

HERODIUM

Final Reports of the 1972–2010 Excavations

Directed by Ehud Netzer

Volume I

Herod's Tomb Precinct

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CHAPTER 5

THE ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION OF THE MAUSOLEUM

Orit Peleg-Barkat and Rachel Chachy

The mausoleum discovered in 2007 on the northeastern slope of Mount Herodium, ascribed by the excavators to King Herod, was one of the most impressive funerary monuments ever to be built in Judea. Although many of the mausoleum's stones are missing, enough have survived to allow a reconstruction of the tomb that originally attained a height of *c.* 25 m. Rachel Chachy, the architect of the expedition, was responsible for the sorting, measurement, and drawing of the architectural decoration elements, as well as for the reconstruction of the mausoleum *per se* on the basis of the analysis of the results (see Chapter 4: The Reconstruction of the Mausoleum). She presents a three-storied structure with a concave-conical roof. On top of the podium partially preserved *in situ*, that contained the bottom room, a square structure was built; it was decorated with (assumed) Doric pilasters bearing a Doric frieze and contained another room. A *tholos* encircled by 18 monolithic Ionic columns was built above it and was topped by a concave-conical roof surrounded by six urns, with a supplementary urn on top of a Corinthian capital crowning the entire structure (Ill. 4.6).

As stated by Chachy in the previous chapter, numerous architectural fragments were found throughout the fill around and above the mausoleum's remains. The current report is aimed at presenting and analyzing the architectural decoration elements from the mausoleum, which are discussed in typological order (i.e., from podium/pedestal moldings through column bases to columns shafts, capitals, entablature, and roof), and according to their order and type, including an examination of the fragments' style and composition in comparison to contemporary parallels. The report concludes with an appreciation of the entire mausoleum in light of similar funerary monuments in Judea and throughout the Mediterranean.

TYPOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Since the architectural decoration fragments were described in great detail in the previous chapter (including statements with regard to their state of preservation, size, number of elements of each component, etc.), the following typological discussion will only briefly present their main features and will focus on a stylistic analysis and comparative study.

PODIA

The podium of the mausoleum, its top surface

originally 9.95×9.95 m in size, stands on top of a built platform. It is preserved to its full height in the southern half of the structure and comprises a platform, a plain dado, and a crowning (Ills. 4.34, 5.1). The base molding contains a cyma recta molding on top of a low plinth and is crowned by a fillet. The crowning of the podium features (from bottom to top) a fillet, an ovolo, and a cavetto. The ashlar of the podium (as well as most, if not all, of the mausoleum's ashlar) feature *anathyrosis* on the side surfaces, a carving technique intended to ensure a perfect fit between building stones (see Chapter 4). This technique originated in Archaic and Classical Greece,¹ but was uncommon in Judea, attesting to

the attention to detail and meticulousness with which the mausoleum was built.²

Podia appear regularly in Hellenistic and Roman free-standing funerary monuments³ and served as means of enhancing their imposing height and thus turning them into dominant elements in the landscape, readily seen from a distance (Toynbee 1971: 125–127). High podia first appeared in Greek-style funerary monuments of the fourth century BCE in Lycia, southwest Turkey. One of the earliest examples is the so-called ‘Nereid Monument,’ built for Erbinna (Greek Arbinas), ruler of Lycian Xanthos, in *c.* 390–380 BCE (Coupel and Demargne 1969; Fedak 1990: 66–68). The inspiration may have come from the Persian Empire, of which the Lycians were nominal subjects, and in particular the tomb of Cyrus the Great (Lawrence 1996: 143; Boardman 2000:



Ill. 5.1. The southwestern corner of the podium as revealed *in situ*. (Photo: R. Chachy)

53–54).⁴ The prime example of this new tomb type of a temple-like structure on top of a high podium is the famous mausoleum in Halikarnassos, erected in 353–350 BCE for Mausolus of Caria, a satrap in the Persian Empire, and Artemisia II, who was both his wife and sister (Jeppesen and Luttrell 1986; Fedak 1990: 71–74; Jeppesen 2002). The splendor of this structure, designed by Greek architects and decorated by four of the leading Greek sculptors of the time, ensured the adoption of this tomb type throughout the Classical world and well into the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁵

The podia of Hellenistic and Roman funerary monuments vary in their proportions, decoration, as well as in the profiles of the moldings of their base and crowning. Some of them are richly decorated with relief, as in the case of the ‘Nereid Monument’ mentioned above or in the Monument of the Julii in St. Remy (ancient Glanum), France, dated to the reign of Augustus (Rolland 1969: Pl. 9; Ill. 4.133), while others bear an inscription commemorating the deceased (e.g., Gros 2001: 464–465, 473). Most podia, however, were left plain (e.g., Gros 2001: 479, 492, 497, 553), as is the case with the mausoleum found at Herodium.

The cymatium was a common simple crown molding, which also became widespread as a main element in the base molding (Shoe 1965: 143–165; Foerster 1995: 69–70). The podium of the Monument of the Julii, for example, has a simple cymatium profile both on its base and crowning (Rolland 1969: Pl. 9). However, most podia have more elaborate profiles, normally with a cyma recta profile for the base molding and an ovolo topped by a cyma recta for the crowning (e.g., Gros 2001: 498; Cummer 1971: Fig. 8). Such a profile also exists in the podium of Temple One in Omrit, northeast Israel (Nelson 2011: Fig. 03.03), dated by the excavators to Herod’s reign (Overman and Schowalter 2011: 102).⁶ The replacement of the cyma recta by a cavetto on the crowning of the Herodium podium has parallels in Herodian architecture and seems to reflect a local process of simplification.⁷ Thus, for example, the crowning moldings of the pedestals on the lower terrace of the Northern Palace in Masada also feature a cavetto on top of an ovolo (Foerster 1995: 69–70, Figs. 33, 287, Pl. Ia–b). The base and crowning moldings of the small podium of the drum

section in the Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem are almost identical to those on the podium of the Herodium mausoleum and also bear a cavetto on top of an ovolo as the crowning molding (Avigad 1954: Fig. 56a). Since this monument is probably later than the mausoleum under discussion here and dates from the early first century CE (ibid.: 130),⁸ this similarity seems to indicate the continuation of a local tradition and perhaps a reliance of the architects of the Tomb of Absalom on the Herodium mausoleum as source of inspiration and imitation.

According to the proposed reconstruction of the mausoleum, its upper story, fashioned as a *tholos*, stood above a podium. The moldings for its base and crowning are similar to those of the square podium discussed above. Similar podia appear on several funerary monuments with *tholoi*, e.g., on a funerary monument from Aquilea (Gros 2001: Fig. 479; Ill. 4.134), as well as on the Mausoleum of the Julii in Glanum (Rolland 1969: Pl. 19; Ill. 4.133). Another parallel is the above-mentioned podium below the drum section of the Tomb of Absalom in Jerusalem (here the simple drum replaces the *tholos*).

According to the proposed reconstruction, the outer wall of the circular room in the upper story also featured a podium or pedestal with a dado⁹ between the molded base and crowning. No parallels exist for such a podium/pedestal. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that many of the *tholoi* and square upper stories of the Hellenistic and Roman funerary monuments with a podium were open structures that contained sculpted portraits of the deceased. In some cases there is an indication that these statues originally stood on top of pedestals (e.g., Gros 2001: Fig. 472). The *tholos* crowning the facade of al-Khasneh at Petra also has statues sculpted in relief on top of pedestals (McKenzie 1990: Pls. 79–80), while the *tholos* crowning the later ed-Deir tomb features a pedestal with no statue on top (ibid.: 138–139). Therefore, we may cautiously suggest that the podium at the bottom of the outer wall of the *tholos* of the Herodium mausoleum perhaps indicates a reliance on a prototype that had statues standing on pedestals inside the *tholos* (or statues sculpted in relief on the circular wall behind the portico). Since such a portrayal of human figures contradicts the contemporary abstention from depicting human figures prevalent among

Jews in Judea, the statues were omitted, but their common pedestal/podium remained.

COLUMN BASES

The bases of the Ionic columns of the *tholos*' portico are of the eastern Attic type, characterized by two tori separated by a scotia or trochilus and two fillets (Ills. 4.72, 5.2).¹⁰ Attic bases were the most common type in Judea during the Second Temple period (Peleg 2006: 325–326).¹¹ Also characteristic of the local examples in Judea is the upper torus being shorter than the lower one, sometimes half its height (in Herodium the lower torus is 5.7 cm high, while the upper one is 3.7 cm high).



Ill. 5.2. A large fragment of an Attic base from the *tholos*' portico. (Photo: R. Chachy)

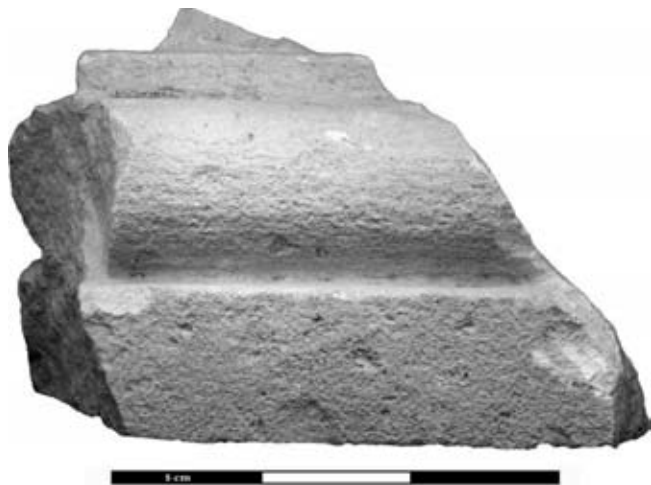
The bases were cut from a single block together with a plinth. Although most Herodian Attic bases lack such plinths, there are several examples in Jerusalem¹² and Herodium¹³ of Attic bases carved together with a plinth. It should be stated that all the examples of column bases carved with plinths date no earlier than King Herod's reign, and it seems that this architectural feature was introduced into Judea under the rule of this king, presumably due to Roman influence. While the use of plinths had been common outside of Judea since the Hellenistic period, it was only under Augustus that it became an integral part of column bases throughout the empire. The

incorporation of the plinth made it easier to achieve the desirable ratio of 5:6 between the height of the shaft and that of the entire column together with its base and capital (Wilson-Jones 2003: 152).

A unique feature of the column bases of the *tholos*' portico is the fact that they were carved separately from the column shaft. Normally, in Hellenistic and Early Roman Judea, columns were built of drums, the bottom part of the shaft being carved in one piece together with the base. However, since the shafts of the *tholos*' portico columns were monolithic (see below), the bases and capitals were carved separately.

PILASTER BASES

Four fragments of pilaster bases were found in the debris; they probably originate from the corner pilasters of the square lower story (see Chapter 4). These bases seem to share the same profile as the column bases of the *tholos*' portico (only the plinth, lower torus, and bottom part of scotia have survived), but are of slightly smaller proportions (Ills. 4.53, 5.3). As with the column bases, most anta or pilaster bases in Judea of the Herodian period are of the eastern Attic type, though other types also existed.¹⁴ Several examples of Attic pilaster or anta bases dating from the time of Herod and from the first century CE have been found throughout Judea, e.g., in the Herodian monumental structure west of the Temple Mount in



Ill. 5.3. A fragment of a corner pilaster base of the mausoleum's square story. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

Jerusalem, that may have functioned as a nymphaeum (Onn and Weksler-Bdolah 2011: Figs. 8–10), in the Dar ed-Darb tomb in Western Samaria (Magen 2008: Figs. 19–21), in the so-called 'Palace of Hilkiya' in the Hebron Hills (Damati 1982: 120), as well as in the basilica and several dwellings at Gamla (Peleg-Barkat 2010: 163–164, Figs. 5.9: 8–11).¹⁵

COLUMN SHAFTS

Although Flavius Josephus mentions the presence of monolithic columns in Herodian buildings, for example in the Northern Palace at Masada (*War* V. 190), or in the porticoes of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (*War* VII. 290),¹⁶ such columns were very rare.¹⁷ Normally, in Hellenistic and Early Roman Judea, columns were built of drums,¹⁸ with the bottom part of the shaft carved in one piece together with the column base. When the capital was either Doric or Ionic (but not Corinthian), the top part of the shaft was carved in one piece with the capital. In the case of the Herodium mausoleum, since the columns were monolithic (Ill. 5.4), in contrast to the customary tradition of Judean column construction, the Attic bases, as well as the crowning Ionic capitals, were carved separately. It seems that the fact that the columns were fairly small (*c.* 45 cm in diameter at their bottom part and *c.* 4 m in height), together with the desire to give the *tholos* an appealing appearance and stability, resulted in a deviation



Ill. 5.4. A fragment of a monolithic column shaft from the *tholos*' portico (arrow). (Photo: R. Chachy)

from the custom of using column drums. Moreover, in Hellenistic and Roman funerary *tholoi*, the column shafts are normally monolithic. The fact that hard *meleke* stone of good quality was used for the shafts, as well as for most of the other components of the mausoleum (see Appendix 1), made it possible to carve such a lengthy element from a single stone block.

The column shafts have a smooth, finely dressed surface, and since no stucco flutings were found (nor other stucco remains attesting to the use of stucco applications in this mausoleum), it seems that the columns were left plain. The columns' diameter tapered from bottom to top, in accordance with Greco-Roman tradition, having a diameter of 37–39 cm at the top. The top molding of the column shafts consists of an astragal above a cavetto (apophyge superior) (Ills. 4.69, 5.5), namely the customary top moldings of column shafts in Hellenistic and Roman architecture (Wilson-Jones 2003: 131). In Herodian Judea, as stated above, no monolithic columns featuring similar moldings have been found. However, such moldings are present below the Herodian Corinthian capitals revealed at the foot of the southern enclosure wall of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and they probably originate from Herod's Royal Portico (Peleg-Barkat forthcoming: nos. 1058–1066, Figs. II.37–41).¹⁹ The cavetto and astragal moldings also appear at the bottom of the capital on the central column of the Double Gate

passageway (de Vogüé 1864: Pl. 4:5). An astragal molding, lacking a cavetto, is regularly present on Hellenistic Corinthian capitals found in Judea (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 55, 57, 59, 62–63, 66–67) and on many of the Corinthian capitals adorning Herod's palaces.²⁰ The bottom moldings of the *tholos* shafts are not preserved, but they probably featured the customary apophyge inferior.

IONIC CAPITALS

The columns of the *tholos*' portico were topped by Ionic capitals of which a single, almost complete example was found, and four others were restored from the various fragments (Ills. 4.74, 5.6, see Chapter 4). The echinus comprises an ovolo molding decorated with three eggs and two darts²¹ with half-palmettes at the angles bearing three leaves and emerging from a bud.²² The canal is topped by a straight, horizontal astragal. The canal is concave and spirals toward the center of the volute, which features a small rosette with five petals (in a single case, the volute's eye was left undecorated). Volute eyes decorated with rosettes (painted or carved) first appear in Athens in the sixth century BCE (Shoemeritt 1996: 138, Figs. 28–29, Pls. 36: A3–B, 45–46). During the Hellenistic period, this decorative element was widely used, especially in Asia Minor, e.g., in the Artemision in Magnesia on the Meander dated to the second century BCE (Bingöl



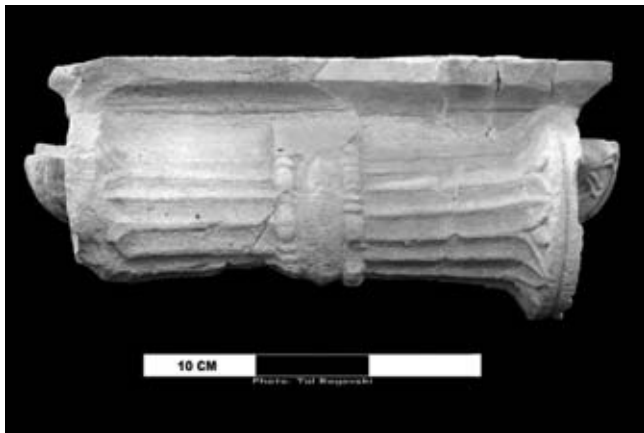
III. 5.5. A fragment of the top molding of a column shaft from the *tholos*' portico. (Photo: R. Chachy)



III. 5.6. Front side of one of the Ionic capitals that crowned the *tholos*' portico columns. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

1980: 129, no. 185). In Judea, rosettes with six petals made their appearance in the Hellenistic period on the volute eyes of Ionic capitals from Marisa (Kloner 1996: 20–22). Simpler flowers with four petals adorn the volute eyes on several of the stucco Ionic capitals found in Courtyard B64 in Herod’s Third Palace in Jericho (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008: 491, Ill. 652).

The pulvinus is adorned on both sides of the balteus with four, pointed horizontal leaves which are concave in vertical section and have a horizontal mid-rib (Ills. 4.79–80, 5.7). Between each pair of pointed ends appears a small, lenticular shape, representing the tip of another leaf, convex in section, hidden by the pointed leaves. Similar elongated leaves adorn the pulvini of two large Ionic capitals found in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1983: Figs. 178–181),²³ as well as those of an Ionic capital from Oecus 521 in the Western Palace at Masada (Foerster 1995: 46–50, Figs. 60–68). Ionic capitals similarly decorated with elongated leaves on their pulvini, either with or without convex leaves in between, were very common in Asia Minor and Macedonia during the Hellenistic period, mainly in the first century BCE (Bingöl 1980: Type VIII, 84–86, Pls. 25, 26: 189–310).



Ill. 5.7. The pulvinus of one of the *tholos*’ Ionic capitals. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

The balteus is convex in section with an angular rib running vertically along its center. The undecorated narrow angular balteus has no parallels. The baltei on Herodian capitals are normally broader and convex in section, in some cases decorated with scales (Peleg-Barkat 2007: nos. 1054–1056, Figs.

386–387).²⁴ The baltei are bordered on either side by a string of beads and reels. The beads-and-reels motif was quite common as a decorative pattern for the balteus borders during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. It appears on Late Hellenistic capitals from Athens (Shoe-Meritt 1996: 169–172, Fig. 32), as well as on many examples from Asia Minor (Bingöl 1980: Pls. 21: 166, 183, 184, 300, 27: 34). In local contemporary examples the cable pattern often appears on both carved and stucco-molded capitals (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 187, 386–387; Peleg and Rozenberg 2008: 490–491, Ill. 657), though in most examples the baltei borders remain undecorated, for example in the Tomb of Absalom (Avigad 1954: Fig. 57), Tel Dor (Garstang 1924: Pl. 3), and En-Gedi (Pechuro 2007: Pl. 2).

The profile of the abacus of the Ionic capitals comprises a plain cavetto molding below a flat fillet, the customary one for this component of the Ionic capital. The abacus is left undecorated.

It is important to note that the Ionic capitals were fully carved on their facade, but their rear side remained in a blocked-out state (Ill. 5.8). The canalis was hollowed out and two slight protrusions were carved at the corners of the echinus, where the half-palmettes should have been, but the entire surface was left unpolished and undecorated. This reveals the same pragmatic and economic approach characterizing other building projects of King Herod; in many cases, elements that were located in areas not visible to the public were left blocked-out, and in this way unnecessary work was avoided. A parallel



Ill. 5.8: The blocked-out rear side of one of the *tholos*’ Ionic capitals. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

phenomenon is noted, for example, in the peristyle of the Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium (Ill. 5.9; Peleg-Barkat 2007: 100, Figs. 200–201) and in the bottom story of the Northern Palace at Masada, where the Corinthian capitals were fully carved only on the side facing the inner court or hall (Foerster 1995: 113–114, Figs. 199–200).²⁵



Ill. 5.9. A half-worked Corinthian capital from the peristyle of the Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium. (Photo: O. Peleg-Barkat)

It should be stated that no parallels for semi-carved Ionic capitals are to be found in Herodian buildings. Normally, the Ionic capitals were either fully carved or blocked out on all sides. Fully carved Ionic capitals are rather rare and the blocked-out type was preferred by the Herodian architects at most of the sites, aside from Jerusalem.²⁶ On the blocked-out capitals the echinus and volutes were left plain with protrusions at the edges of the echinus, where the half-palmettes were meant to be carved (as is the case on the rear side of the mausoleum's capitals). Only few grooved lines were carved on the balteus of the pulvinus. Two capitals of this type were found in the

central courtyard of Herod's First Palace at Jericho (Pritchard 1958: 13, Pl. 18: 3–4), and similar ones were revealed in his Second Palace and in the nearby hippodrome (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 255–256, Figs. 10.17, 10.30), as well as in Herodian structures in Caesarea, Samaria, Hebron, Herodium, Masada, and Machaerus (idem 2007: 144–145, Figs. 179–181, 185–190). Originally, stucco was applied to the blocked-out capitals, adding the missing details of eggs and darts, the spiral of the volutes, etc. Several capitals still bearing the stucco applications were found in the peristyle of Machaerus (Ill. 5.10), while at Masada, in Herod's Third Palace in Jericho, and at Callirrhoe, stucco fragments from Ionic capitals were revealed in the debris (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008: 489–491). Examples of fully carved capitals are present at Alexandrium, at the foot of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 144, Figs. 173–174, nos. 1031–1056), and in the hippodrome at Jericho (idem 2013: Fig. 10.28). Other contemporary examples are to be found in dwellings in the Upper City of Jerusalem and on some of the decorated tomb facades in the Jerusalemite necropolis (idem 2007: Figs. 386–395). In all these cases, the capitals were carved from hard limestone, while the blocked-out types were always carved from softer stones (*kirton*, *kurkar*, *samra*, etc.).

It should be mentioned that most funerary *tholoi* feature Corinthian columns, rather than Ionic ones (e.g., Gros 2001: Figs. 475, 477, 479; McKenzie 1990: Pls. 79, 139). An example of an Ionic monopteros exists in the Mausoleum of the Istacidii, located outside the Herculaneum Gate of Pompeii beside the Via dei Sepolcri. The structure consists of



Ill. 5.10. A blocked-out Ionic capital from Herodian Machaerus with molded stucco application. (Photo: O. Peleg-Barkat)

a square base with engaged Tuscan columns surmounted by a monopteros of Ionic columns, and was probably crowned by a conical roof (Kleiner 1977: 45). The use of such a superposition of Ionic columns above Doric (and in the Pompeian example, Tuscan) columns in *tholoi* structures originated in Hellenistic architecture, as can be seen, for example, in the Limyran Ptolemaion, dated to the early third century BCE (Stanzl 1999: Figs. 8.3; Ill. 4.132).

CORINTHIAN CAPITAL

Thirteen fragments of a Corinthian capital were found in the vicinity of the mausoleum and are ascribed by Chachy to the top of the roof. Three of them belong to the abacus, the largest one — a corner fragment — featuring the stalk of one of the corner volutes (Ill. 5.11), while another is from the abacus fleuron, which is shaped as a spiral or whirl rosette (Ill. 5.12).²⁷ Another seven fragments belong to the acanthus leaves and calyces. The style of the acanthus leaves (of the *prima* and *secunda folia* of the capital) is indicative; instead of the usual “pointed” leaflets, each lobe comprises three leaflets, the central one having the usual pointed shape, while the two side ones have indented margins, forming the shape of a lobed leaf (Ill. 5.13). Missing from the leaves are the “acanthus eyes” that normally separate



Ill. 5.11. Fragment of a corner volute of the Corinthian capital crowning the roof of the mausoleum. (Photo: T. Rogovski)



Ill. 5.12. Fragment of the abacus of the Corinthian capital adorned by a fleuron designed as a whirl rosette. (Photo: T. Rogovski)



Ill. 5.13. A fragment from the calyce of the Corinthian capital crowning the roof of the mausoleum. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

the lobes from one another. Interestingly, the acanthus leaves that form the calyces are carved in the “normal” fashion with pointed leaves and “acanthus eyes” (Ill. 5.13). This phenomenon also occurs in the capitals from Jericho, Cypros, and Masada.

The design is identical to that of the Corinthian capitals crowning the peristyle columns of the Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium (Ill. 5.14; Corbo 1989: Figs. DF57–59) and is reminiscent of the style of the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian capitals from the Northern Palace at Masada (Ill. 5.15; Foerster 1995: 109–113, Figs. 183–198),²⁸ Herod’s Third Palace at Jericho (Netzer 2001: 252–253, Ills. 380, 382–383; Peleg and Rozenberg 2008: 494–496), and Herod’s palace at Cypros (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 257, Figs. 10.38–10.39). Nevertheless, at Masada, Jericho, and Cypros, the lobed leaflets are plumper and more pronounced, while in Herodium they are flatter. Therefore, the style of the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian capitals from the peristyle and mausoleum in Herodium represents a



III. 5.14. Close-up on the acanthus leaves of a Corinthian capital from the peristyle of the Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium. (Photo: O. Peleg-Barkat)



III. 5.15. The lower block of a Corinthian capital from the Banqueting Hall in the Northern Palace at Masada. (Photo: L. Matassa)

sub-variant that is closer (than the examples from Masada, Jericho, and Cypros) to the more “Classical” design of the Corinthian capitals of Herodian Jerusalem (idem 2007: 297–301, nos. 1057–1122) and seems to indicate the output of a separate workshop that provided the Corinthian capitals (and probably other architectural elements as well) for various

buildings at the site.²⁹ The similarity of the style of the acanthus leaves on the fragments from the mausoleum to that of the peristyle capitals allows us to suggest that the original design of the entire capital was similar.

Corinthian capitals as finials for funerary monuments and other tower-like structures seem to have evolved from acanthus acroteria that crowned such edifices in the Early Hellenistic period.³⁰ Among the earliest examples are the elaborate acanthus finial with three heavy floral scrolls at the base that may have supported bronze dolphins (and a tripod crowning the finial) of the choragic monument of Lysicrates in Athens dated to 335/334 BCE (Bauer 1977: 197–227), as well as the simpler acanthus acroterion crowning the roof of the Ptolemaion in Limyra, dated to the beginning of the third century BCE (Stanzl 1999: Figs. 8.3, 8.11).³¹

Corinthian capitals as finials for funerary monuments appear rather often in the second half of the first century BCE in Italy and Gaul. Such capitals crown, for example, the monuments of Aefionius Rufus and Aulus Murcius Obulaccus (both being the base of a finial shaped like a round, cinerary vase with sprouting griffin heads) at Sarsina dated to the late first century BCE (Aurigemma 1963: 24, 65–86, Figs. 15–16, 46–49, 52–54, 84–97). They also appear topping the roof of a funerary *tholos* at Sestino (in Tuscany), dated to the third quarter of the first century BCE (Verzar 1974: Fig. I: 1–3, II: 4–6), the mausoleum on an island in the Rhône near the city of Beaucaire, dated to 20–10 BCE (Roth-Congès 1987: 47–128), and the mausoleum of Faverolles, dated to soon after 22/21 BCE (Février 2007: 377–386).³² Corinthian capitals also crown the *tholoi* with a concave-conical roof that are featured in the rock-hewn facades of the al-Khazne and ed-Deir tombs at Petra, dated to the first century BCE–first century CE.³³

PILASTER CAPITALS

The curved outer wall of the room in the upper story of the mausoleum was decorated with pilasters crowned by simple capitals (III. 5.16). The capitals are plain, beveled in three directions, and topped by a plain, rectangular abacus. Most contemporary



III. 5.16. Masonry block of the *tholos*' cella featuring the top of a pilaster with a capital. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

Judean pilaster and anta capitals have more elaborate profiles, e.g., the antae capitals adorning the Tomb of Zachariah and the Tomb of Absalom consist of several astragal moldings or annuli above a cyma reversa profile and below a crowning cavetto (Avigad 1954: Figs. 47, 57), while those flanking the facade of the Tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene in Jerusalem, dated to mid-first century CE, have a straight abacus above a cavetto separated from the plain slanting echinus below it by a simple fillet. Below the echinus is a slanting fillet (Kon 1947: Fig. 11).³⁴ The simplest example is to be found in the so-called Umm al-Amad Cave in Jerusalem, the antae of which have a simple cavetto profile (Avigad 1945: Fig B4). In the case of the Herodium mausoleum, it seems that, since the pilasters were for the most part hidden from view by the *tholos*' columns, it was decided not to invest excessive effort in the carving and decoration of the capitals, and hence they were left plain.

DORIC ENTABLATURE

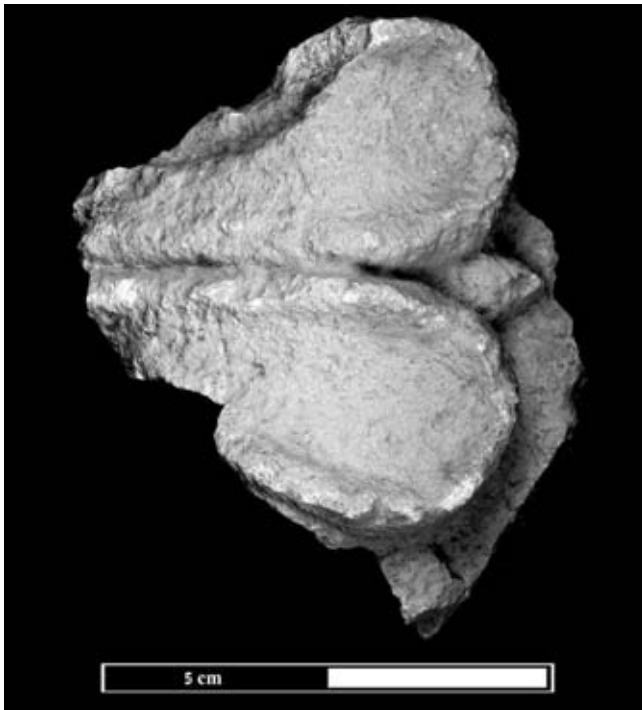
Two fragments from the architrave and frieze of the square story of the mausoleum were found. One piece originates from the corner of the architrave and includes part of the fascia with three guttae hanging from the regula on one side, and two on the other (one of each being a corner one), below a taenia (III. 5.17). The guttae are shaped as truncated cones and are similar, though somewhat more elongated (and



III. 5.17. A fragment of the corner of the architrave of the mausoleum's square story. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

with a curved, rather than flat surface) than contemporary examples from the Temple Mount area in Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007: nos. 1128, 1130–1131, 1133–1135; idem forthcoming) and decorated tomb facades at the necropolis of Jerusalem (Avigad 1954: Fig. 56; Kon 1947: Fig. 10). The second fragment, which according to the proposed reconstruction originated from one of the metopes of the Doric frieze, is of a large rosette, two petals of which are preserved (III. 5.18). The petals' surface is slightly concave.³⁵

It is noteworthy that the upper surface of the architrave fragment is flat and smooth, indicating that the architrave was carved, together with the taenia, regula, and guttae on a single stone block, while the triglyphs and metopes were carved on a separate block. This division is rather common in Herodian Judea, as can be deduced from the frieze pieces, lacking the taenia, regula, and guttae, that were found at Lower Herodium and Masada (Foerster 1995: 123–129, Figs. 225–233).³⁶ A similar phenomenon dating from the Hellenistic period has been observed; earlier examples include the Doric frieze from the Hellenistic temple at Gadara, dated to the first half of the second century BCE (Hoffman 2001:



Ill. 5.18. A fragment from a large rosette which, according to the proposed reconstruction, originated from one of the metopes of the Doric frieze of the mausoleum's square story. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

Fig. 9), and the Doric Pavilion of Alexander Jannaeus at Jericho, dating back to the early first century BCE (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 257–258, Figs. 10.4, 10.6–10.7). Frieze blocks dating to the Hellenistic period were found on Mount Gerizim (Magen 2000: 81, 107). In this case the taenia exists, but the regula

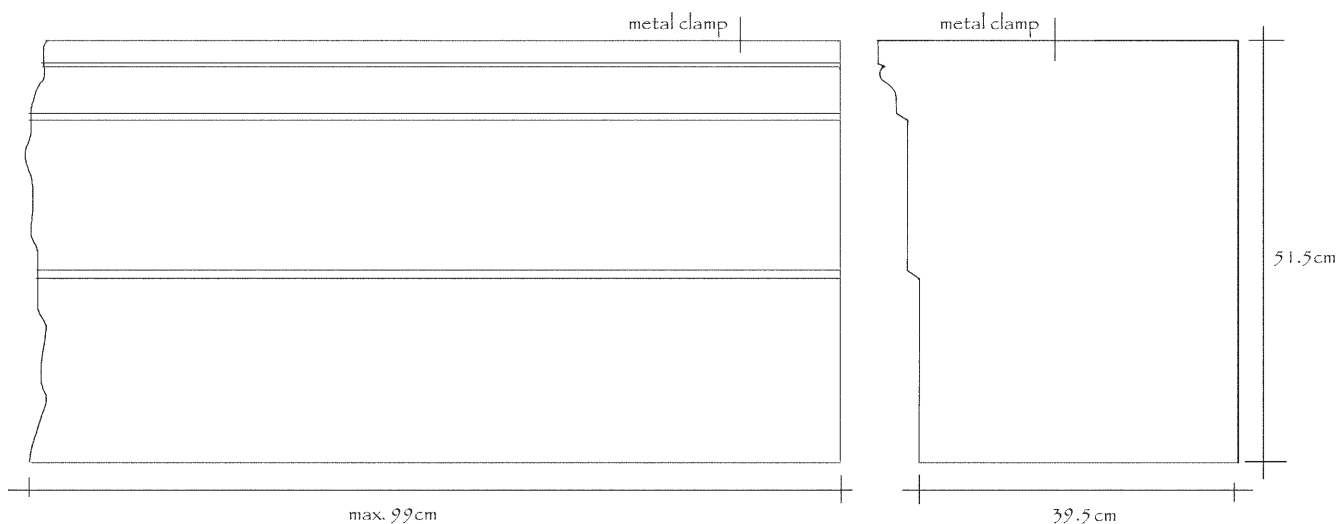
and guttae are missing (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Fig. 86). In all the above-mentioned examples the architrave blocks bearing the missing components of the Doric frieze were not found. It may be suggested that, due to the regular shape of the Doric architrave, its blocks were converted into ashlar, during the chiseling out of the taenia, regula, and guttae, for later structures at the various sites.

IONIC ENTABLATURE

Architrave

The architrave of the *tholos*' portico was composed of convex stone blocks spanning the intercolumniations. The front face features two superimposed fasciae (Ills. 4.83, 5.19). The dividing molding is a plain, sloping ledge.³⁷ The crown molding features a cyma reversa topped by a plain fillet.³⁸ The architrave adorning the curved outer wall of the upper story's cella is identical in its features (with the exception of the absence of a soffit) to that of the *tholos*' portico, though of smaller proportions (Ill. 5.20).

Most Classical and Hellenistic examples of Ionic architraves bear three fasciae.³⁹ Nevertheless, architraves with two fasciae were common in Hellenistic Alexandria (where the architraves have one or two fasciae, but never three; McKenzie 1990: 93), as well as in late Republican and early Imperial Italy.⁴⁰ The



Ill. 5.19. Front and section of the architrave of the *tholos*' portico. (by R. Chachy)

architraves at Petra mostly have two fasciae and occasionally only one, but never three, and are characterized (as are those of the Regia and other late Republican and Augustan buildings in Rome) by having a lower fascia that is much higher than the upper one (McKenzie 1990: Pls. 25, 29–30, 36–38). Architraves from Hellenistic and Early Roman Judea have mainly survived on decorated facades of rock-cut tombs and they are always carved with a single fascia (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 89, 449–460, 462, 464–466, 469–474). The few Herodian architrave blocks retrieved in archaeological digs at Caesarea, Mamre, and Omrit bear three fasciae (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 147–148, Figs. 109, 225–228; Kahn 1996: Fig. 4; Mader 1957: Fig. 12). The only other example of a two-fasciae architrave was found at the foot of the southern enclosure wall of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Here, two fragments of a Doric frieze bear in their lower part a narrow architrave with two fasciae — the upper shorter than the lower (ratio 3:5) and with a crowning cyma reversa molding (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 302, Fig. 626, nos. 1133–1134).

The ratio of 4:5 for the height of the upper fascia to that of the lower one in the architrave of the *tholos*' portico is lower than that for architraves of Herodian Jerusalem, Petra, and late Republican and Augustan Rome and closer to that of Hellenistic Pergamon, as seen in the *Porpylon* of the Sanctuary of Athena on the acropolis at the site (Lawrence 1996: Fig. 245). It is difficult to say whether this characteristic of the Herodium mausoleum is of some significance in our search for the prototype or the source of inspiration for its architecture. Since some features of the mausoleum reflect Roman cultural influence while others are indicative of local taste and artistic tradition, it seems that the ratio of the heights of the two fasciae of the architrave only lends support to the notion that this mausoleum is somewhat eclectic in its nature and that there was not a single source or prototype that it imitates.

Several, but not all, of the architrave elements have clamp holes cut into the bearing surface. The original clamps were Π -shaped (Ill. 4.87). The use of clamps is a well-attested technique in ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Roman monumental architecture and intended to prevent joints from widening due to possible movements caused by seismic shocks or variations in the settling of the foundations. Greek clamps

were usually dovetail or double-T in shape, while the Romans usually used Π -shaped iron clamps that were easier and faster to manufacture. The use of clamps in the mausoleum of Herodium, uncommon in other contemporary Judean constructions, serves as further evidence of the significance of this mausoleum in the eyes of its patron and his wish to ensure the stability of the building, as well as of the Roman orientation of its architects.

Frieze

The frieze of the *tholos*' portico was composed of long and narrow wedge-shaped stone blocks (Ills. 4.89, 5.21). The front of the frieze has a single plain fascia jutting out *c.* 2 cm from the bottom and top edges; it therefore appears to be blocked out.

Funerary monuments of the type of the Herodium mausoleum are often decorated on their upper story with Ionic or Corinthian columns bearing an entablature with a running frieze,⁴¹ most commonly carved with acanthus scrolls or their variants. For example, such friezes decorate the upper story of the so-called 'Tomb of the Garlands' in Pompeii, dated to the first half of the first century BCE, the Monument of Aefionis Rufus in Sarsina, dated to the end of the first century BCE, the Monument of the Julii in Glanum, also dated to the reign of Augustus, as well as several other funerary monuments of Late Hellenistic and Early Roman date, mostly in Italy and the western provinces⁴² (Gros 2001: 403–407, Figs. 466–467, 469–470, 472–473, 476–478, 488, 559).

Although the Doric frieze enjoyed great popularity in Herodian Judea and also appears on top of Ionic (e.g., in the Tomb of Absalom; Avigad 1954: Fig. 52) and Corinthian columns (e.g., in the Royal Portico on the Temple Mount; Peleg-Barkat forthcoming), several examples of Ionic friezes that were found attest to the fact that it was also prevalent in Herodian Judea. The Ionic friezes were either left undecorated (e.g., at Masada; Foerster 1995: 130–134, Figs. 234–244) or carved with acanthus scrolls (e.g., in the Temple of Augustus and Rome in Samaria-Sebaste; Reisner et al. 1924: Fig. 115: 1–2). Stucco friezes decorated with acanthus scrolls are also known (e.g., at Omrit; Peleg-Barkat 2007: Fig. 236; Nelson 2011: Fig. 03.11).⁴³

The fact that the frieze on the Herodium mausoleum features a protruding fascia suggests that originally it was meant to be carved with a relief decoration, probably with acanthus scrolls. Local examples of such scrolls carved on friezes and in other media attest to the popularity of this motif and the ability of local artists to achieve satisfactory results in its design and production. For some reason, though, the frieze was eventually left blocked out. In contrast to the blocked-out rear sides of the Ionic capitals that reflect the economic approach of the builders and architects to avoid unnecessary work on items hidden from view, the blocked-out frieze seems to indicate either a last-minute change of mind or an unfinished work.

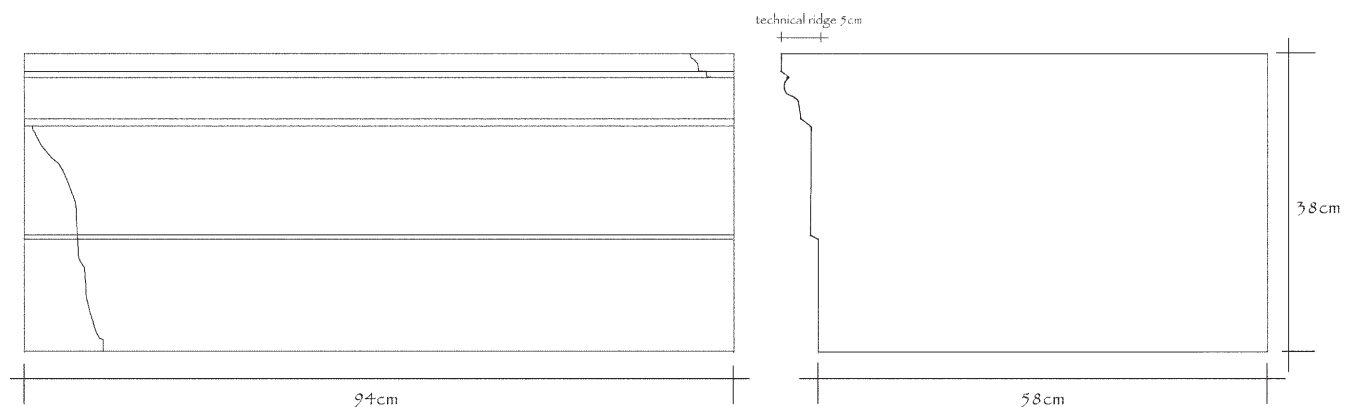
Modillion cornices

Interestingly, both stories of the Herodium mausoleum — the lower square one of the Doric order and the upper *tholos* story of the Ionic order — were topped by modillion cornices rather than by Doric or Ionic ones. The incorporation of this type of cornice disrupts the otherwise “pure” character of the architectural decoration of the mausoleum. However, the combination of elements from different Classical architectural orders in a single story is not unique to the Herodium mausoleum, but was rather common in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods throughout the Mediterranean and reflects contemporary ambitions to achieve a greater variety of forms and to deviate from what was customary in Classical architectural styles.⁴⁴ There are different types of mixed orders, the most common being the

Doric-Ionic combination, which is also the most prevalent one in the tombs of Herodian Jerusalem.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, examples of Doric and Ionic facades topped by modillion cornices also exist in Judea and elsewhere. Thus, for example, the so-called ‘Frieze Tomb’ in Jerusalem features a modillion cornice on top of a Doric frieze (Macalister 1902: 119), and this was also the case with the structure the architectural components of which were found in the courtyard in front of the Tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene in Jerusalem (Vincent and Steve 1954: Pl. XCV; Kon 1947: Figs. 27–28).

It should be stated that the modillion cornice made its first appearance in Judea during Herod's reign,⁴⁶ apparently as a result of Roman cultural influence, and within a short time became the dominant type of cornice in Herod's construction projects and contemporary buildings.⁴⁷ It appears both in stone and stucco at Caesarea, Sebaste, Herodium, Jericho, Cyprus, Masada, and Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 265–284, 492–503). The modillion cornice, more projecting in relation to the facade and more richly decorated, was preferred by the local architects to the simpler Doric and Ionic ones. The choice of the architects of the Herodium mausoleum to incorporate this type of cornice in both stories is further evidence of its popularity in Judea during Herod's reign.

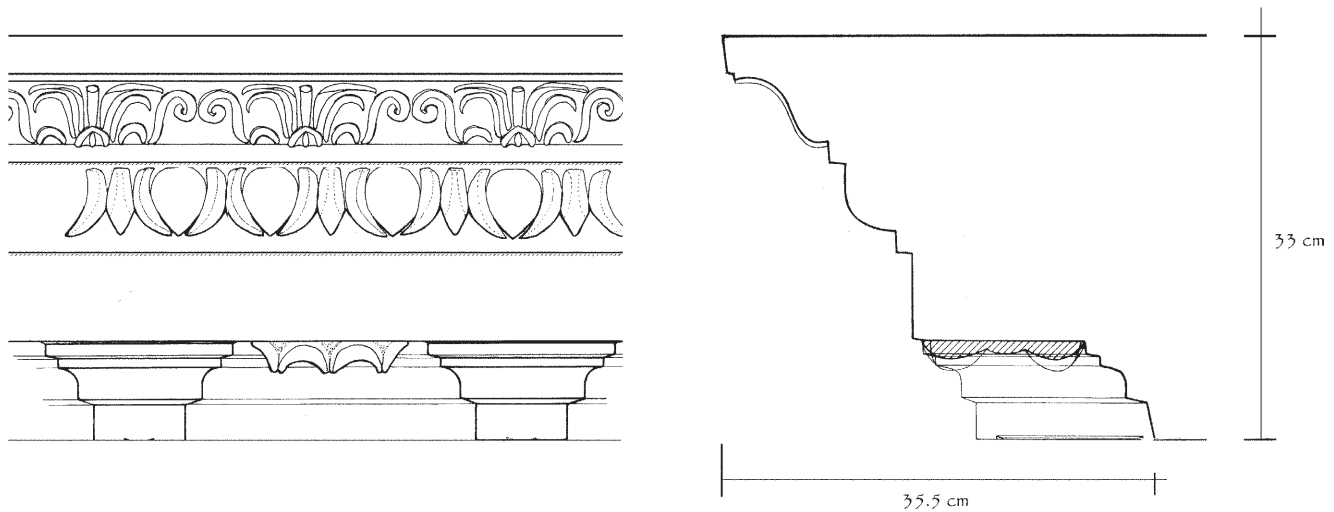
The modillion cornices adorning each of the two stories of the mausoleum are of a similar type, though they differ in scale, in certain details of their decoration, as well as in the fact that the lower cornice is comprised of square blocks (Ill. 5.22), while the upper one consists of wedge-shaped blocks with



Ill. 5.20. Front and section of the architrave of the *tholos*' cella. (by R. Chachy)



III. 5.21. Front and section of the blocked-out frieze of the *tholos*' portico. (by R. Chachy)

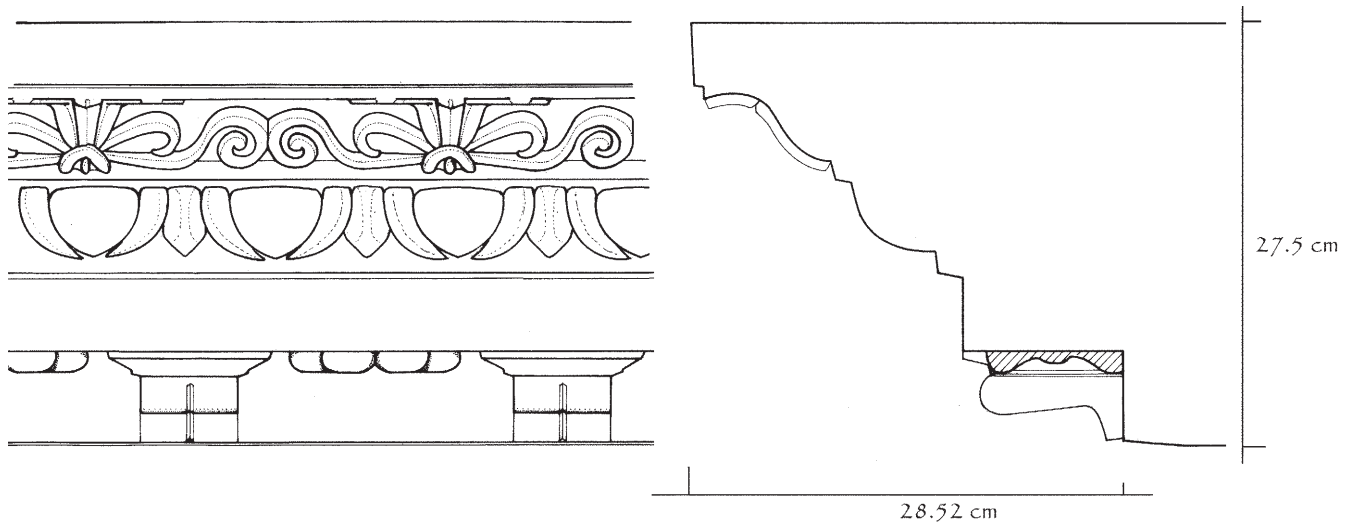


III. 5.22. Front and section of the upper block of the modillion cornice from the mausoleum's square story. (by R. Chachy)

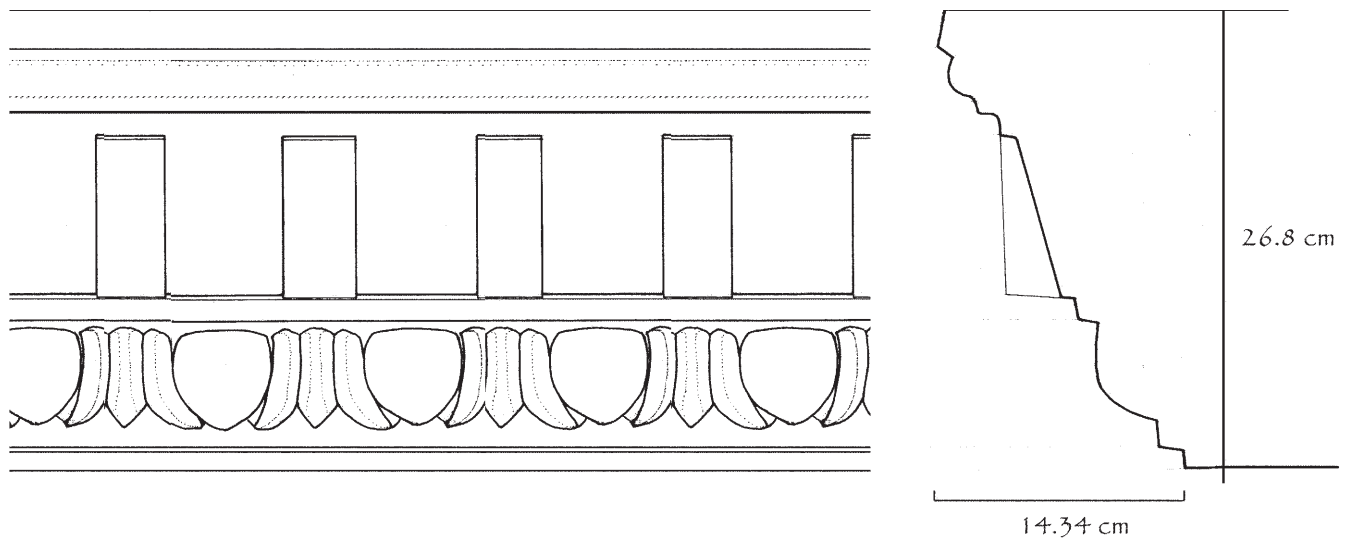
a curved front (Ill. 5.23). Both cornices are built of two courses: the lower one contains the bed-molding, while the upper one is comprised of the corona with its decorated soffit and a projecting sima on top.⁴⁸ The bed-molding course is identical on both stories and features, from bottom to top, an ovolo carved with an egg-and-dart motif between two fillets, and a dentil band (with a slanting surface in the

spacing between the dentils),⁴⁹ crowned by a plain cyma reversa (Ill. 5.24).⁵⁰ The eggs are pointed at their bottom and so are the tongue-shaped darts⁵¹ and their rhythm is synchronized with that of the dentils, i.e., each egg is carved directly (or almost directly) below a dentil. Despite the similarity between the moldings of both cornices, the standard of workmanship appears to be less refined on the cornice of the

HERODIUM I: HEROD'S TOMB PRECINCT



III. 5.23. Front and section of the upper block of the modillion cornice from the *tholos*. (by R. Chachy)



III. 5.24. Front and section of the bed-molding of the mausoleum's modillion cornice. (by R. Chachy)

upper story; the eggs are larger and the darts heavier, and so are the dentils.⁵²

The upper course of the cornice is decorated on its soffit with alternating modillions and coffered rosettes. Above the soffit is a corona with an undecorated front, on top of which is an ovolo carved with an egg-and-dart motif, topped by a cyma recta decorated with an anthemion (palmettes) band. The cornices of the lower and upper story share the same moldings for the projecting top member, but differ in the design of the modillions and coffers on the soffit of their coronas. The egg-and-dart motif is identically fashioned on the lower and upper courses of the cornice. The palmettes on the upper part of the

cornice are each comprised of a wide central straight leaf flanked by three outward-curving leaves that emerge from a crescent-shaped bar at the bottom. The outermost bottom leaf on each side curls into a spiral and touches that of the adjacent palmette.⁵³

The modillions on the cornice of the lower story are of the elongated block type below a continuous cavetto molding topped by a fillet (Ill. 5.25).⁵⁴ The bottom surface of the modillions features a shallow curved band located centrally and lengthwise within it, its width being one-third of the modillion's width.⁵⁵ Each coffer contains a large rosette comprised of eight petals (or four heart-shaped ones) that fills it almost completely.⁵⁶ In contrast, the



Ill. 5.25. Fragment of a modillion of the square story's cornice. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

modillions on the cornice that adorned the upper story of the mausoleum are S-curved, being of the 'Rhodian type' (Ill. 5.23).⁵⁷ The cavetto molding is replaced here by a simple beveled surface topped by a fillet. A V-shaped groove was cut lengthwise into the bottom surface of the modillion. Each coffer was carved with a rosette almost covering its entire surface. The rosettes are of various types and their petals vary in number (either five, six, or eight) and form (convex or concave in cross section). Another type of rosette has six alternate petals featuring an incised border and an incised mid-rib.

All types of rosettes are carved in a style typical of Herodian Herodium and Jerusalem; the relief is low, but unlike the rosettes on the Doric frieze from the Large Bathhouse at Masada (Ill. 5.26; Foerster 1995: 123–129, Figs. 225–233), the rosette's surface is not parallel to the background, but rather slants gradually from the middle of the radius, both inward toward the knob at the center of the rosette and outward toward the surface of the coffer. Parallels for such an arrangement can be seen in the funerary art and architectural decoration of Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 105, 365, Figs. 230, 495, 497, 513, 581, 623, 631, 633, 648), as well as on the Doric frieze fragments found at Lower Herodium and ascribed by Prof. Ehud Netzer to a tomb precinct that was created at Lower Herodium prior to Herod's decision to build a mausoleum on the northeastern slope of the hill (Ill. 5.27; Netzer 2006: 198; Netzer et al. 2010: 107).⁵⁸



Ill. 5.26. A Doric frieze fragment decorated with rosettes from the palaestra in the Large Bathhouse at Masada. (Photo: O. Peleg-Barkat)

As with the bed-molding course, the upper course of the cornice from the upper story shows craftsmanship that is less refined. This is most apparent in the palmettes' leaves that are very elegant and finely carved on the cornice of the lower story, but much less so on that of the upper story.

The reason for the somewhat inferior quality of workmanship on the cornice from the upper story is hard to guess. If there was evidence supporting the



Ill. 5.27. A Doric frieze block decorated with rosettes from Lower Herodium, attributed by Ehud Netzer to Herod's burial complex that preceded the mausoleum. (Courtesy of E. Netzer)

notion that decorative motifs of the cornices were carved, with the aid of scaffoldings, while already *in situ* at the top of the *tholos*, then it could have been suggested that the uncomfortable working conditions affected the quality of the artisans' work. However, mason's marks on six of the complete elements and on six other fragments from the upper course of the *tholos*' cornice (see Chapter 14)⁵⁹ suggest that the cornice of the upper story was carved while the blocks were still on the ground, and therefore they had to be marked so their exact location, in relation to one another and perhaps also in relation to the bed-molding below, would be maintained, creating a synchronized rhythm for the appearance of eggs, dentils, and modillions.⁶⁰ Perhaps the fact that this cornice was located at a height and its details were thus less visible from ground level allowed the artists to be less careful in the execution of the details.

CONICAL ROOF AND URNS

The *tholos* is crowned by a concave-conical roof, the elements of which comprise massive blocks carved in a double wedge (horizontally and vertically; Ills. 4.120, 4.124). Similar fragments were found in the vicinity of the Tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene in Jerusalem and were attributed to a memorial structure (*nefesh*) or structures⁶¹ that originally stood on top of the rock-cut tomb (Kon 1947: 74–76, Figs. 18–19). A complete surviving example of a conical roof (built of three courses, the top one consisting of a single stone, 3.9 m high) can be seen today crowning the Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem (Ill. 5.28; Avigad 1954: 106, Fig. 52).

Most of the Hellenistic and Roman funerary and honorary monuments with a *tholos* throughout the Mediterranean are topped by a shorter, simple conical roof.⁶² The roof of the *tholos* of al-Khazneh at Petra is also of the shorter, simple conical type, while those of the *tholoi* of the Corinthian Tomb and ed-Deir are concave in section, but much squatter in proportion in relation to the roof of the Herodium mausoleum (McKenzie 1990: Pls. 79, 116, 139). Several Second Pompeian Style frescoes in Campania, dated to *c.* 60–30 BCE and featuring *tholoi* at the center of wide architectonic landscapes, seem



III. 5.28. Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem. (Photo: O. Peleg-Barkat)

also to portray such low concave roofs (Ling 1991: Figs. 27, 32, 50, Pl. IIA; McKenzie 1990: 92).⁶³

Elongated concave roofs of the type that existed in Herodium are occasionally found outside Judea; examples of such roofs crowning funerary monuments with a *tholos* include the tomb with a frieze of arms near ancient Pola and a funerary monument at Aquileia, both dated to the reign of Augustus (Gros 2001: Figs. 474, 479). Such roofs continued to appear on funerary monuments of the Imperial period, as can be seen in the second-century CE monuments from Pergamon, Assos, and in the vicinity of Ephesus (Koenigs and Radt 1979: 317–354, inserts 1–2; Gros 2001: Figs. 559–560).⁶⁴

Although many of the conical roofs were decorated, mostly with a design of overlapping leaves (e.g., Gros 2001: Figs. 462, 475, 477–479, 487–488),⁶⁵ most were left unadorned as in the case of the Herodium mausoleum. Yet, the bottom course of the roof of the Herodium mausoleum incorporated sockets for six urns that adorned the edges of the roof

(Ill. 5.29), while a seventh urn apparently stood on top of the Corinthian capital that crowned it (see Chapter 4). While there is ample evidence that urns served regularly to decorate finials of funerary monuments of the aedicule-on-podium type (see below), no examples of such urns appearing at the edges of the roof of tombs of this type are known to us.⁶⁶ The only precedent that comes to mind is the Belevi Mausoleum (third century BCE), one of the largest funerary monuments of Anatolia and clearly inspired by the famous Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. The Austrian archaeologists, who excavated the monument, restored, above the *sima*, three pairs on each side (24 in all) of antithetic lion-griffin figures facing large stone vases, while pairs of horses were placed at the corners (Fedak 1990: 80, Fig. 101).

In order to find false cinerary urns functioning as side acroteria, one must turn to the decorated facades and entrances of the rock-cut tombs in the necropolis of Herodian Jerusalem, as well as to the Nabatean



Ill. 5.29. Restored urn of the roof of the mausoleum, in its socket. (Photo: T. Rogovski)

realm; two urn-shaped acroteria, one on each side of a gable over an Attic doorframe (framing the central *kokh*/loculus in this wall), are carved in a burial cave in the Hinnom Valley (Dalman 1939: Fig. 6; Kloner and Zissu 2007: 304–306, 678, Fig. 199). Another similar ornamentation appears in a large burial cave in Wadi Qadum, where the opening from the antechamber to the cave interior is adorned with a gable having three spindle-shaped acroteria (Avigad 1967: Fig. 11; Kloner and Zissu 2007: 606, Fig. 115). Despite the spindle shape, Kloner (2010: 64) suggests that the acroteria were meant to represent urns “as commonly depicted on the rock facades of burial caves.” Both tombs seem to date from the first century CE and therefore postdate the mausoleum of Herodium. This is also true with regard to at least most of the more elaborate and better preserved examples from Petra and Meda’in Saleh, where urns very often serve as side acroteria flanking carved gables on decorated tomb facades (e.g., McKenzie 1990: Pls. 2–7, 9, 11, 16, 19, 90, 135, 154–155, 158–159).⁶⁷ Therefore it seems that the mausoleum of Herodium either represents the earliest example of such decoration or was based on a prototype that has not survived.

As stated above, false cinerary urns are quite often present as finials in funerary monuments.⁶⁸ Such sphere-shaped urns appear, for example, on top of the Corinthian capitals that crown the monuments of Aefionius Rufus and Aulus Murcius Obulaccus at Sarsina, dated to the late first century BCE (Aurigemma 1963: 24, 65–86, Figs. 15–16, 46–49, 52–54, 84–97).⁶⁹ These two tombs are of the prostyle niche-on-podium type. *Tholoi* crowned with urns, appear on the rock-cut facades of al-Khazneh (Ill. 5.30), the Corinthian Tomb, and ed-Deir at Petra (the first is dated to the first century BCE, while the latter two are dated to the mid-first century CE), as well as on several Second Pompeian Style Campanian frescoes, such as the one adorning the eastern wall of Bedroom M in the Villa of P. Fannius Synister, dated to c. 40–30 BCE (Ling 1991: Fig. 27). Urns topping gables of rock-cut tomb facades are also common in Petra and Meda’in Saleh, and a couple of examples are also known in Jerusalem (see above; Kloner 2010: 64–77, Figs. 8–9, 11, 14).⁷⁰

The stone urns from the mausoleum at Herodium (Ill. 5.29; Color Plate 8.2) comprise a highly



III. 5.30. The *tholos* crowned by a Corinthian capital and frieze on the facade of al-Khazne at Petra. (Photo: O. Peleg-Barkat)

decorated stand, including four shallow concave sections separated by a pair of low astragals, an astragal between two fillets, and another pair of low astragals. Above the stand the amphora is carved. It has a low concave foot above a discus base. The body has a globular shape and is adorned with 14 tongues or convex flutes between protruding, vertical fillets (the tops of the flutes are curvilinear, while the bottoms are straight). The neck is concave and ends in a rounded rim. Above the rim there is another concave section that seems to be part of the lid and ends, on some of the urns, in an astragal. Above this concave section the lid takes the form of a pair of squat spheres (the upper one has straight sides) separated from one another by another astragal. The very top has the form of a simple flat knob. The urns were assembled from several (horizontal) pieces turned on a lathe and 'glued' together, with a manual finish of the fluting and the very top.

While the globular body with the tongue

decoration of the urns of the Herodium mausoleum has several contemporary parallels in false cinerary urns, as well as in real amphorae, the elaborate elongated stand and lid with their excessive moldings are somewhat unusual and give an overall impression closer to that of a candelabrum than to an amphora. This design stands in striking contrast to the urns decorating facades of the rock-cut tombs at Petra and Meda'in Saleh, which are short and wide (their diameter greater than their height), perhaps so that they would not break or corrode as a result of the ravages of weather. Moreover, the urns on the facades at Petra were fashioned without feet and necks in an attempt to eliminate thin, fragile parts.⁷¹ The urns crowning the monuments of Aefionius Rufus and Aulus Murcius Obulaccus at Sarsina are also much simpler and shorter; they feature a simple concave base above square or stepped plinths, a very low neck, and a convex conical lid topped by a small knob (Gros 2001: Fig. 471).

In light of the parallels, it seems difficult to explain the unusual design of the urns from Herodium. Their elaborate stands are reminiscent of Hellenistic acanthus finials, such as the one adorning the choragic monument of Lysicrates in Athens, dated to 335/334 BCE. The elaborate acanthus finial topping this monument has a similar bottom part comprised of four concave sections carved with elongated leaves (Lawrence 1996: Fig. 219). Perhaps the architect of the mausoleum at Herodium, wishing to make the urns predominant features against the background of the conical roof, chose to incorporate such stands below them and drew the inspiration for their design from monuments such as the aforementioned one (while leaving the concave sections plain without the carved leaves).⁷²

The urns crowning the monuments of Aefionius Rufus and Aulus Murcius Obulaccus at Sarsina feature a simple concave base and a globular body decorated with concave fluting. Both urns share a unique feature; griffins' heads sprout from the top of the spherical bodies instead of handles.⁷³ The urns decorating the facades of the Nabatean rock-cut tombs have several variants. Though most of them have plain undecorated bodies, there are several cases in Meda'in Saleh, where the urns feature parallel curved lines on their bodies, resembling the Herodium and Sarsina tongue/fluting decoration

(e.g., in Tombs B6, B22, and A5; Kloner 2010: 74). This kind of decoration also appears on amphorae depicted on several Jewish ossuaries from Jerusalem dating to the end of the first century BCE and first century CE (e.g., Rahmani 1994: nos. 183, 325).⁷⁴ The tongue/fluting decorating the urns/amphorae testifies that they were designed in accordance with common patterns of Hellenistic and Early Roman luxurious silver and glass vases.⁷⁵

The elaborate lids of the urns of the Herodium mausoleum differ from the simple conical lids that appear on top of the urns crowning the tombs at Sarsina, as well as those depicted topping *tholoi* in the Campanian frescoes of the Second Pompeian Style. At Petra and Meda'in Saleh, the urns' lids have several different designs.⁷⁶ The lids of the urns crowning the *tholoi* of al-Khazneh and ed-Deir are the closest in their design to the Herodium lids, though the latter are more elegant and elaborate. The urn lid of ed-Deir is especially reminiscent of the Herodium lids and is also comprised of four sections, the bottom one concave in section, while the upper ones are spherical (McKenzie 1990: Pl. 139).

It is well known that amphorae or urns have a long history as funerary symbols, and that large jars served as grave markers already in Geometric period Greece.⁷⁷ In Judea amphorae appear in several media that relate to burials, including in the decoration of entrances and loculi inside the burial caves mentioned above,⁷⁸ as well as for the decoration of ossuaries.⁷⁹ Amphorae are not common on Jewish ossuaries of the period but are present on most of their different types (Rahmani 1994: 34, nos. 213, 325, 378, 399; Figueras 1983: Pl. 30). Rahmani (1994: 34) claims that their depiction on the ossuaries originates from amphorae that surmounted some of Jerusalem tomb monuments, as in the case of the contemporary tombs of Nabatean Petra, while Goodenough and Figueras attribute symbolic or ritual significance to these amphorae. While Figueras (1983: 12) suggests that amphorae filled with water or wine express the notion of eternal salvation and abundance of life in a new world, Goodenough (1953: 120) asserts that these vessels are cups for ceremonial drinking and of value to the deceased. Recently, Kloner suggested that the amphorae on the ossuaries, as well as the amphorae or urns painted on the walls of the Hellenistic burial

caves in Marisa and carved on the decorated rock-cut Nabatean tomb facades at Petra and Meda'in Saleh, continue the Greek tradition of using large jars as grave markers and constitute a manifestation of ties and influences between the culture of the Jews of Jerusalem and the Nabateans (Kloner 2010).⁸⁰

The chronological gap between fifth- and fourth-century BCE Athenian marble lekythoi and the appearance of this motif in Judean and Nabatean tombs makes it difficult to see a direct relationship between the two groups (even if one takes into account the third-century BCE painted examples from Marisa). Nevertheless, it is clear that the motif took on funerary significance in our region during the first century BCE–first century CE, and that the urns played a role as markers or memorials for the deceased, as asserted by Kloner. It seems quite plausible that the seven urns adorning the roof of the mausoleum at Herodium were meant to play the same role as the seven pyramids erected by Simon the Maccabee over the tombs of his parents and brothers at Modi'in (Maccabees I. 13.27–30; Flavius Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. 211–212).⁸¹

HERODIUM'S MAUSOLEUM IN CONTEXT

The tomb at Herodium belongs to a rather large group of free-standing burial structures and commemorative monuments comprising an aedicule on top of a podium dating back to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.⁸² These tombs consist of a high podium supporting at least one story. The upper story can be either in the shape of a *naiskos*, a prostyle niche, or a round pavilion, i.e., a *tholos*. In many cases this story exhibits the portraits of the deceased.

Tombs with an aedicule of sorts on top of a podium include the most famous funerary monuments of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and are represented by numerous examples throughout the Mediterranean Basin. Thus, for example, of the c. 100 tombs known today at Pompeii, about 25 are of this type, all dated from the 60s of the first century BCE to the first decades of the Principate (Nagel 2007: 23–26).⁸³ They also appeared in considerable numbers in other Italian cities such as Sarsina and

Aquileia, during late Republic and early Imperial times. Other examples, dating from the Hellenistic period up to the third century CE, were found in France, Germany, Switzerland, Sicily, Greece, Croatia, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Algiers, and Tunisia. Some of these tombs attained a considerable height. Thus, for example, the monument that was formerly attributed to Pompey on the Via Appia had at least three and perhaps four stories, two or three of which were decorated with columns. Its reconstructed height is estimated at between 29.5 m and 45 m (the later measurement is according to Canina; von Sydow 1977: 241–321).

The antecedents for this type of tomb should be sought in the *heroa* of the fourth and third centuries BCE in Asia Minor, that exhibit a combination of strong influences from Persian Lycia and Greek architectural forms, a compromise between a tower and a *naiskos*. As mentioned above, one of the earliest examples of this type is the so-called 'Nereid Monument' built for Erbinna, ruler of Lycian Xanthos, in c. 390–380 BCE (Coupel and Demargne 1969; Fedak 1990: 66–68). It features an Ionic peripteral temple on top of a high podium and attains a height of 13.5 m. The new type of tomb was soon adopted by other cities⁸⁴ and became popular in Greece as well, later in the fourth century BCE.⁸⁵ From this time onward a smaller and less elaborate structure, i.e., a *naiskos* or prostyle niche (instead of a complete temple), on a podium was adopted as a regular architectural form for funerary monuments (Gros 2001: 400).⁸⁶

Tombs of this type seem to have made their appearance in Judea during the Hasmonean period. The tomb of the royal priestly family erected by Simon the Maccabee (143–134 BCE) at Modi'in has not survived, but according to its description in *Maccabees* I. 13.27–30, it was high enough to be seen from afar (i.e., was probably built on top of a podium) and was decorated with large columns and trophies. Seven pyramids topping the monument served as memorials to the seven members of the family.⁸⁷

Tombs of the type featuring a *tholos* instead of a *naiskos* on top of the podium seem to have evolved in a similar manner, though in a somewhat later period; circular temples appeared in Greece as early as the mid-sixth century BCE, as is evident from

Doric frieze fragments with a curved surface that were found at Delphi, in secondary use in a treasury of the late fifth century (Dinsmoor 1950: Pl. XXIX);⁸⁸ however, they became popular only during the fourth century BCE, with the construction of the *tholoi* at Delphi, Epidauros, and Olympia, dated to c. 375, after 370, and 335 BCE, respectively (Lawrence 1996: 137–140, Figs. 212–218).⁸⁹ The choragic monument of Lysicrates in Athens is one of the earliest examples of a *tholos* topping a square podium (Bauer 1977: 197–227). Here the small *tholos* plays a role similar to that of the *naiskos* on the 'Kallithea Monument.'

Another important early monument of this type is again located at Limyra in Lycia; an Austrian expedition, working at the site since 1984, discovered a mound of fallen blocks and architectural fragments crossed by the Byzantine city wall, as well as *in situ* remains of the Ptolemaion (Ill. 4.132), a monument erected in honor of Ptolemy II (283–246 BCE) and dated to the first part of his reign.⁹⁰ The *krepis* of three steps and up to six courses of the socle story are preserved *in situ*; however, almost 1,000 blocks of building stones and architectural decoration that were found make possible its reconstruction. Its estimated reconstructed height is c. 34 m up to the acroterion. The square socle was decorated with Doric corner-pilasters and a Doric entablature. A circular *krepis* formed the stylobate of the *tholos* on top and supported 16 slender Ionic columns. The center of the *tholos* was formed by a cella-like cylindrical structure. The pteroma was covered by ceiling blocks with two rows of coffers and topped by a low slanting roof carved in imitation of roof tiles, while the cella has a roof shaped like a truncated cone decorated with a scale pattern and topped by a wide acanthus *kalathos*/acroterion (Stanzel 1999: 155–172, Fig. 8.3). Interestingly, the Herodium mausoleum shares several features with the Limyran Ptolemaion, such as the superposition of the three Classical orders and the use of a plain Ionic frieze for the *tholos* story.

However, the Monument of Lysicrates at Athens and the Ptolemaion at Limyra were not used for burial purposes. In contrast to funerary monuments of the *naiskos* or prostyle-niche type, those with a *tholos* on top of a podium were rare in the Hellenistic period. The remains of such a tomb that seems to

imitate the design of the choragic monument of Lysicrates in Athens came to light in 1974 in Marsala in Sicily and were dated by the excavator to the early third century BCE (Di Stefano 1974: 162–171).⁹¹ This type of monument reappeared in the late Republican and Augustan periods, and examples are abundant mainly in Italy and Gaul, including a funerary *tholos* at Sestino (in Tuscany) dated to the third quarter of the first century BCE (Verzar 1974: Fig. I: 1–3, II: 4–6), a late Republic funerary monument on the Via Appia in Rome (von Sydow 1977: 241–321), a tomb with a frieze of arms near ancient Pola (Croatia), a funerary monument at Aquileia, the monument of the Julii at St. Remy (ancient Glanum),⁹² all dated to the reign of Augustus, as well as similarly dated tombs from Porta Marina at Ostia and Pompeii (Gros 2001: Figs. 474, 478–480, 487–488).⁹³ In Asia Minor, we find similar monuments, for example at Pergamon and in the vicinity of Ephesus, only later in the second century CE. Therefore, despite several Hellenistic traits of the Herodium mausoleum discussed above (e.g., the ratio between the heights of the architrave fasciae or the use of Ionic, rather than Corinthian, columns for the *tholos*' peripteros), it seems rather clear that the inspiration for the construction of this mausoleum came from Rome, as we know of no recent antecedent in Judea or in the other eastern provinces.

Roman influence on Herod's architecture is well attested in the establishment of the city of Caesarea Maritima and the refounding of Samaria as Sebaste — both named after Augustus and containing a temple dedicated in his honor. However, the Roman influence on Herod's architecture went deeper than what was sufficient to satisfy his Roman patrons. Building techniques, such as the use of underwater concrete for the harbor of Caesarea, *opus reticulatum* in Jericho, Banyas, and Jerusalem, and the extensive employment of vaults and domes, as well as new forms of decoration, such as *opus sectile* floors, Pompeian-style wall decoration, and stucco ceilings in the "coffer style," were introduced by Herod into local architecture, providing some of the first examples of such Roman traits in the East. Column pedestals, orthodox Corinthian capitals, modillion cornices, and other forms of architectural decoration that made their first appearance in Judea under Herod are clear indications of such a Roman cultural

influence and reflect Herod's wish to integrate Judea into the Roman Empire (Peleg-Barkat forthcoming).

When King Herod or his architects chose this type of funerary monument for his mausoleum (and until another funerary monument is found at Herodium, we believe there is no reason to doubt the identification of this mausoleum as the king's tomb), they were probably interested in an up-to-date monument that would be both elegant and remarkable. In this case, as in many others, Herod expressed his innovativeness and introduced into Judea a type of funerary monument that was in widespread use in Italy, but was till then unknown in Judea. The architects of the mausoleum chose not to imitate, but to adapt the Roman prototype to local taste, and therefore the mausoleum presents a synthesis of Roman, Hellenistic, and local traditions and fashions.

This new (in Judea) type of funerary monument, with a *tholos* on top of a podium, was soon adopted by the local elites. The closest parallel, geographically speaking, to the mausoleum at Herodium is the Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem, dated on stylistic grounds to the early first century CE (Ill. 5.28).⁹⁴ This tomb was hewn from the Kidron rock cliff as a free-standing monument. Its lower part is in the form of a large rock cube, while its upper part is built of ashlar. The lower part is decorated on each side with two engaged semi-columns in the center and two pilasters in the corners, to which two quarter-columns are attached. The columns have Ionic capitals surmounted by a Doric architrave and frieze and an Egyptian cornice (Ill. 5.31). The upper part is built of eight courses of large ashlar enclosing an internal chamber, and includes a square base terminating in a cornice, a round drum terminating in a concave conical roof, and, at the top, flower-shaped acroteria. The monument attained a height of 19.70 m (Avigad 1954: 91–133).

The architectural composition of the Tomb of Absalom, in contrast to the tomb at Herodium, is mixed, incorporating, as mentioned above, an Egyptian cornice above a Doric frieze on Ionic columns. Another prominent feature distinguishing these two tombs relates to the shape of their *tholoi*: the walls of the round drum of Absalom's Tomb are solid, and the drum is low and is not surrounded by columns. Indeed, Avigad claimed that the drum actually represents the base of a *tholos* surmounted directly by a



III. 5.31. A detail of the decoration of the Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley, showing the Ionic capital topped by a Doric frieze and an Egyptian cornice. (Photo: O. Peleg-Barkat)

conical roof; the central part of the *tholos* structure together with its columns was intentionally omitted, since it was associated by the local inhabitants of Jerusalem with pagan temples (this was normally where statues were placed; Avigad 1954: 125–126). It appears that the Tomb of Absalom expresses

greater adherence to the spirit and tradition of local architecture, i.e., the wealthy families of Jerusalem apparently chose not to imitate Herod's mausoleum, but rather adapted its design to their local taste and traditions.

In conclusion, the mausoleum at Herodium, which is dated to the end of the reign of King Herod and probably served as the tomb of the king and members of his family, is one of the most remarkable funerary monuments ever to be built in Judea. It stands as one of the greatest achievements of Herod's architecture. Its design reflects strong Roman cultural influence, as well as some of the details of its construction (e.g., the use of Π -shaped dowels). However, the style of carving and details of the decoration reveal local workmanship and local taste (e.g., the choice of modillion cornices on both stories and the carving style of the rosettes and acanthus leaves of the crowning Corinthian capital). A Hellenistic influence is also apparent in several details (e.g., the choice of Ionic columns in the *tholos* portico and the two-fasciae architrave) and the overall scheme is a synthesis of all three sources of inspiration. This kind of synthesis is one of the striking characteristics of Herodian art and architecture.

NOTES

1. Nylander 1970: 36–38, 58–59, Figs. 4, 5, 17: 3; Adam 1994: 51, Figs. 111–113.
2. A stylobate block including a heart-shaped column base dated to the late Second Temple period and found on the western slopes of the City of David (Jerusalem) features a chiseled *anathyrosis* band (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 205, Fig. 4). Other examples from the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in the first century CE include the building blocks of the Temple of Bel at Palmyra (Adam 1994: 51, Figs. 114–115).
3. See, e.g., Gros 2001: Figs. 459, 441–443, 461–567, 470–475, 478–479, 482–488, 492–501, 551, 553–559; Fedak 1990: Figs. 85–86, 91, 101, 110, 153, 161–162, 168–170, 187–191, 196, 207, 222–223.
4. There are earlier tombs in Lycia in the form of pillars, and sarcophagi, mounted on high podia, but only from the fourth century BCE onward does the superstructure above the high podium employ the regular form of Greek architecture (Lawrence 1996: 143).
5. In Greece itself commemorative and funerary monuments on podia appear only in the third quarter of the fourth century BCE. The choragic monument of Lysicrates in Athens, which commemorates the awarding of the first prize to a performance sponsored by the *choregos* Lysicrates in 335/334 BCE, is one of the earliest examples (Bauer 1977: 197–227). Another early example is the 'Kallithea Monument,' a tomb of a family from Istria (Nikeratos and his son Polyxenos), dated to c. 330 BCE. The tomb, discovered in Kallithea, between Athens and Piraeus, has the shape of an Ionic *naiskos* housing the portraits of the deceased on top of a podium decorated with an amazonomachy frieze (Steinhauer 1998: 83–84).
6. It is noteworthy that the city gate of Tiberias dated to the time of Herod Antipas (c. 20s of the first century CE), with its two projecting round towers, features a similar base molding with a cyma recta profile (Stacey 2004: Fig. 4.3; Foerster 1977: 87–91).
7. However, in this period similar processes also existed in Asia Minor and Italy (Foerster 1995: 138).
8. Various dates for the construction of the tomb have been proposed, up to the reign of Hadrian. Most

- scholars give dates ranging from Hasmonean times up to the destruction of the Second Temple, but today, on the basis of the architectural and stylistic analysis of Nahman Avigad, who pointed out Roman influences, a date in the first century CE is commonly accepted (Avigad 1954: 127–133). The reference to this tomb as the “Tomb of Absalom” is medieval and based on a phrase from Flavius Josephus mentioning that Absalom built a marble monument two stadia from Jerusalem, called Absalom’s Hand (= Memorial; *Ant.* VII. 243).
9. The dado was left blocked out. It seems that since this architectonic feature was barely visible to onlookers, the architects chose not to invest excessive work in its final chiseling.
 10. This form of the Attic base had developed in Greece during the fifth century BCE and was subsequently used throughout the Greek and Hellenistic worlds. During the Roman period, it continued in use in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, including *Provincia Iudaea*, while in the western part of the empire another variant was used. The difference between the eastern and western bases is the projection of the upper torus in relation to the upper fillet of the scotia: on the eastern base, the fillet projects at least as far as the torus, if not further, whereas in the western form, the torus projects more than the fillet (Shoe 1965: 301; Shoe-Meritt 1969: 191–196, Fig. 2f).
 11. Attic column bases were found, for example, at Masada (Foerster 1995: 99–104, Figs. 172–182), Herodium (Corbo 1967: 104–105, Figs. 18–19, 110–111), and Samaria (Reisner et al. 1924: 191–192, Figs. 111–112, 118: 6–7). Although this type of column base already existed in Judea in the Hellenistic period, it became the predominant type during the reign of King Herod (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 140).
 12. E.g., the bases for the *distylos in antis* columns in the Umm al-Amad Cave (Avigad 1945: Fig. B3; 1989: 34), for the pilasters on the upper story of the so-called ‘Two-Story’ Tomb (Galling 1936: Fig. 4), on a column base found in the so-called ‘Tomb of the House of Herod’ in Nikephoria (Schick 1892: Pl. 18:6), as well as on a column base found *ex situ* on the western slopes of the City of David (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 205, Fig. 4).
 13. I.e., the bases for the peristyle columns in Upper Herodium (Corbo 1989: DF40, DF104) and for the attached columns in the Monumental Building in Lower Herodium (Netzer 1981: Fig. 69).
 14. See, for example, the cyma recta bases of the pilasters that decorate the square lower story of the Tomb of Absalom in Jerusalem (Avigad 1954: Figs. 55–56).
 15. It should be mentioned that the profile and proportions of the bases at Gamla are slightly different; the lower torus has a square profile instead of the normal rounded one, both tori are shallow, and the upper torus is less reduced in breadth in relation to the lower one, while the upper fillet is thicker than the lower one. The stucco anta bases in Oecus 521 in the Western Palace at Masada present another variant that lacks the upper fillet and perhaps indicates closer affinity with the western Attic base prevalent in Italy (Foerster 1995: 99, Fig. 170).
 16. In the case of the Northern Palace at Masada, the stucco flutings covering the column drums might have misled Josephus into thinking that he was viewing monolithic columns. However, there is no evidence that the Temple Mount portico columns were covered with plaster. Moreover, column drums bearing unchiselled knobs (originally meant to facilitate the lifting of the drums to their correct position) that may have originated from the Temple Mount porticoes were found in the debris at the foot of the southern enclosure wall of the Temple Mount (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 268, 293, 342–343, 346–347, Fig. 343, nos. 1017, 1021) and suggest that the columns were probably not plaster-covered. Fischer and Stein (1994: 79–85) have suggested that Josephus’ faulty claim regarding the use of marble in Herod’s construction projects should be understood as resulting from the aid rendered by assistants in Rome (according to his own testimony) in editing his *Bellum Judaicum*. Since these assistants were familiar with the use of marble in monumental Imperial constructions in Rome, they might have inferred that a similar situation applied to Herod’s building projects in Jerusalem. We may, therefore, similarly suggest that the mention in *Bellum Judaicum* of monolithic columns (which were also common in monumental Flavian structures in Rome) adorning Herod’s Temple Mount should also be seen as a result of the influence of Josephus’ assistants.
 17. Hasmonean and Herodian monolithic columns are to be found in several hewn tomb facades of the *distylos in antis* type (e.g., the Tomb of Benei Hezir in the Kidron Valley and the Qasr el-Karme Tomb in Sanhedria) and the central pier in the Double Gate passageway below the Temple Mount Jerusalem, the specific function of which — bearing the *stoa basileios* (Herod’s Royal Portico) above it — called for special strength (Gibson and Jacobson 1996: 235–259).
 18. An exception to this rule is to be found in Herod’s Third Palace in Jericho (in Triclinium B70 and Courtyards B64 and B55), where the columns were constructed of small, brick-shaped sandstone blocks carved in a manner similar to *opus quadratum*. This peculiar construction technique is unparalleled at other Herodian sites and apparently resulted from the employment of Roman artisans, as suggested by the excavator (Netzer 1999: 40; Netzer 2001: 340). On the other hand, column shafts in the atria and peristyle courtyards at Pompeii were frequently built of bricks

- and stones in a similar fashion, for example, in the House of the Labyrinth (decorated in the First and Second Pompeian Styles), and some public buildings there also incorporated such columns, for example, in the Temple of Isis (Coarelli 2002: 247, 94).
19. Normally, these moldings are on the upper edge of the column shaft and not on the section from which the capital was carved; however, there are parallel examples where the cavetto and astragal have been carved on the lower part of the capital, and as early as the mid-fourth century BCE, the attached Corinthian capitals in the Sanctuary of Athena Alea in Tegea, Greece, were carved in one piece together with the upper edge of the column ending in a cavetto and an astragal (Lawrence 1996: 144, Fig. 224). For further discussion, see Peleg-Barkat forthcoming A.
 20. For further discussion, see Foerster 1995: 111. On the other hand, the astragal is missing on the first-century CE Corinthian capitals with smooth plain leaves found in the Upper City of Jerusalem and in several of its decorated tombs (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 413–414).
 21. Most Herodian Ionic capitals are carved with five eggs on their echinus (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 175–176, 190, 386–390), while fewer examples bear only three eggs (*ibid.*: Figs. 186, 391–392, 397–398). It seems that the choice of whether to carve three or five eggs on the capitals was mainly determined by the capital's size; capitals crowning columns 0.5 m or more in diameter were normally carved with five eggs, while the smaller capitals bear only three.
 22. Herodian Ionic capitals appear with either four or three leaflets. A similar half-palmette with three leaflets emerging from a bud appears on a fragment of a Herodian Ionic capital from the Temple Mount excavations (Peleg-Barkat 2007: no. 1043). On the different variants of the half-palmettes, see Bingöl 1980: 40–42.
 23. One of the capitals is almost complete and was revealed *ex situ*, while the other was found in pieces. Its fragments had been incorporated in secondary use into the walls of a Byzantine cistern in Area Q. The capital was recently restored by the Israel Museum conservation laboratory. It should be noted that the leaves on the Upper City capitals do not continue up to the balteus border, as such leaves normally do on Ionic capitals (as if the balteus is a ribbon tying the leaves together), but end in a curved shape adjacent to it. This particular feature suggests that the Jerusalemite artist had a different interpretation of this well-known Hellenistic motif (Turnheim 1998: 149).
 24. The only example of a narrow balteus exists on an Ionic capital found in the synagogue of Gamla. The balteus of this capital features a simple narrow wreath or branch (Peleg-Barkat 2010: 166–167, Fig. 5.14: 20). Perhaps a similar decoration was intended for the baltei of the capitals under discussion, but for some reason they remained unadorned.
 25. The phenomenon of leaving one side of an architectural element unworked is not unique to Judea, and examples are also found in other parts of the Mediterranean; Corinthian capitals carved only on one side were also found in Petra (McKenzie 1990: Pl. 49e), Augustan Rome (Viscogliosi 1996: Figs. 67, 70, 106, 110), and Pompeii (Lauter-Bufe 1972: 323–329, Pls. 134–135). There are also examples of architectural elements other than Corinthian capitals that were only half-worked; an interesting case is found in the facade of the southern hall of the palaestra in Olympia; while the northern side of the columns was carved with flutes to its full height, the southern side was fluted only on its upper part (Lauter 1986: 262, Pls. 7a, 8a).
 26. The only blocked-out Ionic capital from Second Temple period Jerusalem was recently found on the eastern slopes of Mount Zion overlooking the Pool of Siloam (Greenhut 2011: Fig. 11).
 27. Normally in Herodian examples, fleurons are designed as simple rosettes or buds, as can be seen, e.g., on the capitals exposed in the Northern Palace at Masada (Foerster 1995: Figs. 195, 197) and at Samaria-Sebaste (Reisner et al. 1924: 195, Fig. 118:2). Although no parallels to fleurons designed as spiral rosettes are known to the authors in Judea or elsewhere, it should be mentioned that this type of rosette was very common in art in Early Roman Judea, especially in the architectural decoration of funerary monuments (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 441, 443, 449–450, 473–474, 520–521), sarcophagi (Foerster 1998: 299, Pl. 121:2), and ossuaries (Rahmani 1994: Nos. 49, 112, 133, 136, 148, 161, 164, 195, 204, 244, 247, 271, 355, 371, 440, 516, 632, 668, 800, 802). It should be mentioned that one of the Corinthian capitals found at Masada has a fleuron carved as a acanthus-petalled rosette (Foerster 1995: 111, Fig. 189a). This type of rosette, like the spiral rosette, was very common in Herodian art. However, we know of no other examples of its use to decorate abaci of Corinthian capitals. The Masada fleuron like that from the Herodium mausoleum, reflects the ambitions of the Herodian artists to achieve a greater variety of forms.
 28. The design and decorative elements of this type of capital were discussed in detail by Foerster with regard to the stone capitals from Masada. He ascertained that the general design follows the orthodox Corinthian form, established during the third century BCE, and that the various characteristics of the capitals have parallels in those of Augustan Italy. For example, quite similar is the Corinthian capital in the atrium of the House of the Labyrinth in Pompeii, dated to the third quarter of the first century BCE (Coarelli 2002: 246).
 29. Another feature distinguishing the Herodium capitals

- from their parallels at Masada, Jericho, and Cypros is the fact that the latter further deviate from the “normal” design of the Corinthian capital by having their corner volutes at their highest point overlap the cavetto of the abacus, and the helices touch its bottom, in contrast to the normal situation in which the volutes touch the bottom of the abacus, which seems to be supported by them, and the helices are lower. In Herodium, as in Caesarea, Samaria-Sebaste, and on some of the capitals in Jerusalem, the volutes support the abacus and do not overlap it.
30. On the relationship between the acanthus plant and death or burials in Greek art, as well as the evolution of the Corinthian capital from acanthus stands or acroteria, see Rykwert 1996: 317–349.
 31. Such acanthus finials supporting other objects continue to appear in later periods, as can be seen, for example, in the Late Republic funerary monument on the Via Appia in Rome (von Sydow 1977: 241–321). The finial of the Tomb of Absalom in the Kidron Valley in Jerusalem was described by Avigad as a lotus flower, but actually seems to be a simple acanthus acroterion with the acanthus leaves left blocked-out (namely without the carving of the lobes and leaflets and only the mid-rib is represented; Avigad 1954: 106–107, Fig. 56: 4–5). Such acanthus leaves were carved on contemporary Corinthian capitals that adorned public buildings, rich dwellings and funerary monuments in Jerusalem at the end of the first century BCE and the first century CE (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 271–272, Figs. 219, 413–422). Another such finial with plain smooth leaves was found in the vicinity of the so-called ‘Tomb of the House of Herod’ in Nikephoria (Schick 1892: 117–118, Pl. 18: 11).
 32. A Corinthian capital (of the Peragamene style, with an upper row of lenticular leaves) also crowns the famous ‘Tower of the Winds,’ the octagonal Pentalic marble clock-tower on the agora in Athens, that was supposedly built by Andronicus of Cyrrhus around 50 BCE (Noble and de Solla Price 1968: 345–355, Fig. 12; Stuart and Revett 1762: 13–25, Pl. II). Later examples of funerary monuments dated to the first–third centuries CE with crowning Corinthian capitals are also known (e.g., Gros 2001: Figs. 491, 501, 559).
 33. Both capitals bear carved false round urns. The capital crowning the roof of the *tholos* of the al-Khazne tomb is of the floral Nabatean type, while the one at ed-Deir is of the blocked-out type. The date of the Khazne is under debate and various proposals have been made, ranging from the Late Hellenistic period to the time of Hadrian. The comprehensive study of Judith McKenzie, who examined the architectural decoration and sculpture of the monuments and tombs at Petra, assigns the Khazne to Group A, the earliest in the city, which is dated to the first century BCE (McKenzie 1990: 140–143, Table 2).
 34. Several fragments from pilaster capitals or a ranking cornice bearing a profile of a cavetto on top of an ovolo, found at the foot of the southern enclosure wall of the Temple Mount, might have originated from the crowning of the pilasters that once adorned the Herodian Temple Mount (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 320, nos. 1482–1489; idem forthcoming A).
 35. Since only one fragment from the metopes of the frieze was found, it is impossible to accurately reconstruct the overall appearance of the frieze. Nevertheless, it seems plausible to suggest that, as in several other Early Roman Judean tombs, the central part of the frieze was decorated with a wreath or a grape-cluster flanked by two wreaths (Peleg-Barkat 2012: 414). Such a wreath also decorates one of the Doric frieze fragments found at Lower Herodium (Netzer 2006: 198).
 36. Nevertheless, the Herodian Doric frieze fragments found in the vicinity of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem were carved as one piece with the architrave that was in some cases of the Ionic type (Peleg-Barkat forthcoming A: nos. 1128, 1130–1131, 1133–1135).
 37. The lack of any decoration on the dividing molding is typical of architraves dating prior to the Imperial period, when the architrave dividing moldings begin to be decorated, mainly with astragal moldings carved with beads and reals, and cyma reversa moldings carved with tongues and buds. In Judea, such decorations appear toward the end of the first century CE, e.g., in the later phase of the temple at Omrit (Temple II; Nelson 2011: 37; Turnheim 1996: 125, Fig. 1).
 38. The cyma reversa profile is the normal crowning for two- and three-fasciae architraves (Vitruvius, *de arch.* III.5.10). In some cases (e.g., in Mamre; Mader 1957: Fig. 12) a simplified cavetto replaces it.
 39. The earliest known appearance of an Ionic architrave with three fasciae is in the Archaic Temple of Apollo at Didyma, dated to c. 540 BCE (Barletta 2001: 113). Later it became widespread, e.g., in the Erechtheum, *Propylea*, and the Temple of Athena Nike on the acropolis of Athens, the Temple of Athena at Priene, the fourth-century BCE Temple of Apollo in Didyma, the Ptolemaion in Samothrace, the Temple of Artemis at Magnesia, etc. (Lawrence 1996: Figs. 186, 228, 242, 244, 265; Vitruvius, *de arch.* III.5.10). A few two-fasciae architraves, though not many, also adorn some of the monumental tombs of Macedonia and Asia Minor (e.g., Fedak 1990: Figs. 120, 130–131), as well as the Porpylon of the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon (Lawrence 1996: Fig. 245).
 40. E.g., in the Basilica of Pompeii, the Monument of the Curii at Aquileia, the sanctuary of Furtuna Primigenia at Praeneste, the Temple of Vesta in Tivoli, and the Regia in the Forum Romanum (where the lower fascia is much wider than the upper one), as well as in Pompeian wall paintings (Wilson-Jones 2003: Figs. 2.18,

- 4.19a–b; Delbrück 1912: Figs. 2, 19; Strong 1963: 74, Fig. 7; McKenzie 1990: 93).
41. On the origins and early developments of the Greek frieze, see Ridgway 1966: 188–204.
 42. Such friezes were rather common in Italy as from the mid-first century BCE, especially in funerary monuments (Fraser and Rönne 1957: 52; Rumscheid 1994: Pl. 173: 5–7), while in Greece and Asia Minor the scroll motif that had been regularly used since the fourth century BCE to adorn various architectural components lost its popularity during the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial periods (Roux 1961: 158, Fig. 35, Pl. 51; Rumscheid 1994: 129).
 43. Acanthus scrolls appear also on other Herodian architectural pieces (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 706–707, nos. 1408–1425), on several hard limestone sarcophagi from Jerusalem (Foerster 1998: 305–306, Pls. 121:4, 122: 1–3, 123: 4, 125:1), as well as in some of the pediments of the decorated tomb facades in the necropolis of Jerusalem (e.g., in the Tomb of Jehoshaphat; Avigad 1954: Fig. 77). According to Marion Mathea-Förtsch (1996: 179–187), the lack of naturalism and other characteristics of the Judean acanthus scrolls reflect a Roman influence.
 44. Examples of structures built with mixed orders are abundant throughout the Mediterranean. The bouleterium in Miletus dated to the early second century BCE, for example, has hybrid Doric capitals carved with eggs and darts that normally decorate Ionic capitals, as well as a hybrid Doric cornice carved with dentils. Another prominent example is the Theater of Marcellus in Rome, dated to the late first century BCE, which has a similar cornice (Wilson-Jones 2003: 111–12).
 45. E.g., in the Tomb of Absalom, where a Doric frieze (and an Egyptian cornice) appears above the Ionic columns (Avigad 1954: Fig. 52). It should be noted that Vitruvius objects to the use of mixed orders (*de arch.* I.2.6). However, he mentions that Doric or Ionic entablatures can be placed on top of Corinthian columns (*ibid.*: IV.1.2). It seems that the reason for this lies in the fact that the Corinthian order was only first fully established as a complete order with a separate entablature in Vitruvius' time. This novelty could not have been known, of course, to the earlier sources upon which Vitruvius' work relies. Doric friezes on top of Corinthian capitals are indeed common in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman monuments, such as 'Iraq al-Amir (Jordan), the Temple of Augustus in Philae (Egypt), the triumphal arch in Aosta (Italy), and several tombs in Alexandria, Petra, and Pompeii (Wilson-Jones 2003: 112).
 46. It should be mentioned that an unpublished stucco cornice fragment featuring an S-curved modillion was found in a Hasmonean context in Jericho (Locus A81; Peleg-Barkat 2007: 41). Nevertheless, this find has no contemporary local parallels and stands as the sole testimony for the introduction of this type of cornice to Judea prior to Herod's reign. Moreover, apart from few examples at Delos and Pompeii, stucco console cornices are virtually absent from buildings of the Hellenistic period (von Hesberg 1980: 125–126, Pl. 17: 1).
 47. The modillion or console cornice, characterized by consoles present at regular intervals on its soffit, seemingly supporting the upper member of the cornice, appeared for the first time in the second half of the second century BCE in different parts of the eastern Mediterranean, and especially in Pergamum, Rhodes, and Alexandria (von Hesberg 1980). Nevertheless, the modillion cornice attained its final form as an integral part of the Corinthian entablature only in late Republican and Augustan Rome (Strong 1963).
 48. Modillion cornices were often comprised of two separate blocks, as can be seen, for example, in the finds from the Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium (Corbo 1989: Figs. DF61–DF62, DF65, DF 107, DF111; Peleg-Barkat 2007: 101, Fig. 254).
 49. The slanting surface between the dentils is a common feature on contemporary Judean cornices and appears, for example, in Herodian cornices from Samaria-Sebaste, the Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium, and on the lower terrace at Cypros (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 244–245, 248). Nevertheless, there are other examples, where the spacing between the dentils was fully carved, leaving a straight surface (e.g., in Machaerus, Herod's First Palace in Jericho, and in some of the fragments from Masada; *ibid.*: Figs. 246–247, 252).
 50. Ovolo and dentils customarily appear as components of the bed-molding of both Ionic cornices and modillion cornices in Early Roman Judea. In many of Herod's palaces, the ovolo was left blocked out and the egg-and-dart pattern was never carved, perhaps added in painted or molded plaster. Examples of such cornices were found in the vicinity of the Temples of Augustus and Rome in Samaria-Sebaste (Reisner et al. 1924: Fig. 79) and in Caesarea (Kahn 1996: Fig. 6), in the Mountain Palace-Fortress at Herodium (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Fig. 245), in Herod's First Palace in Jericho (Pritchard 1958: Pl. 17:2–3), as well as on the lower terrace of Cypros (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 258, Fig. 10.40), Masada (Foerster 1995: 130, Figs. 234–241 [in Fig. 242 the dentils were also left blocked-out]), and Machaerus (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Fig. 252 [here a cavetto replaces the ovolo]). Similar bed-molding fragments were found in the theater at Petra (Hammond 1965: 49, Pl. XXXV: 1–2). The combination of an ovolo profile below the dentils for the bed-molding of cornices is very common in Hellenistic architecture, and appears, for example, in the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, dated to the fourth century BCE, and the Ptolemaion in Samothrace, dated to the third century BCE (Lawrence 1996: 140,

- 145–146, 155, Figs. 220, 228, 244). Similar combinations appear in early Imperial architecture in Rome, e.g., in the cornice of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum Romanum, dedicated by Tiberius in 6 CE (Sande and Zahle 1988: no. 103), and in one of the temples in the Forum Holitorium (von Hesberg 1980: 206, Pl. 31; however, the customary arrangement is a cymatium below the dentils). Later, in the Roman period, this sequence of moldings was adopted in the eastern provinces of the empire for the Corinthian modillion cornice (Turnheim 1996: 126).
51. The elongated tongue shape of the darts and their pointed heads are common on most of contemporary Judean examples of the egg-and-dart motif on cornices, Ionic capitals, and other architectural elements. Some exceptions are the arrowhead-shaped darts on the Ionic capitals from the Tomb of Zechariah in Jerusalem (Avigad 1954: Fig. 47) and the egg-and-bud pattern that is visible on the echinus of two large Ionic capitals found in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1983: 181). Nevertheless, all of these Herodian examples share certain common features. For example, the casings closely follow the outlines of the eggs. In contrast, from the time of the Flavian dynasty onward, the carving of the egg casings was much more accentuated, leaving a wide depression between the egg and its casing (Kähler 1939: 70–72, Fig. 13).
 52. The proportions of the Herodian dentils follow the eastern examples (e.g., in the Pompeion of Athens dated to the first century BCE; Hoepfner 1976: 103–104) more closely than the Italian ones, as the latter tend to be more elongated, their length being double their width (Beyen 1938: 329).
 53. A similar, though simpler, design of the anthemion motif is present on the ‘Frieze Tomb’ in Jerusalem (Macalister 1902: 119). An almost identical design of palmettes appears on a cornice fragment from the so-called ‘Tomb of the House of Herod’ in Nikephoria (Vincent and Steve 1954: Pl. LXXXVI: 1); however, as is the case with most modillion cornices, here the cyma recta molding at the top is decorated with an alternate motif of palmettes and acanthus leaves (distinguished from the palmettes by having their leaflets curving inward). Other examples were found in various places in Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 491, 494, 497–498, nos. 1184–1204), as well as at Archelais (Hizmi 1990: Fig. 21).
 54. Block consoles are the most common type of modillions in Herodian architecture and examples were found in stone and stucco in Samaria-Sebaste (Reisner et al. 1924: Fig. 116), the Second and Third Palaces of Herod in Jericho (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 243–245, 259, Figs. 10.18–10.19; Peleg and Rozenberg 2008: 493, Ill. 666), Masada (Foerster 1995: 58–59, Figs. 81–83), and Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 497, 499–500, 502, nos. 1151–1168).
 55. A similar decoration appears on a cornice fragment from Herod’s Second Palace in Jericho (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 243–245, 259, Figs. 10.18–10.19), on the modillion cornice fragments that were collected in the vicinity of the Tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene in Jerusalem, dated to the mid-first century CE (Kon 1947: Figs. 27–28; Vincent and Steve 1954: Pl. XCV), as well as on several fragments found at the foot of the southern enclosure wall of the Temple Mount (Peleg-Barkat 2007: nos. 1162–1168).
 56. This tendency to cover the entire surface designated for decoration is noted in other media of Herodian art (Peleg-Barkat 2007: 363–364). It is also apparent on several modillion cornices from Jerusalem (idem forthcoming A: Figs. II.65–72).
 57. Stucco modillion cornices with S-curved modillions of the ‘Rhodian type’ were found at Cyprus (Netzer 1999: 65, Fig. 92) and Masada (Foerster 1995: 59–65, Fig. 84). Henner von Hesberg (1980: 43–52, Figs. 1–2, Pl. 4: 2–3) has suggested that this type of console originated from the second-century BCE architecture of Rhodes. Examples of this type of consoles molded in stucco and dated to the same period were also found at Delos, where they were used for interior decoration above Doric friezes (Bruno et al. 1970: 166, Fig. 123). Somewhat later we find this type of cornice in Athens — at the Pompeion near the Dipylon Gate, dated to the first half of the first century BCE, and in the Tower of the Winds, dated to the second half of that century (Wirth 1931: 57, no. 18, Fig. 4; Strong 1963: 77; von Hesberg 1980: 53). The Rhodian type of modillion cornice reached Italy in the early Augustan period and soon became popular among the local architects, as can be seen, for example, in the decoration of *Cubiculum* 15 in the House of Augustus on the Palatine (Carettoni 1983: 408, Fig. 14, Pl. 108: 1; Foerster 1995: 59).
 58. The rosettes carved inside the coffers of a modillion cornice found incorporated in secondary use into a wall in Herod’s Second Palace in Jericho (and probably originating from his First Palace at the site) have an emphasized outline caused by undercutting (Peleg-Barkat 2013: 243–245, 259, Figs. 10.18–10.19). Similarly carved rosettes appear on the Doric frieze of the facade of a tomb in Deir ed-Derb (Qarawat Bani Hassan), which is located in western Samaria, 40 km southwest of Nablus (Dar 1982: 384–410; 1986: 230–40; Magen 2008: 149–53). These three regional variants of the Judean stone-carving style (i.e., motifs carved with their surface parallel to the background, motifs carved with a surface gradually slanting toward the background, and motifs carved with undercutting at their circumference) represent the work of several schools of artists working more or less at the same time. The fact that the carving style of the rosettes of Herodium resembles that of the ones from Jerusalem suggests that artists working on the

- decoration of the mausoleum and the earlier tomb precinct at Herodium came from the nearby capital.
59. On the use of mason's marks in Herodian architecture, see also Peleg-Barkat 2013: 254.
 60. It seems that the distance covered by four eggs and four darts or four dentils together with their spacing is the same as that covered by three modillions and three coffers.
 61. Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* XX:95) mentions three pyramids that crowned the tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene and her son Isetes that was located at a three *stadia* distance from the city of Jerusalem. Though Josephus made reference to pyramids, the finds near the tomb associated by scholarly research with the Tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene suggest that it was crowned by structures with conical roofs.
 62. E.g., the choragic monument of Lysicrates at Athens, the Ptolemaion at Limyra, the late Republican funerary *tholos* on the Via Appia in Rome, the *tholos* tomb in Sestino, the monument of Porta Marina at Ostia, and the monument of the Julii at Glanum (Gros 2011: Figs. 462, 475, 477–478, 487–488). On the origin of the conical roof in circular temples and tumuli in Asia Minor, see Pfuhl 1905: 47–96.
 63. Though their squat appearance might be a result of a distortion created by the perspective in which they are depicted. Several scholars have suggested that both the Nabatean tombs in the Classical style and the architectonic landscapes in the Second Pompeian Style reflect a strong Alexandrian influence. Evidence for the presence of *tholoi* in Alexandrian architecture is to be found in both literary sources and archaeological remains, including the famous Pharos Lighthouse that had a circular top story (McKenzie 1990: 92).
 64. Funerary monuments with either a square or an octagonal upper story also tended to have elongated concave roofs; however, these roofs are not circular in section, but polygonal (e.g., Gros 2001: Figs. 470, 473, 489–491, 499, 501–502). There were also other types of roofs, such as domes, pyramids, and stepped pyramids.
 65. Other types of roof decoration are figural reliefs and roof-tile imitation (Gros 2001: Figs. 462, 474).
 66. Nevertheless, acroteria of other types (including winged creatures) appear on several of these monuments featuring a prostyle niche or *naiskos* on top of a podium (e.g., Gros 2001: Figs. 470, 473, 489, 494). Since tombs of this type evolved from temple-like structures on podia (see below), it is not surprising that acroteria that regularly adorn the corners of temples' roofs also appear at the edges of the roofs of these funerary monuments. The edges of the roof of the *tholos* of al-Khazneh tomb in Petra are decorated with closely placed acroteria, shaped like a small palmette with s-curves emerging from the roof (McKenzie 1990: Pls. 79–80). Several of the *tholoi* depicted in Campanian Second Pompeian Style frescoes feature a similar decoration (Ling 1991: Figs. 27, 32, 50).
 67. The tombs at Meda'in Saleh are dated according to inscriptions preserved on many of them to 1–75 CE (McKenzie 1990: 13, diagram 1). The tombs at Petra with urns functioning as side acroteria are also mostly dated to the first century CE or later; e.g., Tomb 70 and the Lion Triclinium are dated to c. 40–70 CE, while the Renaissance Tomb is dated to 129–150 CE (*ibid.*: 157–158, 166).
 68. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that at least in Italy and the western provinces, the pinecone seems to have been a more common form of finial for funerary monuments. Examples include the late Republican funerary monument with a *tholos* on the Via Appia in Rome, the funerary monument near the Porta Marina in Ostia, the grand mausoleum from Aquileia, and the mausoleum of Khroub in Algiers, dated to the end of the second century BCE, to name a few (Gros 2001: Figs. 475, 478–479, 497).
 69. Both false cinerary urns crowning the monuments of Aefionius Rufus and Aulus Murcius Obulaccus at Sarsina were placed not directly above the Corinthian capital, but rather on top of a plinth (in the case of the monument of Rufus, the plinth has two steps). The urns topping the Corinthian capitals that crown the *tholoi* of al-Khazneh and ed-Deir also have a high plinth with a torus-like profile. Therefore, a plinth of sorts probably existed at Herodium as well.
 70. Another testimony for the use of urns as finials of funerary monuments with *tholoi* in Jerusalem comes from the ornamentation of ossuaries that were found in the tombs of the Jerusalem necropolis and dated to the end of the first century BCE and the first century CE. One such ossuary that was discovered in a burial cave at Giv'at HaMivtar depicts an amphora above what seems to be a concave-conical roof (Rahmani 1994: no. 325). Also meriting mention is an Early Roman round two-story tomb, whose remains were exposed in the vicinity of Jerash; it also seems to have had an urn at the top of its conical roof (Seigne 2002: 20, Fig. 25).
 71. Kloner (2010: 73) cites the urn carved at the center of the frieze of the facade of al-Khazneh to show that the "regular" form of Nabatean amphorae was more elongated.
 72. Vase-shaped urns were fairly widespread during the late Republic and early Imperial periods. Therefore, despite the fact that cremation was not practised in Judea, elaborate marble urns (as well as luxurious vessels made of marble) of late Republican and Augustan Rome might also have influenced the design of the Herodium urns. Many of the Roman vase-shaped urns and marble basins and kraters are adorned with a tongue decoration similar to that on the Herodium urns and stand on top of tall elaborate bases (Østergaard 1996: Figs. 16, 132–134). Another

- possibility, though less plausible, is that the stands represent actual pottery or metal stands that were sometimes used to ensure the stability of amphorae. See, for example, Picón et al. 2007: 101, 427, no. 107. Such stands appeared often in the Archaic and Classical periods, but also (though more rarely) during the Hellenistic period, as bases for *lebetes gamikos* that were used in marriage ceremonies but also as grave markers (Richter 1927: 327). For elaborate pottery lids during the Early Roman period, see Robinson 1959: Pl. 39.
73. For “real” funerary urns with griffin heads, see Østergaard 1996: 48–49, Fig. 16. The earliest examples of funerary vases with a decoration of tongues and griffin-protomes are Greek and date from the fourth century BCE. They are solid and served as gravestones. In a Roman context they reappear as cinerary urns. The urns topping the *tholoi* depicted on the Second Pompeian Style frescoes from Campania also have simple bases, spherical bodies, and high conical lids, as can be seen, for example, on the eastern wall of Bedroom M in the Villa of P. Fannius Synister, dated to c. 40–30 BCE (Ling 1991: Fig. 27).
 74. Such a decoration also appears on some of the amphorae depicted on Jewish coins struck during the First Jewish Revolt (Meshorer 1996: nos. 196, 198, 200–201).
 75. One such glass vase, dated to the first half of the first century, a product of the famous glass-maker, Ennion of Sidon, was found in one of the large well-to-do houses in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1983: Figs. 95–96; Israeli 1991: 65–69).
 76. Some lids have a conical shape (e.g., Petra, Tomb no. 763), some resemble a tall triangle or candle flame (the facade of the triclinium in Wadi ed-Deir), while others are completely flat (on the side urns in the arch of Tomb no. 229; Kloner 2010: 73).
 77. For a discussion, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 24, 161; and Kloner 2010: 59.
 78. Another amphora is carved in relief on a decorated doorjamb from En-Gedi dated to the Herodian period (Peleg 2007: 326–327, Figs. 9.3.3–9.3.4). Also meriting mention are the amphorae painted on some of the walls of Hellenistic rock-cut tombs at Marisa (Kloner 2010: 55–59, Figs. 1–2).
 79. Amphorae also appears on contemporary Jewish coinage, for example, on the coins minted during the second and third years of the First Jewish Revolt (67–69 CE) and on coins struck during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt (132–136 CE). Meshorer (1997: 109–111, 129) suggests that the amphora on the coins represents the vessels containing wine or oil that were used in the Temple. These vessels have a hemispherical body, long neck, and wide rim, and they stand on long legs with wide flat bases. Amphorae can also be found on more personal objects, such as on the ‘Darom’ oil lamps (Israeli and Avida 1988: 63, nos. 142–144) or seal rings (Meshorer 1997: 111).
 80. According to Kloner (2010: 77), “...depictions of amphorae and urns, after having appeared in Maresha in the third century BCE, became solidly entrenched among the Jews and Nabataeans in the time of Herod. The use of the amphora/urn as a common funerary motif among ethnic groups that did not practice cremation, such as the Idumaeans, the Jews, and the Nabataeans, is a clear indication that it served as a grave marker and burial symbol and not as a repository for ashes.”
 81. It is unknown how many of the members of Herod’s family were initially meant to be buried inside the mausoleum. Remains of at least three sarcophagi were found in the vicinity of the tomb (see Chapters 3 and 6), but perhaps these do not represent the total number of the original or planned burials. Even if the seven urns do not correspond to seven members of Herod’s family, it seems that the choice of placing seven urns on the roof of the mausoleum relates not merely to the desired rhythm of their appearance in relation to the portico columns below.
 82. In scholarly research, tombs of this type are sometimes referred to as “Turmgräber” (tower tombs; Kähler 1934; Precht 1975; Numrich 1997), as “monumental a cuspide” (tombs with a pyramidal spire; Mansuelli 1952), or as “Mausoleumsgrundformen” (tombs derived from the form of the mausoleum; Gabelmann 1979; Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986).
 83. The fact that these edifices exhibited sculpted portraits turned them into individual *monumenta*. According to Gros, this explains, at least in part, the great popularity of these edifices, adapted to the taste of the local elites, during the late Republic and early Imperial periods (Gros 2001: 401–403, 408–409, Figs. 466–469, 480; Toynbee 1971: 123–124).
 84. As can be seen, for example, in the *heroon* of King Pericles at Limyra, also on Lycian territory, that comprises an amphiprostyle temple on top of a high podium with its freestanding columns replaced by caryatids (Fedak 1990: 68–71, Figs. 69–70).
 85. As is attested by the ‘Kallithea Monument,’ a tomb of a family from Istria on the shores of the Black Sea, dated to c. 330 BCE (Steinhauer 1998: 83–84). The tomb consists of a simple *naiskos* on top of a podium. This tomb is an interesting testimony to the developments that occurred in Attic funerary architecture during the decades prior to the legal reform of the Macedonian governor Demetrius of Phalerum (c. 317 BCE), who, according to Cicero (*De legibus* 2.66), banned lavish tombs. Indeed no monumental burials are known from Attica between then and the first century BCE (Gros 2001: 400).
 86. In Italy, the earliest funerary monuments of this type appeared in *Magna Graecia* and reflect strong Hellenistic influence mixed with local or Etruscan traits; a

- tomb of this type at Paestum, for example, features a small Corinthian prostyle temple on top of a low podium that is reminiscent of the (somewhat later, but still dating to the first century BCE) Etruscan Tomb of Hildebrand in Sovana (Gros 2001: 389, 401, Figs. 441, 463). Among the earliest examples in the city of Rome is the Tomb of Bibulus, constructed in compliance with a senatorial decree at the foot of the Capitol in the 70s of the first century BCE (ibid.: 401, Figs. 464–465).
87. For discussions on the royal Hasmonean tomb at Modi'in, see Fine 2002; Fedak 1990: 148; Kon 1971: 53. Monuments topped by pyramids are known from late First Temple period Jerusalem and have been discovered throughout the Levant. Among these is the first-century BCE Tomb of Hamrath at Suweida in Syria, where shields and other military implements appear among the decorations of the tomb (Fine 2002: 3–4).
 88. A very plain circular building erected in the Agora of Athens c. 470 BCE served as the meeting place for the *prytaneis*, and was known simply as the *tholos*. It should be mentioned that some of the circular tombs built in the Bronze Age were probably known and accessible at later times and may have exerted some influence. The oldest common type of Greek tomb, the tumulus, was possibly inspired by the Mycenaean *tholos*, which was usually topped by a small mound. Tumulus tombs with a revetting wall around the base and a conical mound on top existed in Asia Minor prior to the sixth century BCE. The *tholos* of the Athenian Agora outwardly resembled a revetted tumulus, as it had an upright circular wall and a conical roof (Lawrence 1996: 137).
 89. There were two other monumental circular buildings in Samothrace. The earlier one, dating from the late fourth century, had a lower section with a doorway leading to the upper section decorated with engaged Doric half-columns and surmounted by a conical roof. The Arsinoeion in Samothrace, dated to shortly before 270 BCE, is better preserved. It is more than 20 m in diameter and had pillars standing on the upper part of the structure, between marble screens. The exterior was given a Doric treatment, while Corinthian half-columns were attached to the inner face of the pillars (Lawrence 1996: 141, Fig. 221).
 90. The *boule* of Limyra dedicated this temple to Ptolemy II and the royal Egyptian family in gratitude for sending an Egyptian expeditionary corps to repel an invasion of Celts who threatened Limyra after conquering the Taurus Mountains at the beginning of the third century BCE, during the reign of Ptolemy II (Stanzl 1999: 157).
 91. On the funerary symbolic significance of the *tholos* structure, see Reeder 1992: 265–307. Apparently, the fact that *tholoi* were often used as commemorative structures made them especially suitable to serve as funerary monuments. The *tholos* of Epidaurus may even have been conceived as the cenotaph of Asklepios (Fedak 1990: 180–181).
 92. The precise date of the monument is the subject of debate. Fred Kleiner (1977: 662–666) suggests dating it to the early part of Augustus' reign (c.30–20 BCE), while others assign it to the final years of his rule (Wilson-Jones 2003: 81, Fig. 4.18).
 93. A *tholos* with a concave, conical roof also appears, as stated above, in the rock-hewn facades of al-Khazneh, the Corinthian Tomb, and ed-Deir at Petra. However, these apparently postdate the mausoleum at Herodium and therefore are irrelevant with regard to the search for the source of inspiration for it. It should be mentioned that in the late Republican period *tholoi* also became common for other uses, especially as pavilions in gardens (Rostovtzeff 1911: Figs. 19, 22, 25). One such pavilion was built by Herod at the center of a large pool surrounded by an Ionic portico at Lower Herodium (Netzer 2006: 190, Fig. 54). Another *tholos* structure constructed by Herod is the circular reception hall on the middle terrace of the Northern Palace at Masada (ibid.: 30–31, Fig. 6).
 94. As mentioned above, a structure or structures in the shape of *tholoi* with conical roofs decorated the upper part of the Tomb of Queen Helene of Adiabene in Jerusalem, dated to the mid-first century CE (Kon 1947: 74–80, Figs. 18–25). Here the *tholoi* were not preserved *in situ* and their appearance is a matter of speculation. In any event, the overall design of this monument combines a rock-cut tomb with a *distylos in antis* facade, together with memorial *tholoi* on top, and differs from the Herodium mausoleum and the Tomb of Absalom. The eclecticism reflected in the overall design of the monument is also apparent in the decoration of the facade of the rock-cut tomb. See Peleg-Barkat 2012: 413–415.

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