

Studies in the  
Archaeology and History of  
*Caesarea Maritima*

*Caput Judaeae, Metropolis Palaestinae*

ANCIENT JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY 77

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BRILL

Studies in the Archaeology and History of  
Caesarea Maritima

# Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### URBAN SPACE IN CAESAREA MARITIMA IN THE LATE ANTIQUITY

Caesarea Maritima was founded by Herod, king of Judaea, in 22–10/9 BCE on the site of a deserted Hellenistic coastal town called Straton's Tower. According to Josephus Flavius (*War* 1.408–15; *Ant.* 15.331–41), Herod founded there an elaborate harbor called Sebastos, and a city with streets laid in a grid pattern. The city, like the harbor, was named after emperor Caesar Augustus, Herod's patron in Rome. Herod erected in the city a temple which he dedicated to Rome and Augustus, a theater and an amphitheater, a royal palace, market places, dwellings, and an underground sewer system.

Caesarea served as the main harbor and capital city of Herod's kingdom, and of the later Roman province of *Iudaea/Syria Palaestina*, the seat of the Roman governors and of the financial procurators of the province. Vespasian made Caesarea a Roman colony, and Alexander Severus raised it to the rank of metropolis. In the Byzantine period<sup>1</sup> it was the capital of *Palaestina Prima*, and a Metropolitan See. During this period urban space expanded about three times relative to the Herodian period, reflecting a large increase in population (Fig. 29). It was a prosperous maritime city, of a heterogeneous ethnicity and a cosmopolitan flavor, as is reflected by the archaeological record: the city coins, statuary, and inscriptions, attesting to its pantheon, and the imported ware and numismatic finds, attesting to its international commerce. During the third and fourth centuries it was the seat of a Jewish academy, led by Rabbi Oshayah and Rabbi Abbahu, and of a Christian academy, founded by Origen. (On Caesarea as an intellectual center in Late Antiquity, see Post Script below). The Christian

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<sup>1</sup> The term *Byzantine* denotes here the period from Constantine's conquest of the East in 324, to the Arab conquest of Palestine in c. 640, as is common in Israeli archaeology. For the rationale behind this terminology pertaining to the Holy Land, see, for example, Tsafir and Foerster, *DOP* 50: 85, note 1. However, being aware that the period from Diocletian to the mid-sixth or early seventh century is considered by many historians as *Late Antiquity*, the terms *Byzantine period* or *Late Antiquity* will be used here indifferently.

community suffered martyrdom in the persecutions under Decius, Valerian, and Diocletian. The Samaritans were another vital component in the Caesarean society, representing the lucrative peasantry of the fertile agricultural hinterland of the city—the Sharon plain and the hilly country of Samaria.

The division of the province of *Syria Palaestina* into smaller provinces during the fourth or early fifth centuries (T.A.Q. 409 CE), and the emergence of Scythopolis as a capital of *Palaestina Secunda*, resulted in a decline in the administrative status of the city within the Empire, and in the economic prosperity associated with it. Similarly, in the mid-fifth century the ecclesiastical status of the city decreased, when the Metropolitan of Caesarea became subordinate to the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The demise of the harbor, and three Samaritan revolts in the years 484, 529–30, and 555, were other reasons of gradual deterioration, yet it was a thriving city throughout Late Antiquity.

The Arab conquest in 640 or 641 brought a sharp decline of urban life, a process that had already started following the Persian conquest of 614. Islamic and Crusader Qaisariye was a small town of marginal importance, located around its decaying harbor.<sup>2</sup>

#### LATE ANTIQUE/BYZANTINE CAESAREA<sup>3</sup>

The excavations, since the 1950s to the present, shed light mainly on the SW Zone, the temple platform, and the harbor. But good information, though segmented, was accumulated in other sectors as well. In most of the excavated areas the Late Antique/Byzantine stratum was exposed in its entirety. Our information on this period in the history of the city is therefore by far better than on any of the earlier periods.

The local *kurkar* stone continued to be the major building material, yet, public *kurkar* structures of the Herodian age were gradually replaced in the Roman period by marble structures. This is evident in the *skenefrons* of the theater, as well as in the main temple. Marble was applied for column shafts, capitals (Fig. 30) and bases, entablature,

<sup>2</sup> For historical studies see Abel 1952, Vol. I: 369–70, 470, 478; Vol. II: 182–84, 250–53, 404–405; Ringel 1975; Levine 1975a; Fritch 1975; Lifshitz 1977: 490–518; Schürer 1979, Vol. II: 34–35, 115–18; Holum *et al.* 1988. For a comprehensive references to the literary sources and scholarly studies see Tsafir, Di Segni and Green 1994: 94–96.

<sup>3</sup> Since so far only preliminary reports on the large scale 1992–98 excavations have appeared, and the huge amount of new data is still being processed, this synthesis should be considered as preliminary.

statuary, pavement, and wall revetment. Isotope analysis of Corinthian marble capitals had indicated that major locations of marble import were Proconnesos and Afyon/Aphrodisias.<sup>4</sup> Marble, reused as well as imported, continued to be applied in Late Antiquity as well, as is evident in the octagonal church, but in some cases marble floor-plates were replaced by mosaic floors, and in some rare cases marble columns were whitewashed. The intensive burning, later, under the Islamic regime, of marble architectural members in lime kilns, in order to produce slake lime, encountered in Caesarea as well as in so many ancient Roman cities, had masked the extent to which the Roman and Late Antique city was clad in marble, yet there is enough evidence for this. *Opus sectile* floors of a rich pallet of colorful stones, and of intricate patterns—mostly geometric and floral, but depicting dolphins and crosses as well, became popular in the sixth century, but mosaic floors were the most prevalent, both in the private as well as in the public domain.<sup>5</sup> Frescos depicting Christian saints (Fig. 31) and crosses were applied even in structures of mundane function.<sup>6</sup>

The Herodian, orthogonal city-plan (Fig. 8) was maintained throughout antiquity with only minor modifications, expressed in narrowing the Roman streets, elevating the street level in accordance with the raised sills of the adjoining buildings, and replacing thick limestone pavers by thinner pavers of the local *kurkar*. The latest repavement of *cardo* W1 took place in the mid-sixth century, and on the same occasion a comprehensive renovation of the sewer system and a replacement of lead water pipes by terracotta pipes took place.<sup>7</sup> Roman trabeated colonnades gave way to arcades supported by square pilasters.

The Late Antique/Byzantine city (Fig. 29) extended beyond the Herodian wall, reflecting a great increase of population, but it seems that the settlement of this zone had started already in the second and third centuries, following the construction of the eastern hippodrome and the amphitheater. But since no excavations were carried out in this zone, other than those of the hippodrome, we have no information about the exact process of inhabitation of this zone during the second to the fourth century. However, the addition of the lower level aqueduct in c. 385 CE may indicate that a significant increase of population was reached already before the end of the fourth century, and it

<sup>4</sup> Fisher *et al.* 1992.

<sup>5</sup> Spiro 1992.

<sup>6</sup> Avner 1999; Patrich 1996: 169–71, figs. 22–24; Horton 1996: 180, fig. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Patrich *et al.* 1999: 75.

seems that the settlement of this zone was dense enough, by the time the wall was erected in the fifth century, to dictate its line. This wall confronted the three Samaritan revolts mentioned above, and the Arab siege that lasted seven years (633/34–640/41 CE). In this siege some of the urban statuary was piled up in the southern city gate to block it against the penetration of the Arab troops.<sup>8</sup> And indeed, monumental Roman statuary was reused in the urban sphere of the Byzantine city to decorate its streets, plazas, and *nymphaea*.<sup>9</sup>

The estimated population at its apogee, when it occupied an area of c. 111.5 hectares, varies between c. 35,000 and 100,000.<sup>10</sup> As for the ethnic composition, like everywhere throughout the east, after the crisis of the third century and the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, the Latin element in the provincial and municipal administration gave way to Greek-speaking *officiales*. The Late Antique inscriptions are all in Greek or in the local Semitic scripts and languages (Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan).<sup>11</sup> The Greek, that returned to be the language of administration in the entire east, was spoken by all three religious groups: Christians, Jews, and Samaritans.

The Jewish quarter is considered to be in the northern part of the city, at the site of ancient Straton Tower, around the third-century synagogue. The synagogue, which yielded Jewish inscriptions in Hebrew

<sup>8</sup> Peleg Reich 1992. Later excavations had indicated that this was a gate in the *scenaefrons* of a theater, not of a city wall!

<sup>9</sup> Yevin 1955; 1957; Avi Yonah 1970; Porath 1998: 47, fig. 11; Gersht 1999. The view that ancient temple statuary has artistic value, deprived of its previous pagan connotation, was expressed by the early-fifth-century Christian poet Prudentius (*Contra Symmachum*, 1.499–505). On this, and in general on Late Antique legislative attitude toward urban buildings of the past, see Alchermes 1994: 167–178; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990.

<sup>10</sup> The lower figure can be gleaned from Broshi 1980: 5, if we correct the figure of the city area to 124.5 hectares instead of 95 hectares given by Broshi. A population of 100,000 is given by Avi Yonah 1964: 121 (Hebrew) and Levine 1975b: 9 and note 37, who brings references to even higher, purely speculative estimates of 200,000 inhabitants. Holum *et al.* 1988: 174, adhere also to the 100,000 figure, but more recently (1998a: 163–4, and note 20), he speaks of a population of only 25,000 people within the Byzantine fortification wall. Broshi discusses various methods for calculating population density and size. According to al-Balādhuri (*Futuh al-buldān* 141–42, ed. Hitti 1916: 217–18), in his account of the Arab conquest of the city, the entire number of soldiers was 700,000 [sic!, clearly a mistake], the Jews numbered 20,000, the Samaritans 30,000, and the city was guarded every night by 100,000 men stationed on its wall.

<sup>11</sup> Hamburger 1959; Ben Zvi 1961: 139–42. On the use of the old Hebrew script by the Samaritans, see *TB, Sanhedrin* 21b; Jerome, *Comm. In Ezech.* 3.9.4., *CCSL* 75, 106. Crown 1989: 59, the Samaritans at Caesarea comprised about one third of the population.

and Greek, and Corinthian capitals with the menorah symbol, was destroyed in the mid-fourth century, and rebuilt in the mid-fifth. It was destroyed in a fire. After the death of R. Abbahu—the head of the local Jewish academy—in 309, there was no Jewish leader of his magnitude. Beryllos, archisynagogue and *phrontistes* (treasurer or administrator), who made a mosaic floor from his own funds, is mentioned in a Greek inscription from the synagogue.<sup>12</sup> The predominance of Greek inscriptions, their content, as well as references in the rabbinic sources, attest to the high degree of Hellenization and acculturation of the local community, like in other urban Jewish congregations, both in Palestine and in the Jewish diaspora.<sup>13</sup> In spite of the fact that in the literary sources there is almost no reference to the Jews of Caesarea in the Byzantine period, the Jewish community continued to form a significant component of the local population, though its status declined relative to that held in the third and early fourth century.<sup>14</sup> The general Jewish revolt against Gallus in 351–52, might have been a decisive factor in this decline. A second riot of the Jews of Palestine, especially those of Caesarea, in which some Christians were killed, took place in c. 439, during the reign of Theodosius II and Pulcheria. The Jews of Caesarea joined ranks with the Samaritans in the revolt of 555, burning Christian churches and slaughtering the provincial governor in his *praetorium*; one of them assisted the Arab troops to sneak into the besieged city through a secret water tunnel in 640/41.<sup>15</sup>

As for the Samaritans, a large quantity of “Samaritan” oil lamps retrieved from the excavated area in the SW zone bears evidence of their presence and activity in this part of the city. According to a rabbinic source, the staff (*taxis*) of the Byzantine governor of the province in the city (as opposed to that of the *dux*) was composed mainly of Samaritans. There were also separate Samaritan units in the Roman

<sup>12</sup> Roth-Gerson 1987: nos. 25–29 (Hebrew), 115, inscr. 27. Capitals and architectural fragments with Jewish symbols are presented there in pp. 122–24. A marble column with the Hebrew inscription “*shalom*” (peace) was found by Levine and Netzer (1986: 45, ill. 64) in their principal area of excavation, to the NW of the inner harbor. A fragment of a stone slab decorated with a menorah was found to the S of the temple platform (Area Z). See Raban 1998b: 32, fig. 4. On the synagogue see also note 62 below.

<sup>13</sup> Levine 1996.

<sup>14</sup> On the population size at the end of the period, see above, note 10.

<sup>15</sup> John Malalas, *Chronographia*, XV, ed. Dindorf 1831: 487–88; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A. M. 6048, ed. de Boor 1883, 1: 230; Al-Balādhuri, above, note 10. See also below, Chapter Six.



army.<sup>16</sup> Their involvement in the provincial administration might be alluded to by two Greek mosaic inscriptions found in Area NN in the SW zone. One (Fig. 136), of the fifth century, reads: “May the one and only God (*heis theos monos*), help Eusebius the accountant (*noumerarios*).” On the one hand, there is no cross at the beginning of the inscription, as was common in Christian epigraphy, and on the other hand, the opening formula was very common among the Samaritans.<sup>17</sup> The second inscription, of the sixth century, reads: “May the peace of the Christians persist,”<sup>18</sup> a declaration that may allude that its author was a non-Christian, perhaps a Samaritan, or a nominal Christian.<sup>19</sup> In this case the inscription may be conceived as a declaration of loyalty related perhaps to one of the Samaritan revolts of the sixth century. A notable Samaritan of Palestine who accepted nominal Christianity was Faustinus, of an old Samaritan family. Under Justinian he assumed a senator rank of *clarissimus* and became governor (*consularis*) of his province. Later he became *epitropos* of the imperial domains in Palestine and Phoenicia.<sup>20</sup> Inscriptions from Scythopolis and literary sources bring some interesting details about another prominent Samaritan family of that city. Silvanus and his brother, Sallustius, lawyers (*scholastici*), acted as patrons of the city and obtained grants from emperor Anastasius for the erection of public buildings in Scythopolis (year 515/16). Silvanus held consular rank, and maintained close connections with the emperor. His son, Arsenius, accepted the Christian faith, and had

<sup>16</sup> TY, *Avodah Zarah* 1.2–39c; Lieberman 1939–44: 405–406. The period alluded to in this text is the time of the Diocletianic persecutions. Samaritan troops suppressed the uprising of the Monophysite monks against Juvenal at the wake of the Council of Chalcedon (Ps. Zacharia Rhetor, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.5, trans. Brooks, CSCO, series 3, vol. 5, 109). According to Malalas (*Chron.* XV.8, ed. Dindorf 1831: 382–83), following the Samaritan revolt of 484, Zeno issued an edict that no Samaritans be admitted into the army. But the exclusion of the Samaritans from the army (and the civil service), was first issued by Honorius in 404 (*Cod. Theod.* 16.8.12), and repeated by Theodosius II in his *Novella* 3 of 438 or 439. A re-enactment by Zeno is not mentioned neither in *Cod. Just.* 1.5.18, issued between 527 and 531, where Justinian repeated it, nor in his *Novellae*. See Di Segni 1998: 65.

<sup>17</sup> Three *heis theos* inscriptions were found at Caesarea (Lehmann and Holum 2000, inscriptions nos. 138–40), suggesting the existence of Samaritan synagogues in the city. As was noted by Di Segni 1990: 346; *eadem.* 1994: 94–115, although this formula is known in Jewish and Christian circles, in Palestine most inscriptions of this kind come from a Samaritan milieu.

<sup>18</sup> For a drawing and a photo of the inscriptions, see Patrich *et al.* 1999: 96–97, figs. 31, 32.

<sup>19</sup> As a result of the anti-Samaritan legislation many of them assumed nominal Christianity. See Procopius, *Anecdota* XI, 15. 24–30.

<sup>20</sup> Procopius, *Anecdota* XXVII. 8–10.

a successful career at the imperial court of Justinian and Theodora, yet he maintained close relations with his family in Scythopolis. He had procured an imperial donation for rebuilding the walls of Scythopolis.<sup>21</sup> Similar Samaritan families, involved in the municipal and provincial affairs, might have existed also in Caesarea. A basilical structure to the south of the deserted Herodian hippodrome might have been a Samaritan synagogue, rather than a Christian church.

The Christians constituted the majority of the population. Their major church in the sixth century was the octagonal church on the site of the former Roman temple—the most prominent position in Caesarea’s landscape, overlooking the entire city and the harbor. The bishop, assisted by the clergy, was most influential in municipal affairs, second only to the governor. Being renowned since the days of Origen in the third century and Eusebius, in the fourth, as a center of learning and Christian theology (see Post Script below), Caesarea preserved its prestige down to the sixth century as a school of theology, rhetoric, and law.<sup>22</sup> Procopius of Caesarea, the famous historian at the courts of Belisarius and Justinian, was its most renowned author (although his writing was done remote from his city of origin). Another prominent author was John the Grammarian, an important Neochalcedonian theologian in the late fifth and early sixth century, against whom the Monophysite leader Severus of Antioch composed in 520 a polemical treatise.<sup>23</sup> An echo of the Christological controversy of the sixth century can be heard in a Greek mosaic inscription found at the site of the inner harbor (Area II), reading: “May the Lord sustain the Orthodoxy forever.”<sup>24</sup>

#### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Archaeological excavations started in the early fifties,<sup>25</sup> and included many expeditions, both Israeli and foreign, working in many locations:

<sup>21</sup> Tsafir and Foerster 1997: 124–26. For the Samaritans at Caesarea see Holum 1983.

<sup>22</sup> Schemmel 1925; Downey 1958: 301–302.

<sup>23</sup> John of Caesarea, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. Richard 1977; *idem, Capitula XVII contra Monophysita, ibid.*, 1977: 59–66. Severus of Antioch, *Liber contra impium grammaticum* (ed. J. Lebon), *Corpus Scriptorum Cristianorum Orientalium, Scriptorum Syri IV*, 4, 5, 6, Paris—Louvain 1928, 1929, 1933.

<sup>24</sup> Raban 1998a: 63–4, fig. 35.

<sup>25</sup> For the history of research, and summary of archaeological finds, excluding the 1992–98 large-scale excavations, see Levine 1975b; Holum and Raban 1993; Holum

Yeivin, Avi Yonah and Negev,<sup>26</sup> and the Italian Mission headed by Frova excavated there during the fifties and early sixties.<sup>27</sup> The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM)—a consortium of American colleges and universities headed by Bull,<sup>28</sup> working at the site in the seventies and early eighties, was followed since the late eighties to the present by the Combined Caesarea Excavations (CCE) headed by Holum, in cooperation with Raban from the University of Haifa.<sup>29</sup> The Hebrew University excavations in the seventies, headed by Netzer and Levine,<sup>30</sup> were followed by the University of Pennsylvania excavations, led by Burrell and Gleason.<sup>31</sup> The large-scale excavations in the SW zone of the city during 1992–98, working year round in the framework of the Caesarea Tourist Development Project by two expeditions: that of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), directed by Porath, and that of the University of Haifa, directed by Raban and myself, had augmented tremendously the previous archaeological record.<sup>32</sup> This SW zone, c. 80m wide and 800m long, extending along the sea from the harbor and the temple platform, in the North, to the Roman theater in the South (inclusively), is today almost entirely exposed to its Byzantine and Roman layers. Our information about the northern and eastern sectors of the city is segmented and fragmentary, yet informative and significant.

Underwater work, which started in 1960 by Link,<sup>33</sup> was followed in the eighties by the Caesarea Ancient Harbors Excavation Project (CAHEP),<sup>34</sup> moderated by Raban of the Center for Maritime Studies of the University of Haifa, and since the late eighties by the underwater

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1997; Patrich 1997c; Holum and Raban 1996: xxvii–xliv. For the results of the more recent excavations, see Holum 2008; Patrich 2008b; Porath 2008; Raban 2008; with more bibliographical references.

<sup>26</sup> Yeivin 1955; 1957; Avi Yonah 1956; *idem* and Negev 1963. Negev 1963a; 1963b; 1967; 1975.

<sup>27</sup> Frova, *et al.* 1965, and Frova 1959; 1961–62.

<sup>28</sup> Bull *et al.* 1985.

<sup>29</sup> Holum *et al.* 1992: 79–193; Raban *et al.* 1993; 1999; Raban 1996, and the Field Reports in Holum, Raban and Patrich 1999.

<sup>30</sup> Levine and Netzer 1986.

<sup>31</sup> Burrell, Gleason, and Netzer 1993; Burrell and Gleason 1995; Netzer 1996; Gleason 1996; Burrell 1996; Gleason *et al.*, 1998.

<sup>32</sup> Porath, Patrich and Raban 1998; Porath 1994; 1995; 1996a; 1996b; 1998; Patrich 1996; 2000a; 2001b. See also Patrich *et al.* 1999, and Raban *et al.* 1999.

<sup>33</sup> Fritsch and Ben-Dor 1961. See also: Hohlfelder 1989; 1992.

<sup>34</sup> Raban *et al.* 1989; Oleson 1994.

team of the CCE.<sup>35</sup> This research supplied a wealth of information on the construction of the harbor, its later history, and its gradual demise.

### THE HARBOR

The harbor was a huge enterprise, compared by Josephus (*War* 1.410; *Ant.* 15.332) to Piraeus, with many quays, landing places, and secondary anchorage. It was constructed of huge stones, including *pozzolana*—volcanic ashes imported from Italy, used by Romans for making hydraulic cement applied in harbor architecture, and other advanced Roman harbor technology.<sup>36</sup> The outer mole and breakwater, on the S and W, penetrated c. 400m into the sea, enclosing the outer and intermediate basins; the inner basin was rock-cut in land, incorporating the closed harbor (*limen kleistos*) of Hellenistic Straton's Tower. Work of recent years indicated that the inner harbor extended over a much vaster area than previously assumed. Its E pier extended to the S beyond the Crusader wall, and it encompassed an area 250m long (NS) by 150m broad (EW). The entrance to the outer harbor, flanked by three colossal statues on either side, was from N, at the W end of the N mole. Several inscribed lead ingots found in 1993 over the NW end of the mole<sup>37</sup> suggest that this section of the pier was submerged already at the end of the first century CE due to tectonic slumping, causing a rapid silting of parts of the inner harbor, that became a lagoon.<sup>38</sup> The intermediate and outer harbors underwent a large scale reconstruction by Anastasius in the late fifth–early sixth century.<sup>39</sup> By that time the inner harbor was already silted, giving new ground for the construction of new buildings, and later, under Arab dominion, of a new neighborhood of dwellings.

Though no lighthouse is mentioned in Josephus' narrative, we may assume its existence. However, its exact location is a matter of dispute.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Raban 1996; Raban *et al.* 1992; 1993; 1999.

<sup>36</sup> Raban 1992c; Oleson and Branton 1992; Brandon 1996; Vann 1983b.

<sup>37</sup> Raban 1999.

<sup>38</sup> Raban 1996; Yule *et al.* 1999; Toueg 1998.

<sup>39</sup> Procopius of Gaza, *Panagyr. Anast.* 19, PG 87: 2817.

<sup>40</sup> Vann 1991; Hohlfelder 1996: 85; Alföldi 1999.

## WALLS AND GATES

Two semi-circular city walls are still recognizable in aerial photographs (Fig. 5), beyond the rectilinear shorter line of the Arab-Crusader wall. The inner line is Herodian and the outer—Byzantine. The Herodian wall (Fig. 8) had a N gate flanked by two circular towers. A third, rectilinear tower, was exposed nearby.<sup>41</sup> At the S part of the Herodian city wall, to the S of the Roman theater, another circular tower was exposed in the excavation of recent years, attached to the external face of the wall. Later during the Roman period the round tower got a rectilinear encasement. The fortification line was abandoned in the mid-fourth century.

Like other Roman cities, such as Jerusalem, Gerasa, Scythopolis, or Neapolis, the Roman and Early Byzantine city, that expanded beyond the Herodian wall, had no outer wall for more than three centuries. These extra-mural quarters comprised also an amphitheater and a hippodrome. So far there is not enough data to reconstruct in detail the history of this extra-mural settlement. It is also not clear to what extent the Herodian wall retained its defensive features during this period. But while Roman Jerusalem and Gerasa were encircled by walls already in c. 300 CE, Caesarea got its wall more than a century later—only in the fifth century. The southern quarter of Jerusalem likewise got a wall, by Eudocia, in the first half of the fifth century. The date of construction of the wall of Scythopolis is as yet unknown; what is known is that it was renovated in the first quarter of the sixth century.<sup>42</sup>

Segments of the Byzantine wall of Caesarea, in the N, E, and S, were exposed and explored by three different expeditions.<sup>43</sup> It encompassed an area of 111.5 hectares (1500 x 830m maximal dimensions)—two to

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<sup>41</sup> Finocchi 1965; A construction date within the first century BCE was concluded by Blakely 1984, who excavated near its NE tower. See also *idem* 1992. The Herodian date suggested by the Italians was questioned by Levine (1975b: 10–12), Negev, and disputed by Raban 1987. Excavating in the northernmost vault of the Temple Platform, and noticing that the stones of its lower courses have similar margin drafts, he claimed that the remains of the towers and wall in the north belong to the Hellenistic town of Straton's Tower. See also Raban 1992a. Hillard 1992 favors a Gabinian date. The more recent excavations in the vaults of the Temple Platform had refuted Raban's claim. The present prevalent opinion is that the fortification remains at the north are Herodian. On the abandonment of this fortification line, see Blakely, *op. cit.* The city gates are mentioned in the early fourth century by Eusebius. See Chapter Twelve below.

<sup>42</sup> Tsafir and Foerster 1997: 102.

<sup>43</sup> Frova 1959; 1961–62; Humphrey 1975; Lehmann 1994.

three times larger than before (Fig. 29). The road system emerging from the city<sup>44</sup> suggests the existence of four gates. The north Byzantine gate was eroded by the sea, the southern was a triple entrance monumental gate.<sup>45</sup> A Greek inscription mentioning a *bourgos* was uncovered near the conjectural location of the E gate.<sup>46</sup> A Roman monumental arch with a Greek inscription referring to the city as metropolis, a rank granted to the city by Alexander Severus, was located nearby,<sup>47</sup> indicating that like in the case of Gerasa, Jerusalem, Scythopolis, Gadara, (and Athens), the outskirts of the city were indicated by a monumental arch long before a city wall was actually constructed.

In the sixth century an inner fortress or citadel (*kastron*) with semi-circular towers was constructed around the theater that went out of use already by the fourth century.<sup>48</sup> Byzantine cities from the sixth century onwards were usually equipped with citadels. Zenobia with its *citadel*, on the Euphrates, fortified by Justinian, is a good example.<sup>49</sup>

#### THE STREET SYSTEM AND URBAN PLAN

Archaeology confirmed Josephus' account (*Ant.* 15.340; *War* 1.408, 413) that Herod laid a magnificent city plan, with equal distance between its streets (Fig. 8), and a sophisticated sewage system underneath. The JECM, as well as the recent excavations in the SW zone, uncovered at least three successive street levels, adhering to the same urban plan.<sup>50</sup> In this regard Caesarea is the exception among the cities built by Herod. Jerusalem and Samaria followed an entirely different city plan, with a main thoroughfare leading from the city gate to the main temple. So far there is not enough data to indicate whether the extra-mural quarters, developed in the Roman and Byzantine periods beyond the Herodian city wall, followed throughout the same grid pattern recognized within the inner perimeter wall (Fig. 29).<sup>51</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Roll 1996.

<sup>45</sup> Peleg and Reich 1992, but see *supra*, note 8.

<sup>46</sup> Schwabe 1950a; Lifshitz 1961: 115–26, inscr. no. 16.

<sup>47</sup> Abel and Barrois 1931.

<sup>48</sup> Frova *et al.* 1965: 57–159, 165–86.

<sup>49</sup> Foss and Winfield 1986: 7–14.

<sup>50</sup> Vann 1983a; Patrich *et al.* 1999: 74–75; Porath 1996a; 1998: 41–42.

<sup>51</sup> Therefore Holum was right in refraining from depicting the grid beyond the Herodian wall in the city plan of year 500 CE. See Raban and Holum 1996, Map 3 (The Byzantine/Late Antique Period), reproduced here as Fig. 29, but see his more recent proposal for the city layout in Holum 2009: 170\*, Fig. 1.

Cardo W1, exposed in the SW zone for a length of c. 400m (Fig. 32), was not a colonnaded street. Its width—c. 5m, was slightly reduced during the centuries of its existence due to retaining the walls of the buildings along its course. The line of the *cardo maximus* is marked by the line of the eastern Crusader wall. Several columns are still preserved on the inside of the northern section of this wall, suggesting that it was a colonnaded street. As for the *decumanus maximus*, its western end was exposed in the recent excavations by the IAA team at the northeastern corner of the Temple Platform, its line being parallel to *decumani* S2 and S3 (see map—Fig. 29 and Fig. 33). Its course eastward is suggested by the remains of a *tetrapylon* in the eastern gate of the Crusader wall (Fig. 24). So far, no remains indicate that it was a colonnaded street. But colonnaded streets (*platea* and *stoa*) in Caesarea are mentioned in rabbinic and Christian sources (*TY, Nazir* VII, 1, 56a; *Tosefta Oholot* XVIII, 13; Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* IX.12).

The N–S street exposed by the JECM in the NW zone of the city, indicates that the size of the urban *insulae* in this zone—a neighborhood of dwellings (see map—Fig. 29), was different than their size in the SW zone. In Gerasa as well, the dimensions of the dwelling *insulae* in the eastern part of the city were different than those of the *insulae* in the western part of the city, comprising mainly of public structures.

## RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

### *Temples*

Of the many temples suggested by the deities depicted on the city coins (Tyche, Isis, Serapis, Demeter, Apollo),<sup>52</sup> and inscriptions (Jupiter Dolichenus),<sup>53</sup> only three temples yielded architectural remains. As for the evidence of the statuary of deities (Tyche, Isis and Serapis, Apollo, Aphrodite, Athena, Asklepius and Hygieia, the Ephesian Artemis, Cybele or Nemesis, and the Dioscuri),<sup>54</sup> one should be precautionary not to interpret each statue as an indication for the existence of a temple for that particular deity. Statues were commonly used for decoration alone, though expressing religious piety.

On top of the temple platform, dominating both city and harbor, the foundations and scattered architectural members of Herod's

<sup>52</sup> Kadman 1957; Ringel 1975: 151–162.

<sup>53</sup> Lifshitz 1966: 255–56.

<sup>54</sup> Gerst 1984; 1987; 1995; 1996; Frova 1962; Wenning 1986.

temple to Rome and Augustus (*War* 1.415; *Ant.* 15.339) were found.<sup>55</sup> The podium, 28.6 x 46.4m in dimensions, was constructed on top of a U-shaped elevated platform, leaving an open esplanade below, to the W, in a lower terrace, along the E mole of the inner harbor.<sup>56</sup> In c. 300 twelve vaults were erected on the esplanade, between the arms of the elevated platform. Their roof established an additional square in front of the Roman temple. Certain modifications in the facade of the temple might have occurred on this occasion.

The Imperial cult is also attested by two inscriptions, one, in Latin, mentioning a *Tiberieum*,<sup>57</sup> and the second, in Greek, a *Hadrianeion*. The porphyry statue of this emperor, found reused, decorating a Byzantine esplanade, originated perhaps from his temple.<sup>58</sup> A marble head of Hadrian, of almost life size, was found during the recent excavations in a late seventh-century layer of debris (Fig. 20). Its original location is unknown.

In the SW zone a Mithraeum was installed in the second or third century in one of the vaults underneath the audience hall of the *praetorium* of the Roman financial procurator (see below).<sup>59</sup> A *naos* (presumably of this *praetorium*), is mentioned in a Greek papyrus from Egypt.<sup>60</sup> The shrine (*sacellum*) of the Western hippodrome (Herod's *amphitheatron*, see below) was, seemingly, dedicated to Kore, since a dedicatory inscription to her on a marble foot—one of seven—was found therein. Snakes—a common attribute of Isis—entwining four of the ex-voto feet, suggest an assimilation between Kore and Isis. Kore was the principal deity of the adjacent city of Samaria in Roman times. A Greek inscription found in the stadium there reads: “One

<sup>55</sup> Holum *et al.* 1992: 100–109; Raban *et al.* 1993: 53–60; Raban 1998a: 68–69; For summary of recent excavations, see Holum 1999. For the reconstruction of the temple on the evidence of scattered architectural fragments, see Kahn 1996.

<sup>56</sup> See drawing in Porath 1998: 46, fig. 10. The dimensions of the podium are given in Holum 1999: 21.

<sup>57</sup> The common opinion is that in spite of Tiberius' refraining from encouraging his veneration as a god, the inscription attests to this cult. Recently G. Alföldi (1999; 2002) had suggested that the reference is to a light tower, a twin of the “Druseion” tower mentioned by Josephus (*War* 1.413; *Ant.* 15.336), named after Drusus—Tiberius' brother.

<sup>58</sup> The *Hadrianeion* is mentioned in a sixth-century Greek inscription at the site: Moulton 1919–20; Avi Yonah 1970. On the presumed visit of Hadrian to Caesarea, and his endowments to the city, see Holum, 1992a.

<sup>59</sup> Bull 1974a; 1978. (At the time when these articles of Bull were written the relation of this sanctuary to the *praetorium* of the Roman procurators was not yet perceived).

<sup>60</sup> Rea 1977; Eck 1998.



god, the ruler of all, great Kore, the invincible.” In Samaria Kore was also assimilated with Isis.<sup>61</sup>

### *Synagogues*

Of the various synagogues that existed in Caesarea, only one was exposed in the N part of the city,<sup>62</sup> the site of Straton’s Tower. Another Jewish synagogue was converted by Vespasian to an odeum (Malalas, *Chronographia*, X, 338, ed. Dindorf, 1831, 261; X.46, ed. Thurn 2000, 197). A Jewish house of learning (*bêt midrāšā*) open onto the agora of Caesarea is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud, *Hulin* 86d.

### *Christian Buildings*

Several Christian Buildings associated with New Testament events and with the persecutions of martyrs, are mentioned in the Byzantine itineraria: the houses of Philip (Ac 8:40; 21:8) and of Cornelius (Ac 10:1–48), the chamber of the four virgin prophetesses—Philip’s daughters, the burial place of Pamphilus and Procopius, and the latter’s chapel.<sup>63</sup> More chapels and churches are known from literary sources. In the Acts and Miracles of Saint Anastasius (martyred 627 CE), are mentioned the following churches: St. Euphemia, St. Mary the Younger (perhaps not distinct from the unspecified St. Mary), a chapel of Saint Anastasius the Persian, the “most holy church of Christ,” and a building associated with the martyr Cornelius.<sup>64</sup> The church of St. Procopius was set on fire in the Samaritan revolt of year 484.

Of these only two churches (one being dubious) were so far exposed. In c. 525–50 CE, an octagonal church, decorated and revetted in marble, had replaced Herod’s temple to Rome and Augustus. Access from the W was by means of a monumental staircase that rose over a broad

<sup>61</sup> Flusser 1975. For the ex-voto feet and the dedicatory inscription for Kore, see Gersht 1996: 310–11; Porath 1995a: 23, fig. 10; a photograph of the *Sacellum* is given there on p. 21, fig. 9a, and p. 272, color fig. 9. For a picture of the feet, see also *idem* 1998: 41, fig. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Avi Yonah 1956; 1960 and recently Govaars, Spiro and White 2009. For the Synagogue inscriptions, see Schwabe 1950b; Lifshitz 1967b; Roth-Gerson 1987. See also Levine 1975b: 40–45.

<sup>63</sup> Downey 1975; Krenz 1992; Levine 1975b: 45–46. Ac 21:13; Jerome, *Epistulae* 108.8; *PPTS* VI: 32 (a 13th c. anonymous travelogue referring to the chamber of the four virgin prophetesses). Antoninus of Placentia, *Itinerarium* 45, ed. Geyer 1965: 174 (reference to the burial place of Pamphilus and Procopius); Malalas, *Chronographia*, XIV, ed. Dindorf 1831: 93–94; *Chronicon Paschale*, 327, PG 92: 840–41 (reference to the chapel of Procopius).

<sup>64</sup> Kaegi 1992.

arch.<sup>65</sup> The W end of this staircase was founded on a platform of huge stones laid inside the partially silted inner harbor, adjoining the edge of the Herodian mole.<sup>66</sup> The E end of the staircase was leaning against the vaults. A second, simpler staircase let access from the south.<sup>67</sup>

The process of Christianization of urban space at Caesarea was slower than assumed.<sup>68</sup> The temple, although ruinous, was replaced by a Christian monument many decades after such a process occurred in Jerusalem (under Constantine), or in Gaza (under Theodosius I and Eudoxia).<sup>69</sup>

A second structure identified as a church was exposed during the recent excavation to the south of the deserted Herodian hippodrome, overlying the NE part of the Roman *praetorium*. It is a basilica, 32 x 17.5m in dimensions, with a 16m-long atrium to its west, with a small cistern in its center.<sup>70</sup> It seems that the *sacellum* of Kore mentioned above was converted in the fourth century into a martyrs chapel (Fig. 34).

#### PALACES AND PRAETORIA

Herod's palace, constructed on a promontory to the south of the harbor, was enlarged and elaborated, becoming the *praetorium* of the

<sup>65</sup> Holum *et al.*, 1992: 100–107; Raban *et al.*, 1993: 37–42, 50–51; 53–55. For the date of construction of the octagonal church, see most recently Holum 1999: 26.

<sup>66</sup> Raban 1996: 657–58, and fig. 23, refers to this platform as a “reflecting pool.” In my opinion this is an erroneous interpretation. The massive platform was needed to retain the staircase, and leave reasonable open space to its front. A later looting of some of the *kurkar* blocks of this platform gave the wrong impression that the extant remains are those of a basin.

<sup>67</sup> Stanley 1999.

<sup>68</sup> For the intentional preservation of pagan or Jewish precincts as void spaces in Christian town-planning, see Wharton 1995.

<sup>69</sup> See Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* III. cc. xxvi–xl on the erection of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, on the order of Constantine, on the site of the temple of Aphrodite; Mark the Deacon, *Vita Porphyrii* (ed. Gregoire and Kugener 1930), about the erection of the Eudoxia church at Gaza on the site of the local temple of Marnas. On the conversion of temples to churches and the Christianization of the urban space in Palestine, see Holum 1996a; Tsafirir 1998.

<sup>70</sup> However, since the Greek inscriptions of this basilical building, with its apse-oriented east, do not commence with a cross, as is common with Christian inscriptions, the interpretation of the architectural remains as a Christian church (Porath 1998: 44, fig. 8) is dubious. The eastern orientation of the apse can also befit a Samaritan synagogue, since Mt. Garizim, to which Samaritan synagogues were oriented, is located to the east of Caesarea.

Roman governors.<sup>71</sup> Late in the first century, a second *praetorium* was constructed in the first urban insula to the south of the harbor, for the use of the financial procurators of the province. This palace became later the residence and *officium* of the Byzantine governor (Fig. 35).<sup>72</sup> Both *praetoria* had vast courtyards, gardens, and elaborate bathhouses. Two other palatial mansions were constructed in Late Antiquity in the SW zone (Fig. 36), between the two *praetoria* mentioned above. The northern one, exposed in its entirety, had an elaborate bathhouse in a good state of preservation.<sup>73</sup> It was constructed in the fourth century over a first-century Roman “villa” that extended over a vaster area. The second, constructed in the sixth century, had a two-story peristyle courtyard with a tri-conch triclinium. In a lower terrace, on the west, a garden and a fountain were installed, leading to a private beach (see Chapter Five below).<sup>74</sup> A unique *opus sectile* workshop with magnificent designs was uncovered in one of the side rooms of this Byzantine palace. Urban dwelling quarters of palatial mansions are known in many Late Antique cities, like Apamea in Syria, Ephesus and Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, Paphos in Cyprus, Volubilis in Morocco, and elsewhere.<sup>75</sup>

Dwellings of a more regular type, yet quite spacious, were uncovered in several locations in Caesarea, mainly in the NW zone.<sup>76</sup>

#### SPORTS ARENAS

Herod’s theater is located at the southern end of the city. In its Severan Roman imperial phase (Figs. 37–38), it comprised two blocks of seats, accommodating c. 4,000 spectators.<sup>77</sup> Herod’s *amphitheatron*

<sup>71</sup> See above, note 31, and Netzer and Bar Nathan, “The Promontory Palace,” in: Levine and Netzer 1986: 149–77.

<sup>72</sup> Patrich 2000a; *idem et al.* 1999, and Chapter Eight below.

<sup>73</sup> Porath 1998: 42–43, fig. 4. During the IAA excavations this complex was identified as a bathhouse. However, now, after being entirely exposed, it is clear that the bathhouse, being the first part to be exposed, formed just a wing of this palatial mansion.

<sup>74</sup> See plan in Porath 1998: 43–44, fig. 6; and garden reconstruction in *idem* 1996a: 118–19, figs. 2, 3.

<sup>75</sup> For bibliographical references, see Sodini 1995; 1997.

<sup>76</sup> See, for example, Bull and Storvick 1993.

<sup>77</sup> Albricci 1965; Levine 1975b. The diameter of the theater was 90m, and that of the orchestra 30m. It is not clear wherefrom Segal (1995: 99) had derived his dimensions of 62m and 16m respectively. Just a glance at the plans reproduced as figs. 70 and 71 in that book indicate that these dimensions are wrong.

(*Ant.* 15.341; *War* 1.415),<sup>78</sup> uncovered in the recent excavation along the sea, between the palace and the harbor, turned out to be a hippodrome (Figs. 8 and 19).<sup>79</sup> The estimated number of spectators is 13,000. The arrangement of the starting gates—five on either side of a central wide gate—and their layout parallel to each other, rather than radial, indicate that the races established by Herod followed the Olympian tradition of chariot racing, rather than that of the Roman circus, with its four factions. Later transformations in the arrangement of the starting gates with a radial layout, reflect a process of Romanization (see Chapter Seven below).<sup>80</sup> Chronologically, this architectural and cultural transformation is contemporary with the refoundation of Caesarea as a Roman colony by Vespasian. The Latin factor associated with the Roman army and administration became dominant since that time and until the Diocletianic reforms in the late-third–early fourth century, as is reflected by the language of the local inscriptions.<sup>81</sup>

At the final phase of the hippodrome—perhaps in the early, or mid third century, the arena was truncated, and the hippodrome was converted to an amphitheater, being deserted later in the fourth century due to erosion by the sea waves (Figs. 39–40). Similar conversion of a hippodrome into an oval amphitheater was encountered in Gerasa, Neapolis, and Scythopolis. But while the converted amphitheaters at Scythopolis and Neapolis were monumental in their truncated end, that at Gerasa is a thin wall, and at Caesarea there are four distinct lines of thin walls, just one stone thick, suggesting a casual or temporary construction, perhaps on occasion for special events.<sup>82</sup>

A “canonical,” oval, Roman amphitheater (recognized only by aerial photographs—Fig. 5),<sup>83</sup> and a second hippodrome were installed in the NE and SE zones respectively, presumably in the early second century. The eastern hippodrome (Fig. 41), with obelisks and *metae* decorating

<sup>78</sup> On the ambiguity in applying technical terms to spectacle structures that existed in the Late Hellenistic/Late Republican and Early Imperial periods, see Humphrey 1996 and Porath 1995a: 23–27.

<sup>79</sup> Porath 1994; 1995a; 1996b; 1998: 40–41.

<sup>80</sup> Patrich 2001b. For a thorough survey of Roman circuses, and the two major styles of chariot races, see Humphrey 1986: 1–24.

<sup>81</sup> Lifshitz 1961; 1963b: 256; 1965; 1966; 1967a; 1962; 1963a; Negev 1971; Eck 1996; Lehmann and Holum 2000.

<sup>82</sup> Müller 1938; Ostrasz 1989; Magen 1993; Tsafir and Foerster 1997: 99 and fig. E on p. 91.

<sup>83</sup> Reifenberg 1950; 1951. Large scale excavations (non published yet), were carried out in the amphitheater in 2010 on behalf of IAA, headed by Dr. Peter Gendelman.

its *spina*, continued to function during the Byzantine period, until it went out of use, and was systematically demolished well before the end of that era, perhaps already early in the sixth century.<sup>84</sup>

According to Malalas (*Chronographia*, X, 338, ed. Niebuhr, 1831, 261), Vespasian converted a Jewish synagogue into an odeum. Its location is as yet unknown.

#### OTHER MONUMENTS AND BUILDINGS

More monuments and buildings are mentioned in the literary sources—both Greco-Roman and rabbinic,<sup>85</sup> and in the inscriptions: a *tetrapylon*,<sup>86</sup> remains of which are still recognized inside the East Gate of the Crusader wall (Fig. 24), porticos (one of which, the portico of Iunia Ba( )ae, was used for displaying petitions and statutes concerning the Roman soldiers serving in the province),<sup>87</sup> stoas and colonnaded streets (*platea*), a dome-like structure overlaying a public thoroughfare, and market places.<sup>88</sup> A sigma-shaped market building of Roman and Byzantine date was exposed in recent excavations on the S side of the temple platform.<sup>89</sup>

#### WAREHOUSES AND HORREA

As a maritime city and provincial capital, the city was provided with plenty of warehouses and *horrea* for both import-export trade, and for stocking foodstuffs in adequate quantities to prevent inflation of prices. Warehouses of several types were uncovered in the SW zone (Figs. 42–43), and around the harbor, mostly dated to the late Roman and early Byzantine periods: long vaulted *horrea*, and warehouses of

<sup>84</sup> Humphrey 1975: 6; Toombs 1978: 229. On this hippodrome of Caesarea in the wider context of Eastern hippodromes, see also Humphrey 1974; 1986: 438–540 (Caesarea—pp. 477–91). See also Jeremias 1931.

<sup>85</sup> Habas 1996; Weiss 1996; Levine 1975b.

<sup>86</sup> Holum 1992a. See also Chapter Two above.

<sup>87</sup> This portico is mentioned in a Greek papyrus from Egypt: PSI IX, 36f, no. 1026. See also Degrassi 1926.

<sup>88</sup> Levine 1975b: 38–40.

<sup>89</sup> Raban and Stieglitz 1988. A much larger *sigma* complex, dated to the early sixth century was exposed in Beth Shean. See Bar-Nathan and Mazor 1992: 43–44; Mazor and Bar-Nathan 1998: 15; Tsafir and Foerster 1997: 120–21.

the “courtyard” and of the “corridor” types.<sup>90</sup> Particular features of these warehouses are vast halls with crude mosaic floors that held vast *dolia* for the storage of oil (*dolium olearium*), and underground granaries with thick walls revetted by well-drafted blocks imbedded in a thick layer of oily lime mortar. Granaries of similar structure were found in Shuni—a site of an Askelapeion and water celebration near Caesarea—and in Apollonia—the adjacent city to Caesarea on the south. Warehouses with *dolia* were uncovered in Iamnia—another maritime city of *Palaestina*, and in Sepphoris.

#### THE WATER SUPPLY SYSTEM<sup>91</sup>

The Roman city got its water supply from the north by means of two aqueducts (Fig. 44). The high level aqueduct reached the city as a double arcade supporting two channels. The western, later one, is dated by inscriptions to the reign of Hadrian. The earlier channel is attributed, alternatively, to Herod, the Roman procurators, or Vespasian. The lower level aqueduct is a masonry tunnel, c. 1.20m wide and 2.00m high, that got its water from an artificial lake (Fig. 45), constructed in the late fourth century (c. 385 CE).<sup>92</sup> A Byzantine terra cotta pipeline reached the city from the north.<sup>93</sup> A network of lead and terra cotta pipes running under the paved streets led the water to various public amenities: fountains, *nymphaea*, bathhouses, latrines, and gardens. The palaces and rich mansions benefited from this network of pipes, enjoying a private water supply. In the late Byzantine period the water system deteriorated, and wells replaced the pipelines in some parts of the city. Stephanus, the governor of *Palaestina Prima* in the early thirties of the sixth century, is praised in his encomium, written by Choricus of Gaza in 534/36, for improving the water supply system of Caesarea by maintenance work, clearing the high-level aqueduct’s channels of obstructions.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Patrich 1996. For a comprehensive survey, see Rickman 1971: 148–55. See also Chapter Nine above.

<sup>91</sup> Negev 1964; Barag 1964; Olami and Ringel 1975: 148–50; Peleg 1986; Everman 1992; Porath 2002.

<sup>92</sup> Negev 1972; Di Segni 2002b. Recent excavations at the Tannim Dam had indicated that it was constructed in the early 3rd c. CE.

<sup>93</sup> Porath 1990.

<sup>94</sup> Mayerson 1986.

BATHHOUSES, *NYMPHAEA*, AND LATRINES

All the bathhouses uncovered so far in Caesarea, are associated with the palaces and villas mentioned above. A possible exception is a small bathhouse, in an impressive state of preservation, exposed in the 1997–98 excavations below the temple platform, to the east. This one might have been an urban *balaneum*, unless it formed part of another palace, perhaps that of the metropolitans, that might have existed adjacent to the octagonal church. But until the excavated area will be expanded, this suggestion is a mere speculation. None of the Caesarean bathhouses uncovered so far was a huge *therma* of the Roman imperial type, like those known at Scythopolis, Eleutheropolis, Gerasa, Gadara, or Bostra.<sup>95</sup> Yet, according to Malalas, Antoninus Pius erected a public bath at Caesarea.<sup>96</sup> The “baths of Cornelius” are mentioned in the fourth-century *Itinerarium Burdigalense*.<sup>97</sup>

*Nymphaea*, fountains,<sup>98</sup> and latrines,<sup>99</sup> both public (Fig. 46) and private, were abundant throughout the city. A network of lead and terra-cotta pipes lead water to street and private fountains, and to the latrines. An elaborate *nymphaeum*, with three niches holding statues, adorned the NW projections of the temple platform (Fig. 47),<sup>100</sup> yet it

<sup>95</sup> Yegul 1992; Nielsen 1990. See also Berger 1982: 90–93. The bathhouse below the temple platform, occupied in this period by the octagonal church, can be compared with the Baths of Bishop Placcus at Gerasa, erected in 454/55, and renovated in 584. The baths are located to the north of St. Theodore Church, in the ecclesiastical complex that comprised also of the “Cathedral” and the clergy house. See Kraeling 1938: 265–81, Plans XLIV–XLV, and Pls. LIII–LVI.

<sup>96</sup> *Chronographia*, XI, 367, ed. Dindorf 1831: 281; XI.25, ed. Thurn 2000: 212.

<sup>97</sup> *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 4, ed. Geyer 1965: 13.

<sup>98</sup> The following is a list of *nymphaea* and fountains found so far in the city: two small niche fountains on E facade of the “western stoa,” Area KK; a fountain to the W of vault 4 in Area CV; the central, garden fountain in the *praetorium* of the financial procurator, phases 1 and 2, and a second, “mundane” fountain in CC 59; a niche fountain in the “library” of that *praetorium*, phases 1 and 2; two fountains and an octagonal basin in the bathhouse of that *praetorium*; an elaborate latrine fountain in IAA “bathhouse” (Porath 1998: 43, fig. 5), and several “basin fountains” in the “palaestra” and “frigidarium” of that “bathhouse”; A central, portico fountain in the upper terrace of the IAA “Byzantine palace,” and a second, garden fountain, in its lower terrace (Porath 1998: 43, fig. 6). An apse fountain in the triclinium of Herod’s lower palace, and a courtyard fountain in the N wing of the upper palace. A *nymphaeum* in the facade of the NW projection of the temple platform (see note 100 below).

<sup>99</sup> The following is a list of latrines: Public: at the cardo-decumanus junction in Area CC; in the S passage to the Hippodrome; Private: adjacent to the “Ibex Mosaics” hall in Area NN; in vault 54 of area CC; in IAA “bathhouse”; in CCE Area I, over the Herodian mole (Byzantine in date; first exposed by Negev).

<sup>100</sup> Levine 1975b: Pl. 3:2; Porath 1998: 47, fig. 11.

is not as elaborate as the *nymphaea* of Philadelphia, Gerasa, or Bostra.<sup>101</sup> Smaller fountains were located in street corners, and in the private domain, fountains and reflecting pools were incorporated into the gardens and courtyards. Being located on the seashore, Caesarea also enjoyed the pleasant and refreshing panorama of the sea.

The southern part of the SW zone was occupied in the sixth century by the citadel (*kastron*) erected around the theater; it was a military zone.<sup>102</sup> The adjacent, former *praetorium* of the Roman governor on the site of Herod's Palace, was partially dismantled during the construction of the *kastron*. In its reduced size it might have served the *dux* while in the city. In the northern part of this zone extended the *praetorium* of the Byzantine governor, the public part of which comprised a revenue office flanked by waiting rooms with benches, an audience hall that served as a law court, offices for the clerks, and an archive or library.<sup>103</sup> The *officiales* mentioned in the inscriptions from the *praetorium* of Caesarea included *ypoboethoi*, *chartularioi*, *noumerarioi*, a *magister* or *magistrianos*, and various staff of the law court.<sup>104</sup> Another Late Antique *praetorium* with a law court was found in Gortyn (Crete), the capital of the Roman province of Crete and Cyrene. Inscriptions of the fourth and fifth century specify that they originally stood beside, or before, the doors of Justice.<sup>105</sup>

The rest of the SW zone was occupied by two or three palatial mansions of the local landowners (*ktetores*), each having its own complex of warehouses. In Late Antique Apamea, we encounter along its *cardo maximus* the same phenomenon of a neighborhood of palatial mansions, one of which—the house called “*au triclinos*”—is believed to be the palace of the governor of Syria II.<sup>106</sup> Neither in Apamea, nor in Caesarea, was the governor's palace the most elaborate residence.

<sup>101</sup> Segal 1997: 161–180.

<sup>102</sup> A police chief or sheriff (*lestodioktes*) and a garrison of Arcadiani is mentioned in Caesarea in conjunction with the suppression of the Samaritan revolt of 484 (Ps. Zacharias Rhetor, note 16 above; Jo. Malalas, *Chron.* XV.8 ed. Dindorf 1831: 382–83).

<sup>103</sup> Patrich 2000a; Patrich *et al.* 1999; Holum 1995. See also Chapter Eight below.

<sup>104</sup> The final epigraphical report on the new Greek inscriptions from the Byzantine *praetorium* is being prepared for publication by Leah Di Segni. For previous publications of some of them see Patrich *et al.* 1999 and Holum 1995. See also Di Segni *et al.* 2003.

<sup>105</sup> See Burrell 1996, where she discusses also the Roman palace of the *Dux Ripae* at Dura Europos, the *praetorium* at Cologne, and the governor's palace at Aquincum.

<sup>106</sup> Balty 1969. For the other mansions in that quarter of Apamea, see Balty 1984. For other palatial mansions that belong to this group, see Ellis 1985; Erim 1969—the so called ‘Governor's Palace’ with a private bath suite. Another quarter of wealthy mansions in a late antique city is the NE quadrant in Ptolemais (Cyrene). See Little 1985.



The provincial governors who resided in the *praetorium* were replaced quite frequently, after a relatively short period of office, while the other mansions served as the permanent residences of the aristocracy of the city. The more simple dwellings, in the NW zone, were quite spacious as well, reflecting the wealth of the population. In one of them, comprising a peristyle courtyard and three shops in the street front, an under-floor hoard of 99 gold coins, dated to the second half of the fourth century, was found (Fig. 48).<sup>107</sup>

The wealth of the city and its function as a commercial center is also reflected in its warehouses. The imported ware—both amphorae and tableware—reflect commercial contacts with large parts of the Mediterranean basin: North Africa, Egypt, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and the Aegeans.<sup>108</sup> The harbor, undergoing a gradual demise, was renovated by Emperor Anastasius, but its inner basin was already silted by sand, and it never reassumed its grandeur of the Herodian and early imperial times.<sup>109</sup>

The eastern hippodrome was the sole sport arena that survived into Late Antiquity. Chariot races and circus factions were popular in Caesarea as they were in other cities of the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>110</sup> The “*hippotrophi* inscription,” found not far from the eastern hippodrome, specifies sums of money that went from various municipal taxes and levies to pay for the maintenance of the stables and the races.<sup>111</sup> In the Samaritan revolt of 484, Justasas, their leader, presided over victory celebration games in this circus.<sup>112</sup> Like in other cities of the east, other spectacles lost their popularity.<sup>113</sup> The theater went out of use already by the fourth century and later, in the sixth century, its site was surrounded by a *kastron*. The amphitheater, unexcavated as yet, might have gone out of use much earlier. The hippodrome went out of use and was systematically demolished already in the first half of the sixth century. So far no public *therma* was uncovered, but bathing in the private sphere—in the palatial mansions mentioned above—was a popular entertainment among the local élite.

<sup>107</sup> Lampinen 1999b; Bull and Storvick 1993.

<sup>108</sup> For the final report on the imported amphorae and the table ware from Areas KK, CC and NN see Johnson 2008.

<sup>109</sup> Raban 1996; Raban *et al.* 1992; 1993; 1999; Raban 2009.

<sup>110</sup> Humphrey 1974; Cameron 1976; Liebeschuetz 1991; Dan 1981.

<sup>111</sup> Lifshitz 1977: 510–12; Lehmann and Holum 2000: inscr. 110.

<sup>112</sup> Jo. Malalas, *Chron.* XV.8, ed. Dindorf 1831: 382–83; Crown 1989: 72. According to Di Segni 1998: 60, Justasas just attended the chariot races, and did not preside over them.

<sup>113</sup> Kennedy 1985: 3–27; Liebeschuetz 1992.

The **necropolis** extended on all three sides around the city wall, but mainly to the east, as is attested by burial caves, burial inscriptions, and sarcophagi.<sup>114</sup> A first–second-century Roman cemetery with cremation burials was uncovered in IAA excavations to the south of the theater, adjacent to the Herodian city wall, on the outside. This alien burial practice should be attributed to the Latinate element in the population, associated with the governor’s *praetorium*, located nearby.

The **extra-mural** territory was densely settled and cultivated. Dwellings and suburban villas with mosaic floors were encountered in several locations,<sup>115</sup> and Roman and Byzantine farmsteads were exposed farther away, in the agricultural countryside.<sup>116</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

It seems that the city reached its apogee by the end of the fourth century, after serving for more than four centuries as the capital of a large province. As was already mentioned above, the division of the Roman province of *Iudaea Palaestina* into two, and later three, smaller provinces in the mid-fourth to early-fifth centuries, decreased its administrative and ecclesiastical status. A further decline in the ecclesiastical status was caused by the proclamation of Jerusalem as the fifth Patriarchate of the Christian world, recognizing the superiority of its *episcopos* over the *metropolitae* of Caesarea. The anti-Jewish and anti-Samaritan imperial legislation affected the security and prosperity of these important ethnic groups in the local society. All parties suffered due to the Samaritan revolts. Especially severe were the damages and casualties caused in the 529/30 revolt, that inflicted a severe blow on the Samaritan peasantry and on the agricultural estates. All these were causes of a gradual process of decline in urban life and economy.<sup>117</sup> A certain improvement was caused by the partial

<sup>114</sup> *Mishnah, Oholoth* 17:49; Lifshitz 1964. It seems that the Tell Mevorakh (3km distant from the city) sarcophagi were found in the confines of a private estate; they should not be conceived as an indicator for the continuous extension of the urban necropolis of Caesarea. See Stern 1978; Gersht 1996b.

<sup>115</sup> Struffolino in Frova 1965: 294–304; Reich 1985; Horton 1996.

<sup>116</sup> Hirschfeld and Birger-Calderon 1991; Hirschfeld 1995; 2000.

<sup>117</sup> In this I share the opinion expressed by Levine (1975a: 135–39), about Byzantine Caesarea.

restoration of the harbor by Emperor Anastasius, and the erection of the octagonal church, perhaps under this emperor as well.

The demise of Caesarea following its capture by the Muslim troops, after a prolonged siege, was quite abrupt (see Chapter Six below). Deserted by its élite during the siege, it underwent a rapid transformation, although there is no evidence for a large-scale hostile destruction. The Islamic town occupied only a small area, centered in the immediate vicinity of the harbor, reflecting a severe decrease in the population. The buildings of the Roman and Byzantine city were stripped of their masonry and marble elements were burned for lime. The SW zone, the administrative and aristocratic center, underwent a process of ruralization by being converted, already in the second half of the seventh century, into terraced gardens fed by wells.<sup>118</sup> The fate of Caesarea—the capital of *Palaestina Prima*, located on the sea shore, within easy reach for the Byzantine fleet—was different than that of Scythopolis—the provincial capital of *Palaestina Secunda*—and of Jerusalem—the religious capital of *Palaestina*, both located inland. All of them survived, though more humbly, under the new regime.\*

#### POST SCRIPT—CAESAREA AS AN INTELLECTUAL CENTER IN LATE ANTIQUITY

The period that followed the Diocletianic persecutions and the “Peace of the Church” marks the beginning of a new age for the Roman Empire, but the end of paganism and the takeover of Christianization in the urban space were gradual; their pace in Caesarea is not reported by any ancient source. Seemingly, like in other cities, such as Gaza (see above), or Alexandria, it took about a century until the pagan temples were abandoned.

Although the epigraphic habit had changed (see above), Latin was still a living language among the more educated people of Caesarea.<sup>119</sup> Under Roman rule Caesarea became a center of Greek wisdom—

<sup>118</sup> Patrich 1998a; Holm 1998b.

\* The original article was written while I was on Sabbatical in 1998–99 at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL. I am grateful for the facilities and services offered me there. The Post Script are excerpts from: Caesarea in the Time of Eusebius, forthcoming in: *Reconsidering Eusebius: A Fresh Look at His Life, Work and Thought*, edited by Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni.

<sup>119</sup> Geiger 1994; 1996.

philosophy, grammar and rhetoric—and a school of Roman law.<sup>120</sup> Its Hellenistic culture was praised already in the 1st c. CE by the famous philosopher Apollonius of Tyana in his letter to the city council.<sup>121</sup> Shortly after it became a Roman colony a Latin rhetor of the city, named Flavius Agrippa was honored by the city council.<sup>122</sup> In the first half of the 3rd c. Theodore of Neocaesarea in Pontus, the future bishop of the city better known as Gregorius *Thaumaturgos* came and studied Latin in the city, planning to move and study law in Berytus. His encounter in Caesarea with Origen brought a change in the course of his life. In his youth, Eusebius attended classes in the Holy Scripture with the priest Dorotheus of Antioch, who was well acquainted with the Hebrew Bible, and Greek learning.<sup>123</sup> Apphianus of Lycia, the future martyr of the city, and his brother Aedesius went to study law in Berytus and then reached Caesarea, joining the company of Pamphilus. Similarly in the early 4th c. Gregorius of Nazianzus, the future Cappadocian father, first acquired his learning in Caesarea. His teacher there was Thespasius, who was active in the city in the 340's.<sup>124</sup> According to Libanius due to its wealth Caesarea could compete with Antioch in attracting the best teachers. In ca. 361–365 active there was the rhetor Acacius (a contemporaneous of the bishop of that name, who had succeeded Eusebius on the See of Caesarea). He was an epical poet, and an author of drama,<sup>125</sup> as well as a correspondent of Libanius, friend and adversary. His sons and son-in-law were sent by him to study with Libanius in Antioch. His nephew was the Latin historian Eutropius, the author of *Breviarium ab urbe condita*—an abridged history of Rome, in ten books. It was dedicated to Emperor Valens in 369. Paenius, another Caesarean, translated shortly thereafter (in ca. 380) this composition into Greek, and Hieronymus used it. This translation is still extant almost in its entirety. Another Palestinianian

<sup>120</sup> Geiger 2001. See also Levine 1975a: 57–60.

<sup>121</sup> *Philostratus, The life of Apollonius of Tyana, Ep.* 11, ed. Jones 2005–2006: 16–19; ed. Penella 1979: 38–41, 97–98. The authenticity of the letter is discussed there on pp. 23–29.

<sup>122</sup> Lehmann and Holum 2000: 36–37, inscr. no. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Eusebius, *HE* VII, 32, 2–4.

<sup>124</sup> He is also mentioned as a *rhetor* by Hieronymus. For references about him and about other persons and notices mentioned in the short survey on Greek wisdom in Caesarea given below see Geiger 2001.

<sup>125</sup> According to Geiger, *ibid.*, the *Okypous* (the “fast feet”—an adjective of horses in Homer)—a drama full of humor, generally attributed to Lucianus, should be attributed to Acacius.

*rhetor* mentioned by Libanius, seemingly a Caesarean as well, was Helpidius, who was teaching later in Athens and finally settled in Constantinople. Two other Palestinian sophists, seemingly Caesareans, were the late 4th c. sophists Pangyrius and Priskion.<sup>126</sup>

As was mentioned above, during the third and fourth centuries Caesarea was the seat of a Jewish academy, led by Rabbi Oshayah (first half of the 3rd c.) and Rabbi Abbahu (d. 309 CE),<sup>127</sup> and of a Christian academy, founded by Origen (d. ca. 254), and headed by Pamphilus and then by Eusebius. Pamphilus (martyred in 309 CE in Caesarea) collected and copied the writings of Origen. He established a school in Caesarea, which was open to pagans and Christian alike, and provided elementary education for both. The library he established comprised 30,000 scrolls.<sup>128</sup> It included many secular books on Greek science, philosophy, history, drama, poetry, rhetoric etc., and compositions of Jewish Greek authors, residues of which were preserved in the writings of Eusebius.<sup>129</sup> Pamphilus and Eusebius took upon themselves to catalogue this collection.<sup>130</sup> He and his successors in the See of Caesarea—Acacius and Euzoius took care to copy the papyri scrolls to codices of parchment.<sup>131</sup> Scribal work at Caesarea started already in the time of Origen, with the financial assistance of his wealthy companion Ambrose.<sup>132</sup> Later its *scriptorium* was famous by its attentive work in producing copies of scriptures for the free use of scholars, disciples and pious women. In ca. 325 CE, at the request of Constantine, fifty copies of scripture, in codices of parchment, were dispatched by Eusebius to Constantinople.<sup>133</sup>

John the Grammarian, the important Neochalcedonian theologian in the late fifth and early sixth century, and the sixth century historian Procopius of Caesarea, mentioned above, were late offsprings of an old, well established center of learning.

<sup>126</sup> For a Greek dedication of a statue of a local philosopher named Titus Flavius Maximus in the palace of the Roman governor see Lehmann and Holum 2000: 47–48, inscr. no. 12. In the 5th c. we hear of two pro-Hermogenean Caesarean rhetors—Paul, and his disciple John. The Hermogenean school of rhetorics stood at odds with the Antiochean school. See Geiger 2001: 33.

<sup>127</sup> Levine 1975c; 1975a: 61–106; 1992; Lieberman 1963. See also Zuri 1926.

<sup>128</sup> *HE* VII, 32, 25. On his activity in Caesarea see: Kofsky 2006, with farther references; Geiger 2001: 30–31.

<sup>129</sup> Runia 1996.

<sup>130</sup> *HE* VI, 32. On the library, see Carriker 2003.

<sup>131</sup> Hieron. *Ep.* 34.

<sup>132</sup> *HE* VI, 23, 1–2.

<sup>133</sup> Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* IV, 36; Robins 1987; Kofsky 2006: 55.

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