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Motivation for the Building Program of Herod the Great

Edith Diane Parnham

ABSTRACT

The thesis deals with the building program pursued by Herod the Great. It begins with a short historical summary and a description of the main features of Herodian style architecture. There is a catalogue of all of Herod's known buildings in Judaea, and a short list of his works outside his own country. The constructions within Judaea are analyzed according to structure type, and Herod's motivations examined. There is an extensive bibliography arranged by site.

MOTIVATIONS FOR THE BUILDING PROGRAM
OF HEROD THE GREAT

by

EDITH DIANE PARNHAM

B.A. Wilfrid Laurier University, 1976

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the Master of Arts Degree
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1978

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Abbreviations

<u>AJA</u>	American Journal of Archaeology
<u>AASOR</u>	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<u>Ant.</u>	Flavius Josephus: Jewish Antiquities
<u>BA</u>	Biblical Archaeologist
<u>BASOR</u>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<u>CAH</u>	Cambridge Ancient History
<u>ENCY</u>	Encyclopedia of Excavations in the Holy Land
<u>HTR</u>	Harvard Theological Review
<u>HUCA</u>	Hebrew Union College Annual
<u>IEJ</u>	Israel Exploration Journal
<u>PEF, PEQ, QS</u>	Palestinian Exploration Fund, Quarterly, Quarterly Statement.
<u>QDAP</u>	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
<u>RB</u>	Revue Biblique
<u>RE</u>	Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopedia
<u>War</u>	Flavius Josephus: The Jewish War
<u>WHJP</u>	World History of the Jewish People, ed. M. Avi-Yonah
<u>ZDPV</u>	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastinavereins

Preface¹

Herod the First of Judaea, known to history as Herod the Great, became king in 40 B.C. and ruled thirty-three years as a client of Rome.² During his rule he built extensively, both within his kingdom and in the Mediterranean world. Herod's constructions covered many types of buildings...defensive, religious, urban, and palatial... and were built for a variety of reasons. Although the physical remains are fragmentary, archaeological exploration and an examination of the ancient sources describing Herod's constructions permit much of his building program to be restored. This thesis will examine some of the motivations underlying Herod's great building campaign.

¹The major ancient source on Herod and his reign is Flavius Josephus (fl. A.D.70), in his Jewish Antiquities and The Jewish War. Josephus' major source was Nicholas of Damascus, a contemporary of Herod the Great, whose surviving fragments can be found in F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker (Berlin, 1929) II A 90. Other ancient sources are listed in W. Otto, "Herodes", (No. 1), RE Supp. 2, p. 1. The best of the modern works are Koenig Herodes, by A. Schallit, Otto's article in RE and A. Momigliano's article in CAH 10. Popular works include Stuart Perowne's Herod the Great and A.H.M.Jones' The Five Herods. For an excellent summary of the collapse of the Hasmonean dynasty and the events leading up to Herod's assumption of the crown see The World History of the Jewish People, First Series, Volume Seven: The Herodian Period

²There is a continuing controversy over Josephus' dating of Herod's reign, whether it should be dated from his proclamation as king in 40 B.C. or from when he actually took possession of his country in 37 B.C. On this problem, see Th. Corbishly, "The Chronology of the Reign of Herod the Great", JTS 36, p.22ff., and M. Avi-Yonah in IEJ 1 (1950) 160-169.

Chapter 1 Herod's Reign and Times

Herod the Great was born about 73 B.C into a wealthy and influential family of Idumaea, or southern Palestine. His grandfather Antipater rose to power as governor of Idumaea under the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus and his wife Salome Alexandra.³ Alexander died in 76 B.C. and Salome ruled alone until her death in 67 B.C. Upon the death of the queen a civil war broke out between her two sons. Herod's father Antipater II sided with Hyrcanus, the older and more pliable of the two brothers, against the younger brother, Aristoboulus.⁴

It was at this time that Rome become directly involved in the affairs of Judaea. Rome had just intervened in Syria to oust the Armenian king Tigranes and to place the last Selucid king, Antiochus XIII, on the throne as a client of Rome.⁵ Both of the contenders for the throne of Judaea were aware of the power of the Roman legions now stationed in Syria, and each attempted to bribe the Roman officials into intervening in the Judaeian

³Ant. 14:8-19

⁴Ibid.

⁵For Roman policy in Syria and the Near East see D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, I; Princeton: 1950.

civil war. Roman interests in this area of the East were represented by Pompey, who, after long and complicated negotiations, decided in favour of Hyrcanus, and assisted him in capturing Jerusalem in 63 B.C.⁶ Hyrcanus was made high priest and Ethnarch, although he ruled over a greatly reduced kingdom.⁷

Antipater, who was Hyrcanus' chief advisor, survived the war between Pompey and Caesar with his power intact, and in 47 B.C. was made Procurator of Judaea by the victorious Caesar.⁸ Herod, who by now was about twenty-five years of age, was made governor of Galilee by his father, his first known political post. His older brother Phasaël became governor of Jerusalem.⁹ Hyrcanus, nominally the ruler of the country, was little better than a figurehead; Antipater and his sons held the real power.¹⁰

Antipater was murdered in 43 B.C., not long after his patron, Caesar, had also fallen to assassins. During

⁶A good summary of this period is provided by A. Schallit in Chapter I of The Herodian Period, World History of the Jewish People, Vol. VII.

⁷Ant. 14:72-76

⁸Ant. 14:143-144, War 1:199-200.

⁹Ant. 14:158, War 1:203.

¹⁰Ant. 14:165-166, War 1:207

various civil disturbances in Judaea following Antipater's death, Antigonus, Hyrcanus' nephew, began an attempt to conquer Judaea and place himself on the throne.¹¹

Antigonus soon realized that Herod and his brothers were a match for him militarily, so he called in assistance in the form of the Parthians, who took advantage of the continuing Roman civil war to invade Syria in 40 B.C.¹²

The Parthians soon overran Judaea; Herod's brother Phasael was killed and Hyrcanus was captured.¹³

Herod fled to Rome, to beg assistance from Mark Antony, who had been Antipater's friend as well as Herod's. At Antony's instigation, the Roman Senate proclaimed Herod king of Judaea in 40 B.C., bringing an end to the Hasmonean dynasty.¹⁴ Herod immediately returned home to raise an army, and in the space of three years, conquered his kingdom and established himself as ruler.¹⁵

¹¹Ant. 14:331.

¹²War 1:248 ff.

¹³Ant. 14:348.

¹⁴Ant. 14:385.

¹⁵Ant. 15:1.

Herod was almost completely dependent upon Antony for the maintenance of his rule. Herod was of neither priestly nor royal descent, and his people, the Idumaeans, had been forceably converted to Judaism only two generations before. Many of Herod's people considered him a usurper and not a true Jew. A Roman legion had to be stationed in Jerusalem to prevent any popular uprisings.¹⁶ Antony restored to Herod a number of the territories that Pompey had removed from Judaeian control: he also took other lands from Herod, most notably the rich region of Jericho, and presented them to Cleopatra VII.¹⁷ Herod spent his time during this period of his reign consolidating his power and strengthening his kingdom.

Herod loyally supported Antony until the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., after which he switched his support to the victorious Octavian.¹⁸ Octavian, possibly because he had no one to replace Herod, confirmed his kingship and offered him friendship as well. Octavian further enlarged Herod's territory, returning the districts Antony had given to Cleopatra, and adding others to the north and east.¹⁹

¹⁶Ant. 15:72.

¹⁷War 1:361-363.

¹⁸Ant. 15:187 ff.

¹⁹Ant. 15:217

The period after Herod's confirmation by Octavian was the golden era of Herod's reign. Most of his great building projects were undertaken at this period. Under Herod's careful guidance Judaea had peace and prosperity.

The final years of Herod's reign, the time from 12 to 4 B.C., were less happy than the earlier years. Relations between Herod and the Nabateans had never been good, and hostilities finally broke out in armed clashes in 12 B.C. This warfare earned Herod the wrath of Augustus and brought an end to their friendship.²⁰ This era was also marred by struggles over the succession to the throne and internecine rivalry. Herod had always been an intensely suspicious man, and feared constantly for the safety of his throne. He had eliminated the entire Hasmonean line to secure his position, and had not even spared his dearly-loved wife Mariamme I, whom he executed on suspicion of adultery. Herod suspected his sons by Mariamme I of plotting against him, and also drew Augustus unwillingly into the quarrels, suspicions, jealousies, and trials that followed.²¹

²⁰Ant. 16:290.

²¹Ant. 16:300 ff.

Herod was aging and was an invalid, and in his feeble condition could no longer rule as he once had. In 4 B.C. Herod died, leaving his kingdom divided between three of his sons, Herod Antipas, Archelaus and Philip. His sons did not have the talent for ruling that their father had had: revolts broke out on Herod's death, and Rome soon took over Judaea and ended any semblance of independence that Herod might once have retained for his kingdom.

Chapter II

Herodian Architecture and Architectural Decoration

The Herodian period in Judaea forms a unique chapter in the history of architecture.²² Judaea, situated at the meeting-place of east and west, was subject to many and varied influences. Herod and his architects were influenced by the Hellenized East, the Roman west, and by their own deeply rooted oriental traditions. That the Herodian architects succeeded in blending these diverse traditions into a graceful and harmonious combination is a tribute to their skill, imagination and daring.

When Herod came to power and restored peace to Judaea, he ended half a century of political strife and military action. Little building of a monumental nature had been done in this time, and much of the country, including many of the major cities, lay in ruins. Any building that Herod undertook would have shown up against this drab background. The magnificent structures that Herod did erect fairly glittered in comparison with the utilitarian structures that preceded and followed them.

²²The best available English-language study done on Herodian architecture is A. Boethius and J.B.Ward-Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture; pp 414-417.

Herod chose not merely to repair, but to rebuild and restructure, and not to imitate, but to carry out his building program in a new style, a development and improvement on the old. His buildings borrow liberally from all available traditions.²³ From the Hellenistic/Roman tradition he took many types of structures suited to the climate of Judaea; the porticoed enclosures, the agoras, the gymnasia and the large sacred precincts.²⁴ In building techniques he adopted the tradition of fine masonry with moulded stucco detail. From the Romans Herod eagerly copied both the theatre, the amphitheatre, and the Roman bath. He used extensively the Hellenistic-Roman technique of creating platforms or terraces on a vaulted substructure,²⁵ and utilizing both Roman concrete and opus reticulatum, diamond shaped bricks set in mortar, to form the core of walls.²⁶ These borrowed structures and techniques Herod added to his native oriental traditions. The temple-

²³Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 416

²⁴For example, the complex at Pergamon, see A.W.Lawrence Greek Architecture, Harmondsworth:1967 p. 227

²⁵As in the temple platforms of Jerusalem, Sebaste, Caesarea Maritima, and the fort of Hyrcania.

²⁶The most notable surviving example is the extensive opus reticulatum work at Jericho, if it was the work of Herod, and not his successor Archelaus. For the arguments, see J.B.Pritchard, "The Excavation of Herodian Jericho" AASOR XXXII-XXXIII, and E. Netzer "The Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces at Jericho" IEJ 25 (1975) 89-100

platform had long been ingrained in both Hellenistic and Near Eastern architecture; the best known examples survive at Persepolis.²⁷ In decoration, the graceful pilasters of the enclosure at Hebron are directly descended from the mud-brick buttresses of early Mesopotamian temples. Originally designed to give added strength to a mud-brick wall, the pilasters added attractive variety even to a stone wall.²⁸

Vaults intended to carry large superstructures were used in many of Herod's buildings. The oceanfront warehouses of Caesarea Maritima were a series of vaulted chambers. Such chambers also carried the podium for the main buildings of the town.²⁹ The sewer system, likewise a vaulted construction, supported the main streets.³⁰ The fort of Hyrcania was built on a platform given a flat upper surface by using vaulted substructures to level the terrain of the mountain top.

Because of his Romanized tastes and Hellenized upbringing, Herod was a devotee of the Roman bath, and built such baths throughout his realm. These baths do not seem to have been for public use, but for the convenience of Herod and his court. The Jews in his kingdom had not

²⁷H. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, Harmondsworth: 1958 p. 215-216

²⁸Frankfort, p. 2-3

²⁹Ant. 15:339, A Negev, Caesarea, Tel Aviv, 1967
p. 22

³⁰R.J. Bull, "Field F at Caesarea" unpublished art.

had the tradition of public bathing, nor did they approve of this foreign innovation. Consequently, the only public baths Herod apparently built were outside his kingdom.³¹

Herod took steps to assure the water supplies of his various projects, both with the traditional plastered cisterns and the Hellenistic-Roman aqueduct. The aqueducts were built of stone, as the high level aqueduct of Caesarea Maritima, or of plastered brick on a stone footing as that which supplied the water to Herodium-in-Peraea.

Most of Herod's buildings were made from local stone, quarried near the sites. At Caesarea Maritima, Herod imported valuable stone for his buildings.³² The temple in Jerusalem was built of marble; and since there was no source of marble within Herod's kingdom it must have been imported also.

Herod used mud-brick for some of his domestic structures which he did not feel required the same strength as his fortifications. At Jericho, Herod constructed his palaces of a variety of materials, mud-brick on stone or concrete foundations, opus reticulatum, and occasionally, dressed masonry. The domestic structures of the complex

³¹There were baths at Askalon that were probably public (War 1:422), but all other baths discovered to date have been associated with palaces.

³²Ant. 15:332. The stone was probably Egyptian granite and marble. Many architectural fragments on the site are of these materials.

did not require the same strength of construction as buildings used for defence or supporting upper storeys.

Herodian masonry was dressed in a distinctive style that was the hallmark of the period. (Fig. 2) The stones were squared and dressed in the regular fashion of five sides. The face of the stone consisted of a narrow draft or margin around the four edges, with a flat, rectangular boss forming the major part of the face. The margin was dressed with a toothed chisel, and the boss with a single point pick. Occasionally there would be a second narrower margin inside the first. The boss was usually dressed flat; sometimes it would be left untrimmed, resulting in a bulging, irregular boss. This usually occurred when the masonry was intended to be under the ground level and out of view.

The slight differences this dressing caused in the appearance and height of the areas of the stone reflected sun and shadow adding optical interest to what would otherwise be a monotonous expanse of wall.

Herod's buildings show a strong tendency to monumentality and ostentation. Most follow a court-yard/casemate design or some modification of this.³³ They

³³M. Gihan, "Idumea and the Herodian Limes"
IEJ 17 (1967) pp 27-42

consist of at least one large court surrounded by smaller rooms. The walls of Herod's major fortresses were built in the casemate style, two walls connected by crosswalls to form chambers. The smaller forts seem to have had solid walls. This enclosed-court style probably came from Hellenistic architecture.³⁴

It cannot be ascertained whether Herod had a master architect or overall building plan. There does seem to be uniformity of style, design and purpose among his buildings. The uniformity of design that argues most strongly for an overall plan can best be seen in Herod's border forts in the east.

Architectural Decoration

Herod was fond of decorating his structures in the Hellenistic style, with as much oriental style lavish ostentation as possible.³⁵ His domestic buildings were frequently plastered inside and out, with the exterior painted a dazzling white. It was this plaster skin that so frequently led Josephus into believing the structures

³⁴Lawrence, Supra n. 24

³⁵The decorations of Herod's palace in Jerusalem as described by Josephus is probably typical. War 5:176-181

he observed from a distance were constructed of marble,³⁶ the result that Herod no doubt had hoped to achieve. He used the same technique on his 'monolithic' columns, manufacturing them of soft stone drums, coated with fluted and painted plaster.³⁷ The column capitals were frequently gilded.³⁸ Plaster was also used for minor architectural details, such as cornices and mouldings.³⁹

Herod seems to have been fond of Corinthian architectural elements, which were very popular at that time. He also used the Nabatean and Ionic elements freely but use of the Doric was rare.⁴⁰

The interior walls of Herod's domestic quarters were also plastered, with frescos painted directly upon the wet plaster. All of the surviving frescos are of the Pompeian First Style of painting. This decoration was characterized by an imitation of architectural features,

³⁶War 7:286-290, War 1:420

³⁷Y. Yadin, Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealot's Last Stand. London: 1973. p. 47

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹G. Foerster, "Herodium" in Ency., p. 508

⁴⁰The only well-attested example comes from the stadium of Sebaste, if it is Herodian in date. J.W.Crowfoot et al, The Buildings at Samaria, London:1942 p. 41-50

with large blocks of colour representing masonry or marble, and painted columns and entablatures. There was a complete lack of depiction of any living creatures.⁴¹ This last characteristic may be the reason for the popularity of the style in Herod's time. There were many styles of Roman paintings, and it would not have been characteristic of Herod to select the most conservative style, considering the display of ostentation depicted in the descriptions of Herod's residences. The other styles which had developed all contained motifs of living things, contrary to Mosaic Law. Herod probably adopted the first style because it conformed so well to the beliefs of his subjects. In all Herod's buildings within his boundaries there are only two known depictions of life: some waterfowl in the bath at Herodium⁴² and a stylized palm tree from Masada.⁴³

Fragments of mosaic floors have been recovered from Herod's palaces at Masada and Herodium. These floors usually consisted of geometric designs in fine black and white tessera. Masada also contained a fine

⁴¹A. Mau, Pompeii: Its Life and Art, New York: 1904

⁴²Foerster, supra n. 39.

⁴³Yadin, supra n. 37.

coloured mosaic of geometric design in the western palace, the only example of a coloured mosaic found.⁴⁴ Other structures were floored with tiles, plain mosaics, marble slabs, and painted plaster.

The ceilings were usually made of wood, supported by massive beams, carved and painted.⁴⁵ Some ceilings were made of painted plaster, probably supported by reeds.

⁴⁴Yadin, supra n. 37, p. 119

⁴⁵War 5: 180

Chapter III

A Catalogue of Herod's Building Achievements⁴⁶

1. Building Projects within Herod's Kingdom

a) City Foundings, Refoundings and Restorations.

Herod founded, refounded, restored or embellished many of the major towns and cities within his kingdom. None of them has been fully excavated; some have never been explored. Josephus remains the main source on these towns. Some sites have been archaeologically explored, but the few excavations that have reached the Herodian levels have found few remains, since the sites have been destroyed and rebuilt many times since Herod's death. The major remains are isolated structures which will be discussed in the relevant categories below.

Antipatris

The town of Antipatris (modern Aphek) was located in the Plain of Sharon, near the source of the Kanah (modern Yarkon) River, about fourteen kilometres from the sea. Herod named this agricultural settlement in honour of his father Antipater. Archaeological excavation has recently begun, and a main street built by Herod is believed to have been discovered.

⁴⁶The source material for these sites is listed in the bibliography under the heading "Sites".

Agrippias

The maritime town of Anthedon, fifteen kilometres south of Askalon which had been destroyed in the Judaeen Civil War, was rebuilt by Herod and named in honour of his friend Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. It was Herod's southern-most port.

Caesarea Maritima (Fig. 3 and Fig. 4)

Caesarea Maritima was Herod's major port, thirty-eight kilometres south of the Mount Carmel promontory. Herod constructed the city on the site of the ruined town of Strato's Tower (Ant. 15:331). Construction began in 22 B.C. and the town was officially dedicated in 10 or 9 B.C. The city was named in honour of Augustus, and was known as Caesarea, with the port area called Sebastos. The port was dedicated to the navigators who used it. Josephus described Caesarea more fully than any other city save Jerusalem (Ant. 15:331-341, War 1:408-415). Much of Herodian Caesarea is still unexplored for a variety of reasons including the immense size of the site, the subsidence of the coastline, and the depth of sand and later accumulation over the Herodian remains.

The town itself was semi-circular in shape, centred around the harbour. It was laid out on the Hellenistic-Roman city plan, with the streets intersecting one another at right angles. Josephus did not mention a city wall, although excavations suggest that Herod may have enclosed the port area and major civic buildings within a wall (Fig. 3a). Many important structures such as the theatre would have been outside of this wall. Within the city, on a podium near the harbour, was a temple to Augustus and Roma, and probably the main public buildings as well (Fig. 3b). The mound was artificially created on a vaulted structure fifteen metres high. Part of this podium survives, although all traces of the temple have vanished. Josephus stated that Herod also constructed a palace at Caesarea, and civic halls, probably forums and basilicas. The town was probably adorned with colonnades such as Herod had built elsewhere; hundreds of columns and column fragments have been reused in the crusader constructions on the site.

The port was an artificial enclosure, of some 150,000 square metres, forming a circular anchorage bounded by two curving moles (Fig. 4). The moles

were designed to act as breakwaters and to prevent the port from silting up. The southern mole was about sixty-two metres broad by six hundred metres long, and supported a complex of vaulted chambers utilized as warehouses, hostels, shrines, etc. These structures faced onto a broad promenade. The northern mole was about two hundred and fifty metres long. The entrance to the port was on the north, the most sheltered side. The moles also carried large towers, the finest of which was called the Drusion after the Emperor's stepson. This tower might have served as a lighthouse. Flanking the entrance to the port were two structures, one a tower, the other, two large blocks of stone clamped together, each of which supported three statues.

The town's water supply came mainly from wells and cisterns, although the earliest section of the high-level aqueduct leading into the town from the north was probably of Herodian date (Fig. 3e). Later writers mentioned Caesarea's abundant fountains, and it is not likely that Herod, who built fountains and aqueducts for other towns, would have neglected his own creation.

The town had a remarkable sea-flushed sewer system beneath it. The main streets were built on top of sewers into which they drained. The parallel east-west sewers were emptied into the sea by a connecting diagonal sewer, the outlet of which was to the north of the town, and where the prevailing current would carry

the sewage away.

On the southern side of the city was the theatre (Fig. 3c). It was about one hundred metres in diameter and could seat four thousand people. The floor of the orchestra was unusual, in that it was made of plaster painted to imitate marble, rather than of the more common stone pavement. Herod also constructed an amphitheatre in the northern sector, outside of the walls (Fig. 3d). It measured approximately ninety-five metres by sixty-two metres and the arena was covered by rough mosaics.

Gaba

Gaba (modern El-Haritiyye) was a town founded by Herod on the Kishon River, approximately fifteen kilometres from the coast. It was a settlement for the veterans of Herod's cavalry, and is yet unexcavated.

Jericho (Fig. 5)

The oasis of Jericho, twenty-two kilometres northwest of Jerusalem, was a favourite retreat for the kings of Judaea. The Herodian remains are located on either side of a steep valley, the Wadi Qelt, which is edged on either side by steep uplands. Herod is known to have built a palace complex here as a winter residence, and there is literary evidence of an amphitheatre (Ant. 17:161) and a hippodrome (Ant. 17:178). The archaeological exploration of Herodian Jericho has so far been restrict-

ed to the palace complex, consequently, little is currently known of the rest of the city of Herod's time.

Jerusalem (Fig. 6)

Jerusalem was Herod's capital city and the focus of much building activity. The City was described in detail by Josephus (Ant. 15:380-425, War 5:136-247) on the eve of its destruction at the hands of the Romans. As well as the temple complex, Herod's greatest construction, he is known to have built himself two citadels/residences, the Antonia and the Royal Palace. The city contained a hippodrome and theatre (Ant. 15:268) both of Herodian construction, and outside the walls was an elaborate tomb for Herod's family. It is also probable that Herod built the so-called "Second Wall" of the city. The extensive excavations that have been going on for over a century have revealed much of the Herodian period of the city, but little more has been discovered of buildings directly or indirectly attributable to Herod.

Phasaelis (Fig. 7)

Phasaelis was an agricultural town twenty-two kilometres north of Jericho. Herod constructed it in honour of his dead brother, Phasael, and laid out the town according to the Roman town plan. The town was intersected by Roman roads, six metres wide. Near these roads were the main buildings of the town. They consisted

of a large structure, possibly a palace, sixty-five by seventy metres, a temple, of which only the foundations survive, and a forum about one hundred and two metres by twenty-six point five metres. Around the forum are the remains of small shops and other dwellings. The town's water supply was furnished by an aqueduct, which brought water eight kilometres from the region of the Jordan River.

Sebaste (Fig. 8)

Samaria, the former capital of the northern kingdom of Israel, was rebuilt by Herod in 27 B.C. Herod renamed the town Sebaste in honour of Augustus. He gave the city a wall twenty stadia (2.5 kilometres) long (Fig. 8a) and built a magnificent temple to Augustus on the summit of the site (Fig. 8b). The town had a conduit partially traced, which brought water from the east. In the north of the city was a stadium with Doric architectural details, originally Hellenistic in date, but possibly rebuilt by Herod (Fig. 8c). The town also had a large forum and basilica (Fig. 8d).

b) Fortresses

Alexandrium (Fig. 9)

The fortress of Alexandrium occupies an isolated peak in the mountain range on the west side of the Jordan Rift Valley, forty kilometres north of the Dead Sea. The

site had two major areas, a lower town and an acropolis. The lower town occupies the top of a massif, separated from the mountains to the west (Fig. 9c). The only access was by way of a viaduct across the divide (Fig. 9b). East of this plateau on a smaller and steeper peak was the acropolis, consisting of an outer fortification wall and a strong central tower (Fig. 9a). Water was brought to the site from the western mountains by means of an aqueduct, and stored in numerous large plastered cisterns.

The Antonia (Fig. 10)

The Antonia Fortress was built on the site of the Hasmonean fortress Baris, at the north-west corner of the temple precinct. It was named in honour of Mark Antony, Herod's patron at the time of its construction, somewhere between 37 and 35 B.C. and served as Herod's principal residence until 25 or 24 B.C.

The fortress was a rectangular structure about sixty metres by thirty-five metres, with towers at each of the four corners, and an open courtyard at one end. The highest tower was in the south-east corner, dominating the temple area. The tower was thirty-five metres high, and the ridge of land the fortress stood on raised the total height of the tower to fifty-five metres. The other towers were thirty-five metres high, and forty-five metres above the surrounding territory. The fortress was surrounded on three sides by an artificial fosse and glacis

of polished stone; on the fourth side it faced the temple precinct of Jerusalem. The main entrance was on the west, through a heavily fortified gate. A southern portal and stairway lead down to the porticoes surrounding the temple area. There may have been a small portal on the east.

The central court (Fig. 10a) was paved with one-metre-square flagstones of smooth limestone. The entrance areas of the court were striated to provide tractions for horses. Beneath the pavement of the yard was a large double cistern with a vaulted roof. The yard was seamed with drainage channels leading into small openings in the roof of the cistern.

Josephus stated that the rooms of the Antonia were magnificently decorated, resembling a palace, and that it contained baths and colonnades as well as a large court (War 5:241). The decorations were of painted plaster and the colonnades were probably of the Corinthian style of decoration.

Herodium-in-Peraea (Fig. 11)

The fortress of Herodium lies on the edge of the mountains bordering the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, about ten kilometres from where the Jordan River enters the sea. It is a natural site for a stronghold, being a peak isolated from its neighbours, with sloping sides, and joined to the rest of the range by a narrow promontory

on the east of the peak.

The fortress had two main areas, a trapeziform wall enclosing a courtyard, with a tower or keep in the north-east corner. Casemate structures once existed against the walls of the courtyard. These may have been either living quarters or storage areas. In the north-west corner the wall may have stood as high as thirty metres. The only entrance to the enclosure was in the west wall, where the natural slope of the hill was the gentlest. Five cisterns are located on the northern flank of the hill. They were filled by a canal leading from the east, which crossed the cut isolating the fortress on an aqueduct built on the promontory. The water was collected on the slopes of the mountains to the east.

The remains of the tower indicated that it contained five rooms. The western wall was the strongest; it was nearly four metres thick. The entire fortress was built of hammer-dressed stone, with the exception of two stones in the doorway of the tower that were drafted and bossed in the traditional Herodian style.

Hyrkania (Fig. 13)

Hyrkania is located on a detached peak on the eastern edge of the Judaeian highlands, ten kilometres west of the northern limits of the Dead Sea. It is separated from the hills to its west by an artificial cut.

The platform for the buildings on top of the hill was formed by throwing barrel vaults over the natural irregularities of the terrain, and building on top of them. The vaulted chambers produced were plastered with hydraulic cement and used as reservoirs. The platform was forty metres by twenty-five metres, and supported a paved central courtyard surrounded by rooms on the north, west and east. The court was designed so that the runoff would drain into the cisterns below. The corners of the enclosure walls were originally defended by towers. The masonry of the remains was drafted and bossed, and of a high standard of workmanship.

In addition to the vaulted reservoirs beneath the structure, there were large cisterns on the north, west, and south slopes of the hill. The cisterns were supplied by an aqueduct crossing the western cut, which brought water from the mountains.

Kypros (Fig. 12)

Herod built a fortress in the mountains above Jericho, on the south side of the Wadi Qelt. This fortress, which Herod named Kypros in honour of his mother, was noted for both its beauty and its strength (War 1:407, 417). Most of the structures on the mound have been destroyed, but enough remains to postulate that the citadel was similar in design to that of Herodium-in-Peraea.

The site has one cistern, (Fig. 12a) and there are some remains of an aqueduct.

Machaerus

Machaerus is located on the summit of a ridge in the highlands ten kilometres south of Herodium-in-Peraea. It consisted of a lower town and a fortified citadel about two kilometres from the town. A long staircase leads to the fortress on the summit from the south-east. The fortress was rectangular in shape, with towers at the corners, built of well-dressed local stone. A large reservoir was located at the northern end, and there were numerous other cisterns on the site. There is no evidence of an aqueduct.

c) Religious Structures

Hebron (Fig. 14)

The town of Hebron, thirty kilometres south-east of Jerusalem, is the site of a structure not mentioned by ancient sources, but ascribed to Herod on the basis of its construction and style of masonry. The structure is a Haram, or temenos wall, surrounding the traditional site of the cave of Macpelah. It forms a rectangular enclosure, thirty-four metres by fifty-nine metres, and currently is part of the outer wall of the mosque. The walls are formed of well-dressed ashlar masonry, bossed and drafted. The foundations are cut into bedrock. The

irregularity of the terrain causes the height of the wall to vary. It averages seventeen metres. The wall is 2.65 metres thick at the foundations. The corners show a very slight batter. The expanse of the wall is broken by pilasters, beginning about 4.5 metres from the ground and continuing to a small cornice crowning the wall. On the south wall is evidence of a drain which probably led to the interior of the enclosure (Fig. 14a).

Jerusalem (Fig. 15)

The temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem was Herod's crowning achievement as a builder. Construction was begun in 20 B.C., with the main structure completed in 9 B.C., although work on various parts of the complex continued until A.D. 64. The dimensions of the actual sanctuary were laid down in the Scriptures and could not be changed, but Herod had no restrictions on his elaboration of the remainder of the sacred precinct.

Herod more than doubled the size of the sacred area. He built an enclosure wall around the entire area, of massive ashlar masonry with the typical Herodian style drafting. The courses above the level of the ground were more finely worked than those destined to be buried. The upper portions of the walls were broken with pilasters as in the Haram at Hebron. Within this enclosure, Herod chose the level he wished for the inside height of the area.

The land on the northern end of the precinct was cut down to this level; on the southern side the area had to be raised by a series of vaulted platforms and massive fill. The enclosure walls here acted as retaining and buttress walls. In the southeastern corner, the walls rose forty-seven metres above the level of the surrounding valley.. The area that resulted from this massive alteration was trapezoid in shape, and covered approximately 144,000 square metres. The sacred area could be entered by eight gates; four on the west, which led from the city, two on the south, the so-called "Huldah" gates, and one each on the east and north (Fig. 15a).

Around the inside of the enclosure wall ran four porticoes. The "Royal Stoa" on the south was the most elaborate, containing three rows of free-standing pillars and one row attached to the back wall. The portico was slightly more than thirty-two metres wide and contained one hundred and sixty-two pillars which supported a carved cedar wood ceiling. The centre aisle was twice as high and one and one-half times as wide as the side aisles. On the other three sides the porticoes were fifteen metres wide and had only two rows of pillars and one of pilasters supporting the roof. The columns in the porticoes were 12.5 metres high.

The large enclosure between the porticoes and the sanctuary was known as the "Court of the Gentiles," since it was open to all. (Fig. 15 b) The temple was located near the centre of the court on a low terrace. It was surrounded by a stone balustrade about a metre and a half high. The terrace of the inner court was surrounded by a wall with nine gates, four on the north and south, and one each on the east and west. (Fig. 15 c) The inner courts were surrounded by porticoes and small rooms. The interior was divided into three courts, the "Court of the Women," the "Court of Israel," and the "Court of the Priests." The "Court of Israel" was about 3.75 metres higher than the Women's Court, and could be entered from the Women's Court by a semicircular flight of stairs. It surrounded the Court of the Priests (Fig. 15 d) which contained the altar and sanctuary.

The temple followed the Solomonic plan of three areas: porch (Ulam), hall (Hekal), and Holy of Holies (Debir). The porch was fifty metres in width and height, and was decorated with four half columns. The hall and Holy of Holies with their surrounding rooms were only thirty-five metres wide. The interior of the Holy of Holies was a cube, ten metres on a side. Around it on three sides were small rooms on three levels, thirty-eight

in all. Above the hall and Holy of Holies was an empty room, whose sole purpose was to raise their total height to equal that of the porch.

The temple was surmounted by a dentated battlement and gilded spikes. Josephus claimed the temple was built of snow-white marble; other sources recorded that it was built of blue, white and red veined marble.

Mamre (Fig 16)

Mamre, or Ramet el-Khalil, is the traditional site of the camp of Abraham. It is located three kilometres north of Hebron. The Haram is dated to the Herodian period by its construction, although it is not mentioned in any ancient source. The rectangular construction, of which only the foundations survive, measured sixty-five metres by fifty metres. The structure shows traces of pilasters similar to those at Hebron, and most of the foundation blocks were dressed in the Herodian style.

Panias

Herod built a temple to Augustus at Panias (modern Banyas) later Caesarea Philippi, at the source of the Jordan River. There are no extant remains of

the temple. Josephus recorded that the temple was built of white marble (Ant. 15:363) and from an image of it on a coin of Herod Philip II it is known to have been tetrastyle, and probably had Ionic style columns.

Sebaste (Fig. 17)

The most prominent structure in Herodian Sebaste was the temple of Augustus located on the summit of the hill. The temple was built on an artificial podium of vaulted substructures, 4.4 metres high. The temple building was twenty-five metres by thirty-five metres, and was built in the Corinthian style. It was constructed of marble, and roofed with terra-cotta tiles. The temple faced north and was approached by a monumental flight of stairs.(Fig. 17 a) At the foot of the stairs was an altar, 1.8 metres by 3.6 metres square.(Fig.17 b) In front of the stairs was a large forecourt, which originally may have been surrounded by a colonnade on three sides. The courtyard was rectangular, 48.5 metres wide at the foot of the stairs, and at least fifty-four metres wide at its northern end.

d) Palatial Structures

Herodium-in-Judaea (Fig. 18,19)

One of Herod's most lavish buildings was constructed twelve kilometers south of Jerusalem on and around a cone-shaped hill known in modern times as Gebel Furides. This palace-fortress was named in honour of Herod himself. The palace was built sometime after Herod's third marriage, around 24-22 B.C. In addition to being Herod's palace during his life, it was intended to be his mausoleum after his death. (Ant. 15:323, 17:199)

The site of Herodium had two areas, the palace which is set into the top of the cone-shaped mound (Fig. 18 a) and a lower city at the base of the mound.

The structures at the base of the mound are only beginning to be investigated. They were apparently a continuation of the palace complex rather than a separate town. On the foot of the mound on the north side was a large building, 130 metres by 55 metres, supported on two vaulted cellars. (Fig. 18 b) It was built of well-dressed ashlar masonry and may be the remains of a lower palace. Directly to the north of this building is an artificially leveled terrace, 300 metres by 25 metres, which may

have been the hippodrome. (Fig. 18 c) Next to the hippodrome was an elaborate hall, ten metres square, with niches and a vaulted roof, and decorated with pilasters. On its northwest side was another group of buildings. (Fig. 18 d, e) This group of buildings surrounded a pool, seventy metres by forty-five metres. (Fig. 18 f) In the centre of the pool was a small round building, probably a summerhouse. To the north of these constructions were storehouses. (Fig. 18 g)

The main palace was located at the summit of a sixty-metre-high hill. (Fig. 19) The structure was enclosed in two parallel circular walls, with a corridor 3.5-metres-wide between. (Fig. 19 a) The outer wall was sixty-two metres in diameter. The eastern tower was a massive circular structure eighteen metres in diameter, and surviving to a height of sixteen metres. (Fig. 19 b) There were three semi-circular towers emerging from the outer wall on the south, west and north. The outer wall and towers were built on a system of vaults, apparently erected on the natural crest of the hill. When the towers and outer walls had been built, they were covered on the outside by an earth and stone fill supported by a retaining wall. It was this fill that gave the site its distinctive conical shape.

The entrance to the palace was by way of a 3.5 metre wide passage leading from the base of the hill (Fig. 18h) to an entrance between the north and east towers (Fig. 19c). This passage once contained two hundred marble steps. (Ant 15:324) The entrance was 4.5 metres high, opening into a vaulted chamber five metres square.

The interior of the palace was divided into two main areas. The eastern half was occupied with a large garden, 33 metres by 12.5 metres, bounded on three sides by Corinthian columns and on the fourth by a pilastered wall. (Fig. 19 d) At the ends of this garden were two symmetrical exedrae. (Fig. 19 e) On either side of these exedrae were the four entrances to the corridor between the walls (Fig. 19f).

The western half of the palace was divided by a cross-shaped courtyard. In the southern quarter was the triclinium, 10.6 metres by 15.15 metres, with four columns upholding the roof. (Fig. 19 g) The floor was laid in opus sectile. Four smaller rooms surrounded it.

An opulent bathhouse occupied the remainder of the palace. (Fig. 19 h) The floors were laid with mosaics of black and white marble, and the walls were decorated with frescoes. There was a

hypocaust beneath the floor of the cauldarium.

The interior walls of the upper palace had been coated with plaster and many had been painted in the panel designs of the Pompeian First Style in red, yellow, blue, black and green. The upper areas of the walls were coated with white plaster imitating architectural decorations such as mouldings and pilasters. The columns in the palace were of the Corinthian and Ionic styles.

Numerous cisterns have been found within the palace. Two were located beneath the western room flanking the triclinium. (Fig 19 i) Four more were fifteen metres below the floor of the palace, in the northeastern part of the hill. (Fig. 19 j) The cisterns were all hewn out of rock and lined with high quality water-resistant plaster. Many of the cisterns had vaulted roofs.

Jericho (Fig. 5)

Herod's winter palace at Jericho north of Jerusalem was a complex consisting of palaces, gardens and pools. The palace was constructed along both sides of the Wadi Qelt on the narrow area of flat land between the banks of the wadi and the highlands above Jericho. The wadis which divided the site affected the layout and design of the

palace causing it to be built in two main sections.

The earliest palace at the site was in the southern part of the site. (Fig. 5 a) It was approximately eighty-six metres by forty-six metres, and contained two baths and an elaborate system of drains and reservoirs. The decoration was of painted plaster.

Herod's second palace on the north bank of the wadi was almost twice as large. It contained two colonnaded courtyards, one in the Corinthian style (Fig. 20 a) and one in the Ionic (Fig. 20 b) as well as a large reception hall (Fig. 20 c), and elaborate bath complex (Fig. 20 d) and many smaller groups of rooms. Colonnades and porticoes extended westwards along the edge of the wadi. (Fig. 5 b) Facing this palace across the wadi was a large sunken garden, with a stoa at either end. (Fig. 5 c). A semi-circular terraced garden divided the sunken area opposite a small wadi that divided the northern palace in two wings. (Fig. 5 d) East of the garden complex was a large waterproof pool, ninety by forty-two metres. Overlooking the pool and garden from the south was an artificial mound, topped by what might have been an elaborate bathhouse. (Fig. 5 e)

The complex was supplied with water by a six kilometre long aqueduct, leading back into the hills behind the palace.

Jerusalem

Herod built himself a magnificent palace of white limestone in the north-west corner of the city in 25 or 24 B.C. (Fig. 6 a) The palace was protected by a fifteen metre high wall set with small towers. The northern end of the palace was the most vulnerable, and consequently the most heavily defended, protected by three massive towers set into the old Hasmonean city wall. These walls and towers assured both the privacy and the security of the palace.

The three towers were named after Herod's brother Phasaël, Herod's wife Mariamme I, and a friend of Herod's youth, Hippicus. The towers all had solid bases of ashlar masonry, varying in height from ten to twenty metres. On top of these solid blocks were built the living quarters, porticoes, baths, and apartments, surmounted by the defensive turrets and battlements. Hippicus contained a ten metre high reservoir between the base and the upper apartments. The apartments in all three towers were lavishly decorated.

Mariamme was the smallest tower with a ten-metre-square base and a height of approximately twenty-eight metres. Hippicus was slightly larger, its base being 12.5^m metres square, and the total height of the tower forty metres. Phasael, with a height of forty-five metres and a base twenty metres on a side was the largest and strongest.

The palace followed a Hellenistic-Persian plan, being two main buildings surrounded by courtyards and gardens. It contained open courts, circular colonnades of all orders, spacious apartments (with room for one hundred guests) and gardens watered by canals and fountains. The two main buildings were named Caesarium and Agrippæum, in honour of the emperor and his chief advisor. The decorations of the palace were noted for their extravagance. The ceiling beams were unusually long, doing away with the need for interior columns. The buildings were erected on a podium three to four metres high, consisting of intersecting walls one metre thick, filled with rubble.

Masada (Fig. 21)

The palace-fortress of Masada was one of Herod's earliest projects. Between 36-30 B.C., he fortified the boat-shaped massif on the western

shore of the Dead Sea. In addition to the massive defenses, Herod built several luxurious residences, storehouse complexes and water systems.

The summit of Masada was surrounded by a casemate wall reinforced with towers. (Fig. 21 a) It was built of locally quarried dolomite, and covered with a white plaster. The wall was broken by only two entrances, on the east and west, and there were two 'water gates' at the north and south to provide access to the cisterns. (Fig. 21 b)

The most luxurious palace at the site was the 'hanging villa' on the north slope. It consisted of three terraces carefully built and lavishly decorated. The lowest terrace was a square colonnaded structure, of four porticoes around an open court, with an attached private bathhouse. (Fig. 21 c) It was connected to the middle terrace by a hidden stair. The middle terrace was a circular columned structure, in front of a covered colonnade. (Fig. 21 d) The upper terrace consisted of a semi-circular porch with rectangular living quarters consisting of nine rooms behind the porch. (Fig. 21 e) The entire palace was decorated with painted plaster in the Pompeian First Style, with mosaic floors in geometric patterns of black and white. The palace was separated from the rest of the site by a high, plastered wall. (Fig. 21 f)

To the south of the wall was a complex of two blocks of storerooms (Fig. 21 g), a large bathhouse (Fig. 21 h), and an administrative building. (Fig. 21 i) The storehouses were built of roughly quarried dolomite. The quarry was located south of the storerooms. (Fig. 21 j) The bathhouse was more elaborately decorated than the buildings around it, plastered and painted, with a floral design on the ceiling of the apoditerium or changing room. and carved stone lintels over the doors. The original mosaic floor had been replaced by one of opus sectile. The administration building consisted of a range of rooms around an inner court.

South of this complex was located a large building in the style of an open court surrounded by smaller rooms. (Fig. 21 k) It was built as a dwelling place, and probably housed administrators, garrison troops or servants.

The largest single structure on the summit was the western palace. (Fig. 21 l) It had three main wings; the dwelling quarters, the service wing, and the storerooms and administrative wing. The throne room was located in the south-eastern corner of the building, which also contained the only example of Herodian coloured mosaics. There was also a private bath.

Five smaller palaces, or villas, were scattered about the site. Beside the western palace was a swimming pool, (Fig. 21 m) a large well-plastered cistern with a flight of shallow steps descending into it. It was surrounded by walls containing niches to hold clothing.

2. Building Projects outside of Herod's Kingdom

a) Askalon

Askalon, a free city on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the southern area of Herod's kingdom, retained its independence throughout Herod's reign. Herod was on good terms with the city, and built fountains and porticoes for the city council house.

The remains of the portico have been discovered. (Fig. 22) It was eighty metres long, and had twenty-four monolithic Corinthian-style columns along each side, and six on each end. The average height of the columns including base and capital was 8.35 metres. The columns surrounded an open court and supported a covered portico which ran around the building. Two sculptured panels of Peace and Victory were located at the south end of the portico at the entrance to the council chamber,

A tessellated pavement originally floored both the cloister and the court.

b) Projects Outside Judaea - The Levant and Mediterranean

Herod did not confine his generosity to his own kingdom, but built or supplied the funding for many projects in the Mediterranean world. A natural athlete himself, Herod built gymnasia in Ptolemais, Tripolis and Damascus. Sidon and Damascus received theatres. Laodicea in Syria received a new water supply, and Byblos a new city wall. Berytus and Tyre received many public buildings, porticoes and temples, and he gave Pergamon money for building. In Antioch Herod built a colonnaded street, twenty stadia long, said to have been constructed of marble. This was the first such structure built in the Near East.

Outside of Asia Minor, Herod was equally generous with his gifts of money and buildings. He rebuilt the colonnade at Chios, built a temple of Apollo at Rhodes, and built or funded the majority of the public buildings at Nicopolis near Actium. Josephus also mentioned Herod's gifts of money and buildings to Athens, Sparta, Samos, Lycia and Cos (Ant. 16:245ff., War 1:422ff.).

Chapter IV

Types of Structures Differentiated by Purpose

Herod's building program covered four major types of structures: palatial, defensive, religious and urban/economic. Each of his structures falls into at least one of these categories, and most can accurately be placed in more than one. Jerusalem, for example, was the capital of Herod's kingdom, the religious centre of the Jewish people and the most important city in Herod's domain. As such, it received many structures of every category.

In this chapter the structures are divided in accordance to their primary function. There are other and perhaps better ways of categorizing these constructions; this method has been selected to provide a basis for analysis. Gifts to various cities and isolated buildings such as theatres and stoas are included under urban/economic, since they existed only by virtue of their association with centres of population.

Defensive Buildings

The chain of fortresses along the Jordan Valley was the most important element in the defence of Herod's realm. The Roman province of

Syria and the independent cities of the Decapolis protected Judaea on the north and north-east, and to the west it was defended by the sea and the free but friendly city of Askalon. The south of Herod's kingdom was his native land of Idumaea, bound to him by ties of blood and family loyalty.⁴⁷ Its boundary stretched along the edge of the desert and could easily be defended by the chain of small forts and fortified villages established by the Hasmonaeans.⁴⁸ It was only to the east and south-east that Herod had an active enemy, the Nabateans.

The majority of the fortresses Herod built or restored were located along the Jordan valley or on the edges of the Dead Sea. With the exception of Herodium-in-Judaea and Masada, which were royal citadels intended for the exclusive use of the king, the fortresses should be considered border forts and garrison towns rather than army bases. Herod's standing army was kept elsewhere, mainly in military settlements such as Sebaste.⁴⁹ The fortresses were

⁴⁷ Herod's mother came from a distinguished Idumaeen/Arab family (Ant. 14:121), and his father may have been one of the chief noblemen of Idumaea, cf. Gihon, infra, n. 48.

⁴⁸ M. Gihon, "Idumaea and the Herodian Limes" IEJ 17 (1967) pp. 24-42.

⁴⁹ S. Perowne, The Life and Times of Herod the Great. New York: p. 105

used to watch for any signs of hostile activity, whereupon they could immediately signal to the main forces of the army. They also watched over and controlled the roads, particularly the important north-south road along the Jordan valley, the major transportation artery east of the Judaeen highlands. All of these fortresses were able to signal to at least one other, and several could signal directly to the Antonia in Jerusalem. Between fortresses not directly visible to each other intervening relay stations were built, as between Alexandrium and Kypros, and Machaerus and Herodium-in-Peraea.⁵⁰

All of Herod's fortresses had a great similarity of design. They had three main features: they were located on a high or commanding position, frequently strengthened by an artificial glacis; the acropolis or major fortification was isolated by an artificial cut or fosse; and the water supply was assured by means of cisterns lined with waterproof plaster. Frequently an aqueduct brought further supplies of water from the surrounding area.⁵¹

In Jerusalem, the two citadels of the city were designed to provide internal security.

⁵⁰Perowne, supra n. 49, p. 106

⁵¹Ibid.

The Antonia fortress dominated the Temple area by virtue of its location, height, and strength, just as the Temple enclosure dominated and could control the lower town. The defensive walls and massive towers with which Herod embellished his palace in the northern end of Jerusalem turned it into a citadel which effectively controlled any possible outbreaks in the upper town. Thus Herod, was in a position to defend Jerusalem both from attacks from outside the city, and from revolts and riots within the city walls.

Herod settled veterans and loyal non-Jewish subjects in four towns he either founded or rebuilt: Antipatris, Caesarea, Gaba, and Sebaste.⁵² Each of these towns had a military reason for their construction which must have influenced Herod as much as any other reason. Antipatris was in the centre of the agricultural area of the Plain of Sharon. It was at the junction of at least two Roman roads, including one that led northwards to the port of Caesarea.⁵³ Caesarea was Herod's most

⁵²Josephus mentioned that Herod rebuilt Esbus (modern Heshbon) possibly as a cavalry settlement. This area, however, has not been considered to have been under control at this time. See Ant. 15:294, n.B.

⁵³S. Dor and S. Applebaum "The Roman Road from Antipatris to Caesarea" PEQ 105 (1973) pp. 91-99.

important port and the entrance into Judaea of most imports used in the kingdom. Gaba was located on Herod's north-western border on the plain of Esdraelon, the narrowest part of Herod's realm, and could control the frequently rebellious district of Galilee to the north. Sebaste was also in the centre of a rich farming district. It was from here that Herod drew his most loyal troops, and maintained a large garrison.⁵⁴

With a population loyal to Herod, each of these cities could control a sizable area and guard transportation routes that could be used to provide rapid movement for agricultural products or troops. They were all located on one or more main roads, making them valuable centres for both transportation and communication in the kingdom.

Palatial Structures

Herod the oriental potentate and self-made man found it necessary to house himself, his family and friends in a style and comfort suitable to their dignity and position. His major palace was naturally at Jerusalem, although he maintained other magnificent edifices in various

⁵⁴A.H.M. Jones The Herods of Judaea Oxford: 1971 p. 77.

districts of his kingdom. There was a complex of winter palaces and villas at the oasis of Jericho as well as palace-fortresses at Herodium-in-Judaea and Masada. Many of the smaller fortresses such as Machaerus contained luxurious living quarters,⁵⁵ and there were palaces in Caesarea,⁵⁶ Askalon⁵⁷, and probably in Sebaste.⁵⁸ Royal palaces at Sepphoris in Galilee⁵⁹ and Betharamthan in Perea⁶⁰ were burned in the rebellions following Herod's death. These two palaces were not otherwise mentioned by Josephus, and had probably been taken over from the Hasmoneans.

Herod's concern for his own safety was evidently one of his primary motives in the design of his private residences. All of his excavated palaces have proven to be fortified citadels, even the one in heavily defended Jerusalem.⁶¹ Masada, one of the first of Herod's great construction, was a unique ' fortress within a fortress.' The private northern palace was divided from the rest of

⁵⁵War 7:174.

⁵⁶War 1:408.

⁵⁷Ant. 17: 321.

⁵⁸There must have been a suitable structure in which to entertain Agrippa, cf. n. 65.

⁵⁹Ant. 17:271, 177.

⁶⁰War 2:59.

⁶¹See Chapter III, pp. 39-40.

the citadel by a high wall with only one gate, and was protected by the complex of storerooms and the large bathhouse. (Fig. 21 f). Josephus claimed that Herod built Masada for two reasons, fear of a Jewish revolt and fear of an Egyptian invasion.⁶²

During the revolts after Herod's death and those against the Romans in the first century A.D., the rebels who seized Herod's palaces found great stores of arms left by Herod.⁶³ He did not appear to trust the commanders of his strongholds and preferred to keep such things under his own control. Such suspicions had probably been caused by the attempts of Herod's own family to gain control of his fortresses and the royal treasure, and through them control of the kingdom.⁶⁴

Herod used his royal residences not only for himself, but to entertain visiting dignitaries. In 15 B.C. he entertained Agrippa, the second most important man in the Roman empire, with great state and pomp. Agrippa visited Sebaste, Caesarea, and fortresses of Alexandria, Hyrcania, and Herodium-in-Peraea. Herod attempted to impress

⁶²War 7:300.

⁶³War 7:298-299, Ant. 17:271.

⁶⁴Ant. 15:247-251, 16:317-319.

him with Judaea's peace, wealth, and high degree of civilization, all due, of course, to Rome's wise choice of Herod as king.⁶⁵

Herod scattered his palatial residences throughout the country to insure that he would always be assured of a comfortable and secure residence. His love of luxury and opulence caused the interiors of the palaces to be outstanding in their decoration,⁶⁶ his anxiety for his safety resulted in their defenses.

Religious Structures

In his religious buildings, Herod was usually motivated more by political considerations than by piety. Despite his splendid restoration of the temple at Jerusalem, and the pious reasons he claimed,⁶⁷ no truly devout Jew would have erected so many magnificent temples to pagan gods.⁶⁸ Within his own realm he built at least three temples to Augustus and Roma: at Caesarea Maritima, Sebaste, and Paneas.

⁶⁵Ant. 16:12-14.

⁶⁶War 5:178-180.

⁶⁷Ant. 15:384-387.

⁶⁸War 1:407.

Herod's greatest religious structure was the temple at Jerusalem. In rebuilding it into what he wished to be the most magnificent building in the Hellenized world Herod had a four-fold reason. Firstly, despite any doubts about the depth or sincerity of Herod's faith, he was a Jew by upbringing and profession, and wanted his god to have a worthy temple. Undoubtedly he also wished to win the gratitude, if not the affection of the Jews he ruled who had never fully accepted the 'Idumaeen upstart'. He also wished to enhance the prestige and importance of his faith, capital city, and kingdom to the rest of the world. Lastly, the possibly most important reason, was Herod's own ego. He wanted above all to be known and remembered as a great king; a civilized pious man, a doer of great deeds and builder of great works, surpassing even Solomon in his honouring of Yahweh.

Economic/Urban Building

Herod founded, refounded, or embellished many cities. His work ranges from donating a single structure such as the gymnasium at Ptolemais, to constructing an entire city such as Antipatris

He rebuilt or at least provided the funds for the temple of Apollo at Rhodes, and might have done the same for other foreign countries.⁶⁹ He was always careful, however, to keep such structures out of the intensely Jewish areas of his kingdom.

Within Judaea there are two Harams that have been attributed to Herod, at Mamre and Hebron. They seem to have been intended as protective enclosures around traditionally sanctified areas and as such would have aroused no objections from the Jewish population. There was a tradition that Herod had been born in this area, and he would have naturally wished to honour his birthplace. Both of the structures that he built in this area were associated intimately with Abraham,⁷⁰ who was the common ancestor of not only the Jews and Arabs, but the Idumaeans.⁷¹ Thus Herod's motivation in so honouring Abraham was to emphasize his kinship and common heritage with the Jews he ruled, possibly in response to the belief that Herod was not a 'true Jew'.

⁶⁹Ant. 16:147 Temple foundations have been found at Phasaelis. The deity is unknown, but would undoubtedly have been pagan.

⁷⁰Genesis 13:18, 25:9.

⁷¹Genesis 36.

or Caesarea. Many of the cities of Judaea had been ruined or damaged in the civil wars among the last of the Hasmoneans, which had ended only after Herod had secured his kingdom in 37 B.C. The security and prosperity of the kingdom required that Herod restore at least some of these cities to their former state.

In the south of his kingdom Herod rebuilt the city of Anthedon, re-naming it Agrippias in honour of his friend Agrippa. He also built the great port-city of Caesarea on the site of the ruined town of Strato's Tower. Caesarea was especially important, located as it was near the centre of the country, and providing the only sheltered port south of Mount Carmel. These two cities provided the country with valuable anchorages. Such ports were necessary if Herod hoped to carry on trade of any extent with the Roman world.

Sebaste, Antipatris and Phasaelis were located in the centres of important agricultural districts. They also functioned as the economic centres of these districts. They would have been the market centres for the agricultural products.⁷²

⁷²Antipatris had a market, at least at a later date, WHJP, Chapter V, n. 168. Sebaste and Phasaelis had forums.

Sebaste was the capital of the administrative district of Samaria, and would have been the seat of local government and a centre for tax collection.

Herod made certain that the population of these cities consisted mainly of non-Jews whose main allegiance was to Herod alone. He usually populated the cities with his veterans who were Gentile mercenaries with no connections to the internal religious conflicts of the country.

The various edifices with which Herod embellished many cities were built to both improve the cities and please the population. Herod built aqueducts and fountains in many places, providing the populace with water not only for personal use, but for agriculture and industry. By supplying water for the last two pursuits Herod would benefit himself eventually; an increase in the water supply would lead to an increase in agricultural production, and Herod would be able to tax the increase.

Herod built many gymnasia, theatres, amphitheatres and hippodromes within and without his kingdom.⁷³ This was partially an attempt to make himself more popular with the lower classes,

⁷³War 1:422.

although he was not unaware that if the people were amused in their spare time, they would be less likely to resent his rule.

Herod also built these structures as part of a subtle program designed to Hellenize his subjects by accustoming them to the pursuits, pleasures, and culture of the Greek World.⁷⁴ In this he was much more ingenious than his Selucid predecessors, who had carried on their Hellenizing with such enthusiasm that the more conservative of the people revolted.⁷⁵ Some of Herod's Jewish antagonists did realize what he was doing, but could not defeat his purpose.⁷⁶

All of Herod's cities had four things in common. They had strategic locations for trade and commerce, agriculture and industry. They were located on important roads, frequently cross-roads. They were colonized by non-Jews loyal to Herod, and they had been built according to a regular plan.

In addition to the building that Herod did in many places outside his kingdom, he supplied many cities with the funds to erect their own

⁷⁴Ant. 15:267

⁷⁵Ant. 12:240, 253, I Maccabees

⁷⁶Ant. 15:227.

structures. His gifts to Askalon have been interpreted as support for the belief that Herod's ancestors came from that city,⁷⁷ but the gifts may be more properly categorized with his gifts to Ptolemais, Damascus and the other cities of the Levant, intended to cultivate the good will of his near neighbours.

Many of Herod's other gifts arose from his gratitude and loyalty to those who helped him. His many gifts to the people of Rhodes, for example, were in thanks for their hospitality to him when he was on his first trip to Rome.⁷⁸ Josephus believed that Herod took pleasure in displaying generosity in foreign countries because of the gratitude the people were willing to display.⁷⁹ The Jewish people preferred to honour character rather than actions, and would not give Herod the admiration he desired. The foreign nations had no such scruples, and would further be willing to erect such things as statues and temples to Herod, both honours he could not have in Judaea.

⁷⁷ Perowne, supra n. 49, pp 21-22 cites the ancient sources claiming Herod's great-grandfather was a servant in the temple of Apollo in Askalon.

⁷⁸ War 1:280, 424

⁷⁹ Ant. 16:158-159

Chapter V

Conclusion: Herod's Motivations

The policy by which Herod ruled his kingdom was threefold and simple. He was aware that Judaea remained independent at the whim of Rome, and he was determined to retain this independence and keep the Romans out of his country for as long as possible. Herod wished to promote the welfare and status of the Jewish people both within his boundaries and in the rest of the western world. He also wanted to westernize or rather Hellenize his country, so that it would be considered modern and civilized by the rest of the world, and be able to take an important, if not a leading role among the Roman provinces and client states.

Herod held his crown under Roman authority first under the patronage of Antony, and then of Augustus. He was a client king, and was subordinate to Rome.⁸⁰ He had a free hand in the internal affairs of his kingdom, insofar as his arrangements did not interfere with the overall policy of Rome. In external affairs was severely restricted, not being

⁸⁰Ant. 17:42.

allowed to undertake any expedition outside his boundaries without permission.⁸¹ The freedom that Herod was allowed to exercise in his kingdom was more liberal than the average client king, and arose from his personal friendship with Augustus and Agrippa.⁸²

Throughout his reign Herod continually supported the Jews who lived outside his realm. Herod, as leader of a Jewish state, was genuinely interested in the welfare of the Jewish people. He was aware that he would be likely to gain more support from the foreign Jews than the Jews of Judaea. The Jews of the Diaspora had less loyalty to the remnants of the Hasmonean dynasty and would be less likely to resent Herod as a usurper. They also had the advantage of not being involved in the internal politics of Judaea, which may have influenced Herod's decision to appoint foreign Jews to the high priesthood.⁸³ Herod frequently intervened in the interest of the Jews in other countries under Roman rule.⁸⁴ He wished simultaneously to champion Judaism while attempting to make the

⁸¹Ant. 16:277, 298, 345.

⁸²War 1:400.

⁸³Ant. 15:22, 230.

⁸⁴Ant. 16:27-30, 62-65.

Palestinian Jews accept the rule of the Romans and fit into the Roman world as the Jews of the Diaspora were attempting to do.

A major complaint of the Gentiles against the foreign Jews concerned the money sent yearly to the temple in Jerusalem.⁸⁵ By building expensive public buildings in these foreign countries, Herod was in effect returning money to replace that sent to the temple, without causing any loss of revenue or prestige to the temple itself. In this way, Herod attempted to earn the gratitude of the foreign Jews and Gentiles, as well as his own subjects.

The building program pursued by Herod fitted well into his overall policy. His position as a client king dependent upon the good will of Rome prevented him from expending his energies by expanding his kingdom, so instead he worked on beautifying and fortifying it. Herod gave his country peace, prosperity and security. His building program gave employment and occupation to thousands of men who in less tranquil times would be employed in the army. Josephus related that ten thousand workmen were required for the construction of the temple along.⁸⁶ Unemployment was not a problem under Herod.

⁸⁵ Ant. 16:45

⁸⁶ Ant. 15:390

Consequently, the unrest which occasionally arose tended to have its foundations in the upper classes, and in the traditional religious disputes, rather than on economic grounds. The lower classes were too busy and prosperous. Herod was able to maintain internal peace comparatively easily and provided the Romans with no reason to end his rule.⁸⁷

Herod enjoyed building in non-Jewish areas, because there alone could he permit his artistic taste to fully express itself. Within Judaea strict interpretation of the Mosaic Law limited his decoration and banned statuary. Outside his kingdom he had no such limits. Statues of Herod himself would even be permitted.⁸⁸ Pagan temples were totally forbidden on Jewish territory, and had to be built elsewhere or the Jews would have revolted.⁸⁹

The final, and perhaps most important motivation, for Herod's building program that must be examined is the character of Herod himself. Herod spent his entire life.

⁸⁷For the economy of Judaea under Herod, see J. Klausner, Chapter V, WHJP. For the financing of the building program, see M. Stern, Chapter III WHJP, p. 97ff.

⁸⁸There are two extant statue bases of Herod, one in Athens, and the other from Seeia in the Hauran.

⁸⁹Ant. 16:328

Herod spent his entire life in a constant quest for security, prosperity and popularity. Herod ruled a small, backward, and internationally unimportant principality. He longed to be one of the enlightened Hellenistic monarchs of his era, intelligent and cultured. He surrounded himself with Greeks, employed Nicholas of Damascus as his private tutor, and tried to imitate in every way the type of king he envied, but was not.⁹⁰ Herod outside of his realm, conformed to the image and behavior of a proper client king: Hellenistic monarch built cities and dedicated temples to Augustus, therefore so would Herod.⁹¹ Within his realm Herod was an oriental despot with only a veneer of civilization.

Josephus was aware of the side of Herod's character that motivated his building.

Herod loved honours, and, being powerfully dominated by this passion, he was led to display generosity whenever there was reason to hope for future remembrance or present reputation...⁹²

He was intent upon his own interests or was also ambitious to leave behind to posterity still greater monuments of his reign. It was for this reason that he was keenly interested in the reconstruction of cities and spent very great sums on this work.⁹³

⁹⁰G. W. Bowersock, Augustus and the Greek World Oxford: 1965, pp. 134-138

⁹¹Suetonius, Augustus: 60

⁹²Ant. 16:152-154

⁹³Ant. 15:330

Herod's quest for security led him to construct his chain of border fortresses to protect his kingdom from external threat.⁹⁴ He was more concerned, however, for his own safety. Herod had come to the throne against the wishes of the people, and consequently, he did not trust the people not to revolt against him. To prevent such a revolt, Herod placed colonies in strategic areas such as Sebaste, Antipatris and Gaba. He made his residences into citadels to enable him to successfully defend himself if a rebellion broke out and he could not escape to a friendly area. Herod's defensive building was designed as much to control the population and defend Herod from the people as it was to protect the entire kingdom.

Herod's desire for prosperity was concerned with his wish to preserve both his personal security and that of his throne. To please the Romans upon whose favour his crown depended, Herod had constantly to prove his abilities as a ruler. By making Judaea prosperous and causing the economy to flourish, Herod not only pleased the Romans, he satisfied the people and kept the country tranquil, and increased his own wealth. To these ends Herod built ports and economic centres, and provided employment for the people. Herod's economic ventures in turn provided him with the funds with which he won Rome's favour by rich gifts, and paid for his buildings.

⁹⁴War. 7:300

Much of Herod's building was motivated by his eagerness for fame and popularity, within his own kingdom and the rest of the world. Rebuilding the temple was an attempt to win the approval of the Jewish population, as was his policy of never depicting living creatures in his artwork; for his pagan population Herod provided temples to Augustus and Roma.⁹⁵ Herod also used his building program as a means of satisfying his ego, building monuments to himself since on one else would.

Throughout his reign, Herod attempted to reconcile two conflicting extremes. He wished to remain king of a nation unique among all others because of its religion and heritage, yet at the same time he wished the country to fit into the Roman world. Herod succeeded in creating a new style of architecture from the Roman, Hellenistic and Oriental traditions, but he was not able to blend the peoples or beliefs as he had joined the architecture. He made valiant attempts to do both, and his building program was one of the ways in which he attempted to pacify these tensions and to unite the people.

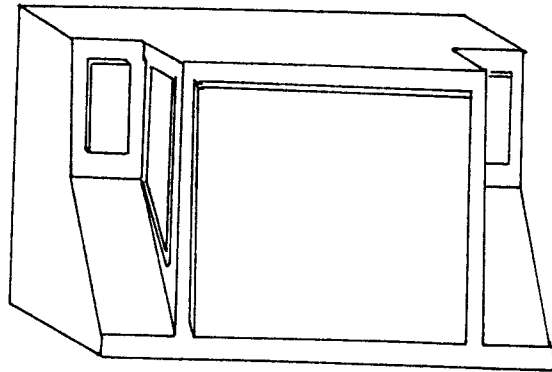
⁹⁵For Herod's own reconciliation of these policies see Ant. 15:330.



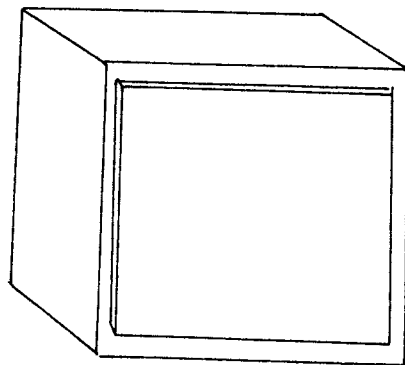
FIG. 1

Nabataea

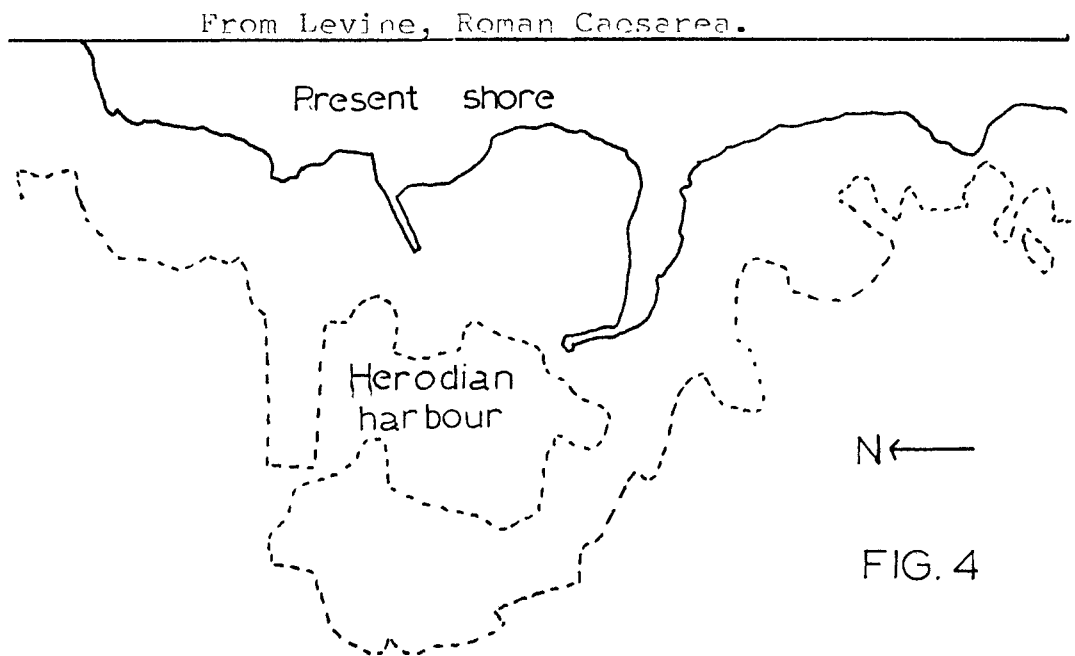
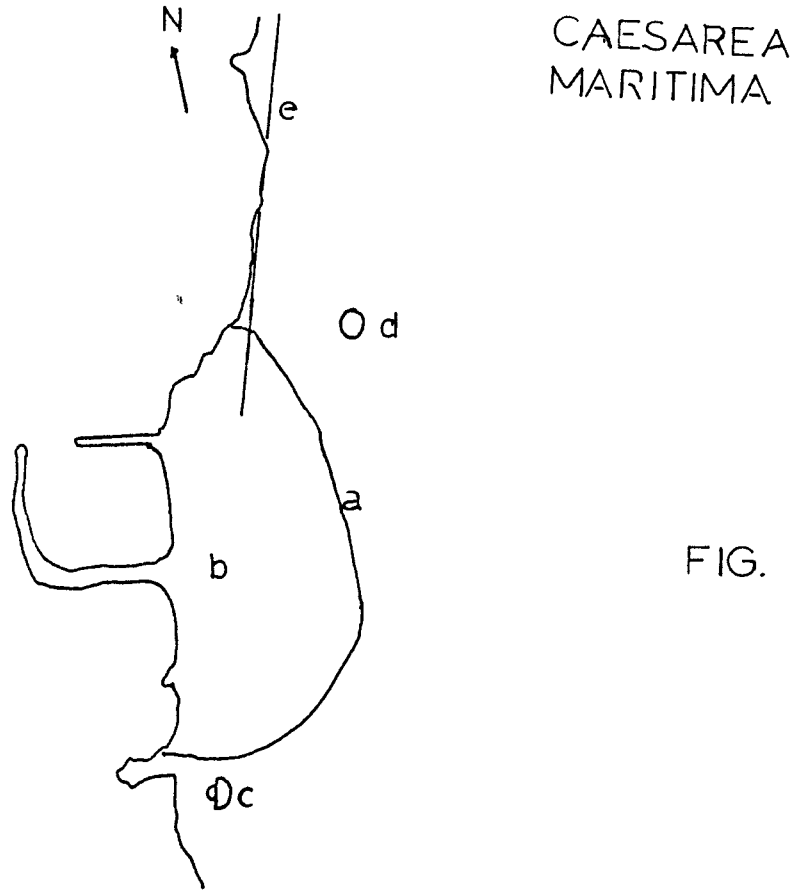
FIG. 2



Pilaster base

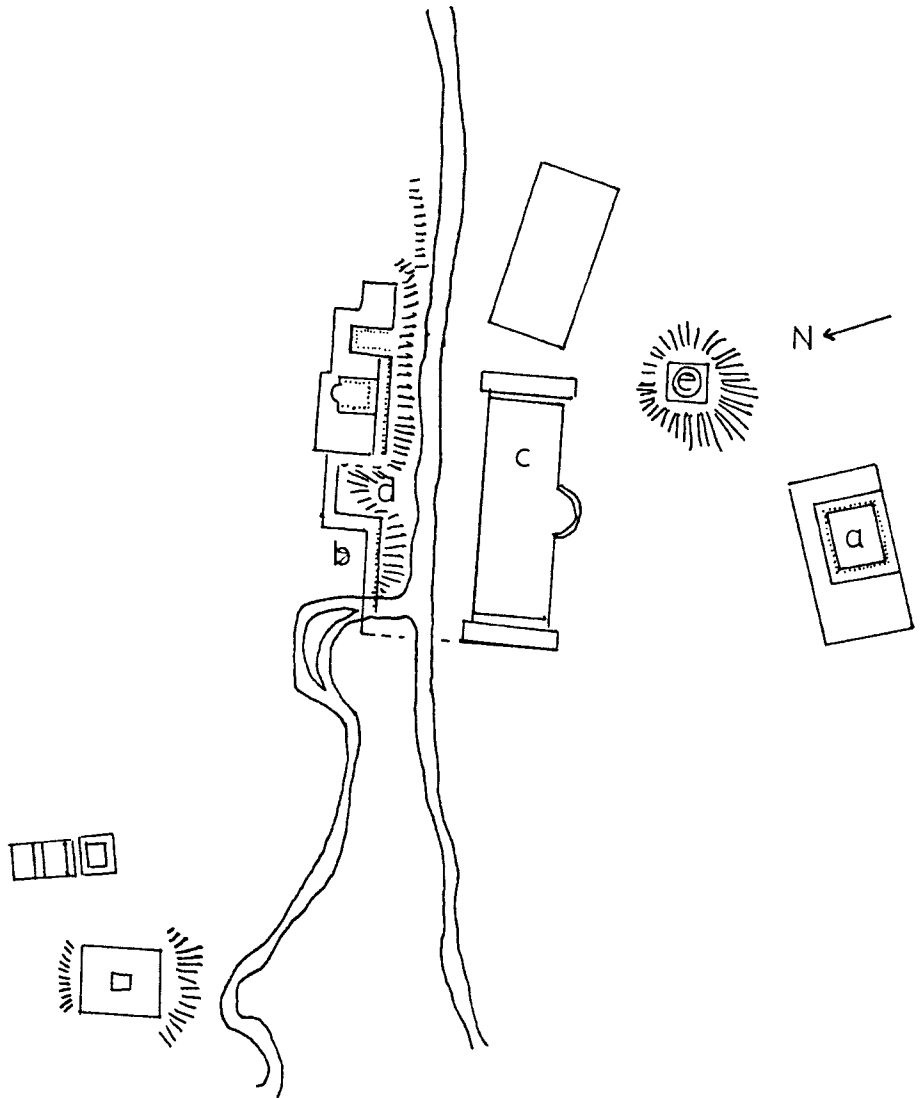


Ashlar masonry



JERICHO

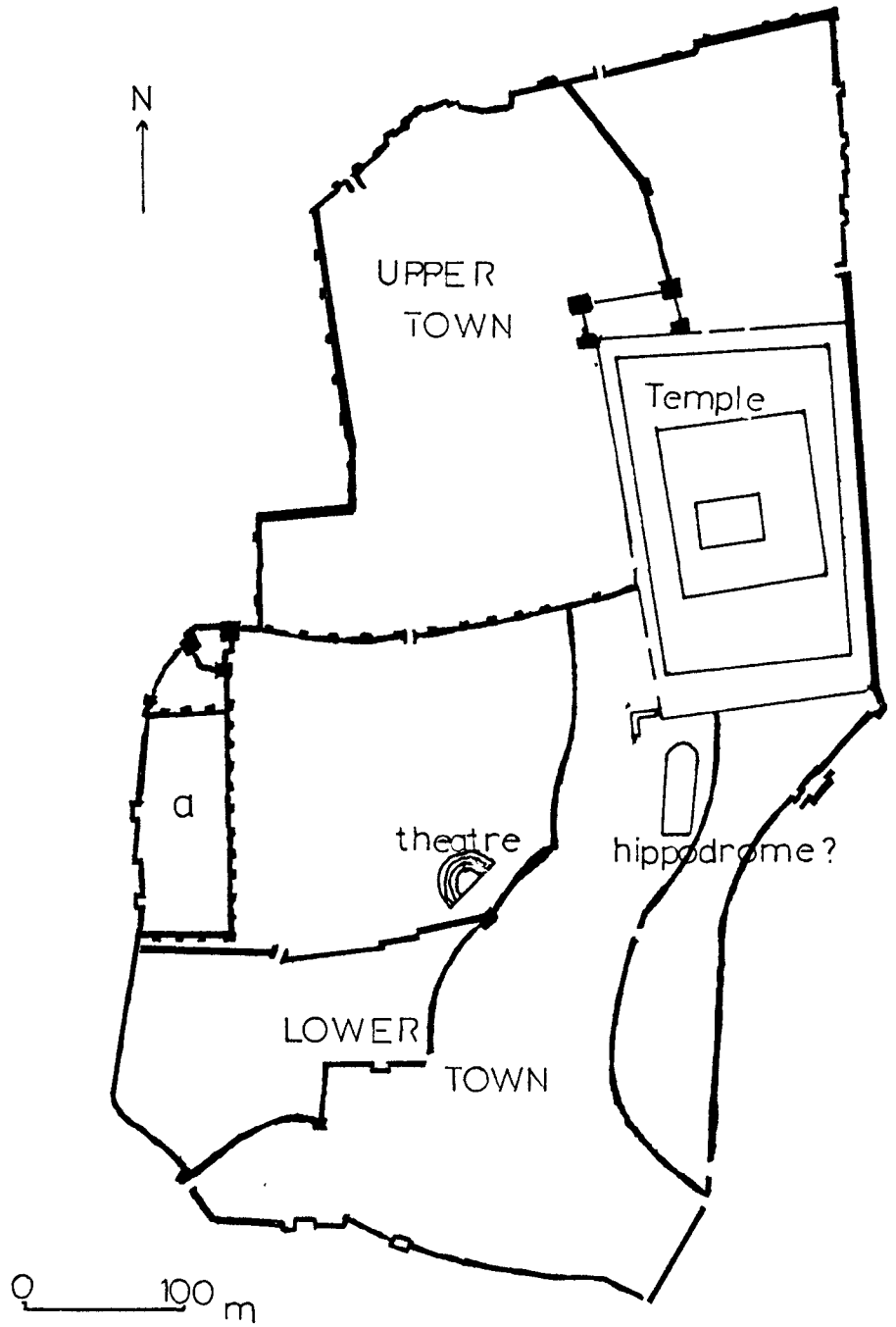
FIG. 5



From IEJ 25 (1975) p. 91.

JERUSALEM

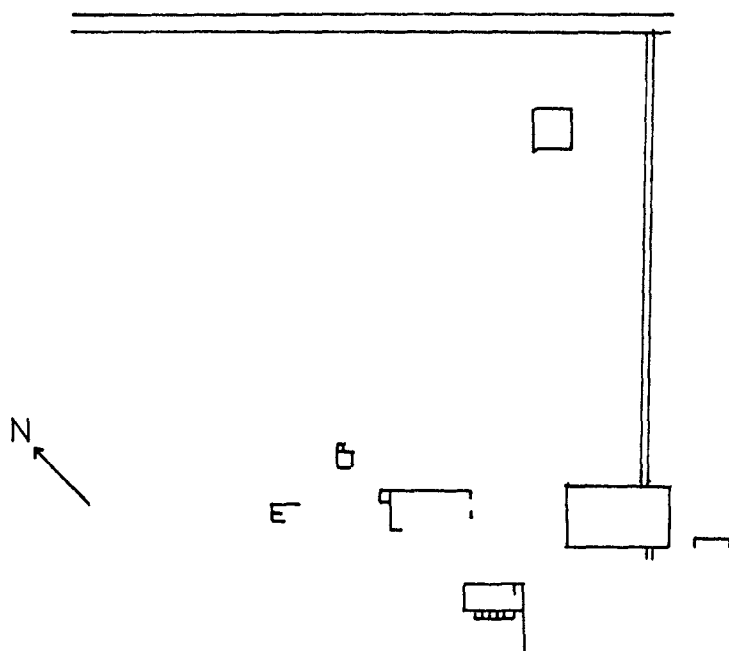
FIG. 6



From Dan Bahat, Carta's Historical Atlas of Jerusalem.
Jerusalem:Carta, 1973 p. 13.

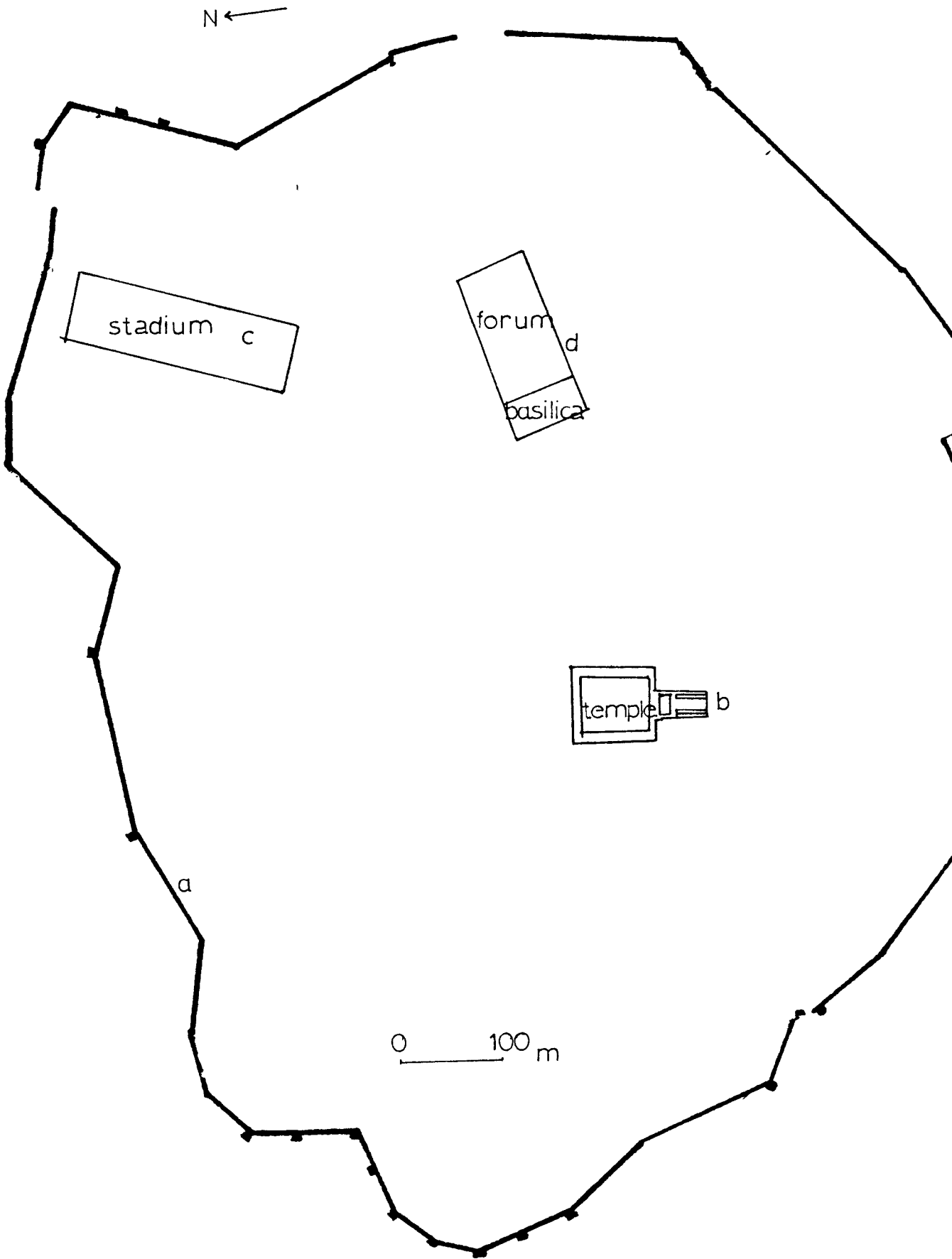
PHASAEELIS

FIG. 7



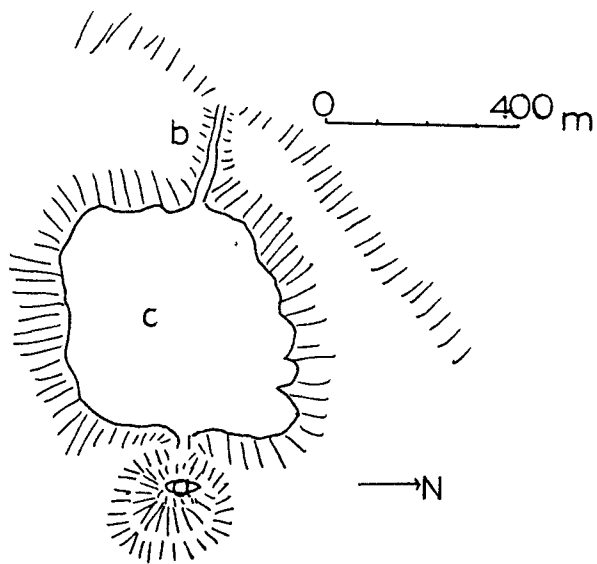
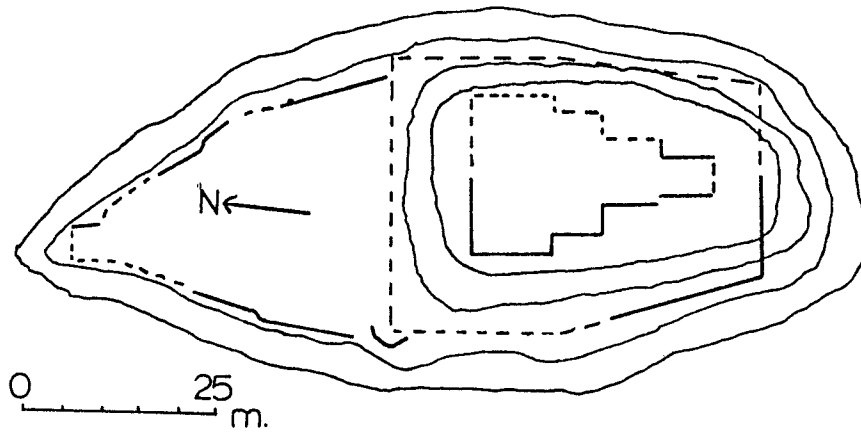
From ZDPV 78 (1962) p. 59.

FIG. 8



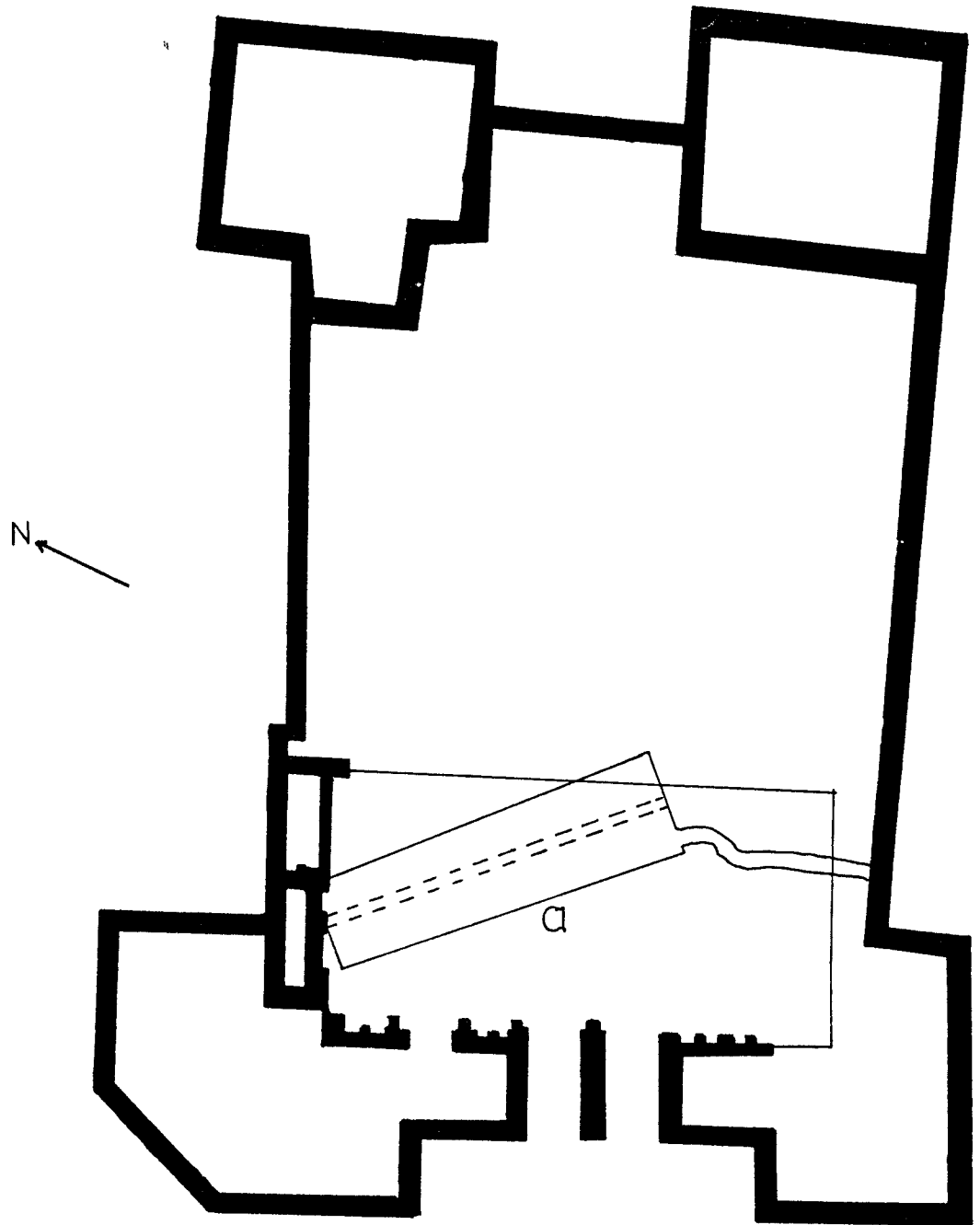
From Crowfoot, pl. 1.

Alexandrium



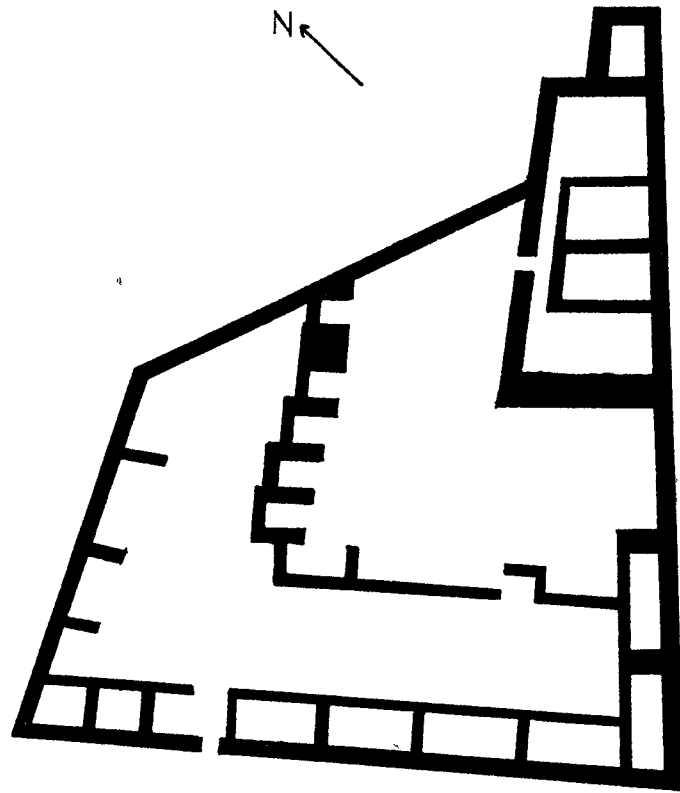
From RB 10 (1913) pp. 229,230.

FIG. 10

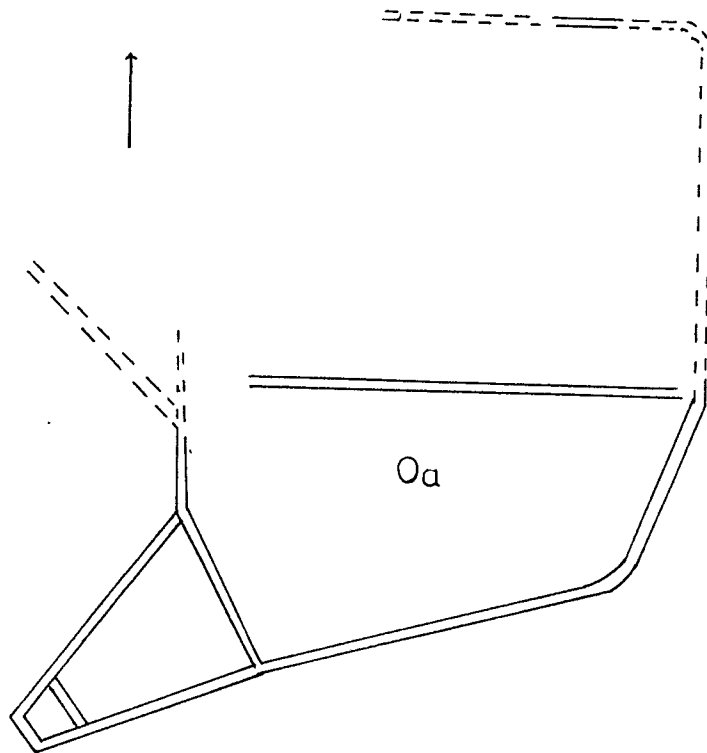
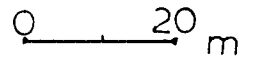


0 20 m

From Vincent and Steve, pl. XLII

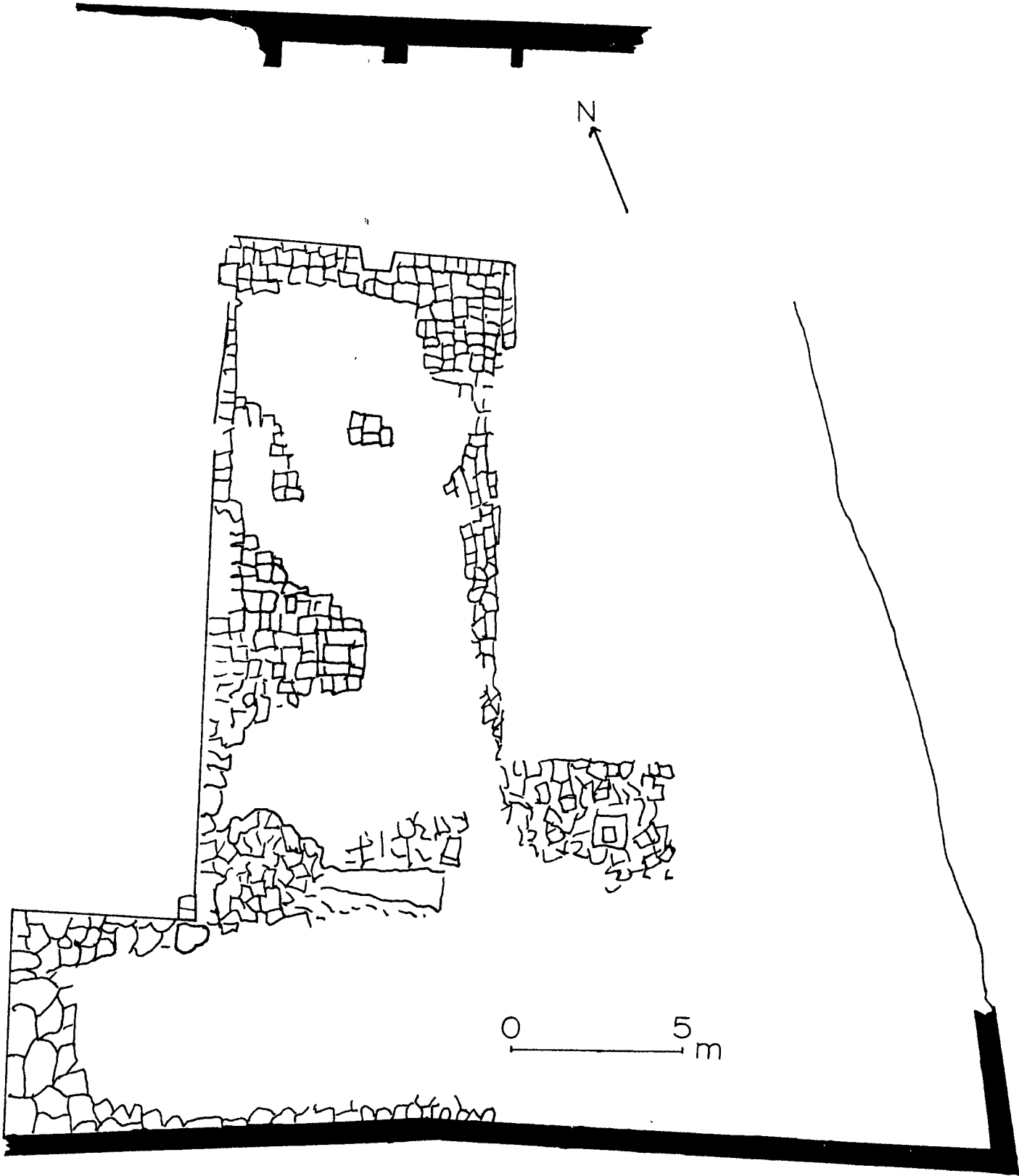


From Biblica 14 (1933) p. 401.



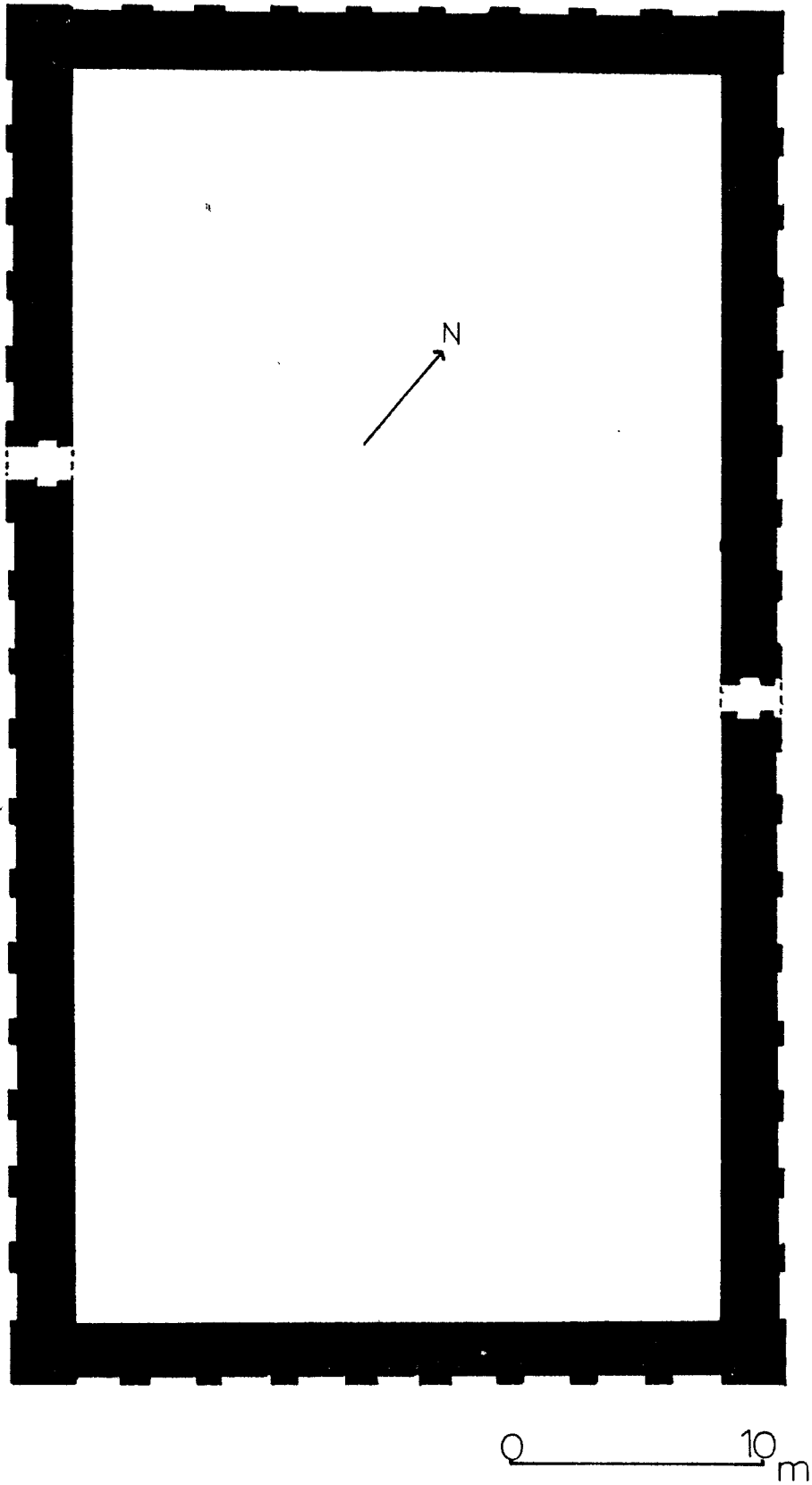
From ZDPV 78 (1962), p. 52.

FIG.13



From Biblica 42 (1961) fig. 2.

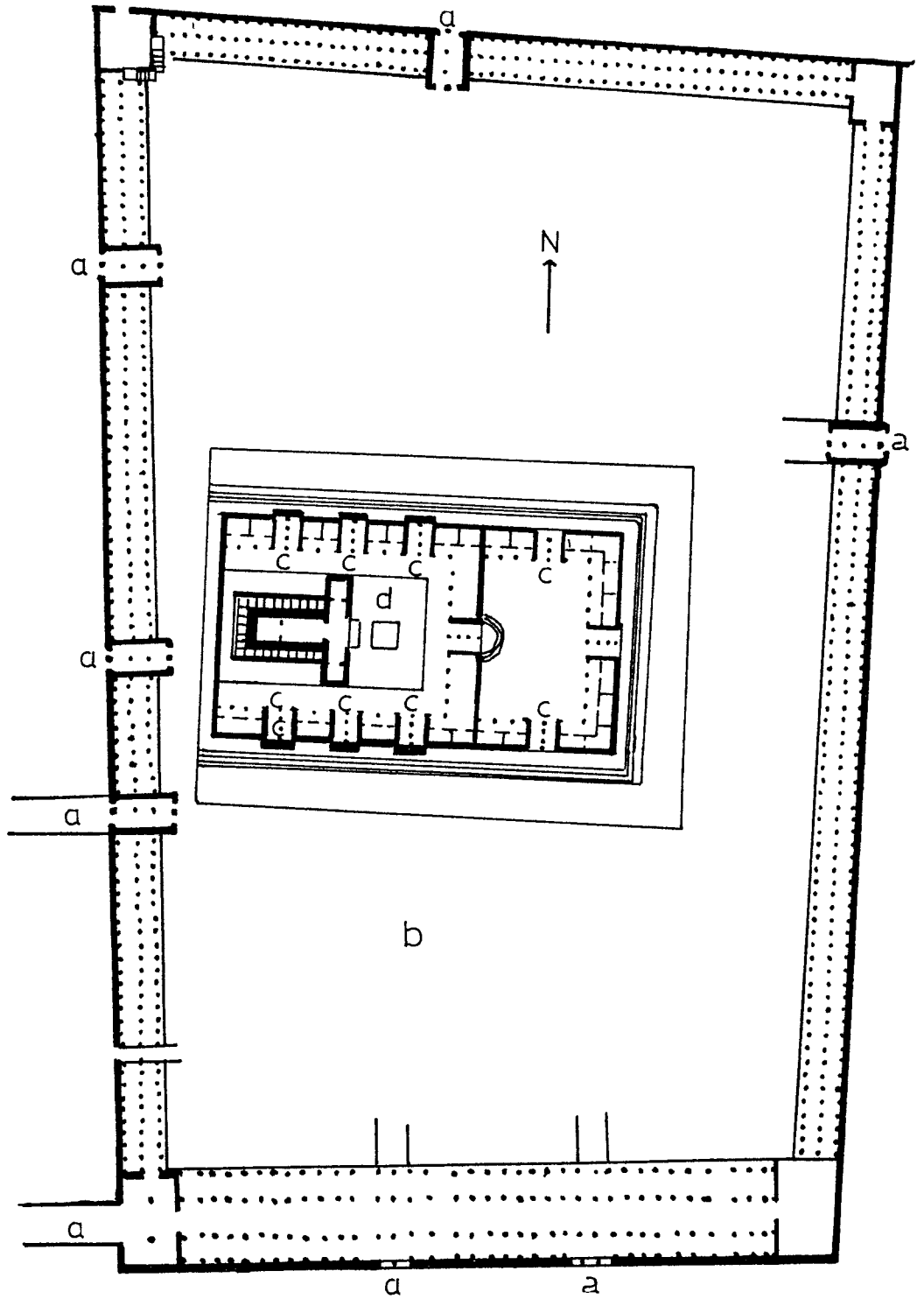
FIG. 14



From DB Supp. 5 cols. 618-627.

JERUSALEM TEMPLE

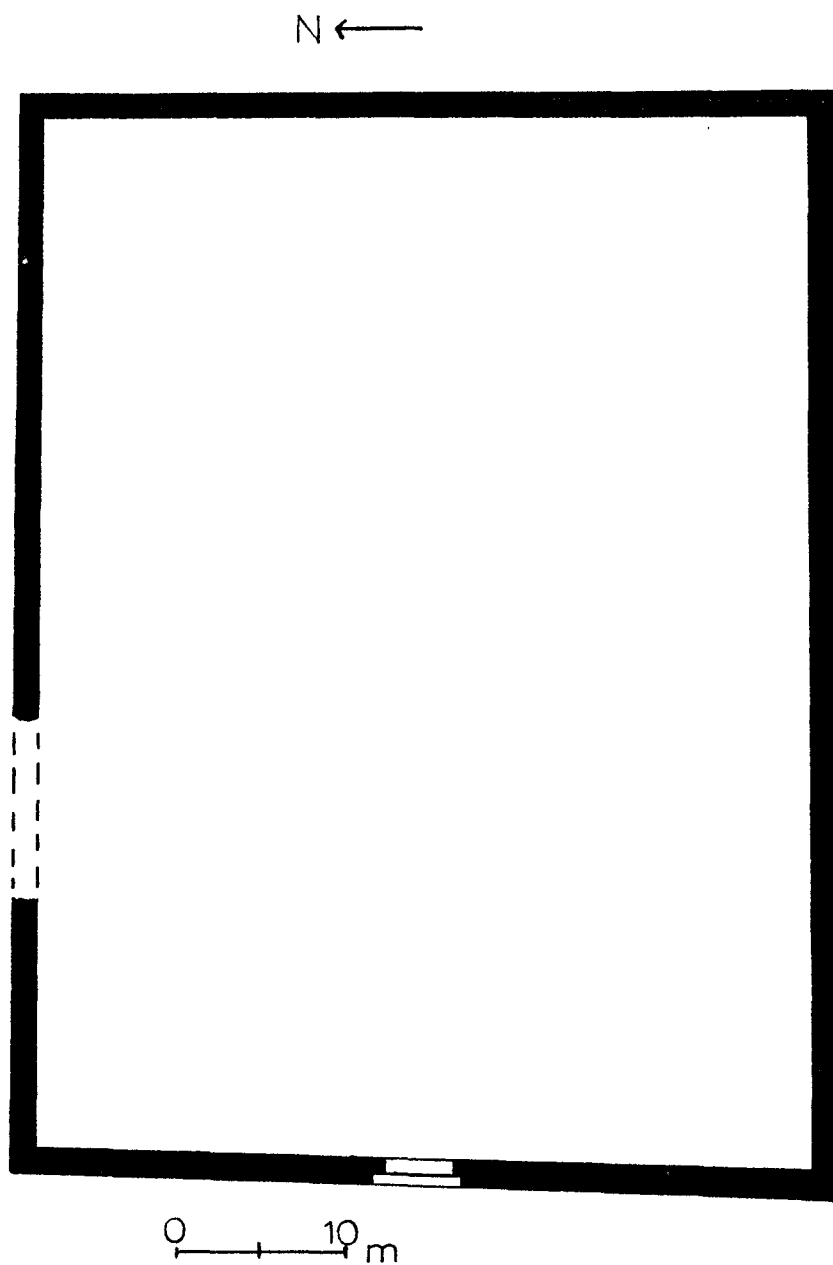
FIG. 15



From Vincent and Steve pl. CII.

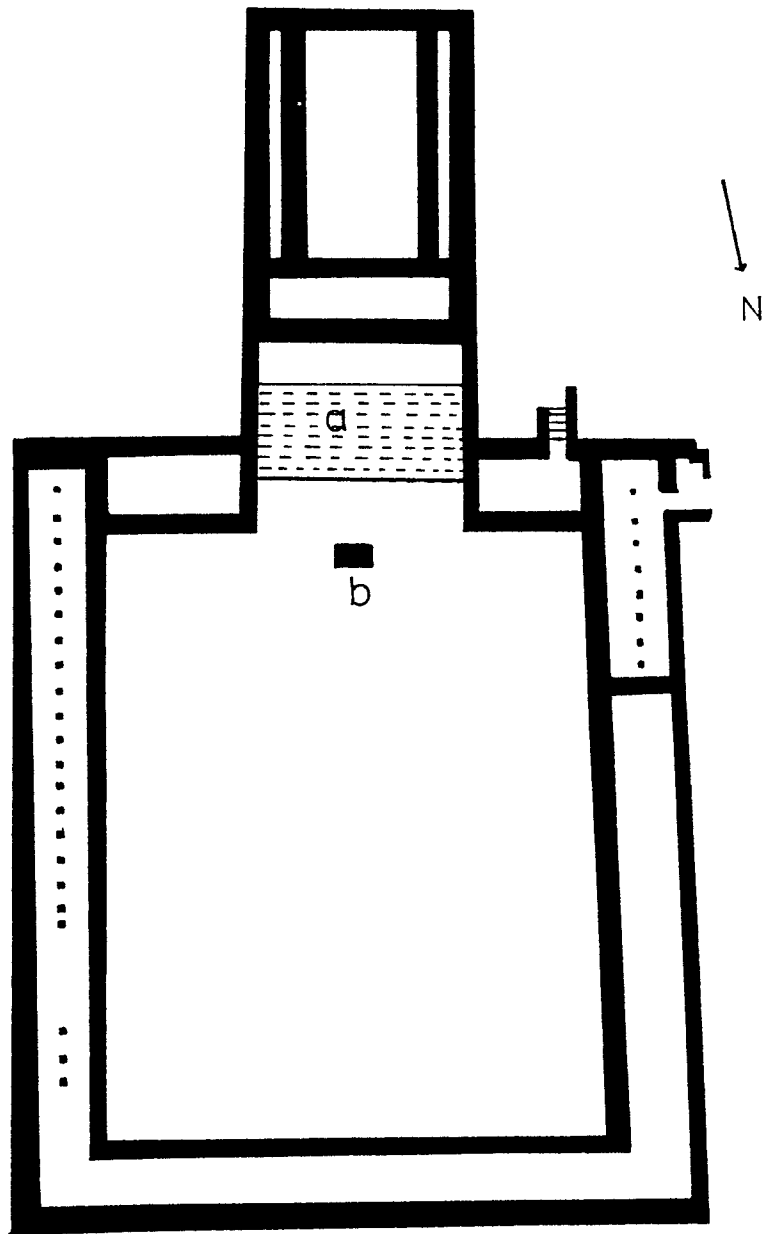
MAMRÉ

FIG.16



From RB 37 (1930) p. 87.

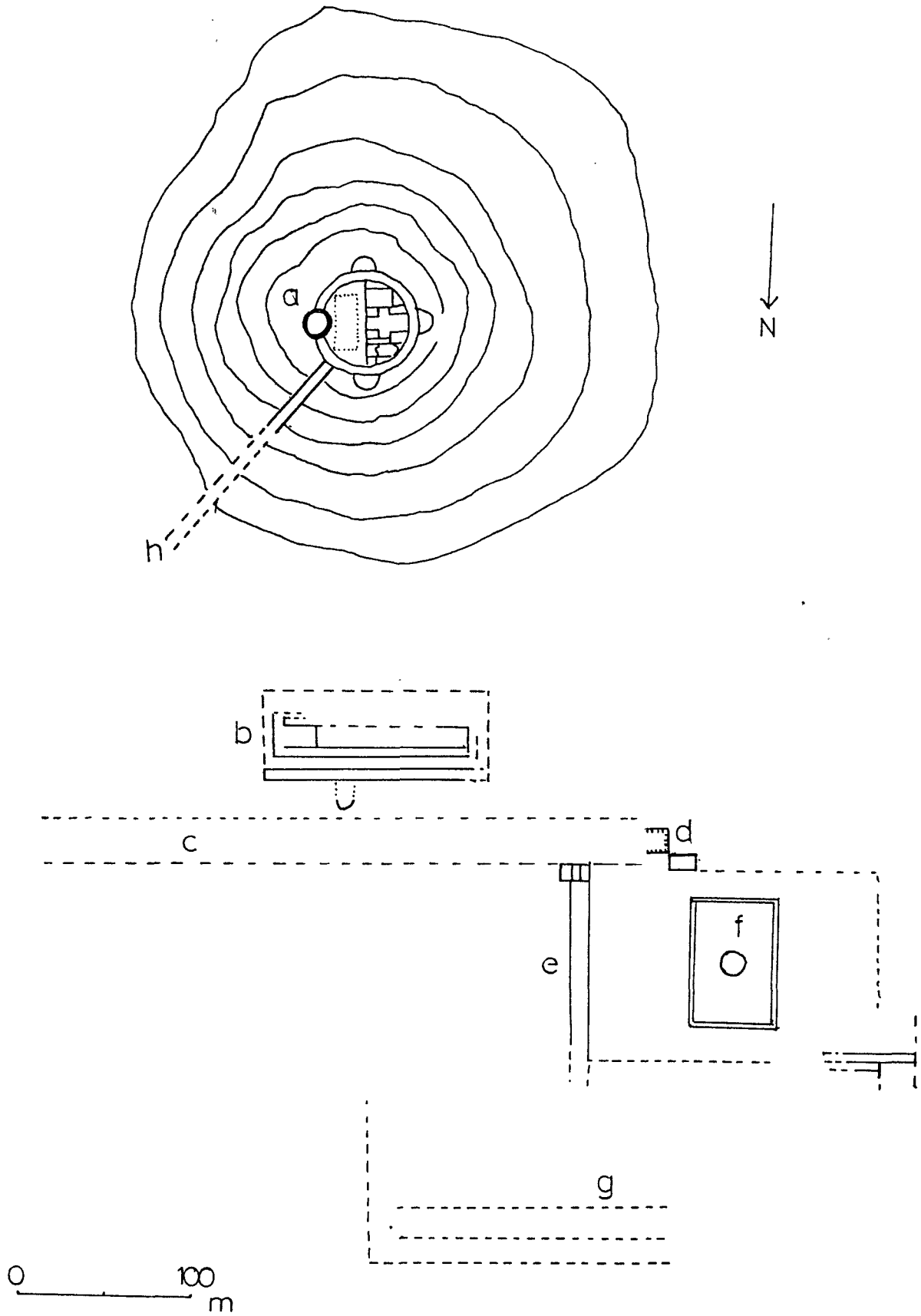
FIG.17



From Crowfoot, pl. IX.

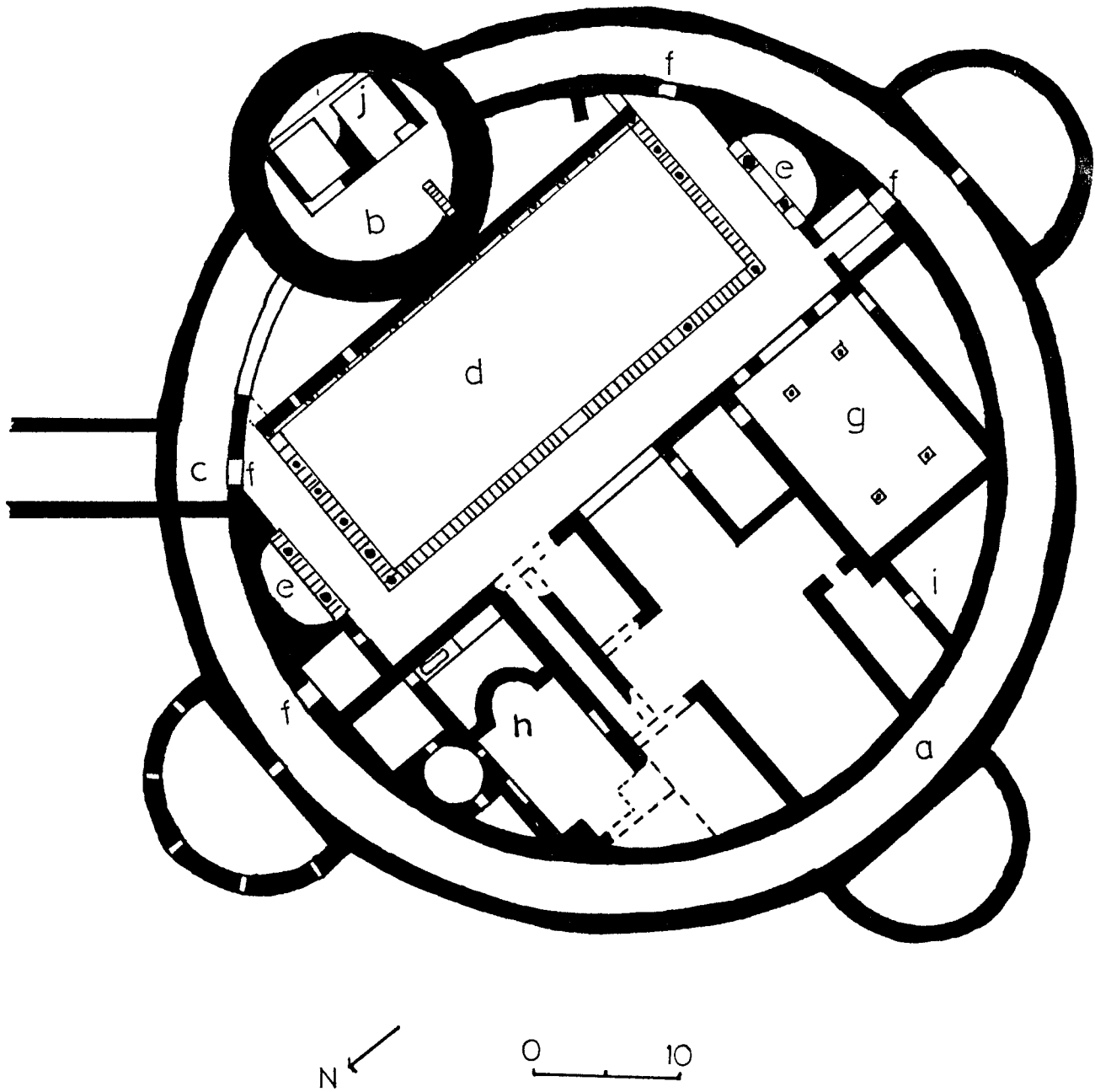
0 30 m

FIG.18



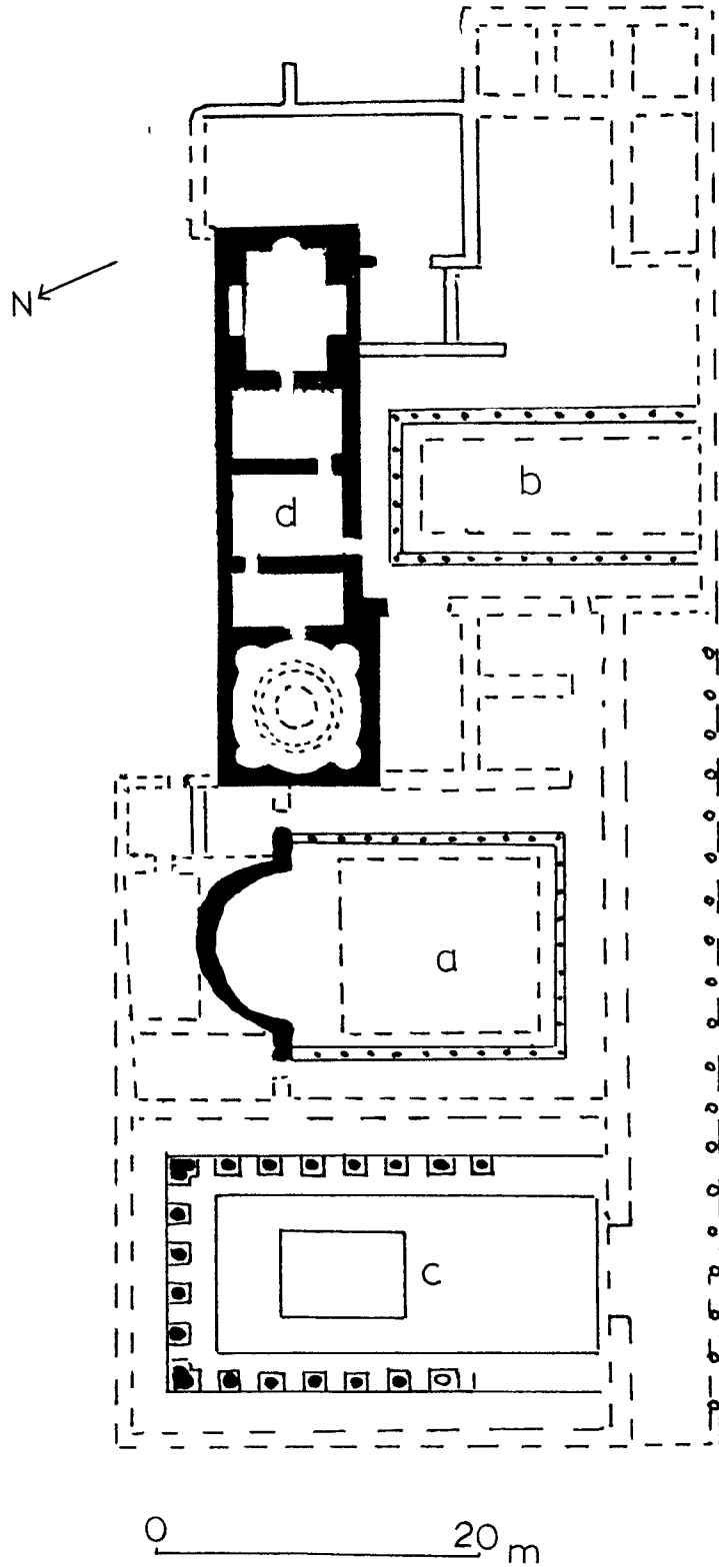
From Ency. Vol II p. 506.

FIG. 19



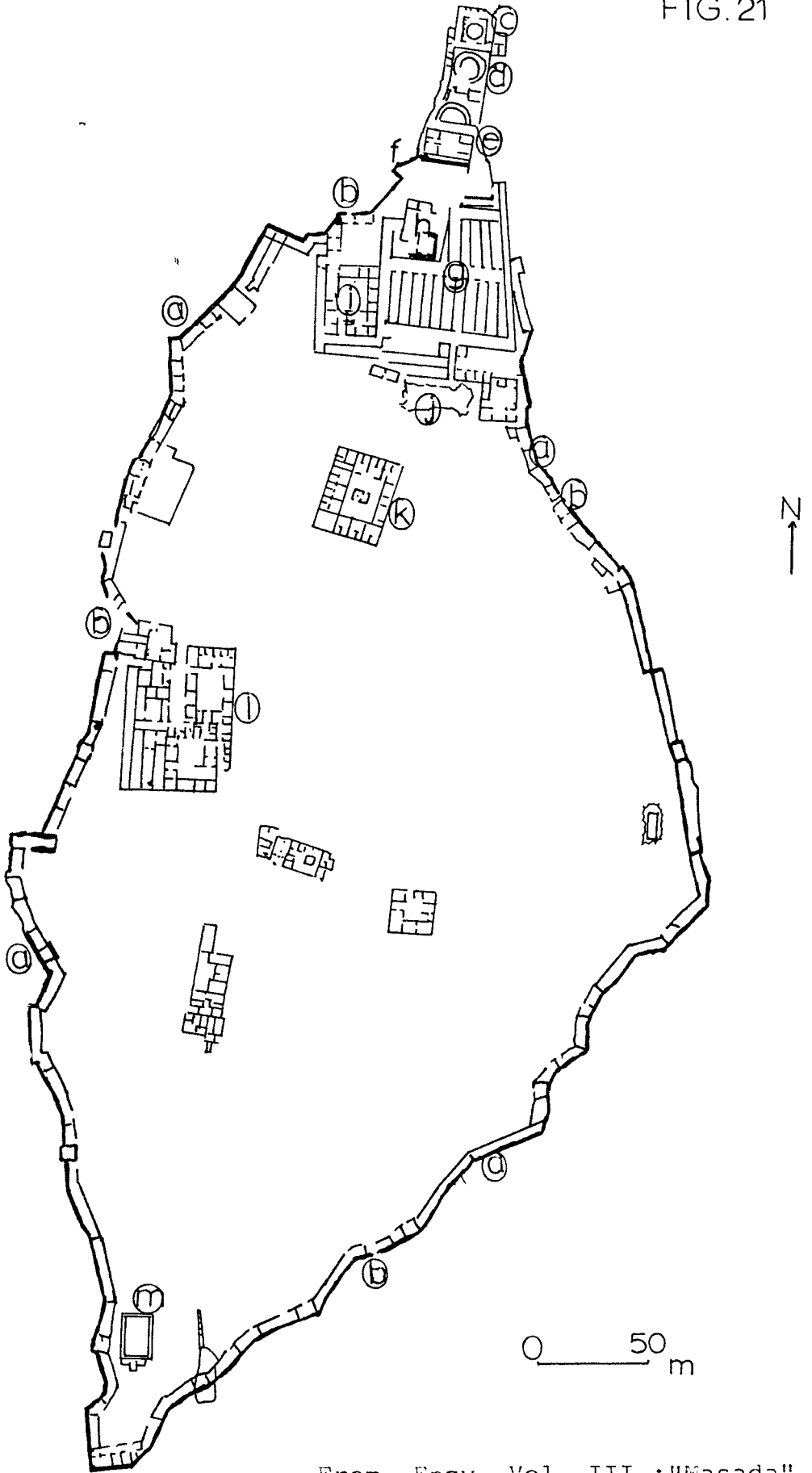
From Ency. Vol. II p. 504.

FIG. 20



From IEJ 25 (1975) p. 94.

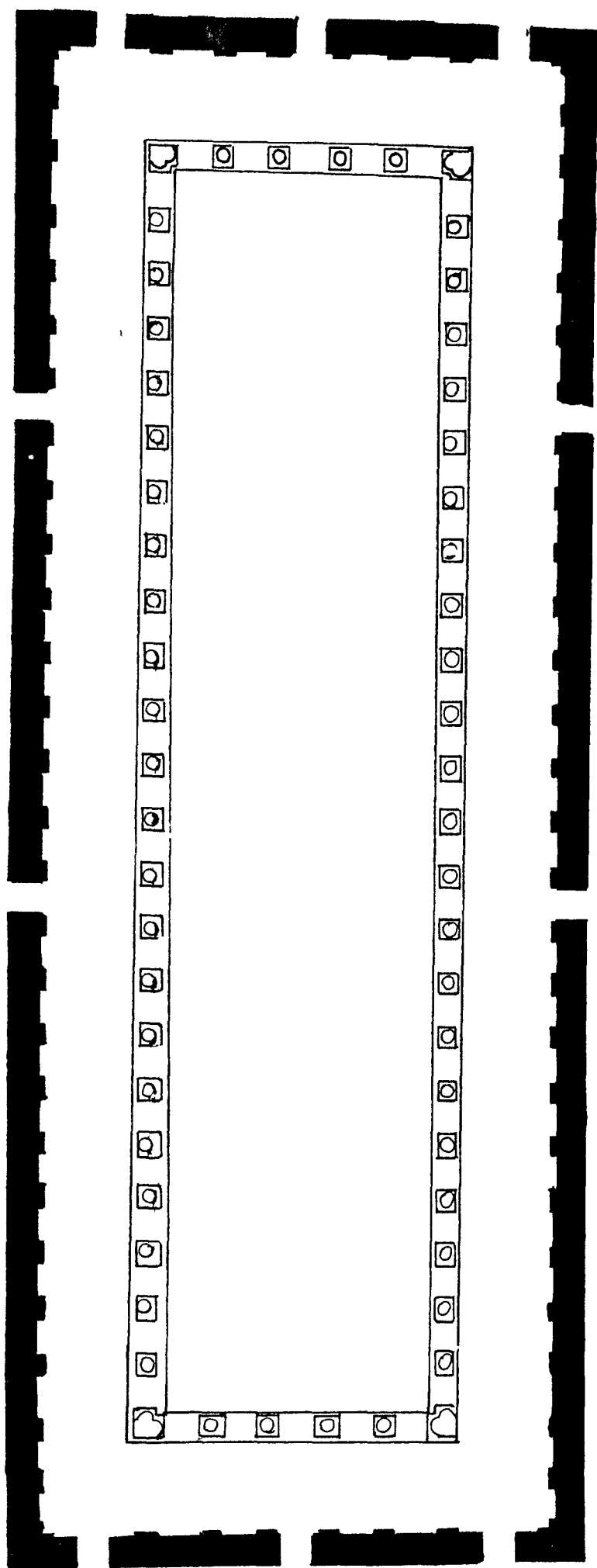
FIG. 21



From Ency. Vol. III : "Masada".

ASKALON

FIG. 22



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From PEF
1924, p. 24.

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