

Ehud Netzer

(Director)

# HASMONEAN AND HERODIAN PALACES AT JERICHO

Final Reports of the 1973–1987 Excavations

Volume V: The Finds from Jericho and Cypros

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# ABBREVIATIONS

## Measurements and Dimensions

H	height
W	weight
L	length
RD	rim diameter
BD	base diameter
PH	preserved height
PW	preserved width
PL	preserved length

## Bibliography

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
Bar International Series	British Archaeological Reports (International Series)
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research</i>
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>ESI</i>	<i>Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
<i>JGS</i>	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>NEAEHL</i>	E. Stern (ed.), <i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , Jerusalem
<i>PEFQSt</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i>
<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>



# CHAPTER 10

## THE ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION FROM THE HASMONEAN AND HERODIAN PALACES AT JERICHO AND CYPROS

Orit Peleg-Barkat

### INTRODUCTION

The excavations of the Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Jericho and Cypros by Ehud Netzer between 1973 and 1987 yielded a large amount of decorative architectural elements, most of them made of Samra stone (*Samra calcarenite*). Some of these decorative elements, such as the Attic bases and column drums in the peristyle courtyard in the Main Wing of Herod's Second Palace at Jericho, were found still *in situ*, while others, such as the Doric order of the Pavilion in the Hasmonean Pools Complex at Jericho, had fallen, apparently due to an earthquake, close to their original location (see below). In some cases, pieces found in the collapse or out of context can be attributed with some certainty to a specific architectural unit. Therefore, the decorative architectural elements are first discussed in their archaeological context. The following typological discussion will examine the fragments' style and composition according to type, technical aspects of the decoration, and parallels.<sup>1</sup>

The architectural decoration of the Northern Wing of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho was published by the author together with Silvia Rozenberg in Volume IV of the final reports of the Jericho excavations (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:475–522).<sup>2</sup> The decoration of the different rooms, halls and courtyards of that building was mainly of stucco, and reflects a combination of local and Roman influences and techniques. This serves as additional evidence of the employment of Roman artisans, as suggested by the excavator (Netzer 1999:40; 2001:340).

The current report describes and analyzes the decorative architectural elements from the other Herodian buildings excavated at Jericho (i.e., Herod's Second Palace and the Hippodrome), as well as the Hasmonean palaces at the site and the constructions dated to both periods at nearby Cypros. Together, the two reports present a complete and comprehensive picture of the changes and developments in architectural decoration that occurred in Judea under Hasmonean and Herodian rule.

### JERICHO

The exposure at Jericho of a series of palaces erected by three generations of one family, and later by King Herod (see Introduction: General Plan 2), presents a rare opportunity to examine the changes that occurred in the fashions and techniques of

architectural decoration in Judea during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Although much of the original decoration did not survive and many elements were looted or eroded over time, enough exists to enable a reconstruction of the main characteristics of the architectural decoration of each of the Hasmonean and Herodian complexes.

## Jericho in the Hasmonean Period

Stone decorative architectural elements were found in all three of the major Hasmonean complexes in Jericho: the Main Hasmonean Palace structures (Area AA), the Pools Complex (Area AB), and the Twin Palaces (Area AE). The Pools Complex contains the best-preserved decorated architectural unit: a complete Doric order can be reconstructed for the Pavilion, which once stood at the highest point of the complex.

### The Main Hasmonean Palace Structures

Two fragments from two different variants of Doric capitals were found *ex situ* in the southern part of the first palace building at the site (the “Buried Palace”), ascribed by the excavator to John Hyrcanus I (134–104 B.C.E.; Netzer 2001:335). One fragment (Fig. 10.1) was retrieved from the square tower (Locus AA1) in the southwestern corner of the complex, and the second (Fig. 10.2) was found in a trench excavated to the east of the tower, on the southern slope of the tell (Locus AA3). In addition, a cauliculus of a Hellenistic heterodox Corinthian

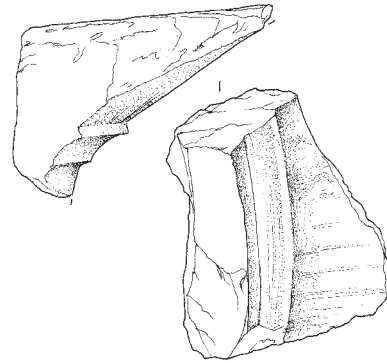


Fig. 10.2. Fragment of a Doric capital from the Main Hasmonean Palace Structure at Jericho (Locus AA3)

capital (Fig. 10.3) was recovered in the northern part of the complex (Locus A(A)94).

The Doric capitals may have originated in a distylos-in-antis entrance leading from the courtyard through an anteroom into the triclinium/reception hall (Locus A(A)38) in the southwestern part of Hyrcanus' palace. Netzer suggested the existence of such an entrance, based on the resemblance of the complex' plan to the Western Palace at Masada, where such an entrance exists (Netzer 1999:9, Fig. 9). Another possibility is that the Doric capitals originally crowned the columns of the peristyle courtyard, which, according to Netzer, may have existed at the center of the Fortified Palace built by Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.) on top of the tell, where foundations of a square building or stylobate were exposed (*ibid.*:19).<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, the context of the finds and the poor state of preservation of the remains of the two palaces, prevent any clearer conclusions.

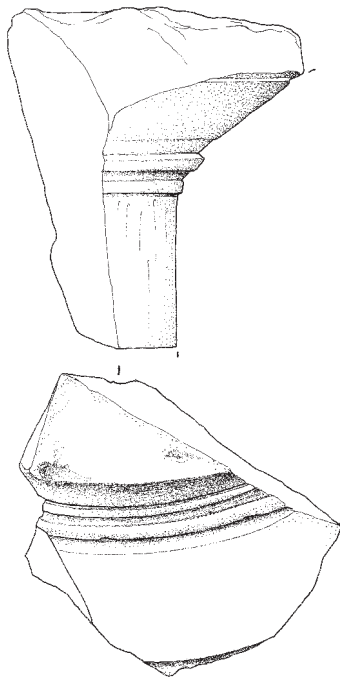


Fig. 10.1. Fragment of a Doric capital from the Main Hasmonean Palace Structure at Jericho (Locus AA1)

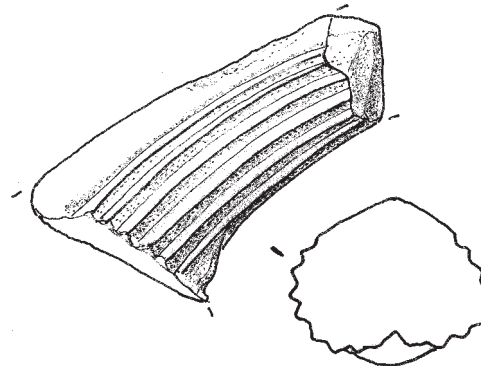


Fig. 10.3. A fragment of a cauliculus of a Hellenistic heterodox Corinthian capital from the Main Hasmonean Palace Structure at Jericho (Locus A(A)94)



### The Pools Complex

Northeast of the Fortified Palace, Alexander Jannaeus added a new Pools Complex that included two large pools and a “Pavilion” hall (Locus A(B)103) at the highest point of the complex, to the south of the pools (Netzer 1999:14–15, Figs. 18–19; 2001: 88–91; Ills. 127–128). Only the foundations of the hall are preserved, while the ashlar that once constructed its walls have been looted. The rectangular hall (13.8×9.8 m) was encircled by a Doric colonnade, which was destroyed in an earthquake and collapsed into a small pool (apparently used as a ritual bath, Locus A(B)399) to the west of the Pavilion (Figs. 10.4–10.5). The foundations of the stylobate of this colonnade were exposed in the excavation (21.3×17.1 m).

The columns of the Pavilion’s peripteros had no bases. They were constructed of drums coated in

plaster fashioned as Doric flutes. Also found in the pool were two Doric capitals, and fragments of the entablature, including a Doric frieze carved with



Fig. 10.5. Column drums with applied stucco flutings from the Pavilion peripteros in the Hasmonean Pools Complex



Fig. 10.4. Remains of the Doric columns and entablature of the Pavilion peripteros found collapsed in Pool A(B)399, in the Hasmonean Pools Complex

triglyphs and plain metopes (Figs. 10.6–10.7)<sup>4</sup> and a Doric cornice with a plain soffit (Figs. 10.8–10.9).<sup>5</sup> The debris in the pool served the excavator as a basis for the reconstruction of the pavilion as a hall surrounded by porticoes (Fig. 10.10).

Hypostyle halls surrounded by porticoes, and used among other things as garden pavilions, were popular in the Persian orbit, and it seems that the Pavilion erected by Alexander Jannaeus at Jericho was inspired by the Persian palaces, filtered through Alexandria, where towers were used as pavilions in the Alexandrian royal palaces. Although the plan of the Pavilion at Jericho is basically Persian, the style of its peripteros is entirely Greek (Nielsen 1994:40, 134, 162).

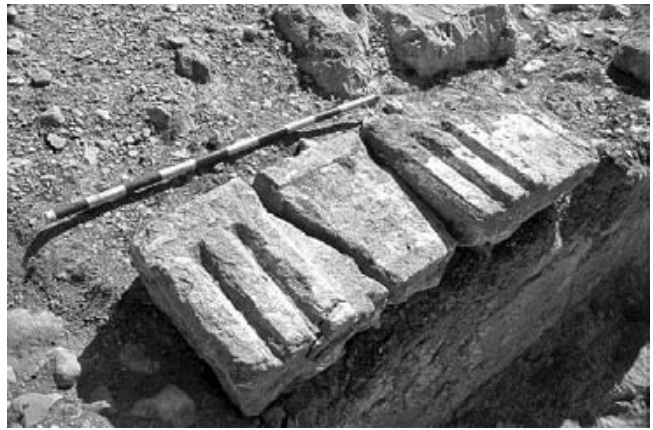


Fig. 10.6. Fragments of the Doric frieze of the Pavilion peripteros in the Hasmonean Pools Complex

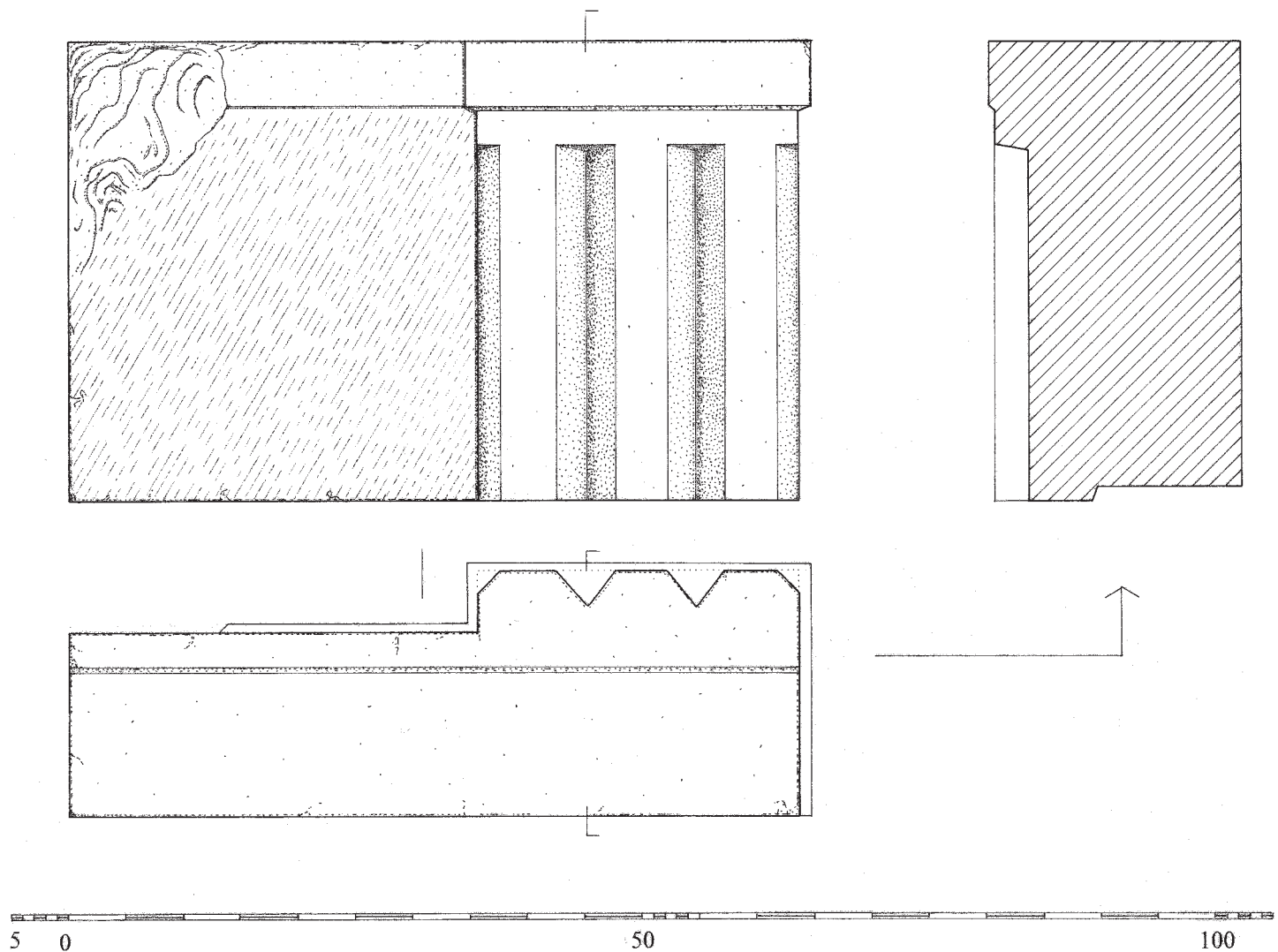


Fig. 10.7. The Doric frieze of the Pavilion peripteros in the Hasmonean Pools Complex





Fig. 10.8. Column drums and a cornice fragment from the Pavilion peripteros in the Hasmonean Pools Complex

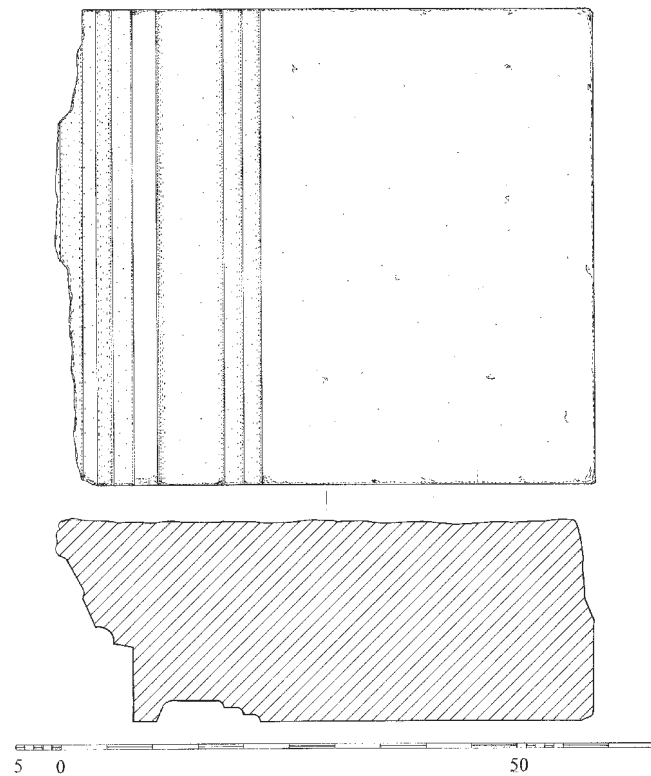


Fig. 10.9. The Doric cornice of the Pavilion peripteros in the Hasmonean Pools Complex

It seems that the choice here of the Doric order is the result of an Alexandrian influence; scholars have pointed out that Alexandria had a decisive effect on the distribution of the Doric order during the Hellenistic period (Hoepfner 1971:76–78; Pensabene 1993:79–83).<sup>6</sup> Support for this supposition is the fact that the Corinthian capitals found in the Hasmonean palaces are local versions of the Alexandrian heterodox type (see below). Alexandrian influence is also evident in the frescoes preserved on the walls of the Hasmonean palaces at Jericho (Rozenberg 2008:298–301).

### The Twin Palaces

South of the Pools Complex built by Jannaeus, two semi-detached mansions constructed as mirror images of one another, the “Twin Palaces”, were erected by Jannaeus’ wife, Queen Alexandra (76–67 B.C.E.), following her husband’s death. A large courtyard (31.5–32.8×18.8 m) existed to the west of the Twin Palaces and included a swimming pool and a rectangular triclinium/garden pavilion to its south. At the northern end of this courtyard, a line of pillars

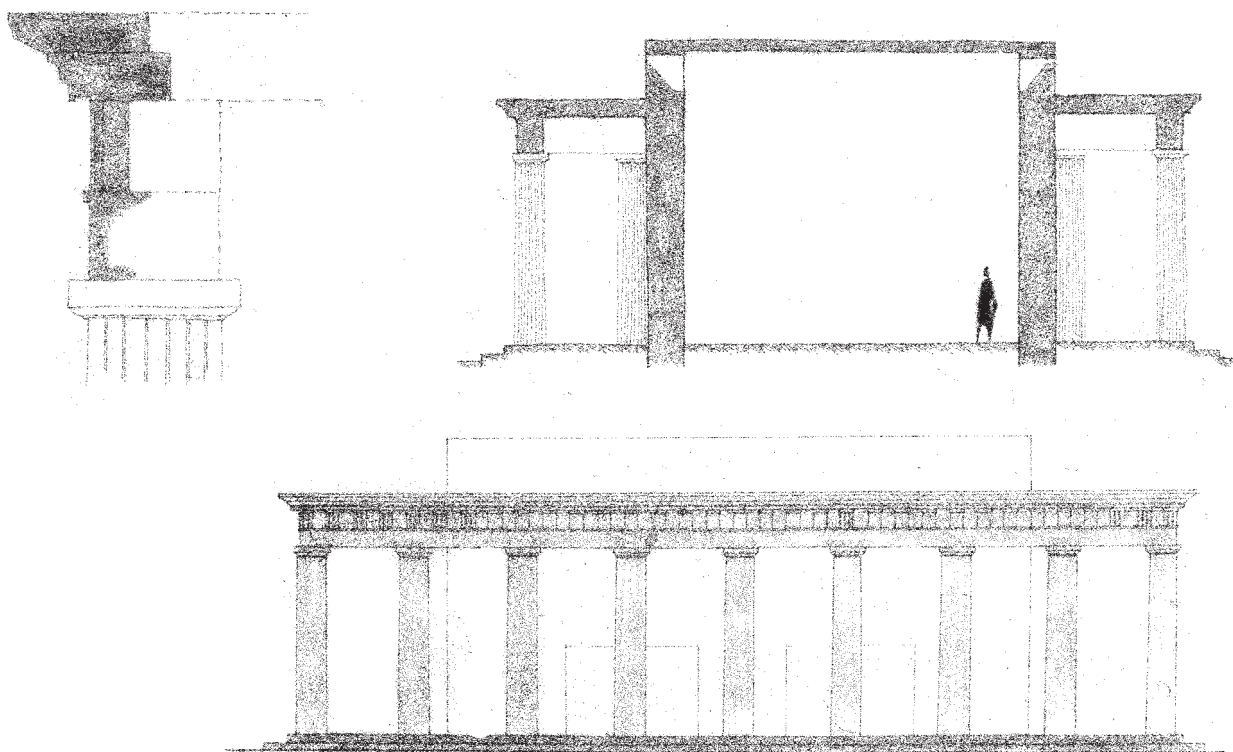


Fig. 10.10. Reconstruction of the Pavilion in the Hasmonean Pools Complex, proposed by Ehud Netzer (1999: Fig. 19)

was excavated. A few column drums and a Doric capital were found 6 m to the south of the pillars (Locus A(E)19).

The excavator proposed that originally there was a portico with two stories along the northern end of the courtyard, with pillars in the lower story and Doric columns in the upper story (Fig. 10.11; Netzer 1999:25, Fig. 37; 2001:172–174, Ill. 248). However, it should be noted that such an arrangement is quite rare in Hellenistic architecture. While rectangular pillars exist as lower supports in the facade of the Gate of Zeus and Hera at Thasos (ca. 325–300 B.C.E.), neither the pillars nor the upper Ionic columns are free-standing, but rather attached to a rear wall. Since this was more of a wall decoration than structural architecture, there is no relation between the upper (ten supports) and lower orders (four supports only). Pillars appear more frequently as upper supports, especially in Delian architecture (Coulton 1976:126–130). Therefore, it may be suggested that the Doric column drums and capitals found in the

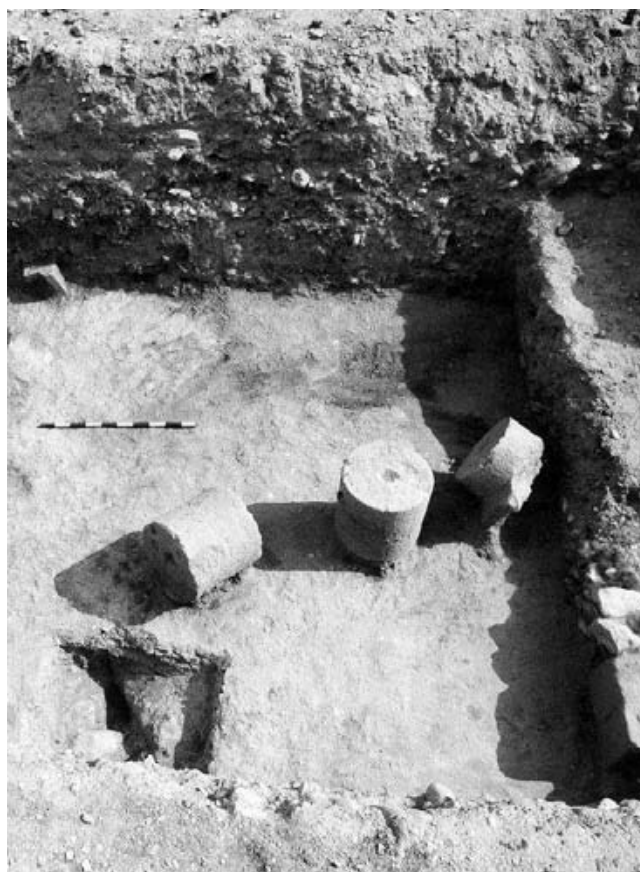


Fig. 10.11. Column drums and a Doric capital found in the western courtyard of the Twin Palaces



western courtyard of the Twin Palaces at Jericho originally stood in a different part of the courtyard, perhaps in association with the triclinium south of the pool. Another possibility is that they originated in the western of the two palaces — either in the distylos-in-antis entrance leading into the central courtyard from the south (Netzer 1999: Fig. 35; 2001: Plan 26), or in the second story of the building.

Although the distylos-in-antis in the western palace did not survive, the western anta of the equivalent entrance leading into the triclinium (Locus E3/6) from the central courtyard (Locus E3/2) of the eastern palace was exposed in the excavation, as was the stylobate upon which the columns originally stood. The stylobate and anta were built of sandstone ashlar and coated with white plaster. The base of the anta has a simple curved profile (Fig. 10.12; Netzer 2001:163–164, Ills. 228–230).



Fig. 10.12. The western anta of a distylos-in-antis entrance leading into the triclinium (Locus E3/6) from the central courtyard (Locus E3/2) of the eastern of the Twin Palaces

## Jericho in the Herodian Period

King Herod built three successive palaces at Jericho, as well as an elaborate villa and a hippodrome. All the Herodian constructions included decorated architectural units, the main ones being peristyle courtyards of various types. This report examines the relevant finds from Herod's Second Palace (Areas AB, AE, AG, AL, see Introduction: General Plan 2), and the Hippodrome located about 1.5 km north of the Hasmonean and Herodian winter palaces, both excavated by Ehud Netzer. Also included in this description is a group of fragments of Corinthian capitals from Herod's Third Palace that was not included in the previous publication (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008).

### Herod's Second Palace

In 31 B.C.E., an earthquake struck the Jericho Valley and seriously damaged the Hasmonean palaces at Jericho. In the same year, the Hasmonean family suffered a decline in their power as a result of the death of Cleopatra following the Battle of Actium. According to the excavator, Herod's Second Palace was erected on top of the ruins of the Hasmonean palace complex in ca. 25 B.C.E. This palace included a "Main Wing" to the north, built around a peristyle courtyard, and a "Lower Wing" to the south, which included two swimming pools, a formal garden and a Roman-style bathhouse.

Four Attic column bases were found *in situ* in the western part of the northern colonnade of the peristyle courtyard of the Main Wing of the palace (W549). On top of two of the bases, the original lower column drum was still standing (Figs. 10.13–10.14). Another Attic column base was excavated along the southern line of the peristyle (W575). A sixth column base of the same type was found *in situ* at the entrance to a rectangular exedra (Locus A(G)449–A(G)494) north of the peristyle (Fig. 10.15). Originally it served as a base for the western column forming a distylos-in-antis entrance to the exedra (Netzer 2001:176–180, Ills. 251–253, 261, Plan 29). Narrow, plastered ashlar walls (10–12 cm thick) were built between the peristyle columns and delimited the colonnaded walkways, separating them from the central part of the courtyard that



Fig. 10.13. Attic bases and column drums *in situ* in the western part of the northern colonnade of the peristyle courtyard of the main wing of the Second Palace



Fig. 10.14. An Attic column base *in situ* in the western part of the northern colonnade of the peristyle courtyard of the Main Wing of the Second Palace

served as a garden. Such an arrangement has many parallels in peristyle gardens of Late Republic and Early Imperial Roman houses in Italy.<sup>7</sup> A fragment from the lower torus of another Attic base (Fig. 10.16) was found in the southern part of the Main Wing (Locus E2/305).

The debris in the northwestern part of the courtyard (south of Room A(G)431) included many ashlars, as well as a blocked-out Ionic capital (Fig. 10.17) that seems to have originally crowned one of the peristyle columns (Netzer 2001:178, Ill. 256). Two similar capitals were found in the central courtyard of Herod's First Palace at Jericho, where the columns originally stood above pedestals (Pritchard 1958:13, Pl. 18:3–4). Ionic capitals made out of stucco originally crowned the columns of peristyle Courtyard B64 in the Northern Wing of the Third Palace (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:489–491).





Fig. 10.15. An Attic column base *in situ* at the entrance to the exedra (Locus A(G)449–A(G)494), north of the peristyle in the Main Wing of the Second Palace



Fig. 10.16. A fragment of an Attic column base (Locus E2/305), in the southern part of the Main Wing of the Second Palace

In the Lower Wing of the palace, a large modillion cornice (Figs. 10.18–10.19) was found in secondary use, incorporated into the top of the eastern end of W362 that runs parallel to and south of the large pool in this area (Locus A(L)255; Netzer 2001:207, Ill. 296). The cornice is decorated with dentils and narrow rectangular modillions alternating with coffered rosettes. Another rosette of this type was found nearby (Fig. 10.20). Five similar fragments were



Fig. 10.17. A blocked-out Ionic capital in the north-western part of the courtyard, south of Room A(G)431 in the Main Wing of the Second Palace

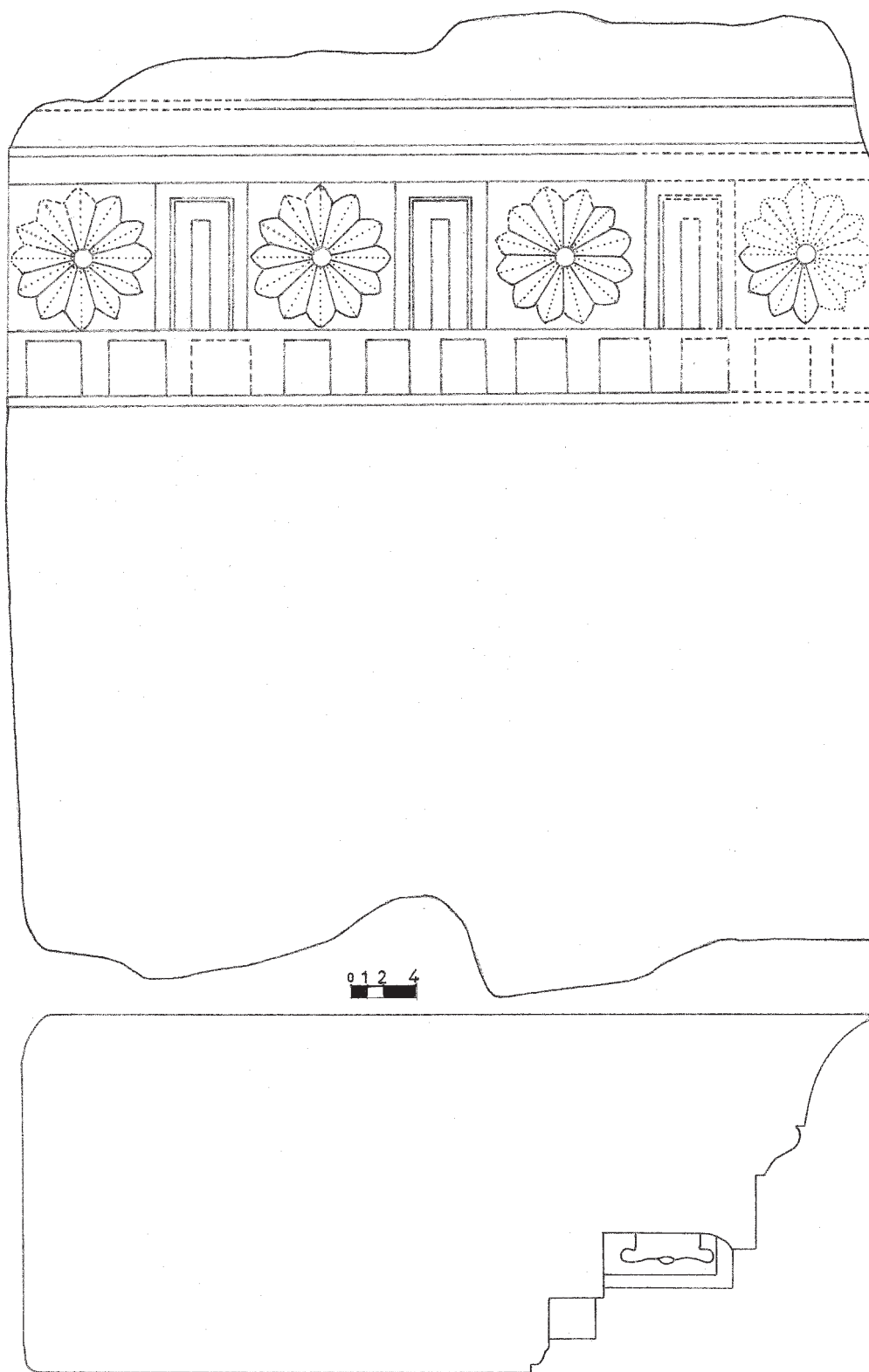


Fig. 10.18. A large modillion cornice found incorporated in secondary use at the top of the eastern end of W362 in the Lower Wing of the Second Palace



Fig. 10.19. A large modillion cornice incorporated, in secondary use, at the top of W362 in the Lower Wing of the Second Palace



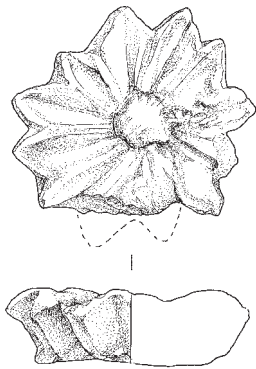


Fig. 10.20. A fragment of a rosette from the soffit of a modillion cornice in the Lower Wing of the Second Palace

found in Herod's First Palace at Jericho, referred to by the excavator, J.B. Pritchard, as "spandrels".<sup>8</sup> In the excavation report, Netzer (2001:207) suggested that the modillion cornice belongs to a structure dating from the early days of Herod, which was demolished prior to the construction of his Second Palace. Based on the similarity between the fragments found in Herod's First Palace and the cornice incorporated in secondary use into a wall of the Second Palace, it may be suggested that the latter originated in Herod's First Palace. Indeed, this palace continued to function when the Second Palace was built, but perhaps some renovations were needed following the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., which demanded the replacement of this cornice. Another fragment, poorly preserved, of a different type of modillion cornice, was also found in this palace (Locus E2/305; Fig. 10.21).<sup>9</sup>

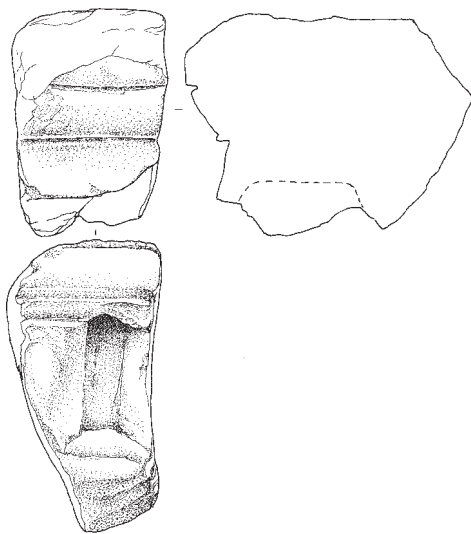


Fig. 10.21. A fragment of a modillion cornice (Locus E2/305) in the Second Palace

### Herod's Third Palace

As stated above, the architectural decoration of Herod's Third Palace has been published (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008). Architectural decoration of this palace was devoted mainly to the adornment of three areas of the palace — Courtyards B64 and B55 and Triclinium B70. Courtyard B64 was a peristyle courtyard with Ionic columns standing on Attic bases. The lower parts of the columns were stuccoed with smooth, red-painted plaster, and their upper parts with 20 shallow flutes. The columns were topped by Ionic capitals, which had stone or plaster cores and details added in stucco. Courtyard B55 was a peristyle courtyard with baseless Corinthian columns standing directly on the floor. The lower, smooth parts of the columns were painted alternately in black or red, and the upper portions featured 20 delicate Corinthian flutes. The columns were topped by stone Corinthian capitals. Triclinium B70 had colonnades with Corinthian columns standing on pedestals. The columns were covered with rough Corinthian fluting, but no fragments of the Corinthian capitals that once crowned them have survived (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:482–497).

While working on the current report, two boxes containing ca. 80 small fragments from Loci B73, B79 and B55 were found at the Hebrew University. All the fragments belong to Corinthian capitals and include mainly abacai angles, acanthus leaves and cauliculi (Figs. 10.22–10.24). The fragments represent the same type and style as the upper part of a Corinthian capital and two parts of a Corinthian half capital that were found in the debris in Courtyard B55 (Netzer 2001:252–253, Ills. 380, 382–383; Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:494–496). These fragments seem to originate from other capitals that once crowned the columns of this peristyle courtyard.<sup>10</sup> The Corinthian capitals of peristyle Courtyard B55 are the only surviving stone architectural elements in Herod's Third Palace, while the rest of the decoration was made of stucco. The small fragments of abacai angles, acanthus leaves, and cauliculi suggest that a deliberate defacement of the capitals took place, probably to make reuse of the capitals as construction material. A similar phenomenon was detected by R. Reich and Y. Billig while excavating along the Western Wall in Jerusalem; they

encountered stone blocks that seemed to have once been used as Corinthian capitals, but their faces were so much damaged that nothing remained of their decoration (Reich 2003:272).

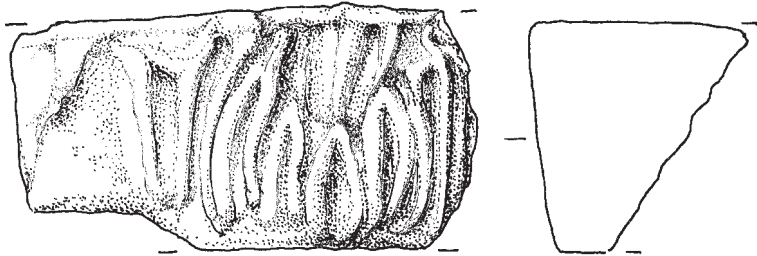


Fig. 10.22. Fragment of a Corinthian capital including the upper row of acanthus leaves, from the Third Palace

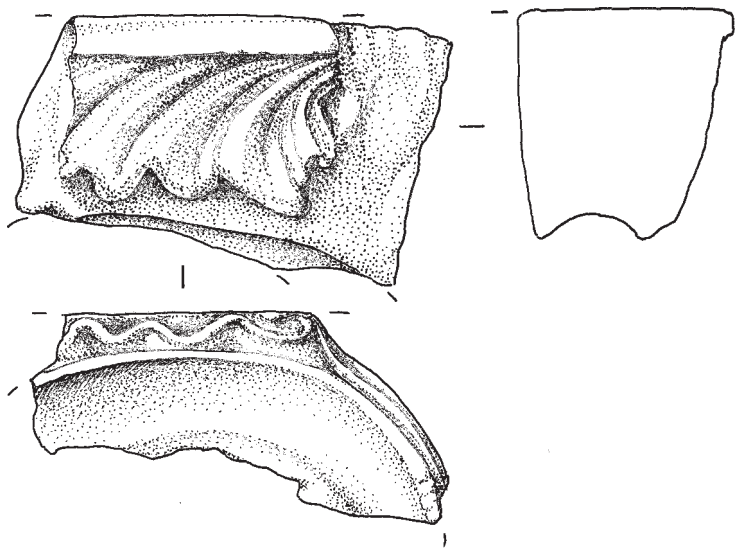


Fig. 10.23. Fragment of a Corinthian capital including the calyce and volute, from the Third Palace

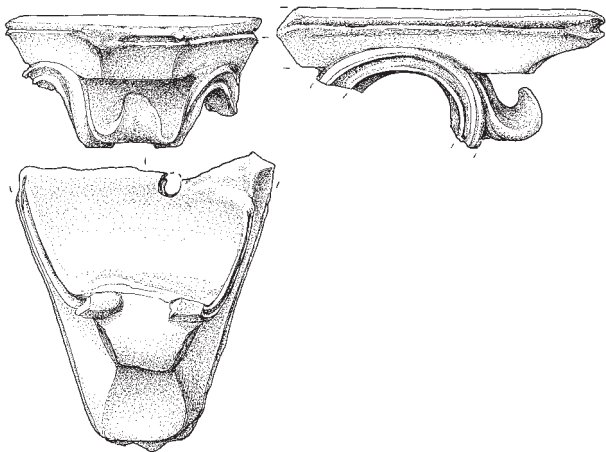


Fig. 10.24. Fragment of an abacus angle of a Corinthian capital from the Third Palace

## The Hippodrome

The Hippodrome of Jericho is situated south of Tell es-Samarat (1.5 km to the north of the Hasmonean and Herodian palaces). A building with a peristyle courtyard was erected by Herod on top of the tell upon an artificial platform (only its foundations and fill remain), and the southern slope of the tell served as the cavea of the hippodrome, which could seat up to 3,000 people (see Chapter 2: Figs. 2.1–2.2; Netzer 1999:56–59; Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004:195–225; Netzer 2006:72–80).

Debris containing several dressed stones and two column drums was excavated at the southern end of the building's foundation, above the uppermost part of the cavea (Sounding H88). The larger drum (0.65 m in diameter) is coated with a layer of painted fresco imitating alabaster (Fig. 10.25). On its upper or lower surface it bears a mason's mark "B VIII" (Fig. 10.26). The smaller drum (0.53 m in diameter; Fig. 10.27) bears remains of stucco coating (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004:202, Ills. 233–238, Pl. XIII).<sup>11</sup>

Two more concentrations of similarly dressed stones were found in Sounding H106, to the west of H88, and in Sounding H97, to the east of H88, at the foot of the tell, below the cavea. The debris revealed in Sounding H106 also included a large fragment of an Ionic capital (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004:205, Ills. 240–241, Plan 29). In contrast to the Ionic capitals in Herod's First and Second Palaces, this capital is not blocked out, but rather fully carved



Fig. 10.25. A column drum coated with a layer of painted fresco imitating alabaster, from the uppermost part of the cavea (Sounding H88) of the Hippodrome





Fig. 10.26. A column drum bearing a mason's mark from the cavea (Sounding H88) of the Hippodrome

(Fig. 10.28). The upper diameter of the column, which the capital originally crowned, can be reconstructed at around 0.55 m (see below).

No evidence was found to indicate the original location of the dressed stones, column drums and Ionic capital. Nevertheless, the similar characteristics of the dressed stones and the similar scale of the

columns (assuming the larger column drum was the lowest drum and the column tapered towards the capital, as is customary in Classical architecture), suggest that they originated in one architectural unit. Their find spots along the foot of the cavea wall may indicate that there was originally a passage above the summa cavea with a colonnade facing the theater ("porticus in summa cavea"), similar to the one that existed in the small theater recently exposed on the northeastern slope of Herodium (Netzer et al. 2010:95, Fig. 5). The existence of such a portico was already suggested by the excavator (Netzer 1999: Figs. 80–81).

Several additional architectural fragments were retrieved during the excavation at the Hippodrome and the adjacent tell. Unfortunately, although the archive of the excavation expedition contains photographs and drawings of the fragments, the exact loci are not indicated for all of them. These include a fragment of a lower torus of an Attic column base (Fig. 10.29), a fragment of a blocked-out Ionic capital (Fig. 10.30), and a large fragment of an Ionic cornice decorated with dentils (Fig. 10.31).



Fig. 10.27. A column drum with remains of stucco coating from the cavea (Sounding H88) of the Hippodrome

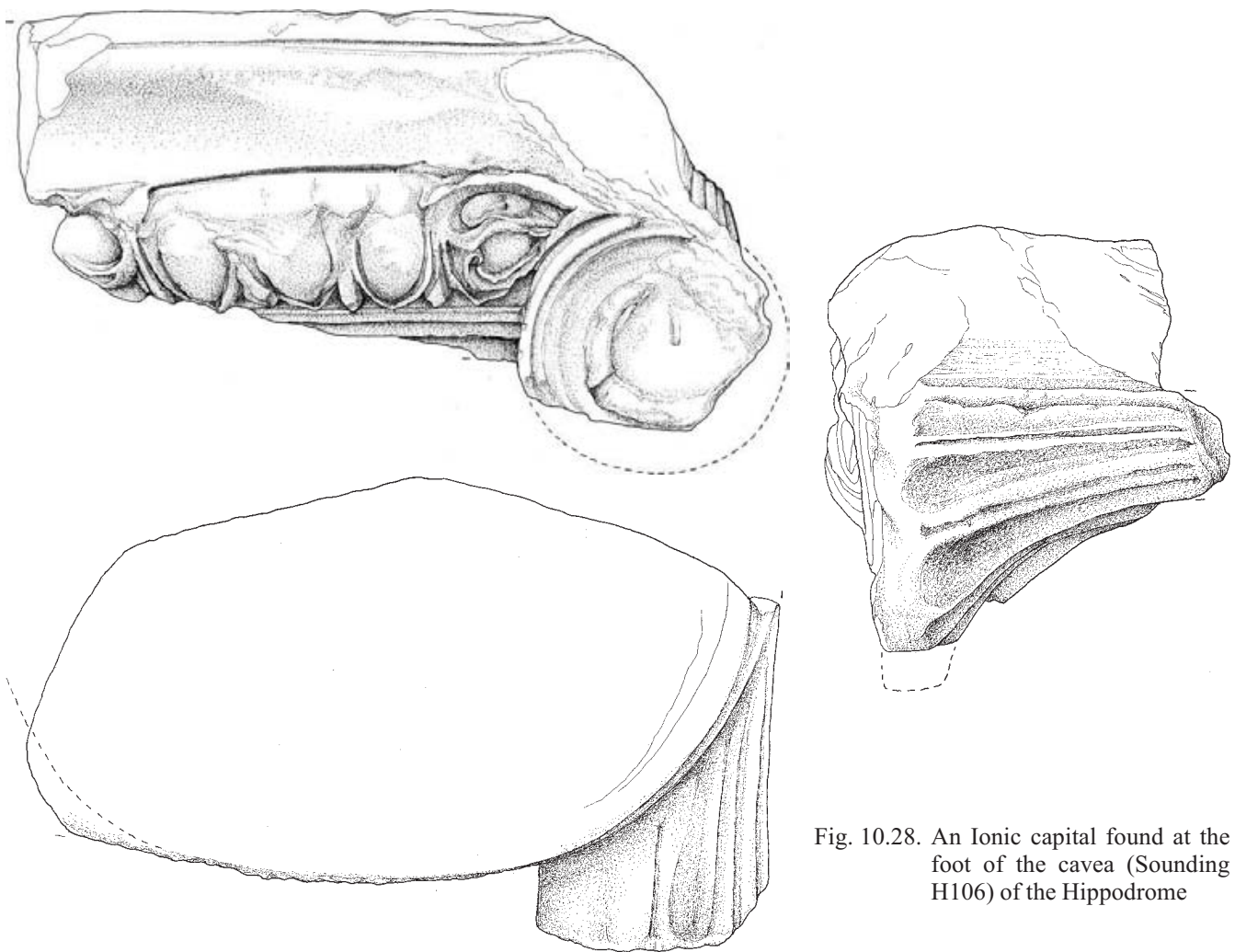


Fig. 10.28. An Ionic capital found at the foot of the cavea (Sounding H106) of the Hippodrome

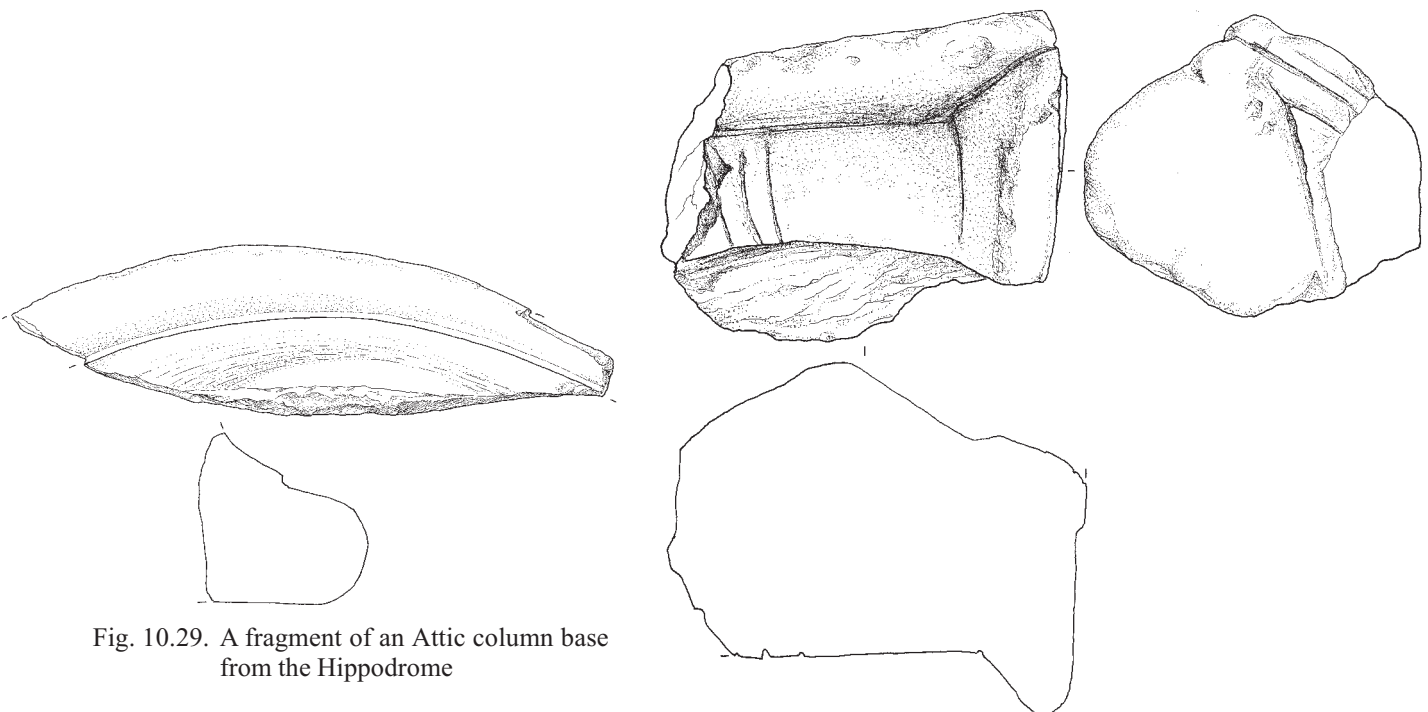


Fig. 10.29. A fragment of an Attic column base from the Hippodrome

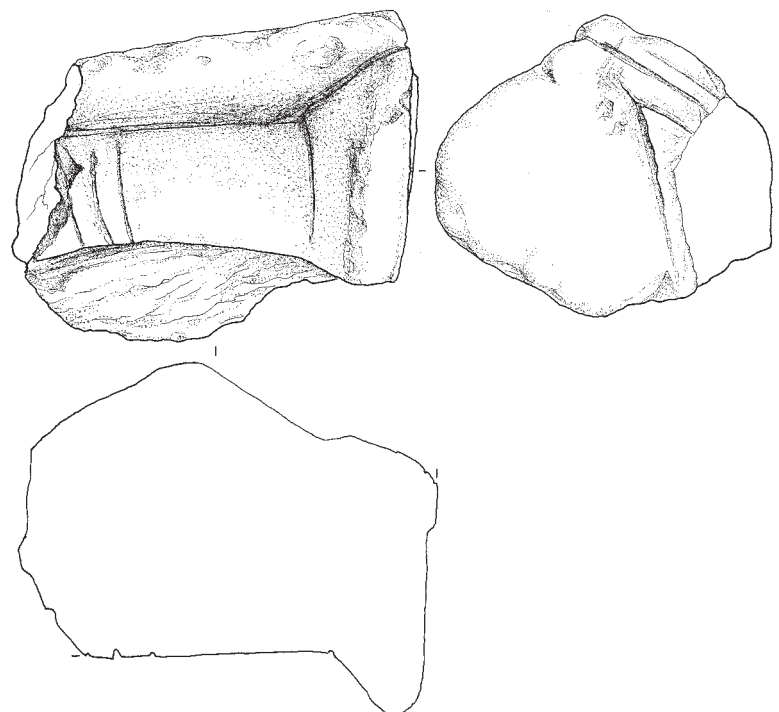


Fig. 10.30. A fragment of a blocked-out Ionic capital from the Hippodrome

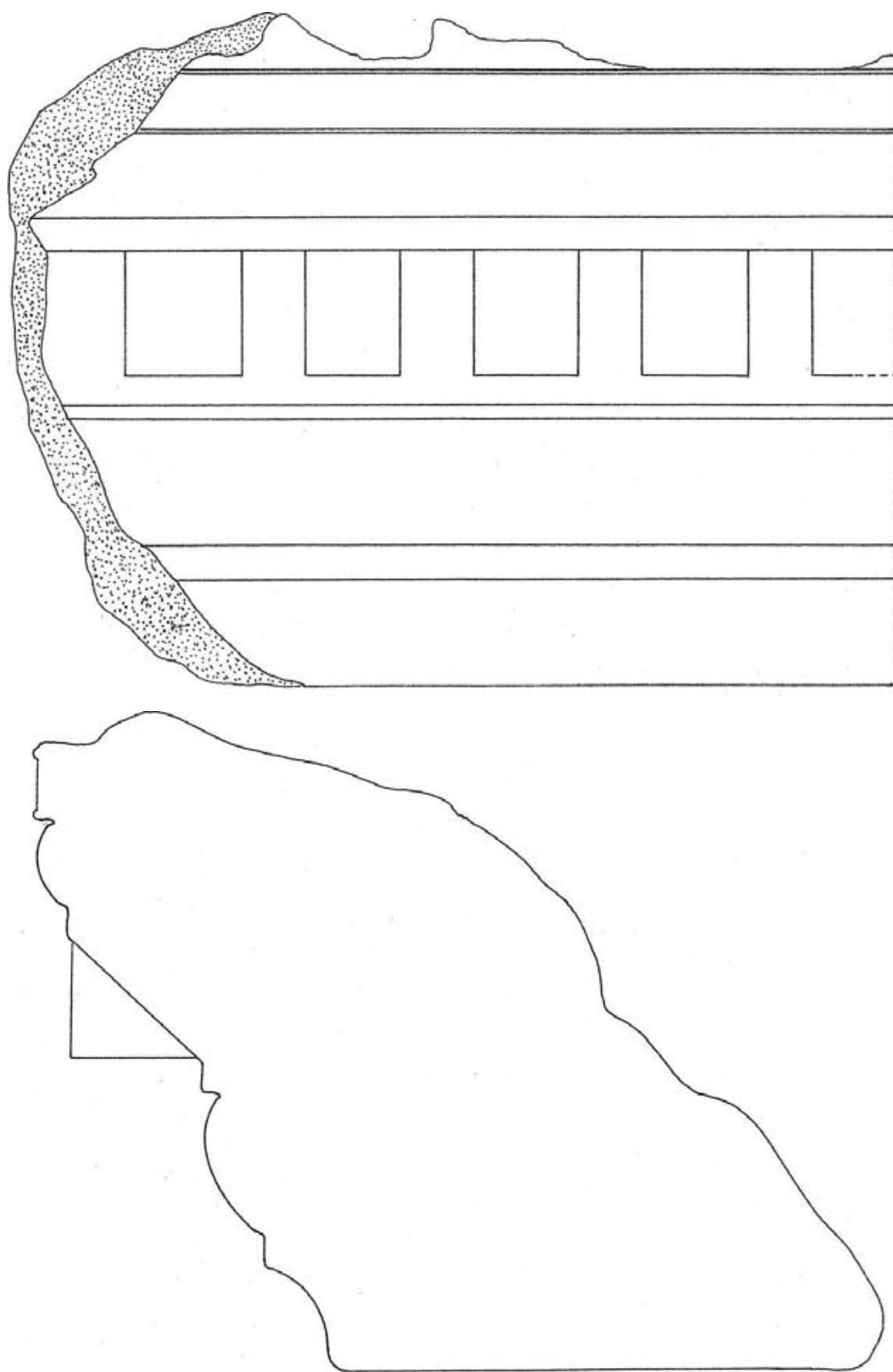


Fig. 10.31. A fragment of an Ionic cornice from the Hippodrome



## CYPROS

The site of Cypros (named after Herod's mother) is located on a conical hill known as Tell el-Aqaba, situated ca. 1.3 km to the southwest of the complex of the Hasmonean and Herodian winter palaces at Jericho. Remains of the Hasmonean and Herodian periods were exposed on the Summit, as well as on a flat surface situated ca. 30 m below and southeast of the summit (the Shoulder; see Chapter 5: Fig. 5.1). In contrast to the winter palaces complex, here the remains of the Hasmonean buildings are meager, due both to the fact that many of the Hasmonean remains

were cleared away during the erection of the Herodian structures, and to the partial exposure of the site. The Herodian remains are extensive and cover almost the entire site; however, they also suffered massive destruction due to the weak bedrock, the use of poor-quality, local stone, and earthquakes (Netzer and Damati 2004:233–239).

### Cypros in the Hasmonean Period

While few of the excavated remains at Cypros can be attributed to the Hasmonean period, they suffice to attest that a palace was built by the Hasmoneans on the summit and a round tower on the shoulder below.

A cistern (Locus 37) and an adjacent ritual bath dating to the Hasmonean period were exposed on the summit. The fill in the cistern included a large fragment of the volute and abacus angle of a Corinthian capital (Figs. 10.32–10.33). A similar capital fragment was found in the debris above the Herodian floor of Hall 20 (Fig. 10.34), where it had probably



Fig. 10.32. A fragment of a Corinthian capital, including the volute and abacus angle, from Cistern 37 on the Summit of Cypros

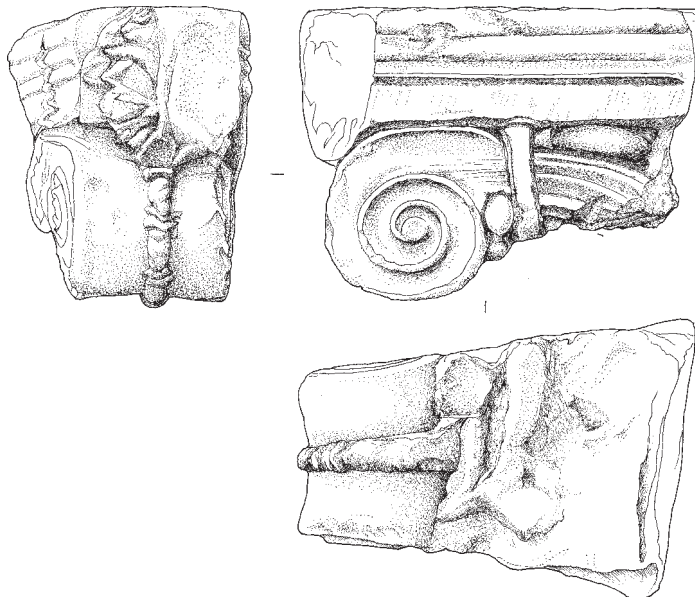


Fig. 10.33. A fragment of a Corinthian capital, including the volute and abacus angle, from Cistern 37 on the Summit of Cypros

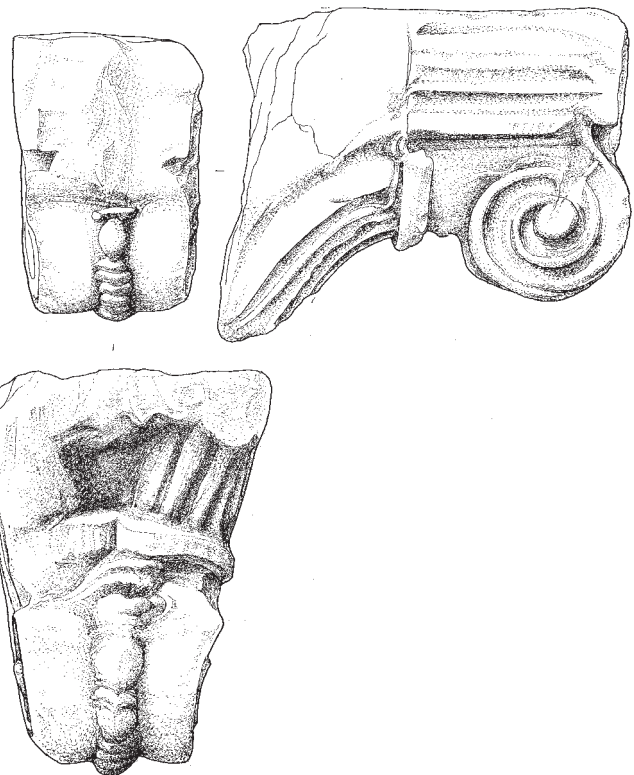


Fig. 10.34. A fragment of a Corinthian capital, including the volute and abacus angle, found in the debris above the Herodian floor of Hall 20, on the Summit of Cypros

been reused as a building stone (Netzer 1999:64, Fig. 86; Netzer and Damati 2004:272–275, Fig. 327). These two capital fragments testify to the splendor of the decorated halls of the Hasmonean palace at the site, destroyed by Pompey. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to indicate the original location of these capitals.

### Cypros in the Herodian Period

The bathhouse exposed in the northwestern corner of the summit is the best-preserved wing of the palace built by Herod on the summit of Cypros. The bathhouse was elaborately decorated with *opus-sectile* floors and frescoes and included a large calcite bathtub. South of the bathhouse, a large hall was excavated (Hall 20), whose ceiling was supported by



Fig. 10.35. Column drums, one fragment still bearing remains of stucco fluting, found in the debris above the Herodian floor of Hall 20, on the Summit of Cypros

wooden beams, several of which were exposed in the excavation. A large quantity of debris, probably fallen from an upper floor, was removed during the exposure of the hall. It included many ashlar, some with frescoes still attached, as well as several column drums (Fig. 10.35). Some of the drums still bore traces of plaster fluting. The fillets of the fluting decoration are shallow and the channels have a curved surface. Several column drums with remains of similar fluting were found in Locus 7, a stepped pool in the western corner of Hall 20. The drums bore masons' marks consisting of a Hebrew letter and a numeral (Fig. 10.36).<sup>12</sup> The excavators suggested that the column drums originated in an open courtyard that was located above Hall 20 and state the lack of any large courtyard on the summit and the relative thickness of the walls of the hall as evidence to support their proposal (Netzer and Damati 2004:247–258, Ills. 284, 287).<sup>13</sup>

Only about 15% of the Shoulder was excavated, and the only place where an extensive excavation was carried out was in the northeastern corner, due to the exposure of a finely decorated bathhouse in the Roman style. Nevertheless, in contrast to the summit of Cypros, the decorative architectural fragments from the shoulder were not exposed in the bathhouse, but rather in the southeastern part of the Shoulder, overlooking the Jericho Valley (“the Southeastern Corner Unit”). Here, the foundations of a Hall (97) and an adjacent room (100) were exposed. The debris in both rooms included many stucco fragments, several column drums, an Attic



Fig. 10.36. A column drum bearing a mason's mark found in the debris above the Herodian floor of Hall 20, on the Summit of Cypros





Fig. 10.37. An Attic column base found in the Southeastern Corner Unit on the Shoulder of Cypros



Fig. 10.38. A complete Corinthian capital with traces of color, found in the Southeastern Corner Unit on the Shoulder of Cypros

column base (Fig. 10.37), and Corinthian capitals (Figs. 10.38–10.39). On one of the capitals (Fig. 10.39), traces of red, blue and yellow paint remain. The walls of the hall are thick, plastered with poor-quality mud plaster that stands in striking contrast to the elaborate stucco and decorative architectural elements found in the debris. The excavators, therefore, suggested that the hall served as a substructure for a decorated hall and/or balcony (Netzer 1999:65, Fig. 93; Netzer and Damati 2004:263–264, Ills. 310–311).

Another decorative architectural element found at Cypros, whose exact find spot is unfortunately unknown, is a large, plain frieze carved on one block together with the bed molding of the cornice, including a plain ovolo and dentils (Fig. 10.40).<sup>14</sup>



Fig. 10.39. The upper block of a Corinthian capital with traces of paint, found in the Southeastern Corner Unit on the Shoulder of Cypros

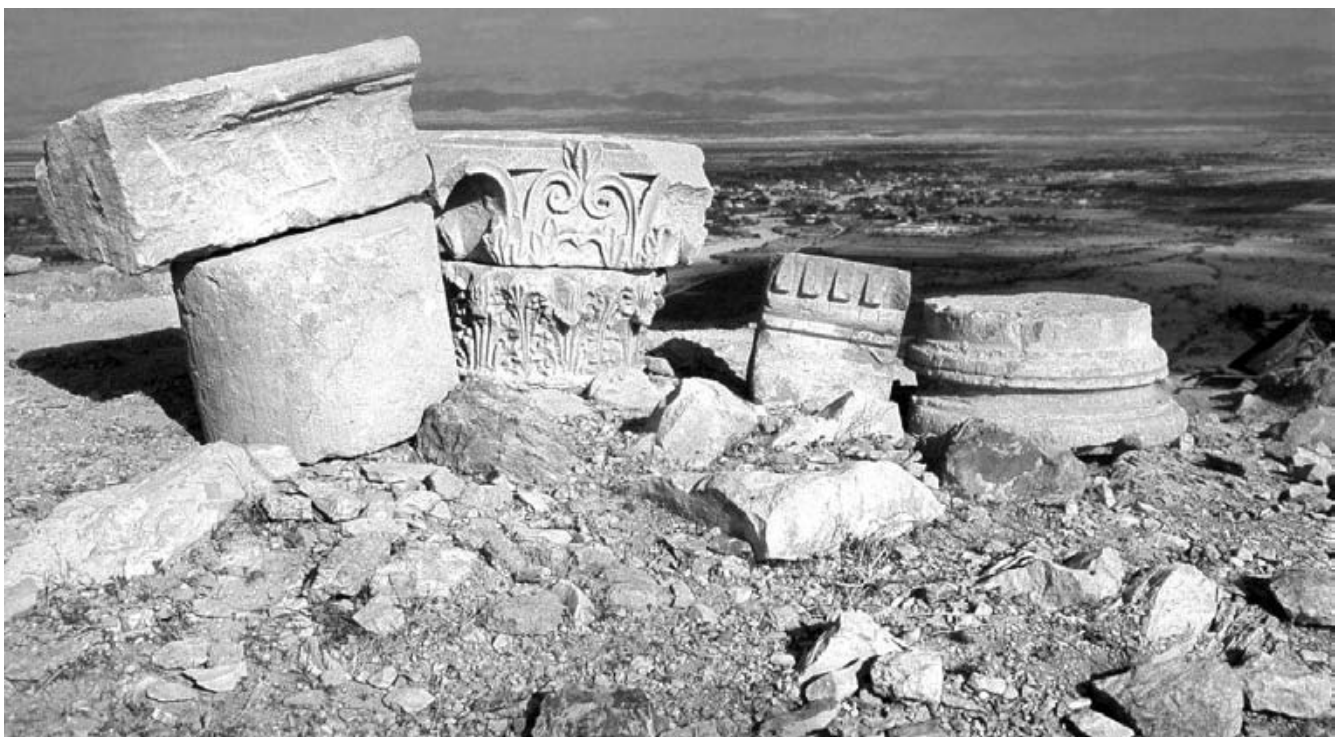


Fig. 10.40. Architectural elements found in the Southeastern Corner Unit on the Shoulder of Cypros, including a column drum, a Corinthian capital, an Attic column base and an Ionic cornice



## TYPOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

The various types of stone decorative architectural elements found in the Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Jericho and Cypros are discussed here according to their place in the structure, from bottom up, and according to their ascription to one of the Classical orders (Doric, Ionic or Corinthian).

### Column Shafts and Fluting

The columns in both the Hasmonean and Herodian buildings in Jericho and Cypros were composed of stone-carved column drums. An exception to this is found in Herod's Third Palace (Triclinium B70 and Courtyards B64, B55), where the columns were constructed of small, brick-shaped, sandstone blocks carved in a manner similar to *opus quadratum*.<sup>15</sup> The columns vary in diameter, ranging between ~0.40 m (e.g., peristyle columns in the Main Wing of Herod's Second Palace) and ~0.65 m (e.g., peripteros columns of the Pavilion in the Hasmonean Pools Complex), and their original height should be reconstructed accordingly as 3–6.5 m. This range corresponds to the customary dimensions of columns in Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Judea. Examination of column dimensions common during the Second Temple period shows that the average diameter of columns in tombs and private dwellings, including the columns found in King Herod's palaces, is ca. 0.5 m (Foerster 1995:81–82; Peleg-Barkat 2007:197). Only in very few cases did columns with a diameter of 0.7–1 m adorn the most important parts of the palaces, such as the Triclinium B70 in the Third Palace (Netzer 2001:236). Columns with a diameter of 1 m or more were in use on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007:292–293)<sup>16</sup> and in the temples erected by Herod in honor of Augustus in Caesarea and Samaria (Reisner et al. 1924:191–192, Figs. 111–112; Holum 2004:41, 57).

The column shafts were usually plastered, though in most cases the plaster has not survived. In several instances, the plaster was smoothed and painted, as is the case with the column drum found at the Hippodrome, which bears painted plaster imitating alabaster (Fig. 10.25; Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004:

Ills. 236–237, Color Pl. XIII). Normally, it was the lower third of the column that was smoothed and painted, while the upper part had stucco fluting applied. The columns found in Courtyards B64 and B55 were covered on their upper parts with Corinthian fluting in white stucco, while the lower parts were smoothly plastered and painted. In Courtyard B64, the lower parts were painted red, while in Courtyard B55 they were painted alternately red or black (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:487–489). The phenomenon of the smooth bottom third in contrast to the upper fluted part of the column was common from the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. onward, and exists, for example, at Tel Anafa from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E.–beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E., where the lower, unfluted part of the columns was painted red (Gordon 1979:102–104). In the Herodian peristyle at Alexandrium, painted plaster in black, red, green and yellow is preserved on some of the columns (Tsafrir and Magen 1993:1319–1320). This trend is also common at Pompeii, for example in the atrium of the House of the Silver Wedding, in the atrium and peristyle of the House of Menander, and in the peristyle of the House of the Tragic Poet (Coarelli 2002:252, 288, 322, 323–324).

Several types of stucco fluting existed at Jericho and Cypros. The columns of the peripteros of the Pavilion in the Hasmonean Pools Complex were decorated with Doric fluting characterized by sharp arrises between the flutes (Figs. 10.4–10.5), while on some of the Herodian column drums in Hall 20 and Pool 7 on the summit of Cypros, the column fluting is of a different type (Fig. 10.35): the fillets are shallow and the channels have a curved surface. Similar fluting was found in Herod's First Palace at Jericho (Pritchard 1958:12, Pl. 18:5), in peristyle Courtyard B64 in the Third Palace at Jericho (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:487–489), at Lower Herodium (Rozenberg 1981: Fig. 101, bottom), and on a small Doric column revealed in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1989:38). Similar examples come from the Palazzo delle Colone at Ptolemais in Libya, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. (Wannagat 1995: Figs. 137–138), and from Khirbet ed-Deir at Petra, dated around the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century C.E. (Netzer 2003: Fig. 71).<sup>17</sup> This type of fluting is reminiscent of the Hellenistic blocked-out flutes on column shafts, such as those on the shafts of the famous 4<sup>th</sup>-century-B.C.E.

tholos in Epidauros (Wannagat 1995: Figs. 129–130). This type of stucco fluting may have evolved from the form of the blocked-out columns.<sup>18</sup>

Masons' marks were carved on two Herodian column drums, one from the Hippodrome (Fig. 10.26), the other from the summit of Cypros (Fig. 10.36). The example from the Hippodrome consists of a Greek letter and a Latin numeral (B VIII), the one from Cypros includes a Hebrew letter and diagonal lines denoting a numeral. Masons' marks appear frequently on architectural elements and building stones found in Herodian palaces and other buildings of the period, but they appear most often on column drums. They were probably incised at the quarry and were intended to aid the builders in assembling architectural elements easily and accurately after they were delivered to the building site, thus preventing errors in placement — a system widely used since the beginning of the Classical period in Greece.<sup>19</sup> The largest assemblage of architectural elements bearing masons' marks was found at Masada, where over 70 column drums and column bases bear such marks, consisting chiefly of a Hebrew letter (in Aramaic script) and vertical or diagonal bars denoting numerals, similar to the example from Cypros.<sup>20</sup> However, most of the masons' marks at contemporaneous Jewish sites in Provincia Judea bear Greek letters alongside the numerals. Such marks were found, for example, in Herod's First Palace at Jericho (Pritchard 1958:12),<sup>21</sup> at Khirbet el-Murak (Damati 1982:120),<sup>22</sup> and at Qasr el-Yahud (Bar-Adon 1989:22).<sup>23</sup> At Archelais (Peleg-Barkat 2007:250)<sup>24</sup> and in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1983: Fig. 179), column drums bearing Latin numerals were found. The choice of Greek or Hebrew letters alongside a certain type of numeral seems rather random. Perhaps this elaborate system was meant to differentiate between groups of architectural elements in the quarry that were intended to be sent to different construction projects.

### Column Bases

No column bases dated to the Hasmonean period were found at Jericho or Cypros. The Doric columns of the Pavilion in the Pools Complex had no bases, in accordance with the custom in Classical architecture.

This is also true of the two Doric capitals found in the Main Hasmonean Palace at Jericho, which stood upon baseless columns. In the Main Hasmonean Palace, and on the summit of Cypros, no column drums or bases survived for the Corinthian capitals. It may be suggested that at least some of them were reused in the later Herodian constructions at both sites.

One anta base is attributed to the Hasmonean period (Fig. 10.12). It belongs to the western anta of the entrance leading into the triclinium (Locus E3/6) from the central courtyard (Locus E3/2) of the eastern of the Twin Palaces. The anta and stylobate, upon which the two columns forming the distylos-in-antis entrance originally stood, were built of sandstone ashlars and coated with white plaster. The base of the anta has a simple curved profile and seems to represent a simplification of bell-shaped anta bases with a cyma recta profile, examples of which were found in Samaria and dated by the excavators to the Late Hellenistic period (Reisner et al. 1924:163, Fig. 77:3).

All the Herodian column bases found at Jericho and Cypros (Figs. 10.13–10.16, 10.29, 10.37) are of the eastern-Attic type, characterized by two tori separated by a scotia or trochilus and two fillets. Attic bases were the most common type in Judea during the Second Temple Period (Peleg 2006:325–326).<sup>25</sup> Also characteristic of the local examples in Judea is the upper torus being half the size of the lower torus.<sup>26</sup> All the Attic column bases at Jericho and Cypros lack a plinth, as is the case with most of the Herodian examples in Judea.<sup>27</sup>

A common feature of the Attic bases from Jericho and Cypros is their rather angular scotia and shallow upper torus. It may be suggested that these features result from the use of a lathe to create the moldings of the bases. Other examples of column bases with crude, angular scotia were found at Masada (Foerster 1995:101, Figs. 175–181) and Qumran (Chambon 2003: Figs. 14–16, 20). It is unknown whether these crude moldings had been stuccoed over to produce the correct profile, as no stucco coating is preserved in any of the cases.<sup>28</sup>

### Doric Capitals

Two Doric capitals were found in the Main

Hasmonean Palace at Jericho (Figs. 10.1–10.2), both belonging to different variants. The capital fragment from Locus AA1 has two annuli (lower 1 cm high, upper 1.3 cm high) below the beveled echinus (4.8 cm high) and a straight abacus (4.3 cm high). This capital belongs to a column ca. 0.65 m in diameter. The fragment from Locus AA3 has a cavetto profile (2.5 cm high) below the beveled echinus (ca. 5 cm high) instead of annuli, while the abacus has not survived. It belongs to a column ca. 0.55 m in diameter. The columns of the Pavilion's peripteros also bore Doric capitals. According to the excavator's reconstruction (Fig. 10.10), the capitals had one annulus below a curved echinus (ca. 5 cm high) and a straight abacus (ca. 10 cm high). A Doric capital was also found in the western courtyard of the Twin Palaces (Fig. 10.11).<sup>29</sup>

All three variants of the Doric capital found at Hasmonean Jericho have parallels at earlier or contemporaneous sites in Judea, such as Marisa, Samaria, Jason's Tomb in Jerusalem, Alexandrium and Masada (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 35, 37, 39–41, 44). Most of these Hellenistic Doric capitals bear a beveled echinus with two or three annuli below it. This is the most common variant on small-scale capitals in the Late Hellenistic period (Fyfe 1936:105–106; Coulton 1977:107). Nevertheless, examples with a curved echinus also exist, as at Samaria (Reisner et al. 1924: Fig. 75:3–4). Doric capitals with a small cavetto replacing the annuli below the echinus exist in the Benei Hezir Tomb in Jerusalem and at Marisa (Avigad 1954: Fig. 30; Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 34, 38). The Hellenistic Doric capitals also exhibit a large variety of proportions, and it seems that no certain canon existed in this period (Hoepfner 1971:65–78, 85–87; Coulton 1979:82).

### Ionic Capitals

Two types of Ionic capitals were found in the Herodian constructions at Jericho: a large fragment of an Ionic capital with a fully carved echinus and pulvinus from the Hippodrome (Fig. 10.28), and a fragment of a blocked-out Ionic capital (Fig. 10.30) and a complete specimen of the same type (Fig.

10.17) from the Hippodrome and Herod's Second Palace respectively.

Enough has survived of the fully carved Ionic capital to reconstruct its lower diameter as ca. 0.55 m. The abacus (11.4 cm high) has a cymatium profile. Five elongated, pointed, elliptical eggs are carved on the echinus (9.9 cm high).<sup>30</sup> The casings are thin and a deep groove separates them from the eggs.<sup>31</sup> Unique to this capital are the upper leaves of the half palmettes at the edges of the echinus, which curve downwards instead of upwards. The pulvinus is decorated by horizontal grooves, apparently part of a leaf pattern that did not survive.<sup>32</sup>

Fully carved Ionic capitals are relatively rare in Herodian constructions, as the blocked-out type was preferred by the Herodian architects at most sites; examples of fully carved capitals appear at Alendrium, at the foot of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (Peleg-Barkat 2007:144, Figs. 173–174, Cat. Nos. 1031–1056), and in the mausoleum of the king on the northeastern slope of Herodium (Netzer et al. 2010: Fig. 7). Other contemporaneous examples are found in dwellings in the Upper City of Jerusalem and in some of the decorated tomb facades in the Jerusalem necropolis (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 386–395). In all these cases, the capitals are carved from hard limestone, while the blocked-out capitals are always carved from softer stones, such as *kirton* (soft limestone or chalk), *kurkar* (calcareous sandstone), Samra stone (*Samra calcarenite*), etc. The Ionic capital from the Hippodrome is the only Herodian example in which a softer stone was used to produce an Ionic capital with fully carved details. We can only speculate why the artists chose here to carve the details of the echinus and pulvinus instead of adding them in stucco, as in other sites. Perhaps the location of the capitals was more exposed to the elements, or artists from Jerusalem, specializing in stone carving, were working at the site.

The other example of an Ionic capital found at the Hippodrome (22.3×20.3×26.6 cm, ca. 0.4 m original diameter), as well as the complete capital found in Herod's Second Palace (ca. 0.4 m lower diameter), are of the more common, blocked-out type. Here, the echinus and volutes were left plain with protrusions at the edges of the echinus where the half palmettes were to be carved. Only a 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). Similar capitals were found in Herodian constructions at Caesarea, Samaria, Hebron, Herodium, Masada and Machaerus (Peleg-Barkat 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, spiral of the volutes, etc. In the peristyle of Machaerus, several capitals were found still bearing the stucco applications, while in the Third Palace at Jericho, and at Masada and Callirrhoe, stucco fragments from Ionic capitals were found in the debris (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:489–491).<sup>33</sup>

The blocked-out Ionic capital characterizes the Herodian construction projects<sup>34</sup> and reflects the economic attitude of Herod's architects: the need to produce a large number of capitals for peristyle courtyards, temenoi and other buildings, together with the obstacle of the available local stone being too soft to allow carving of elaborate decoration, resulted in the production of a series of blocked-out capitals whose details were easily added in stucco.

Blocked-out Ionic capitals already appeared in the archaic period and became more common during the Hellenistic period. They are found, for example, in the Hypostyle Hall at Delos from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E., in an Early Hellenistic palaestra at Olympia (Foerster 1995:120), and in the temple of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia, dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century or the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. (Rumscheid 1994: Vol. I, 28; Vol. II, 38, Pl. 83:5). The closest examples to the Herodian capitals exist in the Nabatean Kingdom and Italy: a similar Ionic capital was found in the Theater of Petra, dated to the reign of Arteas IV (Hammond 1965:45–46, Pl. XXXVII:3–4), and blocked-out Ionic capitals with applied stucco decoration were also discovered in the Temple of Apollo at Pompeii, dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. (Napoli 1950: 235–236). It seems that this type of capital was introduced into Judea during the reign of King Herod, as were many other new types of architectural decoration.<sup>35</sup> This took place rather early in Herod's reign, as this type of capital already appeared in Herod's First Palace at Jericho.

## Corinthian Capitals

Two types of Corinthian capitals were found at Jericho and Cypros. The first is a local variant of the Alexandrian heterodox type that was dominant in Hellenistic Judea and Transjordan, and the specimens discussed here are dated to the Hasmonean phases at both sites. The second type is the “normal” or “Vitruvian” type of Corinthian capital that became widespread in Judea during the reign of King Herod.

Two large fragments from the volutes and abacus angles of a Corinthian capital (Figs. 10.32–10.34) were found on the summit of Cypros and ascribed by the excavator to the Hasmonean phase. Another fragment of a cauliculus of a Corinthian capital of the same type (Fig. 10.3) originated in the Main Hasmonean Palace Structure at Jericho. These fragments belong to the local variant of the Alexandrian heterodox type. The Hellenistic Corinthian capitals of Judea are characterized by grooved cauliculi that extend up to touch the abacus and volutes that emerge straight from the cauliculi, with no calyces. Most local Hellenistic Corinthian capitals further deviate from the customary carving of Corinthian capitals in their lack of helices. Examples of the local Alexandrian heterodox variant were found in Hellenistic contexts at Marisa (Bliss and Macalister 1902: Pl. 19:5), Iraq el-Amir (Will and Larché 1991: Vol. 1, Pl. 3.10:B), Tel Anafa (Weinberg 1971: Pl. 14C), Tel Ištaba (Fitzgerald 1939:5, Pl. 5:4), Samaria (Reisner et al. 1924: Fig. 144), the Upper City of Jerusalem (Reich 2003: Pl. 8.7:13), Jason's Tomb in Jerusalem (Rahmani 1967: Pls. 17A, 18B; Foerster 1978: Figs. 1–2), and Alexandrium (Fischer 1990: Pl. 2:9a–b).<sup>36</sup>

The two fragments from Cypros (26.6×20.3×19 cm; 26.6×19.5×19 cm) seem to belong to the same or very similar capitals, as they share the same scale and type of decoration. The grooved cauliculus ends with a small ring, similar to the above-mentioned capitals from Tel Anafa and Jerusalem. Between the cauliculus and abacus is an oval decoration that seems to represent a flower bud. A similar decoration appears on a capital fragment in Jason's Tomb in Jerusalem (Foerster 1978:155). An exceptional feature of this Cypros capital is the astragal decoration on the line where the two volutes meet. Another unique feature of this capital is a zigzag line carved

on the abacus of one of the fragments (Fig. 10.34). A similar pattern of a line of several X's appears on a Hasmonean capital in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1989:38).<sup>37</sup> On the fragment from Hasmonean Jericho, only the grooved cauliculus survived (12.7×6.6 cm).

Two Herodian Corinthian capitals were found in the Southeastern Corner Unit on the Shoulder of Cypros (Figs. 10.38–10.39), one was complete, and of the second capital only the upper block survived. These two capitals belong to the same type as the Corinthian capitals of Courtyard B55 in Herod's Third Palace, which has been discussed in detail (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008:494–496). Of ca. 80 small fragments of the same type of Corinthian capital from Loci B73, B79 and B55 in the Third Palace (see above), three are presented here (Figs. 10.22–10.24). The first is a fragment from the upper row of acanthus leaves, including the cauliculus (16×8.1×7.6 cm), the second fragment is from the calyx and volute (13.9×7.6×7.3 cm), and the third is an abacus angle (22.8×17.7×19.8 cm).

As at Masada and Herodium (Corbo 1989: Figs. DF 57–59; Foerster 1995: Figs. 183–198), this type of capital was carved from two separate blocks of almost equal height, probably to facilitate their transportation. Another reason for this division may lie in the fact that *Samra calcarenite* is unsuitable for the carving of large blocks. The general design of the capitals follows the orthodox Corinthian form, established during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E., and these characteristics have parallels in capitals of Augustan Italy; for example, the Corinthian capital in the atrium of the House of the Labyrinth in Pompeii, dated to the third quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E., is quite similar (Coarelli 2002:246). However, there are some peculiar features that are unique to the capitals in the Herodian palaces at Jericho, Cypros, Masada and Herodium, distinguishing them from the Corinthian capitals found in Caesarea and Samaria, and from some of the capitals found in Jerusalem. One of these is the fact that the 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. However, the most unusual feature of these Corinthian capitals is the style of their

acanthus leaves. Instead of the usual “pointed” lobes, the leaves have small, plump, rounded lobes. Moreover, the lobes emerge almost vertically and do not spring from the midrib diagonally in a curvature, one above the other. This depiction of the acanthus leaves appears even more surprising when one examines the acanthus leaves that form the calyces, which are carved in the “normal” fashion. These unique characteristics suggest the existence of a local workshop that supplied the capitals to these palaces.

The abacai of Herodian Corinthian capitals are decorated with various floral motifs. The complete capital from Cypros has a simple bud pattern composed of three leaves on one of the faces of the abacus instead of the fleuron that decorates the capitals of Courtyard B55. One of the Herodian capitals from Cypros bears traces of red, blue and yellow paint. At Masada, many of the Corinthian capitals bear traces of a thin layer of white plaster, while on capital fragments found around the lower terrace of the Northern Palace, remains of white, purple and gold paint can still be observed (Foerster 1995:112–113, Pl. XVI: a–b).<sup>38</sup> Corinthian capitals covered with painted plaster and gold were also recovered in the small theater of Herodium and probably originated from the scaenae frons (Netzer et al. 2010:95, Figs. 19–20). The use of color in Classical architectural decoration was already common in the Archaic period. In Herodian construction projects, painted plaster is mainly found on column drums and Corinthian capitals, though some merlons and cornices also bear traces of color (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 278, 293–294).

## Doric Entablature

The Doric columns of the Pavilion peripteros in the Hasmonean Pools Complex at Jericho bore a Doric entablature, several fragments of which were recovered among the collapse west of the pavilion (Figs. 10.4–10.10). None of these fragments can be ascribed with certainty to the architrave; however, fragments of the frieze and of the two blocks composing the cornice were retrieved.

The frieze (0.4 m high) is carved with triglyphs (0.27 m wide) and plain metopes. The taenia, regula

and guttae are not carved on the same block as the triglyphs and apparently were either omitted, or carved (or perhaps added in stucco) on the architrave blocks. Blocks of Doric friezes that lack taenia, regula and guttae, are relatively common in Hellenistic and Early Roman Judea (outside Jerusalem), and examples exist at 'Iraq al-Amir, Gadara, Mount Gerizim (where the taenia exists, but regula and guttae are missing), Samaria, Omrit, Lower Herodium and Masada (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 83, 85–87, 92, 229–233).

The plain, undecorated metopes of the Doric frieze are also typical of the architecture of Judea and southern Syria in the Hellenistic period; all Doric friezes found so far at sites that predate Herod's ascension to power in 37 B.C.E. are carved with blank metopes.<sup>39</sup> This was surely not due to a lack of talented local artists, but rather a deliberate choice, as can be concluded from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. Tomb of Amrath in Sweida, where a carved relief of arms and shields decorates the space between the columns, while the metopes of the Doric frieze remain undecorated (Dentzer-Feydy 1985:263–265, Pl. Ia).<sup>40</sup> The preference for blank metopes, however, changed during King Herod's reign in the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E., when Doric friezes, probably due to Roman influence, began to display carved metopes, usually with rosettes or discs (Peleg-Barkat 2012:413).

The cornice of the Hasmonean Pavilion at Jericho is comprised of two blocks. The lower block (22 cm high) includes a plain corona/geison drip (8 cm high) with a plain soffit, without mutuli or guttae carved on it, and above it a plain, angular cyma recta profile (14 cm high). Doric cornices with plain soffits that lack mutuli and guttae are typical of Hellenistic Judea and Transjordan; the gable of the Doric temple at Gadara shows no mutuli or guttae on its soffit (Hoffmann 1999: Fig. 13), nor do the Doric cornices at Marisa (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Fig. 94), the Tomb of Bnei Hezir in Jerusalem (Avigad 1954: Fig. 30), Alexandrium (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Fig. 96), Rujm al-Bahr near the Dead Sea (Peleg-Barkat 2012: Fig. 3) and other sites. During the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E., Doric cornices appear less often, but when they do appear, they are always carved with guttae on their soffits.<sup>41</sup>

The upper block of the cornice of the Pavilion is a

simple bevelled corbel, 15 cm high. The identification of the corbels as the upper member of the cornice is based on the excavator's reconstruction of the Pavilion (Netzer 1999: Fig. 19). However, there is also a possibility that the corbels originally supported the roof of the portico surrounding the Pavilion, and were incorporated into the Pavilion's outer wall. Similar corbels were found in the synagogue, as well as in the 'basilica' at Gamla (Peleg-Barkat 2011:169, Figs. 5.17; 5.18:25–27), where several examples were exposed *in situ* on the northern wall of the main basilica hall, 3.15 m above floor level (Syon and Yavor 2005:56).

### Ionic Entablature

Two pieces of an Ionic entablature were recovered at Jericho and Cypros. On the Shoulder of Cypros, a block was carved with the bed moldings of a cornice above a plain frieze (Fig. 10.40). The bed moldings consist of a fillet, a plain ovolo and narrow uniform dentils, with the intervals carved at an angle. Similar entablature pieces were found at Herod's First Palace at Jericho, at Herodium, Masada and Machaerus (Peleg-Barkat 2007:388, Figs. 245–252), as well as in the Theater of Petra (Hammond 1965:49, Pl. XXV:1–2). Normally, above this block, a blocked-out Ionic cornice was set, comprised of a cymatium profile below a corona, an ovolo and a cavetto (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 256–261).<sup>42</sup>

The combination of an ovolo profile below the dentils for the bed-molding of the Ionic cornice is very common in Hellenistic architecture, and appears, for example, in the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., and the Ptolemaeum in Samothrace, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. (Lawrence 1996:140, 145–146, 155, Figs. 220, 228, 244).<sup>43</sup> 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 C.E. (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.

Another fragment of an Ionic cornice (41.4×29.4×40 cm) was found in the Hippodrome at



Jericho (Fig. 10.31). The cornice has a cavetto profile (5 cm high) below a plain ovolo (10 cm high), rectangular dentils (5.4 cm high), another plain ovolo (5.4 cm high) and an upper fillet (3.6 cm high). No parallels are known to this author in local architecture and it appears to be a variant of the above-mentioned type, which omits the frieze part and combines the two blocks of the Ionic cornice together.

### Corinthian Entablature

A large modillion cornice (47×20.5×52 cm) was found incorporated, in secondary use, at the top of a wall in the Lower Wing of Herod's Second Palace at Jericho (Figs. 10.18–10.19). The cornice is decorated with a narrow, plain ovolo (2.5 cm), above which rather wide dentils are carved (2.5–3 cm wide and 3 cm high). The carving of the dentils is not uniform, and the intervals are fully carved. Above the dentils, a plain corona appears, whose soffit is carved with rectangular modillions (8×5 cm) with a cavetto frame and coffers decorated with twelve-petal rosettes (7.5 cm in diameter). In contrast to the prevalent style in Judea, where normally the rosettes are either carved parallel to the background surface (e.g., on the Doric frieze found in the large bathhouse at Masada, see Foerster 1995:123–129, Figs. 225–233), or gradually slanting towards the background (e.g., in Herodium and Jerusalem, see Peleg-Barkat 2007:105, 365), the rosettes in the cornice from Jericho have an emphasized outline caused by undercutting. Similarly carved rosettes appear on the Doric frieze of the facade of a Tomb in Deir ed-Derb (Qarawat Bani Hassan), which is situated 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 represent the work of several schools of artists working more or less at the same time.

An identical rosette of the type that appears on the cornice under discussion was also found in the Lower Wing of the Second Palace (Fig. 10.20), and five similar fragments were found in the First Palace (Pritchard 1958:13, Pl. 17:4). It seems that the undercutting along the outline of the rosettes weakened the

linkage of the rosettes to the block and resulted in their eventual separation.

As stated above, Netzer suggested that this cornice belongs to a structure dating from the early days of Herod, which was demolished prior to the construction of his Second Palace. Based on the similarity between the fragments found in Herod's First Palace and the cornice under discussion, I suggest that the cornice originated in the First Palace. If correct, this is another example of a novelty that King Herod introduced into the local architecture, as this cornice is the earliest appearance of a modillion cornice in Judea. This should not surprise us, as pedestals found in the triclinium of the same palace are also the earliest known examples of pedestals used as column bases in Judea. These two new architectural features — the modillion cornice and the pedestal — were probably introduced into Judea under the cultural influence of Rome. The modillion cornice became the most widespread type of cornice under Herod's rule, and examples of it in stucco and stone are found in Cypros, Caesarea, Samaria, Herodium, Masada, Jerusalem and elsewhere (Peleg-Barkat 2007:111, 138–140, Figs. 265–284, 491–503).<sup>44</sup> The cornice under discussion differs from the later Herodian examples in the incorporation of a plain cymatium molding above the corona, instead of the customary ovolo.

Another, poorly preserved fragment of a different type of modillion cornice was also found in the Second Palace (Locus E2/305; Fig. 10.21), of which only the corona and a flat ovolo molding above it are preserved (15.7×10.6 cm).

## CONCLUSIONS

This study of the decorative architectural elements found in the Hasmonean and Herodian palace complexes at Jericho and Cypros presents a remarkable picture of the developments and shifts in cultural influences and stylistic trends that took place in Judea during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. It demonstrates that while some features of the Hasmonean tradition continued into Herodian times, there is still a great difference between the two periods in the amount of architectural elements, the

variety of their shapes, the degree of their elaboration and the sources of influence on the artists who carved them.

The Hasmonean complexes are characterized by a clear preference for the Doric order, which is the simplest in form among the three Classical orders. This inclination is contradictory to the prevailing situation in Asia Minor, where the Doric and Ionic orders were equally widespread (Webb 1996:6), and, as stated above, may be the result of an Alexandrian influence, since Alexandria had a decisive effect on the distribution of the Doric order during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C.E. The Doric order in Judea in this period is characterized by the use of capitals with a plain, slanted echinus, a frieze with plain metopes, and cornices with plain soffits. The preference for blank metopes, however, changed after Herod's ascension to power, when Doric friezes, probably due to Roman influence, began to display carved metopes, usually with rosettes or discs. Under Herod's rule, Doric cornices appear less often, and when they do appear, they are always carved with guttae on their soffits (Peleg-Barkat 2012:409–410, 413–414). This tendency towards richer and denser decoration in Herod's days accords with the elaboration of architectural plans and other media of art and architecture that took place at that time.

The popularity of the Doric order under Hasmonean rule is evident also in the finds from Hasmonean Alexandrium, where remains of a Doric facade or portico were uncovered below the Herodian peristyle, including Doric capitals, a Doric frieze and a Doric cornice with a plain soffit (Tsafrir and Magen 1993:1320).<sup>45</sup> This trend continues the local Hellenistic tradition as reflected by the finds at earlier sites, such as Marisa and Tel Dor (Peleg-Barkat 2007:6–12). It also concurs with a similar inclination towards the Doric order that is evident at Hellenistic sites in Syria and Transjordan, such as the Doric temples from Dura Europus, ancient Hammon in Lebanon, Gadara and the temple and Governor's palace at Jebel Khalid in northern Syria, as well as the 1st century B.C.E. Tomb of Amrath in Sweida<sup>46</sup> (Dentzer-Feydy 1985:263–265, Pl. Ia; 1989:458–459, Fig. 148; Hoffmann 1999:795–831, Figs. 10–11; 2001:395–396, Fig. 9; Clarke et al. 2000:123–126, Fig.2; Clarke 2001:219–223, Figs. 8–18, 38).

Nevertheless, it may be suggested that other reasons contributed to the popularity of the Doric order in the Hasmonean constructions. During the time of the Hasmoneans, outside of Judea, the Doric order was no longer in prevalent use for Temple construction, but rather was characteristic of smaller and less significant buildings, such as porticoes along agorai, gymnasia, palaistrai and domestic courtyards. It is the Ionic order that decorates the large temples in Sardis, Priene and Didyma and other significant structures in the cities of Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period (Onians 1988:23–26). The fact that the Doric order was losing its pagan-temple-related connotation might have made it easier for the Hasmoneans to incorporate it into their palaces and other construction projects.<sup>47</sup>

The Doric order was used in the Hasmonean complexes mainly to adorn the courtyards (either as peristyle columns, or as a peripteros of a unique pavilion overlooking the pools in the Pools Complex) and distylos-in-antis entrances leading into the main rooms of the palaces. Alongside the Doric order, several fragments of Corinthian capitals, found in Hasmonean contexts at both Jericho and Cypros, attest to the more elaborate decoration that was perhaps reserved for the more important rooms or halls of the palaces. An examination of Hellenistic complexes decorated with all three Classical orders indicates that during the Hellenistic period a hierarchic scale was established for the use of the orders: normally the Doric order decorated courtyards and lower stories, the Ionic order served to adorn passages, inner halls and upper stories, while the Corinthian order was reserved for the inner decoration of the most important parts of the complex. This might be partly due to the fact that the Corinthian capitals are the most elaborate in shape and must have been more expensive to manufacture (Onians 1988:23–26).<sup>48</sup> The Hasmonean Corinthian capitals, as stated above, are a local variant of the Alexandrian heterodox type, and serve as a further example of the cultural influence that Alexandria had over Judea in this period. No Corinthian entablature pieces were found to accompany the capitals.

The architectural decoration of the Herodian complexes at Jericho and Cypros is much more rich and varied than the architectural decoration of the Hasmonean complexes; while the decoration in the



Hasmonean palaces is limited to the incorporation of Doric columns and entablature and Corinthian capitals, the Herodian complexes also contain Ionic columns and Ionic and Corinthian entablature pieces, as well as new features that did not exist previously, such as pedestals, coffer-style stucco ceilings, etc. Moreover, the architectural decoration of the Hasmonean palaces is limited to a few architectural units in each complex — mainly peristyle courtyards and distylos-in-antis entrances.<sup>49</sup> In the Herodian complexes, however, we find decorative architectural elements in greater numbers, also in triclinia, bathhouse complexes, and other locations such as the portico in the summa cavea of the Hippodrome.

The reign of Herod the Great was characterized by the introduction of Roman forms in many fields, especially in architecture (Roller 1998:90–117). Roman influences are also apparent in the architectural decoration of Herod's palaces at Jericho and Cypros, in contrast to the Hasmonean decoration style, which mostly reflects Alexandrian influence. The use of the Doric order practically disappears in Herod's palaces at both sites, and the Ionic order, absent in the Hasmonean complexes, becomes more dominant. The Corinthian order is still reserved for the most important parts of the palace, though a more generous use of it is made. Normally, the Ionic and Corinthian are used alternately to create a variety of forms accentuated by the different forms and colors of stucco flutings coating the columns. This preference corresponds well with the new Roman Imperial trend: from the time of Augustus onwards there is a clear inclination for the richer Corinthian order, and about two thirds of the capitals created in the empire are Corinthian or a variant of the Corinthian (Wilson-Jones 2003:135–140).

The existence of three successive palaces erected by the king in Jericho enables the examination of the chronological development of the style of architectural decoration in the Herodian palaces; the architectural decoration of the First Palace presents a mixture of features, some of which represent a continuation of the local Hellenistic/Hasmonean traditions, while others are already novelties that reflect Roman influence. Thus, for example the Corinthian capitals found in the palace are still of the Alexandrian heterodox variant prevalent in the Hasmonean complexes, while the pedestals and the modillion

cornice that adorn the palace constitute the first appearance of these architectural features in Judea.<sup>50</sup> Also present in this palace are blocked-out Ionic capitals, a type that will later become one of the dominant features of Herodian architecture (outside Jerusalem). Herod's Second Palace already displays the standardization of the Herodian style with its Attic column bases that became the standard type of base under Herod, and blocked-out Ionic capitals. The Third Palace, which is the most complex in plan and grand in scale, also presents the most elaborate assemblage of architectural decoration.<sup>51</sup> In this palace, the Corinthian capitals are already of the normal/Vitruvian type, as they are in the King's palace at Cypros. Emphasis was placed on the diversity and richness of the decoration, and the two peristyle courtyards (B55 and B64), as well as Triclinium B70, each present a different scheme of decoration, differing in scale, order and range of colors.

We can conclude, therefore, that a process of increasing elaboration of the architectural decoration took place under Herod, with a strong cultural influence from Rome that gradually became dominant over time. One may ask, how did the Roman fashions arrive in Judea — were local architects and artists sent to Rome to learn the current fashions in the capital of the Empire, or were architects and artists brought from Rome to Judea? In contrast to several of the frescoes in Herod's construction projects that exhibit great similarity to contemporary Italian examples, not only in general perception, but also in details and workmanship, the carved stone elements show Roman influence only in their general form or type, but not in the style of carving or details and motifs. The Corinthian capitals found in the Third Palace and at Cypros present a good example: the orthodox type replaces the Hellenistic heterodox, apparently under Roman influence; however, the new capitals have specific local traits, such as the high placing of the volutes and helices, and the special design of the acanthus leaves, which differentiate the local capitals from their Italian contemporaries. Therefore, we can safely assume that the stone architectural decoration in Herod's construction projects was created by local artists who saw — with their own eyes or in sketch books — the Roman

novelties in the field of architectural decoration and adjusted them to fit the local taste.

It should be emphasized, however, that alongside the strong Roman influence, other sources of inspiration are also apparent in Herodian architectural decoration at Jericho and Cypros; for example, the use and adaptation of local materials and stones continues from the previous period, as marble is not yet imported for carving decorative architectural elements. The Samara-stone quarry near Jericho that was used by the Hasmonean kings, continued to be used by Herod for decorating his palaces in Jericho and Cypros, as well as at other sites around the Jericho Valley and the Dead Sea. In addition, the Ionic cornices with dentils above a smooth ovolo, for example, are closer to Hellenistic examples than Roman ones. The Hellenistic tradition continued to influence the local artists throughout the reign of King Herod.<sup>52</sup>

Since the assemblage of decorative architectural elements from Hasmonean and Herodian Jericho and Cypros is one of the largest from Judean sites, it can serve as a case study for the developments that took place in this artistic medium throughout Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Judea. Examination of the architectural decoration of other sites in Late

Hellenistic Judea reveals similar characteristics to those of the Hasmonean architectural decoration at Jericho and Cypros, while sites dated to the time of Herod and later demonstrate that Herod's decorative program impacted the tastes of many of his subjects. The finds uncovered in the large cities, and mainly in Jerusalem, reveal that the innovations introduced by Herod into local architecture were embraced by the well-to-do citizens of these cities. Thus, for example, orthodox Corinthian capitals, modillion cornices and Doric friezes carved with rosettes became very popular in Jerusalem from the time of Herod until the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. However, in contrast to Jerusalem and the major cities such as Caesarea-Philipi, in peripheral cities such as 'En Gedi and Gamla, and smaller sites or agricultural estates such as Tel Goded, Kiryat Sefer, Khirbet Qana and Magdala, architectural decoration retained the local Hellenistic traditions. At these sites, the Doric order continued to be popular and entablature elements are rare, and when local artists chose to create more complex architectural elements, such as Ionic capitals or decorated doorframes, the design and execution of the various details is often coarse and flawed.

## NOTES

- 1 The drawings in Figs. 10.1–10.3, 10.16, 10.20–10.24, 10.28–10.30, 10.33 and 10.34 were drawn by Leon Rykman, while Figs. 10.7 and 10.9 were drawn by Rachel Chachy. All the photographs were taken by either Zeev Radovan or Ehud Netzer.
- 2 Several small fragments from stone-carved Corinthian capitals that were overlooked during processing of the finds for the publication of Jericho Vol. IV (Peleg and Rozenberg 2008) are included here.
- 3 Although no peristyle courtyards in Hasmonean contexts have been preserved, their existence may be inferred from contemporaneous mansions and palatial complexes in the Levant. For example, the "Stucco House" in Tell Anafa, dated to 125–80 B.C.E., included a central courtyard bordered by colonnades on its eastern and western sides, although the capitals have not survived (Herbert et al. 1994:37–42, 81–83, Figs. 1.6–1.7, Pls. 3–4, 7–10, 12–13, 16–17). Further north, a Doric colonnade encircled a large courtyard

- in the Governor's Palace on the acropolis of Jebel Khalid in northern Syria, dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E. (Clark 2001:219–223, Figs. 8–18). Peristyles began to be introduced into the courtyards of the finer houses of Olynthus in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., and later became a central element in Hellenistic palaces (Nielsen 1994:77–79). It should be mentioned that Netzer also suggested reconstructing a continuous portico around the Hasmonean garden to the north of the Pools Complex (1999:14–15). While none of the columns survived, it may be suggested that the column drums were reused in a later period in the Second or Third Palaces at Jericho. Several drums were found *ex situ* in the surrounding area (e.g., Netzer 2001: Ills. 159, 182).
- 4 Netzer suggested the possibility that the metopes were originally decorated with paint that did not survive (1999:14). However, since all Doric friezes in Judea in Hellenistic and Hasmonean contexts (including

- painted ones from Marisa) have plain metopes, it can be assumed that this was the case here as well (for further elaboration, see typological discussion below). Nevertheless, there are documented examples of painted metopes alongside carved triglyphs in the Levant, such as the Doric frieze of the peristyle courtyard in the Governor's Palace on the acropolis of Jebel Khalid in northern Syria (Clark 2001:219).
- 5 It should be noted that all the architectural fragments of the Pavilion exposed in the pool were left at the site, and therefore it was impossible for me to examine them directly. The description of the finds relies on the photographs, drawings and notes in the archive of the excavation expedition.
  - 6 Although most of the Ptolemaic monuments of Alexandria have not survived, the architectural decoration of the Hellenistic tombs at Alexandria, and sporadic archaeological finds throughout the city suggest that the Doric order was very popular in Hellenistic Alexandria; several of the tombs dated between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C.E. have a Doric facade or Doric decoration (e.g., Tombs 1 and 2 in the Mustapha Pasha necropolis, Tomb 2 in the Gabbari necropolis, as well as several examples at Shatby and Sidi Gaber). Doric entablature fragments were found northeast of Ramleh Station in Alexandria and originate in a Hellenistic dwelling whose construction was not completed (McKenzie 1990:75).
  - 7 The garden was surprisingly higher by ca. 75 cm than the surrounding colonnaded walkways. Though their rear sides were buried in the elevated garden, the column bases and drums were carved in the round, as in free-standing colonnades. Netzer suggested, therefore, that the original plan was for a garden level with the colonnaded walkways (Netzer 2001:177).
  - 8 According to Pritchard, the five "spandrel" fragments were decorated with rosettes. Only one fragment appears in a photograph in the publication (Pritchard 1958:13, Pl. 17:4), and it looks very much like the rosettes on the cornice fragment found in secondary use in Herod's Second Palace.
  - 9 It should be mentioned that a fill containing many architectural fragments, including Ionic capitals, column drums, doorjambs, and entablature fragments, was excavated in Pool F239 in Area FE, the easternmost excavated part of the Industrial Area at Jericho. The excavator suggested that these architectural elements originated from Herod's Second and Third Palaces, and were brought to this area for reuse in local structures and later used to fill the pools (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004:125, Fig. 161). Unfortunately, there is no documentation of the architectural fragments found in the fill to enable analysis of the finds. It should be said, however, that as most of the decoration of the Third Palace was made of stucco, it is more likely that these pieces originated in the Second Palace.
  - 10 Room B73 is connected with Courtyard B55 on the west, and Room B79 is situated immediately to the east of the courtyard (Netzer 2001: Plans 35–36).
  - 11 The smaller column drum seems to have been the uppermost drum of the original column, carved in one piece together with its capital. However, the capital was badly damaged and the photograph is not clear enough to enable its reconstruction (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2004: Ill. 236).
  - 12 The excavators do not mention the specific Hebrew letter, and the photograph is not clear enough to enable identification. The column drums were not removed from the site by the excavators, and today it is impossible to examine them.
  - 13 It seems that the columns originally stood above Attic bases. A fragment of such a column base can be seen at the lower left in Netzer and Damati 2004: Ill. 286.
  - 14 The photograph taken of the assemblage of decorative architectural pieces found in the Southeastern Corner Unit on the Shoulder of Cypros (Fig. 10.40) seems to depict a fragment of an architrave (on the right hand side). However, its details are unclear.
  - 15 This peculiar construction technique of the columns at Jericho is unparalleled at other Herodian sites and apparently resulted from the employment of Roman artisans. 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; Coarelli 2002:247), and some public buildings also incorporated such columns, for example, the Temple of Isis (Coarelli 2002:94). Although Josephus mentions several times the existence of monolithic columns in the Herodian buildings, such columns were very rare. Hasmonean and Herodian monolithic columns exist in several hewn tomb facades of the distylos-in-antis type, in the tholos of Herod's Mausoleum at Herodium, and the central pier in the Double-Gate passageway below the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, whose specific function — bearing the stoa basileia above it — required special strength (Gibson and Jacobson 1996:235–259).
  - 16 Two series of large Ionic columns were also found in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1983: Figs. 158, 177–181; Reich 2003:271–291, Pl. 8.7:1–8). Nevertheless, one is dated to an earlier period (Seleucid or Hasmonean), and the other may originate from the Temple Mount.
  - 17 Other examples come from the Stabian Bathhouse (Eschebach 1979: Pl. 28) and the Temple of Isis in Pompeii (Coarelli 2002:94). There are other examples at Pompeii in which the bottom third of the column was stuccoed in a similar fashion, with shallow fluting, while the upper part had normal Corinthian flutings, e.g., in the peristyle of the House of Meleager,



- dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E. (Coarelli 2002:280–281).
- 18 Unfortunately, the poor state of preservation and lack of documentation at Cypros prevent any reconstruction of the number of flutes on the columns. During the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C.E., the standard number of flutes for Ionic and Corinthian columns in Attica and Asia Minor had been set at 24 flutes, while in the rest of mainland Greece only 20 flutes, as was customary for Doric columns (Roux 1961:334–335). Nevertheless, it appears that at Herodian sites there was no strict rule with regard to the number of flutes; for example, 24 flutes were carved into the shafts bearing Ionic capitals in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1983: Figs. 178–181), but only 10 appear on the half columns in the banquet hall in Masada's Northern Palace (Foerster 1995: Fig. 286), and 20 on the columns in Courtyards B64 and B55 of Jericho's Third Palace.
  - 19 The most famous examples are the elaborate marking system on the architraves in the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, the marks on the building stones of the Ionic temple near the Theater of Pergamon, and the marking of the cornice stones in the Roman colonnade at Berytus (Martin 1965:225–231, Figs. 104–105, 107). Masons' marks were discussed at length by Foerster (in his discussion of the column drums at Masada; Foerster 1995:80–99) and, according to him, the marking system revealed at the theater built by Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.) at Petra — where three of the columns were found collapsed in their original order enabling the reconstruction of the system — represents the closest example to the one used at Masada; the base and drums of each column were apparently marked with the same letter and the numbering proceeded from bottom to top.
  - 20 All the Hebrew letters of the alphabet were used except for *waw* and *zayin*; the former was left out altogether, while the latter was replaced by the paleo-Hebrew *zayin* (Foerster 1995:80–99). These two letters were apparently omitted in order to prevent possible confusion with the vertical bars denoting numerals. One column drum carved with the letter *alef*, and another with the letter *kaf*, were found at Gamla (Peleg-Barkat 2011:161–162).
  - 21 It seems that the marks are the Greek letters H, Z and Π.
  - 22 Two column drums from the villa are engraved with masons' marks, one with a Hebrew *lamed* and a number, and the other with the Greek letter Δ.
  - 23 Here the masons' marks were found on building stones, one of which bears the Greek letter Α.
  - 24 The column drum bears the number XIII.
  - 25 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.
  - 26 This form of the Attic base had developed in Greece during the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. 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 Judea, while in the western part of the empire a different 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).
  - 27 There are several examples in Jerusalem and Herodium of Attic bases carved together with a plinth (Schick 1892: Pl. 18:6; Avigad 1945: Fig. B3; 1989:34; Netzer 1981: Fig. 69; Corbo 1989: DF40, DF104). 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 to Judea under the rule of this king, presumably due to Roman influence. While the use of plinths was 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 proportions 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).
  - 28 At some sites the moldings of the bases were made entirely of stucco, as in Courtyard B64 of Herod's Third Palace at Jericho, where the entire profile of the few dozen bases found *in situ* were made of stucco (Netzer 2001: Fig. 360). At Masada, the bases of the antae and columns leading to Oecus 521 in the Western Palace also had their moldings created in stucco. The latter comprise, however, a peculiar variant of the Attic base, lacking the upper fillet of the scotia (Foerster 1995:99, Figs. 170–171). Fragments of similar stucco Attic bases were found at Tel Anafa (Gordon 1979:106–114, Pl. XXB).
  - 29 Unfortunately, we lack any data as to the scale or profile of this capital.
  - 30 Most contemporaneous Ionic capitals in Judea are carved with only three eggs on the echinus. Examples of capitals with five eggs exist only in Jerusalem (Avigad 1983: Figs. 178–181).
  - 31 The darts appear as elongated tongues with pointed heads, as is common on most of the Judean Ionic capitals. This is in contrast to the arrowhead-shaped darts on the Ionic capitals from the Tomb of Zechariah in Jerusalem (Avigad 1954: Fig. 47). Another type of

- ovolo with an egg-and-bud pattern is visible on the echinus of a large Ionic capital found in the Upper City of Jerusalem (Avigad 1983:181). Nevertheless, all of these Herodian examples share certain common features — the apsidal shape of the eggs and the fact that 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).
- 32 Leaf decoration on the pulvinus of Ionic capitals was common during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods in Macedonia and Asia Minor (Bingöl 1980:82). Examples of different variants were found in Judea, made out of stucco or carved in stone (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 187, 190, 386–387).
  - 33 At Masada, these were applied to a Doric capital that served as the core for the stucco capital (Foerster 1995: Fig. 63).
  - 34 Nevertheless, examples were also found in contemporaneous buildings that were not erected by the king, for example at 'En Gedi, Dor and Tiberias (see Peleg-Barkat 2007: Figs. 399–403).
  - 35 Indeed, two blocked-out Ionic capitals at Samaria were ascribed by the excavators to the time of Procurator Aulus Gabinius (57–55 B.C.E.; Reisner et al. 1924:163, Fig. 78:1–2); however, the capitals were found *ex situ* and their dating is very uncertain. It seems more plausible to assign them to a group of capitals of the same type found in secondary use in the foundations of the Temple of Kore, which probably originated from the Herodian Temple of Roma and Augustus (Crowfoot et al. 1942:34, 66, Fig. 31).
  - 36 It should be noted that M.L. Fischer ascribes several Corinthian pilaster capitals of the same type from Herod's First Palace at Jericho to the Hasmonean period (Fischer 1990:8–9). Nevertheless, the fact that 13 fragments of similar capitals were found in different rooms of the palace (Pritchard 1958:12–13), along with the fact that the Hasmonean palaces were apparently destroyed in the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., only after the First Palace was built (ca. 35 B.C.E.; Netzer 1999:32), make it rather implausible that these capitals were brought from the Hasmonaeen palaces to be incorporated, in secondary use, into the Herodian palace. It should not surprise us that the early construction projects erected by King Herod, such as the First Palace at Jericho and his palace at Alexandrium, reflect aspects of continuity with Hasmonean traditions (alongside innovations, such as the blocked-out Ionic capitals mentioned earlier, and the modillion cornice [see below]). Such continuity is also apparent in the architectural plan of the palace, and it is possible that artists and artisans who worked for the royal Hasmonean family were hired by Herod to decorate his own palace.
  - 37 It may be suggested that this decoration imitates a sort of repair to the capital. The abacus angle is the most vulnerable part of the capital and was more easily broken than other parts. Perhaps capitals whose abacus angles were broken for some reason, were sometimes repaired by stucco or an adhesive to glue the broken angle to the capital. The relief decoration on the abacus angle of the capitals from Jerusalem and Cypros imitates such restored capitals.
  - 38 Foerster (1995:112–113) suggested that the choice of colors was influenced by the desire of the architects to imitate the capitals that adorned the dining hall of the pleasure ship of Ptolemy IV, the "Thalamagos", which were coated with ivory and gold. A similar design is found in a villa at Boscoreale (Lehman 1953:86, 197, Pls. XI–XVII).
  - 39 Some examples include: Marisa (Bliss and Macalister 1902: Pl. 19:8), Iraq al-Amir (Will and Larché 1991: Vol. 1, Pl. 6B:5), Tel Ya'oz (Tal, Fischer and Roll 2005: Fig. 27), Mount Gerizim (unpublished), Samaria (Reisner et al. 1924: Fig. 76:11), Bnei Hezir Tomb in Jerusalem (Avigad 1954: Figs. 30–31), Omrit (Nelson 2011: Fig. 3.14), the Doric temple at Gadara (Hoffmann 1999:795–831, Figs. 10–11; 2001:395–396, Fig. 9), the Doric temples in ancient Hammon in Lebanon and the temple and Governor's palace at Jebel Khalid in northern Syria (Clarke et al. 2000:123–126, Fig. 2; Clarke 2001:219–223, Figs. 8–18, 38).
  - 40 Although carved metopes appear quite early in Greece and southern Italy, most of the Doric friezes remained undecorated. Thus, for example, the Parthenon and the Temple of Hephaestus were the only temples in Attica that had sculpted metopes during the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. The last narrative metopes were carved during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E., while later on, decoration on metopes was limited to the depiction of isolated objects, such as bull heads (*bucrania*), masks and tripods (Webb 1996:21–22).
  - 41 Examples of Herodian Doric cornices carved with muttuli were found at the foot of the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount (Peleg-Barkat 2007: Cat. Nos. 1140–1146), in the Upper City of Jerusalem, and in Umm al-'Amad cave in Jerusalem (Vincent and Steve 1954: Pl. XCIX:VII).
  - 42 Similar examples appear at Petra (Hammond 1965:47–51, Pls. XXXV–XXXVI) and in Rome of the Late Republic (Strong and Ward-Perkins 1962:18).
  - 43 Later, in the Roman period, it was adopted in the eastern provinces of the Empire for the Corinthian modillion cornice with the addition of a cymatium profile above the dentils (Turnheim 1996:126).
  - 44 In both stories of the Mausoleum of Herod at Herodium, a modillion cornice appears instead of a Doric or Ionic cornice, attesting to the popularity of this type of cornice among local architects, perhaps due to its rich decoration (Netzer et al. 2010: Fig. 7).

- 45 At Masada, no architectural remains can be attributed with certainty to a Hasmonean phase. Nevertheless, three Doric capitals were found in secondary use in the Western Palace and in a cave near the Synagogue, suggesting that a building decorated in the Doric order existed at the site prior to the construction of the Western Palace, attributed by the excavators to the earliest Herodian phase of construction at the site (Peleg-Barkat 2007:47–48).
- 46 It is noteworthy that despite the fact that according to an inscription, this tomb was intended for a woman, the decoration of the tomb appears to be masculine in character (on the masculinity of the Doric order, see Vitruvius, *De architectura*, IV.4.6). However, it seems that in the eyes of the contemporary beholder, the armor reliefs that decorate this tomb were perceived as funerary motifs, based on their frequent appearance in tomb decorations, while the choice of the Doric order stemmed from its popularity in the regions of Judea, Transjordan and southern Syria.
- 47 Moreover, the belief in the existence of a blood relationship between the Jews and the Doric Spartans that is manifested in several contemporary historical sources, especially in the letter of Jonathan the Hasmonean to the Spartans (I Maccabees, 12:1–23), may also have effected to some extent the choice of the Doric order as the preferred decorative style in the Hasmonean palaces. Nevertheless, it is uncertain to what extent the Hasmoneans were familiar with the origins of the Doric order in the Peloponnese.
- 48 The first well-dated appearance of Corinthian capitals on the outer perimeter of a monument is in the famous Monument of Lysicrates in Athens dated to 335/4 B.C.E. The first temple to be decorated on its perimeter in the Corinthian order is the Temple to Zeus Olympius, erected by Antiochus IV in Athens in ca. 175 B.C.E. (though some scholars suggest, based on numismatic evidence, that the Serapeum in Alexandria, erected in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E., was already built in the Corinthian order, see Handler 1971:57–74). It seems that the economic decline in Greece and the relative prosperity experienced by the cities of Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period, was one of the causes for the establishment of this hierarchic scale of the Classical orders (Onians 1988:23).
- 49 Regev (2011:45–72) recently claimed that the Hasmonean palaces at Jericho did not demonstrate extravagance or excessiveness in regard to their size, structure, and decoration and suggested that this was due to an attempt by the Hasmoneans to present themselves as authentic representatives of their subjects. Although the discussion here seems to support this theory, it should be noted that: a) the main palace or palaces of the Hasmoneans in Jerusalem have not yet been found, and we may assume that they were more richly decorated than those at Jericho; b) the Hasmonean palaces at Jericho present a much greater assemblage of architectural decoration than any contemporaneous dwelling in Judea.
- 50 On the Roman origin of these novelties, see Peleg-Barkat 2007:138–140, 151–152.
- 51 This tendency towards richer, denser and more complex decoration over time, continues beyond Herod's reign and into the 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E. (Peleg-Barkat, forthcoming).
- 52 It should also be noted that several mutual trends exist in the architectural decoration of Judea and nearby Nabatea in the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E. The frequent use of mixed orders and blocked-out shapes, the popularity of the Doric frieze with rosettes carved in its metopes, and coffer-style stucco decorating flat ceilings, characterize both Judean and Nabatean architecture of the time. Still, in most instances, the similarities between the two regions lie in the general perception, not in the details, and therefore attest to a flow of ideas between the two regions, rather than actual artists. Judea and Nabatea are two of several cultural entities in the eastern Mediterranean at the time, and several mutual trends mentioned above can also be seen in other eastern provinces of the empire. In any case, comparison of Herodian architectural decoration with that of the Nabatean realm, reveals that the penetration of Roman influence into Judea is part of a general cultural shift that also occurred, if somewhat later, in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean.



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