regard: so rich a source for our knowledge of his art of preaching, his biblical exegesis, and the development of his religious thought, the homilies must be considered a very frustrating body of evidence for the social historian. For the most part, we hear Origen's criticism of his audience, the Christians of Caesarea: we hear of the idle talk of the congregants, their inattentiveness to the word of scripture, their excessive devotion to the day-to-day concerns of commerce and the market.[2] Yet these reproaches often seem little more than stock complaints, virtually *topoi,* which a rigorously intellectual churchman like Origen might have voiced under almost any circumstances and in any locale. (One could contrast the enormously rich, and still relatively untapped, sources for social history provided by the homilies of figures such as Basil of Caesarea or John Chrysostom.[3]) There is,

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[1] P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), 161–62.

[2] For the evidence that can be gleaned, see Levine, *Caesarea,* 113–34; A. M. Castagno, *Origene predicatore e il suo pubblico* (Milan, 1987), 81–93. The latter, revealingly, is not so much a study of Origen and his audience per se but Origen's representation of and attitude toward his audience.

[3] R. MacMullen, "The Preacher's Audience (AD 350-400)," *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989),

nevertheless, in Origen's view a particular Christian vice prominent in the cities, a peculiarly urban phenomenon that threatens the integrity of the Church. It is not the ingrained habits or human frailties of the congregation, however, but the avarice and high-handed behavior of their leaders, the presbyters and bishops.[4] Origen rarely misses an opportunity to attack the ecclesiastical authorities and remarks that officials of the Church act toward petitioners with a harshness which exceeds that of a tyrant or the cruelest of governors. "This can be observed," Origen adds, "in many of the most highly regarded churches, and especially in those of the large cities."[5] One senses ultimately that Origen's attitude toward the reality of the city is highly conditioned by his attitude toward the leadership of the Church, that is, the city and its bishop.

In light of this severely limited description of his own urban reality, what can we say about Origen's idea of the city? Most fascinating, in this regard, are precisely those spiritual options, the alternative visions, that Origen substitutes for the reality of the Graeco-Roman city. Let us begin with a unique passage, the only place in his extant writings where Origen actually offers the rudiments of a definition of the city. The discussion arises in the course of his interpretation of the flight of Lot and his family from Sodom (Genesis 19):

> Thence Lot comes and dwells in Segor (Σηγωρ) about which he says: "This city is small, and my life shall be saved in it; and it is not small" (LXX Gen 19:20). Let us see, therefore, so far as it pertains to the Law, what "the city" is that is "small and not small." A city (*civitas*) is so named from the manner of life (*conversatio*) of the multitude, because it orders and holds together the lives of many in one place. These, therefore, who live by the Law, have a small and petty manner of life as long as they understand the Law literally. . . . But if someone should begin to understand spiritually, these same observances, which in the literal sense where small and petty, in the spiritual sense are not small but great.[6]

The definition of the city suggested here by Origen – a "manner of life" that "orders and holds together the lives of many in one place" – has its roots, in fact, in classical political theory, resembling closely Plato's formulation (*Rep.* 369C) in his initial sketch of the city-state.

The argument has a double significance, however, as Origen exploits the opportunity to discuss both the nature of the city itself as well as to insist on a deeper level of understanding through scriptural interpretation. The conjunction of the Platonic axiom

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503–11, provides a brief survey of the abundant evidence contained in the sermons of the great bishops of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. For a stimulating and paradigmatic study, see now V. Limberis, "The Eyes Infected by Evil: Basil of Caesarea's Homily *On Envy*," *Harvard Theological Review* 84 (1991), 163–84.

[4] On the general question of Origen's attitude toward ecclesiastical hierarchy, see J. W. Trigg, "The Charismatic Intellectual: Origen's Understanding of Religious Leadership," *Church History* 50 (1981), 5–19.

[5] *Comm. in Mt.* 16.8; ed. E. Benz and E. Klosterman, *GCS* 10 (1935), 493–94. Cf. 16.22, pp. 549 ff.

[6] *Hom. in Gen.* 5.5; ed. L. Doutreleau, *SC* 7b (1 976), 176–78; Eng. trans. R. E. Heine, in *Origen. Homilies on Genesis and Exodus,* Fathers of the Church (Washington, D.C., 1982), 118.

and the biblical verse serves as a springboard for the insistence that the law not be read literally (i.e., in a small or petty manner) but spiritually (i.e. in a great manner). We are thus taught something about opposing manners of life – one, small and petty; the other, great and elevated – as well as something fundamental about the nature of the understanding of scripture. (This double movement, in fact, is a typically Origenian maneuver: frequently in his writings, Origen reaches a daring interpretative solution of a biblical text, a portion of which solution provides the justification for the very method of interpretation.) We are left, though, with a number of questions. What precisely is the "great" manner of living granted to those who understand the law or scripture spiritually? Is there, in fact, a city, a *polis*, which is itself "great" in this spiritual sense? The answers to these questions ultimately derive from a series of hermeneutical connections at whose center lies Origen's complex understanding of the biblical concept of the "city of the Lord."[7]

At the very outset of his exposition of the principles of biblical interpretation (*On First Principles*, bk. 4), Origen discusses the consequences of a narrow, literal understanding of scripture: "For the hard-hearted and ignorant members of the circumcision have refused to believe in our Saviour because they think that they are keeping closely to the language of the prophecies that relate to him, and they see that he did not literally . . . build what they consider to be a real 'city of God' (Ps 46:4)."[8] The "city of God" or city of the Lord cannot be an earthly reality (i.e., Jerusalem), as the Jews had imagined, but rather a symbol of a spiritual reality. Just as Jesus had fled the earthly city (Jerusalem) – symbolic, in part, of a flight from Jewish custom and authority – so the reader of scripture must learn to flee the "carnal" or literal, that is, Jewish, understanding of the sacred text. Crucial at this juncture is Origen's perception of the true nature of the biblical Jerusalem. Under the influence of a distinct tradition of scriptural imagery – the "Jerusalem which is above" (Gal 4:26: ἡ δὲ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ) and the "heavenly Jerusalem" (Heb 12:22: Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐπουράνιος) – Origen presents a spiritualized understanding of the divine city: "In all prophecies concerning Jerusalem, therefore, and in all statements made about it, we must understand – if we listen to Paul's words as the words of God and the utterances of wisdom – that the Scriptures are telling us about the heavenly city and the whole region which contains the cities of the holy land."[9] Indeed, through his famous "allegory" of Sarah and Hagar (Gal 4:24–5:1), Paul has provided the key to this understanding of Jerusalem, the "city of the Lord," as a transmundane, celestial reality.

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[7] There is no systematic or comprehensive study of this concept in Origen's thought. I have benefited from the brief discussion in J. van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities* (Leiden, 1991), 281–83.

[8] *Princ.* 4.2.1; ed. P. Kötschau, *GCS* 5 (1913), 306. The translation is that of G. W. Butterworth, in *Origen. On First Princples* (1936; Gloucester, Mass., 1973), 269. Cf. *Hom. in Lev.* 11.3.3; ed. M. Borret, *SC* 287 (1981), 162.

[9] *Princ.* 4.3.8; ed. Kötschau, 335; trans. Butterworth (1936), 301.

Yet this is but one aspect of the transvaluation of the idea of the city. In his discussion of the Lord's Prayer, Origen lingers over the correct interpretation of the phrase "Thy kingdom come": ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου (Matt. 6:10; Luke 11:2) – and observes: "For every saint who takes God as his king and obeys the spiritual laws of God dwells in himself as in a well-ordered city."[10] The theme of the internalization or interiorization of the "well-ordered" city is an important one in Graeco-Roman thought and might even be seen as additional evidence for the link between Origen and his Alexandrian Jewish predecessor, Philo.[11] In Origen's own work, this identification of the city with the soul of the Christian becomes a central, dominating theme. Nor is it simply any city that we should seek within ourselves, but the very "city of God" celebrated in the Psalms:

> But what does it profit me, if the seed of Abraham, "which is Christ" (Gal 3:16) should possess "the cities of his enemies for an inheritance" (Gen 22:17) and should not possess my city? If in my city, that is in my soul, which is "the city of the great kings" (Ps 47:2; Mt 5:35), neither his laws nor his ordinances should be observed.[12]

Indeed, the "city of the Lord' becomes the subject of an elaborately spiritualizing interpretation in this regard:

> We would say that in the words "Every morning I kill all the sinners on earth, to destroy from the city of the Lord all the workers of iniquity" (Ps 101:8), he allegorically calls the flesh "earth", the mind of which is enmity towards God; and by "the city of the Lord" he means his own soul in which was a temple of God, because it possessed a right opinion and conception of God so as to become an object of admiration to all who see it. . . . and so he destroyed every "carnal mind" (Rom 8:7), here called "the sinners upon earth", and destroyed from the city of the Lord in his soul all the thoughts that are "workers of iniquity" and the desires hostile to the truth.[13]

In summary, the idea of the city emerges with a multivalent spiritual significance: either within the individual Christian – his very soul – or beyond the temporal and spatial bounds of this existence – the "divine and heavenly" city, the celestial Jerusalem.

Drawing together a number of the themes and images we have seen thus far is a brief passage from Origen's famous polemic with the pagan Celsus. Origen addresses

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[10] *Or.* 25.1; ed. P. Kötschau, *GCS* 2 (1899), 356–57; Eng. trans. J. E. L. Oulton, in *Alexandrian Christianity*, Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia, 1954), 289.

[11] On the role of this image in Plato's thought, see B. Wiliams, "The Analogy of City and Soul in Plato's *Republic*," in E. N. Lee, A.P.D. Mourelatos, and R. M. Rorty, eds., *Exegesis and Argument: Studies in Greek Philosophy Presented to Gregory Vlastos* (Assen, 1973), 196–206. For the theme in Hellenistic philosophy, see M. Schofield, *The Stoic Idea of the City* (Cambridge, 1991). On Philo's development of the image, I am indebted to David T. Runia's forthcoming study, "The Idea and Reality of the City in the Thought of Philo of Alexandria."

[12] *Hom. in Gen.* 9.3; ed. Doutreleau, 250–52; trans. Heine, 156.

[13] *Cels.* 7.22; ed. M. Borret, *SC* 150 (1969), 64; Eng. trans. H. Chadwick, in *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1965), 412–13. Cf. *Hom. in Jos.* 8.7; ed. A. Jaubert, *SC* 71 (1960), 236–38; 13.1 (304–6); 19.4 (400–402) and the editor's introductory discussion (pp. 17–58).

the current Graeco-Roman criticism that Christians shirk their civic responsibilities: "Christians do more good to their countries than the rest of mankind, since they educate the citizens and teach them to be devoted to God, the guardian of their city; and they take those who have lived good lives in the most insignificant cities up to a divine and heavenly city. To them it could be said: You were faithful in a very insignificant city (cf. Lk 19:17); come also to the great city."[14] Here we have returned, in a sense, to the opening theme of the "small" city and the "great" city. To have been a good citizen in a Graeco-Roman *polis* – a "small" and "very insignificant city" – is but a prelude, an intimation, of life in the "great city" – the city of the Lord. That city, the true idea of the city, could be found by the Christian either within his own self, his own soul, or beyond this earthly reality, as a heavenly ideal. There can be little surprise that the city which lies outside the doors of Origen's Church or his academy remains an object of no promise and correspondingly little interest.

A final question suggest itself: alongside this sustained effort to redefine the idea of the city, does Origen present his audience with a counter-model, an alternative paradigm to the late Roman ideal of urban life? The image of the desert would appear to play that role in the thought of Origen. (It should be made clear that the theme of the desert here is far more pronounced and extreme than the anti-urban pastoralism prevalent in a broad range of Graeco-Roman literature: no rural retreat or country estate but the harsh and uncompromising wilderness of the desert.) Origen clearly took his cue from the New Testament accounts of both John the Baptist and Jesus who, at different stages of their spiritual careers, turned from the city (Jerusalem) to the desert or wilderness (or Judaea). Origen speaks of John (Luke 1:80) as one who "retired – fleeing the tumult of the city, the rush of people, the vices of the polis – and went off to the desert, where the air is more pure, the heavens more open, and God closer."[15]

It is too facile, however, to speak simply of a "desert ideal": the positive valuation of the wilderness is neither absolute nor unqualified. Indeed, Origen could speak of the desert in bleak, decidedly negative terms. In his discussion of the scapegoat (Lev. 16), he describes the wilderness (*eremus*) as "a desolate place – desolate of virtues, desolate of God, desolate of justice, desolate of Christ, desolate of all good."[16] It becomes apparent, rather, that the positive valence of the desert or wilderness depends upon and derives from the simple fact that it is not the city. The attraction of the desert, the desolate, represents a rejection of the city and its vices, a reversal of established and accepted patterns of communal life. In Origen's thought, then, the image of the

[14] *Cels.* 8.74; ed. Borret, 348–50; trans. Chadwick, 510. Immediately following (8.75), in response to Celsus' exhortation to Christians to take up public office, Origen remarks: "But we know of the existence in each city of another sort of country, created by the Logos of God."

[15] *Hom. in Lc.* 11.4; ed. H. Crouzel, F. Fournier, and P. Périchon, *SC* 87 (1962), 192: "recessit, fugiens tumultum urbium, populi frequentiam, vitia civitatum, et abiit in deserta, ubi purior aër est et caelum apertius et familiarior Deus."

[16] *Hom. in Lev.* 9.4; ed. Borret, 84: "locus desertus, desertus virtutibus, desertus Deo, desertus iustititia, desertus Christo, desertus omni bono."

desert is inextricably linked with the idea of the city. More than a century was to pass, under the influence of Egyptian and Syrian monasticism, before the early Christian imagination could give full expression to the ideal of the desert.[17] It is intriguing, nevertheless, that long before the biographer of St. Antony was to observe "a city in the desert," Origen sought to bring something of the desert into this own city.

Eusebius was a very different man (and churchman) than Origen. Eusebius' Caesarea must too have been a very different city (though we know far too little on this score), in no small part as a result of the dramatic circumstances that had begun to reshape the Roman Empire. If Origen could write as though his own school and congregation were somehow suspended in space and time – as heroic, illusory, or idealized as that perception may have been – this was certainly no longer a possibility open to Eusebius. Caesarea of the opening years of the fourth century, like every other center of Christian life, had been overtaken by a dizzying course of events: first, the decade of persecution associated with the name of the emperor Diocletian (303–312); then, the *volte-face* under Constantine which brought tolerance and, ultimately, imperial favor.

It could be argued, moreover, that Eusebius was more appreciative of the city and its role – both in the course of human history and in the spread of Christianity – than Origen had ever been. Prime evidence might be found in the very opening pages of his *Ecclesiastical History*:

> The life of men in the past was not capable of receiving the complete wisdom and virtue of the teaching of Christ. For at the beginning, after the first life in blessedness, the first man, despising the command of God, fell at once to this mortal and perishable life, and exchanged the former divine delights for this earth with its curse; and after him those who filled all our world were manifestly much worse, with the exception of one or two, and chose some brutal habit of life, unworthy of the name. They gave no thought to city or state, to art or knowledge, they had not even the name of laws and decrees or virtue and philosophy, but they lived as nomads in the wildernesses like savage and unbridled beings.[18]

It is all the more frustrating, therefore, in light of this positive orientation, to observe that Eusebius too reveals precious little regarding his own urban context. In coming to assess Eusebius' attitude toward the idea of the city in fact, we become quickly aware how much the two men held in common. While it is usual to speak of the dif-

[17] On the early history of the "desert ideal," see S. Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," in A. A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 31–63, especially the conclusion: "The primitivity of desert life which the Hebrews viewed as a frightening and unwelcome phenomenon is reinterpreted [in Christian literature with a monastic orientation] to be joyfully accepted as a prerequisite for the longed-for experience of spiritual bliss. Terrestrial Jerusalem had been envisaged by the Israelites as lying beyond the fringes of the desert. The Christian vision of the celestial Jerusalem sprouts from within the confine of the wilderness." For qualification of this judgment and a full discussion of the monastic evidence, see A. Guillaumont, "La conception du désert chez les moines d'Egypte," in *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien* (1979), 69–87.

[18] *HE* 1.2.18–19; ed. and trans. K. Lake and J.E.L. Oulton, Loeb Classical Library (1926), 1.20–22.

ferences in character and outlook that divided Origen and Eusebius, it is no less crucial to be mindful of the deep influence that the former exerted on the latter. (And this not only though the medium of his literary heritage, but still more by the person and teaching of Pamphilus: Origen's student and Eusebius' mentor.) One of the more famous passages in the writings of Eusebius provides marvelous illustration of both the shared and the unique. The disciples of Jesus, mindful of the diverse character of the community of believers,

> delivered, on the one hand, to those who were able to receive it, the teaching given by the perfect master to those who rose above human nature. While, on the other, the side of the teaching which they considered was suitable to men still in the world of passion and needing treatment, they accommodated to the weakness of the majority. . . . Two ways of life were thus given by the law of Christ to his Church. The one above nature, and beyond common human living . . . And they who enter on this course appear to die to the life of mortals, to bear with them nothing earthly but their body, and in mind and spirit to have passed to heaven. . . . And the other more humble, more human . . . it allows them to have minds for farming, for trade, and the other more secular interests as well as for religion.[19]

Clearly for Eusebius, no less than for Origen, there is a form of Christian life that is at once more noble and less accessible. It is a manner of living that has little room for the things of this world – including all of those concerns and pursuits characteristic of the city – and that turns its eyes upward toward the heavens or inward toward the soul. The difference between the two men, perhaps, lies in the relative degree to which Eusebius has come to recognize, and to create room for, the majority of Christians whose path is only second best.

This closely intertwined reliance upon and departure from the Origenian heritage is to be perceived in the theme of opposition between city and desert. In his discussion of John the Baptist, Eusebius too emphasizes that "he came forth from the desert clad in a strange garment, refusing all social human intercourse, he went not into village or city or the human haunts of men."[20] Yet Eusebius' perspective is ever that of the historian, and he addresses the question "why did John go forth to preach in the wilderness, and not in the cities, or in Jerusalem itself?

> And I should reply to him that it is a symbol of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Altar there, and of the Mosaic worship, because the forgiveness of sins was no longer extended to them by the legal sacrifices, but by the cleansing and washing delivered to her that was thirsty and deserted; I mean the Gentile Church, in which the prophetic voice [Isa 40:3] bids to prepare the way of the Lord.[21]

The citation of Isaiah 35:6 ("For waters shall break forth in the wilderness, and streams

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[19] *DE* 1.8; ed. I. Heikel, *GCS* 6 (1913), 39–40. The translation follows closely that of W. J. Ferrar in Eusebius, *The Proof of the Gospel* (1920; Grand Rapids, Mich., 1981), 1.48–50. On the passage, see Brown, *Body and Society*, 205–6.

[20] *DE* 9.5.10; ed. Heikel, 415; trans. Ferrar (1920), 2.162.

[21] *DE* 9.5.7–8; ed. Heikel, 414–15; trans. Ferrar (1920), 2.162.

in the desert") allows Eusebius to provide an added dimension to the imagery of wilderness and city:

> I think the desert here is a symbol of that which of old was void of all God's good things, I mean the Church of the Gentiles, and the river by the desert that cleanses all that are bathed therein is a figure of some cleansing spiritual power, of which the Scriptures speak, saying: "There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God." (Ps 46:5) And this means the ever-flowing stream of the Holy Spirit welling from above and watering the city of God, which is the name for life according to God.[22]

It is not only the spiritualization of the "city of God" that concerns Eusebius, however, but the historical transformation of that concept: "He has transferred the glory of Jerusalem to the desert of Jordan, since, from the times of John [the Baptist] the ritual of holiness began to be performed not at Jerusalem but in the desert."[23] We observe both a concern with an ideal polarity of the city and the desert as well as the attention to historical particularity – the movement from the city of Jerusalem to the wilderness of Judaea. Eusebius is deeply imbued with the spiritual paradigm of Origen but no less deeply committed to the historical perception of Judaism fulfilled and displaced by Christianity.

Yet the city had an even more pronounced negative valence for Eusebius. His perception of the course of the early Church (and, consequently, the progress of his own *Ecclesiastical History*) places the martyr at center stage. And the process of martyrdom – interrogation, witness, and death – is an unmistakably urban phenomenon. To have been brought before a governor or prefect, stood one's ground, and lost one's life was to have made a spectacle of oneself and one's faith in one of the great cities of the Empire. Death made one a martyr of a certain place, for the most part, of a certain city. In the context of Eusebius' career, and his writings, one thinks most immediately of the "martyrs of Palestine," and especially those of Caesarea.[24] It was the martyrs themselves, however, who provided the definitive response to the accepted Late Roman notion of identification with a city. Thus Eusebius' account of the martyrdom of his "dearly beloved" Pamphilus and his companions: "And when [the judge] asked them over again whence they came, they avoided speaking of the city to which they belonged on earth, and spake of the city which in truth is theirs, and said that they were from Jerusalem which is above in heaven, confessing that they were hastening to go thither."[25] If the martyr strained to escape the bounds of the earthly city, the persecutions themselves remained a decidedly urban spectacle. It is surely significant that the horrific description of the chaos and destruction during the time of Maximinus (*HE*

[22] *DE* 9.6.5; ed. Heikel, 417; trans. Ferrar (1920), 2.164.

[23] *DE* 9.6.7; ed. Heikel, 417; trans. Ferrar (1920), 2.164. For an interesting anticipation of (and perhaps influence on) this exegesis, see Origen, *Comm. in Jn.* 28.211–15; ed. C. Blanc, *SC* 385 (1992), 162–66, and *Comm. in Mt.* 10.23; ed. R. Girod, *SC* 162 (1970), 252–58.

[24] On that composition and parallel passages in *HE*, bk. 8, see S. Lieberman, "The Martyrs of Caesarea," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1939–40), 395–446.

[25] *History of the Maryrs in Palestine*, ed. and trans. W. Cureton (London, 1861), 38; note, too, the continuation of this theme in the subsequent martyrdom of the five Egyptians (pp. 40–41).

9.8) – a passage highly reminiscent of Josephus' account of the devastation of the population of Jerusalem during the revolt against Rome – represents, perhaps, the longest sustained description of the city in Eusebius' works.

As we all know, however, the final chapter of the ninth book of the *Ecclesiastical History* and the triumphal tenth book of that work mark the movement from despair to salvation. Here, too, the city is presented as the central stage and arena. Eusebius celebrates the "festivals of dedication in the cities and consecrations of the newly built houses of prayer, assemblages of bishops" (*HE* 10.3.1). Most striking, though, is the long panegyric (*HE* 10.4) offered to his friend Paulinus, bishop of Tyre. In this address, we encounter a remarkable pastiche of those scriptural texts relating to the "city of God" and "city of the Lord" – those very texts that less than a century earlier Origen had spiritualized in such a thoroughgoing fashion. Now Eusebius, in the hour of triumph, applies these very verses to the restoration and construction of churches and basilicas throughout the cities of the Roman Empire. Only at the very close of the address (*HE* 10.4.69), almost as an afterthought, does Eusebius remind his audience that there remains a heavenly city, a Jerusalem above, of which these things on earth are but a reflection. We are left with a very different "idea of the city" than that with which we began our inquity. The urban Church and the powerful bishop at its head – the very bane of Christianity in Origen's view – has now become the glory and demonstration of the faith: an earthly model of the celestial city.

In sum, neither Origen nor Eusebius provide us with more than a passing glimpse of the realities of urban life in the Late Roman Empire – certainly of what that reality might have meant in a day-to-day Caesarean context. Yet this "failure" is itself significant and perhaps reveals much regarding the image and value of the City in the early Christian consciousness. It has become apparent, furthermore, that the silence of the two authors is neither simple nor single. Origen cannot accept the very possibility of a positive role being assigned to the earthly city. His perception of the divine *polis* both above and within, celestial and spiritual, sever the connection between Origen and the urban reality in which he preaches, teaches, and writes. Eusebius, on the contrary, is deeply conscious of the importance of the cities of the Roman Empire in the expansion of Christianity. This perception, however is no less deeply caricatured, and reduces the urban experience to the quality of a theatrical backdrop, the arena in which the ecclesiastical and political fortunes of the early Church can be observed either to have fallen to the depths of annihilation or risen to the heights of success.

31

Eusebius of Caesarea and the Imperial Christian Idea

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The key role of Caesarea in the eastern Mediterranean is determined by its position within the Roman administration and by its importance in the economic and intellectual life of the province of Palestine. Caesarea had been the theater of the conflict between the old and the new religions during the first centuries of our era. Numerous martyrs of the new faith were put to death there, and the first theological school and an important library were established there. However, the best evidence for Caesarea's intellectual importance in the fourth century was the work of its bishop, Eusebius (311–339), the father of ecclesiastical history and the author of many other works including a treatise on martyrs. With his *Praeparatio evangelica*, he created an intellectual and spiritual basis for the Christian faith in the framework of the philosophical movements of the time. Less well known is perhaps Eusebius' contribution to the elaboration of the Christian imperial idea, summarized in the formula "One God in heaven, one emperor on earth, the only delegate of the almighty." This imperial theory was decisive in the making of Byzantine political culture. It was expressed for the first time in Eusebius' *Tricennial Oration*, which honored Constantine the Great on the thirtieth anniversary of his coronation.

It is good to remember that Constantine I (who, in the view of some historians, simultaneously founded the city of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire on May 11, 330, with the dedication of the city) always considered himself a Roman: a Roman emperor of Roman citizens of the Roman Empire. Constantinople came to be called New Rome or the Second Rome, which indicates the role it was to play in the future.

Thus the Byzantine Empire was an organic continuation of imperial Rome. Unlike its predecessor, however, from its inception Byzantium was under the standard of the Christian religion. Accepted shortly before by Constantine, Christianity counted its followers mainly among the peoples of the eastern provinces, particularly in Asia Minor, which was the central area of Byzantine interests, because of its position in regard to Constantinople. Very soon the terms of Christian and Roman became joined in respect to Byzantium: the Byzantine people identified themselves as the "new chosen people." Constantinople, already the New Rome, became "New Jerusalem." The emperor's official title soon became "the most holy emperor (of the Romans) faithful in Christ," and his state was called "the most Christian state protected by God."

Rome bequeathed to Byzantium the state and its workings, its civil and military institutions, its law and justice. As the sole heir of the Roman emperor, the emperor in

Constantinople was the supreme magistrate, the administrative chief of state and the head of the army. He was the source of power and law, the guarantor of the functioning of the Empire's institutions. As a Christian, the emperor was the living image of God, his delegate on earth and protected by his heavenly archetype.

I have summarized here the role of the Christian Roman emperor as it was defined for the first time by Eusebius in his address to Constantine in 335. After enumerating God's favors to the emperor (among them the Empire itself and its victories over the nations), Eusebius mentions the rule of God and his only Son, over both the visible and invisible worlds, and stresses that the emperor, as living image of the heavenly king and as God-loving, governs all matters on earth. He achieves this task thanks to the power that God gave to him: monarchy, which is the opposite of polyarchy; monarchy is the best form of government, the image of heavenly rule. As there is one God, there is also one emperor. The emperor is master on earth because he is the delegate of God from whom all power comes. There is no power but of God; Christ made the imperial power a copy of his own, and gave it to man; thus the emperor is lord in the place of God. There is a parallel (continues Eusebius) between the benefits accomplished by the establishment of the Roman Empire (it abolished polyarchy and democracy, that is to say, mob rule) and the Christian faith, which put an end to polytheism. These two authorities have a common beginning, concludes Eusebius, and they are both at the origin of human peace and welfare.

The main statements of Eusebius are the following: (1) the Christian Roman Empire is a divine gift to the Christian emperor; (2) the emperor acts for his government in imitation of God, of whom he is the living image and delegate on earth; consequently imperial rule is a copy of the divine power; and (3) the Christian faith and the Roman Empire, born at the same time, point to the same end: universal peace and the well-being of the humanity. We have here the fundamentals of imperial ideology; the Christian imperial myth became the cement of the Byzantine world and the unifying power of Christianity put under the emperor's ultimate authority. The Roman Empire was the only empire on earth. God's monarchy, and the emperor's monarchy as its reflection, agreed perfectly with the current concept of power.

Monarchy was the system that guaranteed universal order and peace, which had been disturbed by the previous polyarchy and anarchy. The heavenly model of the emperor as absolute monarch was God, but as he was taught by Arius, that is, God the monarch and not the God of the Trinity. This was to some extent the lesson of the *Tricennial Oration*, and it explains why Eusebius has been suspected of sharing Arius' views, even though in his oration he was mainly inspired by St. Paul's theory about the origin of power (Romans 13) and was influenced by Hellenistic political doctrines, especially with respect to the humanistic virtues of the emperor.

In short, according to Eusebius, a Christian emperor was the representative of Christ on earth. The Christian empire of Byzantium was formed in the image of the heavenly empire of Christ. On earth this empire was to cover the entire civilized and Christian world, the Oikoumene. According to this principle of the uniqueness of the Empire, Byzantium added the Christian ecumenical dimension to the universalist

Roman one. The Christian emperor of Byzantium was to be the defender of Christendom in its entirety and the protector of humanity, a faithful image of Christ.

The uniqueness, universality, and ecumenism of the Empire are the fundamental characteristics of Byzantine imperial theory. These characteristics, first expressed by Eusebius and later developed by other Byzantine intellectuals, were completed by another important principle, the eternity of the empire. This principle, worked out in the sixth century (it is explained clearly in Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Christian Topography*), is based on the belief that Byzantium would remain invincible until the end of time, because its empire was the first to adopt Christianity. Fed by omens and prophecies, the idea of the Empire's perpetuity within its universal boundaries was profoundly and solidly rooted in the popular consciousness and guided the Byzantine idea, up to the end of the Empire.

Since the Byzantine emperor was acknowledged to be master and defender of the civilized world (Christendom in its entirety), all his undertakings were justified, and the notion of the "just and pure war" was applied to all wars waged by the Byzantines. Placed under the Virgin's protection and with the battle cry "the cross wins," the Byzantine army was "on crusade" wherever it fought. (This may explain Byzantium's lack of understanding of the Crusades that were waged by Westerners from the twelfth century on, which aimed solely at freeing the Holy Land from Muslim rule.)

The emperor was selected by God to accomplish the good. If God selected a bad emperor, it was in order to punish humanity for its sins. It was a *theosemeia* (a sign from God revealing sinners) like earthquakes, epidemics, or any other disaster. According to this theory, if someone attempted to become emperor without God's help, he had to fail; if he succeeded, it was because God's will was on his side against the ruling emperor who failed in his task to take paternal care of his people.

At any rate, the Byzantine world expected the emperor to assure its well-being, security, and peace. To achieve this, the emperor drew strength and virtue from divine protection. Thus aided and protected by God, the emperor took care of the world entrusted to him, expressing his solicitude (*pronoia*) by applying adequate measures for the welfare of the Byzantine world. He acted "economically" in the image of God. The principle of "economy" practiced by the emperor constituted a fundamental notion of responsibility and justice, attributes of the imperial function. It expressed the emperor's duty to draw as near as possible to God, his "archetype," so as to establish the best government in the world.

Completed by the Christian notion of perfectability, "imperial economy" embodied the Hellenistic notion of the prince as imitator of God. According to the Hellenistic political thought inherited by Byzantium, the prince had all the qualities that drew him to God: he was merciful, just, philanthropic. It is mainly the quality of philanthropy, of Hellenistic origin but also part of Christian teaching, that characterizes Byzantine humanism. It is the basis for the principle of respect for others in Byzantium's relations, not only with its own citizens, but also with the outside world. "Roman philanthropy" was practiced by the emperor even toward his enemies. We have here a principle of political morality to which the Byzantine world remained attached, of which

it was proud, and through which it remained close to Hellenistic thought: almost all the humanistic virtues of the emperor were those of the prince of the Hellenistic period. Christian teaching had completed these qualities with the typically Byzantine notion of "economy," which meant the distance (the margin of imperfection) separating imperial action from God's perfect action.

Thus, near perfection, the emperor, summit and source of power, assumed the appearance of a providential man for those whom he ruled. Imperial imagery and the symbols of power emphasized this character by conferring the traits of an Oriental monarch upon him. The sophisticated and complicated ceremonial of the Byzantine court, the luxury and ostentation of the imperial finery, the sumptuousness of the objects related to court life, and certain actions, such as prostration before the emperor, emphasized the quasi-sacred character of the veneration surrounding the imperial person.

Let us note, however, that precisely according to Eusebius' views, the Byzantine emperor was "Lord but not God," and he remained so throughout Byzantine history. It is obvious that Eusebius' theory is far removed from the Roman imperial practice making the emperor a god. It was rather inspired by the Hellenistic political idea of the philosopher-king, imitator of God, lover of humanity, and peacemaker. Nevertheless, clothing, jewelry, and the luxury goods used in Byzantine court rituals stressed the inaccessible character of the imperial function and person. These articles, like the end they pursued, bear for some scholars witness to their Oriental origin and inspiration. They have been considered proof of the theocratic character of Byzantine power. It seems, however, more reasonable to see them as an effort to make the splendor of the imperial function evident to all. This splendor provoked fear, admiration, and wonder. In political theory, the idea that directed the elaboration of Byzantine court practices aimed, through material means, at impressing the imagination and thus assuring the widest diffusion of the message of the greatness of the emperor and his power.

The Byzantines sought to spread the basic principles of the greatness and perpetuity of the Roman Empire and to make the surrounding world share them. They pursued this effort relentlessly, often with success. It was the dominant characteristic of Byzantine foreign policy even at the time of the empire's great reverses, and accounts for the desperate efforts exerted by Byzantium to preserve for itself alone the title "Roman Empire," when confronted with Carolingian, Slavic, and Norman claims and appetites. Byzantine diplomats and the imperial chancellery, when considering the formal hierarchy of the rulers of the world, place their emperor as the supreme head, the father of the family of rulers. Each of the other rulers, according to his relative importance, was called brother, son, nephew, or simply friend of the Byzantine emperor.

Besides revealing Byzantine political theory in international relations this principle of the family of rulers is the application of another fundamental principle of Byzantine ideology: proximity or vicinity. According to this principle, Byzantine protocol, and thus the relations of the emperor with his people and those whom he administrated, were ordered.

The principle consisted in measuring each person's importance by the proximity of his rank (τάξις) to the emperor. Both the court hierarchy and the civil and military hierarchy depended on this principle. The summit was occupied by the emperor, since all the dignities were conferred by him or in his name, and all offices and duties were exercised by the delegation or subdelegation of imperial power. A parallel was established in the *De Ceremoniis* between Christ surrounded by the Apostles and the emperor surrounded by the dignitaries (*patrikioi* and *magistroi*).

Thus the principle of vicinity was an example, or rather a result, of the principle of delegation practiced by the emperor. These two principles emphasized that the emperor was the source and summit of power. His authority was stronger than the law because it was the very source of law. The only limitations on the emperor's authority were with respect to God, from whom it proceeded. And thanks to the imperial delegation to the functionaries – a delegation of the power that came from God – the entire Byzantine world was under Christ's protection: the Byzantine state was the God-protected *politeia*.

The rank of patriarch in Byzantine court protocol (just after the emperor), and his indispensable presence at the coronation ceremony, were a perfect illustration of the parallel between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*. The relations between the emperor and the patriarch (the highest ecclesiastical authority) constituted a fundamental aspect of Byzantine political theory and life.

The existence of good relations between the Christian emperor and the Byzantine patriarch was an absolute necessity for the peace of the empire. The patriarch of Constantinople claimed, according to Photius, to be the living image of Christ, entrusted with the spiritual salvation of his flock, just as the emperor, as Christ's delegate, was charged with the physical well-being of this subjects. Empire and priesthood had to coexist harmoniously to guarantee the welfare of the Byzantine people. This belief was recorded in the law texts (in the ninth century) and was proclaimed by emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) and repeated by Theodore II Laskaris (1254–59); all the weaknesses of Caesaropapism and of Papocaesarism were thus to be averted, despite attempts to introduce them by strong emperors or ambitious patriarchs. These exceptions did not alter the character of the relations between *imperium* and priesthood, founded in Byzantium upon a tacit parallelism between the two. The church had its own hierarchy and its own laws consistent with the interests of the state. The state defended the interests of the church, if need be, by the intervention of its military forces. The disturbance of this equilibrium led to crises that shook the Byzantine world. Only unimpeded collaboration between church and state could assure Byzantium of the working of the institutions upon which the life of the Empire depended.

In this manner, the political theory of Byzantium, even though it sought historical justification for its principles (such as the uniqueness, universality, and perpetuity of the Empire), drew from the interaction of factors that formed the social fabric of the Byzantine world. State and church bound the certitudes of the past to the hopes of the future. Upon their agreement depended the prosperity, even the welfare, of the Roman

Empire of the Christian East, which we call Byzantium. Eusebius, already in the fourth century, underlined the parallelism of the Roman Empire and the Christian faith considered as the basis of both the peace and the welfare of humanity: it is mere justice to say that he was the father of the Christian imperial idea, the core myth of Byzantine ideology and propaganda.

PART X

CAESAREA AND PALAESTINA

32

Roman Roads to Caesarea Maritima

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The Romans considered a well-organized road network and an efficient traffic system as basic elements for proper imperial administration. They therefore invested great efforts in the form of resources, planning, labor, and technological skill in road building.[1] The making of a Roman road involved tracing, leveling, and deepening the roadway, filling in the roadbed, paving and curbing the surface. When necessary, rocky terrain was leveled, embankments and retaining walls were built, and bridges were erected.[2] Usually such a road, which should rather be termed a highway, received the legal status of a *via publica*, an official line of communication, which answered to the traffic needs of the military and the civil administration. Most of all, it was meant to serve the *cursus publicus* that provided conveyance not only for the imperial mail but also for government officials traveling on duty.[3] To assure the ordered functioning of traffic, road stations and guard posts, water facilities, and storage areas were built along the highway.[4] Inscribed milestones were added at fixed intervals of one Roman mile (ca. 1.5 km.), indicating the name and titles of the emperor under whose rule the road was constructed or repaired. They also mentioned the distance to and the name of the *caput viae*, that is, the official destination of the highway, which normally was main city or a chief military camp.[5] For present-day research the milestones provide a formal

[1] The best introduction to the subject is R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads* (London, 1989). See also H.-C. Schneider, *Altstrassenforschung* (Darmstadt, 1982); W. Heinz, "Strassen und Brücken im römischen Reich," *Antike Welt*, Sondernummer (1988).

[2] The two most recent collections of studies on Roman road building are those edited by L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Tecnica stradale romana* (Rome, 1992) and *Strade romane: Percorsi e infrastrutture* (Rome, 1994). On bridges, see the recent publication by C. O'Connor, *Roman Bridges* (Cambridge, 1993).

[3] On the legal aspects, see T. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichstrassen* (Bonn, 1968); H. E. Herzig, "Probleme des römischen Strassenwesens: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Recht," *ANRW* 2.1 (1974), 593–648; and A. Palma, "Le strade romane nelle dottrine giuridiche e grammatiche dell'età del principato," ibid., 2.14 (1982), 850–80. On the *cursus publicus*, the basic study is still that of H.-G. Pflaum, "Essai sur le *cursus publicus* sous le Haut-Empire romain," *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 14 (1940), 189–391.

[4] H. Bender, *Römische Strassen und Strassenstationen* (Aalen, 1975); idem, *Römischer Reiseverkehr* (Aalen, 1978). On travel in general, see the most recent studies of R. Chevallier, *Voyages et déplacements dans l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1988); J.-M. André and M.-F. Baslez, *Voyager dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1993).

[5] G. J. Laing, "Roman Milestones and the *capita viarum*," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 39 (1908), 15–34; I. König, "Zur Dedikation römischer Meilenstein," *Chiron* 3 (1973), 419–27.

proof that the road to which they belonged was a *via publica.*

The Provincia Judaea, later named Syria-Palaestina, was gradually covered by the Roman imperial authorities with an impressive network of about one thousand Roman miles of first-class built highways, of the kind just described.[6] Although many of these arteries followed routes already used much earlier, since biblical times, they became engineered highways organized into a regional traffic system only in the Roman period. At its highest stage of development, Judaea's road network included four longitudinal highways which extended along the main north-south geographical units of the country: along the Mediterranean coast; along the western foothills of the Shephelah; along the mountain range of Samaria and Judaea; and along the Jordan Valley. These longitudinal traffic lines were intersected by a series of transversal roads, the alignment of which was also largely imposed by the terrain. They extended along geographical features that provided the best available route from west to east, that is, along valleys in Lower Galilee, along river beds in Samaria, along transversal ridges in Judaea, and across the large plains of the northern Negev. The result was an integrated regional communication network basically oriented upon the four cardinal points. Its intersection points and *capita viarum* were the main urban centers and the military camps usually located in or near them.[7]

In Roman times Caesarea Maritima became the main urban center of the Provincia Judaea. This well-planned and lavishly built city served as headquarters of the Roman governor and his executive. Its manmade port and sophisticated harbor facilities made it the chief maritime center of the region. The construction of a traffic system on the land side, intended to provide for the proper needs of land communication between Caesarea and the surrounding cities and military camps, was clearly an imperative for the Roman authorities. Therefore they gradually erected an interurban communication network of first-class official roads (*viae publicae*), which included no less than seven engineered highways that converged upon Caesarea (fig. 1).[8] On the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* five of these highways are depicted.[9] This is not the place to discuss this unique cartographical item in depth, but two comments are in order regarding our subject. First, the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* which belongs to the class of *itineraria picta* intended to

[6] See I. Roll, "The Roman Road System in Judaea," in: L. I. Levine, ed., *The Jerusalem Cathedra,* vol. 3 (Jerusalem-Detroit, 1983), 136–61 (includes extensive bibliography). See also D. F. Graf, B. Isaac, and I. Roll, "Roads and Highways: Roman Roads," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* vol. 5 (1992), 782–87.

[7] Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani: Judaea – Palaestina* (Jerusalem, 1994); see the attached maps to which I contributed the road network. See also I. Roll, "A Map of Roman Imperial Roads in the Land of Israel, the Negev and Transjordan" [Hebrew], in *Eilath and the Aravah* (Jerusalem, 1995), 207–11.

[8] For a preliminary study on the Roman roads in the Sharon Plain, see I. Roll and E. Ayalon, "Highways and Roads in the Sharon Plain during the Roman and Byzantine Periods" [Hebrew], *Israel – People and Land* 4 (1986–87), 146–62. Work on a detailed account of those roads is in progress, by I. Roll, E. Ayalon, and Y. Neeman.

[9] In the lower left section of the tenth sheet, reproduced in the *Atlas of Israel* (Jerusalem-Amsterdam, 1970), map 1/2, A.

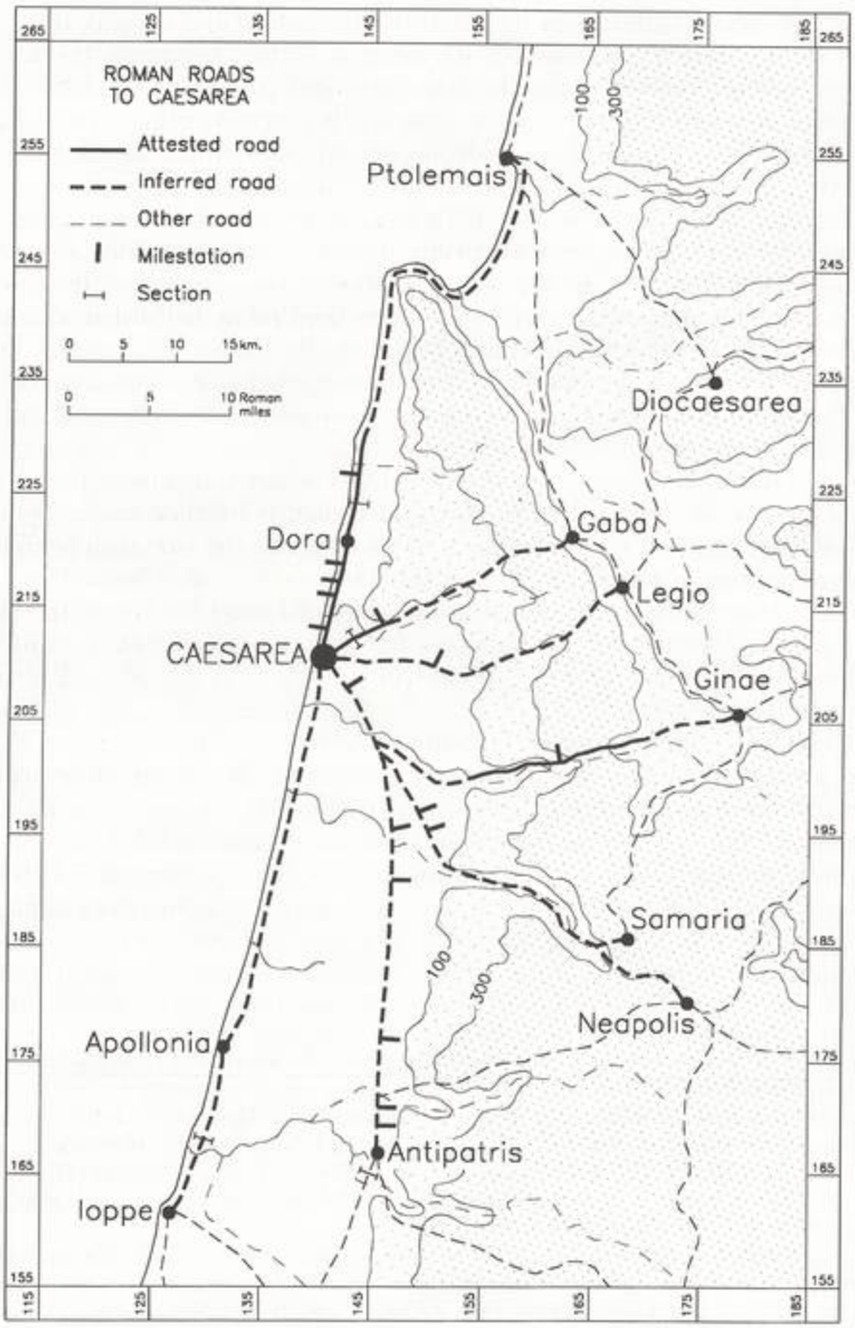

Figure 1. Roman roads to Caesarea. Map drawn by the author and Ora Paran

depict the network of highways of the entire Roman world and beyond, does not represent all the existing public roads of the time. It depicts essentially the roads used more frequently, or even regularly, by Roman official traffic. It also shows the main official stages along these roads and the distance between the stages. In short, it was an official road map intended to guide its official users when traveling on duty.[10] Second, three of the cities of Palaestina are mentioned on this map by their pre-Severan names. These are Betogabri (Beth Govrin, instead of Eleutheropolis), Luddis (Lydda, instead of Diospolis), and Amavante (Emmaus instead of Nicopolis). As Aelia Capitolina appears with the additional explanation "previously called Jerusalem," we are able to date the part of the map that depicts the Provincia Palaestina to the middle or second half of the second century C.E.[11] As for Caesarea, there are five highways leading to it, that is, more arteries than to any other city in the country. On the Tabula Peutingeriana, then, Caesarea clearly emerges as the main *caput viae* for the official traffic in the province.

Before describing each specific road that led to Caesarea, two more points must be stressed. First, the fact that Caesarea was a Herodian foundation excludes the possibility of biblical origins of the roads leading to it – as was the case with Jerusalem, for example, where practically all the arteries show biblical origins.[12] Second, as no milestones or any other identifiable finds from the time of Herod the Great have yet been found along roads leading to cities built by him, we are still unable to identify road-making from the Herodian period.[13] What can be done is to discuss the Roman highways that led to Caesarea.

1. Let us begin with the coastal highway that connected Caesarea and Ptolemais. This was an artery of traffic typical for the coastal flatlands and therefore followed an alignment as straight as possible. This is clearly attested by the preserved mile stations and stretches of the road uncovered along the segment between Caesarea and ʿAtlit.[14] The highway departed from Caesarea through the city's northern gate, between two round towers, and extended northward, west of and parallel to the city's famous aque-

[10] The main aspects of this important cartographic document are treated by A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria picta* (Rome, 1967); L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rimini, 1983); and E. Weber, "Die Tabula Peutingeriana," *Antike Welt* 15 (1984), 3–8.

[11] I. Finkelstein, "The Holy Land in the *Tabula Peutingeriana:* A Historical Approach," *PEQ* 111 (1979), 27–34, Roll, "The Roman Road System," 144.

[12] For general discussions on the premodern roads in the Sharon Plain, in which the conclusions differ from those presented here, see Y. Karmon, "Geographical Influences on the Historical Routes in the Sharon Plain," *PEQ* 93 (1961), 43–60; Z. Safrai et al., "The Roads of the Sharon" [Hebrew], in D. Grossman et al., eds., *Hasharon* (Tel Aviv, 1990), 249–61. For biblical times, see D. A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* (Baltimore-London, 1991), 70–87.

[13] The traffic system of the Herodian period has not yet been treated properly. For an example concerning the problems of that topic, see the discussion on the Herodian period in the concluding chapter in M. Fisher, B. Isaac, and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea,* vol. 2, *The Roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem* (forthcoming).

[14] A. Siegelmann, "The Roman Road from Caesarea to Haifa (Acco)" [Hebrew], *Nofim* 16 (1983), 35–46.

duct. Some remains of pavement and rock cuttings, as well as several milestones, indicate that the road was aligned virtually along the coast, at a distance of only 50 m. or so from the shoreline.[15] The artery crossed *Crocodilon flumen* (today Nahal Tanninim) by means of a bridge of five arches, the remains of which could still be seen in the previous century.[16] A milestone found most recently not *in situ*, under an arch of the Caesarea aqueduct near Beth Hannanya, indicated the distance of four miles, most probably along the coastal highway, from Caesarea (fig. 2). The inscribed milestones from two mile stations uncovered, the one at Ma'agan Michael and the other near the mouth of Nahal Dalya – that is, at the fifth and sixth mile from Caesarea – indicate that the Caesarea-Ptolemais highway was repaired during the reign of several Roman emperors of the second and third centuries.[17] Unfortunately, they do not provide the date of the road's initial construction. Further north the road shifted slightly inland and settled between two parallel low sandstone ridges, ca. 500 m. east of the shoreline. At about 15 km. north of Caesarea (west of Moshav Habonim), a remarkably well preserved segment of the Roman highway has been excavated most recently (fig. 3).[18] The remains include medium- and large-size paving stones, two rows of very large hewn curbstones, and a spinal row in between that divided the highway into two lanes. We cut a section across the segment (fig. 4), which showed that the pavement was laid upon a roadbed of one layer made of compacted earth and stones. This exemplifies the typical road-building technique of two layers (that is, pavement and roadbed) that was commonly used by the Roman engineers in Judaea.[19] At Habonim, however, many of the paving stones were laid upright and inserted deep into the roadbed, apparently with the intention of increasing the solidity of the road surface (fig. 5). One must remember that this segment belonged to the artery of traffic that, ultimately, connected Antioch with Alexandria, which was undoubtedly considered by the Romans

[15] Roll and Ayalon, "Highways and Roads," 149. One of the milestones, which bears an inscription from the time of Septimius Severus, was published in Roll, "The Roman Road System," 155.

[16] V. Guérin, *Déscription de la Palestine*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1875), 317; C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. 2 (London, 1882), 2.

[17] The milestones from Ma'agan Michael were published by M. Avi Yonah, "Roman Inscriptions from Ma'agan Michael" [Hebrew], *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 24 (1960), 36–41, and again in *L'Année épigraphique* 1971, nos. 470–75. See also X. Loriot, "Un milliaire de Gordien II découvert près de Césarée de Palestine et l'extension aux provinces de l'insurrection de 238 après J.-C.," *REA* 80 (1978), 72–84. The milestones from Nahal Dalya have not yet been published.

[18] The dig was conducted in June 1994 on behalf of the Israel Milestone Committee and the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University. It was carried out by the author, with the participation of E. Ayalon, pupils from the Avshalom Institute, and students of the Roman Seminar, Tel Aviv University.

[19] The two-layer technique was found in almost all the sections carried out across Roman roads in Judaea. The Diocaesarea-Tiberias road: I. Roll, "Survey of Roman Roads in Lower Galilee," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 14 (in press). The Legio-Scythopolis road: B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea I: The Legio-Scythopolis Road* (Oxford, 1982), 40–41 and 121, figs. 4–5. The Neapolis-Lydda, the Gophna-Antipatris, and the Beth Horon roads: I. Roll and E. Ayalon, "Roman Roads in Western Samaria," *PEQ* 118 (1986), 125–27, 129. The Jerusalem-Eleutheropolis road: Roll, "The Roman Road System," 149.

Figure 2. Milestone from Beth Hannanya. Photograph by the author

Figure 3. Roman highway near Moshav Habonim, view looking south. Photograph by the author

Figure 4. Roman highway near Moshav Habonim, section excavated across pavement, looking south. Photograph by the author

as the most important imperial highway in the Orient.[20] The section also showed that the roadbed included pockets of fill taken from a nearby tell, in which sherds from the late Second Temple period were found.[21] Consequently, a first-century date of the earliest phase of this highway is a possibility.

2. From Caesarea, a road extended northeast toward Shuni and then, most probably, to Gaba. Two well-preserved segments of that road were excavated in recent years by Y. Neeman. One segment was uncovered at the crossing point of Nahal Ada,[22] and it showed two phases of construction: an earlier one paved with medium-size flat stones laid upon a solid roadbed made of compacted fill; and a later phase, originally paved with large dressed stones laid upon a elevated embankment and framed by even larger dressed curbstones arranged as headers and stretchers. The building technique of the earlier phase resembles that uncovered most recently at the section made across the Ptolemais-Diocaesarea road near Ibelin, which seems to indicate roadmaking of Hadrianic times.[23] The later phase of our road recalls the famous preserved segment of the Antioch-Beroea highway, which seems to belong to the fourth century.[24] As for the Nahal Ada, it was probably crossed by means of a viaduct, which has not been

[20] For the northern segment of this highway, which extended between Ptolemais and Antioch, see R. G. Goodchild, "The Coast Road of Phoenicia and Its Roman Milestones," *Berytus* 9 (1949), 91–127.

[21] The pottery was studied and dated by Oren Tal of Tel Aviv University.

[22] Y. Neeman, "Or Aqiva – Byzantine Road" [Hebrew], *Hadashoth arkheologioth* 103 (1995), 47–48.

[23] Roll, "Survey of Roman Roads in Lower Galilee." See also S. R. Wolff, "Archaeology in Israel," *AJA* 98 (1994), 516–17.

[24] A. Poidebard, "Coupes de la chausée romaine Antioche-Chalcis," *Syria* 10 (1929), 22–29.

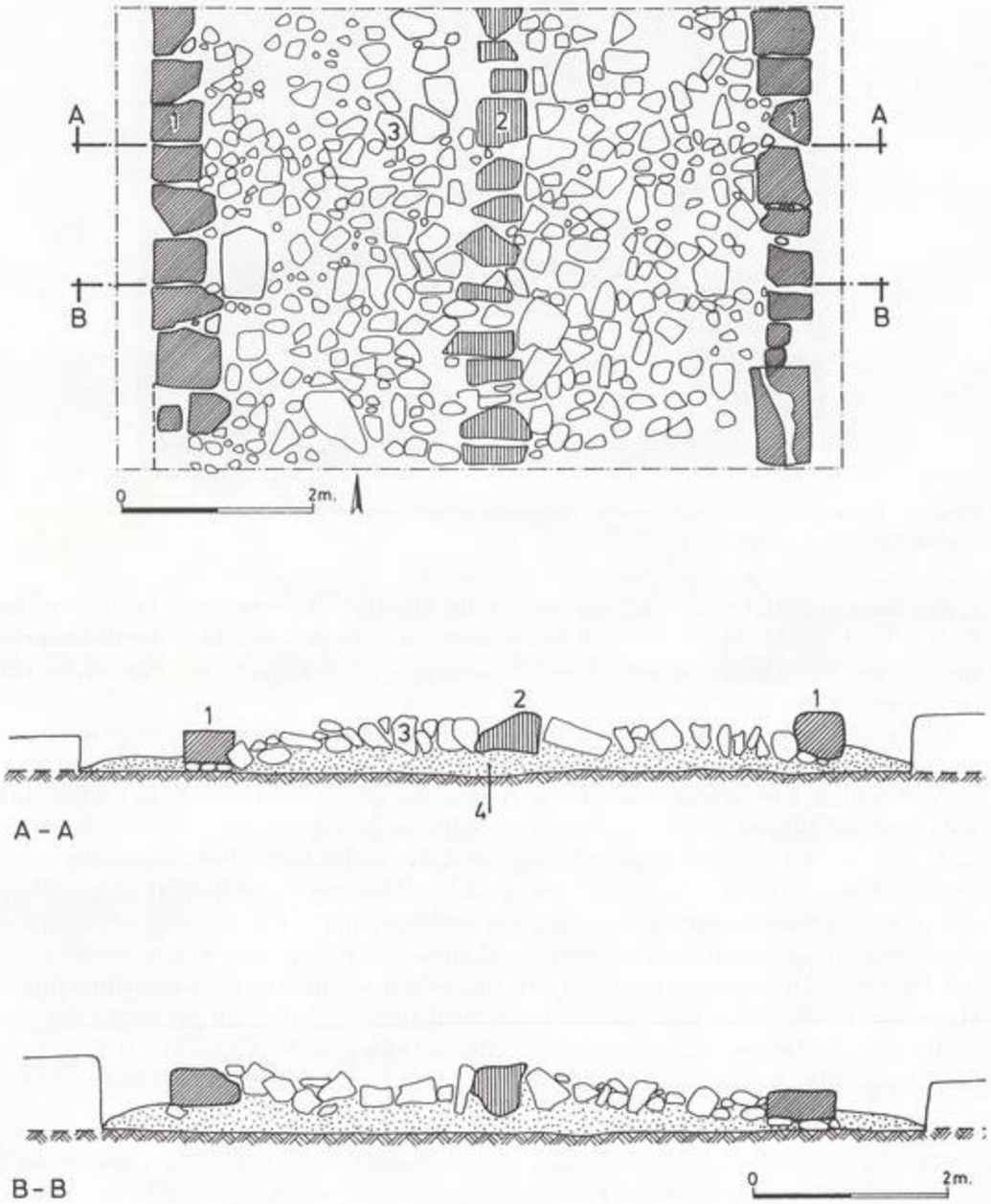

Figure 5. Roman highway near Moshav Habonim, plan and sections. Drawings by the author and Etan Ayalon

preserved. The second road segment was uncovered at Shuni, together with a series of buildings on each side.[25] The roadmaking is similar to that of the later phase of Nahal Ada, but here the pavement is fully preserved for a length of several dozen meters. Two inscribed milestones were found nearby: a Latin milestone, from the time of Hadrian, of 120 C.E.; and a Greek milestone, the version and date of which has not yet been identified. Both milestones indicate the distance of 19 miles, apparently, to Legio via Gaba.[26]

3. For the third road that connected Caesarea and Legio, which is located at the northern entrance of the strategic pass of Wadi Ara, the evidence is rather poor. Almost a century ago G. Schumacher claimed to have seen stretches of the paved Roman road as wide as 10 m., with no fewer than eight mile stations along it![27] The problem is that no other scholar, before or after Schumacher, has ever seen even *one* of those items. On the other hand, Schumacher was a respected scholar at the time, and one cannot simply dismiss his testimony. In any case, tangible evidence for the very existence of a Roman highway along the Wadi Ara is still wanting. To date, the existing evidence for that road consists of an inscribed milestone from 162 C.E. found near Givat Ada[28] and remains of a Roman bridge at Lejjun (south of Megiddo), the arches of which could still be seen in the previous century.[29] On the other hand, the extension of that road, from Legio to Scythopolis, is much better documented.[30]

4. The remains of the Caesarea-Ginae road consist of a rather long segment of two rows of curbstones with stretches of pavement in between, which is preserved along the natural pass between the coastal plain and the Dothan Valley, and one uninscribed milestone. This segment has been surveyed and published most recently by A. Zertal.[31] I would add only that Ginae was not officially a city, although the road leading to it from Caesarea was granted the official status of a *via publica*. This is clearly indicated by the milestone found along it. The official status given to the road was, most probably, because Ginae served as an important military base.[32]

5. The Caesarea-Neapolis highway is the least preserved artery of all the seven roads discussed here. In fact, there is no one item – milestone or stretch of road – that can be attributed with certainty to that artery. There are two milestones found not *in situ*,

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[25] Y. Neeman et al., "Kh. Shuni – Aqueduct and Settlement" [Hebrew], *Hadashot Archeologiyot* 94 (1989), 31.

[26] Unpublished.

[27] Quoted by P. Thomsen, "Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palästina" *ZDPV* 40 (1917), 69–70.

[28] Roll and Ayalon, "Highways and Roads," 156–57.

[29] C. W. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, vol. 2 (London, 1880), 24.

[30] Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, vol. 1.

[31] A. Zertal, "The Roman Road Caesarea-Ginae and the Location of Capercotani," *PEQ* 122 (1990), 21–33. On the other hand, Zertal's identification of Capercotani with Kafr Qud can hardly be accepted.

[32] An enclosure that could represent the remains of a Roman encampment was noticed a century ago on the plateau south of Jenin; see Conder and Kitchener, *Survey*, 2:116.

near the presumed line of the road, southeast of Caesarea, but their connection with the road is not certain.[33] On the other hand, some travelers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mentioned very briefly, without indicating exact locations, milestones and remains of pavement of this road in the Sharon Plain and along the winding Nahal Shechem.[34] That is all we know about this chief transversal highway.

6. The alignment of the Caesarea-Antipatris highway which, according to the *itineraria* and other written sources served as a main traffic line of the *cursus publicus*, is attested only by a few uninscribed milestones, published two decades ago by S. Applebaum and S. Dar.[35] We have found some additional uninscribed milestones of this road since then. A few months ago, the remains of at least three phases of an impressively built highway of Roman and Byzantine times were uncovered south of Antipatris. The discovery was made during a rescue dig of the Israel Antiquities Authority headed by Iris Ecos and is mentioned here by her kind permission. The remains of the earlier phase of the road include very large dressed slabs of a wide pavement, which seems to be of Roman origin. This pavement was covered by the high embankments of two superimposed later stages which are narrower and seem to belong to the Byzantine period. One may assume that the road north of Antipatris was built in the same way as the road south of it, because both roads belonged to one and the same artery of traffic that connected Caesarea and Jerusalem.[36]

7. As for the road that extended along the coast from Caesarea to Jaffa via Apollonia, the only tangible evidence for it is a short segment of pavement made of concrete that includes pottery of the Byzantine period. The segment was uncovered along the western foothill of Tell Qasile and was excavated by E. Ayalon.[37] Although this segment dates to the Byzantine period, the entire road is depicted on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, which indicates that this artery already served as an official highway in Roman times.

In conclusion, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the seven highways discussed here served as a kind of lifeline for Caesarea Maritima on the landward side. On the other hand, it should be understood that these highways were not closed traffic units of their own but part of a much larger communication network that covered the entire province and, far beyond it, the entire Roman Orient.[38]

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[33] Roll and Ayalon, "Highways and Roads," 157.

[34] For example, J. L. Porter, *The Giant Cities of Bashan* (London, 1866), 228, mentions that "traces of the Roman road, which once connected the great cities of Caesarea and Sebaste are there, but it is overgrown with thistles and rank and grass."

[35] S. Dar and S. Applebaum, "The Roman Road from Antipatris to Caesarea," *PEQ* 105 (1973), 91–99.

[36] Roll and Ayalon, "Highways and Roads," 152–55.

[37] E. Ayalon, "A Byzantine Road and Other Discoveries in the Vicinity of Tell Qasile" [Hebrew], *Israel – People and Land* 4 (1986–87), 9–33.

[38] I discussed the matter in a paper entitled "Roman Roads in the Provincia Judaea: A Regional Communication Network in the Roman Empire," presented at the 27th international Geographical Congress, Washington, D.C., August 1992. For a summary, see the Congress *Abstracts* (1992), 538–39.

33

The See of Caesarea in Conflict with Jerusalem from Nicaea (325) to Chalcedon (451)

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One of the major problems connected with the acceptance of Christianity as a licit religion and its subsequent endorsement as the only official state religion is the manner in which this process affected time-hallowed norms of hierarchy and provincial administration within the Christian Church. The rise of Constantinople as the capital of the new Christian Empire is one case in point. Byzantium had been a city in Europa, one of the provinces of the diocese of Thracia, in the Diocletianic division of the empire, when Constantine chose to detach it from its province and turn it into his new imperial capital.[1] The provincial metropolis of Europa was, and remained, Heraclea (Perinthus), a city that was proud of traditions that traced the beginnings of its Christian community to the time of the Apostles, and that was proud of its impressive array of martyrs and of a few notable bishops, one of them, Philip, a martyr himself.[2] Arguably, however, its prestige was not powerful enough to enable its bishops to resist the mounting influence of the bishops of the new capital.[3] In the absence of any other outstanding see, either in this province, or in any of the neighboring provinces of the same diocese, one might have expected Ephesus, the most prominent see in the adjacent diocese of Asiana,[4] to gain a leading position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, not only in its own diocese but also in Thracia.[5] Yet Constantinople would soon arrogate to itself the status of an apostolic see, contrary to any accepted ecclesiastical norm, and the resulting disputes would bedevil the Church for generations.[6] On the other hand, in the Provincia Palaestina, the bishop of Aelia would bring all the evangelical associations connected with his see to bear in order to gain official recognition of its status as an apostolic see, although the practice thus far recognized was that such a

[1] *Chronicon Paschale*, a. 330 (*CSHB*, 16:530).

[2] M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris, 1740), 1:1100–1103. The *Chronicon Paschale*, loc. cit., makes it plain that the detachment of Byzantium from Europa actually meant its removal from the jurisdiction of Heraclea.

[3] Thus Jones, *LRE*, 1369 n. 42.

[4] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 1:672–93.

[5] See Jones, *LRE*, 1369 n. 42.

[6] For a succinct and lucid outline of the rise of Constantinople in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the issues involved, see Jones, *LRE*, 890–94.

status was reserved only for metropolitan sees. The see of Caesarea stood to lose by the rise of Jerusalem. The resulting tension is evident already in the sixth and seventh canons of the Council of Nicaea in 325.[7]

Elsewhere I have argued that Eusebius' account of the discovery of the Holy Sepulcher and the construction of the church there betrays an undercurrent of surging tension between the two sees, not so much in what it says as in what it omits: that the wood of the Holy Cross was proclaimed to have been discovered near the burial cave, which otherwise would have remained an empty cave without any testimony to authenticate its identity, and that Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, played an important part in publicizing the discovery.[8] I have likewise pointed out that Macarius' attempt to nominate Maximus, later himself bishop of Jerusalem, to the vacant see of Lydda (Diospolis) heralded a series of attempts on the part of the bishops of Jerusalem to arrogate to themselves a position superior to that of the metropolitan bishops of Caesarea. This idea had already been adumbrated but required fuller development and substantiation, and, since my own fuller discussion is in Hebrew, it may still be regarded as requiring a fuller development and substantiation.[9]

Unlike these first phases of the conflict, which may be described by some as too hypothetical and hence doubtful and disputable, there can hardly be any doubt that the conflict between the see of Jerusalem and the see of Caesarea flared up during the episcopate of Eusebius' successor in Caesarea, Acacius, and Maximus' successor in Jerusalem, Cyril. The former is almost uniformly denounced in the sources as a rabid

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[7] Jones, *LRE*, 882; cf. L. Perrone, "Von Nicaea (325) nach Chalcedon (451)," in G. Alberigo, ed., *Geschichte der Konzilien, Vom Nicaeanum zum Vaticanum II* (Düsseldorf, 1993), 50–51, though his suggestion that the seventh canon of Nicaea implies a durable and operative compromise concerning the honor of chairmanship in ecclesiastical conferences in Palestine and abroad cannot be accepted (cf. nn. 22 and 39 below). I am grateful to Prof. Perrone for having discussed his view with me, and for having provided me with an offprint of this study.

[8] Z. Rubin, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Beginning of the Conflict between the Sees of Caesaria and Jerusalem," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982), 76–106. For an acceptance of the main argument of this paper, see P.W.L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1990); cf. J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta* (Leiden, 1992), 80–92; more reservedly, O. Irsai, "Historical Aspects of the Christian-Jewish Polemic concerning the Church of Jerusalem in the Fourth Century" [Hebrew], doctoral dissertation (Jerusalem, 1993), 1:49–50, with n. 28 ad loc., in 2:60. For a rejection of the suggestion that the words τὸ γνώρισμα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους in Constantine's letter as quoted by Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 3.30.1, ed. F. Winkelmann, *GCS* (1975), 97, refer to the True Cross, see M. and M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale* (Liverpool, 1989), 20 n. 62. Their argument, however, seems to be based on a different passage, ibid., 28.1; ed. F. Winkelmann, 96, where it is Eusebius who speaks, and not the emperor, and what he talks about there is not "the sign of the most holy passion," which can mean little else except the Cross, but rather "the evidence of the salutary resurrection" (τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον), which alludes indeed to the burial cave, as the words τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἄντρον clearly indicate. What Constantine himself asserts must be distinguished from what Eusebius says in his own voice.

[9] Z. Rubin, "The Episcopate of Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, and the Conflict between Caesarea and Jerusalem in the Fourth Century" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 31 (1984), 31–42; cf. Irsai, "Historical Aspects," 47–48.

Arian.[10] The latter has been canonized as an orthodox saint, but the picture that emerges from contemporary sources, or from sources written no later than a few decades after his death in 386, is rather different. It may be summed up as follows.[11]

Cyril began his ecclesiastical career as a disciple of Maximus, faithful to the creed of Nicaea. In order to obtain the see of Jerusalem, he joined the camp of Acacius of Caesarea, which at the time was enjoying Constantius' favor. His readiness to compromise on matters of religious doctrine was, however, greater than his willingness to concede in matters of power and hierarchy. Jerome,[12] Epiphanius,[13] Theodoret,[14] Socrates,[15] and Sozomen[16] do not mince their words.[17] His main concern was not doctrinal purity, and his true purpose was to establish the primacy of his see.[18] Acacius of Caesarea was by no means motivated by less mundane considerations.[19] His conduct during the short reign of the Nicene orthodox emperor Jovian proves that in his case, too, his insistence on *his* concept of doctrinal purity was no more than a ploy in his struggle to defend the supremacy of his see.[20] A detailed discussion of the different phases of this conflict lies outside the framework of this paper. Suffice it to say that Acacius of Caesarea enjoyed an initial advantage by virtue of the proximity of his see to the center of secular power. His endorsement of the view prevailing at the imperial court will have had much greater effect than the endorsement of the same view by the bishop of Jerusalem, who was still a mere suffragan and out of touch with the representatives of the imperial government. Cyril seems gradually to have realized that he had much more to gain by joining the leadership of an opposition party. It is thus that his gradual return to the Nicene creed, in the course of a troubled episcopate that included three periods of exile, is best explained. The rise of Theodosius I, a staunch

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[10] See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3:559–61, whose survey of the source material is still valuable.

[11] The following brief survey of the conflict between Caesarea and Jerusalem during the episcopate of Cyril of Jerusalem is based mainly on my *Jerusalem in the Byzantine Era* (Tel Aviv, 1985), 45–49, and, with fuller annotation, "The History of Jerusalem from Constantine to the Moslem Conquest," in M. Stern et al., eds., *The Jerusalem Book*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, forthcoming). See also Irsai, "Historical Aspects," 1:82–90. All three items are in Hebrew. A. Paulin, *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem Catéchète* (Paris, 1959), and G. Bardy, "Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 13 (Paris, 1956), 1181–83, are clearly biased in favor of Cyril.

[12] Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Helm, *GCS* 47:237.

[13] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 73.27, ed. K. Holl, *GCS* 37:302, who highlights in this context specifically Cyril's personal rivalry with Eutychius of Eleutheropolis.

[14] Theodoret, *Historia ecclesiastica* (= *HE*) 2.26.6, ed. F. Scheidweiler, *GCS* 44:157.

[15] Socrates, *HE* 5.8, *PG* 67:570. Both Socrates and Sozomen (see the following note) strongly imply that Cyril's change of heart at the Council of Constantinople was not entirely sincere.

[16] Sozomen, *HE* 7.7.3, ed. J. Bidez, *GCS* 50:308–9.

[17] For Rufinus' assessment of his doctrinal probity, see below.

[18] This is admitted explicitly especially by Theodoret, loc. cit., and by Sozomen, *HE* 4.25.1–2, ed. Bidez, 181–82. Socrates, *HE* 2.40, *PG* 67:344, is especially critical in describing his appeal to the emperor against the verdict of an ecclesiastical council as unprecedented.

[19] See n. 10 above.

[20] Socrates, *HE* 3.25, *PG* 67:452–53.

Nicene orthodox emperor, to power in 379 found him as the right man in the right place. At the Council of Constantinople in 381–382, his orthodoxy was vindicated and his Church was given the title *mater omnium ecclesiarum*,[21] tantamount to official recognition as equal in dignity to the apostolic sees of Alexandria and Antioch.

The practical consequences of this recognition are immediately noticeable in the protocols of the council. In the list of participants his name appears before that of Gelasius, bishop of Caesarea, also known as an ecclesiastical historian.[22] A more significant fact is that he was Cyril's creature, his sister's son, finally recognized by the ecumenical council after two previous futile attempts by Cyril to install him in that position. Cyril's repeated attempts to involve himself in nominations to the see of Caesarea, meticulously and maliciously documented by Epiphanius, had been frustrated by a coalition of semi-Arian Palestinian bishops, apparently headed by Eutychius, bishop of Eleutheropolis. The establishment of Gelasius in the metropolitan see thus marks the apex of the power of its rival, the bishopric of Jerusalem, in the fourth century.[23]

Yet this state of affairs did not endure long after Cyril's death in 386. The source of our information about the ensuing developments is a biography of Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, attributed to his disciple, Marcus Diaconus.[24] This is indeed a problematic source whose authenticity has been frequently debated.[25] Its Greek version betrays

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[21] *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 3 (Florence, 1759), 585–88. The Latin form of this title is that of Sirmond's translation of a letter written by the participants of the Council of Constantinople to Damasus, bishop of Rome, as quoted by Theodoret, *HE* 5.9.17, ed. Scheidweiler, 234, where the Greek formula is μήτηρ τῶν ἁπασῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Yet possibly the form *mater cunctarum ecclesiarum*, as given by Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita* 9.14, *PL* 69:1134, ought to be preferred. In spite of the fact that Cassiodorus is here following the Greek version of Theodoret, he may also have consulted the official Latin version of the letter.

[22] The list of participants is given by Theodoret, *HE* 8.5, ed. Scheidweiler, 288. In the list of signatories to the Creed of Constantinople as given by Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 3:568, Thalassius is obviously a misreading for Gelasius (cf. ibid., n. 2 ad loc.). Perrone's suggestion (cf. n. 7 above) that this order may be a reflection of a settlement implied by the seventh canon of Nicaea cannot be upheld. The troubled conditions in which councils were held in the fourth century, when sees were frequently torn by schism, and bishops attended councils abroad while banished from their own thrones, do not permit any inference about an arrangement reached in Nicaea if such an arrangement is not explicitly stated. As for the period that followed the Council of Constantinople, there is one piece of circumstantial evidence that points in the opposite direction (cf. n. 39 below).

[23] Epiphanius, *Panarion* 73.37, ed. Holl, *GCS* 37:312 ; cf. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3:561–62.

[24] The two editions of the Greek text followed here are the Teubner edition by A. Krueger et al., *Marci Diaconi Vita Porphyrii Episcopi Gazensis* (Leipzig, 1895) and that of H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza* (Paris, 1930), which includes a French translation, a detailed introduction by Grégoire, and historical annotations.

[25] Grégoire's introduction to the Grégoire and Kugener edition of the *Vita* is still the best discussion of the problem, both on account of the excellent *Forschungsbericht* it contains, and on account of the clear presentation of the problems involved, regardless of whether one accepts the solution he proposes or not; cf. n. 32 below. In the present study only those aspects of the problem that concern the relations between Caesarea and Jerusalem are discussed. For the discussion of other aspects, see my "Porphyry of Gaza

a number blatant anachronisms. First and foremost, Praylius, bishop of Jerusalem after 417, appears as such at an impossibly early date. He is the one who is said to have ordained Porphyry of Gaza as priest and nominated him as *staurophylax* (i.e., guardian of the Holy Cross), according to the internal chronology of the *Vita* as early as 392. He is likewise the person to whom John, bishop of Caesarea, is said to have written in order to invite Porphyry to his city three years later, where he subsequently appointed him bishop of Gaza.

The *Vita Porphyrii* has, however, also a Georgian version, published by the eminent Bollandist, P. Peeters, in 1941.[26] Although Peeters himself continued to disbelieve in the authenticity of the *Vita*, he pointed out that its Georgian version, which as he demonstrated derives from a lost Syriac original, is clear of many of the features that render the Greek version suspect. Instead of Praylius this version has Borilios, which may be a corrupt form of the Syriac Qurilios, and thus Cyril of Jerusalem (the graphic similarity between *Bēth* and *Qōph* in the Syriac Estrangelā script may be responsible for the corruption).[27] This does not, however, eliminate all the difficulties. According to the Greek version, the length of Porphyry's episcopate was 24 years, 11 months, and 8 days: the Georgian version concurs, though it omits the number of days. The Greek version has likewise a complete date for his death: the 2nd of Dystros, 480 of the Gazan era, that is, 26 February 420.[28] These data would lead us to the years 395 for Porphyry's nomination as bishop and 392 for his ordination as priest. Both these dates are too late for Cyril, who is known to have died in 386. Yet the absence of the year in the dating of the Georgian version entitles us to suspend our judgment and to reexamine the issue.

It is immediately clear that Cyril could not have been the addressee of a bishop of Caesarea named John, for as late as 394 Gelasius, Cyril's own nominee to the see of Caesarea, is still attested in this post, in the acts of the synod convened that year in Constantinople.[29] Furthermore, one of the few attestations outside the *Vita* of a bishop named Porphyry, who may be identified with our bishop of Gaza, is a list of the participants in a council convened in Diospolis in 415 to decide on the charges against Pelagius.[30] Calculated back from this earlier date, the duration of Porphyry's episco-

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and the Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in Southern Palestine," in the *Proceedings of the Conference on Interrelations between Religious Communities in the Holy Land (1st–15th Centuries), Held at the Yad Izhak Ben Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, 2–5 October 1994* (forthcoming).

[26] P. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne de Saint Porphyre de Gaza," *AnalBoll* 59 (1941), 65–219.

[27] Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 113 (c. 10); cf. 116 (c. 12). See also n. 40 below. The validity of the argument that this scribal lack of clarity gave rise to the Praylius of the Greek text also presupposes that its author used the same Syriac source. This was argued by Peeters, ibid., 98–99, but has recently been attacked, on insufficient grounds, by F. R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Cristianization* (Leiden, 1993), 1:246–57. See my "Porphyry of Gaza."

[28] *Vita Porphyr.* 103, Grégoire and Kugener, 79; Krueger et al., 82.

[29] See Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 3:851–52, and cf. de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (Paris, 1705), 10:705, cf. 850; Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3:562–63; see also Grégoire, in Grégoire and Kugener, xxxix.

[30] Augustine, *Contra Iulianum* 19, *PL* 44:65; cf. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3:566.

pate would lead back to 390 as the year of his consecration as bishop, and 387 as the year of his ordination as priest, and both these dates are too late for Cyril as well.

The dilemma has to be stated as clearly as possible. The *Vita* is so full of vivid details that do look credible that a scholar of the stature of Lenain de Tillemont, one of the first to have pointed out the problems it presents, felt reluctant to renounce its authenticity altogether.[31] Another eminent scholar, Henri Grégoire (by no means an easy believer in the authenticity of doubtful sources), postulated a sound core for the Greek version[32] eleven years before the publication of the Georgian one, which seems to render at least some circumstantial support to his plea. On the other hand, even the Georgian version fails to dispose of all the difficulties.

A way toward a correct solution of the problem seems to be indicated by the circumstances in which John, bishop of Caesarea was called upon to intervene in the nomination of a bishop for Gaza. In both the Greek and the Georgian versions, his intervention is the result of a dispute in Gaza itself concerning the election of a successor to a defunct bishop, Aeneas in the Greek version and Abibos in the Georgian one.[33] It is again the latter version that comes to our aid by asserting that the dispute had lasted for many days before a compromise was reached and a decision was taken to apply to the metropolitan bishop to decide the issue.[34] The length of time behind the cryptic expression "many days" is uncertain, but the *Vita* in both its versions shows a marked tendency to gloss over difficulties that might cast a shadow over its hero as a person whose sanctity ought to have been recognized by all. The vacancy in Gaza may have lasted for a much longer period than the *Vita* would like to admit, Porphyry may not have been the candidate desired by all, even though imposed by a bishop of Caesarea (whatever his identity), and the dispute may well have lingered on even after his intervention, especially if the question of his nomination got somehow entangled in the mesh of the rivalry between Caesarea and Jerusalem. There is at any rate no valid reason to add up mechanically the durations of Porphyry's priesthood and episcopacy and to subtract the result from a date given by the Greek version, thus excluding the possibility that Cyril played any role in his career.

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[31] *Mémoires pour servir*, 10:843-49, as summarized and discussed by Henri Grégoire in Grégoire and Kugener, xvii–xxiii. Grégoire's implication that de Tillemont's basically positive attitude toward the *Vita*, in spite of his own skepticism, was colored by his effort to curry favor with some powerful courtiers who believed in its authenticity, cannot be accepted at face value.

[32] His hypothesis concerning the authentic core of the *Vita* and its subsequent rewriting is set out on pp. lxxi-lxxxviii of his introduction.

[33] *Vita Porphyr.* 11, Grégoire and Kugener, 10; Krueger et al., 11; cf. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 114-15 (c. 11).

[34] Ibid., 115: the phrase *mrawali dgē* in the Georgian text is the same as the one used to translate the ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας in Acts of the Apostles 16:18; see J. Molitor, *Glossarium Ibericum*, 3 vols. (Louvain, 1961), 1:112, s.v. *dgē* (cf. *yaumātā sagiē* in Syriac). The Greek version has in this place ἐπὶ φανερὰς ἡμέρας (Grégoire and Kugener, 11) which is rendered into French as "pendant plusieurs jours"; in the context the precise sense of this phrase would thus be "for a few days" or "for some days" (cf. also the *Index Verborum* in Krueger et al., 133, s.v. φανερός). The Georgian version is thus much more explicit about the long duration of the dispute than the Greek one.

One further strange feature of the *Vita* in both its versions may be pointed out in support of the assumption that its account of the dealings between the bishop of Caesarea and that of Jerusalem is not a straightforward one. John, bishop of Caesarea, does not reveal to the bishop of Jerusalem (whatever his identity) the true reason for his request that Porphyry be sent over to him but uses a pretext, his desire to benefit by Porphyry's special talents as an inspired commentator on holy scripture.[35] It is only Porphyry who knows by divine revelation that his absence from the holy city is to last for much longer than the seven days (four according to the Georgian version) allowed for this purpose by the bishop of Jerusalem.[36] A sneaking doubt may arise at this point. What exactly is the bishop of Caesarea trying to conceal from the bishop of Jerusalem, and why? After all, the attitude toward both of them is positive in both versions of the *Vita*, and one might have expected the latter to be as truly endowed with prophetic inspiration and as deeply concerned for the well-being of the Christian community of Gaza as the former. One issue that might cause disagreement between the two bishops is the very exercise of traditional metropolitan rights (according to what must have been a widely accepted interpretation of the fourth and the sixth canons of Nicaea) by the bishop of Caesarea, and the involvement of Porphyry in the renewed dispute between Caesarea and Jerusalem, which was bound to flare up as a result, is the unpleasant truth that the common source of both versions of the *Vita* attempts to blur. This seems to have been achieved by means of a deliberate conflation of two events. One of them may well have been an invitation of Porphyry to come to Caesarea to demonstrate there his exegetical gifts. This may well have taken place while Cyril was still alive, and if it took place three years after Porphyry's ordination, this might explain how the confusion crept into the *Vita Porphyrii* as we possess it today. The bishop of Caesarea at the time was Cyril's own nephew and nominee, Gelasius of Caesarea, which would explain the fact that the invitation was taken at its face value and Cyril's blessing was willingly granted.[37]

The other event would have been Porphyry's nomination as bishop of Gaza, a number of years later. It is by no means an unlikely assumption that a dispute concerning the election of a new bishop to the vacant see of Gaza within the Christian community of that city was exacerbated by the claims of the bishop of Caesarea that the right to settle the dispute traditionally belonged to his see, and by the counterclaims of the bishop of Jerusalem that this right had passed since the Council of Constantinople to Jerusalem, which was now recognized as *mater omnium ecclesiarum*.[38] The resumption of

[35] *Vita Porphyr.* 12, Grégoire and Kugener, 11–12; Krueger et al., 12; cf. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 116–17 (c. 12).

[36] *Vita Porphyr.* 13, Grégoire and Kugener, 12–13; Krueger et al., 13–14; cf. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 117–18 (c. 13).

[37] See above and n. 23.

[38] Claims to primacy on the part of the bishop of Jerusalem seem to have been especially vociferous and insistent during the episcopate of John, Cyril's successor. See esp. Jerome, *Ep.* 82.10, ed. I. Hillberg, *CSEL* 55:117, on which see also below. Cf. Jerome, ibid., 8, ed. Hillberg, 114–15, where the question of the probity of the ordination of Jerome's brother as priest is raised; Jerome counters John's objection to

the dispute could hardly have taken place while Cyril was still alive and Gelasius held the see of Caesarea. Yet Gelasius himself appears to have revived the pristine claims of his see shortly after his patron's death. In a council referred to above, held in Constantinople in 394 to decide on a schism in Bostra, it was he who represented the bishops of Palestine (he appears fifth in the list of participants, after Nectarius of Constantinople, Theophilus of Alexandria, Flavianus of Antioch, and Palladius of Caesarea in Cappadocia).[39] It is a seductive, even though speculative, assumption that the dispute broke out already when Gelasius was still alive, and was resolved only when he was succeeded by John, known from the *Vita Porphyrii*. If this is the case, the *Vita* betrays a deliberate dramatic compression of events, devised in order to associate Cyril as closely as possible with the consecration of Porphyry as bishop of Gaza, and to obscure the fact that his nomination by the bishop of Caesarea was the outcome of a compromise between the bishop of Caesarea and the bishop of Jerusalem, none other than the notorious John, the adversary of Epiphanius and Jerome, whose involvement in the Origenist and Pelagian disputes tarnished his memory in the eyes of posterity.[40]

If this explanation of the one major ostensible anachronism in the *Vita* is accepted,

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the ordination on account of his brother's young age by implying, among other arguments, that John is interfering in the affairs of Epiphanius' monastery which is situated "in Eleutheropolitano territorio, et non in Aeliensi," and is thus outside his jurisdiction. See also Jerome, *Contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* 37, *PL* 23:389, where Jerome's interpretation of the seventh canon of Nicaea is perhaps inaccurate, but his feeling that John prefers to deal with the apostolic bishop of Alexandria as his equal, rather than subordinate himself to the metropolitan bishop of Caesarea, is correct; cf. J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (London, 1975), 195–209, esp. 204–5.

[39] See above and n. 29. This council is one of the main considerations against the acceptance of the cautious suggestion made by Lorenzo Perrone, in *Geschichte der Konzilien*, 50–51, that the seventh canon of Nicaea actually determined the order of representation of the two leading bishops of Palestine in ecclesiastical councils, so that the bishop of Caesarea should precede the bishop of Jerusalem in councils held within Palestine, whereas outside Palestine the order should be reversed. Perrone argues that this seems to be the practice in light of the evidence for the fourth and fifth centuries. However, the clearer cases seem to be precisely those of the few decades after the Council of Constantinople, when the tension between Jerusalem's newly acquired status as *mater omnium ecclesiarum* on the one hand, and that of Caesarea as a metropolitan see on the other, seems to be the best explanation for vicissitudes in the relative positions of these two bishoprics. In our particular case, the bishop of Caesarea represents the church of Palestine outside Palestine as one of the arbitrators in the case of a disputed episcopal nomination. One might have expected the bishop of Jerusalem to play precisely this role if Jerusalem's position as an apostolic see, or equal to one, had been universally recognized.

[40] Grégoire in Grégoire and Kugener, lxxiv–lxxxi, argues that the substitution of Praylius for John in the Greek version is to be explained by the desire of its author to suppress the involvement of this same John in his hero's career. This explanation is endorsed by G. Mussies, "Marnas, God of Gaza," in *ANRW* 2.18.4 (1978), 2457, who rejects Peeters' suggestion that the bishop of the original version may have been Cyril. This explanation fails to convince in view of the fact the Praylius himself was strongly suspected of Pelagianism; see n. 75 below. A much simpler explanation is that there is no real substitution in the account of Porphyry's ordination as priest, and that the common source of both our present versions strove to create the impression that it was the same prestigious Cyril who had sponsored Porphyry's career throughout. Praylius of the Greek version and Borilios of the Georgian both owe their origin to the distortion of Qurilios into Burilios in a Syriac archetype. See also n. 27 above.

there is no reason to dismiss John of Caesarea as a figment of the imagination. As noted already by de Tillemont and Le Quien, he could not have been in office earlier than 394, when Gelasius is still attested at the synod of Constantinople.[41] If we assume that it was John who ultimately resolved the dispute over the see of Gaza by nominating Porphyry, the date that emerges from the Greek version for this event, 395, may be upheld, but, as suggested above, there is no longer an absolutely binding reason to maintain that his ordination as priest had taken place only three years earlier, and that his journey to Caesarea when Cyril was still alive was directly connected to his nomination as bishop of Gaza.

Another difficulty must, however, be cleared out of the way. It has frequently been asserted that no John could have been bishop in Caesarea before 402, when Gelasius must have still been alive if Photius' statement that he translated the *Historia Ecclesiastica,* published by Rufinus in that year, is to be followed.[42] Together with Winkelmann and others, I believe that the reverse is correct, and that it is a *Historia Ecclesiastica* written by Gelasius which served Rufinus as the main source until the early eighties.[43] If this is correct, we may have one further clue for Gelasius' assertion of his independence after his uncle's death. Rufinus' attitude to Cyril may indicate what he found in his source: "aliquando in fide, saepius in communione variebat" is what he has to say about Cyril, strongly implying that his opportunism was by no means irreprehensible.[44] Theodoret and Sozomen will affirm much more frankly (and possibly more clearly reflecting Gelasius' view when he was writing) that his objective in this opportunism was to procure primacy for his see.

When all this has been said, it must be admitted that John of the *Vita Porphyrii* still remains a shadowy and elusive character. His credibility depends to a large extent on the possibility of dating not only the beginning of his episcopate, but also its end, in a manner that does not clash with either the internal evidence of the *Vita* itself concerning the only event in which he is said to have played a prominent part, or that of other sources, concerning events that should have coincided with it, in both Palestine and Constantinople. Following de Tillemont and Le Quien, it is usually maintained that he had been dead by 404, when John Chrysostom wrote to Eulogius of Caesarea

[41] See n. 29 above.

[42] Photius, *Biblioth.* 89. For an acceptance of his identification of Gelasius as the translator of Rufinus' *HE,* see, e.g., F. Diekamp, *Analecta Patristica: Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik,* Orientalia Christiana Analecta 127 (Rome, 1938), 16–32, cf. most recently J. Geiger, "Latin in Roman Palestine" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 74 (1974), 17. Thus also Grégoire, in Grégoire and Kugener, xxxviii–xxxix, who identifies the bishop of Caesarea who figures in the *Vita* as Gelasius, and refuses to admit the possibility that any John in the see of Caesarea before the one who took part in the Council of Jerusalem in 518 may be historical, in spite of his basic belief in a sound historical core of this source.

[43] F. Winkelmann, *Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisarea,* in Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Sitzungsberichte 1965, 3 (Berlin, 1966), 75–78, cf. 105. See also Z. Rubin, "Mavia Queen of the Saracens" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 47 (1988), 34–35.

[44] Rufinus, *HE* 19 (10).26, ed. Th. Mommsen, *GCS* 9.2:989.

from his exile in Cucusus.[45] It is as frequently ignored that Eulogius is attested as the metropolitan of Palaestina Prima in two documents that must be dated earlier. These are the letter of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, to a synod held in Jerusalem during the encaenia (the anniversary commemoration of the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher) of an uncertain year between 400 and 402, and the synod's reply to Theophilus, translated by Jerome into Latin and preserved in his correspondence.[46] If these letters were to be dated to 400,[47] this would preclude not only the possibility that John of Caesarea was still in office in 401, but also the possibility that Porphyry (whose name likewise appears on the list of correspondents) was in Caesarea, preparing to leave for Constantinople, as is required by the account of his *Vita*,[48] when he

[45] John Chrysostom, *Ep.* 87, *PG* 52:654–55, and see n. 29 above for references to de Tillemont, Le Quien, and Grégoire, who however identifies Eulogius' predecessor not as John but still as Gelasius (cf. n. 42 above). See also Ernst Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* (1950), 211–76, at 216.

[46] Jerome, *Epp.* 91 and 92; see J. Labourt, ed. and trans., *Saint Jérôme, lettres*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1954), 148–59, and especially ibid., 148 and 157 for the names of the participants in the encaenia synod addressed by Theophilus and responding to his letter. That these letters were written before 402 is made clear by the reference of Jerome in his *Apologia adversus Libros Rufini* 3.16, *PL* 23:468, most certainly written in that year; see the introductory note to this work of its editors in *PL*, Vallasarius and Maffaei, ibid.:395–96. The reason why these two documents are habitually ignored in the debate about the historicity of John of Caesarea seems to be connected with the fact that negations of his historicity are based mainly on the assumption that Gelasius must not only have been still alive during the year when Rufinus completed his *HE*, but must also have lived on for some time, in order to be able to produce his own translation of it (see nn. 42–43 above). Such an argument gains little support from the clear evidence that already in 402, not Gelasius, but Eulogius was the bishop of Caesarea.

[47] This dating is suggested by Vallasarius and Maffaei, *PL* 22:lxxvi–lxxvii. They are followed by F. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Louvain-Paris, 1922) (inaccessible to me), as cited by Labourt, *Saint Jérôme, lettres*, 4:170, and by Kelly, *Jerome*, 259.

[48] See *Vita Porphyr.* 32–34, Grégoire and Kugener, 27–29; Krueger et al., 29–30. The narrative in these sections of the *Vita* excludes any possibility that either Porphyry or the bishop of Caesarea (here, of course, John) was anywhere else except in Caesarea during the last few days before their departure from Caesarea on 23 September 400. Cf. Grégoire in Grégoire and Kugener, xxvi, n. 2, concerning the discrepancy between the Gazan date, that is, the 28th of Gorpiaeos (25 September) and the Roman one, 23 September; since the Georgian version has here only the Roman date, *sekdenbersa oc da samsa*, that is, 23 September (Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 144), I am inclined to think that the error in the Greek version occurred in an attempt to convert the Roman date into the Gazan system, and not vice versa, as assumed by Grégoire. Another difficulty posed by the two bishops' journey to Constantinople may be disposed of straightaway. According to the *Vita* in both its versions, they heard a prophecy of the saintly monk, Procopius, not long after their arrival in Rhodes, which itself took place ten days after their departure from Caesarea. It concerned the imminent delivery of Theodosius II by Eudoxia, who is described as being already in the ninth month of her pregnancy; see *Vita Porphyr.* 36, Grégoire and Kugener, 31; Krueger et al., 33; Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 147). This is impossible in view of Theodosius II's well documented birth date, on 10 April 401. It must, however, be remembered that what we have here is a prophecy recorded many years after the event to which it refers, and Mark the Deacon's memory may have failed him when he turned what originally may have been no more than a suggestion by Procopius, that they bless the empress with a male issue, into a prophecy. An apocryphal prophecy embedded in a document of this nature does not mean that the document itself is not genuine. See also Grégoire, Grégoire and Kugener, xxx.

was supposed to be in Jerusalem, from 13 September onward, at least until 21 September,[49] and perhaps even later, participating in an encaenia synod. There is, however, nothing cogent about their dating in 400.[50] The documents may be and have been dated to 401.[51]

Yet even this dating does not remove all the difficulties. The Greek version of the *Vita* dates the departure of John and Porphyry from Constantinople to return to Palestine on 18 April 401.[52] This dating does not clash with Porphyry's presence in the encaenia synod of the same year in Jerusalem, and allows even enough time for the death of John and the succession of Eulogius to have taken place after his return to the Holy Land. Unfortunately, however, it cannot be reconciled with a whole series of other data, some of them furnished only by the Greek version itself: the known birthdate of Theodosius II, 10 April 401; the seven days of Eudoxia's recovery after her delivery,[53] before she granted an interview to the two bishops; the additional few more days that had elapsed until young Theodosius' christening;[54] the two more successive days after that event, when they were admitted by the empress, and met the *quaestor sacri palatii*, in order to be given the imperial edict authorizing the destruction of pagan temples in Gaza;[55] the additional time necessary for yet another interview with the empress and a solemn reception by the emperor himself;[56] ultimately at least three other days before their departure, when they were waiting for the acceptance of

[49] See John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1981), 274, and cf. Kelly, *Jerome*, 259, for the date of the encaenia. The presence of Porphyry and John in Constantinople for the whole of the winter of 400/401 (cf. Grégoire, in Grégoire and Kugener, xxiii–xxiv, and n. 1 to xxiv, concerning this chronological problem), allows for their interview with John Chrysostom to have taken place before his journey to Ephesus, between January and April 401, provided that no attempt is made to compress events related in the *Vita* in order to make them tally with Procopius' prophecy (see n. 48 above).

[50] This dating seems to be based on a misinterpretation of Jerome's statement about his translation of a few of Theophilus' letters concerning the Origenist dispute; see *Apologia adversus Libros Rufini* 3.16, *PL* 23:468: "duas, synodicam et paschalem, ejus epistolas contra Origenem illiusque discipulos, et alias adversum Apollinarem et eumdem Origenem, per hoc ferme biennium interpretatus sum." The assumption that Jerome refers here to documents translated two years *before* the composition of his *adversus Rufinum* in 402 (cf. n. 46 above) is undoubtedly erroneous: "per hoc ferme biennium" should be accurately rendered as "during these last nearly two years." Furthermore, the notion that the order in which these documents are enumerated in Jerome's statement implies the order of their dispatch by Theophilus may not necessarily be correct; it may be simply the order in which Jerome chose to translate them.

[51] That the paschal letter of 401 preceded the synodical letter is implied by J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol.1 (New York, 1958), 150; for a more explicit statement of the same case, see W. Besant, "Theophilus (9)," in W. Wace and H. Smith, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. 4 (New York, 1967), 1003–4.

[52] *Vita Porphyr.* 54, Grégoire and Kugener, 45; Krueger et al., 46.

[53] *Vita Porphyr.* 45, Grégoire and Kugener, 37; Krueger et al., 39. This detail appears in the Georgian version as well; see Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 158.

[54] *Vita Porphyr.* 47, Grégoire and Kugener, 39; Krueger et al., 41: τῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν διαδραμουσῶν, according to the Greek version, may imply even a longer time than the few more days referred to in the Georgian version: *šemdgomad mciredt'a dgedt'a* . See Peeters, "La vie géorgienne, 160.

[55] *Vita Porphyr.* 50, Grégoire and Kugener, 41–42; Krueger et al., 43–44.

[56] *Vita Porphyr.* 52–54, Grégoire and Kugener, 44–46; Krueger et al., 43-44.

the money he had donated to them.[57] The discrepancy has been frequently discussed in the past, and even Grégoire, who does believe in a historical core of the *Vita*, maintains that the difficulty has to be faced squarely.[58]

It is therefore with a measure of relief that one notes the absence of the embarrassing departure date, as well as some other chronological data about the stay of John and Porphyry in Constantinople, from the Georgian version of the *Vita*. The time is too short for comfort. The Greek version of the *Vita* has one specific chronological pointer that appears to tally with the date it gives for the two bishops' departure on their way back home, but leads to the same difficulties when compared with its other chronological clues. The preparations for their return home are said to have taken place after they had spent the winter in Constantinople, and stayed there until after Easter.[59] The Georgian version appears to follow suit when read in Peeters' Latin translation: "Hac porro hieme, illic hibernavimus. Ut autem advenit dies absolutae quadragesimae discessum paravimus ad regionem nostram."[60] The *quadragesima dies* that marks the completion of the Lenten period is indeed in line with the Greek version, but it is absent from the Georgian original. What this text does say may be rendered roughly as follows: "We stayed there only during that winter. And when that day had come and gone, we prepared to depart for our home."[61] It seems to be quite evident that Peeters, who apparently failed to see what the phrase "that day" referred to, supplied the allusion to Easter from the ἁγίας ἡμέρας τῆς πασχαλίας of the Greek version. He need not have resorted to such a procedure. Read entirely in terms of its own narrative, the Georgian version does provide us with a clue about the nature of the day in question: most probably none other than the day on which the imperial infant received his baptismal rites.[62] Since the winter of 401 is known to have been

[57] *Vita Porphyr.* 54, Grégoire and Kugener, 44–45; Krueger et al., 46; a spell of three days is mentioned twice in the same sentence: "we spent three more days in the city (ἐποιήσαμεν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἄλλας ἡμέρας τρεῖς), until we got the appointed sum of forty pounds of gold, and after three days (καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας) we got on board and sailed out." This may mean either the same spell of three days, repeated twice, or six days altogether. The latter possibility only accentuates the problem.

[58] Grégoire, in Grégoire and Kugener, xxvii–xxxiii.

[59] *Vita Porphyr.* 52, Grégoire and Kugener, 43; Krueger et al., 44-45.

[60] See Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 166.

[61] "ḫolo zamt'ari igi mun davizamt'ret'. da vit'arca movida dğe igi ağvsebisa. ganvemzadenit' c'arslvad saqop'lad čuenda." If *ḫolo* is assumed to be a translation of the Syriac *balḥud* (i.e., "only"; cf. J. Molitor, *Altgeorgisches Glossar zu ausgewählten Bibeltexten* [Rome, 1952], 239, s.v. *ḫolo* 1) and not merely a conjunction (equivalent to the Greek καί, γάρ, or οὖν; cf. Molitor, ibid., s.v. *ḫolo* 2, whence, possibly, also Peeters' translation, *porro*), the whole sentence may have conveyed an apologetic message in the original: "We have stayed there only as long as the winter prevented us from embarking on our way back home." This may be a response to criticism of the two bishops' long absence from their sees.

[62] This would be entirely in line with an apologetic vein that may be detected in the whole statement: what the author may be suggesting here is that, whatever the length of time they spent in Constantinople after the end of the winter, their presence there during Theodosius' baptism proved essential for the accomplishment of their task, and was therefore justifiable. The underlying meaning of *dğe igi ağvsebisa* may therefore be the "completion of that day's assignment."

particularly severe in Constantinople, it is not implausible that it lasted until considerably later than Easter, 14 April of that year.[63]

The dilemma that has to be faced by the modern historian when dealing with this peculiar document is nowhere else more accentuated. It is precisely some tempting chronological data supplied by the Greek version, but absent from the Georgian one, including the precise date of departure from Constantinople, that make the latter's evidence ultimately more acceptable. The writer of the Greek version does appear to have had a much better understanding of his source, as well as a much superior capability of rendering terms pertaining to the imperial court in Constantinople, and to the Byzantine provincial administration in Palestine, but his love for circumstantial details and his desire to parade his knowledge seem to have occasionally led him astray.[64] In our particular case his assumption that a whole winter's stay in Constantinople included Easter will have been quite natural. All he had to do in order to arrive at the date of Easter of 401 was then to consult the paschal tables for its date in the year when he knew the temple of Marnas to have been destroyed. The departure date was then arrived at by mechanically adding three days to the 14th of April (apparently the three days between the interview with the emperor and their departure).[65] That in the course of doing so he forgot to heed the birth date of Theodosius, as well as the time that had to be assigned for Eudoxia's recovery and the christening itself, may be regarded as an important giveaway of his negligence rather than as an indication of the unauthentic nature of the original core of the *Vita*, which is arguably much better reflected in this case by the Georgian version.

If this version is followed as the guide for the internal chronology of the *Vita*, there is nothing to prevent one from believing that Porphyry of Gaza and John of Caesarea left Constantinople, after a rather difficult winter spent in the vicinity of the Sea of Marmara, several weeks after Theodosius' birth, with time enough for them to be present during the future emperor's christening, and to have been granted all the official receptions necessary for the completion of their mission. Eleven or twelve days after leaving the capital, they landed in Maiumas. Even if their stay in Constantinople is supposed to have lasted until after Pentecost, which would have been an appropriate occasion for the imperial infant's baptismal rites,[66] and if their departure, following all

[63] See *Chronicon Paschale*, a. 402, *CSHB* 16:568, according to which the sea was frozen in that year for twenty days; cf. Marcellinus Comes, a. 401, *Chronica Minora*, ed. Th. Mommsen (Berlin, 1898), 2:67, according to whom icebergs from the mountains drifted into the Sea of Marmara for thirty days. See also Michael and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale, 284-628 AD* (Liverpool, 1989), 58.

[64] See, e.g., above and n. 48 for his unsuccessful attempt to match a date in the Gazan system with one in the Roman system.

[65] On Easter tables and Easter calculations, see Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, 23–25, with nn. 79–81; 134–36; 147–48.

[66] Grégoire's postulate (Grégoire and Kugener, xxxii) that Theodosius II could not have been baptized before the Epiphany of 402 seems to be based solely on the analogy of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' baptism on 6 January 906, but is far from being cogent. Pentecost of 401 would have been a no less appropriate occasion. If my assumption concerning the apologetic vein discernible in the

the other arrangements, had taken place toward the end of June, enough latitude is left for subsequent events in Palestine, before the appearance of Eulogius and Porphyry in the encaenia synod of that year. According to the *Vita*, John was present when a cult stone of the local Aphrodite was miraculously smashed as they approached it bearing a cross, on a feast held during their entry into the city.[67] This is the last glimpse we catch of him.

The Georgian version of the *Vita Porphyrii* thus makes it possible to fit John into the chronology of the events of 401. His absence from the encaenia suggests that he died soon after his return to Caesarea, possibly already in July 401. The hardships of the voyage may have proved too much for him. The interesting feature of the two documents related to this encaenia synod is that in both documents Eulogius heads the list of participants, whereas John of Jerusalem follows him only in the second place.[68] The positions of these two prelates at the Council of Constantinople had been reversed already at the very beginning of Eulogius' episcopate, and the *Vita Porphyrii* may well have preserved the only piece of very circumstantial evidence about the role played by his shadowy predecessor in the process. Before he and Porphyry had left Constantinople, he is said to have obtained from the empress Eudoxia some privileges for his Church.[69] The reputation he had gained as an intrepid fighter against paganism may have helped him significantly in the restoration of the traditional order in the Church of Palestine.[70]

The order of participants in the encaenia synod of Jerusalem foreshadows that of the council convened in Lydda in 415 to discuss and decide upon the question of Pelagius' doctrinal probity. Once again Eulogius' name heads the list of participants, and that of John of Jerusalem appears only in the second place.[71] The degradation of

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account of the duration of the two bishops' stay in the imperial capital is correct, one ought not to be disturbed by the author's insistence that their embarkation took place very soon after the end of the winter, especially in view of the strong likelihood that wintry conditions lasted until late in the spring in 401.

[67] *Vita Porphyr.* 59, Grégoire and Kugener, 47–48; Krueger et al., 49–50; Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 173–74 (cc. 59–60).

[68] See n. 46 above for the references.

[69] *Vita Porphyr.* 53, Grégoire and Kugener, 44; Krueger et al., 46; cf. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne," 168: according to the Georgian version, what "John obtained was many useful things for the building of the church of Caesarea" ("mravali sahmaro sašenebelid kesariisa ekklesiist'vis," rendered by Peeters as "plurima ad aedificationem ecclesiae Caesariensis utilia"). The Greek version's προνόμια εἰς λόγον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας is in all likelihood identical with a similar phrase in the lost Syriac version; the word προνόμια (used here in the neuter plural; cf. the *Index Verborum* in Krueger et al., 130, s.v. προνόμιον), was most probably employed in the Syriac text as well (cf. Payne Smith, *Syriac English Dictionary*, [Oxford, 1903; repr. 1988], 462, s.v. *prānāmia;* vocalized *pronomia* in K. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* [Halle, 1928; repr. Tübingen, 1982], 599, s.v.). This is just the kind of expression to be misunderstood by a Georgian translator, whose Syriac is not always equal to the task, and whose Greek may be safely assumed to have been even worse.

[70] On the possibility that this order should be viewed in the light of a stipulation implied, though not explicitly stated, by the seventh canon of Nicaea, see nn. 7, 22, and 39 above.

[71] See above and n. 30. The *Vita* ignores Porphyry's participation in this synod, according to Grégoire in Grégoire and Kugener, lxxix–lxxx, with good reason. Its favorable attitude toward Pelagius and his

the see of Jerusalem at that time in comparison to that of Caesarea must have been extremely painful to a man who several years earlier, in the heat of the Origenist dispute, had repeatedly insisted on his authority to pass judgment on the issues involved by virtue of his position as the holder of an apostolic see ("apostolicam cathedram tenere se jactans," as Jerome puts it in his letter 82).[72]

A renewed activity in the glorification of the holy places in Jerusalem and its vicinity may mark the counter-reaction of its humiliated bishop. We do not know the exact date of the construction of the basilica on Mount Sion, which according to the Georgian lectionary took place during the episcopate of John.[73] Any date between the intervention of Theophilus of Alexandria in the Origenist controversy, which marks a turning point in the position of his see, and the Council of Lydda may fit. Let us recall that John's relapse to a second place after Gelasius of Caesarea had been an accomplished fact already in 401.

It was while John of Jerusalem was officiating at the Council of Lydda that news about the dream of a modest priest named Lucianus concerning the location of St. Stephen the Protomartyr's relics reached him. He immediately left the Council, accompanied by the bishops of Jericho and Sebaste and went to supervise the exhumation of the saint's bones at Caphar Gamala. A letter allegedly written by Lucianus himself to commemorate the event (in the Latin translation of Avitus of Braga, who had been staying in the Holy Land together with Augustine's emissary, Orosius) does not help to revoke the impression that the whole affair was much more than a mere coincidence.[74]

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teachings will have made it an occasion "dont l'épiscopat palestinien aurait sans doute voulu abolir la mémoire" (ibid., lxxix).

[72] See n. 38 above.

[73] See H. Goussen, *Über georgische Drucke und Handschriften, die Vorlesung und Heiligenkalender des altchristlichen Jerusalems* (Munich-Gladbach, 1923), 17 (23 March); cf. G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)*, Subsidia Hagiographica 30 (Brussels, 1958), 186–87.

[74] Of Lucianus' letter we possess a number of versions. The two Latin ones (*PL* 41:805–8) have been known for a long a time. A Greek version published by A. Papadopulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας* (Petersburg, 1898), 28–53, is close to the Latin version habitually referred to as Version B, which does not seem to reflect Lucianus' original letter and is rather a later elaboration; see M. J. Lagrange, "Le sanctuaire de la lapidation de saint Étienne à Jérusalem," *Révue de l'Orient chrétien* 12 (1907), 412–28, esp. 419–28, and P. Peeters, "Le sanctuaire de la lapidation de saint Étienne, à propos d'une controverse," *AnalBoll* 27 (1906), 359–68. This seems to be true also of a Syriac version of the document, in spite of the opinion of F. Nau, "Sur les mots πολιτικός et πολιτευόμενος, et sur plusieurs textes grecs relatifs à saint Étienne," *Révue de l'Orient chrétien* 11 (1906), 199–219. On the other hand, the other Latin version, known as Version A, seems to be the verbal translation of Lucianus' letter by Avitus of Braga, whose Greek original has been lost; thus Lagrange and Peeters in the studies cited above. The detail about the role played by John of Jerusalem in the discovery of the bones during the synod of Lydda is related in Version A; on its credibility, see Peeters, ibid., 366–67. It is worth mentioning that Peeters restores here the manuscript reading of the phrase describing the role played by John in the synod, *in synodo agens*, in preference to the arbitrary emendation of the editors in the *PL*, *synodum agens*. The former reading undoubtedly tallies better with Eulogius' precedence over John in the list of participants.

John's policy of propagating the holiness of Jerusalem by every possible means was continued, so it seems, by his successor, Praylius, whose pro-Pelagian position does not seem to have had an adverse effect on the mounting prestige of his see in the long run.[75] Stories about miraculous occurrences in Jerusalem and its environs were spread far and wide. One of them, said to have taken place in 419,[76] was in essence a reenactment of a miracle that had occurred in the time of Cyril, during Pentecost of 351, as described in his letter to Constantius.[77] In the long run, Caesarea had little to offer that would stem the flow of prestigious pilgrims to the holy city. From Theodoret's letter 110[78] we learn of a fresh reversal in the fortunes of the two sees. A successor of Eulogius, Domninus, was nominated by Praylius, in an action whose canonicity was not above dispute. The man had been a *digamos*. The very nomination of a person whose position was inherently weak may have been a ploy, but the very fact that Praylius was again able to act like Cyril at the highest point of his influence is significant. At the Council of Chalcedon, Glycon, bishop of Caesarea, appears second in the list of participants, after the notorious Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem.[79] At that time the secondary position of the see of Caesarea seems to have become a matter of course. For nearly three decades the struggle of the bishop of Jerusalem seems to have passed to a more advanced stage. In both the First and Second Council of Ephesus, he had been engaged in an attempt to establish for his see a rank higher than that of the apostolic see of Antioch. The story of his exploits, plentiful in intrigue and about-faces, is richly documented and has been the subject of at least one brilliant study.[80] At any rate, it concerns the sees of Jerusalem and Antioch.[81] Suffice it to say in the present context that the Council of Chalcedon ultimately recognized the apostolic status of Jerusalem but also saved that of Antioch.[82] The metropolitan see of Caesarea was no longer in the game.

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[75] See Kelly, *Jerome*, 324–26.

[76] Marcellinus Comes, a. 419 (*Chronica Minora* 2:74): a cross of light is said to have appeared above the Mount of Olives in the course of an earthquake, and the clothes of those who were baptized under the impact of the miraculous manifestation were stamped with signs of shining crosses; cf. *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, a. 419 (ibid., 246), where the source spreading the rumors concerning these miracles is described as a letter written by a bishop of Jerusalem, mistakenly identified as John (Praylius must be meant, since John had been dead for about two years in 419).

[77] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Epistula ad Constantium*, *PG* 33:1166–77. A detailed analysis of this document is to be found in Irsai, "Historical Aspects," 105–30.

[78] *PG* 83:1305.

[79] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 3:567.

[80] Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem."

[81] Juvenal's claim to a superior rank of his see over that of Antioch was formulated in the clearest terms already at the Council of Ephesus in 431; see Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 4 (Florence, 1760), 1311; *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. J. Schwartz, 1.1.3 (Leipzig, 1930), 18–19.

[82] See Honigmann, "Juvenal," 240–47.

34

Metropolis and Provincia in Byzantine Palestine

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The mutual relations between metropolis and province can be viewed from two different angles, corresponding to the two ends of the knot that binds them together – how tightly, we shall attempt to discover. One end touches the provincials: what business brought them to the capital? Did they have occasion to look at Caesarea as a center that could answer their needs or help solve their problems? The other angle concerns the metropolis: did it cater to the needs of a population larger and more widespread than its citizens and the inhabitants of its own territory, and if so, in which way and on which scale? Did its function affect the urban development of Caesarea?

Logically, contacts between the inhabitants of the province and the capital occurred mainly in the area of the imperial administration of the province. I shall therefore deal with the question: how did the fact of being the seat of central authority affect the life of Caesarea and its relations with the inhabitants of the province in the Byzantine period? It is as well to anticipate that a survey of the functioning of government in its various fields of action will show, perhaps surprisingly, that most encounters between subjects and authority did not take place in Caesarea at all. On the other hand, business with the authorities was not the only engagement that might cause individuals to travel there from all corners of the province. For instance, a modern-day metropolis must provide parking space and other services far beyond the needs of its own inhabitants, to people who come from all parts of the country to do business and errands, to satisfy needs or desires, since much is concentrated there in the way of government offices, representatives of political and economic powers, fashionable shops, medical care, culture, entertainment, and so forth. The concentration of services and facilities, on the one hand, compels many people to travel there, and on the other, it brings about the necessity for further services and facilities to answer the needs of the users of the first.

In the Byzantine period, as today, cities catered to the countryside for services of many types, and often for a much larger area in certain fields that formed their particular pride. Thus we find hints in the sources concerning sick people seeking medical care in town,[1] villagers of southern Palestine shopping for black magic in Eleuthe-

[1] Paul of Elusa, *Vita Theognii*, ed. J. van den Gheyn, *AnalBoll* 10 (1891), pp. 78–118: 15, p. 96; Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 48, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Scythopolis*, *TU* 49.2 (Leipzig, 1939), p. 70; John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* (*Leimonarion*), 6, 204, *PG* 87:2857, 3093.

ropolis,[2] monks of the Judaean desert going to Jericho for prostitutes[3] and to Scythopolis and as far as Alexandria for quality fabrics.[4] Choricius attests that the markets of Gaza were especially large and well provided because of the masses that gathered in the city for its festivals and its many attractions; and the stoas built by Bishop Marcianus were not only for the beautification of the city's streets but to provide shelter for both visitors and vendors.[5]

The same Choricius also tells us that Caesarea had special needs, owing to its being "a large city and the seat of government" (μεγάλη πόλις καὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα). Supply had to come in steadily and plentifully, for even the suspicion of dearth brought about famine and unrest. The rhetor describes an episode that happened under the *consularis* Stephen, between 530 and 536, but the situation as described must have been far from rare. For once, Choricius is explicit enough for us to comprehend clearly the sequence of events: rumors of shortage caused hoarding and higher prices, which would bring about riots and starvation among the lower and economically weaker ranks of the population, unless the government could guarantee plentiful reserves of food. Sickness would also come in the wake of famine.[6] On another occasion, Choricius also reminds us that Caesarea had great needs in regard to the water supply as well.[7]

This picture of a city made vulnerable by its very preeminence is confirmed by other sources. As early as 325, an edict regulating loans of wine, oil, and grain to the indigent, addressed to Dracilianus, *agens vicem* of the praetorian prefect of the East, was published in Caesarea – probably an indication that a local factor had solicited the ruling. The law fixed at one-third the maximum interest that could be exacted on loans of *fruges liquidae vel arentes*: for each two *modii* of borrowed foodstuff, three had to be paid back.[8] Grain, oil, and wine formed the staple diet of the have-nots, and apparently the poor of the city suffered from a periodic shortage of food when the price of these products underwent a seasonal rise.[9] Although the fourth-century description of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* stresses the well-being of Caesarea, copiously provided with all the necessities of life and excellent in its urban arrangement ("abundans

[2] Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euthymii* 57, p. 78.

[3] Jo. Moschus, *Prat.* 14, 97, *PG* 87:2861, 2956.

[4] Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Jo. Hesych.*, 20, ed. Schwartz, p. 217, cf. *Vita Sabae* 80, ibid., p. 186; *Vita Cyriaci* 6, ibid., p. 226.

[5] Choricius, *Laud. Marciani* 1.88, in Choricius of Gaza, *Opera*, ed. R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig (Leipzig, 1929), p. 24; *Epitaph. Procopii* 52, ibid., pp. 127–28.

[6] Choricius, *Laud. Aratii et Stephani* 43, 51, *Opera*, pp. 60, 62.

[7] Ibid., 44–49, pp. 60–62; P. Mayerson, "Choricius of Gaza on the Watersupply System of Caesarea," *IEJ* 36 (1986), 269–72.

[8] *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer (Berlin, 1954) (= *CTh*), 2.33.1.

[9] I tend to picture this situation against the background of city life for, in the country, peasants would go without sowing seeds before they lacked grain for baking bread (cf. Jo. Moschus, *Prat.* 24, *PG* 87:2869). If they reached such extremes, they would not have been able to borrow, for they could have no hope of ever repaying the loan. In these circumstances farmers abandoned their land and went into the cities, where bishops at least provided some kind of organized charity.

omnibus et dispositione civitatis in multa eminens"),[10] Procopius of Gaza gives a sad account not only of the condition of the harbor before Anastasius' repairs, but also of the impotent wretchedness of the citizens who saw much-needed supplies being swallowed by the sea before their eyes.[11] According to Procopius, after the rehabilitation of the harbor, Caesarea was comfortably furnished with all kinds of goods (πλήρης τῶν ἐπιτηδείων), but seemingly the city's subsistence still depended, at least partly, on a steady overland supply of crops and other farm produce, such as eggs, cheese, and honey, from the Samaritan countryside, since in all likelihood the expected famine that Count Stephen averted came in the wake of the Samaritan revolt of 529–530 and the ensuing depopulation of the farmland.[12] And not only was the agricultural produce of the hinterland essential to maintain the delicate balance of the food markets in the capital. Procopius of Caesarea tells how Justinian deprived a wealthy rhetor of Caesarea of his property, a fishing village at the foot of the western slope of the Carmel range, in the purchase of which the man, already a large landowner, had invested his money.[13] Procopius – at his poisonous best in this episode of the *Secret History* – blames Justinian's avarice, but if one must judge an action by its effects, the seizure of this property by the emperor averted the risk of the owner's controlling a large slice of the fish market and so being able to influence food prices, especially since he was already in a position to do so, through the agricultural supply from his fields.

Sickness and unrest, too, lay in ambush in the great city. We hear of an epidemic that affected Caesarea – and seemingly Caesarea only – sometime in the second half of the sixth century,[14] and serious riots and fires broke out in ca. 484, between 531 and 536, and in 556.[15] Earlier, in 451, it was fear of disorders, and possibly logistic difficulties as well, that caused the governor to refuse entrance into the city to the crowd of desert monks and their followers who came to meet Juvenal on his return from the Council of Chalcedon: as John of Beth Rufina says, the refusal was on the grounds of their large number. So the monks stayed outside, in the Church of the Apostles.[16] This church probably had an attached monastery, and could provide

[10] *Junioris philosophi Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 26, ed. A. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn, 1878; repr. Hildesheim, 1964) (= *GLM*), p. 109. The final edition of the text is not earlier than the fifth century or even later, but it derives from a description of the world of the mid-fourth century.

[11] Proc. Gaz., *Panegyr. Anast.* 19, *PG* 87:2817.

[12] Proc. Caes., *Historia arcana* 11.30, ed. H. B. Dewing, *Secret History* (London, 1954); Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 70, ed. Schwartz, pp. 172–73; John Malalas, *Chronographia*, Book XVIII, ed. L. Dindorf, *CSHB* 13 (Bonn, 1831), p. 447. Stephen was in office in 531, when Sabas traveled to Constantinople (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 73, ibid., p. 177), and still in 536, when he was promoted to the rank of proconsul (*Corpus Iuris Civilis III: Novellae*, ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll [Berlin, 1954], *Nov.* 103) and was the subject of Choricius' panegyric.

[13] Proc. Caes., *Arcana*, ed. Dewing, 30.18–19.

[14] Jo. Moschus, *Prat.* 131, 132, *PG* 87:2295–96.

[15] Choricius, *Laud. Aratii et Stephani* 38–42, *Opera*, pp. 59–60; Jo. Malalas, *Chron.*, Book XV, ed. Dindorf, p. 382; Book XVIII, ibid., pp. 487–88; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6048, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 230.

[16] *Plerophoriae* 10, ed. F. Nau, *Jean Rufus évêque de Maïouma, Plérophories*, *PO* 8 (Paris, 1911–12), p. 24. It

accommodation for them. We shall see why it was essential that this meeting should take place there; for now we may note the fact that a group of provincials had come to Caesarea on business that could only be transacted in the capital, but some deficiency prevented the city from fulfilling its function. As often happened in this period, it was the Church that took charge.

Had Caesarea the infrastructures to function efficiently as a capital? Only archaeology can answer that. But we can ask some preliminary questions. What was the material meaning of "being the seat of government"? What did this involve? What government business was transacted in the capital? Why did people come to Caesarea at all?

As the city was the capital first of all Palestine, then of Palaestina Prima, the ἄρχων and his *officium* resided there. He was supreme judge – subject to the right of appeal to a higher authority in certain circumstances – and administered the finances of the province, inasmuch as he was responsible for collecting the taxes exacted on the cities for the provincial coffer and delivering the assessed dues of the province to the imperial treasury. Moreover, the ἄρχων could disburse money from the provincial treasury for local expenditures, especially for building, on certain conditions, and he supervised the budgets of the cities. Some cities he even administered himself through his personal representatives, τοποτηρηταί or *loci servatores*.[17] The personnel at the governor's disposal – clerks for his tribunal and for the financial administration – were not very numerous, and in any case it were mostly recruited from among the city's residents;[18] therefore the *officium* could not have caused difficulties in the matter of the food and water supply. On the contrary, it may be regarded as a factor of economic stability, through the rations and *sportulae* that fed the bureaucrats and their families and indirectly contributed to the maintenance of the local working class.

The governor was also charged with keeping the peace, and had a security force at his command for this purpose. In 536 Justinian put at the disposal of the ἄρχων of

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is worth recalling that also the ten thousands monks who convened in Jerusalem to manifest their opposition to the Monophysite creed of Emperor Anastasius had to assemble in St. Stephen's monastery outside the city walls (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 56, ed. Scwartz, p. 151). According to Cyril, this place was chosen because no other church could contain so large a crowd, but the reason may have been different. Since the *dux* was present in the city with a military force, sent for the purpose of compelling the patriarch to abandon his opposition to Anastasius' religious policy, it was perhaps fear of a violent repression that induced Bishop John and the archimandrites to convene the monks outside the city walls.

[17] This probably happened when a city was unable to administer itself through its own elected officials, a circumstance that made it difficult for the governor to fulfill his duties, for example, to ensure the orderly payment of the city dues into the provincial treasury, for which he himself was responsible. Internal strife in a city (such as is mentioned by Choricius, *Laud. Aratii et Stephani* 52, *Opera*, p. 62) could also be better taken care of through a τοποτηρητής. Justinian often admonished the governors not to appoint such officers, but seemingly in vain: cf. *Nov.* 17.10; 28.4; 29.2, all of 535; 128.20 of 545; 134 of 556; *LRE* 1:295, 759.

[18] One hundred to three hundred clerks at the most. For the size and social composition of the *officia*, see *LRE* 1:593–95.

Palaestina Prima, on the occasion of his promotion to proconsular rank, a regiment of *comitatenses* drawn from the standing garrison of Palestine, with authority to intervene also in Palaestina Secunda.[19] But Caesarea had a garrison before that, as it had in the Roman period. In about 484 we hear of a unit of Arcadiaci that acted against Samaritan rioters under the command of a sheriff (ληστοδιώκτης), whom Malalas describes as a city official (ἀξιωματικὸς Καισαρείας).[20] The Arcadiaci fought not under the command of the *dux Palaestinae* Asclepiades, but side by side with his troops (βοήθεια). They must have been a regiment of *comitatenses* stationed in Caesarea, and although in principle these units were under the command of the *dux*,[21] in this case they appear to have been at the disposal of the chief of police of Caesarea: the term ληστοδιώκτης explains itself, as it clearly defines the functions of the city officials called in Egypt *riparii*, who were responsible for public security throughout the city's territory.[22] On the other hand, in Choricius' panegyric recited in ca. 535/6, before Justinian had formally put a regiment of *comitatenses* at the governor's disposal, Count Stephen is given the credit for having promoted the security of the roads, as well as the safety of the cities and countryside throughout the province.[23] And this does not seem to be a recent development, for, already in the fourth century, civil governors were involved in police activity[24] and had their own armed forces, based in Caesarea, to take care of local disorders.[25] Thus it appears that the garrison posted in Caesarea was at the disposal of

[19] *Nov.* 103.3; cf. *LRE* 1:661.

[20] Jo. Malalas, *Chron.*, Book XV, ed. Dindorf, p. 382.

[21] On the transfer of regiments of *comitatenses* to the frontier provinces, and their posting as garrisons in the cities, including in Palestine, see *LRE* 1:660–61, 665.

[22] *LRE* 1:725.

[23] Choricius, *Laud. Aratii et Stephani* 35–37, 52, *Opera*, pp. 58–59, 62.

[24] Under Julian, an unnamed governor intervened in Gaza to quell anti-Christian riots (Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.9, 13, ed. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen, *Kirchengeschichte, GCS* 50 [Berlin, 1960], p. 206). In the same period, it was a prerogative of the governor of Palestine to appoint chiefs of police in the cities, a clue that he had authority over them: for the appointment of the εἰρηνοφύλαξ in Elusa, see Libanius, *Epistula* 532, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vols. 10–11 (Leipzig, 1921–22), vol. 10, p. 501.

[25] In 402, according to Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyrius*, Cynegius, a special envoy of Arcadius, came to Gaza to carry out the emperor's orders for the destruction of the Marneion. As fierce opposition was expected from the pagan majority in the city, Cynegius brought with him the *dux* and the *consularis* with πολλὴν στρατιωτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν χεῖρα (*Vita Porphyrii* 63, ed. H. Grégoire and M. A. Kugener, *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre* [Paris, 1930], p. 50): this must mean "regular soldiers, and city guards." A police force (πολλὴ βοήθεια under a κομενταρήσιος) was sent by the *consularis* in 407 to quell anti-Christian disorders in Gaza (ibid., 99, p. 76). Again, it was the governor of Palaestina Prima, Procopius of Edessa, who restored order in Neapolis and arrested the Samaritans who had occupied the Church of Mary Theotokos on Mount Gerizim, in the reign of Anastasius (Proc. Caes., *De Aedificiis* 5.7.14, ed. H. B. Dewing, *Buildings* [London, 1954]). These forces – were they soldiers or constables? – were sent out from the capital on the governor's authority. Later, at the beginning of the Samaritan revolt of 529, Bassus, the governor of Palaestina Secunda, was held responsible by the emperor for not having dealt firmly enough with the Samaritan disturbances in Scythopolis (Jo. Malalas, *Chron.*, Book XVIII, ed. Dindorf, pp. 445–46). In the same revolt, the *gloriosissimus* John, who marched against the rebels in Samaria, together with the *dux* Theodorus (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 70, ed. Schwartz, p. 172), was in my opinion

the governor, and functioned as a security force for all the province, long before Justinian's disposition. The soldiers' barracks may have been in the city itself.[26]

Was Caesarea, the seat of ἀρχή, also the headquarters of the *dux*? In the early fourth century the commander of the province garrison, the Tenth Legion, had his headquarters in Aila on the Red Sea, but in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, Aila, though still the base of the Tenth Legion, is only one of many military camps under the command of the *dux Palaestinae*.[27] Offices that fulfilled some of the tasks of the ducal *officium* – collection of *annona*, military jurisdiction – are mentioned in several places where a military unit was posted, according to independent sources: at Menois and Birsama,[28] at Nessana,[29] perhaps at Elusa,[30] and at some πόλις, possibly Jerusalem, where the *dux* Antipater sat in judgment and was visited by the bishop of Bitulion, Theognius, shortly before the year 526.[31] I suspect that Beersheba, where a large military camp has been discovered,

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the opposite number of Bassus, namely, the governor of Palaestina Prima. *Contra* Martindale, who regards Theodorus and John as colleagues in the *ducatus Palaestinae*, an unheard-of arrangement; see A.H.M. Jones and J. R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971–92), 3:626.

[26] A κάστρον is mentioned in *Acta Martyris Anastasii Persae* (ed. H. Usener [Bonn, 1894], p. 6a, l.3, 6b, l.22, 7a, ll.10, 22). Remains of a Byzantine fortress were identified south of the city by the Italian expedition: see A. Frova, in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1993), 1:274.

[27] Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, ed. E. Klostermann, *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*, *GCS* 11.1 (Leipzig, 1904) (= *On.*), p. 6, 17–21; Jerome, *In Hiezechielem* 14.47.18, *CCSL* 75, p. 724; *Notitia Dignitatum*, Or. XXXIV, 16, 30, ed. O. Seeck (1876; repr. Frankfurt a. M., 1962) (= *Not. Dign.*).

[28] *CTh* 7.4.30; *Not. Dign.* Or. XXXIV, 3, 10, 19, 22, ed. Seeck; *P. Ness* 39, 11, in C. J. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana, III. Non-Literary Papyri* (Princeton, 1958); ibid., 36, 19 (? see below, text and n. 35). See also Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea, Palaestina* (Jerusalem, 1994), s.vv.

[29] *P. Ness* 19, in Kraemer, *Nessana III*, pp. 60–61. Nessana does not appear in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, but the fortress and papyri discovered there indicate the existence of a military camp in the sixth century, and probably already in the fifth (A. Negev, in Stern, ed., *New Encyclopedia*, 3:1145–49, esp. 1148). On the soldiers at Nessana see also B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (Oxford, 1990), 209–10. The unit is generally identified with the *numerus Theodosiacus* mentioned in *P. Ness* 15 (Kraemer, *Nessana III*, p. 41); Jones maintains that they were not *limitanei* but *pseudocomitatenses: LRE* 2:1272, n. 111, cf. p. 1429. However, Negev has cast doubt on the identification of the unit at Nessana with the *numerus Theodosiacus;* see A. Negev, *The Architecture of Mampsis. Final Report*, vol. 2, Qedem 27 (Jerusalem, 1988), 1–2.

[30] *P. Ness* 29 contains a summons issued on behalf of a soldier of the camp of Nessana against another, in a court at Elusa. Kraemer (*Nessana III*, pp. 89–90) argued that the unit had been disbanded and therefore the (former) soldiers had recourse to the civil officials of Elusa; but the terms "soldiers" and "camp of Nessana" clearly show that the unit was still posted there; on the other hand, there is no evidence that the court of Elusa was a civil, not a military, one. Elusa has no fort and does not appear in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, but the Beersheba edict mentions an *agraria statio* outside the town: A. Alt, *Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der Araba* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1921), pp. 5–6, no. 1.

[31] Paul of Elusa, *Vita Theogni* 19, ed. van den Gheyn, pp. 101–3. Theognius heard that a priest of Bitulion, charged with some unspecified crime, was held in prison by the *dux* and was in danger of being condemned to death. The bishop hastened to journey to the place where Antipater sat in his tribunal and had the cleric freed from jail and from the criminal charge. (By the way, Theognius' success was due not so much to Antipater's miraculous dream related by Paul of Elusa, as to the fact that the *dux* had no jurisdiction in the case: actions against clerics had to be brought before their bishops. On the

may have been another, and possibly the most important, of the ducal headquarters, as several inscriptions said to come from Beersheba refer to the person and activity of the *dux*.[32] However, at least twice the name of a *dux* is connected with Caesarea: Sergius is said to be staying or residing there in 634, when the Muslim invasion began,[33] and Anastasius fled to Caesarea after his fiasco in Jerusalem in 516.[34] Moreover, two sixth-century papyri of the military archive in Nessana hint at the existence of an office of the military administration in Caesarea. One, a list of payments to officers and of other sums, perhaps taxes, collected by individual soldiers, officers, and military posts (κάστρα), mentions among the collectors(?) a man posted in Caesarea, who received the money on behalf of a τοποτηρητής, according to Kraemer a representative of the *dux* in Caesarea, but I would suggest that the corrupted word following τοποτηρητής might be Μηνο[ιδ]ος.[35] Another papyrus of the same archive, dated ca. 560–580, contains a list of military camels with their riders, grouped under sergeants, some sent to Caesarea, some to Egypt, apparently on orders from the central government, that is, the *dux*.[36] All these hints point to the possibility that the *dux*

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intricacies of jurisdiction see Jones, *LRE* 1:488, 492–93.) The place where the prison was may have been somewhere near Bitulion, a small town on the northern coast of Sinai, west of Raphia. But a few lines above, Paul, a former monk of Theognius' monastery in the Judaean desert, who composed Theognius' eulogy for reading in the monastery on the first anniversary of the saint's death, reminds his fellow monks that some of them know Antipater personally, having seen him in the city (ἐν τῇ πόλει), while he himself, having always stayed in the desert, has never clapped eyes on the man. The city here is most probably Jerusalem, only a few miles from the monastery. Even as a bishop, Theognius continued to divide his time between his see and his monastery (*Vita Theogni* 10, 15, ibid., pp. 89, 95), so that he might have heard of the priest's plight while he was in the Jerusalem area. Jerusalem had a garrison of Equites Mauri Illyriciani (*Not. Dign.* Or. XXXIV, 21, ed. Seeck), a praetorium (Jerome, *Ep.* 108.9, *PL* 22:883), and a state prison (δημοσία φυλακή) where *dux* Anastasius jailed John, archbishop of Jerusalem, in 516 (Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 56, ed. Schwartz, p. 150). The presence of *duces* in the holy city is sometimes attested on occasions when no military reasons required it (Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 10.11, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Eusebius Werke II.2. Die Kirchengeschichte, Rufinus Buch X–XI*, *GCS* 9.2 [Leipzig, 1908], p. 976; Jo. Moschus, *Prat.* 49, *PG* 87:2904), though of course they may have come for a religious purpose. It seems that Photius, Belisarius' stepson, had his base in Jerusalem during his thirteen-year mission in Palestine, in which, incredibly, he appears to have held at the same time both the abbacy of the Nea Church monastery and the ducal office (since he conducted military actions and held sway over the civil governors), and to have used both monks and soldiers as his agents: John of Ephesus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae Pars tertia* 3.1.32, ed. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO* 105–6, Scriptores Syri 55–56 (Louvain, 1952), *CSCO* 105, pp. 42–44; 106, pp. 29–30; John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, ed. H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1883), p. 521; cf. *PLRE* 3:1037–39.

[32] A statue erected in honor of *dux* Dorotheus (ca. 452–453, cf. *PLRE* 2:377–78; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* [Leiden] [= *SEG*], VIII, no. 296; D. Feissel, *BCH* 108 [1984], 545–58), a monumental building built by *dux* Antipater (*SEG* VIII, no. 281), and the lists of military payments commonly known as "the Beersheba (tax) edict" (Alt, *Inschriften*, pp. 4–13, nos.1–4; *SEG* VIII, no. 282).

[33] Theophanes, A.M. 6124, ed. de Boor, p. 336; Cedrenus, *Georgii Cedreni Historiarum compendium*, ed. I. Bekker, *CSHB* 32–34 (Bonn, 1838–39), vol. 1, p. 751; Agapius of Mabbug, *Kitab al-'Unwan: histoire universelles écrit par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, ed. A. A. Vasiliev, *PO* 5, 7, 8, 11 (Paris 1909–15; Turnhout, 1971), *PO* 8.3, p. 454; cf. *PLRE* 3:1134-35.

[34] Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 56, ed. Schwartz, p. 152.

[35] *P. Ness* 36, 19, Kraemer, *Nessana III*, p. 113.

[36] P. Ness 37. The dux is sometimes presented as acting against Saracen tribes "in Egypt" (e.g.,

had some kind of headquarters at Caesarea. The ducal *officium* was rather small – one or two score of clerks at most[37] – and possibly a skeleton crew followed the *dux* around, as his duties often kept him moving about the frontier. But he must have kept his records somewhere, and possibly he kept them in Caesarea. However, the *dux* did not transact his business specifically in the capital, and even the troops there were seemingly under the command of the ἄρχων.

The various tasks of the governor demanded constant contact with his subjects, but the site of these proceedings was not always the capital. One of the main duties of the ἄρχων was administering justice. In civil lawsuits, he received appeals against judgments given in the courts of the *defensores civitatis*, at first even in petty actions, later only in cases involving more than 50 solidi, or 300 since Justinian's reform.[38] Thus not all litigations were brought before the governor's court in Caesarea: many were heard in the city's tribunals. Poor litigants, who could not afford the legal expenses, would never reach the provincial court: on the other hand, wealthy or influential men found ways of bypassing it and summoning their opponents to higher courts, in Antioch or in Constantinople.[39] One must also remember that some of the lawsuits were conducted in the episcopal courts, by the agreement of both parties, or in the rabbinical courts for the Jews.[40]

As for criminal justice, the responsibility was divided between local authorities and the governor. Charges were brought before the governor by the local magistrates, the city councils, and private accusers, as well as by *stationarii*, members of the provincial *officium* posted in every city. In a law of 390 it is implied that the accused could be

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Choricius, *Laud. Summi* 22, *Opera*, p. 75), perhaps the northwestern part of Sinai, that belonged to Augustamnica?

[37] Jones, *LRE* 1:598–99.

[38] The *defensor civitatis* (ἔκδικος) held court in the city, saving litigants the need to take their plaints to the provincial governor. The office is not mentioned in the Code until Valentinian's reign (see *CTh* 1.29), but in the Oriental diocese it is recorded in inscriptions and papyri under Constantine. The *defensor*'s jurisdiction was increased from 50 to 300 solidi in 535: *Corpus Iuris Civilis II: Codex Iustinianus*, ed. P. Krueger (Berlin, 1954) (= *CJ*), 1.55.1; *Nov.* 15.3; cf. Jones, *LRE* 1:144–45, 280, 479–80.

[39] Cf. Jones, *LRE* 1:281, 493, 496–99. A forceful testimony of the weight of rank in the different circumstances – at Caesarea, Antioch, and Constantinople – is found in Dorotheus of Gaza, *Doctrinae diversae* 2.34, ed. L. Regnault and A. de Préville, *SC* 92 (Paris, 1963), pp. 196–98. Legal expenses included lawyers' fees and costs of legal proceedings (*sportulae*): for the latter, see Jones, *LRE* 1:496-99. A schedule of legal fees engraved on marble slabs has been recently brought to light in Caesarea excavations. Seemingly even the costs could be manipulated by influential persons: Procopius of Gaza once wrote to his friend John, a rhetor in Caesarea, to recommend a man who had been deprived of his wealth by his brother and was seeking redress in the governor's court (*Epistula* 158, ed. A. Garzya and R. L. Loenertz, Studia Patristica et Byzantina 9 [Ettal, 1963] p. 76); Procopius asks his friend to do his best to have the plaintiff's legal expenses reduced to a minimum (τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων δαπάνας ὡς δυνατὸν περικόπτοντες).

[40] *CTh* 1.27, 1–2; *Constitutiones Sirmondianae*, ed. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer, *Codex Theodosianus et Constitutiones Sirmondianae* (Berlin, 1954), 1; *CJ* 1.4.7. For the jurisdiction of the Jews, see *CTh* 2.1.10; *CJ* 1.9.15.

arrested only on the governor's warrant, but in the fifth and sixth centuries it was possible to bring a charge before the local authorities of the city – in the interpretation of the Justinianic Code, only before the *defensor civitatis* – who arrested the accused and sent him under escort with his accuser to the provincial governor. Both city magistrates and *stationarii* were forbidden to imprison offenders, and even to maintain jails.[41] Thus, in theory, all criminal suits were held only at the state prison of Caesarea.[42] But, as so often happens, a different reality is attested by the sources, at least in Palestine and vicinity. Sozomen describes the arrest of three Christian brothers charged with the violation of temples in Gaza during Julian's reign: the imprisonment and the flagellation that marked the beginning of the judicial process against the accused were performed by the city, without the governor's knowledge.[43] Palladius, in the *Historia Lausiaca*, describes the arrest of Melania the Elder by the *consularis* of Palestine (ὁ ὑπατικὸς τῆς Παλαιστίνης) at Diocaesarea (Sepphoris) in ca. 375–378.[44] A state prison is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis in Jerusalem, and at Gerasa in 539 Bishop Paul erected a jail for accused prisoners awaiting trial.[45] In the sixth century, one hears of a highwayman and murderer who was kept in jail in Ascalon, waiting for the governor who would condemn him to death; after a time, in fact, the governor came to Ascalon and ordered the man beheaded.[46] Another robber and murderer was arrested and put to death in Diospolis (Lydda).[47] It appears, therefore, that the practice in Palestine was

[41] Jones, *LRE* 1:521. For detailed references to the dispositions of law, see ibid., 2:1219 n. 114.

[42] Criminal trials, inseparable from torture, were conducted in the φυλακή. For description of a trial before a *consularis*, see Jerome, *Ep.* 1, 3–10, *PL* 22:327–30; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 38.4–5, ed. E. C. Butler (Cambridge, 1898–1904), p. 118, where a large number of defendants, accused of different crimes, are brought to trial at the same time, all chained together.

[43] Sozomen, *HE* 5.9.1–4, *GCS* 50, p. 204. Later the three men were taken out of the jail by the mob and lynched: only at this point was the matter brought to the attention of the governor, who took punitive steps aginst the Gazans: *HE* 5.9.13, ibid., p. 206.

[44] Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 46.3–4, ed. Butler, p. 135.

[45] For the prison in Jerusalem, see above, n. 31. For Gerasa, see P. L. Gatier, in *Syria* 62 (1985), 297–307; *SEG* XXXV, no.1571. It was a public prison, probably built for the charitable purpose of relieving the sufferings of the inmates by separating them from other convicts and giving them better living conditions. The care of prisoners and the supervision of the city jail were among the recognized duties of bishops.

[46] Jo. Moschus, *Prat.* 189, *PG* 87:3068–69. In the same prison lay also a sea merchant who had lost the goods entrusted to him in a shipwreck and was held accountable by his creditors (ibid.). If there was a lawsuit or a charge pending against him, it was not brought before the governor on that occasion. Another shipwrecked merchant, who owed 360 solidi, was kept in prison in his city, Tyre, until he was able to repay his creditors: *Prat.* 186, *PG* 87:3061–64

47 Jo. Moschus, Prat. 166, PG 87:3032–33. Of another brigand, who robbed travelers in the vicinity of Nicopolis (Emmaus), it is said that he was captured and kept in prison for ten years, but none of the governors (οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων) had him executed, and finally he was set free – a happy end miraculously ascribed by him to a good deed he had once done (Jo. Moschus, Prat. 165, PG 87:3032). The narrator does not say where the φυλακή in question was, but it is possible that it was in Emmaus, a rather small city, where the usual delays of justice would be increased by the infrequency of the governor's visits. One year before starting trial, two years for giving judgment in criminal cases, three in

to arrest the person suspected of a crime and hold him in the city jail: in due time the governor would visit the city and hold the trial there.[48] This procedure alleviated the pressure on the criminal court in Caesarea and also made the transfer of accused and accusers to the metropolis unnecessary. High-ranking persons, too, would not appear in Caesarea for judgment but would stand trial in higher courts, sometimes in Antioch, in the early period, but generally in Constantinople.[49]

Administration business did not pertain to the provincials as individuals, but to the cities and their representatives. In this field, collection of taxes and supervision of city finances were the main responsibilities of the governor, whose *scrinium* was in Caesarea: so the routine of fiscal business would bring *curiales*, and later *vindices*, to the metropolis, and the *patres civitatis* would come on occasion to the governor's office to obtain his approval for municipal expenditures in their cities. But in the fifth and sixth centuries the supervision of tax collection on the provincial level had passed into the hands of *tractatores* (τρακτευταί) who answered directly to the praetorian prefect, and since the reign of Anastasius the supervision of tax collection in the cities was entrusted to *vindices* appointed by the praetorian prefecture, who seemingly took upon themselves also the management of the city revenues, at least until 545.[50] Thus division of the burden among the taxpayers, leniency or the opposite in the collection of arrears, and other manipulations of the financial administration were no longer in the governor's power, and, while the *scrinium* in the capital continued to function as the center of deposit and record of the payments, any appeal or contestation had to be brought to Constantinople. So, for instance, the holy man Sabas in 511 turned to the emperor in the matter of the *superflua discriptio* imposed by *tractatores* and *vindices* on the *possessores* of Palestine, among them the Anastasis Church, one of the greatest landowners. Anastasius referred Sabas to the *praefectus praetorio* Zoticus.[51] Other problems that might arise in

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civil lawsuits, were the legal limits, which no doubt were exceeded in real life: see Jones, *LRE* 1:494, 521–22.

[48] This appears to have been the practice elsewhere as well. For instance, the trial described in Jerome, *Ep.* 1 (above, n. 42) dealt with an accusation of adultery and took place in Vercellae in northern Italy, "when the *consularis* visited the city as was his wont" ("quum ex more consularis hanc – sc. civitatem – invisere": *PL* 22:327).

[49] Like the *commerciarius* Moschus of Tyre, who was charged with embezzlement and brought to trial before the emperor, but was pardoned or acquitted: Jo. Moschus, *Prat.* 186, *PG* 87:3061–64. See also Jones, *LRE* 1:504–7. Clematius, governor of Palestine, was tried and executed in Antioch in 353/4 (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri* 14.1.3, ed. J. Rolfe [London, 1950–52] and cf. *PLRE* 1:213: Clematius 1). For a trial of a former governor of Arabia(?) held in Antioch in the late fourth century, see Libanius, *Oratio* LVII, 12–23, ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vols. 1–8 (Leipzig, 1903–15), vol. 4, pp. 154–59 , and cf. *PLRE* 1:538-39: Malchus 1.

[50] Jones, *LRE* 1:236, 759.

[51] Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 54, ed. Schwartz, pp. 145–46. Likewise, Choricius speaks of an important city official of Gaza, a brother of Bishop Marcianus, who seems to have been the *defensor civitatis*, and who was once compelled to travel to the imperial court on urgent business (*Epitaph. Mariae* 21–22, *Opera*, p. 105). It was most likely a fiscal question in which the *defensor* represented the city, although

the management of local finances could be treated by *discussores* sent out by the praetorian prefecture,[52] or through special envoys: for instance, Summus, twice *dux Palaestinae*, while he was not in office, was sent to Arabia to carry out a reassessment of taxes.[53]

One, and perhaps the main, expression of the governor's interference in the finances of cities was his involvement in public building. But city projects – especially such as would gain him fame or popularity – may have brought the ἄρχων to the spot, instead of being brought to the capital for formal approval. From the language of inscriptions it is not always clear what kind of involvement is attested by the mention of the governor's name in building inscriptions: does it mean that it is the governor who erects and repairs buildings, using the *curator* or *pater civitatis* as his agent, as Jones maintained;[54] or is the governor's name mentioned in recognition of his having extended patronage or granted formal authorization to the building; or is it merely a chronological device? A further difficulty is that, for the time being, we have very few building inscriptions containing a governor's name outside the capitals of the three *Palaestinae*. Something, however, can be gleaned from the literary sources. Count Stephen, governor of Palaestina Prima at least from 530 to 536 and probably longer, displayed different patterns of behavior in this matter. After the Samaritan revolt, on special orders from Justinian, he received reports of damages from the bishops of Ascalon and Pella, and granted proportional remission of taxes and funds for rebuilding, but the bishops were solely responsible for inspection and assessment of damages, and their business with the governor was obviously transacted in Caesarea.[55] On the

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the rhetor gives no details. Martindale (*PLRE* 3:1436, Anonymus 49) saw in this man a provincial governor, but through Choricius' usual obscurity it can be gleaned that the man was the first magistrate of the city, in an office having to do with justice (ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ πλεονεξίας δικαιοσύνην ἀσκεῖ . . . τὴν ἡμετέραν λαχὼν πρυτανείαν ἀρχήν: *Epitaph. Mariae* 8, 21, ibid., pp. 102, 105). City business also brought Theognius, bishop of Bitulion on the northern coast of Sinai, to the imperial court of Anastasius in Constantinople: Paul of Elusa, *Vita Theognii* 11, ed. van den Gheyn, p. 90.

[52] *Discussores* or λογοθῆται were sent to audit public expenditures, mainly of cities, or accounts of regiments: Proc. Caes., *Arcana* 24.1–11; Jones, *LRE* 1:284–85, 405–6, 759; 2:1312–13 n.106. A *discussor* appears in a fragmentary inscription in Nessana (G. E. Kirk and C. B.Welles, "The Inscriptions," in H. D. Colt, ed., *Excavations at Nessana I* [London, 1962], pp. 174–75, no. 96), dated in Justinian's reign before 548. The inscription mentions ἀσφάλεια, possibly, in this case, a receipt given by the *discussor* after having confirmed a tax payment.

[53] Choricius, *Laud. Summi* 25–26, *Opera*, pp. 76–77. The inscription mentioned above (n. 52) contains the titles of two officials, a *discussor*, and a *gloriosissimus comes domesticorum*, whose name begins with the letters CO . . . Kirk and Welles (*Nessana I*, ibid.) believe that the titles belong to one man, but this is very unlikely. I would identify the *comes domesticorum* with Summus (Σούμμος) himself, who was *gloriosissimus*, although his office as *dux* gave him only the rank of *spectabilis*. Martindale (*PLRE* 2:1038–39) suggests that he was an honorary *magister utriusque militiae*, but a *comitiva domesticorum* would also have brought him the illustrate. If he is the man mentioned at Nessana, his presence and the ἀσφάλεια can be connected with a reassessment of taxes such as the one he carried out in Arabia.

[54] Jones, *LRE* 1:758.

[55] Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Sabae* 73, ed. Schwartz, pp. 176–77. Likewise, Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem reported to the governor of Palestine, according to Constantine's instructions, for the necessities of the

other hand, Stephen showed a great personal interest in building in Gaza: he obtained funds, apparently from the provincial treasury, to restore the city wall and erect a theater and a bath house, to build a water system, and to roof a public building named after the emperor (a civil basilica?);[56] moreover, the governor gave money for the erection of St. Stephen's Church – this time from his private purse, as he was portrayed in the church in the act of presenting his offering to the saint.[57] Such a deep interest surely implies that Stephen himself visited Gaza several times to look after the projects, a supposition confirmed by the detail that, according to Choricius, Stephen personally organized the festival inaugurating the church, had the cream of Caesarea's society invited to attend it, and did the honors himself as host.[58]

Caesarea, too, had its festivals and entertainments, and logically provincials would visit the metropolis not only on business but also for pleasure. Indeed, the *Expositio totius mundi* mentions *circenses* and renowned pantomimes.[59] Choricius himself speaks of travel for pleasure from city to city,[60] and he also mentions a famous πανήγυρις, which was held yearly outside Caesarea in a location well known to his Gazan public, "for some of you have seen the place, and others have heard of it."[61] This certainly proves that some of the high-class Gazans used to travel to the capital, but it is odd that the rhetor should say: "you have seen the place" instead of "you have seen the festival."[62] Were the Caesareans less hospitable than the Gazans, who had "people from all the cities and the countryside" coming to their festivals?[63] It is true that public celebrations had their dark side: logistical difficulties and the danger of disorders. Horse races, for instance, were a well-known prescription for riots, and indeed we hear of a racing meet in Caesarea that turned out very badly, when the Samaritan ringleader Justasas and his followers came to see the races and finished the day by killing many Christians and burning down St. Procopius' Church.[64] So it is not inconceivable that, far from

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construction of the Holy Sepulcher: Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.31, ed. I. A. Heikel, *Über des Leben Constantins*, *GCS* 7 (Leipzig, 1902), p. 92.

[56] Choricius, *Laud. Aratii et Stephani*, 54–56, *Opera*, p. 63.

[57] Ibid., 60–61, pp. 64–65; *Laud. Marciani* 1.30–31, *Opera*, p. 10.

[58] *Laud. Aratii et Stephani* 62–65, *Opera*, pp. 64–65.

[59] *Expositio totius Mundi* 32, *GLM*, p. 111.

[60] *Laud. Aratii et Stephani* 36–37, *Opera*, pp. 58–59.

[61] *Apol. Mim.* 95, *Opera*, p. 365.

[62] It is worth recalling that even Choricius' panegyric of Count Stephen and *dux* Aratius was not delivered in Caesarea but in Gaza, as the internal evidence shows. For instance, the Church of St. Stephen is called "this church" (ὁ νεὼς οὗτος: *Laud. Aratii et Stephani* 60, *Opera*, p. 64), Gaza is called "our city" (ἡμετέρα πόλις, ibid., 53, p. 62), while all speech of the Caesareans is in the third person. F. K. Litsas, "Choricius of Gaza: An Approach to His Work," doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago, 1980), 254, maintained that the discourse was pronounced in Caesarea solely because the rhetor gives much attention to events pertaining to this city.

[63] *Laud. Marciani* 1.1.88, *Opera*, pp. 2, 24.

[64] Jo. Malalas, *Chron.*, Book XV, ed. Dindorf, p. 382. In my view, the so-called Samaritan revolt under Zeno was not a political rising as described by Malalas, but rather a riot, or a series of riots, in the spirit of Procopius' account (*Aed.* 5.7.7–9, ed. Dewing). The details pertaining to the crowning of a Samaritan

looking with favor on this sort of tourism, the governor and the city authorities tended to discourage it.

Caesarea was the destination of many people, who traveled there for many purposes. I shall mention only in passing the importance of the city as a center of higher education, to which young men came to study and rhetors to make their fortunes.[65] Caesarea had excellent facilities for learning, and competed with other great centers, such as Gaza, Antioch, and Tyre, to obtain the services of the most renowned teachers.[66] The city was also a famous center of Christian learning, and when Euthymius refused to receive certain monks of Caesarea into his community, he probably feared their intellectualism as much as he suspected the orthodoxy of their beliefs.[67] Either because it was a center of theological debate, or simply because it was the metropolis, Caesarea also drew holy men and preachers who then formed small groups of followers, in some cases the kernel of an alternative church.[68]

The status of Caesarea as metropolis in the ecclesiastical sense also had some material impact on the relations between the local Church and the Christians of the province. I do not intend to deal with the struggle for supremacy between Caesarea, seat of the metropolitan, and Jerusalem, seat of the apostolic Church of James, brother of the Lord: but the scenario presented in the *Life of Porphyrius*, of citizens coming from afar to Caesarea to ask the metropolitan for a bishop, although not necessarily authentic, does not lack a historical background.[69] Moreover, although ecclesiastical

usurper, Justasas, and to his end, are a duplicate of the much better documented story of Julian, the rebel Samaritan chief of the revolt in 529. It is absurd to suppose that Justasas may have tried to conquer Caesarea, or even to proclaim himself king there. If the story of the pogrom is true, it was probably largely unpremeditated, and the riot arose from the excitement of the races, as so often happened in that period.

[65] Jo. Moschus, *Prat.* 131, *PG* 87:2996. Choricius himself would have spent part of his student days in Caesarea (Litsas, "Choricius of Gaza," 13, with reference to Choricius, *Apol. Mim.* 95, *Opera*, p. 365). Procopius of Gaza's friends, the rhetors Diodorus and John (*PLRE* 2:359, 606), had left Gaza and made their fortune in Caesarea. On the importance of the school of Caesarea, see F. Schemmel, "Die Schule von Caesarea in Palästina," *Philologische Wochenschrift* 45 (1925), 1277–80; G. Downey, "The Christian Schools of Palestine: A Chapter in Literary History," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12.1 (1958), 297–319, esp. 301–3.

[66] Libanius, *Or* XXXI, 42, *Opera*, vol. 3, pp. 143–44; Choricius, *Epitaph. Proc.* 12–14, *Opera*, pp. 113–14.

[67] Cyr. Scyth., *Vita Euthymii* 26, ed. Schwartz, p. 39.

[68] Evagrius Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4.7, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 157–59 (visits of the holy man Zosimos); John of Beth Rufina, *Vita Petri Iberi* 78, ed. R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 76 (visit of Peter the Iberian to propagate the anti-Chalcedonian creed); John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. E. W. Brooks, *PO* 17.1, 18.4, 19.2 (Paris, 1923–26), *PO* 18.4, p. 537 (visits of John of Hephaistos to organize the Monophysite hierarchy). See L. Perrone, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche* (Brescia, 1980), 121, 186–88.

[69] Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre* 11–12, 16, pp. 10–12, 14. The authenticy of the *Life* is uncertain, and this particular story is rather unclear, as it presents the metropolitan choosing a bishop for the Gazans, but having him delivered from the hands of the archbishop of Jerusalem. E. Honigmann,

synods were no longer held in Caesarea after the council on the date of Easter in the late second century – if it is authentic – and all synodal decisions were made in Jerusalem, it must be noted that Caesarea, as the capital, still had the privilege of having religious decisions under imperial aegis proclaimed there, exactly as imperial edicts were published there. Thus Justin's letters in favor of the Chalcedonian faith and against Monophysitism in 518, and Justinian's letters against Origenism in 531, on coming from Constantinople were first read and ratified in Jerusalem, then were sent for official publication in Caesarea and Scythopolis, the capitals of Palaestina Prima and Secunda. It is for the same reason, I believe, that the Cyrillan monks guided by Theodosius met Juvenal in Caesarea on his return from Chalcedon. A trivial explanation can of course be offered for the location of the meeting: the bishop may have entered Palestine through the city's harbor,[70] or, if he traveled by the *cursus publicus* with his suffragans, they would have reached Caesarea together, thence to scatter to their several sees, and therefore a general if informal meeting could only be arranged there.[71] But the first explanation is unlikely, as the encounter took place in late autumn, after the end of the sailing season. As for the second, it is doubtful that the monks would have wished to face the whole body of the bishops rather than Juvenal alone. In fact, the presence of other bishops is not mentioned in the various reports of the meeting in Caesarea.[72] As the monks were assembled in Jerusalem, they had no

"Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950), 248–56, esp. 215 ff, has even cast doubt on the historical reality of the bishop of Caesarea mentioned in this story. At the time, the archbishop of Jerusalem could appoint bishops, as Macarius did with Maximus, whom he nominated to the see of Diospolis, although under pressure from his flock, he finally decided to keep him as his own successor: Sozomen, *HE* 2.20, *GCS* 50, p. 76. On the struggle between Jerusalem and Caesarea, see the chapter by Ze'ev Rubin in this volume.

[70] Although we do not hear a single word about travelers putting in at the Caesarea harbor in the Byzantine period, except for a testimony in the *Life of Porphyrius* (chap. 34, p. 29), which, if authentic, refers to year 400. In *Vita Melaniae junioris a Gerontio presbytero* 59, ed. D. Gorce, *SC* 90 (Paris, 1962), p. 244, Queen Eudocia says a moving adieu to the saintly nun Melania in Caesarea in summer 439, before leaving Palestine after her pilgrimage to the holy places, but no mention is made of the means of the Augusta's travel back to Constantinople. The season would have permitted sailing, but she had come into the country by land and may well have gone back in the same way, or at least have journeyed by road until the safer ports of the Phoenician coast. Jaffa, Gaza, and Ascalon are mentioned as departure or arrival ports for sea voyages, but never Caesarea. In fact, Procopius of Gaza says that before the rehabilitation work ordered by Anastasius, the port of Caesarea had completely lost its function as such (*Panegyr. Anast.* 19, *PG* 87:2817).

[71] The use of the *cursus publicus* was granted to bishops by Constantine in 314, in connection with the Council of Arles, and the concession was repeated on the occasion of the Council of Nicaea: Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 10.5.23, ed. E. Schwartz, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, *GCS* 9.1–2 (Leipzig, 1903–8), *GCS* 9.2, p. 889; *Vita Const.* 3.6; 4.43, *GCS* 7, pp. 79, 135. Cf. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 14.2 (1940), cols. 1634–38.

[72] John of Beth Rufina, *Pleroph.* 56, *PO* 8, pp. 111–13; idem, *Vita Petri Iberi*, ed. Raabe, p. 52 (trans. p. 53); Zacharias Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.3, pp. 49–51; see also Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem"; Perrone, *La Chiesa di Palestina*, 89–95. According to Theophanes, A.M. 5945, ed. de Boor, p. 107, the ordination of new bishops by Theodosius, which in all the accounts followed the meeting with Juvenal, occurred when the Palestinian bishops were still in Chalcedon.

practical reason for going en masse to Caesarea and could have waited for Juvenal there. In my opinion, the reason they decided to meet Juvenal in the capital was to prevent him from officially proclaiming the results of the council there: once they were proclaimed, it would have been much harder to unite the ranks of the Palestinian Church against the decisions of the council. In fact, they succeeded in intimidating Juvenal badly enough to force him to go back, leaving the thing undone, and the only other place where the conflict erupted violently was the other capital, Scythopolis, where the archbishop and his followers were forcibly prevented from proclaiming the faith of Chalcedon by being drawn out of the city and killed.[73]

In conclusion, Caesarea certainly functioned as a seat of power and of much administrative business that made the provincials dependent on the capital and required the city to adapt in order to provide many kinds of services. However, in several things power came to the provincials in their own cities, in the person of the governor and imperial officials. Possibly Caesarea, with the vulnerability it had in common with all the large cities of the Empire, had difficulty in concentrating all the functions of power, but, unlike others, Caesarea could lean on a province where city life was still remarkably thriving. Therefore, it might prove to have been less dominant in the life of the provincials than one would expect, and certainly less dominant than some of the cities were to their own district.

[73] Theophanes, A.M. 5945, ed. de Boor, p. 107.

PART XI

ISSUES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY OF CAESAREA

35

Stratonos Pyrgos – Migdal Śar – Sebastos: History and Archaeology

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> To rescue from oblivion the memory of former incidents, and to render a just tribute of renown to the many great and wonderful actions, both of Greeks and Barbarians . . .
>
> Herodotus, *The Histories* 1.1

In the last two decades, substantial scholarly activity has been devoted to the study of Straton's Tower, the settlement that preceded Caesarea, particularly in light of the large-scale land and underwater excavations undertaken by several expeditions to the site. This chapter addresses three issues in the history of this pre-Herodian town: first, its names in both Graeco-Roman and Hebrew sources, and then the evidence for and current ideas about its fortifications and harbor facilities.

The Names of the Pre-Herodian Town

The earliest epigraphic reference to a coastal town called Στράτωνος πύργος (Straton's Tower) is attested in *P. Zen* 71 (*P. CairZen* 59004), dated to 259 B.C.E.[1] The name is a new Greek toponym on the coast, but unlike most other Hellenistic designations, it was not one given to an existing settlement, but to a town evidently founded when the Ptolemies controlled the Paralia, the coastal strip between Phoenicia and Egypt. The nearest major port was the ancient city of Dor, 13 km. to the north. From a regional perspective, the new site was approximately equidistant from Ptolemais/Acco, Scythopolis/Beth Shean and Iop(p)e/Yafo, the latter being situated 52 km. to the south.

Straton's Tower is also listed in *P. Oxy* 1380, a text of particular interest for our subject.[2] Although the papyrus is dated to the second century C.E., it is a copy of a document evidently composed before the founding of Caesarea. It lists various epithets and personifications of the goddess Isis, under which she was worshiped along the

[1] F.-M. Abel, "La liste géographique du papyrus 71 de Zénon," *RBibl* 32 (1923), 409–15.
[2] B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 11 (London, 1915), 190.

Levantine coast. At Straton's Tower, we are informed, Isis was adored in two aspects, first as Hellas, the personification of Greece, and also as Agathe (the Good). The choice of these particular aspects of her cult is evidently a reflection of the fact that a majority of the local population had strong Hellenic ties. These manifestations of Isis probably also point to a Greek element associated with the foundation of the site. The predominantly Greek nature of this town was also underscored in the writings of Josephus (*AJ* 20.173; *BJ* 3.442). It would appear, therefore, that when Herod later refounded the city and dedicated it to Augustus and Roma, he was deliberately shifting the religious and cultural focus of the town, from Greece to Rome.

If Isis was also the patron deity of Straton's Tower, it is tempting to conjecture that a temple of Isis-Hellas-Agathe was situated on the prominent height now known as the Temple Platform, perhaps on the very site where King Herod later constructed his Temple of Roma and Augustus. Isis was particularly favored in the coastal towns, due to her worship as Isis Pelagia (Maritime Isis). In that aspect, the goddess was the patroness of sailors, as well as of the (Isis-)ship launching (τὰ πλοιαφέσια), her annual nautical festival and procession, which inaugurated the sailing season.

The ceremony originated in Egypt, but was celebrated in numerous Mediterranean harbor towns, including the port of Rome at Ostia. In Latin, the festival was known as *Isidis navigium* (the sailing of Isis),[3] and was held on 5 March. It is surely more than coincidental to find, in a report by Eusebius (*Mart. Pal.* 11.30), that in the year 310 C.E. the people of Caesarea celebrated the traditional birthday of their city-goddess Tyche on that very date. It would appear that the reformed cult of Tyche in Roman Caesarea[4] absorbed some earlier Hellenistic practices of the Isis cult.

While the nautical festival was probably held in Straton's Tower, we cannot yet say where the presumed sanctuary of Isis was located. Thus far no certain pre-Herodian temple remains have been unearthed. In 1990 and 1992, evidence of cuttings and a massive foundation were uncovered in the bedrock of the Temple Platform, in the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE) Area TP1. The excavators are inclined to attribute these works to the Herodian rather than the Hellenistic period.[5]

Josephus had occasion to refer to Straton's Tower primarily when he was discussing the founding of Caesarea. But he knew of a structure in Jerusalem also known as Στράτωνος πύργος, a site associated with the Hasmonaean fort called the Baris. He alludes to this Straton's Tower in an intriguing episode concerning a prophecy and mistaken identity, during the rule of the Hasmonaean Judah Aristobulus I (*AJ* 13.307–13). As Judah ruled for only one year, this episode can be dated to 104/3 B.C.E. The point of the tale was that the Straton's Tower on the coast was better known than its namesake in the center of Jerusalem. The coastal city was, therefore, of some importance long before Herod, but was long past its zenith when he came to the throne.

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[3] Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 11.8–17; Firmicus Maternus, *The Error of the Profane Religions* 2.
[4] R. Wenning, "Die Stadtgöttin von Caesarea Maritima," *Boreas* 9 (1986), 113–30.
[5] Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 103–4; "Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 53.

Various proposals have been advanced to account for the foundation and the name of Straton's Tower. The first etymology is already found in the Byzantine period, in the Novels of Emperor Justinian issued in 534–546 C.E. In the preface to Novella 103, we are informed that the site was first named after a Hellene called Straton, but later renamed Caesarea by Vespasian. Conveniently, this account omitted the earlier history of the city. A bronze cup in Paris, dated to 340–360 C.E., offers a pictorial version of the Roman tradition recorded by Justinian, as it most likely depicts the Roman imperial refoundation of the city,[6] whose official name was thereby changed to Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea. The revisionist version of Justinian named Straton as the founder of the first settlement at the site of Caesarea, but utterly excluded the role of Herod of Judaea as the builder of the city and its great harbor. This must be understood in light of the lasting impact of the Bar-Kokhba war (131–135 C.E.), which led to the official erasure of the very name Judaea from Roman and Byzantine political terminology.[7]

The names Straton and Caesarea were already linked in a single toponym even before the refoundation of the city by Vespasian. In a Latin inscription from his reign, dated to 71 C.E. (*CIL* 10.867), the site is termed *Caesarea Stratonis*. A century later, Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.16.2, 8.20.14) called the city Καισάρεια Στράτωνος, while in an inscription dated to the end of the second century C.E. (*IGLS* 1620b) we find the variant name Καισάρεια τῆς Στράτωνος (Caesarea of Straton).[8] These epithets for Caesarea may originally have been necessary to distinguish it from its namesakes in the Roman realm. Josephus certainly intended this when he referred to the city as Καισάρεια Σεβαστή (*AJ* 16.136). But these epithets also indicate that the Greek name Straton still played an important part in the heritage of Caesarea after its refounding as a Roman city.

Since the nineteenth century, other scholarly opinions were advanced regarding the name Straton's Tower. The majority of these ideas, following the proposal of E. Schürer,[9] favored the notion that the town was founded by Phoenicians before Alexander the Great, and was named after her founder, the king of Sidon 'Abd-Ashtart I (372–359/8 B.C.E.), whose Hellenized name was Straton. We should here note that this explanation was not advanced as the etymology of Στράτωνος πύργος in Hasmonaean Jerusalem. Numismatic evidence indicated that in the fourth century B.C.E., there were not two but three kings of Sidon named 'Abd-Ashtart,[10] but this con-

[6] E. Will, "La Tour de Straton: Mythes et realités," *Syria* 64 (1987), 245–51; *Herod's Dream*, 13.

[7] *Contra* D. W. Roller, "The Problem of the Location of Straton's Tower," *BASOR* 252 (1983), 65; and Wenning, "Die Stadtgöttin," 116.

[8] On this text, see D. R. Schwartz, "'Caesarea' and Its 'Isactium'" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 51 (1989), 21–34.

[9] *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus*, vol. 1, ed. N. N. Glatzer (Edinburgh, 1886–90; repr. New York, 1961), 19.

[10] J. W. Betlyon, "A New Chronology for the Pre-Alexandrine Coinage of Sidon," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 21 (1976), 11–35.

tributed little to previous discussions centered around which of the first two monarchs was the presumed eponymous founder of the site.[11]

The minority opinion among scholars held that the name had nothing to do with any Phoenician ruler. K. B. Stark took a position similar to that promoted by Justinian, namely, that the town was named after a Ptolemaic officer named Straton.[12] L. Kadman offered still another explanation: the site name reflected that of a presumed temple of Phoenician Astarte in the town.[13] Several years ago, in light of the excavations of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP) and other archaeological evidence, I argued that the town was indeed not a Phoenician foundation, but rather that the founder was the energetic Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246 B.C.E.), well known for his maritime activities both on the Mediterranean and along the coasts of the Red Sea.[14]

Moreover, it seemed to me that the site was probably named after an admiral named Straton, who gave his name to an island in the Red Sea called Στράτωνος νῆσος (Straton's Island).[15] I also suggested that the Hebrew name of Straton's Tower – which I believe was *mgdlśr* (Migdal Śar) – supports the proposed Hellenic etymology of the town's name, as it appears to be a popular translation of the Greek name. The very fact that a separate Hebrew name was created for this site suggests that the traditions about the Hellenic origins of the town are essentially authentic.

There has been relatively little discussion of the Hebrew name of Straton's Tower, primarily because of the ambiguity and obscurity associated with the reading of the name. The Hebrew appellation of Straton's Tower is preserved in a truly bewildering number of variants in Talmudic manuscripts and other ancient commentaries. Without a decisive source, it was not possible to determine which alternative reading was preferable. The key to this puzzle was at last provided by the mosaic text unearthed at the synagogue of Rehov.[16] This lengthy and well-preserved halachic document in stone finally established the correct consonantal orthography of the name, but there still remained a problem as to the correct word division.

In the section relevant to this discussion, the Rehov synagogue text lists four coastal landmarks, in geographical order from south to north, which constitute the Mediterranean boundary points of the Holy Land. The sacred soil is defined as the territory east of these points, being the land supposedly possessed by those who returned from the Babylonian exile. In this passage, a lingering ambiguity is the consonant group *šrwšn*, between the second and third landmarks, which may be read as

[11] L. I. Levine, "À propos de la fondation de la Tour de Straton," *RBibl* 80 (1973), 75–88.

[12] K. B. Stark, *Gaza und die philistaeische Küste* (Jena, 1852), 450.

[13] Kadman, *Coins*, 52.

[14] R. R. Stieglitz, "Straton's Tower: The Name, the History, and the Archaeological Data," in A. Biran and J. Aviram, eds., *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), 646–51.

[15] Ibid., 649. Mentioned by Strabo (16.4.8.) and Pliny (*NH* 6.29).

[16] See Y. Sussmann, "A Halachic Inscription from the Beth-Shean Valley" [Hebrew], *Tarbiẓ 43* (1974), 88–158, and "The 'Boundaries of Eretz Israel'" [Hebrew], ibid., 45 (1976), 213–57.

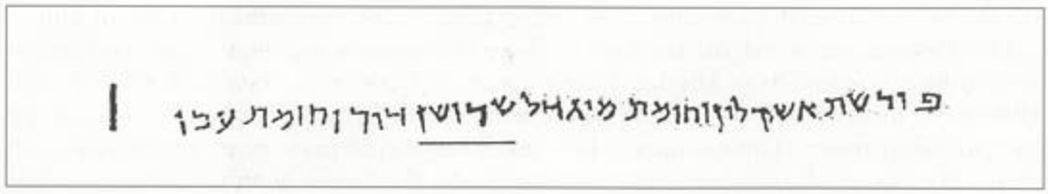

Figure 1. Pertinent section of line 13 in the Rehov Synagogue mosaic text. The underlined letters are to be read as two words: *śar wĕ-šēn,* "Śar and the cliff of."

one word or two, namely, *śr wšn* (fig. 1). The proper reading, to my mind, is the latter, which would then yield the following translation (Rehov mosaic, middle of line 13):

pwršt ʾšqlwn whwmt migdl śr wšn dwr whwmt ʿkw

The Crossroads of Ascalon,
and the Wall(s) of Migdal Śar,
and the Cliff of Dor,
and the Wall(s) of Acco . . .

This reading, I believe, provides the clearest and most balanced description of the four designated boundary points, as each site alludes to a specific landmark within or near an urban center. In contrast, if we adopt the alternative but more common reading by combining the two words *śr+ wšn,* we are left with a truly awkward passage. Nevertheless, this alternate reading was the one preferred by most scholars before the discovery of the Rehov inscription, and Sussmann also accepted this reading in his study of the mosaic, although he did so reluctantly due to the difficulty noted above.[17]

By eliminating the word division between *śar* and *wĕšēn,* scholars have created needless difficulties for both the second *and* the third name in this passage. I believe such a reading is highly improbable for two reasons. First, it clearly disrupts the very specific syntax and symmetry of our proposed reading; second, if we accept this interpretation, it creates another halachic problem since the boundary "point" of Dor is thus totally eliminated. From a legal viewpoint, it seems untenable to have an entire territory of the city-state as a boundary point, while in the very same passage specific landmarks are named in connection with each of the other three cities along the Mediterranean coast.

Furthermore, the alternative reading also leaves us with an inexplicable name *šrwšn* (vocalization unknown). This term is often corrupted in modern Hebrew studies into the word *šrwšn* (Sharshon), instead of *Sheroshen vel sim.,* simply because the consonantal pattern of *šrwšn* is quite anomalous in Hebrew. Therefore, I proposed that there was no such Hebrew name as *migdāl šrwšn,* for it was simply a copying error.[18] We should, instead, read our second boundary point as *wĕ-ḥômat -ôt migdal śar* ("and the Wall[s] of

[17] Sussmann, "The 'Boundaries,'" 228 n. 82.
[18] Stieglitz, "Straton's Tower," 647.

Migdal Śar"), followed by the third boundary point, *wĕšēn dôr* ("and the Cliff of Dor").

The Hebrew name *migdal śar* (Chief's Tower) has early typological antecedents in such biblical toponyms as Migdal 'Eder (Gen. 35:21), Migdal Gad (Josh. 15:37), and Midgal El (Josh. 19:38). It is a fairly good rendering of Straton's Tower, which can be interpreted to mean "Commander's Tower." Thus the Hebrew term *migdal* (construct state), "Tower (of)," translates the word *pyrgos* and the Greek genitive perfectly, while the Greek personal name *Straton,* derived from the verb *strateuo* ("lead an army, make war"), was appropriately translated by the Hebrew noun *śar* ("chief, commander"), whose denominative verbal root is *ŚRR* ("to rule, command"). The Hebrew name, then, is a reasonable rendering of its Greek source, in accordance with the well-known practice of changing or translating place names during periods of political reorganization.

We can actually provide a precise date for this change of name. According to *Megillat Ta'anit* 9, a text dated to about 125 C.E., Migdal Śar was captured by the Hasmonaeans on the 14th of Sivan (= June).[19] The year in question is evidently 103/2 B.C.E., during which King Jonathan Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.) was allied with Cleopatra III in the war against her son, the king of Cyprus Ptolemy IX Soter II (Lathyrus).[20] Josephus (*AJ* 13.324) relates that the ruler (*tyrannos*) of both Straton's Tower and Dor at that time was Zoilos. He was evidently a military man who managed to carve out for himself an autonomous coastal enclave during the civil conflicts among the Seleucid pretenders. The date for the beginning of his rule remains unknown, but the end came in the spring of 103 B.C.E. Zoilos was eliminated by Ptolemy IX, Jannaeus captured Straton's Tower in the summer of that year, and the Greek name Στράτωνος πύργος was replaced by the Hebrew designation *mgdl śr,* Migdal Śar.

It is noteworthy that, in later centuries, only this Hebrew name was used in rabbinic literature to designate the pre-Herodian town, doubtless for political reasons, while the name Caesarea is attested rather frequently in the Hebrew sources. This would also suggest that the Hebrew name Migdal Śar refers to a separate entity, one that was adjacent to Caesarea. That can only be the harbor quarter and its port called Sebastos. In the Roman era, it became necessary for Hebrew sources to refer to this pre-Caesarea entity because, as we have seen, the prominent wall(s) of this "old city" of Caesarea were designated by the rabbis as a boundary landmark for ritual purposes.

The old city of Straton's Tower, or Hebrew Migdal Śar, was considered outside the Holy Land, but the adjoining Herodian Caesarea was decreed to be within the sacred soil. In the case of the port of Sebastos itself, as distinct from the "old city" east of it, a special approach was adopted. The produce derived from ships anchored in the har-

[19] L. I. Levine, "The Hasmonaean Conquest of Strato's Tower," *IEJ* 24 (1974), 62–69.

[20] On these events, see A. Kasher, "Josephus on King Jannaeus' War against the Hellenistic Cities" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 41 (1986), 11–36; and his *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel* (Tübingen, 1990); also R. R. Stieglitz, "Ptolemy IX Lathyrus on the Coast of the Levant," *Proceedings of RES MARITIMAE 1994* (Nicosia, 18–20 October 1994), in press.

bor of Caesarea was treated as ritually suspect, that is, there was doubt as to its ultimate provenance. Such a regulation is probably a reflection of circumstances that suggest substantial local coastal traffic, in which agricultural produce was a primary component. In any event, the produce from Sebastos was liable to the tax regulations (*t. Dem.* 1:3).

Archaeological Evidence for the Walls of Migdal Śar

Over the years, scattered Hellenistic remains have been found in various parts of Caesarea by several archaeological teams.[21] Most of these finds were situated north of the Crusader city, but others were found within its walls and a few were located to the south. All the Hellenistic finds were within the so-called inner fortification walls, suggesting that these constitute the maximum extent of Straton's Tower. The published material consists of ceramics and coins, dated in the main to the second and first centuries B.C.E.[22] What is noteworthy in these reports is the lack of evidence for pre-Herodian architectural remains. There are also substantial quantities of unpublished Hellenistic ceramics from the area of the Byzantine synagogue excavated by M. Avi-Yonah and A. Negev.[23] In that area, their teams also uncovered remains of a large Hellenistic structure laid on virgin soil.[24]

CAHEP excavations in area J3, in the 1982–87 seasons, also unearthed a considerable assemblage of typical Hellenistic pottery. These included Megarian wares, fish plates, West Slope ware, Eastern Sigillata A, Double-Mouth vessels, and stamped wine amphora handles.[25] These ceramics were associated with scant Hellenistic structural remains built directly on the bedrock.[26] Among the finds made in the 1982–88 seasons were sixteen stamped Rhodian wine amphora handles which have parallels in both northern and south Palestinian sites (see the appendix below). The legible names of the eponyms and fabricants are dated primarily Period IV (175–146 B.C.E.) in the system

[21] See the map in Roller, "The Wilfrid Laurier University Survey of Northeastern Caesarea Maritima," *Levant* 14 (1982), 92.

[22] D. W. Roller, "Hellenistic Pottery from Caesarea Maritima: A Preliminary Study," *BASOR* 238 (1980), 35–42; Levine and Netzer, *Excavations*, 138; A. Raban, "The City Walls of Straton's Tower: Some New Archaeological Data," *BASOR* 268 (1987), 71–88, and "In Search of Straton's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers*, 7–22; A. M. Berlin, "Hellenistic and Roman Pottery, Preliminary Report, 1990," ibid., 112–28.

[23] M. Avi-Yonah, "Notes and News: Caesarea," *IEJ* 6 (1956), 260–61; A. Negev, "Caesarea," in M. Avi-Yonah, ed., *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* [Hebrew], vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1970), 500–509.

[24] M. Avi-Yonah and A. Negev, "Notes and News: Caesarea," *IEJ* 13 (1963), 146–48; A. Negev, *Caesarea* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1967), 13.

[25] Raban, "City Walls," 78–86; R. R. Stieglitz, "Notes and News: Caesarea Maritima – Excavations on Land, CAHEP 1986 Season," *IEJ* 37 (1987), 187–88; A. Raban and R. R. Stieglitz, "Notes and News: Caesarea Ancient Harbour, 1987," *IEJ* 38 (1988), 273–78; Oleson et al., *Finds*, 139–47.

[26] A. Raban et al., "Caesarea and Its Harbours: A Preliminary Report on the 1988 Season," *IEJ* 40 (1990), 249–52.

developed by V. R. Grace.[27] When we consider the entire assemblage of ceramics from CAHEP Area J3 and from the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM) Field G, the materials suggest a flourishing settlement, as indicated by *P. Zen* 71, long before Zoilos established his autonomous enclave in the region at the end of the second century B.C.E.

The scattered but relatively homogeneous archaeological remains, dated primarily to the third–first centuries B.C.E., unearthed at Caesarea during a period of more than thirty years, substantiate the literary references about a prosperous Hellenistic town, while the find spots suggest that the extent of the site was within the inner fortification wall. This wall, with its two massive round towers in the north, was attributed to either late Hellenistic or Herodian times, with a majority of scholars favoring the later date.[28] More recently, Raban has tentatively proposed that this wall also encompassed another section, now incorporated into the great vault in CAHEP area I3.[29] He also argued that these fortifications were built by Zoilos and that they terminated southwest of the Temple Platform (see line Z in fig. 2). On the other hand, J. A. Blakely dated the inner wall as Herodian, but he concluded that its *terminus a quo* is 128 B.C.E., which would allow for it to have been built by Zoilos.[30]

A passage in Josephus (*AJ* 15.292–93) suggests that Herod rebuilt the neglected walls of Straton's Tower, since the town was previously known as a fort (*phrourion*), and therefore did presumably possess fortification walls. The question is what was the course of those pre-Herodian walls. A clue may be found in the remark of Josephus that the rebuilt town of Caesarea was constructed in a circle around its harbor (*AJ* 15.338). I interpret this to mean that Herod's architects followed the general outline of the ruined town of Straton's Tower, but this does not mean that the presumed Herodian inner fortification wall (line H in fig. 2) was built directly atop the late Hellenistic walls of Zoilos.

The inner fortification wall, as delineated by the Italian expedition and by a later surface survey,[31] does indeed extend "in a circle around the harbor," terminating at the theater, although its precise course is still uncertain. The wall is clearly visible in a German aerial photo of 1917 published recently, while it is only very faintly discernible in the Reifenberg photo.[32] One may wonder why Herod needed to fortify Caesarea at all, for surely it was not against a foreign attack during the Augustan age.

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[27] For references, see V. R. Grace, "The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps," *Hesperia* 54 (1985), 1–54.

[28] Roller, "Survey of Northeastern Caesarea," 92.

[29] Raban, "City Walls," 78–86.

[30] Blakely, "Stratigraphy and the North Fortification Wall of Herod's Caesarea," in *Caesarea Papers*, 26–41.

[31] Frova, *Scavi*, followed by Ringel, *Césarée;* Roller, "Survey of Northeastern Caesarea," 92.

[32] H.-P. Kuhnen, *Nordwest-palästina in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit: Bauten und Gräber im Karmelgebiet* (Weinheim, 1987), pl. 75.2. A. Reifenberg, "Caesarea: A Study in the Decline of a Town," *IEJ* 1 (1950–51), 20–32, pl. ix, fig. 1.

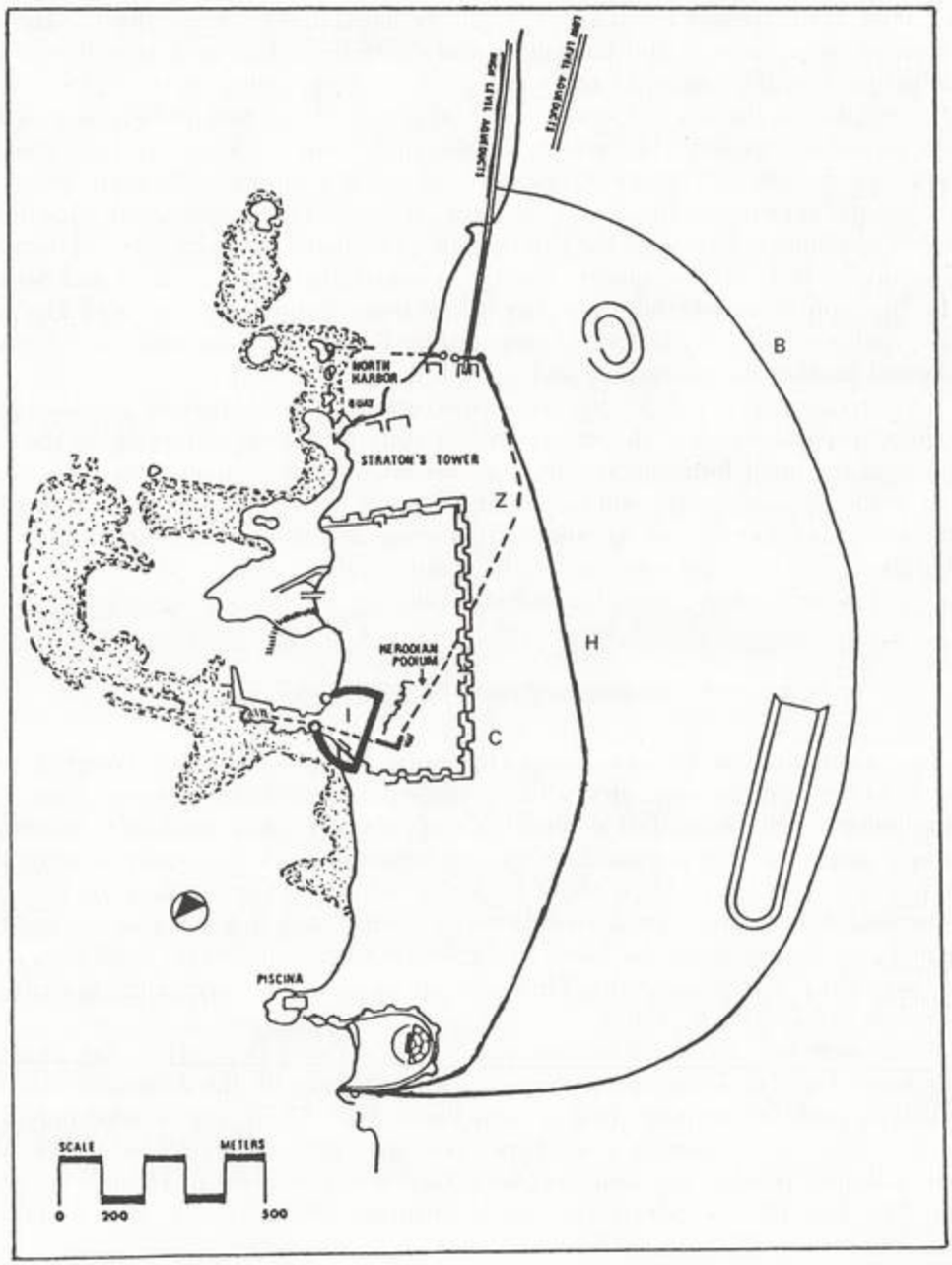

Figure 2. Fortification walls of the Byzantine era (B), Hellenistic and/or Herodian (H), and Crusader period (C). The conjectured wall of Migdal Śar, built by Zoilos (Z), is after Raban. The Herodian inner harbor (I) is partially schematic, as only its eastern quay and the northern round tower are certain. Drawing by the author, after Raban

Josephus, in the passage noted above, explicitly stated that the reason for the Herodian fortifications at Samaria and Jerusalem, and evidently at Caesarea as well, was internal political considerations: Herod was fearful of his own subjects.

In addition to the city of Caesarea, Herod also built the new artificial harbor complex as a distinct entity. The reason for this dichotomy is almost certainly rooted in the king's dynastic and economic circumstances, and is supported by both literary and numismatic evidence.[33] In theory, therefore, it would have made good sense for the Herodian planners to rebuild the ruined wall(s) of Migdal Śar, which would then serve to secure both the harbor quarter and the boundary between Caesarea and Sebastos. The question arises whether only part of the inner fortification wall is of Hellenistic date, and was rebuilt by Herod, as proposed by Raban, or, if the wall(s) of Migdal Śar followed another course entirely and are still to be unearthed.

The archaeological solution to these conjectures will, it is hoped, be provided by the ongoing excavations, and the stratigraphic dating of several sectors along the entire course of the inner fortification wall. Such an investigation will also establish, in addition to the chronology, the still uncertain course of the wall along its southern border and the exact location of its southern *terminus* on the coast. If the entire wall is Herodian, then we must seek the late Hellenistic walls of Zoilos – the walls of Migdal Śar – to the west of the inner fortification wall.

Evidence for the Hellenistic Harbor

Before examining the evidence for a Hellenistic haven at Straton's Tower, I should allude to the nearby coastal sites, which provide pertinent data about early coastal geomorphology. Tel Gador (Tell as-Sheikh Ziraq), about 7.5 km. south of Caesarea, features a promontory jutting out into the sea from the eroded coastal cliff adjoining it on both sides. At Giv'at Olga, about 1.5 km. north of Tel Gador, there are two smaller headlands enclosing a small cove between them. Along this sector of the coast, the primary anchorage would be found in the lee of a headland, to the northeast, due to the prevailing southwest winds. This nautical situation was accurately described by Josephus (*AJ* 15.333; *BJ* 1.409).

There were two additional havens near Straton's Tower in pre-Herodian times: one was located at Tel Tanninim, perhaps to be identified with the *Krokodeilon polis* mentioned by both Strabo (*Geog.* 16.2.27) and Pliny (*NH* 5.17.75), and located only 5 km. north of Straton's Tower. A much better port was situated at Tel Mikhmoret (Minet Abu Zabura), possibly the *Gēdra šel Qīṣrîn* (Gedra of Caesarea) in Hebrew sources (*t. Šeb.* 7:10–11). The tell, which was excavated in the 1980s,[34] overlooks a sizable cove

[33] A. Raban, "Καισάρεια ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῷ λιμένι: Two Harbours for Two Entities?" in *Caesarea Papers*, 68–74; Stieglitz, "Straton's Tower," 648 and n. 24.

[34] Y. Porath et al., "Mikhmoret, Tel," in E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1993), 1043–46.

constituting an excellent harbor, which is located 11 km. south of Caesarea.

The only specific reference to a haven at Straton's Tower is by Strabo (16.2.27), dated just before the founding of Caesarea, who stated that the site had only one landing place (*proshormos*). This is significant, because Strabo apparently did not use the harbor terminology loosely. Furthermore, if multiple harbors existed at a particular site, they were duly noted. Strabo distinguished between various types of port facilities: (1) harbor (*limen*), (2) fortified harbor (*limen kleistos*), (3) anchorage (*hormos*), (4) moorage (*hyphormos*), (5) landing place (*proshormos*), and (6) dockyards (*neoria*, or *naupegia* in 16.664). All six types of havens appear in his description of the various coastal towns on Cyprus (14.681–85).

In agreement with both Pseudo-Scylax (*Periplus* 104) and Strabo, Josephus remarked that before Herod constructed the port of Sebastos there were no active harbors between Dor and Jaffa, and that, while Straton's Tower was indeed an advantageous place for locating a city, presumably due to its location and still existing structures, it had no noteworthy maritime facilities (*AJ* 15.331–33; *BJ* 1.408). In fact, he noted that Straton's Tower was then dilapidated (*kamnousa* in *BJ* 1.408) and its haven was an "inconvenient feature of the land" (*AJ* 15.334).

When Straton's Tower was founded, about 275 B.C.E. according to the current archaeological finds from the first settlement remains, the primary anchorage would certainly have been located in the lee of the headland, where the modern marina is now located. It is possible that this headland was originally an offshore rocky islet. But it is reasonable to assume that such an islet was connected to the coast by either natural processes, or by the first settlers at this site, in order to create a sheltered haven. At its highest point, the bedrock atop this headland, or islet, was some 11 m. above mean sea level. As such, it was almost equal in height to that of the Temple Platform. This situation provided an ideal arrangement for the promontory to serve as a foundation for a fort overlooking the anchorage below. Such a structure was probably one of the first to be erected at the newly established site of Straton's Tower (fig. 3). It may well be that this presumed fort accommodated a prominent tower serving as a lighthouse. Some scholars, following the proposal of G. Schumacher,[35] had conjectured that such a tower (*pyrgos*), which was called after its founder, accounts for the name of the site.

It is not surprising to find that this promontory/islet was later used by Herod's engineers to serve as the base for the southern breakwater of Sebastos. In contrast to the modest landing place of Straton's Tower, the complex artificial port built by Herod was characterized by Josephus as "a harbor unwashed by waves" (*aklystos limen*, *AJ* 15.332), boasting within it two types of landing facilities: (1) docks (*katagogai* in *AJ* 15.332), also called inner recesses (*mychoi* in *BJ* 1.410), and (2) secondary moorages (*deuteroi hyphormoi* in *AJ* 15.332), also termed ample anchorages (*batheis hormoi* in *BJ* 1.410). The difference in the terminology used by Josephus in these parallel accounts

[35] "Recent Discoveries at Caesarea, Umm el Jemal, and Haifa," *PEQ* (1888), 134–40.

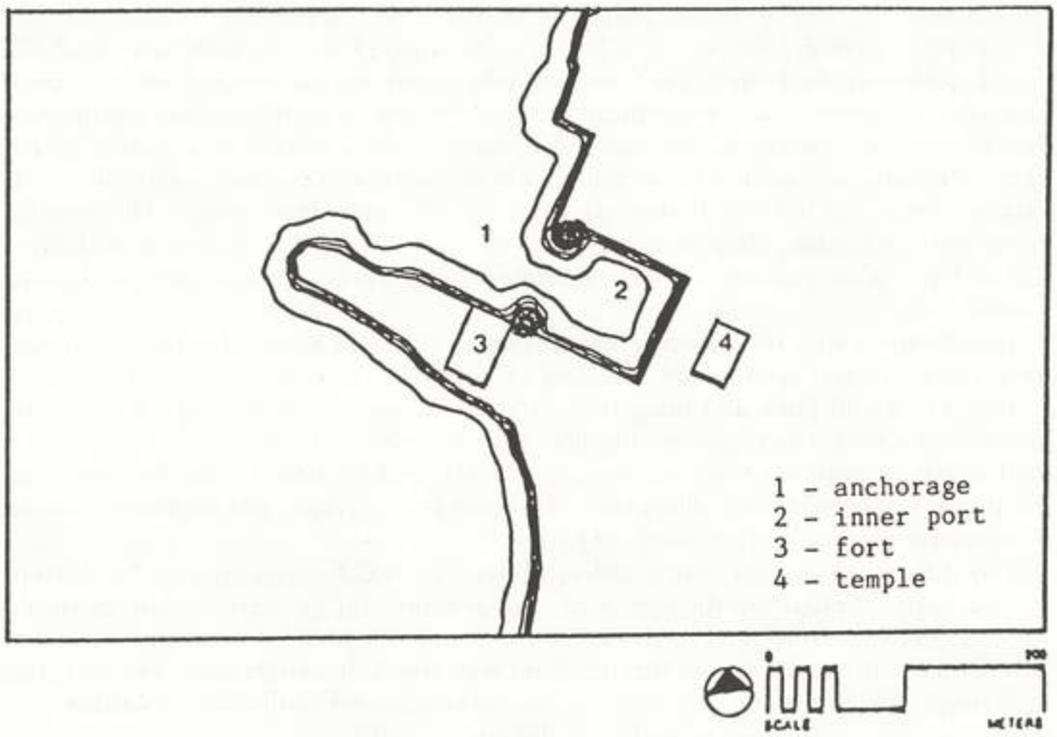

Figure 3. Conjectural reconstruction of the haven at Straton's Tower. If an inner harbor existed, it was evidently silted shortly after a major earthquake in 92 B.C.E. Drawing by the author

may be attributed to his different sources rather than to his literary license.

It should be noted in passing that Herod rebuilt and changed the names of both places in his kingdom called *Stratonos Pyrgos*. First, the fort complex in Jerusalem was renamed the Antonia, evidently before 31 B.C.E. (*BJ* 5.238–45); then the coastal fort was rebuilt and called Caesarea, while its anchorage was transformed into a large harbor named Sebastos, all three names, of course, being in honor of his two Roman patrons.

While the literary evidence indicates that before Sebastos there was only a landing place at Straton's Tower, it is possible that, at the end of the second century B.C.E, Zoilos had expanded the original anchorage by excavating an inner basin in order to create a more secure naval base for his fortified town. The existence of such a pre-Herodian inner port seemed to be confirmed by the discovery of a massive round tower, some 13 m. in diameter, situated in shallow water in CAHEP area T1. Remains of a bonded wall were found on its northern edge. The tower was dated to the

Hellenistic era, and linked to its two counterparts in the northern inner wall.[36] Indeed, the resulting reconstruction by Raban, contrary to the reports of Strabo and Josephus, envisioned Straton's Tower as a *limen kleistos* with two separate harbors, one in the north and one in the south.[37]

I have no doubts about an anchorage in the south, but the evidence for a Hellenistic inner port, a *kothon* as it was called in Carthage and Hadrumetum, or a *kibotos* as in Alexandria, seems to be somewhat inconclusive. The current excavations reveal a rather substantial inner harbor, shown schematically in figure 2, situated directly below and to the northeast of the promontory/islet. This "inner recess" most likely served as a *neorion* (naval base) in the Herodian harbor. A much smaller basin may have been located there earlier, if the Hellenistic dating of the round tower and wall in CAHEP area T1 is substantiated. But even if such an inner harbor existed before 100 B.C.E. (fig. 3), it was already completely silted and no longer usable, when Strabo recorded that Straton's Tower had only a landing place.

As for the alleged north harbor, it appears to me rather dubious. The basis for this proposal is primarily the remains of a section of wall (CAHEP locus **300**) preserved on the current shore and shallow water, which Raban interpreted as a quay.[38] My view is that this wall was not a dock but perhaps part of a fortification wall, just as is the case with the adjacent and parallel section of a poorly preserved Byzantine wall. In the Byzantine era, the beach was certainly to the west of the current shore, as the nearby remains of paved streets indicate. Indeed, the shoreline north of Sebastos was very much eroded in post-Byzantine times, and this means that the Hellenistic shoreline was almost certainly westward of the current beach. The recent suggestion by Raban[39] that the landing place mentioned by Strabo is to be identified with his proposed northern harbor is most unlikely, for it would mean that the main haven in the south, surely in the area of the modern marina, was completely ignored.

Evidence about the pre-Herodian site in the first century B.C.E. is meager. During the long reign of Jannaeus, Migdal Śar was apparently an active commercial center, if the numismatic finds are any indication of such vitality. More coins of Alexander Jannaeus have been found at Caesarea than those of any other Hellenistic ruler. However, this situation did not last long. The scholion to *Megillat Ta'anit* reports a major earthquake in 92 B.C.E, only a decade after Jannaeus conquered Straton's Tower.[40] According to this source, the tremor produced an extremely destructive tsunami along the coast;[41] these events may have caused severe structural damage to

[36] Raban, "City Walls," 71–76.

[37] Ibid., 85.

[38] A. Raban, "The Ancient Harbours of Caesarea" [Hebrew], *Qadmoniot* 14 (1981), 80–88; idem, "City Walls," 74–78.

[39] "Straton's Tower," 21.

[40] H. Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 8–9 (1931–32), 347.

[41] N. Shalem, "Tsunamis in the Eastern Mediterranean" [Hebrew], *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* 20 (1956), 159–70.

the settlement at Migdal Śar. The town may have been partially abandoned, and probably within a period of a few years fell into disrepair.

In 63 B.C.E Pompey detached the entire coastal strip from the Hasmonaean realm (*AJ* 14.76), and under Gabinius, the governor of Syria in 57–55 B.C.E., several coastal sites were rebuilt (*AJ* 14.88). Whether the site and haven of Straton's Tower/Migdal Śar were also repaired is unknown. Even if Gabinius arranged for some rebuilding,[42] barely a generation later the town was already in ruins. In 30 B.C.E. the costal strip from Straton's Tower/Migdal Śar to Gaza, with the notable exception of Ascalon, was restored to Herod by Caesar Augustus (*AJ* 15.396). Only eight years later, in 22 B.C.E., Herod began the reconstruction of Straton's Tower and the building of her new artificial port.

The ongoing excavations at Caesarea will, it is hoped, provide solutions to the problems of the extent of Straton's Tower and the date of its foundation, the course of its fortifications, and the precise nature of the original Hellenistic haven, before the buildings of Caesarea and the harborworks of Sebastos transformed these entities. As we have seen, the old town was never entirely engulfed by the new metropolis. What remained were the older Greek and Hebrew names, and a rather prominent landmark called the Wall(s) of Migdal Śar, which became the line separating the sacred from the profane.

Appendix

Hellenistic Stamped Amphora Handles from CAHEP Area J3

The following is a preliminary catalogue of stratified Hellenistic stamped amphora handles, found during the 1982–88 seasons in CAHEP area J3. Of these handles, Nos. 1 and 3, found in CAHEP probe J1, were published by J. P. Oleson et al.[43] The Rhodian handles are dated according to the system established by Virginia R. Grace, in which Period IV is dated to 175–146 B.C.E.

1. **C82J1-23** from locus **20**; rectangular stamp inscribed:

Ἐπὶ Τιμο[υρ]	Under (the term) of Timo(urrhod)os,
[ρόδ]ο[υ]	(month) of D(ali)os
Δ[αλί]ου	

Oleson et al.[44] read the eponym name as T[.]M[.]K[/] and suggested to restore it as Timokleidas. My reading of the preserved letters on the stamp is different, and does not support their proposal. The restoration of the name suggested here is based on a

[42] T.W. Hillard, "A Mid-1st c. B.C. Date for the Walls of Straton's Tower?" in *Caesarea Papers*, 42–48, esp. 45.

[43] *Finds*, 139.

[44] Ibid.

comparison to a well-preserved parallel handle from Tel Dan.[45] The Rhodian eponym Timourrhodos is dated to Period IV, with parallels at Acco, Samaria, Nissana, and Delos, and possibly also at Beth Shean.[46]

2. **C82J1-29** from locus **20**; worn rectangular stamp.

3. **C82J1-60** from locus **20**; circular stamp with rose in center, framed by concentric circles, part of rim and neck preserved, inscribed:

Ἐπὶ Τι[. . .]	Under (the term) of Ti(. . .),
[Δ]αλίου	(month) of (D)alios

Oleson et al.[47] dated this handle to the second half of the third century B.C.E. The space on the stamp allows the restoration of the eponym name as Timourrhodos (Period IV) but, as they noted, many other eponym names beginning with TI are possible.

4. **C86J3-016** from locus **302**; worn rectangular stamp with traces of letters; very pale brown clay and slip; clay has much sand.

5. **C86J3-017** from locus **304**; worn rectangular stamp; reddish-yellow clay with sand, very pale brown slip.

6. **C86J3-018** from locus **302**; rectangular stamp with female figure on right, reddish-yellow clay with sand, inscribed in reverse:

Νυ[σ]ί[ο]υ	Of Ny(s)i(o)s

Rhodian fabricant, dated to Period IV. See No. 8 below. Parallels at Samaria, Shiqmonah, Delos.

7. **C86J3-068** from locus **303**; circular stamp with rose in center, framed by concentric circles, part of neck and rim preserved, inscribed:

[Ἐ]πὶ Γόργωνος	(Und)er (the term) of Gorgon,
Καρνε[ί]ου	(month) of Karne(i)os

This Rhodian eponym of Period IV(?) is also attested on handles found at Samaria, Gezer, Nissana, Marissa, and Delos.

8. **C86J3-070** from locus **309**; rectangular stamp with female figure on right, inscribed with a fabricant name of Period IV (see No. 6 above):

N[υσίου]	Of N(ysios)

9. **C86J3-071** from locus **303**; rectangular stamp with cornucopia on right, part of

[45] See photo in *Qadmoniot* 19 (1986), 29 [Hebrew].

[46] Y. Landau and V. Tzaferis, "Tel Istabah, Beth Shean: The Excavations and Hellenistic Jar Handles," *IEJ* 29 (1979), 157.

[47] *Finds*, 139.

rim preserved, inscribed:

Ἀθανο	Of Athanodotos
δότου	

Rhodian fabricant, with parallels at Samaria, Gezer, and Delos.

10. **C86J3-072** from locus **304**; worn rectangular stamp.

11. **C86J3-073** from locus **304**; worn rectangular stamp.

12. **C87J3-224** from fill; worn rectangular stamp; reddish-yellow clay with pale brown slip, inscribed:

Ἐπ[ὶ]	Und(er) (the term) of (. . .),
Δ[αλίου]	(month) of Da(lios)

13. **C87J3-225** from locus **328**; circular stamp with rose in center, framed by concentric circles; dense pink clay with very pale brown slip, inscription worn.

14. **C87J3-226** from locus **328**; worn rectangular stamp; dense pink clay with very pale brown slip.

15. **C88J3-255** from locus **352**; rectangular stamp; dense pink clay with very pale brown slip, inscribed:

Κρέο[ν]	Of Kreon
τος	

Rhodian fabricant, known from Delos.

16. **C88J3-271** from fill above locus **361**; circular stamp with rose in center, no framing circles; dense pink clay with some red sand as temper, inscribed:

[Ἐπ]ὶ Ἀφροδ[ι]σί[ο]υ	(Unde)r (the term) of Aphrod(i)si(o)s

The Rhodian fabricant Aphrod(isios), known from Delos,[48] is probably not the same as the eponym named on this handle, who may be dated to the third century B.C.E.

[48] V. R. Grace, "Timbres amphoriques trouves à Delos," *BCH* 76 (1952), 526.

36

The Legal and Administrative Status of the Port of Sebastos during the Early Roman Period

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The construction of the port of Sebastos ranks among the most important building projects undertaken by King Herod the Great. It matches and perhaps surpasses almost all of the other building projects of that monarch in grandeur, magnificence, and expense. Josephus, writing almost a century later, spared no effort in praising this outstanding achievement of Herod: "by dint of expenditure and enterprise, the king triumphed over nature and constructed a harbour larger than the Piraeus. . . . Notwithstanding the totally recalcitrant nature of the site, he grappled with the difficulties so successfully, that the solidity of his masonry defied the sea, while its beauty was such as if no obstacle had existed" (*BJ* 1.410–11).[1] There follows a description in detail of the harbor, ending with the statement that "The city Herod dedicated to the province, the harbour to navigators in these waters, to Caesar the glory of this new foundation, to which he accordingly gave the name of Caesarea" (ibid., 414). In another passage, Josephus states that the port was "called Sebastos, which Herod has built at a considerable expense and named Sebastos in honour of Caesar" (*AJ* 17.87).

The description of the foundation of Caesarea in the *Jewish War* (*BJ* 1.408–14) has a parallel in *AJ* 15.332-40. It begins with the observation that "He also adorned it with a very costly palace, with civic halls and – what was greatest of all and required the most labour – with a well-protected harbour, of the size of the Piraeus" (ibid., 332). The important and very impressive remains of this project, revealing its large scale as well as the technical ingenuity of its builders, have been demonstrated by scholars in modern times and in particular by Avner Raban's explorations, excavations, and publications.[2]

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[1] All quotations from Josephus are from H. St. J. Thackeray, trans., *Josephus . . . , The Jewish War, Books I–III* (London, 1927); and R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, *Josephus . . . , Jewish Antiquities, Books XV–XVII* (London, 1963).

[2] For a general survey of the archaeological remains of Caesarea and useful bibliographies, see E. Stern, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1993), 1:270–86, s.v. "Caesarea" (numerous authors), and esp. 286-91, s.v. "Maritime Caesarea" (A. Raban). A Raban, "Sebastos: The Royal Harbour at Caesarea Maritima – A Short-lived Giant," *IJNA* 21.2 (1992), 111–24, and Raban, "Καισάρια ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῷ λιμένι: Two Harbours for Two Entities?" in *Caesarea Papers*, 68-74, discussed the evidence concerning the separate status of the port of Sebastos during the first centu-

The well-known coins of Caesarea – those issued during the reign of King Agrippa I and those from the fourteenth year of Nero (68 C.E.), both groups referring to ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ ("Caesarea which is near the port of Sebastos") – form part and parcel of most discussions of the early history of Caesarea. However, the very unusual phenomenon that the capital of the province, the political and economic center of the country, is referred to as being near the port named Sebastos has not attracted the attention it deserves. The implications of that definition for the legal, political, and economic status of the port of Sebastos, as a separate entity vis-à-vis Caesarea, thus require further investigation. This chapter presents the numismatic evidence in some detail as it seems to be crucial for a better understanding of this problem.[3]

In the seventh and eight year of Agrippa I (42/43 and 43/44 C.E. respectively), the king issued at Caesarea a series of coins now rather scarce.[4] The series of the seventh year comprises four types. The largest and the second largest denominations do not concern us here. The third type, or denomination (figs. 1–2), shows the head of King Agrippa I on the obverse and on the reverse a figure of Tyche, or perhaps a personification of Caesarea, resting her right hand on a rudder and holding a palm branch in her left hand. The reverse legend reads: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ and the date L Z (= year 7). The fourth and smallest denomination of the series shows on the obverse the head of the young crown prince Agrippa II and on the reverse an anchor and the date L Z (= year 7) (fig. 3). The third denomination was thus struck on behalf of the Caesarea. It seems very likely that the anchor on the smallest denomination of the series is the emblem of the harbor of Sebastos. It apparently formed a separate entity, as one may surmise from the legend on the coins of Caesarea with the figure of Tyche.

The series of the eighth year of Agrippa I (43/44 C.E.) includes only two of the type of the previous year, one of them with the figure of Tyche-Caesarea (figs. 4–5). The absence of the large denomination and the smallest denomination, with the head of juvenile Agrippa II and the anchor, from the series of that year may well be a coincidence. That gap may be filled in by finds in the future.

After the death of Agrippa I in 44 C.E., the Roman authorities issued two coins of Claudius (i.e., dating from 44–54 C.E.).[5] The large denomination (fig. 6) is very rare

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ry C.E., including some of the numismatic evidence, which is presented here in detail. Raban assumes that the port of Sebastos comprised the area of the former city of Straton's Tower. This is possible, but there seems to be no compelling reason for such an assumption (see also below, n. 10).

[3] All the coins discussed here are bronze coins.

[4] Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (= *AJC*) (Dix Hills, N.Y.), 2:248, nos. 6–6a, 9–9a, pls. 9–10; idem, "Ancient Jewish Coinage, Addendum I," *INJ* 11 (1990–91), 124, nos. 12–13, 15–15a, pl. 28. A. Burnett, M. Amandry, and P. P. Ripollès, *Roman Provincial Coinage* (= *RPC*), vol. 1 (London-Paris, 1992), 684, nos. 4985–87, pl. 180; R. Deutsch, "A Portrait Coin of Agrippa II Reconsidered," *INJ* 9 (1986–87), 36–37, pl. 16.1.

[5] Meshorer, *INJ* 11 (1990–91), 129, nos. 6–7, pl. 32; Burnett et al., *RPC* 1:671, nos. 4847–48, pls. 175–76.

Figure 1. Coin of Agrippa I with figure of Tyche of Caesarea (42/43 C.E.).

Figure 2. Enlargement (2:1) of Tyche on coin of figure 1

Figure 3. Head of crown prince Agrippa II and anchor – an emblem of the port of Sebastos (42/43 C.E.)

Figure 6. Coin of Claudius with rudder – an emblem of the port of Sebastos (44–54 C.E.)

Figure 4–5. Coins of Agrippa I with figure of Tyche of Caesarea (43/44 C.E.)

Figure 7. Coin of Claudius with anchor – an emblem of the port of Sebastos (44–54 C.E.)

Figure 8. Coin of Nero with changed type of Tyche of Caesarea (68 C.E.)

Figure 9. Enlargement (2:1) of Tyche on coin of figure 8

Figure 10. Coin of Nero with figure of *genius* of Caesarea(?) (68 C.E.)

Figure 11. Enlargement (2:1) of figure on coin of figure 10

Figure 12. Coin of the Caesareans with the emblems of the port of Sebastos (68 C.E.)

Figure 13. Coin of Domitian with rudder – emblem of the port of Sebastos (ca. 81–83 C.E.)

and bears on the obverse the head of Claudius with the legend in Latin. On the reverse appears a rudder with a tiller within a wreath. The second, smaller denomination bears the same head and legend on the obverse and an anchor within a wreath on the reverse (fig. 7). This latter type is fairly common among finds from Caesarea and its vicinity. It seems probable that the maritime symbols show that the Roman administration issued these coins on behalf of the port of Sebastos rather than the city of Caesarea. The use of Latin obverse legends probably indicates direct Roman control of the port.

The next occasion on which these matters were expressed on coins was in 68 C.E., the fourteenth year of Nero and during the civil war that followed his assassination.[6] The presence of Vespasian in the city at that time ensured that Caesarea and its harbor were not mere bystanders to the events of that turbulent period. Early in that year Caesarea issued a coin (figs. 8–9) bearing on the obverse the head of Nero with a star in front. On the reverse appears a figure of Tyche, quite different from that on the coins of Agrippa I. The new type of Tyche holds a bust in her right hand and a standard in her left hand. Around her image appears, however, the same remarkable legend as on the coins of Agrippa I: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΕΝΙ. This coin type is very common, proving that the emission was certainly very large. It was followed in the same year by a further series of two coins. The large denomination (figs. 10–11) shows the head of Nero on the obverse and on the reverse a male figure with a bust in his left hand and a standard in his right hand. The legend on the reverse reads: ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ("of the people of Caesarea"). An issue of the people of Caesarea rather than of the city must be understood against the background of the political situation during the civil war. Whether the figure represents a deity or the *genius* of the people of Caesarea remains obscure. The small denomination of that series shows rudder on one side and an anchor on the other (fig. 12). It thus combines on one coin the two maritime emblems struck by the Roman administration on two separate denominations during the reign of Claudius. It too was struck by the Caesareans, but to judge by the emblems, apparently on behalf of the port of Sebastos. A further issue of the Caesareans in honor of Vespasian is not of concern here.[7]

The last issue pertaining to this discussion is a small and rare coin struck by the Roman administration under Domitian bearing on the obverse the head of the emperor and a rudder on the reverse (fig. 13).[8] The obverse legend, in Latin, shows that this type dates from the period before Domitian was honored with the title "Germanicus" late in 83 C.E. The coin belongs, therefore, to the period 81–83 C.E. No further coins were issued on behalf of the port of Sebastos. Caesarea was granted the status of a Roman colony by Vespasian, but its first colonial coin issues date from the period

[6] Burnett et al., *RPC* 1:673, nos. 4862–64, pl. 186; Kadman, *Coins*, 98-101, nos. 1-17, pls. I–II. Only Kadman (*Coins*, 83) expressed some reservations about the attribution of the rudder/anchor type (fig. 12) to Caesarea.

[7] Burnett et al., *RPC* 1:673, no. 4865, pl. 176; Kadman, *Coins*, 100-101, nos. 18-19, pl. II.

[8] Meshorer, *AJC* 2:290, no. 4, pl. 36.

81–83 C.E., like the last issue on behalf of the port of Sebastos.[9]

The numismatic evidence shows that during a period of about four decades (42/43–81/83 C.E.) there were two distinct groups of coins, one was struck on behalf of Caesarea, the capital of the province, and the other on behalf of the port of Sebastos. The coins ascribed here to the port of Sebastos were issued during the reign of Agrippa I and in 68 C.E. together with the coins of Caesarea. Caesarea is personified by Tyche and once by a figure of a male deity or *genius* and the port is identified by a rudder or an anchor or by both emblems together. The legend on the coins of Caesarea refers to it three times as being near the port of Sebastos (in 42/43, 43/44 and 68 C.E.). The same concept is echoed by Josephus: "The city Herod dedicated to the province, the harbour to navigators in these waters" (*BJ* 1.414).

How are we to interpret this evidence? It seems that the issue of separate coin types on behalf of Caesarea and the port of Sebastos, respectively, implies that they formed separate administrative and probably also separate legal entities. The reason for that may have been fiscal considerations. The port, one may claim, was a "free port" for ships and goods en route to other destinations. However, if that was the case, why is there no evidence for similar provisions in other Mediterranean ports during the Roman period? Neither is there, to the best of my knowledge, any parallel case in the Roman period of a city and its port forming separate units as in the case of Caesarea and the port of Sebastos. The answer may, perhaps, be sought in the function of the port as a major naval base of the Roman fleet or that it served as the seat of the Roman administration of the province. At this point one may speculate that a special combination of political, economic, and military reasons led to the peculiar situation in which Caesarea and the port of Sebastos formed separate entities.[10]

When was this separation introduced? One can only guess that this happened either under Herod or in 6 C.E. when Judaea became a Roman province. Sometime in 81–83 C.E., or soon afterwards, the port lost its special status and was annexed to the colony; it was not honored again by separate coin issues. Tyche-Caesarea and, at her feet, the *genius* of the port of Sebastos are represented on the coins of the city during the second and third centuries as well as Poseidon on numerous issues.[11] During the

[9] Kadman, *Coins*, 100–103, nos. 20–21. The legend on the obverse shows that this issue dates from the period 81–83 C.E. For the legal status of Caesarea as a colony, see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, vol. 2, rev. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black (Edinburgh, 1979), 96, 118.

[10] The Roman provincial authorities may have maintained the port of Sebastos as an "extraterritorial" area in the period before Caesarea was granted colonial status. The admirality, provincial mint, intelligence service, and security prisons may have been situated there. A. Raban assumes that the port of Sebastos comprised the area of Straton's Tower (see n. 2 above). This might place the Jewish quarter of Caesarea (if it was before 66 C.E. at the same location as in the Late Roman period) within the confines of Sebastos, which seems rather unlikely.

[11] R. Wenning, "Die Stadtgöttin von Caesarea Maritima," *Boreas* 9 (1986), 113–29, pls. 15–16; J. Ringel, "Literary Sources and Numismatic Evidence of Maritime Activity in Caesarea during the Roman

reign of Trajan Decius (249–251 C.E.), Caesarea issued a coin stating that it was minted by the "Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea Metropolis Provinciae Syriae Palaestinae," showing on the reverse a galley and above it the legend "Portus Augusti."[12] Caesarea itself became the "Portus Augusti," and the memory of the days when its harbor was a separate unit had probably been forgotten for a long time.

Key to Figures

1. Obv.: Head of Agrippa I. Rev.: Tyche of Caesarea, date L Z (= year 7, 42/43 C.E.). 8.56 gr.; formerly in the collection of A. Bromberg.
2. Rev. of no. 1 enlarged (2:1).
3. Obv.: Head of Agrippa II. Rev.: Anchor, date L Z (= year 7, 42/43 C.E.). 4.70 gr.; private collection.
4. Obv.: Head of Agrippa I. Rev.: Tyche of Caesarea, date L H (= year 8, 43/44 C.E.). 7.53 gr.; private collection.
5. As no. 4. 7.0 gr.; Hebrew University 2840.
6. Obv.: Head of Claudius. Rev.: Rudder with tiller in wreath. 11.64 gr.; British Museum.
7. Obv.: Head of Claudius. Rev.: Anchor in wreath. 8.78 gr.; Hebrew University 1248.
8. Obv.: Head of Nero. Rev.: Tyche of Caesarea, date L IΔ (= year 14, 68 C.E.). 12.86 gr.; Hebrew University 2428.
9. Rev. of no. 8 enlarged (2:1).
10. Obv.: Head of Nero. Rev.: *Genius* of Caesarea(?), date L IΔ (= year 14, 68 C.E.). 6.17 gr.; Hebrew University 2445.
11. Rev. of no. 10 enlarged (2:1).
12. Obv.: Rudder. Rev.: Anchor, date L IΔ (= year 14, 68 C.E.). 2.87 gr.; Hebrew University 6104.
13. Obv.: Head of Domitian. Rev.: Rudder. 1.60 gr.; private collection.

Period," in I. Malkin and R. Hohlfelder, eds., *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1988), 63–73, esp. 66. For Poseidon on issues of Caesarea, see Kadman, *Coins*, 124–25, nos. 135–36, pl. XI.

[12] Kadman, *Coins*, 128–29, no. 152, pl. XIII.

37

The Survival of the Bouleutic Class at Caesarea in Late Antiquity

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One large task for historians, as for the historical disciplines generally, is to put the past in order. Our concern for periodization is not just pedantry but part of the historian's proper effort to estimate the magnitude of events or trends in comparison with one another. To quote Marc Bloch, we are attempting here to discern a period's "note dominante," its "communauté d'empreinte" or "common stamp," so we can recognize "les points où la courbe change d'orientation," where "the curve changes its direction."[1] Thus students of Caesarea antiquities, and colleagues at corresponding sites, have devoted much analytical effort in recent years to conceptualizing the end of ancient Mediterranean cities.[2] Did the classical Roman cities continue in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, into what the French call the *Bas-Empire,* the Italians *l'impero tardoantico,* and the Germans *Spätantike,* or was the flourishing urbanism that we detect in that period at Caesarea, Beth Shean, Sepphoris, and the like essentially a new phenomenon? The term "Byzantine" that we use by convention in Israel for the centuries from Constantine to the Muslim conquest implies that Hellenization in the fourth century and the Christianizing of the cities transformed classical Mediterranean culture and gave it a new "common stamp," that Caesarea in the fifth century had less in common with classical cities of the first century C.E. than with Athens or Ephesus in the ninth. This appears to contradict the evidence, so I prefer "Late Antiquity" for Caesarea from the fourth century to the seventh, the terminology most fashionable nowadays in the English-speaking world. "Late Antiquity" implies that the curve had not changed, that Caesarea's history was an essential continuum down to the Muslim conquest of 640/41.

This position is easy to defend when urban architecture is in view or the material culture items that the archaeologists encounter in their trenches. The red-painted tablewares that Caesareans imported in the sixth century to lend some elegance to their suppers represent a centuries-old tradition in personal taste and ceramic tech-

[1] *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien* (Paris, 1974), 150–51; *The Historian's Craft,* trans. P. Putnam (New York, 1953), 185–86

[2] This was the topic of a study group that Yoram Tsafrir and Gideon Foerster organized at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Givat Ram, Jerusalem, in spring 1993. Few of my Israeli friends have adopted the periodization proposed here, but all have listened courteously.

nology. In the sixth century and even the early seventh, builders at Caesarea were still renewing street pavements with stone slabs fitted tightly together, laid in the traditional manner over stone-built sewers and ceramic pipes that delivered fresh water,[3] and when they raised new monumental buildings or renewed existing ones, they still employed classical columnar architecture, often reusing Caesarea's legacy of column shafts and capitals carved from imported marble.[4]

We should bear in mind, however, as we attempt to arrange Caesarea's past, that for the ancients, Greek *polis* – not to mention Latin *civitas* or *municipium* – had long meant less the physical accoutrements of a city than its human inhabitants.[5] Conspicuous among a city's inhabitants was a class of powerful families, differentiated both juridically and economically,[6] upon whom the very existence of the classical city depended. The male heads of these families made up the local senate, Latin *curia* or Greek *boule*, that governed a city's affairs, and were known in Latin as *decuriones* or *curiales*, in Greek universally as *bouleutai*.[7] Owners of the most productive estates in the hinterland as well as elegant town houses, these *bouleutai* formed an absolutely essential part of a city's anatomy.[8] In a practical sense, these men were the true upholders of classical urbanism, because individually and collectively they took upon themselves virtually the entire responsibility for financing and managing the city – in the form of *munera*, Greek *leitourgiai*, public services, duties, or "charges" (*curae*), ranging from building and maintaining streets, the baths, walls, and water supply, to providing beasts for the amphitheater and collecting taxes for the imperial government.[9] In Latin a liturgist, one who assumed such tasks, was a *municeps*, and a *municipium* in essence just a collectivity of such men. Despite increasing compulsion and regimentation imposed upon them since the second century,[10] these critical *bouleutai* still existed all over the

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[3] R. C. Wiemken and K. G. Holum, "The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Eighth Season, 1979," *BASOR* 244 (1981), 27–52.

[4] For a prime example, see S. Yeivin, "Excavations at Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology* 8 (1955), 122–29; also esp. J. Alchermes, "*Spolia* in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse," *DOP* 48 (1994), 167–78.

[5] As in the tragic lament ὦ πόλις πόλις (Soph. *OT* 629 etc.), or Arist. *Pol.* 1280b40: πόλις ἡ γενῶν καὶ κωμῶν κοινωνία ζωῆς τελείας καὶ αὐτάρκους.

[6] Because I deal mainly with the later period, I do not share the hesitation of G.E.M. de Ste. Croix whether to call *curiales* an "order" or a "class": *The Class Struggle in the Ancient World: From the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca, 1981), 466.

[7] W. Langhammer, *Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der Magistratus Municipales und der Decuriones in der Übergangsphase der Städte von sich selbstverwaltenden Gemeinden zu Vollzugsorganen des spätantiken Zwangsstaates (2.–4. Jahrhundert der römischen Kaiserzeit)* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 188–278.

[8] Cf. A. C. Poulter, "Nicopolis ad Istrum: The Anatomy of a Graeco-Roman City," *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: Der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes. Kolloquium in Zanten vom 2. bis 4. Mai 1990*, ed. H.-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg, and P. Zanker (Bonn, 1992), 69–86, presenting archaeological evidence for both town houses and landed estates.

[9] Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 245–62.

[10] P. Garnsey, "Aspects of the Decline of the Urban Aristocracy in the Empire," *ANRW*, ed. H. Temporini, 2.1 (Berlin, 1974), 229–52.

Empire in Late Antiquity and are still mentioned prominently in the sources. In the fourth century Libanius declared that "the whole structure of the city is founded upon the council as a tree upon its root."[11] In 536 the jurist Tribonian, actual author of an important group of imperial edicts issued in Justinian's name, defined the *boule* concisely as a "senate" of "well-born men" instituted "to conduct the city's public business in an orderly and convenient manner."[12] And Evagrius Scholasticus, whose *Ecclesiastical History* appeared about 592, wrote of *bouleutai* as "the flower of the cities."[13]

Nevertheless, the history of the *bouleutai* appears at first to sustain the proponents of discontinuity. Another late antique author, John Lydus, himself from the urban elite of Philadelphia in Lydia, lamented in the 550s that the praetorian prefect Marinos, in the time of Emperor Anastasius two generations earlier, had "disabled" the councils in all the provincial cities, and that no longer, "as in the time when the council-houses governed the cities," could one see candidates about to enter office wearing their whitened togas.[14] In the passage just mentioned, Evagrius actually wrote of the *bouleutai* as belonging to the distant past, along with the practice of enrolling men of noble family in the bouleutic registers. When he spoke of the "flower of the cities," it was only to report that they had "utterly collapsed."[15]

Evagrius, like Lydus, emerged from the propertied class of the cities[16] and, like wealthy (and not-so-wealthy) taxpayers in more recent times, these writers may well have exaggerated the situation to provoke indignation among sympathetic readers. The same motivation, however, will not have affected Tribonian and other functionaries who drafted the emperor's legislation. In the constitution issued in 536, Tribonian explains that the *curiales* had indeed flourished so long as there were many of them among whom to divide the burdens of urban finance and management, but some had discovered ways to remove themselves from the register (*album curiae*), and the numbers had gradually decreased until too few remained: "Curiales namque pauciores ubique nostra in republica sunt"![17] This flight of the *bouleutai* in Late Antiquity is a well-known story that has been thoroughly studied.[18] In a familiar passage, the rhetorician

[11] *Or.* 11.133.

[12] *Corpus Iuris Civilis III: Novellae,* ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll (Berlin, 1954), *Nov.* 38 *praef.*; cf. T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (London, 1978), 124–38.

[13] *HE* 3.42, quoted below, n. 15; cf. for Evagrius' dates P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian,* Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, études et documents 12 (Louvain, 1981), 1–4, 266.

[14] *De mag.* 1.28: ἕως ἂν τὰ βουλευτήρια διῴκουν τὰς πόλεις; ibid., 3.46, 49: τὰ μὲν βουλευτήρια πασῶν παρέλυσε τῶν πόλεων. Cf. E. Chrysos, "Die angebliche Abschaffung der städtischen Kurien durch Kaiser Anastasios," *Byzantina* 3 (1971), 96–99. On Lydos and Philadelphia, see M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian* (New York, 1991) 10, 30–31.

[15] *HE* 3.42: τά τε ἄνθη τῶν πόλεων διέπεσεν. Ἐν τοῖς λευκώμασι γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οἱ εὐπατρίδαι πρόσθεν ἀνεγράφοντο, ἑκάστης πόλεως τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βουλευτηρίοις ἀντὶ συγκλήτου τινὸς ἐχούσης τε καὶ ὁριζομένης. Cf. Chrysos, "Die angebliche Abschaffung," accepting this as valid for the time of Evagrius, although not for the early sixth century.

[16] Allen, *Evagrius,* 1–4.

[17] *Nov.* 38 *praef.*, 6.

[18] A.H.M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, 1940), 192–210, and Jones, *LRE,*

Libanius complains that by the 380s membership in the *boule* of Antioch had declined from six hundred to only sixty.[19] Book 12 of the Theodosian Code contains 192 constitutions under the title *De decurionibus* overwhelmingly preoccupied with keeping *bouleutai* in their places. Issued by emperors from Constantine in the fourth century through Theodosius II in the fifth, this legislation makes it clear that the leakage that preoccupied the imperial government frequently occurred in an upward direction. The wealthiest, most influential *bouleutai* were securing promotion to "immune" positions – meaning, of course, positions not subject to *munera* – in the imperial bureaucracy or in the senatorial aristocracies of Constantinople or Rome. With this wealth of evidence before them, scholars have quite naturally succumbed to the pessimism of Lydus and Evagrius, assuming that after the reign of Anastasius (491–518) the councils either no longer mattered much, or ceased to meet, or disappeared altogether.[20]

Recently Mark Whittow has injected some healthy revisionism into discussion of the *bouleutai*, proposing that their decline in Late Antiquity, while real enough, was just an "institutional rearrangement" that left the same urban elites in power.[21] From the later sixth century, he proposes, the same local elites simply made their power effective in a new way, no longer as *bouleutai* but through the church and the local bishop. Whittow is right about the elite's "continuous history," but the rest of his interpretation has significant weaknesses. On the one hand, Whittow constructs the new regime from hagiographic sources that naturally elevated the bishops and other clergy excessively, while on the other he ignores evidence for institutional continuity of the *bouleutai*. In Tribonian's novel of 636 mentioned above, two decades after the allegedly pivotal reign of Anastasius, Justinian continued to resist the upward leakage of *curiales*, excusing from the *album curiae* no longer new imperial senators, and not those whose distinction was just honorary, but only men actually promoted to the patriciate or consulship, or to the highest prefectures and military commands (Just. *Nov.* 38.3). Further, novels of Justinian and his successors Justin II (d. 578) and Tiberius (d. 582) still included *bouleutai* among various categories of tax collectors.[22] We might have more evidence

2:724–31, 737–61; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 101–5, 167–86; de Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle*, 465–74; R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven, 1988), 44–49; M. Whittow, "Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine City: A Continuous History," *Past and Present* 129 (1990), 3–29.

[19] *Or.* 48.4; cf. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 181–82.

[20] De Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle*, 473, proposes that in the reign of Anastasius (491–518) "the city Councils ceased to matter very much in the local decision-making process, and perhaps even to meet," Mark Whittow ("Ruling," 10–12) that "in general they had disappeared throughout the Near East by the mid-sixth century." Dietrich Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1969), 108–14, accepted only a "zeitweilige Abschaffung der Kurien" in the time of Anastasius, after which Justinian managed to revive some of them. According to Chrysos, Lydus did not mean the councils were "dissolved" (*aufgelöst*) but that the praetorian prefect Marinos "enfeebled" (*lähmte*) them by turning collection of taxes over to *vindices* ("Die angebliche Abschaffung").

[21] Whittow, "Ruling."

[22] Just. *Nov.* 128.1; Just. II *Nov.* 149.3 (569) where πολιτευόμενοι = βουλευταί; Tib. *Nov.* 163.2 (575); cf. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt*, 113.

of this type for later reigns were it not for the disappearance of legal sources.[23] Even so, the late A.H.M. Jones, writing about the sixth century, rightly insisted, "it may be taken as certain that a roll of decurions was still maintained, and that they were still called upon to perform their liturgies for the state, and no doubt for their own cities also."[24]

Most important, Whittow passes over in silence a "dominant note" in the institutional and social history of the *bouleutai*. This was the divergence within the bouleutic class between the mass of ordinary members and a small clique of wealthy and powerful ones called *decemprimi* or *dekaprotoi* at first, and later *principales*, *proteuontes*, or simply *protoi*.[25] The *decemprimi* had existed in Roman cities at least since the first century B.C.E. and were simply the first ten names (or another number) on the *album decurionum*, the decurial roster.[26] In the fourth century and later, *principales* or *proteuontes* were *bouleutai* of extraordinary wealth and personal influence who exerted leadership among the body of their curial peers – according to the good Roman notion that all men were not created equal, nor should the principle of "one man, one vote" prevail, but that extraordinary wealth and influence merited greater power. *Proteuontes* not only managed with relative ease the increased burdens placed upon the bouleutic class in Late Antiquity but appear actually to have profited from the situation, undertaking lucrative building projects for the city, seeing to it that an unfair portion of taxes and other obligations fell upon ordinary taxpayers and on their weaker curial brethren, and then receiving by cession the estates of those who failed.[27] Still juridically and economically members of the bouleutic class, they also participated in a gradual rearrangement of urban political institutions. In 545 Justinian issued another edict that accepted the

[23] In Italy *curiae* still held sessions in the seventh century: Jones, *LRE*, 2:760–61; T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800* (London, 1984), 16–19.

[24] Jones, *LRE*, 2:760. So far so good, but because *proteuontes* were generally *bouleutai* (below), I do not subscribe entirely to Jones' further conclusion that the "direction of affairs" had passed entirely from the *boule*. Chrysos ("Die angebliche Abschaffung," 95–96) points out contradictions in Jones' position.

[25] For the clearest account of *principales/proteuontes*, see Jones, *LRE*, 2:731 (with legal sources at 3:230–31, nn. 41–42), also 2:747, 757, 760–61, 774; cf. other worthwhile treatments in Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 171–74; Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 253–57, defining the position as a *munus*; de Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle*, 471; MacMullen, *Corruption*, 61, 205–8; Y. Dan, *The City in Eretz-Israel during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1984), 75–79, 81–82, 86–87, discussing evidence from Arabia and Palestine; and esp. J. Gascou, "Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Égypte byzantine," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 76 (1976), 203–9.

[26] Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 254; also de Ste. Croix, *Class Struggle*, 471, suggesting that *principales* from the fourth century on were "a new kind of *decemprimi*."

[27] Letters of Libanius make it clear that a *bouleutes* or imperial official expected to profit from public building projects; see Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, 133–34. The same is suggested by Just. *Nov.* 128.16, ordering that money designated for specific urban projects, building and other, go to those projects and not into the hands of the "citizens" or "governors." For *principales* distributing burdens inequitably see *CTh* 11.16.3–4 (324, 328), 12.1.117 (387), 12.1.173 = *Codex Justinianus* 10.22.1 (410), with MacMullen, *Corruption*, 48–49.

rearrangement and contained a virtual prescription for ruling the late antique city.[28] The city's bishop and *proteuontes*, along with the *ktetores*, ("property holders") were to "nominate" the *pater tes poleos*, ("city father") along with the head of the grain supply and other administrators (*dioiketai*), and at the end of each year the bishop and a panel of five *proteuontes* were to require accounts from them. From this document it emerges that the assigning of curial duties and administration of *munera, curae,* and liturgies, still in the hands of the entire *boule* in the fourth century, had by the sixth fallen to the *proteuontes*, along with the bishop and property holders, a group that would necessarily have met in council from time to time to carry out their functions, after the fashion of the old *boule*.

This edict of 545 represents a new regime in the cities, presumably the result of gradual evolution that the emperor ultimately recognized and reinforced through legislation.[29] An apparent puzzle is the identity of the *ktetores*, but since the edict distinguishes sharply[30] between them and the *proteuontes*, who were likewise large property holders, there is little room for doubt that the *ktetores* were large property holders resident in a city or its territory but not registered in the *album curiae*, preeminently members of the imperial aristocracy immune from curial obligations.[31] As Yaron Dan observed,[32] in the sixth-century city it was property, not curial status, that made a man great, whether he was a *proteuon*, one of the other *ktetores*, or even a bishop, for the bishop's urban authority likewise rested in large measure on the lands and treasure of the church.

Thus the pessimistic statements of Lydus and Evagrius were clearly extreme, and Whittow's revisionist view appears to be one-sided. To judge from limited evidence, *bouleutai* survived as a juridical and economic class, enrolled in the *album curiae* and charged with collecting taxes. Represented by the *proteuontes* among them, they continued as before to administer the cities. There is no reason to doubt that this regime continued in the Middle East until the Muslim conquest.

To bring the discussion closer to home, there is evidence from Palestine and Arabia that bodies of *bouleutai*, or *politeuomenoi* as they were also known,[33] not only survived but

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[28] Just. *Nov.* 128.16: ἀλλὰ τὸν ἑκάστης πόλεως ὁσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῆς πόλεως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῆς κτήτορας προβάλλεσθαι μὲν τὸν πατέρα τὸν πόλεως καὶ τὸν σιτώνην καὶ ἄλλους τοιούτους διοικητάς, ἑκάστου δὲ ἐνιαυτοῦ πληρουμένου τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον μετὰ πέντε πρωτευόντων τῆς πόλεως τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν προβληθέντας.

[29] Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt*, 114, who errs, however, in concluding also that the new council "replaced" the former *boule*. Rather, the reform amounted to expanding the *boule* to include powerful urban personages, the bishop and the *ktetores*, who were not registered in a city's λευκώματα.

[30] Note οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ . . .

[31] Dan, *City*, 87–89.

[32] Ibid., 89–90.

[33] For the equivalence cf. esp. Dan, *City*, 83–84, citing parallel novels of Justinian restricting candidatures for the episcopacy: *Nov.* 123.1 (546): ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βουλευτὴν ἢ ταξεώτην τοῦτον εἶναι γινώσκουσιν; and 137.2 (565): ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πολιτευόμενον ἢ ταξεώτην τινὰ τῶν ψηφιζομένων εἶναι γινώσκουσι . . . Cf., however, for a more nuanced treatment, H. Geremek, "Les ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ égyptiens sont-ils identique aux ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΑΙ?" *Anagennesis* 1 (1981), 231–47.

preserved their elite status and much of their wealth well into the sixth century. There is, for example, from Elusa in Palestine, the *politeuomenos* Abraham, son of Zenobius, who in 454/55 saw to the laying of a new pavement in front of the theater.[34] Also known are Nestorius, *bouleutes* of Gaza in the fifth century, whose slave stole from him a bundle of money, and Philocalus, an illegitimate son of a wealthy man, whose father registered him in the *boule* of Bostra in the fifth or sixth century because there was a large inheritance involved and the status made him a legal heir.[35] Most instructive, however, is the case of Anatolius, a *proteuon* of Ascalon, that Procopius recounts in a passage of his *Secret History* attacking Justinian for looting the wealthy.[36] This Anatolius died about 540 without male issue, leaving his estate to his daughter. A recent edict of Justinian, dated 536, required women and other heirs ineligible to serve on the council to deliver three-fourths of their inheritance to the *boule*, which this woman did, and both the emperor himself and "those in charge of the *leukoma* of Ascalon" then wrote letters to her releasing her from further obligations.[37] Since the imperial court involved itself somehow in the case, the estate of Anatolius must have been considerable. In short, the evidence at hand suggests that some *bouleutai* in fifth- and sixth-century Palestine and Arabia were prominent, public spirited, and extremely wealthy.

Evidence from Palestine also permits us to clear up some possible misconceptions about *proteuontes* that have crept into the scholarly literature. First, it would be a mistake to understand the *proteuontes* as magistrates holding an office for a specified term.[38] In 398 a pair of *proteuontes*, Timothy and Epiphanius, still pagans, appeared prominently in Gaza alongside an actual magistrate (a *demekdikos*) and two or more apparent liturgists in charge of the urban police (*eirenarchoi*) in a demonstration protesting the introduction of a martyr's relics into the city. Shortly afterward an imperial official came down from Constantinople, took a cash security deposit from "the three *proteuontes*," and read to them an imperial edict ordering Gaza's pagan temples closed and, in case the city did not comply, "threatening the city's first men (*protoi*) with death."[39] This demonstrates forcefully that *proteuontes* – whether two, three, or ten of them –

[34] A. Negev, *The Greek Inscriptions from the Negev*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, collectio minor 25 (Jerusalem, 1981), no. 92.

[35] *CSCO: SS*, 25:5–6 (Nestorius); Just. *Nov.* 89.2.1 (Philocalus); Dan, *City*, 82, 84 (confusing Philocalus with his father).

[36] Proc. *Hist. arcan.* 29.17–21; cf. Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley, 1985), 228; also Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt*, 107, 111, on the man's wealth.

[37] The edict mentioned is Just. *Nov.* 38, as perceived by Jones, *LRE*, 2:753, and Dan, *City*,, 78–79. For the *leukoma* = *album curiae* cf. above, and also below. The fourth-century *album curiae* of Thamugadi in Numidia survives; see *CIL* 8:2403 and 17824; cf. Jones, 2:730–31.

[38] Dan, *City*, 76, 78–79, 86–87, expressed uncertainty whether they were magistrates or leading members of the *boule*; cf. L. Di Segni, "The Involvement of Local, Municipal and Provincial Authorities in Urban Building in Late-Antique Palestine and Arabia," *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Recent Archaeological Work*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, *JRA*, suppl. 14 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995), 324–25, proposing that the term was in transition "from the general to the specific."

[39] Marc. Diac. *V. Porph.* 25, 27, ed. H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener, 21–22, 24: κινδύνῳ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν πρώτων τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως . . . In τοὺς τρεῖς πρωτεύοντας the definite article suggests that the *proteuontes*

formed not a magistracy but a collectivity of socially prominent men whom the emperor could hold jointly responsible, and whom he expected to have the personal resources to intimidate or cajole the entire community into obedience. A text in which Dorotheus of Gaza (sixth century) tried to teach another Gaza *proteuon* about humility leaves the same impression of social prominence. Dorotheus inquired, "Sir *proteuon*, how do you see yourself within your own town?" "As a great man," he replied, "and first man of the city [μέγαν καὶ πρῶτον τῆς πόλεως]" – but if he went to Caesarea as "meaner" than the great men there, or in Antioch as a mere "rustic," or in Constantinople as just one of the "beggars."[40] Further, however, Anatolius of Ascalon is described as ἐν Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τῷ λευκώματι τὰ πρωτεῖα ἔχων, that is, one who held "first place in the bouleutic roster of Ascalon," exactly as in the old *decemprimi*. These words demonstrate that the bouleutic roster, and perforce the bouleutic class, still existed in Ascalon about 540, that, moreover, Anatolius was "first man" not only of the city in a general sense but specifically of the council. He was explicitly both *proteuon* and *bouleutes*. In the mid-sixth century, therefore, the *proteuontes* formed a clique within the *boule*, not as Alan Cameron and others have proposed a different body that had replaced it.[41] Hence the emergence of *proteuontes* within the *boule* in itself reflected new social realities, not new institutions. It was simply the urban side of what Peter Brown called a general "sharpening of the division between the classes" that characterized the society of Late Antiquity. This included, as Brown wrote, "the impoverishment of the town councillors and the accumulation of wealth and status into ever fewer hands."[42]

Now that we have achieved a conception of the survival of the bouleutic class in the Empire as a whole and in Palestine, it should be possible to evaluate the evidence for Caesarea properly. This evidence is not voluminous and in some cases lacks chronological precision. Nevertheless, it will help us to recognize when, in Bloch's words, "the curve changed its direction."

Caesarea's bouleutic class originated when Emperor Vespasian, perhaps early in the decennium of his reign (69–79 C.E.), refounded the city as a Roman colony.[43] Colonial

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in Gaza totaled three, but I would not want to press the point. On the *V. Porph.* see the chapter by Ze'ev Rubin in this volume.

[40] *Doctr.* 6; *PG* 88:1646–48, mistranslated slightly by MacMullen, *Corruption*, 61.

[41] Contrast Claude (*Die byzantinische Stadt*, 156), writing of the "Gegensatz" between curials and *proteuontes*, and Alan Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford, 1976), 38, declaring that "the most striking single phenomenon in the evolution of late Roman city life is precisely the supersession of the curials by a much more select group of the wealthy and otherwise influential, the *πρωτεύοντες*." Gascou ("Les institutions," 203) perceives the sociology correctly: "L'apparition des commissions de πρωτεύοντες est liée à la transformation des curiales du Bas-Empire en une sorte de corporation dirigée par les plus fortunés et responsables des πολιτευόμενοι."

[42] *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 31.

[43] Pliny *NH* 5.14: "Stratonis Turris, eadem Caesarea ab Herode rege condita, nunc colonia Prima Flavia a Vespasiano Imperatore deducta"; also Paulus *Dig.* 50.15.8.7. Cf. B. Isaac, "Roman Coloniae in Judaea: The Foundation of Aelia Capitolina," *Talanta* 12–13 (1980–81), 42–43, and idem, *The Limits of Empire*, rev. ed. (New York, 1992), 349 with n. 84.

status meant institutions of standard type including a municipal senate, the *decuriones*, of members registered in the *album decurionum*, the later *album curiae*.[44] A famous inscription found at Shuni a century ago, dating perhaps to the second century, is a decree of Caesarea's *decuriones* that honors Marcus Flavius Agrippa whose name was surely in Caesarea's *album*.[45] This man was a former *duovir*, one of the pair of chief magistrates of Caesarea's colonial period,[46] and had served the city as *orator*, probably as "spokesman" on an embassy to the provincial governor or imperial court – a task assigned as a *munus* by decision of the *decuriones*.[47] Another decree of Caesarea's *decuriones*, from the early third century, honors Aur(elius) Fl(avius) Theophilus, a Roman knight and *decurion* of the metropolis.[48] Recently Barbara Burrell published two more inscriptions from the second or third centuries that add names to Caesarea's *album*.[49] In one text, Valerius Seleucus κυράτορ πλοίων κολωνίας Καισαρείας honors his patron. Service as *curator* of ships was likely a decurial *cura* or *munus*,[50] and Seleucus was therefore probably one of the *decuriones*. In the second newly published text, Sextus Cornelius Taurinus, of the tribe Quirina, a former *duumvir*, honors an apparent patron.

The inscriptions mentioning Caesarea's *decuriones* probably date no later than about 270, and it is likely that the Latinate institutions of Caesarea's colonial period succumbed in the fourth and early fifth centuries, along with honorary decrees adopted by the council. The lack of similar fourth-century decrees means nothing, since so far Caesarea has yielded very few public inscriptions of any type from that period.[51] Eusebius ignores the council, but his vignettes of Caesarea in the *Martyrs of Palestine* include no process in which it is likely to have been involved. Yet the *decuriones* survived as the *boule* and so did the bouleutic class, which continued to perform *curae*, *munera*, or liturgies for the city as assigned in rotation by the *boule* itself. Presumably Caesarea's *bouleutai* attempted to escape their burdens into immune positions, for *munera* weighed in the cities of Palestine as heavily as elsewhere. Hence we know from

[44] Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 196–202.

[45] K. Zangemeister, "Inschrift der Vespasianische Colonie Caesarea in Palästina," *ZDPV* 13 (1890), 25–30; Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, no. 3

[46] Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 62–149.

[47] Levine, *Caesarea*, 172 n. 31, suggests "spokesman." Cf. *IG Rom.* 3, 778 = *OGI* 567 for a man of similar rank from Attaleia in Caria who delivered many orations for his city and others before the emperors and governors; on such embassies more generally, see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.–A.D. 337)* (Ithaca, 1937), 363–94, 410–47; and Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 126–28, 250, for *legati* and *legationes* as *munera*.

[48] C. M. Lehmann, "Epigraphica Caesariensia," *Classical Philology* 79 (1984), 45–52; Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, no. 11.

[49] "Two Inscribed Columns from Caesarea Maritima," *ZPE* 99 (1993), 288, 291–92; Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, nos. 13, 16.

[50] Just. *Dig.* 50.4.1.2 mentions the "cura faciendis vel reficiendis navibus"; cf. Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 178.

[51] At better documented sites, decrees of the *boule*, or of the *boule* and the *demos*, continued until ca. 400, e.g., in Ephesus (C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* [Cambridge, 1979], 13–14) and Aphrodisias (C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, *JRS* Monographs, 5 [London, 1989], nos. 22, 24, 31).

an edict addressed in 385 to the proconsul of Palestine, stationed in Caesarea, that "tax collectors" and "tax receivers," *bouleutai* of the cities performing this *munus*, were under pressure to cede their properties and thus drop out of the *boule* (*CTh* 10.16.4). Explicit evidence for the survival of Caesarea's bouleutic class survives in the well-known *hippotrophoi* inscription found in 1954 near the hippodrome.[52] This text is an edict from the fifth or sixth century that directs revenues of 5,629 1/4 solidi to the *hippotrophoi*, who were presumably bouleutic liturgists charged with maintaining horses for the races.[53] Among the sources of this revenue is the *chrysoteleia bouleuton*, identified recently by Delmaire as an inheritance tax levied against bouleutic estates.[54] Those who collected it will have required an official list of encumbered estates, that is, the *leukoma bouleuton*.

Two of the very few public inscriptions extant from late antique Caesarea preserve the names of men registered in Caesarea's *leukoma bouleuton* because their property was encumbered by curial obligations. The first is Elias *pater tes poleos*, who built or altered the "basilica" and the Hadrianeum in the late fifth or early sixth century.[55] As Charlotte Roueché has demonstrated, the *pater tes poleos* was the leading urban magistrate of many late antique cities, responsible especially for construction projects that involved expenditures from the city's treasury, as approved by the provincial governor.[56] In Justinian's novel of 545, mentioned above, the *pater* is envisioned as one of the magistrates (*dioiketai*), like the *sitones;* is nominated each year by the bishop, the *ktetores*, and the *proteuontes;* and at the end of the year submits his accounts to a panel of five *proteuontes*. The *pater*, therefore, like the *ekdikos* of other cities, was the lineal descendant of the leading *decuriones*, performing a *munus* or liturgy for the city, and, as suggested above, he likely found the position highly profitable. A second epigraphical *pater* is Flavius Strategius, identified explicitly as *proteuon*, known from a mosaic *tabula ansata* in the so-called Byzantine Esplanade east of the Old City. In the second half of the sixth century – the absolute dates appear to be 546 on the lower end and 606 on the upper – Strategius organized construction of an enclosure wall, a staircase, and a mon-

[52] B. Lifshitz, "Césarée de Palestine: Son histoire et ses institutions," *ANRW*, ed. H. Temporini, 2.8 (Berlin-New York, 1977), 118–32 with pl. 1; Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, no. 110.

[53] *Dig.* 50.4.1.2 refers to the *cura equorum circensium*; cf. Langhammer, *Die rechtliche Stellung*, 24. In *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, vols. 1–2, ed. F. Preisigke (Strassburg-Berlin-Leipzig, 1913–22), 1:5941, dated 510, an otherwise anonymous Aurelios is identified as πραγματευτὴς ὀθονιακοῦ, i.e., administrator of the tax on linen goods, "son of such-and-so from Caesarea, metropolis of the province." J. G. Keenan, "An Afterthought on the Names Flavius and Aurelius," *ZPE* 53 (1983), 247–48, rightly considers the data in this document to be hypothetical or fictional, including mention of another apparent liturgist of Caesarea.

[54] R. Delmaire, *Largesses sacrée et "res privata": L' "aerarium" impérial et son administration du quatrième au cinquième siècle*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 121 (Rome, 1989), 280–81.

[55] W. J. Moulton, "A Caesarea Inscription," *AASOR* 1 (1919–20), 86–90 with pl. 1; Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, no. 59.

[56] "A New Inscription from Aphrodisias and the Title πατὴρ τῆς πόλεως," *GRBS* 20 (1979), 173–85; eadem, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity*, 77–78, 101.

umental entrance to an unnamed building. He financed the project from city funds (ἀπὸ πολιτικῶν) and no doubt profited from the transaction.[57]

I would like to put forward still another sixth-century personage as a member of Caesarea's bouleutic class, almost certainly a *proteuon*, and a good candidate for nomination as *pater tes poleos*. Recall that Procopius introduced Anatolius, *proteuon* of Ascalon, who died about 540 leaving his estate to his unnamed daughter, and that the daughter, by a law of 536, was required to cede three-fourths of her inheritance to the *boule* of Ascalon. Procopius adds that Anatolius had married his daughter to "one of the Caesareans, Mamilianus by name, of an extremely elite house (οἰκίας ἐπιφανοῦς ἄγαν)." Mamilianus fathered by the woman a single child, a daughter, and then died after his father-in-law. The woman's daughter, meanwhile, had grown to marriageable age, was joined in matrimony to one of the elite (τῶν λογίμων τινί), and then died childless. These deaths all occurred before Procopius published his *Secret History* about 550,[58] and they left the woman, daughter of Anatolius and wife of Mamilianus, sole heir to both of their estates. The emperor, Procopius asserts, thinking it "impious" that the woman should inherit two estates, seized her entire inheritance, leaving the woman just one solidus a day, "that she might not be assigned to the ranks of the beggars."

For invective purposes, I suggest, Procopius has twisted the facts. Justinian did not actually "seize" the woman's property but simply enforced in this woman's case the law of 536, not out of greed but to preserve the integrity of bouleutic properties. A solidus a day – 365 per annum – thus represents the residual income of not one but two bouleutic properties, for Mamilianus too was apparently of the bouleutic class. A.H.M. Jones has suggested that he was a senator and perhaps therefore immune,[59] but if this was the case, the woman would have inherited her husband's entire estate. The sum of 365 solidi per annum was, of course, by no means as paltry as Procopius would have us believe. For comparative purposes I point out that this sum, likely the income from two bouleutic estates, represents almost one-fourth of the gold that Justinian assigned to the proconsul of Palestine in another law of 536 to be divided as salaries between the proconsul himself and perhaps two or three *hundred* members of his staff.[60] From what remained of her double inheritance, the wife of Mamilianus would live out her days in appropriate luxury, and then her remaining property would revert to the *boule*.

Mamilianus of Caesarea, like Anatolius of Ascalon, was a very rich man and a member of the bouleutic class. If my interpretation is correct, at their deaths the respective estates of Mamilianus and Anatolius yielded more than enough to finance luxurious town houses like those that the Israel Antiquities Authority expedition has uncovered

[57] S. Yeivin, "Excavations at Caesarea Maritima," *Archaeology* 8 (1955), 122–29; Lifshitz, "Césarée," 507–8; esp. Lehmann and Holum, *Inscriptions*, no. 60, reinterpreting the architectural terminology with reference to the existing structures.

[58] Cameron, *Procopius*, 9, 53.

[59] *LRE*, 2:753.

[60] Just. *Nov.* 103.1.

recently above the ruins of Herod's Great Stadium.[61] If the bishop emerged in many eastern Mediterranean cities as the leading urban patron, this by no means implies the extinction of the bouleutic class. Despite Lydus and Evagrius, Caesarea's *leukoma bouleuton* certainly existed at least well into the sixth century. Many registered in it struggled under thankless burdens, but an inner circle, the *proteuontes*, still embraced the traditional function of *municeps*, performing *munera* that had always formed the social and economic foundation of classical urbanism. To return to Marc Bloch, the curve had not yet definitively changed its direction. There is no reason to deny that at Caesarea some *bouleutai*, especially the *proteuontes* among them, flourished until the Persian and Muslim conquests of the seventh century.

The Persian conquest of 614 and subsequent occupation of Caesarea until 627 inflicted little physical destruction on Caesarea,[62] but the social consequences were probably more severe. There is evidence that wealthy and prominent refugees from Syria and Palestine flooded Roman territory in the wake of the conquest,[63] and how many of them ever returned? The subsequent siege (634–41?) and storming of Caesarea must then have devastated the city's economy and society. Surely many of the Christian, Greek-speaking inhabitants, especially *bouleutai* and *proteuontes*, took their gold and fled by sea during the siege, and afterward so did most of the rest who had the means to do so, preferring emigration to Roman dominions to continuing under the conquerors. They abandoned their estates – the traditional economic base of the urban ruling class – to be divided among the Muslims. In the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* of Balādhurī (ninth century), we find a tradition that a generation after 641 the new rulers found vacant and ownerless villas and farmland in the coastal cities to distribute among the Muslim garrisons.[64] In my view, much of this land had belonged to *proteuontes* and ordinary *bouleutai* still registered in the *leukoma* of Caesarea who took refuge with their movable wealth during the 630s and after the fall. A text closer in time to the events tends to confirm this. In the Syriac *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, probably composed in northern Mesopotamia within a few decades of the conquest, we read that "the [Ishmaelite] tyrant will write [i.e., wrote] down as belonging to him . . . the inherited property of the rich."[65] Many of the "rich" were certainly *bouleutai*, and the "inherit-

[61] Cf. the chapter by Y. Porath in this volume; see also map 4.

[62] K. G. Holum, "Archaeological Evidence for the Fall of Byzantine Caesarea," *BASOR* 286 (1992), 73–85

[63] E.g., "Life of St. John the Almoner," 6.11.12, ed. H. Delehaye, *AnalBoll* 45 (1927), 21–22, 24, reporting bishops, priests, and *archontes* who took refuge in Egypt.

[64] Trans. P. Hitti in *The Origins of the Islamic State*, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law 68 (New York, 1916), 196; in general cf. R. Schick, "The Fate of the Christians in Palestine during the Byzantine-Umayyad Transition, A.D. 600–750," doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago, 1987), 136–37; A. El-'Ad, "The Coastal Cities of Palestine during the Early Middle Ages," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982), 147; cf. Holum, "Archaeological Evidence," 82–83.

[65] Trans. J. Greenfield in B. Z. Kedar, "The Arab Conquests and Agriculture: A Seventh-Century Apocalypse, Satellite Imagery, and Palynology," *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985), 6; also by F. J. Martinez, "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period: Pseudo-Methodius and Pseudo-

ed property" that fell into Muslim hands will have included many bouleutic estates. In some cases, apparently, the conquerers seized such land whether or not the previous owners had abandoned it. Yet in the case of Caesarea it was likely the departure of the *bouleutai,* not confiscation of their land, that brought down the curtain on the ancient city. This was the ultimate fate of the bouleutic class and the end of classical urbanism at Caesarea.

Athanasius," doctoral dissertation (Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1985), 142: "[His] will be . . . the possessions of the rich," which may miss the point. Cf. Kedar, "The Arab Conquests," 7–9, on the anonymous author's transmission of authentic events in the guise of *vaticinia ex eventu.* Jeffrey Blakely drew my attention to this important text.

38

The Inner Harbor Basin of Caesarea: Archaeological Evidence for Its Gradual Demise

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The very existence of an inner basin within the harbor complex of Sebastos might be historically surmised only from indirect passages in Josephus, referring to "subsidiary anchorages within it [Sebastos]": ἔν τε τοῖς μυχοῖς αὐτοῦ βαθεῖς ὅρμους ἑτέρους (*BJ* 1.410); δευτέρους ὑφόρμους (*AJ* 15.331). Our excavations revealed the archaeological evidence for that basin already in 1976,[1] when we followed the earlier data of A. Negev's excavations of 1960.[2] Later studies enabled us to conclude that this basin had already been built during the Hellenistic period, though its conjectural size and shape were wrong.[3] During the present phase of our research we have managed to expose the original size and circumference of that basin, which was found to be three times larger than formerly suggested.[4] During the last three years much additional archaeological and sedimentological data have been collected and processed, which enable us to reconstruct in a rather detailed manner the history of that basin from its initial phase to the time it finally went out of use, becoming a terrestrial part of the built-up urban unit. Yet the implications of our reconstruction are heavily contested by our colleagues, who would question our suggested original time of construction[5] and the various phases of its demise.[6] Because they are still under study, with excavations continuing and data being processed, these issues will not be argued below. The following will therefore be merely a summary of data gathered by us up to the end of 1994.

The Original Topography

We are still shy of knowing exactly when the coastal low ridge of kurkar, eolinite sandstone, had been occupied for the first time by human settlers. A few Iron Age sherds

[1] A. Raban et al., *Marine Archaeological Research in Caesarea* (University of Haifa, CMS report 2/76, submitted to the Israel Electric Co., 1976); Raban, *Site*, 80–81.

[2] A. Negev, *Caesarea* (Tel Aviv, 1967), 27–30.

[3] Cf. Raban, *Site*, 131–38, 271–75; idem, "Καισάρεια ἡ πρὸς Σεβαστῷ λιμένι: Two Harbours for Two Entities?" in *Caesarea Papers*, 68–74, figs. 2–3; *Herod's Dream*, figs. 11, 24, 50, 86, 89.

[4] Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 11–14, fig. 13.

[5] See, e.g., D. W. Roller, "Straton's Tower: Some Additional Thoughts," in *Caesarea Papers*, 23–25; Oleson et al., *Finds*, 158; and the chapters by Yosef Porath and Robert R. Stieglitz in this volume.

[6] See, e.g., Y. Porath, in *Hadashoth arkheologioth* 105 (forthcoming); and *Twentieth Archaeological Conference in Israel, Abstracts* (1993), 22 [both in Hebrew].

and more of the Persian period (fifth–fourth century B.C.E.) were found in the vicinity and within the Herodian fills next to the area of the inner basin. Yet no significant architectural features that might be attested to these early phases have been traced so far. Much the same is also true for the following, Hellenistic period, though much more pottery of that time has been found, both within the inner basin and at the top of the rocky outcrops east of it, at the alleged site of the later Herodian Temple of Roma and Augustus.[7] In any case, it seems that before human intervention the topography of that site was characterized by a low, heavily eroded shoreline ridge of kurkar, with its western, seaward side segmented and partly inundated by the sea. Of that part some residual inshore reefs and rocky islets remained well above the waves. The most prominent of these was the one presently under the so-called Harbor Citadel Restaurant (fig. 1). Underwater survey of the seafloor just south of that outcrop proved that at some time in the past there was a very extensive abrasion shelf adjacent to it, at a time when the relative sea level was about 2.4 m. lower than the present one. Yet recent drilling and probes at its lee have traced the topography of the bedrock to be at a depth of as much as 6 m. below the present mean sea level (M.S.L.), indicating that the south bay was originally connected to the area of the inner basin. No sand depositions have been traced at these probes to suggest that there was a stable, perennial tombolo there to bridge the gap.[8]

The First Inner Basin

The exact time when the water passage, between the rocky islet of the Harbor Citadel and the shore to the east, had been closed and bridged over by a manmade seawall is still the subject of debate. So far no direct archaeological and architectural data have been found for that alleged structure. Yet many scholars would suggest that the Harbor Citadel was the original site of the settlement later known as Straton's Tower.[9] The most intriguing architectural feature in that context is the Round Tower, which was discovered in 1978 and has been studied ever since (fig. 3).[10] The ashlar header components of its structure and the close resemblance of its shape and size to the twin towers at the Early North Wall are in complete disaccord with the formed mixture of rubble and pozzolana that characterizes the quay of the inner basin; and yet it corre-

[7] Cf. A. M. Berlin, "Hellenistic and Roman Pottery, Preliminary Report, 1990," in *Caesarea Papers*, 112–24.

[8] The probes were made in April 1994 by a professional team with commercial equipment standard for a building substantiating survey. Their logs and cores were made available to us by the Caesarea Tourist Site Project, and the data were processed by Ron Toueg as part of his M.A. thesis research.

[9] Cf. V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine, 2ème partie – Samarie*, vol. 2, chap. 64 (Paris, 1875), 225; G. Schumacher, in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 20 (1888), 134–41, fig. 1; L. I. Levine, "À propos de la fondation de la Tour de Straton," *RBibl* 80 (1973), 75–88; D. W. Roller, "The Problem of the Location of Straton's Tower," *BASOR* 252 (1983), 61–66.

[10] Cf. Raban, *Site*, 177–81; Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 79–83; A. Raban, "The City Walls of Straton's Tower: Some New Archaeological Data," *BASOR* 268 (1987), 71–88.

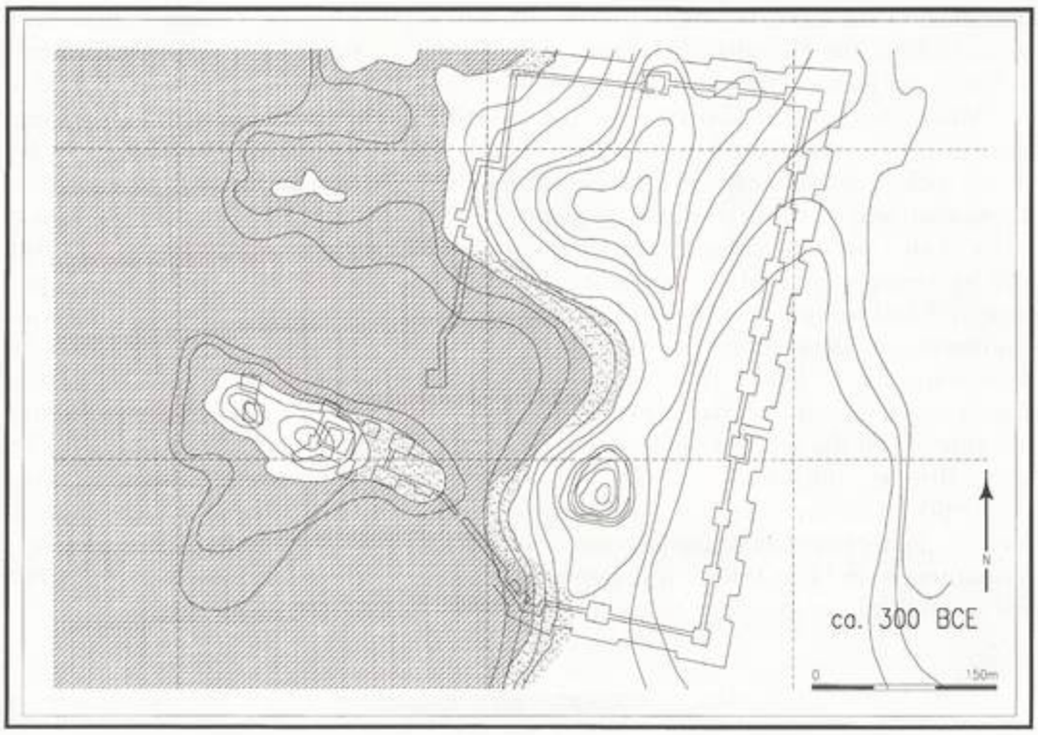


Figure 1. Sketch plan of the central area of Caesarea before Straton's Tower had been established. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim. Except as noted, all illustrations are by the author.

sponds quite nicely with the style of the pre-Herodian quay at the north bay and other Phoenician harborworks at ʿAtlit and Akko.[11]

The proposed date for that tower, the other two at the North Wall, and the basic issue of the whereabouts of Straton's Tower have been discussed by us and by others elsewhere,[12] but it is important to consider Josephus' entries referring to that pre-Herodian town, from which one must deduce that it was fortified during the time of the tyrant Zoilos and had a harbor (very probably closed within the confinement of the city walls in the best Hellenistic tradition of the *limen kleistos*), the size of which was

[11] Raban, "City Walls," and idem, "The Ancient Harbours of Israel in Biblical Times," in A. Raban, ed., *Harbour Archaeology*, BAR Int. Ser. 257 (Oxford, 1985), 30–44.

[12] Raban, "City Walls"; A. Raban, "In Search of Straton's Tower," in *Caesarea Papers*, 7–22; J. A. Blakely, "Stratigraphy and the North Fortification Wall of Herod's Caesarea," ibid., 26–41; T. W. Hillard, "A Mid-1st Century B.C. Date for the Walls of Straton's Tower?" ibid., 42–48; see also the chapter by Robert R. Stieglitz in this volume.

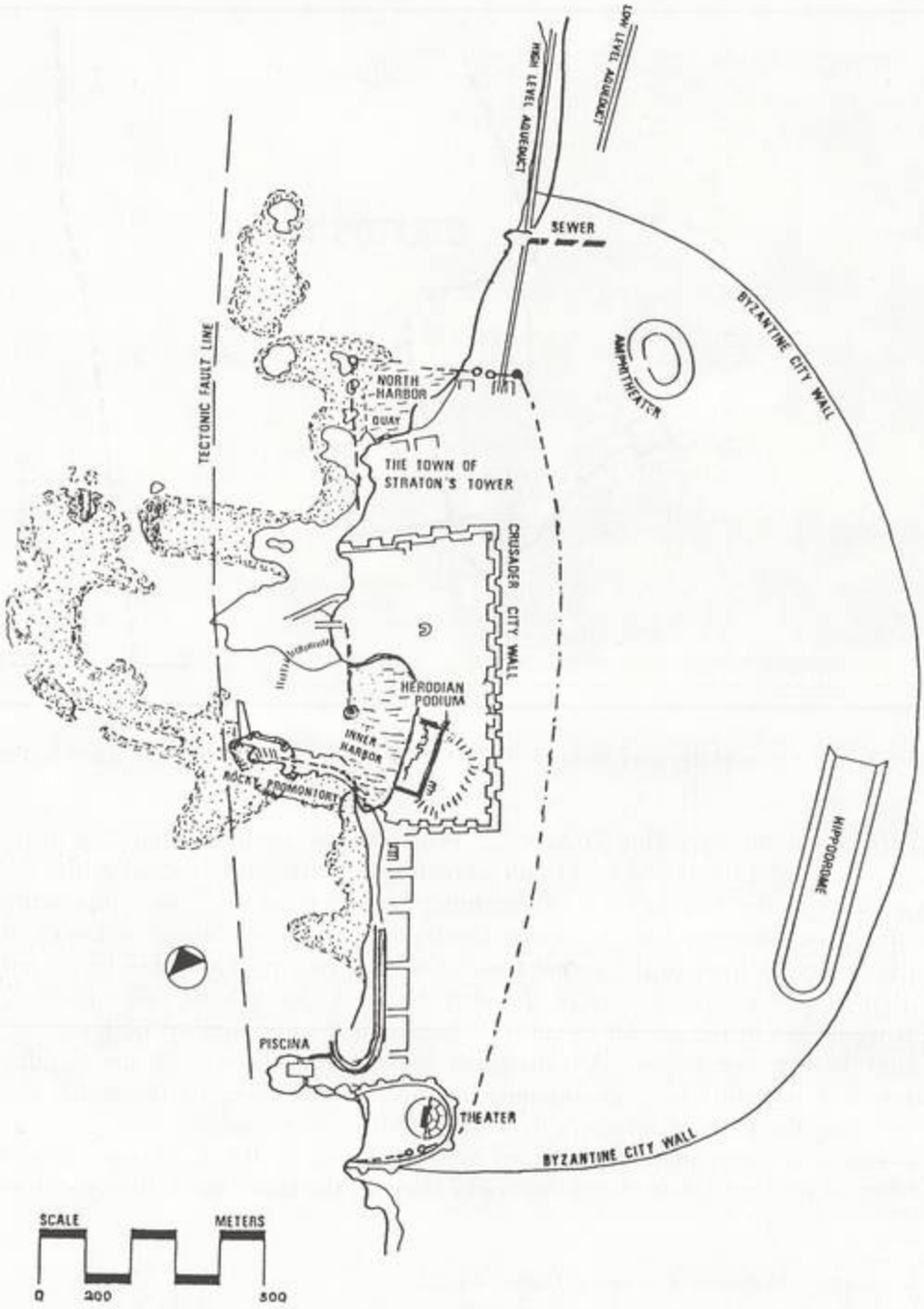


Figure 2. Sketch of tentative plan of Straton's Tower in Zoilus' era

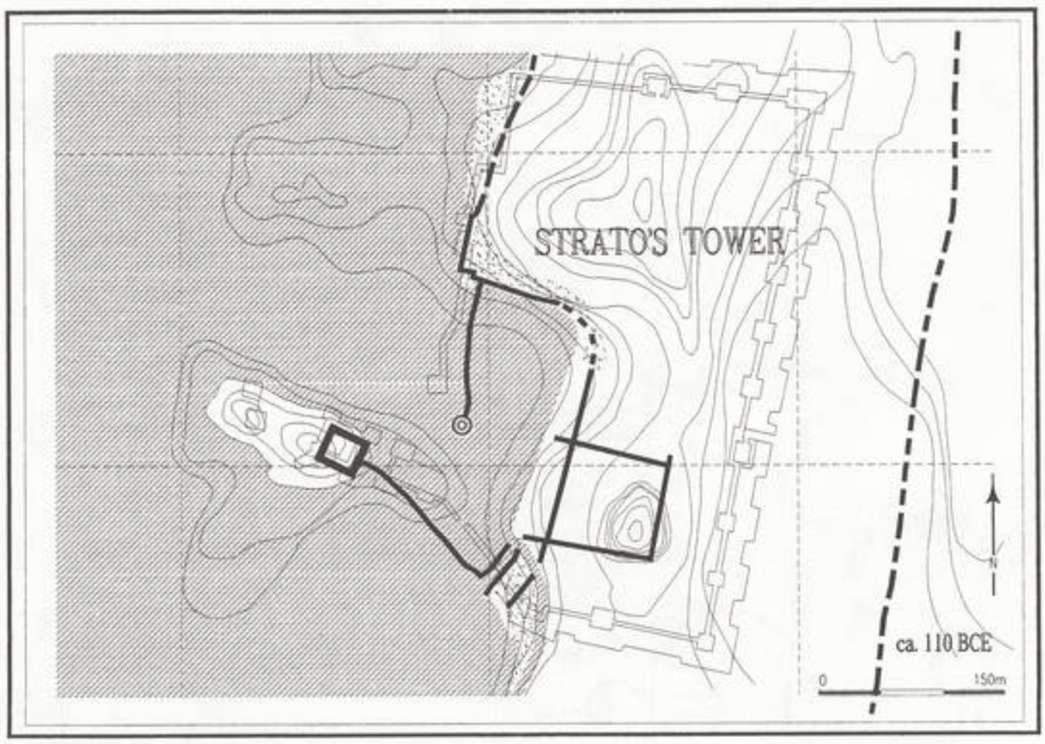


Figure 3. Sketch plan of the inner basin ca. 110 B.C.E. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim

larger than contemporary Dor (80 acres).[13] With all these circumstantial data in mind one would consider the round tower and some fragmentary pre-Herodian ashlar structures parallel to the eastern quay of the inner basin, on its lee,[14] as components of what might be considered as the *hormos* (anchorage) of Zoilos' Straton's Tower (figs. 2–4). The very location of the round tower does not fit any reasonable layout other than that of a protecting feature at the entrance to a closed basin (*limen kleistos*). As such it would not fit the overall layout of Sebastos, as it was described by Josephus, or any later harbor (see below). An intriguing issue is the absence of any significant remains of a seawall which should have connected this tower to the north shore, encompassing the town of Straton's Tower along its western side.

The relatively large quantities of third to second century B.C.E. sherds within the thin layer of fine mud that covers the rocky floor in the inner basin next to its east-

[13] See Raban, "In Search of Straton's Tower," 21–22.
[14] Cf. Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 37–41, figs. 77 (W078), 78, 81, 82, 83, 88.

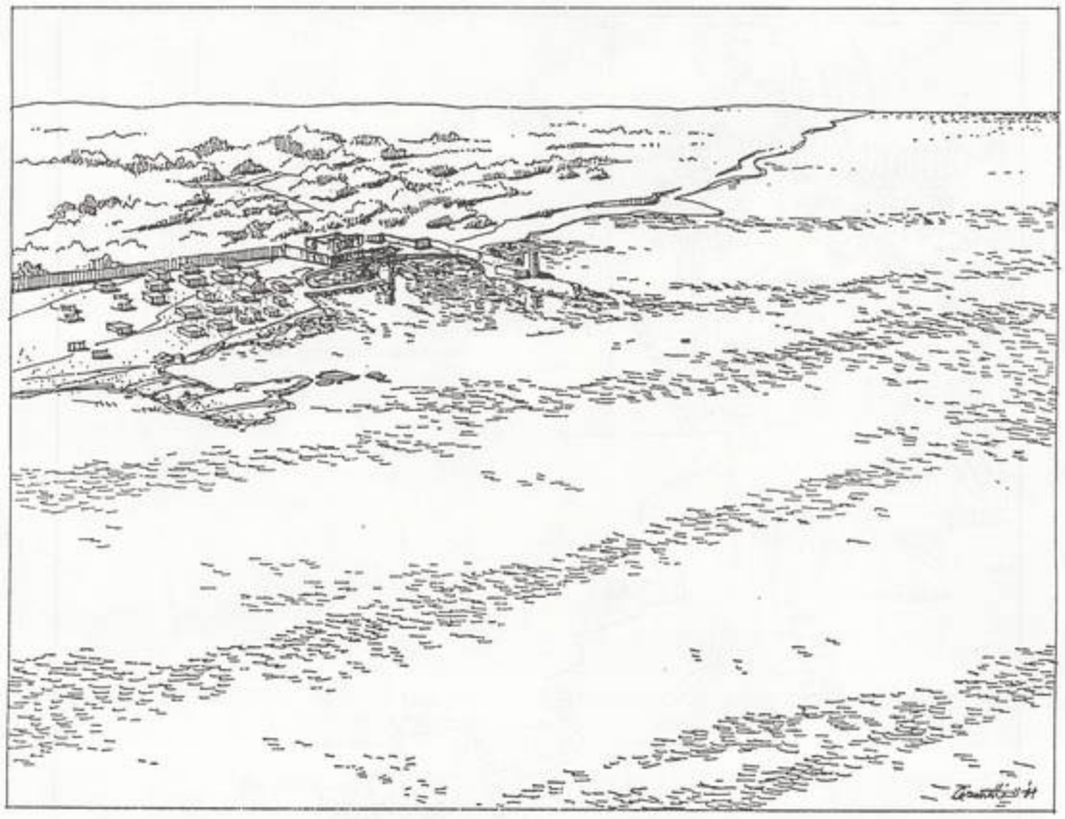


Figure 4. Artist's rendering of the southern half of Straton's Tower. Drawing by S. Giannetti

ern quay, at area I1 of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP), illustrates a situation when there was a still body of seawater (attested by the multitude of *ostreae* shells) in that period.[15] The conjectural conclusion must therefore be that the area of the inner basin was devoid of any wave energy, with no supply of sand and eroded sherds prior to Herod's time. Yet the earliest quays around that basin studied so far are all of the molded mixture of rubble and pozzolana, a building compound not known to the Hellenistic Levant before the last century B.C.E. (see also below).

There is, though, one exception, at the very northwest end of that basin, at CAHEP's area S2 (fig. 5). The quay there (W1) was exposed during the 1986 season in two places, some 10 m. apart. In both places it was found to be built of ashlar blocks with no binding matrix, and in both places *ostreae* were found along the south face to

[15] Cf. Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 89–93.

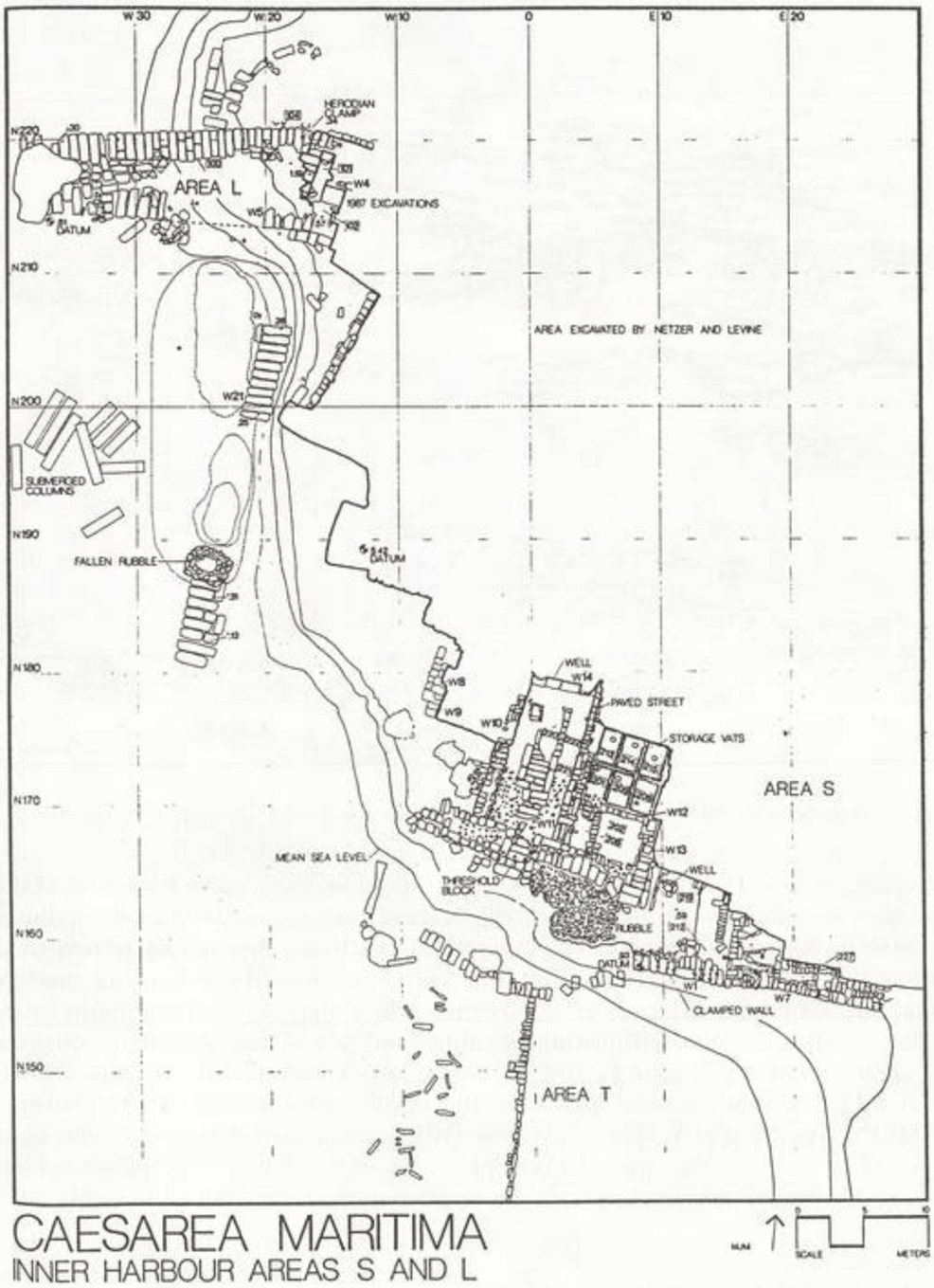


Figure 5. Top plan of CAHEP area L and area S after the 1986 season. Drawing by S. Sachs

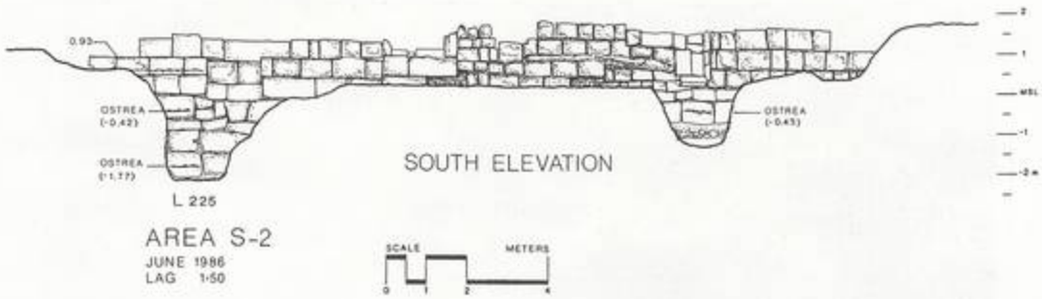


Figure 6. South elevation of W1 at area S after the 1986 season. CAHEP drawing

-0.42 cm. below M.S.L.[16] The western probe went down to almost 2 m. below M.S.L., with bedrock being reached at about -2.7 m., by water jet probe (locus **225**; cf. fig. 6). This quay, and perhaps also the header paved passage northwest of it (fig. 5, **220**), might have been built earlier than Sebastos, for the harbor of Straton's Tower, at a time when the relative sea level was lower by as much as 0.4 m. Such data would fit the Hellenistic era better than the Herodian one.[17] A related issue might be the original date for the Phoenician-style ashlar jetty of headers and its adjacent quay at the nearby area S1 (CAHEP's former area L),[18] but this is not part of the inner basin, and should be discussed elsewhere.

The Inner Basin of Sebastos

The study of the inner basin as the innermost one of Sebastos is based on the assumption that it was during Herod's time that the entire complex of the harbor and its basins was established, formed, and executed as the initial part of the urban master plan described by Josephus (*BJ* 1.408–14; *AJ* 15.331–41). For that reason, any wooden formed, cemented compound of rubble and pozzolana that can be related to the quay and adjacent structures at its lee have been considered Herodian, unless proved otherwise. Two additional dating facts for that original building phase of Sebastos are that the formed cement walls are set directly on the bedrock, and that remains of wooden planks from the forming caissons are dated by calibrated C-14 analysis to over 2000 B.P. With that in mind we can summarize the relevant data exposed during our recent excavations as follows (from north to south; for the location of various probes, see fig. 7).

[16] Raban, *Site*, 173–77; R. R. Stieglitz, in *IEJ* 37 (1987), 188.

[17] See Raban, *Site*, 293–95.

[18] Ibid., 151–54. Recently we have cleared the fill next to that quay (W021), to the west, and found that it lies on the bedrock at -0.6 m. below M.S.L.

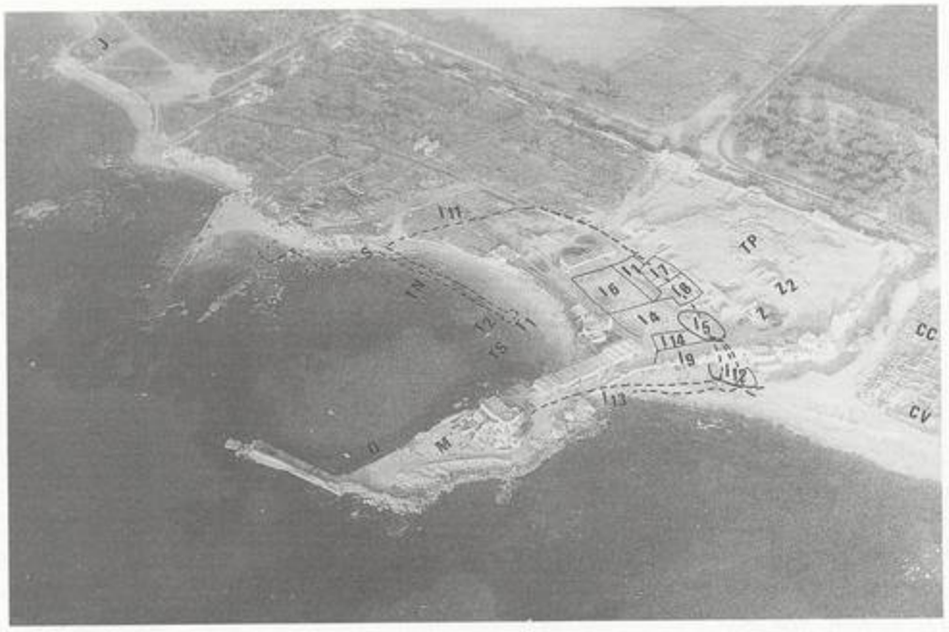


Figure 7. Aerial photograph of the area of the Inner Harbor and its surroundings, with the various probes marked

Figure 8. The cast seawall at I11, from the west

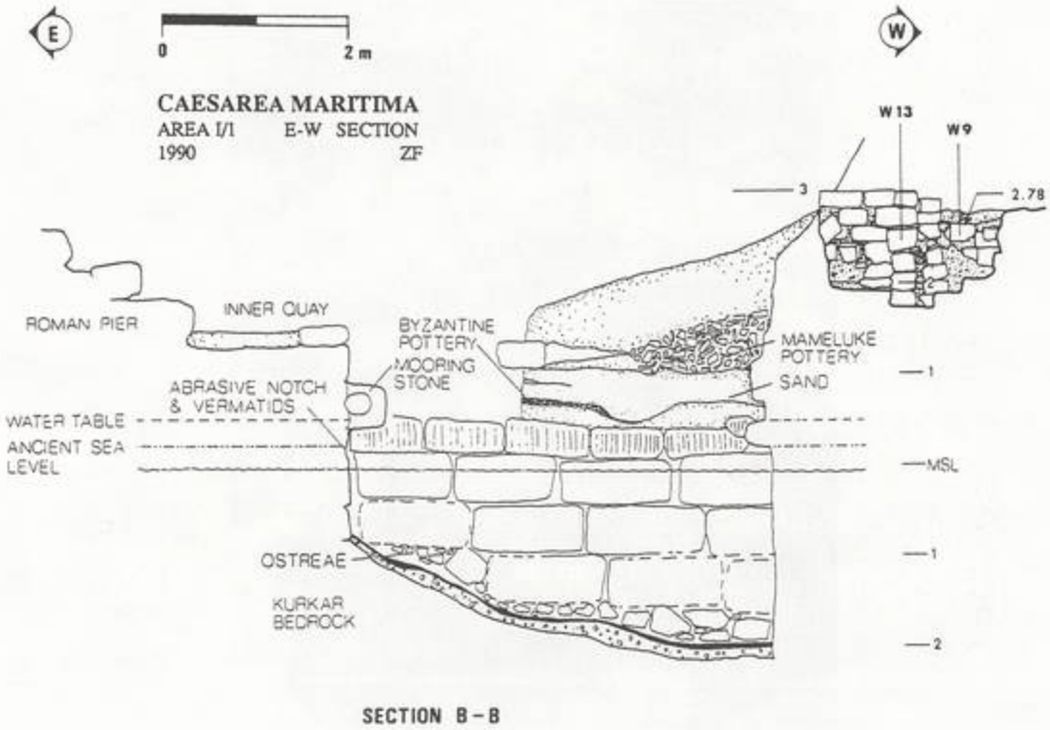


Figure 9. Section at the eastern quay in area I1

(a) *Area I11* is the probe made during the 1992 season at the northeast side of the inner basin.[19] There caisson-formed cement wall W518 has been exposed. It was cast on bedrock sloping gently toward the south-southwest, with its surface at -0.16 m. below M.S.L. The width of that cast wall is 1.85 m. and its height 1.2 m. This wall had been laid along what was at that time the water line of a bay with a thin layer of fine sand covering its rocky beach. At the lee of that wall there is an artificial fill of fine sand mixed with carbonates and dissolved lime. The large quantity of molluscs, typical of brackish water, indicates that this fill was saturated by a mixture of fresh groundwater and seawater, open to the air above, and adjacent to sea level at least 0.2 m. higher than the present M.S.L. Some time later, but still before the mid-first century C.E., both the fill on its lee and the top of the cement wall were covered by a concrete floor (F511) about 0.2 m. thick and very coherent. On top of that floor there were sherds of the Herodian era (fig. 8).

[19] R. Toueg, in Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 44–46, figs. 13, 21 (top plan), 94–97.

Figure 10. The flushing channel at the lee of the eastern quay in area I4, looking south

(b) *Area I1,* at the midsection of the eastern quay, west of the northwest corner of the Temple Platform (fig. 7), is the one that has been under study since 1976.[20] The more it is studied, the more complicated the data become. Yet its original phase, though covered in many places by later renovations and additional structures, is of a clearly discerned character: a vertical seawall, of which only the western face is exposed, had been installed on a leveled edge of rather crumbling kurkar, at -0.85 m. below M.S.L. Within its upper part a pierced stone slab was incorporated, with the center of its horizontal hole for mooring at 0.7 m. above M.S.L. (about 0.4 m. above the ancient one). The formed mixture of rubble and hydraulic concrete (pozzolana) was topped by a single course of ashlar headers to a height of 1.65 m. above the pre-

[20] Raban, *Site,* 80–81, 132–37; Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 15–22.

Figure 11. Area I5 from the southwest; well 342 is within channel 360 at the top right-hand side

sent M.S.L. (fig. 9). The highest elevation of *ostreae* shells on the face of this wall indicates that sea level was about 0.3 m. higher than the present M.S.L. when seawater reached that wall, probably in the second or early third century C.E. (see below).

(c) *Area I2*, just south of I1. There the line of the eastern quay has been exposed below the floor of one of the Fatimid bins (1295),[21] at 1.16 m. above M.S.L., built of ashlar slabs. Yet, in another bin of that group, which was later used as a well (loci **1212**, **1255**), the mosaic floor of the bin seems to have been laid over concrete that extends west of the line of the eastern quay.[22] The same type of concrete was exposed at 1.17 m. above M.S.L., even farther to the west, during the 1993 season, at locus **951**, under an eighth-century C.E. floor. Thus it is probable that there was some kind of projecting cast jetty at that area, which is still hidden under later structures.

(d) *Areas I4, 5*, two adjacent probes along the eastern quay. In both, the original structure was partly dismantled and rebuilt with topping courses of very large ashlar blocks. I4 is a probe attempted during the 1989 season. The quay there was found to be 2.6 m. wide and laid on leveled bedrock at 0.3 m. above M.S..L on its lee and -1.05 m. below M.S.L. on its western side.[23] Farther north along the eastern quay

[21] Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), figs. 27, 48.
[22] Ibid., 22–24, fig. 41.
[23] Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 89–90, figs. 16–18.

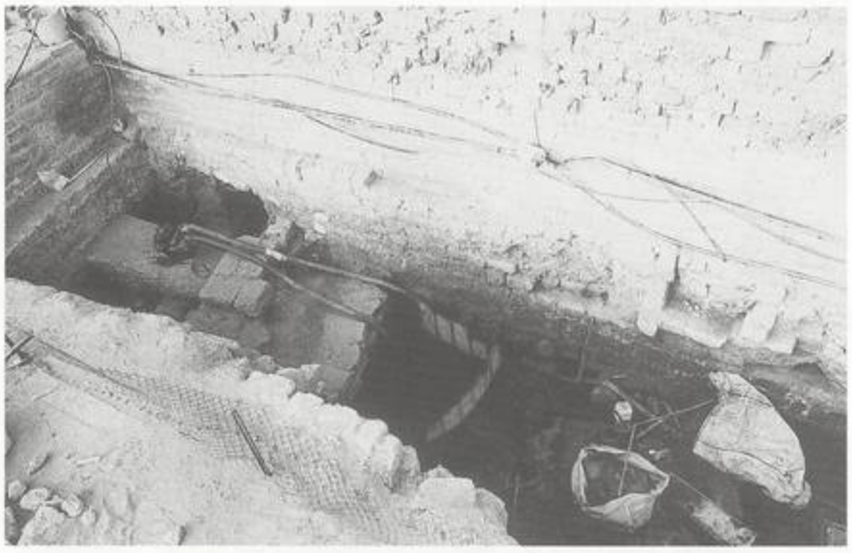


Figure 12. Area I9 looking south. The pump is laid on the Byzantine floor that covers the flushing channel. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

(locus **1271**), the entire height of the seawall seems to be a later replacement of the original Herodian one, and such is the case for the adjacent area at its lee, which was disturbed and penetrated by various Early Islamic cisterns and wells (fig. 10). There the very northern surviving segment of a flushing channel has been exposed. It is a plastered structure that was molded in hydraulic concrete with its 0.8 m. wide floor at 0.89 m. above M.S.L.[24]

A similar situation has been found at I5, but at this more southern segment of the quay, there were two crushed kurkar floors, of which the lower one (**359**), at 1.21 m. above M.S.L., was based on a fill of crushed kurkar, mixed with some sherds that would date it to the Herodian era.[25] Beyond that floor, some 6 m. at the lee of the quay, there is a Byzantine square wall (**342**) that pierced through another, better preserved segment of the flushing channel (**360**). That channel was found to be deliberately filled with a mixture of fine, dark clay, in which many *ostreae* and sherds are incorporated (fig. 11). Careful reading of every significant sherd and any readable coin enabled us to suggest that this fill had been dredged from the bottom of the inner basin early in the third century C.E. (a coin of the Roman Emperor Septimius Severus, 193–211 C.E., is the latest datable item found in that context so far).

(e) *Area I9* is next to the base of the southern medieval city wall, just east of the gatehouse of the "Jaffa Gate."[26] There the eastern quay was found to be crossing under-

[24] Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 27–31, figs. 50–52.
[25] Ibid., figs. 49, 54, 58.
[26] Y. Porath, in *Hadashoth arkheologioth* 105 (forthcoming).

Figure 13. Area I9, locus **906,** from the west: the quay, excavated almost to the bedrock

Figure 14. The quay at area I12, looking from the southwest. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

Figure 15. The face of the quay at I12, from the west. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

neath the foundation of the Early Islamic wall, and to be topped by three courses of ashlar slabs that are incorporated with a floor of beaten soil. That floor and the fill that substantiated it cover two channels (fig. 12). The western one resembles, by form, size, and elevation, the flushing channel exposed in I4 and I5, though its floor is somewhat higher (0.95 m. above M.S.L.). The original quay incorporates three courses of cut stones; the upper one is of headers of considerable size with its base well abraded by the sea. The *ostreae* shells were found up to its base (fig. 13) at 0.3 m. above M.S.L. The lower course of cut stones is embedded in the cast mixture of rubble and pozzolana, which had been laid on bedrock at -1.4 m. below M.S.L.

(f) *Area I12* is the southeastern corner of the inner basin. Here the excavations followed the course of the eastern quay toward the south bay and exposed its curved turn toward the west (fig. 14). In that area the original quay has survived to a maximum

Figure 16. The flushing channel at I12, from the south

height of only 0.6 m. above the M.S.L., topped by later added blocks. The only surviving course of heavily eroded headers had been originally incorporated with molded concrete, composed of rubble and pozzolana, much like in I9 (fig. 15). The probe made next to it went through a very disturbed mixture of shells, sherds, and wave-deposited coarse sand. The rate of abrasion on the surface of the quay indicates that it was exposed to extensive water energy for a rather long period. The cast quay was found to be laid directly over a gently sloping surface of beachrock, at -0.9 m. below M.S.L. Below the beachrock there is sand with no sherds or any other manmade artifacts. At the lee of the quay, to the east, a wide and rather shallow flushing channel was found, in continuation of that in I4, 5, and 9. The floor of the channel in I12 is more than 1.4 m. wide and it gets wider, shallower, and lower in elevation toward the south (fig. 16).[27]

[27] Ibid. I am grateful for the oral information given to me by Dr. Porath, who excavated the "Land Site" at I9 and I12.

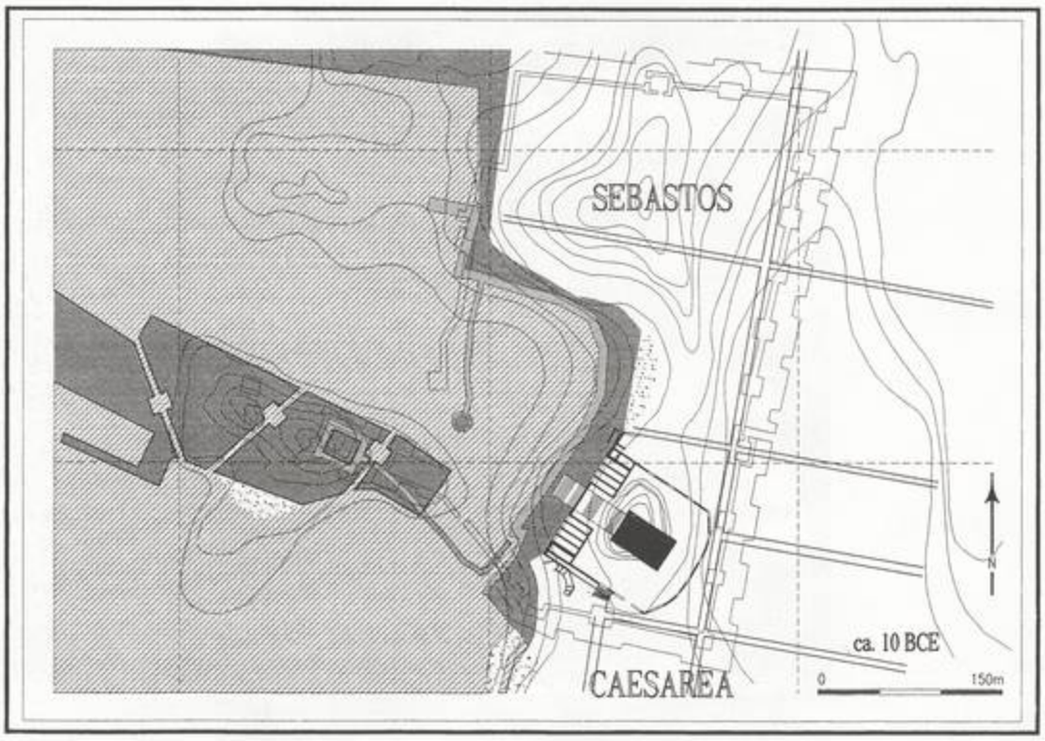


Figure 17. Sketch plan of the inner basin of Sebastos. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim

It seems as if that flushing channel had been fed from the wash of the waves over the rocky beach of the nearby South Bay (even today there is no deposition of sand at that place). The incoming water would rush into the ascending channel to a point somewhere between I9 and I5, where we assume there was a settling basin, with sluice-gates and threshold at just over 1 m. above M.S.L. From that alleged basin the flushing water would run down through the channel and would flow into the back of the inner basin at area I4. Unfortunately, that part of the quay went through a series of modifications in a later period, so the exact whereabouts of the turn of the course have not survived. Based on the data summarized above, the following drawings represent the reconstruction of the Inner Harbor as it was incorporated by Herod's engineers within the overall complex of Sebastos (figs. 17, 18).

The Inner Harbor During the Later Roman Era

As a topographic "terminal" for sediments, the inner basin's water depth was most sensitive to any deficiency of the flushing system or altered rate of wave energy at its west-

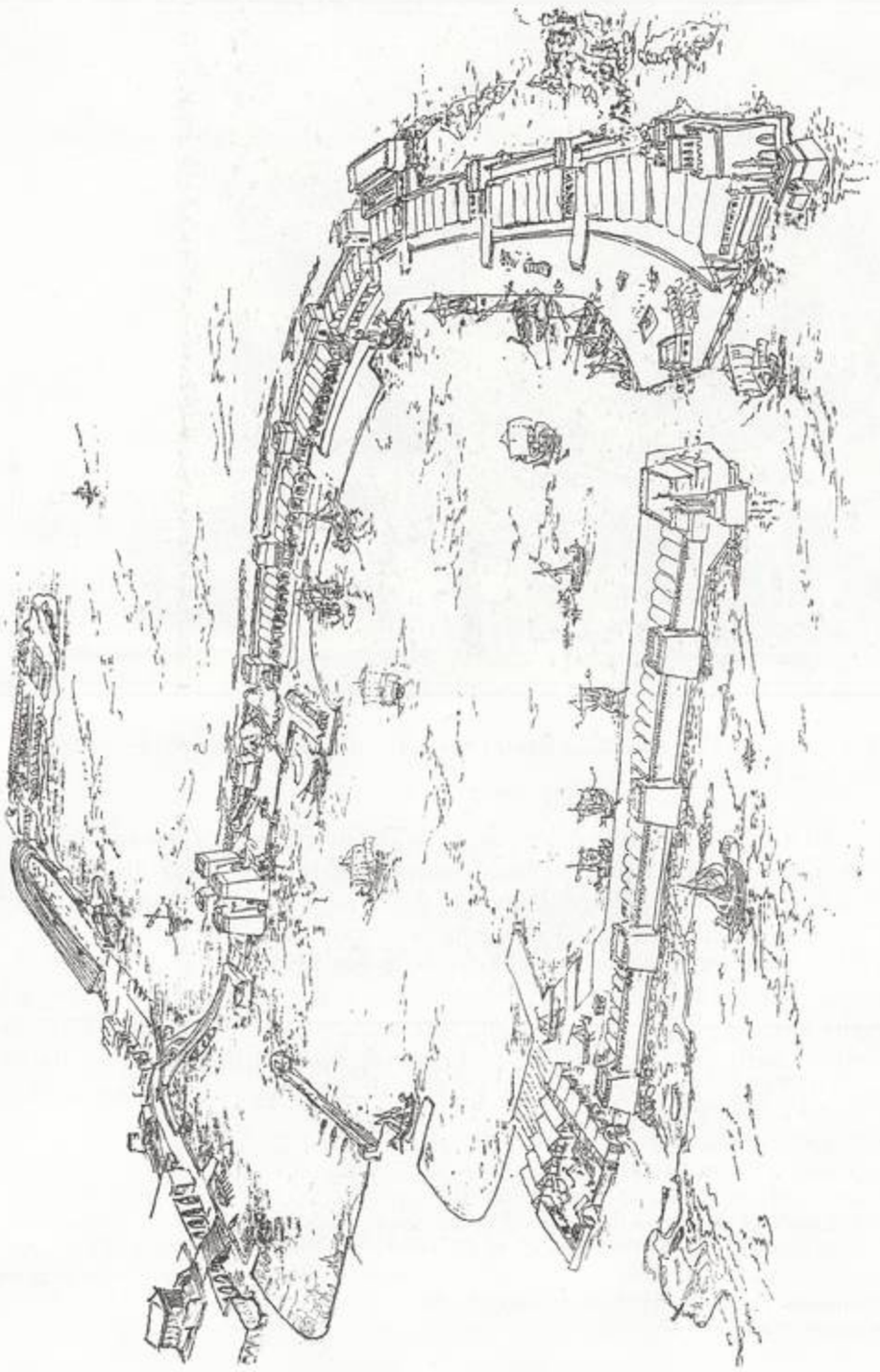


Figure 18. Artist's rendering of Sebastos. Drawing by the author and Christopher Brandon

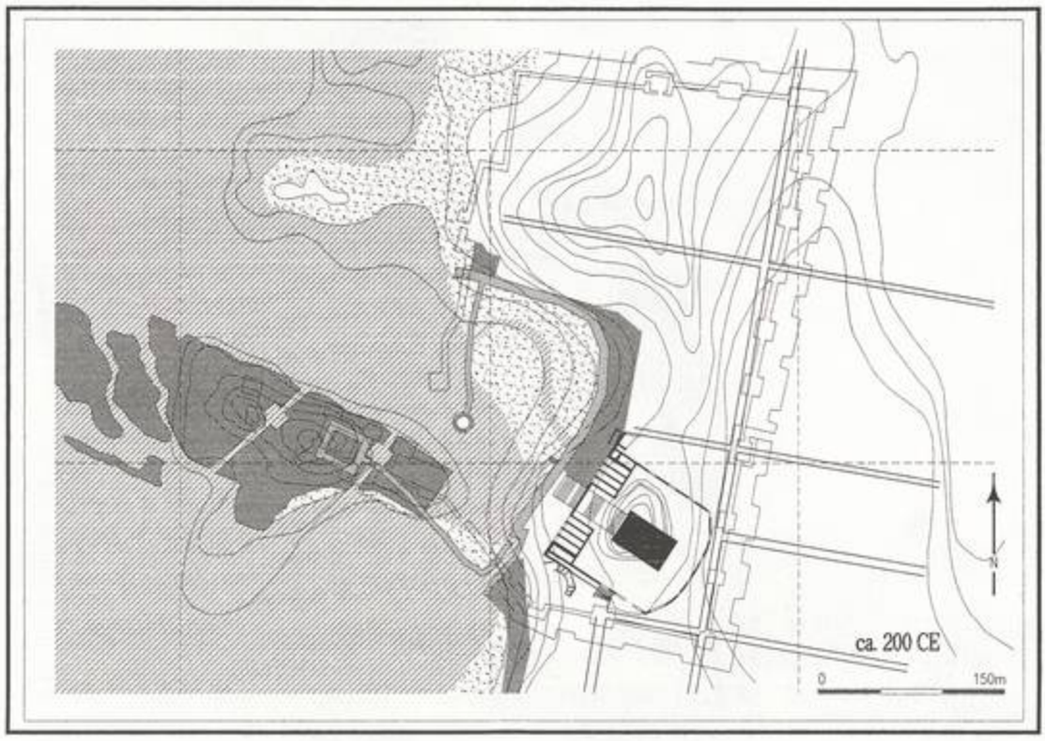


Figure 19. Sketch plan of the inner basin toward the end of the second century C.E. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim

ern entrance. It seems that the original depth of the inner basin of Sebastos was properly maintained for more than a century, with properly functioning flushing system, relatively narrow entrance channel (between the Round Tower T1 and the "Harbor Citadel"), and probably occasional dredging attempts. The thin layer of fine mud, encrusted by rather extensive colonies of *ostreae*, is good evidence to attest to it.[28]

Yet there is circumstantial evidence to suggest that the main mole of Sebastos had lost integrity already toward the end of the first century C.E., and that the surge overran it, into the harbor's basins, in an ever increasing manner, all though the following two centuries.[29] From the theoretical model for sedimentation and the thus far sketchy

[28] Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 89–93.

[29] For the wreck site of the late first century C.E. over the northern tip of the main mole, see Christopher Brandon's chapter in this volume; Holum et al., *Caesarea Papers II* (forthcoming): the preliminary report for the CCE 1993–94 seasons; A. Raban, "New Data from the Study of Caesarea and Its Harbors" [Hebrew], in E. Shiler, ed., *Ariel* 102–3 (Jerusalem, 1994), 119–33. For other data see A. Raban, "Sebastos: The Royal Harbour at Caesarea Maritima: A Short-lived Giant," *IJNA* 21 (1992), 111–24; *Caesarea Papers*, 68–74.

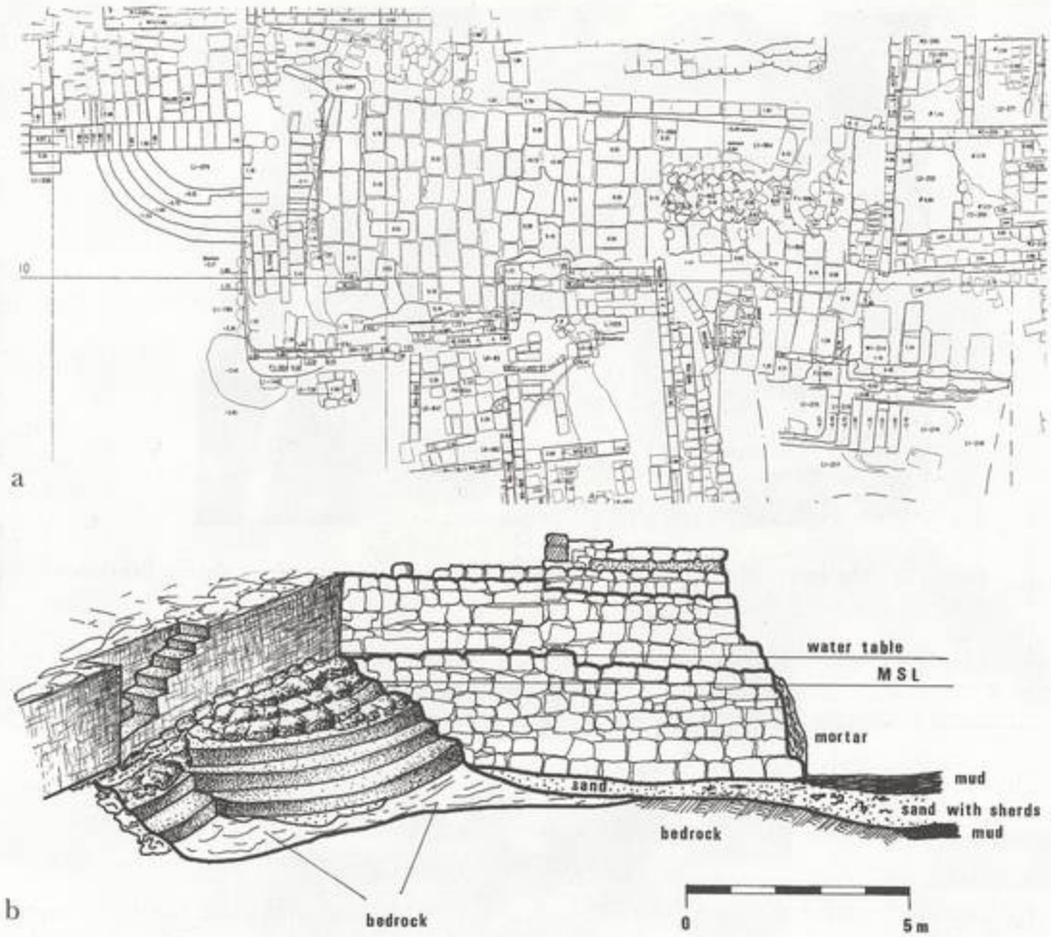


Figure 20. Plan and northern elevation of the circular staircase at I1

data we have from core drills made within the inner basin, it seems to us that sand started accumulating soon after 70 C.E., mostly at its northern half and next to its southern seawall (fig. 19). The still operating flushing channel at the SE seemed to allow navigation in the area between its outflow and the western entrance. Yet sometime during that period an attempt was made to add a protruding quay to the seaward facade of the eastern quay, at the area facing the entrance and adjacent to the molded Herodian jetty on its northern side (area I1 and I6). This quay was built of loosely fitted large ashlars, laid over a layer of sand, some 0.3–0.6 m. thick, mixed with abraded seashells and Early Roman sherds, which had been silted from the original floor of the Herodian basin. The quay was built up to about 0.4 m. above the present

Figure 21. The staircase in I1, looking from the northwest. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

Figure 22. The lower north corner of the staircase in I1 at the point where it meets the bedrock. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

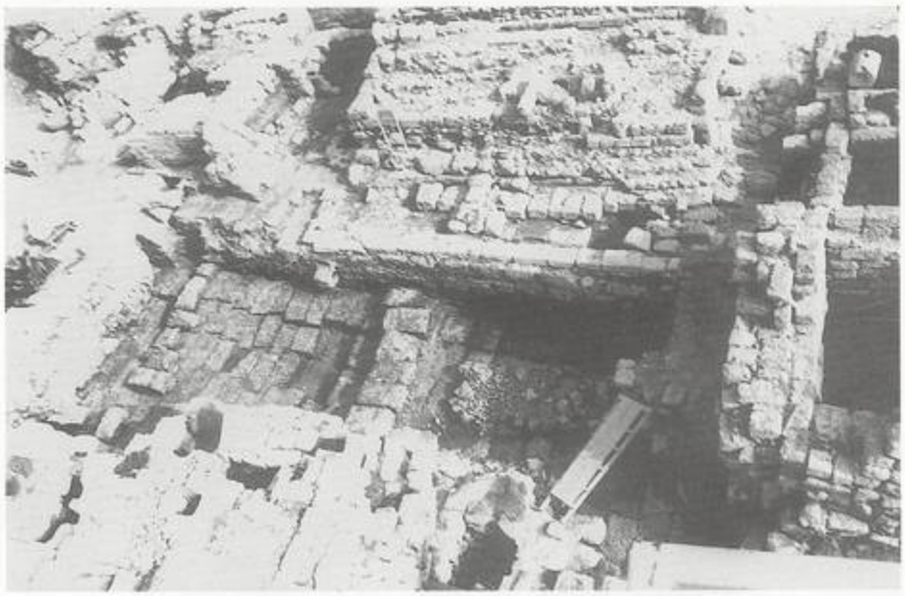


Figure 23. Overview of part of I1 and I6, showing much of the second- to third-century C.E. quay and some of the later structures over it, looking northeast

Figure 24. The staircase in I6, looking east. Photograph by J. Gottlieb

Figure 25. The west face of the "New Quay" at I6 (locus **148**), looking from the west. The meter rod is at the present M.S.L. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

M.S.L. Next to the NE corner, between that new quay and the Herodian one, a circular staircase was built, leading from the seafloor(!) to the face of the new quay, with its northern extension being cut in the bedrock next to the older one (figs. 20–22).

A second staircase was added next to the SW side of the new quay, along its western face, leading down southward from the water level of the time (0.4 m. above the present one?). This 1.2 m. wide staircase comprises seven steps (like the circular one) and was based on 0.3 m. of sand (over bedrock) at -2.1 m. below M.S.L. (figs. 23, 24). The face of the staircases was covered by gray plaster, rich in volcanic ash and pieces of charcoal. This plaster, which had been applied manually, also covered the face of the bedrock and the retainer of the western face of the quay, found at its NW end (I6,

Figure 26. The lower part of the western face of the new quay at I6 (locus **148**), looking from the west. Note the wooden post at the top of the retaining rubble and the *ostreae* over the plaster.

locus **148**). This retainer was made manually by laying courses of small rubble, mixed with cement, around wooden upright posts (figs. 25, 26).

The cement and the plaster were found to be very soft and noncoherent, after being rinsed for centuries in fresh groundwater. Yet the marine encrustation adds much to solidify their surface, indicating that the composition of both was calculated as a "marine" one rather than "hydraulic." The entire structure is of very intriguing character:

Why were there staircases leading from water level to the seafloor?

Why put a staircase at the mooring face of a quay (hampering boats from mooring next to the quay)?

Why have the top surface of a quay at about sea level?

How were the retainer wall and the plaster applied manually at an elevation down to almost 2.5 m. below sea level?

Even if we consider a situation when this part of the inner basin was already landlocked (as is the case today), it would have still been well below water table (which is about half a meter higher than M.S.L.). Calculating the rate of pumping needed in order to keep a caissoned area of a size demanded to accommodate this structure (which is 18 x 8 m.), in order to facilitate manual construction, one might arrive at a figure close to 5 $m.^3$ per minute to be pumped off day and night for as long as it took to complete the work!

As for the date of that structure, the best we can say at this stage is based on C-14 dating of the wood from one of the posts (ca. 1890 B.P.), and on the earlier non-eroded sherds of amphoras found at the base of the fill that covers its various components, which are of Spanish, Italian, and North African amphora types dated to the second–third century C.E.

Having no additional data from elsewhere in Caesarea, either from along its waterfront or in other parts of Sebastos, to suggest radical changes in land/sea relations during these centuries, the enigmatic features and the logic behind the construction of such a "quay" remain to be solved, hopefully by future research and exposure of additional data.

The later history of that structure seems to have been even more complicated. To judge from the fill next to it, to the north and to the west, there was a body of seawater here that was gradually filled up, mainly during the fifth century C.E., almost to water level with what seems to have been deliberately dumped broken vessels (mainly jars and amphoras), building stones, and decomposed plaster and cement, mixed with fine mud and covered by *ostreae* shells. This marine fauna indicates that seawater was flowing next to that structure at a pace that provided a continuous supply of oxygen but did not erode the sherds and carry in sand.

Some time during the first half of the third century C.E. the southern seawall of the inner basin was breached, either deliberately, by the people of Caesarea, or by the transgressing sea. One might argue for contemporaneous occurrence with other dramatic changes at the waterfront of Caesarea at that time, such as the abandonment of the amphitheater along the coast of the South Bay and its replacement by a new one farther inland;[30] the additional submergence of the western mole;[31] and the renovation of the western facade of the Temple Platform.[32] At that time the flushing channel at the southwest went out of use and was deliberately filled (see above). Instead, an uncontrolled flushing of seawater, carrying quantities of coarse sand, shingles, erod-

[30] Y. Porath, "Herod's Amphitheater at Caesarea: Preliminary Notice" [Hebrew], *'Atiqot* 25 (1994), 15.

[31] Raban, "Sebastos," 113–19; R. L. Hohlfelder, "The Changing Fortunes of Caesarea's Harbours in the Roman Period," in *Caesarea Papers*, 75–78.

[32] Y. Porath, at the ASOR annual meeting, 1993 (Washington, D.C.).

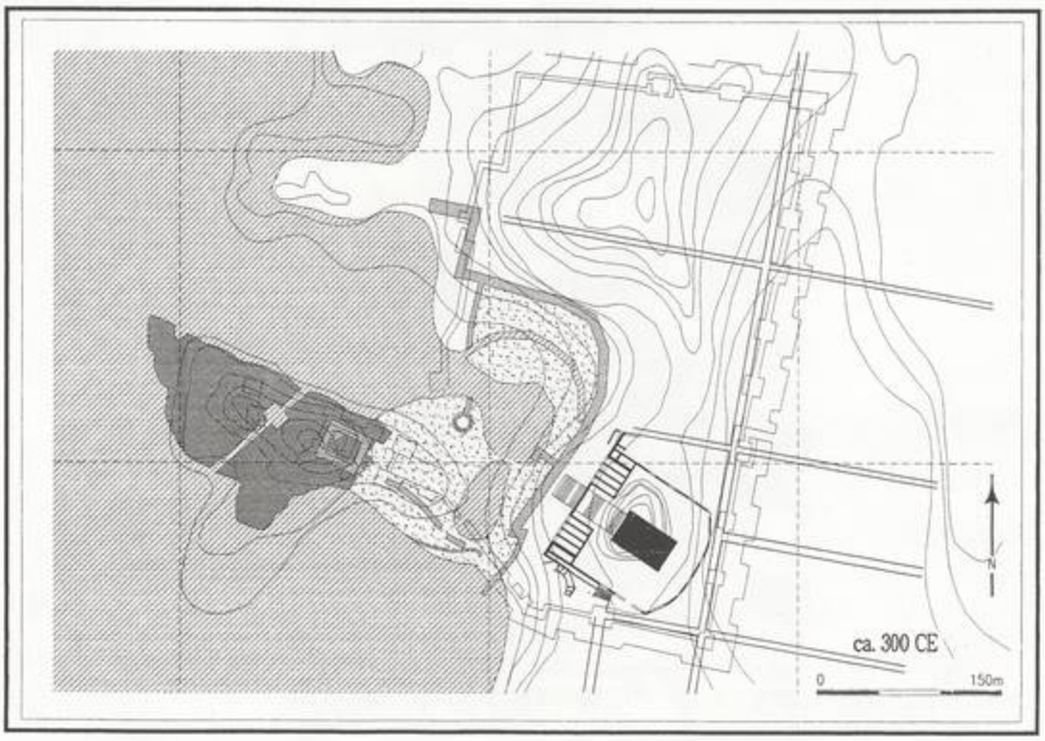


Figure 27. Sketch plan of the inner basin toward the end of the third century C.E. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim

ed seashells (mainly *Glycimeria*), and sherds flowed in through the southern gap. The solid load was deposited next to the gap, within the SE corner of the inner basin. Additional sediments were brought up by the surge from the west, through the wide seafront that had been created following the dismantling of the western seawall. The double source of sediments created sandbars in the inner basin, with at least one big hollow filled with stagnant water at its southern side (fig. 27). A probe made in area I9, about a dozen meters west of the point where the eastern quay of the inner basin passes under the medieval city wall, has exposed, under the base of the Byzantine seawall (see below), a thick and very compact layer (locus **904**) of almost pure organic materials. The top of that layer is at -0.6 m. below M.S.L., and its base is above bedrock and a thin layer of sand at -2.3 m. below M.S.L. (fig. 28). The organic content of that layer included wooden branches, pieces of rope, mats, and woven baskets, and vast quantities of food remnants: fruit stones, olive and grape pits, fig seeds, cereals, beans, sesame seeds, chicken and cattle bones, and so on, all uncarbonized and nonoxidized and still retaining their original color and texture (fig. 29). The pottery found at that context and C-14 dates for samples of the rich organic repertory enable

Figure 28. The organic layer at I9, locus **904**, looking from the north. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

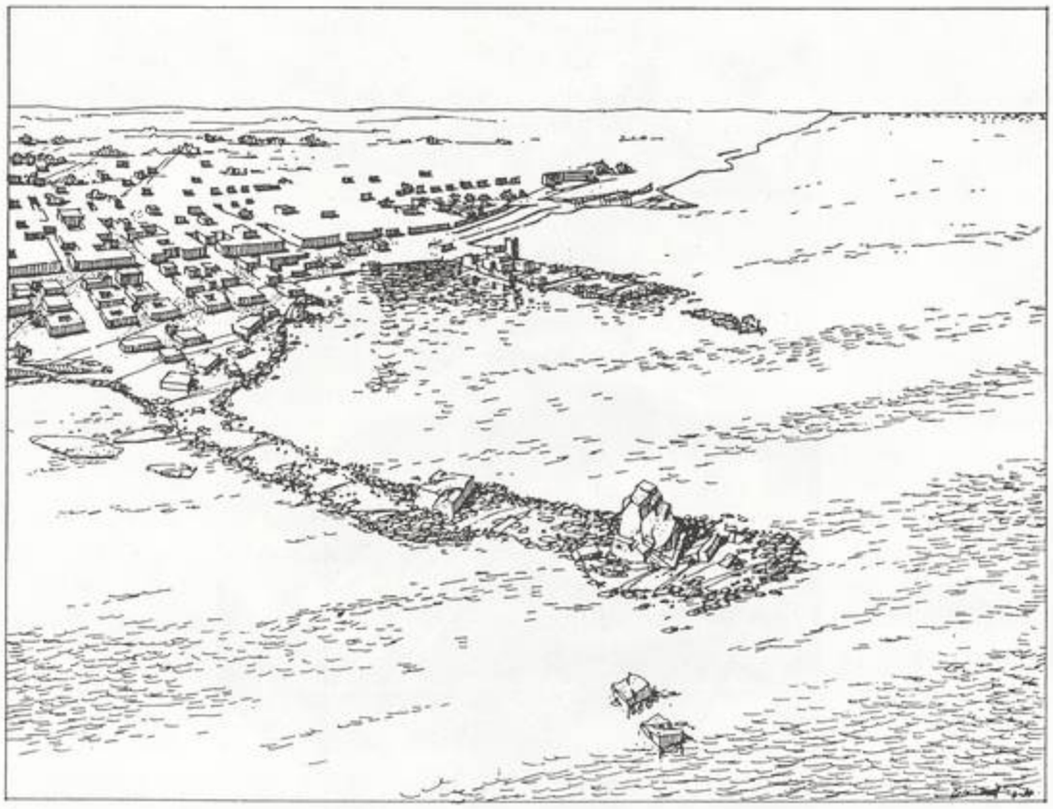
Figure 29. Samples of typical food remains from locus **904**. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

Figure 30. The shored probe (locus **700**) in I14. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

us to date that dump to the late third to early fifth century C.E.

During the late months of 1993, a team of archaeologists from the Museum of London excavated an area designated as I14 within the southern part of the inner basin. In this project a well-shored probe was excavated in an attempt to study very carefully the alternating layers of sediments (fig. 30). There, too, a layer of compact silt with a high percentage of organic material, of the same type and state as in locus **904** of area I9, was found between -2.5 m. and -0.9 m. below M.S.L.[33]

[33] B. Yule and R. Rowsome, *Caesarea Maritima Interim Report of 1993 Season at Area I14*, Museum of London Archaeological Service, August 1994; V. D. Williamson, "Preliminary Sedimentological Assessment of Samples from the Inner Harbour at Caesarea Maritima," Geoarcheological Service Facility Technical Report, 94/05 (1994), Institute of Archaeology, University College, London. For further updated information see B. Yule, *Caesarea Papers II*.



BYZANTINE PHASE

Figure 31. Artist's rendering of the harbor after Anastasius' renovation ca. 500 C.E. Drawing by S. Giannetti

We can then deduce that, during the Later Roman era and probably as late as the mid-fifth century C.E., the inner basin went through a process of decay that was perpetuated by the continuous addition of deposited, wave-carried sediments and urban dump. Yet there was a rather confined body of flowing seawater along the southern half of the eastern quay, with possible access for small navigating vessels entering it from the west, through a narrow passage next to the round tower.

The Inner Basin during the Byzantine Era, to the Mid-sixth Century C.E.

The next stage in the history of natural processes and human responses is tentatively dated by us to ca. 500 C.E. For that time period we have a rather unique reference to imperial funds made available to the people of Caesarea by Anastasius I (491–518

C.E.) for "amending the ill-fated harbor and for its restoration as a navigable one."[34] So far the only structural remains that have been traced along the external harbor basin which can be connected with that effort are a rather extensive, loosely laid rampart comprised of small rubble. This follows and covers the inner half of the northern main mole and continues beyond it to the west, filling up the original harbor channel, and reaches the northern tip of the western mole (fig. 31).[35] At the present stage of fieldwork we cannot suggest the whereabouts and character of the water line at the lee of Anastasius' mole, yet it is quite clear that it was at least 50–60 m. west of the eastern quay of the inner basin. Some time before Anastasius' building attempt, the area of the inner basin had been covered by depositions of wash-carried beach materials characterized by heavily eroded small sherds, seashells, and coarse sand. That type of deposition has been found everywhere within the inner basin, over those of the previous era, described above.[36]

Everywhere along the eastern and southern edge of the inner basin there are very impressive remains of major architectural features which are tentatively related to that imperial-initiated building project allegedly sponsored by Anastasius. Most probably the renovation of the entire Temple Platform, including the renovation of the pediment vaults, extension of the retaining walls on the north and south sides, the construction of a large staircase that led from the eastern edge of the former inner basin to the Temple Platform and, the building of the octagonal monument (the alleged "Martyrium of St. Procopius") were all parts of that project.[37] During that building phase, temporarily designated by the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE) as stratum XI, a new seawall was established along the south side of the inner basin, within the line of the former, breached one, at a course later to be used as the base for the medieval city wall.[38] That seawall (fig. 32) was exposed during the 1992 season by Y. Porath, for the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), and also in our 1993 probes in area I9, extending for more than 40 m. just west of the eastern quay of the inner basin. That wall was based on a foundation comprised of reused column shafts that had been laid within the layer of beach deposits described above in a rather loose manner. Over it, there is a well-constructed ashlar structure of a considerable width (probably 3 m. or more, but its southern face is buried within the later medieval wall), with its surface sloping gently toward the west (being at about 1.6 m. above M.S.L. next to the old quay and only 1.2 m. above M.S.L. 20 m. farther to the west). It is interesting that the easternmost end of that wall is about 3 m. west of the line of the eastern quay. Apparently a passage was left open by the Byzantine builders, enabling excess seawater

[34] Cf. Procopius of Gaza, *Panegyricus in Imperatorem Anastasium, PG* 87.3:2817, §19.

[35] Raban, *Site,* 130–31, 290–92; *IEJ* 38 (1988), 273–75.

[36] Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 20–22, 26–27.

[37] Cf. Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 100–107; Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 37–42 (areas I7, I8, and the date of the staircase), 50–51 (the southern retaining wall of the Temple Platform in area Z2), 54–55 (the Temple Platform).

[38] Y. Porath et al., *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 9 (1989–90), 132–34.

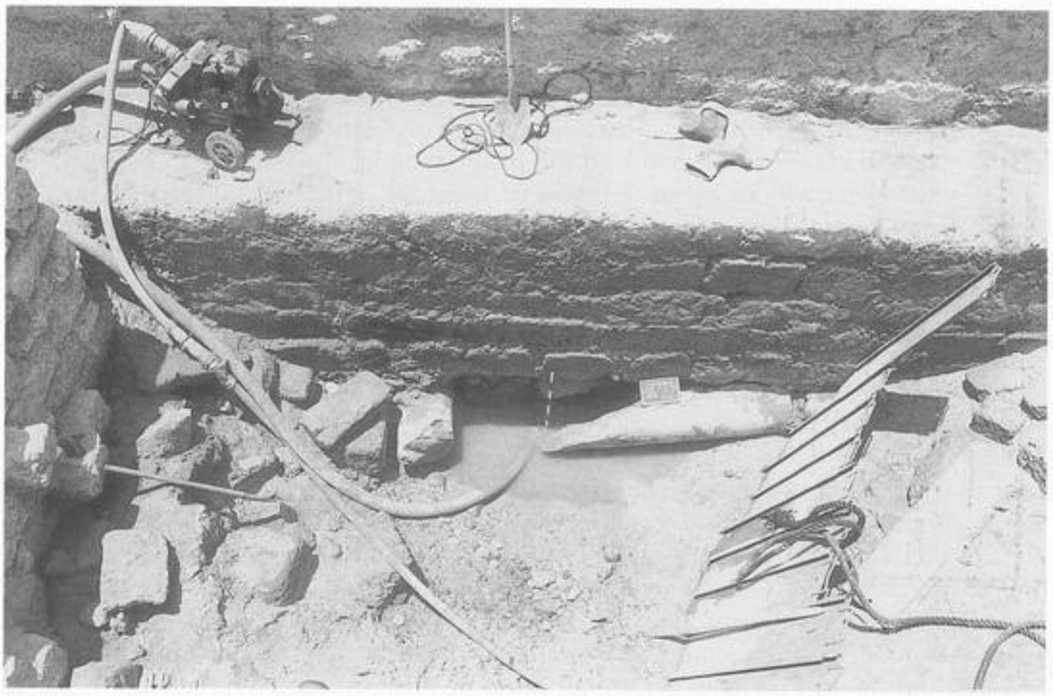


Figure 32. The Byzantine seawall in area I9, looking from the north

from storm breakers in the South Bay to find its way into the area of the former inner basin for some yet unknown reason.

The eastern quay, during this phase, lost its original maritime function but was renovated as a retainer between *terra firma* on its lee and the still inundated landlocked inner basin. The second- to third-century C.E. quay at I1 was altered during this phase by addition of an elevated confining wall along its edges to create what might have been a rectangular "Reflecting Pool" in front of the staircase that led to the Temple Platform (fig. 23). On its northeast side, the northern side wall of that alleged pool was incorporated into a rather wide, ashlar-paved platform that was laid over the original quay, extending a few meters beyond its edge to the west. This extension was based over a beach deposit in what seems to have been a very ill-substantiated manner (figs. 33, 34). From that platform there was a small staircase, leading down to the low ground in the west (see fig. 34), which was probably inundated at the time, at least during the winter and spring seasons, by shallow groundwater. This was suggested by a set of column drums that we found laid in the mud at intervals leading west from the base of the staircase.[39] The elevation of that dry walk facility, 0.9 m. above M.S.L., is almost half a meter too high for the one required at present and might indicate that

[39] Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 18–21, figs. 28, 37.

Figure 33. A close-up look at the base of the Byzantine platform in I1, looking from the west

Figure 34. The Byzantine Platform in I1, from NW. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

Figure 35. View of the southern balk of locus **112** in area I1. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

the water table of that time was higher by that much (as was probably the eustatically altered sea level). This low area was retained by a wall, later looted, that had been laid parallel to the ashlar platform, 6–7 m. west of it, so that it was confined and protected from being silted in by wave-carried sand. These beach depositions were found up to almost 2 m. above M.S.L., against the "shadow" of the looted wall, while within it there were terrestrial deposits of mud and quantities of Late Byzantine pottery (fig. 35).[40]

Columns that had been inserted vertically in the eastern quay as mooring posts, probably during the Later Roman period, were now cut off, and this might indicate the nonmaritime function of that Byzantine platform (fig. 34). The modified area as it was established around 500 C.E. (fig. 36) seems to have functioned and maintained its integrity for about half a century. During that period several marine transgressions overran the western side wall of the "Reflecting Pool," depositing wave-eroded sherds, seashells, and coarse sand over its ashlar-paved floor. That floor was consequently raised by adding about 0.3 m. of rubble fill, mixed with gray mortar and retained by

[40] Ibid.

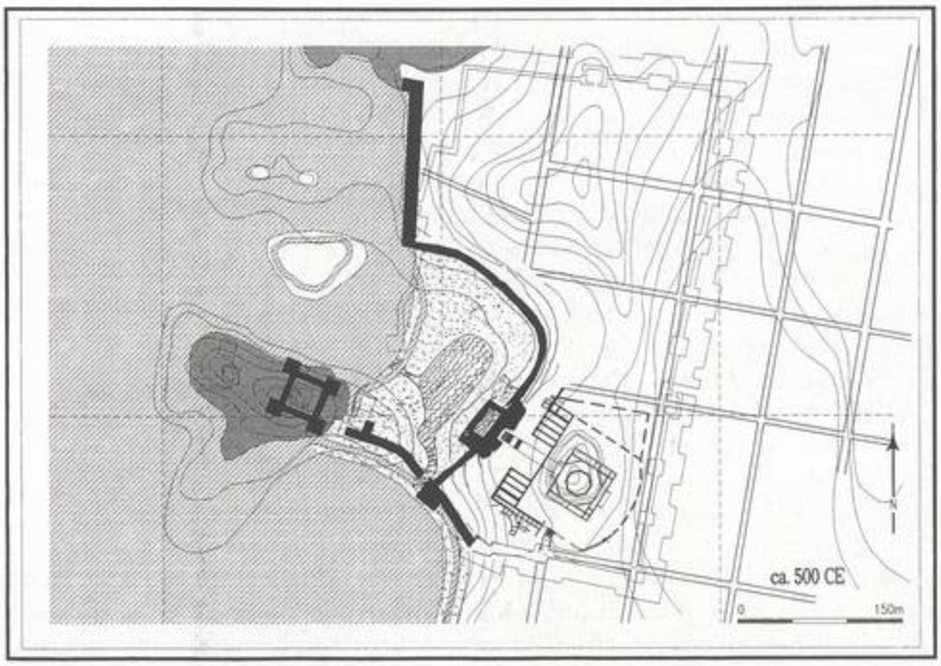


Figure 36. Sketch plan of the inner basin around 500 C.E. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim

Figure 37. The various floor levels within the "Reflecting Pool" in area I1, looking from the southwest

three parallel ashlar retainer courses. On top of that floor, an additional deposition of beach sediments indicates another transgression by the sea, which necessitated establishing yet another, higher floor, this time about 0.8 m. above M.S.L., some time around the mid-sixth century C.E. That elevated floor and all the surrounding structures were abandoned and silted up, by coarse beach deposits, to about 1.3 m. above M.S.L. (fig. 37). In this rather thick deposition one can clearly define two laminas of even coarser materials that would have been carried there by extremely high energy. A survey of recently published research concerning the so-called "mid-sixth-century tectonic paroxysm" and the updated list of historically recorded tsunamis along the coast of Caesarea indicates that such a phenomenon might have been connected with these laminas and may also be one of the reasons for the radical change and the urban demise of the coastal quarters along the South Bay. This argument refers to the tsunami of 542 C.E. (according to Michael the Syrian) and to that of 9 July, 551 C.E.[41]

The Inner Basin during the Later Byzantine Era

During the last eighty years of the Byzantine era, the area of the inner basin continued to gain in elevation of beach and coastal sediments, with a larger component of eolian sand being incorporated into it. In various decreasing areas within it there were still natural and artificial pools of either fresh or brackish water that were used as dumping sites for urban garbage. In other parts, mainly in the central and northern areas, there were higher sand bars, up to 2.5–3.0 m. above M.S.L. On both this higher and drier ground and in the area extending west from the facade of the Temple Platform and the old quay, some terrestrial buildings were constructed, the nature and extent of which are yet to be studied.[42] These structures represent at least two successive building phases (Levels X and IX in CCE tentative nomenclature); the earlier one might be of the later years of the sixth century C.E., including the building with the mosaic floor with the political inscription that praises the "Orthodox";[43] and the later includes such installations as the drainage channel that runs from area I8 westward through the south side of I1 to I6 (I8 **8012,** I1 **1042,** I6 **712**) and the nearby settling basin **727.** Farther west, in the northwest part of area I6 and the western half of I4, there are some ashlar walls and stone-slab floors at a relatively low elevation (1.2–1.6 m. above M.S.L.) that should be dated to the same, latest Byzantine phase. Everywhere these structures are under at least one layer of shell-rich beach deposits.

Probably the best illustration of that sequence is the southern balk of locus **216,** at

[41] P. A. Pirazzoli, "The Early Byzantine Tectonic Paroxysm," *Zeitschrift für Geomorphologie,* suppl. 62 (1986), 31–49; D.H.K. Amiran, E. Arieh, and T. Turcotte, "Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas: Macroseismic Observations since 100 B.C.E.," *IEJ* 44 (1994), 260–305, esp. appendix 5 (p. 294).

[42] Cf. Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 51–21, 26–37.

[43] Ibid., 15–17, fig. 25.

Figure 38. The southern balk of locus **216** from the northwest. Photograph by Zaraza Friedman

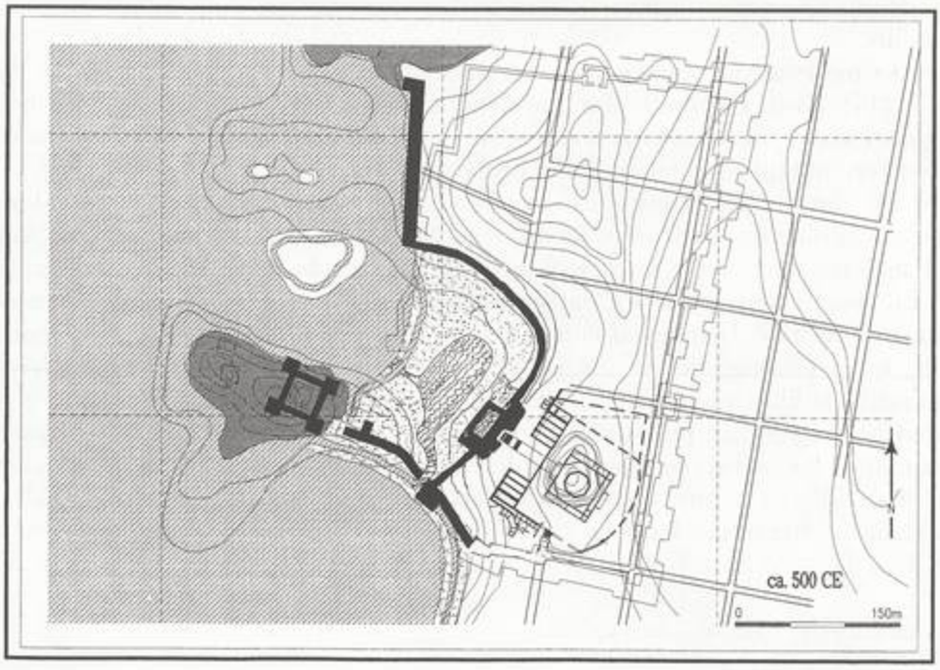


Figure 39. Sketch plan of the inner basin toward the end of the Byzantine era. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim

the SW corner of I1 (fig. 38). There, next to the external face of the confining wall of the "Reflecting Pool" and its overlaid, later drainage channel (**1042**) and ashlar course (W**1214**), there are three layers of coarse beach deposits, interbedded with fine sand. The lower one, at 1.1 m. above M.S.L.; the second, at 1.35 m. above; and the third, uppermost, at 1.6 m. above, covering an ashlar floor which is the latest Byzantine structural element in the area. That deposition is the last and the uppermost in the stratigraphic sequence of beach or marine sediments. Directly above it there is a fill of terrestrial silt mixed with recirculated Byzantine sherds and some pieces of broken pottery vessels of the Umayyad period. This type of fill, which substantiates the earlier Abbasid buildings everywhere within the silted-up inner basin, might indicate that by the mid-eighth century C.E. this area was properly protected from any potential marine encroachment, probably as part of the large-scale precaution measures taken by the Arab residents of Caesarea following the great earthquake of 749 C.E. (fig. 39).[44]

The Aftermath and Later Maritime Facilities

The long-lasting story of man versus nature in the inner basin seems to have come to an end with the coastal processes taking over and the people of Caesarea giving in. However, seaborne trade was so essential to the economic prosperity of the city that some kind of maritime facilities had to be kept functioning, even if they were of lesser quality.

Probes made at the seafloor near the present-day public beach, around the Round Tower (T1), north and south of it, have exposed the same picture everywhere: beneath the upper wave-disturbed layer there is an extensive fill of rather homogeneous nature – a mixture of building materials and broken pottery vessels, mainly amphoras, of Late Byzantine date (sixth to seventh century C.E.).[45] Only a few sherds of the Herodian and Early Roman periods were found near the base of that fill, within a thin layer of mud that remains at the very surface of the kurkar bedrock, at -2.4–2.7 m. below M.S.L. This phenomenon of a harbor fill consisting of debris of only one period (the latest one) might be explained either by the assumption that this part was constantly dredged, even though the area at its lee was in a process of rapid silting, or by deliberate artificial fill. Considering that almost no sherd from the area T context is wave-eroded, the significant percentage of household pottery, and the typical "terrestrial" oxidation of the coins, one might prefer the second alternative. Perhaps that allegedly deliberate fill is to be attributed to the Arab conquerors of Caesarea, in 640 C.E., who would fill in Byzantine harbors in order to prevent potential seaborne invasions of Christian fleets. Yet this allegedly deliberate fill might be a consequence of a Late

[44] Amiran et al., "Earthquakes," 266–27.

[45] Cf. Raban, *Site*, 177–81, 275; Holum et al., "Preliminary Report," 79–83; 1993–94 Report, in *Caesarea Papers II*.

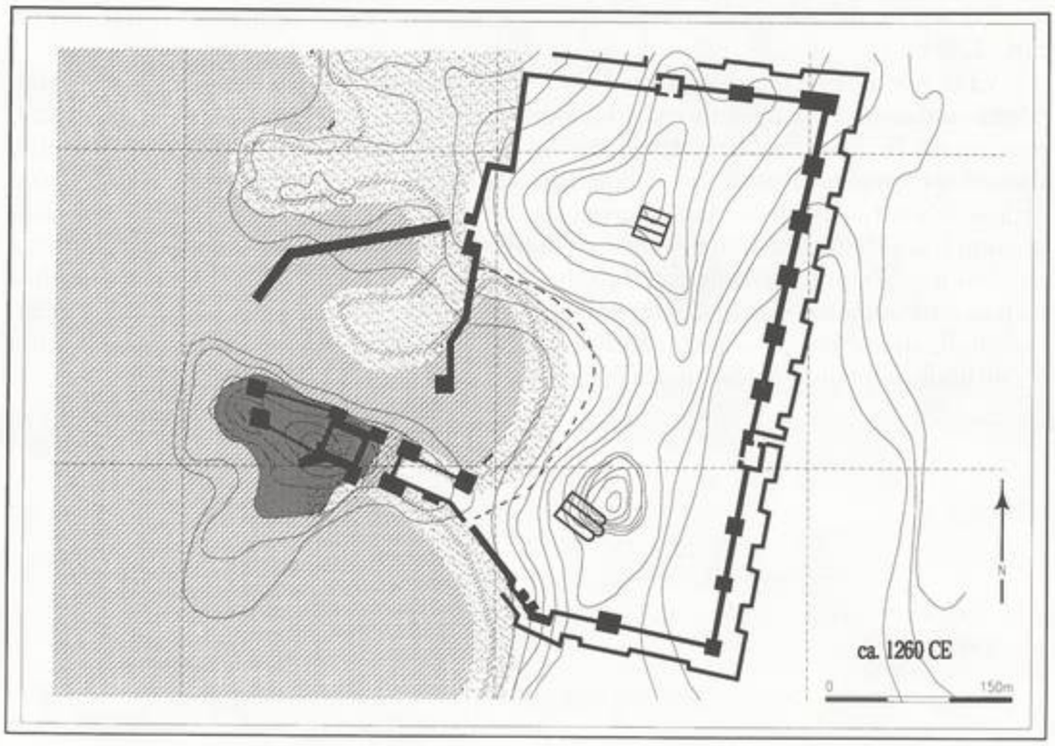


Figure 40. Sketch plan of the inner basin and other maritime facilities in the twelfth century C.E. Drawing by the author with Anna Iamim

Byzantine change in the location of the main municipal anchorage, from that basin to the South Bay.[46] In either case, that deliberate fill was in a marine environment of low wave energy provided with ample oxygen-rich seawater supply long enough to be coated by extensive marine fauna (*vermetids* and *ostreae*). The same repertory of large pottery sherds, coated by the same type of marine fauna, has been found in quantities in the artificial sand dunes that topped areas CC and KK at the lee of the South Bay.[47] Stratigraphically, these artificial mounds are above a natural layer of eolian sand that covers a complex of seventh- or early eighth-century C.E. irrigated gardens with wells and stone-built water conduits. Above them there was a burial ground that was initiated some time around 900 C.E. It is therefore quite safe to suggest that these sand mounds were the spill of dredged sediments from the harbor basin, either next to the South Bay, or at the present-day fisherman's haven, just west of area T, an attempt

[46] See the chapter by Yosef Porath in this volume.

[47] D. Thomas and R. Buyce, "Geoarchaeological Survey," in Raban et al., *Field Report* (1992), 74–75, fig. 144.

carried out by the Abbasid regime (or the following, Tulunid one) in the ninth century C.E.[48]

So far we have no archaeological data from meaningful topographic context that might enable us to suggest the whereabouts and character of the maritime installation that would facilitate seaborne trade during the Early Islamic period (640–1101 C.E.), though one might advocate a location adjacent to the fortified core of the city – more or less at the present fisherman's haven (built in 1951). There are two major structural complexes there which are related to maritime activity: the Harbor Citadel and the column jetty, both tentatively dated to the Crusader era.[49] Yet recent studies, both historical and archaeological, raised the issue of possible earlier, tenth- to eleventh-century C.E. dates for the construction of both.[50] In either case, the Crusaders did use them until their final defeat in 1265 (fig. 40).

[48] For the seaborne trade at Caesarea during that period, cf. Y. Arnon, ASOR annual meetings, 1994 (Washington, D.C.) and 1995 (Philadelphia), and eadem, in *Caesarea Papers II*.

[49] Cf. SWP, II, 17–18; F.-M. Abel, "Le littoral palestinien et ses ports," *RBibl* 11 (1914), 588; Raban, *Site*, 79–80, 154–56, 291–93.

[50] Cf. Porath et al. (above, n. 38); R. Gertwagen, "Crusader Caesarea – From Port to Coastal City," in Y. Mart and B. S. Galil, eds., *Annual Symposium on the Mediterranean Continental Margin of Israel, Abstracts* (Haifa, 1991).

PART XII

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND PUBLIC RESPONSE

39

The Roles of the Amateur and the Professional in Maritime Archaeological Research

Alexander Flinder
Nautical Archaeology Society

The Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP) is recognized as one of the outstanding maritime archaeological achievements of our day. Many would appreciate the extent of organization and planning that an undertaking of this sort requires, particularly when much of it involves archaeology underwater where the workers must be trained divers, and thereafter skilled also in the methodologies and techniques of underwater surveying and excavation.

In my admiration of the Caesarea project I am reminded of another large-scale maritime project in which I was privileged to participate, that of the *Mary Rose* in my own country. This differed from Caesarea in that it involved the discovery, surveying, excavating, and lifting of a sixteenth-century battleship together with its vast cargo.[1]

In one respect, however, these two projects were very similar in that neither would have been possible without the participation in both cases of hundreds of volunteer amateur divers and workers. In the words of one of Caesarea's directors, R. L. Hohlfelder: "These amateurs, in the purest sense of the word, were the indispensable ingredient in whatever CAHEP has accomplished."[2] Similar words of appreciation have been expressed in the framed testimonials presented to the *Mary Rose* volunteers. So here we have two major underwater archaeological projects, neither of which would have been possible without the participation of amateur volunteers.

This chapter discusses the roles of amateurs and professionals in maritime archaeology as well as their working relationship. First, some definitions: Professor Sean McGrail, of the Nautical Archaeology Society, defines maritime archaeology as "the study of the nature and past behavior of Man in his use of those special environments associated with lakes, rivers and seas."[3] The archaeological subdiscipline arising from this definition involves the study of man's inventions associated with marine environments: for example, ships, boats, harbors, maritime buildings, and so on. Some of this evidence comes from underwater and some from land, and McGrail correctly points out that "the subject is defined by the research targets set, and not by the techniques

[1] M. Rule, *The Mary Rose: The Excavation and Recovery of Henry VIII's Flagship* (London, 1982).
[2] Raban, *Site*, 240.
[3] S. McGrail, "Maritime Archaeology in Britain," *Antiquaries Journal* 69.1 (1989), 10.

used."[4] Some maritime archaeologists work underwater, some do not, and some do both. Much of this discussion deals with the underwater variety. The terms *nautical* and *marine archaeology* are commonly used here, both meaning the same as *maritime; underwater,* however, means precisely that.

How does one define the terms *amateur* and *professional* in archaeology? It is clear that conflicting views stem from varying traditions in different countries. In Britain, writing in the 1950s, Kathleen Kenyon stated: "I have used the terms professional archaeologist and amateur archaeologist to distinguish between those holding a full time archaeological post, and able to devote their whole time to archaeology, and those whose career is in some other field and who can therefore only give their spare time to the subject."[5] Kenyon also noted that "one of the greatest experts on Gaulish Terra Sigillata in recent years was a doctor of medicine, another an Admiralty clerk; and another doctor is a well known excavator and authority on ancient systems of agriculture."[6] However, in the same period in some other countries, the term *amateur archaeologist* would have been ridiculed and considered synonymous with that of *amateur brain surgeon.* Perhaps this chapter will help clear up this difference of opinion.

It is a truism that much of the quality of any discipline depends on those who are involved in it. This discussion, then, might profitably begin with a historical overview or social study of underwater archaeology and those engaged in it.

The development of the aqualung in the immediate postwar period resulted in a remarkable expansion of diving activities. Wrecks and submerged sites of obvious antiquity were being increasingly discovered. The notion of "archaeology underwater" as a subdiscipline had been discussed, but, in the almost total absence of diving archaeologists, most attempts until that time at scientific and methodological investigation had been undertaken by naval and commercial divers. In 1952 the Undersea Research group of the French Navy, under the direction of Commander Jacques-Yves Cousteau, had investigated the site of a Roman wreck at Le Grand Congloue. The chief divers of this group, Philippe Tailliez and Frédéric Dumas, went on to explore a number of wrecks off the French Mediterranean coast in the later 1950s, and in the process began to develop what they considered appropriate excavation technologies.[7]

But this was far from perfect: professional divers were not archaeologists, and archaeologists did not dive. The divers, aware of mounting criticism, came to acknowledge that the participation of archaeologists was desirable, but they could not bring themselves to go further. Tailliez was to declare that "Underwater excavation is a problem for sailors and divers rather than archaeologists."[8]

Yet there were, in many countries, groups of amateur divers who were initiating projects with archaeological implications. For example, in 1958 a group of students from

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[4] Ibid.

[5] K. M. Kenyon, *Beginning in Archaeology* (London, 1964), 63.

[6] Ibid.

[7] F. Dumas, *Deep Water Archaeology* (London, 1962), 16–29.

[8] P. Tailliez, *Aquarius* (London, 1964), 86.

Cambridge University led by Nicholas Flemming, a geologist, carried out a survey of the submerged site of the sixth-century B.C.E. harbor of Apollonia in Libya. This survey is still considered a model of its type.[9]

A few years earlier a French amateur group led by Henri Broussard organized the first Underwater Archaeology Conference in Cannes at which it was proposed that "there must be an absolute priority of the archaeological over the technical factor in underwater exploration."[10] Nonetheless, the situation continued to show little improvement, and archaeologists remained conspicuous by their absence. James Dugan, the writer on underwater exploration, quipped "in a way marine archaeology is a science founded without scientists."[11]

In 1950 Peter Throckmorton abandoned his journalistic career to devote himself entirely to researching shipwrecks of the Classical periods. Appalled at wholesale looting by salvage companies and souvenir hunters and what he saw as the ignorance of governments in preventing these abuses, he campaigned to save these sites by demonstrating how they could be researched archaeologically. One such site he recognized as Bronze Age. He could have investigated this wreck at Cape Gelidonya himself, but without formal qualifications, he chose instead to obtain archaeological and academic support in the United States. The result was the first authentic underwater archaeological excavation of an ancient wreck.[12]

The Gelidonya project is of particular interest to our social study, as all of its five principals in due course came to be acknowledged as among the most distinguished pioneers of the discipline. In addition to Throckmorton, there was the director of the project, George Bass, a young archaeologist from the University of Pennsylvania, which was the project's main sponsor. Bass had taken a short diving course shortly before leaving the United States for Bodrum. The chief diver was Frédéric Dumas who, with his unmatched experience throughout the 1950s, was by then the most skilled underwater excavator in the Mediterranean. The head draftsman was Honor Frost. She had worked with Kathleen Kenyon at Jericho and also with Cousteau and Dumas, and had already established her reputation as a diving researcher of distinction. Completing this team of principals was Joan du Plat Taylor, a distinguished non-diving archaeologist from the Institute of Archaeology in London.[13] Gelidonya proved an outstanding success, not only as an excavation, but most importantly because it proved to the diving world and to a still unconvinced archaeological establishment that underwater sites could be surveyed, excavated, and ultimately published to scientific standards equal to those on land.

During the period that the members of the Gelidonya team were confined to their

[9] N. C. Flemming, *Cities in the Sea* (New York, 1971), 95–135.

[10] J. Dugan, *Man Explores the Sea* (London, 1956), 205–6.

[11] Ibid., 205.

[12] P. Throckmorton, *Shipwrecks and Archaeology: The Unharvested Sea* (London, 1970), 195–97.

[13] G. F. Bass, *Archaeology under Water* (London, 1966), 134–43; H. Frost, *Under the Mediterranean* (London, 1963), 151-54.

island encampment, they had ample time to conjecture on the future of the discipline. In my later discussions with some of the participants, it became clear that their views were far from unanimous. The enmity between professional diver and professional archaeologist still persisted, as can be seen from the following quotations from books written subsequently by both Bass and Dumas.

First Bass: "It is unfortunate that those who are simply divers, hoping to preserve their monopoly on underwater work, too often stress the difficulties of working underwater. It takes years of training to become an archaeologist; however, we train divers in little more than a week."[14] And: "It is easier to teach archaeologists to dive than to make divers into archaeologists."[15]

Next Dumas: "Those who do not grasp the implications of underwater excavation, and at the moment I am unfortunately obliged to class archaeologists in this category, have a tendency to believe that once a boy can get under water and stay there happily, he becomes a useful working diver."[16] Hardly *entente cordiale,* but these extracts serve the purpose of recalling the atmosphere of the time. It is, however, only fair to point out that both parties were known to modify these views in later years.

Gelidonya clearly had a profound effect on its participants, and Honor Frost's observations expressed in her classic book *Under the Mediterranean,* written in 1963, are pertinent. The dilemma of the time is neatly phrased, for example, in the following: "Unlike land sites, no wreck has ever been discovered by an archaeologist; as things are, he comes on to the scene as a more or less welcome guest and sometimes as a cuckoo in the nest."[17]

Nevertheless, the success of the Gelidonya project had catapulted the archaeologists into the position of leader. What, then, of the future? One thing was certain: with the rapid increase of sport diving throughout the world, more and more wrecks and other underwater sites of historical importance were bound to be discovered. Were archaeologists prepared to meet this avalanche? Of course they were not, and neither for that matter was any other body of responsible people.

Joan du Plat Taylor returned home from Gelidonya with clear views on how she would like to see the future of underwater archaeology develop in the United Kingdom. These views may be summarized as follows: (1) convince archaeologists of the validity of nautical archaeology as a scientific discipline; (2) establish a specialist learned journal to receive papers for publication; (3) promote the training of professional nautical archaeologists; (4) promote governmental legislation for the protection of the underwater heritage; and (5) promote the training of amateur divers in the technologies of nautical archaeology.

As a demonstration of personal commitment, Miss Taylor promptly joined the

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[14] Bass, *Archaeology,* 19.

[15] B. Eaton, ed., *The Undersea Challenge,* The Second World Congress of Underwater Activities, British Sub-Aqua Club (London, 1963), 107.

[16] Dumas, *Deep Water Archaeology,* 31.

[17] Frost, *Under the Mediterranean,* 170.

British Sub-Aqua Club (BSAC) as a non-diving member. This act, in the eyes of some members of the establishment, was equivalent to Mother Teresa joining the Rolling Stones Fan Club. But in the eyes of British divers it was an act of friendship to which they immediately responded with respect and affection. As the mother of British nautical archaeology, Joan du Plat Taylor commanded the respect of archaeologists and divers alike, and it was her guidance and influence more than any other that set the discipline on the road it was to take in the years to come in Britain. The traditions already set in land archaeology were carried through into underwater archaeology, and ultimately evolved into something like a national policy.

The British Sub-Aqua Club, which was founded in 1953, is the ruling body for sport diving in the United Kingdom. From its inception it saw itself as being responsible not only for the promotion of safe amateur diving but also, in the words of Oscar Gugan, one of its co-founders, of "exploration and science." Accordingly, in 1962 the BSAC organized in London, and on behalf of the Confederation Mondiale des Activités Subaquatiques, the "World Congress of Underwater Activities." The archaeological section was chaired by Sir Mortimer Wheeler.[18]

In 1964 the Council for Nautical Archaeology (CNA) was founded with its headquarters at the Institute of Archaeology in London. The CNA was a self-elected committee of about twelve members representing the Institute of Archaeology, various university departments, national museums, the media, and the BSAC. Its members were a mix of professionals and non-professionals. The achievements of this small but influential body were many: not least, its successful governmental lobbying leading to the enactment of the 1973 Historic Wreck Protection Act; the publishing of the *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* (*IJNA*), of which Joan du Plat Taylor was the founder editor; and its policy of promoting the education of the amateur diver in nautical archaeological research and in the protection of the underwater heritage.[19]

The 1973 Historic Wreck Protection Act is operated by an Advisory Committee upon which I have sat since its inception. Sites discovered almost invariably by amateur divers are submitted to the committee for designation as being of historical importance, and the committee's Advisory Diving Unit (ADU), staffed by professional diving archaeologists, reports to the committee after inspecting the site. If historical importance is confirmed, designation follows.

More often than not the original applicant would apply for a license to carry out a predisturbance survey, and the committee's decision would be based on evidence of diving and archaeological training and experience, and willingness of an archaeologist prepared to act as archaeological director or adviser. Should the site then be considered at risk, and depending on the quality of the pre-disturbance survey, a further license might then be granted for limited and controlled excavation, but also subject to acceptable provisions for conservation of recovered material, full interim and final

[18] Eaton, ed., *The Undersea Challenge*, 87–133.

[19] Dean et al., eds., *Archaeology Underwater: The Nautical Archaeology Society's Guide to Principles and Practice* (London,1992), 6.

publications, and in certain cases the participation of a museum willing to undertake a permanent display. To date, forty sites have been designated under the 1973 act, and a high proportion of these sites are being worked by amateur groups under professional control.

However, at the time that this policy of amateur involvement was being officially encouraged in Britain, opposite views prevailed in other countries. In 1978 this issue was the subject of considerable discussion at the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly on the Underwater Cultural Heritage. For example, on the matter of a training handbook for amateurs, the delegate from Italy said that in general all that she felt necessary in such a handbook was the injunction "look but do not touch." She was supported by the delegates from France, Portugal, and Greece who submitted that if amateur participation were to be considered at all, it would be of a very limited nature. The delegates from other countries took the opposite view, the strongest support for amateur involvement coming from the Scandinavian countries, the United Kingdom, and Israel.[20]

In 1981 the members of the CNA decided that the time was appropriate to form a membership society. The Nautical Archaeology Society (NAS) was accordingly founded in that year, and I had the honor to be elected its founder chairman and Joan du Plat Taylor its president. In 1984 the CNA was incorporated into the Council for British Archaeology as one of its main research subcommittees, and the NAS took over the publication of the *IJNA*.

One of the first tasks of the NAS was to initiate a training scheme for divers. The NAS Certification Scheme, which has been in operation for a few years, consists of four parts, progressing to an advanced level and with a strong emphasis on practical work. To date, approximately sixteen hundred students worldwide have taken NAS courses, in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Canada, Sweden, the United States, Mexico, and South Africa. Short courses have been given in India and Bermuda, and courses are planned this year in Switzerland and Austria. Several universities and polytechnical schools have integrated the scheme into their teaching and courses, and the BSAC has formally adopted NAS training as a "skilled development."

The Nautical Archaeology Society handbook, *Archaeology Underwater: The NAS Guide to Principles and Practice,* was published in 1992 and has sold approximately two thousand copies to date. All the senior instructors in the training scheme, and all the authors of the handbook, are professional maritime archaeologists.[21]

Courses in maritime archaeology are provided by the universities of St. Andrews, Bangor, Southampton, and Bristol. A very recent addition to official advocacy of diver involvement in archaeological research has come from the Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England, which has invited sport divers to participate in building up a national data base of underwater sites. A special report form entitled "Dive

[20] J. Roper (Rapporteur), *The Underwater Cultural Heritage,* Report of the Committee on Culture and Education, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly (Strasbourg, 1978), 200–201.

[21] Dean et al., eds., *Archaeology Underwater,* viii.

into History" asks divers to report regularly on changes to known sites and to assist in providing a better record on the location and identification of surviving shipwrecks and other sites.[22]

Finally, the current issue of *Diver,* the UK sport diver journal, has a leading editorial strongly supporting the view that the Ancient Monuments and Archaeology Areas Act, which protects land sites, should be extended to all underwater sites. This sort of statement from such a source would have been inconceivable only a few years ago.

My purpose in going into such detail is to illustrate the symbiotic relationship that has developed between professionals and amateurs in the United Kingdom. It is a relationship based on a mutual appreciation of each other's capabilities and respective roles. But how do we see these capabilities and roles?

I suggest the following criteria. I would expect the volunteer on an underwater site to hold a recognized diving qualification and to have received training and show competence in the technical skills of recording, surveying, and excavating. I would categorize him or her as an archaeological technician and as such would not expect the volunteer to have the training to interpret the evidence recovered.

The qualifications of the professional are slightly more difficult to define, but in general I would expect him or him to hold an advanced diving qualification, together with such license as may be required under governmental safety regulations. I would also expect the professional to have an honors degree in archaeology, or equivalent qualification, coupled with an extended period of continuous and appropriate practical experience on underwater sites.

The distinction between the various types of involvement can be very blurred, for, as we have seen from Kenyon's experience in land archaeology, some amateurs, particularly those from allied professions with a long tradition of involvement, may well go on to achieve archaeological professional status but continue in a voluntary capacity. One member of the Caesarea team, Christopher Brandon, is a perfect example of this type of archaeologist; his professional architectural skills are ably demonstrated in his chapter in this volume on concrete and settling barges.

It is necessary to remind ourselves constantly that maritime archaeology is but a segment of the wider discipline of archaeology, and not a separate subject. The only difference between archaeology on land and underwater is the environment in which the work is being carried out. However, one small caveat to this concept relates to the nature of postgraduate studies in maritime archaeology. I hold the view that the maritime archaeologist does not qualify as such unless he or she is capable of thinking as a person of the sea, as a sailor, a marine, indeed as a fisherman or even a humble beachcomber. An excellent example of this was demonstrated at the Caesarea Maritima symposium when the discussion of the design of the Caesarea harbor entrance was illuminated by contributions from participants with detailed knowledge of sailing techniques.

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[22] Ibid., 216–34.

Conversely it has been suggested that the maritime archaeologist should aim to eliminate his specialization, on the grounds that many of the finds made underwater are artifacts for use on land and that they shed more light on life in general than they do on maritime activities. This argument goes further and proposes that in the long run the aim should be to make the maritime dimension as familiar to all archaeologists as it is to specialists at present. I can understand the merit of this argument when applied to the professional, if only for the valid reason that the young professional has to recognize the risk to his career by overspecialization. This, however, surely cannot apply to the non-professional who is motivated differently and whose intense specialization can only be of advantage to the discipline.

I am aware that I have concentrated on the positive side of our work in Britain. We do of course have our problems; I mention just one which is universal. Kenneth Hudson calls it "excavation constipation," a condition in which far more information is taken into a system than can possibly be processed and digested. It is of course this complaint that leads to archaeology's chronic problem – failure to publish. We in the maritime sector have learned by bitter experience that any research design in the field involving excavation must be limited by that which is realistically achievable in post-fieldwork recording, analysis, and publication. To do otherwise is surely irresponsible. Having said that, we have also learned that the volunteer can be of considerable help in the preparation of the post-fieldwork archive. Drawing, photography, processing, recording, indexing, and computer work, are well within the capabilities of many volunteers. Indeed, in the United Kingdom the standard of work achieved by some amateur groups in the winter months between the diving seasons is very commendable. In one case a volunteer who is a journalist by profession has been of immense help to an archaeologist in the preparation of his final report. There is surely a lesson to be learned here.

It should be clear that I am an enthusiastic supporter of amateur participation in archaeology. How could I be otherwise, as I am a product of that system, which has brought me half a lifetime of rewarding research and many lasting friendships,[23] and a product of the country that evolved the volunteer system, as well as of Israel, where it has been developed into a fine art. Let us cherish this system but be careful to avoid abusing it. Mortimer Wheeler, a great archaeological leader, nurtured his volunteers, who returned season after season to participate in what they saw as a great adventure. Yigal Yadin emulated Wheeler at Masada, and we saw the same spirit in CAHEP's work in Caesarea.

Finally, I acknowledge the contribution that Israel's maritime archaeologists have made and are continuing to make to this young discipline: Dr. Elisha Linder, who founded the Underwater Exploration Society of Israel and the Center for Maritime Studies at the University of Haifa, and Dr. Avner Raban and the many distinguished scholars who have followed in their wake.

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[23] A. Flinder, *Secrets of the Bible Seas* (London, 1985).

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The Genesis of Scientific Underwater Exploration in Israel Centered at Caesarea, under the Patronage of Baron Edmond de Rothschild

Elisha Linder
University of Haifa

The first planned, large-scale marine archaeological expedition arrived in Israel in 1960 aiming to explore the submerged harbor installations of Herodian Caesarea. It was headed by Edwin Link, a renowned inventor and explorer, who was equipped with advanced underwater survey and excavation tools that were operated from his research vessel *The Sea Diver*. The limits of the artificially built harbor were disclosed, confirming the outline that was clearly visible in the aerial photos.

Following this, some trial sections were dug at random locations. They proved the existence of huge building blocks of ashlar stones and revealed great quantities of Roman pottery and various small finds including the famous coin, famous because, most probably, it depicts the entrance to Caesarea's harbor as manifested by the initials KA imprinted on it with a tower on each side, surmounted by a statue.

Unfortunately, the sea conditions were not favorable (Link arrived in July), and the absence of professionally trained marine archaeologists among the divers was felt. Charles T. Fritsch and I. Ben-Dor, well-known archaeologists in their field, but without diving training, could only instruct the operation by proxy from the deck or shore. Such conditions did not encourage continuity. Link turned to the Sea of Galilee, where interesting discoveries were made which, however, are outside the scope of this chapter.

With all its limitations, the Link expedition achieved two important goals. It aroused interest among the archaeological community and the general public to whom underwater exploration in search of antiquities was completely new and unheard of before. Earlier skepticism and disbelief in achieving any scientific data from such research gave way to curiosity and made it possible for the newly created Israel Undersea Exploration Society (IUES) to proceed with underwater research starting at Caesarea and later moving to Akko and 'Atlit.

Caesarea became the principal project that called for continuity and extension, it having become obvious as possessing great potential for future harbor research. Furthermore, the rich underwater remains served immediately as a living laboratory for the training of members of the Undersea Exploration Society.

There followed the important collaboration with marine geologists of the Govern-

mental Institute for Geological Survey who became fascinated by the possibility of using archaeological data in their geomorphological studies of the coasts. This new collaborative venture continued for years and was enhanced by the later visit of Nicholas Flemming.

It was the lore of Caesarea that caught the interest of Jacques Cousteau who, in 1963, responded to my request to help uncover submerged archaeological structures covered by heavy layers of sand. He recommend the use of Professor Harold Edgerton's "mud penetrator," which was used for the first time in a search for archaeological targets. Monaco's geophysicist, Oliver Lenhardt, succeeded during several weeks of operations with Edgerton's sonar in detecting parts of a wall south of the major breakwater. Thus began a long and most rewarding association with Harold Edgerton, who frequently returned to Israel and used his sonar instruments off Caesarea and, as well, at Akko, 'Atlit, Ashdod, and Jezirat el Far'un (the Coral Island in the Red Sea).

Professor Edgerton volunteered his services, as did architect Alexander Flinder, whose book *Secrets of the Bible Seas* (London, 1985) presents an overview of the early activities of maritime archaeology in Israel. The late Peter Throckmorton, a pioneer in maritime archaeology, shared with us his experience in underwater survey and excavation, and architect Joe Shaw, now professor of archaeology, assisted in the mapping and early interpretation of the submerged harbor installations.

Our fortunes turned after meeting, quite by chance, Baron Edmond de Rothschild along the Caesarea beach in 1964. It was "love at first sight" between the baron and our group after the program of our research was outlined to him. He was not a stranger to underwater exploration, having at that time business connection with the French diving industry, and became fascinated at the combination of Jewish frogmen seeking to explore the maritime heritage of ancient Israel, while "turning their swords into plowshares," changing from their military activities to archaeological, underwater research.

At his request, I submitted to him a program to establish a fully equipped diving workshop which included aqualungs, wet suits, compressors, and a decompression chamber equipped for a dual purpose: to serve our research at Caesarea and other sites along the coast and to enable the opening of the first civilian diving school in Israel, since, up to that time, the only underwater training was carried out by the Israeli Navy. With great satisfaction we watched the growth of the diving community of Israel to 40,000 while new diving schools were opened all over the country.

The Diving Center was thriving during the late 1960s under the management and professional instruction of Haim Stav and Giora Raz, who were both members of the IUES, appointed by its executive committee. Through their presence the survey and excavations of Caesarea's harbor were extended. Other sites along the Mediterranean were explored, with Caesarea now serving as the headquarters for operations, its equipment and diving staff available all year round. With the establishment of the Center for Maritime Studies at the University of Haifa in 1972, marine archaeology in Israel took a new turn. Most of the research activities along the coast were then conducted from Haifa; however, the members of the IUES still participated in the

research under the professional directorship of the academic staff of the university.

In the Jewish tradition, the weekly portion of the Pentateuch, read in the synagogue, covers a full year, with the last chapter of Deuteronomy closing it while simultaneously the first chapter of Genesis is recited, thus, once again, starting the cycle. Hence I will not only mention the beginnings, thirty-five years ago, but will take this opportunity to bring up some ideas for the future as well.

But first, back to Genesis. The world was created, according to some interpretation, ex-nihilo. What has been achieved in Caesarea, was not created ex-nihilo. Credit is therefore due to those I have mentioned already and the many others who have put in much of their energy, expertise, and love for Caesarea.

A very important feature is the element of continuity. Following the surveys and excavations conducted by the Center for Maritime Studies since its inception in 1972, including applied research carried out for the Israeli Electric Company, the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP) was created with an international group of scholars, students, and volunteers participating in yearly excavations of the harbor. Avner Raban took over and, in collaboration with Robert L. Hohlfelder, John Oleson, and Robert L. Vann, the whole project became a far-reaching international venture. CAHEP's work continues now under the auspices of the Combined Caesarea Expeditions (CCE). Much credit is due the "dry" archaeologists, too, and it is imperative to pursue combined land-sea excavations in order to produce serious results.

Caesarea serves as a training ground for our students, who have it as part of their study program and, together with the students and volunteers from all over the world, benefit from this yearly large-scale amphibious excavation.

And what of the future? It is not enough to excavate, uncover, study, and publish the results. We must insure that what we are doing here is preserved and presented for future generations to understand, appreciate, and enjoy. We are now entering an era of peace and sharing of information with countries not available to us before. With colleagues from Egypt, Jordan, Tunisia, and Morocco, we can begin to reach outward to other neighbors around the Mediterranean and to developing nations around the world, share information, research technologies, and methods of preservation and display, for future generations.

That path has already been opened via the good offices of UNESCO who have designated Caesarea, through their Mediterranean Action Plan, as a site to be preserved, one of a hundred such sites throughout the Mediterranean region. A conference under their auspices is being planned here to bring together those, in coastal and harbor research from around the Mediterranean basin as well as other developing nations around the world, who wish to learn from the techniques we have developed here and share with us their accumulated knowledge.

By internationalizing Caesarea, present and future, I foresee the inclusion of a group of scholars from Arab countries. The Islamic world, with the history and culture it offers us, must be an integral part of the future historic and archaeological studies of Caesarea.

We have the responsibility to preserve this past. The underwater park is but the first

opportunity to share the maritime archaeological relics with visitors to the site. We must see to it that cultural tourism becomes the next item on the agenda and is integrated into the general development of the area so that this heritage, so carefully exposed and studied by those of us at the symposium, is not lost again.

Baron Edmond de Rothschild

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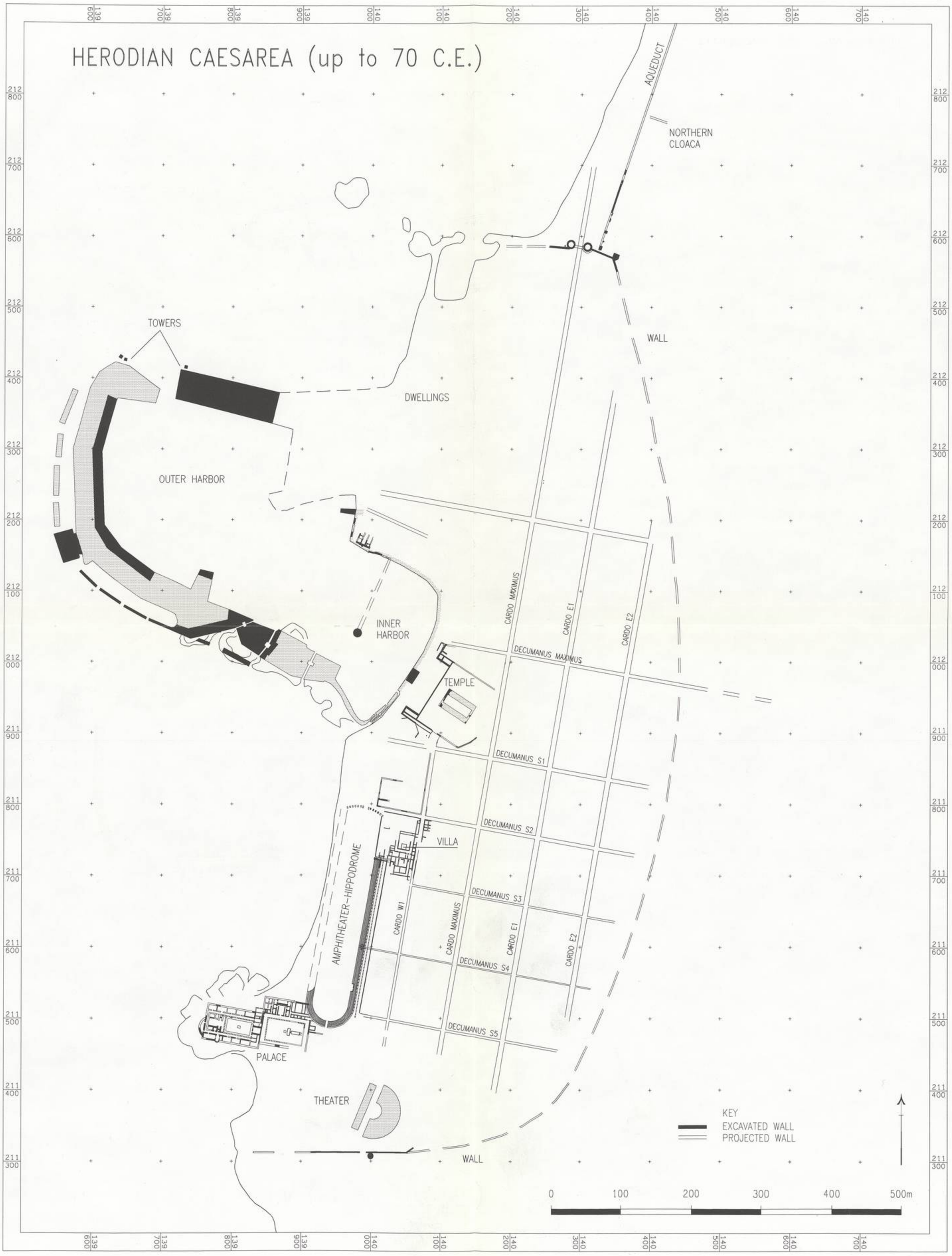
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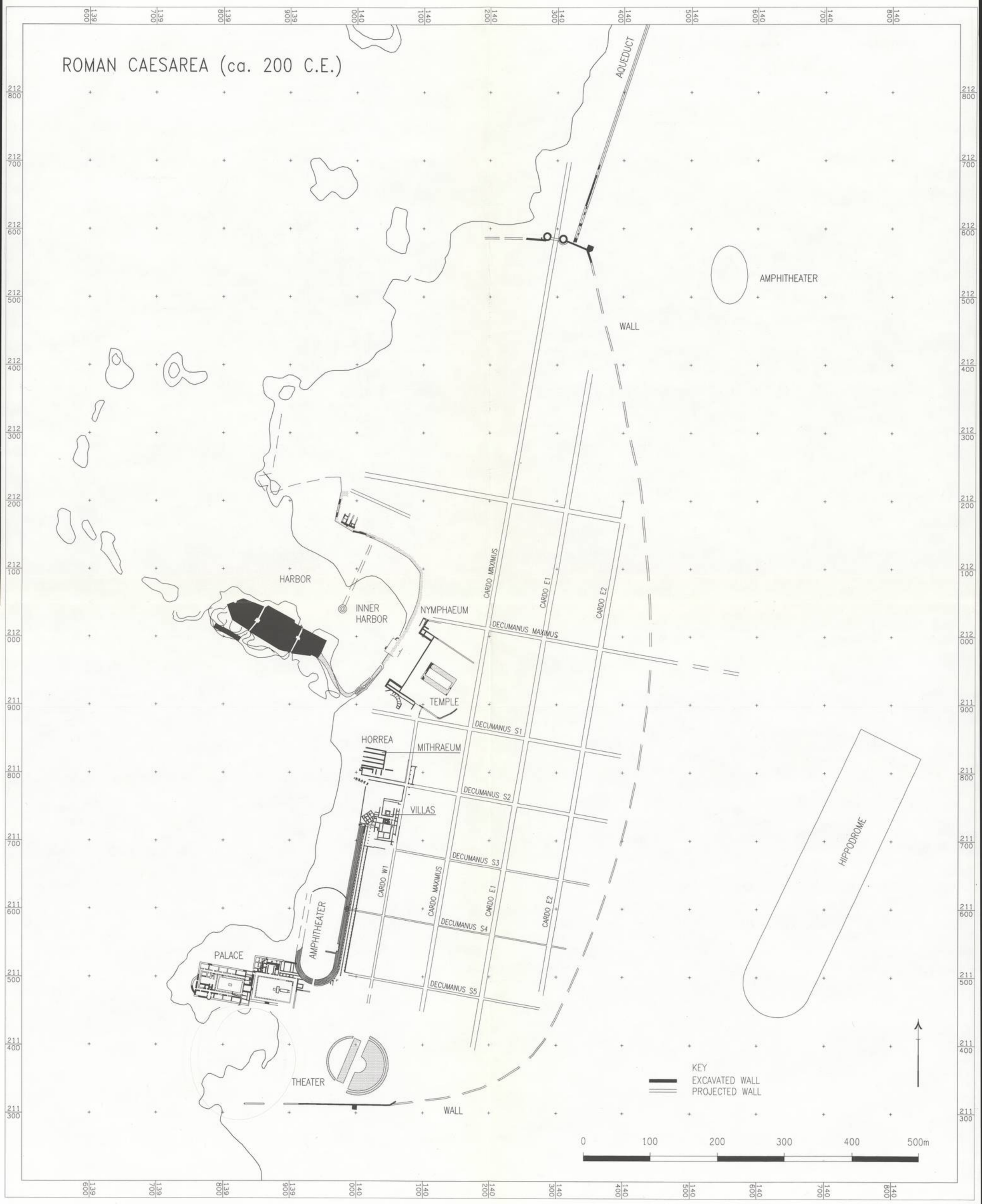
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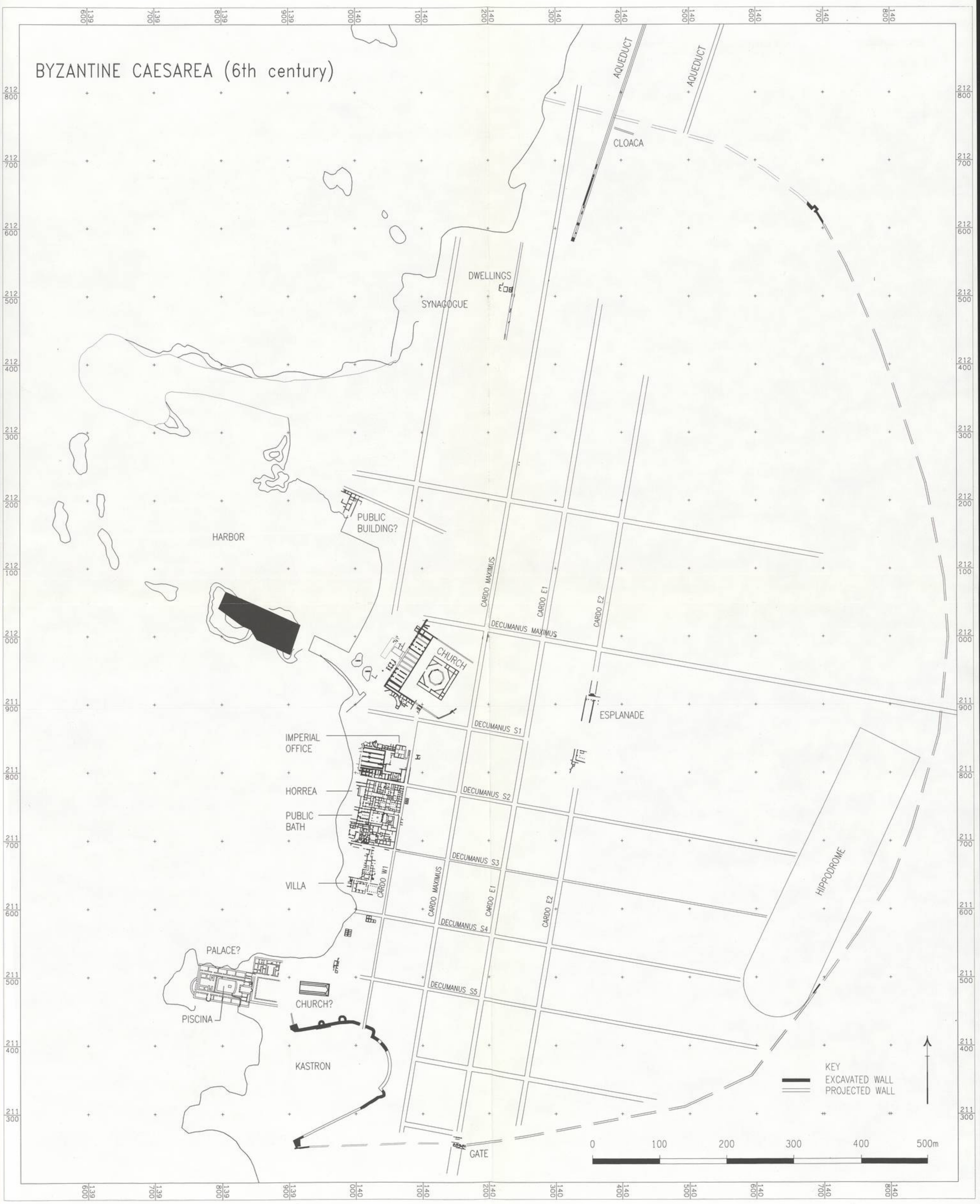
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