

A CHAPEL OF ST. PAUL AT CAESAREA MARITIMA?

J. Patrich

1. St. Paul at Caesarea

St. Paul¹ was in confinement for two years (*ca.* 58-60? CE)² in Caesarea. This chapter in his life took place at the end of his third missionary journey to the gentiles. He was brought to Caesarea in chains, under a heavy military escort of 200 soldiers, 70 horsemen and 200 spearmen, at the command of two centurions, after being arrested in Jerusalem by the Roman tribune (χιλίαρχος) in the city - Claudius Lysias. The arrest took place on Pentecost 58 CE, after a Jewish mob had attacked him in the temple, suspecting that he had polluted the holy precinct by letting gentiles in, among them one - Trophimas the Ephesian, with whom he was seen together in the streets of Jerusalem. The mob was incited by Jewish pilgrims from Asia, who opposed Paul's missionary activity in their synagogues and among the Greeks in their cities, and accused him of preaching to the Jews living among the gentiles not to circumcise their sons and to abandon the Law. Before being brought to Caesarea Paul was interrogated by the tribune in the barracks (παρεμβολή) of Jerusalem (i.e. - the Antonia fortress) about his identity, origin and behavior, being exempt from scourging when

1. For Paul's biography see: *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* × (Roma 1968) 164-94; F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London-New York-Toronto 1974) 1046-49; A. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York 1991) 1604-5. D. Attwater, *The Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Ayllesbury 1965, repr. 1974) 266-68; D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*² (New York 1987) 339-40. See also: Marie-Françoise Baslez, *Saint Paul*, Paris 1991; Jürgen Becker, *Paul, "l'apôtre des Nations"* (tr. from German J. Hoffmann), Paris 1995. The Greek critical edition of *Acts* was published by C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Leipzig 1872, repr. Graz 1965). The English translations consulted were Nestle and Marshal, *The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament*² London 1959 (rprt. 1969); *The New Revised Version*; *The Inclusive Version*; *The New Testament in Hebrew and English*, published by The Society for Distributing the Holy Scriptures to the Jews, London, and R. B. Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London 1901, repr. Ann Arbor, Michigan 1964).

2. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem and his confinement and trial in Caesarea are given in *Acts* 21:15-27:1. For the chronology, in the last two years of procurator Felix, see: E. Schürer, *The history of the Jewish People in the age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, G. Vermes and F. Millar (rev. and edd.) I (Edinburgh 1973) 459-66. See also: G. Ogg, *The Chronology of the Life of Paul* (1968).

he declared that he was a Roman citizen. The tribune first suspected that he was the Egyptian who a few days earlier had led out into the wilderness 4000 men of the Assassins (*Sicarii*),³ thus breaking the civil order, but when it was realized that he was accused by the Jews for breaking their Law, Paul was given to the sentence of the Jewish council (Sanhedrin / συνέδριον). Paul brought discord among the Pharisees and Sadducees of the council, by presenting his stance (pertaining to the resurrection of Christ, and the Holy Spirit), as beliefs in personal resurrection, in the angels and in the spirits - disputed issues between the two Jewish sects. The dissension aroused in the council was so violent that the tribune had to take Paul out from there by force, for fear that he would be torn to pieces by the two parties. Back in custody in the barracks, a plot of the high priests, the elders and more than forty people to murder Paul next time he came to their court was brought to the attention of the tribune by Paul's nephew - the son of his sister, residing in Jerusalem. In order to prevent it the tribune decided to dispatch him, under military escort, with a letter, to be sentenced in front of the procurator Felix at Caesarea.

Felix (procurator *ca.* 52-60? CE) put Paul in custody in the *praetorium* of Herod - the palace and *officium* of the Roman procurator - until his accusers would come from Jerusalem. Ananias the high priest and the elders arrived after five days, and the prosecutor was a certain rhetor, named Tertullus.⁴ After hearing both sides, the verdict was postponed until the arrival of the tribune Claudius Lysias. Paul was given to a lenient custody (*custodia libera*), under the surveillance of a centurion, being permitted to be visited and served by his acquaintances. Paul was known to the local community. Some of its members had journeyed with him to Jerusalem for Pentecost. Among the brethren in Caesarea were the evangelist Philip and his four virgin daughters who prophesied, at whose house Paul and his company spent several days before going up to Jerusalem.⁵ Imprisoned with Paul was Aristarchus, and he was served by Luke, a gentile, author of *Acts*, his companion for many years in the voyages to the gentiles, and eyewitness to his adventures in Jerusalem and Caesarea. It seems that Luke

3. The event of the 'Egyptian' ringleader of a rebellious group is also narrated by Josephus *War* 2.13.5 (261-3); *Ant.* 20.8.6 (169-72). According to *War* they were 30.000 in number, and they gathered on Mount of Olives. The governor Felix attacked them with his troops, killed and scattered the followers of the Egyptian, or took them prisoners, but the Egyptian himself escaped the massacre and disappeared. The event took place shortly before Paul's arrest. See Schürer, (*supra* n. 2) 464.

4. *Acts* 24. The trial took place 12 days after Paul first arrived to Jerusalem.

5. *Acts* 21:8-16.

completed his *Gospel* during this sojourn of two years in the province, having easy access to the Palestinian apostolic tradition. Some of Paul's Epistles (to the Ephesians, Colossians and Philemon) might have been written in this period, and sent from Caesarea. His messenger to the churches in Asia was Tychicus.⁶

Actually the trial was not resumed for two years, until the end of Felix's governorship,⁷ although Felix summoned Paul many times, hoping to extort from him a bribe for his release. One of these encounters was together with his consort Drusilla - a beautiful Jewish princess, daughter of Agrippa I and sister of Agrippa II, whom Felix had married through the intervention of a magician from Cyprus called Simon, in defiance of the law which strictly forbade the marriage of a Jewess with a pagan.⁸ Paul was asked to present the essentials of his creed in front of them.

Under Porcius Festus (procurator ca. 60-62? CE) the conclusion of the trial was not delayed any longer.⁹ About two weeks after assuming procuratorship he ordered Paul to be brought in front of him, while he sat on the judgement platform (ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος).¹⁰ A Jewish delegation that arrived from Jerusalem presented the accusations, and Paul defended himself. But he rejected the suggestion of the judge to transfer the issue to the decision of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, and be judged there at his presence. Being a Roman citizen he appealed unto Caesar, to be sentenced in Rome.¹¹

6. For St. Paul's and St. Luke's work at Caesarea, see Rackham, (supra n.1) 449-51. See also G. Downey, "Caesarea and the Christian Church," in: Ch. Fritsch (ed.), *The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima*, Vol. I: *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, [BASOR Suppl. Studies 19] (Missoula, Montana 1975) 23-42. E. Krentz, "Caesarea and early Christianity," in: R. L. Vann (ed.), *Caesarea Papers 1* [JRA Suppl. Ser. 5] (Ann Arbor, MI 1992) 261-67, mentions the *Epistle to the Philippians* as the best example of 'Prison epistles' to be written in Caesarea, though the Christian tradition suggests Rome. W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Eng. tr. H. C. Kee, London 1975) 328-29 brings the pros and cons of each place, and favors (*ibid.* 346-47) Caesarea as the writing place of the *Epistle to the Colossians*. According to Kümmel (*ibid.* 347) Mark also was with Paul in Caesarea, and the runaway slave Onesimus met Paul there (*ibid.* 348-49). Paul's biography and chronology is given by Kümmel in pp. 252-55. He places Paul's arrival in Jerusalem in 55/56 CE.

7. The prolonged delay might have been the result of the dispute aroused at that time in the city between the Jews and the Syrian inhabitants, over the equality of citizenship (ἰσοπολιτεία). See Schürer, (supra n.2) 465.

8. *Ant.* 20.7.2 (141-3).

9. *Acts* 25.

10. *Ibid.* 25:6.

11. *Ibid.* 25:11.

The appeal was approved by the judge. But before being dispatched from the harbor of Caesarea in a boat to Rome, together with other prisoners, under guard of a centurion named Julius, Paul encountered two other members of the Jewish royal family - Agrippa II and his other sister - Berenice,¹² who came to Caesarea to greet Festus on his appointment. Paul was summoned into the audience hall (τὸ ἀκροατήριον),¹³ in the presence of Festus, Agrippa and Berenice, the military tribunes, and the prominent men of the city, to present his case. Festus asked Agrippa's advice in formulating the letter to the emperor concerning Paul's affair. After the hearing the king, Festus, Berenice and the others, withdrew (presumably to a side chamber, or to an adjacent suite), saying to one another that the man had done nothing worthy of death or imprisonment.¹⁴ But since he had appealed to Caesar, he could not be set free. A few days later Paul with other prisoners sailed to Italy.

2. The “*praetorium*” of Herod - the site of St. Paul's custody and hearing

The archaeological excavations carried out in Caesarea since the mid 70's, brought to light the entire complex of the “*praetorium* of Herod” (Photo 1). Within it the law court, or audience hall (τὸ ἀκροατήριον of *Acts* 25:23), and the *bema* (*ibid.* 6) occupied by the governor and his council (συμβούλιον - *ibid.* 12) during the assizes, can be identified with a high degree of certainty.¹⁵

12. Renowned for her beauty, Berenice later attracted the attention of Vespasian. Later she became the mistress of Titus, his son, until she had to leave Rome after he was proclaimed emperor.

13. *Ibid.* 25:23. According to Rackham (*supra*, n.1) 461, this auditorium was a different hall than the regular governor's hall of justice.

14. *Ibid.* 26:31.

15. On this complex, excavated by several expeditions (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, University of Pennsylvania, and the Israel Antiquities Authority) see: L. Levine and E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima 1975, 1976, 1979 – Final Report [Qedem 21]*, Jerusalem 1986; E. Netzer, *The Palaces of the Hasmonean and Herod the Great*, (Jerusalem 1999) 109-114 (Hebrew); E. Netzer, “The Promontory Palace,” in: A. Raban and K. G. Holum, *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia*, (Leiden 1996) 193-207; Kathryn L. Gleason, “Ruler and Spectacle: The Promontory Palace,” *ibid.* 208-228; Barbara Burrell, “Palace to Praetorium: The Romanization of Caesarea,” *ibid.* 228-47. See also: B. Burrell, K. L. Gleason, and E. Netzer, “Uncovering Herod's Seaside Palace,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 19 (1993) 50-57, 76; K. L. Gleason *et al.*, “The Promontory Palace at Caesarea Maritima: Preliminary Evidence for Herod's *Praetorium*,” *JRA* 11 (1998) 23-52.



Fig. 1 Plan of suggested chapel in area KK within the complex of the warehouses.

Herod's palace extended over two terraces with a difference of elevation of ca. 3.6 m. The two-storied, lower-terrace palace (110 × 55 m in dimensions),¹⁶ built in the first phase of the building operations at Caesarea, (dated 22-15 B.C.E.), served as the private wing. It occupied a natural promontory, extending 100 m into the Mediterranean. The E side and the SE corner were cut out of the rock. The various wings, founded almost at sea level, surrounded a large, rectangular rock-cut pool (35 × 18 m), 2 m deep, lined with hydraulic plaster, with a rectangular base, presumably for a statue, at its center. It was a swimming pool, filled with sweet water, typical of Herodian palaces.¹⁷ The E wing, the best preserved, constituted a dining suite looking west, comprising a central hall flanked on either side by two small rooms. The thick lateral walls of the Herodian *triclinium* suggest a vaulted ceiling; there was no second story above this hall. The western side, that might have served as the living quarters, is poorly preserved. Access to the second story and to the upper terrace was through a staircase located in the NE corner.

The upper terrace, on the higher part of the promontory and of a slightly different orientation, served as the public wing. It was built around a vast courtyard (42 × 65 m) surrounded by porticoes.¹⁸ A raised square platform, for some monument, or for the emplacement of a *bema*, stood in its

During the years 1995-97, in the framework of the Israel Antiquities Authority excavations directed by Y. Porath, additional parts of the N, S, and E wings of the *praetorium* were exposed. For a short preliminary note see: B. Rochman, "Imperial Slammer Identified," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 24.1 (1998) 18; Y. Porath, *Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 112 (2001) 40-41. See also: H. M. Cotton and W. Eck, "Governors and their Personnel on Latin Inscriptions from Caesarea Maritima," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* VII.7, Jerusalem 2001, 215-240.

16. Thus Gleason *et al.*, *JRA* 11 (1998) 29, but according to Burrell, *Caesarea Retrospective* 240, the dimensions of the rectangular structure (without the semicircular W projection) was 40 × 80, while according to Netzer, *ibid.* 198, 200, 201, it was 83 × 51, giving a total area of ca. 4400 sqm for the lower story, including the projections, and 8000 in two stories.

17. Swimming pools were also found in Herod's palaces at Jericho, Masada, Herodium and Hyrcania. See: E. Netzer, "The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonean Period at Jericho," *Eretz-Israel* 18 (1985) 344-352 [Hebrew]. For a shorter version, see E. Netzer, "The Swimming Pools of the Hasmonean Period at Jericho," *Leichtweiss Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig, Mitteilungen* 89 (1988), 1-12. For Hyrcania see: J. Patrich, "Hyrcania," in: E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem 1993, II, 639-641.

18. The W half of the upper terrace was excavated by the University of Pennsylvania expedition, directed by Gleason and Burrell, while the E half, and farther areas to its E, belonging to the Roman *praetorium*, and the entire S wing, were excavated by the Israel Antiquities Authority expedition headed by Y. Porath, (*supra*, n. 15). The most detailed plans published so far are to be found in Cotton and Eck, *supra*, n. 15. A basilica of a

center, and to its east there was constructed a vast underground water cistern with two compartments, T-shaped in its ground plan.

The N wing of the upper terrace held two suites separated from each other by a service corridor. The W suite (on the Penn excavation area) was facing S, while the E one (on the IAA excavation area) was facing N. The W suite, of symmetrical layout, held in its center a basilical audience hall (192 sqm), flanked by smaller rooms and service corridors. The N part of the hall, that seemingly accommodated a dais, or a *bema*,¹⁹ had a heated floor set on stone *suspensurae* / *hypocaust*. It seems that over this *bema* the Roman governor and his council (*concillium* / συμβούλιον) held their assizes, including those pertaining to St. Paul, mentioned above.²⁰

A small bath unit, including a Jewish *miqveh*, was located to the west of this suite. The E suite had on its S four rooms facing N, towards a stone paved courtyard with a circular fountain at its center. It is likely that to this suite, overlooking the sea and the city, Festus, Agrippa and the other magnates present in St. Paul's hearing withdrew.

The S wing of the upper palace was occupied by a large Roman bathhouse.

The entrance to the palace was from the E, via a square *propylon* with four turrets set at its corners. Another, higher tower, rose above this *propylon*, overlooking the hippodrome/stadium. Only the foundations of the *propylon* and of adjacent tower have been preserved. Under Roman rule Herod's palace was extended farther to the east, adding ca. 50 m along the S curved end of the hippodrome/stadium.²¹ Latin inscriptions mentioning various functionaries and rooms of the *officium* were found in this extension.²²

single nave, yet unpublished, with apses and its E and W ends, was built at a later date in the NE part of the courtyard.

19. See plan and reconstruction in Gleason *et al.* *JRA* 11 (1998) (*supra*, n. 15) Figs. 4c, 7, 13, and discussion in Burrell, *Caesarea Retrospective* (*supra*, n. 15) 229.

20. For the audience hall see Gleason *et al.*, *ibid.* pp. 33, 45-48, Figs. 4c, 7, 13. The side chamber where Agrippa and Berenice withdrew, together with Festus and the other magnates, can be identified as R. 6 in Fig. 7 there, unless it was to the E suite, depicted in Fig. 4c.

21. According to Porath (oral information) the entire complex of the two-terrace palace postdates Herod's reign. However, this interpretation disregards the fact (pointed out by Netzer, in Gleason *et al.* [*supra* n. 15] p. 38, n. 29), that the N wall of the palace's upper terrace is bonded into the W *cavea* wall of the hippodrome/stadium, and ignores the fact that the *praetorium* where St. Paul was put in custody was known as the *Praetorium* of Herod (*Acts* 23:35).

22. See Cotton and Eck, *supra*, n. 15.

Although still standing in the Byzantine period, according to the excavators,²³ the audience hall of the W suite was never converted into a chapel. A Byzantine apsidal structure located farther to the east, within the bounds of the former Roman *praetorium*, had a Greek inscription calling for the salvation of Silvanus and Nonna. No cross accompanies the inscription - a common feature in Christian Greek epigraphy to be expected here as well, if the structure was used by Christians. The apse, oriented to the east, is very shallow, leaving no room for a *synthronon*, and there was neither a *bema* nor an altar. Thus it should not be excluded that this structure was actually a Samaritan synagogue, oriented eastward to Mt. Garizim, located to the east of Caesarea.

3. A chapel of St. Paul?

In the extant literary sources there is no record of a church or chapel dedicated to St. Paul in Caesarea.²⁴ Nevertheless, several finds from area KK, located in the south-western zone of the city, may suggest that such a chapel did exist there.²⁵

*Eulogia bread stamp of St. Paul (Photo 2)*²⁶

The stamp was found in building I of the complex of warehouses. It is circular in shape (10.4 cm in diameter), 1 cm thick, made of well fired pink-reddish clay. A pyramidal, knob-shaped handle, 3.5 cm wide and 3 cm thick, is attached to the center of the rear side. More than half of the original disk is preserved.

23. Gleason *et al.*, *JRA* 11 (1998); Burrell, *Caesarea Retrospective* (supra, n. 15) 240-47.

24. For a brief survey, with references, on the churches and chapels of Caesarea see: J. Patrich, "Urban Space in Caesarea Maritima, Israel," in: J. W. Eadie and T. Burns (eds.), *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts*, Michigan State University Press 2001, 77-110.

25. For a preliminary report on the excavation in area KK see: J. Patrich *et al.*, "The Warehouse Complex and Governor's Palace (Areas KK, CC, and NN, May 1993-December 1995)", in: *Caesarea Papers 2 [The Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement Series, Number 35]*, edited by Kenneth G. Holum, A. Raban and J. Patrich, Portsmouth, Rhode Island 1999, 70-108.

26. Object no. 10/94 KK17 L.012 B.0086 001. For a detailed description, including artistic and liturgical significance, see: J. Patrich, "Four Christian Objects from Caesarea Maritima," *Israel Museum News* (forthcoming).

The decorations were incised in the clay before firing. The circumference is decorated by two concentric bands, the outer one bearing a wavy, zigzag line, and the inner - a Greek inscription, more than half of which is preserved. The suggested reading of the complete inscription is: "Blessing of the Lord upon us, and of Saint Paul."²⁷ According to Leah Di Segni, there is no place for another name besides that of St. Paul. The inner area of the medallion depicts an arched *ciborium* over a cross. The arch is supported by two columns, decorated by a similar zigzag line. A surrounding circle of dots is disturbed in its lower part by a smaller cross in a circle - seemingly one of a pair. Similar dots are depicted between the arms of the larger cross. The arms of the crosses have flaring. Another cross with flaring arms is depicted on the rear side. The other marks on this side are not clear.

The inscription, as deciphered by Di Segni, associates the stamp with a shrine dedicated to Saint Paul, presumably the apostle. The name Paul is also incised on the rear side of a pottery plate found on the same spot. The shape of the stamp and the inscription on it indicate that it was a *eulogia* bread stamp, which differed from *eucharistic* bread stamps in the following aspects.²⁸ While the eucharistic bread was given to the faithful during the rite, after being consecrated on the altar, the *eulogia* bread was distributed as a *eulogia* (literally - blessing) to the faithful after the conclusion of the rite and their dismissal; it was also acquired by pilgrims visiting a church, a monastery or a martyr's shrine, or distributed to the poor as alms on particular feasts. Also, it could be distributed to the faithful in connection to a certain feast - either a great festival, or a Saint's day - rather than being strictly associated with a certain site.²⁹

Yet other finds from this area, presented below, bring further evidence for the possible existence of a Christian chapel somewhere in area KK.

27. See the following contribution by Leah Di Segni, and *eadem*. "Inscription on a Eulogia Stamp," *Israel Museum News* (forthcoming).

28. G. Galavaris, *Bread and Liturgy. The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps* (Madison Milwaukee and London 1970). The identification of this object as a eucharistic bread stamp in Patrich, (*infra* n. 30) 172, fig. 25 was therefore erroneous.

29. Galavaris (*supra*, n. 28), pp. 132-33, 137-161. Of particular interest for the stamp under discussion is the one from Thessalonica, of ca. the 6th century, depicted there, Fig. 77. The blessing of the Lord is followed by the blessings of St. Andrew and (presumably) St. Paul (*ibid.*, pp. 128, 141-143). In another stamp, from Vienna, St. Peter and St. Paul, identified by their names, are flanking a cross. The surrounding Greek inscription reads: "The blessing of the Lord on us. The cross is the beginning of life." Galavaris (Fig. 79, pp. 146-48) associates this stamp with bread distributed on the festival day of Peter and Paul. The shape of the handle of this stamp resembles ours.

Frescos depicting crosses and wall inscriptions

Several plastered building stones found in debris (Photo 3) in the “*dolium* hall” of Building I, in the Area KK complex of warehouses (Fig. 1), depicted large painted crosses of the *crux gemmata* type, with the abbreviated formula IC XC A W above and below the arms, and Greek inscriptions, in a single line underneath.³⁰ At least three such crosses can be restored.³¹ Their location in the debris, and the fact that the lower story walls are preserved on either side to a considerable height, indicate that they came from the second story. This upper story hall, located above the central section of the “*dolium* hall,” and overlooking the entire compound of warehouses, is our candidate for the suggested chapel (Fig. 2-5). One of the inscriptions, referring perhaps to the Holy Cross, as suggested by Di Segni, might be associated with the cross depicted on the above-mentioned *eulogia* bread stamp. Two masonry blocks depict red painted branches (fig. 6), one with traces of a cross to its left. These branches were perhaps placed at the beginning and end of the inscriptions.

The central section of the “*dolium* hall” of Building I is retained on the inside and on the outside by five pairs of attached pilasters. The retaining pairs of pilasters, and the thick accumulation of *kurkar* plastered blocks retrieved therein, including fragments of white mosaic floor, suggest the existence of a second story above this section, which is preserved up to the springing course of the arches. Blocks plastered on three of their faces originated from the arches. The presumed upper story chapel (Fig. 2-5), could have been 10.25 m long and ca. 5.65 m wide (internal dimensions). On its west the chapel might had a small 5.65 × 4.40 m courtyard. Access from the lower floor could have been by a wooden staircase installed in the room (3.8 × 4.7 m, internal dimensions) on the southern side of the “*dolium* hall”, leading directly to the prayer hall.³²

30. For a detailed description of the KK complex of warehouses see: J. Patrich, “Warehouses and Granaries in Caesarea Maritima,” in: A. Raban & K. G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima - Retrospective After Two Millennia*, Louvain-New York-Köln, 1996, pp. 146-76. Figs. 23-24 on pp. 170-71 depict one of the painted crosses reproduced here. For the Greek inscriptions see the following article by Leah Di Segni.

31. One cross with an inscription underneath, presented by Di Segni, below, as inscription 1, and already reconstructed graphically in Patrich, *supra*, was restored by the conservation team of the Israel Antiquities Authority. See: Y. Israeli and D. Mevorah, *Cradle of Christianity*, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 2000, 34.

32. Aspects of engineering and architectural stability of the possible upper story chapel in this place were discussed with conservation architect at Caesarea excavations, D. Abu Hazeira, who expressed his absolute confidence that an upper story did exist over the central section of the “*dolium* hall.” I am indebted to him for his opinion. But the hypothesis

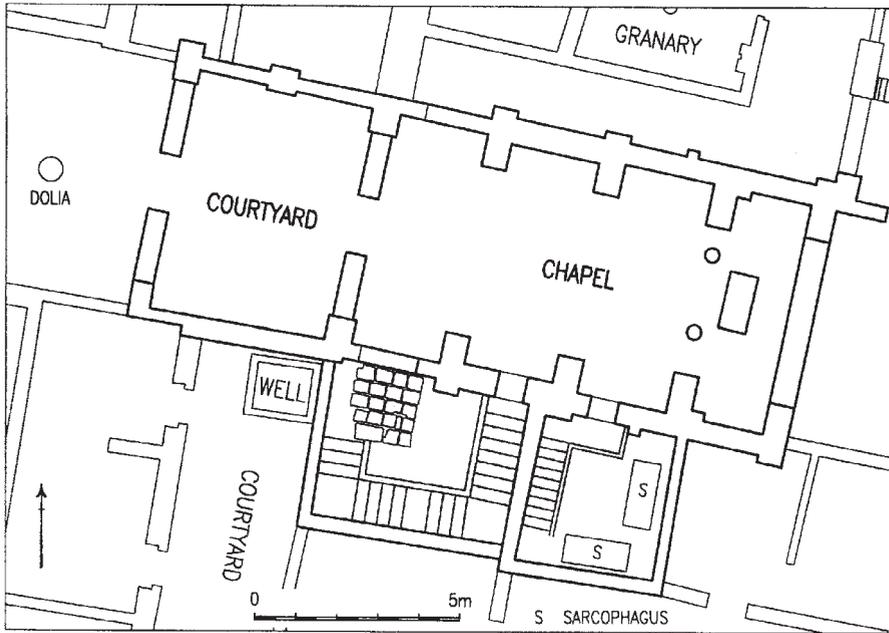


Fig. 2 St. Paul chapel. Plan.

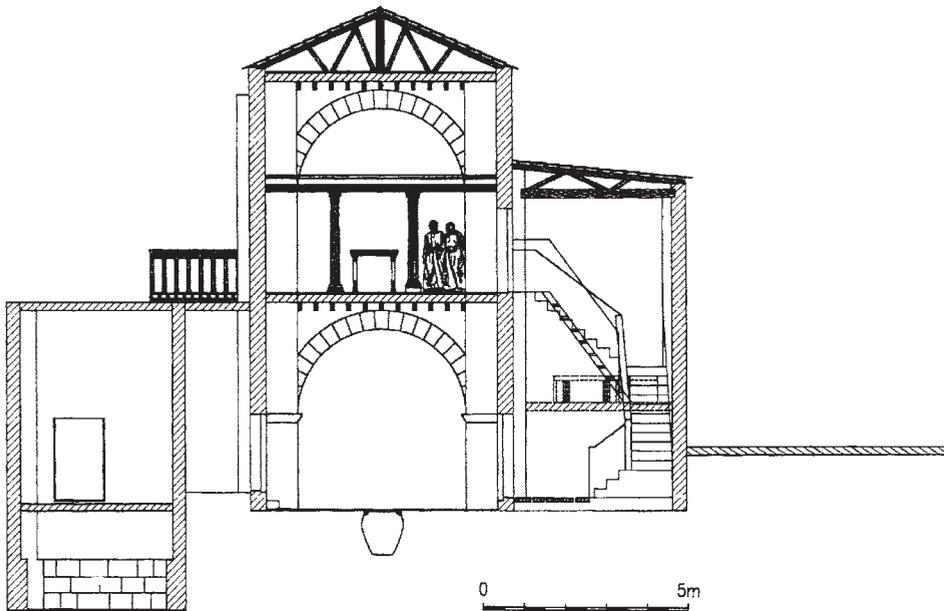


Fig. 3 St. Paul chapel. NS section, looking E.

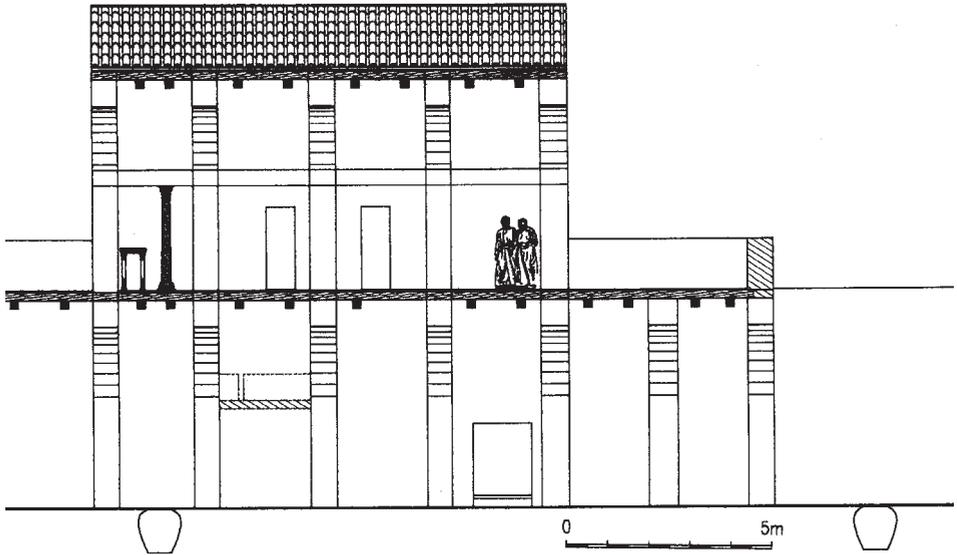


Fig. 4 St. Paul chapel. EW section, looking S.

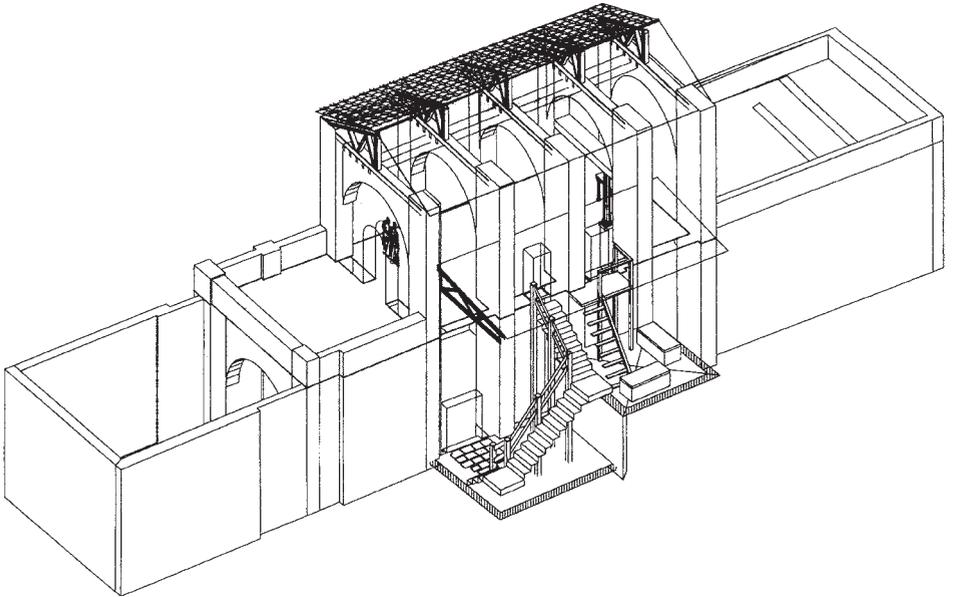


Fig. 5 St. Paul chapel. Suggested reconstruction, from SW, including the staircase room and the burial chamber.



Fig. 6 Red painted branches on plaster.

The architectural members

Besides the above-mentioned frescos and wall inscriptions, found in the upper story debris, the following decorated architectural fragments, mostly of marble, might have originated in the suggested chapel, although found dispersed throughout KK area, in a post-occupational fill, or reused in a later stratum. These are not finds to be expected in a mundane context of warehouses, yet their attribution to a one and single hall, interpreted as a chapel, although possible, is far from being certain.

All members are made of gray Proconessian marble, unless otherwise specified.

Ciborium (baldachino) columns (Fig. 7)

1. 10/94 KK23 L.018 B0076 001. Marble, complete, but broken into two pieces. 2.04 m high; lower section, 70 cm high, vertically fluted; upper part diagonally fluted upward to the right. Lower diameter 28 cm, top diameter 27 cm, 22 cm below the top, and 24 cm at an elevation of 1.40 m.
2. 10/94 KK23 L.008 B0046 001. Marble, complete, but broken into two pieces. 2.12 m high, diagonally fluted upward to the right. Lower diameter 23 cm, top diameter 21 cm. In spite of the variance in shape and size, the columns might have been used for a kind of *ciborium*, as suggested in figs. 2-5.

presented below is based more on the interpretation of the archaeological data suggesting an upper story chapel, than on the possible existence of an upper story on purely architectural grounds.

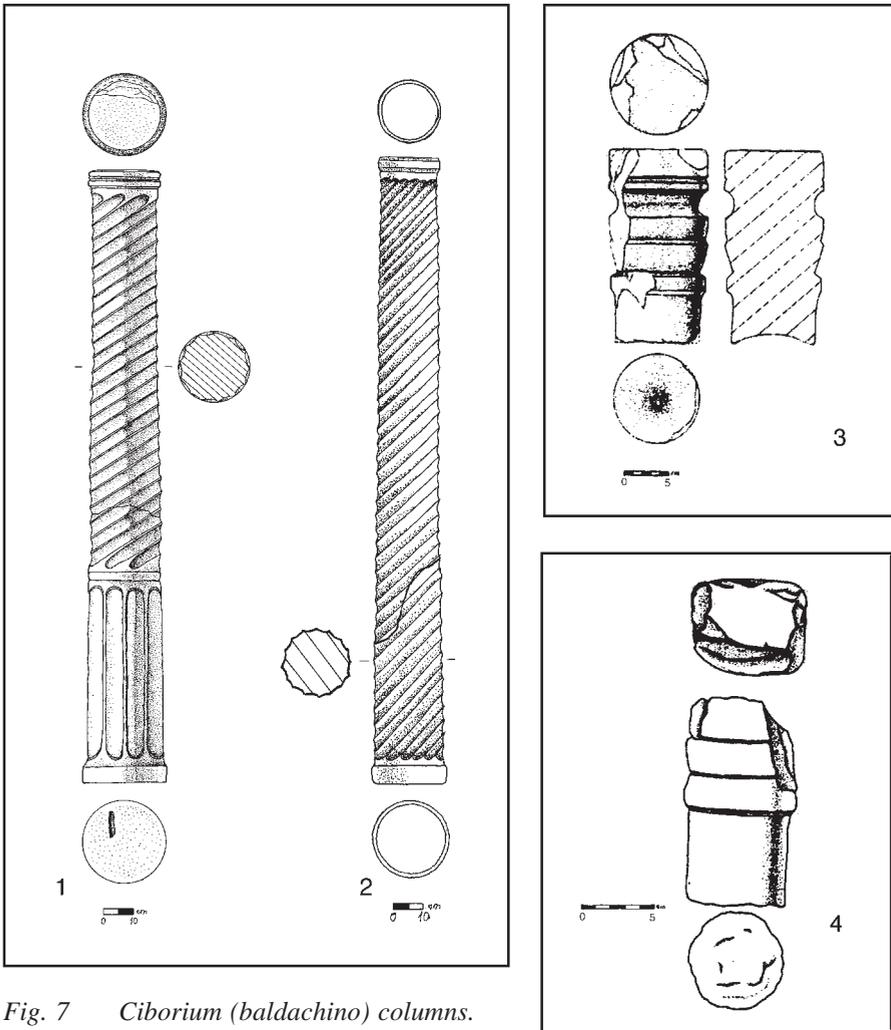


Fig. 7 Ciborium (baldachino) columns.

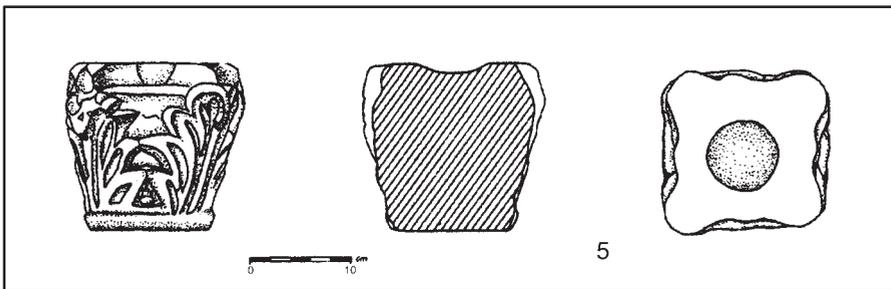


Fig. 8 Table legs.

Table legs (Fig. 8)

3. 10/94 KK27 L.009 B0021 001. Marble, upper part, 21 cm long. Lower diameter 9 cm, upper diameter 11 cm.
4. 42/93 KK18 L000 B0066 001. Leg fragment, 14 cm high, marble, 10 cm in diameter.
5. 10/94 KK15 L.550 B0221 001. Capital of an altar leg (?), marble, 8 cm high, upper surface ca. 8.5 × 8.5 cm, has a shallow cavity. The tiny size excludes the possibility that this was a table leg of regular size. It might have served as a decorative piece of a smaller installation, such as a decorative tiny niche.

Table Plates (Fig. 9)

It is hard to tell which (if any) of the plates detailed bellow, four of which were certainly circular, actually belonged to the presumed chapel, and which, if any, had served as an altar table plate.

6. 42/93 KK20 L.231 B0110 001. Small fragment 13 cm long, of a circular table plate, of the Theodosian relief type,³³ ca. 3 cm deep, and 2 cm thick. White marble, inner diameter ca. 52 cm, preserved rim ca. 5.5 cm wide, depicting a feline tail to the right of an acanthus flower, presumably of an heraldic, anti-thetic arrangement.
7. 10/94 KK28 L.035 B0059 001. Ten fragments of a circular table plate, 77 cm in diameter, 1.4 cm thick and 2.8 cm deep. Rim width 6.4 cm. White marble.
8. 03/96 KK35 L.079 B0111 001. Four fragments of a circular table plate, marble, 100 cm in diameter, ca. 2 cm thick, very shallow concavity. Rim decorated by a beads pattern.
9. 42/93 KK21 L.122 B0090 001. Three fragments of a circular table plate, white marble, 109 cm in diameter, 4 cm deep, 3.5 cm thick, 4 cm high rim (on the inside).
10. 42/93 KK20 L.000 B0057 001. White marble, fragment 10 × 11 cm, 1.5-3 cm thick, diameter ca. 20 cm.

33. For a catalogue of these table plates see: Jutta Dresken-Weiland, *Relieferte Tischplatten aus Theodosianischer Zeit* (Roma, Citta del Vaticano 1991). I am indebted to D. Amit for bringing this publication to my attention. A larger fragment of an altar of this type depicting on the rim a hunting scene was found recently in a monastery in Jerusalem. See: D. Amit, J. Seligman and I. Zilberbod, "The Monastery of Theodoros and Kyriakos on the eastern Slope of Mount Scopus," in: A. Faust and E. Baruch, eds., *New Studies on Jerusalem* [Proceedings of the Sixth Conference, Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, Bar Ilan University, December 7th 2000], Ramat Gan 2000, 166-74 (Hebrew, with an English summary at pp. 11*-12*).

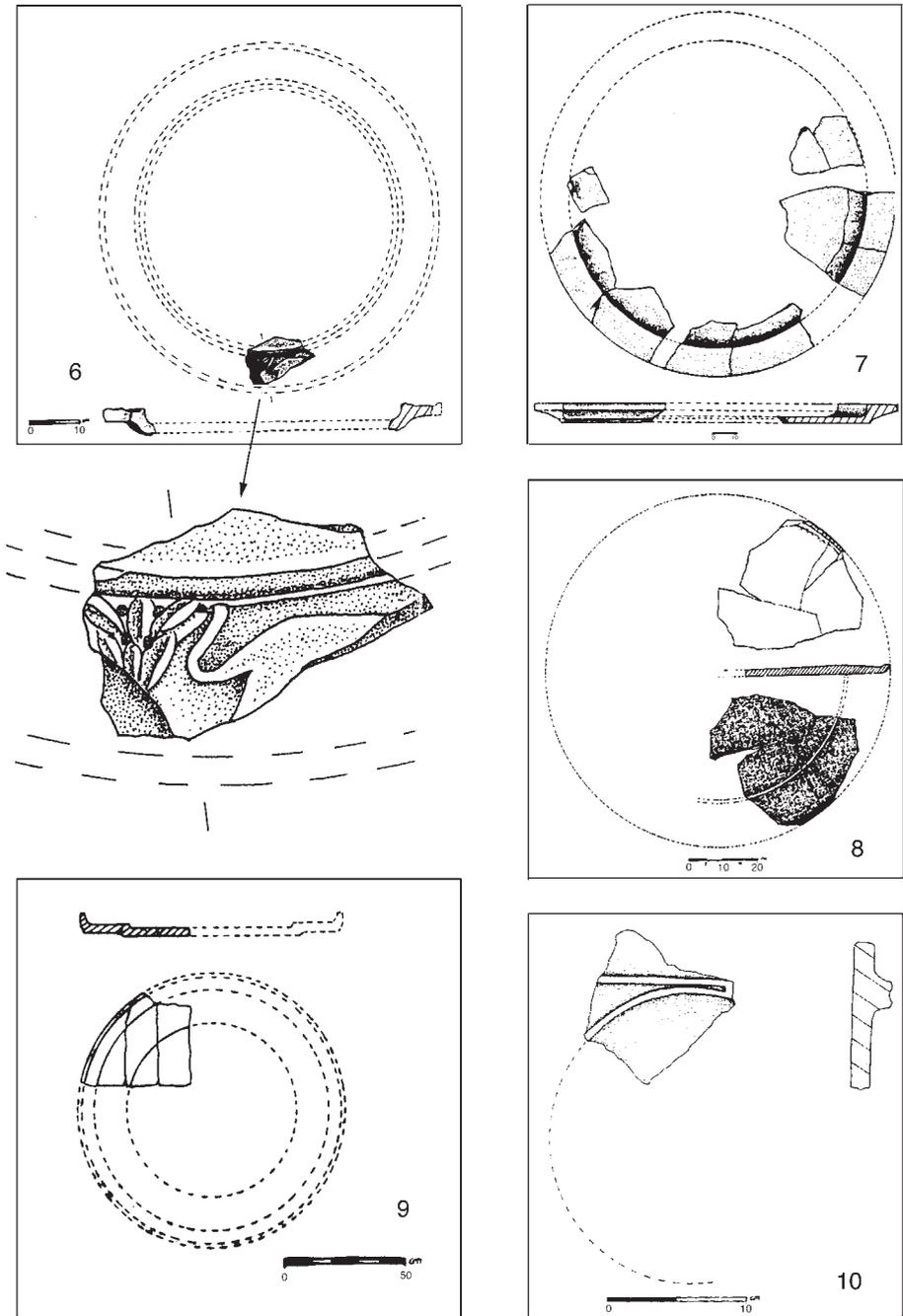


Fig. 9 Table plates.

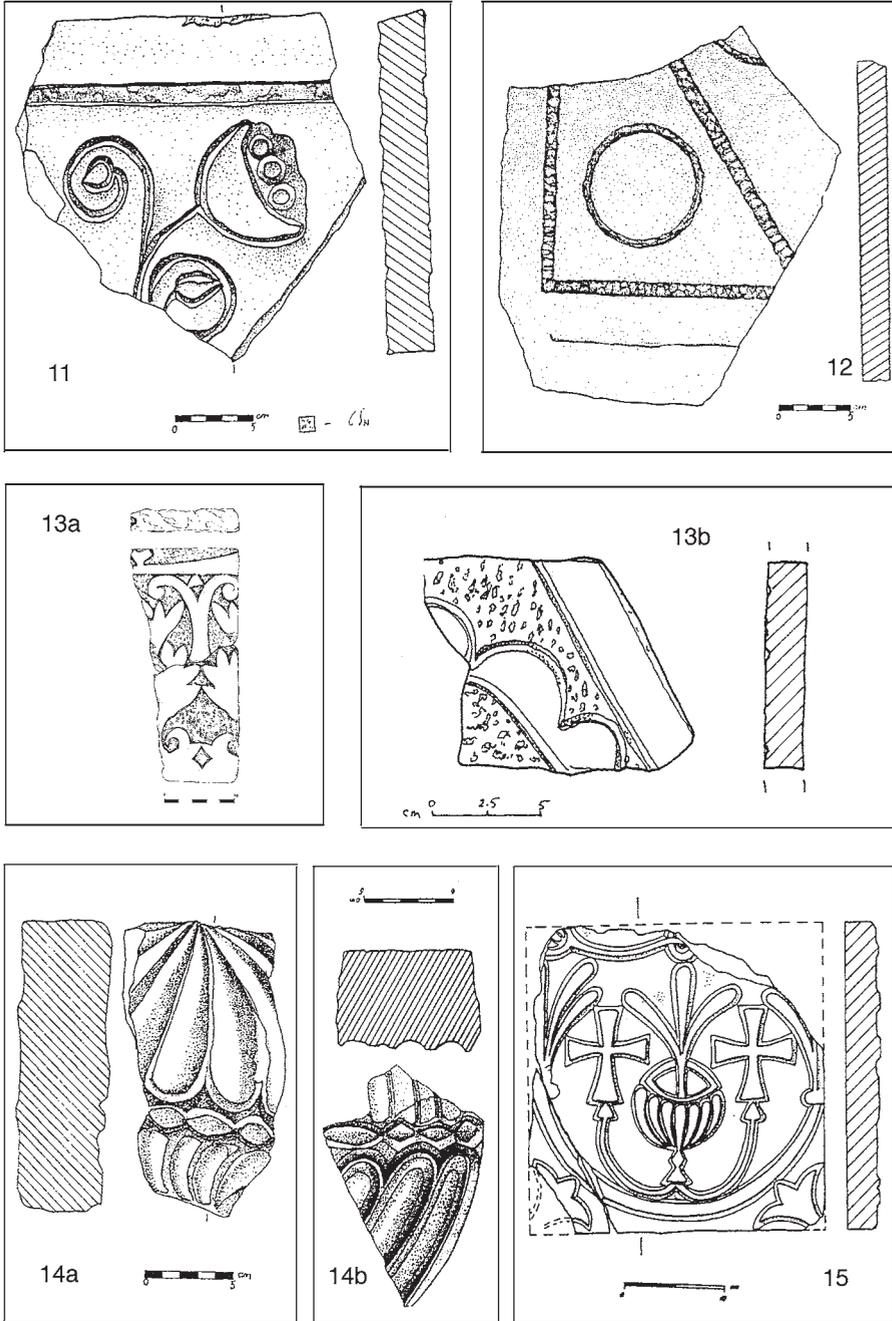


Fig. 10 Screen and other plates.

Screen and other Plates (Fig. 10)

11. 10/94 KK24 L.024 B0103 001. Screen plate upper fragment 22 × 23 cm, 3 cm thick, grey marble, rear face rough. Upper band incised by a 1.2 wide chisel; decoration depicting poppy cob and buds.
12. 10/94 KK24 L.026 B0107 004. Screen plate corner. Grey marble, 26 × 24 cm, 2 cm thick, rear face smooth. Decoration incised with a 1 cm wide chisel.
- 13a. 10/94 KK24 L. 026 B0107; b. 07/95 KK08 L.035 B0130. Decorative plates, grey marble, decorated in *champs levé* technique, depicting vegetal motives.
 - a. Right part, 34cm long, 15.5-11cm broad, 3.4cm thick, drill in upper edge.
 - b. fragment, 10x10cm, 1.75cm thick.
- 13b. 07/95 KK08 L.035 B0130. Screen plate fragment 10 × 10 cm, 1.75 cm thick. Grey marble, decorated in *champs levé* technique, depicting a wreath.
14. 10/94 KK17 L000 B0070 001. Screen plate? Fragment, 16 cm long, 5 cm thick, grey marble. Depicting a conch and a wreath? in relief. 42/93 KK21 L.127 B0105, 13 cm long, of similar thickness and motif, might have been another piece of the same screen.
15. 42/93 KK13 L.327 B.0075³⁴. Decorative plate. Marble, ca. 30 × 30 cm, 3 cm thick; left lower corner and right upper corner missing. Dimensions too small for a screen plate. Floral (?) emblem emerging from a vase flanked by two crosses surrounded by a strip connecting two palmets. Two buds, or fleur de lis decorate both lower corners, and an awning the uppermost part.

Burial inscriptions and sarcophagi

Several Greek burial inscriptions on marble plates retrieved in area KK may indicate that the chapel also served for burial, or that a burial chamber was attached to it.³⁵ One inscription (Fig. 11a) reads +Μημόριον Κορν(η)λιας (Tomb of Cornelia). Another (Fig. 11b) reads +Θήκε [δ(ια)φ(έρουσα)] Ἀναστασ[ίου] καὶ Ἀξίας+ ([Private] tomb of Anastasius and Axia) refer-

34. This plate was already presented in Patrich (supra, n. 30) 175, Fig. 29.

35. For a survey on burial practice in the churches and chapels in Palestine see H. Goldfus, *Tombs and Burials in Churches and Monasteries of Byzantine Palestine (324-628 A.D.)*, Ph.D. Dissertation, (Princeton University 1997, UMI Dissertation Services). Christian burials (unlike veneration of martyrs' relics), was quite rare within urban confines, and when occurring within the wall, it was near the outskirts of the city, as in the case of the "Mortuary Chapel" at Jerash, or "Kyria Maria Monastery" and the "Martyr's Church" in Scythopolis - both within an intramural cemetery. Although imperial legislations and ecclesiastical stance forbade intramural burial (see Di Segni's reservations below), these finds indicate that such a practice did occur. Although one cannot exclude the possibility that both sarcophagi and burial inscriptions mentioned below came from the extramural cemeteries of Caesarea, in my opinion an origin adjacent to the finding spot should be preferred.



Fig. 11 Burial inscriptions.

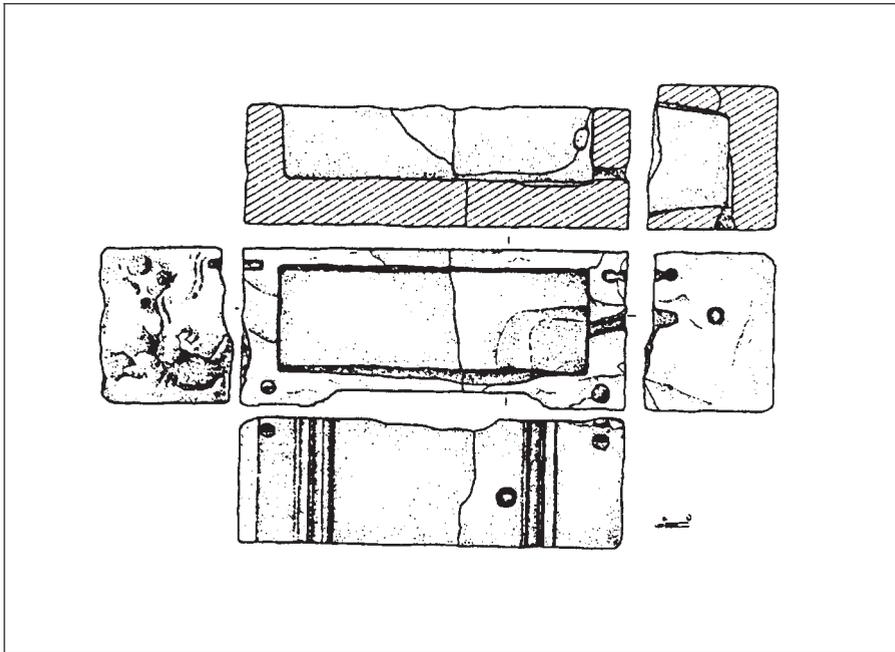


Fig. 12 Sarcophagus KK16 L.171 B0012.

ring perhaps to a communal burial³⁶. In this context we should mention two sarcophagi found in this area, that were reused as water basins in the irrigation system of a terraced garden constructed over the ruined and abandoned Byzantine structures in Areas KK and CC.³⁷ One (Fig. 12) was found in Well KK16.171,³⁸ and the other at the entrance to Vault CC07, near another well (Fig. 13).³⁹ The occurrence of sarcophagi together with burial inscriptions in area KK, may not be due to chance. Taking into consideration their heavy weight, it seems unlikely that the sarcophagi were brought from the extramural burial grounds, at a distance of ca. 700 m to the east, just in order to serve as irrigation basins. It would have been much simpler to construct such basins near the wells, using masonry blocks. Therefore, it is much more reasonable to assume that they originally stood in proximity to the wells where they were found.

Due to their weight, it would be reasonable to suggest that the two sarcophagi were originally located in the room annexed to the chapel on the south, which measured ca. 3 × 3.5 m (Figs. 4 and 5) and had a fill of earth under its floor, rather than in the chapel itself. The only possible entrance to this room was 2.75 m from the north, and since its floor level was lower than the chapel's floor, it served as a kind of a crypt. We should assume several wooden steps, or a ladder, leading down from the chapel.

Eulogia flasks

Four St. Menas flasks (Fig. 14), one *eulogia* flask of St. Simeon the Elder (Fig. 15), and a silver (eucharistic?) spoon (Fig. 16) were also retrieved in the post-occupational dirt and “garden soil” that covered area KK,⁴⁰ but again one cannot positively affirm that they came from the presumed chapel.

Joseph Patrich
University of Haifa

36. The inscriptions were deciphered and translated by Leah Di Segni.

37. This “irrigated garden” constitutes our stratum IIIa. See Patrich *et al.* (*supra* n. 25), 72. See also: *idem*, *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 17 (1998) 56, Fig. 26.

38. Object no. 10/94 KK16 L.171 B0001.

39. Object no. 10/94 CC07 L.002; Photo no. C94-29-13.

40. For a detailed description of these objects see Patrich, *supra* n. 26.