

Studies in the
Archaeology and History of
Caesarea Maritima

Caput Judaeae, Metropolis Palaestinae

ANCIENT JUDAISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY 77

Joseph Patrich

BRILL

Studies in the Archaeology and History of
Caesarea Maritima

Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity

Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken
Judentums und des Urchristentums

Founding Editor

Martin Hengel† (Tübingen)

Executive Editors

Cilliers Breytenbach (Berlin)

Martin Goodman (Oxford)

Editorial Board

Friedrich Avemarie (Marburg), John Barclay (Durham),

Pieter W. van der Horst (Utrecht), Tal Ilan (Berlin),

Tessa Rajak (Reading), Daniel R. Schwartz (Jerusalem),

Seth Schwartz (New York)

VOLUME 77

CHAPTER FOUR

URBAN SPACE IN CAESAREA MARITIMA IN THE LATE ANTIQUITY

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

Caesarea served as the main harbor and capital city of Herod's kingdom, and of the later Roman province of *Iudaea/Syria Palaestina*, the seat of the Roman governors and of the financial procurators of the province. Vespasian made Caesarea a Roman colony, and Alexander Severus raised it to the rank of metropolis. In the Byzantine period¹ it was the capital of *Palaestina Prima*, and a Metropolitan See. During this period urban space expanded about three times relative to the Herodian period, reflecting a large increase in population (Fig. 29). It was a prosperous maritime city, of a heterogeneous ethnicity and a cosmopolitan flavor, as is reflected by the archaeological record: the city coins, statuary, and inscriptions, attesting to its pantheon, and the imported ware and numismatic finds, attesting to its international commerce. During the third and fourth centuries it was the seat of a Jewish academy, led by Rabbi Oshayah and Rabbi Abbahu, and of a Christian academy, founded by Origen. (On Caesarea as an intellectual center in Late Antiquity, see Post Script below). The Christian

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

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

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

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

LATE ANTIQUE/BYZANTINE CAESAREA³

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Fisher *et al.* 1992.

⁵ Spiro 1992.

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

⁷ Patrich *et al.* 1999: 75.

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

The estimated population at its apogee, when it occupied an area of c. 111.5 hectares, varies between c. 35,000 and 100,000.¹⁰ As for the ethnic composition, like everywhere throughout the east, after the crisis of the third century and the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, the Latin element in the provincial and municipal administration gave way to Greek-speaking *officiales*. The Late Antique inscriptions are all in Greek or in the local Semitic scripts and languages (Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan).¹¹ The Greek, that returned to be the language of administration in the entire east, was spoken by all three religious groups: Christians, Jews, and Samaritans.

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

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

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

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

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

and Greek, and Corinthian capitals with the menorah symbol, was destroyed in the mid-fourth century, and rebuilt in the mid-fifth. It was destroyed in a fire. After the death of R. Abbahu—the head of the local Jewish academy—in 309, there was no Jewish leader of his magnitude. Beryllos, archisynagogue and *phrontistes* (treasurer or administrator), who made a mosaic floor from his own funds, is mentioned in a Greek inscription from the synagogue.¹² The predominance of Greek inscriptions, their content, as well as references in the rabbinic sources, attest to the high degree of Hellenization and acculturation of the local community, like in other urban Jewish congregations, both in Palestine and in the Jewish diaspora.¹³ In spite of the fact that in the literary sources there is almost no reference to the Jews of Caesarea in the Byzantine period, the Jewish community continued to form a significant component of the local population, though its status declined relative to that held in the third and early fourth century.¹⁴ The general Jewish revolt against Gallus in 351–52, might have been a decisive factor in this decline. A second riot of the Jews of Palestine, especially those of Caesarea, in which some Christians were killed, took place in c. 439, during the reign of Theodosius II and Pulcheria. The Jews of Caesarea joined ranks with the Samaritans in the revolt of 555, burning Christian churches and slaughtering the provincial governor in his *praetorium*; one of them assisted the Arab troops to sneak into the besieged city through a secret water tunnel in 640/41.¹⁵

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

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

¹³ Levine 1996.

¹⁴ On the population size at the end of the period, see above, note 10.

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ For a drawing and a photo of the inscriptions, see Patrìch *et al.* 1999: 96–97, figs. 31, 32.

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

²⁰ Procopius, *Anecdota* XXVII. 8–10.

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

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

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

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

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

²² Schemmel 1925; Downey 1958: 301–302.

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

²⁴ Raban 1998a: 63–4, fig. 35.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁷ Frova, *et al.* 1965, and Frova 1959; 1961–62.

²⁸ Bull *et al.* 1985.

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

³⁰ Levine and Netzer 1986.

³¹ Burrell, Gleason, and Netzer 1993; Burrell and Gleason 1995; Netzer 1996; Gleason 1996; Burrell 1996; Gleason *et al.*, 1998.

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

³³ Fritsch and Ben-Dor 1961. See also: Hohlfelder 1989; 1992.

³⁴ Raban *et al.* 1989; Oleson 1994.

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

THE HARBOR

The harbor was a huge enterprise, compared by Josephus (*War* 1.410; *Ant.* 15.332) to Piraeus, with many quays, landing places, and secondary anchorage. It was constructed of huge stones, including *pozzolana*—volcanic ashes imported from Italy, used by Romans for making hydraulic cement applied in harbor architecture, and other advanced Roman harbor technology.³⁶ The outer mole and breakwater, on the S and W, penetrated c. 400m into the sea, enclosing the outer and intermediate basins; the inner basin was rock-cut in land, incorporating the closed harbor (*limen kleistos*) of Hellenistic Straton's Tower. Work of recent years indicated that the inner harbor extended over a much vaster area than previously assumed. Its E pier extended to the S beyond the Crusader wall, and it encompassed an area 250m long (NS) by 150m broad (EW). The entrance to the outer harbor, flanked by three colossal statues on either side, was from N, at the W end of the N mole. Several inscribed lead ingots found in 1993 over the NW end of the mole³⁷ suggest that this section of the pier was submerged already at the end of the first century CE due to tectonic slumping, causing a rapid silting of parts of the inner harbor, that became a lagoon.³⁸ The intermediate and outer harbors underwent a large scale reconstruction by Anastasius in the late fifth–early sixth century.³⁹ By that time the inner harbor was already silted, giving new ground for the construction of new buildings, and later, under Arab dominion, of a new neighborhood of dwellings.

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

³⁵ Raban 1996; Raban *et al.* 1992; 1993; 1999.

³⁶ Raban 1992c; Oleson and Branton 1992; Brandon 1996; Vann 1983b.

³⁷ Raban 1999.

³⁸ Raban 1996; Yule *et al.* 1999; Toueg 1998.

³⁹ Procopius of Gaza, *Panagyr. Anast.* 19, PG 87: 2817.

⁴⁰ Vann 1991; Hohlfelder 1996: 85; Alföldi 1999.

WALLS AND GATES

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

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

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

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

⁴² Tsafir and Foerster 1997: 102.

⁴³ Fropa 1959; 1961–62; Humphrey 1975; Lehmann 1994.

three times larger than before (Fig. 29). The road system emerging from the city⁴⁴ suggests the existence of four gates. The north Byzantine gate was eroded by the sea, the southern was a triple entrance monumental gate.⁴⁵ A Greek inscription mentioning a *bourgos* was uncovered near the conjectural location of the E gate.⁴⁶ A Roman monumental arch with a Greek inscription referring to the city as metropolis, a rank granted to the city by Alexander Severus, was located nearby,⁴⁷ indicating that like in the case of Gerasa, Jerusalem, Scythopolis, Gadara, (and Athens), the outskirts of the city were indicated by a monumental arch long before a city wall was actually constructed.

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

THE STREET SYSTEM AND URBAN PLAN

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

⁴⁴ Roll 1996.

⁴⁵ Peleg and Reich 1992, but see *supra*, note 8.

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

⁴⁷ Abel and Barrois 1931.

⁴⁸ Frova *et al.* 1965: 57–159, 165–86.

⁴⁹ Foss and Winfield 1986: 7–14.

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

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

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

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

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Temples

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

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

⁵² Kadman 1957; Ringel 1975: 151–162.

⁵³ Lifshitz 1966: 255–56.

⁵⁴ Gerst 1984; 1987; 1995; 1996; Frova 1962; Wenning 1986.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁰ Rea 1977; Eck 1998.

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

Synagogues

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

Christian Buildings

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁴ Kaegi 1992.

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

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

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

PALACES AND PRAETORIA

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

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

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

⁶⁷ Stanley 1999.

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

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

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

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

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

SPORTS ARENAS

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁵ For bibliographical references, see Sodini 1995; 1997.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Bull and Storvick 1993.

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

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

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

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

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

⁷⁹ Porath 1994; 1995a; 1996b; 1998: 40–41.

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

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

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

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

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

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

OTHER MONUMENTS AND BUILDINGS

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

WAREHOUSES AND HORREA

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

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

⁸⁵ Habas 1996; Weiss 1996; Levine 1975b.

⁸⁶ Holum 1992a. See also Chapter Two above.

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

⁸⁸ Levine 1975b: 38–40.

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

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

THE WATER SUPPLY SYSTEM⁹¹

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

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

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

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

⁹³ Porath 1990.

⁹⁴ Mayerson 1986.

BATHHOUSES, *NYMPHAEA*, AND LATRINES

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

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

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

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

⁹⁷ *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 4, ed. Geyer 1965: 13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰¹ Segal 1997: 161–180.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁰⁷ Lampinen 1999b; Bull and Storvick 1993.

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

¹⁰⁹ Raban 1996; Raban *et al.* 1992; 1993; 1999; Raban 2009.

¹¹⁰ Humphrey 1974; Cameron 1976; Liebeschuetz 1991; Dan 1981.

¹¹¹ Lifshitz 1977: 510–12; Lehmann and Holum 2000: inscr. 110.

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

¹¹³ Kennedy 1985: 3–27; Liebeschuetz 1992.

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

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

¹¹⁵ Struffolino in Frova 1965: 294–304; Reich 1985; Horton 1996.

¹¹⁶ Hirschfeld and Birger-Calderon 1991; Hirschfeld 1995; 2000.

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

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

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

POST SCRIPT—CAESAREA AS AN INTELLECTUAL CENTER IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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

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

¹¹⁸ Patrich 1998a; Holum 1998b.

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

¹¹⁹ Geiger 1994; 1996.

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

¹²⁰ Geiger 2001. See also Levine 1975a: 57–60.

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

¹²² Lehmann and Holum 2000: 36–37, inscr. no. 3.

¹²³ Eusebius, *HE* VII, 32, 2–4.

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

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

rhetor mentioned by Libanius, seemingly a Caesarean as well, was Heli-
pidius, who was teaching later in Athens and finally settled in Con-
stantinople. Two other Palestinian sophists, seemingly Caesareans,
were the late 4th c. sophists Pangyrius and Priskion.¹²⁶

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

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

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

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

¹²⁸ *HE* VII, 32, 25. On his activity in Caesarea see: Kofsky 2006, with farther refer-
ences; Geiger 2001: 30–31.

¹²⁹ Runia 1996.

¹³⁰ *HE* VI, 32. On the library, see Carriker 2003.

¹³¹ Hieron. *Ep.* 34.

¹³² *HE* VI, 23, 1–2.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Abu al-Fath al-Samiri al-Danafi, *Continuatio—The Continuatio of the Samaritan Chronicle of Abu al-Fath al-Samiri al-Danafi*, text translation with annotations by Milka Levy-Rubin, Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press 2002.
- Anastasius Persae—Acta martyris Anastasii Persae*, ed. H. Usener. Bonn 1894; B. Flusin, ed. *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*. 1: Textes; 2: Commentaire: les moines de Jérusalem et l'invasion perse. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 1992.
- Antoninus of Placentia, *Itinerarium*, ed. P. Geyer, in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, CCSL 175. Turnhout 1965:127–153.
- Avot de Rabbi Nathan*, edited Schechter. Vienna 1887.
- Babylonian Talmud: Translated Into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices* (35 vols.). 1935–1952, ed. I. Epstein. London.
- al-Baladhuri, *Futuh al-buldan—The Origins of the Islamic State*, ed. K. Hitti. New York 1916.
- Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Migne, PG 92: 69–1028.
- Cod. Just.*
- Doctrina Jacobi*, ed. N. Bonwetsch, Berlin 1910.
- Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiasticae*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier. London 1898 (Amsterdam 1964).
- Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ed. J. Rougé, Paris 1966.
- Jerome, *In Hiezech*. Hieronymus, *Commentarium in Hiezecheilem libri XIV*, ed. F. Glorie. CCSL 75, Turnhout 1964.
- , *Epistulae*, ed. J. Labourt, *Letters*. Paris 1949–1955; ed. I. Hildberg, CSEL 56, Vienna 1918; PL 22: 825–1224.
- Jerusalem Talmud, First Order: Zeraim*, tr. H. W. Guggenheimer, Berlin and New York 2003.
- John of Nikiu, *Chronicle—The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, trans. from Zotenberg's Ethiopic text by R.H. Charles. London and Oxford 1916.
- Josephus, Flavius, *War*, tr. H.S.J. Thackeray, LCL 203. London 1927.
- , *Antiquities XV*. LCL 489. London 1963.
- , *Antiquities XVI*. LCL 410. London 1963.
- , *Antiquities XVIII*. LCL 433. London 1965.
- Kyrrillos von Scythopolis, ed. Ed. Schwartz, Leipzig 1949 [Texte und Untersuchungen Vol. 49 ii].
- Lamentations Rabba*, ed. S. Buber. Vilna 1897.
- Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn 1831; ed. I. Thurn, Berlin 2000.
- Marc le Diacre, *Vita Porphyrii*, ed. H. Gregoire and M.A. Kugener, Paris 1930.
- Midrash Mishle*, ed. S. Buber. Vilna 1893; *A critical edition based on manuscripts and early editions with an introduction and annotated*. English translation of chapters One through Ten, edited by B.L. Visotzky. The Jewish Theological Seminary of America 1990.
- Midrash Shohar Tov to Psalms*, ed. S. Buber. Vilna 1891.
- Mishnah*, ed. H. Albeck and H. Yalon. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv 1952–1958 (Hebrew); Eng. tr. H. Danby, *The Mishnah*, Oxford 1933; *Mishnah. A New Translation*. J. Neusner, New Haven and London 1988.
- Mishnah, Tractate Oholot*, ed. A. Goldberg, Jerusalem 1955.

- Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*. Philo of Alexandria, *The Embassy to Gaius*, with an English translation by F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker. London: LCL, X: 2–187; edited with an introduction, translation and commentary by E. Mary Smallwood, 2nd ed., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970.
- Pirkei Hekhalot Rabbati*, ed. S.A. Wertheimer, *Batei Midrashot* I. Jerusalem 1950.
- Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*. ed. H. Rackham. LCL, Oxford: W. Heinemann, 1949–1963.
- Procopius, *Anecdota*. Procopius of Caesarea, *The Anecdota, or Secret history*, ed. H.B. Dewing, LCL, London: W. Heinemann 1954.
- Procopius of Gaza, *Panagyr. Anast.* PG 87.
- Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*.
- Synopse zur Hekhalot Literature*, ed. P. Schäfer, Tübingen 1981.
- Talmud Babli* (= TB), *Babylonian Talmud. Printed edition*. Vilna 1880–1886.
- Talmud of the Land of Israel, A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, Vol. 5: *Shebi'it*, tr. A. J. Avery-Peck, Chicago and London 1991.
- , *A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, Vol. 9: *Hallah*, tr. J. Neusner. Chicago and London 1991.
- , *A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, Vol. 3: *Demai*, tr. R.S. Sarason, Chicago and London 1993.
- , *A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*, Vol. 13: *Pesahim*, tr. B.M. Bokser and L.H. Shiffman, Chicago and London 1994.
- Talmud Yerushalmi* (= TY). *Printed edition*, Venice 1523–24, reprt. 1925; ed. Y. Sussman, Jerusalem 2001; English: *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: a preliminary translation and explanation*, tr. by Jacob Neusner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982–1994.
- Theodoros Anagnostes, *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Theodore Lector, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. Hansen. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, c. 1995. [GCS, Neue Folge, Bd. 3].
- Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. D. Boor, Leipzig 1883.
- Theophanes Confessor, *Chronicle*.—*The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near East history, A.D. 284–813*, trans. with introduction and commentary by C. Mango and R. Scott, with the assistance of G. Greatrex, Oxford: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press 1997.
- Tosefeth Rishonim*, ed. S. Lieberman, Vol. II. Jerusalem 1939.
- Tosefta Kifshuta, Zeraim B: Shebiit*, ed. S. Lieberman, New York 1956.
- Tosefta*, Eng. translated from the Hebrew. Sixth Division: Tohorot (Order of Purities), ed. J. Neusner, New York 1977.
- , Eng. translated from the Hebrew. Second Division: Mo'ed (The Order of Appointed Times), ed. J. Neusner, New York 1981.
- Tosefta with Hasdei David commentary*, VIII: Purities A (first pr. 1970). Commentary by R. Isaac Pardo (1718–1790). Jerusalem 1994.
- Tosefta based on the Erfurt and Vienna codices with parallels and variants*, ed. M.S. Zuckerman 1881; New edition with *Supplement to the Tosefta* by S. Lieberman, Jerusalem 1970.
- Tractate 'Mourning' (Semahot)*, ed. A. Heiger, New York 1931; *Tractate 'Mourning' (Semahot)* [regulations relating to death, burial, and mourning], transl. from the Hebrew, with introduction and notes by D. Zlotnick, New Haven and London 1966.
- Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ed. F. Granger, Cambridge MS: LCL 1970.
- Yerushalmi Kifshuto*, ed. S. Lieberman, 2nd ed. Vol. I.1. New York and Jerusalem 1995.
- Zacharia Rhetor, Ps. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, PG 85: 1011–1114; Eng. tr. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks, *The Syriac chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene*. London: Methuen & Co. 1899.

STUDIES

- Abbott, Frank F. and Johnson, Allan C. (1926), *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Abel, Félix-Marie (1923), 'La list géographique du papyrus 71 de Zénon', *RB* 32:409–15.
- (1952), *Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe, 2 Vols.* (Paris: J. Gabalda).
- Abel, Félix-Marie and Barrois, Augustin Georges (1931), 'Fragment de Césarée la metropole', *RB* 40: 294–95.
- 'Ad, Uzi (2005), 'Water-mills with Pompeian-type millstones at Nahal Tanninim', *IEJ* 55: 156–71.
- Akurgal, Ekrem (1978), *Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey* (Istanbul: Haset Kitabevi).
- Albricci, Anna (1962), 'L'orchestra dipinta del teatro Erodiano di Caesarea Maritima', *Bollettino di Arte* 4: 289–304.
- (1965), 'L'orchestra dipinta del teatro Erodiano di Caesarea Maritima', in A. Prova et al. (ed.), *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Milan): 93–120.
- Alchermes, Joseph (1994), 'Spolia in Roman Cities of the Late Empire: Legislative Rationales and Architectural Reuse', *DOP* 48: 167–78.
- Alföldi, Andreas (1937), *A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the Fourth Century* (Budapest: Institute of Numismatics and Archaeology of the Pázmány University).
- Alföldi, Geza (1999), 'Pontius Pilatus und das *Tiberieum* von Caesarea Maritima', *SCI* 18: 85–108.
- (2002), 'Nochmals: Pontius Pilatus und das *Tiberieum* von Caesarea Maritima', *SCI* 21: 133–48.
- Alicu, Dorin and Paki, Adela (1995), *Town Planning and Population in Ulpia Triana Sarmizegetusa* (BAR Int. Ser. 605; Oxford).
- Alon, Gedaliahu (1957), *Studies in the History of the Jewish People (Hebrew)* (I; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad).
- (1957), *Studies in the History of the Jewish People, 2 vols. (Hebrew)* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad).
- (1971), *History of the Jews in Eretz Israel in the period of Mishnah and Talmud (Hebrew)* (II; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad).
- Amit, David, Seligman, John, and Zilberbod, Irena (2000), 'The Monastery of Theodoros and Kyriakos on the eastern Slope of Mount Scopus (Hebrew, with an English summary in pp. 11*–12*)', in Avraham Faust and Eyal Baruch (eds.), *NSJ* (6; Ramat Gan): 166–74.
- Amit, David, Patrich, Joseph, and Hirschfeld, Yizhar (eds.) (2002), *The Aqueducts of Israel* (JRA Suppl. 46, Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology).
- Amit, Moshe (2002), *History of the Roman Empire (Hebrew)*. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press).
- Appelbaum, Shimon (1977a), 'The Burial Place of Rabbi Aqiva (Hebrew)', *The 7th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem* (Jerusalem): 46.
- (1977b), 'Judaea as a Roman Province: the Countryside as a Political and Economic Factor', *ANRW* (2, 8): 355–96.
- Arav, Rami (1989), 'Some Notes on the Foundation of Straton's Tower', *PEQ* 121: 144–48.
- Arnon, Yael (2004), 'Early Islamic Period Caesarea (640–1110 C.E.) (Hebrew)', *Qadmoniot* 37: 23–33.
- Attwater, Donald (1965, repr. 1974), *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Ayllesbury: Penguin Books).

- Aupert, Paul (1994), 'Evolution et avatars d'une forme architecturale', in Christian Landes et al. (eds.), *Catalogue de l'exposition: Le stade romain et ses spectacles* (Lattes, Cedex): 95–105.
- Aviam, Mordechai (1999), 'Christian Galilee in the Byzantine Period', in Eric Meyers (ed.), *Galilee Through the Centuries, Confluence and Cultures* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns): 281–300.
- Avi-Yonah, Michael (1952), 'Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek', *IEJ* 2: 118–24.
- (1956), '"Caesarea", Notes and News', *IEJ* 6: 260–61.
- (1957), 'Césarée. Chronique archeologique', *RB* 64: 243–46.
- (1960), 'The Synagogue of Caesarea-Preliminary Report', *Louis Rabinowitz Bulletin for the Exploration of Ancient Synagogues* (II; Jerusalem): 44–48.
- (1962), *Geographical History of the Land of Israel (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute).
- (1964), 'Survey of Population Density, and Settlements Quantity in Ancient Eretz Israel (Hebrew)', *Essays and Studies in the Lore of the Holy Land* (Tel Aviv: M. Newman): 114–24.
- (1970), 'The Caesarea Porphyry Statue', *IEJ* 20: 203–08.
- (ed.), (1975), *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- (1976), *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (Qedem. Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology; Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University and Carta).
- Avi-Yonah, Michael and Negev, Avraham (1963), 'Notes and News: Caesarea', *IEJ* 13: 146–48.
- Avner, Tamar (1999), 'Early Byzantine Wall Paintings from Caesarea', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2 (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 35; Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology)*: 109–28.
- Ayalon, Eithan (1991), 'Giant Jars from Yavneh Yam (Hebrew)', in Moshe Fisher (ed.), *Yavneh Yam and its Environment* (Jerusalem): 80–88.
- (2000), 'Typology and chronology of water-wheel (saqiya) pottery pots from Israel', *IEJ* 50: 216–26.
- (2005), *The assemblage of bone and ivory artifacts from Caesarea Maritima, Israel, 1st–13th centuries CE* (BAR Int. Ser., 457; Oxford).
- Ayalon, Etan, Frankel, Rafael, and Kloner, Amos (eds.) (2009), *Oil and wine presses in Israel from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Oxford: Archeopress).
- Bagatti, Bellarmino (1971), *The Church from the Circumcision. History and Archaeology of the Judaeo-Christians* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press).
- Ball, Warwick (2000), *Rome in the East* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Ball, Warwick et al. (1986), 'The North Decumanus and the North Tetracylon at Jerash', in F. Zayadine (ed.), *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981–1983 (I; Amman)*: 351–410.
- Balty, Janine (1969), *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1965–68*. (Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie. Miscellanea 6; Bruxelles: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie).
- Balty, J. Ch. (1969), 'L'édifice dit 'au triclino', in J. Ch. Balty (ed.), *Apamée de Syrie* (Bruxelles): 105–16.
- Balty, Jean Charles (ed.), (1984), *Apamée de Syrie (Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979, aspects de l'architecture domestique d'Apamée)* (Bruxelles: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie).
- (1984), 'Notes sur l'habitat romain, byzantin et arabe d'Apamée: rapport de synthèse', in J. Balty (ed.), *Apamée de Syrie* (Bruxelles): 471–501.
- Barański, Marek (1995), 'The Great Colonnade of Palmyra', *Aram Periodical* 7: 37–46.

- Barag, Dan (1964), 'An Inscription from the High Aquaduct at Caesarea—Reconsidered', *IEJ* 14: 250–52, pl. 45.a–d.
- (1996), 'The Legal and Administrative Status of the Port of Sebastos during the Early Roman Period', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln): 609–14.
- Baras, Zvi (1982), 'The Persian Conquest and the End of Byzantine Rule (Hebrew)', in Zvi Baras et al. (eds.), *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak ben Zvi): 300–49.
- Barghouti, A. (1982), 'Urbanization of Palestine and Jordan in Hellenistic and Roman Times', *SHAJ* 1: 209–18.
- Bar-Nathan, Rachel and Mazor, Gabi (1992), 'City Center (South) and Tel Iztaba Area; Excavations of the Antiquities Authority Expedition', *ESI* 11: 43–44.
- Barnes, Thimoty D. (1981), *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Baslez, Marie-Francoise (1991), *Saint Paul* (Paris: Fayard).
- Beaucamp, Joelle (2000), 'Le droit successoral relatif aux curiales: Procope et Justinien', in S. Puliaatti and A. Sanguinetti (eds.), *Legislazione, cultura giuridica, prassi dell'Impero d'Oriente in eta giustiniana tra passato e futuro* (Modena): 379–95.
- Becker, Jürgen (1995), *Paul, "Vapotre des Nations"* (tr. from German), trans. J. Hoffmann (Paris).
- Bejor, G. (1999), *Vie colonnate: Paesaggi urbani del mondo antico* (Rivista di archeologia. Supplementi 22; Roma).
- Bengtson, Hermann (1979), *Die Flavier: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian: Geschichte eines römischen Kaiserhauses* (Munich: Beck).
- Ben-Shalom, Israel (1994), *The House of Shammai and the Struggle of the Zealots against Rome (Hebrew)*. (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi).
- Ben-Zvi, Izhak (1961), 'A Lamp with a Samaritan Inscription', *IEJ* 11: 139–42.
- Berchem, Denis-Van (1976), 'Le plan de Palmyre', *Palmyre, bilan et perspectives. Colloque de Strasbourg (18–20 Octobre 1973) [3e colloque du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grece Antiques]* (Strasbourg: A.E.C.R.): 165–73.
- Berger, Albrecht (1982), *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 27; Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie der Universität).
- Berlin, Andrea (1992), 'Hellenistic and Roman Pottery, Preliminary Report, 1990', in R.L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor MI): 112–12.
- Blakely, Jeffrey A. (1984), 'A Stratigraphically Determined Date for the Inner Fortification Wall of Caesarea Maritima', in H.A. Thompson (ed.), *The Answers Lie Below: Essays in Honor of Laurence Edmund Toombs* (Lanham, MD): 3–38.
- (1987), *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Excavation Reports 4: The Pottery and Dating of Vault 1: Horreum, Mithraeum and Later Usage* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press).
- (1988), 'Ceramics and Commerce. Amphorae from Caesarea Maritima', *BASOR* 271, 31–50.
- (1989), 'The City Walls of Straton's Tower: A Stratigraphic Rejoinder', *BASOR* 273: 79–82.
- (1992), 'Stratigraphy and the North Fortification Wall of Herod's Caesarea', in R.L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Series, 5; Ann Arbor): 26–41.
- Blatt, Franz (ed.), (1958), *The Latin Josephus I* (Acta Jutlandica 30, I, Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget).
- Boudignon, Christopher (2004), 'Maxime le Confesseur était-il Constantinopolitain? In Philomathestatos', in B. Janssens and P.V.D.B. Roosen (eds.), *Studies in Greek*

- Patristics and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Orientalia Leuvenensia Analecta 137; Leuven and Paris: Peeters.): 11–43.
- Bowersock, G.W. (1995), *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Brandon, Christopher (1996), 'Cements, Concrete, and Settling Barges at Sebastos: Comparisons with Other Roman Harbor Examples and the Descriptions of Vitruvius', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holm (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York, and Köln): 25–40.
- Brettler, Marc Zvi and Poliakoff, M. (1990), 'Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish at the Gladiator's Banquet: Rabbinic Observations on the Roman Arena', *HTR* 83: 93–98.
- Brockelmann, C. (1928, reprinted 1966), *Lexicon Syriacum* (Hale: Hildesheim, G. Olms).
- Brodie, Israel and Rabinowitz, Jacob (eds.) (1956), *Studies in Jewish History. The Adolph Büchler memorial volume* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press).
- Broshi, Magen (1980), 'The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period', *BASOR* 236: 1–10.
- Bruneau, Philippe (1961), 'Isis Pélagia à Délos', *BCH* 85: 435–46.
- (1963), 'Isis Pélagia à Délos', *BCH* 87: 301–8.
- (1965), *Exploration Archéologique de Délos. Fasc. XXVI: Les Lampes* (Paris: E. de Brocard).
- Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis (1909), *Texts Relating to Saint Ména of Egypt and Canons of Nicea in a Nubian Dialect* (London: British Museum).
- Bull, Robert J. (1973), 'Notes and News: Caesarea', *IEJ* 23: 260–62.
- (1974a), 'A Mithraic Medallion from Caesarea', *IEJ* 24: 187–90.
- (1974b), 'Notes and News: Caesarea', *IEJ* 24: 281–82.
- (1975), 'Césarée Maritime', *RB* 82: 278–80.
- (1978), 'The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima', *études Mithraïques, textes et mémoires* 4: 75–89.
- (1981), 'The ninth season of excavations at Caesarea Maritima', *AJA* 85: 188.
- (1982), 'Caesarea Maritima. The search for Herod's city', *BAR* 8: 24–40.
- (1984), 'Caesarea Maritima 1980, 1982, 1984', *ESI* 3: 15–16.
- Bull, Robert J. and Toombs, L.E. (1972), 'Notes and News: Caesarea', *IEJ* 22: 178–80.
- Bull, Robert J. et al. (1985), *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Preliminary Reports in microfiche* (Madison, NJ: Drew University Institute for Archaeological Research).
- (1990), 'The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: tenth season, 1982', *BASOR Suppl.* 27: 75–82.
- Bull, Robert J. and Storvick, Olin (1993), 'The Gold Coin Hoard at Caesarea', *BA* 56: 116–20.
- Bull, Robert J., Krentz, E., and Storvick, Olin J. (1986), 'The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima. Ninth Season, 1980', *BASOR Suppl.* 24: 31–55.
- Burkhard, Büttger (2002), *Die kaizerlichtlichen Lampen von Kerameikos. Kerameikos: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 16 (München: Hirmer Verlag).
- Burnett, Andrew, Amandry, Michel, and Ripollès, Pere. P. (1992), *Roman Provincial Coinage. Vol. 1: From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44BC–AD69)* (London: British Museum Press; Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale).
- Burrell, Barbara (1993), 'Two Inscribed Columns from Caesarea Maritima', *ZPE* 99: 287–95.
- (1996), 'Palace to Praetorium: The Romanization of Caesarea', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holm (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln): 228–47.
- Burrell, Barbara and Gleason, Kathryn. L. (1995), 'The Promontory Palace at Caesarea, Israel. The 1993 and 1994 Seasons', *AJA* 99 (2): 306–7.

- Burrell, Barbara, Gleason, Kathryn. L. and Netzer, Ehud (1993), 'Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace', *BAR* 19: 50–57, 76.
- Burton, G.P. (1975), 'Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice under the Empire', *JRS* 65: 92–106.
- Butler, Howard Crosby (1914), *Publications of Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria, Div. II: Architecture. Section A: Southern Syria, Part 4: Bostra* (Leiden: E.J. Brill).
- Caetani, L. (1911), *Annali dell'Islam* (4; Milano: U. Hoepli).
- Callmer, C. (1954), 'Antike Bibliotheken', *Opuscula Archaeologica* III: 144–93.
- Cameron, Alan (1976), *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Cameron, Averil (1985), *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London and Barkley).
- Carriker, A. (2003), *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Leiden: Brill).
- Castagnoli, Ferdinando (1971), *Orthogonal Town Planning in Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology).
- (1984), 'Influenze alessandrine nell'urbanistica della Roma Augustea', *Alessandria e il Mondo Ellenistico-Romano. Studi in Onore di Achile Adriani (Studi e Materiali. Inst. di Arch. Univ. di Palermo 6)* (Rome): 520–26.
- Chastagnol, André (1978), *L'Album municipal de Timgad* (Bonn: Gabelt).
- Clark, Elizabeth A. (1992), 'Eusebius on Women in the Early Church History', in H.W. Attridge and G. Hata (eds.), *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism* (Detroit): 256–69.
- Claude, Dietrich (1969), *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (München: Beck).
- Coleman, K.M. (1990), 'Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments', *JRS* 80: 44–73.
- Conder, C.R. and Kitchener, H.H. (1882), *Survey of Western Palestine II: Samaria*. (London: Palestine Exploration Fund).
- Conrad, Lawrence I. (1992), 'The Conquest of Arwâd: A Source-Critical Study in the Historiography of the Early Medieval Near East', in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, 1: Problems in the Literary Source Material (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam)* (Princeton: Darwin Press): 317–401.
- Cope, Carol (1999), 'Faunal Remains and Butchery Practices from Byzantine and Islamic Contexts (1993–94 seasons)', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2 (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 35, II)*; Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology: 405–17.
- Cotton, Hannah M. and Geiger, Joseph (1996), 'The Economic Importance of Herod's Masada: the Evidence of the Jar Inscriptions', in Klaus Fittschen and Gideon Foerster (eds.), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of the Archaeological Evidence* (Göttingen): 163–70.
- Cotton, Hannah M. and Eck, Werner (2001), 'Governors and their Personnel in Latin Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima', *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 7 (7): 215–40.
- (2002), 'A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Elite of Caesarea Maritima', in Leonard V. Rutgers (ed.), *What Has Athens to Do with Jerusalem: Essays in Honor of Gideon Foerster* (Leuven: Peeters): 375–91.
- (2003), 'Eine Provinz Entsteht: Alte und neue lateinische Inschriften in Judaea unter Vespasian', in Edward Dąbrowa (ed.), *The Roman Near East and Armenia (Electrum 7)* (Krakaw: Jagiellonian University Press): 30–35.
- Cotton, Hannah M., Lernau, Omri, and Goren, Yuval (1996), 'Fish Sauces from Herodian Masada', *JRA* 9: 223–38.
- Coulton, J.J. (1976), *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

- Cross, Frank Leslie and Livingstone, Elizabeth A. (eds.) (1974), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 2nd edition* (London-New York-Toronto).
- Crowfoot, John Winter *et al.* (1942), *The Buildings at Samaria* (London: Palestine Exploraton Fund).
- Crown, Alan David (1989), 'The Byzantine and Moslem Period', in Alan David Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)): 55–81.
- Dahari, Uzi (2000), *Monastic Settlements in South Sinai in the Byzantine Period. The Archaeological Remains* (Israel Antiquities Authority Reports, 9; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority).
- Dan, Yaron (1981), 'Circus Factions (Blues and the Greens) in Byzantine Palestine', in I.L. Levine (ed.), *The Jerusalem Cathedra: Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* (1; Jerusalem and Toronto): 105–19.
- (1984), *The City in Eretz Israel during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben Zvi).
- Dauphin, Claudine (1999), 'From Apollo and Asclepius to Christ. Pilgrimage and Healing at the Temple and Episcopal Basilica of Dor', *LA* 49: 397–430; Pls. 1–4.
- Davies, P.S. (1989), 'The Origin and Purpose of the Persecution of AD 303', *JTS* 40: 66–94.
- Degrassi, Attilio (1926), 'Il papiro 1026 della Società italiana e I diplomi militari romani', *Aegyptus* 10: 242–54.
- Delehayé, Hippolyte (1910), 'L'invention des reliques de saint Ménas à Constantinople', *AB* 29: 117–50.
- (1923, Repr. 1962), *Les Saints Stylites* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes; Paris: A. Picard).
- Delplace, Christiane and Dentzer-Feydy, Jacqueline (2005), *L' Agora de Palmyre* (Pessac: Ausonius; Beyrouth: Institut français du Proche-Orient).
- Di-Segni, Leah (1990), 'The Church of Mary Theotokos on Mount Gerizim: the Inscriptions', in G.C. Bottini, L. Di-Segni, and E. Alliata (eds.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press): 343–50.
- (1994), 'Eis Theos in Palestinian inscriptions', *SCI* 13: 94–115.
- (1996), 'Metropolis and Provincia in Byzantine Palestine', in A. Raban and K.G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden-New York-Köln): 575–92.
- (1998), 'The Samaritans in Roman-Byzantine Palestine: Some Misapprehensions', in Haim Lapin (ed.), *Religious and Ethnic Communities in Later Roman Palestine* (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland): 51–66.
- (2000), 'The Inscriptions from the Chapel of St. Paul at Caesarea', *LA* 50: 383–400.
- (2002a), 'Epigraphical and literary sources on Aqueducts', in David Amit, Joseph Patrich, and Yizhar Hirschfeld (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Israel (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 46; Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology)*: 37–67.
- (2002b), 'Inscription on a *Eulogia* Stamp', *IMSA* 1: 33–38.
- Di-Segni, L. and Frankel, R. (2000), 'A Greek Inscription from Kibbutz Shomrat', *IEJ* 50: 43–46.
- Di-Segni, Leah, Patrich, Joseph, and Holum, Kenneth G. (2003), 'A Schedule of Fees for Official Services from Caesarea Maritima', *ZPE* 145: 273–300.
- Djobadze, Wachtang (1986), *Archaeological Investigations in the Regions West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes*. (Stuttgart: F. Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden).
- Donner, Fred M. (1981), *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Downey, Glanville (1937), 'The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basilike* in Classical Literature', *AJA* 41: 194–211.
- (1958), 'The Christians Schools of Palestine', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12: 297–319.

- (1975), 'Caesarea and the Christian Church', in Ch. T. Fritsch (ed.), *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima* (BASOR Suppl. 19; Missoula, MA): 23–42.
- Drei, Yeshua (2003), 'The process of wine production in the elaborate Byzantine wine-press (Hebrew)', *SJS* 12: 219–28.
- Dresken-Weiland, Jutta (1991), *Relieferte Tischplatten aus Theodosianischer Zeit* (Roma, Citta del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana).
- Dunand, Françoise (2000), *Isis: Mère des Dieux* (Paris: Editions Errance).
- Duran, Robert (1992), *The Lives of Simeon Stylites* (Cistercian Studies Vol. 112; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications).
- Duval, Noel (1984), 'Les maisons d'Apamée et l'architecture 'palatiale' de l'antiquité tardive', in J. Ch. Balty (ed.), *Apamée de Syrie [Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973–1979, aspects de l'architecture domestique d'Apamée]* (Bruxelles): 457–64.
- Dyggve, Ejnar (1933), *Recherches à Salone* (II; Copenhagen: J.H. Schultz).
- Eck, Werner (1996), 'Zu Lateinischen Inschriften aus Caesarea in Iudaea/Palaestina', *ZPE* 113: 129–43.
- (1998), 'Ein Prokuratorenpaar von Syria Palaestina in P. Berol. 21652', *ZPE* 123: 249–55.
- (2000), 'Provincial Administration and Finance', in Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History. 2d ed., vol. 11: High Empire, A.D. 70–192* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 266–92.
- (2002), 'Compte rendu', *Topoi* 10: 538–39.
- (2007), *Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina*, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- (2009), 'The presence, role and significance of Latin in the epigraphy and culture of the Roman Near East', in Hannah M. Cotton, et al. (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 1–42.
- Eck, Werner and Cotton, Hannah M. (2009), 'Inscriptions from the Financial Procurator's Praetorium in Caesarea', in Leah Di-Segni, et al. (eds.), *Man Near a Roman Arch. Studies presented to Prof. Yoram Tsafrir* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 98*–114*.
- Edelstein, Gershon (1996), 'Binyamina (Hebrew)', *HA* 106: 174.
- (1998), 'Binyamina', *ESI* 18: 114.
- El'ad, A. (1982), 'The Coastal Cities of Palestine during the Early Middle Ages', *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2: 446–67.
- Elitzur, Yoel (2008), 'The Siloam Pool—'Solomon's Pool'—was a swimming pool', *PEQ* 140: 17–25.
- Ellis, Simon (1985), 'The 'Palace of the Dux' at Apollonia, and Related Houses', in Graeme Barker et al. (eds.), *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (BAR International Series 236): 15–25.
- Erim, Kenan T. (1969), 'The ninth campaign of excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria', *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 18/2: 87–110.
- Etienne, Robert (1966), 'La naissance de l'amphithéâtre le mot et la chose', *Révue des études latines* 43: 213–20.
- Evans, A. (1999), 'Procopius', in Peter Brown, Glen Bowersock, and Oleg Grabar (eds.), *Late Antiquity* (Cambridge Mass. and London): 654.
- Everman, Diane (1992), 'Survey of the coastal area of Caesarea and of the aqueducts: preliminary report', in L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1 (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5)* (I; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 184–93.
- Fabre, Pierre Demargne (1965), 'La date de la rédaction du périple de Scylax', *Les études classiques* 33: 353–66.
- Farmer, David Hugh (1987), *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (2 edn.; New York: Oxford University Press).
- Fears, J. Rufus (1988), 'Ruler Worship', in M. Grant and R. Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the ancient Mediterranean, Greece and Rome* (II; New York: Scribner's): 1009–25.

- Fedalto, Giorgio (1988), *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis* (Padova: Edizioni Messagero).
- Feig, Nurith (1994), 'A Byzantine Bread Stamp from Tiberias', *LA* 44: 591–94.
- Festugière, André Jean (1962), *Les moines d'Orient III.2, Les moines de Palestine (Cyril de Scythopolis, Vie de Saint Sabas)* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf).
- Finley, Moses I. and Pleket, H.W. (1976), *The Olympic Games: The first thousand years* (New York).
- Finocchi, Silvana (1965), 'La cinta Erodianna', in A. Frova *et al.* (eds.), *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Milano): 247–92; Figs. 85–90.
- Fiocchi Nicolai, Vincenzo, Bisconti, Fabrizio, and Mazzoleni, Danilo (1999), *The Christian Catacombs of Rome* (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner).
- Fischer, M. (1990), *Das korinthische Kapitell im Alten Israel in der hellenistischen und römischen Periode* (Mainz).
- Fisher, M.L., Magaritz, M., and Pearl, Z. (1992), 'Decoration and Marble Sources of Sarcophagi from Caesarea: a case study', in R.L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers I Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor, MI): 214–21.*
- Fittschen, K. and G., Foerster (eds.) (1996), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence* (Göttingen).
- Flinder, A. (1976), 'A Piscina at Caesarea—A Preliminary Survey', *IEJ* 26: 77–88.
- (1985), 'The Piscinas at Caesarea and Lapithos', in A. Raban (ed.), *Harbour Archaeology. Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours. Caesarea Maritima* (British Archaeological Reports, Inter. Ser. 257; Oxford): 173–8.
- Flusin, B. (1992), *Saint Anastase le Perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle, vol. 2: Commentaire* (Paris: éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique).
- Flusser, David (1975), 'The Great Goddess of Samaria', *IEJ* 25: 13–20.
- Foerster, G. (1975), 'The Early History of Caesarea', in Ch. T. Fritsch (ed.), *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima* (BASOR Suppl. 19; Missoula, MA): 9–21.
- (1995), *Masada V: Art and Architecture* (Jerusalem).
- Foss, C. and D. Winfield (1986), *Byzantine Fortifications—An Introduction* (Pretoria).
- Fox, R.L. (1986), *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Fradkin, Arlen and Lernau, Omri (2008), 'The fishing economy at Caesarea', in Kenneth G. Holum, Jeniffer A. Stabler, and Edward Reinhardt (eds.), *Caesarea Reports and Studies* (Oxford: BAR Int. Ser. 1784): 189–200.
- Frankel, Z. (1967), *Introduction to the Yerushalmi (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem).
- Frankel, Rafael (1999), *Wine and oil production in antiquity in Israel and other Mediterranean countries* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Fredkin, E. (Habas) (1980), 'The Regulations of Rabbi pertaining to the borders of Eretz Israel (Hebrew)', unpublished M.A. thesis (Tel Aviv University).
- Friend, W.H.C. (1965), *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* (Oxford).
- Fritsch, Ch. T. (1975), *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima* (BASOR Suppl. 19; Missoula, MA).
- Fritsch, Ch. T. and Ben-Dor, I. (1961), 'The Link Expedition to Israel', *BA* 24: 50–56.
- Frova, Antonio (1959), *Caesarea Maritima (Israele): Rapporto preliminare della prima campagna della Missione Archeologica Italiana* (Milano).
- (1961–1962), 'Gli Scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana a Cesarea (Israele)', *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, 39–40, n.s.: 23–24, 649–57.
- (1962), 'La statua di Artemide Efesia a Caesarea Maritima', *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 4: 305–13.
- (1963), 'Italian Excavations in Israel: Caesarea', *CNI* 14: 3–4, 20–24, pls. 1–4.
- (1975), 'Caesarea', in Michael Avi-Yonah (ed.), *EAEHL* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 274–277.

- Frova, Antonio *et al.* (1965), *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* (Milano: Istituto lombardo).
- Gadot, Yuval and Tepper, Yotam (2008) *Archaeological Survey of Israel. Map of Regavim (49)* [online text], Israel Antiquities Authority.
- Gafni, Reuven (2006), 'To One Hundred and Twenty Birds (Hebrew)', *Ethmol*, XXVIII/4 (184): 10–12.
- Galavaris, George (1970), *Bread and Liturgy. The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps* (Madison Milwaukee and London: University of Wisconsin Press).
- Galili, Ehud, Rosen, Baruch, and Sharvit, Jacob (2010), 'Artifact Assemblages from two Roman Shipwrecks off the Carmel Coast', *Atiqot*, 63: 61–110.
- Galling, Kurt (1938), 'Die syrisch-palästinische Küste nach der Beschreibung bei Pseudo-Skylax', *ZDPV* 61: 66–96.
- Gardiner, Edward Norman (1910), *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London: Macmillan and co.).
- (2002), *Athletics of the ancient world 1930*, repr. (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications).
- Garland, Robert (1988), 'Greek Spectacles and Festivals', in Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the ancient Mediterranean, Greece and Rome* (II; New York: Scribner's): 1143–52.
- Garnsey, Peter (1968), 'The Criminal Jurisdiction of Governors', *JRS* 58: 51–59.
- Gebhard, Elizabeth R. (1975), 'Protective devices in Roman theaters', in Djordje Manozisi (ed.), *Studies in the antiquities of Stobi* (II; Belgrade: Tiho Najdovski): 43–63.
- Geiger, Joseph (1994), 'Latin in Roman Palestine', *Cathedra* 74: 3–21 (Hebrew).
- (1996), 'How Much Latin in Roman Palestine?', in Hannah Rosén (ed.), *Aspects of Latin: Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Jerusalem, April 1993* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft; Bd. 86; Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck): 39–57.
- (2001), "'Voices Reciting the Shema" in Greek: Jews, Gentiles and Greek Wisdom in Caesarea', *Cathedra* 99: 27–36 (Hebrew).
- Gendelman, Peter (2007), 'From Strato's tower to Caesarea Maritima. Hellenistic and Early Roman Ceramic Assemblages.', Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Haifa).
- Gerst, Rivka (1984), 'The Tyche of Caesarea Maritima', *PEQ* 116, 110–14.
- (1996), 'Representation of Deities and the Cults of Caesarea', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill): 305–24.
- (1996), 'Imported Marble Sarcophagi from Caesarea', *Assaph, Studies in Art History* 2: 13–26.
- (1999), 'Roman Statuary used in Byzantine Caesarea', in Kenneth G. Holum, Arvne Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers* 2: 389–98.
- Gerst, Rivka (1987), 'The Sculpture of Caesarea Maritima. Ph.D. dissertation (Hebrew)', (Tel Aviv University).
- (1995), 'Seven New Sculptural Pieces from Caesarea', in J. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East [JRA, Suppl. Ser. 14]* (Ann Arbor, MI): 108–20.
- Geva, Hillel (1993), 'Jerusalem. The Second Temple Period', in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *NEAEHL* (Jerusalem): 717–57.
- Gignoux, Philippe (1984), 'L'organisation administrative sasanide: le cas du Marzaban', *JSAI* 4: 1–29.
- Gil, Moshe (1983), *Eretz Israel in the Early Islamic Period (634–1099)*, 3 Vols. [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University and Ministry of Defense Publishing House).
- (1992), *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, trans. from Hebrew by E. Broido (New York: Cambridge University Press).
- Gleason, Kathryn L. (1996), 'Ruler and Spectacle: The Promontory Palace', in Raban and Holum 1996, in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill): 208–27.

- Gleason, Kathryn L. *et al.* (1998), 'The Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima: Preliminary Evidence for Herod's Praetorium', *JRA* 11: 23–52.
- Goldfus, Haim (1997), 'Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324–628 A.D.)', Ph.D. Dissertation (Princeton University, UMI Dissertation Services).
- Golvin, Jean-Claude (1988), *L'amphithéâtre romain* (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard).
- Golvin, Jean-Claude and Landes, Christian (1990), *Amphithéâtres et gladiateurs* (Paris: Presses du CNRS).
- Gordon, Hirsch Loeb (1931), 'The Basilica and the Stoa in Early Rabbinical Literature', *The Art Bulletin* XIII: 352–75.
- Govaars, Marylinda, Marie, Spiro, and L., White Michael (eds.) (2009), *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima Excavation Reports, Volume IX: Field O: The "Synagogue" Site*, eds. Robert J. Bull and Olin J. Storvick (ASOR).
- Grant, Michael and Kitzinger, Rachel (1988), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean, Greece and Rome* (II; New York: Scribner's).
- Gregoire, Henri (1950), *Les persécutions dans l'empire Romain* (Brussels: Palais des Académies).
- Griffiths, Gwyn J. (1978), 'Isis in the Metamorphoses of Apuleius', in Benjamin L. Hijmans and R.Th. van der Paart (eds.), *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass* (Groningen: Bouma): 141–66.
- Grimal, Pierre (1983), *Roman Cities*, trans. G.M. Woloch (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press).
- Grossmann, P. (1989), *Abu Mina I, Die Gruftkirche und die Gruft. [Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 44]* (Mainz am Rhein).
- Guidoboni, Emanuela, Comastri, A., and Traina, G. (1994), *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, trans. B. Phillips (Rome: Istituto nazionale di geofisica).
- Habas, Efrat (1996), 'The Hallachic Status of Caesarea as Reflected in the Talmudic Literature', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective After Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill): 454–68.
- Haefeli, Leo (1923), *Caesarea am Meer: Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt nach Josephus un Apostelgeschichte* (Münster: Aschendorffschen).
- Haensch, Rudolf (1997), *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern).
- Hall, S.G. (1993), 'Women among the Early Martyrs', in Diana Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford): 1–21.
- Hamburger, Anit (1959), 'A Greco-Samaritan Amulet from Caesarea', *IEJ* 9: 43–45 and Pl. 4 A, B.
- (1968), 'Gems from Caesarea Maritima', *Atiqot (English Series)*: 8.
- Hamburger, H. (1949), 'Caesarea Coin Finds and the History of the City (Hebrew)', *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 15: 73–82.
- (1955), 'Minute Coins from Caesarea', *Atiqot* 1: 118–19, 27–31, pls. X–XI.
- (1970), 'The Coin Issues of the Roman Administration from the Mint of Caesarea Maritima', *IEJ* 20: 81–91.
- Harel, Menashe (1988), 'Caesarea: City of Water and Prosperity (Hebrew)', in Rechavam Zeevy (ed.), *ILP* (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum): 163–78.
- Harris, Harold Arthur (1966), *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press).
- (1968), 'The starting gates for chariots at Olympia', *Greece and Rome* 15: 113–26.
- (1972), *Sport in Greece and Rome* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- (1976), *Greek athletics and the Jews* (Cardiff: The University of Wales Press).

- Hauben, H. (1987), 'Philocles, King of the Sidonians and General of the Ptolemies', in E. Lipinski (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 22; Leuven: Peeters): 413–42.
- Hayes, C.E. (2002), *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Inter-marriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).
- Hesberg, von H. (1996), 'The Significance of the Cities in the Kingdom of Herod', in K. Fittschen and G. Foerster (ed.), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht): 9–26.
- Hildesheimer, N.H. (1965), 'Geography of Eretz Israel', in S. Klein (ed.), *Studies in the Geography of Eretz Israel (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook): 1–115.
- Hill, D.R. (1971), *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests A.D. 634–656* (London: Luzac).
- Hillard, Thomas W. (1992), 'A Mid-1st c. B.C. Date for the Walls of Straton's Tower?', in Robert L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 42–48.
- Hirschfeld, Yizhar (1995), 'The Early Roman Bath and Fortress at Ramat Hanadiv near Caesarea', in J. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 14; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology)*: 28–55.
- (2000), *Ramat Hanadiv Excavations* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- Hirschfeld, Yizhar and Birger-Calderon, Rivka (1991), 'Early Roman and Byzantine Estates near Caesarea', *IEJ* 41: 81–111.
- Hitti, Philip Khuri (1916), *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York: Columbia University).
- Hoenle, Augusta and Henze, Anton (1981), *Römische Amphitheater und Stadien* (Zuerich: Atlantis).
- Hohlfelder, Robert L. (ed.), (1983), *City, Town, and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (East European Monographs, 120, Byzantine Series, 1, Boulder: Distributed by Columbia University Press).
- Hohlfelder, Robert (1989), 'Underwater Survey and Excavation. Link Expedition', in Avner Raban et al. (eds.), *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima, 1: The Site and the Excavations: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project 1980–1985* (BAR INT. Ser. 491; Oxford): 65–71.
- (1992), 'The first three decades of marine explorations', in R.L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1*: 291–94.
- (1996), 'Caesarea's Master Harbor Builders: Lessons Learned, Lessons Applied?', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective After Two Millennia* (Leiden: Brill): 77–101.
- Holum, Kenneth G. (1983), 'Caesarea and the Samaritans', in Robert L. Hohlfelder (ed.), *City, Town, and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era [East European Monographs, 120, Byzantine Series, 1]* (Boulder): 65–73.
- (1986a), 'Andreas Philoktistes, A Proconsul of Byzantine Palestine', *IEJ* 36: 61–64.
- (1986b), 'Flavius Stephanus, proconsul of Byzantine Palestine', *ZPE* 63: 231–39.
- (1989), 'The End of Classical Urbanism at Caesarea Maritima, Israel', in R.I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in Honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski* (2; New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas): 87–104.
- (1992a), 'Archaeological Evidence for the Fall of Byzantine Caesarea', *BASOR* 286: 73–85.
- (1992b), 'Hadrian and Caesarea: An Episode in the Romanization of Palestine', *AW* 23: 51–61.

- (1993), 'Temple Platform', in Avner Raban, Kenneth G. Holum, and Jeffrey A. Blakely (eds.), *The Combined Caesarea Expeditions: Field Report of the 1992 Season* (Haifa: Center for Maritime Studies): 53–60.
- (1995), 'Inscriptions from the Imperial Revenue Office of Byzantine Caesarea Palaestinae', in J. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East (JRA, Suppl. Ser. no. 14)* (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 333–45.
- (1996a), 'In the blinking of an eye: the Christianizing of Classical cities in the Levant', in Adele Berlin (ed.), *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East*, (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland): 131–50.
- (1996b), 'The Survival of the Bouleutic Class at Caesarea in Late Antiquity', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective After Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York, and Köln): 626–27.
- (1997), 'Caesarea', in Eric Meyers (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (1; New York and Oxford): 399–404.
- (1998a), 'Caesarea Palaestinae: The Byzantine-Islamic Transition', *Twenty-Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference Abstracts 5–8 November* (University of Kentucky): 42–43.
- (1998b), 'Identity and the Late Antique City: The Case of Caesarea', in Haim Lapin (ed.), *Religious and Ethnic Communities in Later Roman Palestine* (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland): 157–177.
- (1999), 'The Temple Platform: progress on the excavations', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2 (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 35)*, Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 13–26.
- (2004a), 'Building Power. The Politics of Architecture', *BAR* 30 (5): 36–45, 57.
- (2004b), 'The Combined Caesarea Expeditions Excavations: The Warehouse Quarter alongside the Harbor and Temple Platform (Hebrew)', *Qadmoniot* 37: 102–12.
- (2009), 'Et dispositione civitatis in multa eminens: Comprehending the Urban Plan of Fourth-Century Caesarea', in Leah Di-Segni, et al. (eds.), *Man Near a Roman Arch. Studies presented to Prof. Yoram Tsafrir* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 169*–89*.
- (forthcoming), 'Caesarea Palaestinae: A Paradigmatic Transition,' in: Holum, Kenneth G. and Lapin, Haim (eds.), *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition* (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland): 11–32.
- Holum, Kenneth G. et al. (1988), *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York and London: Norton).
- (1992a), 'Preliminary Report on the 1989–1990 Seasons', in R.L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 100–09.
- (1992b), 'Roman and Byzantine Caesarea', in Robert L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1* (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 79–193.
- Holum, Kenneth G. and Raban, Avner (1993), 'Caesarea', in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem): 270–72, 82–86.
- (1996), 'Introduction: Caesarea and Recent Scholarship', in A. Raban and K.G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln): xxvii–xliv.
- Holum, Kenneth G., Raban, Avner, and Patrich, Joseph (eds.) (1999), *Caesarea Papers 2: Herod's Temple, The Provincial Governor's Praetorium and Granaries, The Later Harbor, A Gold Coin Hoard, and Other Studies* (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 35, Portsmouth, Rhode Island).
- Holum, Kenneth G., Stabler, Jeniffer A., and Reinhardt, Edward (eds.) (2008), *Caesarea Reports and Studies* (BAR Int. Ser. 1784, Oxford).

- Holum, Kenneth G. and Lapin, Haim (eds.) (forthcoming), *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition* (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland).
- Homo, Leon P. (1949), *Vespasien, l'empereur du bon sens (69–79 ap. J.C.)* (Paris: A. Michel).
- Horton, Fred L. (1996), 'A Sixth-Century Bath in Caesarea's Suburbs and the Transformation of Bathing Culture in Late Antiquity', in A. Raban and K.G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Retrospective* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill): 177–89.
- Howard-Johnston, James (2000), 'The Education and Expertise of Procopius', *Antiquité Tardive* 8: 19–30.
- Humphrey, John (1974), 'Prolegomena to the Study of the Hippodrome at Caesarea Maritima', *BASOR* 213: 2–45.
- (1975), 'A Summary of the 1974 Excavations in the Caesarea Hippodrome', *BASOR* 218: 1–24.
- (1986), *Roman Circuses: Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London: Batsford).
- Humphrey, John H. (1988), 'Roman Games', in Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean, Greece and Rome* (II; New York: Scribner's): 1153–65.
- Humphrey, J.H. (1996), 'Amphitheatrical' Hippo-Stadia', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill): 121–29.
- Isaac, Benjamin (1980–81), 'Roman Colonies in Judaea: The Foundation of Aelia Capitolona', *Talanta* 12–13: 31–53.
- (1984), 'Judaea after A.D. 70', *JJS* 35: 44–50.
- (2009), 'Latin in cities of the Roman Near East', in Hannah M. Cotton, *et al.* (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 43–72.
- Israeli, Yael (2008), 'Chapter 7. The Glass Vessels', in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 367–418.
- Israeli, Yael and Mevorah, David (2000), *Cradle of Christianity* (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum).
- Japp, Sarah (2000), *Die Baupolitik Herodes' des Großen: Die Bedeutung der Architektur für die Herrschaftslegitimation eines römischen Klientelkönigs* (Internationale Archéologie 64; Rahden Westfalen: Leidorf).
- Jastrow, Marcus (1985), *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Treasury).
- Jeremias, Joachim (1931), 'Der Taraxippos im Hippodrom von Caesarea Palaestinae', *ZDPV* 54: 279–89, pls. XII–XIII.
- Johnson, Barbara L. (2008), 'Chapter 2. The Pottery', in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects*. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 13–206.
- Jones, Arnold H.M. (1940), *The Greek City: From Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- (1964, repr. 1973), *The Later Roman Empire 284–602. Vol. 1* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
- (1968), *The Later Roman Empire (AD 284–602)* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell).
- (1971), *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces. 2d ed.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Kadman, Leo (1957), *The Coins of Caesarea Maritima (Corpus Nummorum Palaestensium 2)* (Tel Aviv and Jerusalem Schocken).
- Kaegi, Walter E. Jr. (1978), 'Some Seventh-Century Sources on Caesarea', *IEJ* 28: 177–81.
- Kahn, Lisa (1996), 'King Herod's Temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea Maritima', in A. Raban and K.G. Holum (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln): 130–45.

- Kasher, Aryeh (1978), 'The Isopoliteia Question in Caesarea Maritima', *JQR* 68: 16–27.
- Kaufmann, Carl Maria (1910a), *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen* (Cairo).
- (1910b), *Die Menasstadt und das Nationalheiligtum der altchristlichen Aegypter in der westalexandrinischen Wueste I, Ausgrabungen der Frankfurter expedition am Karm Abu Mina 1905–1907* (Leipzig).
- Kazhdan, Alexander and Čevchenko, Nancy P. (1991), 'Menas', in Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium II* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press): 1339.
- Kazhdan, Alexander and Talbot, Alice-Mary (eds.) (1991), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Keenan, J.K. (1973), 'The names Flavius and Aurelius as status designation', *ZPE* 11: 33–63.
- (1974), 'The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt', *ZPE* 13: 283–304.
- Keenan, J.K. (1983), 'An afterthought on the names Flavius and Aurelius', *ZPE* 53: 245–50.
- Kempinski, Aharon and Reich, Roni (eds.) (1992), *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: from the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods; in memory of Immanuel (Munya) Donayevsky* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- Kennedy, Hugh (1985a), 'From Polis to Medina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *Past and Present* 106: 3–27.
- (1985b), 'The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10: 141–83.
- Kindler, Arie (1968), 'Coins of the Roman Administration in the Roman Province Judaea in the Time of Caesar Domitian (Hebrew)', *Annual of HaAretz Museum* 10: 5–11.
- Kiss, Zsolt (1989), *Les ampoules de Saint Menas decouvertes à Kom el-Dikka (1961–1981)* (Warsaw: Editions scientifiques de Pologne).
- (1990), 'Evolution stylistique des ampoules de St. Menas', in Włodzimierz Godlewski (ed.), *Coptic Studies. Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies, Warsaw 20–25 August 1984* (Warsaw: Editions Scientifiques de Pologne): 195–202.
- Klawans, Johnathan (1995), 'Notions of Gentile Impurity in Ancient Judaism', *AJSR* 20 (2): 285–312.
- (2000), *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press).
- Klein, Shmuel (1965), 'The Borders of the Land in the *Mishnah* of the Tannaim', in S. Klein (ed.), *Studies in the Geography of Eretz Israel (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook): 117–76.
- Kofsky, Arieh (2006), 'Pamphilus and the Christian Library of Caesarea', *Cathedra* 122: 53–64 (Hebrew).
- Kokkinos, Nikos (1998), *The Herodian Dynasty: Origin, Role in Society, and Eclipse* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Kornemann, Ernst (1900), 'Coloniae', *RE* (7, 1; Stuttgart): 511–88.
- Kraeling, Carl Hermann (ed.) (1938), *Gerasa—City of the Decapolis* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research).
- Kraus, Samuel (1898), *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum, II* (Berlin: S. Calvary).
- (1902), 'Zur Topographie von Caesarea', *JQR (old series)* 14: 745–51.
- (1925), 'Aseret Harugei Malkhut (Hebrew)', *HaShiloah* 44b: 112–14. Republished in A. Oppenheimer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba Revolt, Jerusalem 1980*: 258–260.
- Krenz, E. (1992), 'Caesarea and Early Christianity', in R.L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers I: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 261–67.

- Kümmel, W.G. (1975), *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. tr. H.C. Kee) (London: SCM Press).
- Kushnir-Stein, Alla (1995), 'The Predecessor of Caesarea: On the Identification of Demetrias in South Phoenicia', in John Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research* (JRA Suppl. 14; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 9–14.
- (2007), 'Two Local Weights from the Colony of Caesarea Maritima', *INR* 2: 137–41.
- Kushnir-Stein, Alla and Holland, Lionel (2008), 'New inscribed lead weights from Caesarea', in Kenneth G. Holum, Jennifer A. Stabler, and Edward Reinhardt (eds.), *Caesarea Reports and Studies* (BAR Int. Ser. 1784; Oxford): 209–11.
- Lafontaine-Dosogne, J. and Orgels, B. (1967), *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioch. Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon Stylite le jeune* (Brussels: Byzantion).
- Lambert, C. and Pedemonte, Demeglio P. (1994), 'Ampolle devozionali ed itinerari di pellegrinaggio tra IV e VII secolo', *Antiquité Tardive* 2: 205–31.
- Lämmer, Manfred (1972), 'Eine Propaganda-Aktion des Königs Herodes in Olympia', *Perspektiven der Sportwissenschaft, Jahrbuch der deutschen Sporthochschule Köln* 1.
- (1973), 'Griechische Wettkämpfe in Jerusalem und ihre politischen Hintergründe', *Perspektiven der Sportwissenschaft, Jahrbuch der deutschen Sporthochschule Köln* 2: 182–227.
- (1974), 'Die Kaiserspiele von Caesarea im Dienste der Politik des Königs Herodes', *Kölner Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 3: 95–164.
- (1981), 'The Attitude of King Agrippa I towards Greek Contests and Roman Games', in U. Zimri (ed.), *Physical Education and Sports in the Jewish History and Culture* (Netanya): 7–17.
- Lampinen, Peter (1999a), 'A Further Note on the Coins of "Demetrias which is on the sea"', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers* 2 (JRA Suppl. 35; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 358–59.
- (1999b), 'The gold hoard of 4th-c. solidi found in 1993', in K.G. Holum, A. Raban, and J. Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers* 2 (Ann Arbor, MI): 368–88.
- Lancaster, Lynne (1995), 'Concrete Vaulted Construction: Developments in Rome from Nero to Trajan', Ph.D. dissertation (Oxford University).
- Laniado, Avshalom (2002), *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire proto-byzantine* (Travaux et memoires du centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. College de France. Monographies 13; Paris).
- Lapp, Nancy L. (2000), 'Some Byzantine Pilgrim Flasks in the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary Bible Land Museum', in Lawrence E. Stager and Joseph A. Greene (ed.), *The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond. Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns): 277–89.
- Lassus, Jean (1932), 'Images de stylites', *Bulletine d'études Orientales* 2: 67–82.
- (1947), *Sanctuaires Chrétiennes de la Syrie* (Paris: Geuthner).
- (1972), *Antioch on the Orontes V: Les portiques d'Antioche* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Lauffrey, J. (1958), 'L'urbanisme antique en proche orient', in Carsten Hoeg (ed.), *Urbanism and Town Planning: The Classical Pattern of Modern Western Civilization* (Acta Congressus Madvigiani, 4; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard): 7–26.
- Lavan, Luke (1999), 'Late antique governor's palaces: a gazetteer', *Antiquité Tardive* 7: 135–67.
- (2001), 'The praetoria of civil governors in late antiquity', in Luke Lavan (ed.), *Recent research in Late-Antique urbanism* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 42; Portsmouth, RI): 39–56.
- Lawlor, Hugh Jackson (1912, reprt. Amsterdam 1973), 'The Earlier Forms of *The Ecclesiastical History*', in H.J. Lawlor (ed.), *Eusebiana. Essays on The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphili, ca. 264–349 A.D., Bishop of Caesarea* (Oxford): 279–83.

- (1973), 'The Chronology of Eusebius' 'Martyrs of Palestine', in Hugh Jackson Lawlor (ed.), *Eusebiana. Essays on The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphili, ca. 264–349 A.D., Bishop of Caesarea* (Oxford 1912, reprt. Amsterdam: Philo Press): 179–80.
- Le-Guen, Brigitte (2001), *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique, I: Corpus documentaire; II: Synthèse (études d'archéologie Classique, XI–XII)* (Paris: De Boccard).
- Lehmann, Clayton M. (1994), 'The Combined Caesarea Expeditions: The Excavation of Caesarea's Byzantine City Wall, 1989', *AASOR* 52: 121–31.
- (1999), 'The governor's palace and warehouse complex, west flank (areas KK 7–9, CV, 1993–1995 excavations)', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *CP II* (35; Portsmouth, RI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*): 136–149.
- Lehmann, Clayton M. and Holum, Kenneth G. (2000), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima, Excavation Reports, 5; Boston, MA: The American Schools of Oriental Research).
- Lenzen, Cherie Joyce (1983), 'The Byzantine/Islamic Occupation at Caesarea Maritima as Evidenced through the Pottery', Ph.D. dissertation (Drew University).
- Le-Strange, Guy (1965), *Palestine Under the Moslems* (Beirut).
- Levick, Barbara M. (1999), *Vespasian* (London: Routledge).
- Levine, Israel Lee (1973), 'A propos de la foundation de la Tour de Straton', *RB* 80: 75–81.
- (1974a), 'The Hasmonean Conquest of Straton's Tower', *IEJ* 24: 62–69.
- (1974b), 'The Jewish-Greek Conflict in First Century Caesarea', *JJS* 25: 381–97.
- (1975a), *Caesarea Under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill).
- (1975b), *Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological-Topographical Study* (Qedem 2; Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).
- (1975c), 'R. Abbahu of Caesarea', in Jacob Neusner (ed.), *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (Leiden: Brill): 56–76.
- (1978), 'R. Simeon B. Yohai and the purification of Tiberias: history and tradition', *HUCA* 49: 143–85.
- (1992), 'The Jewish Community at Caesarea in Late Antiquity', in Robert Lindly Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea (JRA Suppl. Series 5)* (Ann Arbor, MI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*): 268–73.
- (1996), 'Synagogue Officials: The Evidence from Caesarea and Its Implications for Palestine and the Diaspora', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill): 392–400.
- (ed.), (1981), *Ancient Synagogues Revealed* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- Levine, Israel Lee and Netzer, Ehud (1986), *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima 1975, 1976, 1979—Final Report* (Qedem 21; Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).
- Levy-Rubin, Milka (2006), 'The Influence of the Muslim Conquest on the Settlement Pattern of Palestine during the Early Islamic Period (Hebrew)', *Cathedra* 121: 53–78.
- Lichtenberger, Achim (1999), *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag).
- Lieberman, Saul (1939–44), 'The Martyrs of Caesarea', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Hisoire Orientales et Slaves* 7: 400–06.
- (1944), 'Roman Legal Institutions in Early Rabbinics and the Acta Martyrum', *JQR* 35: 1–57.

- (1963), 'How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?', in A. Altmann (ed.), *Biblical and other Studies* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press): 123–41 (reprinted in idem, *Texts and Studies*, New York 1976: 216–234).
- Lieberman, Shaul (1931), 'Tiqunei Yerushalmi (Emendations to the Jerusalem Talmud) (Hebrew)', *Tarbiz* 2: 106–14.
- (1991), *Studies in Palestinian Talmudic Literature* (ed. David Rosenthal; Jerusalem).
- Liebeschuetz, Wolfgang (1991), 'The Circus Factions', *Saggi di Storia Antica* 13 [*Convegno per Santo Mazzarino, Roma 9–11 maggio 1991*] (Bretschneider): 163–85.
- (1992), 'The End of the Ancient City', in J. Rich (ed.), *The City in Late Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge): 1–49.
- Lifshitz, Baruch J. (1957), 'Une inscription byzantine de Césarée en Israël', *REG* 70: 118–32.
- (1961), 'Inscriptions grecques de Césarée en Palestine', *RB* 68: 115–26, Pls. I.a–d, II.a–c.
- (1962), 'Inscriptions latines de Césarée en Palestine', *Latomus* 21: 149–50, pls. IV.1–2, V.3–6.
- (1963a), 'Inscriptions grecques de Césarée en Palestine', *RB* 70: 256–57.
- (1963b), 'Inscriptions latines de Césarée en Palestine', *Latomus* 22: 783–84, pls. LXIII–LXIV.1–3.
- (1964), 'La nécropole juive de Césarée', *RB* 71: 384–87.
- (1965), 'Inscriptions grecques de Césarée en Palestine', *RB* 72: 98–107, pl. VII, a–c.
- (1966), 'Inscriptions grecques de Césarée en Palestine', *RB* 73: 248–57, pl. XI, a–d.
- (1967a), 'Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives', *Cahiers de la Revue Biblique* 7: 50–54, nos. 64–68.
- (1967b), 'Inscriptions grecques de Césarée en Palestine', *RB* 74: 50–59, Pl. IV, a–g.
- (1977), 'Césarée de Palestine, son histoire et ses institutions', in H.I. Temporini (ed.), *ANRW* (II.8; Berlin: W. de Gruyter): 490–518.
- Lightfoot, J.B. (1877–1887), 'Eusebius', in William Smith and Henry Wace (eds.), *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Vol. II* (London: J. Murray).
- Lipkunsky, Doron (1998), 'Or 'Aqiva (East) (Hebrew)', *HA* 108: 53–54.
- (2000), 'Or 'Aqiva (East)', *ESI* 20: 37.
- Little, J. (1985), 'Urban Change at Ptolemais', in G. Barker *et al.* (eds.), *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (BAR Int. Ser. 236; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports): 43–47.
- MacDonald, William L. (1986), *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II: An Urban Appraisal* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Magen, Yitzhak (1993), 'Shechem', in E. Stern (ed.), *New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (4; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 1357–58.
- (2008), *Judea and Samaria: Researches and Discoveries* (JSP 6; Jerusalem).
- Magnus, Jodi (2001), 'The Cults of Isis and Kore at Samaria-Sebaste in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', *HTR* 94: 157–77.
- (2003), *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrans).
- Magoulias, H.J. (1967), 'Lives of Byzantine Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Magic in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries A.D. Sorcery, Relics and Icons', *Byzantion* 37: 228–69.
- Maier, P.L. (1969), 'The Episode of the Golden Shields at Jerusalem', *HTR* 62: 109–21.
- Malkin, Irad (1987), *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden: Brill).
- Mann, Jacob (1939), 'Some Midrashic Genizah Fragments', *HUCA* 14: 303–17.
- Maoz, Zvi Uri (1985), 'On the Hasmonean and Herodian Town-Plan of Jerusalem (Hebrew)', *EI* 18: 46–57.

- (1998), 'The Sanctuary of Pan at Panias (Hebrew)', *Qadmoniot* 115: 18–25.
- Maraval, Pierre (1985), *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf).
- Margalioth, Mordechai (1976), *Encyclopedia for the Talmud Sages and the Geonim (Hebrew)* (II; Tel Aviv: Yavneh Publishing House).
- Maricq, Andre (1951), 'Une influence alexandrine sur l'art augustéen. Le Lageion et le Circus Maximus', *RA* 37: 26–45.
- Marsden, Peter (1980), *Roman London* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Martindale, John Robert (1992), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3: 527–641 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Matheson, Susan B. (1994), 'The Goddess Tyché', in Jerome Jordan Pollitt *et al.* (eds.), *An Obsession with Fortune: Tyche in Greek and Roman Art* (Yale: Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin): 19–33.
- Matz, David (1991), *Greek and Roman Sport. A Dictionary of Athletes and Events from the eighth century B.C. to the third century A.D.* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland).
- Mayerson, P. (1986), 'Choricus of Gaza on the Water Supply System of Caesarea', *IEJ* 36: 269–72.
- Mazor, Gabi and Bar-Nathan, Rachel (1998), 'Beth Shean', *ESI* 17: 7–36.
- McGuckin, John Anthony (1992), 'Caesarea Maritima as Origen Knew it', in Robert J. Daly (ed.), *Qrigeniana Quinta: Papers of the 5th International Origen Conference* (Leuven: University Press): 3–25.
- McKenzie, J. (1990), *The Architecture of Petra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- (2003), 'Glimpsing Alexandria from Archaeological Evidence', *JRA* 16: 35–63.
- Meiggs, R. (1973), *Roman Ostia* (2 edn.; Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Meinardus, Otto Friedrich August (1961), *Monks and Monasteries of the Egyptian Deserts* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press).
- Mendels, Doron (1999), *The Media Revolution of Early Christianity. An Essay on Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans).
- Mércérian, J. (1952), 'Le monastère de saint Syméon le stylite du Mont Admirable', *Actes du VIe congrès international des études byzantines, Paris 1948* (II; Paris): 299–302.
- Merkelbach, Reinhold (1963), *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Daten und Riten. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, 5 (Meisenheim am Glan: A. Hain).
- Millar, Fergus (1984), 'Condemnation to hard labour in the Roman empire, from the Julio-Claudians to Constantine', *Papers of the British School in Rome* 52: 124–47.
- (1990), 'The Roman Coloniae of the Near East', in Heikki Solin and Mika Kajava (eds.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History [Proceedings of a Colloquium at Tvärminne, 2–3 October 1987]* (Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters): 7–58.
- Miller, Stephen G. (1980), 'Turns and lanes in the ancient stadium', *AJA* 84: 159–66.
- Miranda, E. (1989), 'Osservazioni sul culto di Euploia', *Miscellanea Graecae Romana* 14: 123–44.
- Mor, Menachem (2003), *From Samaria to Shekhem: The Samaritan Congregation in Ancient Times (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center).
- Moretti, Luigi (1953), *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Roma: A. Signorelli).
- Moulton, Warren J. (1919–20), 'Gleaning in Archaeology and Epigraphy: A Caesarean Inscription', *AASOR* 1: 86–90.
- Müller, Carol (ed.), (1855), *Geographi Graeci Minores* (1; Paris: A.F. Didot).
- Müller, E.B. (1938), 'The Hippodrome', in Carl Hermann Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa—City of the Decapolis* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research): 85–100.
- Mühlenbrock, J. (2003), *Tetrapylon: Zür Geschichte des viertorigen Bogenmonumentes in der römischen Architektur* (Paderborn: Scriptorium).
- Musurillo, Herbert Anthony (1972), *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Nagorsky, Alla (2003), 'Or 'Aqiva (A-3265), (Hebrew)', *HA-ESI* 115: 33*–34*, 41–42.

- Nasrallah, J. (1972), 'Couvents de la Syrie du nord portant le nom de Siméon', *Syria* 49: 127–57.
- Nau, François (1903), 'Le texte grec des récits utiles à l'âme d'Anastase (le Sinaïte)', *Oriens Christianus* 3: 56–90.
- Neeman, Yehuda (1997), 'The Expansion of the Samaritans after the Bar Kokhba Revolt (Hebrew)', *Sinai* 120: 139–49.
- Neeman, Yehudah, Sender, Shlomo, and Oren, Eldad (2000), *The Archaeological Survey of Israel. Map of Mikhmored (52), Map of Hadera (53)* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority).
- Negev, Avraham (1961), 'Notes and News: Caesarea', *IEJ* 11: 81–83.
- (1963a), 'The Palimpsest of Caesarea Maritima', *ILN* 6483 (Nov. 2): 728–31.
- (1963b), 'Where Vespasian Was Proclaimed Emperor, Caesarea Maritima on the Coast of Israel', *ILN* 6482: 684–86.
- (1964), 'The High Level Aqueduct at Caesarea', *IEJ* 14: 237–49, Pl. 17C.
- (1966a), 'Caesarea (Hebrew)', *Mada* 10.6: 343–44.
- (1966b), 'Caesarea (Hebrew)', *Mada* 11.3: 142–44.
- (1967), *Caesarea* (Tel Aviv: E. Lewin-Epstein).
- (1971), 'Inscription hébraïques, grecques et latines de Césarée Maritime', *RB* 78: 247–63, Pl. I–IX.
- (1972), 'A New Inscription from the High Level Aqueduct at Caesarea', *IEJ* 22: 52–53.
- (1975), 'Caesarea', in Michael Avi-Yonah (ed.), *EAEHL* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 270–85.
- (1993), 'Caesarea. Excavations in the 1950s and 1960s', in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *NEAEHL* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 272–78.
- Nelis-Clément, Jocelyne and Roddaz, Jean-Michel (eds.) (2008), *Le cirque romain et son image* (Bordeaux: Ausonius) [Proceedings from an international colloquium held in Bordeaux, Oct. 19–21, 2006; Ausonius Editions—Mémoires 20].
- Nesbitt, J.W. (1999), 'Byzantine Lead Seals from the Vicinity of the Governor's Palace and Warehouses (CC and KK)', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2 (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 35)* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology).
- Netzer, Eehud (1985), 'The swimming pools of the Hasmonean period at Jericho (Hebrew)', *EI* 18: 344–52.
- (1986), 'The swimming pools of the Hasmonean period at Jericho', *Leichtweiss Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Brownschweig, Mitteilungen* 89: 1–12.
- (1987), 'The Augusteum at Samaria-Sebaste—A New Outlook (Hebrew)', *EI* 19: 97–105.
- (1991), *Masada III. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports: The Buildings, Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- (1996), 'The Promontory Palace', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln): 193–207.
- (1999a), *Die Paläste der Hasmonäer und Herodes des Großen* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern).
- (1999b), *The Palaces of the Hasmonians and Herod the Great (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak ben Zvi).
- (2006), *The Architecture of Herod the Great Builder* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Neubauer, A. (1868), *La Géographie du Talmud* (Paris).
- Nielsen, Inge (1990), *Thermae et Balnea: The Architectural and Cultural History of Roman Public Baths* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press).
- Niese, B. (ed.), (1887), *Flavi Josephi Opera* (1).

- Nir, David (1959), 'Artificial Outlets of the Mount Carmel Valley Through the Coastal "Kurkar" Ridge', *IEJ* 9: 46–54.
- Noth, Albrecht (1994), *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source-Critical Study, in collaboration with L.I. Conrad, trans. M. Bonner* (Princeton N.J.: Darwin Press).
- Ogg, George (1968), *The Chronology of the Life of Paul* (London: Epworth Press).
- Oikonomides, N. (1986), 'Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi', *DOP* 40: 33–53.
- Olami, Jacob and Ringel, Joseph (1975), 'New Inscriptions of the Tenth Legion Fretensis from the High Level Aqueduct of Caesarea', *IEJ* 25: 148–50.
- Olami, Ya'aqov, Sender, Shlomo, and Oren, El'ad (2005), *Archaeological Survey of Israel. Map of Binyamina (48)* (Jerusalem).
- Oleson, John Peter (1984), 'A Roman Water Mill on the Crocodilon River near Caesarea', *ZDPV* 100: 137–52.
- (1985), 'Area P: Piscina', in Avner Raban (ed.), *Harbour Archaeology. Proceedings of the First International Workshop on Ancient Mediterranean Harbours. Caesarea Maritima* (BAR Inter. Ser. 491; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports): 160–67.
- (2000), 'Ancient sounding-weights: a contribution to the history of Mediterranean navigation', *JRA* 13: 293–310.
- Oleson, John Peter and Branton, Graham (1992), 'The Technology of King Herod's harbour', in Robert L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1* (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 49–67.
- Oleson, John Peter et al. (1994), *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima, 2: the finds and the Ship* (BAR Int. Ser. 594; Oxford: Archeopress).
- Olivová, V. (1989), 'Chariot racing in the ancient world', *Nikephoros* 2: 65–88.
- Oppenheimer, Aharon (ed.), (1980), *The Bar Kokhba Revolt (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center).
- Ostrasz, Antony A. (1989), 'The Hippodrome of Gerasa: A Report on Excavation and Research, 1982–1987', *Syria* 66: 51–77.
- (1991), 'The Excavation and restoration of the hippodrome at Jerash. A synopsis', *ADAJ* 35: 237–50.
- Otto, Walter (1913), *Herodes: Beiträge zur Geschichte des letzten jüdischen Könighauses* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler).
- Owens, Edward J. (1991), *The City in the Greek and Roman World* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Palm, B. (1999), 'Die Officia der Statthalter in der Spätantike: Forschungsstand und Perspektiven', *Antiquité Tardive* 7: 85–133.
- Palmer, Andrew, Brock, Sebastian, and Hoyland, Robert (1993), *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles (Translated Texts for Historians, vol. 15)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press).
- Parker, Alton J. (1992), *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*. (BAR Int. Ser. 580; Oxford: Archeopress, Hadrian Books).
- Pastor, Jack (1997), *Land and economy in ancient palestine* (London: Routledge).
- Patrich, Joseph (1992), 'Hyrcania (Hebrew)', in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *NEAEHL* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 447–50.
- (1995a), 'The warehouses (horrea) of Caesarea in light of the new excavations', *Caesarea, A mercantile city by the sea (The Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum, University of Haifa, Catalogue 12)* (Haifa: Hecht Museum): 12–17 (Hebrew) 14* 18* (English).
- (1995b), *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism, A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 32; Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks).
- (1996), 'Warehouses and Granaries in Caesarea Maritima', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after two Millennia* (Leiden: Brill): 146–76.

- (1997a), ‘Caesarea Maritima, Israel’, in Marc Mayers and Isabel Rodé (eds.), *Ciutats antigues de la Mediterrània* (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona and Lunwerg Editores): 302–05.
- (1997b), ‘A Roman Byzantine Government Compound in Caesarea (Hebrew)’, *Ariel*, XIX (122–123): 10–17.
- (1997c), ‘The Starting Gates (carceres) of the Herodian Hippodrome at Caesarea’, *ASOR News* 47.2: A 43–44.
- (1998a), ‘The Caesarea Excavations Project—March 1992–June 1994, Combined Caesarea Excavations (A)’, *ESI* 17: 50–57.
- (1998b), ‘Urban Ruralization in Provincia Palaestina: The Demise of the Byzantine Praetorium at Caesarea’, *Twenty Fourth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference (Abstracts)* (University of Kentucky): 41.
- (1999), ‘Caesarea Maritima: the Provincial Capital of Judaea Palaestina and its Praetoria’, *1999 Roman Archaeology Conference (Abstracts)* (University of Durham): 26.
- (2000a), ‘A Government Compound in Roman-Byzantine Caesarea (English section)’, in R. Margolin (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Division B, History of the Jewish People* (Jerusalem: The World Union for Jewish Studies): 35*–44*.
- (2000b), ‘A Chapel of St. Paul at Caesarea Maritima?’, *LA* 50: 363–82, pls. 27–30.
- (2001a), ‘Urban Space in Caesarea Maritima, Israel’, in Thomas S. Burns and John W. Eadie (eds.), *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press): 77–110.
- (2001b), ‘The Carceres of the Herodian Hippodrome/Stadium at Caesarea Maritima and connections with the Circus Maximus’, *JRA* 14: 269–83.
- (2001c), ‘Césarée: Une chapelle dédiée à saint Paul?’, *Le Monde de la Bible* 136: 57.
- (2002a), ‘On the Forgotten Circus of Aelia Capitolina (Hebrew)’, *Cathedra* 102: 29–50.
- (2002b), ‘On the Lost Circus of Aelia Capitolina’, *SCI* XXI: 173–88.
- (2002c), ‘Four Christian Objects from Caesarea Maritima’, *IMSA* 1: 21–32.
- (2002d), ‘Herod’s Hippodrome/Stadium at Caesarea and the Games Conducted Therein’, in L.V. Rutgers (ed.), *What has Athens to Do with Jerusalem. Essays in Honor of Gideon Foerster* (Leuven: P. Peeters): 29–68.
- (2002e), ‘Herod’s Theater in Jerusalem—a new proposal’, *IEJ* 52: 231–39.
- (2002f), ‘The Martyrs of Caesarea: the urban context’, *LA* 52: 321–46.
- (2002g), ‘Caesarea: The Palace of the Roman Procurator and the Byzantine Governor; Warehouses Complex and the Starting Gates of the Herodian Stadium (Hebrew)’, *Qadmoniot* 35 (124): 66–86.
- (2003a), ‘Herod’s Hippodrome/Stadium at Caesarea in the Context of Greek and Roman Contests and Spectacles (Hebrew)’, in E. Reiner and Y. Ben Arie (ed.), *VeZoth-LeYehudah [Yehudah Ben Porath Festschrift]* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben Zvi): 119–66.
- (2003b), ‘More on the Hippodrome-Stadium of Caesarea Maritima: a response to the comments of Y. Porath’, *JRA* 16: 456–59.
- (2003c), ‘On Circus Carceres and a third farfetched hypothesis. Comments on Y. Porat’s article in Qadmoniot 125 ‘Theatre, Racing and Athletic Installations in Caesarea (Hebrew)’, *Qadmoniot* 36 (126): 119–20.
- (2004), ‘Tyche Feast in Caesarea and the Foundation Myth of Straton Tower (Hebrew)’, *Etmol*, 28 (168): 6–9.
- (2005), ‘Herodian Caesarea—the urban framework (Hebrew).’ in Menachem Mor et al. (eds.), *For Uriel: Studies in the History of Israel in Antiquity Presented to Professor Uriel Rappaport* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center): 497–538.

- (2006a), ‘Caesarea in Transition from the Byzantine to the Muslim Regime: The Archaeological Evidence from the Southwestern Zone (Areas CC, KK, NN), and the Literary Sources (Hebrew)’, *Cathedra* 122: 143–72.
- (2006b), ‘The Wall Street, the Eastern Stoa, the Location of the Tetrapylon, and the Halachic Status of Caesarea (interpreting *Tosefta Oholot* XVII:13) (Hebrew)’, *Cathedra* 122: 7–30.
- (2007), ‘Herodian Caesarea: The Urban Space’, in Nikos Kokkinos (ed.), *The World of the Herods. Volume 1 of the International Conference The World of the Herods and the Nabataeans held at the British Museum 17–19 April 2001* (Oriens et Occidens 14; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag): 93–130.
- (2008), ‘Caesarea’, in Ephraim Stern *et al.* (eds.), *NEAEHL* (5, Supplementary Volume; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 1673–80.
- (ed.), (2008), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- (2009a), ‘The Wall Street, the Eastern Stoa, the Location of the Tetrapylon, and the Halachic Status of Caesarea (interpreting *Tosefta Ahilot*, 18:13)’, in Leah Di-Segni, *et al.* (eds.), *Man Near a Roman Arch. Studies presented to Prof. Yoram Tsafrir* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 142*–68*.
- (2009b), ‘On the proclamation of Caesarea as a Roman Colony (Hebrew)’, in Joseph Geiger, Hannah M. Cotton, and Guy D. Stiebel (eds.), *Israel’s Land. Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee* (Jerusalem: The Open University of Israel and Israel Exploration Society): 135–56.
- (2009c), ‘Herodian Entertainment Structures’, in: D.M. Jacobson and N. Kokkinos (eds.), *Herod and Augustus*. [Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st–23rd June 2005] (Leiden – Boston: Brill): 181–213, 455–467.
- (2010), ‘The Praetoria at Caesarea Maritima’, in T. Capelle *et al.* (eds.), *Imperium—Varus und seine Zeit. Internationales Kolloquium des LWL-Römermuseums am 28. und 29. April 2008 in Münster*. (Veröffentlichungen der Altertumskommission für Westfalen, Vol. 18; Münster: Aschendorff-Verlag): 175–186.
- (forthcoming-a), ‘Caesarea in Transition: The Archaeological Evidence from the Southwest Zone (Areas CC, KK, NN)’, in Kenneth G. Holum and Haim Lapin (eds.), *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition* (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland): 33–64.
- (forthcoming-b), ‘Roman *Hippo-Stadia*: The Hippodrome” of Gerasa reconsidered in light of the Herodian *Hippo-Stadium* of Caesarea Maritima, *Aram peridical*.
- Patrich, Joseph *et al.* (1999), ‘The warehouse complex and governor’s palace (areas KK, CC, and NN, May 1993–December 1995)’, in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2 (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 35; Portsmouth, Rhode Island: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 70–108*.
- Patrich, Joseph and Abu Shaneb, Mayada (2008), ‘Chapter 4. The Clay Objects’, in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 301–32.
- Patrich, Joseph and Amit, David (2002), ‘The Aqueducts of Israel: an Introduction’, in D. Amit, J. Patrich, and Y. Hirschfeld (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Israel (JRA Suppl. Series 46; Portsmouth RI: Journal for Roman Archaeology): 9–20*.
- Patrich, Joseph and Pinkas, Shari (2008), ‘Lamps and Flask Molds’, in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 296–300.
- Patrich, Joseph and Rafael, Kate (2008), ‘Chapter 8. The Jewelry’, in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 419–31.
- Patrich, Joseph and Shadmi, Tamar (2008), ‘Chapter 6. The Stone Vessels’, in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and*

- NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 345–65.
- Peilstöcker, Martin (1999), 'Or 'Aqiva (North), (Hebrew)', *HA-ESI* 110: 35*, 44–45.
- Peleg, Michal and Reich, Ronny (1992), 'Excavations of a Segment of the Byzantine City Wall of Caesarea Maritima', *'Atiqot (English series)*: 21: 137–70.
- Peleg, Yehuda (1986), 'The Water Supply system of Caesarea', *Mitteilungen des Leichtweiss-Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig*, 89: 1–15.
- Peña, Ignacio, Castellana, Pascal J., and Fernandez, Romuald (1975), *Les Stylites Syriens* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press).
- Pflaum, Hans Georg (1950), *Les procurateurs équestres sous le haut-empire romain* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve).
- Picard, Charles (1962), 'Lampes d'Isis Pelagia et Euploia à Délos et ailleurs', *RA* 228–30.
- Piccirillo, Michelle (1992), *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman: American Center of Oriental Research).
- Porath, Yosef (1990), 'Pipelines of the Caesarea water supply system (Hebrew; English Summary):' *'Atiqot* 10: 100–10.
- (1994), 'Herod's amphitheatre at Caesarea: Preliminary Notice', *'Atiqot* 25: 11*–19*.
- (1995a), 'Herod's 'Amphitheatre' at Caesarea: A Multipurpose Entertainment Building', in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research* (JRA Suppl. Series 14; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 15–27, 269–72 (color pls.).
- (1995b), 'Caesarea. Expedition of the Antiquities Authority', *ESI* 17: 39–49.
- (1996a), 'The Evolution of the Urban Plan of Caesarea's Southwest Zone: New Evidence from the Current Excavations', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln): 105–20.
- (1996b), 'Herod's "Amphitheatre" at Caesarea (Hebrew)', *Qadmoniot* 29 (112): 93–99.
- (1998), 'The Caesarea Excavation Project—March 1992–June 1994: Expedition of the Antiquities Authority', *ESI* 17: 39–49.
- (2000a), 'Caesarea—1994–1999', *HA* 112: 38–46, 34*–40*.
- (2000b), 'The Wall Paintings on the Podium of Herod's Amphitheatron, Caesarea (Hebrew)', *Michmanin* 14: 42–48; English summary on pp. 17*–18*, colour pl. 7.
- (2001), 'Caesarea (English and Hebrew)', *HA* 112: 38–46; 34*–40*.
- (2002), 'The Water-Supply to Caesarea: A Re-assessment', in David Amit, Joseph Patrich, and Yizhar Hirschfeld (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Israel* (JRA Supp. Series 46; Portsmouth RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 104–29.
- (2003), 'Theatre, Racing and Athletic Installations in Caesarea (Hebrew)', *Qadmoniot* XXXVI (125): 25–42.
- (2006), 'Mansions on the Outskirts of Byzantine Caesarea (Hebrew)', *Cathedra* 122: 117–42.
- (2008), 'Caesarea', in Ephraim Stern *et al.* (eds.), *NEAEHL* (5, Supplementary Volume; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 1656–65.
- Porath, Yosef, Patrich, Joseph, and Raban, Avner (1998), 'The Caesarea Excavation Project—March 1992–June 1994', *ESI* 17: 39–77.
- Potter, David Stone (1993), 'Martyrdom as Spectacle', in Ruth Scodel (ed.), *Theater and Society in the Classical World* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press): 55–88.
- Pringle, Denis (1990), *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus. I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Qidiocean, Nicola, Ayalon, Eitan, and Yosef, A. (1990), 'Two Winepresses from the Talmudic Period near Tell Qasila (Hebrew)', *ILP*, V–VI [23–24]: 23–36.

- Quasten, Johannes (1950), *Patrology. Vol. 1: The Beginnings of Patristic Literature* (Utrecht and Antwerp: Spectrum).
- (1990), *Patrology III* (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, Inc.).
- Raban, Avner (1987), 'The City Wall of Straton's Tower: Some New Archaeological Data', *BASOR* 268: 71–88.
- (1992a), 'In Search of Strato's Tower', in Robert L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 7–22.
- (1992b), 'Καισάρεια ἢ πρὸς Σεβαστῶ λιμὲν: Two Harbours for Two Entities?' in Robert L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 68–74.
- (1992c), 'Sebastos, the Herodian Harbor of Caesarea: How it was Built and Operated', *CMS News* 19: no page nos.
- (1993), 'Maritime Caesarea', in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 286–91.
- (1996), 'The Inner Harbor Basin of Caesarea: Archaeological Evidence for its Gradual Demise', in A. Raban, and K.G. Holum (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill): 628–68.
- (1998a), 'Caesarea Maritima—Land and Sea Excavations', *CMS News* 24–25: 32–.
- (1998b), 'The Caesarea Excavation Project—March 1992–June 1994: Combined Caesarea Excavations (B)', *ESI* 17: 58–77.
- (1999), 'The Lead Ingots from the Wreck Site (Area K8)', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2* (JRA, Suppl. Ser. 35): 179–88.
- (2004), 'The History of Caesarea's Harbors (Hebrew)', *Qadmoniot* 37: 2–22.
- (2009), *The Harbour of Sebastos (Caesarea Maritima) in its Roman Mediterranean Context. Edited by M. Artzy, B. Goodman and Z. Gal* (BAR Int. Ser. 1930; Oxford Hadrian Books).
- Raban, Avner and Stieglitz, Rafael (1988), 'Caesarea, Ancient Harbor, 1987', *IEJ* 38: 276–78.
- Raban, Avner et al. (1989), *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima, 1: The Site and the Excavations: Results of the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project 1980–1985* (BAR Int. Ser. 491; Oxford: Archeopress, Hadrian Books).
- (1999), 'Land Excavations in the Inner Harbour (1993–94)', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2* (JRA, Suppl. Ser. no. 35) (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 198–224.
- Raban, Avner and Holum, Kenneth G. (eds.) (1996), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective After Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill).
- (1999), 'The Combined Caesarea Expeditions 1999 Field Season', *CMS News* 26: 9–12.
- Raban, Avner, Holum, Kenneth G., and Blakely, Jeffery A. (1993), *The Combined Caesarea Expeditions Field Report of the 1992 Season* (Haifa).
- Rackham, Richard Belward (1901, repr. Ann Arbor, MI 1964), *The Acts of the Apostles* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House).
- Rafael, Kate (2008), 'Chapter 9: The Metal Objects', in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN. Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 433–69.
- Rankov, Boris (1999), 'The Governor's Men: The Officium Consularis in Provincial Administration', in Adrian Goldsworthy and Ian Haynes (eds.), *The Roman Army as a Community* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 34) (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 15–34.

- Ratner, Dov-Bear (1967), *Ahavat Tsion LeMoed Qatan (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem).
- Rea, John (1977), 'Two Legates and a Procurator of Syria Palaestina', *ZPE* 26: 217–22.
- Reich, Ronny (1985), 'On Some Byzantine Remains', *Atiqot (Eng. Ser.)*, 17: 206–13.
- Reifenberg, Adolf (1950), 'Archaeological Discoveries by Air Photographs in Israel', *Archaeology* 3: 40–46.
- (1951), 'Caesarea: A Study in the Decline of a Town', *IEJ* 1: 20–32.
- Reisner, George Andrew, Fisher, Clarence Stanley, and Lyon, David Gordon (1924), *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press).
- Reynolds, Joyce (1982), *Aphrodisias and Rome* (Journal of Roman Studies Monograph 1; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies).
- (1988), 'Cities', in David C. Braund (ed.), *The Administration of the Roman Empire 241BC–AD193* (Exeter: University of Exeter): 15–51.
- Richardson, Peter (1996), *Herod. King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark).
- Rickman, Geoffrey (1971), *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge: University Press).
- Ringel, Joseph (1972–75), 'The Harbor Deity of Caesarea (Hebrew)', *Sfunim* 4: 19–23.
- (1975), *Césarée de Palestine: étude Historique et Archéologique* (Paris: Editions Ophrys).
- Robert, Louis (1940, reprint Amsterdam 1971: A.M. Hakkert), *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris: E. Champion).
- (1960), 'Monuments de gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec', *Hellenica* 11–12 (Paris) III: 112–50, Pl. vi–xiv; V: 77–99, Pl. v–xiv; VII: 26–51, Pl. xvi–xxii; VIII: 39–72, Pl. xi–xxii, xxiv–xxvii.
- Robins, G.A. (1987), '“Fifty Copies of the Sacred Writings” (V.C. 4. 36): Entire Bible or Gospel Books?', *Studia Patristica* 19: 93–98.
- Rochman, B. (1998), 'Imperial Slammer Identified', *BAR* 24 (1): 18.
- Rodan, Shimona (1999), 'Marine Tyche-Fortuna: The Goddess of City, Luck and Chance in the Coastal Cities of Eretz-Israel', M.A. thesis (University of Haifa).
- Rogers, Guy M. (1991), *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (London: Routledge).
- Roll, Israel (1989), 'A Latin Imperial Inscription from the Time of Diocletian Found at Yotvata', *IEJ* 39: 239–60.
- (1996), 'Roman Roads to Caesarea Maritima', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holm (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective After Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill): 549–58.
- Roll, Israel and Ayalon, Eitan (1981), 'Two Large Winepresses in the Red Soil Regions of Israel', *PEQ* 113: 111–25.
- (1989), *Apollonia and Southern Sharon. Model of a Coastal City and its Hinterland (Hebrew)* (Tel Aviv).
- Roller, Duane W. (1980), 'Hellenistic Pottery from Caesarea Maritima: A Preliminary Study', *BASOR* 238: 35–42.
- (1982a), 'The Northern Plain of Sharon in the Hellenistic Period', *BASOR* 247: 43–52.
- (1982b), 'The Wilfred Laurier University Survey of Northeastern Caesarea Maritima', *Levant* 14: 92–96.
- (1983), 'The Problem of the Location of Straton's Tower', *BASOR* 252: 61–66.
- (1992), 'Straton's Tower: Some Additional Thoughts', in Robert L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 23–25.
- (1998), *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press).

- Ronchey, Silvia (2000), 'Les procès-verbaux des Martyres Chrétiens dans les Acta Martyrum et leur fortune', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Antiquité* 112: 723–52.
- Rosenberg, Silvia (1996), 'The Wall Paintings in the Herodian Palace at Jericho', in K. and G. Foerster Fittschen (ed.), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht): 121–38.
- Rosenthal, David (1993), 'Hql-dma' - 'Sde-Bokhin': On the Usage of the Apocrypha for the Establishment of the Right Version in the Rabbinic Literature (Hebrew)', *Mehqarei Talmud* 2: 490–516.
- Rossiter, Jeremy J. (1989), 'Roman villas of the Greek east and the villa in Gregory of Nyssa Ep. 20', *JRA* 2: 101–10.
- Rostovtzeff, Michael (1941, repr. 1998), *Social history of the Hellenistic world* (II; Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Roth-Gerson, Leah (1987), *The Greek Inscriptions from the Synagogues in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben Zvi).
- Rouché, Charlotte (1993), *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (Journal of Roman studies monograph 6; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies).
- Runia, David T. (1996), 'Caesarea Maritima and the Survival of Hellenistic-Jewish Literature', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill): 476–95.
- Russell, Kenneth W. (1985), 'The Earthquake Chronology of Palestine and Northwest Arabia from the 2nd through the Mid-8th Century A.D.', *BASOR* 260: 37–59.
- Rutgers, Leonard V. (2000), *Subterranean Rome. In Search of the Origins of Christianity in the Catacombs of the Eternal City* (Louvain: Peeters).
- Safrai, Shmuel (1959), 'Beth She'arim in the Talmudic Literature (Hebrew)', *EI* 5 [Mazar Volume]: 206–12.
- (1967), 'Mitzvat Shebi'it after the destruction of the Second Temple (Hebrew)', *Tarbiz*, 36: 43–60.
- (1994), *In the Days of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud: Studies in the History of the Jewish People (Hebrew)* (I; Jerusalem: The Magnes Press).
- (1996), *In the Days of the Second Temple, the Mishnah and the Talmud: Studies in the History of the Jewish People (Hebrew)* (II; Jerusalem: The Magnes Press).
- Safrai, Zeev (1980), *Boundaries and Rule in Eretz Israel in the Mishnah and Talmud Period (Hebrew)* (Tel Aviv: HaKibbutz HaMeuhad).
- (1985), 'The permit of the borders of Caesarea from regulations related to the Land (Hebrew)', *Sinai*, 96: 217–28.
- (1994), *The economy of Roman Palestine* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Salzman, Michele R. (1991), *On Roman Time: The Codex-calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Sandys, John Edwin (ed.), (1963), *A Companion to Latin Studies*. (3rd edn., New York and London: Hafner).
- Saradi, Helen G. (2006), *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality [Monographs of Messenian Archaeological Studies]* (Athens).
- Saradi-Mendelovici, Helen (1990), 'Christian Attitude toward Pagan Monuments in Late Antiquity and Their Legacy in Later Byzantine Centuries', *DOP* 44: 47–61.
- Sartre, Maurice (1991), *L'Orient Romain: Provinces et sociétés provinciales en Méditerranée orientale d'Auguste aux Sévères (31 avant J.-C.–235 après J.-C.)* (Paris: Seuil).
- (2001), *D'Alexandre à Zénobie: Histoire du Levant antique IV^e siècle av. J.-C.–III^e siècle ap. J.-C.* (Paris: Fayard).
- Schalit, Abraham (1937), *Roman Rule in Eretz Israel (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik).
- (1964), *King Herod—Portrait of a Ruler (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute).

- (1969), *König Herodes. Der Mann und sein Werk* (Berlin: De Gruyter).
- Schemmel, F. (1925), 'Die Schule von Caesarea in Palästina', *Philologische Wochenschrift* 45: 1277–80.
- Schick, Robert (1995), *The Christian Communities of Palestine from Byzantine to Islamic Rule. A Historical and Archaeological Study* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press).
- Schlumberger, Daniel (1935), 'Études sur Palmyre I: Le développement urbain de Palmyre', *Berytus* 2: 149–62.
- Schmid, Benno (1947), *Studien zu Griechischen Ktisissagen* (Freiburg in der Schwiez: Paulusdruckerei).
- Schürer, Emil (1901), *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* 4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs).
- (1973–87), *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols, eds. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and M. Black (Edinburgh: Clark).
- Schwabe, Moshe (1950a), 'The Bourgos Inscription from Caesarea Palaestina (Hebrew)', *Tarbiz* 20: 273–83.
- (1950b), 'The Synagogue of Caesarea and its Inscriptions (Hebrew)', in S. Lieberman (ed.), *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume* (New York): 433–50, Pls. 1–4.
- Schwabe, Moshe and Lifshitz, Baruch (1967), *Beth Shearim. Volume Two: The Greek Inscriptions (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- Schwartz, Daniel R. (1992), 'Caesarea and its 'Isactium': Epigraphy, Numismatics and Herodian Chronology', in D.R. Schwartz (ed.), *Studies of the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen): 167–81.
- Scullard, Howard Hayes (1979), *Roman Britain* (London: Tames and Hudson).
- Segal, Arthur (1995), *Theatres in Roman Palestine and Provincia Arabia* (Leiden: Brill).
- (1997), *From Function to Monument: Urban landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincial Arabia* (Oxford: Oxbow Books).
- Seibert, Jakob (1970), 'Philokles, Sohn des Apollodoros, König der Sidonier', *Historia* 19: 337–51.
- Seigne, Jacques (1992), 'Jérash romaine et byzantine: développement urbain d'une ville provinciale orientale', *SHAJ* IV: 331–41.
- Seyrig, Henri (1972), 'La Tyché de Césarée de Palestine', *Syria* 49: 112–15.
- Shalom, Israel Ben (1994), *The House of Shamai and the Struggle of the Zealots against Rome (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben Zvi).
- Sharon, Moshe (1986), 'The Cities of the Holy Land Under Islamic Rule (Hebrew)', *Cathedra* 40: 83–120.
- (2002), 'The Decisive Battles in the Conquest of Syria (Hebrew)', *Cathedra* 104: 31–84.
- Shaw, Brent D. (1993), 'The Passion of Perpetua', *Past and Present* 139: 3–45.
- (1996), 'Body/Power/Identity: Passions of the Martyrs', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4/3: 269–312.
- Sherwin-White, Adrian N. (1970a), 'Citizenship, Roman', *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 243–44.
- (1970b), 'Colonization, Roman', *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 266.
- (1973), *The Roman Citizenship*. 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Simon, R.P. and E. Smith (1971), 'Chronique Archéologique: Césarée', *RB* 78: 591–92, Pl. XXIX.
- Sion, Danny (1998), 'A Roman House of Winepresses in Akhziv (Hebrew)', *Atiqot* 34: 85–99.
- Smallwood, Mary E. (1976), *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian* (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 20; Leiden: Brill).
- Sodini, Jean-Pierre (1989), 'Remarques sur l'iconographie de Syméon l'Alépine, le premier stylite', *Monuments Piot*, 70: 29–53.

- (1995), 'Habitat de l'antiquité tardive 1', *Topoi* 5: 151–218.
- (1997), 'Habitat de l'antiquité tardive 2', *Topoi* 7: 435–577.
- Sperber, Daniel (1977), 'Greek and Latin Words in Rabbinic Literature (Hebrew)', *BIA*, 14–15: 9–60.
- (1984), *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat Gan).
- (1986), *Nautica Talmudica* (Jerusalem).
- Spiro, Marie (1992), 'Some Byzantine mosaics from Caesarea', in Robert L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1* (*JRA, Suppl. Ser. 5*; Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 245–60.
- Stabler, Jeniffer, Holum, Kennet G., et al. (2008), 'The Warehouse Quarter (Area LL) and the Temple Platform (Area TP): 1996–2000 and 2002 Seasons', in Kenneth G. Holum, Jeniffer A. Stabler, and Edward Reinhardt (eds.), *Caesarea Reports and Studies* (British Archaeological Reports, International Series, no. xx; Oxford: BAR Int. Ser. 1784): 1–40.
- Stambaugh, John E. (1989), *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Stanley, Farlen H. (1999), 'The South Flank of the Temple Platform (Area Z2, 1993–95 Excavations)', in K.G. Holum, A. Raban and J. Patrich (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 2* (*JRA Suppl. 35*; Ann Arbor MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 35–39.
- Stark, K.B. (1852), *Gaza und die philistäische Küste* (Jena: F. Mauke).
- Ste-Croix, G.E.M. de (1954), 'Aspects of the "Great Persecution"', *HTR*, 47: 75–109.
- Stein, Alla (1990), 'Studies in Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Palestinian Coinage under the Principate', PhD diss. (Tel Aviv University).
- Stern, Ephraim (1978), *Excavations at Tel Mevorakh (1973–1976). Part. 1: From the Iron Age to the Roman Period* (Qedem, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, 9; Jerusalem).
- (ed.), (1993), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- (2000), *Dor, The Ruler of the Sea* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- Stern, Henri (1953), *Le calendrier de 354* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale).
- Stieglitz, Rafael R. (1993), 'Straton's Tower: The Name, the History, and the Archaeological Evidence', in J. Aviram (ed.), *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 546–51.
- (1996), 'Stratonos Pyrgos—Migdal Sar—Sebastos: History and Archaeology', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York and Köln: Brill): 593–608.
- (1998), 'A Late Byzantine reservoir and piscina at Tel Tannim', *IEJ* 48: 54–65.
- (1999), 'Straton's Tower and Demetrias Again: One Town or Two?', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2* (*JRA Suppl. 35*; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 359–60.
- Stillwell, Richard (1952), *Corinth, II: the theatre* (Princeton).
- Stratos, Andreas Nikolaou (1968), *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, trans. Marc Ogilvie-Grant and H.T. Hionides (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert).
- Strong, Donald Emrys (1966), *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London: Methuen).
- Sussman, Varda (2008), 'Chapter 3. The Oil Lamps', in Joseph Patrich (ed.), *Archaeological Excavations at Caesarea Maritima Areas CC, KK and NN, Final Report. Volume I: The Objects* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society): 207–92.
- Sussman, Yaacov (1974), 'The Halakhic inscription from Beth Shean Valley (Hebrew)', *Tarbiz* 43: 88–160.
- (1975), 'The Halakhic inscription from Beth Shean Valley (Hebrew)', *Tarbiz* 44: 193–95.

- (1976), 'Baraita deThumei Eretz Israel (Hebrew)', *Tarbitz* 45: 213–57.
- Swaddling, Judith (1980), *The Olympic games* (London: The British Museum Press).
- Taft, Robert F. (1996), 'Byzantine Communion Spoons. A Review of the Evidence', *DOP* 50: 209–38.
- Tchalenko, Georges (1953), *Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord* (1; Paris: Geuthner).
- Thomas, D. and R., Buyce (1992), 'The Origin of the Mound in Area KK: A Geor-
chaeological Interpretation, unpublished paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of
the American Schools of Oriental Research, Nov. 21–24', (San Francisco, CA).
- (1993), 'Geoarchaeological Survey', in Avner Raban, Kenneth G. Holum, and
Jeffrey A. Blakely (eds.), *The Combined Caesarea Expeditions Field Report of the
1992 Season. 2 Parts* (University of Haifa: The Recanati Center for Maritime Stud-
ies; Haifa: Center for Maritime Studies, University of Haifa), Part I: 74–75; Part II:
105, Fig. 44.
- Tomlinson, Richard (1992), *From Mycenaea to Constantinople: The Evolution of the
Ancient City* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Toombs, Lawrence E. (1978), 'The Stratigraphy of Caesarea Maritima', in R.P.S.
Moorey and Peter J. Parr (eds.), *Archaeology in the Levant: Essays for Kathleen
Kenyon* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips): 223–32.
- Toueg, Ronny (1998), 'History of the Inner Harbour in Caesarea', *CMS News* 24/25:
16–18.
- Tsafir, Yoram (1998), 'The Fate of Pagan Cult-Places in Palestine: The Archaeological
Evidence with Emphasis on Bet Shean', in Haim Lapin (ed.), *Religious and Ethnic
Communities in Later Roman Palestine* (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Mary-
land): 197–218.
- Tsafir, Yoram and Foerster, Gideon (1989), 'From Scythopolis to Baysan—Changing
Concepts of Urbanism', in R. Geoffrey, D. King, and Averil Cameron (eds.), *The
Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East II: Land Use and Settlement Patterns* (Studies
in Late Antiquity and Early Islam; Princeton: Darwin Press): 95–116.
- (1994), 'The excavations of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem expedition in
Beth Shean, 1980–1994', *Qadmoniot* 27 (107–108): 113–15.
- (1997), 'Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries',
DOP 51: 65–146.
- Tsafir, Yoram, Di-Segni, Leah, and Green, Judith (1994), *Tabula Imperii Romani.
Iudaea-Palaestina. Maps and Gazetteer* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and
Humanities).
- Tsatskin, A. (1994), 'Application of soil micromorphology and geochemistry tech-
niques for examining of anthropic and constructional materials in Caesarea. Interim
Report.'
- Vann, Robert L. (1983), 'Byzantine Street Construction at Caesarea Maritima', in
Robert L. Hohlfelder (ed.), *City, Town, and Countryside in the Early Byzantine
Era* (East European Monographs 120, Byzantine Series 1; Boulder: Distributed by
Columbia University Press): 161–74.
- (1983), 'Herod's Harbor Construction Recovered Underwater', *BAR* 9 (3): 10–14.
- (1991), 'The Drusion: a candidate for Herod's lighthouse at Caesarea Maritima',
IJNA 20: 123–39.
- (1992), 'Early Travelers and the First Archaeologists', in Robert L. Vann (ed.),
*Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbor, and the Roman and Byzantine
Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Ser. 5; Ann Arbor MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 275–90.
- (ed.), (1992), *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman
and Byzantine Caesarea* (JRA Suppl. Series, 5; Ann Arbor).
- Ven, P. van den (1970), *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–592). Part 2*
([Subsidia Hagiographica 32]; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes).
- Vermeule, Cornelius Clarkson (1959), *The Goddess Roma in the Art of the Roman
Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).

- Veyne, Paul (1999), 'Païens et chrétiens devant la gladiature', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome. Antiquité* 111: 883–917.
- Vikan, Gary (1991a), 'Guided by Land and Sea.' Pilgrim Art and Pilgrim Travel in Early Byzantium', *Tesserae. Festschrift für Josef Engemann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband* (Ergänzungsband, 19; Münster: Aschendorff): 74–92.
- (1991b), 'Menas Flasks', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (II; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press): 1340.
- (1997), 'Don't Leave Home without Them. Pilgrim Eulogiai Ensure a Safe Trip', *BAR* 23 (4): 56–59.
- Ville, Georges (1981), *La gladiature en occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome).
- Vogel, Lise (1969), 'Circus race scenes in the Early Roman Empire', *Art Bulletin* 51: 155–61.
- Ward-Perkins, John B. (1955), 'Early Roman Towns in Italy', *TPR* 26: 126–54.
- (1974), *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity* (New York: George Braziller).
- Weingarten, Susan (2000), 'Jerome's World: The Evidence of Saints' Lives', Ph.D. Dissertation (Tel Aviv University).
- Weiss, Zeev (1995), 'Roman leisure culture and its influence upon the Jewish population in the Land of Israel [Hebrew]', *Qadmoniot* 28 (109): 2–19.
- (1996), 'The Jews and the Games in Roman Caesarea', in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima. A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill): 443–53.
- (1999), 'Adopting a novelty: the Jews and the Roman games in Palestine', in John H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East, II: Some recent archaeological research* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology).
- Weiss, Zeev and Netzer, Ehud (1994), *Sepphoris (Hebrew)*. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society).
- Welch, Katherine (1998), 'The Stadium at Aphrodisias', *AJA* 102: 547–69.
- (1998), 'Greek stadia and Roman spectacles: Aphrodisias, Athens, and the tomb of Herodes Atticus', *JRA* 11: 117–27.
- (1999), 'Negotiating Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek world: Athens and Corinth', in Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon (eds.), *The Art of Ancient Spectacles* (Studies in the history of art, National Gallery of Art; Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art): 125–45.
- Wenning, Robert (1986), 'Die Stadtgöttin von Caesarea Maritima', *Boreas* 9: 113–29.
- Wharton, Annabel Jane (1995), *Refiguring the Post-Classical City: Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- White, K.D. (1970), *Roman Farming* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- (1975), *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- (1984), *Greek and Roman Technology* (London: Thames and Hudson).
- Wiemken, Robert C. and Holum, Kenneth G. (1981), 'The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima: Eighth Season, 1979', *BASOR* 244: 29, 40–41.
- Will, Ernest (1983), 'La coupe de Césarée de Palestine au Musée du Louvre', *Monuments et mémoires*, 65: 1–24.
- (1987), 'La Tour de Straton: mythes et réalités', *Syria* 64: 245–51.
- (1997), 'Antioche sur l'Orontes, Métropole de l'Asie', *Syria* 74: 99–113.
- Wilson, Roger John Antony (1983), *Piazza Armerina* (London, Toronto, Sidney, New York: Granada).
- Wissowa, Georg (1903), *Römische Bauernkalender: Apophoreton der Graeca Halensis* (Berlin).
- Witt, Reginald Eldred (1966), 'Isis-Hellas', *PCPS n.s.*, 192: 48–69.

- Yegul, Fikret (1992), *Bath and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York: MIT Press).
- Yevin, Shmuel (1955), 'Excavations at Caesarea Maritima', *Archaeology* 8: 122–29.
- (1957), 'Césarée, Chronique archéologique', *RB* 64: 259–60.
- Yizhaki, Arie (ed.), (1979), *Israel Guide. An Encyclopedia for the Study of the Land, VI: the Sharon, southern Coastal Plain, and the northern Negev (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House).
- Young, D.C. (1988), 'Athletics', in Michael Grant and Rachel Kitzinger (eds.), *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean, Greece and Rome (II)* (New York: Scribner's): 1131–42.
- Yule, Brian and *et al.* (1999), 'Evaluation of the Inner Harbour', in Kenneth G. Holum, Avner Raban, and Joseph Patrich (eds.), *Caesarea Papers 2* (JRA Suppl. 35; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology): 261–357.
- Zacos, G. and Veglery, A. (1972), *Byzantine Lead Seals, 1:1* (Basel: J.J. Augustin, Glückstadt).
- Zanker, Paul (1990), *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, A. Shapiro (Eng. transl.)* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press).
- Zori, I.S. (1926), *Rabbi Yose son of Hanina of Qisrin (Hebrew)* (Jerusalem).

