

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae
Volume II: Caesarea and the Middle Coast 1121–2160

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae

A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions
from Alexander to Muhammad

edited by

Walter Ameling · Hannah M. Cotton · Werner Eck
Benjamin Isaac · Alla Kushnir-Stein
Haggai Misgav · Jonathan Price · Ada Yardeni

with the assistance of

Marfa Heimbach · Dirk Koßmann · Naomi Schneider

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Printed with support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

ISBN 978-3-11-022217-3
e-ISBN 978-3-11-022218-0

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

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Typesetting: OLD-Media OHG, Neckarsteinach
Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
∞ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Preface

In the Preface to the first volume of the CIIP (Volume I 1: Jerusalem, p. vi) the major geographical divisions in ancient Judaea/Palaestina, according to which the various volumes of the entire Corpus are to be arranged, were described. This second volume includes the middle Mediterranean coastline of Israel north of Tel Aviv and south of Haifa. Whereas the first volume is restricted to inscriptions from Jerusalem and its periphery, the second volume covers several cities and other settlements: Apollonia, Caesarea, Castra Samaritanorum, Dor, Mikhmoret and Sycamina. For the reader's convenience these have been arranged in alphabetical order. The inscriptions from minor locations, i. e. Binyamina, Crocodilopolis, Kefar Shuni und Ramat Hanadiv, which are likely to have belonged to Caesarea's administrative and juridical territory, follow those of the capital city in alphabetical order. Within a single settlement the inscriptions were arranged in accordance with their thematic content, as is common in the major corpora of inscriptions. This principle was eminently suitable for Caesarea and its inscriptions, as the sub-divisions and their headers make quite clear. The same principle guided us also in displaying the inscriptions from Apollonia, Castra Samaritanorum, Dor and Sycamina, but the meager number of inscriptions from each category in each of these locations did not justify inserting headers to display the sub-divisions.

The 952 inscriptions from Caesarea are divided into groups by thematic content, as can be seen in the Table of Contents. However, the find-spot of the inscriptions from Caesarea is used as a principle of sub-division inside a main category whenever the context is significant for the interpretation of the single inscription, i. e. for inscriptions found in the synagogue, in the presumed St. Paul's Chapel, in the Praetorium of the governor and in that of the financial procurator, which became the seat of the governor in Late Antiquity, i. e. from the 4th century onwards, and finally in the so-called bathhouse, the explanation of whose function in Late Antiquity must await the Final Report of the excavations.

The volume contains nos. 1121-2160 of the CIIP, continuing the numbers of vol. I. There are some gaps in the sequence of numbers because some items had to be removed at the last minute.

Most of the editors who took part in editing the first volume continued their work in this volume. Walter Ameling joined the editorial board in October 2009, as editor of Greek inscriptions. A number of contributions were made by Robert Daniel (Cologne: tabellae defixionum), Avner Ecker (Jerusalem: graffiti and dipinti on ceramics), Michael Shenkar (Jerusalem: a Persian inscription) and Claudia Sode (Cologne: late antique-Byzantine seals).

As in the first volume we thank the many bodies and individuals who have made the publication of this second volume possible. Above all we would like to thank the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) which has continued its support of the CIIP as one of its long-term projects, and the President of the Hebrew

University for the Ring Fund which partly matched the DFG's generous outlay: their financial support has now kept us going for six years!

We would like to reiterate our special debt of gratitude to the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA), without whose continuing and unwavering support, and the deep commitment of its directors and employees, who have treated our project as if it were their own mission, we would not have been able to bring this volume to completion. And as before, we wish to single out Adi Ziv, Curator of the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods in the National Treasures in the IAA depot Beth Shemesh, Yael Barschak and Noga Ze'evi of the IAA Photographic Archives und Alegre Savariego, Curator of the Rockefeller Collections and Mosaics. Special thanks are due to Gideon Avni, Head of Excavations and Surveys, and to Leiticia Barda for the maps of Caesarea and Vicinity and Central Caesarea.

Zeev Weiss, Chair of the Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, and Dafna Tsoren, Curator of the Institute's Collections expressed in many ways, once again, the deep commitment of the Institute to our project.

We wish to thank again the people in charge of collections in museums and religious institutions for never stinting their generous help in putting all their inscriptions at our disposal for inspection and photography: Ofra Rimon, Director and Curator, and Perry Leveneh Registrar, of the Hecht Museum in Haifa; Dudi Mevorah, Curator of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods, in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, and Rachel Caine, his assistant; Lili Tzohar, Director of the Ralli Museum Caesarea, Carmela Arnon, Director of the Archaeological Museum in Kibbutz Ein Dor, Dror Segal, Director and Curator of the Center of Nautical and Regional Archaeology in Kibbutz Nahsholim, and Avshalom Zemmer, Curator, Ran Hillel, Registrar and Oren Cohen Artifacts-Manager of the National Maritime Museum in Haifa. Finally we wish to thank Michal Oren-Paskal and Gil Gambash of the University of Haifa, the Leon Recanati Institute for Maritime Studies (R. I. M.S), for giving us access to the inscriptions found in the late Avner Raban's excavations in Caesarea.

We must single out Rina und Arnon Angert, Curators and most loyal care-takers of the Caesarea Antiquities Museum in Sdot Yam, where a substantial number of the objects found so far in Caesarea is stored and guarded passionately by them. Over the years they have given us free access to the inscriptions in their Museum, and did all they could to facilitate the work of deciphering, checking and photographing them.

Special thanks must be extended to all those in Caesarea itself, from where most of the texts in this volume originate, who enabled us to work on the site and become intimate with the inscriptions in their immediate context not long after their discovery. Our friendship and intensive cooperation with the archaeologists on the spot goes back to the year 1996, when Werner Eck became acquainted with the inscriptions from this country. Joseph (Sephi) Porath allowed us to study unpublished inscriptions from the governor's palace and the two hippodromes, as soon as they were found, discuss them in public – and publish *all* of them in this

volume. His extraordinary generosity was matched and implemented by his successor, Peter Gendelman, who sent us the latest inscriptions at the very last stages of preparing the manuscript for print.

Similarly, Joseph Patrìch, gave us permission to publish all the texts from the Praetorium of the procurator soon after their discovery, and has been forthcoming and helpful ever since with answering our queries.

Our debt to Kenneth Holum und Clayton Lehmann, whose *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* published in 2000 laid the groundwork for this volume of the CIIP, is enormous as is made clear in the countless, explicit and implicit, references to the results of their edition in the present volume. In addition they put at our disposal squeezes and photographs which they had prepared for their own publication, thereby sparing us much time and effort.

Maria Pia Rossignani, Cattedratica at the Istituto di Archeologia dell' Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan, and Furio Sacchi, Curator in the same institute, put at our disposal digitalized photographs from the Italian excavations in Caesarea in the 50s and 60s of the last century, for which we are all the more grateful, since many of the inscriptions recorded in them could not be located and seem not to exist anymore.

Cati und Lionel Holland welcomed us to their home in Hadera, and allowed us to publish and include in this volume the inscriptions stored in "The Lionel Holland-Collection", as did their friend, Shai Hendler with the "Hendler Collection, Hadera".

Ephraim Stern, Ilan Sharon and Barak Monnickendam-Givon of the Tel Dor Excavations project assisted us with the inscriptions from Dor and we are very grateful.

We would also like to thank Nili and Abraham Graicer for their unremitting work in locating, documenting and photographing inscriptions for this volume as well, and Frowald Hüttenmeister of Tübingen for allowing us to use in this volume (and in future ones) photographs taken years ago when the objects were in a much better condition and more accessible. Finally we thank Rinat Bahar who scanned and prepared for these volume old and oversized negatives in the IAA, as well as pictures and drawings from books and journals. Finally, we wish to thank Anna Iamim of the combined Caesarea expeditions graphics archive for the plans of Herodian Caesarea up to AD 70 and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea (4th-6th centuries).

Ra'anana Meridor and Lisa Ullmann, emeritae of the Department of Classics at the Hebrew University, proofread in record time a large part of the manuscript, thereby saving us from a host of errors: we are most grateful to both.

However, this volume could not have been published, let alone appear on time, were it not for the utmost dedication, far beyond the call of duty, of some of our assistants who have turned the Corpus into their own obsession. This goes above all for our research assistants, Marfa Heimbach, Dirk Kossmann and Eva Käppel, the editorial staff in Cologne, who for very many months put aside everything else, and prepared and completed this volume as well as CIIP I 2, the second volume of Jerusalem.

Similarly our research assistants in Jerusalem Naomi Schneider and Avner Ecker, helped the editors in every conceivable way with autopsies and information, and kept in touch almost daily with dozens of institutions and individuals.

Finally we thank all the other assistants who contributed to this volume: Nadav Asraf, Simon Hilber, Benjamin Kantor, Ilia Rastrepin, Adam Vangoor and Vladimir Zukerman in Jerusalem, and Christina Bußmann, Patrick Breternitz and Dominik Licher in Cologne.

Cologne/Jerusalem May 2011

For all the editors: Werner Eck – Hannah M. Cotton.

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Authors' Sigla

AE	Avner Ecker
AKS	Alla Kushnir-Stein
AY	Ada Yardeni
BI	Benjamin Isaac
CS	Claudia Sode
HM	Haggai Misgav
HMC	Hannah M. Cotton
JJP	Jonathan J. Price
MH	Marfa Heimbach
MSh	Michael Shenkar
RD	Robert Daniel
WA	Walter Ameling
WE	Werner Eck

Abbreviations

Standard abbreviations of journal titles in *L'Année Philologique* have been used throughout. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used:

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ACO	E. Schwartz ed., <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , 1914 ff.
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities in Jordan
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
Alt, GIPT	A. Alt, <i>Die griechischen Inschriften der Palästina Tertia westlich der 'Araba</i> , 1921
Ameling, IJO II	W. Ameling, <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II. Kleinasien</i> , 2004
AMSL	<i>Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires</i>
Ancient Churches Revealed	Y. Tsafrir ed., <i>Ancient Churches Revealed</i> , 1993
AnIsl	<i>Annales Islamologiques</i>
APhC	<i>Annales de philosophie chrétienne</i>
Aqueducts	D. Amit – J. Patrich – Y. Hirschfeld eds., <i>The Aqueducts of Israel</i> , 2002
Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations	M. Avi-Yonah, <i>Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions</i> , 1940
Avigad, Beth She'arim III	N. Avigad, <i>Beth She'arim III. The Archaeological Excavations during 1953-1958. The Catacombs 12-23, 1971 (repr. 1976) (Hebr.)</i>
Bagatti, Flagellazione	B. Bagatti, <i>Il Museo della Flagellazione in Gerusalemme</i> , 1939
Bagatti, Galilea	B. Bagatti, <i>Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea</i> , 1971
Bagatti, Galilee	B. Bagatti, <i>Ancient Christian Villages of Galilee</i> , 2001
Bagatti, Judaea	B. Bagatti, <i>Ancient Christian Villages of Judaea and the Negev</i> , 2002
Bagatti, Samaria	B. Bagatti, <i>Ancient Christian Villages of Samaria</i> , 2002
BAIAS	<i>Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society</i>
Baldi, Enchiridion	D. Baldi, <i>Enchiridion locorum sanctorum</i> , 1955 (repr. 1982)
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeological Review</i>
Barrington Atlas	R. Talbert ed., <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , 2000
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>

Bauer – Aland	W. Bauer – K. Aland – B. Aland, Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, 1988
BBSAJ	Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem
BE	Bulletin épigraphique, in: Revue des études grecques
Bechtel, Personennamen	F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit, 1917
Belayche, Pagan Cults	N. Belayche, Iudaea-Palaestina. The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine, 2001
Benoit – Boismard	P. Benoit – M. Boismard, RB 58, 1951, 200-51
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society
BiKi	Bibel und Kirche
Blass – Debrunner – Rehkopf	F. Blass – A. Debrunner – F. Rehkopf, Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch, 2001
Boffo, Iscrizioni	L. Boffo, Iscrizioni Greche e Latine per lo Studio della Bibbia, 1994
Bonner, Magical Amulets	C. Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets, 1950
Bull et al., Excavations Reports	R. Bull et al., in: W. Dever ed., Preliminary Excavation Reports. Sardis, Paphos, Caesarea Maritima, Shiqmim, Ain Ghazal, AASOR 51, 1994, 63-86
Burns – Eadie, Urban Centers	Th. Burns – J. Eadie eds., Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity, 2001
Caesarea Papers 2	K. Holum – A. Raban – J. Patrich eds., Caesarea Papers 2. Herod's Temple, the Provincial Governor's Praetorium and Granaries, the Later Harbor, a Gold Coin Hoard, and Other Studies, 1999
CAHEP 2	J. Oleson – M. FitzGerald – A. Sherwood – S. Sidebotham, The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima 2, 1994
CAHL	G. Bottini – L. Di Segni – E. Alliata eds., Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land, 1990
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CIAP	M. Sharon, Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae, 1997 ff. (in progress)
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
CIH	D. Chwolson, Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum, 1882 (repr. 1974)
CIIP	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae
CIJ	J.-B. Frey, Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum, 2 vols., 1936/52 (vol. 1 repr. 1975)
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
Clermont-Ganneau, 5me Rapport	Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie. 5me rapport, 1885
Clermont-Ganneau, ARP	Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Archaeological Researches in Palestine (1873-74), 2 vols., 1896/99
Clermont-Ganneau, EAO	Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, Études d'archéologie orientale, 2 vols., 1895/97

Clermont-Ganneau, RAO	Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, <i>Recueil d'archéologie orientale</i> , 8 vols., 1888/1924
CNI	Christian News from Israel
Cotton – Eck, <i>Governors</i>	H. Cotton – W. Eck, <i>The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings</i> 7,7, 2001, 215-40
CPJ	V. Tcherikover – A. Fuks – M. Stern eds., <i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> , 3 vols., 1957/64
CPR	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Raineri</i> , 1895 ff.
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
DACL	F. Cabrol – H. Leclercq eds., <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , 15 vols., 1907/53
Devijver, <i>PME</i>	H. Devijver, <i>Prosopographia militiarum equestrium</i> , 6 vols., 1976/2001
DGI	L. Di Segni, <i>Dated Greek Inscriptions from Palestine from the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i> , PhD Diss., 1997 (unpublished)
Dinkler, <i>Signum Crucis</i>	E. Dinkler, <i>Signum Crucis</i> , 1967
DJD II	P. Benoit – J. Milik – R. de Vaux eds., <i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II. Les grottes de Murabba'at</i> , 1961
DJD III	M. Baillet – J. Milik – R. de Vaux eds., <i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert III. Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân</i> , 1962
DJD XXVII	A. Yardeni – H. Cotton eds., <i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII. Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Ḥever and other Sites</i> , 1997
DO Seals	J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides, <i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art</i> , 5 vols., 1991/2005
Donner – Röllig, <i>KAI</i>	H. Donner – W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 2002
Dunand, <i>Hauran</i>	M. Dunand, <i>RB</i> 41, 1932, 397-416 nos. 1-63; 561-580 nos. 64-138; id., <i>RB</i> 42, 1933, 235-254 nos. 139-243; id. in: <i>Mélanges syriens offerts à M.R. Dussaud II</i> , 1939, 559-76 nos. 244-310; id., <i>Archiv Orientalni</i> 18, 1950, 144-64 nos. 311-374
Dussaud, <i>Louvre</i>	R. Dussaud, <i>Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales. Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques</i> , 1912
EAEHL	M. Avi-Yonah ed., <i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , 4 vols., 1975/78
Eck, <i>Language of Power</i>	W. Eck, in: L. Schiffman ed., <i>Semitic Papyrology in Context</i> , 2003, 123-44
Eck, <i>Rom herausfordern</i>	W. Eck, <i>Rom herausfordern</i> , 2007
Eck, <i>Rom und Judaea</i>	W. Eck, <i>Rom und Judaea</i> , 2007
Eck, <i>Statues</i>	W. Eck, in: Y. Eliav – E. Friedland – Sh. Herbert eds., <i>The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East</i> , 2008, 273-93

EI	Eretz Israel
Elgavish, Excavations	J. Elgavish, <i>The Excavations of Shikmona</i> , 2 vols., 1972/74 (vol. 2 Hebr.)
Eph'al – Naveh, Ostraca	I. Eph'al – J. Naveh, <i>Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea</i> , 1996
ESI	<i>Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
Evans	C. Evans, <i>Jesus and the Ossuaries</i> , 2003
Feissel, Chroniques	D. Feissel, <i>Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine 1987-2004</i> , 2006
Felle, Biblia epigraphica	A. Felle, <i>Biblia epigraphica</i> , 2006
Festschrift G. Stemberger	M. Perani ed., "The Words of a Wise Man's Mouth are Gracious" (Qoh 10,12). <i>Festschrift for Günter Stemberger on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday</i> , 2005
Finegan, Archaeology	J. Finegan, <i>The Archaeology of the New Testament. The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church</i> , 1969
Fischer – Isaac – Roll, Roads II	M. Fischer – B. Isaac – I. Roll, <i>Roman Roads in Judaea II. The Jaffa-Jerusalem Roads</i> , 1996
Foraboschi	D. Foraboschi, <i>Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke</i> , 1967
From Hellenism to Islam	H. Cotton – R. Hoyland – J. Price – D. Wasserstein eds., <i>From Hellenism to Islam</i> , 2009
Garitte, Calendrier	G. Garitte, <i>Le Calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)</i> , 1958
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller</i> , 1891 ff.
Gerra, Scavi	C. Gerra, in: A. Frova ed., <i>Scavi di Caesarea Maritima</i> , 1966, 217-28
Gersht, Sdot-Yam Museum	R. Gersht ed., <i>The Sdot-Yam Museum Book of the Antiquities of Caesarea Maritima</i> , 1999 (Hebr.)
Gignac	F. Gignac, <i>A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods</i> , 2 vols., 1976/81
Goodenough, Jewish Symbols	E. Goodenough, <i>Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period</i> , 13 vols., 1953/68
Govaars – Spiro – White, The "Synagogue" Site	M. Govaars – M. Spiro – L. White eds., <i>Field O. The "Synagogue" Site</i> , 2009
Gregg – Urman	R. Gregg – D. Urman, <i>Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights</i> , 1996
HA	<i>Hadashot Arkheologiyot</i>
HA-ESI	<i>Hadashot Arkheologiyot-Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i> (Hebr./Engl.; both journals are published together since 2000, continuing the volume numbering of HA)
Hachlili, Funerary Customs	R. Hachlili, <i>Jewish Funerary Customs. Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period</i> , 2005
Hagedorn, Wörterlisten	D. Hagedorn, <i>Wörterlisten</i> , http://www.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/hps/pap/WL/WL.pdf (viewed: 6 June 2011)

- Hatch – Redpath E. Hatch – H. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal Books)*, 1897/1906
- Hemer, Book of Acts C. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, 1989
- Hezser, Jewish Literacy C. Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, 2001
- Hirschfeld, Final Report Y. Hirschfeld ed., *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations. Final Report*, 2000
- HL Das Heilige Land
- Holland, Weights L. Holland, *Weights and Weight-Like Objects from Caesarea Maritima*, 2009
- HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual
- Hüttenmeister – Reeg, Synagogen F. Hüttenmeister – G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel*, 2 vols., 1977
- Humphrey, Near East J. Humphrey ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Near East*, 1995
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGLS *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*
- IGR R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, 1906/1927
- IGUR L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, 4 vols., 1968/90
- IK *Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 1972 ff.
- Ilan, Lexicon T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, vol. I and III, 2002/08
- ILCV E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 4 vols., 1925/67
- ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols., 1892/1916 (repr. 1954/62)
- IMC R. Hestrin ed., *Inscriptions Revealed. Israel Museum Catalogue 100*, 1973
- IMSA *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology*
- INJ *Israel Numismatic Journal*
- Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a/b Y. Meimaris – K. Kritikakou-Nikolaropoulou, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia I a/b*, 2005/08
- IOS *Israel Oriental Studies*
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- Isaac, Near East B. Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule*, 1998
- ISAP *Institute of Aramaic Papyri*, Jerusalem
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- JJPES Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (Hebr.)
- JJS Journal of Jewish Studies
- Jones, LRE A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire 284-602, 3 vols., 1964
- JSOT Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
- JTSA Journal of Theology for Southern Africa
- Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, 1895 (repr. 1963)
- JZ Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben
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LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, 8 vols., 1981/97
LSJ	H. Liddell – R. Scott – H. Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon, 1996
LThK	W. Kasper ed., Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 11 vols., 1993/2001
Lüderitz – Reynolds	G. Lüderitz – J. Reynolds, Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika, 1983
MAMA	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua
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MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
Michel	S. Michel, Die magischen Gemmen. Zu Bildern und Zauberformeln auf geschnittenen Steinen der Antike und Neuzeit, 2004
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NEA	Near Eastern Archaeology

NEAEHL	E. Stern et al. eds., <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , 5 vols., 1993/2008
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Noy – Bloedhorn, IJO III	D. Noy – H. Bloedhorn, <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis III. Syria and Cyprus</i> , 2004
Noy, JIWE	D. Noy, <i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe</i> , 2 vols., 1993/95
ÖstMonOr	Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> , 2 vols., 1903/05
Ovadhah, Corpus	A. Ovadhah, <i>Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land</i> , 1970
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Ovadhah, MPI	R. Ovadhah – A. Ovadhah, <i>Mosaic Pavements in Israel</i> , 1987
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Patrich, Final Report I	J. Patrich ed., <i>Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK, and NN vol. I</i> , 2008
PEF Annual	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund. Annual</i>
Peleg, Archaeology	Y. Peleg, <i>Archaeology, Burial and Gender in Judaea in the Early Roman Period</i> , 2 vols., 2003 (Hebr.)
PEQ	<i>The Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
Peterson	E. Peterson, <i>EIS ΘEOΣ</i> , 1926
Pflaum, Carrières	H.-G. Pflaum, <i>Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain</i> , 1960.
PG	J. Migne ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca</i> , 1857 ff.
PGM	K. Preisendanz, <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae</i> , 2nd revised edition, including texts from the originally planned third volume, by A. Henrichs, 2 vols., 1973/74.
PGot	H. Frisk, <i>Papyrus grecs de la Bibliothèque municipale de Gothembourg</i> , 1929
PHI	The Packard Humanities Institute, <i>Searchable Greek Inscriptions</i> , http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/ (viewed: 6 June 2011)

PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PL	J. Migne ed., <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , 1844 ff.
PLRE	A. Jones – J. Martindale – J. Morris, <i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 3 vols., 1971/92
PMB	<i>Palestine Museum Bulletin</i>
PmbZ	R.-J. Lilie et al., <i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit</i> , 1998 ff.
PO	R. Graffin – F. Nau – F. Graffin, <i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , 1903 ff.
Preisigke, NB	F. Preisigke, <i>Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschnennamen</i> , 1922
QDAP	<i>The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
Raban – Holum, Caesarea 1996	A. Raban – K. Holum eds., <i>Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia</i> , 1996
RAC	Th. Klauser et al. eds., <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , 1950 ff.
RADR	S. Keay – D. Williams, <i>Roman Amphorae. A Digital Resource</i> , http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/archive/amphora_ahrb_2005 (viewed: 6 June 2011)
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
Rey-Coquais, Nécropole	J.-P. Rey-Coquais, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963-1974) I. Inscriptions de la nécropole</i> , 1977
RICIS	L. Bricault, <i>Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i> , 3 vols., 2005
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RPC	A. Burnett – M. Amandry – P. Ripollès eds., <i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> , 1992 ff.
RS	<i>Revue semitique d'épigraphique et histoire ancienne</i>
Safrai – Stern	S. Safrai – M. Stern, <i>The Jewish People in the first Century</i> , 2 vols., 1976
SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i> , 1915 ff.

SBF	Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber annuus
Scavi	A. Frova ed., Scavi di Caesarea Maritima, 1966
Schalit, NW	A. Schalit, Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus, 2002
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Schwabe – Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II	M. Schwabe – B. Lifshitz, Beth She'arim II. The Greek Inscriptions, 1974
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SIRIS	L. Vidman, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, 1969
Sivan, Palestine	H. Sivan, Palestine in Late Antiquity, 2008
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SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
Stark	J.K. Stark, Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions, 1971
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Syria/BES	Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique, in: Syria
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris
Taylor, Christians and Holy Places	J. Taylor, Christians and the Holy Places, 1993
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TIR	Y. Tsafri - L. Di Segni - J. Green, Tabula Imperii Romani. Iudaea-Palaestina, 1994
Tobler, Dritte Wanderung	T. Tobler, Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina im Jahre 1857, 1859
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Wuthnow, <i>Semitische Menschnamen</i>	H. Wuthnow, <i>Die semitischen Menschnamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Vorderen Orients</i> , 1930
ZDPV MN	<i>Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästinavereins</i>
Zgusta	L. Zgusta, <i>Kleinasiatische Personennamen</i> , 1964

Diacritical system

The following diacritical system has been used, following the usual epigraphic conventions:

- () for the resolution of an abbreviation
- [] for the restoration of missing letters
- < > for the addition of an omission in the inscription
- { } for superfluous letters which should be ignored
- [[]] for text which was deliberately erased in antiquity
- [..] for missing text in which the number of letters is fairly certain (number of dots = number of missing letters)
- [--] for missing text in which the number of letters is uncertain
- ⌈ ⌋ correction of a letter by the editor
- A dot beneath a letter, e. g.: ṭ indicates that the reading is uncertain.
- + for an individual letter of which traces remain but which cannot be securely identified
- vacat* indicates a gap deliberately left in the text
- ∫ sign for stigma as abbreviation mark

Key to transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic

א	’	Alef
ב	B	Bet
ג	G	Gimel
ד	D	Dalet
ה	H	He
ו	W	Vav
ז	Z	Zayin
ח	Ḥ	Het
ט	Ṭ	Tet
י	Y	Yod
כ,ך	K	Kaf
ל	L	Lamed
מ,ם	M	Mem
נ,ן	N	Nun
ס	S	Samekh
ע	‘	Ayin
פ,ף	P	Pe
צ,ץ	Ṣ	Tsadi
ק	Q	Qof
ר	R	Resh
ש	Š	Shin
ש	Ś	Sin
ת	T	Tav

I. Apollonia – Arsuf

Introduction

Apollonia-Arsuf is a coastal site on a calcareous sandstone (*kurkar*) ridge in the north-west section of the modern town of Herzliya. It lies 17 km north of Jaffa and 34 km south of Caesarea. It has been explored and surveyed since the nineteenth century and excavated extensively and systematically since 1977.¹ It has a natural anchorage but no built harbor that would have been good enough to serve as a reliable port in the period covered by the present volume. This is clear from Josephus' statement that Herod built the harbor of Caesarea because 'the entire coast between Dora and Joppa ... was without a harbor, so that ships sailing to Egypt along the coast of Phoenicia had to ride at anchor in the open when threatened by the south-west wind...'²

The place was settled at the latest in Persian times. Because of its name scholars have thought it might have been founded as city by a Seleucid king. However, the area came under the control of the Seleucids only in a later period. Therefore it is more likely that the name Apollonia is the Hellenized name of the god *Reshef*, which resurfaced in the later name Arsuf.³

The literary record is very limited for the period relevant to the present volume. Apollonia is first mentioned by Josephus in his *Antiquities* among the places held by Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BC).⁴ Next it is mentioned in the *Bellum Iudaeum*, as one of the settlements re-peopled by Gabinius, governor of Syria from 57-55 BC.⁵ In the parallel passage in the *Antiquities* Apollonia is not mentioned.⁶ In spite of statements in the modern literature to this effect, no text actually refers to building activities by Gabinius, who re-founded and re-populated towns and larger settlements, some of them having city-status, others not. Apollonia was assigned to the province of Syria. Pliny mentions it as one of the settlements on the coast:

1 See selected bibliography.

2 Josephus, BJ 1,409: ...μεταξὺ γὰρ Δώρων καὶ Ἰόππης, ... πᾶσαν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν τὴν παράλιον ἀλίμενον, ὡς πάντα τὸν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου παραπλέοντα σαλεύειν ἐν πελάγει διὰ τὸ λιβὸς ἀπειλῆν... The anchorage and the later built harbour have been explored, see the publications by Galili and Grossman.

3 Schürer II 114 n. 152; A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1971, 230; S. Izre'el, *Arsuf: The Semitic Name of Apollonia*, in: I. Roll – O. Tal eds., *Apollonia-Arsuf 1*, 1999, 63-73.

4 Josephus, *Ant.* 13,395-7.

5 Josephus, BJ 1,166: συνεπολίσθησαν γοῦν τούτου κελεύσαντος Σκυθόπολις τε καὶ Σαμάρεια καὶ Ἀνθηδών καὶ Ἀπολλωνία καὶ Ἰάμνεια καὶ Ράφεια Μάρισα τι καὶ Ἀδώρεος καὶ Γάμαλα καὶ Ἄζωτος καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί, τῶν οἰκητόρων ἀσμένως ἐφ' ἐκάστην συνθεόντων; Isaac, *Limits* 336-40.

6 *Ant.* 14,88 where the term καὶ ἀνεκτίσθησαν... is used.

‘Raphia, Gaza and inland Anthedon, ... the free town Ascalon, Azotus, the two towns named Iamnea ... Joppe... Apollonia, and the Tower of Strato, otherwise Caesarea.’⁷ The reference to Caesarea shows that the source takes into account at least one Herodian foundation.⁸ In the second century Ptolemy mentions the same settlements along the coast.⁹ On the Peutinger Table it is the only place mentioned between Caesarea and Jaffa, 22 miles south of the former.¹⁰ This corresponds with the actual distance and therefore confirms the identification of Apollonia with Tel Arsuf.

Whether Apollonia belonged to Herod’s kingdom cannot be ascertained from the literary sources. However, since AD 6 it was doubtlessly part of Syria and probably under the control of the prefect of Judaea. Later it was part of the province Judaea. In Late Antiquity, when the city reached its greatest extension (then almost certainly called Sozusa) it belonged to Palaestina Prima.¹¹ It was conquered by the Moslems at the same time as Caesarea. At what time it obtained the status of a city is not clear; nothing in the inscriptions reflects city status or organisation. No coins were minted by Apollonia, while other settlements with a city status normally produced at least some coins. However, in Late Antiquity Apollonia, now bearing the name of Sozousa in some texts, seems to have had the status of a city, since a bishop was residing there in the fifth and sixth centuries.¹² It has been plausibly suggested that Apollonia changed its name to Sozousa, since Apollonia of Cyrenaica was also named Sozousa in the period and so was Apollonia in Thrace Sozopolis.¹³ The alternative name of Apollonia would then derive from Apollo’s appellation Soter.¹⁴ The original name did not disappear. In the fifth century Martianus Capella lo-

7 Pliny, NH 5,68: *Oppida Rhinocolura et intus Rhaphea, Gaza et intus Anthedon, ... oppidum Ascalo liberum, Azotus, Iamneae duae, ...Iope Phoenicum ...Inde Apollonia, Stratonis Turris, eadem Caesarea ab Herode rege condita...*

8 Pliny the elder lived from 23/4-79 AD. His sources for Judaea seem mostly to reflect Herodian arrangements, but they sometimes go back to an earlier period and sometimes he adapts them to the contemporary situation under Flavian rule, cf. M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism I*, 1974, 466 f.

9 Ptolemy, *Geographia* 5.15: *Καيسάρεια Στράτωνος ... Ἀπολλωνία ... Ἰαμνιτῶν λιμὴν... Ἄζωτος ... Ἀσκαλῶν... Ἀνθηδῶν ... Γαζαίων λιμὴν.*

10 Tab. Peutingeriana 9C1: *Apolloniade*.

11 Cf. Jones, *Cities* (n. 3), 230, 280, 546; E. Honigmann, RE III A 1, 1927, 1257.

12 ACO, vol. 2.1, 80, 184, 193; vol. 2.3, 55, 183, 245, 255 for Baruchius, bishop of Sozusa in AD 449; vol. 3, 80, 188 for Leontius, bishop in 518 and 536 AD; M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, 1740, 594 f. For further references: Roll – Tal, *Apollonia-Arsuf* (n. 3) 9 f.

13 K. Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, 1852, 452; Clermont-Ganneau, ARP II 337 ff.; Stephanus Byzantius, p. 596 (ed. Meineke) mentions three places called Sozousa, one of them in Phoenice. This might, but need not, suggest that he, at any rate, regarded Apollonia near Ioppe (see n. 12 above) and Sozousa in Phoenice as two different cities, for the information may derive from different sources in different periods.

14 Hierocles, *Synecdemus* 719,5 (ed. Parthey, p. 44); Georgius Cyprius 1006 (ed. Gelzer) and cf. Schürer II 114f..

cates Apollonia Palaestinae at 188 miles from Ostracine on the coast of Sinai.¹⁵ In the sixth century Stephanus Byzantinus mentions twenty-five places named Apollonia, one of them 'near Ioppe'.¹⁶ The Anonymous Ravenna Cosmography of about AD 700 mentions Apollonia twice.¹⁷

According to a Samaritan chronicle, a prosperous Samaritan community lived in Arsur.¹⁸ Archaeological evidence appears to support this statement.¹⁹

Extensive excavations have revealed finds from the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique periods, notably a Roman peristyle villa²⁰ and a big Byzantine church with a mosaic.²¹ But in proportion to the city's expansion in Late Antiquity the number of inscriptions, all of them in Greek, is still very small.²² The town saw further expansion in the Early Islamic period when it was first enclosed by a wall. Finally we may note that the excavations have uncovered some evidence of glass production and of a small-scale purple dye industry in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.²³

Select Bibliography: E. Galili – U. Dahari – J. Sharvit, Underwater Survey and Rescue Excavations along the Israeli Coast, *IJNA* 22, 1993, 61-77; E. Grossmann, Maritime Tel Michal and Apollonia. Results of the Underwater Survey 1989-1996, 2001; I. Roll – E. Ayalon, Apollonia and Southern Sharon. Model of a Coastal City and Its Hinterland, 1989 (Hebr.); I. Roll – O. Tal eds., Apollonia-Arsuf. Final Report of the Excavations I. The Persian and Hellenistic Periods, 1999; iid. – M. Winter, The Encounter of Crusaders and Muslims in Palestine, 2007; iid., *NEAEHL* 1, 1993, 72-5; 5, 2008, 1568-71; I. Roll – O. Tal, A Villa of the Early Roman Period at Apollonia-

15 Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* 6.679: *Apollonia Palaestinae ... per centum octoginta octo milia passuum procedens; supra Idumaeam et Samariam Iudaea longe lateque funditur*. It has also been suggested that Johannes Rufus, *Life of Peter the Iberian* 120 (Raabe): 'Aphthoria' refers to Apollonia, cf. C. B. Horn – R. R. Phenix Jr., *John Rufus. The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus*, 2008, 236f. The place had 'two monasteries of the orthodox, one of men, the other of women.' This identification was proposed by Clermont-Ganneau, *EAO* I, 1-22 at 18 ff. It must be admitted that this is a speculation. It has been rejected altogether by G. Schmitt, *Siedlungen Palästinas in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Ostjordanland, Negeb und (in Auswahl) Westjordanland*, 1995, 60.

16 Stephanus Byz. 106 (ed. Meineke): Ἀπολλωνία ... ἰγ' κατὰ Ἰόπην.

17 *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (ed. Schnetz), 90,17: *Apollonia*, the other towns being *Rinocoruron*, *Rafis*, *Gaza*, *Ascalona*, *Azotum*, *Laminam*, *Ioppe*, ... *Cesarea Palestine*; 133,70: *Appollonia*.

18 Abulfathi, *Annales Samaritani quos Arabice edidit cum prolegomenis* E. Vilmar, 1865, 179 and see also pl. xxx, where it is related that Samaritan synagogues were destroyed in Arsur and other towns in the eighth century.

19 See O. Tal, *SBF* 59, 2009, 319-42.

20 I. Roll, *NEAEHL* 5, 2008, 1569.

21 See below no. 1122.

22 See below nos. 1121-1127.

23 N. Karmon, *Muricid Shells of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods*, in: Roll – Tal, *Apollonia-Arsuf* (n. 3), 269-80.

4 *I. Apollonia – Arsuf*

Arsuf, IEJ 58, 2008, 132-49; O. Tal, A Winepress at Apollonia-Arsuf. More Evidence on the Samaritan Presence in Roman-Byzantine Southern Sharon, SBF 59, 2009, 319-42; id., IEJ 60, 2010, 107-14; Website: http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/archaeology/projects/proj_apollonia.html (viewed: 6 June 2011).

BI

Inscriptions

1121. Statue of a bird with monogram, 5-6 c. AD

Mutilated statue of an eagle (Mendel, Dussaud; a sparrow-hawk according to Clermont-Ganneau, certainly no Maltese falcon), made of blue-grey (green?) marble with large crystals. Broken in at least three parts; head and body are joined, the beak is missing. On the neck of the bird is a circular medallion, suspended by a cord, with a monogram. Clermont-Ganneau sees some Egyptian influence and cites representations of Horus as models for this statue. It must have been fastened to a wall, since there is a hole for a fastening on the back of the bird's head and two holes on its body near the bottom; in one of them are traces of lead.

Meas.: h 64 cm; \varnothing of the medallion 8.5 cm.

Findspot: "L'original était dans le Haram de Sidna 'Aly. L'autorité locale, mise en éveil par l'intérêt que j'y avais attaché, l'a depuis fait saisir et transporter à Jerusalem" (Clermont-Ganneau; Dussaud on the findspot: "dans le sanctuaire de 'Ali ibn 'Aleim à Arsouf"); Schick wrote on 13 June 1882 about work on the eastern wall of the Haram in Jerusalem: "By this work last week (!) a curious stone figure was found and brought into the ... office room of the Pacha ... It is of green marble, newly broken in two pieces: the head is loose, but ... it fitted exactly". Even though the inscription on the medallion is represented differently by Clermont-Ganneau and Schick, it seems evident that they write about the same bird – which makes its fate hard to trace: Schick's letter is earlier than Clermont-Ganneau's detailed report, but perhaps Clermont-Ganneau forgot to mention that the bird was originally found a few years before he reported it or his paper was published. That, at least, seemed to be the opinion when the inscription was not included in CIIP I 2 (G. Mendel – on whose authority? – believed the bird to have come from Arsuf [Apollonia], too; perhaps it was registered as such in the museum's inventory).

Pres. loc.: Archaeological Museum of Istanbul ("Le Louvre possède un moulage de ce monument, rapporté d'Arsouf par M. Clermont-Ganneau", Mendel 435).

App. crit.: Ἰουλιανός *Clermont-Ganneau and others.*

Ἰουλιανός

Iulianus.

Comm.: Dussaud and Dussaud - Macler believed that the putative resolution of the monogram refers to Julian the Apostate, and the bird is interpreted as a symbol of the emperor as Sun. This is not only im



fig. 1121.1

probable, but there appears to be no evidence that monograms like this one were current in the first half of the 4 c. (and therefore Perez' idea that this statue is to be connected with Julian's rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple – in itself not without problems and depending on Jerusalem as its find-spot – has to be rejected). Another bearer of the name is not improbable (PLRE II alone has 28 Iuliani). For a commentary on the theological interests of a founder in a church, see SEG 26, 1628 (Apameia): Παῦλος ... ὁ ποικιλόφρων τῶν ἄνωθεν δογμάτων.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 240 no. 121A-B (ph.) (ed. pr.). – C. Schick, PEQ 14, 1882, 171; R. Dussaud, RA 1903, 351; R. Dussaud - F. Macler, Missions dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne, 1903, 478 n. 1; Dussaud, Louvre 77f. no. 99; G. Mendel, Musées impériaux ottomans II, 1914, 434f. no. 657 (dr.); L. Vincent - F.-M. Abel, Emmaus, 1932, 176 fig. 81; R. Perez, in: J. Patrich ed., New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region, 2007, 94ff. (dr.) (Hebr.); R. Perez, EI 28, 2007, 16*f.(e), 206ff.(h).



fig. 1121.2



fig. 1121.3

Photo: Dussaud, Louvre 77 no. 99 (dr.); L. Vincent - F.-M. Abel, 1932, 176 fig. 81 (dr.); R. Perez, in: New Studies 94 fig. 5.

WA

1122. Marinus builds a church, 5-6 c. AD

Mosaic, decorated with rhombs, round medallions, geometric patterns and birds. The inscription is set in a tabula ansata, red-brown lines separating the rows of letters, the tabula framed by two rows of tesserae. On the lower side of the tabula, a running dog pattern. The inscription is to be read facing east. The letters are black on a white ground, with some ochre cubes interspersed.

Meas.: length of inscription 2.5 m; letters 6.3-9.5 cm.

Findspot: Western portion of the nave in the Byzantine Church (Ovadiah, Corpus 155 no. 155).

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1963-2671/13-15.



fig. 1122

(cross) ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΗΣ ΤΕ ΛΕΘΩ ΚΑΙ Ν[-ca. 8-9 letters-] ΣΑΡΕΙΩΝ
 ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΜΑΡΙΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΥΞΕ ΘΕΟ[-ca. 6 letters-] ΗΤΙΝΑ[.]ΩΝ
 [...] ΤΙΚΟΝ ΑΧΡΑΑΝΤΟΝ ΑΕΙ ΝΟΟΝ ΗΝΙΟΧΕΥΩΝ (cross)

App. crit.: *Meimaris* presents only l.2f. in a bungled version; the supplements are by *Birnbaum - Ovadiah*, with the exception of l.2; l.1 [ἄρτος] *Birnbaum - Ovadiah*; the lacuna is perhaps a bit short for their printed supplement, if one goes by the letters in the other lines; but from Ν[to]Σ one needs at least four, possibly five syllables, which makes a lacuna of e. g. eight letters look very short; l.2 ἀ[ί]ρων *Birnbaum - Ovadiah*; ἀ[είδ]ων *Merkelbach*, which is considered too long by *Birnbaum - Ovadiah* (ἀ[είρ]ων *P. Herrmann* apud SEG 41, 1883 is not much shorter); l.3 the tips of the *mu* and *upsilon* are still to be seen.

ἀμβροσίης τελέθω καὶ ν[έκταρος οἶκος ἀρείων | καὶ με Μαρίνος ἔτευξε θεὸν
 κλυτομητὶν ἀ[.]ων | [μυσ]τικὸν ἀχράαντον αἰεὶ νόον ἡνιοχεύων

I am a church better than ambrosia and nectar; Marinus erected me too, (exalting, or: singing praise of) God, who plans famous (things), (Marinus,) always guiding the pure and mystic spirit.

Comm.: The date of the church, 5-6 c. AD, was determined by *Birnbaum - Ovadiah* 184 “on the basis of the archaeological data”. Another mosaic with inscription is said to be in the vicinity, see HA 3, 11; *Ovadiah*, MPI.

The inscription is in hexameters, whose proficiency and classical style is especially commended by *Ovadiah* – who wonders at the use of this language and the metaphor of ambrosia and nectar by a Christian in the relation to his church (it seems not necessary to interpret [οἶκος] as a designation of christianity as a whole [the Church], as *Ovadiah* does).

l.1: τελέθω, “come into being” (LSJ s.v.), a typical epic (and later poetic) word; the same holds true for ἀρείων. The ed. pr. states that *Lampe* does not know the word νέκταρ, but *Lampe* – of course – has only words and meanings not in LSJ. Ambrosia and nektar are frequently used as synonyms for eternal life (cf. SEG 45, 1722,4 [Amorion, epitaph of a Christian bishop]: εἰσόκ’ ἀναστάντος γεύσεται ἀμβροσίας; IK 23,1, 539, l.16 [Smyrna]), and God himself can be called ἀμβρόσιος,

Visio Dorothei 10ff.: [καὶ ἰδέσθαι] | ἀμβρόσιον πανάτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάρ[οισιν] ἄνακτα | αὐτοφυῆ. – οἶκος denotes a church in no. 2108 this vol. (Castra Samaritanorum); EI 10, 1972, 243f.; Meimaris, Sacred Names 146 no. 753 (Chaspin, Golan); SEG 27, 1006 (al-Dayr, Arabia), etc. – and the identity is assumed in the psalm quotation τῷ οἴκῳ σου πρέπει ἀγίασμα (this vol. no. 1348).

l.2: Marinus cannot be identified, but seems to be a rather big spender: καὶ με Μαρίνος ἔτευξε hints at other foundations by Marinus which must belong to the context of the church, who is also the subject of the two participles. The personal name Marinus was quite popular in Israel and Phoenicia (Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen 73f.; Ilan, Lexicon I; Rey-Coquais, Nécropole 146), because it bears some resemblance to the Semitic root *m-r*. Caesarea and its surroundings, on the other hand, show a strong background of Latin onomastics, which sufficiently explains the use of the name (there is no reason to assume any Marinus to have had Semitic origins). Merkelbach's supplement was perhaps inspired by Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme IV 346 no. 21/22/01, v. 15 (Gadara, the empress Eudokia talking): ἀλλὰ θεὸν κλυτομήτιν αἰέσο[μαι].

Bibl.: R. Birnbaum - A. Ovadiah, IEJ 40, 1990, 182ff. pl. 18 (ed. pr.). – Reshef, HA 3, 1962, 11; HA 59/60, 1976, 63; Ovadiah, Corpus 155 no. 155; Meimaris, Sacred Names 29 no. 114, 86 no. 546; Ovadiah, MPI 11 no. 2; SEG 40, 1441; SEG 41, 1883; A. Ovadiah, SBF 41, 1991, 479f. fig. 5; BE 1992, 648; A. Ovadiah, SBF 47, 1997, 444f. no. 2; A. Ovadiah, Gerión 16, 1998, 389ff. fig. 5; Merkelbach - Stauber, Steinepigramme IV 318 no. 21/04/01 (ph.).

Photo: R. Birnbaum - A. Ovadiah, IEJ 40, 1990, pl. 18.

WA

1123. Funerary inscription of Babas, 4-6 c. AD

Rectangular block of limestone with inscription in tabula ansata on its upper side. On its front is a slightly curved arch, very much like a door-lintel, above the arch are small, wedge-formed holes with traces of red paint. Euting wonders whether these traces were letters. Was the stone used twice?

Meas.: h 17, w 110 cm; letters 3.5 cm.

Findspot: Apollonia (Arsuf).

Pres. loc.: Collection of Baron Ustinov; now in Oslo?

ΕΙΣΘΕΟΣΟΖΩΝΒΑΒΑΣΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ
ΕΓΓΟΝΗΝΚΟΣΜΑΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΤΟΜΝ
ΗΜΙΟΝΝΚΔΑΣΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΙΝΑΙΟΥΟ

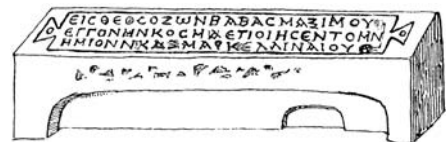


fig. 1123.1 (Euting)

App. crit.: l.1 ὁ omisit Klein; θεὸς <σόζων>

Germer-Durand 1893, comparing CIIP I 764;

l.2 ΚΟΣΜΑ Euting, ΚΟΣΜΑΣ Germer-Durand 1892; ΕΓΙΟΙΗΣΕΝ Germer-Durand 1892 (the facs. of Euting suggests ΕΤΙΟΙΗΣΕΝ); ἐγγόνην = ἐγγόνιον = ἐγγόνιον Schwabe, Lifshitz; l.2f.

μνηιον Klein; I.3 NKA Euting, but his facsimile suggests NKΔΣ; NKΔ' Germer-Durand 1892 (with an upward stroke starting at the middle of the delta), who understands ν(ε)κ(ρο)δ(όχον), suggesting that the upward stroke was part of a *chi*; this was already opposed at BE 1893 p. 289, but accepted by *Avi-Yonah*, Abbreviations 88 and LSJ Suppl. s.v.); Schwabe recognized the dittography at the end of μνημιῶν and Lifshitz supplied the copula; ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΙΝΑΙΟΥ with a following ornament (a circle with two crossed lines in it) Euting, *Μαρκελλίνα Ἰουστ(ίνα)* Germer-Durand 1892, *Μαρκελλίνα Ἰούστα* Di Segni.

εἷς θεὸς ὁ ζῶν. Βαβᾶς Μαξιμου, | ἐγγόνην Κοσμά ἐποίησεν τὸ μνημιῶν{ν} κα' ἰ'
Μαρκελλίνα Ι ΟΥ Ο

There is only one living God. Babas, (son of) Maximus, grandson of Kosmas, made the monument (for himself) and Marcellina, ...

Comm.: I.1: On εἷς θεός at the beginning of epitaphs see the many examples from Zoora, collected in, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia* I a, p. 27f., including – at least structurally similar – examples of εἷς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν. In the rest of Palaestina, this is much rarer. Euting, Noeldeke and Clermont-Ganneau 1901 connect Babas with Aramaic names (cf. *Ilan* I 80 s. v. Babi), whereas Germer-Durand seeks a Latin origin; it is, of course, a typical “Lallname” which can be found in perfectly Greek contexts, too (Lifshitz provides ample parallels and literature, and cf. this vol. no. 1125 for a name of the same root); there is no reason to look for a man of Aramaean origins.



fig. 1123.2 (Germer-Durand)

I.2: Germer-Durand's reading ΚΟΣΜΑΣ is not without difficulties; accepting it, one has to conclude with J. and L. Robert (BE): “second nom plutôt que nom de métier”; there is no problem with Euting's reading. I.2f.: Klein understood εἷς θεός ... *Μαρκελλίναίου* and “Babas ... *verfertigte das Denkmal des Nikas (?)*”.

“La formule, dans son ensemble, n'a rien de commun avec les épitaphes chrétiennes que nous connaissons, et il est plus probable qu'il faut la classer parmi les juives” (Germer-Durand 1892). This was evidently accepted by Juster (who cites the editions by Euting and Germer-Durand as two different inscriptions) and Leclercq. Saller and Hüttenmeister - Reeg even thought the stone to be the lintel of a synagogue (Di Segni 102 is slightly sceptical). A quite similar text in Di Segni 111 no. 62. Jewish parallels have not been cited, Kosmas might be thought to be a Christian name, and there is no reason to believe this to be a Jewish epitaph. The epitaph can be dated to the 4-6 c. AD.

Bibl.: J. Euting, SPAW 35, 1885, 669ff. no. 80 (dr.) (ed. pr.). – Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, AMSL 11, 1885, 157; J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 247f. no. 10 (dr.); id., RB 2, 1893, 203ff.; BE 1893, p. 289; Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, RAO 4, 1901, 141; R. Savignac - F.-M. Abel, RB 14, 1905, 606; BE 1907, p. 91; J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romaine*, 1914, 196f.; Klein, JPCI no. 157; H.

Leclercq, DACL 6, 1924, 716ff. (dr.); Peterson 42; Avi-Yonah, Abbreviations 88; M. Schwabe, Tarbiz 15, 1944, 121 (Hebr.); Goodenough, Jewish Symbols I 225; S. Saller, SBF 4, 1953/54, 223 no. 10; B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 78, 1962, 86f.; BE 1964, 506; B. Lifshitz, Epigraphica 36, 1974, 84f.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 519; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 101f. nos. 21, 21a; SEG 44, 1350.

Photo: J. Euting, SPAW 35, 1885, pl. XI no. 80 (dr.); J. Germer-Durand, RB 1, 1892, 247 (dr.).

WA

1124. Epitaph of Zoila

Limestone slab, eight-line Greek inscription deeply incised in recessed field, surface smoothed, with stylized pediment with acroteria, rosette inside tympanum; back unfinished. Guidelines visible between lines of text; hederia on either side of single word in last line. Lines (indicating date) above ΓΛΣ in l.6 and above ΚΣ in l.7. Curative *epsilon* and w-shaped *omega*, lunate *sigma*, *alpha* with straight cross-bar.

Meas.: h 99, w 46, d 25.5 cm. Inscribed area: h 52.5, w 31 cm; lines average 28 cm, letters 3.5-6.5 cm.

Findspot: Apollonia or Dor.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1949-1.

ΖΩΙΛΑΕΝΘΑ
ΔΕΚΕΙΤΑΙ
ΕΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑ
ΚΟΝΤΑ ΦΙ
ΛΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΓΛΣΑΠΕΛ
ΛΑΙΟΥ ΚΣ
ΘΑΡΣΕΙ

App. crit.: *Clermont-Ganneau's* text shows minor discrepancies, the only important one in l.6: ΓΛΟ.

Ζωίλα ἐνθάδε κεῖται, | ἐτῶν
τριάκοντα, φίλανδρος. (ἔτους) γλς'
Ἄπελ|λαίου κς'. | Θάρσει!

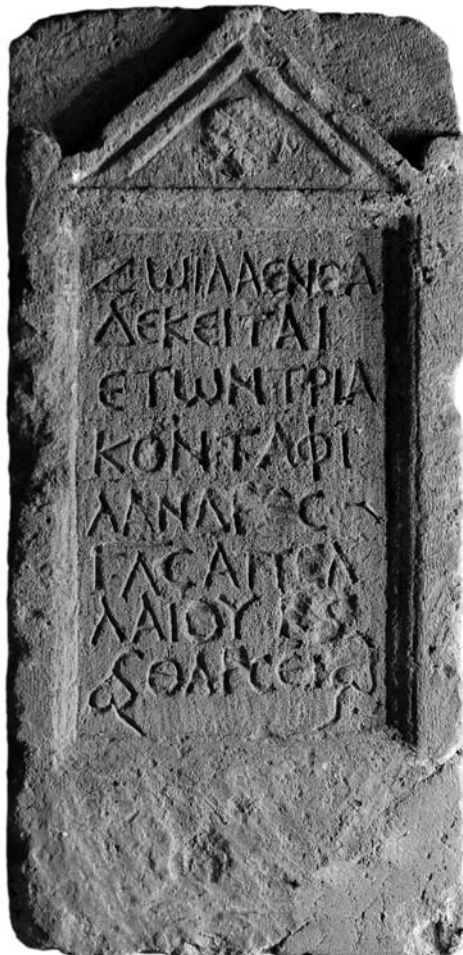


fig. 1124

Zoila lies here, 30 years old, she loved (or: was loyal to) her husband. (year) 233, 26 Apellaius. Courage!

Comm.: Vincent reported that the stone was found in Apollonia, but it probably came from Dor (see Clermont-Ganneau). Naturally, wherever it was found is not necessarily the place where it was originally set up. Palaeography permits a wide range of dates, from 2 c. to 5 c., cf. J. Kloppenburg Verbin, *JJS* 51, 2000, 271ff.; *DGI* 894ff. It is a substantial monument, indicating that she, or her husband, were persons of standing in their community. That Zoila's husband's name is not mentioned but that she is called *φίλανδρος* indicates either her own personal importance, or that her husband erected the monument for her.

Zoila was a frequently used name in the Greek world, cf. the 30 examples in *LGPN*, s.v. (and the over 800 instances of *Ζωίλος*); Schwabe - Lifshitz, *Beth She'arim II* no. 123.

The era used for the date is unclear. Vincent in ed. pr. considers the Seleucid era – which is far-fetched – but seems to prefer a supposed “Gabinian era” dating from Aulus Gabinus' reorganization of the Hasmonean kingdom in 57 BCE, thus the year 233 = 176 CE. This dating has been followed by many authors, most recently Roll - Tal, 23 n. 45 (and see O. Tal, http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/archaeology/projects/proj_apollonia.html [viewed: 9 March 2011]). The problem is that there is no strong evidence that such an era ever existed. One possibility is the Pompeian era attested on city-coins benefiting from Pompey's eastern settlement, ranging between 64 and 60 BCE, thus 233 = ca. 170 CE. See Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 74f., 117f.; regarding the present inscription, Meimaris mentions both Pompeian and Gabinian eras without preference; Di Segni (*DGI*) assumes that a Pompeian era is used. – The exhortation in the final line is apparently addressed to the deceased. – Frey included this text in *CIJ*, but there is no indisputable reason to identify it as Jewish.

Bibl.: Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 5, 1902, 285ff.; L. Vincent, *RB* 18, 1909, 445f. (edd. pr.). – *BE* 1904, 261; 1910, 336; E. Baumann, *ZDPV MN* 16, 1910, 47; Klein, *JPCI* 52 no. 158, p. 105; *CIJ* 2, 891; *IMC* no. 264; Meimaris, *Chron. Systems* 118 no. 95; *DGI* 434f. no. 121. – Cf. I. Roll - O. Tal, *Apollonia-Arsuf. Final Report of the Excavations I*, 1999

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

1125. A ring with Greek inscription

Ring made of bronze; a small disk carries the inscription.

Meas.: \emptyset of the disc 1.1 cm.

Findspot: Found by Dr. Gerda Barag in the dunes of Apollonia.

Pres. loc.: “Tel Aviv in domo privata” (SEG), i. e. in the private collection of G. Barag; “now lost” (Cotton - Geiger 53 n. 10).

ΥΓΙΑ
BABO
ΣΑ

ύγια | Βαβο|σα

Health for Babosa.



fig. 1125

Comm.: l.1: SEG cites for the formula SEG 8, 273 (Gaza, ύγια Ἀμοῦνιν); 350 (“Ex Palaestinae regione ignota”, ύγια Σαμουέλ); cf. e.g. IGLS 2, 304 (Zebed, “sur un lin-teau”, inter alia ζοή, ύγια; Christian parallels for the use of χάρις, ζωή, ύγια are supplied); Perdrizet thought that all texts with these formula were from Syria, but see the more general remark by Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 177: “Such words as ύγεια, ζωή, τύχη, χάρις, χαρά, δύναμις, when inscribed on amulets, are naturally understood as good wishes for the wearer”.

l.2f.: Lifshitz provides parallels for the name; Robert 368: “Le noms de la racine Βαβ-, bon exemple de ‘Lallnamen’ qui peuvent surgir en maint pays”, citing inter alia Damascius, *vita Isid.* 76: Βάβια δὲ οἱ Σύροι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν Δαμάσκῳ, τὰ νεογνὰ καλοῦσι παιδία, ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὰ μειράκια ἀπὸ τῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς νομιζομένης Βαβίας θεοῦ. A name of the same root is used in no. 1123.

Cotton - Geiger published a ring from Masada (SEG 45, 1957: Ὑγια ΑΒΥΣΟΒ), which is supposed to come from the same workshop; cf. their opinion on p. 54: “It is to be noted that, with one exception, the same letters appear on both inscriptions, albeit not in the same order. It seems likely that the intention was to inscribe the same name on both rings. The name on our [scil. the Masada-]ring, then, is more likely to have been garbled by an illiterate engraver than to represent a deliberate attempt to thwart the evil eye by confusing the letters”.

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 78, 1962, 85ff. no. 8 pl. 12 B (ed. pr.). – BE 1964, 506; SEG 20, 466; H. Cotton - J. Geiger, *IEJ* 45, 1995, 52ff. at 53 fig. 2. – Cf. P. Perdrizet, *REG* 27, 1914, 278; L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l’Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, 1963.

Photo: B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 78, 1972, pl. 12 B.

WA

1126. A Samaritan Amulet

An octagonal bronze ring, two lines on each side.

Meas.: ø 2, w 4.5 cm; wt 2.04 gm. The face of each side: 9x45 mm; letters (average) 15 mm.

Findspot: Surface find in Apollonia (Arsuf).
 Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA inv. no. 1965-1250.

- (a) שלם
- ישאת
- (b) אמיו
- אוקע
- (c) אלהמ
- ארו
- (d) לאתה
- ייה
- (e) וערכ
- הליו
- (f) העל
- הוח
- (g) אטי
- רגל
- (h) יהח
- לרי



fig. 1126.1



fig. 1126.2

- Translit.: (a) šlm | yš't
 (b) 'myw | 'wq'
 (c) 'lhm | 'rw
 (d) l'th | ywh
 (e) w'rk | hlyw
 (f) h'l | hwḥ
 (g) 'ty | rgl
 (h) yhh | lry



fig. 1126.3

Comm.: So far seven similar Samaritan rings are known, some of which were found in excavations of Byzantine sites. Usually the inscriptions on rings are quotations from a narrow repertoire of verses from the Torah, but this text has no obvious interpretation. Words or letter combinations without apparent meaning, and nomina barbara, are common in Jewish amulets of the Byzantine period, and while there are no parallels

to such practices on Samaritan amulets, the practice probably best explains this inscription. One ring that was found in Ein Ha'Shofet has an inscription with an unidentified script which seems to be Samaritan script (Reich, 2002, 299 no. 13). Reich considers the ring here an “ancient forgery,” meaning a ring manufactured by an artist who did not know how to write magical formulas and made an object that looks like an amulet. The date of this amulet is based on its cultural context: Samaritan amulets are common in the Byzantine period, hence this one is to be dated to the same era.

Bibl.: R. Reich, in: I. Roll - E. Ayalon ed., Apollonia and the Southern Sharon, 1989, 269ff. (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – J. Naveh, in: O. Rimmon ed., Illness and Healing in Ancient Times, 1997, 18ff.; R. Reich, in: E. Stern - H. Eshel eds., The Samaritans, 2002, 289-309 at 301f. (Hebr.).

Photo: IAA; Reich, 2002, 301 fig. 17.

HM

1127. An ostracon, 4-6 c. AD

Writing on both sides, incised after firing.

Meas.: h 3.6, w 4.4, d 1 cm; letters recto (exterior): 1.2 (M), 1.6 (P), rest 0.6-0.7 cm; verso (interior): 1.4 (K), rest ca. 0.4 cm.

Findspot: Among the ruins of Apollonia, west of Kefar Shemaryahu.

Pres. loc.: Israel Museum, Jerusalem, inv. no. 2010.65.1644. Autopsy: 7 February 2011 (AE).

- (a) M++OYI
+I
(b) KK
Ω+TE
ΑΛΠΥΛΟ



fig. 1127.1 (a)

App. crit.: (a) l.1f. ΜΑΡΟΥ|ΣΙ *Schwabe*, ΜΑΡΟΥ|ΔΙ *Ecker*; *Ecker's* reading works only if we assume that the second letter - which looks like a mirrored *rho* - was meant to be a somewhat cursive *alpha*, and if we neglect the last vertical bar; the *upsilon* is written above the *omicron*; (b) l.2f. ΩΣΤΕ|ΟΔΟΥΛ *Schwabe*, who read in (b): κ(υρία) κ(αλή). ὥστε οὐ δουλ(εύειν) vel δουλ(οὔσθαι) vel δουλ(ῶμαι). There seems to be no parallel to KK = κ(υρία) κ(αλή). ΩΟΤΕ *Ecker*, but the letter looks a lot like the first letter of (a) l.1; *Ecker's* reading in l.3 is far from certain, but it is at least clear that *Schwabe's* billet doux disappears for good.

Comm.: Schwabe dates the ostracon according to “manufacture and baking techniques” (p. IV); the writing seems to concur with a date in Late Antiquity.

(a) if this is a name in the dative (see app. crit.), then cf. *Marusa* from Italy (ILCV 2829b, Tortona; IG 14, 2263, Cosa), *Μαρσῦς* from Egypt, Asia Minor (Korykos, Zgusta 298 § 873-14) and Syria (IGLS 1, 170). Most of these instances are from late antiquity, too.

(b) The inscription is on the interior of the shard, so it seems that it was incised only after the vessel was broken. It is therefore quite improbable that it has any connection to the (former) content of the vessel.



fig. 1127.2 (b)

Bibl.: M. Schwabe, *Tarbiz* 24, 1955, iiif., 16ff. (ph.) (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – SEG 14, 846.

Photo: AE.

WA

II. Caesarea

Introduction

Pyrgos Stratonos / Turris Stratonis

It is intended to provide in this introduction the information readers of this volume need to know about the history of the city before looking at the inscriptions, rather than provide a full survey of the excavations at the site.

The predecessor of Caesarea-on-the-Sea, Straton's Tower was presumably established in the fourth century by one of the two Sidonian kings named Straton. It first occurs on a papyrus of 259 BC as a stop in the journey through Palestine of Zenon, an agent of the Ptolemaic *dioiketes*.¹ It is next mentioned by Josephus in connection with the Hasmonaean rulers Aristobulus I (104 BC) and Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BC).² According to Josephus, Straton's Tower and Dor were held by a local ruler Zoilus at the beginning of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.³ Zoilus was removed by Ptolemy Lathyrus who subsequently appears to have transferred Straton's Tower to Alexander.⁴ Pompey detached it from the area ruled by the Hasmonaean rulers.⁵ Augustus granted it to Herod.⁶ Straton's Tower did not issue coins. The exact location, the origin and meaning of the name and the date of its establishment are still debated.⁷ The southern wall and tower recently excavated by J. Porath, and these as well as the north wall and tower, have now been described as the earliest construction carried out by Herod.⁸ Strabo, referring to Straton's Tower before its refoundation by Herod, notes that it had an anchorage.⁹ It is to be noted that 'tower' (πύργος) as an element in a place name is highly unusual. Where the

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- 1 P. Cairo Zenon, 59004 = CPJ 1 no. 2: ἐν Στράτων[ο]ς πυ(ργου) ἀρ(τάβαι) 5.
 - 2 Josephus, Ant. 13,312-313. At about the same time it is mentioned by the geographical author Artemidorus, cited by Stephanus Byz. (ed. Meineke) s. v. Δῶρος.
 - 3 Josephus, Ant. 13,324.
 - 4 Josephus, Ant. 13,334-5.
 - 5 Josephus, Ant. 14,76; BJ 1,156.
 - 6 Josephus, Ant. 15,217; BJ 1,396.
 - 7 R.L. Vann, *Caesarea Papers. Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*, 1992, Part I; also: K.G. Holum – R.L. Hohlfelder – R.J. Bull – A. Raban, *King Herod's Dream. Caesarea on the Sea*, 1988, 25-54. The name may be derived from that of a Sidonian king, Abdashtart, Straton in Greek, but it has also been associated with that of a Ptolemaean general of the 3 c. BC. The earliest remains on the site are the north wall and towers, uncovered by the Italian mission in 1963-64, but their date remains disputed.
 - 8 J. Porath, *NEAEHL* 5, 2008, 1658.
 - 9 Strabo 16,2,27: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἄκην Στράτωνος πύργος πρόσορμον ἔχων.

term occurs, for instance in Strabo's work, it invariably refers to an actual tower.¹⁰ It is therefore at least possible that the original name only referred to a tower, erected by someone called Strato on the site of an anchorage.¹¹

Demetrias?

In this connection it is relevant to note A. Kushnir-Stein's interesting study, suggesting that an unidentified city in south Phoenicia, named Demetrias, which did issue coinage, may in fact be identified with Strato's Tower, the predecessor of Caesarea.¹² A lead weight of unknown provenance and several coins of Demetrias were issued from 154/53 to ca. 40 BC. This seems to imply a fairly important settlement and even a properly organized polis. If this is correct, as it seems to be, this shows that Strato's Tower was rather more important than one would assume from Josephus. Following Nicolaus of Damascus, Josephus describes Strato's Tower as dilapidated when Herod re-founded and re-built it as Caesarea.¹³ This may easily be understood as partisan historiography on the part of Josephus' source, Nicolaus of Damascus, friend and counsellor of Herod, because he would have wanted to emphasize Herod's achievement. So far there is little archaeological support for the suggestion that there was a substantial town on the site before Herod's building project. The only structural evidence for earlier remains on the site so far appears to be as follows:

- The foundations of Hellenistic dwellings uncovered by Avi-Yonah, and later excavated by the joint expedition.¹⁴
- Several cist graves of the Hellenistic period uncovered under the Promontory Palace in the sections excavated by the Israel Antiquities Authority and Pennsylvania University Team.¹⁵

10 E.g. Strabo 3,1,9; 3,55; 7,3,16; 17,1,6. There appear to be no instances in the work of Pausanias or in the various periploi of the use of the word 'tower' in a place name.

11 Also dealing with the location, origin, name and date of establishment (including the establishment of Caesarea as a Colony): R. R. Stieglitz, *Stratonos Pyrgos – Migdal Šar – Sebastos. History and Archaeology*, in: Raban – Holum, *Caesarea 1996*, 593-608.

12 A. Kushnir-Stein, *The Predecessor of Caesarea. On the Identification of Demetrias in South Phoenicia*, in: Humphrey, *Near East 9-14*. Two publications have expressed doubts concerning the proposition: P. Lampinen, *A Further Note on the Coins of Demetrias which is on the Sea*, in: *Caesarea Papers 2*, 358 f.; R. Stieglitz, *Strato's Tower and Demetrias again. One Town or Two?*, in: *Caesarea Papers 2*, 359 f. Subsequently it was supported by O. Hoover, *A Seleucid coinage of Demetrias by the Sea*, *INR 2*, 2007, 77-87, pl. 14.

13 Josephus, *BJ* 1,408.

14 A. Negev, *EAEHL 1*, 1975, 282 f., bibliography on p. 286.

15 J. Porath, *The Evolution of the Urban Plan of Caesarea's Southwest Zone. New Evidence from the Current Excavations*, in: Raban – Holum, *Caesarea 1996*, 106 n. 3.

- Wall fragment (excavated in 1990-1991, 1997-1998) embedded in the Herodian fill in the Area of the Temple Platform.¹⁶

Josephus gives two reasons why it was important for Herod to build up Caesarea: Jerusalem was controlled by two strongholds: Herod's palace on the west and the Antonia fort on the Temple Mount. A third fortress 'against the entire people' was established at Samaria-Sebaste, a crucial site 'since it was only a day's journey from Jerusalem and would be equally useful in maintaining control in the city and in the country side.' The fourth major military site was Caesarea: 'And he built a fortress for the entire nation in the place formerly called Straton's Tower but named by him Caesarea.'¹⁷ The first reason, then, for Herod's Caesarea project was military. The second is given by Josephus as follows: 'Now this city is located in Phoenicia, on the sea-route to Egypt, between Joppa and Dora. These are small towns on the seashore and poor harbors because the south-west wind beats on them and (always) dredges up sand from the sea upon the shore, and thus does not permit a smooth landing; instead it is usually necessary for merchants to ride unsteadily at anchor off shore'.¹⁸ This description was equally applicable in later periods, following the decline of the harbor of Caesarea and until the construction of Haifa's harbor in modern times. So, besides recognizing the fact that the location was 'very well suited to the site of a city',¹⁹ in itself, Herod saw a need for a proper harbor along this stretch of Mediterranean coast. The one he constructed was 'larger than the Piraeus, including other deep roadsteads with its recesses'.²⁰

As regards the name, Herod called the city Caesarea (Καισάρεια) to honor the Emperor, while the harbor was named Sebastos / Augustus (Σεβαστός λιμήν).²¹ Subsequently the city came to be called 'Caesarea near the August Port' (Καισάρεια ἢ πρὸς Σεβαστῶ λιμένι). Alternative forms are 'Caesarea Stratonos' (Καισάρεια Στρατόνος).²² Later Caesarea of Palaestina became the usual form (Καισάρεια Παλαιστίνης).²³

16 K. G. Holum – E. G. Reinhardt – J. A. Stabler eds., *Caesarea Reports and Studies, Excavations 1995-2007 within the Old City and the Ancient Harbor*, 2008, 17.

17 Josephus, *Ant.* 14,293-4: τῷ δὲ ἔθνει παντὶ φρούριον ἐνφοκοδόμησεν τὸ πάλαι μὲν καλούμενον Στράτωνος πύργον, Καισάρειαν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορευθέν.

18 Josephus, *Ant.* 15,333-4: κείται μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ κατὰ τὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παράπλουν Ἰόππης μεταξύ καὶ Δώρων, πολισμάτια ταῦτ' ἐστὶν παράλια δύσσορμα διὰ τὰς κατὰ λίβρα προσβολάς, αἱ αἰεὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πόντου θίνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἡὸνα σύρουσαι καταγωγὴν οὐ διδόνασιν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀναγκαῖον ἀποσαλεύειν τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐπ' ἀγκύρας. Similarly: Josephus, *BJ* 1,409-14.

19 Josephus, *Ant.* 15,331: χωρίον ἐπιτηδειότατον δέξασθαι πόλιν.

20 Josephus, *Ant.* 15,332: μέγεθος μὲν κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καταγωγὰς δ' ἔνδον ἔχοντι καὶ δευτέρους ὑφόρους.

21 Josephus, *Ant.* 17,87; *BJ* 1,613 and coinage: L. Kadman, *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima*, 1957, 29, 98-100.

22 E. g. Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 5,15,2 (M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism II*, 1980, 166, no. 337a); for this form, see Stern's comments ad loc., p. 170.

23 Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 2,78 (ed. Klostermann); *De mart.* Pal. 1,2.

Herod's building activities in the city are described by Josephus in some detail.²⁴ he mentions the harbor with its breakwater and towers, one of them named after Drusus Caesar,²⁵ and a temple of Caesar, i. e. a temple of Rome and Augustus, 'visible a great way off to those sailing into the harbor, which had a statue of Rome and also one of Caesar,²⁶ a theater, as well as a circus or amphitheater (adjacent to the promontory palace) where 'quinquennial games named after Caesar' were held.²⁷ The project took twelve years to complete. The buildings have been exposed over decades of excavations.²⁸ The town was built conforming to the usual grid plan. Josephus does not mention the water supply of the city. There were two aqueducts providing the city with water. One of those, the so-called 'high-level aqueduct' is a double one, representing two stages. The later one is dated through a series of inscriptions attesting work by legionary units under Hadrian.²⁹ It remains uncertain

24 Josephus, Ant. 15, 334-341; BJ 1,408-415.

25 See comments on inscription no. 1277 below.

26 Josephus, Ant. 15, 339: κὰν τῷ μέσῳ κολωνός τις, ἐφ' οὗ νεὼς Καίσαρος ἄποπτος τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν ἄγαλμά τε τὸ μὲν Ῥώμης, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος; BJ 1,414.

27 Josephus, Ant. 16,136-141.

28 For the theater: Scavi, and the earlier preliminary report: *Missione archeologica italiana a Caesarea, Caesarea Maritima (Israele). Rapporto preliminare della Ia campagna di scavo della Missione archeologica italiana, 1959*; also: A. Segal, *SCI* 8/9, 1985/88, 145-65. For the temple platform: Holum et al., *Caesarea Reports* (n. 16), 17 ff; also: L. C. Kahn, *King Herod's Temple of Rome and Augustus*, in: *ibid.*, 130-45. For the structure associated with the circus / amphitheater: J. Porath, *Herod's "amphitheatre" at Caesarea. A multipurpose entertainment building*, in: Humphrey, *Near East* 15-27; J. Humphrey, "Amphitheatrical" Hippostadia, *ibid.*, 121-9; J. Porath, *King Herod's Circus and Related Buildings. The Israel Antiquities Authority Excavation Project at Caesarea 1992-1998. Final Reports Publications, Vol. I, Israel Antiquities Authority (forthcoming)*; for the warehouses and granaries: J. Patrich, *Warehouses and Granaries in Caesarea Maritima*, in: Raban – Holum, *Caesarea 1996*, 146-76. See also the earlier publications: *Caesarea Papers 2: Field reports 1A-B: Warehouse Quarter, Temple Platform. The above publications refer to later periods, mainly Late Roman, Byzantine and Medieval warehouses and granaries. There is no unequivocal archaeological evidence for Herodian warehouses and granaries. Not even the foundations of the building dating from Herod's time or shortly thereafter, uncovered below the walls of the Byz. warehouse rooms 1-4 (Area LL): Holum, Caesarea Reports (n. 16). The suggestion made by the excavators of area LL that 'the early foundations and leveling fills might indeed represent a large warehouse established in the Early Roman period when King Herod first built Caesarea, as Raban suggested in: Holum, Caesarea Reports (n. 16), 151-4 is conjectural. For the harbor: J.P. Oleson et. al. eds, *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima. Results of the Caesarea ancient Harbour excavation project, 1980-1985, 2 vols., 1989/94; Caesarea Papers 2 and Holum, Caesarea Reports (n. 16); M. Artzy – Z. Gal – B. Goodman – A. Raban, The Harbour of Sebastos (Caesarea Maritima) in its Roman Mediterranean Context, 2010.**

29 Lehmann – Holum nos. 45-54 = below nos. 1200-1209.

whether the earlier high-level aqueduct and the 'low-level' one were constructed in the reign of Herod or at a later stage.³⁰

After Herod's death the city was assigned to Archelaus together with the rest of Judaea.³¹ Following his deposition it came under the authority of the Roman prefects, and next under that of Agrippa I, who minted coins there.³² After the latter died in the city,³³ it reverted to the authority of the Roman representatives. The presence of the prefects in Caesarea is attested in various sources.³⁴ The essential statement is Tacitus, *Historiae* 2,78,4: (*Caesarea*) *Iudaeae caput est*.³⁵ The excavations on the site have uncovered the remains of what was, first, the royal palace, next, the seat of the prefects and, thereafter, the residence of the senatorial legates. In the Byzantine Period the site became the location of private dwellings.³⁶ The complex includes a stately entrance, a large courtyard, the palace proper, and several administrative offices and chambers. It was located adjacent to the circus. It served in this function until the beginning of the fourth century.

In addition the residence of the financial procurator of the Province of Judaea/Palaestina has been uncovered, some 350 m north of the promontory palace in what is called the area CC and the northern part of area NN, north of *decumanus*

30 For the aqueducts: L. I. Levine, *Roman Caesarea. An Archaeological-Topographical Study*, 1975, 30-35; references in: NEAEHL 1, 280; 5, 1663 ff.

31 Josephus, *Ant.* 17,320; BJ 2,97; the other cities being Sebaste, Joppa and Jerusalem.

32 Y. Meshorer, *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period*, 1967, 78 ff. The city is described as ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΗΝΙ.

33 Josephus, *Ant.* 19,343.

34 For instance Josephus, BJ 2,171-4; *Ant.* 18,57-59 (Pilate); for Pilate, see the famous inscription below, no. 1277, apparently commemorating the reconstruction of one of the towers at the entrance to the harbor; Josephus, *Ant.* 20,116-7; BJ 2,229 (Cumanus and advisors); *Ant.* 20,122; BJ 2,236-7 (Cumanus marches from Caesarea with the ala of Sebastenians and four cohorts of infantry to suppress unrest); Acts 25 (Festus, the procedure against Paul); BJ 2,282; 2,407 (Florus); 2,332 (Florus returns to Caesarea with his troops).

35 R. Haensch, *Capita Provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1997, 227-37 and testimonia: 548-56.

36 The date of the construction of the residence, in the reign of Herod or afterwards, is not quite clear. L. I. Levine – E. Netzer eds., *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima*. 1975, 1976, 1979. Final Report, 1986, 180 ff.; E. Netzer, *The Promontory Palace*, in: Raban – Holum, *Caesarea Maritima 1996*, 193 ff.; *Caesarea Papers* 2, 1B; see also: B. Burrell, *Palace to Praetorium. The Romanization of Caesarea*, *ibid.*, 228 ff. See below, nos. 1266-1271; NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1658 f. with a plan on p. 1658. The governor's residence is mentioned by Josephus, BJ 2,171: τὴν οἰκίαν; Acts 23,25: Paul was kept ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ τοῦ Ἡρώδου. Eusebius, HE 6,39,2-3 (ἡγεμονικὰ δικαστήρια). The terminology in Acts seems to confirm the origin of the building as, first a Herodian palace and, subsequently, a Praetorium, the governor's residence in the city, for Herod, a client king, had no praetorium but a palace.

S2, near the sea shore.³⁷ In the Byzantine period this became the residence of the governor of Palaestina I.³⁸ The complex included a bath house, halls that probably represent a library or archive room and a main conference and judicial hall, an east-west basilica-like structure and a central courtyard. To the Byzantine period belongs a structure that has been called the ‘tax revenue office’, seven rooms around a central hall, and a public latrine (in the south-east). The northern part of the structure was partly damaged by the crusader moat. In one of the fifteen vaults underneath the western and southern part of this complex a mithraeum of the 3 c. AD has been uncovered.³⁹

The city developed rapidly. By 67, according to Josephus, it was ‘one of the largest cities of Judaea, with a population consisting chiefly of Greeks’ (i. e. Greek-speaking non-Jews).⁴⁰ There was a substantial Jewish minority in the 1 c. AD, decimated in the civil struggles during the revolt of 66-70, but prosperous again in the 3 c., as noted below. We should note that this is clear from the literary sources, but that it is not reflected by the epigraphic material.

The non-Jewish population of the city and its territory furnished a substantial part of the troops in Judaea under Herod and perhaps under the prefects. These were one *ala* of cavalry and five cohorts of infantry of ‘Caesareans and Sebastenes’. They are mentioned first in connection with the upheaval following the death of Herod in 4 BC, as being three thousand in number.⁴¹ The next occasion for their appearance in Josephus’ work is the death of Agrippa I in AD 44 when the populations of Caesarea and Sebaste, especially the numerous soldiers among them, caused scandal by their exuberant and tasteless expressions of joy at the death of the king whom they regarded as a pro-Jewish enemy. By way of punishment Claudius initially decided to transfer the troops to Pontus, but he let himself be persuaded to leave them in Judaea where they remained and continued to be a source of ten-

37 NEAEHL 5, 2008, 1676 ff., plan on p. 1677; for the nearby warehouse complex: 1678 ff.; inscriptions nos. 1282-1344.

38 Malalas, Chron. 18,119 (ed. Thurn) reports that, in 556, the Samaritans killed the governor ‘in the praetorium.’ This must refer to the Byzantine palace, not the promontory palace. For the rebellion of that year, see below.

39 In the mithraeum a medallion and wall paintings were discovered that identify the structure without doubt. See J. A. Blakely, *Caesarea Maritima. The Pottery and Dating of Vault I. Horreum, Mithraeum and Later Uses*, 1987; R. J. Painter, *The Origins and Social Context of Mithraism at Caesarea Maritima*, in: T. L. Donaldson ed., *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*, 2000, 205-25.

40 Josephus, BJ 3,409-410: Καيسάρειαν, μεγίστην τῆς τε Ἰουδαίας πόλιν καὶ τὸ πλέον ὑφ’ Ἑλλήνων οἰκουμένην.

41 Josephus, BJ 2,52: three thousand Sebastenians under Rufus, commander of the cavalry, and Gratus, commander of the infantry; BJ 2,58; 63; Ant. 17,266. For these troops, see Schürer I, 363-5. For the army of Herod, see I. Shatzman, *The armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod. From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks*, 1991; for that of Herod and Agrippa II, see also M. H. Gracey, in: D. Kennedy – P. Freeman eds, *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, 1986, 311-23.

sion, until Vespasian moved them elsewhere.⁴² Caesarea, being a major city and seat of the governor had a military presence. The presence of soldiers, individually or in larger numbers, at least temporarily, is directly attested on several occasions, first in *Acts* 10, 1, where it is stated (around AD 40): ‘In Caesarea there was a man named Cornelius, centurion of what was known as the Italian Cohort...’. The man is mentioned in *Acts* because he was said to be a sympathizer towards Judaism (φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν) who converted to Christianity with his household. If true, such an attitude seems not to have been typical of officers in these units. The second occurrence refers to the time of Paul’s imprisonment, about 60, when there was said to be an ‘Augustan cohort’ there.⁴³ Josephus reports that Cumanus (procurator 48 – ca. 52) marched from Caesarea with troops consisting of an *ala* of Sebasteni and four cohorts of infantry, to suppress unrest in the Galilee.⁴⁴ Florus, in 66, returns from Jerusalem to Caesarea with his troops, leaving one cohort in Jerusalem.⁴⁵ For the period after 70 the sort of evidence we have does not supply such information.

The social and ethnic mix in Caesarea apparently caused tension and occasional open conflict from the beginning, but it came to a head in the reign of Nero, towards the end of the term of office of Felix, the procurator. The issue was the respective status of the Jewish and non-Jewish communities, both demanding precedence.⁴⁶ The Jews based their claim on the fact that the founder, Herod, was Jewish, while ‘the Syrians’ or ‘Greeks’ – Josephus uses both terms without clear distinction – argued that there were no Jews in Strato’s Tower before Herod refounded it. The Jews were wealthier, but the Syrians were proud because ‘most of those in military service there under the Romans came from Caesarea and Sebaste’. When the conflict turned violent the Jews were suppressed by the local garrison. A Jewish embassy to Rome failed to improve matters, for Nero’s secretary, *ab epistulis Graecis*, was bribed by the leaders of the Syrians in Caesarea which resulted in a decision in favour of the Syrians. Consequently the Jews were deprived of their rights and the Syrians were declared sole masters of the city in AD 61.

42 Josephus, *Ant.* 19,356-66. See also 20,122 for troops in action against Jews. For these troops see also Shatzman (n. 41), 185-6; 193-4.

43 *Acts* 10,1: Ἄνθρωπος δὲ τις ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος, ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπειρῆς τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς. M. P. Speidel, *The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators. The Italian and the Augustan Cohort in the Acts of the Apostles*, *AncSoc* 13/14, 1982/83, 233-40. Speidel suggests identifying the Italian cohort, mentioned in *Acts* 10,1, with the II Italica c.R. mentioned on a gravestone from Carnuntum, *CIL* 3, 13483a (= ILS 9169). For the Augustan cohort (σπεῖρα Σεβαστή), mentioned in *Acts* 27,1, he refers to an inscription which shows that a unit of that name served in the army of Agrippa II: Dunand, Hauran, no. 168; see also SEG 7, 1100; OGIS 412. Gracey (n. 41), 320, has reservations regarding the identification of the Augustan cohort in the Acts with that of Agrippa II as proposed by Speidel.

44 Josephus, *Ant.* 20,122; *BJ* 2,236. The incident was to cost the procurator his job.

45 Josephus, *BJ* 2,332.

46 Josephus, *Ant.* 20,173-178; 182-5; *BJ* 2,266-270; 284-292.

In 66 AD the Syrian/Greek population of Caesarea attacked the Jews there according to Josephus. This, he says, marked the beginning of the war. Florus, the procurator, took bribes from the Jews without taking serious measures to calm the situation⁴⁷ which continued to deteriorate. The decisive event was the massacre of the Jews in Caesarea, twenty-thousand in number, according to Josephus. Florus, the procurator, was present in the city at the time, acting against the few remaining Jews there.⁴⁸ Caesarea and its non-Jewish citizens played a significant role throughout the war of 66-70. In 67 Vespasian enlisted in his army 5 cohorts and one *ala* from Caesarea that is three thousand men.⁴⁹ The city provided the Roman army with winter-quarters. In 67 'the inhabitants received the army and its general with blessings and congratulations of every description motivated partly by goodwill towards the Romans, but mainly by hatred of the vanquished.'⁵⁰ In the summer and autumn of 67 Vespasian established two of his legions, the tenth and fifth, in Caesarea or in a temporary base near the city, 'finding the city suitable for the purpose; the fifteenth legion he sent to Scythopolis, in order not to burden Caesarea with his whole army.'⁵¹ After the campaign in Gaulanitis, towards the end of 67, the tenth legion stayed at Scythopolis, and the fifth and fifteenth were taken by Vespasian to Caesarea 'to recruit them after their incessant toil, and with the idea that the abundance of city life would invigorate their bodies and impart fresh alacrity for coming struggles.'⁵² Vespasian remained in Caesarea with his troops until the spring of 68.⁵³

In July of 69 Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by his troops in Caesarea.⁵⁴ After the fall of Jerusalem Caesarea served as Titus' headquarters where he celebrated his own victory and Domitian's birthday, having more than two thousand five hundred Jewish captives killed in various contests.⁵⁵

It was in connection with these events that the first Roman road – attested so far in Judaea – was constructed in AD 69, from Caesarea to Scythopolis, linking the two cities that served repeatedly as temporary bases for Vespasian's army.⁵⁶

47 Josephus, BJ 2,287-88.

48 Josephus, BJ 2,457; 7,362

49 Josephus, BJ 3,66.

50 Josephus, BJ 3,409-410.

51 Josephus, BJ 3,412-3.

52 Josephus, BJ 4,87-8, trans. Thackeray, Loeb.

53 Josephus, BJ 4,443.

54 Suetonius, Vesp. 6, however, asserts that Vespasian was proclaimed emperor first on 1 July, by Tiberius Julius Alexander and the army in Egypt and on 11 July by the army in Judaea. Tacitus, Hist. 2,79 has the same date as Suetonius for Tiberius Julius Alexander's and 3 July for Vespasian's own troops. Josephus, BJ 4,601 ff. provides no exact date, but gives priority to the army in Judaea. According to him Mucianus followed while Alexander did so only after a personal appeal by Vespasian himself.

55 Josephus, BJ 7,20; 23; 37.

56 B. Isaac – I. Roll, A Milestone of AD 69 from Judaea, JRS 66, 1976, 9-14 = Isaac, Near East, 36-45; for the road: B. Isaac – I. Roll, Roman Roads in Judaea I. The Scythopolis – Legio Road, 1982.

After the war Caesarea was refounded as a *Colonia Civium Romanorum*. The date is not quite certain.⁵⁷ Josephus does not mention the change.⁵⁸ The Elder Pliny refers to the event: ‘... the Tower of Strato otherwise Caesarea, founded by King Herod, but now the colony called Prima Flavia, established by the Emperor Vespasian; this is the frontier of Palestine, 189 miles from the confines of Arabia...’.⁵⁹ The *Digest* adds information: ‘The Divine Vespasian made the Caesarienses *coloni* without adding the *ius italicum*, but remitting the poll-tax; but the divine Titus decided that the soil had been made immune also.’⁶⁰ In other words, the colony did not receive the full status of an Italian city, but it did obtain the same significant material advantages. The title of the city appears on coins and inscriptions as ‘*Col(onia) Prima Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Caesariensis*’ or ‘*Caesarea*’.⁶¹ In the reign of Severus Alexander *metropolis* was added, a title that was once used for Jerusalem as a matter of course.⁶²

Caesarea received the name of ‘First Flavian Colony Augusta Caesarea’ because it was the place where Vespasian was first proclaimed Emperor. That much is obvious. A more important question is still a matter of dispute. Traditionally, from the times of the Roman republic, a Roman colony was a city where Roman citizens were settled. These could be civilians or veterans. Colonies could be entirely new foundations on sites where no earlier community existed at the time of colonization, or they could be veteran-settlements planted in existing towns, the result being a community consisting of new settlers and the original population. A third possibility is the

57 See the recent discussion by J. Patrich, *The Date of the Establishment of Caesarea as a Colony*, in: J. Geiger – H. M. Cotton – G. D. Stiebel eds., *Israel’s Land. Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee, 2009*, 137-56 (Hebr.).

58 Josephus, BJ 7,217, records that Vespasian allotted landed property in Emmaus near Jerusalem to some eight hundred veterans. He does not refer to any other settlement of veterans in Judaea after the war.

59 Pliny, NH 5,68f.: *Ostracine Arabia finitur, a Pelusio LXV p... Stratonis Turris, eadem Caesarea ab Herode rege condita, nunc colonia Prima Flavia a Vespasiano Imperatore deducta, finis Palaestines, CLXXXVIII p. a confinio Arabiae. Dein Phoenice; ...*

60 *Digest* 50,15,8,7: *Divus Vespasianus Caesarienses colonos fecit non adiecto, ut et iuris Italici essent, sed tributum his remisit capitis; sed divus Titus etiam solum immune factum interpretatus est.* For the *ius italicum* see: A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd ed. 1973, 316-22.

61 For the coins, see Kadman (n. 21). Inscriptions: below, no. 2095, the dedication of the statue of M. Flavius Agrippa, *pontifex* and *Ilviral(is)* by decree of the decurions of the colony found in Maiumas (Shuni), situated in the territory of the colony, some 6 km northeast of Caesarea, too. Note a papyrus of 22.1.150: PSI 9.1026 = CPL 117.

62 Kadman (n. 21), 24, 46f. Coins after Decius have: *metropolis prov(inciae) S(yriae) Pal(aestinae)*. Inscriptions with this title: below, nos. 1370 f.; for the sixth and seventh centuries: P. Nessana 36; 37; 74. For Jerusalem as ‘metropolis’: Strabo 16,2,28 (759); Philo, Leg. 305. Note also the titles acquired under Septimius Severus: *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta F(elix) C(onstans?) Caesarensis* preserved on the coinage, e. g. Kadman (n.21), no.77.

grant of colonial status to a provincial city while no actual settlement of citizens or veterans from elsewhere was imposed on the community. This was therefore purely a matter of status without any change in the composition of the population of the city. In the case of Caesarea both possibilities have been considered, but no agreement has been reached.⁶³ The difference is important. If the grant of colonial status was a formality, then the only result of the war of 66-70 was the destruction of the Jewish population in the city and, for the remaining population, an improvement in the status of the city. If veterans were settled there, this would have had a significant impact on the social composition of the citizenry. All that can be said with any certainty at this stage is that many of the regular Graeco-Roman deities were worshipped in the city. Besides the Temple of Roma and Augustus and the Mithraeum already mentioned there is evidence from inscriptions, the coinage and sculpture found in the city. Deities represented are Zeus, Jupiter Dolichenus, Jupiter Turmasgade, Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, Artemis of Ephesus, Helios, Heracles, Nike, Asklepius, Dionysus, Demeter, Kore, Aphrodite, Athene, Isis,⁶⁴ Serapis, and the Tyche of Caesarea.⁶⁵

In recent years it has become far more obvious than it was in the past that the internal organization of the *Colonia Caesariensis* was similar to that of other Roman colonies.⁶⁶ The city was clearly divided into *vici*, a concept known from other colonies. The council of *decuriones* is several times represented in inscriptions;⁶⁷ *duumviri*, the highest magistrates are mentioned in many of them,⁶⁸ and the *quaestura* is attested as an office.⁶⁹ *Seviri Augustales* are also identified.⁷⁰ Where these officials appear in inscriptions, the Latin language is used, as was usual in Roman colonies, a practice also visible in most of the building inscriptions of the city.⁷¹ A Roman citizen

63 Werner Eck assumes veterans were indeed settled in Caesarea: W. Eck, *The Presence, Role and Significance of Latin in the Epigraphy and Culture of the Roman Near East*, in: *From Hellenism to Islam*, 13-42; B. Isaac, however, has argued that Caesarea was a titular colony. No actual settlement of veterans took place according to this view: B. Isaac, *Latin in Cities of the Roman Near East*, *ibid.*, 43-72.

64 For the Isis cult, note in particular the papyrus containing an invocation of Isis of the early 2 c. with a list of places where Isis was worshipped: P.Oxy 1380.94: ἐν Στρ[ατώ]νος Πύργῳ Ἑλλάδα, ἀγαθήν. This emphasizes the Hellenistic character of the city at the time.

65 R. Gersht, *Representations of Deities and the Cults of Caesarea*, in: Raban – Holum, *Caesarea 1996*, 208-27. For the coinage, Kadman (n. 21), 53-62. See also: R. J. Painter, *Greco-Roman Religion in Caesarea Maritima*, in: Donaldson (n. 39), 105-25.

66 W. Eck, *ZPE* 174, 2010, 169-72; see below no. 1241.

67 See below inscriptions nos. 1228, 1234, 1278, 1279, 1358.

68 H. Cotton – W. Eck, *A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Elite of Caesarea Maritima*, in: L. Rutgers ed., *What Athens Has to Do with Jerusalem. Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerster*, 2002, 375-91. Below inscriptions nos. 1228, 1269, 1358, 1359, 2095.

69 Below no. 1360.

70 Below no. 1363.

71 Below nos. 1365-1369.

who honors a philosopher with a statue may use the Greek language because of his profession, yet the description of his function, *κουράτορ πλοίων*, refers to the Roman-Latin structure of the colony.⁷² Only in the course of the third century the use of Latin seems to weaken⁷³ and there is no Latin inscription that can be dated with full assurance to the time after the early 4 c. AD, apart from an exceptional object, a ceremonial bronze cup from the middle of the 4 c.⁷⁴ Perhaps the inscription on this cup is in Latin, because it was the language of the pagan tradition of the colony, at a time when Christianity was gradually and increasingly determining the culture of the city.

The city, of course, remained the capital of the Roman province of Judaea and residence of the governor with his tribunal, as attested in various sources.⁷⁵ When the governor became a senatorial legate with the title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*,⁷⁶ a second senior official was as usual added, namely the financial procurator whose residence in Caesarea has already been mentioned. The excavations of the governor's palace have brought to light inscriptions that add much to our understanding of the organization of such a residence.⁷⁷ Thus one of the rooms has been identified as *sc(ola) (centurionum)* which shows that the room functioned both as an office and for social purposes.⁷⁸ A mosaic in another room mentions *frumentarii*,⁷⁹ yet another the *offici(um) custodiar(um)*, the office of the prison administration.⁸⁰ Also attested are the governor's *beneficiarii*, legionaries attached to his staff.⁸¹ Several inscribed bases attest the presence of imperial statues in the *praetorium*.⁸² In the financial procurator's palace, mentioned above, inscribed statue bases of holders of this office and of other imperial grandees have been found.⁸³

72 Below no. 1266.

73 Seats of the eastern amphitheater reserved for decuriones are marked in Greek, below nos. 1361-1362. These texts can hardly antedate the 3 c.

74 E. Will, *Monuments et mémoires* 65, 1983, 1 ff.; J. Patrich, in: J. Geiger – H. M. Cotton – G. Stiebel eds. *Israel's Land. Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee*, 2009, 135 ff. (Hebr.); J. Patrich, *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima. Collected Essays* chap. III (in print). See below no. 1138.

75 Josephus, BJ 7, 407: The legate Flavius Silva, returned to Caesarea after the subjection of Masada. Eusebius, HE 6,39,2: in the reign of Decius, Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, appeared in Caesarea before the governor's court; 7,12: in the reign of Valerian, three Christians were condemned to death there; 7,15: another such case in the reign of Gallienus.

76 E. g. ILS 1035; 1035a.

77 Cotton – Eck, *Governors*.

78 Below no. 1382.

79 Below no. 1383.

80 Below no. 1384.

81 Below no. 1375.

82 Below nos. 1376-1380.

83 W. Eck – H. Cotton, *Inscriptions from the Financial Procurator's Praetorium in Caesarea*, in: *Studies Tsafir*, 98*-114*; see below nos. 1283 ff.

A letter of Apollonius of Tyana (1 c. AD?) to the councilors of Caesarea gives an impression of the standing of the city. Even if it is not authentic, it still gives someone else's impression of a somewhat later date. According to the letter the city of Caesarea was '...the greatest one in Palestine and the best of those there in respect of size, laws, and customs, and its ancestors' bravery in war and their morals in peacetime ... I must both admire and honor (your city) above all others, and so also must every other sensible person. ... I was delighted by your Greek customs, which reveal your particular excellence by means of your public letter ...' (Ap. Ty., ep. 11, ed. and transl. Jones).

Hadrian's reign has left its mark on the city for two reasons. First, as already mentioned, the water supply was improved by the addition of a second channel to the high-level aqueduct, constructed by legionary detachments, as attested by inscriptions, already mentioned. These inscriptions are not dated and it is therefore not quite clear when these activities took place. It may have coincided with Hadrian's visit and activities in 129/130 or the units may have been there not at the same time, but in succession. Alternatively it may have been a project carried out during the presence of numerous troops in the province suppressing the Second Revolt (132-136). Second, a Hadrianeum was built in the city; the nature of the building is not certain.⁸⁴

Caesarea's prosperity is noted also in later sources. The *Expositio totius mundi* describes it as a 'charming city with an abundance of everything and remarkable for its plan. Its *tetrapylon* is well-known everywhere because it is a unique and an unprecedented structure.'⁸⁵ Like some other Palestinian cities it exported purple of good quality.⁸⁶ Ammianus lists Caesarea, together with Eleutheropolis, Neapolis, Ascalon and Gaza as 'one of the splendid cities of Palestine.'⁸⁷

The Jewish presence

For the first century this community is attested in the work by Josephus, for the later period it is attested in Talmudic material, inscriptions and the excavations of

84 Lehmann – Holum, no. 58 = below no. 1262.

85 *Expositio totius mundi* (ed. Rougé) 26: *Iam etiam et Caesarea civitas est similiter deliciosior et abundans omnibus et dispositione civitatis in multa eminens. Tetrapylon enim eius nominatur ubique, quod unum et novum aliquod spectaculum.*

86 Ibid. 31. Cf. 32: the city participated in circus games and was known for its pantomimes.

87 Ammianus 14,8,11: (*Palaestina*) *...et civitates habens quasdam egregias, nullam nulli cedentem, sed sibi vicissim velut ad perpendicularum aemulas: Caesaream, quam ad honorem Octaviani principis exaedificavit Herodes, et Eleutheropolim et Neapolim, itidemque Ascalonem Gazam, aevo superiore extractas.* Note also Clemens Romanus, *Recognitiones* 1,12: *Caesaream Stratonis, quae est Palaestinae urbs maxima, adpulsus sum.*

a synagogue.⁸⁸ There is little evidence concerning the second century and what exists is not conclusive. Rabban Simeon b. Gamaliel II is recorded as having visited Caesarea towards the middle of the century, but one cannot say what was his purpose in doing so – after all, the city was the provincial capital.⁸⁹ Clearly significant was the enactment taken by R. Judah ha-Nasi, to exempt Caesarea from the observances obligatory only in the Land of Israel, such as the prohibition to consume produce grown by Jews during the Sabbatical year.⁹⁰ The purpose of this enactment was to reinforce the Jewish presence in cities with a mixed population and a non-Jewish majority. As regards Ascalon there is more information about the procedure: first the city was purified from the pollution attached to foreign lands; thereafter it was exempted from the observances obligatory in the Land of Israel. This shows that the intention was not to exclude these cities from the territory of the halakhic Land of Israel.⁹¹ The obvious explanation for such measures is that they were meant to stimulate Jewish settlement in places where the first and second centuries had seen a drastic decline.

Perhaps partly as a result of these measures the Jewish community in Caesarea was a prosperous one in the 3 c. when it was also the center of a well-known group called ‘the rabbis of Caesarea.’⁹² S. Lieberman even suggested that part of the Jerusalem Talmud was redacted in Caesarea.⁹³ Particularly influential among those was R. Abbahu (ca. 280-ca. 320), distinguished also for his wealth. The influence and importance of this group is clear also from the fact that leading figures from Tiberias were present in the city.⁹⁴ The fact that Caesarea was a mixed city can be seen from several of R. Abbahu’s decisions. He knew Greek very well and allowed teaching the language to one’s daughter, for which he refers to R. Yoḥanan.⁹⁵ We

88 For the synagogue, see Govaars – Spiro – White, The “Synagogue” Site; L.I. Levine in: Raban – Holum, Caesarea 1996, 392-400; id., Ancient Synagogue, 68. For the Jewish community in Caesarea from the 3 c. onward, see Levine, Caesarea, ch. 5; H. Bietenhard, Caesarea, Origenes und die Juden, 1974; M. Murray, Jews and Judaism in Caesarea Maritima, in: Donaldson (n. 39), 127-52. For the inscriptions, below nos. 1139-1145.

89 T.Sukka 2,2, ed. Lieberman, p. 260; TK 4,850; y.Sukka 2,5,53a; cf. Levine, Caesarea, 44f. and note 119.

90 y.Demai 2,22c, 121: ‘Rabbi (Judah ha-Nasi) exempted Beth Shean (from the Sabbatical year and tithing obligations), Rabbi exempted Caesarea, Rabbi exempted Beth Guvrin, Rabbi exempted Kefar Zemah...’ Cf. Levine, Caesarea, 67 f. For this topic in general: A. Oppenheimer, Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, 2007 (Hebr.), 69-83 (Engl. ed. forthcoming).

91 yShevi‘it 6,1,36c; tAḥilot 8,18; see also, *ibid* 8,4.

92 In Talmudic literature these are cited as a group, ‘Rabbanan de Qisrin’, rather than individually by name as usual. Cf. Levine, Caesarea, 95 ff.

93 S. Lieberman, The Talmud of Caesarea, Tarbiz 1, 1931, Supplement (Hebr.). See also: id., Greek in Jewish Palestine, 1942 and id., Hellenism in Jewish Palestine, 1962.

94 Levine, Caesarea, 90 f.

95 yPeah 1,1,15:

may also note that R. Abbahu is reported to have had Goths for his personal bodyguards.⁹⁶

This reinforces the impression of a lively Greek culture among Caesarean Jews that we gain from the literary – but not from the epigraphic material.

We even get the impression that the Jews living in Caesarea at the time were not all bilingual. There seem to have been quite a few who knew only Greek, for there are reports that the “Kriat Shema” was said in Greek in spite of the rule that it should be said only in Hebrew.⁹⁷

Several Jews from Caesarea were buried in Beth She‘arim which may well be an indication of wealth.⁹⁸

Christians⁹⁹

A few passages in *Acts* concerning Christians in Caesarea have been mentioned above. Paul set sail for Tarsus from Caesarea.¹⁰⁰ The city is mentioned also as the home of Philip the evangelist, ‘one of the seven’.¹⁰¹ It is mentioned again as the location of Paul’s imprisonment by Felix and Festus until he appealed to Caesar.¹⁰² As in the case of the Jews and Samaritans, the evidence of the Christian community in Caesarea is sparse for the second century and much better for the third. The first known bishop of Caesarea is Theophilus, about AD 189.¹⁰³ Together with Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, he presided over the council at Caesarea in 195. The two bishoprics are known for their long-lasting rivalry, since Jerusalem was the mother church and Caesarea the provincial capital. There is a connection between ecclesiastical and administrative status: Severus Alexander elevated the city to the rank of metropolis and hence the bishop of Caesarea became later metropolitan of Palestine, a title which remained in force until the council of Chalcedon (451) when this rank was transferred to the bishop of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴

96 yBetzah 1,7,60c.

97 ySotah 7,1,21b.

98 For instance Schwabe – Lifshitz, *Beth She‘arim II*, no. 203, 190f.

99 G. Downey, *Caesarea and the Christian Church*, in: C. T. Fritsch – G. Downey eds., *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima I. Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, 1975, 23-42. Levine, *Caesarea*, ch. 7, 113-34; R. S. Ascough, *Christianity in Caesarea Maritima*, in: Donaldson (n. 39), 153-79.

100 *Acts* 9,30.

101 *Acts* 21,8. Jerome says that in his days the house of Philip in Caesarea was displayed to visitors: *Ep.* 108,31: *Caesaream ... in qua Cornelii domum Christi uidit ecclesiam et Philippi aediculas et cubiculum quattuor uirginum prophetarum.*

102 *Acts* 23-26.

103 Eusebius, *HE* 5,22-3.

104 Z. Rubin, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Conflict between the Sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem*, *Cathedra* 2, 1982, 79-105; id., *The See of Caesarea in Conflict*

During the period of official persecutions of Christianity, from the mid-third century until the early fourth, Caesarea too saw its share of casualties.¹⁰⁵

Two of the most prominent church fathers of their age provide information about the Christian community in the 3 and 4 c., Origen (born around 185 in Alexandria), who lived there from about 230 until his death in 254 and maintained one of the most influential schools of his time,¹⁰⁶ and Eusebius (ca. 260-340), who served for some twenty-five years, from 315 until ca. 340, as bishop in his native Caesarea.¹⁰⁷ Relevant is also the fact that Eusebius' teacher Pamphilus founded a large library of Christian works at Caesarea, enlarged afterwards by Eusebius and others.¹⁰⁸ There was a scriptorium too which Constantine, in a letter to Eusebius, ordered to produce fifty bibles for distribution in Constantinople.¹⁰⁹ When Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea he was involved in the conflict in the church concerning Arianism.

Samaritans¹¹⁰

Sources of the 3 c. and afterward indicate that there was a considerable Samaritan community in Caesarea.¹¹¹ They occupied positions of influence in the Roman hierarchy. A Talmudic passage has been interpreted as indicating that many members of the *officium* of the governor were Samaritans.¹¹² Not much can be said with certainty about the mutual relations of the Samaritans with the other groups in the city. It is, however, clear that, by the third century, the Jews regarded them as entirely non-Jewish.¹¹³

with Jerusalem from Nicaea (325) to Chalcedon (451), in: Raban – Holum, Caesarea 1996, 476-95.

105 Levine, Caesarea, 131-4; Ascough (n. 99), 174 ff.

106 N. R. M. de Lange, Origen and the Jews, 1976; P. Nautin, Origène. Sa vie et son œuvre, 1977; H. Crouzel, Origen, 1989. For the school: H. Lapin, Jewish and Christian Academies in Roman Palestine. Some Preliminary Observations, in: Raban – Holum, Caesarea 1996, 496-512.

107 D. S. Wallace-Hadrill, Eusebius of Caesarea, 1960; T. D. Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius, 1981.

108 Eusebius, HE 6,32. Cf. A. Grafton - M. Williams, Christianity and the Transformation of the Book. Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea, 2006.

109 Eusebius, VC 4,36. Cf. Barnes (n. 107), 124f.

110 For Samaritans in Caesarea, see Levine, Caesarea, ch. 6, 107-12; R. Pummer, Samaritanism in Caesarea Maritima, in: Donaldson (n. 39), 181-202.

111 S. Lieberman, Martyrs of Caesarea, AIPhO 7, 1939/44, 402, n. 41 cites yDemai 2,1,22c which asserts that only together do the Jews and non-Jews of Caesarea outnumber the Samaritans.

112 yAvoda Zara 1,2,39c, cf. Lieberman (n. 111), 405-9.

113 See Levine, Caesarea 109 ff.

In the 5 and 6 c. the Samaritans repeatedly rebelled against Byzantine rule. In 484, in the reign of Zeno, they attacked Neapolis and Caesarea where the church of St. Procopius was set on fire and their leader Justa(sas?) was installed as king, which suggests that there were messianic elements and motives at play.¹¹⁴ 'He entered Caesarea, presided over the chariot-races and killed many Christians.'¹¹⁵ Procopius emphasizes the religious background to the conflict.¹¹⁶

In 529/30 another major Samaritan revolt broke out under a certain Julian, son of Savarus, who was 'crowned as king'.

In spite of an improvement in the status of the Samaritans in 551,¹¹⁷ there was renewed violence in 556, when yet another revolt broke out in which the Jews of Caesarea also participated. Stephanus, the governor, who attempted to assist the Christians in the city, was killed 'in the praetorium', i.e. the governors palace mentioned above. Justinian punished the rebels severely.¹¹⁸ Between 565 and 578 Christians complained about Samaritan aggression in churches at the foot of Mt. Carmel.

Roads

The first Roman road constructed and organized in Judaea has been mentioned: it linked Caesarea with Scythopolis by way of the (Hadrianic?) legionary base at Legio – Caparcotna – Kefar Otnay, and is dated by a milestone of AD 69. It continued to Pella and Gerasa in Arabia.¹¹⁹ Other roads leading from and to Caesarea are not easily datable. The Roman road-network west of the river Jordan had reached its full development by AD 162.¹²⁰ A number of roads are dated earlier by the presence

114 Malalas, Chron. 15,8-9 (ed. Thurn); Chronicon Paschale 603-604 (ed. Dindorf), which derives from Malalas; Procopius, de aed. 5,7,5-9; Chronique de Michel le Syrien, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot, 1899, 9,6 (Chabot, 2,1, 148). Cf. W. Ensslin, RE 14, 2395; J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans, 1907, 111 ff.; A. M. Rabello, Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani all luce delle fonti storico-letterarie, ecclesiastiche e giuridiche, 1987/88, vol. 1, 148 ff.; 375-79.

115 Malalas, Chron. 15,8-9 (ed. Thurn).

116 Procopius, de aed. 5,7,7-14.

117 Novella 129 and 144; cf. Rabello (n. 114), vol. 2, 806-9.

118 Malalas, Chron. 18,54 (ed. Thurn); other sources are derivative: Theophanes 6048; cf. C. Mango – R. Scott, The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, 1997, 337-8; Historia Miscella 16 (PL 95, 991); Michel le Syrien (n. 114), 2,262. Cf. Rabello (n. 114), vol. 1, 426-32.

119 Isaac – Roll, Roman Roads (n. 56).

120 B. Isaac, Milestones in Judaea. From Vespasian to Constantine, repr. in: Isaac, Near East, 48-75; id., Infrastructure, in: C. Hezser ed., The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine, 2010, 145-64.

of Flavian and Hadrianic milestones.¹²¹ For the remainder it is therefore uncertain when they were organized as Roman roads. A series of milestones has been found along the coast-road from Caesarea to Ptolemais-Acco, but they do not indicate when it was organized as a public Roman highway.¹²² Through Ptolemais it connected Caesarea with Antioch, capital of the province of Syria.¹²³ Other roads connecting Caesarea with cities of Judaea/Palaestina are not dated either. These are:

1. The coast-road to Jaffa via Apollonia.¹²⁴
2. The Caesarea – Antipatris road which continued to Diospolis-Eleutheropolis, with branches leading to the Hebron area and to Berosaba.¹²⁵
3. Caesarea – Sebaste – Neapolis – Coreae¹²⁶ and from there to Philadelphia on the *Via Nova Traiana*.

Territory

Ancient cities had territories, by definition. The villages in those territories were subject to the authority of the cities. The importance of this relationship has been realized long ago and received even more attention in recent years.¹²⁷ Various publications have suggested ways of determining the extent of the city-territories in Roman Judaea – Palaestina.¹²⁸ These theories, advanced originally by M. Avi-Yonah, have resulted in detailed maps, representing imaginary constructions that were duly criticized already in the past.¹²⁹ They were based on two hypotheses,

121 Flavian: the Caesarea-Scythopolis road, already mentioned. Two Flavian milestones from Jerusalem are not associated with any specific road, see AE 1978, 825 = 1999, 1690; 2003, 1810. Hadrianic: Isaac, Milestones (n. 120) 49 f.

122 Lehmann – Holum, nos. 100-107.

123 The road from Antioch to Ptolemais was constructed in 56, cf. B. Isaac, The Foundation of Aelia Capitolina, in: Isaac, Near East, 92 f.

124 A. Alt, Stationen der römischen Hauptstraße von Ägypten nach Syrien, ZDPV 70, 1954, 154-66; I. Roll, Roman Roads to Caesarea Maritima, in: Raban – Holum, Caesarea 1996, 549-58.

125 S. Dar – Sh. Applebaum, The Roman Road from Antipatris to Caesarea, PEQ 105, 1973, 91-9.

126 Z. Ilan – E. Damati, Ancient Roads in the Samarian Desert, Museum Ha'aretz Yearbook 17/18, 1974/75, 43-52 (Hebr.).

127 For the region relevant to this volume, see now in C. Hezser, Handbook (n. 120), Part III. City and Countryside, esp. J.K. Zangenberg – D. van de Zande, Urbanization, 165-88; A.E. Killebrew, Village and Countryside, 189-209.

128 M. Avi-Yonah, The Holy Land. From the Persian to the Arab Conquest (536 BC – 640 AD). A Historical Geography, revised ed. 1977, 128 f. Recently the theory was restated and taken even further by R. Steven Notley – Z. Safrai, Eusebius, Onomasticon. A Triglott Edition with Notes and Commentary, 2005.

129 Isaac, Near East, 62-5; id., Eusebius and the Geography of Roman Provinces, in: D. Kennedy ed., The Roman Army in the East, 1996, 153-67 at 162-5.

both untenable: 1) The indications of distance on milestones reflect city territories, for they reckon the distance from cities on the territory of which they actually stood. In other words, a milestone on the road from X to Y, giving the distance to city X as nine miles would prove that this point belonged to the territory of X. 2) The indications of distance in Eusebius's *Onomasticon*, perhaps based on road-maps, reflect the territorial division of the province. That is to say: whenever a village is described as located a certain distance from a town, it is regarded as certain that the village was situated within the territory of that town. If we discard these assumptions, as we must, we are left with very little explicit information. However, generally speaking, we still have far more than is known about most provinces of the Empire, for Eusebius, in his *Onomasticon*, after all, gives a good deal of explicit information where he attributes specific villages and sites to the territories of cities in Palestine. He does so for some, but not all of the cities in the province.¹³⁰ It so happens that he does not refer to the territories of any of the cities on the coast: there is no evidence regarding the territories of Ptolemais, Dor, Caesarea and Jaffa. Where he mentions locations in the territories of Neapolis and Sebaste, this does not help, even indirectly, in determining the extent of the territories of coastal cities. The conclusion is therefore that we can only say that Caesarea's territory did not extend far to the north, for Dor, a city with its own territory, was nearby, about 13 km to the North. After the presumed decline of Dor, Caesarea's territory may have extended to the provincial border, a little farther to the North. To the East and North-East, the Carmel belonged to the province of Syria-Phoenice. In other directions, the neighbouring cities with their territories will have been Sebaste, Neapolis, Antipatris, perhaps Apollonia (see above) or Joppe, but there is nothing useful one can say about the extent of their territories and the boundaries between them. We may note, however, that some of the sites mentioned in this volume definitely belonged to the territory of Caesarea, notably Kefar Shuni, mentioned in nos. 2095-2100.

Select Bibliography: Y. D. Arnon, *Caesarea Maritima, the late periods (700 – 1291 CE)*, 2008; H. Bietenhard, *Caesarea, Origenes und die Juden*, 1974; *Caesarea Maritima (Israele): rapporto preliminare della Iª campagna di scavo della Missione archeologica italiana*, 1959; *Caesarea Papers* 2; T. L. Donaldson ed., *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*, 2000; Eck, *Rom und Judäa*; C. T. Fritsch – G. Downey eds., *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima 1. Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, 1975; R. Haensch, *Capita Provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1997, 227-37; A. Hamburger, *Gems from Caesarea maritima*, 1968; K. G. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream. Caesarea on the Sea*, 1988; K. G. Holum ed., *Caesarea Reports and Studies. Excavations 1995-2007 within the old city and the ancient harbour*, 2008; L. Kadman, *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima*, 1957; Lehmann - Holum; C. J. Lenzen, *The Byzantine/Islamic Occupation at Caesarea Maritima as Evidenced through the Pottery*, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International 1984; Levine, *Caesarea*; id., *Roman Caesarea. An Archaeological-Topographical Study*, 1975; id. – E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima*, 1975, 1976, 1979. Final Report, 1986; NEAEHL 1,

130 For a tentative explanation, Isaac (n. 121).

1993, 270-91; 5, 2008, 1658-84; J. P. Oleson ed., *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima. Results of the Caesarea ancient Harbour excavation project, 1980-1985*, 2 vols., 1989/94; Patrich, *Final Report I*; Raban - Houlm, *Caesarea* 1996; Ringel, *Césarée*; A. Rosenzweig, *Jerusalem und Caesarea. Ein historisches Essay mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Bedeutung Caesarea's für Judentum und Christentum*, 1890; Scavi; Y. Turnheim – A. Ovadiah, *Art in the Public and Private Spheres in Roman Caesarea Maritima. Temples, Architectural Decoration and Tesserae*, 2002; R. L. Vann, *Caesarea papers. Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*, 1992; P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, 1990.

Select Articles: R. S. Ascough, *Christianity in Caesarea Maritima*, in: T. Donaldson ed., *Religious Rivalries* 2000, 153-79; Eck, *Statues*; id., *The Presence, Role and Significance of Latin in the Epigraphy and Culture of the Roman Near East*, in: *From Hellenism to Islam*, 13-42; id., *Zu alten und neuen Inschriften aus Caesarea Maritima. Vorarbeiten für den 2. Band des CIIP*, *ZPE* 174, 2010, 169-84; id., *Ein Altar aus Caesarea Maritima und ein neues Dokument für den nord-syrischen Gott Turmasgade*, *ZPE* 174, 2010, 185-8; B. Isaac, *Roman Colonies in Judaea. The Foundation of Aelia Capitolina*, *Talanta* 12/13, 1980/81, 31-53; repr. with a postscript in: id., *Near East*, 87-111; id., *Latin in Cities of the Roman Near East*, in: *From Hellenism to Islam*, 43-72; A. Kushnir-Stein, *The Predecessor of Caesarea. On the Identification of Demetrias in South Phoenicia*, in: Humphrey, *Near East*, 9-14; J. Patrich, *The Date of the Establishment of Caesarea as a Colony*, in: J. Geiger – H. M. Cotton – G. D. Stiebel eds., *Israel's Land. Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee*, 2009, 137-56 (Hebr.); Z. Rubin, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Conflict between the Sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem*, *Cathedra* 2, 1982, 79-105.

BI

Inscriptions

A. *Res sacrae* – Pagan inscriptions

1128. A dedication to Asclepius

Lower section of a small column of white marble. In the center of the base's bottom is a square hole 2.2 cm on a side and 5 cm deep. The left front corner of the base is broken off, and the break damaged the *alpha*. Square letters with serifs.

Meas.: h 30, ø 30 cm; base 14x14 cm; letters 2.1 cm.

Findspot: Area I/1, in front of the temple platform, found in 1990.

Pres. loc.: Center for Maritime Studies, Univ. Haifa, reg. no. 51/90.I1242.I01.

ΑΣΚ

Ἀσκ(ληπιῶ?)

To Asclepius. (?)

Comm.: The interpretation is less than certain; the rigorous abbreviation raises doubts, as does the lack of any other indication of reason, purpose, or donor.

Bibl.: Lehmann - Holum no. 127 (ed. pr.).

WA

1129. Dedication of an altar to the god Turmasgade by a centurion of the legio XII Fulminata

A broken altar of limestone. Above a massive base and below an elaborated molded crown are niches on all sides, each distyle with a conch semivault. In the central niche there is an eagle crowned by a Victory; the left one shows a Minerva, the right a Tyche and the niche at the back, a Victory. The inscription is written under the eagle in the central niche and on the crown. Red color is preserved in the letters. Cf. Lehmann - Holum, no. 119.

Meas.: h 145, w 85, d 85 cm; panel: h 10, w 30 cm; letters 3-3.5 cm.

Findspot: In the dunes around Caesarea, found in 1946 or some years later.

Pres. loc.: Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, IAA inv. no. 1976-984. Autopsy: January 1998; 3 October 2009.



on crown:

[--]SGADE

fig. 1129.1

under the eagle:
 IVLIVS·MAGNV
 O LEG·XII·FVLM

App. crit.: [S] Gade *Rahmani*; [Turma]sgad(a)e *Puech*.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Turma]sgade | Iulius Magnu(s) | (centurio) leg(ionis)
 XII Fulm(inatae)

*For Iupiter the Best and Greatest Turmasgade, Iulius Magnus, centurion of the legio
 XII Fulminata, (erected this altar).*



fig. 1129.2



fig. 1129.3 (right side)

Comm.: This is not a funerary altar as was suggested by Rahmani, but a religious dedication as is made clear by the combination of the name of the centurion Iulius Magnus in the nominative with the name of the North-Syrian god Turmasgade. This god is attested only in a few inscriptions: CIL 3, 8027 = ILS 4074 (Romula); 6, 30950a (Rome) = ILS 4073; 13, 3645 (Trier) and ZPE 174 (on a bronze tablet of unknown origin). Why and when the centurion Iulius Magnus dedicated the altar in Caesarea can only be guessed. The legion was stationed first in Syria, and after

70 AD in Cappadocia, and was present in Iudaea on two occasions: during the first Jewish war and probably also during the Bar Kokhba War (see Eck, ZPE 169). The suggestion that the centurion, then stationed in Iudaea, dedicated the altar when promoted to the XII Fulminata in Cappadocia (see M.P. Speidel in Lehmann - Holum), cannot be dismissed out of hand, but is not very likely in view of the ill reputation this legion earned in Iudaea: Titus had it banned from Syria to Cappadocia on disciplinary grounds. It is more likely that the centurion dedicated the altar during or at the end of one of the legion's military engagements in Iudaea.



fig. 1129.4 (left side)

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, BIES 23, 1959, 53-67 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – Id., Latomus 21, 1962, 149f. pl. IV fig. 1,2; AE 1963, 274; B. Lifshitz, in: J. Bibaum ed., *Hommage à Marcel Renard* 2, 1969, 468; id., ANRW II 8, 1977, 502; id., HA 61/62, 1977, 25 (Hebr.); L. Rahmani, RB 85, 1978, 268-75 pls. 17-20; id., RB 88, 1981, 240-4; E. Puech, RB 89, 1982, 210f.; AE 1984, 911; C. Lehmann, in: Raban - Holum, *Caesarea* 1996, 389; McLean II no. 65; Lehmann - Holum no. 119 pls. LXXXIII f. (phs.); J. Patrich, in: Burns - Eadie, *Urban Centers* 92; O. Stoll, *Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung*, 2001, 303, 455; Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 189f.; Eck, *Rom und Iudaea* 54; id., ZPE 169, 2009, 224ff.; id., ZPE 174, 2010, 185ff.

Photo: WA; Lehmann - Holum, pl. LXXXII no. 119a; WE.

WE

1130. A dedication to the goddess Kore on a marble foot, 2-4 c. AD

White marble sandalled right foot of a female figure; the first toe is broken. The sandal's laces are well preserved. There are four lines of text on the flat surface created by the section of the calf above the ankle. An identically inscribed foot, dedicated to Isis, was found in Jerusalem (see CIIP I 709).

Meas.: the foot: h 12, w 8, length 21.5 cm; letters 0.9-1.1 cm.

Findspot: Found together with four other feet in the fill of L1884 under the middle room, L.1879 of shrine C.2000 in the Herodian Circus. A total of seven feet were found at different locations (Gersht 310: "four came from the shrine itself, one from the vicinity of the shrine and two others from the Byzantine bath complex"), but all are supposed to have originated in the *sacellum*.

Pres. loc.: IAA, exc. reg. no. 6/94-86867. Autopsy: 7 January 1999 (WE).

++
[.]H KOPH
[.]APBA
ΠΟΣ

++ | [τ]ῆ Κόρη | [B]άρβα|ρος

Barbarus (dedicated this foot) to ... Kore.

Comm.: These feet seem to be placed there in a kind of a favissa; but the archaeological evidence does not allow us to determine to which period of the shrine they belong; any date between the 2 and 4 c. is possible; for other feet see nos. 1131, 1132. The shrine was obviously used to venerate more than one god or goddess, and it was therefore called syncretistic, but see below. The other four feet are “entwined with snakes”; their shape and specific variety can be associated either with Isis or with Serapis. On divine feet in general see Speyer, esp. 164: “Ebenso wie die bekannten Darstellungen des Serapisfusses, der meist mit einer Sandale bekleidet und von einer Büste des Gottes bekrönt ist, sind andere Füße phönizischer Gottheiten zu deuten, des Jupiter Heliopolitanus und des Ζεὺς Κάρμηλος (3. Jhdt. n. C.). ... Aus diesen als Weihegeschenken aufgestellten Götterfüßen dürfen wir wohl zunächst soviel schliessen, dass die Verehrer der genannten Gottheiten glaubten, die numinose Macht sei im Fuss gleichsam aufgespeichert.” The right foot, stretched out, of the colossal statues of Serapis was the object of worship; here, as with other divine feet, only the right foot is dedicated – thought to be the bearer of special power. On Serapis-feet, the most commonly known species, see Dow - Upson; on the feet of the Phoenician gods, see Gallig, esp. 110ff. (also on Avi-Yonah, who published a foot of Zeus Heliopolites dedicated by Γ. Ἰουλ. Εὐτυχᾶς, Κολ. Καισαρεύς, AE 1952, 206; SEG 14, 832. – Another example of such a sandalled foot from the Roman province of Iudaea - Syria Palaestina was found in Jerusalem. It measures 18 cm in length and 13 in height. It is thus almost as large as the foot published here (CIIP I 709 and Arnould 255f.).

1.1f.: if we follow the editors and print the definite article, it is difficult to see how 1.1 is to be filled. It is probably easier to think of an epitheton for the goddess.



fig. 1130.1



fig. 1130.2

l.2: Kore or Persephone is attested in Caesarea only in this inscription. Gersht 311 believes that she is able to link the other feet found in the sanctuary to Isis and Serapis, and that the dedication to Kore/Persephone proves that Demeter was worshipped here, too. Since Demeter appears in the Caesarean coins with Dionysos and Tyche, she concludes that Isis (on her cult in Hellenistic times, see P. Oxy. 11, 1380, 94f.), Serapis, Kore, and the “Caesarean triad” Demeter, Dionysos, and Tyche were worshipped at the same place (Turnheim - Ovadiah follow the thoughts of Gersht and go a bit further: “The Greek dedicatory inscription to Kore and Demeter”; they then continue to argue that Nemesis was worshipped at the shrine, too – and Patrich brings to mind the fact that Kore was the patron goddess of Samaria, which was assimilated with Isis [Flusser]). Since the city’s coins do not show Dionysos and Demeter, and certainly not in any position of importance, since neither of them appears on the inscriptions, it is perhaps better to follow the suggestion of Flusser and to look for the presence of Kore among Egyptian gods. On amulets, Osiris is often flanked by Isis and Nephthys; when “Osiris is replaced by Sarapis . . . , the attendant goddesses are Hellenized in dress and attributes; the three might be taken to represent Hades with Demeter and Kore” (Bonner, *Magical Amulets* 24; cf. on the identification, e.g., Merkelbach 38f.; 96). Perhaps, then, the shrine was made for Serapis and his consorts, only.

l.3f.: This foot was dedicated by a man called Barbarus. The name is a Roman cognomen, neither very rare nor very common, but is hitherto not attested in Palestine. The Roman cognomen does not prove that the dedicant is a Roman citizen; at the same time the use of Greek does not automatically make him a person of peregrine or servile status. A Roman official coming from the Greek speaking East could use his mother tongue in a private dedication to a God or to an emperor, as does the procurator Antipater (no. 1289).

For more details see Cotton - Eck.

Bibl.: R. Gersht, in: Raban - Holum, *Caesarea* 1996, 310f. (ed. pr.). – D. Flusser, *IEJ* 25, 1975, 13ff.; J. Porath, in: *Humphrey, Near East* 23; *SEG* 46, 1815; J. Porath, *ESI* 17, 1998, 41 fig. 3; Lehmann - Holum p. 17; J. Patrich, in: *Burns - Eadie, Urban Centers* 89; Y. Turnheim - A. Ovadiah, *Art in the Public and Private Spheres in Roman Caesarea Maritima*, 2002, 28f.; H. Cotton - W. Eck, in: J. Porath ed., *Final Report* (in print). – Cf. S. Dow - F. S. Upson, *Hesperia* 13, 1944, 58ff.; M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 2, 1952, 118ff.; K. Galling, in: *Geschichte und Altes Testament (Festschrift für A. Alt)*, 1953, 105ff.; W. Speyer, *Frühes Christentum im antiken Strahlungsfeld I*, 1989, 160ff.; R. Merkelbach, *Isis regina - Zeus Serapis*, 1995; C. Arnould, *Les arcs romaines de Jérusalem*, 1997.

Photo: WE.

WE/WA

1131. Dedication on a marble foot, 2-4 c. AD

White marble right foot, found together with no. 1130, which it greatly resembles. Unlike the latter, it bears no sign of sandal-straps. It is posed on a flat thin base,

which resembles the shape of the sandal in no. 1130. The second toe is broken. The foot bears also an inscription on the flat surface created by the section of the calf above the ankle, possibly four lines.

Meas.: Foot: h 11, w 9.2, length 20.5 cm; letters ca. 0.9 cm.

Findspot: See no. 1130.

Pres. loc.: IAA, exc. reg. no. 6/94-86867. Autopsy: 7 January 1999 (WE).

[.]++[.]
 [--]Γ
 [.]A[.]ΓH
 [.]O[--]

[.]++[.] [--]Γ[.] A[ϝ]γγ(?) |[.]O[.]

... *Auge(?)* ... (*dedicated this foot*) to ...

Comm.: No letters can be recognized in l.1. Perhaps we should read a Γ in l.2, in in l.3 A[.]ΓH and an O in the last line. If it follows the model of no. 1130, then the name of the deity occupied the first and second lines, and the letters A[.]ΓH belong to the (male or female) dedicant. But since the surface is badly worn, this too must remain a conjecture. For the meaning of this type of dedication see no. 1130.



fig. 1131

Bibl.: H. Cotton - W. Eck, in: J. Porath ed., *Final Report* (in print) (ed. pr.). – Mentioned by R. Gersht, in: Raban - Holum, *Caesarea* 1996, 310; J. Porath, in: *Humphrey, Near East* 21.

Photo: J. Porath.

WE/WA

1132. Dedication of a marble foot, 2-3 c. AD

Votive foot, ending at the ankle and resting on a sandal. The toes are missing. The foot is entwined with a snake. The inscription is on top of the “stump”; only few letters are legible.

Meas.: h 12, w 12, d 6 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea.

Pres. loc.: Hender Collection, Hadera. Autopsy: 8 April 2003 (WE).

[.]++[.]
 [--]NA[--]
 [--]Σ+
 [--]



fig. 1132.1



fig. 1132.2

Comm.: See no. 1130.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WE.

WA/WE

1133. A dedication to the god Megas Despotes, 3 c. AD (?)

Upper left part of a stele of white marble; beside the tympanon of the stele is an acroterion in form of a palmette. A frieze below a pediment on the face of the stele carries the first part of an inscription with interpunct.

Meas.: h 40, w 49, d 22 cm;
 letters 5.5 cm.

Findspot: "Fra il teatro e la
 fortezza" (Gerra) in 1962.
 Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, IAA
 inv. no. 1963-895. Autopsy: 15
 March 2010.

ΘΕΩΙ·ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ·ΔΕΣ[--]

App. crit.: ΔΕ[--] Gerra,
 suppl. Lifshitz 1967.

Θεῶι Μεγάλωι
 Δεσ[πότηι --]

To God Megas Despotes ...



fig. 1133

Comm.: It is difficult to decide whether *μέγας* was part of the name or a title; cf. e.g. Müller; Gerra notes that it could be a translation of the Aramaic *rb'* and cites as examples IGLS 5, 2697; 2700; 2702: θεῶ̄ μεγάλῳ Ναζαλῶν. But a supplement on these lines, requiring the designation of the group whose god is honored, seems unlikely in Caesarea. To call a god *δεσπότης* is completely normal, e.g. Nock I 74f.; Robert, *Op. Min.* V 252; θεοὶ δεσπότηται are a specifically Syrian phenomenon, Sourdel 54f. Lehmann - Holum 122 cite as a Syrian example for a god with this title the Zeus Aniketos Helios. IDélos 2180f. connects a Θεὸς Μέγας with Zeus Kasios. In this light the present inscription does not seem to hint “at a local syncretistic-monotheistic cult” (Di Segni). Belayche speculates that Serapis hides behind this designation, but points out rightly that the god honored will not have been anonymous to his devotee.

The letter forms indicate a rather late date, the content a date before – at least – the middle of the 4 c.

Bibl.: Gerra, Scavi 223 no. 9 fig. 275 (ed. pr.). – BE 1967, 645; B. Lifshitz, RB 74, 1967, 56 no. 1; id., ANRW II 8, 1977, 503; L. Di Segni, SCI 13, 1994, 99; Lehmann - Holum no. 125; Belayche, *Pagan Cults* 186. – Cf. B. Müller, *Μέγας Θεός*, 1913; D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine*, 1952; A. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 1972.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum, pl. LXXXVI no. 125.

WA

1134. A dedication to Zeus Dolichenus, 1-3 c. AD

Worn block of kurkar; it was either part of an altar or was the altar itself. A hole is cut into the bottom (18×9×4 cm). Letters are shallow but well cut; traces of red color can be seen in the letters.

Meas.: h 23, w 29, d 22 cm;
letters 1.5-3 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea.

Pres. loc.: Kibbutz Sdot Yam
Museum. Autopsy: 10 March
2010.

ΟΥΙΚΤΟΡΕΥΕΑ
ΜΕΝΟΣΑΝΕ
ΘΗΚΕΝΚΕΗΡ
ΓΑΣΕΤΟΤΩΔΙ
ΔΟΛΙΧΗΝΩ

App. crit.: l.1 εὐξ[ά]μενος
Lifshitz 1966; l.4 Δ[ι] Lifshitz
1966, Δι(i) Lehmann - Holum.

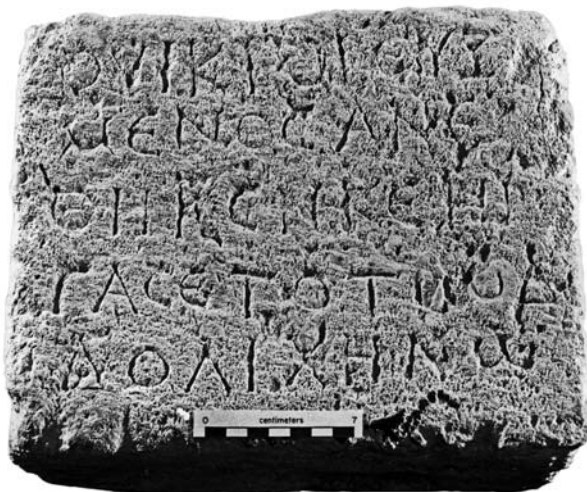


fig. 1134

Οὐίktor εὐξά|μενος ἀνέ|θηκεν κέ ἡρ|γάσετο τῷ Δι̅ | Δολιχηνῶ

Victor, in fulfillment of a vow, dedicated, and built this, to Zeus Dolichenus.

Comm.: The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was most popular during the high empire, and the letter forms accord well with the 2 or 3 c. AD (the cult was mostly abandoned after the fall of Doliche in 253/4). Since the Baal of Doliche is almost always equated with Jupiter, this inscription does not point to a special, Caesarean syncretism (pace Levine). There are only very few places in the east where a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus can be found (see the map in Hörig - Schwertheim 3: mostly Doliche, Gaziantep and the surroundings, several locations on the Euphrates, where without doubt Roman soldiers venerated the god [Dura Europos!], but in the south there are only the Biqa' Valley and Caesarea): the god was much more popular in the west, and it is not by chance that this dedication – his first appearance in Palestine – comes from the city of Caesarea and that the dedicator has a Latin name. For the popularity of the god with the army, see Speidel; the Mithraeum, found by the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (Bull; Holum et al. 148ff.) is another case of a cult, whose devotees belonged mostly to the armed forces (its location under the praetorium of the procurator proves the importance of the cult for the Roman staff in Caesarea); l.2ff.: Lifshitz 1966 compares the Latin formula *fecit et dedicavit*; this formula is otherwise not present among the inscriptions for Jupiter Dolichenus collected by Hörig - Schwertheim, but cf. *ibid.* 383 no. 640 (Praetorium Latobiorum): *de suo fecit sua[que pec. exornavit?]*.

Bibl.: B. Lifshitz, RB 73, 1966, 255f. pl. 11a (ed. pr.). – BE 1967, 643; Levine, Caesarea 173 n. 38; Ringel, Césarée 112; B. Lifshitz, ANRW II 8, 1977, 18f., 503; M. Hörig - E. Schwertheim, Corpus Cultis Iovis Dolicheni, 1987, 33 no. 30; McLean I no. 5; C. Lehmann - K. Holum, in: Gersht, Sdot-Yam Museum 52 fig. 4 (Hebr.); Lehmann - Holum no. 124; Belayche, Pagan Cults 189. - Cf. R. Bull, in: J. Duchesne-Guillemin ed., Études mithriaques, 1978, 75ff.; M. Speidel, The Religion of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army, 1978; K. Holum et al., King Herod's Dream, 1988.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum, pl. LXXXV no. 124.

WA

1135. A dedication by an actor, 1-3 c. AD

Fragment of the lower part of a small column of white marble, broken top, bottom, and back (Lifshitz and McLean take this to be a “fragment d'une statue”). Little more than one half of the front remains, including the inscription of which only the upper right corner is damaged. A wedge marks the abbreviation, and a dot separates the last two words in l.1.

Meas.: h 13 (of the base 10) cm; ø of base 15, of the column 11 cm; inscribed area h 6, w 16 cm; letters l.1: 0.6-1.2 cm (some letters much larger).

Findspot: Ca. 1960 during the Italian excavations in the area of the theater.
Pres. loc.: Kibbutz Sdot Yam Museum. Autopsy: 11 March 2010.

Κ·ΚΑΙΚΙΛΛΙΟΣ·+[-]ΟΥΣ
ΚΩΜΩΔΟΣ[-]ΤΟ
ΛΟΓΟΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ[.]
ΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΔΑΦΝΗΝ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝ[.]ΑΝΕΘΗ

App. crit.: l.1 *Gerra* understood a version of the Latin name *Cillius*, corr. *Lifshitz* 1967; the letter before the lacuna is most likely *alpha*, *lambda* is perhaps possible, but *chi* seems rather improbable; A[ΛΛ]ΟΥΣ *Gerra*; l.2 *Gerra* and *Lifshitz* took the beginning of the line for a version of the Latin name *Commodus*; l.2f. [ὁ ἀ]πό|λογος Ἄντιοχέ[ων] *Lifshitz*; *Lifshitz* noted that this title was not used in the Roman period, and the *Roberts* (*BE*) restored

[πρω]το|λόγος; *Lehmann - Holum* point out that the space might not be sufficient for these very broad letters; [τρι]το|λόγος is not attested but seems just possible; l.3 Ἄντιοχέ[ως] *Gerra*; Ἄντιοχέ[ων] *Lifshitz*, corr. *Robert*; l.5 ΕΥΞΑΣΕΝ[ΘΑ]ΑΝΕΘΗ = ἐν[θα] ἀνέθη *Gerra*.



fig. 1135.1

Κ. Καικίλλιος Α[-]ΟΥΣ
| κωμωδός [τρι]το|λόγος
Ἄντιοχε[ύς] | τῶν πρὸς
Δάφνην | εὐξάμεν[ος]
ἀνέθη(κεν)

Q. Caecilius ...ous of Antioch-by-Daphne, a comic actor of the third roles, dedicated this in fulfillment of a vow.

Comm.: The god who was to receive the dedication is not named, but the place, where the column was set up, made this clear. The letters point to a date in



fig. 1135.2

the high empire. – l.1: Gerra's Ἀλλους seems not impossible (Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschennamen* 17f. for some roughly similar names); l.2f.: Robert (BE) cites Teles, p. 3 (Hense) for τὸ πρωτολόγου πρόσωπον, thus producing a literary attestation for the terminus technicus; cf. for the restored title ILS 5199:



fig. 1135.3 (squeeze)

tertiarum (partium). Our inscription is one of the few attestations of actors and acting in Caesarea – but, of course, such proof is quite unnecessary in view of the theater itself; l.3f.: Caecilius was no citizen of Caesarea and did not acquire its citizenship; on the precision in the designation of his origin, due to the number of Antiochias, see the large number of parallels in Robert 1973, 444ff. Perhaps the vow of Caecilius had some connection with his presence in Caesarea?



fig. 1135.4

Bibl.: Gerra, Scavi 224 no. 11 figs. 277ff. (reading by Jacques Schwartz) (ed. pr.). – B. Lifshitz, RB 74, 1967, 57f. no. 3; BE 1967, 645; B. Lifshitz, ANRW II 8, 1977, 510; Lehmann - Holum no. 126. – Cf. L. Robert, in: *Études déliennes*, 1973, 435ff.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum, pl. LXXXVII no. 126 (ph. and dr.).

WA

1136. A dedication by Myrismus the charioteer, 2-3 c. AD

Small slab of blue marble, roughly cut from a larger marble slab by hammering rather than by sawing (despite the presence of lines marking where the slab should have been sawed at the top and bottom) in preparation for the inscription. The inscription consists of two lines. A plant, perhaps a palm branch, was engraved in the middle. The word in the first line is flanked by an ivy leaf on either side.

Meas.: h 11.5, w 21, d 2 cm; letters l.1: 1.6–1.9 cm; l.2: 1.4–1.8 cm.

Findspot: In the foundation trench of well L.8624 (dated to the Late Roman period) that penetrated through fill L.1884. Nearby a favissa containing four marble feet, of which two were inscribed (see nos. 1130 and 1131), was found too.

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, no. 6/94-86867. Autopsy: 6 January 1999; 13 March 2010.

ΜΥΡΙΣΜΟΣ
ΗΝΙΟΧΟΣ

Μυρισμὸς | ἡνίοχος

Myrismus (the) charioteer (dedicated this).



fig. 1136

Comm.: Myrismos, the dedicator, is described as an ἡνίοχος, i.e. one who holds the reins, i.e. a driver, a charioteer – a meaning attested already in the Iliad. In the sense of “charioteer in circus chariot-races” the word is attested, for instance, in many curse tablets from Carthage, in which chariots and their riders were consigned to the gods of the Underworld. The archaeological context does not necessarily disclose its original function, nor do the two words of the text. Yet it is very likely that the circus was the tablet’s original context; the small slab was either placed in the shrine under a votive gift, or (less likely), in the circus itself under a bust of the charioteer. For more details see Cotton - Eck.

Bibl.: H. Cotton - W. Eck, in: J. Porath ed., Final Report (in print) (ed. pr.). – Mentioned by J. Porath, HA 105, 1996, 39f. (Hebr.); id., ESI 17, 1998, 39f.

Photo: WE.

WE/HMC

1137. Fragment of a dedicatory inscription

Thick tablet of white marble; the left edge is broken away, the right edge seems to be preserved. On the upper surface an incision.

Meas.: h 6.8, w 17.8, d 22 cm; letters ca. 2.8 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea (according to the notes on the baskets in Beth Shemesh).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, no. 6/96, I+100107. Autopsy: 17 March 1999 (WE); 16 March 2010 (WE/WA).

[--]+NHANEΘHKE

App. crit.: The trace of the first letter almost surely belongs to an *upsilon*; *eta* and *alpha* are divided by a point; *eta* and *kappa* in ligature.



fig. 1137

[--]+νη ἀνέθηκε

... made a dedication.

Comm.: The end of a name or [γυ]νή?

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WA.

WA

1138. Cup with inscriptions on holy games, 4 c. AD (?)

Bronze cup with inscriptions in Latin letters. Tyche is depicted in the usual way; in front of her a burning altar; behind her left leg is a personification of the harbor of Caesarea. Tyche is accompanied by the inscription *genio colonia(e)*. Above her, on the rim of the cup, the Graeco-Latin inscription *agones ieroi* – at the side of five heads of gods and goddesses, inter alia Athena and Helius, possibly also Poseidon and Augustus. A figure sacrificing to Tyche and doing so capite velato is necessarily the Roman governor who presided over the sacred games. Three other scenes depict the mythical foundation of Straton's Tower, as Caesarea was called before the time of Herod: 1) to the right of Tyche is a temple of Apollo, the god sitting in front of his temple. Will 1983, 11f. argues convincingly that this is the temple at Daphne, and we are shown how a figure with a diadem, Straton, and one Lysimachus receive an oracular response; 2) two ships arrive at a place, people are descending from the first ship and are greeted by the genius loci; a large altar is at the scene; 3) the last scene has Strato again, wearing a diadem again, shaking hands with Asclepius; behind him is Hygieia. The names of some of the figures are written above their heads.

Meas.: h 8.2 cm; inner h 7,5 cm; ø 20.2 cm; inner ø 17.5 cm; ø of the foot 9.3 cm.

Findspot: Unknown, not necessarily Caesarea.

Pres. loc.: Museum of Louvre, Paris, inv. no. Br 4391.

- (a) GE
NI
O
CO
LO
NI
A
- (b) AGONESIEROI
- (c) APOLLO
- (d) STRATO
- (e) LYSIMA
CHOS
- (f) CTESIPON
- (g) IAS
- (h) STRATON
- (i) ASCLEPIOS
- (j) YGIA



fig. 1138.1 (a) part left of Tyche



fig. 1138.2 (a) part right of Tyche



fig. 1138.3 (c)

App. crit.: (a) l.5 the “l” of “colonia” looks like a *lambda*; (g) IAS or LAS.

- (a) Ge|ni|o co|lo|ni|a(e)
- (b) agones ieroi
- (c) Apollo
- (d) Strato
- (e) Lysima|chos

- (f) Ctesipon
- (g) IAS
- (h) Straton
- (i) Asclepios
- (j) Ygia

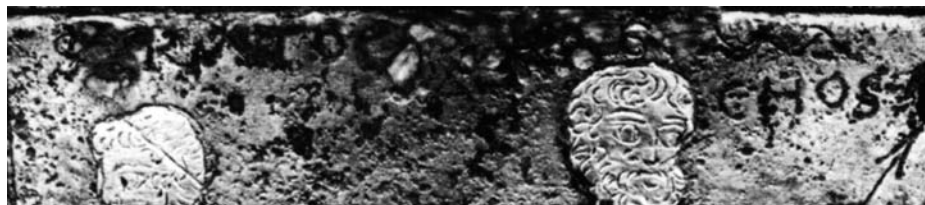


fig. 1138.4 (d) and (e)



fig. 1138.5 (g)



fig. 1138.6 (h) and (i)

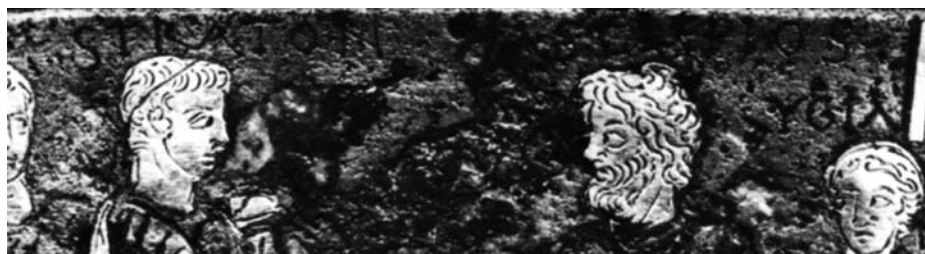


fig. 1138.7 (h), (i) and (j)

- (a) *To the Genius of the Colony.*
 (b) *Sacred Games.*
 (c) *Apollo.*
 (d) *Strato.*
 (e) *Lysimachus.*
 (f) *Ctesip(h)on.*
 (g) *IAS/LAS.*
 (h) *Straton.*
 (i) *Asclepius.*
 (j) *Hygia.*

Comm.: Bielefeld 423ff., esp. 434, compares this cup to pieces from Kaiseraugst and arrives at a date between 340 and 360, which is perhaps a bit too confident (Will 1983, 2f.). Latin letters are used for Greek words [(a), (e), (f), (h)-(j)], too.

On the Tyche of Caesarea and her depictions, see Gersht; Wenning; Holum (also on the two surviving sculptural representations). At her foot is the *σεβαστὸς λιμὴν*; Tyche can be found on the coins of the city from Nero on, and the harbor proves that at least this representation of the City's Tyche is not earlier than Herod. With the elevation of Caesarea to a colony, Tyche became the *genius coloniae* (cf. Rey-Coquais 21f. no. 8: [i]ερεὺς Τύχης Τύρου κολ(ωνίας)).

The honors for Tyche included games, which had acquired the rank of sacred games. Patrich 2002, 339 n. 73 is surely right in that they are to be distinguished from the Isactian games founded by Herod. Evidently, the Roman governor had his



fig. 1138.8



fig. 1138.9



fig. 1138.10



fig. 1138.11

role to play, and perhaps we know the date of the games, too: Eus. MPal 11,30 attests Dystros (March) 5th as foundation date of the city (of the colony, of Caesarea, of Straton's Tower?), hence as the date for Tyche's feast. March 5th is the day of the *navigium Isidis*, but can



fig. 1138.12

this be used to prove an important cult of Isis in Caesarea? This depends to a certain degree on the question, which city was founded on March 5th. The cup, which connects a Straton with a diadem to the foundation of the city, speaks in favor of Straton's Tower being celebrated on March 5th – and of Straton being one of the two Sidonian kings of this name. Asclepius, who plays an important role in the foundation of the city, might be an interpretatio Graeca of the Sidonian Eshmun. If this is true, and if the date of March 5th goes back to the 4 c. BC (or to even earlier times), a connection with the *navigium Isidis* becomes less probable.

The scenes can be read in the order in which they are described above and give a coherent narration of the city's foundation. Another order and another narrative are certainly possible, but much less probable. Apollo and the other gods and (historical) persons belong to scenes from the foundation of the city, indicating clearly that Straton's Tower acquired a foundation myth in Hellenistic times, so as to compete with other (hellenized) cities. The Sidonian king Straton changed into a Greek king (cf. Just. Nov. 103); such a story will have been the product of the Hellenistic or early Imperial times. Herod, the "real" founder of Caesarea has no place in the story – as he is forgotten in Just. Nov. 103: *cum utique sit antiqua et semper nobilis, secundum se quam Strato collocavit primus, qui ex Hellade surgens factus est eius aedificator, et dum Vespasianus divae memoriae imperatorum probatissimus ... ad Caesariensium eam vocabulam nominasset, cum prius Stratonis turris appellaretur*. The cup reflects part of the official memory, perpetuated, inter alia, by the games in honor of Tyche that were connected with Straton's name, not with Herod's. Needless to say, the cup cannot help reconstruct the early history of Straton's Tower – and is therefore not even mentioned by Cohen 2006.

The production of this piece attests that Latin was used in Caesarea (and its surroundings) at least till the middle of the 4 c. AD. How Christian or pagan was the city at this time? That the foundation of the city was remembered in this way, is no sign of a strong pagan community (let alone élite) – a brief glance at Nonnus is enough to show that interest in the classical past, especially interest in foundation legends, was still strong in Christian times and surroundings (and remember that Caesarea was called Caesarea Stratonos in 165 AD; Moretti no. 72). A bit more difficult is (b):

agones hieroi: such an event would have been impossible after 393, perhaps even earlier – at least in the presence of a sacrificing official or governor. But the games at Olympia continued into the 380s, and the stylistic date of the cup would fit with this. Perhaps the cup was made in accord with an older iconographic model.

(g): the reading is insecure; Will 1983, 16: “Une des solutions plausibles est de penser qu’il s’agit du nom de l’endroit, un récif peut-être de la côte, où se dresse l’autel”; (i): no. 1128 is perhaps a dedication to Asclepius; (j): Hygieia is present on the city’s coins, Kadman 58f.

Bibl.: E. Will, *MMAI* 65, 1983, 1ff. (ph.) (ed. pr.). – *BSAF* 1965, 80f.; D. Bielefeld, *Gymnasium* 79, 1972, 395ff. at 423ff.; R. Wenning, *Boreas* 9, 1986, 113ff.; E. Will, *Syria* 64, 1987, 245ff.; K. Holum et al., *King Herod’s Dream*, 1988, 10ff.; Lehmann - Holum p. 17f.; J. Patrich, *SBF* 52, 2002, 339 n. 73; id., *Cathedra* 107, 2003, 21 (dr.) (Hebr.); K. Holum, in: G. Brands - H.-G. Severin eds., *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung*, 2003, 156f.; J. Patrich, in: J. Geiger - H. Cotton - G. Stiebel eds., *Israel’s Land*, 2009, 135ff. (Hebr.); J. Patrich, *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima*, chap. III (in print). – Cf. L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, 1953; L. Kadman, *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima*, 1957; R. Gersht, *PEQ* 116, 1984, 110ff.; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*, 2006, 299ff.; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr*, 2006.

Photo: Museum of Louvre, C. Chuzeville and Ch. Larrieu.

WA/WE

Synagogue inscriptions

1139.-1145. The synagogue at Caesarea

While the existence of synagogues in Caesarea Maritima is recorded in literary sources from the first century through Late Antiquity – namely by Josephus, rabbinic literature and the sixth-century chronicler John Malalas (see Avi-Yonah, Levine, Levey, Murray, Ringel) – the only place in the ancient city where traces of a synagogue may have been found is Avi-Yonah’s Area A = Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Field O, north of the Crusader fortress but within the Herodian walls. This site has been haphazardly surveyed and excavated. The first sign of a synagogue was the chance discovery there in the 1920s of a capital inscribed with a menorah. Subsequently, J. Ory recorded three levels of mosaic pavements in 1945/6, two with inscriptions. Avi-Yonah excavated the site in 1956 and 1962, discovering a third inscribed pavement as well as the marble column with a dedicatory inscription by a certain Theodorus (no. 1143) and a hoard of 3700 coins, almost all from the time of Constantius II, 337-361, which aided dating his Stratum IV to the 4 c. In his preliminary reports Avi-Yonah identified five strata in what he

identified unhesitatingly as a synagogue, including two distinct structures, from the 4 and 5-6 c. CE. The results of these excavations were never systematically published, and the site was neglected until 1982 and 1984, when Robert Bull et al. cleared the site, made drawings of existing structures and inserted probes to test stratigraphy. Since then, the site has fallen into neglect again, so that significant parts of what was recorded in the 1980s can no longer be seen. Finally, since early in the last decade, Govaars and her colleagues have tracked down and patiently assembled and analyzed both the published information and the surviving unpublished notes, photos and other documents from previous investigations – much of this material having been presumed lost – and, together with data from surface observations, have composed a relatively coherent, if tentative, picture of the site's stratigraphy and history. They have sorted out seven separate strata, of which IV, V and VI – dated respectively to the late fourth, fifth and sixth centuries CE – had mosaics containing all the surviving inscriptions: Stratum IV: no. 1139 plus other uninscribed mosaic pavements. Stratum V: no. 1140 plus other uninscribed mosaic pavements, an inscribed column (no. 1143) and a Doric capital with a menorah; the inscribed column could, however, also belong to Strata IV or VI. Stratum VI: nos. 1141 and 1142, and possibly the fragment of a chancel screen. Other capitals, including no. 1144, are attributed to Stratum V or VI. We follow these attributions and dating, despite the hesitation of the authors themselves. It is to be noted that, despite the high probability that the inscriptions belonged to synagogue structures, no such attribution is absolutely certain; the least doubt attends the existence of a synagogue in Stratum V. The inscriptions from Area A/Field O are presented in exemplary manner by L. White in: Govaars - Spiro - White, The "Synagogue" Site, Chapter 7: Inscriptions, 155-76. All of the inscriptions found on the site are in Greek. The only Semitic inscriptions ascribed to the synagogue are the list of priestly courses (no. 1145) and the column inscribed "shalom" (no. 1146), both found outside the site; the unpublished marble fragment with the word "shalom" may also have come from a synagogue (no. 1147). The rabbinic sources speak of more than one synagogue in Caesarea; these Hebrew texts could have come from other synagogues of which no other trace remains.

1139. Donation of synagogue floor by Iulis, 4-5 c. CE

Polychrome mosaic pavement, five-line Greek inscription formed by black tesserae on a plain white background, surrounded by an elaborate multi-band frame. Lower right half of the inscription is missing. Square letters: lunate *sigma*; *alpha* with broken cross-bar; five-bar *xi*.

Meas.: Inscribed area: h 53, w 55 cm; letters 7-9 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea, Area A = Field O.

ΙΟΥΛΙΣ
 ΕΥΞΑΜ [-]
 ΝΟ [-]
 Ι [-]
 Δ [-]

Ἰούλις
 εὐξάμ[ε]
 νο[ς ἐπο]
 ἰ[ησε πό]
 δ[ας -]



fig. 1139

Iulis, having made a vow, had ... feet (of the mosaic pavement) made.

Comm.: The mosaic with its inscription was exposed by the rain in 1933, and examined and recorded by J. Orly in the 1940s (IAA archives quoted by Lehmann - Holum and by White); the first photographs show it already heavily damaged. The pavement was removed at some point before a survey of the site in 1982 (see White for reff.), and has been lost. Despite the loss of the right bottom half of the inscription, the restoration is unproblematic and universally accepted. Schwabe, noting the similarity of letters in the Apamaea synagogue (cf. Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III Syr53-Syr71 and Roth-Gerson, Jews of Syria 54-83 [Hebr.]), dated this inscription to the 4 c., which is strengthened further by the archaeological context as figured out by White (261 n. 6).

Iulis probably = Iulius; note *Ευλλίς* in Rome, Noy, JIWE II 549 and Noy's comment ad loc. The donation formula *εὐξάμενος ἐποίησε* is found in the synagogue floor in Sepphoris, cf. L. Di Segni, in: Weiss, Sepphoris Synagogue 211f. nos. 4, 5, 6; Apamaea (ibid.); and Hammath Tiberias (cf. Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 65; Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III ibid.), note the same formulae in non-Jewish inscriptions in the area of Apamaea; and cf. at Caesarea this vol. nos. 1134 and 1135. The text was meant to be read while facing west (White).

Bibl.: Schwabe, Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume 443-50 at 433f. pls. 1, 3 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – E. Sukenik, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 2, 1951, 29 pls. 13-14; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 1, 263; HA 4, 1962, 5 (Hebr.); M. Weippert, ZDPV 80, 1964, 150-93; Lifshitz, Donateurs 51 no. 65; A. Negev, EAEHL 1, 1975, 273-85; Ringel, Césarée 117ff. at 118f. pl. 23 no. 1; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 82 no. 3; Ovadiah, MPI 46; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 113f. no. 26 (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 278ff. (ph.); L. Levine, in: Raban - Holum, Caesarea 1996, 392-400 at 392f. no. 5; McLean I no. 8; Lehmann - Holum no. 78; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 204f.; R. Vann, JRA 13, 2000, 671-7; Evans 54f.; Govaars - Spiro - White, The "Synagogue" Site 158f. no. 1. – On the site, see also M. Avi-Yonah, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 3, 1960, 44-8; I. Levey, in C. Fritsch ed., Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima, 1975, 43-78; Levine, Caesarea 61ff.; R. Bull et al. in: W. Rast ed., Preliminary Reports of ASOR Sponsored Excavations 1982-89, 1991, 69-94; L. Levine, in: R. Vann ed., Caesarea Papers, 1992, 268-74; Bull

et al., Excavations Reports 63-84; M. Murray, in: T. Donaldson ed., Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima, 2000, 127-52.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum, pl. LVII no. 78a.

JJP

1140. Donation of synagogue floor by Beryllus, 5-6 c. CE

Mosaic pavement with tabula ansata – red frame and letters in white background; lower border lost – containing six-line Greek inscription, complete, with minor damage in top line. Lunate *sigma*, *alpha* with extended leg and straight cross-bar, mostly square letters (*epsilon*, *omicron*, *theta*, *phi*, etc.), w-shaped *omega*. The final *omega* in l.6 has a slanted line on right bottom corner, like a leg. Avi-Yonah et al. recorded a small *upsilon* at the end of l.1; we cannot see it, but it makes no difference to the interpretation of the word.

Meas.: Tabula ansata: h 58, w 143 cm; inscribed area: h 55, w 81 cm; letters 5-9.5 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea, Area A = Field O.

Pres. loc.: Kibbutz Sdot Yam Museum, IAA inv. no. 1998-7509. Autopsy: 14 December 2010.



fig. 1140

ΒΗΡΥΛΛΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΣ
ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΤΗΣ
ΥΟΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ
ΗΣ ΕΘΝΨΗΦΟ
ΘΕΣΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙ
ΚΛΙΝΟΥ ΤΩ ΙΔΙΩ

App. crit.: l.1 ΑΡΧΙΣΥ Avi-Yonah, *Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Ovadiah, White*.

Βηρύλλος ἀρχισ(υνάγωγος) | καὶ φροντιστῆς | ὕ(ι)δς Ἰούτου ἐποίησε τὴν
ψηφο|θεσίαν τοῦ τρι|κλίνου τῷ ἰδίῳ

Beryllus the archisynagogos and phrontistes, son of Iu(s)tus, had the mosaic pavement of the triclinium made at his own cost.

Comm.: This mosaic was discovered in Avi-Yonah's 1956 excavations; it is now restored and on display at the Kibbutz Sdot Yam Museum. White assigns it to Stratum V = late fifth - early sixth century; the letter forms do not contradict that dating. Of the inscriptions from Area A = Field O, this one has the clearest indications that the site, at least in this phase, was a Jewish synagogue. The title archisynagogos was widely held by Jews in Palestine and the diaspora, and the more minor office of phrontistes is also found in wide dispersion, but neither is exclusively Jewish. The archisynagogos was, as the name implies, the nominal head of the community. The office seems to have been merely honorary in some instances but to have involved real administrative and political/social responsibility in others: uniformity is not to be expected throughout the wide and varied Jewish world; see Rajak - Noy; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 390-402. Beryllus' appointment or election as archisynagogos may reflect community recognition of his generous benefaction, but since so little is known about the structure, size and functioning of the Jewish community in Caesarea at the time, the extent of responsibility entailed in the office is obscure. His second position, phrontistes, certainly involved managing the business of the community, as the Greek word implies (L. Robert translates it "curator" in *Op. Min.* V 179). The office is attested in Jewish inscriptions at Jaffa (CIJ 2, 918, 919) and Lod (probably Samaritan: SEG 20, 468), and at Rome (Noy, *JJWE* II 164, 540), Side (Ameling, *IJO* II 219, 220), Porto (Noy, *JJWE* I 17) and Aegina (Noy, *IJO* I, Ach58-59); but like the archisynagogos it was not exclusively Jewish (see e.g. *IG* 14, 715, 759). In the Jewish texts the phrontistes is often mentioned in combination with other public offices; see discussion by Panayotov in Noy, *IJO* I, pp. 207f.; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 410. White (2009, 165f.), argues that it refers here to Beryllus' supervision of the specific project to which he donated the funds. Compare the similar title *προνοητής* at the Ḥamat Tiberias synagogue, Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions*, no. 18.

The name Beryllus has not appeared so far in any other Jewish context, except possibly in abbreviated form Βηρ(ύλλος) on an ostrakon, Masada II no. 903 (other restorations are possible); Wuthnow, *Semitische Menschnamen* 36, traces it to the Semitic root *brl*. For the name in non-Jewish contexts see LGPN IIa, IIIa, IV, V, s.v. (11 instances); Pape, *WGE* 209; Hagedorn, *Wörterlisten* 34.

Ἰούτος is unparalleled, but in light of the irregularity in the formation, pronunciation and spelling of names among Jews in the Roman period, it may be correct; note the defective spelling of *ύός* in the same line. Ἰούτος closely resembles Ἰούστος, a Latin name popular among Jews of the period, see Ilan, *Lexicon* I 333; III 505-7. Lifshitz suggested emending T to Δ, making the name Ἰούδα(ς) = Yehudah/Judah.

The south-oriented floor with this dedication was very large: 11 × 2.6 m according to Avi-Yonah, or greater than 17 × 6 m according to White's new interpretation (White 2009, 164). The triclinium was obviously built for big gatherings,

especially, as the name suggests, communal meals, an activity attested for synagogues in literary sources, see Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 129ff., 295; White 1990 and id., 1998. A triclinium is specifically mentioned in the synagogue inscription at Stobi (Noy, IJO I, Mac1), and the 1 c. Theodotos synagogue inscription from Jerusalem also mentions the construction of various rooms (*δῶματα*) for the use of the community (CIIP I 9); the Ostia synagogue had kitchen facilities along with two dining rooms (White 2009, 265 n. 68; Levine, *Ancient Synagogue* 255-8).

Not just his titles, but Beryllus' substantial donation to the synagogue emphasized his standing and public responsibility in the community. A donor's assertion that he financed construction from his own resources is not unusual, but the Greek formula is usually phrased ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, see White 2009, 167.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, *Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund* 3, 1960, 47f. no. C (ed. pr.). – Id., *BIES* 20, 1956, 194f. (Hebr.); *RB* 64, 1957, 242-61 at 245; B. Lifshitz, *RB* 67, 1960, 58-64 no. 3; *BE* 1961, 810; *RB* 68, 1961, 464-71; *BE* 1963, 283; *RB* 70, 1963, 583f.; *SEG* 20, 462; Lifshitz, *Donateurs* 51f. no. 66; J. Finegan, *Archaeology* 78; Levine, *Caesarea* 43f. pl. 7 fig. 3; Ringel, *Césarée* 118f., 149-51; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, *Synagogen* 1, 82f. no. 4; H. Schanks, *Judaism in Stone*, 1979, 13 (ph.); G. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 1981, 217; Roth-Gerson, *Greek Inscriptions* 115ff. no. 27 (Hebr.); Ovadiah, *MPI* 46; K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream*, 1988, 197; van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, 94f.; L. White, *Building God's House in the Roman World*, 1990, 77f.; M. Avi-Yonah, *NEAEHL* 1, 1993, 278ff.; T. Rajak - D. Noy, *JRS* 83, 1993, 75-93 at 91 no. 24; L. Levine, in: Raban - Holum, *Caesarea* 1996, 392-400 at 392f. no. 1; McLean I no.13; L. White, in: I. Nielsen - H. Nielsen eds., *Meals in Social Context*, 1998, 177-205; C. Lehmann - K. Holum, in: *Gersht, Sdot-Yam Museum* 49-58 at 54 no. 6 (Hebr.); Levine, *Ancient Synagogue*, 204f.; Lehmann - Holum no. 79; R. Vann, *JRA* 13, 2000, 671-7; Hezser, *Jewish Literacy* 405; J. Geiger, *Cathedra* 99, 2001, 27-36 (Hebr.); J. Patrich, in: Burns - Eadie, *Urban centres* 77-110; Sivan, *Palestine* 314; Govaars - Spiro - White, *The "Synagogue" Site* 164-7 no. 4.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum pl. LVIII no. 79.

JJP

1141. An offering of the Jewish congregation, 6-7 c. CE

Marble plaque with large drilled hole in middle, top middle piece missing; pieces rejoined after stone was broken. Five-line Greek inscription incised around hole, to be read facing east. Line marking abbreviation above ΚΣ in l.1; serified line above *omicron* in l.3 marks *omicron-upsilon*; a reported line above beta in l.1 cannot be seen. Serifs on most letters; *alpha* with broken cross-bar and serif extension to base; *rho* with tail; *upsilon* without stem; *theta* with extended cross-bar; round *epsilon*, *omicron*; cursive *mu* and *pi*; lunate *sigma*.

Findspot: Caesarea, Area A = Field O.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1935-446

ΚΣΒ[-]ΟΣ
 ΦΟΡΑ
 ΤΟΥ ΛΑ
 ΟΥΕΠΗΜ
 ΑΡΟΥΘΑ

App. crit.: Κ(ύριος) β(οηθός) |
 φορά Schwabe.

Κ(ύριος) β(οηθός) |
 Πρ]οσ|φορά | τοῦ λα|οῦ
 ἐπὶ Μ|αρουθᾶ



fig. 1141

May the Lord be our helper. An offering/donation of the congregation under Maruthas.

Comm.: This inscription was found embedded in the same floor as no. 1142. It recorded the donation by the congregation of the object whose pedestal or base was fitted in the drilled hole (Sukenik: candelabrum; it could also have been a basin or column). From the photos, the letters do not seem to be very worn, thus it was not trammed much when in use, and apparently was covered with rubble and thus protected afterwards. The letter-forms – esp. the *alpha*, *kappa*, and the “tail” on the *rho* (found in other (non-Jewish) inscriptions) – enable a relatively late dating, 5-7 c., cf. DGI 896-900.

The opening abbreviated appeal Κ(ύριος) β(οηθός) (adopting Lifshitz’s restoration), widely used in Christian inscriptions of the period, has led some to doubt the Jewishness of this text, compare the formulae in nos. 1172, 1180, 1179, 1174, 1152; but there are sufficient Jewish near-parallels to set aside doubt: κ(ύρι)ε β(ο)ήθ(ει) in the Beth She’an synagogue mosaic and θ(εός) β(ο)ήθ(ει) in Ashkelon (Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions, nos. 6 and 3); several variations in texts from Syria (Noy - Bloedhorn, IJO III, Syr20, 27, 38, 41, 75), Sardis (Ameling, IJO II 137, 142) and Greece (Noy, IJO I, Ach72), etc.; cf. G. Foerster, *Cathedra* 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.). The association of this stone with no. 1142 increases the likelihood that it was Jewish, but does not definitively settle the matter (see comm. ad no. 1142). Whatever the case, the stonemason was influenced by his epigraphic environment. The iotacism in ἐπὶ is typical of the period. Marouthas has no exact parallel in the Jewish onomasticon so far; the widely cited [-]מרות mrwt[-] in two inscriptions from Na’aran is probably not a name but an expression of respect such as “lord, master”, cf. Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic*, comm. ad 65 and 66; yet the present personal name is based on the same root, *mr*; note *Μαροῦτος*, CPJ 430. The same name Marouthas is said to have been found on another fragmentary inscription from Caesarea, but no further information is available: M. Avi-Yonah – A. Negev, IEJ 13, 1963, 147 = Lehmann - Holum no. 81; its existence is questioned by White, *The “Synagogue” Site*, 163. The office which Marouthas held,

used to date the inscription, was probably archisynagogos, cf. no. 1140. Schwabe's theory that the name represents a garbled form of *mrd* "rebellion" has rightly been rejected. It is notable that Marouthas is mentioned for dating purposes, not as the main donor, for the donation was collective and anonymous: anonymity is usually a characteristic of Aramaic donation inscriptions (a notable exception is $\pi(\rho\sigma)\phi(\sigma\rho\alpha)\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \text{Κ}(\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron)\varsigma\ \gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ in Beth She'an, Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions, no. 9).

Bibl.: Schwabe, Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume 441-9 pl. 4 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – E. Sukenik, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 2, 29f. pl. 15; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 1, 263 fig. 996 no. 49; B. Lifshitz, ZDPV 78, 1962, 81f. no. 4; M. Avi-Yonah - A. Negev, IEJ 13, 1963, 146ff.; BE 1964, 504; SEG 20, 464; Lifshitz, Donateurs 50f. no. 64; id., Epigraphica 36, 1974, 78-100 at 82ff. no. 2; A. Negev, EAEHL 1, 1975, 279 (ph.); Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 81f. nos. 1-2; G. Foerster, Cathedra 19, 1981, 12-40 (Hebr.); Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 111f. no. 25 (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 278ff.; L. Levine, in: Raban - Holum, Caesarea 1996, 392-400 at 392f. no. 2; McLean I no. 10; W. Horbury, PEQ 129, 1997, 133-7; G. Stemmerger, in: A. Kofsky - G. Strousma eds., Sharing the Sacred, 1998, 131-46 at 139; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 204f.; Lehmann - Holum nos. 80-81; R. Vann, JRA 13, 2000, 671-7; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 402f., 408; Govaars - Spiro - White, The "Synagogue" Site 161-4 no. 3.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum, pl. LVIII no. 80.

JJP

1142. Dedication of synagogue floor, 6-7 c. CE

Mosaic pavement with remnants of Greek inscription in red tesserae on a white background. Today all that can be seen are the top portions of five letters at the end of l.1 and a few tesserae from a subsequent line; lunate *sigma*, *alpha* with inclined crossbar. According to J. Ory and ed. pr. by Schwabe, there could originally be seen a medallion with three partial lines of text and the end of a fourth. Red, white, black and yellow tesserae. *Omicron-upsilon* ligature; *omicron* inside *pi* signifying *πόδας*.

Meas.: Medallion: \varnothing 122 cm
(White); letters 17-20 cm
(ed. pr.).

Pres. loc.: in situ.

[--]ΕΙΥΠΟΜΕ[.]ΟΝΤΑΙΣ
[--]ΛΛΑΞΟΥΣΙΝ [--]Ν
[--]ΦΟΡΑ[--] ΠΟ
[--]ΔΙ

[--] εἰ ὑπομε[ν]όνταις |
[τὸν θεὸν ἀ]λλάξουσιν
[ἰσχύ]ν | [--προσ]φορά [--]
πό(δας) | [--]ΔΙ



fig. 1142.1

Those who await God will renew their strength ... donation ... feet ...

Comm.: The mosaic is still in situ, but the site so poorly maintained that almost the entire inscription has disappeared since it was first revealed in the 1930s. J. Ory cleaned and recorded it in 1945 and the next year consolidated it with concrete. It is situated 10 m east and ca. 1.5

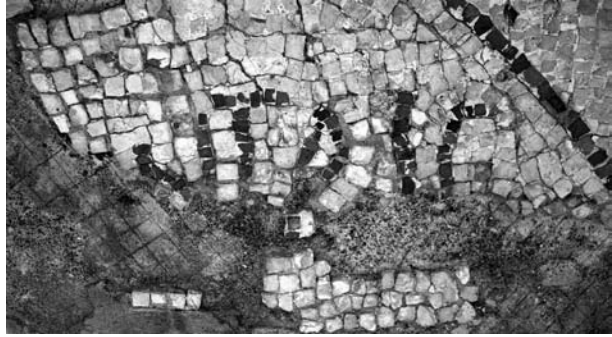


fig. 1142.2 (in year 2010)

m above no. 1139 (White). When last examined and recorded in the 1980s, the existing pavement, which was only part of the original floor, measured 9.5x4.2 m. The inscription no. 1141 was embedded in the same floor.

The diplomatic text and interpretation are Schwabe's. He recognized in the opening of this dedication an inspirational quotation of Is 40,31, Septuagint (ed. Rahlfs): *οἱ δὲ ὑπομένοντες τὸν θεὸν ἀλλάξουσιν ἰσχύον*. The remainder of the inscription then recorded the donor's name, and the nature and amount of the donation. The last two legible letters are mysterious, perhaps the end of a name -λι(ος) or -λι(α) (cf. ΠΟΠΕΛΙ = Ποπέλιος/α in CIIP I 583); it could also be a numeral, ΛΓ, ΛΗ or Ν-, but πό(δας) appears in the line above; for other guesses, see White ad loc. The inscription was read facing east (White). In Greek of the very late Roman period, the interchanges *οι→ει* and *ε→αι* are not unusual, and occur in mss. of the Septuagint, see detailed discussion with reff. in White 160. These orthographic features, in addition to archaeological context, point towards a later date, perhaps the 7 c.

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, QDAP 3, 1934, 51 no. 340 (Hebr.); Schwabe, Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, 436ff. no. 2, pl. 2 (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – SEG 8, 138; E. Sukenik, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 2, 1951, 29; Goodenough, Jewish Symbols 1, 263, fig. 996 no. 49; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 84 no. 7; Z. Ilan, in: D. Urman - P. Flesher eds., Ancient Synagogues 1, 1995, 256-88 at 278; L. Levine, in: Raban - Holum, Caesarea 1996, 392-400 at 392f. no. 6; McLean I no. 9; id. II no. 193; Lehmann - Holum no. 82; Govaars - Spiro - White, The "Synagogue" Site, 159ff. no. 2.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum, pl. LIX no. 82b; A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

1143. Donation by Theodorus, inscribed on marble column, 5-6 c. CE

Upper section of gray marble column, dowel hole in upper surface. Five-line Greek inscription incised on side of column, approximately midway between top and broken bottom. *Alpha* with inclined cross-bar, cursive *epsilon*, lunate

sigma, cursive w-shaped *omega*; middle leg of *nu* attached to middle of right leg; *omicron-epsilon* ligature; letters have serifs. *Omicron* above initial *pi-rho* in l.1 indicating abbreviation.

Meas.: h 135, ø 40 at top, 45 cm at bottom; longest line 34 cm; letters 3-4 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea, Area A = Field O.

Pres. loc.: IAA inv. no. 1969-1024; last seen lying between the theater and the city wall.



fig. 1143.1

ΠΡΟΘΕΩΔΩΡΟΕ
ΥΙΟΥ ΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ
ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΕΡΙΑΣ
ΜΑΤΡΩΝΑΣ
ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ

Προ(σφορά) Θεωδώροε | υιοῦ Ὀλύμπου | ὑπὲρ σωτερίας | Ματρώνας | θυγατρός

The offering of Theodorus son of Olympus, for the salvation of his daughter Matrōna.

Comm.: This inscribed column was discovered in Avi-Yonah's excavations in Area A (Field O) in 1956. Theodorus' donation could have been the column, something attached to the column, or some part of the room in which the column stood; it is to be noted that the column, with its bottom broken off, is 1.35 m tall, and presumably the donor wanted his inscription to be seen and read.

The inscription is complete. No words are broken between lines – this consideration may have prompted the abbreviation for *προσφορά* in l.1. The same abbreviation is found on a marble plaque from the House of Leontinus in Beth She'an, see Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions no. 8; and cf. this vol., nos. 1141, 1142.

White attributes the column to Stratum V, 5-6 c. CE, and the letter forms fit with this dating, as do $\sigma \rightarrow \omega$ and $\eta \rightarrow \epsilon$ in *Θεωδώροε* and *σωτερίας*. The peculiar second *epsilon* in *Θεωδώροε* is well explained by White as an erroneously carved *sigma* converted into an *epsilon* when the engraver realized that he needed a genitive. The name Theodorus was favored by Jews throughout antiquity, see Ilan, Lexicon I 286f. and III 299-304; a Theodorus, spelled the same way, is in no. 1490. Olympus is rare but not unattested in the Jewish onomasticon; it is the name of a Jew from Alexandria buried in Jaffa, Price, 224ff. no. 4; and is found on Jewish inscriptions in Rome, Noy, JIWE II 40, in Sardis and Cappadocia, Ameling, IJO II 69, 252, and on the Black Sea, Noy, IJO I, BS4. Matrona was a common woman's name of the time, see Ilan, Lexicon III 599; Kasovsky, Mishna, s.v.

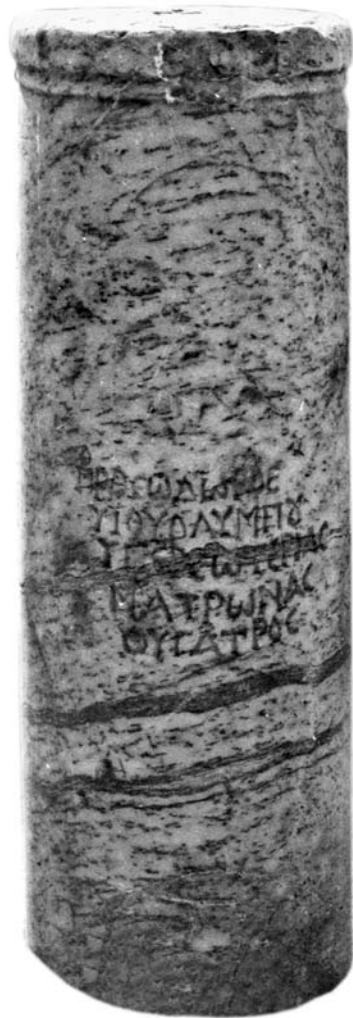


fig. 1143.2

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 3, 1960, 44-8 pl. 9 no. 4 (ed. pr.). – Id., BIES 20, 1956, 194f. (Hebr.); RB 64, 1957, 242-61, 244; RB 68, 1961, 464-71, 468; BE 1963, 283; Lifshitz, Donateurs 52f. no. 67; Finegan, Archaeology 78; A. Negev, EAEHL 1, 1975, 273-85 at 278; Ringel, Césarée 118f.; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 83 no. 5; Roth-Gerson, Greek Inscriptions 118ff. no. 28 (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 278ff.; L. Levine, in: Raban - Holum, Caesarea 1996, 392-400 at 392f. no. 3; McLean I no. 11; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 204f.; Lehmann - Holum no. 83; R. Vann, JRA 13, 2000, 671-7; J. Moralee, For Salvation's Sake, 2004, 179 no. 371; Govaars - Spiro - White, The "Synagogue" Site 2009, 167-9 no. 5 – Cf. J. Price, SCI 22, 2003, 215-31.

Photo: IAA.

1144. Corinthian capital with Greek monograms, 5-6 c. CE

White marble Corinthian capital with monograms on two faces.

Findspot: Caesarea, Area A (Field O).

(a) ΠΑΤΡ

(b) ΝΟΚ

Comm.: This capital was one of three found by Avi-Yonah in his excavations in 1956. The other two had menorah reliefs. In the monogram on the first side, Π, Α and Ρ are clear, the supposed Τ is represented by a cross-bar above the *alpha*. There may be an *omicron* on the upper left corner of the *pi*, and a *kappa* in the lower right corner of the monogram. Avi-Yonah's interpretation is: ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟ(Υ). On the second side, a prominent Ν is clearly seen. Less clear are the supposed tiny *omicron* on the upper left corner and the small *kappa* extending off the right leg of the *nu*. Others have claimed to see a lunate *sigma* and *iota* in the design. Avi-Yonah read: Κόνσ(ουλος) or Κονσ(ουλαρίου), but this seems fanciful, given the prominence of the *nu* and the minor position of the *kappa*; equally fanciful then is the suggestion that the two monograms represent a consul Patricius of the 5 c. CE (Bagnall et al. 459-500).



fig. 1144.1 (a)



fig. 1144.2 (b)

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, Bulletin of the Rabinowitz Fund 3, 1960, 46f., pl. 10 figs. 5-6 (ed. pr.). – BE 1963, 283; A. Negev, EAEHL 1, 1975, 273-85 at 278; Hüttenmeister - Reeg, Synagogen 1, 84f. no. 8; Kuhnen, Nordwest-Palästina 25; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 279; Lehmann - Holum no. 84; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 405; Govaars - Spiro - White, The "Synagogue" Site 2009 169-71 no. 6. – Cf. R. S. Bagnall et al., Consuls of the Later Roman Empire, 1987.

Photo: Lehmann - Holum, pl. LXI no. 84a+b.

1145. List of the 24 priestly courses in Hebrew, 4-5 c. CE

Three gray marble fragments inscribed in formal Jewish script.

Meas.: (b) h 1.5, w 1.2 cm; (c) h 1.4, w 1.40; letters 2 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea, Areas D and F (b and c); surface find (a).

Pres. loc.: Ralli Museum, Caesarea, (b) and (c) IAA inv. no. 1966-1305; (a) is lost.

- (a) [--] ארב [--]
 [--] תחמשע [--]
 [--] מרתששעשר [--]
 [--] מרתשבע [--]
 (b) [--] מליח
 [--] נצרת
 [--] אכלה [--]
 [--] גדל [--]
 (c) [--] מ
 [--] מש
 [--] מש



fig. 1145.1 (b)

(a) and (b)

- [--] מ[שמרת] ארב [ע עשרה--]
 [--] מ[שמר] ת חמש ע [שרה--]
 [--] מ[ש] מרת שש עשר [ה--]
 מ[ש] מרת שבע [עשרה חזיר מ] מליח
 מ[שמרת] שמונה עשרה הפיצץ [נצרת
 מ[שמרת] תשע עשרה פתחיה] אכלה [ערב]
 מ[שמרת] עשרים יחזקאל [מ] גדל [נוניא]
 (c) [--] מ [שמרת--]
 [--] מ [מרת--]
 [--] מ [מרת--]



fig. 1145.2 (c)

Translit.: (a) and (b) [mšmrt] rb ['šrh-- |
 mšmr] t ḥmš ' [šrh-- |
 mš] mrt šš 'šr [h-- |
 mš--] mrt šb' ['šrh ḥzyr
 m] mlyḥ | [mšmrt šmwñh
 'šrh hpyšš] nšrt | [mšmrt
 tš' 'šrh pthyh] 'klh ['rb |
 mšmrt 'srym yḥzq' l
 m] gdl [nwny']

(c) m [šmrt--] | mš [mrt--] | mš [mrt--]

- (a) and (b): ... *The Fourteenth mishmeret* (priestly course) ... | *The Fifteenth mishmeret* ... | *The Sixteenth mishmeret* ... | *The Seventeenth mishmeret*, *Hezir, Mamliah*, | *The Eighteenth mishmeret*, *Haphiṣiṣ, Nazareth*, | *The Nineteenth mishmeret*, *Petaḥiya Akhla, 'Arab*, | *The Twentieth mishmeret*, *Yehezkel, Migdal Nunaiya* ...
- (c) *mishmeret* ... | *mishmeret* ... | *mishmeret* ...

משמרת ראשונה יהויריב מסרביי כרזן
 משמרת שניה ידעיה עמוק צפורים
 משמרת שלישית חזרים מפשטה
 משמרת רביעית שערים עיתהלו
 משמרת חמישית בלכיה בית לחם
 משמרת ששית בימין יודפת
 משמרת שביעית הזקוז עלבו
 משמרת שמינית אביה כפר עזיזה
 משמרת תשיעית ישוע ארבל
 משמרת עשירית שרניה חבדת כבול
 משמרת אחת עשרה אלישיב כהן קנה
 משמרת שתים עשרה יקים פשחור צפת
 משמרת שלוש עשרה חזופה בית בעון
 משמרת ארבע עשרה ישבאב חצפת שיזון
 משמרת חמש עשרה בעדיה בלגה יזנית
 משמרת שש עשרה אבר כפר נברזה
 משמרת שבע עשרה חזיר גר
 משמרת שמונה עשרה הפיעץ ענת
 משמרת תשע עשרה פתחיה זכיה עב
 משמרת עשרים יחזקאל כהן נזיא
 משמרת עשרים ואחת כין כפר יחנה
 משמרת עשרים ושתים גמול בית חכיה
 משמרת עשרים ושלוש ליה גנתון צלמין
 משמרת עשרים וארבע עזיה חמת אריז

fig. 1145.3

Comm.: These are three small pieces of a large inscription recording the 24 priestly courses as mentioned in 1 Chron. 24,7-18. The plaque was most likely put up in a synagogue; it could have been more than a meter high. Fragments (a) and (b) were found by Avi-Yonah in his Areas D and F, but he reasonably attributed them to the synagogue associated with Area A = Field O, on the basis of proximity and content. Fragment (a), which clearly belongs to the same inscription, was a chance surface find, circumstances unknown; a photograph and drawing were published (Avi-Yonah), and the fragment has since been lost. Avi-Yonah notes that the upper lines in (a) and (b) are slightly larger than the lower ones, indicating that the stonecutter began to reduce the size of the lines as he reached the end of the stone.

Since the beginning, middle and end of different lines are preserved, and assuming that the lines all followed the same formulaic pattern, the entire inscription can be restored with a reasonable degree of certainty, based on 1 Chron and *piyutim* or liturgical poems of Late Antiquity mentioning the courses, especially those of Elazar Kalir (cf. Avi-Yonah's restoration in the ed. pr.). Each line records the number of the *mishmeret*, or priestly course, the name of the family and the Galilean town in which the family lived at the time. Fragment (c) obviously preserves the beginning of three lines, but which ones cannot be determined, Avi-Yonah neatly lined them up with fragment (b). Fragments (a) and (b) are pieces of a continuous sequence of lines, based on the recorded order of the priestly courses.

Similar plaques have been found elsewhere: Ashkelon, Kissufim (Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 52, 56), possibly Nazareth (Eshel) and Rehov (unpublished); the longest such text known to date is from Yemen (Naveh 106).

The 24 priestly courses had rotating functions when the Temple stood, cf. M.Taan. 4,2. After the destruction of the Temple and the relocation of the priestly families to the Galilee, the inscribed lists of courses put up in synagogues had perhaps only a nostalgic purpose, although Avi-Yonah, followed by Hachlili and others, suggested they were used as a way of marking times of the year (cf. the use of *mishmarot* in Qumran, as discussed by Talmon and Knohl, esp. 295).

Bibl.: M. Avi-Yonah, IEJ 12, 1962, 137ff.; HA 4, 1962, 6 (Hebr.) (edd. prr.). – S. Klein, Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galilaeas, 1909, 102-8; S. Klein, Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie Galiläas, 1923, 47f., 62-8, 177-92; HA 6, 1963, 6 (Hebr.); M. Avi-Yonah - A. Negev, IEJ 13, 1963, 146ff.; M. Avi-Yonah, in: E. Vardaman - J. Garrett eds., The Teacher's Yoke, 1964, 42-50; id., EI 7, 1964, 24-8 (Hebr.); H. Bardtke, Bibel, Spaten und Geschichte, 1969, 298; E. Fleischer, Sinai 64, 1969, 180-98 (Hebr.); IMC 100, 172; R. Degen, Tarbiz 42, 1973, 300-3 (Hebr.); E. Urbach, Tarbiz 42, 1973, 304-27 (Hebr.); A. Negev, EAEHL 1, 1975, 273-85 at 278; J. Goldstein, HThR 68, 1975, 53-8 at 57; Ringel, Césarée 118f.; S. Klein, Sefer Ha-Yishuv 1, 1977, 162-5; Naveh, Stone and Mosaic 87f. no. 51 (Hebr.); T. Kahane, Tarbiz 48, 1979, 9-29 (Hebr.); H. Williamson, Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament, 1979, 251-68; Tarbiz 49, 1980, 430f. (Hebr.); S. Miller, Studies in the History and Traditions of Sepphoris, 1984, 132; Tarbiz 55, 1985, 47-60 (Hebr.); G. Stemberger, Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land, 1987, 115; G. Kroll, Auf den Spuren Jesu, 1988, 82f.; K. Holum et al., King Herod's Dream, 1988, 189 fig. 154 no. 148; R. Hachlili, Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel, 1988, 225ff., 296, 304 pls. 64, 67, 71, 73, 74; L. Levine, The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine, 1989; D. Trifon, Tarbiz 49, 1989, 77-93 (Hebr.); Z. Safrai, Chapters in the History of the Galilee, 1989, 271-4 (Hebr.); H. Eshel, Tarbiz 61, 1991, 159ff.; A. Oppenheimer, Galilee in the Mishnaic Period, 1991, 53-7 (Hebr.); Z. Safrai, Tarbiz 62, 1992, 287-92; M. Avi-Yonah, NEAEHL 1, 1993, 278ff.; S. Talmon - I. Knohl in: D. Wright - D. Freedman - A. Hurvitz eds., Pomegranates and Golden Bells, 1995, 265-301; S. Fine ed., Sacred Realm, 1996, 148f.; L. Levine, in: Raban - Holum, Caesarea 1996, 392-400 at 392f. no. 7; McLean I nos. 12A, 12B, 12C; Levine, Ancient Synagogue 491-500; R. Vann, JRA 13, 2000, 671-7 at 677; Hezser, Jewish Literacy 409f.; Evans 47f.; Sivan, Palestine 314; Govaars - Spiro - White, The "Synagogue" Site 53ff., 174 no. 11.

Photo: IAA.

1146. Marble column inscribed in Hebrew “shalom”

The word *šlwm* written in formal script on a marble column.

Findspot: Caesarea, on the coastal side of the Crusader city.

שלום

Translit.: *šlwm*

Peace.

Comm.: A column inscribed with the word *shalom* was among several columns found during excavations of a large Byzantine building in a commercial district; apparently the columns had fallen from an upper story. Levine 1986 wondered whether the inscribed column might indicate the presence of a synagogue on the site, but it is more likely that the inscription was a graffito, or the column was re-used; a synagogue would surely have yielded other signs.



fig. 1146

Bibl.: L. Levine - E. Netzer, *Qadmoniot* 11, 1978, 70-5 (Hebr.) (ed. pr.). – HA 57/8, 1976, 21; ESI 1, 1982, 14f.; E. Netzer, in: L. Levine - E. Netzer eds., *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima 1975, 1976, 1979. Final Report, 1986*, 16-65 at 45f.; L. Levine - E. Netzer, *NEAEHL* 1, 1993, 280ff.; McLean I no. 4.

Photo: E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima. Final Report, 1986*, 45 fig. III.64.

JJP

1147. Marble fragment inscribed in Hebrew “shalom”, 3-6 c. CE (?)

Upper right corner of marble plaque, covered with reddish plaster, one Hebrew word can be clearly seen, expertly incised in formal Jewish script.

Meas.: h 10.5, w 16.5, d 2 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea, north of the Crusader city.

Pres. loc.: Kibbutz Sdot Yam Museum, IAA inv. no. 1998-7288. Autopsy: 14 December 2010.



[--]שלום

[--]

fig. 1147.1

Translit.: šlwm [--|--]

Peace ...

Comm.: This fragment, the top right corner of an inscription, was found in secondary use, cut to fit, in a structure north of the Crusader city, thus in the general area of the supposed synagogue, see intro. to no. 1139. The word shalom” seems to have been the beginning of the inscription, as in e.g. the expression *šlwm ‘l yśr’l* “Peace on Israel”, as in Naveh, *Stone and Mosaic* 50 and 111, cf. nos. 38, 68, 70, 75.

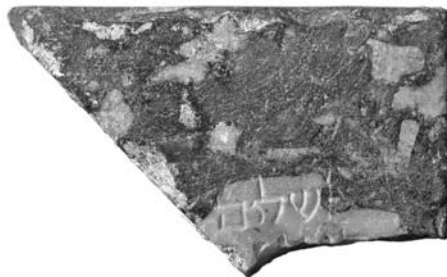


fig. 1147.2

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: A. and N. Graicer.

JJP

Christian inscriptions

1148. Record of an offering (?)

White marble, broken on all sides. Part of a circle is preserved, the letters seem to be inscribed in this circle.

Meas.: h 10.5, w 7.8, d 1.7 cm; letters 2.3-3.3 cm.

Pres. loc.: Kibbutz Sdot Yam Museum. Autopsy: 19 March 2010.

[--]ΦΟΡΑ

[--]

[προσ]φορά | [--]

... offering ...



Comm.: For *προσφορά*, see no. 1152.

Bibl.: Unpublished.

Photo: WA.

fig. 1148

WA

1149. Golgotha, 4-7 c. AD

White marble, some breakage on the upper and lower right side. The letters are written in a rough cross; two crosses below the lower arms of the large cross. The letters are mirrored.

Meas.: h 7.5, w 6.5, d 1.3 cm; letters 0.7-0.9 cm.

Findspot: Caesarea (according to the notes on the baskets in Beth Shemesh).

Pres. loc.: Beth Shemesh, no. 6/93 + N.19138. Autopsy: 16 March 2010.

Γ

ΟΛΓΟΘ

(cross) Α (cross)

App. crit.: 1.2 *lambda* and *gamma* are written in ligature; *theta* does not seem to differ from *omikron*; 1.3 the letter looks rather like *lambda*, no horizontal bar recognizable.

Γ|ολγοθα|α

Calvary.



fig. 1149.1



fig. 1149.2 (mirrored)

Comm.: Although some of the letters are not completely recognizable, there can be no doubt about the text; see no. 2117 for a similar design in a similar context (large