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VOLUME THREE

THE EARLY ROMAN PERIOD

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CHAPTER 1

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PALESTINE
63 BCE–CE 70

The period under discussion coincides roughly with what is usually called the Early Roman or Herodian period.[1] While the former term is quite accurate and somewhat neutral, the latter is rather more appropriate. Our period bears the sharp imprint of Herod and his dynastic successors, who ruled the country from 37 BCE onward. Unlike many periods bearing the names of a monarch, but actually owing very little to him (e.g. 'Edwardian'), many of the features of the Herodian period were indeed shaped by Herod himself – the greatest builder in the history of Palestine and one of the outstanding builders of all antiquity. Herod introduced new styles and building methods into the country and built on a monumental scale and to an unparalleled extent: cities, fortresses, palaces, a large harbour and the most magnificent building ever to be built in Palestine, the Jerusalem temple complex. Many of these monuments which were preserved because of their size or sacred character (e.g. the Temple Mount, the Cave of Machpelah) or because of their location in desert areas, where the remoteness and climate ensured their survival (e.g. Masada) have given us a better knowledge of the Herodian period than of any other period in the history of the country.

The beginning of modern research into this period was ushered in by the explorations of the American scholar Edward Robinson who, as early as 1838, noted in Jerusalem the skewback of an Herodian arch, now bearing his name, and correctly identified remains of the 'Third Wall' as well as the sites of Masada, Herodion and others. The Frenchman F. de Saulcy was the first to excavate in Jerusalem, clearing the so-called Tombs of the Kings in 1854, and in 1864 the British Charles Wilson began his series of soundings around the Temple Mount, thus initiating the modern scientific approach. Archaeological activity has hardly stopped ever since.

Archaeological research on this period owes much to the wealth of contemporaneous literary sources, especially the writings of Flavius

[1] For a comparison of various chronological systems see P. W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 BC–AD 70* (1961), p. 4, n. 20; J. F. Strange, 'The Capernaum and Herodion Publications', *BASOR* 226 (1977), 66.

Josephus. Josephus meticulously described the monuments of his time (e.g. Jerusalem on the eve of Titus' siege) and particularly the Herodian building projects (thirty-one in all, including nine outside his kingdom),[2] in many cases giving detailed and exact descriptions. Research has confirmed much of the data provided by Josephus; these descriptions did not consist simply of materials derived from the author's memory, but were to a large extent based on written sources, sketches and plans. The description of Jerusalem or of the fortress of Masada could not have been written by a man who had been away from his country for many years unless he had had recourse to written documents. It is highly probable that Josephus, owing to his status in the imperial court, had free access to the archives of the Roman army. One glaring exception to Josephus' accuracy almost invariably emerges when he cites population numbers, his gross exaggeration being typical of most classical authors.[3] To a lesser extent, though the material is still of great value, much can be drawn from Talmudic literature, e.g. on the Jerusalem Temple (see chap. 2). Further data are found in contemporary Greek and Latin authors.[4]

I JERUSALEM

Jerusalem was a spacious city already at the beginning of our period, and by its end it had more than doubled in size. The 'First Wall', probably begun by Jonathan in *c.* 144 BCE and completed by his brother Simeon in 141 BCE, encompassed an area of 65 hectares (160 acres). By CE 70 the city's area, including the new suburbs enclosed by the 'Third Wall', had reached 170 hectares (425 acres). The population on the eve of the siege numbered about 80,000.[5] During this period the city underwent far-reaching changes. The Temple was rebuilt upon a huge new platform, which expanded the sacred area to 14.4 hectares (36 acres), the largest single temple complex in the the Classical World. It formed the dominant feature of the townscape, and not merely by its sheer size (about a sixth of the city during most of the period).[6] Two fortresses were raised: the

[2] E. Netzer *et al.*, 'Herod's Building Projects: State Necessity or Personal Need?' in *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981), 48–80; H. v. Hesberg, 'The Significance of the Cities in the Kingdom of Herod' in K. Fittchen and G. Foerster (eds.) *Judaea in the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence* (Göttingen 1996), pp. 9–25; E. Netzer, 'The Palaces Built by Herod, a Research Update', *ibid.* 27–54.

[3] M. Broshi, 'Estimating the Population of Ancient Jerusalem', *Biblical Archeology Review* 4 (1978), 10–15. On the use made by Josephus of the Roman military archives cf. *idem*, 'The Credibility of Josephus', *JJS* 33 (1982), 379–84.

[4] M. Stern, *GLAJJ* 1 (Jerusalem 1974).

[5] Broshi, 'Population' (above note 3).

[6] See D. Bahat, chap. 2, this volume.

Antonia on the north-east side of the city and a three-tower citadel on the north-west, adjacent to and protecting the palace, which Herod built upon an extensive platform. The city came to be filled with numerous magnificent buildings, both public and private.

The splendour of the city is revealed in both the literary sources and the archaeological discoveries. But Jerusalem is one of the rare instances where the literary evidence still contributes more than the archaeological data, despite almost a century and a half of intensive field work. Jerusalem was the first site in Palestine to be excavated by archaeologists, but most of the work was carried out beyond the walls of the Old City. Two factors prevented extensive excavations within the Old City: the density of building and religious sensitivities concerning many of the areas there. Some of these constraints have been overcome since the reunification of Jerusalem in 1967, especially in the area south and south-west of the Temple Mount (excavated by B. Mazar) and in the Jewish Quarter, which was largely destroyed in 1948 and has been rebuilt since the unification of the city in 1967 (excavated by N. Avigad).

A The city walls Of the three walls described by Josephus, we are now quite well acquainted with the 'First' and the 'Third'; of the 'Second Wall', only the literary evidence exists. The course of the 'Second Wall' ran entirely within what is now the built-up area of the Old City, and no excavations have been possible. The other two walls, the 'First' and 'Third', run partly or mostly through unbuilt areas. The 'First Wall', as we noted, was of Hasmonaean construction. Josephus' statement that this wall was founded by 'David and Solomon and the following kings' can now be understood in the light of the discovery by Avigad of a segment at the northern line of this wall which incorporated a tower of the Israelite period. The entire circuit of the 'First Wall' can now be reconstructed. Broshi's excavations along the western line of this wall (which also served here as the outer wall of Herod's palace) have revealed that the Hasmonaean construction (5.5 m thick) was bolstered by an additional wall abutting on it and bringing it to a total thickness of between 8 and 10 metres. The Hasmonaean towers here were also enlarged. This additional fortification process should be ascribed to Herod, who sought to ensure the security of his palace. Such thickening of walls was quite common in Hellenistic military architecture, and was known as *proteichisma* in Greek and *agger* in Latin.[7] Walls like these were generally built some

[7] Cf. M. Broshi and S. Gibson, 'Excavations Along the Western and Southern Walls of the Old City of Jerusalem' in H. Geva (ed.) *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem 1994), 147–55. For parallels cf. F. E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications* (London 1971), index, s.v. *proteichismata*.

distance away from the the main line, but here topographical considerations led to the abutting of the two walls. This feature has not been noted otherwise in Palestine, but Josephus mentions an outer wall below the Antonia fortress.[8] Several other segments of the 'First Wall' were uncovered during the last century, by H. Maudsley, F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie on the slopes of Mount Zion; and in the twentieth century by C. N. Johns, R. Amiran and A. Eitan at the citadel; and by K. M. Kenyon and Y. Shiloh on the eastern ridge. The 'First Wall' ran along an optimal line of defence, with steep slopes on three of its flanks; only on the north was the terrain less favourable. This led to the utilization of this same course in later periods. In the Byzantine period, most of the city wall was built upon this line.

The 'Second Wall' was the shortest of the three, and all knowledge of it stems from Josephus.[9] The reconstruction given in the plan follows that of Avi-Yonah; he based his reconstruction *inter alia* on remains discovered beneath the present-day Damascus Gate.[10] But it is not only the course of this wall that is obscure, but also the date of its construction. It is either late Hasmonaean or Herodian, but Josephus' enigmatic passage still awaits the discovery of actual archaeological remains which may shed light on the wall's date.[11] The 'Third Wall' was begun by Agrippa I, who broke off the work by order of the Romans; it was completed hastily after the outbreak of the First Jewish Revolt.[12] Substantial segments of this wall were traced and partly exposed for some 700 metres of its length by E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer in 1925–6 and 1940. The identification of this has been the most controversial and heated issue in Palestinian archaeology, and scientific logic has not always reigned in the argumentation. In 1972–4, further segments were unearthed by S. Ben-Arieh and E. Netzer, whose results provided further stratigraphic confirmation for this identification.[13] This wall enlarged the defended area of the city from 90 hectares (225 acres) to 170 hectares (425 acres), but the added quarters were sparsely built up.[14] In comparison with the 'First Wall', the 'Third Wall' ran along a topographically much less

[8] *Bell.* v.240. [9] *Bell.* v.146, 260.

[10] M. Avi-Yonah, 'The Third and the Second Wall of Jerusalem', *IEJ* 18 (1968), 122–5.

[11] *Ant.* xiv.476. [12] *Bell.* v.147–55.

[13] M. Avi-Yonah, above n. 10, pp. 98–122, provides a comprehensive discussion and a good bibliography. See also S. Ben-Arieh and E. Netzer, 'Excavations along the "Third Wall" of Jerusalem, 1972–1974', *IEJ* 24 (1974), 97–107.

[14] The best summary, though the conclusions are to my mind erroneous, is E. W. Hamrick, 'The Northern Barrier Wall in Site T' in A. D. Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967*, 1 (Toronto 1985), pp. 215–32. On the controversy concerning the Third Wall see M. Broshi, 'Religion, Ideology and Politics and their Impact on Palestinian Archaeology,' *Israel Museum Journal* 6 (1987), 23–4.

favourable line (the 'Second Wall', the topography of which is even less favourable, was now enclosed by the 'Third Wall') – and indeed it was this northern flank that Titus breached.

B The fortresses At the north-western corner of the Temple Mount, Herod erected a fortress, naming it Antonia after his benefactor, Mark Antony. This was built on the site of an earlier fortress, the 'Baris', which had stood here in the Hasmonaean period and perhaps even earlier. The Antonia was intended to protect the northern flank of the city in general, and the Temple Mount in particular. Until recently scholars accepted the archaeological reconstruction by L. H. Vincent, but more recently P. Benoit has challenged this. He demonstrated that much of the evidence cited by Vincent is actually of a later date, and suggests a reconstuction of more modest proportions.[15] At the north-western corner of the city Herod erected three mighty towers, protecting this flank as well as his adjacent palace. The three towers were named after Phasael (his older brother), Hippicus (a friend, 'of the cavalry'), and Mariamne (one of his wives, the granddaughter of the Hasmonaean king Hyrcanus II). They are described in detail by Josephus.[16] Only one of these towers survives; it has been known since the Middle Ages as 'The Tower of David'. This structure is built of solid masonry throughout and at present measures 21.4 × 17.2 metres at the top and rises some 20 metres above its base.[17] Some scholars identify this tower with Phasael (for its dimensions approximate those given by Josephus), while others regard it as Hippicus (for topographical reasons).

C The palace The largest and most luxurious of Herod's secular constructions in Jerusalem was his palace. Our knowledge of this building is based almost exclusively on Josephus' enthusiastic description. The palace complex comprised two spacious buildings, and included banqueting halls, bed-chambers, porticoes, pools and other features – all ornately decorated.[18] Excavations conducted in the palace area (Kenyon and Tushingham,

[15] P. Benoit, 'L'Antonia d'Hérode le Grand et le Forum d'Aelia Capitolina', *HTR* 64 (1971), 135–67.

[16] *Bell.* v.161–71.

[17] C. N. Johns, 'The Citadel, Jerusalem: A Summary of Work since 1934', *QDAP* 14 (1950), 121–90, and especially 140ff. On later works: H. Geva, 'Excavations at the Citadel of Jerusalem 1976–1980' in Geva (above, note 7), 156–67; R. Sivan and G. Solar, 'Excavations in the Jerusalem Citadel', *ibid.* 168–76.

[18] *Bell.* v.176–83 *et passim*; R. Amiran and A. Eitan, 'Excavations in the Jerusalem Citadel' in Y. Yadin (ed.) *Jerusalem Revealed* (Jerusalem and New Haven 1976), p. 54; D. Bahat and M. Broshi, 'Excavations in the Armenian Garden', *ibid.*, pp. 55–6.

Amiran and Eitan, Bahat and Broshi) have not revealed anything of these buildings themselves. The only actual remains of the palace that have been found are a series of retaining walls. In building this palace Herod's engineers resorted to methods similar to those employed in the construction, for instance, of the Temple complex, and of Caesarea, Samaria and Jericho: the raising and levelling of the area and the stabilization of the immense quantities of fill by means of supporting walls. There were other splendid buildings in Jerusalem such as the Hasmonaean palace (which continued to be used throughout our period, even under the later Herodian rulers), or the palace of Queen Helena of Adiabene in the Lower City, but no part of them has been located so far.

D Other public structures Of other monumental buildings in Jerusalem of this period we have only literary evidence. Josephus related that Herod built both a theatre and an amphitheatre.[19] The latter apparently served also as a hippodrome.[20] The intensive building activity initiated by Herod must have brought about considerable changes in the layout of Jerusalem and in the network of its streets.[21]

A street uncovered by Avigad was built in the latter part of Herod's reign and Mazar found several finely paved Herodian streets, running at a tangent to and out from the Temple Mount around its south-western corner[22] Herod's projects were continued under his successors, up to the very eve of the First Jewish Revolt. Josephus relates that in the days of the Roman procurator Albinus, the construction of the Temple compound was completed. This led to the laying-off of some eighteen thousand labourers (certainly an inflated figure). Agrippa II had them employed in paving the city's streets.[23]

E The water supply At this time both the growth in the population of Jerusalem and the rise in the standard of living demanded a reliable and abundant supply of water. The only spring in Jerusalem, the Gihon, even when augmented by the storage of rain-water was no longer sufficient to provide for the increased population, swelled by myriads of pilgrims

[19] *Ant.* xv.268f. C. Schick believed he had found Herod's theatre in Abu Tor (Givat Hananiah), the hill across the Hinnom Valley, south of the city. *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement 1887*, 161–6. Schick, 'Herod's Amphitheatre – Jerusalem'. Trial digs conducted by A. Kloner (as yet unpublished) proved Schick was wrong.

[20] *Bell.* II.44; *Ant.* XVII.255.

[21] On the Herodian city cf. N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville 1987), pp. 81–203.

[22] M. Ben-Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple* (New York 1982).

[23] *Ant.* XX.219–22. Apparently Josephus used here, as elsewhere, the term 'white stone', sometimes translated marble, to denote fine, hard limestone.

three times a year. Supply was assured through the hewing of cisterns[24] and the building of pools and aqueducts. Private cisterns attached to every house have been found in excavations.

Many of the public cisterns of this period are still extant – such as the thirty-four known cisterns on the Temple Mount, with a total capacity of 40,000 cubic metres (about 10,000,000 gallons). Six huge pools are also known, five of them mentioned by Josephus: the Pool of the Towers (*Amygdalon*), the Strouthion Pool, the Sheep's Pool (*Bethesda*), the Serpents' Pool,[25] and Solomon's Pool (the Pool of Siloam). The sixth pool is the Pool of Israel (*Birket Israel*), abutting on the north-eastern corner of the Temple Mount. This is the largest reservoir in Jerusalem (measuring 38 × 110 metres, with a maximum depth of 26 metres). Outside the city to the west was the Mamilla Pool, which fed the Pool of the Towers. Several of the pools collected the winter run-off (e.g. Bethesda and the Pool of Israel), while others were fed by aqueduct or tunnel (e.g. Strouthion, Siloam). In our period (or possibly already in the Hasmonaean period) an aqueduct was constructed to bring water from the springs of Arrub some 25 km to the south.[26] It had no siphons or bridges, and this necessitated a very long course (68 km), more than two and one-half times the distance as the crow flies. A very small gradient was employed (about one in one thousand), and there are several lengthy tunnels.

F Domestic architecture Recent excavations in Jerusalem, especially those of Avigad in the Jewish Quarter, have afforded a glimpse of the domestic architecture of the Herodian period.[27] Prior to these discoveries our knowledge was confined to monumental Herodian architecture. The houses found in the Jewish Quarter are notable for their spaciousness (ground plans as much as 600 square metres in size) and for their luxurious decoration (e.g. wall paintings, mosaics). Until future work brings to light further residential quarters, it will remain unclear whether this quality of architecture was confined to the Upper City or was widespread. The usual plan is of a series of rooms arranged around a central courtyard. Each house has several cisterns, reservoirs and ritual baths; steam-baths

[24] On the gigantic Temple Mount cisterns cf. Sh. Gibson and D. M. Jacobson, *Below the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, a Sourcebook on the Cisterns, Subterranean Chambers and Conduits of the Haram al-Sharif* (Oxford 1996), pp. 225–33 and *passim*.

[25] The Serpents' Pool is commonly identified with the Sultan's Pool in the Hinnom Valley, but excavations of a monument north of Damascus Gate done by E. Netzer and S. Ben Arieh makes this identification unlikely. Cf. M. Broshi, 'The Serpents' Pool and Herod's Monument', *Maarav* 8 (1992), 213–22.

[26] A. Mazar, 'A Survey of the Aqueducts Leading to Jerusalem' in D. Amit *et al.* (eds.) *The Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine, Collected Essays* (Jerusalem 1989), pp. 169–95 (Hebrew).

[27] N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (above, note 21).

are also found. Mosaic pavements of fine quality are not rare, and wall paintings often in fresco technique, are quite common. The conventional mural divided the wall into rectangular panels, painted mostly in warm colours. There were always painted panels running along the lower part of the wall (dados). The panels are often painted in imitation of marble, or of architectural elements, seeking to convey an illusionistic effect. Floral motifs are also commonly used to achieve the effect of landscape. On Mount Zion a unique wall painting of birds was found – a rare instance in the art of this period of a violation of the prohibition against graven images.[28]

G The Necropolis The Necropolis that surrounded Jerusalem like a belt was founded in the Hellenistic period (see vol. I, chap. 20) but developed greatly in the Herodian period. The tombs of the poor, who were probably interred in plain graves dug in the ground, have not been preserved. The 800 'middle class' to 'aristocratic' family tombs, chambers hewn in the rocks, range from the very simple to the very ornate and expensive; from small chambers to a big complex like the 'Tomb of the Kings' which necessitated quarrying 20,000 cubic metres of rock. Hundreds of inscriptions (in Aramaic, Greek and to a lesser extent, Hebrew) only give us meagre information about those buried, seldom more than the name of the deceased and a patronymic, and on rare occasion an indication of origin (e.g. Beth Shean (Scythopolis) or Cyrenaica) or the profession of the deceased (e.g. builder, teacher). In a few cases we can identify the tombs with historical figures, as with the tombs of 'Bene Hezir', Nicanor, and Helena of Adiabene. The tomb of the family of Hezir, which dates to the Hasmonaean period (and see vol. I, ch. 10) belonged to a priestly family known from the Bible (1 Chr. 24:15). The tomb of the family of Nicanor on Mount Scopus has an inscription in Greek which mentions 'Nicanor of Alexandria who made the gates'.[29] This Nicanor donated the doors of one of the gates of the Temple, and the Talmud tells of a miracle that befell the doors on their voyage from Alexandria.[30]

The largest and one of the most impressive of the tombs is known by its popular name as the 'Tomb of the Kings'. This is the only sepulchral monument mentioned by the ancient authors (Josephus, Pausanias, Eusebius and Jerome) which can be identified with certainty.[31] The tomb was constructed about CE 50 by Queen Helena of Adiabene (an Hellenistic

[28] M. Broshi, 'Excavations on Mount Zion 1971–1972', *IEJ* 26 (1976), 83–5; Broshi, in Y. Yadin (ed.) *Jerusalem Revealed*, pl. III (op. p. 56).

[29] N. Avigad, 'Jewish Burial Caves in Jerusalem and the Judaean Mountains', *ErIs* 8 (Sukenik Volume 1967), 119–25. Cf. also the articles in H. Geva (ed., above, n. 7), 191–243.

[30] b. Yoma 38a. [31] M. Kon, *The Tomb of the Kings* (Tel Aviv 1947, in Hebrew).

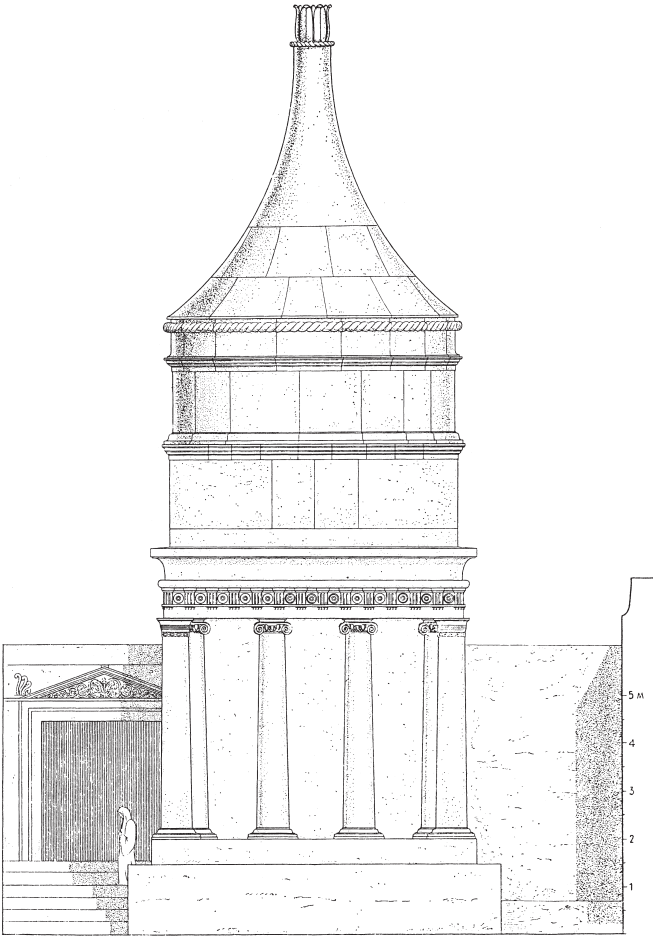

Fig. 1.4 The 'Tomb of Absalom'.

petty kingdom in northern Mesopotamia) who was a convert to Judaism and had settled in Jerusalem. The three pyramids that crowned the tomb have disappeared, but the rest of the compound is fairly well preserved – a sizeable, sunken courtyard, a majestic facade and a huge hypogeum (underground series of chambers) that were likened by Pausanias to the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.[32] Almost all the other monumental tombs in Jerusalem carry apocryphal names (e.g. 'Tombs of the Judges', alias

[32] Pausanias 8.xvi.4.

'Tombs of the Sanhedrin'). One of the tombs with apocryphal names, the 'tomb of Absalom', the most magnificent of the four Kidron Valley monuments, is the tallest (20 m) as well as the most complete sepulchral monument in western Palestine.[33] It consists of two parts – the substructure is mostly a rock-cut monolith which contains a small burial chamber with arcosolia. The superstructure served as a funerary monument (*nephesh*) to the tomb below and perhaps also for the adjacent 'Tomb of Jehoshaphat'. The 'Tomb of Absalom' was built in a unique mixture of styles: the Ionic columns bear a Doric frieze crowned by an Egyptian cavetto cornice and the round roof is made in the Hellenistic-Roman style. Here we find the most eloquent example of the eclectic nature of the art that existed in Palestine in this period. Behind it, the 'Tomb of Jehoshaphat' is a complex of eight subterranean rooms with a large facade adorned with an ornate pediment. It seems that the two monuments were planned as a unit in the first century CE.[34] The 'Tomb of Zachariah' is a monolithic cube (each side of which is 5 m long) crowned by a pyramid. The monument also served as a *nephesh* for a tomb.[35]

The importance of the monumental tombs lies in the fact that they constitute the chief source for the architectural art of the period, because most of the other monuments have disappeared.

In addition to the tomb facades much can be learnt from the burial containers found in the tombs: sarcophagi and ossuaries. The sarcophagi, full-sized stone coffins, are costly. They are found only in the tombs of the very rich, as in the 'Tombs of Kings' and the so called 'Tomb of the House of Herod'.[36] Ossuaries, on the other hand, are caskets carved from quite soft stone, that were intended for secondary burial (that is for collecting the bones after the flesh had decayed).[37] The ossuaries, being inexpensive, could be afforded even by the common people, and many score have been found. The sarcophagi are ornamented in relief with floral designs such as garlands and rosettes, while the ossuaries are decorated by chip-carving, a technique common in woodwork. Most of the patterns were executed by means of compass, stylus and ruler. There are also ossuaries that bear architectural motifs. In a tomb excavated at Giv'at Hamivtar, in the new suburbs of northern Jerusalem, several ossuaries

[33] See 2 Samuel 18:18.

[34] N. Avigad, *Ancient Monuments in the Kidron Valley* (Jerusalem 1954), pp. 91–138 (in Hebrew).

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–90. H. E. Stutchbury, 'Excavations in the Kidron Valley', *PEQ* 93 (1961), 101–13.

[36] On the identification of this tomb cf. Broshi, *The Serpents' Pool* (above, n. 25).

[37] E. M. Meyers, *Jewish Ossuaries, Reburial and Rebirth* (Rome 1971); L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries* (Jerusalem 1994).

of exceptional interest were discovered. One of them, 'Simon builder of the Sanctuary', was apparently someone connected with the building of the Temple, perhaps in a significant post. Another ossuary contained the skeletal remains of a person who had been crucified – the first actual evidence of crucifixion unearthed by archaeologists.[38]

The existence of an Essene community in or near Jerusalem was proven lately by the discovery of a large cemetery whose tombs are very similar to those of Qumran. In this graveyard, almost 5 km south-west of Herodian Jerusalem, are over forty shaft graves totally different from the regular Second Commonwealth tombs but of great kinship to those dug at the Essene settlement near the shores of the Dead Sea.[39]

II THE OTHER CITIES

Josephus relates that Herod founded five cities: Caesarea, Samaria (Sebaste), Antipatris, Gaba-Hippeum and Anthedon-Agrippias. The first four have been excavated, but of the fifth we have no archaeological data and even its location has not definitely been established. Two cities were developed by Herod's sons: Tiberias was founded by Herod Antipas, and Paneas was expanded by Philip and renamed Caesarea Philippi.

A Caesarea Both Caesarea and Sebaste were named in honour of the emperor Augustus: Caesarea is derived from 'Caesar' and Sebaste from the Greek equivalent of 'Augustus'. These two cities were built over earlier settlements: Caesarea arose on the site of the old Phoenician colony of Strato's Tower, whereas Sebaste was built on the site of Samaria, the ancient capital of the northern kingdom of Israel. These were new creations, however; their size and 'modern' character obliterated their modest predecessors.

[38] V. Taferis, 'Jewish Tombs at Givat Hamivtar', *IEJ* 20 (1970), 18–32; J. Naveh, 'The Ossuary Inscriptions from Givat Ha-Mivtar', *IEJ* 20 (1970), 33–7; N. Haas, 'Anthropological Observations on the Skeletal Remains from Givat Hamivtar', *IEJ* 20 (1970), 38–59; Y. Yadin, 'Epigraphy and Crucifixion', *IEJ* 23 (1973), 18–32; V. Moller-Christensen, 'Skeletal Remains from Givat Ha-Mivtar', *IEJ* 26 (1976), 35–8; see also M. Hengel, 'Mors turpissima crucis: Die Kreuzigung in der antiken Welt und die "Torheit" des "Wortes vom Kreuz"' in *Rechtfertigung Fs Kasemann*, ed. J. Friedrich, W. Pohlmann and P. Stuhlmacher (Tübingen, Göttingen 1976); ET *Crucifixion*, with later additions (Philadelphia 1977); J. Zias and E. Sekeles, 'The Crucified Man from Givat Ha-Mivtar, A Reappraisal', *IEJ* 35 (1985), 22–7.

[39] B. Zissu, '"Qumran-type" Graves in Jerusalem: Archaeological Evidence of an Essene Community', *DSD* 5 (1998), 158–71.

After Jerusalem, Herod's biggest building projects were carried out in Caesarea.[40] Its primary feature was its huge harbour, but it also possessed all the attributes of a classical Roman city: a fortification system, a major temple, a royal palace, markets, a theatre, an amphitheatre (which served mainly as a hippodrome), a rectangular street network, an efficient system of water supply and a sewage network flushed by the sea. Our picture of ancient Caesarea, like that of Jerusalem, is based on literary sources (primarily Josephus) as well as on data from several archaeological expeditions, Israeli, Italian and American.

The harbour of Caesarea was Herod's biggest and most ambitious civil project. The port area was first surveyed underwater by the Link expedition in the 1960s, and since 1975, annually, by expeditions led by A. Raban, mostly under the auspices of the Center for Maritime Studies at the University of Haifa. The investigation was hampered by the fact that the western part of the port had sunk some 5 to 7 metres over the centuries. The Herodian harbour was composed of three basins one inside the other. The outer basin, the largest of the three, was created by constructing two breakwaters to enclose a vast area of open sea, an engineering operation that was the first of its kind in history. It is also the first harbour known to us to apply the techniques recommended by Vitruvius, the noted Roman architect, a contemporary of Herod. Thus it was one of the most advanced artificial ports of its times and the only all-weather Palestinan port on its Mediterranean coast. Two huge break-waters enclosed an area of 10 hectares (25 acres). Near the entrance to the harbour were found what seems to be the foundations of what Josephus describes as the most prominent feature here – the tower named 'Drusion', named after Augustus' stepson. This tower probably served as a lighthouse. The middle basin (200 × 200 m) lies to the east of the outer harbour. To its north were found ashlar buildings which might have served as shipyards. Near the inner basin remains of warehouses were unearthed.

East of the harbour area, the remains of a platform – partly natural and partly artificial – were found, elevated some 12 metres above its surroundings. This was most probably the podium of the temple of Augustus. Such platforms were a common feature in Herodian construction (e.g. the Temple Mount and the palace in Jerusalem, the Caesareum at Samaria-Sebaste, the winter palaces at Jericho). This gigantic platform could accommodate much more than a temple and it is quite possible that the marketplace was also built on top of it. Remains of a palace-like building

[40] For a general survey cf. NEAEHL 1, 270–91. A fuller treatment will be found in A. Raban and K. G. Holum (eds.) *Caesarea Maritima* (Leiden, New York and Cologne 1996).