UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

Caesarea Maritima and the *Ecclesiastical History*: Reading Eusebius in Geographical Context

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Lisa Meyers Johnson

Committee in charge:

Professor Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, Chair

Professor James F. Brooks

Professor Paige Digeser

Professor John W.I. Lee

June 2021

The dissertation of Lisa Meyers Johnson is approved.

_____

James F. Brooks

_____

Paige Digeser

_____

John W.I. Lee

_____

Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, Committee Chair

June 2021

Caesarea Maritima and the Ecclesiastical History: Reading Eusebius in Geographical Context

Copyright © 2021

by

Lisa Meyers Johnson

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like all major projects, I completed this dissertation with support, which came in various forms. I owe many thanks to my advisor, Beth, a supportive and unwavering advocate for my research. She encouraged me to slow down, sit with ideas, and trust the process. Equally important to my professional development was seeing her model academic life, profound respect for balance and boundaries, and indulgence in life's sweet moments—from big milestones to a simple cup of morning coffee. I am also grateful to my committee members: Dr. James F. Brooks, Dr. Paige Digeser, and Dr. John W.I. Lee. Their unique perspectives both in and outside of my field have challenged my thinking, my research, and my writing. To all of them, thank you—for taking a chance on me and supporting my variety of interests.

This project was supported financially by the UCSB History Associates, the History Department, and the North American Patristics Society. In 2017, the History Associates supported my research trip to Caesarea Maritima, Haifa, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv. I am indebted to their continuous support since. The History Department itself provided many resources essential to completing my education and my dissertation. In 2019, the North American Patristics Society awarded me a Dissertation Research Grant. In addition to funding research trips and time to think, this project also required funding for which one cannot write grants. For several coffees, drinks, and mealtimes in between, I thank the best fur-dad turned human-dad x2, Bennett.

I want to extend a sincere thank you to Dr. David J. DeVore, who spent many uncompensated hours thinking with me, challenging me, and helping me build a scholarly voice. I hope to earn the chance to repay that favor to a junior scholar someday.

A special thank you goes to Cait, for teaching me the value of "college Fridays" and a good charcuterie board. Our friendship has been an excuse for many translation parties and writing weekends, and far too many TV shows. For all of these things and more, thank you.

My family played an instrumental role in support of this project. Many of them enthusiastically ran errands, provided (sometimes volunteered their own children to provide) childcare, shared meals and friendship, laughter and love. I am incredibly grateful for them and thankful for their encouragement along the way. This experience has shown me that while I may be the first in my family to earn a PhD, I will undoubtedly not be the last.

Thank you to Bennett, my ride-or-die / my partner-in-crime / my other (better) half / my person. Your unwavering support made this dream a reality. You see me. You hold space for me. You build with me. I love you.

This dissertation is dedicated to my babies. To Noka, who always speaks her mind. To Olin, whose spirited soul is like no other. To Bronwen, whose sweet tranquility fills the space around her. To all of you—I love you and adore you. You inspire me to be better than I am each and every day.

VITA OF LISA MEYERS JOHNSON
June 2021

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in History, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2021
Dissertation Title: Caesarea Maritima and the *Ecclesiastical History*: Reading Eusebius in Geographical Context
Committee Members: Dr. Elizabeth DePalma Digeser (chair), Dr. James F. Brooks, Dr. Paige Digeser, Dr. John W. I. Lee
M.A. in History, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2015
B.A. in Classical Studies & Religion/Philosophy, University of North Dakota, 2013

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2019- Present	Bismarck State College Adjunct Instructor Western Civilization (Prehistory-1600 CE) World History (Prehistory-1500 CE) World History (1500-Present)
2014- 2015	University of California, Santa Barbara Teaching Assistant History of the United States (WWI-Present) Global World History (Prehistory-1000 CE) Western Civilization (1715-Present)
2013	University of North Dakota, Grand Forks Teaching Assistant Introduction to Religious Inquiry

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE & FIELD WORK

2019- Present	University of California, Santa Barbara Late Antiquity Fellow
2018- Present	University of California, Santa Barbara Founding Member and Co- Principal Investigator of *Crossing Borderlands: A Public History Project*
2016- 2018	University of California, Santa Barbara Late Antiquity Fellow
2017	Dissertation Research Abroad Tel Aviv, Caesarea Maritima, and Jerusalem, Israel
2017	*Myth on Site* Summer Seminar The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Greece
2015	University of California, Santa Barbara Research Assistant

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

2019- Present	University of California, Santa Barbara Managing Editor of Department Newsletter
2016- Present	University of California Press Editorial Assistant for *Studies in Late Antiquity: A Journal*
2018- 2019	Beaver Creek Archaeology, Bismarck, ND Project Coordinator

INVITED TALKS AND CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2021	"Mapping the Martyrs: The Roman Empire and Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History"* North American Patristics Society Annual Meeting, Chicago 25 May 2021.
2020	"Caesarea Maritima: City on the Sea" Presentation for the Borderlands Research Focus Group, University of California, Santa Barbara 24 April 2020.
2017	"Modern Greek Religion: Agios Nektarios, Religious Imagery, and Social Advocacy" Presentation for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens *Myth on Site* Summer Seminar 23 July 2017.

ACADEMIC SERVICE

2019- Present	University of California, Santa Barbara Advisory Board Member for UCSB's *Undergraduate Journal of History*
2014- 2015	University of California, Santa Barbara History Graduate Student Association Secretary
2014- 2015	University of California, Santa Barbara Phi Beta Kappa Graduate Representative
2013- 2015	University of California, Santa Barbara

Financial Coordinator for the Ancient Borderlands Research Focus Group

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, & AWARDS

2021 — Dick Cook Memorial Fellowship for Outstanding Service
2020 — Esmé Frost Fellowship
2020 — Department of History, Late Antiquity Fellowship
2019 — North American Patristics Society Dissertation Research Grant
2019 — History Department Fellowship
2018 — History Dissertation Fellowship
2018 — History Associates Conference Grant
2018 — Drake Fund Conference Grant
2018 — Department of Classics Conference Grant

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, & AWARDS (CONTINUED)

2018 — History Department Conference Grant
2018 — History of Art and Architecture Conference Grant
2018 — Anthropology Conference Grant
2018 — Diversity Funds Conference Grant
2018 — Graduate Student Association Conference Grant
2017 — Department of History, Late Antiquity Fellowship
2017 — UCSB History Associates, Harold and Kathleen Drake Award
2017 — UCSB History Associates Fellowship
2017 — Department of History, Dumas Fellowship
2016 — Department of History, Late Antiquity Fellowship
2016 — Catholic Studies Conference Grant
2016 — Department of History Conference Grant
2016 — Graduate Division's Graduate Student Academic Advancement Grant
2016 — California Consortium for Late Antiquity Conference Grant
2013 — History Department Fellowship

LANGUAGES

Latin (advanced)
Greek (advanced)
German (research/reading proficiency)
French (research/reading proficiency)
Italian (research/reading proficiency)
Spanish (research/reading proficiency)
Turkish (elementary)

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS & MEMBERSHIPS

Phi Beta Kappa: National Honor Society
Phi Alpha Theta: National History Honor Society
Theta Alpha Kappa: National Religion Honor Society
North American Patristic Society

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Roman history
Studies in Ancient Greek History with Professor John W.I. Lee
Studies in Public History with Professor James F. Brooks
Studies in Political Theory with Professor Paige Digeser

ABSTRACT

Caesarea Maritima and the *Ecclesiastical History*: Reading Eusebius in Geographical Context

by

Lisa Meyers Johnson

This dissertation analyzes the last four books of an influential, fourth-century CE, Christian text, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*History*) written by church historian and bishop, Eusebius of Caesarea Maritima. Rather than approaching this Patristic text through a literary lens, my dissertation seeks to understand and re-visualize how the *History* produced and was a product of the geography of the ancient Mediterranean. By annotating books seven through ten of the *History* and visualizing the data through digital tools, I show that the universalizing rhetoric of the text was, in fact, geographically localized and masked the contingent nature of the text's production.

In order to achieve these goals, I first contextualize the city of Caesarea Maritima by locating it within Eastern Roman networks. Through this process I emphasize the non-Roman historical influences on the city and argue that Caesarea's strategic use as an administrative city and military base must inform our understanding of the city in the fourth-century CE. As a city with logistic importance to the Roman Empire, Caesarea was not (as is often assumed) a backwater city on the Roman periphery.

After developing context for Caesarea, I then analyze the geographical components in books seven through ten of the *History*. With the use of data sets (presented through tables and maps) I argue that Eusebius' idea of where the Roman and Christian worlds came together was a winnowing, localized region: the Roman East. By doing so, I frame the *History* as a work embedded in its Eastern Mediterranean context and join the ranks of scholars who argue not only for a more nuanced understanding of Eusebius and his work in context, but also those who work to show how canonical texts have long been used to reinforce power dynamics in the modern world.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction 1

Chapter Two: City on the Sea 15

Chapter Three: Universalizing Frame, Limited Scope 76

Chapter Four: Conclusion 124

Bibliography 127

Appendix 135

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Caesarea Maritima in the Roman World. Map courtesy Pleiades and Ancient World Mapping Center. 1

Figure 2. Map of Mithraea in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire. From north to south: Doliche (orange), Hawarte (purple), Dura-Europos (green), Ša' āra (grey), and Caesarea Maritima (blue). Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/. 25

Figure 3. Palmyrene Empire extent. Locations of cities from Richard Stoneman's Palmyra and Its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994). Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/. 45

Figure 4. Fastest Routes from Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 50

Figure 5. Fastest Routes to Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 51

Figure 6. Cheapest Routes from Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 52

Figure 7. Cheapest Routes to Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 53

Figure 8. Shortest Routes from Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 54

Figure 9. Shortest Routes to Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 55

Figure 10. Networks to Caesarea in Summer months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 57

Figure 11. Networks to Caesarea in Summer months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 59

Figure 12. Networks from Caesarea in the Summer Months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 61

Figure 13. Networks from Caesarea in the Summer Months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 63

Figure 14. Networks to Caesarea in Summer in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 66

Figure 15. Networks to Caesarea in summer months in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 68

Figure 16. Networks from Caesarea in summer months in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 70

Figure 17. Networks from Caesarea in summer months in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 72

Figure 18: Annotation of locations in book 7. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.....83

Figure 19. Annotation of locations in book 7, analyzed through a “Heat Map” analysis in Esri’s ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map". 85

Figure 20. Map made through ORBIS. From Alexandria in Summer. Priority: Fastest. (36km\day). Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 88

Figure 21. Annotation of locations in book 8. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.....95

Figure 22. Annotations of cities in book 8, analyzed through a “Heat Map” analysis in Esri’s ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map". 97

Figure 23. Book 8 routes from Caesarea Maritima with frequently cited cities. Map made through ORBIS. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu. 99

Figure 24. Annotation of locations in book 9. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.....107

Figure 25. Annotations of locations in book 9, analyzed through a “Heat Map” analysis in Esri’s ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map". 109

Figure 26. Annotations of locations in book 10. Map made through Recogito. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/. 116

Figure 27. Annotation of locations in book 10, analyzed through a “Heat Map” analysis in Esri’s ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map". 118

Figure 28. Overview map of annotated places in books 7 through 10. Map made through ESRI ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map". 120

Figure 29. Overview map of annotated places in books 7 through 10, analyzed through a “Heat Map” analysis in Esri’s ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map". 122

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Figure 1. Caesarea Maritima in the Roman World. Map courtesy Pleiades and Ancient World Mapping Center.[1]

One can smell and feel the breeze of the salty wind while walking the site of Caesarea Maritima, located along the sandy shores of the eastern Mediterranean Sea, halfway between Haifa and Tel Aviv. As one of the most important cities of Roman Palestine, Caesarea

[1] E.M. Meyers, J.P. Brown, Brady Kiesling, Sean Gillies, Adam Prins, Jen Thum, Jeffrey Becker, Tom Elliott, DARMC, Herbert Verreth, R. Talbert, Perry Scalfano, and Mark Depauw, "Stratonos Pyrgos/Caesarea: A Pleiades Place Resource," *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places*, 2020. https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/678401.

witnessed centuries of history that survive in piecemeal components. The city has hosted nearly 100 years of excavatory research and each year offers new evidence about its colorful past. From its origins as a Phoenician site in the fourth-century BCE up until the Mamluk destruction of the city in the thirteenth century, Caesarea served as a port for traders and travelers. At its height, the city served as administrative capital and supported both the Roman military and intellectual leaders along with their schools.

Origen, a notorious intellectual of the third-century CE, used Caesarea as a home base after leaving his hometown of Alexandria.[2] While residing there, he wrote many treatises, letters, and developed a scholarly community, which attracted Christian thinkers from the across the empire.[3] Pamphilus, a student of religion who was inspired by Origen, was born in Berytus and eventually resided in Caesarea to study. He subsequently built the library at Caesarea by collecting Origen's works, Christian texts, and philosophical writings from across the empire.[4] Pamphilus also mentored and housed the young, aspiring scholar, Eusebius of Caesarea.[5]

We know little about Eusebius of Caesarea's life. We speculate that he was born in the 260s CE. He was likely a Caesarean native and left the city only on trips, which he took on occasion. He served the Christian community at Caesarea as a presbyter until becoming

---

[2] Eusebius. *Historia ecclesiastica* 6.19.16 and 6.26.1.

[3] Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea.* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2008), 16.

[4] Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 156.

[5] Michael Hollerich, *Making Christian History: Eusebius of Caesarea and His Readers* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), 3.

Bishop of Caesarea in the 310s CE. Despite divulging little about his personal life, Eusebius held many roles—one of them being an author who wrote on theology and history, two topics pertinent to any historian of Late Ancient Christianity.[6]

The *Ecclesiastical History* (*History*) of Eusebius of Caesarea combines Eusebius' dedication to Christianity with his interest in history and chronology. The *History* is a chronological account of the development of early Christianity from the first- to the fourth-centuries CE. Divided into ten books, delineated chronologically by successions of emperors and bishops of certain cities, the *History* discusses the succession of bishops, events and people important to the development of the early church, along with martyr narratives and stories about Christian suffering at the hands of Roman emperors.

The *History* was valued for its methodology and content from its earliest circulation. The church historian Sozomen (early fifth-century CE) and Socrates of Constantinople (mid fifth-century CE) used the *History* as a guide and source from which to write about the early church in own histories, which chronologically expanded Eusebius' work by a few decades. Rufinus also played a vital role in the preservation of the *History* when he translated the Greek text into Latin at the request of Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia in the early fifth-century CE.[7] We owe the survival of the *History* to its late ancient audience, through whose work manuscripts of the *History* survive in multiple languages including Greek, Latin,

[6] On Eusebius's many roles, see James Corke-Webster's *Eusebius and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 13- 17. For more on Eusebius's role and impact as author, see Aaron P. Johnson, *Eusebius* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014).

[7] Mark Humphries, "Rufinus's Eusebius: Translation, Continuation, and Edition in the Latin Ecclesiastical History," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16.2 (Summer 2008): 143-164.

Armenian, and Syriac. This legacy showcases its wide-ranging audience, which was located throughout the Roman Mediterranean and Near Eastern spheres of influence.

The *History* remains a vital text for understanding Christianity of the first few centuries CE. It comprises the center of Eusebius' works, through which he "created a distinctive vision of the place of the Christian church in world history and God's providential plan."[8] As such, modern scholars look to the *History* as a research tool for a variety of purposes. The most common uses of the *History* are 1) as an encyclopedia of ancient works (extant, partially, or completely lost) and 2) as a (universalizing) narrative framework through which to explore the development of early Christian networks and theologies. An example of the former is Andrew Carriker's *The Library of Caesarea*, which builds a list for the contents of the library in Caesarea by mining the *History* and other works of Eusebius for clues about his source material.[9] An example of the latter includes T.D. Barnes' *Constantine and Eusebius*, wherein Barnes notes the "plethora of detail" in the *History* even when it fails in its interpretations and chronology.[10] Another way that scholars have used the *History* is to compare its content with other sets of literature, such rabbinic texts when they describe similar groups or events.[11]

---

[8] Hollerich, *Making Christian History*, 1.

[9] See Carriker, *The Library of Caesarea* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[10] T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 146.

[11] Lee I. Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

Early scholars looking to use Eusebius as a source called into question the reliability in his relating of events. Edward Gibbon was a critical reader.[12] The first modern historian to fully distrust Eusebius, however, was Jacob Burkhardt, a historian of art and culture, who wrote, "And Eusebius, though all historians have followed him, has been proven guilty of so many distortions, dissimulations, and inventions that he has fortified all claim to figure as a decisive source."[13] Since then, scholars of late ancient rhetoric and religion have come to terms with the highly rhetorical, constructed nature of Eusebius' project.

Since then, historians have approached Eusebian texts as rhetorical, constructed accounts of the past. Some historians use the Eusebian corpus to better understand his role in the church as a bishop and his relationships to other important fourth-century CE figures. This group includes T. D. Barnes (*Constantine and Eusebius*, 1981), H.A. Drake (*Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance*, 2000), and Aryeh Kofsky (*Eusebius of Caesarea Against Paganism*, 2000). Another group of historians uses Eusebius' works to better understand religious and philosophical debates. This group includes Elizabeth A. Clark (*The Origenist Controversy: The Cultural Construction of an Early Christian Debate*, 1992), Rebecca J. Lyman (*Christology and Cosmology: Models of Divine Activity in Origen, Eusebius, and Athanasius*, 1993), and Elizabeth C. Penland (*Martyrs and Philosophers: The School of Pamphilus and Ascetic Tradition in Eusebius' Martyrs of Palestine*, 2010).

---

[12] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol 2 ch. XVI, n186a. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25717/25717-h/25717-h.htm

[13] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great*, trans. Moses Hadas (Oakland: University of California Press, 1983), 239.

Over the last decade, scholars have paid more attention to the contextual nature of Eusebius' life and written works. These attempts to understand Eusebius and his works in context ask us to analyze the *History* in concert with Eusebius' entire oeuvre in to order get a fuller picture of how his works were constructed, what impact each work had on another, and to better understand the ancient author's broader context in Caesarea.[14] For example, Jeremy Schott and Aaron Johnson's edited volume, *Eusebius of Caesarea: Traditions and Innovations*, uses Eusebian texts to understand the person behind the written product. In response to Eusebius being used as a lens through which to gain historical insight, the contributors show Eusebius as a historian, thinker, and writer in his own right. David DeVore's dissertation, "Greek Historiography, Roman Society, Christian Empire: The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius of Caesarea,"re-contextualizes the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius as a tool with which to appeal to Roman elites that were not Christian. James Corke-Webster's *Eusebius and Empire: Constructing Church and Rome in the Ecclesiastical History* builds context for Eusebius and his works while he argues that Eusebius "deserves a place in the canon of exciting and innovative authors to whom all students of the classical

[14] See Michael J. Hollerich, *Making Church History* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021), James Corke-Webster, *Empire and Eusebius: Constructing Church and Rome in the Ecclesiastical History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), David J. DeVore, "Greek Historiography, Roman Society, Christian Empire: The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea." PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2013, Jeremy M. Schott, *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), Marie Verdoner, "Überlegungen zum Adressaten von Eusebs *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Journal of Ancient Christianity* 14.2 (January 2011), Torres Guerra and José Bernardino, "Documents, Letters, and Canons in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*," *Beginning to End: From Ammianus Marcellinus to Eusebius of Caesarea*, ed. Álvaro Sánchez-Üstiz (Huelva: Universidad de Heulva, 2016), Sabrina Inowlocki and Claudio Zamagni, eds. *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues,* (Leiden: Brill, 2011): doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004203853.i-266, Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

world should be introduced."[15] A forthcoming book, *Making Christian History: Eusebius of Caesarea and His Readers*, by Michael J. Hollerich explores the reception history of Eusebius' *History* and shows how even outside its original context, the *History* continues to influence historical writing and our understanding of Christian culture. Many of these studies have advanced our understanding of the text, but briefly touch (or altogether avoid) the geographic contingency of Eusebius' producing works in Caesarea.

Eusebius wrote the *Ecclesiastical History* (and many other works in Caesarea Maritima, a port city on the Roman Palestinian coast. The city originally functioned as a Phoenician naval base and was called Straton's Tower, because of a distinctive tower built on the shoreline.[16] Herod the Great received the base as a gift from the Roman Emperor Augustus in 30 BCE, built up the harbor, along with an intense development of the area on land, and renamed the city in honor of Caesar Augustus.[17] In 6 CE, the city was made capital of the Roman province of Judea and remained well-occupied, connected, and utilized throughout the early Empire.[18] In fact, Vespasian raised its status to that of Roman colony and, while focusing his military power in the east and pushing into Syria, used the city to house and feed soldiers in between campaign seasons.[19] Eusebius' Caesarea, with its military roots, enjoyed imperial favor and contained the infrastructure and economic connections

---

[15] Corke-Webster, *Eusebius and Empire*, 9.

[16] For more on Straton's Tower, see Duane W. Roller and Robert L. Hohlfelder, "The Problem of the Location of Straton's Tower," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* No. 252 (Autumn 1983), 61-68.

[17] Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*, 1.396 and Joseph. *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 15.217.

[18] Joseph. *BJ* 1.156 and Joseph. *AJ*, 15.293.

[19] Lee I. Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 35-36.

necessary for someone like Eusebius to pursue his intellectual endeavors, which used enormous amounts of money, labor, and other local resources.[20]

The scholarly and religious reputation of Caesarea continues to draw crowds to the site. The city boasts of significant biblical ties: Herod built his palatial retreat by the sea there; Apostle Paul asked to be tried as a Roman citizen there; Pontius Pilate used the city as his base from which he could travel to Jerusalem when necessary; and Peter baptized the first gentile here. Even today Christian tours of the Holy Land often stop at Caesarea Maritima before heading inland to visit Jerusalem. At the site, visitors can tour the historical landmarks, interact with holograms of ancient characters, and watch ongoing archaeological work from feet away.

Caesarea Maritima has hosted ongoing digs since the 1950s that showcase various phases in the history of the site.[21] Extensive surveys have shown massive infrastructure projects from Herod, Vespasian, and Hadrian, with reinforcement projects and new installments of smaller buildings up through the medieval period. Excavations at Caesarea have revealed monumental structures, inscriptions, coins, and jewelry from the Herodian period up through the Mamluk destruction of the city in the thirteenth century CE.

While the site has produced a wide range of findings and continues to host excavation projects, few works serve to connect the specialized knowledge of archeologists with scholars of broader Late Antiquity. Of the four monographs that provide an overarching

---

[20] For more information on the resources used at the library, see Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*.

[21] Joseph L. Rife and Phillip I. Lieberman, eds. *Caesarea Maritima: A Comprehensive Bibliography on Caesarea Maritima* (Nashville, TN: Caesarea City and Port Exploration Project, 2020), https://caesarea-maritima.org/bibl/index.html

summary of the site, the newest one is ten years old. Antonio Frova, et al.'s *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima* was published in 1965 (large scale excavations had just begun) to detail the findings of the Missione Archaeologica Italiana (MAI). In 1975, Joseph Ringel published *Césareé de Palestine: Étude historique et archéologique*, which built on Frova's work, but included the early excavation findings of underwater archaeology and the first seasons of Israeli and American university expeditions. Third, an edited volume by Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum titled, *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective After Two Millennia* was published in 1996. This book not only incorporated updated information and findings, but reflected on the history of archaeological exploration at Caesarea and its journey to becoming such a well-documented site. Joseph Patrich's *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima: Caput Judaeae, metropolis Palaestinae* (2011) updates the 1996 overview. The most up to date archaeological findings have not yet been incorporated into overviews of the site, but exist as series, stand-alone articles, or remain unpublished.

The specialized nature of archaeological work at the site paired with more focused studies of Eusebian texts and their literary context facilitates a lacuna of interdisciplinary scholarship. Rather than approaching the *History*, a quintessential Patristic text, through a literary lens and Caesarea through an archaeological lens, my dissertation seeks to understand and re-visualize how the *History* was embedded in ancient Mediterranean geography by combining aspects of both fields (i.e. archeology and patristics). My work is in conversation with cutting-edge scholarship on the *History* through its focus on the context of the work and its author. Instead of building context through intellectual and literary peers, however, my research approaches the text through a geographical lens. Specifically, I argue that Eusebius wrote the *History* as an argument for the hegemony of Eastern Mediterranean

networks and their framing of early Christian practice, reputation, and authority not only through a rhetorical lens, but through a geographic lens as well.[22]

Chapter 2 builds context for the city of Caesarea Maritima using archaeological and literary evidence from the first few centuries CE. It presents the city in both its modern and ancient contexts in order to develop a fuller picture of how the site has been studied and to understand its unique role twentieth-century history. The ancient city, as will be shown, was an inter-regional hub that played a large role in supporting military activity in the eastern Roman world. In addition, as an intellectual center, Caesarea hosted various schools and attracted thinkers from across the Mediterranean. This chapter also explores Caesarea's experience of the Crisis of the Third Century and whether the city felt Palmyrene control of the eastern Mediterranean in the late third-century CE. Finally, I visualize Caesarea within Roman networks using Stanford's ORBIS mapping platform.

Chapter 3 narrows it focus to the geographical components in books seven through ten of the *History*.[23] Book by book, I show that the narrative of the work converges on (and highlights the role of) eastern Mediterranean networks. This process happens gradually and is obscured by the work's universalizing rhetoric. I visualize the process through data and maps. This allows me to discuss relevant context of *History*, spotlight Eusebius' methodology, and address secondary literature about Eusebius' rhetorical processes. While

[22] Corke-Webster's *Eusebius and Empire* situates Eusebius in an intellectual context. "The broader circumstances of his life, his hometown, and his school all encourages the impression given by the opening of the *History* and that Eusebius was not writing in a vacuum but was deeply rooted in a rich Graeco-Roman heritage and shaped by his Christian pedigree, in particular the Alexandrian-Caesarean intellectual tradition that included Clement." Whereas Corke-Webster's book situates Eusebius's intellectual context well, this project analyzes the geographical components of the *History*.

[23] For further discussion on these limits, see below and Chapter 3.

book ten is an outlier to the *History* in many ways (chronologically, geographically, and methodologically), I argue that its very composition reinforces a reader's sense of the universal nature of Eusebius' argument and prose.

While many innovative projects on Eusebius and his corpus have been published in recent years, this dissertation is the first to analyze Eusebius' work geographically and through digital tools. The methodology behind the maps and data tables presented in this dissertation is a compilation of the many pieces of advice I received in the early stages of this project.[24] I encountered several learning moments over the course of this dissertation and each moment helped to define the methods and aims I had for this project. As I started to become comfortable with the initial methodology and had early results, I workshopped my findings in order to better hone my methodology. This cyclical process ensued for some time. All to say that the methodology explained below represents the final iteration of a lengthy process. I have much more to learn. The methodology I used in this research project helped shape my arguments and produced simple and clear maps to represent my findings.

The initial phase of data collection for this project started with digitized text. The Perseus Digital Library (an ambitious, open-source project that houses digital collections of sources) provided the text of the *History* in .xml format, which I converted into a .txt file. I compared the .txt file with the Loeb Classical Library version of the text and found no major

[24]My first attempts to map the *History* were inspired by Dr. Sarah E. Bond's campus visit to UCSB in November of 2014. After her visit, several graduate students at UCSB began mapping projects, in large part due to her digital mapping workshop. Subsequent e-mail and zoom discussions with Dr. Ryan Horne helped me to refine my process and to plan the data collection aspect of this project. I owe a debt of gratitude to him for introducing me to Recogito, the annotation software I used for this research. The graduate student community at UCSB, under Beth's guidance, also served as an irreplaceable sounding board. I am particularly grateful for my conversations with Dr. Christopher Nofziger, who was always ready to explore new methodologies (e.g. digital mapping) and to workshop ideas (even fanciful ones!) in their infancy.

errata (for the purposes of this project). Once I had a base text to use, I organized the text by books, chapters, and sections. When the .txt files were ready for the annotation stage, I uploaded them to Recogito. Recogito is an open-source software that allows users without coding knowledge or experience to perform semantic annotation of texts and images.

Within the Recogito platform, I performed semantic annotation for each occurrence of a place name, whether in the form of a city or region. Semantic annotation provides a way to add information to places (or any other information, for that matter) in a text and to link that information to places. Essentially, semantic annotation is creating bridges between names, places, events, etc. that can be read by computers—as opposed to text annotation, with which many historians of early Christianity are familiar. While this project only skims the surface of Recogito's capabilities, it connects named cities and regions with linked open data. Linked data is data structured in a way that allows it to communicate across platforms. Most of the linked open data for this project was provided by Pleiades, a one-stop shop for ancient places. Once each location was annotated and (usually) verified by a Pleiades location, I had a data set to work with, to ask questions of, and to use for visualizing the geography of *History*.

After I became familiar with my data, I started to create maps for my project. At first, I used only Recogito's mapping software and these maps are included in the third chapter of this dissertation. I also used Esri's ArcGIS platform to add some analytical layers to my data (i.e. the heat map feature), which are also included in chapter 3. In a future project, I hope to use more features of ArcGIS not only to make my project more accessible, but to bring my project to a wider audience.

The digital process of this project has a parallel component. Curating a database that analyzes the geographical components of the *History* necessarily required that I make assumptions and directed choices about what to include and exclude. First, I set chronological boundaries. I focus my study from 250 CE to the conclusion of the *History* in 325/6 CE. I chose these boundaries because they are roughly contemporary with Eusebius own life (circa 260-265 to 339/340 CE). Book six through ten fall within this time frame. However, I have chosen to exclude book six from my study for simplicity as only parts of book six are pertinent to this time frame. Accordingly, my study covers books seven through ten of the *History*.

Because this study is framed on issues of chronology, it is important to understand the debate around the dating of the *History*. Dating the *History* and other works of Eusebius has long been a topic of debate, with the first academic publications being produced in the late nineteenth-century.[25] The more recent debates on dating the editions of the *History* look at manuscript traditions and book content in order to determine how the work was produced in the fourth-century CE.[26] Different manuscript traditions reflect various differences in the *History*, which lead scholars today to understand that several versions (the specific number is debated, but ranges from two to four versions) of the work were produced in succession from various dates between 303 and 325 CE. Richard Burgess' theory that the *History* was produced in a series of three editions: one in 313/314, the second in 315/316, and the third in

[25] See R. W. Burgess, "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones and Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 48.8 (1997): 471n2 for a detailed described of the discussion on dating.

[26] The most recent overview of the debate can be found in Corke-Webster, *Eusebius and Empire*, 57-60.

325/326 remains the dominant theory.[27] Burgess also added that a modification of the third edition, which appeared only in the Syriac manuscript, was completed in 326 CE in order to remove Crispus from the narrative.[28] Moreover, Burgess noted "the impact of that final [i.e. third] edition of 325/6 was enormous, for it was translated by Jerome into Latin and became the foundation for our understanding and chronology of ancient history right down to the present day."[29] Burgess's statement on the impact of the *History* remains true today.

The *History*, not without criticism, formed and remains the backbone of our understanding of early Christian history and as such has received plentiful attention from historians, both ancient and modern. It is also important to note that my analysis does not engage with known inconsistencies in Eusebius' chronology, rather it follows the narrative as presented to the reader and visualizes networks as such. Setting aside the urge to fact-check Eusebius allows us to see the world he created in and through the audience of the *History*.

[27] Burgess, 483.

[28] Burgess, 483.

[29] Burgess, 502.

Chapter Two

CITY ON THE SEA

Caesarea Maritima was a coastal city on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea from the third-century BCE up until the Mamluk destruction of the city in 1291 CE.[30] The city's history from the thirteenth-century CE until the late nineteenth-century CE has not yet been traced in detail. It seems, however, that the area was sparsely settled in the eighteenth-century, and in 1884, Bosnian Muslims immigrated and settled into the area of the Old City (what would later be termed Crusader Caesarea) after the Austrian invasion of their home country.[31] Both the newcomers and the locals worked primarily in the fishing industry. This seemingly quiet maritime history of the town, however, conceals long strategic interest in the area, as exhibited by previous military surveys and geographic studies commissioned in by imperialist countries beginning in the late 18th century.[32]

---

[30] See Avner Raban and Kenneth G Holum, *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millenia* (Leiden, Brill, 1996), xxxii https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015040641667 For the earliest site (Straton's Tower) see Robert R. Stieglitz "Stratonos Pyrgos – Migdal Śar – Sebastos: History and Archaeology" in Raban and Holum (1996), 593-608. For the later period see Ya'el D. Arnon, "Caesarea Maritima: The Late Periods (700-1291 CE)," *British Archaeological Reports, International* Series 1771 (Oxford: Archeopress, 2016). For a concise overview of the history and pertinent sources, see Peterson, et al, *A Gazeteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine* (Jerusalem: Council for British Research in the Levant, 2010), 129. See also Joseph Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine: étude historique et archéologique* (Paris: Éditions Ophrys, 1975).

[31] Al-Nakba's Oral History Project, https://www.palestineremembered.com/Haifa/Qisarya/index.html (accessed May 2, 2021). Also Peterson, et al. *A Gazeteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine* (2010). *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1887* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1887), 136.

[32] See Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and some Other Countries* (London: W. Boyer, 1743), Colonel Pierre Jacotin, *Carte topographique de l'egypt et de plusieurs parties des pays limitrophes, levee pendant l'expédition de l'armée française* (Paris: C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1826), and Lieutenant C.R. Conder and Lieutenant H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archaeology* (London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881).

When administration of the area under the British Mandate of Palestine began in July of 1920, the political nature of the area, the understanding of its history, and the identity of its inhabitants changed rapidly. Throughout the Mandate period, hundreds of thousands of European Jews established towns and communities throughout Palestine. Their migration included laying the foundations for future economic, social, and military institutions that were vital to building the modern nation of Israel in the decades that followed.[33] In addition to migrating, wealthy Europeans began investing in local Palestinian industries (e.g. wine) and purchasing large tracts of land. Baron Edmond de Rothschild, a Jewish French entrepreneur of considerable means, was one of these investors and bought large, expensive tracts of land in Palestine beginning in the 1880s and up through the formal establishment of the nation of Israel in 1948. The Baron was a self-described Zionist and played a major role in the development of Caesarea and its archaeology in the twentieth century. His interest in the city and its surrounding area became a definitive factor in maintaining financial support of archaeological work at the site.

As the area underwent massive political and social transformation in the 1940s and 1950s, Caesarea Maritima also began to show promise as a location that could shed light on ancient and medieval history. Not only did military trenching uncover artifacts and statues, but new efforts in farming also uncovered long-buried statues and buildings, as evidenced by a farmer's plow striking a partially buried statue in 1951.[34] Chance encounters in Caesarea

---

[33] Desjarlais, Peige, "Excavating Zion: Archaeology and Nation-Making in Palestine/Israel" *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 21.1 (2013): 3-4. http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/totem/vol21/iss1/2

[34] Kenneth G. Holum, "Introduction: Caesarea and Recent Scholarship," in *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective After Two Millenia.* Eds. Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (Leiden: Brill, 1996), xxxiv.

encouraged the newly formed Israeli Antiquities Authority to begin systematic excavations of Caesarea, which began in 1959.

Chance continued to play a prominent role in developing interest in the site after preliminary excavations showed promise. Elisha Linder, an archaeologist from Haifa University who has worked extensively at Caesarea Maritima, described the beginnings of underwater archaeology at the site as follows:

> Our fortunes turned after meeting, quite by chance, Baron Edmond de Rothschild along the Caesarea beach in 1964. It was "love at first sight" between the baron and our group after the program of our research was outlined to him. He was not a stranger to underwater exploration, having at that time business connections with the French diving industry, and became fascinated at the combination of Jewish frogmen seeking to explore the maritime heritage of ancient Israel, while "turning their swords into plowshares," changing from their military activities to archaeological, underwater research.
>
> At his request, I submitted to him a program to establish a fully equipped diving workshop which included aqualungs, wet suits, compressors, and a decompression chamber equipped for a dual purpose: to serve our research at Caesarea and other sites along the coast and to enable the opening of the first civilian diving school in Israel, since, up to that time, the only underwater training was carried out by the Israeli Navy. With great satisfaction we watched the growth of the diving community of Israel to 40,000 while new diving schools were opened all over the country.[35]

Linder's description of the early days of scholarly work at Caesarea Maritima points to several factors that have determined the success and long history of archaeological work on site. First, one can hardly avoid recognizing the connections between heritage, archaeological, and military work in the early stages of excavatory work at Caesarea Maritima. These connections also informed the nascent national identity of the new state of

[35] Elisha Linder, "The Genesis of Scientific Underwater Exploration in Israel centered at Caesarea, under the Patronage of Baron Edmond de Rothschild," in *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective After Two Millenia*. Eds. Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 677.

Israel. Though not all researchers or funding partners of work on site have made or pushed for such connections, we would be amiss to overlook modern biases for beginning work at any particular site. Using archaeological work to narrate a modern nation's ideological framework is a well-studied phenomenon throughout the world, and has been extensively studied as part of Israel's ideological nation building program.[36] For the Baron de Rothschild at least, supporting the study of the past in Palestine was about understanding the land and its history for Jewish heritage and the newly forming nation of Israel, of which process he played an instrumental role.

Secondly, Caesarea Maritima has long been used for dual purposes. In the quote above, Caesarea offered not only the opportunity to study the history of a Roman port, but also a great location to establish a civilian diving school. This early and robust financial support for archaeological work at Caesarea Maritima encouraged several successive teams to invest both time and money in order to uncover this city on the sea. Because of these pioneering efforts, Caesarea was well positioned to procure years (and even decades) of financial support from wealthy investors (e.g. Baron Edmond de Rothschild), the state of Israel, and institutions abroad (e.g. the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima). Today, the site continues to support academic work and generates income by participating in the tourism industry.

Archaeological efforts at Caesarea Maritima have been undertaken by several institutions including the Israeli Antiquities Authority (IAA), the Missione Archaeologica

---

[36] This phenomenon has been extensively studied over the past few decades in countries around the world. Most notable for studying this phenomenon in Israel is Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001). Rebuttals to this idea can also be found—See Cynthia M. Baker, "Imagined Households" in *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches* (Routledge, 2004), 122-126.

Italiana (MAI), Haifa University, Hebrew University, and the American Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM), through which program several American and Canadian universities have worked on site. As discussed above, these efforts have been nearly continuous since the first digs of 1959 and have included excavatory research efforts both on land and underwater. Such extensive interest and work on the site has produced a plethora of information. As such, scholars have access to a wide range of materials (e.g. structures, statues, inscriptions, mosaics, jewelry, etc) from several periods that provide insight into how the city functioned throughout its lifetime.

To understand how the city functioned over the course of its 2500-year-long lifetime would be too great a project for this chapter, and probably too great for even a single monograph. Instead, this chapter focuses on placing Caesarea Maritima within pan-Mediterranean networks from the second half of the third-century CE (roughly 250 CE) to the first half of the fourth-century CE (roughly 350 CE). Though no massive shifts on site have been detected at either of these termini, I have condensed the discussion to this time period in order to focus on the city during Eusebius' lifetime. It is in this period that our prolific writer developed and wrote the *Historia Ecclesiastica (History*). Though I have made every attempt at focusing the discussion in this chapter on this time period, some aspects of this chapter necessarily deviate from the periodization in order to more fully explain or incorporate relevant context for the city.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part will walk through relevant source material and information on the city using literary, archaeological, inscriptionary, and numismatic evidence. Using these types of evidence, this chapter will show how the city functioned administratively, militarily, economically, and socially. Special attention will be

paid the framework introduced by scholars studying the so-called Crisis of the Third Century (Crisis), though no systematic study of how the city fared is currently available. While it important to keep in mind that the Crisis affected different areas at different times and in different capacities, the questions asked of such a framework are useful in building a fuller context for the city. The second half of this chapter will explore a digital tool that demonstrates how the city was connected to pan-Mediterranean networks. Stanford's ORBIS tool, conceptualized and developed by Walter Scheidel and Elijah Meeks, will add a digital perspective to the discussion in this chapter. The maps provided by this platform will help demonstrate how Caesarea Maritima was connected not only spatially to other Roman cities, but will give perspective to temporal and cost related components of the city's connection to pan- Mediterranean networks as well.

By 250 CE Caesarea was well known as a port city and held strong connections within the Roman Empire. It was founded as a Phoenician port town, given to Herod (a client-king of the first-century CE Roman Empire), and was subsequently established as a colony by Vespasian and called *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea* or *Caesarensis*.[37] The city was part of Roman Palestine, which at that time was a distinct province from the administrative areas of Arabia (containing Edessa and Palmyra), Syria (including the Decapolis cities), and Judea (which contained Jerusalem and Masada).[38] By the death of Trajan in 117 CE, Caesarea was located in the province of Judea, which Hadrian renamed to

[37] Pliny *Naturalis historia* 5.14.69. See also for numismatic evidence: Leo Kadman. *Coins of Caesarea Maritima* (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1957), inscriptionary evidence: Clayton Lehmann and Kenneth Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000) numbers 3, 24, 44.

[38] Plin. *HN* 5.69-87

Syria Palaestina shortly thereafter.[39] Caesarea, the capital of *Syria Palaestina*, was given the title *Metropolis Palaestinae* under Severus Alexander in the early third-century CE.[40] As the provincial capital, Caesarea was home not only to the provincial governor, but to the financial procurator and eventually (under Diocletian) would be become the administrative capital of *Oriens* as well. Caesarea would fulfill this role until the re-drawing of provincial lines in the mid fourth-century CE.[41] Having such close connections to Roman imperial power allowed the city to enjoy a part of imperial wealth, especially in terms of military support.

Caesarea Maritima had likely been used as a military base since the mid-first century CE because of its natural geographic features, which made it a nexus for supplying and securing goods. In fact, the port city was along the coastal route used by Achaemenid and Hellenistic rulers. The size of the port area could accommodate nearly 100 Roman war ships at any given time.[42] Having such a large harbor meant that the city could support the heavy trade traffic that came with supplying a military force. Trade was an essential aspect of keeping the military running efficiently and effectively, for "it was impossible for the army, even in the period of the greatest provincial development, to rely totally on the vagaries of

---

[39] Richard J. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World: Map-by-Map Directory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), "Provinces of the Roman Empire at the Death of Trajan" accessed June 25, 2020 through iPad App.

[40] Joseph Patrich, "Caesarea in the Time of Eusebius," in *Reconsidering Eusebius* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1 (referring to Tacitus *Historiae* 2.78), and Kadman, *Coins of Caesarea,* (1957), Mayer Rosenberger, *City-Coins of Palestine* (Jerusalem: 1975), and Joseph Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine: Étude historique et archéologique* (Paris: Ophrys, 1975).

[41] Lee I. Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 47.

[42] Lee I. Levine, *Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological-Topographical Study* (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, 1975) 15.

the local market for its supplies."[43] In fact, research on fort placement under Trajan shows that he preferred to place forts on waterways not for protection, but in order to enhance the ability to trade.[44] Access to the water, which had long been supported at Caesarea, was only one natural feature that made Caesarea geographically suitable for military use. In addition to offering access to pan-Mediterranean waterways, Caesarea also provided access to cities further inland by way of Roman roads. At least seven roads connected the city not only north and south along the coast, but also inland through three different paths eastward as well.[45]

Military presence at and near Caesarea Maritima is well attested by inscriptionary evidence. From 70 CE to the end of Trajan's rule (or possibly the beginning of Hadrian's), there was one legion stationed in the same province as Caesarea, the *X Fretensis.*[46] Though this legion was stationed near Jerusalem, scholars believe that soldiers traveled to the city during their time in the military and even settled in Caesarea after their retirement, because several inscriptions have been found in the city that name various veterans.[47] The *X Fretensis* was named on a grave marker in a dedication to a twenty-five year old soldier who died in

[43] C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 101.

[44] Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, 99. Also see Ian Richmond, *Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column* (London: British School at Rome, 1982).

[45] Israel Roll, "Roman Roads to Caesarea Maritima," in *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millenia* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 549-558.

[46] Walter Ameling, Hannah M. Cotton, Werner Eck, Benjamin Isaac, Alla Kushnir-Stein, Haggai Misgav, Jonathan Price, and Ada Yardeni (eds). *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Volume II Caesarea and the Middle Coast 1121-2160.* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 309.

[47] Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, 309. (Inscription No. 1350).

Caesarea on duty.[48] This gravestone showed that even though his legion was stationed in Jerusalem, official tasks led soldiers to the surrounding areas. Another inscription located on a funerary monument was dedicated to Tiberius Claudius Italicus, *primus pilus*. Because this inscription did not make mention of a legion in particular but only of this man's role in a legion, it has been assumed to represent and has been dated accordingly to the period when only one legion was in the province, i.e. sometime between the 70s and 130s CE. Accordingly, we can place veteran soldiers, or at least a single veteran soldier, in Caesarea as early as the late first- or early second-century CE. Another inscription, likely from the second-century CE, named the *primus pilus* Julius Agrippa, who settled in Caesarea after retiring from the army.[49]

Several inscriptions dating from the late second-century CE have been found in or near Caesarea. One such inscription was dedicated to Commodus Orfitianus, who governed Syria Palaestina during Rome's war with Parthia in the 160s CE.[50] The inscription and accompanying statue were dedicated by a Lucius Valerius Martialis, who as a second-generation military man, benefited from his fathers' service by inheriting his social position. This inheritance allowed Lucius to participate in Caesarea's city council and to become a member of the equestrian rank.[51] After the Bar Kokba revolt in the mid second-century CE, soldiers from the *II Gallica*, the *III Cyrenaica*, the *X Gemina*, the *XXII Deiotariana*, and the

[48] Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, 313 (Inscription No.1353.)

[49] Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, 186. (Inscription No. 1248).

[50] Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, 162.

[51] Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, 162.

II Traiana also took up residence in Caesarea or nearby in order to keep Syria Palaestina—and its Jewish residents —under the watchful eye of Rome.[52]

Soldiers continued to settle in Caesarea through the third-century CE, as exemplified by traces from the *VI Ferrata*. This legion defeated Pescennius Niger in the late second-century CE. Inscription number 1351 (a funerary marble bust) names Claudius Potens, a prefect in the *VI Ferrata*, and includes honorary titles of the *VI Ferrata.* The honorary titles coupled with the title of prefect given to Potens dates the inscription to sometime after 260 CE.[53]

In addition to bringing their bodies and families to Caesarea, soldiers also brought new religious aspects from their previous stations in the Roman Empire. Archaeologists working at the site located a Mithraeum near the harbor, and although this particular religion remains mysterious to us, some suggestions can be made about its role in Caesarean life. First, it is widely believed that members of the military likely founded established Mithraea across the empire and the one at Caesarea is no exception. Recent studies claim that Caesarea's Mithraeum is "the oldest securely dated and archaeologically attested Mithraic gathering site."[54] However, the Roman cult enjoyed more robust following in the west than in the east, despite the cult's focus on a Persian deity.[55] The dating of such gathering spots has

---

[52] Alexandra L. Ratzlaff, "The Caesarea Mithraeum in Context" in *The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima*, Robert J. Bull, Jane DeRose Evans, Alexandra L. Ratzlaff, Andrew H. Bobeck, and Robert S. Fritzius, (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2017), 76.

[53] Walter Ameling et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, 311 (Inscription No. 1351).

[54] Aleš Chalupa, "The Origins of the Roman Cult of Mithras in the Light of New Evidence and Interpretations: The Current State of Affairs," in *Religio* 24.1 (2016), 79.

[55] David Walsh, *The Cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity: Development, Decline, and Demise ca. AD 270-430*, (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 4.

played a large role in fueling the debate about where the cult developed. Although theories abound, there is still no consensus concerning the cult's origins.

Though dozens of Mithraea exist in the north and northwestern areas of the Roman Empire, less than ten have been identified in the southern and eastern portions. The few Mithraea that have been discovered in the east include Doliche (Turkey), Ša'āra (Syria), and Dura-Europos (Syria), all of which were abandoned by the mid third-century CE, Caesarea Maritima (Israel), which was used until the late third-century CE, and Hawarte (Syria), which was constructed and used in the early fourth-century CE. The simple map below gives an idea of the geographical relationships between known sites.

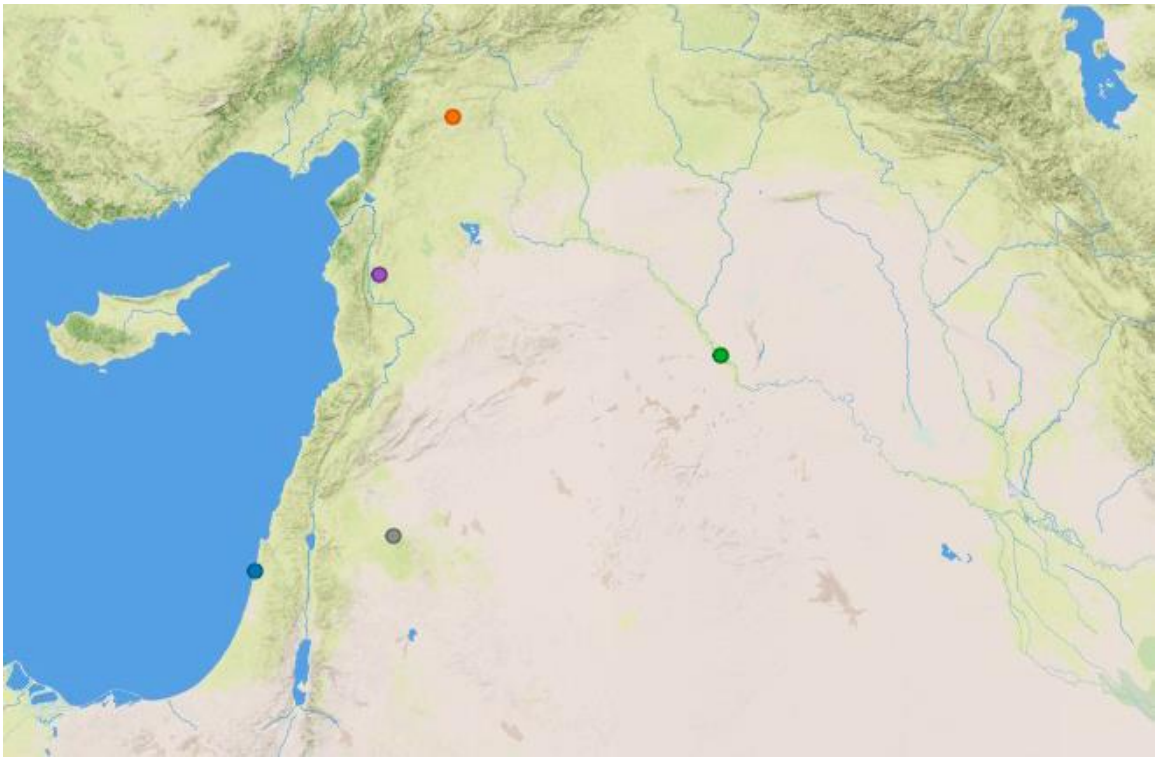

Figure 2. Map of Mithraea in the eastern portion of the Roman Empire. From north to south: Doliche (orange), Hawarte (purple), Dura-Europos (green), Ša' āra (grey), and Caesarea Maritima (blue). Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.

Most Mithraea were repurposed, destroyed, or abandoned by the fourth-century CE. Reasons for shifts in worship practices are speculative and vary from place to place. At Caesarea, however, the Mithraeum was simply re-purposed and used as a storehouse—a purpose it served before being converted into a Mithraeum in the first place. Unlike the other Mithraea at Doliche, Ša'āra, and Hawarte, Caesarea's Mithreaum shows no sign of Christian desecration of the site.[56] Christians apparently were not interested in reclaiming Mithraic space in the city. Though the existence of Mithraea and practice of the cult remain mysterious and under studied (and Caesarea's occurrence of this particular religion is no exception), its presence and its subtle existence throughout the eastern empire can be used to indicate the strong military presence in Caesarea and to show that even while the city operated as a hot spot for Christian learning in the fourth-century CE, the cult did not seem very threatening to the Christian community there.

Along with religious cults, soldiers brought other western Roman qualities to the heavily Hellenized city, namely the Latin language. Though most surviving evidence shows signs of a Greek speaking population (regardless of religion), the role that Latin has played in the city's history has been largely underestimated. In Caesarea, Latin was the official language through the early fourth-century CE when Greek replaced it as the official language, as attested by the linguistic transition in official communications.[57] Though some inscriptions show evidence for local elites' relationships to the Roman Empire, a few

---

[56] Walsh, *The Cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity*, 79.

[57] Hannah M. Cotton and Werner Eck, "A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Elite of Caesarea Maritima," in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerester*, Leonard Rutgers, ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 381n7.

surviving inscriptions attest to local elites' relationship to and participation in the city itself. Both types of inscriptions, however, were composed in Latin, showing that Latin played a role in elite identity, even outside of imperial bonds.[58]

The incorporation of Latin into city life may well be a reflection of the continued military activity in the area from the first-century CE, which was established by the Empire to suppress various Jewish revolts in the first two centuries CE.[59] As Cotton and Eck state,

> The assumption that a significant number of veterans settled in Caesarea right from the beginning of its life as a colony make it easier to understand why Latin was by no means restricted to official expressions, but could be displayed in public as the natural idiom members of the city's decurionate class would use in the late first century, throughout the second century and probably well into the third century.[60]

Though this evidence does not exclude the possibility introduced above (that written and spoken languages in the city were different), the inscriptions show us that members of the ruling class commemorated events, both public and private, in Latin and not in Greek. In addition to inscriptionary evidence, the local mint struck its coins with Latin legends.[61] As such, we should assume that families in Caesarea, though they likely spoke Greek, would have had ample opportunity to and even some level of responsibility to recognize Latin.

---

[58] Cotton and Eck, "A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Elite of Caesarea Maritima," 382.

[59] Cotton and Eck, "A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Elite of Caesarea Maritima," 383.

[60] Cotton and Eck, "A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Elite of Caesarea Maritima," 384.

[61] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 40.

However, in the same article, Cotton and Eck describe the oddities apparent in the use of Latin that would indicate a likely spoken Greek environment.

Realizing that Latin was a prominent factor in Caesarean life adds a layer of complexity to the city's history that is often overlooked in studies on Eusebius. Several assumptions have been made about Eusebius' early life, including the assumption that he came from a wealthy background. This aspect is likely true and his prolific and detailed work testifies to the privilege that this background provided him. There are also indications, however, that Eusebius struggled with the Latin language in his writing and his library (or our estimations of it) show a lack of Latin sources. However, we must realize that Latin was still a living language among the elite of Syria Palaestina in Eusebius' lifetime—at least throughout the first half of his life.[62] These competing ideas have no clear answer, but if we assume that Eusebius was raised under such linguistic circumstances, more work needs to be done in order to understand his struggle with a language that populated his city so publicly. Looking at empire-wide connectivity (which we will do in part two of this chapter) can offer some data driven insights into Eusebius' relationship with Latin and imperial language in Caesarea. For now, we will turn to another type of source concerning Caesarean life.

Rabbinic literature hosts a variety of information that adds to our understanding of commercial and industrial aspects of life in the city. Caesarean commercial life appeared as a topic of discussion in rabbinic literature as early as the second century CE, indicating that

[62] Joseph Patrich, "Caesarea in the Time of Eusebius," 2. See also Joseph Geiger, "How Much Latin in Roman Palestine?" in H. Rosén, ed. *Aspects of Latin: Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Jerusalem, April 1993* (Innsbruck, 1996), 39-57.

Jews were living and working in the city shortly after the Bar Kokhba revolt.[63] The city's functioning port played a role in commercial life as it connected the Palestinian coast with commercial hot spots around the Mediterranean.[64] From rabbinic accounts, we learn not only of shipwrecks near shore, but of foiled plots to steal the money aboard ships, a divorce, and about ships that anchored in Caesarea from Alexandria to sell goods along the way.[65]

Agriculture was also a large part of Caesarean life. Two large aqueducts and an irrigation (and sewer!) system ensured the stability of producing foodstuffs throughout times of drought.[66] Rabbinic literature points to the importance and sophistication of the irrigation system, along with evidence that the city's surroundings produced special wheat, grapes, figs, livestock animals, wine, and olive oil—sometimes in large enough operations that required hiring overseers, workers and leasing presses.[67] This would certainly have aided in supplying an army, whether stationed in the city or through trade routes. Other industries also supported the prosperity of the city. Glass-making, linen-weaving, flax-growing, dyeing, silk manufacturing, bed production by a particular type of cedar tree, pottery, clothes, shoes are all mentioned through various rabbinic texts.[68]

---

[63] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule,* 44-45.

[64] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule,* 48.

[65] Joseph Ringel, "Literary Sources and Numismatic Evidence of Maritime Activity in Caesarea during the Roman Period" in *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives,* Irad Malkin and Robert Hohlfelder, ed. (Frank Cass & Co LTD, 1988), 69-70.

[66] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 51.

[67] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 51-52.

[68] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 52-54.

As Caesarea functioned as a bustling port and center for industry and trade, the city attracted and supported a healthy amount of diversity throughout our time period. One rabbinic text, which focuses on a particular Sabbatical year in the third-century CE, discusses the diversity of Caesarea's population.[69] With no dominant majority, each group continued to support "some of the most important Jewish, Christian and Samaritan communities of Palestine" through the fourth-century CE.[70] This point is often lost in studies on early Christianity and on Eusebius in particular. Because of Eusebius' reputation and intense scholarly interest in the city as a Christian city, we often forget that before Eusebius established himself, the nature and pull of the city was not yet determined. A variety of religious, cultural, and commercial groups were drawn to Caesarea because of its prosperity and reputation as a well-connected city in its own right—and outside its later reputation as a Christian metropolis.

In fact, the rise of the Christian school and library at Caesarea paralleled an equally prominent rabbinic school during the same period. Sometime around 230 CE, Rabbi Hoshaya founded a school in Caesarea and led it until he died around 250 CE.[71] As it happened, the founding of this rabbinic school took place around the same time Origen moved from Alexandria to Caesarea, though we do not have enough evidence to determine whether the founding of these schools had any direct relationship, or whether their founders simple saw

---

[69] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 46.

[70] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 47.

[71] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 88. In total, there were four "permanent" rabbinic schools in Roman Palestine (Tiberias, Sepphoris, Caesarea, and Lydda). See also Lee I. Levine, *The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: The Jewish Theological Seminar Press, 1989).

similar opportunity in Caesarea. For about ten years, between the 250s CE and 260s CE, the rabbinic school moved inland to Tiberias and was under the direction of Rabbi Joḥanan.[72] But between 260 and 265 CE (around the time of Eusebius' birth), the rabbinic academy was reestablished in Caesarea by Rabbi Jose bar Hanina and was led by him until his death ca. 280 CE.[73] The presence of the rabbinic school, therefore, could have shaped the young mind of Eusebius even though he probably did not participate in the school directly. Origen's work across linguistic and theological boundaries is noted and was especially important for his writing the *Hexapla*. Moreover, as intellectual inheritors and admirers of Origen's work in the city, I have no doubt that Pamphilus and, in turn, Eusebius would have been aware of the rabbinic school's developments and teachings throughout their tenure and work in the library.

The rabbinic school in Caesarea supported strong ties to Persia, and specifically to the rabbinic school in Babylon. Ties between Caesarea and Babylon were formed under Rabbi Jose bar Hanina that lasted through the end of the third-century CE. Levine notes that even "in spite of the many wars and upheavals along the eastern frontier during this period, contact between Caesarea and Babylonia remained constant…"[74] Connections between Caesarea and Persia have not received much scholarly attention, but knowing that rabbinic schools (at least) continued to support relationships through the unpredictability of imperial struggles in this period indicates that people and goods were travelling back and forth across imperial

[72] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 89.

[73] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 89.

[74] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 90.

boundaries despite, or in coordination with, military efforts along the frontiers. Moreover, even though we know little about individual rabbis at Caesarea throughout the fourth-century CE, we do know that "fourth generation scholars (ca. 320-360)" far outnumbered previous generations of students at the school.[75] Accordingly, we should assume that the prominence and prosperity of Christian school in the fourth-century CE was rivalled by that of the rabbinic schools in the city at the same time.

In the third-century CE, the Roman Empire was going through a period of change that affected some regions more severely than others. Oftentimes, historians refer to this period as the Crisis of the Third Century. In place of "crisis" scholars now often use terminology like "transformation" or "mutation" as less judgmental terms.[76] Regardless of one's outlook on whether the Crisis affected life in Caesarea, using the paradigm of the Crisis can shed light on Caesarea's history from a different perspective. This final portion of part one will walk through aspects of the Crisis (imperial turnover, military activity, economics, pandemic disease, climate, and in particular, the effects of the Palmyrene Empire) and explain what we know about their respective levels of impact on city life. As you will see, there is no overwhelming evidence to say whether or not Caesarea was or was not affected by these aspects; however, framing the following discussion around the Crisis can help us to better understand a possible Caesarean zeitgeist from around 250-350 CE, as opposed to assuming everything was in order and unproblematic.

---

[75] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 91.

[76] Kyle Harper, "Pandemic and Passages to Late Antiquity: Rethinking the Plague of c.249-270 described by Cyprian," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 249.

The Crisis Period is typically marked as beginning with the assassination of Severus Alexander in 235 CE and as ending with Aurelian's rule in in the 270s CE, though some historians differ on the dating of this period.[77] The period is characterized by increasingly high rates of mortality and turnover for emperors, an increasingly high dependence on military forces, increasingly debased coinage, pandemic disease pandemic sweeping across the empire, climate changes shifting from invariably favorable conditions for growth and prosperity to more unstable and cooler conditions.[78] Historians contemporary to the Crisis were grim about the state of affairs during that time, though many scholars view these written histories to be more pessimistic than likely warranted. Lastly, the levels of how each of these impacts was felt across the empire varied greatly from place to place. As such, we should keep an open mind to each aspect, but realize that such a study is not necessarily straightforward.

The first aspect of the Crisis here concerns the high turn-over rate among emperors. First and foremost, the instability made it possible and even a reality for citizens of the empire to think about the fleeting nature of imperial rule. Within the thirty-five-year period discussed above, twenty emperors took their turns (sometimes jointly) running the Roman Empire. For comparison, from the rule of Augustus to the assassination of Severus

---

[77] Kyle Harper, *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 123.

[78] The determinative nature of studies that bring non-human agents to bear on Roman history are slightly problematic, as they tend not to account for human actors and their agency in the Roman world. The most recent, and fullest, critique of Kyle Harper's *The Fate of Rome* (2017) clearly lays out the pitfalls embedded in these deterministic arguments. For this discussion, see Haldon et al., "Plagues, Climate Change, and the End of an Empire: A Response to Kyle Harper's *The Fate of Rome* (1): Climate," "Plagues, Climate Change, and the End of an Empire: A Response to Kyle Harper's *The Fate of Rome* (2): Plagues and a Crisis of Empire," and Plagues, Climate Change, and the End of an Empire: A Response to Kyle Harper's *The Fate of Rome* (3): Disease, Agency, and Collapse," *History Compass* 16.12 (December 2018), e12508, e12506, e12507.

Alexander—a period of about 260 years—the Roman Empire had 27 emperors. Within a single lifetime, citizens would have seen the power of rule turn hands dozens of times.

Unprecedented turn-over did not go unnoticed by early Christian writers. In 235 CE, Severus Alexander was assassinated by his army and the Praetorian Guard elected Maximinus Thrax emperor. Toward the end of Maximinus' reign, his bad reputation was at an all-time high among farmers in the province of Africa. He began a series of proscriptions that Eusebius would later characterize as persecution. Eusebius bolstered his claim by connecting it to a Christian who lived during that period, stating "Origen has noted the period of the persecution in the twenty-second [book] of *Commentaries on the Gospel According to John*, and in various letters."[79] These letters describing Origen's experience of persecution do not survive for us today. Origen's *On Martrydom*, however, described conditions in Alexandria, which Ambrose (his patron) and Prototectus (a Caesarean presbyter) endured. Eusebius discussed this text as well and declared that both Ambrose and Prototectus "experienced not insignificant distress in the persecution."[80] By including well-known Christians in his narrative, Eusebius bolstered his claims about how imperial politics could intimately affect Christians.

Very little evidence survives that shows anyone suffered from a persecution at all under Maximinus Thrax. In fact, there are only three places in which the accusation of a persecution under Maximinus Thrax exists in ancient literature and we have no other kinds of evidence to suggest a persecution was conducted under Maximinus Thrax. The first source

---

[79] Eusebius. *Historia ecclesiastica* 6.28.1.

[80] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 6.28.1.

for a persecution is, of course, Eusebius, who mentions it both in his *History* and in the C*hronica*.[81] The second source consists of the papal calendars, which relied on the *History* and were composed around 40 years after it was written. And the third source is a letter from Firmilian (bishop of Cappadocia) to Cyprian in the late 250s CE, which described trouble in Cappadocia and Pontus for a brief period. [82] Moreover, no *Acta* are dated to this period.

Regardless of the lived experience of Christians during this particular period, it is clear that Eusebius, and Christians after him, were keenly aware of imperial turn-over and made claims about how these shifts in power affected Christians in Cappadocia and Alexandria. At the very least, then we can surmise that imperial turn-over of this period affected the mindset of Christians in the eastern Roman Empire. One side note about Maximinus Thrax and his relationship with the eastern provinces must be noted here. Though most accounts of Maximinus' rule focus on either the revolt in Alexandria or his efforts in Germany, a milestone was recently found in Israel (ancient province of Judaea) that has Maximinus' name inscribed on it.[83] The road along which the milestone was placed had been built much earlier than the milestone, so it is likely that the milestone represents a propagandistic piece put there during a reconstruction project. Accordingly, such physical evidence shows that Maximinus had *some* interest in the region dear to Eusebius, even though his role there is not well-articulated or documented otherwise.

---

[81] G. W. Clarke, "Some Victims of the Persecution of Maximinus Thrax," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 15.4. (November 1966): 445.

[82] G. W. Clarke, (1966): 445-453.

[83] For its initial discovery, see https://www.timesofisrael.com/cryptic-golan-milestone-found-to-be-monument-to-low-born-roman-emperors-reign/. The milestone has since been published. Adam Pažout, Michael Eisenberg and Gregor Staab, "A Roman Milestone from the Northeastern Shore of the Sea of Galilee," *IEJ* 70/2 (2020): 215-220.

Another aspect of the Crisis focuses on the increased dependence on the military. In 251 CE the northern frontier of the empire was left exposed when Decius and his troops were defeated in battle and killed at the Battle of Arbitus at the hand of the Gothic king Cniva. In the following year (252 CE), the eastern frontier lay open after Shapur I gained control of Persia in addition to portions of Asia Minor. A few years later (by 256 CE), Germanic raids on the provinces of Gaul ensued, which forced Gallienus to attempt to put a stop to the advances. A military incursion of Germans from the northern Danube nearly took place in 260 CE. Valerian in the same year (260 CE) was defeated by Shapur I after the Battle of Edessa, becoming the first Roman Emperor taken captive by a foreign enemy. And so in the span of a decade, not only were emperors routinely put into dangerous positions, but the military was also strained by having to hold the frontiers of the empire that lay hundreds of miles apart. By the 260s, during the reign of Gallienus, the empire had split into three parts. The Gallic and Palmyrene empires has split from the Roman Empire. Though the eastern provinces were not directly affected by military advances on the northern frontier, the Palmyrene empire quickly made its force felt among the eastern Mediterranean shores. We will discuss Palmyra's presence near Caesarea at the end of this part.

The third aspect of the Crisis that historians often study to understand the impacts of this period is the change in imperial coinage. Because the military was in high demand, so were coins — by which means emperors paid their troops. Centralized control of both official mints (which based proportions of metal on the *denarius* weight standard) and provincial mints (which based proportions of metal on Hellenistic weight standards) was vital

for financial and ideological security of the imperial image.[84] The imperial image was always a central component of Roman rule, and this period of instability provided no relief from this aspect of maintaining power.

Financial security, on the other hand, was at risk in such a system that depended on an influx of precious metals from winning campaigns. The imperial treasury faced the problem of how to create more specie to pay soldiers, all while less and less money was brought into the empire. Debasing coins, the imperial response to such a crisis, resulted in a net profit increase for the issuing agency (i.e. the empire) because the reduction of quality did not change the legal value of the coins.[85] Debasement of imperial coinage resulted in other locally based coins to change accordingly, because exchange rates were set by imperial coins. Not changing local coins to reflect the components of imperial coinage would have resulted in the severe overvaluation of silver coins already in play.[86] What effect this would have on prices and life in the ancient world remains a topic of debate among ancient historians. According to Scheidel, "whenever claims about the fiduciary character of imperial coins have been made, they can be shown to disregard the possibility of changes in the quantity of coin and a variety of other confounding variables from metal supply to credit institutions and demographic conditions, and there suffer from tunnel vision, from the

[84] Constantina Katsari, "The Organization of Roman Mints during the Third Century CE: The View from the Eastern Provinces," *Classics Ireland* Vol.10, (2003), 28.

[85] Katsari, "The Organization of Roman Mints during the Third Century CE: The View from the Eastern Provinces," 30.

[86] Katsari, "The Organization of Roman Mints during the Third Century CE: The View from the Eastern Provinces," 31.

pernicious 'illusion of adequate information'."[87] We should use numismatics then to get a sense of an aspect of ancient life that was changing, without the accompanying conjectures usually attributed to such studies.

With the caveats above in mind, we can use coinage from Caesarea to understand the city's connection to larger pan Mediterranean events. Coinage found in excavations at Caesarea show that the city suffered coin shortages both under Hasmonean rule and the Maccabean revolt in the second-century BCE.[88] Though these events predate our period, it is important to note that coin evidence from Caesarea shows a long history. For the period directly preceding ours (i.e. from 150-249 CE) the Caesarean mint produced a large number of coins. The same sort of uptick in coin production is also evidenced throughout the Roman east.[89] From 249-251 CE, the mint at Caesarea minted an unprecedented amount of coins.

> During Decius' reign, Caesarea issued seventy-five different types; under Gallus, thirty-three. Despite almost two hundred years of municipal history, 47% of the reverse types and 30% of the surviving specimens minted at Caesarea were struck during these four years.[90]

The only other city that comes close to producing such a high amount of coins during this same time is Aelia Capitolina, where 41 types were issued, which made up 20% of the

---

[87] Walter Scheidel, "Coin Quality, Coin Quantity, and Coin Value in Early China and the Roman World," *American Journal of Numismatics* 22 (2010): 112. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43580458

[88] Janes DeRose Evans, "Ancient Coins from the Drew Institute of Archaeological Research Excavations of Caesarea Maritima, 1971-1984" *The Biblical Archaeologist*, 58.3 (September, 1995): 156-166.

[89] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 50.

[90] Lee I. Levine, "Some Observations on the Coins of Caesarea Maritima" *Israel Exploration Society* 22.2/3 (1972), 135.

municipal coins produced.[91] Clearly, imperial image and financial security was of concern in the eastern provinces, especially among those of Palestine and Judaea.

Numismatics from Caesarea are also the most telling source we have for the pagan community in the city. Local cults and pagan deities are widely represented on local coinage, which represents a variety of deities from Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Heracles, Dionysios, Athene, Nike, Ares, Helios, and Demeter to the Egyptian Serapis, Isis, and the local goddess Tyche.[92] Under Decius, the entire pantheon was struck into coins in addition placing an emphasis on the empire's glory.[93] The widespread use of pantheonic imagery coincides with Decius' empire-wide persecutions. In effect, the coins circulated in Caesarea in the mid-second century CE at the same time as Christians were gaining prominence, as exemplified by Origen's school, the new rabbinic school, and networks of influential bishops in the area. For Decius at least, it seems that maintaining imperial imagery was of the utmost importance in Caesarea during his reign.

A fourth aspect of the Crisis that has only recently begun to play a part in the studies of the Later Roman Empire is pandemic disease.[94] Pandemic disease struck the empire, especially in North Africa, in the mid third-century CE. The best source we have for what has

---

[91] Levine, "Some Observations on the Coins of Caesarea Maritima," 136n 27.

[92] Levine, "Some Observations on the Coins of Caesarea Maritima," 134.

[93] Levine, "Some Observations on the Coins of Caesarea Maritima," 137.

[94] For a recent overview of non-human agents in the study of history, see Kristina Sessa, "The New Environmental Fall of Rome: A Methodological Consideration" *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12.1 (Spring 2019): 211-255. It is also important to note that the scientific determinism in these studies is hotly debated and, methodologies do not account for the complexity of humans and their interactions with their environments. If, however, we use these scientific categories as frameworks for proposing questions we can take the evidence with a grain of salt and still come away with a more nuanced understanding of Caesarean history.

been called the Plague of Cyprian is no one other than Cyprian Bishop of Carthage himself.[95] Literature from the period described pandemic disease entering the empire from the southeast, a theory that seems to be supported by evidence collected from a mass grave found at Thebes.[96] Cyprian's *De Mortalite* describes symptoms including "fatigue, bloody stool, fever, esophageal lesions, vomiting, conjunctival hemorrhaging, and severe infection in the extremities, debilitation, loss of hearing, and blindness followed in the aftermath."[97] Some cities are even thought to have been struck twice, establishing that "the Plague of Cyprian is in the background of imperial history from ca. AD 249 to AD 262, possibly with even later effects around AD 270."[98] Estimates of mortality rates depend on Cyprian's description of the pandemic disease's effect in Carthage and suggest the city's population was reduced by over half, though such a high reduction rate accounts for death from pandemic disease, other causes, and emigration combined.[99] Nonetheless, if the Plague of Cyprian spread throughout the empire by way of coastal centers as Kyle Harper has suggested, then we have no reason to assume that Caesarea Maritima remained unscathed. The maps included in this chapter below demonstrate this point well. The extent to which Caesarea's population felt the effect of pandemic disease (whether as patients, immigrants, or other causes) must remain vague,

[95] An alternative interpretation for Cyprian's description of pandemic disease can be found in K. Strobel, "Das Imperium Romanum im "3. Jahrhundert": Modell einer historischen Krise? Zur Frage mentaler Strukturen breiterer Bevölkerungsschichten" in *der Zeit von Marc Aurel biszum Ausgang des 3. Jh. n.Chr.* (Stuttgart 1993) 185nn.

[96] Harper, *The Fate of Rome,* 137. In a rebuttal, Haldon et al. (2018) do not believe Harper's claims about mass burial in two German cities, though there is no mention of the burial at Thebes.

[97] Harper, *The Fate of Rome,* 139.

[98] Harper, *The Fate of Rome,* 138.

[99] Harper, *The Fate of Rome,* 141.

though such a devastating toll in North Africa should help persuade us that Caesareans felt *some* level of pandemic disease related shifts—not only because of the biological indicators, but because of the literary attestations as well.

In addition to imperial turn-over, military dependence, shifts in coinage, and pandemic disease, the impact that climate had in the successes and failures of the Roman Empire should also be taken into account here as the fifth aspect of the Crisis. New research on the environment of the Roman Empire shows that even invisible forces like climate and weather patterns effected Roman rule significantly. Not only did the Roman Empire expand due to the success of its military and political arrangement, but also because the climate was working in its favor. While studies related to climate science cannot account for a lot of regional variation, they can paint broad strokes concerning general climate trends that shifted Romans' interactions with their environments, even if in minute or unknown capacities.

The Roman Climate Optimum (RCO) is defined as the period of "warm, wet, and stable climate regime."[100] Though the effects are not fully understood, "the outlines of the Roman Climate Optimum insist that Rome flourished under hospitable environmental conditions."[101] The RCO is measured by several factors including the sun (through measuring cosmogenic radionuclides),volcanic activity, temperature, tree rings, and humidity/precipitation.[102] This period of exceptionally good conditions for growth is roughly defined as occurring between the second-century BCE and the second-century CE.

---

[100] Harper, *The Fate of Rome,* 40.

[101] Harper, *The Fate of Rome,* 40.

[102] For a full explanation and analysis, see Harper, *The Fate of Rome*.

Unfortunately for third-century CE Romans, conditions for exceptional growth were declining just as the need for military forces, and thus food to support them, were increasing. In the 240s CE, Cyprian noted cooler temperatures and drought in North Africa. Rabbinic literature of the same period also references the scarcity of rain in Palestine. Papyri dated to the 240s CE from Oxyrhyncus also describe emergency measures put in place to register and acquire sources of grain for the empire. In short, the 240s CE amounted to the "severest environmental crisis detectible at any point in the seven centuries of Roman Egypt."[103] As Egypt produced a large amount of military provisions for the Empire, a grain shortage and environmental crisis in Egypt would have affected a significant portion of the third-century CE Roman population elsewhere. Some scholars, however, believe that Caesarea witnessed municipal expansion and population growth in the second- and third-centuries CE, though dating such growth is hard to confine to the period of drought described above.[104] Accordingly, the effects of climate change on Caesarea in particular must remain speculative.

After taking these five aspects of the Crisis into account, we must cover some arguments for how Caesarea functioned in apposition to this paradigm. Some have argued, for example, that Caesarea's connections to trading routes that led eastward from the Roman Empire allowed the city to escape the Crisis relatively unscathed.[105] Luxury goods were still being brought in the Mediterranean world and Caesarea, being a port on the eastern shores, may have been able buffer the turmoil by its very role as trade facilitator. Roads leading

---

[103] Harper, *The Fate of Rome,* 134.

[104] Levine, *Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological-Topographical Study*, 8.

[105] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 49.

eastward out of Caesarea had been built and maintained from as early as Trajan's rule and probably functioned as an alternative route to goods passing through the Red Sea and Alexandria.[106] According to Levine, "the most lucrative trade routes in the Empire passed through the Roman East and by way of the caravan cities—Palmyra, Petra, Gerasa, and Bostra—they reached Syria, Palestine, and the Mediterranean ports."[107] However, we must keep in mind that these caravan cities in the 260s CE were not under direct control of the Roman Empire, for the trading, Roman-client, city of Palmyra had taken them over for at least a short amount of time. In addition, now having lived through a pandemic ourselves, we might consider the psychological effects on the movement of materials during pandemic disease.

The city of Palmyra enjoyed a middleman position between the Roman and Persian empires until that very role led to its downfall under Aurelian. The relationships between Rome and Persia (ideological and military) are well attested in coins, art, inscriptions, and literary sources.[108] Boundaries drawn between the two empires were constantly negotiated or threatened, and our period (250 CE-350 CE) was no exception.

Before its fateful end, Palmyra operated as a relatively independent city, with loyalties to Rome. Palmyrenes, though maintaining their own unique identities, saw themselves as co-rulers with Roman emperors (at least for a short time).[109]In fact, Odaenath

---

[106] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 49.

[107] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 49.

[108] See Matthew P. Canepa, *Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship Between Rome and Sasanian Iran* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2009).

[109] Byron Nakamura, "Palmyra and the Roman East" *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 34.2(Summer 1993): 144-145.

of Palymra successfully defeated Shapur I's military advances westward in the mid-260s, which Gallienus took the credit for on behalf of Rome.[110] However, when the Palmyrene queen Zenobia claimed that the city was an independent kingdom from Rome in 267, we see that Palmyrene rulers were moving away from the narrative that they were co-rulers towards a new paradigm in which Palmyrene rulers chose to remain Palmyrene, while ruling through traditional Roman structures of power.[111] This shift in identity pushed Aurelian to his limit, and he eventually supported an propaganda campaign that portrayed Palmyra as a Persian city—which he then conquered and destroyed not only as a symbolic representation of Roma's superiority in their relationship with Sasanian Persia, but also to quash any further rebellion in the east.[112]

Caesarea's relationship to Palmyra has not been explored in scholarship. However, it would be hard to argue that the expansion of Palymra did not affect Caesarea in some way, at least during Zenobia's rule. A map of the Palmyrene conquest of the eastern Mediterranean, and westward into Egypt indicates the extensive reach of Palmyra. The map below includes the locations of cities through which the Palmyrene army travelled.

---

[110] Canepa, *Two Eyes of the Earth*, 82.

[111] Nakamura, "Palmyra and the Roman East," 144-145.

[112] Canepa, *Two Eyes of the Earth*, 83.

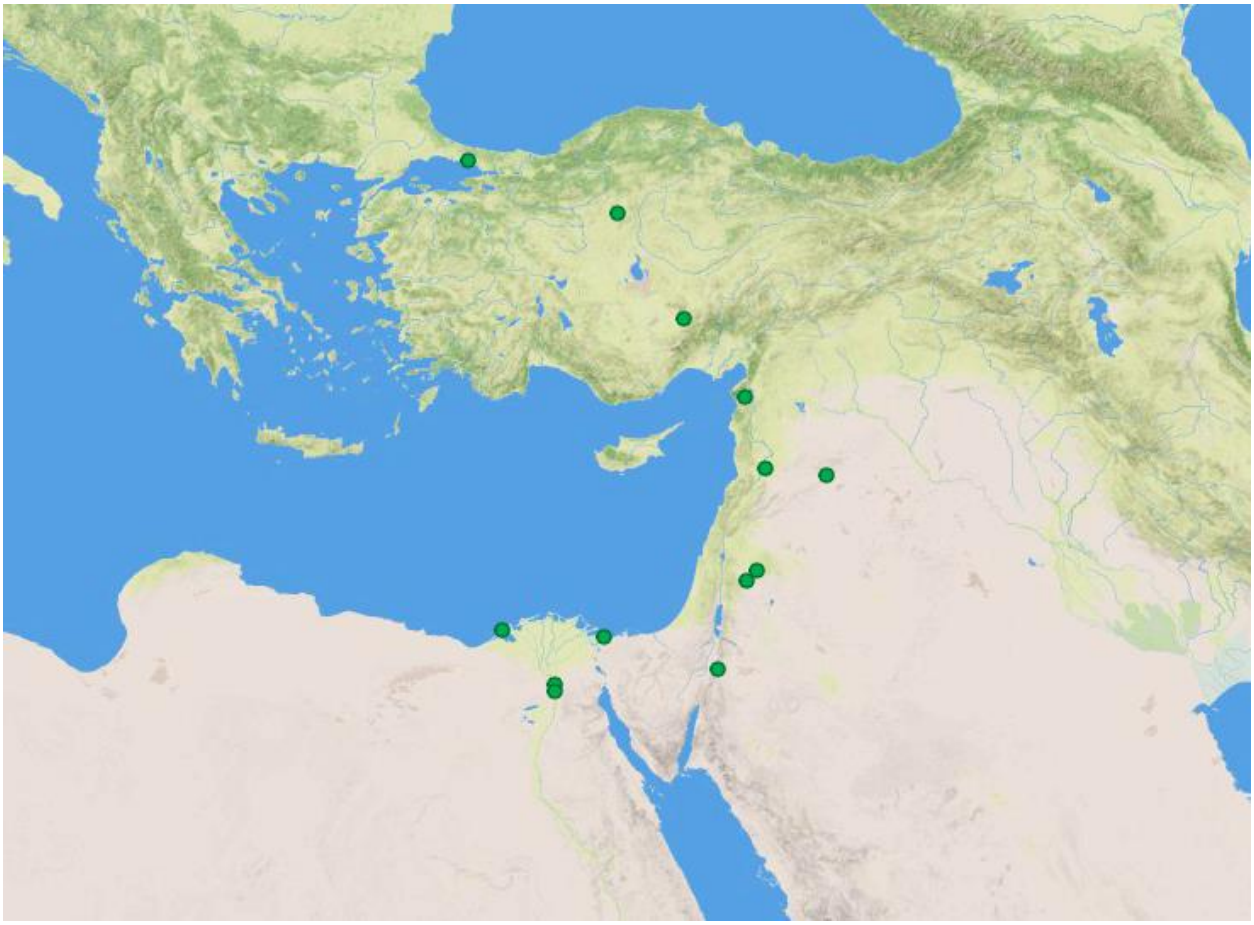

Figure 3. Palmyrene Empire extent. Locations of cities from Richard Stoneman's *Palmyra and Its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994). Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.

Though the map above leaves out coastal cities from Palmyra's expansion, milestones along the coast tell a different story. Not only do milestones along Roman roads from Bostra to Gadara bear the names of Zenobia's son (which represents an inland route through the cities on the map), but "milestones along the Syria-Palestine coast testify that Zenobia's forces controlled the road systems leading to Antioch."[113] In addition, surviving rabbinic literature describes a siege of Caesarea and its fall, which may refer to a Palmyrene

[113] Nakamura, "Palmyra and the Roman East," 135-136.

conquering of the city.[114]Thus, we can imagine that Zenobia's forces, though they worked their way through the interior of the eastern Roman Empire, gained control of the coastal travel routes as well in their short-lived efforts at conquest.

Although we do not have evidence in the *History* of unrest of the 260s, we should not be quick to imagine that life was completely stable. In fact, Eusebius himself discussed the relationships between Roman and Sasanian rulers, but instead of including this information in the *History*, he wrote about it in the *Vita Constantini (Vita)*. In the *Vita*, Eusebius tells us that Shapur II sent an embassy to Constantine in order to establish a good relationship.[115] This work also records the willingness of Constantine to work alongside Persian leaders as, the *Vita* records the first instance of addressing the Persian ruler as a "brother."[116] Eusebius chose to omit these interactions in the *History*, a strategy that will become more evident in Chapter 3. The unrest experienced in this short-lived expansion of Palmyrene power at the very least offered coastal Romans the opportunity to envision a world in which Rome was challenged, even if for a short time. And importantly, Caesarea was not immune to experiencing such a shift.

With the Palmyrene Empire defeated by Aurelian, Roman emperors attempted to manage imperial relationships through diplomacy rather than through military might. For example, in 288 CE Diocletian and Bahrām II signed a peace treaty so that both rulers could

---

[114] Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, 48.

[115] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4.8.

[116] Canepa, *Two Eyes of the Earth*, 126.

focus more fully on each empire's internal struggles.[117] However, not even ten years later, in 296, the Sasanian usurper, Narseh, invaded Roman Armenia.[118] Diocletian eventually sent Galerius to handle the invasion. After initial attempts failed, Galerius was subsequently successful in defeating Narseh.[119] This Roman victory changed Roman territorial boundaries by pushing back the Sassanian border to the Tigris River in the treaty of Nisibis in 298 CE.[120] Throughout the first few decades of Eusebius' life then relations between Rome and its eastern neighbor were anything but stable or safe.

Now that we have walked through some of the ways in which Caesarea was connected to various aspects of imperial history, we will turn to part two of the chapter. The following section will focus on utilizing one digital tool, Stanford's ORBIS project, to understand how Caesarea participated in trade networks throughout the Mediterranean world. This section will show how digital tools can give us new perspectives on a city's relationship through networking to people in other places, though the shortcomings of using modern tools to understand ancient patterns must be kept in mind.

One existing digital history project that helps us better understand how the Roman world worked as a network will also help us better understand how Caesarea was connected to other Mediterranean cities. ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the

---

[117] Canepa, *Two Eyes of the Earth*, 83.

[118] Canepa, *Two Eyes of the Earth*, 84.

[119] Canepa, *Two Eyes of the Earth*, 84.

[120] Canepa *Two Eyes of the Earth*, 84.

Roman World maps Roman movement by incorporating the time, cost, and distance.[121] It is important to note that ORBIS can only provide the average time, cost, or distance that traveler would need to budget in order to make set journeys (i.e. there is no possible way to know the experience of a particular traveler through a particular route through ORBIS). In other words, the model is based on statistical averages and cannot be prescriptive of travel, but can be indicative of travel patterns. The model allows researchers to understand patterns of movement, but does not allow researchers to make definitive statements about any particular journey or path. ORBIS was built by mapping Roman roads built up through 200 CE and sometimes those that were built through late antiquity by way of the Barrington Atlas (2000), while costs were determined by the price controls of 301 CE.[122] The data used to develop ORBIS is very closely aligned with the period in question for this particular project (i.e. 250-350 CE).

The analysis of data in this chapter will cover three different features of ORBIS. The first feature utilized is the flow diagram. The flow diagram will show us and overview of the most efficient routes from Caesarea according to given priorities (fastest, cheapest, or shortest). This method of interpreting the data allows us to get a broad level overview of how goods and people moved in and out of Caesarea. The second feature we will use to understand traffic in and out of the city is the dataset that maps the time it would take to travel to a particular city. This dataset indicates the quickest route possible (on average) to

---

[121] "Home," About, ORBIS, accessed May 7, 2020, http://orbis.stanford.edu.

[122] "Particularity and Structure," Understanding in About, ORBIS, accessed May 7, 2020 http://orbis.stanford.edu. Of course, the creators of ORBIS had to make choices about which sites to include. These explanations are easily found at "Building," About, ORBIS, http://orbis.stanford.edu.

Roman cities. The third and final feature of ORBIS is the cost feature. This dataset allows us to calculate the cost of any given trip to a particular city. The importance of using this dataset will become evident in the paragraphs below.

The first feature of ORBIS that we will use here shows how Caesarea was connected to pan-Mediterranean networks is the flow diagram. The flow diagram maps the most efficient routes from a chosen center according to chosen priorities in a specified season. In this case, our chosen center will be Caesarea Maritima, and I will include images of the flow diagram as it indicates travel in the Summer. The following six diagrams show the heaviest flow to and from Caesarea in terms of time (fastest), cost (cheapest) and distance (shortest).

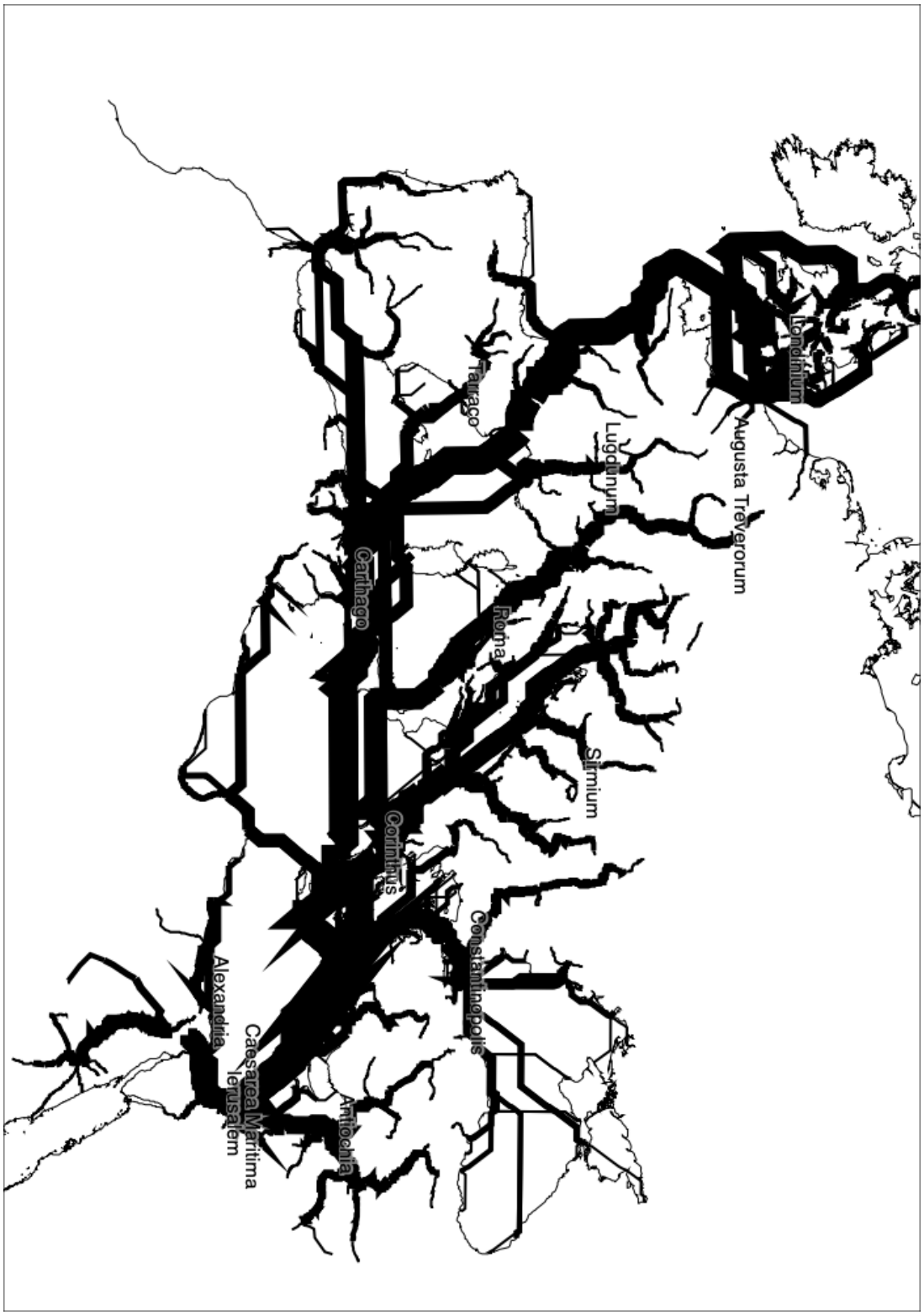

Figure 4. Fastest Routes from Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

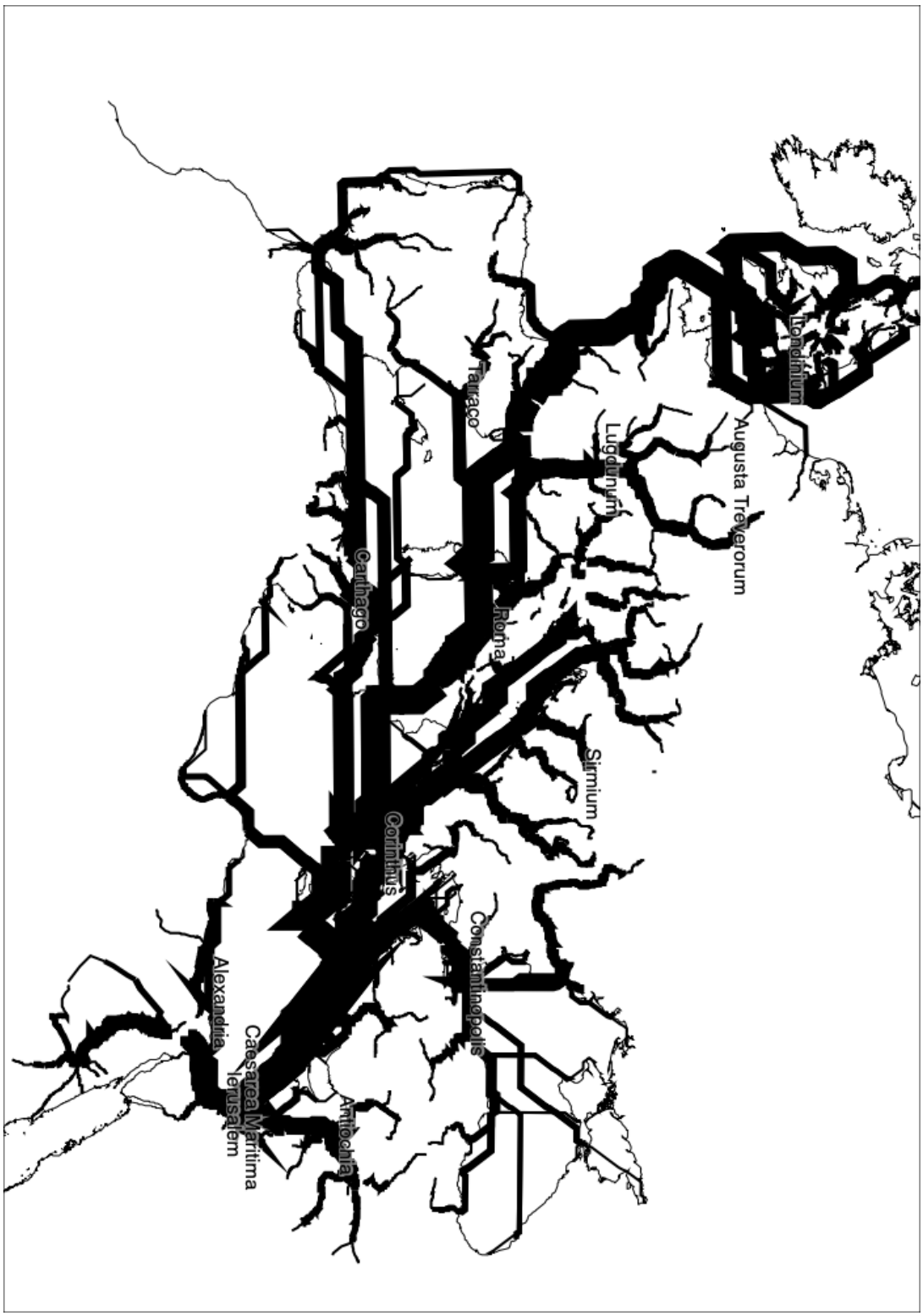

Figure 5. Fastest Routes to Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

Figure 6. Cheapest Routes from Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

Figure 7. Cheapest Routes to Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

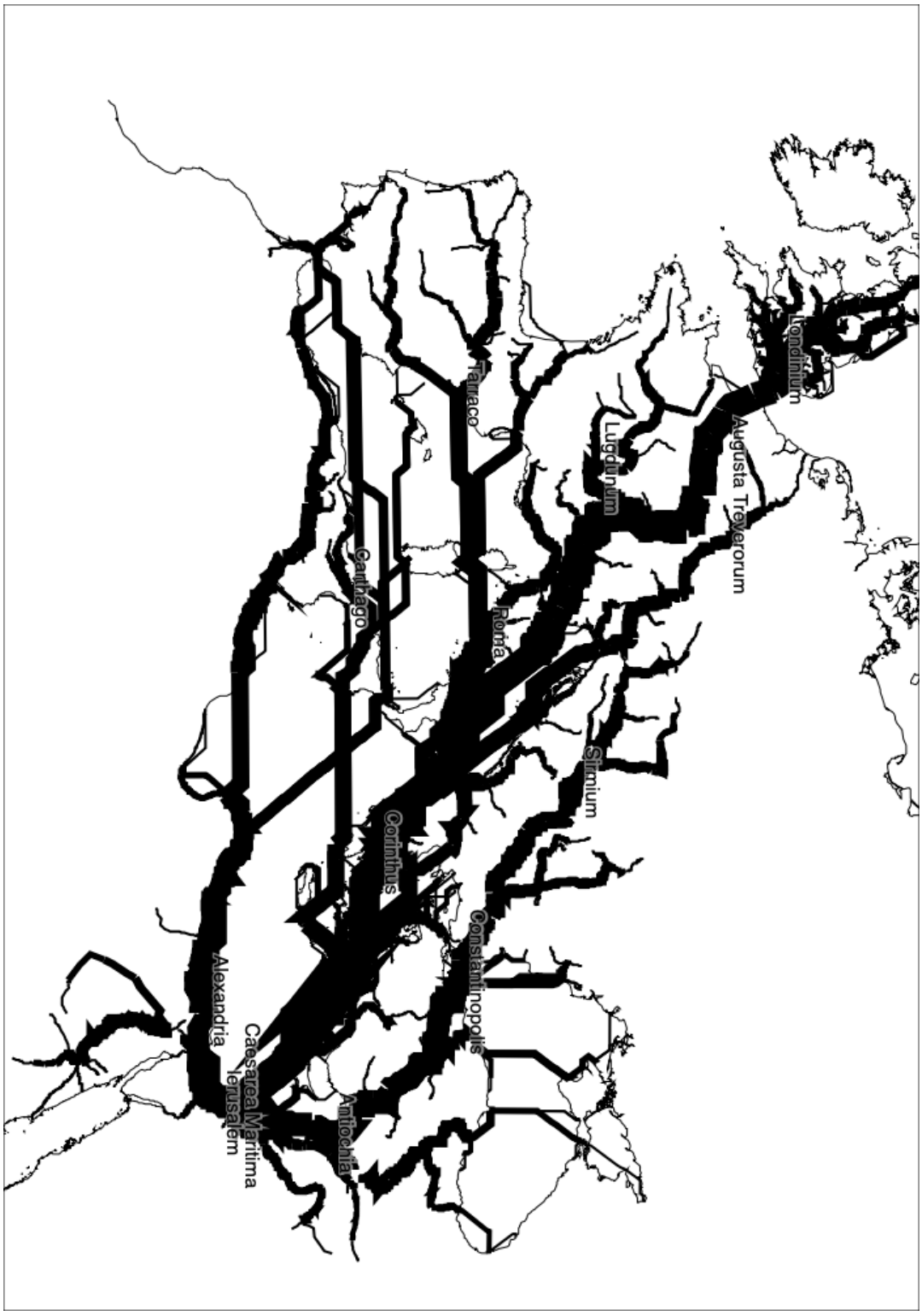

Figure 8. Shortest Routes from Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

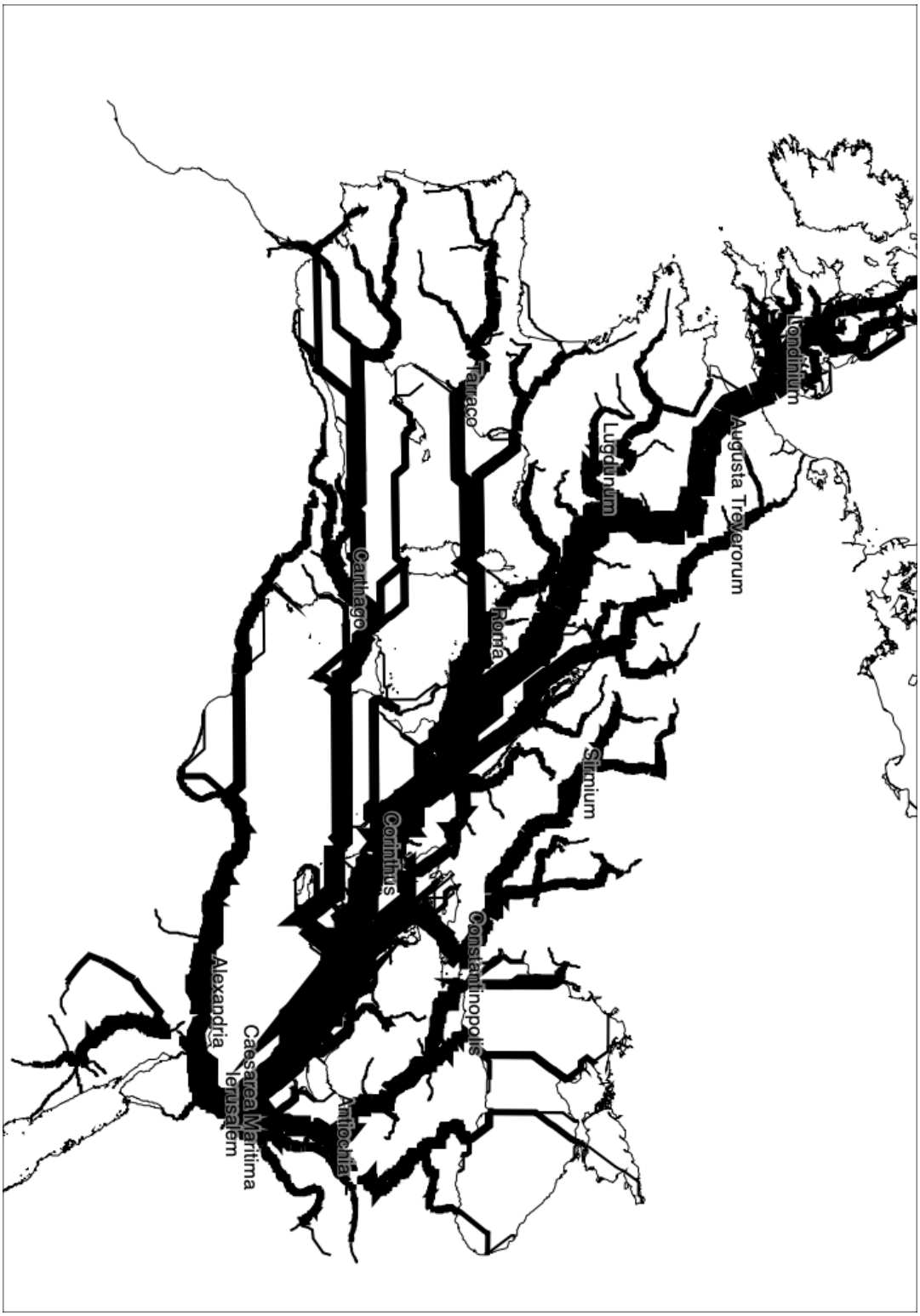

Figure 9. Shortest Routes to Caesarea in Summer. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

ORBIS shows us that the most active segments to and from Caesarea follow from Caesarea to Paphos regardless of time, cost, or distance. The variations in the flow diagrams occur further out from this initial track. As we might expect from a coastal city like Caesarea, the most traveled routes to and from the city connect to other coastal cities. The main vein of travel flow tends to connect Caesarea to the northern Mediterranean according to ORBIS, with a less heavy flow connecting Caesarea to southern Mediterranean ports. Caesarea's connection to Alexandria, however, supported a relatively high flow both to and from the city. It is also important to point out that the flow to and from Caesarea and inland cities in the eastern Roman Empire were almost as strong as Caesarea's flow to maritime networks, at least up through Antioch. For a more interactive exploration of Caesarea's flow networks, please refer to the ORBIS website.

A second feature of ORBIS can indicate the amount of time a chosen route would take in a specified season. The simulation included below shows the time needed to travel to Caesarea Maritima from other parts of the Mediterranean world during the summer months. The most distant sites to Caesarea in this simulation are Londinium (46 days), Corduba (34 days), Lugdunum (28 days) and Tarraco (23 days). Other important cities to compare for this particular project are Carthage (16 days), Rome (17 days), Constantinople (9 days), Antioch (4 days), Palmyra (14 days), Jerusalem (3 days), and Alexandria (4 days).The image below shows the network overview to Caesarea in the summer months.

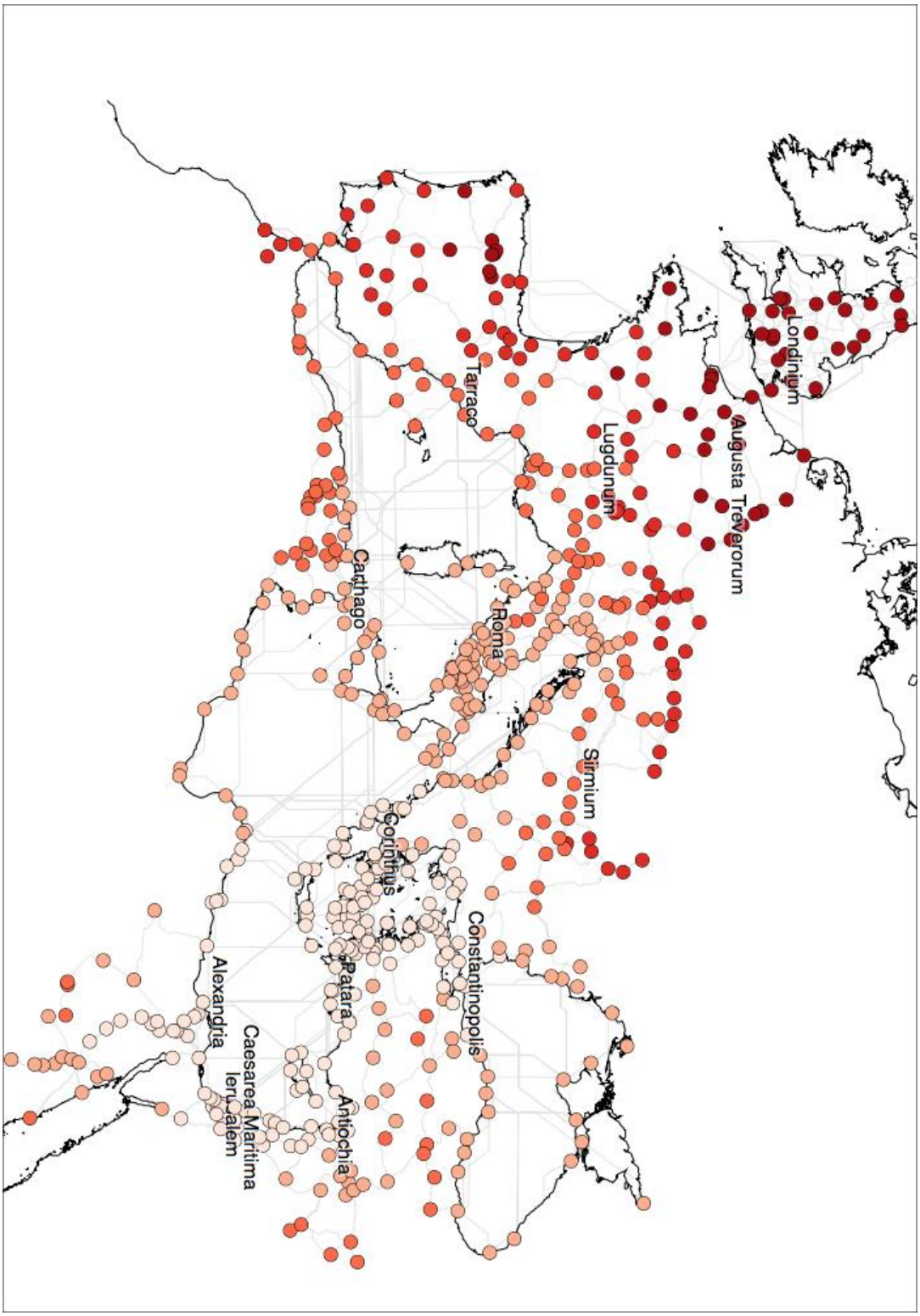

Figure 10. Networks to Caesarea in Summer months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

In Figure 10, we can see how Caesarea Maritima (in the lower right) was generally connected to other Mediterranean cities. The image is color coded according to the amount of days it would take to travel to Caesarea from any particular city. The lightest shades of red indicate close proximity and become darker red as the journey to Caesarea increased in terms of days. Accordingly, those places closest to Caesarea look pink and those far away appear burgundy. As we might expect, cities along the coastline of the eastern Mediterranean are color coded to indicate a shorter trip, while cities in the western Empire are color coded as taking a longer time to travel to Caesarea. The limitations of land travel are also evident on this network diagram. Locations located inland become darker shades of red rather quickly. The clear exceptions to this rule are those cities located south of Alexandria and along the Nile.

Another way to see the same networks is by using the cartogram feature of ORBIS. The cartogram feature shows the connectivity of networks without regard for geography. In many ways, the cartogram is a more useful feature for questioning our assumptions about geographically conceptualized networks and travel. Figure 11 below shows the networks to Caesarea in the Summer months in terms of distance (i.e. how long it would take to travel from a given city to Caesarea.)

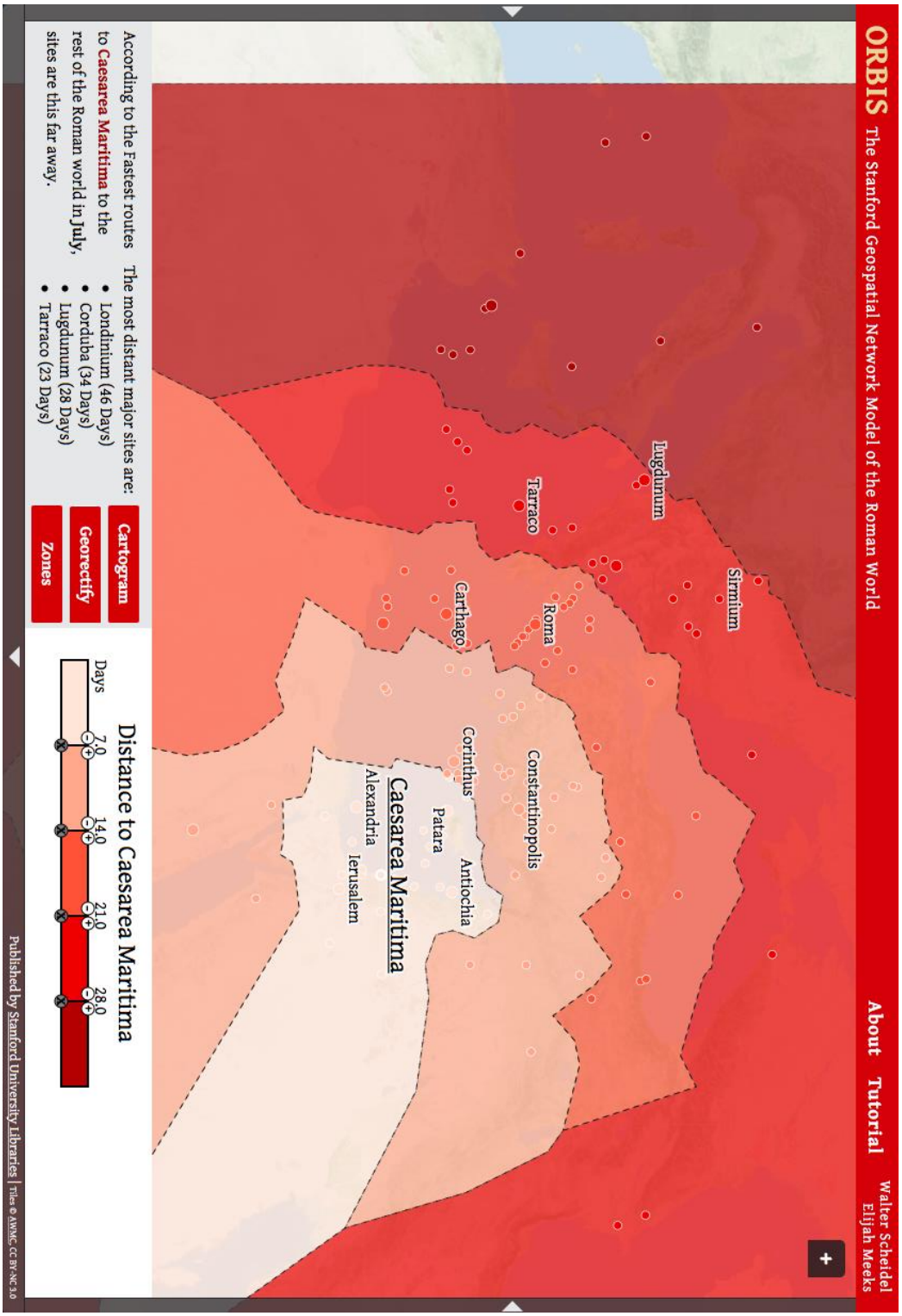

Figure 11. Networks to Caesarea in Summer months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

The cartogram above shows identical statistical information as shown in Figure 10, but through a different perspective. The cartogram helps us see Caesarea's connections in terms of zones (5 total). The first zone (where travel would take up to 7 days) included cities such as Antioch, Ephesus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Oxyrhynchus. Zone 2 (where travel would take from 7-14 days) included cities like Corinth, Nicaea, Constantinople, Palmyra, and Petra. Zone 3 (where travel would take from 14-21 days) included cities like Carthage, Rome, and Apamea. A noteworthy city from Zone 4 (where travel would take from 21-28 days) is Milan—the capital city of the empire from the 280s CE.

The depictions of the ORBIS data above (both through the geo-rectified and cartogram options) allows us to see how long it would take to travel to Caesarea from other parts of the Roman world where the priority is time. This data stays relatively constant for travel from Caesarea to other parts of the Mediterranean on a large scale.

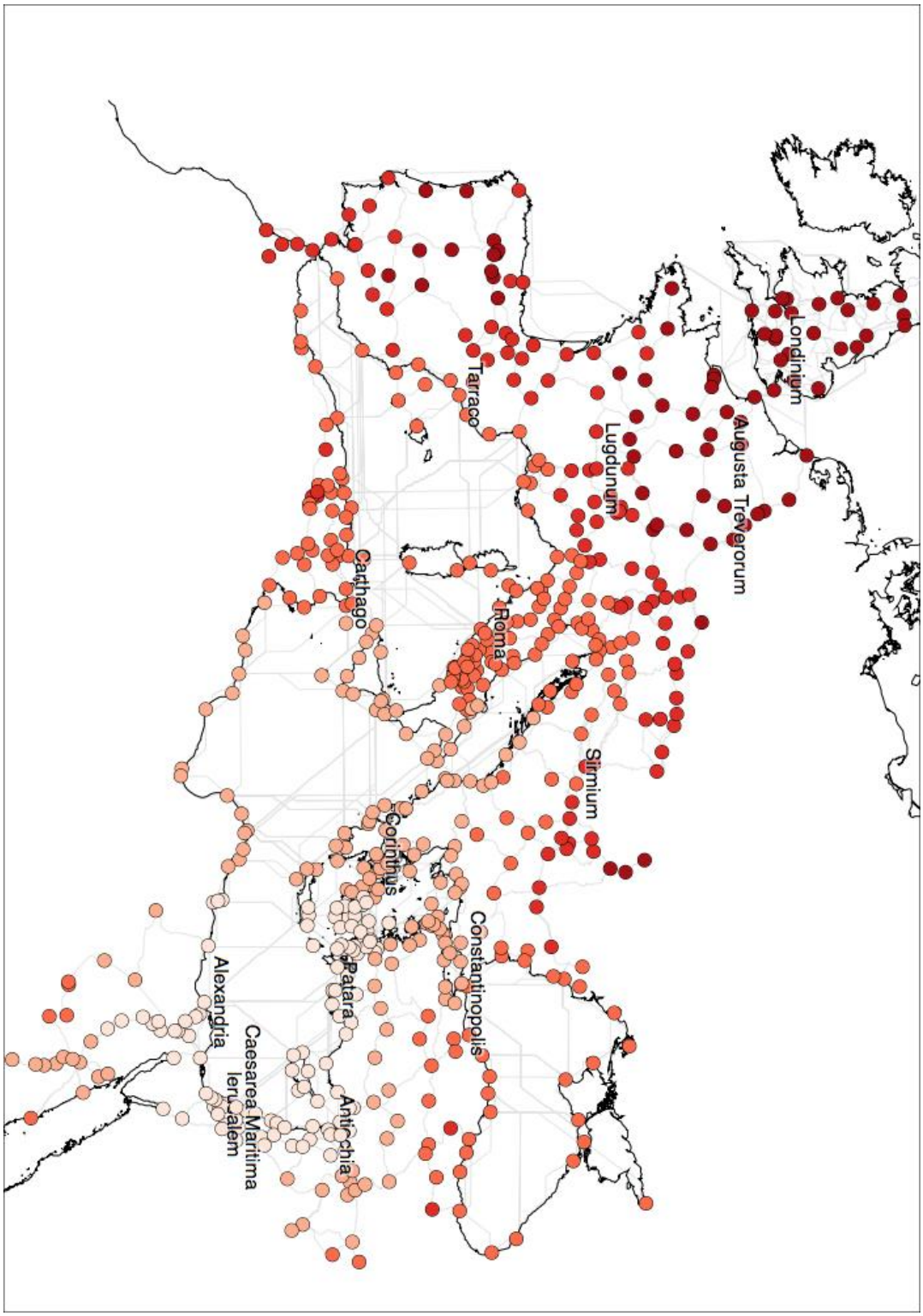

Figure 12. Networks from Caesarea in the Summer Months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

The image above depicts travel networks from Caesarea to other parts of the Roman world in the summer months. It looks very similar to Figure 10, though one can see that travel from Caesarea generally took longer than travel to the city. The most distant sites from Caesarea in this simulation are Londinium (51 days), Corduba (41 days), Lugdunum (41 days), and Mediolanum (35 days). Mediolanum replaced Tarraco as one of the top four most distant sites in this scenario. For comparative purposes, it would take 5 extra days to travel from Caesarea to Londinium, 7 extra days to travel from Caesarea to Corduba, and 13 extra days to travel from Caesarea to Lugdunum. The cartogram depiction of the data in Figure 12 is included below.

Figure 13. Networks from Caesarea in the Summer Months in terms of distance. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

The cartogram shows a similar picture. Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria remain in Caesarea's closest networks in Zone 1, though Ephesus and Oxyrhynchus are pushed into Zone 2. Corinth, Palmyra, and Petra remained in Zone 2. Nicaea, Constantinople, and Apamea are in Zone 3. Zone 4 now contains Carthage and Rome, and Milan is pushed out into Zone 5. Before moving on to see how Caesarea was connected to other cities in terms of cost, I would like to include an overview of the differences in time it would take to get to from Caesarea to the important cities listed above.

Table 1. Indicates Differences in travel to and from Caesarea in terms of distance.

City	To Caesarea	From Caesarea	Difference
Carthage	16	24	+8
Rome	17	26	+9
Constantinople	9	19	+10
Antioch	4	5	+1
Palmyra	14	14	0
Jerusalem	3	3	0
Alexandria	4	6	+2

As the table shows, Caesarea's network connectivity to some Roman cities vastly depended on the direction of travel. For example, if a letter were to come out of Rome and travel to Caesarea, that journey would take a little over two weeks. For Caesareans to reply to that letter, it would take nearly 4 weeks. That means that in order to receive and reply to a letter in Rome, a writer would be looking at nearly a month and a half turnaround time. The difference was even more drastic for communications with Constantinople. On the other hand, some cities in the eastern empire like Antioch, Palmyra, Jerusalem, and Alexandria show very little, if any, difference in travel time to or from the city. Such reliable networks must be kept in mind when we turn to an analysis of the *History*. The data analyzed above, however, does not depict the cheapest routes available to traveling people and goods. To get

a better picture of how Caesarea was connected through financial means, we will now turn to another set of data and images.

A third feature of ORBIS can indicate the amount of money a chosen route would take in a specific season. The simulation included below shows the cost (per kilogram of wheat, by donkey) attained during travel to Caesarea Maritima from other parts of the Mediterranean world during the summer months. The cost of travel from Roman cities pertinent to this particular project are as follows: Carthage (1.569 denarii), Rome (1.77 denarii), Constantinople (0.891 denarii), Antioch (0.516 denarii), Palmyra (6.511 denarii), Jerusalem (1.734 denarii), and Alexandria (0.421 denarii). The image below shows the network overview to Caesarea in the summer months.

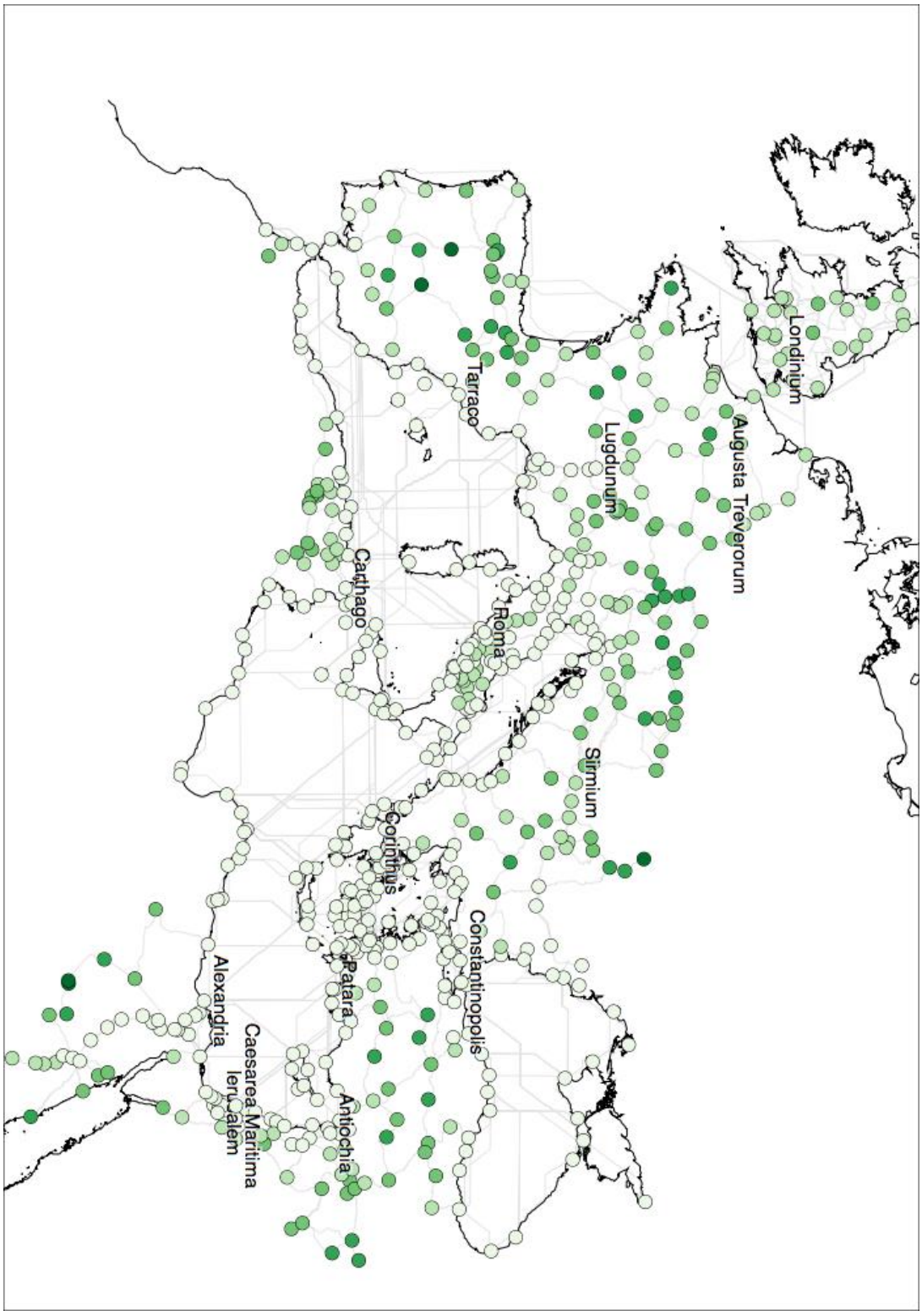

Figure 14. Networks to Caesarea in Summer in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

Figure 14 shows us how financially accessible Caesarea Maritima was to other Mediterranean cities. This map uses shades of green to depict the range of expense of travel to Caesarea in the summer months. Less expensive routes are indicated by light green, while more expensive routes are shown in darkening shades of green. This map differs from those concerning time in significant ways. The data pertinent to cost show that the expense of travel to Caesarea was almost completely independent of the amount of time it took to travel to Caesarea. Coastal cities—regardless of the time it would take to travel there—all cost nearly the same amount of money. The further a site was located away from the coast (not necessarily away from Caesarea itself) played a large role in determining the cost for any particular journey. This map indicates that we could conceive of Caesarea Maritima as a city financially accessible to cities along the entire Mediterranean coastline. Though time invested in traveling may have been an issue, cost does not seem to have been a significant factor in traveling to Caesarea from other coastal cities.

To demonstrate this data in a different way, I have again included a cartogram in order to depict cost considerations. Figure 15 below shows the networks to Caesarea in the summer months in terms of cost (i.e. how much money it would take to travel from a given city to Caesarea per kilogram of wheat by donkey).

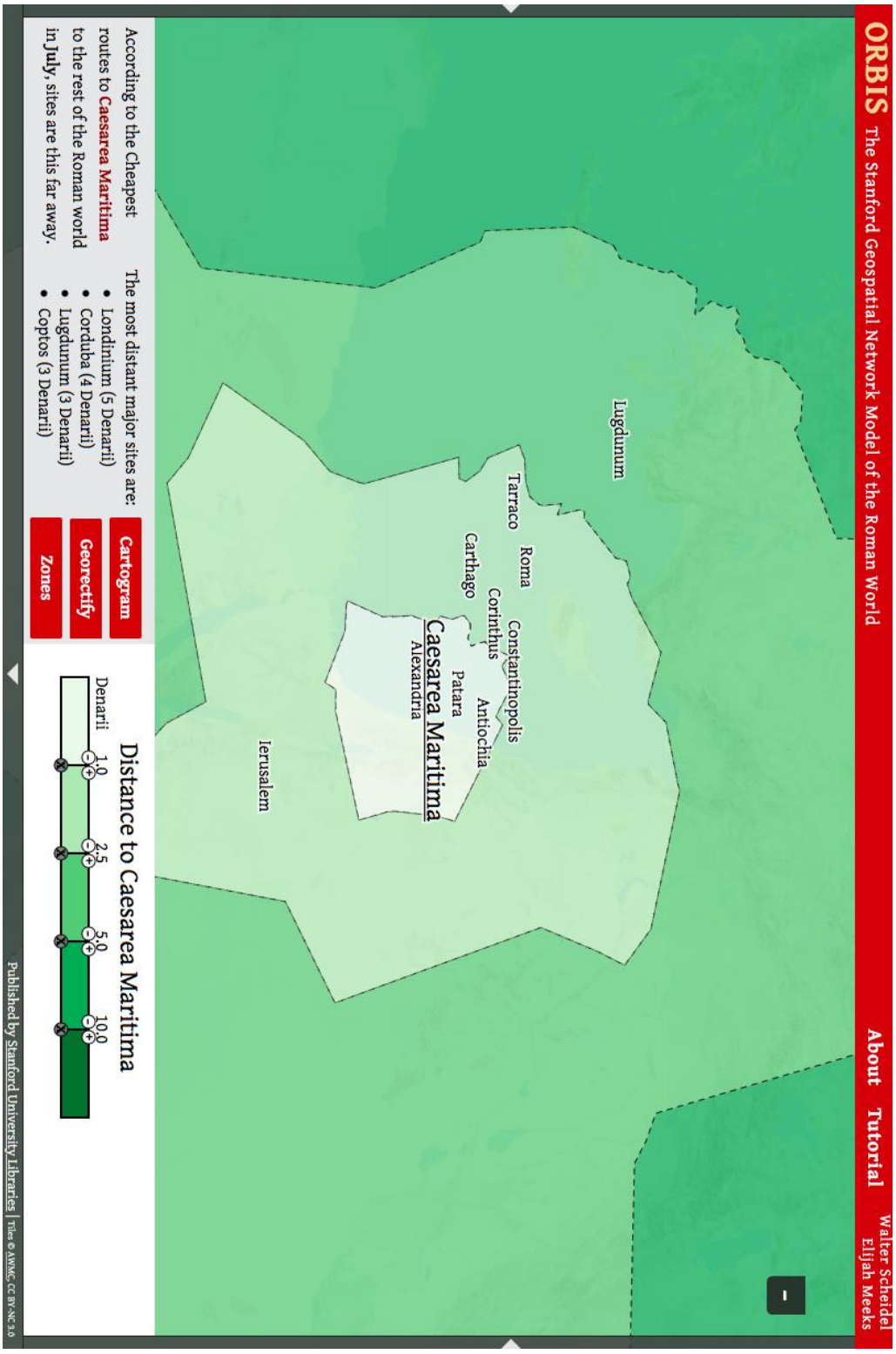

Figure 15. Networks to Caesarea in summer months in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

As the cartogram shows, the cost of travel remains relatively stable for shipping from Mediterranean coastal cities, though the image of the cartogram included above cannot show Caesarea's network between all coastal cities. Like the cartogram for distance, this one shows the cost associated with travel to Caesarea in terms of 5 zones. The first zone (in which travel would cost up to 1 full denarii) includes cities like Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. Zone 2 (costing from 1-2.5 denarii) includes cities Carthage, Rome, and Jerusalem. Zone 3 (costing from 2.5-5 denarii) includes cities like Milan, Coptos, and Nicaea. Zone 4 (costing from 5-10 denarii) includes cities like Palmyra, Damascus, Ancyra, and Petra. Zone 5 (host to those cities from which it would cost over 10 denarii to travel) include Cappadocian Caesaraea, Dura, and Nisibis.

The depictions of the ORBIS data concerning cost (both in their geo-rectified and cartogram images included above) allow us to see the cost associated with travel to Caesarea from other parts of the Roman world when we set our priority to cost. If one had time on their side, it seems that Caesarea was a financially accessible city on the sea.

Before ending our discussion of how Caesarea was connected to other Roman cities in terms of cost, we will look at how the cost of travel from Caesarea to other cities throughout the empire. Figure 16 shows the average cost of networks traveling from Caesarea in the summer months.

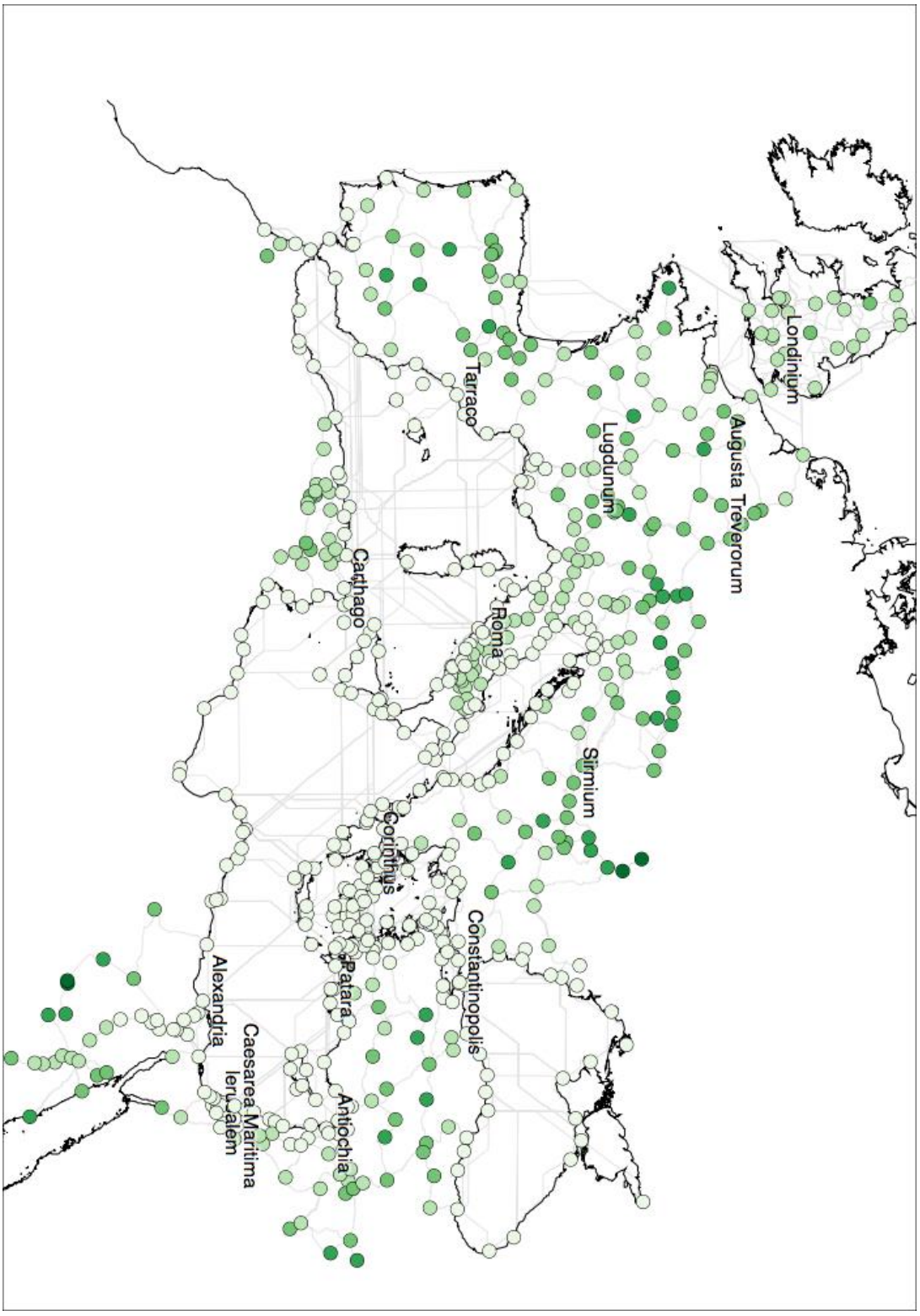

Figure 16. Networks from Caesarea in summer months in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

The data concerning cost remains more consistent than travel in and out of Caesarea in terms of time. Once again, we see that the expense of travel from Caesarea in terms of cost was nearly independent of the amount of time it took to travel from Caesarea, though cost did increase leaving the city compared to cost associated with travel to the city. Coastal cities, like above, cost nearly the same amount of money comparatively. The cartogram shows a similar picture and is included in Figure 17 below.

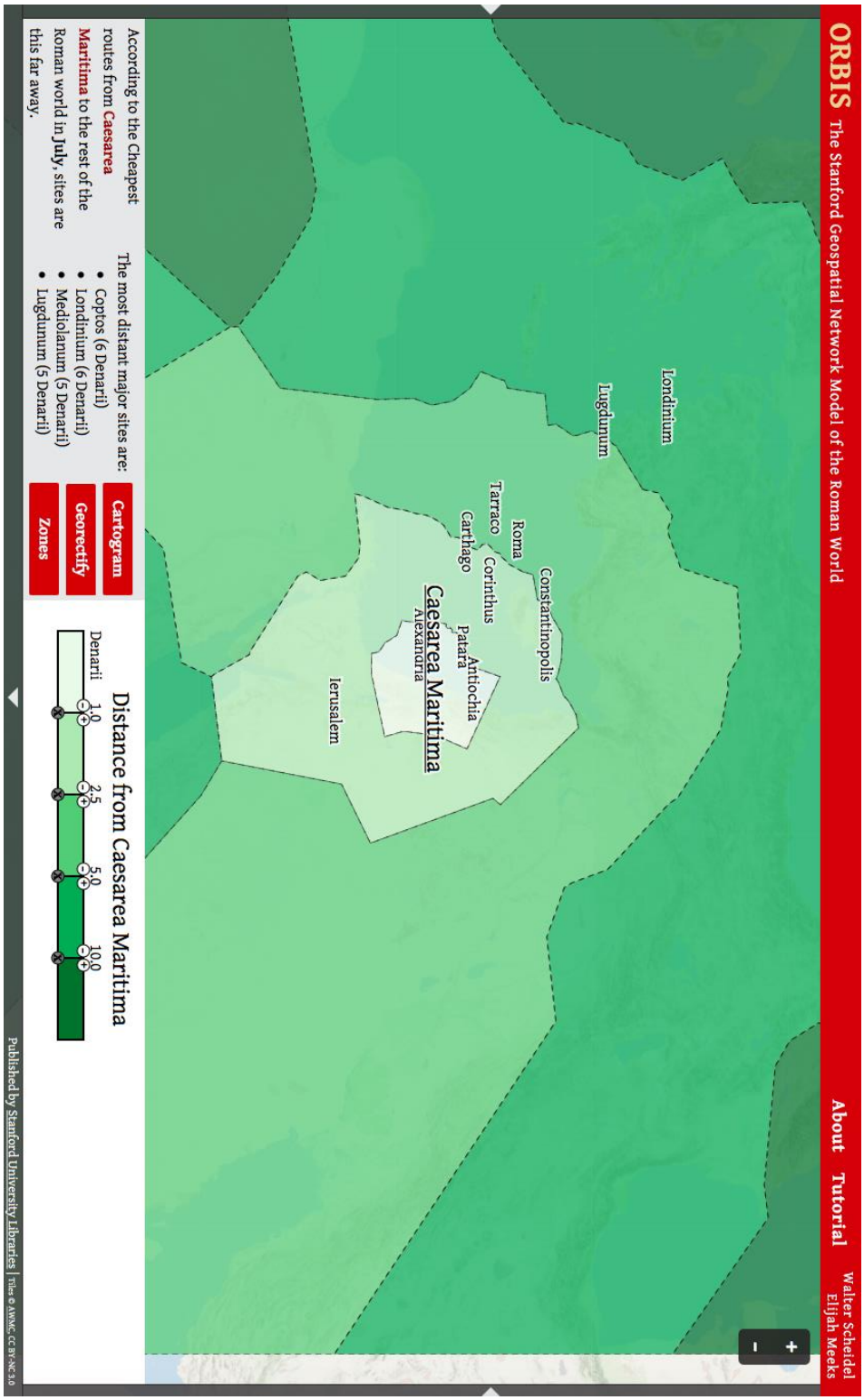

Figure 17. Networks from Caesarea in summer months in terms of cost. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

This cartogram shows a similar picture to the geo-rectified image presented earlier in the chapter. Like all cartograms included in this chapter, cost associated with travel is broken down into five zones. All routes are indicated as more costly when travel takes place from Caesarea than to the city. I will include an overview of the differences in the cost of travel associated to and from Caesarea below.

Table 2. Indicates Differences in travel to and from Caesarea in terms of financial cost (per kilogram of wheat by donkey)

City	To Caesarea	From Caesarea	Difference
Carthage	1.569	2.386	+0.817
Rome	1.77	2.757	+0.987
Constantinople	0.891	2.119	+1.228
Antioch	0.516	0.715	+0.199
Palmyra	6.511	7.521	+1.01
Jerusalem	1.734	1.725	*-0.009*
Alexandria	0.421	0.607	+0.186

As Table 2 shows, Caesarea's networks connectivity to some Roman cities remained relatively stable regardless of direction of travel. Like the differences in terms of distance shown in Table 1, some cities in the eastern empire, like Antioch and Alexandria, show very little difference in cost regardless of whether goods were travelling to or from the city. The reliability of cost (in addition to time) should also be taken into consideration when assessing the feasibility and tenability of Caesarea's networks.

ORBIS can also model for us the shortest distance between places (i.e. show a map "as the bird flies"), but I have not included it here, because I do not think it tells us much about how the ancient city was connected to pan-Mediterranean networks. One can surmise the closest locations from the geo-rectified maps above, without the need to provide another set of maps. And although the networks above are not proscriptive or deterministic, they do

provide a way for us to think about how Caesarea was linked to the Roman world other than a modern depiction of the city's location on a traditional geo-rectified map. The results are that Caesarea was well connected, both in terms of the time it would take to make the journey and the cost associated to travel to coastal cities.

The overview provided in this chapter shows the various ways in which Caesarea was connected to pan-Mediterranean networks. At the beginning of the chapter, we saw how Caesarea functioned as an administrative and military center for the Roman Empire in the east. Though Christianity played a large role in growing the city's prominence, the seeds of growth and bustling of city life were already deeply entrenched in Caesarea before Eusebius' life and career there. The economic and social life of Caesarea was also discussed and showed how goods and people connected the city to both near and far away places. The rabbinic literature available from this period was particularly helpful here in order to understand how groups other than early Christians used, lived, worked, and studied in the city. It is probably not by chance that Caesarea hosted well-known scholars of variations religious groups—even though historians of this period have helped its Christian groups gain notoriety in the historiography.

This chapter also included alternative ways to look at the history of Caesarea through the framework of the Crisis of the Third Century and through Stanford's ORBIS tool. The Crisis of the Third Century was included in this chapter as an alternative way of looking at various aspects of Caesarea's history. Though this section was largely speculative and not much could be said for certain, asking questions regarding how (or not) frontier pressure, pandemic disease, and climate impacted life in the east and in Caesarea in particular is especially important in order to compare Eusebius' account of the same period in the *History.*

We must also keep in mind that Christianity became legal in 260, directly coinciding with Eusebius birth, and therefore provided a way for Christians to legitimize and defend their practice—an opportunity not afforded to Origen. Moreover, the data analyzed through ORBIS showed how a digital approach to ancient material can help us conceptualize and visualize ancient networks in different ways (i.e. outside of text). And now that we have an idea of how Caesarea was connected to the wider Mediterranean world, we will turn to the *History*, which presents a universal narrative through a narrowing geographic lens.

Chapter Three

UNIVERSAL FRAME, LIMITED SCOPE: THE GEOGRAPHICAL FOCUS OF BOOKS 7-10 OF THE *HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA*

The *Ecclesiastical History* (*History*) has frequently and for a long time been used to narrate the development of early Christianity throughout the Mediterranean world. Eusebius wrote the *History* with two explicit goals: 1) to narrate the succession of the apostles from Jesus to Eusebius' day (circa 325 CE) and 2) to record the hardships endured by Christians throughout that time.[123] These goals frame Eusebius' narrative as a universal history of Christianity. The universalizing framework of the *History* is often used by scholars to paint broad strokes about early Christian history, up to the fourth-century CE.[124] This acceptance of Eusebius' totalizing discourse, without interrogating the contextual nature of the *History*, has served to disconnect the work from its provincial, Roman context. This chapter contextualizes the last four chapters of the *History* by annotating and mapping the geographical locations found therein. Annotating and connecting named locations with extant databases on ancient geography elucidates how Eusebius constructed the geographical focus of the *History*, which relied on increasingly localized Palestinian contexts.

While the geographical focus of the book converges on the Eastern Roman world, the narrative of the work increasingly broadens. Juxtaposing the narrow geographical focus and

[123] Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica,* 1.1-2.

[124] For more on this, see Chapter One: Introduction.

the increasingly broad narrative scope of the work resulted in a subtle manipulation of early Christian history, which has been overlooked in scholarship on early Christianity and on Eusebian studies in particular. Recognizing the manipulation is vital in reconnecting Caesarean history to its Eastern Roman context. The oversight has consequences for our interactions with modern politics and framing our historical analyses of early Christianity. If we continue to use the History as a text disconnected from eastern influences and non-Roman history, we risk serving present day agendas that seek whether intentionally or not to elide the diversity of the ancient world.

By mapping each geographical location named in books 7 through 10 of the *History*, I will show that Eusebius's geographical focus attests to a unique perspective, which was contingent on his place in the eastern Mediterranean world. This chapter traces and analyzes the networks presented in the *History* from books 7 through 10 individually, explaining the narrative of each chapter and presenting related data through maps and tables. My analysis of the geographical components of the *History* is arranged by book chapter, and a map showing all geographical locations in books 7 through 10 can be found at the end of the chapter.

The *History* is not without criticism, but has formed and remains the backbone of our understanding of early Christian history. The *History* was the first work of its kind and presents an extensive, and sometimes detailed, narrative of the development of early Christianity. The *History* survives in various manuscript traditions, including Greek, Latin, Armenian, and Syriac versions. Its linguistic legacy showcases the importance it had to an audience spread throughout the Roman and extra-Roman worlds. Subsequent church historians, like Socrates, Sozoman, and Theodoret, followed the framework of the *History* in order to expand (and sometimes re-narrate) Eusebius's overarching narrative of early

Christian history. From the time Eusebius wrote the *History* in the early fourth-century CE, its reputation has been that of a scholarly compilation, making it just as influential on modern scholarship including studies within the field of Late Antiquity.

Before beginning the analysis of each chapter, it is important to note that my analysis does not engage with known inconsistencies in Eusebius's chronology. Rather, this chapter follows the presentation of events as reported in the *History* and annotates locations accordingly. A fuller discussion of the dating of the *History* can be found in the Introduction.

Book 7 of the *History* opens with the deaths of Decius and Origen, the succession of Gallus (251 CE), and Gallus's banishing Cornelius of Rome.[125] From the start, Eusebius correlates imperial history with Christian history and sets the tone for the rest of the book, which covers a period from circa 250 CE to 300 CE. Eusebius uses Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria's letters as a guide for framing his narrative, which is constructed around persecution. These events fulfill the second explicit goal (to record the hardships endured by Christians) of Eusebius' project. In order to fulfill the first goal (to narrate the succession of the apostles), Eusebius fills the remaining pages of book 7 by including a recap of episcopal successions along with a few chapters on competing Christian theologies (i.e. "heresies"). Eusebius uses Dionysius of Alexandria's letters, *On Baptism*, to explain and put to rest disagreements throughout the Christian community.[126] Though Dionysius was bishop in Alexandria, his letters reflect a vast network of contacts and cover a broad range of locations. Eusebius also relies on Dionysius's of Alexandria letter to Hermammon to portray Valerian

[125] Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 7.1.

[126] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.5-9.

in a negative light.[127] He includes Dionysius's lengthy, personal account of Valerian's persecution, in which Dionysius defends himself by explaining how he survived this period relatively unscathed: an explanation made all the more pertinent as Germanus accused Dionysius of fleeing the city, and therefore abandoning his Christian community.[128] Eusebius then briefly describes four martyrs from Caesarea before briefly mentioning the Sassanian capture of Valerian and subsequent rescript of Gallienus, which allowed Christians to regain property previously confiscated under Valerian's orders.[129]

A quick recap of episcopal successions follow book 7's content on the persecution under Valerian before the narrative turns to describe Caesarean Christians. Eusebius includes examples of Christians who were distinguished then through martyrdom, first Marinus and then Astyrius, in addition to miracles that occurred in Caesarea Phillipi.[130] The festal letters of Dionysius then draw the geographical focus back to Alexandria. Using these letters, Eusebius first bolsters his own position on Easter and then describes life in Alexandria during the revolt of Aemilianus and a subsequent plague in the city.[131] Eusebius includes a short description of how Gallienus regained power before Eusebius attends to the various differences throughout the Christian community that were occurring simultaneously.[132]

---

[127] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.10.

[128] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.11.1-18.

[129] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.12-13.

[130] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.14-18.

[131] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.22.1-10.

[132] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.20-23.

Eusebius' narrative heavily relied on Dionysius's letters to describe Christian theologies that Eusebius characterized as heretical.[133] The first such account concerned Nepos, a Bishop in Egypt, whose beliefs differed from those of Dionysius.[134] Eusebius also uses a lengthy quotation of Dionysius to discuss the *Apocalypse of John*. In the quoted passage, Dionysius wrote that the *Apocalypse of John* could not be read literally, nor could it be understood completely—a view much aligned with Eusebius's own.[135] The next heretic to come under scrutiny was Paul of Samosata, whom Eusebius accused of believing that Jesus had a completely human nature.[136] This section not only describes the heretical nature of Paul's teaching (in Eusebius' opinion), but also sets a precedent for how emperors should handle Christian disputes, according to Eusebius. Chapter 30 places Aurelian at the center of a debate concerning who (the deposed Paul or Domnus, his appointed successor) should retain the rights to church property.[137] After putting this heretical dispute to rest, Eusebius focused the rest of book 7 on successions of bishops who would ultimately experience the persecution under Diocletian. This persecution not only affected Eusebius's personal life in

[133] Terms referring to heretics and heretical behavior or thought in this chapter are used to reflect Eusebius's framing of the narrative. While I appreciate the constructed and complicated nature of the term, related discussions will be saved for a later publication.

[134] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.24. Jeremy M. Schott points out that Nepos's treatises were likely anti-Origenist (that is, against a group which would include Origen, Dionysius, and Eusebius). Nepos's understanding would thus threaten Eusebius's intellectual heritage in Eusebius of Caesarea, *The History of the Church*, trans. Jeremy M. Schott (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019), 366n74.

[135] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.25.

[136] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.25. See Schott, trans. (2019), 373n95 for fuller context of Eusebius's theological views regarding this instance.

[137] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 7.30.

Caesarea, but also plays a large role in book 8. In sum, book 7 covers a period of about 50 years.

Numerous geographic locations are named in book 7. Most commonly, Eusebius reports locations as places where persecution against Christians occurred.[138] Eusebius uses persecuting behavior to showcase the rampant misuse of imperial power in major cities like Rome and Antioch, while maintaining that the abusive actions were also more widespread across the Mediterranean. In effect, Eusebius creates a mental map, through which imperial and divine power come into conflict. This map is complemented by the narrative arc of book 7 as detailed above. Throughout book 7, Eusebius lists geographic locations (either a specific city or region) 142 times, though several locations are repeatedly employed in the narrative (see Table 3 below).

Table 3. Book 7 Place Annotations.

Place Name	**# of Times Annotated**
Alexandria	24
Rome	16
Antioch	14
Caesarea Maritima	10
Egypt	9
Jerusalem	6
Cephro | Laodicea	5
Asia | Cappadocia | Libya | Pontus | Syria | Tarsus |	3
Caesarea in Cappadocia | Cilicia | Iconium | Paraetonium | Tyre	2
Africa| Anatolia | Arabia | Arsenoite Nome | Attika | Berenike | Bostra | Caesarea Philippi | Carthage | Ephesus | Galatia | Italy | Kollouthion | Mareotic Nome | Mesopotamia | Palestine | Paphos | Patmos | Perge in Pamphilia | Persia | Pontus and Bithynia | Ptolemais | Samosata | Synnada | The East	1

[138] The term persecution in this chapter is used to reflect Eusebius's framing of events. While I appreciate the constructed and complicated nature of such terminology, those discussions will be saved for a later time.

The table above displays the number of times a particular city was named (and thus annotated) in book 7. The city of Alexandria hosts the narrative of book 7 most often, with nearly twice as many occurrences as the city of Rome. The next most frequently mentioned cities, Rome, Antioch, and Caesarea Maritima, often functioned as places in which Roman Imperial power stood opposite divine authority. While many regions and cities are identified in book 7, the clear emphasis of the narrative concerns Christian experiences in cities with long-standing connections to Roman Imperial power. As Eusebius demonstrates the bravery, steadfastness, and virtuous orientation of many Christians, so too does he locate them and their interactions within Roman imperial power.

Taken altogether, the narrative of book 7 appears as wide-ranging as the Roman world in the third-century CE. The overview map below shows a visual representation of what Eusebius identified as sites important to the history of Christianity in the mid third-century CE (see Figure 18 below).

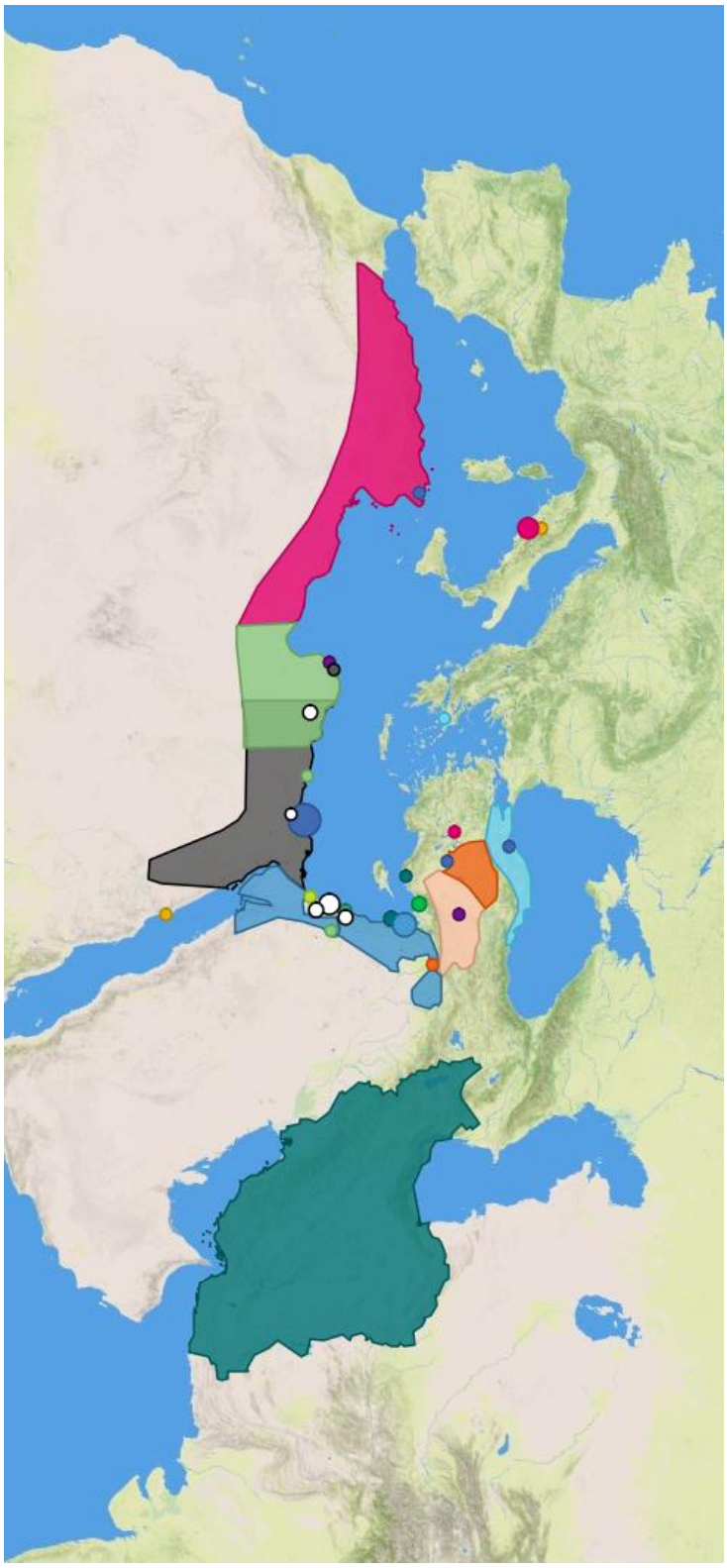

Figure 18: Annotation of locations in book 7. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.

Each filled in polygon on the map above represents a geographical *region* identified in the text (e.g. Persia, Egypt, or Africa), whereas each circle represents a particular *city* identified. The relative size of each circle corresponds to the frequency of that city's annotations (i.e. a larger circle indicates that a particular place was mentioned several times). Each polygon represents a region mentioned and its frequency in the text is indicated by relative levels of transparency (i.e. a more opaque polygon indicates that a particular region was mentioned several times). These symbols depict all geographic locations annotated in book 7, aside from Anatolia (1), Cephro (5), and Kollouthion (1). The locations for these tags could not be verified through linked open data in the Recogito platform.

The breadth of the geographic scope Eusebius employs in book 7 is readily visible in the map above. Even though most of the cities named play minor roles in the narrative, naming them helped Eusebius to include a sizeable portion of the Roman world in his description of power relationships in book 7, thereby reinforcing his universal narrative. Samosata and Carthage are the furthest locations on the east-west axis, respectively and are each named a single time in book 7. Likewise, the city located furthest south, Berenike, is named only once. Rome, the northernmost city of book 7, however, is employed 16 times throughout the book. As a result, the northwest quarter of the Roman empire is entirely neglected in book 7, as is all of Greece, despite the political activity that took place in these areas during the mid-third-century CE.[139]

Understanding the geographic scope of book 7 requires acknowledging not only its breadth, but also the significance of each city measured in terms of frequency in contributing

[139] For more on this point, see Chapter 2.

to the narrative. Figure 19 below contains a map similar to the overview map provided in Figure 18, but showcases the frequency of annotations related to any given location in book 7.

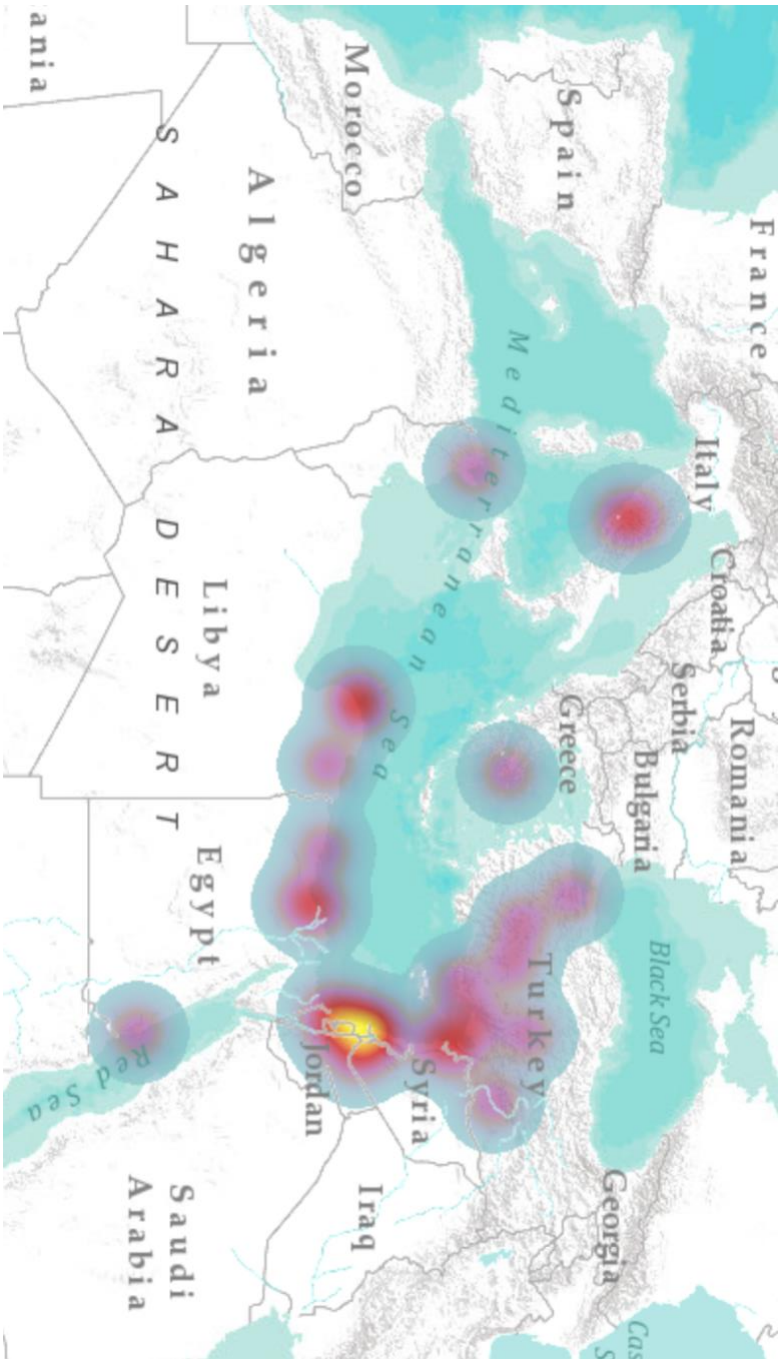

Figure 19. Annotation of locations in book 7, analyzed through a “Heat Map” analysis in Esri’s ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map".

As a rule, Eusebius excluded the western half of the Roman empire from his narrative, with a handful of exceptions—Rome being the most notable. Instead, Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean serve as prominent loci for his narrative of persecution in book 7. This choice demonstrates Eusebius's bias of place in his framing of Christian history, at least during the second half of the third-century CE. This bias of place is also evidenced in the selection of literary sources Eusebius employs. Eusebius certainly had access to texts from the Roman west, but pertinent Latin works (e.g. letters from Cyprian of Carthage) that could have contributed to the narrative are simply not included.[140] Arguments that Eusebius lacked skills in reading Latin should be scrutinized carefully given the legacy of Latin in Caesarea (described in Chapter 2).

The networks formed throughout book 7 rely heavily on Dionysius of Alexandria. Indeed, we might expect Alexandria to be the focus given Eusebius's reliance on Dionysius's of Alexandria letters to build his narrative of persecution. The networks included in book 7, however, demonstrate Eusebius using authorial choice in selecting which networks to include or to elide. Instead of replicating networks that Dionysius used, Eusebius used Dionysius' letters in two ways: first, to geographically connect regions or cities important for developing episcopal networks pertinent to the early fourth-century CE and to Eusebius's overarching aims, second, Dionysius of Alexandria was important model for the Alexandrian-Caesarean tradition of which Eusebius himself was a part. Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria (ca 200-260s CE) was a well-respected member of the church and studied under Origen in Alexandria.

[140] Andrew Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 312. Carriker also shows that Eusebius had access to and used works from the west (e.g. Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, and Hippolytus) though more Greek than Latin works were employed.

Eusebius shared this intellectual heritage and flaunted its continuity in his work as bishop, historian, and intellectual at the library in Caesarea. In effect, Dionysius was a trusted and reasonable source for Eusebius to use in creating his narrative of imperial power and Christians' place in it during the mid-third-century CE. So even though we might expect Eusebius to anchor his narrative through a Palestinian perspective of persecution, he chooses to retain Dionysius's sense of place (even if he manipulates the networks themselves), anchoring the narrative in Alexandria. Using ORBIS, we can develop an idea of how Alexandria was connected to other frequently named locations in book 7.

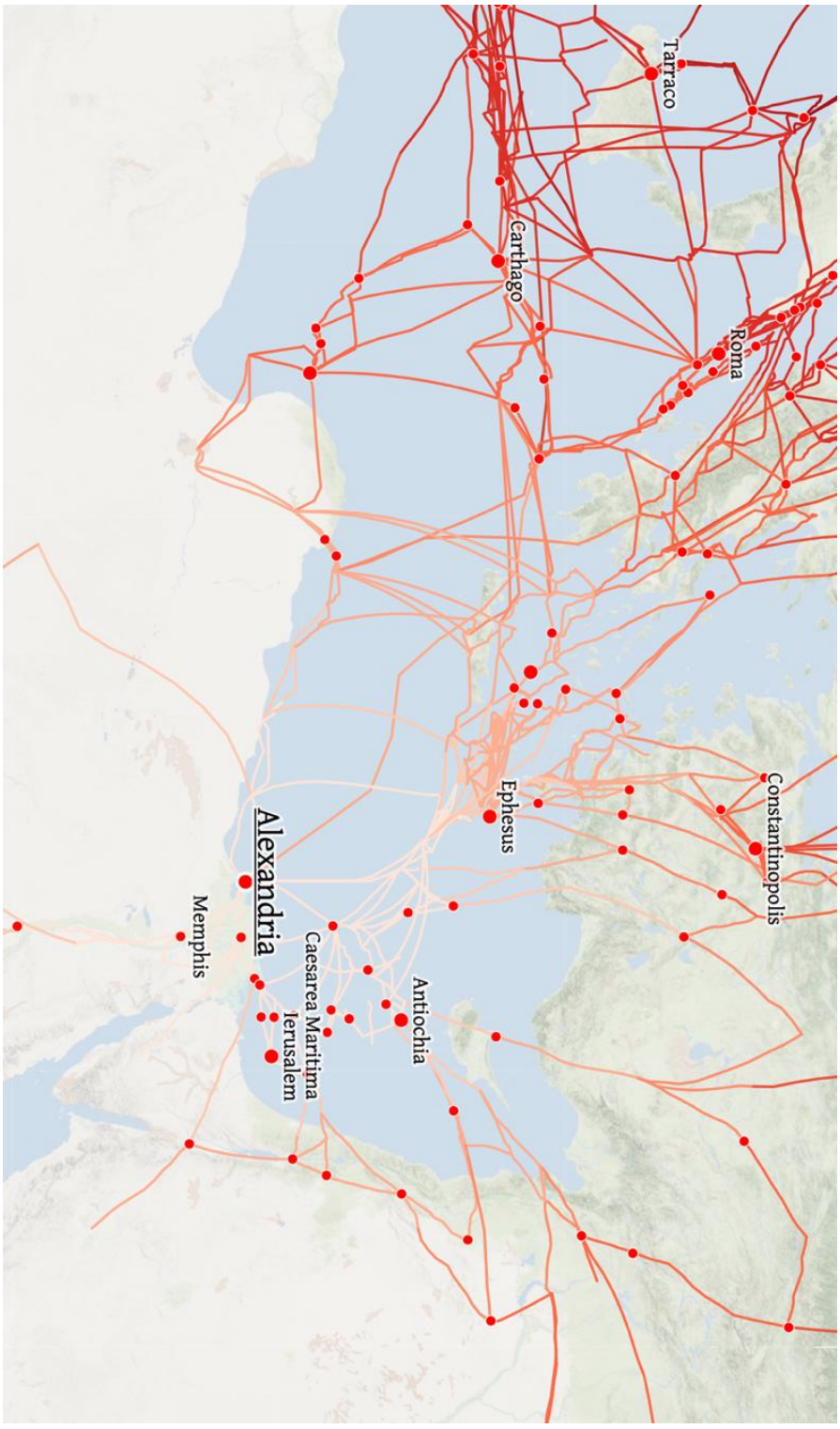

Figure 20. Map made through ORBIS. From Alexandria in Summer. Priority: Fastest. (36km\day). Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

The cartographic map above depicts the relative time it would require to travel to other roman cities from Alexandria during the summer. This map shows, as we might assume, that Alexandria was more readily connected to Roman cities in the east than those in the west. Antioch, Caesarea, and Jerusalem were quickly traveled to, whereas Carthage, Rome, and Constantinople would have required significantly longer travel times in a journey from Alexandria. While the time necessary for goods and people to travel to Carthage, Rome, or Constantinople would make it more difficult for Dionysius to receive updated information about a large portion of the empire (i.e. the northern and western portions), quick access to the eastern Mediterranean seaboard would have made it relatively easy to learn about life on the eastern coast.

Eusebius's preference for the east included non-Roman areas as well, as he references places such as Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. In book 7, their role in Eusebius's narrative was largely connected to the Christian network as places either originating heresy (e.g. Manichaeanism), or places unified after the Novation controversy. Interestingly, eastern Roman provinces were not included in the narrative to discuss the political crises that befell the eastern Mediterranean during the time period covered in book 7. For example, Eusebius quickly glossed over Valerian's capture by the Sassanians in 260 CE, and completely neglected any mention of the Palmyrene kingdom.

The neglect of Palmyrene control of the eastern Mediterranean (see Chapter 2) further demonstrates Eusebius's authorial choices in his crafting the universalizing narrative of the events of the mid third-century CE. On the one hand, Eusebius includes biographical data in book 7. It is this reference that guides scholars in determining a date for Eusebius's birth (i.e.

some time between 260-265 CE). Book 7, in other words, covers the early years of Eusebius' lifetime up to his adulthood—his formative years. On the other, he excludes a major series of events that would have impacted the community's climate at Caesarea. Though the Palmyrene Empire was short lived, it controlled nearly all the territory Eusebius named in book 7 for at least a handful of years, making their rule a political reality for Eusebius's early years and for those events he discusses in book 7. Even if Eusebius did not actively engage with this information as a child, the military caravans and imperial propaganda would have been present in his community and the experience would likely be preserved through collective memory. However, Eusebius skillfully wrote over such political turmoil even when he has the prime opportunity to, e.g. the deposition of Paul of Samoata. As Schott argues,

> Paul of Samosata, deposed by a synod in 268/9, may have been able to retain control of church buildings in Antioch thanks to Antioch coming under Palmyrene control; the orthodox were able to dislodge him only after 272, when they appealed to a victorious Aurelian.[141]

Though Eusebius includes Paul's controversial leadership as a topic for discussion, he chooses to focus on the networks in Dionysius' letter concerning Paul and to elide the political power at play in such moves.

While Eusebius used letters to highlight certain events and controversies, he also used letters to frame networks of Christians. Even though Eusebius often used the contents of collected letters and attributed them to their rightful authors, he often also chose to include

[141] See Schott, trans. (2019), 339.

and list the recipients of those letters and their locations as well. Oftentimes, Eusebius's inclusion of letters and listing associated clerics "seem to elevate the fact of epistolary contact to a more important status than the content of the letters being exchanged."[142] Mining the *History* for named people has often been used to trace Eusebius's networks and access to material.[143] The locational affiliations of these clerics (e.g. Paul *of Samosata)* as aspect of geography, however, are just as important to consider.

In order to build more context for this analysis, we will now turn to the contents of book 8. Book 8 marks a shift in the chronological scope of the narrative. Whereas books 1 through 7 described events before and in the earliest years of Eusebius's life, book 8 begins documentation of "the affairs of our own time".[144] Book 8 describes acts of persecution under Diocletian. In this book, Eusebius advises the reader that instead of recounting every act endured, he has chosen particular martyr stories as pedagogical tools for his audience.[145] This framework highlights premier examples of Christian suffering and leadership and revolves around networks that Eusebius himself worked, avoided, or created.[146] Before assessing the data collected from this chapter, a brief overview of its contents is necessary.

---

[142] David J. DeVore, "Character and Convention," *Journal of Late* Antiquity 7.2 (Fall 2014): 325.

[143] Andrew Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[144] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.Prooimion. Note that book even technically starts the discussion of events during Eusebius's lifetime; however, 7 begins before his birth and in years too early in Eusebius's life for him to articulate through his own words. The translations in this chapter are (currently) from Schott, trans. (2019).

[145] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.2.3.

[146] For more on how early Christian networks were sustained, see Cavan Concannon, *Assembling Early Christianity: Trade, Networks, and the Letters of Dionysius of Corinth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). doi:10.1017/9781108155373.

Building on the end of book 7's discussion of prominent Christian men in Africa and the eastern Mediterranean, book 8 claims that Christians were widely respected not only as local church and lay leaders, but also as government officials, with Christian men and women living and working even within imperial households.[147] This also coincides with Gallienus' legalizing Christianity. Not only were Christians well respected and holding prominent positions, but they were also free to speak openly—which resulted in the church growing not only by increasing members, but also by undertaking new, expansive building projects.[148] According to Eusebius, this period of incredible security and growth brought out the worst attitudes amid Christian circles, leading to persecution first among members of the army before expanding more broadly throughout the empire-wide community.[149] The opening of this book partially overlapped, and provided a different perspective on, the events and years discussed in book 7. Both narratives (i.e. the end of book 7 and the beginning of book 8), however, frame a sympathetic attitude towards Christians who endured the persecution of Diocletian, which affected Eusebius personally.

In 303 CE, Diocletian officially became involved with persecuting Christians when he ordered the destruction of churches buildings and associated writings, that Christians holding status should be stripped of it, and that Christians in imperial households should be deprived of liberty if they persisted in their dedication to Christianity.[150] Diocletian's

---

[147] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.1.1-3.

[148] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.1.5-6.

[149] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.1.7. Schott, trans. (2019), 396n5 dates the beginning of Eusebius's described persecution in the army to 299 CE.

[150] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.2.4.

persecution was such a focal point in the *History* that Eusebius dedicated most of book 8 to describing martyrdoms and sufferings of Christians throughout the Christian community during this time, with a focus on those in Nicomedia, Imperial Households, Phoenicia, Tyre, the Thebaid, Alexandria,[151] Phrygia, as well as other notable men and women, and bishops[152]. The last portion of chapter 13 along with the next two chapters (14 & 15) discuss imperial turmoil and described emperors in either good or bad ways in the same way Eusebius crafted these character portraits in the earlier books of the *History*. The waning of the persecution—a result Galerius' falling ill—is narrated in chapter 16, while chapter 17 describes the formal retraction of persecution by quoting an imperial letter. Some manuscript versions are appended with a concluding chapter, which further describes imperial matters.[153]

Even though books 7 and 8 set out to discuss Christian suffering, the geographical focus of book 8 narrows. There are fewer geographic locations provided in book 8. Throughout book 8, Eusebius mentions a geographical location (either a specific city or an entire region) 58 times, though—as in book 7—several locations are repeatedly employed in the narrative (see Table 4 below).

[151] For Nicomedia (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.5), for Imperial Households (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.6), for Phoenicia (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.7), for Tyre (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.8), for the Thebaid (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.9), and for Alexandria (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.10). These accounts are narrated by quoting a letter of Phileas at length.

[152] For Phrygia (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.11), notable men and women (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.12), and for bishops (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 8.13). Pamphilus is included in this list in performing his role as martyr.

[153] Schott, trans. (2019), 421nn56-57. The appended chapter appears in manuscripts AER and Schott's footnote describes the differences.

Table 4. Book 8 Place Annotations

Place Name	**# Number of Times Annotated**
Alexandria | Nicomedia	7
Antioch | Rome	6
Egypt | Thebaid	4
Phoenice | Tyre	3
Emesa | Palestine | Phrygia	2
Africa | Arabia | Caesarea Maritima | Cappadocia | Gaza | Melitene | Mesopotamia | Phaino | Ponuts | Sidon | Syria | Thmuites	1

The table above displays the number of times a particular city was named (and thus annotated) in book 8. The city of Alexandria continues to play a prominent role and is joined by Nicomedia as a center for activities of persecution. The next most frequently mentioned cities, Antioch (the administrative center of the *Oriens* under Diocletian's Tetrarchy) and Rome (a historically important capital of the Roman world) also played prominent roles as cities of Roman power. These major cities set the framework for localizing Roman power and are juxtaposed to the more numerous sites of martyr narratives. In this way, though most of the activity of book 8 is located in the east, the locations of the wide-ranging seats of power imply that actions / sentiments / intentions against Christians were universally held. Locations not used as seats of imperial power in book 8 largely serve to host martyr scenes.

Aside from the region of Africa (1) and the city of Rome (6), Eusebius converges his narrative in book 8 on the eastern Mediterranean world. The overview map below shows a visual representation of what Eusebius identifies as the world full of martyrdom in the early fourth-century CE (see Figure 21 below).

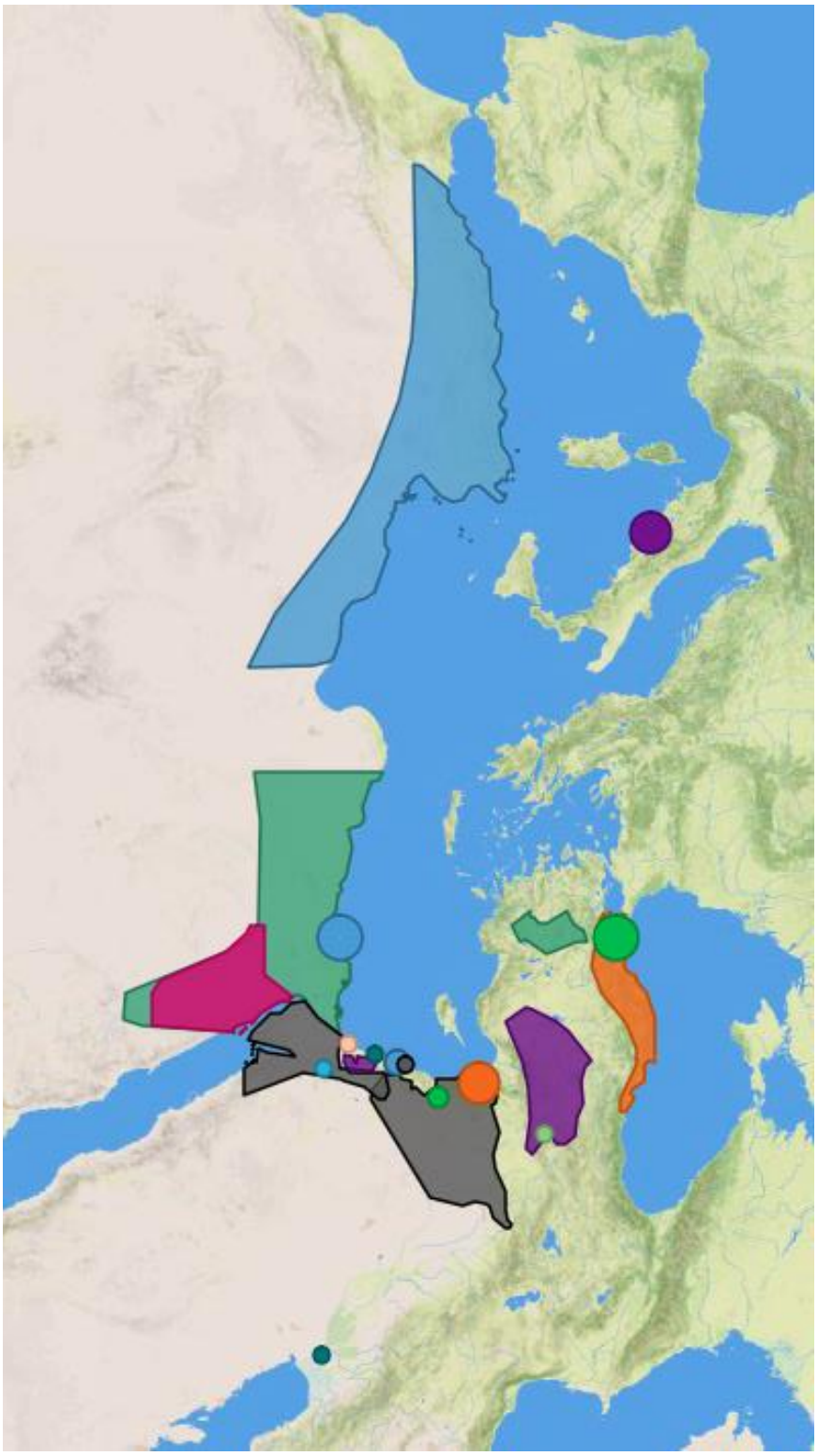

Figure 21. Annotation of locations in book 8. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.

Each filled in polygon on the map above represents a geographical region identified in the text (e.g. Africa, Egypt), whereas each circle represents a particular city identified. The relative size of each circle corresponds to the frequency of that city's annotations (i.e. a larger circle indicates that a particular place was mentioned several times). Each polygon represents a region mentioned and its frequency in the text is indicated by relative levels of transparency (i.e. a more opaque polygon indicates that a particular region was mentioned several times). These symbols depict all geographic locations annotated in book 8, aside from Thmuites (1). The GIS location for this tag could not be verified through linked open data in the Recogito platform.

Eusebius' focus on eastern Mediterranean cities is apparent from the map above, but can be emphasized by visualizing the data in an alternative way. By creating a map that emphasizes the frequency of annotations for each city, we can see how vital eastern cities were to framing Christian persecution on Eusebius' terms. Figure 22 below displays a map similar to the overview map of book 8 provided in Figure 21, but showcases the frequency of annotations related to all locations named in book 8.

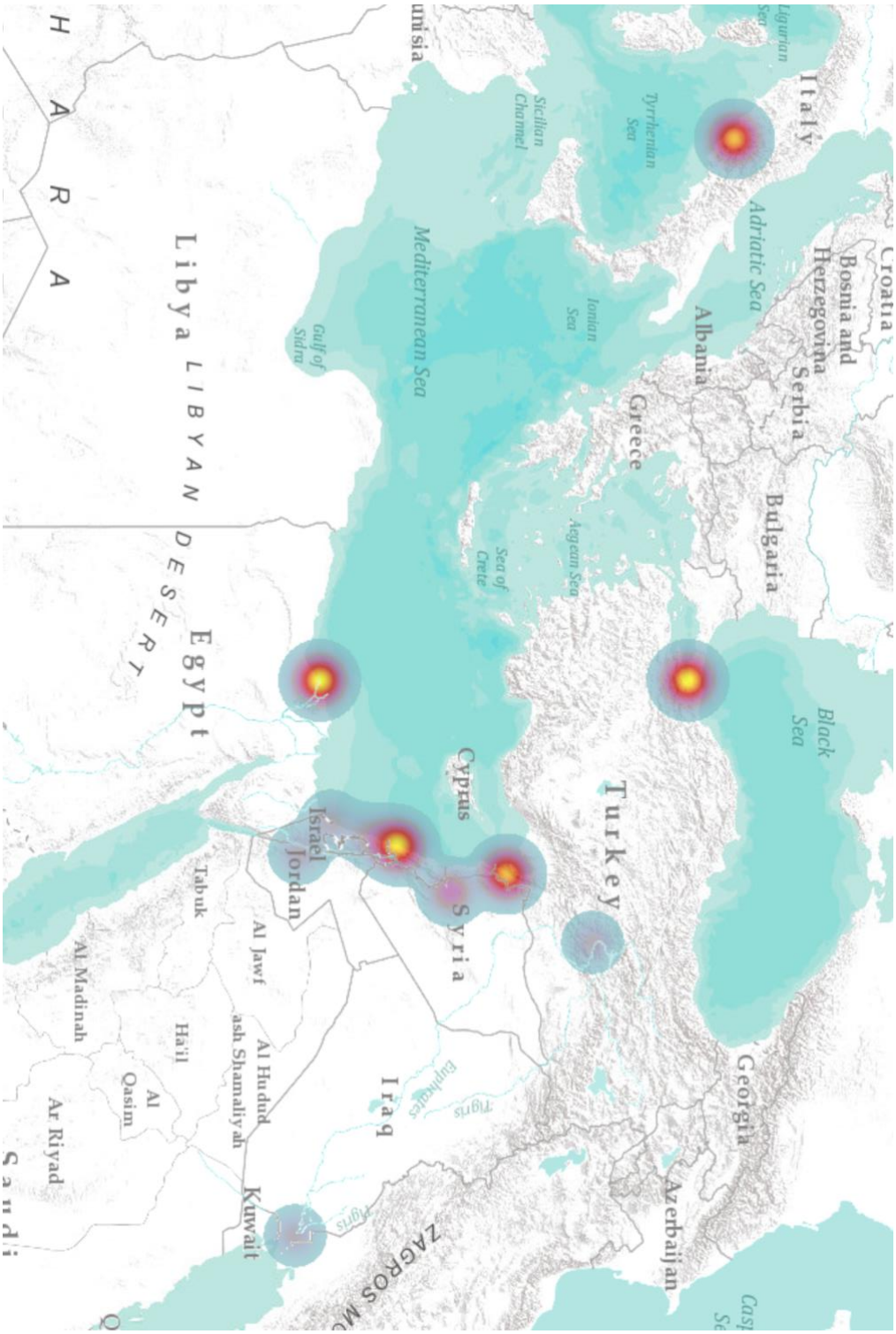

Figure 22. Annotations of cities in book 8, analyzed through a "Heat Map" analysis in Esri's ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map".

The map above (Figure 22) displays the strong pull of book 8 to eastern Mediterranean cities, and differs from the map of book 7 in significant ways. Nicomedia, which was never mentioned by name in book 7, takes center stage alongside Alexandria as a locus for activity, and especially as a locus of persecution. Eusebius relied on far fewer texts to build his narrative. In fact, there are only two (lengthy) direct quotations from other sources; the first being from Phileas' letters mentioned above, and the second being the translation of the imperial letter of Galerius. For comparison, book 7 contains 33 lengthy quotations. The geographical annotations in book 8 give us a good picture of Eusebius' limited, personal networks as they may have existed independently from other important networks (e.g. those of Dionysius on display in book 7).

Because the bulk of book 8 focuses on Diocletian's persecution, which affected the eastern empire more than the western empire, the shift in focus here should not be surprising. This shift does, however play an important role in building Eusebius's own networks. As Eusebius builds the geographical components of persecution, so too does he populate this ideal image throughout the community during this time, with a focus on those in Roman east.

To show how Eusebius' network relates to Mediterranean networks outside of the framework of the *History*, we can explore Late Ancient networks through ORBIS. Using Caesarea Maritima as the center node of the network, we can use the map (and associated data) below to learn about how the city was connected with other major players in book 8 outside of Eusebius's distinct perspective and aims.

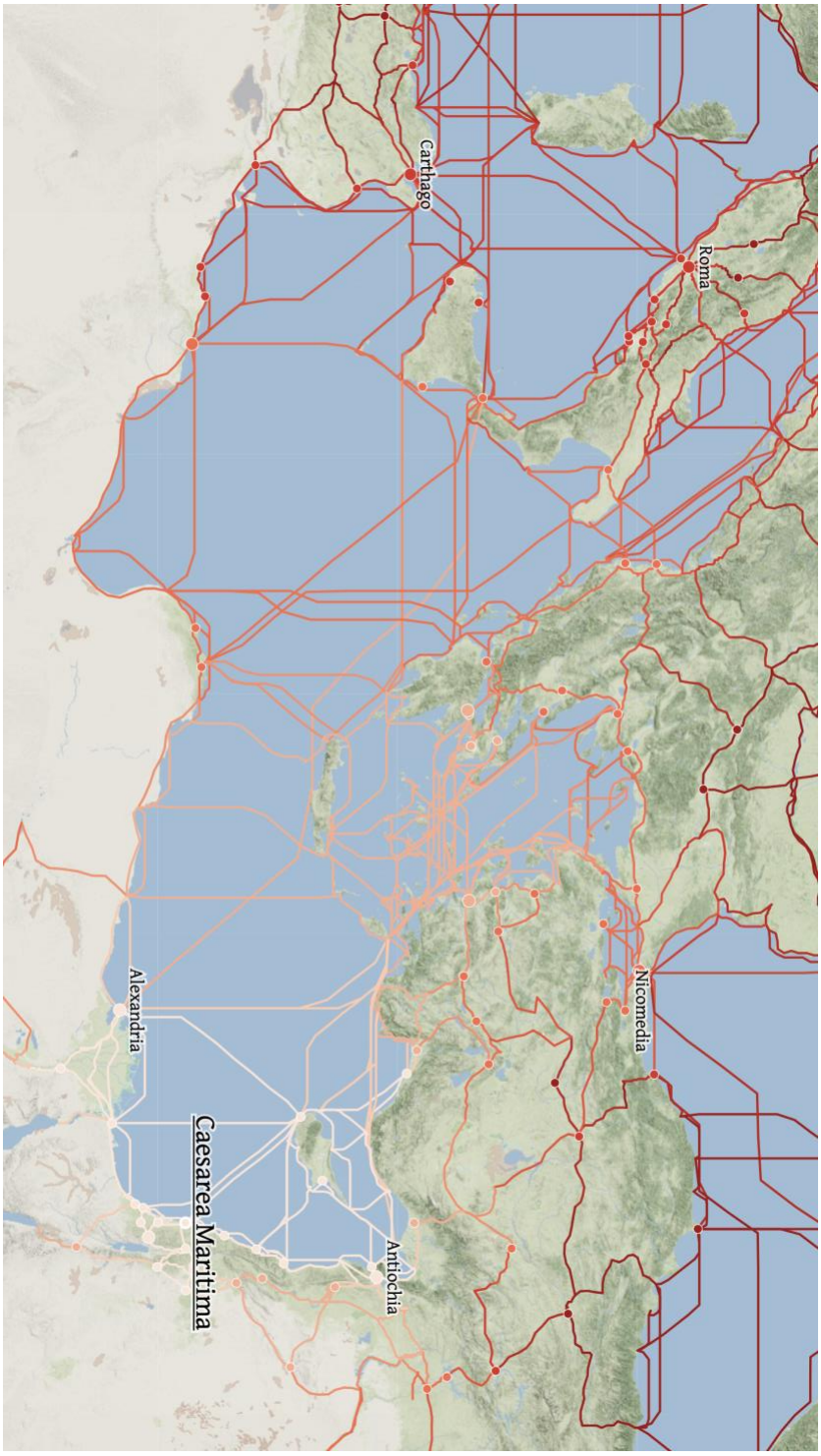

Figure 23. Book 8 routes from Caesarea Maritima with frequently cited cities. Map made through ORBIS. Scheidel, W. and Meeks, E. (May 2, 2012). ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World. Retrieved Fri May 08 2020, from http://orbis.stanford.edu.

This network diagram provided by ORBIS gives us insight into how Caesarea Maritima (and thus Eusebius) might have operated within average pan-Mediterranean networks. Routes from Caesarea Maritima are color coded. Lighter paths indicate the quickest travel routes. Conversely, increasingly darker paths indicate lengthier travel times. There are four cities frequently cited in book 8, Alexandria, Antioch, Nicomedia, and Rome. Travel to Alexandria from Caesarea Maritima would take about 6.1 days, and would cost about 0.61 denarii per kilogram of wheat.[154] Travel to Antioch from Caesarea Maritima would take about 4.6 days, and would cost about 1.2 denarii per kilogram of wheat.[155] Travel to Nicomedia from Caesarea Maritima would take about 18.9 days, and would cost about 4.64 denarii per kilograms of wheat.[156] Finally travel from Caesarea Maritima to the city of Rome would take about 25.8 days, and would cost 4.1 denarii per kilogram of wheat.[157]

The cities included in book 8 are on the nearest nor the cheapest routes from Caesarea Maritima. In fact, they represent a wide range of possibilities out of Caesarea from which people and goods traveled. Goods (and information) would quickly travel along the northbound coastal routes (i.e. to Antioch and Nicomedia), but would travel more cheaply

---

[154] Walter Scheidel and Elijah Meeks, ORBIS: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World (website) http://orbis.stanford.edu (Data calculated with routed from Caesarea Maritima to Alexandria departing in Summer, with the priority set to the fastest route).

[155]Scheidel and Meeks (2012). (Data calculated with routed from Caesarea Maritima to Antioch departing in Summer, with the priority set to the fastest route).

[156] Scheidel and Meeks (2012). (Data calculated with routed from Caesarea Maritima to Nicomedia departing in Summer, with the priority set to the fastest route).

[157] Scheidel and Meeks (2012). (Data calculated with routed from Caesarea Maritima to Rome departing in Summer, with the priority set to the fastest route).

through coastal routes (i.e. to Alexandria and Rome).[158] In sum, these cities represent virtually average connections to Caesarea Maritima outside of the *History*; however, within the *History*, they serve integral roles as nodes in Eusebius's networks.

Eusebius also slowed the pace of the narrative of book 8, covering little over a decade—whereas book 7 covered several decades (a period of about 50 years). This shift forces the reader to focus intensely on imperial persecution, as the narrative simultaneously limits the geographical components of ideal Christian (in)action. In addition, Eusebius uses the dual-natured focus of his argument (imperial vs. religious actions and actors) to universalize the martyr stories in book 8. While using the framework of ruling emperors and the terrors they inflict (seemingly universally) throughout the empire, Eusebius offers only examples of that imperial wrath through case studies in Syria Palaestina. Moreover, in some of those exempla, recognizable names (whom we can identify based on context clues) are kept out of the work—elevating the importance of the location of such activity instead of focusing on the legacy and influence of a particular person.

While proffering martyr exempla, Eusebius elides many of the political and cultural realities for which Christians throughout the empire were blamed.[159] To be clear, these shifts were choices the Eusebius employed to craft a narrative contingent on his own experience, education, and affiliations. None of these shifts were necessary—as source material or other

[158]Scheidel and Meeks (2012). Average denarii per day using ORBIS calculations: Alexandria: .1 denarii per day Antioch: .26 denarii per day Nicomedia: .25 denarii per day Rome: .16 denarii per day.

[159] For more on this see Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and the Great Persecution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012) and J. Schott, *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

frameworks were available for him to include and use at will. This trend is further evidenced in book 9.

Book 9 expands the *History* by a period of only a few years, 311 to 313 CE. Eusebius uses the chapter not only to described the sense of unease that Christians had after re-adjusting to life "after" persecution, but also the hardships that Christians (and everyone, in fact) continued to endure: famine, plague, and war. In effect, Eusebius characterizes this period as one of instability as imperial actors vied for power. Eventually, Licinius and Constantine take their roles at the head of the empire.

Before beginning the analysis of book 9, I will provide a more detailed overview of the books' contents. The book opens by recalling Galerius' letter (translated from Latin in book 8), but gives more detail on how and why Maximinus kept that letter hidden from public view, and offered informal instructions to his subordinates to lessen the persecution instead.[160] Sabinus, an eminent prefect, however, clarified the senior emperors' position in a letter widely distributed in Latin.[161] Eusebius tells us that this letter effectively brought Christians home from the mines, back into public view, and restored them to pre-persecution activities.[162]

According to Eusebius, however, Maximinus had not intended to let up on the persecution of Christians and only allowed their suffering to be suspended for six months before instigating trouble once more. He employed tactics similar to Diocletian's during the

---

[160] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.1.1.

[161] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.1.2-6. Schott, trans. (2019), 431n6 notes that this letter is only included in manuscripts ATER, but not in BDM or the Syriac version.

[162] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.1.8-11.

persecution a few years earlier.[163] Most effectively, Maximinus persuaded city officials to file formal complaints against Christians so that he could effectively ban them from complainant cities and reignite the hardships put in place previously.[164] Eusebius used these actions to frame more martyr stories before returning to Maximinus' actions against Christians.[165]

In response to Maximinus's reply to petitions against the Christians (which Eusebius quotes at length,[166] Eusebius describes famine, plague, and war with the Armenians.[167] Just as Maximinus's rescript detailed the amount of good favor the gods showed on cities that promoted correct praise of the gods, Eusebius narrated the results of Maximinus's policies through gory descriptions of death, starvation, and physical ailments. The competing narratives are juxtaposed by setting Maximinus's beliefs and written words in contrast to Eusebius' descriptive reports of the hardships. The description of the general unsettled state of affairs plays a role in reminding the reader of Dionysius's account of the revolt of Aemilianus in Alexandria and the city's subsequent hardships from book 7.

Maxentius's defeat at the hands of Constantine at the Battle of Milvian Bridge sets the tone for the remainder of book 9. It is likely, as VanDam has recently shown, that Eusebius's source of Constantine's victory over Maxentius was based on a panegyric source

---

[163] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.2.

[164] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.3-4.

[165] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.5-7.

[166] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.7.3-13.

[167] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.8.

from the West, though no formal quotation of the text appears in book 9.[168] Eusebius describes the defeat before presenting a letter authored by Maximinus and addressed to Sabinus.[169] In the letter, Maximinus urged officials *only* to persuade and urge Christians to participate in the worship of traditional gods, but not to harass or harm them if they chose not to listen and follow tradition accordingly. Eusebius sees frames letter as an instance of Maximinus's forced hand to gain the trust and fellowship of Licinius and Constantine, rather than a letter written from genuine concern.[170] The framing of the letter elides a previous alliance with Constantine as well.

The rest of book 9 frames Eusebius's characterization of good (Licinius and Constantine) and bad (Maximinus) emperors. After Eusebius describes how Maximinus continued to waver in his actions against Christians, Maximinus died confessing on his deathbed.[171] The final chapter of book 9 fully explains the bad deeds and men associated with Maximinus and leaves Licinius and Constantine in uncontested charge of the empire and its well-being.[172] These events bring the narrative to 313 CE.

Book 9's limited chronological range (in fact, it covers a period of three years) is important to Eusebius's overall project. The choice to limit the amount of time covered in

---

[168] See Ray VanDam, "A Lost Panegyric: The Source for Eusebius of Caesarea's Description of Constantine's Victory and Arrival in Rome in 312" *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 27.2 (Summer 2019): 211-240.

[169] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.9a.

[170] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 9.10-12.

[171] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.7-14. Schott, trans. (2019), 450n50 notes that the narrative about Maximinus's death parallels those of Agrippa and Herod, who appear in earlier books of the *History*.

[172] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 11.3-8.

book 9 allows Eusebius to dwell on his arguments for good and bad emperors that he laid the groundwork for in previous books. In addition, the narrow chronological framework in this book gives Eusebius ample time to construct a portrait of Maximinus as a leader almost obsessed with ensuring that Christians had a tough time under his rule rather than as a leader dedicated to ensuring that ancient customs were followed. In this way, the narrative is focused on imperial power and incorporates cities that best hold it.

Few geographic places are named in book 9. Eusebius lists a geographical location only 22 times (compared with 142 places in book 7 and 58 places in book 8). Some of these 22 instances represent locations that Eusebius employed repeatedly in the narrative (as was the case in books 7 and 8). Table 5 below gives a breakdown of each annotated place.

Table 5. Annotations of place names in Book 9.

Place Name	**#of Times Annotated**
Antioch	6
Rome	5
Nicomedia, Armenia, Egypt	2
Damascus, Tyre, Alexandria, Asia, Emesa	1

The choice to ground the narrative within imperial cities of the Roman world created not only the backdrop to Eusebius' characterization of emperors, but at the same time worked to lift Christians off of the map. In book 9, the Christian community is largely silent. Imperial acts (e.g. rescripts, struggles for power, and network building) are grounded in localized and named cities. We get glimpses of Christian experience through a bird's eye view, ever present but hard to localize. And even when Eusebius turns from using Christian suffering as exempla, his narrative continues to converge on the Roman East. Eusebius's Alexandrian-Caesarean intellectual lineage likewise takes a back seat to imperial bickering in book 9. In

fact, Eusebius' own town disappears (by name) in book 9 as well. The rhetorical nature of grounding imperial acts in Mediterranean geography while simultaneously disconnecting Christian suffering from it is not lost on the reader and only becomes more powerful when read as the bridge between books 7 and 8 with 10.

By visualizing the annotated geographical locations in book 9, the map below shows the drastic contraction of Eusebius's focus. This representation is a stark contrast to the narrative we began with in book 7.

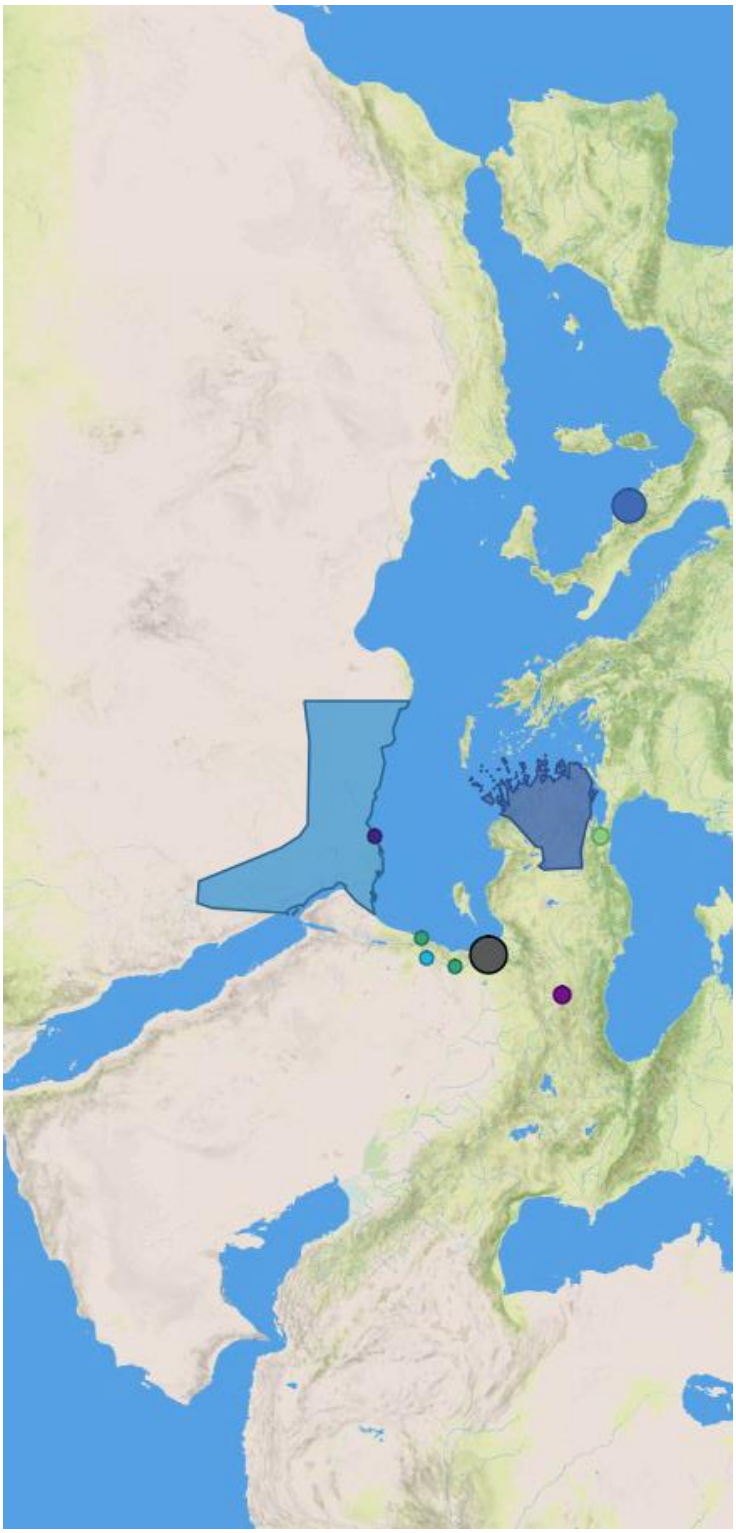

Figure 24. Annotation of locations in book 9. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.

As before, each filled in polygon on the map represents a geographical region identified in the text and each circle represents a particular city identified. The relative size of each circle and relative levels of each polygon's transparency correspond to the frequency of that location's annotations (i.e. a larger circle indicates that a particular place was mentioned several times and a more opaque polygon indicates that a particular region was mentioned several times). These symbols depict all geographic locations annotated in book 8, aside from Thmuites (1).[173] The GIS location for this tag could not be verified through linked open data in the Recogito platform.

The map above displays the limited range of places discussed in book 9. It continues to show a limited geographical scope of the *History*. Regions included in book 9 are annotated minimally, with Egypt and Armenia annotated twice and Asia annotated a single time. Asia is included only in relation to the circulation of the Edict of Toleration, which was introduced in book 8. Antioch remains at the center of book 9 as the administrative capital of the *Oriens* along with Rome. The map below (Figure 25) depicts the same circumstances although the regions named have been taken out.

[173] Note that Armenia (a region) is identified with a circle—this is a rendering of the Pelagios data and cannot be remedied at this time.

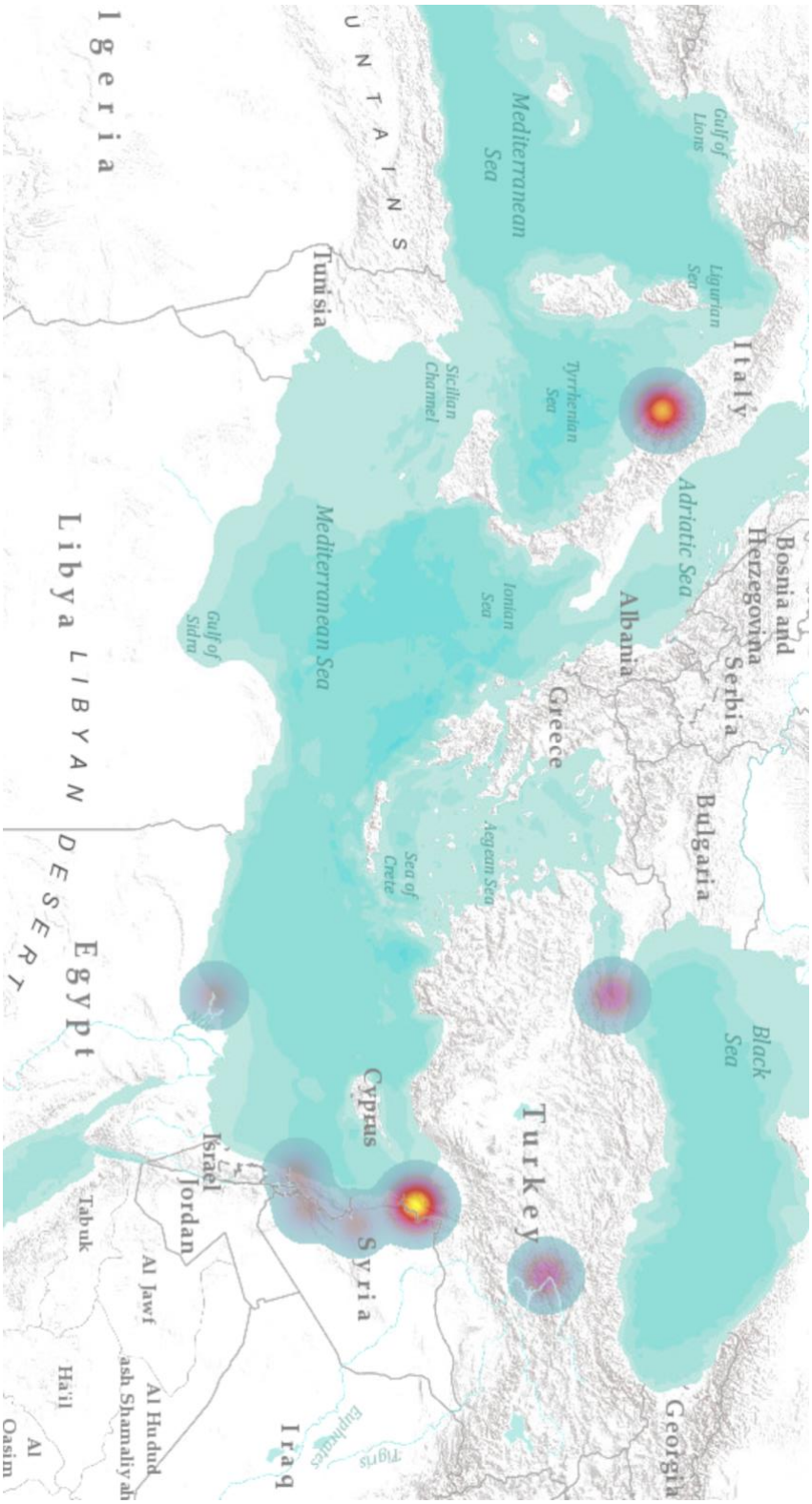

Figure 25. Annotations of locations in book 9, analyzed through a "Heat Map" analysis in Esri's ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map".

Figure 25 shows how Eusebius used book 9 to position Antioch and Rome as central nodes of Roman networks. Not only do they function as imperial seats of power, they are also completely populated by (soon-to-be) emperors or people in relationships with them.[174] The goals of the *History* (to lay out the succession of apostles and to relate the hardships suffered by Christians) are certainly met in book 9, but in a different way than previously achieved. The Christian community in this book plays the sole role of (often-unnamed) martyrs. The change in assigning Christians a singular role is a distinct shift, as earlier books described Christians holding a multitude of roles such as letter writers, as debate solvers, or as traveling teachers described in books before. The choice to dislocate his community from their geography is an interesting one, right as the narrative turns to focus on the success of Constantine.[175] If the *History* ended here, Eusebius would have left us with a distinct and increasing focus on the Eastern Mediterranean. Eusebius, however, leaves us with an outlier.

Book 10 is, in many ways, an outlier to the rest of the *History*. Not only does Eusebius's tone and style differ from the rest of the corpus, but the book was written much later than previous ones and is teeming with lengthy quotations, either in the form of Eusebius's panegyric or as copies of imperial ordinances/letters. Comprised of 9 chapters, book 10 is the shortest book of the *History*. Eusebius also uniquely dedicates this book (to

[174] Only those affiliated with the Roman imperial system (i.e. emperors and their agents) are named more than one time throughout book 9. The frequency of named individuals is as follows: Maximinus (16), Constantine (7), Licinius (6), Theotecnus (4), Maxentius (3), Pilate and Sabinus (2), and Culcianus, Diocletian, Lucian, Maximian, Peter, Peucetius, Silvanus, Zeus Philios (1). The removal of church-affiliated agents is particularly striking in book 9 when compared to the church actors vital to the narrative in books 7 and 8.

[175] We must keep in mind the history of the editions here. Eusebius couldn't forsee Constantine's victory, but was able to revisit his work and tailor it to Constantine's success story. Taking the narrative of the *History* at face value, and as a transmitted whole, however, we can look at the rhetorical work this move does even if earlier versions differed.

Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre, for whom Eusebius wrote and delivered the included panegyric). Most importantly, book 10 carries the explicit aims of the text (to narrate the succession of bishops and to record hardships) to completion. The succession of bishops leads to Constantine's victory (as an emperor who listens to and treats Christians well) and the hardships endured by the community come to an end as a result of Licinius (short-lived) and Constantine's successful campaign for imperial power.

Taking time to understand the details of book 10 will emphasize its odd nature in comparison to books 7 through 9. The contents of book 10 also tie up loose ends in regards to geographical coverage. Book 10 opens with accounts of Christians regaining their former lives. Eusebius describes celebrating of festivals, reopening of churches, and meetings of bishops.[176] Eusebius then includes his speech, which was delivered to Paulinus of Tyre at a church dedication.[177] The second half of Book 10 provides copies of imperial letters and ordinances.

The first quotation in the second half of book 10 is an ordinance. This ordinance describes a conversation and ultimate decisions of Licinius and Constantine that come out of their meeting in Milan (often referred to as the Edict of Milan).[178] The edict allows all worship of the divine and gives Christians back any property (both collective [e.g. churches] and private [e.g. households]) previously taken away from the community—even at imperial expense.

---

[176] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.3.

[177] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.4. This long quote (it is over 70 sections long) comprises the first half of book 10.

[178] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.2-14.

Four letters are also included in the second half of book 10. The first letter is an imperial letter to Anulinus, who held the position of proconsul of Africa. Throughout the short letter, the emperors make clear that the imperial ordinance was to be carried out without delay. It emphasized:

> …if anything of that which belonged to the universal church of the Christians in each city and also in other places has been transferred and is now held in possession either by citizens or by any others, you should cause this to be restored immediately to the said church…be diligent that everything that has been transferred from the said churches' legal ownership—whether precincts, buildings, anything whatsoever—be completely restored to them as quickly as possible, that we may learn that you have given the most careful attention to this our order...[179]

In this letter, not only did the emperors restate their intentions for the return of property, but they also included a veiled warning to Anulinus that they were keeping track of his ability to follow imperial orders.

The second letter gives more context as to why Eusebius included the second letter (the letter to Anulinus) discussed above. Anulinus, it seemed, was attempting to follow the imperial rescript, but because of a schism growing between Christians, he was unable to determine which group of Christians to whom property should be returned. Though Eusebius did not include any response to Anulinus, the third letter indicated that Anulinus sent several

[179] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.16-17.

documents to Constantine in order to settle the debate.[180] Constantine decided and made clear in this letter that Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, and Mark ought to preside, along with Reticus, Maternus, and Marinus, over a hearing between Caecilian (plus 10 supportive colleagues) and the alternative faction in order to put an end to the disagreement.[181] The hearing was to take place in Rome with urgency.[182]

The third letter similarly deals with a schism among Christians, which Constantine was eager to quash. This letter of Constantine was addressed to Chrestus, Bishop of Syracuse, ordering him to attend what is now known as the Council of Arles on the Kalends of August, 314 CE.[183] The letter showed that even after meeting in Rome, the churches in Africa could not settle their dispute and required an additional hearing to decide the fate of each side. In this letter, Constantine granted Chrestus the use of the imperial transportation network, as facilitated through Domitius Latronianus—who was at the time corrector of Sicily, and who would eventually assume the role of proconsul of Africa.[184]

In letter four, Constantine wrote to Caecilian, Bishop of Carthage—who was introduced in our narrative two letters earlier. The letter indicated that Caecilian was to receive imperial money to distribute throughout Africa, Numidia, and Mauretania.[185] The money was allotted, either to individuals or individual offices (it is unclear from the letter),

---

[180] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.20.

[181] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.19.

[182] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.5.19.

[183] Euseb. *Hist. eccl*. 10.5.23.

[184] Euseb. *Hist. eccl*. 10.5.23. Schott, trans. (2019) 484nn102-103 for further context.

[185] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.*10.6.1.

by Hosius, Bishop of Cordoba, who held an influential position within Constantine's court. In any case, we can determine from this letter that Caecilian's faction was favored by the various councils and then was responsible to either correct, or enlist imperial offices to correct, any divergence in the Christian community in his area.[186]

The fifth, and final, letter included in book 10 discusses that clerics should be held exempt from public service. This letter was also addressed to Anulinus. It stated that clerics, who often spent their own resources on the church, would no longer be required to spend resource on public services/works as other elite men were required to.[187] The clerics' ensuring that divine matters be properly cared for was more important to imperial wellbeing, according to Constantine, than contributing to the general public as had previously been practiced.[188] The rest of book 10 described Licinius' turn from good to bad emperor and Constantine's subsequent defeat of him. In the last two chapters of the book, Amaseia and Pontus were named as places in which Lincinus practiced truly evil power: demolishing churches and either criminalizing bishops or killing them because he did not believe that they were praying on his behalf.

The letters included in book 10 likely came to Caesarea as a collection, preserving ecclesiastical matters of the West that Eusebius felt compelled to include in order to complete his view of the Roman world.[189] The Donatist schism, which originated in Carthage and

---

[186] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.6.4-5.

[187] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.7.2.

[188] Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 10.7.2.

[189] Schott, trans. (2019), 457.

quickly exposed differences throughout the church, figured prominently into the narrative in book 10 as well. However, Eusebius chose to focus on the imperial role of arbitrating these disputes rather than the theological debates present within the factions (we also saw this strategy in the narrative concerning Aurelian and Paul of Samosata in book 7). The letters concerning church property and imperial favor show Eusebius' interest in north African networks and their reverberations throughout the empire. The schism also gave Eusebius a good opportunity to expand networks.

The geographical focus of book 10 is heavily focused on the Roman west. I annotated 21 instances of places throughout book 10. The map below provides an overview of all places annotated in Book 10.

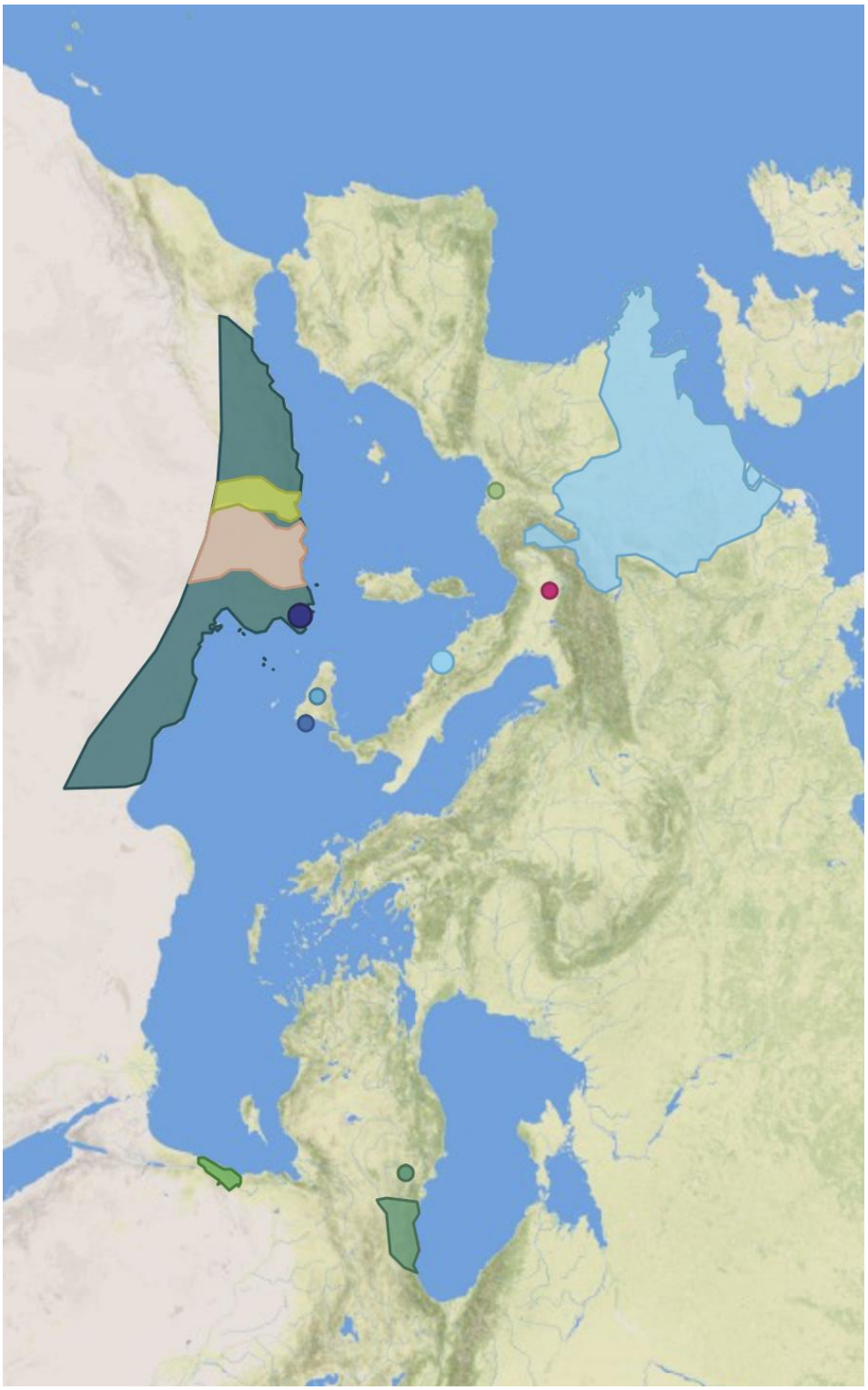

Figure 26. Annotations of locations in book 10. Map made through Recogito. Map via Recogito, an initiative of Pelagios Commons, http://recogito.pelagios.org/.

As the map shows, book 10 includes very few mentions of places in the east. Eusebius's hometown of Caesarea is excluded from book 10. Neither Antioch nor Alexandria plays a role in the narrative. Gaul is included in book 10 one time (in a discussion of clerics who should take part in determining orthodoxy). Table 6 below shows a breakdown of the annotated places in in book 10.

Table 6. Annotation Place Names

Place Name	**# of Times Annotated**
Africa	5
Lebanon	3
Carthage	2
Rome	2
Sicily | Amaseia | Milan | Pontus | Arles | Syracuse | Gaul | Mauretania | Numidia	1

Among the most frequently named places, Lebanon is only named in book 10's panegyric, which references Biblical figures and Lebanon in terms of a Biblical place (i.e. the references do not discuss contemporary places or persons). The rest of the narrative was geographically located in northwest Africa, a region that plays almost no role in books 7 through 9. The final version of the *History* adds geographical locations previously excluded from the narrative (in books 8 and 9) back into Eusebius's network system. Another visualization of book 10 is included below.

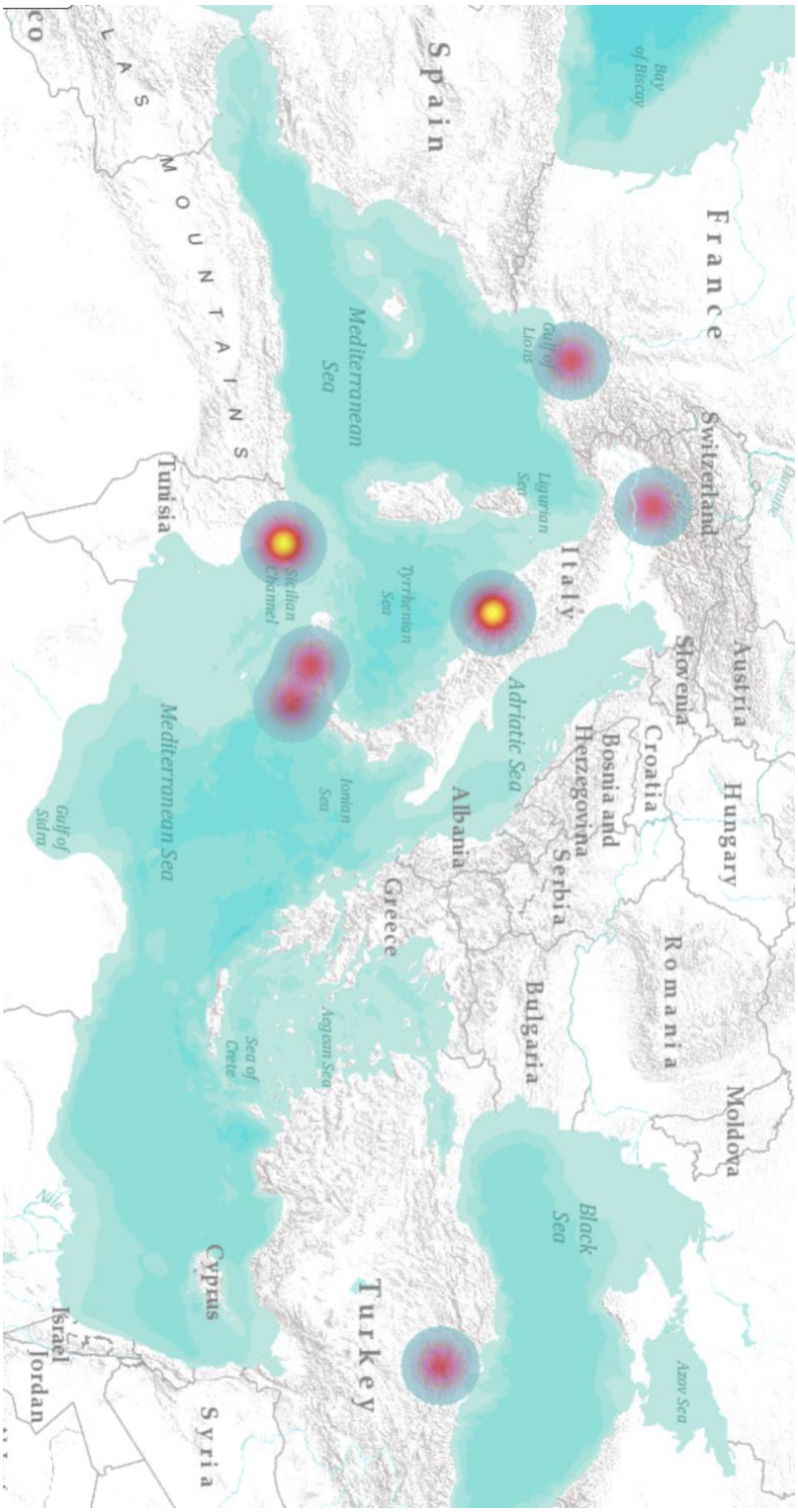

Figure 27. Annotation of locations in book 10, analyzed through a “Heat Map” analysis in Esri’s ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map".

Figure 27 shows us how large a role the Roman west played in book 10. In this book, Eusebius complements previous chapters by adding missing locations to represent a universalizing picture of the Roman world. As described above, book 10 relies heavily on texts that are associated with uses outside of the goals Eusebius set for the *History*. Eusebius spends little time incorporating or framing these letters instead offers lengthy transcriptions of the sources as proof of how the Christian and Roman worlds were coming together. The data reflects the narrative choice to expand the methodology and scope of the work by offering a geographical complement to the previously presented worldview.

To get a full picture of the interconnected geographical components of the *History*, let us now look at how the parts work together. Eusebius builds the geographical aspect of the text in small stages, and we see the narrative converging in the eastern Mediterranean in books 7 through 9. However, when taken as a whole, we can see how the universalizing nature of Eusebius's text forms when reading the books in concert. Figure 28 below shows an overview map of books 7 through 10 of the *History*.

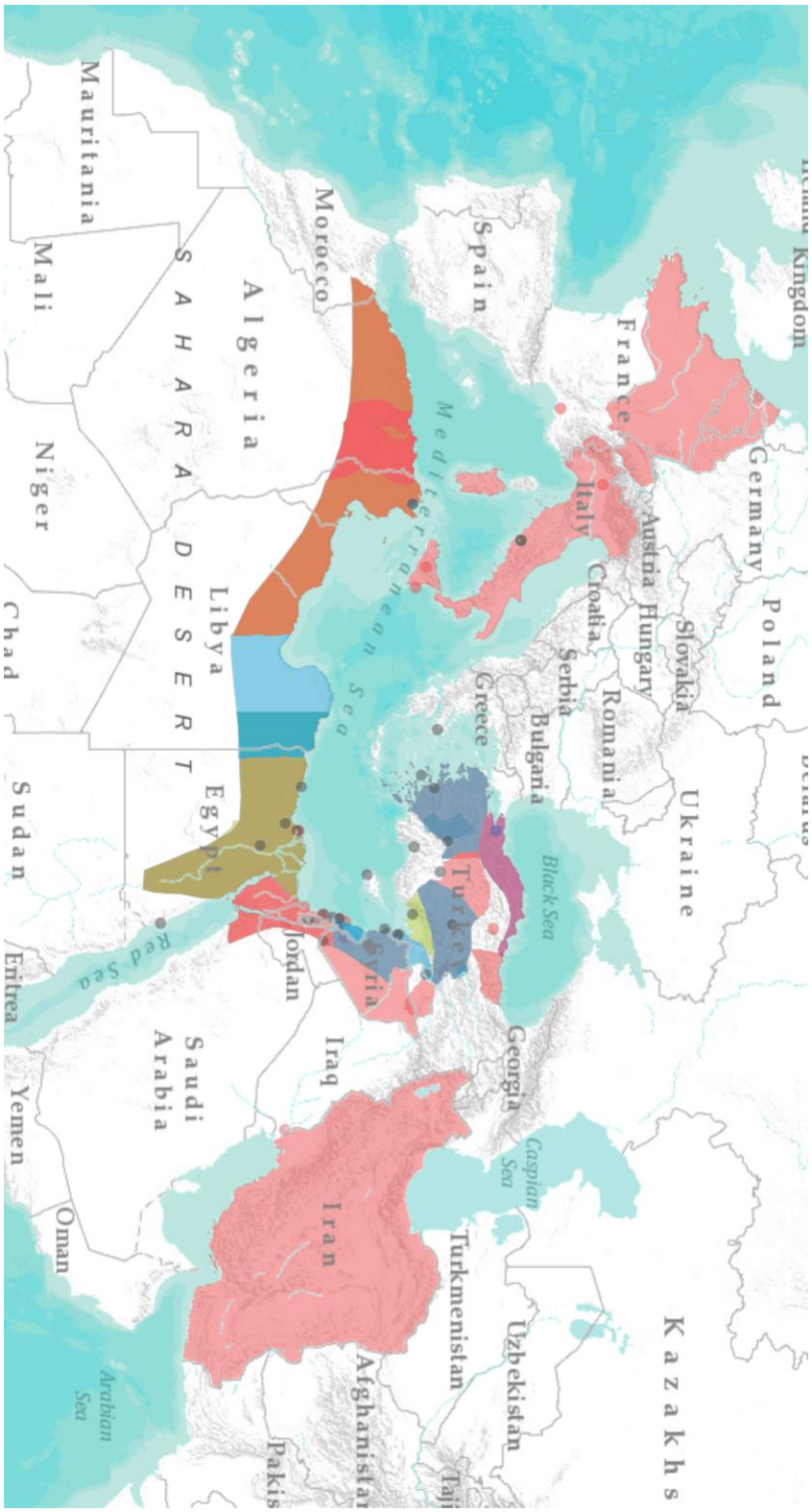

Figure 28. Overview map of annotated places in books 7 through 10. Map made through ESRI ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map".

Figure 28 visualizes Eusebius's idea of the (pertinent) Roman world in the fourth-century CE. Notably absent are geographical locations from Greece and Roman Spain. Taken altogether, one can see how Eusebius visualized an all-encompassing narrative for his audience. Naming vastly different regions from Gaul to Syria gives one the idea that the narrative applies to Christians and Roman officials in all areas. Missing from the map above is an indication of the frequency of places named in books 7 through 10. I have included this information in the map below.

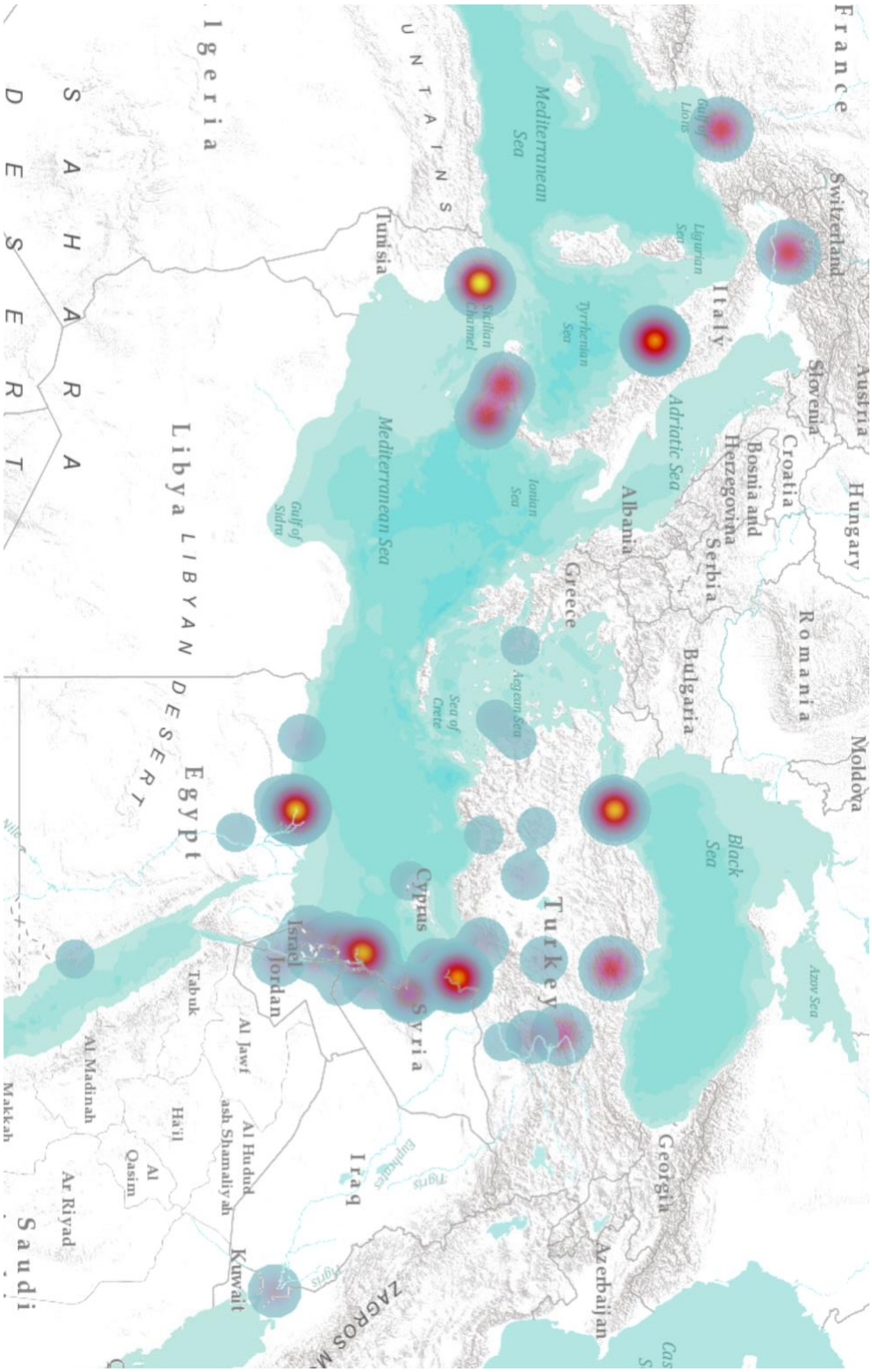

Figure 29. Overview map of annotated places in books 7 through 10, analyzed through a "Heat Map" analysis in Esri's ARCGis software. Esri. "Topographic" [basemap]. Scale Not Given. "World Topographic Map".

Figure 29 shows the relative frequency of how many times a city was named in books 7 through 10. It is readily apparent that the Roman East plays a larger role in the *History* than a simple overview map, or list of geographical places would have us believe. Aside from Rome and Carthage, the Roman west is infrequently cited in order to both talk about succession of apostles and the succession of bishops in addition to the hardships endured by Christians. In fact, most of the Roman west would be left out of the narrative completely if Eusebius had not framed his work to narrate the succession of bishops in the first place.

When we look at the geographical components of the *History* book by book, it becomes increasingly clear that Eusebius, especially for the events during his own lifetime, relied increasingly on localized, eastern Roman networks in order to narrate the development of Christianity in the fourth-century CE. By embedding the work in the eastern context, as we have done in chapter 2 and in this one, we reconnect the work with its eastern context and offer an alternative viewpoint to the *History*'s typical reception.

Even though the universalizing nature of the History easily allows us to see the work as an overview (albeit one-sided) of Christian development, we should not continue to disregard the context of the work by displacing the text and allowing it to float outside of its geographic constraints. By doing so, we enable an understanding early Christianity and Late Antique textuality that serves to understand only half the *History*'s context.

Chapter Four

Conclusion

Despite its utility as a source for early Christianity, the *History* offers more to ancient historians than that for which is it usually mined. Contextualizing the *History* is the first step in grappling with the work and its utterly contingent nature of being a product produced under particular limitations and strengths. There are several avenues for future research: mapping networks from the eastern empire further east, exploring Palmyrene influence on Caesarea, examining the relationship between the archaeological work done at Caesarea Maritima and the nation building efforts of modern Israel and Palestine, and the reception of Eusebius's reputation through the Western Roman empire. This list is not exhaustive, but serves as a complement to the research included here and parallels new developments in scholarship on Late Antiquity more broadly.

This project covers a portion of the *History* and demonstrates the incredible perspectives available to us when we look at text using digital tools. Rhetorically, the *History* is a universalizing text, but if we pay close attention to the ways in which the narratives shift, we can more clearly see its reliance upon and localized nature within eastern Mediterranean networks. We often assume that universalizing text is universal; this dissertation is a reminder that this assumption is not always (and is usually not!) the case. Moreover, I have presented a new call that understands Caesarea was not a backwater town on the shoreline. It

was a busy and central node in Roman networks not only to those who called it home but for military power, traders, intellectuals, and for inter-regional connections.

Chapter 2 demonstrates how Caesarea was a diverse city that sat at a crossroads of empire. Not only was it a busy trading city, it was strategically important to the Roman (and likely Palmyrene) military forces. Moreover, its role as an administrative center deserves more attention in understanding how an institution, like the church, could take residence in the city and build a reputation for its scholars and its library. Finally, the chapter offers a series of possibilities regarding the city's experience of the Crisis—from which we can see that our current understanding of Caesarea needs further interrogation and a critical look at the assumptions we make about the city.

Chapter 3 looks at books 7 through 10 of the *History* in order to understand how Eusebius used geography to complement his overarching goals for this particular composition. While the narrative becoming increasingly localized, the acts of Christians become increasingly decontextualized. This process reaffirms the reader's understanding of the universality of the narrative, while (if analyzed) showing that the locus of activity actually occurs in Eusebius' backyard.

While this dissertation is on the front end of digital scholarship that incorporates the *History* as an analyzed text, it does not stand alone in pursuing this avenue of research. Since beginning this project, several other digital projects have come to my attention. The *Inscriptions of Israel/Palestine* Project, supported by Brown University's Center for Digital Scholarship, assembles previously published inscriptions of Palestine in order to make this area of research more accessible to scholars. *Caesarea-Maritima: A Comprehensive Bibliography,* supported by the Program in Classical and Mediterranean Studies at Vanderbilt

University, lists all published texts on Caesarea since the 19th century. Finally, *Caesarea Maritima: Excavations at the Promontory Palace,* hosted by Cornell and the University of Pennsylvania Museum, offers an overview of archaeological work on site. All of these projects approach the topic of Caesarea differently; however, it is clear to see that Caesarea and its history are ripe subjects well-suited for digital study.

Reading the *History* with its geographical context in mind better prepares us to reunite the text with its material world—even when the text moves beyond its local materiality and into other languages and other regions. While the reception history of the *History* plays a large role in its decontextualization, it also serves as a reminder that all texts, and especially those that are mined for information, once had a contingent, localized life of their own. By contextualizing the work, we can approach the topic of appropriation and how we use one set of texts to answer questions in foreign conversations, locations, or networks. If we choose to ignore the utterly contingent character of the *History*, we are implicit in upholding the idea that Roman history is western history instead of recognizing that even cities important to western intellectualism can sit at a crossroads of history.

Bibliography

Abu El-Haj, Nadia. *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Al-Nakba's Oral History Project. https://www.palestineremembered.com/Haifa/Qisarya/index.html

Ameling, Walter, Hannah M. Cotton, Werner Eck, Benjamin Isaac, Alla Kushnir-Stein, Haggai Misgav, Jonathan Price, and Ada Yardeni, eds. *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: Volume II Caesarea and the Middle Coast 1121-2160.* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010.

Arnon, Ya'el D. "Caesarea Maritima: The Late Periods (700-1291 CE)." *British Archaeological Reports, International* Series 1771 (2016): 239-247.

Avi-Yonah, Michael. "Gazatteer of Roman Palestine." *Qedem* 5 (1976): 1-112.

Baker, Cynthia M. "Imagined Households." *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches* (Routledge, 2004): 122-126

Beebe, H. Keith. "Caesarea Maritima: Its Strategic and Political Significance to Rome." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42.3 (1983): 195-207.

Barnes, T.D. *Constantine and Eusebius*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Borschel-Dan, Amanda. "Cryptic Golan Milestone Found to be Monument to Low-Born Roman Emperor's Reign." *The Times of Israel.* 24 April 2019. https://www.timesofisrael.com/cryptic-golan-milestone-found-to-be-monument-to-low-born-roman-emperors-reign/.

Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Age of Constantine the Great*. Translates by Moses Hadas. Oakland: University of California Press, 1983.

Burgess, R. W. "The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones and Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Journal of Theological Studies* 48.8 (1997): 471n2

Canepa, Matthew P. *Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship Between Rome and Sasanian Iran*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2009.

Carontenuto, Erica. "Six Constantinian Documents (Eus. "H.E." 10, 5-7)." *Vigilae Christianae* 56.1 (2002): 56-74.

Carriker, Andrew J. *The Library of Caesarea*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Chalupa, Aleš. "The Origins of the Roman Cult of Mithras in the Light of New Evidence and Interpretations: The Current State of Affairs." *Religio* 24.1 (2016): 79.

Clarke, G. W. "Some Victims of the Persecution of Maximinus Thrax." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 15.4. (November 1966): 445-453.

Cotton, Hannah M. "The Impact of the Roman Army in the Province of Judaea/Syria Palaestina." *Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C. – A.D. 476), Capri, Italy, March 29-April 2, 2005*. Edited by Lukas de Blois and Elio Lo Cascio (2007): 393-407.

Cotton, Hannah M. and Werner Eck. "A New Inscription from Caesarea Maritima and the Local Elite of Caesarea Maritima." in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem: Essays on Classical, Jewish, and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerester*. Edited by Leonard Rutgers. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.

Cotton, Hannah M., W.E.H. Cockle, and F.G.B. Millar. "The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995): 214-235.

Concannon, Cavan. *Assembling Early Christianity: Trade, Networks, and the Letters of Dionysius of Corinth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Conder, Lieutenant C.R. and Lieutenant H.H. Kitchener. *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archaeology.* London: The Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881.

Corke-Webster, James. *Eusebius and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

———"A Man for the Times: Jesus and the Abgar Correspondence in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*" *Harvard Theological Review* 110.4 (2017): 563-587.

Coogan, Jeremiah. "Mapping the Fourfold Gospel: Textual Geography in the Eusebian Apparatus." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 25.3 (2017): 337-357.

DeRose Evans, Jane. "Ancient Coins from the Drew Institute of Archaeological Research Excavations of Caesarea Maritima, 1971-1984." *The Biblical Archaeologist* 58.3 (1995): 156-166.

Desjarlais, Peige. "Excavating Zion: Archaeology and Nation-Making in Palestine/Israel." *Totem: The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 21.1 (2013): 3-4.

DeVore, David J. DeVore, "Character and Convention," *Journal of Late* Antiquity 7.2 (Fall 2014): 223-252.

———"Greek Historiography, Roman Society, Christian Empire: The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea." PhD Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2013,

DePalma Digeser, Elizabeth. *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and the Great Persecution*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012.

Dirven, L. "The Imperial Cult in the Cities of the Decapolis, Caesarea Maritima and Palmyra: A Note on the Development of Imperial Cults in the Roman Near East." *ARAM Periodical* 23 (2011): 141-156.

Dodge, Hazel. "Palmyra and the Roman Marble Trade: Evidence from the Baths of Diocletian." *Levant* 20.1 (1988): 215-230.

Dohrmann, Natalie B. and Annette Yoshiko Reed, eds. *Jews, Christians, and the Roman Empire: The Poetics of Power in Late Antiquity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Donaldson, Terrence L., ed. *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000.

Edwards, Douglas R. *Religion and Society in Roman Palestine: Old Questions, New Approaches.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

Eck, Werner. "Zu alten und neuen Inschriften aus Caesara Maritima Vorarbeiten für den 2. Band des CIIP." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (2010): 169-184.

———"Zu lateinischen Inschriften aus Caesarea in Iuduaea / Syria Palaestina." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 113 (1996): 129-143.

Fraade, Steven D. "Language Mix and Multilingualism in Ancient Palestine: Literary and Inscriptional Evidence." *World Union of Jewish Studies* (2012): 1-40.

Gamble, Harry Y. *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Text.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Geiger, Joseph. "How Much Latin in Roman Palestine?" *Aspects of Latin: Papers from the Seventh International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Jerusalem, April 1993.* Edited by H. Rosen. (Innsbruck, 1996): 39-57.

Gibbon, Edward. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* 1845. Accessed via Project Gutenburg. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25717/25717-h/25717-h.htm

Gori, Maja. “The Stones of Contention: The Role of Archaeological Heritage in Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.” *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* (2013): 213-229.

Grafton, Anthony and Megan Williams. *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea.* Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2008.

Graves, David E. “Fresh Light on the Governors of Judea.” *Bible and Spade* 30.3 (2017): 74-84.

Guerra, Torres and José Bernardino. “Documents, Letters, and Canons in Eusebius of Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History.*” *Beginning to End: From Ammianus Marcellinus to Eusebius of Caesarea*. Edited by Álvaro Sánchez-Üstiz. Huelva: Universidad de Heulva, 2016.

Haldon, John, Hugh Elton, Sabine R. Huebner, Adam Izdebski, Lee Mordechai, and Timothy P. Newfield. “Plagues, Climate Change, and the End of an Empire: A Response to Kyle Harper’s *The Fate of Rome* (1): Climate,” *“*Plagues, Climate Change, and the End of an Empire: A Response to Kyle Harper’s *The Fate of Rome* (2): Plagues and a Crisis of Empire,” and Plagues, Climate Change, and the End of an Empire: A Response to Kyle Harper’s *The Fate of Rome* (3): Disease, Agency, and Collapse,” *History Compass* 16.12 (December 2018): e12508, e12506, e12507.

Harper, Kyle. *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

———“People, Plagues, and Prices in the Roman World: The Evidence from Egypt.” *Journal of Economic History* 76.3 2016): 803-839.

———“Pandemic and Passages to Late Antiquity: Rethinking the Plague of c.249-270 described by Cyprian,” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 249.

Hamburger, H. “The Coin Issues of the Roman Administration from the Mint of Caesarea Maritima.” *Isreal Exploration Journal*. 20 (1970): 81-91.

Hiero, Ernest Marcos. “Some Remarks on Roman Identity and Christian Imperial Ideology in the Works of Eusebius of Caesarea.” *Three Centuries of Greek Culture Under the Roman Empire*. Edited by Francesca Mestre and Pilar Gómez. Barcelona: Publicacions I Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2014.

Hollerich, Michael J. *Making Christian History: Eusebius of Caesarea and His Readers*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2021.

Humprhies, Mark. “Rufinus’s Eusebius: Translation, Continuation, and Edition in the Latin Ecclesiastical History.” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16.2 (Summer 2008): 143-164.

Inowlocki, Sabrina and Claudio Zamagni, eds. *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issue.* Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Colonel Pierre Jacotin, *Carte topographique de l’egypt et de plusieurs parties des pays limitrophes, levee pendant l’expédition de l’armée française*. Paris: C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1826.

Jacobs, Andrew S. *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Jacobsen, Anders-Christian. “Conversion to Christian Philosophy—The Case of Origen’s School in Caesarea.” *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 16. (2012): 145-157.

Johnson, Aaron P. *Eusebius*. New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

Johnson, Scott Fitzgerald. “Lists, Originality, and Christian Time: Eusebius’s Historiography of Succession.” *Historiography and Identity I: Ancient and Early Christian Narratives of Community.* Edited by Walter Powel and Veronika Wieser, CELEMA 24. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.

Kadman, Leo. *Coins of Caesarea Maritima.* Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, 1957.

Katsari, Constantina. “The Organization of Roman Mints during the Third Century CE: The View from the Eastern Provinces,” *Classics Ireland* 10 (2003): 28.

Lehmann, Clayton and Kenneth Holum, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima.* American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000.

Levine, Lee I. *Judaism and Hellenism in Late Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998.

———*The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity*. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, 1985.

———*Roman Caesarea: An Archaeological-Topographical Study*. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, 1975.

———*Caesarea Under Roman Rule.* Leiden: Brill, 1975.

——— "Some Observations on the Coins of Caesarea Maritima" *Israel Exploration Society* 22 (1972): 131-140.

Levine, Lee I. and Ehud Netzer. *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima 1975, 1976, 1979 –Final Report,* 1986.

McCormick, Michael, Ulf Büntgen, Mark A. Cane, Edward R. Cook, Kyle Harper, Peter John Huybers, Thomas Litt. "Climate Change during and after the Roman Empire: Reconstructing the Past from Scientific and Historical Evidence." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43.2 (2012): 169-220.

Malkin, Irad and Robert L. Hohlfelder. *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives*. London: Frank Cass and Co, LTD., 1988.

Meyers, E.M., J.P. Brown, Brady Kiesling, Sean Gillies, Adam Prins, Jen Thum, Jeffrey Becker, Tom Elliott, DARMC, Herbert Verreth, R. Talbert, Perry Scalfano, and Mark Depauw. "Stratonos Pyrgos/Caesarea: A Pleiades Place Resource." *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places,* 2020. https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/678401

Monaco Castagno, Adele. "History and Geography in the Work of Eusebius of Caesarea." *Histoire et géographie chez les auteurs grecs: du IIe s. av. J.-C. au VIe s. apr. J.-C.* Edited by Michèle Coltelloni-Trannoy and Sébastien Morlet. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2018.

Nakamura, Byron. "Palmyra and the Roman East" *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 34.2 (1993): 144-145.

Nappo, Dario. "Il terzo secolo D.C. e il commercio romano nel mar rosso: crisi o trasformazione?" *Studia Historica Historia Antigua* 30 (2012): 141-170.

Patrich, Joseph. *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Caesarea Maritima: Caput Judaeae, Metropolis Palaestinae.* Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Pažout, Adam, Michael Eisenberg and Gregor Staab. "A Roman Milestone from the Northeastern Shore of the Sea of Galilee." *Israel Exploration Journal* 70.2 (2020): 215-220

Peterson, Andrew, Marcus Milwright, Heather Nixon, and Peter Leach. *A Gazeteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine*. Jerusalem: Council for British Research in the Levant, 2010.

Potter, David S. *The Roman Empire at Bay: AD 180-395.* New York: Routledge, 2014.

Richard, François. “Romains et pourvoir romain dans l’Histoire Ecclésiastique et les Martyrs de Palestine d’Eusèbe de Césarée.” *La ‘crise’ de l’Empire romain de Marc Aurèle á Constatnin: mutations, continuités, rupturs.* Edited by Andrea Giardina and Marie-Henriette Quet. Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne (2006): 417-431.

Pococke, Richard. *A Description of the East and some Other Countries*. London: W. Boyer, 1743.

Raban, Avner and Kenneth G Holum. *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millenia.* Leiden ; Brill, 1996.

Ratzlaff, Alexandra L. “The Caesarea Mithraeum in Context” *The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima*. Edited by Robert J. Bull, Jane DeRose Evans, Alexandra L. Ratzlaff, Andrew H. Bobeck, and Robert S. Fritzius. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2017.

Rife, Joseph L. and Phillip I. Lieberman, eds. *Caesarea Maritima: A Comprehensive Bibliography on Caesarea Maritima.* Nashville, TN: Caesarea City and Port Exploration Project, 2020. https://caesarea-maritima.org/bibl/index.html

Ringel, Joseph. *Césarée de Palestine: étude historique et archéologique*. Paris: Éditions Ophrys, 1975.

Roller, Duane W. and Robert L. Hohlfelder. “The Problem of the Location of Straton’s Tower,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* No. 252 (1983): 61-68.

Rosenberger, Mayer. *City-Coins of Palestine* Jerusalem: 1975.

Scheidel, Water, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy.* Cambridge University Press, 2012.

——— “Coin Quality, Coin Quantity, and Coin Value in Early China and the Roman World,” *American Journal of Numismatics* 22 (2010): 112.

Schott, Jeremy, trans. *The History of the Church by Eusebius of Caesarea: A New Translation.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2019.

———*Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Sessa, Kristina. “The New Environmental Fall of Rome: A Methodological Consideration” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12.1 (Spring 2019): 211-255.

Smith, Andrew M. *Roman Palmyra: Identity, Community, and State Formation*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Stoneman, Richard. *Palmyra and its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1994.

Storvick, Olin J. and Marylinda Govaars. "Excavations at Caesarea Maritima and the Vardaman Papers." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 371 (May 2014): 163-184.

Strobel, K. "Das Imperium Romanum im "3. Jahrhundert": Modell einer historischen Krise? Zur Frage mentaler Strukturen breiterer Bevölkerungsschichten" *Zeit von Marc Aurel biszum Ausgang des 3. Jh. n.Chr.* Stuttgart, 1993.

Talbert, Richard J. *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World: Map-by-Map Directory.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Tsasfrir, Yoram Y. "Some Notes on the Settlement and Demography of Palestine in the Byzantine Period: The Archaeological Evidence." *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. van Beek.* Edited by Joe D. Seger. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns. (1996): 269-283.

VanDam, Raymond. "A Lost Panegyric: The Source for Eusebius of Caesarea's Description of Constantine's Victory and Arrival in Rome in 312" *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 27.2 (2019): 211-240.

Verdoner, Marie. *Narrated Reality: The Historia Ecclesiastica of Eusebius of Caesarea*. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.

——— "Überlegungen zum Adressaten von Eusebs *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 14 (2010): 362-78.

Vunsh, Reuven, Oren Tal, Yoseph Yechieli, Silas Dean, Elad Levanon, and Dorit Silvan. "Evaluating Ancient Coastal Wells as Sea-Level Indicators from the Coast of Israel." *Geoarcheology* (2017): 403-416.

Walsh, David. *The Cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity: Development, Decline, and Demise ca. AD 270-430*. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

Whittaker, C.R. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Appendix