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Some Aspects of the Impact of Rome on Palestine

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE IMPACT OF ROME ON PALESTINE

By KATHLEEN M. KENYON

SIR MORTIMER WHEELER has made innumerable contributions to the archaeology of the Roman period in Britain, and in his inaugural lecture as Professor of the Archaeology of the Roman Provinces he declared his faith in training in Romano-British archaeology as the best training for would-be excavators, a faith to which I emphatically adhere. When he extended his field to India, he sought for and found datable products from Rome, Arretine ware, to provide a hitherto completely lacking fixed point in chronology, by means of which he established a chronological framework for much of the 1st millennium B.C. in the Indian sub-continent. Between Britain and India lies Palestine. Probably not many people know how nearly Sir Mortimer went to Palestine c. 1936, as Director of Antiquities. Political events made it impossible, but he has maintained his interest in this area. It seems not inappropriate to offer an article on the Roman impact on Palestine to this volume in his honour.

I must immediately make it clear that I do not intend to deal with the political aspects of Roman control and organization. My concern is with the material remains, mainly revealed by excavation. One must then confess that Roman levels in Palestine have received scant attention. Most Palestinian archaeologists have been concerned mainly with the Old Testament periods, with a reluctant acceptance of the importance of the earlier, locally pre-historic, periods. The very bulk of the levels containing pottery of the Roman period has discouraged interest, and encouraged those interested in earlier periods to clear these levels away with all haste. It has therefore to be confessed that, in the present state of knowledge, most ascriptions of buildings within the Roman period are based on historical evidence or stylistic affinities in the architecture. As an illustration of the *present* state of archaeological evidence, I believe that a fill in Jerusalem includes sherds later than those of the Titus destruction in A.D. 70, and which I therefore ascribe to the period of the Hadrianic Aelia Capitolina.¹ My justification of this view has still to await the detailed analysis of the pottery. It would be inconceivable in Roman Britain to hesitate between ascribing a level containing an enormous amount of pottery to the Flavian or Hadrianic period. This is a sad fact in Palestine, though one hopes that when work on the Jerusalem material has been completed there will be more certainty.

Palestine was prepared for the absorption of Roman culture by inclusion in the Hellenistic empires, first Ptolemaic and then Seleucid. The whole of Roman material culture in the Levant was profoundly influenced by the preceding Hellenistic culture and architecture, and the buildings of the eastern Roman empire remained throughout different from those of metropolitan Rome, just as Greek remained the general language. When we come to consider Palestine, however, there is a marked difference in the culture upon which the contribution of Rome was based between the north and the south, basically the old kingdom of Israel in the north and the old kingdom of Judah in the south. The difference dates back to the destructions of the two kingdoms, Israel by Assyria in 720 B.C., Judah by Babylon in 587 B.C. Israel was repopulated by Assyria with groups from many different countries.

¹ *P.E.Q.*, 1964, 14.

Though these mixed groups were largely assimilated by the surviving inhabitants, and became adherents to the religion of Yahweh, they were regarded as of impure race by the other Jews, and excluded from the revived Jewish group of the south. The southern exiles were allowed to return to Jerusalem by the Persian conquerors of Babylon c. 530 B.C., and to rebuild the Temple. The subsequent history of the Jews centred on Jerusalem is that of a fiercely orthodox religious state. The revolt of the Maccabees in the 2nd century B.C. was against Hellenization, particularly in religion, by the ruling Seleucids. The less homogeneous groups to the north accepted Hellenization much more readily. Clear archaeological evidence of this is provided by a comparison of the pottery of the 3rd century B.C. onwards between Samaria in the north and Jerusalem. At least from the 2nd century B.C., the number of vessels at Samaria that are Hellenistic in technique is enormous, and completely preponderant. In Jerusalem such vessels are rare. The only relatively common form consists of fragments of Rhodian wine jars, a fact which invites interesting speculations.

This complete differentiation of background was what faced Herod the Great. Though the power of Rome impinged on Palestine with the intervention of Pompey in 63 B.C., there is no archaeological evidence to suggest that its material culture was affected until the time of Herod the Great, Idumean successor of the Maccabees, who reigned from 37 B.C. to 4 B.C. Herod was a great Romanophile, and the friend of Augustus. In the assurance of imperial patronage he set about transforming the towns of his domain into cities worthy of this title within the Roman Empire. For the purposes of this article, the buildings of Herod the Great are taken as the first stages of the impact of Rome on Palestine.

We have a very full account of Herod's buildings in Josephus. Here we shall deal first with Jerusalem, though here his wishes had to be fiercely circumscribed by the orthodox, xenophobic Jews.

The Jerusalem to which Herod succeeded had, on the surviving archaeological evidence, few buildings of any architectural pretensions. The nucleus of the city was a hill-town on a narrow, elongated ridge flanked by the steep valleys of the Kedron and Tyropoeon, with walls along a crest for the most part only a hundred metres wide. At the north end these walls joined the platform of the Temple, a post-Exilic rebuilding of that of Solomon. At some time, not as yet precisely defined, during the Maccabean period the northern end of the parallel western ridge had been included within the city, with a north wall crossing the Tyropoeon to join the flank of the Temple platform about 170 m. from its south-west corner. Portions of the walls have been uncovered on both the east and west ridges. They are massive dry-stone affairs, but so rough in construction that early excavators were inclined to ascribe them to the Bronze Age. The Temple platform was of robust construction, of bossed masonry in a style probably of Persian derivation,² but the portions visible show several repairs, and it is clear that the Temple had lost all the magnificence of the original Solomonic building.³

At Jerusalem, Herod's building activities were very much circumscribed by the hostility of the population. There is no evidence, literary or archaeological, that he rebuilt the walls. It is very improbable that he attempted to rebuild the town as a whole, and it probably

² *P.E.Q.*, 1968, 105.

³ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XV, 11, 1.

remained the rather ramshackle, closely built-up agglomeration that had grown up in the post-Exilic period. Josephus tells us⁴ that Herod built a theatre and an amphitheatre, foreign innovations bitterly resented by the population. There is no evidence as to their location, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that they lay outside the walls, for it is most improbable that he would have been able to demolish buildings within the walls to make space for them. But in spite of the probability that most of Herod's Jerusalem was the Maccabean town that he inherited, he brought about a remarkable change in its aspect by his buildings dominating the higher northern ends of the two ridges (Pl. I).

These two buildings were the Temple and his palace on the western ridge. They were linked by two viaducts across the central valley, one on arches with a span of 13·40 m. and in the easternmost arch, known as Robinson's Arch, a height of c. 28 m. above its base and of c. 20 m. above the pavement that passed beneath it; the inspiration of this viaduct must lie in the viaducts and aqueducts that Herod had seen in Rome. The second viaduct was probably on a causeway, possibly based on the earlier town wall, a complex structure, but linked to the Temple by an arch of similar grandeur in undoubtedly Herodian masonry.⁵

The visual impact of these great structures must have been all the greater because they were in a masonry completely new to Jerusalem, masonry of an excellence which can stand comparison with that of any other place or any other period (Pl. II). Reference has been made to the poor quality of the surviving masonry of Maccabean Jerusalem. This applies to the stone buildings of Bronze-Age and Iron-Age Palestine, with the sole exception of the masonry of Phoenician type found in the buildings at Samaria of the period of Omri and Ahab, and probably those of Solomon at Jerusalem, on which Phoenician craftsmen were employed. The Canaanites and Israelites of Palestine seem to have had no building skill. No close parallels are known for the Herodian masonry, but one would suspect that masons were brought in, probably from Syria. The characteristic of the stone work of the heavy walls is stones of very large size with narrow flat margins and very slight bosses with a beautiful flat finish. In walls on a smaller scale there is no projecting boss, but the central period is differentiated by a pecked finish.

Herod's rebuilding of the Temple (Fig. 1) was no new conception. He had indeed to promise the inhabitants of Jerusalem that it would be a rebuilding and restoration of Solomon's Temple. It remained a Semitic shrine. What he did was to render it much more grandiose by doubling the size of the platform on which it stood.⁶ On the east side, where the junction of his platform with that of the post-Exilic rebuilding of that of Solomon can be seen, he added a length of 32·60 m. to the earlier platform. His major addition was on the west side. Herodian masonry is visible all along the southern front of the platform and on the west side for a distance of 185 m. from the south-west corner. The early platform is therefore here completely engulfed, and the position of its south-west corner can only be surmised. The probability, however, is that it was confined to the eastern ridge, as was the contemporary town. Herod's platform, on the other hand, was carried right across the central valley, and the west wall was built some 27 m. up the far slope. The central valley

⁴ *Antiquities*, XV, 8, 1.

⁵ Wilson's Arch.

⁶ Josephus, *Wars*, I, 21, 1.

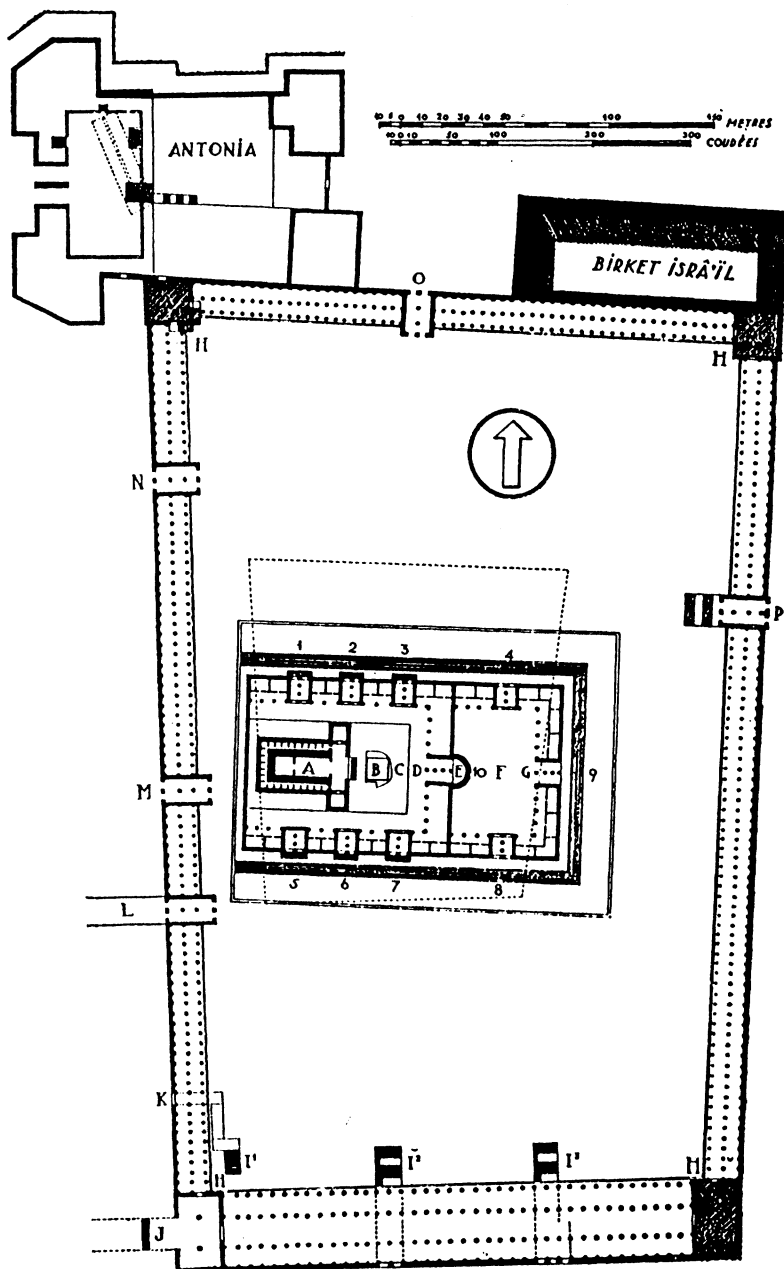


FIG. 1.

was filled in, probably by Herod (though the evidence from the shafts of the 1867 excavations is not of a nature to prove this), and the wall here has heavy projecting bosses and was foundational up to the level of a pavement that ran along the west side and on the south side probably ran up to the triple-arched south entrance of the Temple, based on rock on the crest of the ridge. East of that point the south and east walls were apparently free-standing almost to their base. The addition on the west to the width of the platform can be estimated at about 100 m. The arches of the viaducts crossing the valley bond into this new west wall.

Of the Temple itself nothing survives. For its appearance we are dependent on the description of Josephus. Its plan was clearly based on that of Solomon's Temple, as was indeed inevitable from Herod's promise to the inhabitants. It was basically a hall 60 cubits long and 30 cubits wide; the length of the cubit is not quite certain but was probably a little less than half a metre. The west end was shut off by a curtain to form the Holy of Holies. Flanking the hall were small rooms in three storeys. Across the west end was a porch extending beyond the width of the main block, having a total width of 100 cubits. Such a temple owed nothing to Rome or the Hellenistic west. Indeed, the whole conception of the towering podium on which it stood is oriental.

At the north-west corner of the Temple enclosure, Herod rebuilt the Hasmonean fortress Baris as the fortress-palace Antonia. Nothing of this survives except a pavement beneath the Convent of the Sisters of Zion, but a conjectural plan based on rock cuttings⁷ suggests it had four angle towers. From this, Herod could control the Temple area. His control over the western ridge was assured by his palace-citadel, of which the three towers Phasaël, Hippicus, and Mariamne are mentioned by Josephus. The lower part of Phasaël in typical Herodian masonry survives in the tower of the present citadel at the Jaffa Gate, and the foundations of the other towers have been traced. Nothing of the rest of Herod's palace has been found.

Herod began the construction of the Temple in c. 30 B.C. It was not finished at his death, and was indeed barely complete when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70. Masons skilled in Herodian building techniques were therefore at work in Jerusalem for nearly a hundred years. Of this there is evidence in the new north wall of Jerusalem built, or at least begun, by Herod Agrippa A.D. 40–4. The eastern part of a triple-arched gateway of entirely Roman plan and in masonry entirely comparable with that of the Temple platform was cleared in 1964–6⁸ (Pl. III). To the same period probably belongs a magnificent paved street running down the central valley,⁹ in the area first enclosed by Herod Agrippa.

From Jerusalem one can turn to very different aspects of Herod's activities, areas where he could give full rein to his Romanizing predilections. His building achievement that clearly struck the imagination of Josephus was at Caesarea. Here he was working on a virtually virgin site, a small haven previously known as Strato's Tower. Josephus¹⁰ ascribes to him a magnificent harbour, claimed to be larger than the harbour of Piraeus, enclosed by a massive mole, a temple of Augustus in which were colossal statues of Rome and Augustus, a theatre, an amphitheatre, and several splendid palaces. The city was built with regularly

⁷ Vincent, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, 196–214.

⁸ *Levant*, II, 22 ff.

⁹ *P.E.Q.*, 1964, 9–10.

¹⁰ *Antiquities*, XV, 8–9; *War*, I, 21.

spaced streets leading to the harbour. It was clearly a Roman-style town of some magnificence. Of it, archaeology has so far provided little evidence, for it is largely engulfed in sand, and partly overlaid by a medieval town. Fragments of two large statues could, on stylistic grounds, be the colossi to which he refers. The theatre has been located and cleared, but it is so completely restored that its original character cannot be studied. Josephus does not mention Askalon, but it may be suggested that it was Herod that surrounded the mound of the ancient town with a much larger lower town, in which many Roman buildings have been found.

Perhaps the strongest contrast with Herod's Jerusalem is his rebuilding of Samaria. Reference has already been made to the striking difference of the archaeological evidence for the Hellenistic period at Jerusalem and Samaria. The antipathies of the inhabitants of Samaria to the Maccabean Jews of Jerusalem were enhanced by the destruction of Samaria by John Hyrcanus in c. 107 B.C. The restoration of the city by the Roman Governor Gabinius c. 57 B.C. strengthened the attachment of the inhabitants to the Hellenistic-Roman west. Here Herod had no xenophobic opposition to meet, and here in fact he left his mother and family during the difficult years when he was establishing his power with the support of Rome. The essence of his activities is that he changed the ancient name of Samaria to Sebaste in honour of Augustus. The archaeological evidence strongly supports the change in the character of the town into that of a Roman city. On the summit of the ridge, within the defences of the Hellenistic citadel, the buildings of the period had been on a small scale, apparently purely domestic. Certainly nothing in the way of official or religious buildings has been identified. Whole quarters of these domestic buildings were obliterated by Herod.

The only buildings actually ascribed to Herod by Josephus¹¹ were the town wall 20 furlongs long, enclosing an additional area within the city, and a temple in honour of Augustus with a temenos surrounded by a wall three and a half furlongs long. The rest of his work is covered by the description of "monuments according to the fineness of his taste".

The line of Herod's town wall has been traced, but most of what has been exposed is foundational. Enough has been recovered of the layout of his temple to show the magnificence of its conception (Fig. 2), though its superstructures disappeared in the Severan reconstruction. The summit of the hill of Samaria consisted of a terrace formed in origin by the walls of the royal quarter of Omri and Ahab, the line of which was followed by the defences of the acropolis of the Hellenistic period. The temple was situated at the west end of the summit, where the width of this terrace from north to south was about 100 metres. The overall north-south length of the temple and its courtyard was 130 m., and an associated building to the rear added a further 28 m. Herod had therefore to make a very considerable addition to the summit terrace, which he did by building out a great platform to the north, supported beyond the line of the Hellenistic fort wall by double retaining walls. Such a platform in conception is similar to that of the Temple at Jerusalem. The walls up to the ground level of the courtyard were not, however, free-standing, but surrounded by an earth ramp,¹² and it is probable that the courtyard was approached by a monumental propylaeum

¹¹ *Antiquities*, XV, 8, 5; *War*, I, 21, 2.

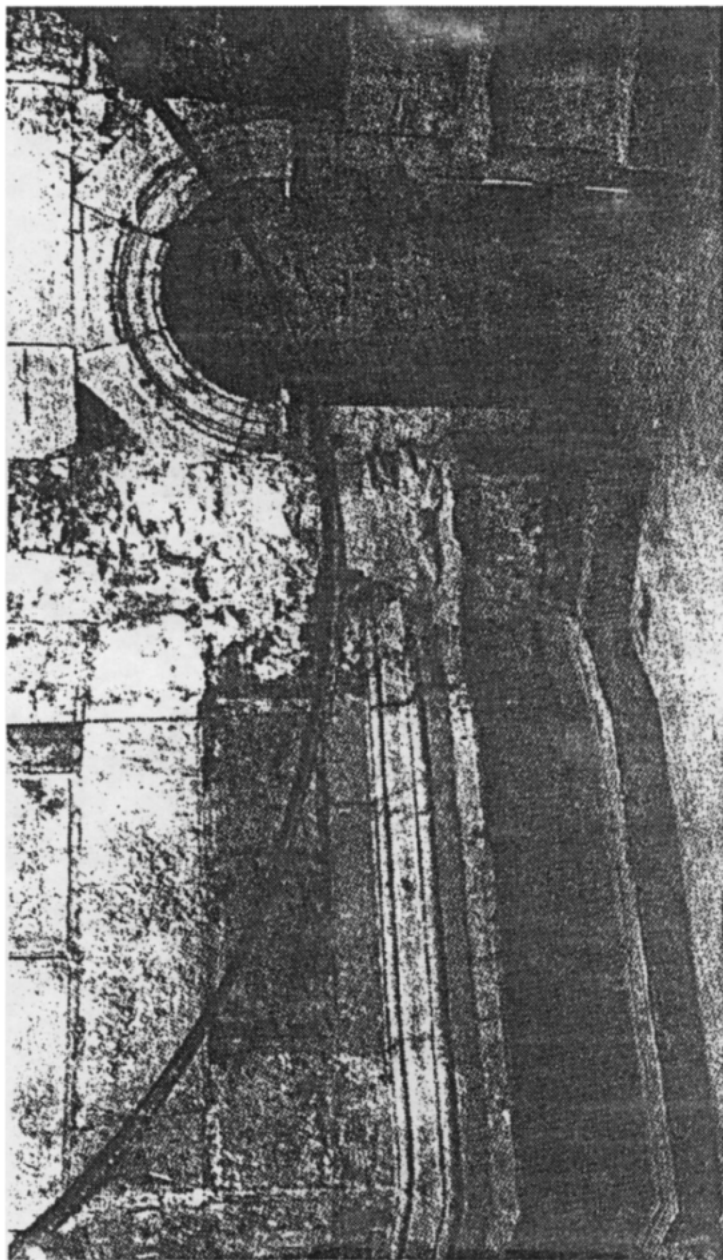
¹² *Samaria-Sebaste*, I, pp. 124-6.



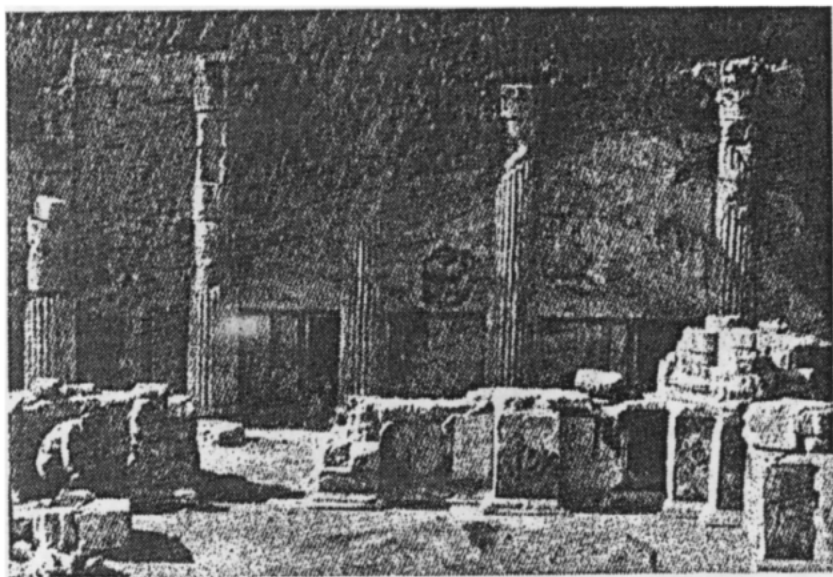
Aerial view of Jerusalem from the South, showing the prominent positions of the Herodian Buildings (p. 183).



The Herodian masonry on the west side of the Temple platform at Jerusalem (p. 183).



Wall and arched gateway of Herod Agrippa I beside the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem. The arch and capping-stone are reconstruction by Hadrian.
(After J. B. Hennessey *Levant* II, 1970, Pl. XIV) (p. 185).



The lower terrace of the Northern Palace at Masada, showing rubble walls, and pilasters of soft stone faced in plaster. (After Yigael Yadin, *The excavation of Masada 1963/4*, Pl. IIIa) (p. 189).

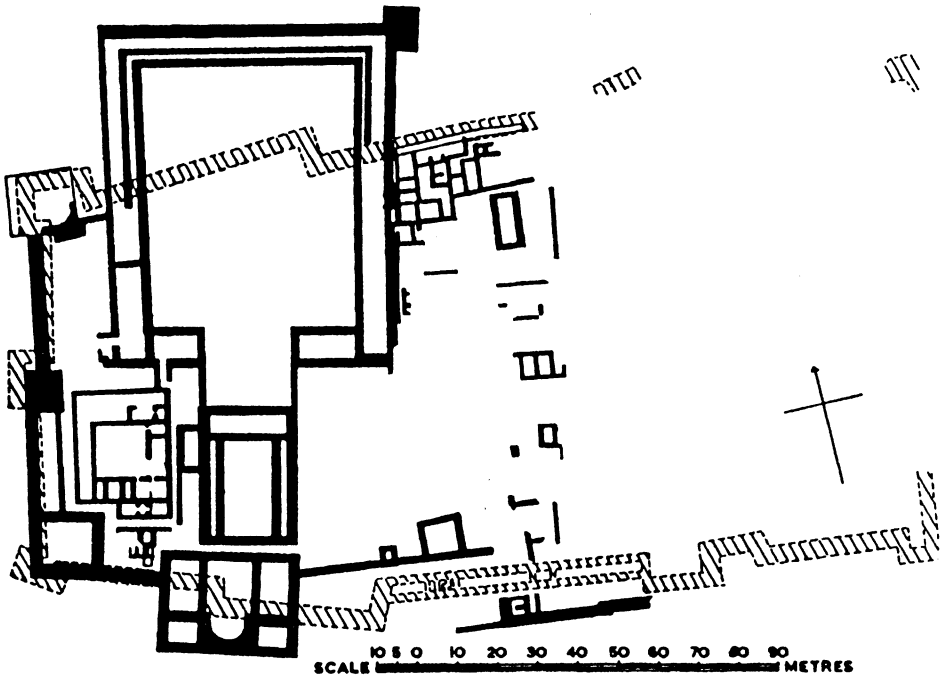


FIG. 2.

at the north end, though this has not been found. The layout of the complex was, moreover, classical and not Semitic. The temple lay at the narrow end of the courtyard, with an altar in front of a flight of steps leading up to a peripteral structure, Hellenistic in plan. Nothing remains of the superstructure. Corinthian capitals in Syrian style¹³ possibly belong to it. The torso of a colossal statue, probably of Augustus, was found.

Of the other monuments "to the fineness of his taste" a forum and a stadium are probably to be identified. The former involved creating a wide platform spanning the east end of the summit of the hill; again only the foundations survive. The latter¹⁴ was created out of a valley on the lower slopes. The infilling of the base of the valley was retained by the town wall on the outer side, and the inner side was cut back deeply into the core of the hill. It was surrounded by a colonnade of the Doric order, and the enclosing wall was covered with stucco painted in panels of red and yellow. Herod's construction of a theatre is recorded for a number of towns. It is very probable that his public buildings at Samaria also included one, but no excavations were carried out beneath the Severan theatre, so this cannot be proved.

Samaria is therefore a monument to Herod's classical taste, as Caesarea no doubt also

¹³ *Samaria-Sebaste*, I, 33.

¹⁴ *Samaria-Sebaste*, I, 41-3.

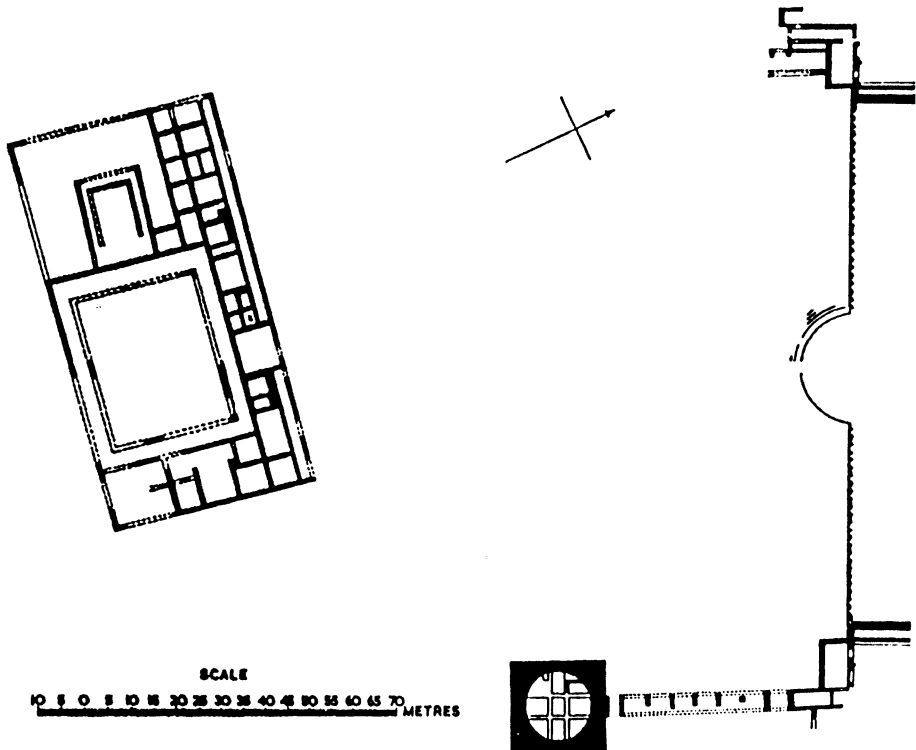


FIG. 3.

was. An even more remarkable example was his palace at Jericho, which is mentioned but not described by Josephus.¹⁵ It is remarkable since in its plan and architecture it is pure Roman, a transplantation to the banks of the Wadi Qelt of a Roman villa¹⁶ (Fig. 3). The evidence for this survives only at the base of the slope. Here there is a monumental façade constructed in *opus reticulatum*, the only known example of the use of this typically Roman building style of the early Imperial period in Syria. The façade, along the whole length of which is a large swimming pool, has a central exedra, flanked by straight lengths of wall ornamented by alternate square-headed and round-headed niches. At either end monumental staircases on arches of *opus reticulatum* led up the hill, that to the south to a mound with a tower on its top. It is highly probable that a series of similar façades supported terraces climbing up the hill, in the manner, for instance, of Praeneste, though less steeply. Erosion has, however, removed all evidence. At the top of the slope there was a building on a large scale. Its orientation differs from that of the façade. It survives only as trench-built

¹⁵ War, I, 21, 4.

¹⁶ A.A.S.O.R., XXIX-XXX, XXXII-XXXIII.

foundations, and its date was not satisfactorily established by excavation. It is, however, probable that this was Herod's palace.

Herod thus busied himself with the construction of Romanized cities and villas. He was, however, always conscious of the insecurity of his position due to the latent hostility of the Jews, and his fortresses were strategically placed on the hill. Above his palace at Jericho was the fortress Cypros.¹⁷ Twenty-one miles to the north in the Jordan valley he refortified the Hellenistic fort of Alexandrium. On the east side of the Dead Sea he built Machaerus. For none of these is there archaeological evidence. The most spectacular of his fortresses in central Palestine is Herodium, today visible from far away as a volcano-like cone of which the upper part is a great artificial mound. The summit was reached by a flight of two hundred steps of polished stone, and was fortified by towers. Inside were "royal and very rich apartments".¹⁸ The excavations of the site were unsatisfactory, but it would seem that the architecture of the interior building was Roman, and included a bath-building on Roman plan.

The most dramatic of Herod's fortresses is Masada.¹⁹ It is dramatic from its situation, surrounded by almost vertical cliffs in the desert hills above the Dead Sea, from its use by the Zealots in their last stand against the Romans in A.D. 73, and from the fact that on this inaccessible crag Herod built two palaces with many of the refinements of Roman architecture. On the summit of the hill was a large palace, covering an area of c. 36,000 square feet. For the most part only the rubble core of the walls survived, but there were a number of fragments of excellent mosaic pavements with elaborate patterns in multi-coloured tesserae. Scattered over the summit were a number of other palace villas, presumably for members of Herod's family, great storerooms, baths, and a synagogue. The most remarkable evidence of Herod's transplantation of Roman architecture to the Judean desert came from a narrow lower terrace at the northern point of the hill. In the manner familiar from Jerusalem and Samaria, Herod built up the lower tip of this terrace with retaining walls up to 80 ft. high. On it he constructed a bath-building in which he could relax well away from all other inhabitants of the fortress, with a view over the Dead Sea to the mountains of Moab. The luxury of the architectural detail is fascinating. On the summit of Masada even Herod could not build in the ashlar of Jerusalem or Samaria. The walls are of rubble, covered in stucco and painted in panels to represent ashlar, or in places coloured to represent a veneer of marble (Pl. IV). Pilasters made of soft stone were covered with plaster moulded in flutings and crowned by Corinthian capitals likewise coated with coloured plaster. Only in the lower terrace do these architectural details survive. On the one above was a circular building represented by two concentric foundation walls, which clearly formed part of the same area of relaxation, though its precise function is uncertain. Above again was a small dwelling area, probably amplifying the suite of Herod's private apartments. The luxuries of Roman civilization established on this forbidding mountain in the austere Judean desert are a most remarkable achievement.

Herod, therefore, was responsible for bringing Palestine into the ambit of Rome. It is one of the lacunae in Palestinian history that we know little in detail about the architecture

¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVI, 5, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XV, 9, 4.

¹⁹ Y. Yadin, *Masada*.

and culture of the country in the three centuries that intervene before the Byzantine and Christian period. There is no historian comparable with Josephus to provide the detailed literary evidence, and too little archaeological evidence, in the circumstances described at the beginning of this article, is available as a substitute. Many of Herod's sites suffered grievously in the revolts of the Jews against Rome which began in A.D. 66 and A.D. 130. Herodian Masada and Herodian Jericho disappear until the Byzantine period, though at least in the case of the latter fuller evidence might fill in the gap.

As the centre of Jewish resistance to Rome, Herodian Jerusalem suffered almost complete destruction in its capture by Titus in A.D. 70 in the later stages of the First Revolt. Evidence of this destruction is very clear in the southern part of the original town.²⁰ The area was never re-occupied. But almost more disastrous to ancient Jerusalem was the decision of Hadrian, c. A.D. 135, after the Second Revolt, to obliterate Jerusalem by the establishment on its ruins of a Roman colonia Aelia Capitolina. Little of the archaeological evidence of this has been recovered. It is certain that the southern part of pre-Titus Jerusalem, including the Davidic town and that of the expansion to the south of Herod Agrippa, was outside the area of Aelia, and was used as a quarry for stones for Hadrian's city.²¹

The obliteration of the northern part of the Herod Agrippa town was equally drastic, with a new and Roman lay-out. It is probable that the line of the walls of Aelia was approximately that of those of the present Old City. The only certain point is provided by the Damascus Gate, where the gate of Herod Agrippa was rebuilt or completed by Hadrian, with an inscription of the period on the capstone of the eastern archway. On this focal point was laid out a Roman city with the normal grid of streets. The outline of this is still visible in the present street plan, but the Roman level is many feet below the present one, and very little in the way of detail has been established. The main north-south axis is followed today by a main street as far as its intersection with what must have been the main Roman east-west axis with a gate in the position of the present Jaffa Gate. The north-south street was lined with colonnades, shown on the Madaba map, and the bases of a few of the columns are still in position. Part of the entrance to a temple on the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre has been uncovered. An eastern gate in the position of the present St. Stephen's Gate can be inferred from the discovery of part of a triumphal arch beneath the Convent of the Sisters of Zion which must have spanned the road from that gate. Other present streets conform approximately to the same grid pattern. Clearly there was a ruthless replanning. There was probably also a ruthless levelling-over, evening out the ruins and valleys of the Herodian town. Evidence for this was found to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where a fill of 35 feet was inserted to fill in a low area.²² Incorporated in the fill was a massive drain, running east to join the main Roman drain that has been located on the north-south axis. The obliteration of Semitic Jerusalem by the Romans was absolute. Only the platform of the Temple on the eastern hill and a tower of Herod's palace on the western hill stood up above the new level.

The towns of the north and of the coastal plain were not so much involved in the revolts

²⁰ *P.E.Q.*, 1963, 18-19; 1964, 14-15; 1965, 9-10.

²¹ *P.E.Q.*, 1966, 88.

²² *P.E.Q.*, 1964, 14.

of the Jews, and did not suffer the same destruction. Caesarea and Askalon could no doubt provide evidence for the developed Romanization of Palestine in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., but the archaeological evidence is inadequate.

It is in fact only at Samaria that archaeology has recovered the evidence of a development in which it is very probable that the main Roman cities of Palestine shared. Septimius Severus, Emperor A.D. 193–211, is best known architecturally for his magnificent constructions in his North African homeland, at Leptis and Sabratha. His work at Samaria was on an almost equally grandiose scale. He started by establishing a completely new axis of approach from the west. The original road to the summit from the west gate has not been found, but is likely to have wound round the north side of the hill. Severus drastically altered the contours of the hill to provide a more direct approach. He laid out a colonnaded street running due east from the gate by making a deep cutting through the flank of the original hill. Many of the monolithic columns lining the street are still standing; originally they must have numbered about six hundred, an indication of the scale of the enterprise. It is only at the eastern end that the modern village has obscured the junction of the street with the Forum on the summit to which it must have provided access. Lining the streets were rows of shops, on the southern side with apsidal ends cut back into the slope of the hill. Every public building seems to have been rebuilt, all in characteristic style usually with monolithic columns and the use of a hard grey limestone.²³ The Temple of Augustus seems to have been completely reconstructed, as were the adjacent buildings. Nothing of the superstructure of the Forum has survived, but to this period belongs the construction along its western side of the Basilica, many of the monolithic columns of which are still standing. The theatre nearby belongs to this period;²⁴ it may even belong in origin to it, as an underlying Herodian theatre is an hypothesis only. The stadium was completely reconstructed at a higher level, with monolithic columns and Corinthian capitals taking the place of the earlier Doric order, in which the columns were built up of drums.

There is no reason to suppose that the buildings at Samaria received any greater attention at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. than those of any of the other important towns. Caesarea, Askalon, Beth-shan, and others are likely to provide similar evidence of the development of provincial Romanization. Jerusalem would have shown the same development, but it is most improbable that evidence survives.

In this article, the origins of the Romanization are ascribed to Herod the Great. There is no doubt that the underlying Hellenistic tradition played a considerable part in the art and architecture of his period, as it did in the whole of Rome's eastern empire. Nevertheless, Herod had a deliberate aim of creating cities in the classical style, as Josephus abundantly records. At Caesarea and probably Askalon he created new towns. At Samaria he swept away whole quarters of the pre-existing town to provide public buildings to the Roman taste and a temple to Augustus. At Jericho and Masada he constructed buildings for his own use in completely Roman style. At Jerusalem he could not change the character of the city, but he made a most radical change in its somewhat ramshackle appearance. Standard Roman cities appear in Jerusalem with Hadrian and in Samaria and probably elsewhere with Septimius Severus, but Herod was responsible for the beginnings of Roman Palestine.

²³ *Samaria-Sebaste*, I, 35.

²⁴ *Samaria-Sebaste*, I, 35–6.