THE HELLENIZATION OF JUDEA UNDER HEROD THE GREAT

by

STEVEN MATTHEW PURTELL

(Under the direction of David S. Williams)

ABSTRACT

This study examines the reign of Herod the Great for evidence indicating that he was a major catalyst in Hellenizing Judea and that this process was one of the major reasons for the success of his reign. Ruling at the crossroads of three cultures (Hellenistic East, Roman, and Judean), Herod walked a fine cultural line in pulling Judea as far towards Athens and Rome as he could possibly manage. Further, Herod sought a Judaism that syncretized these cultures into an acceptable whole, resulting in an elevated status of Judaism in the eyes of the Mediterranean World. In this thesis I will argue that while Hellenism, and resistance to it, was nothing new, Herod renewed that ancient tug-of-war for mastery of the Levant between the East and West. Second, I will examine Herod's own path of instruction in the ways of Hellenization and Roman kingship in relation to Augustus. The previous attempts at Hellenization had built a solid foundation, which allowed Herod to build a monumental period of success for Judea. Third, I will demonstrate that upon assuming the throne, Herod accelerated Roman Hellenizing policies and thus systematically reshaped Judean politics, cultic institutions and architecture.

INDEX WORDS: Herod the Great, Second Temple Judaism, Hellenism, Romanization

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DEDICATION

To my wife, family, mentors and friends.

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Abbreviations

AJ	Josephus, Jewish Antiquities
Apion	Josephus, Against Apion
BJ	Josephus, Jewish War
Dio	Roman History
JC	Jerusalem Cathedra
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
Life	Josephus, Life
Nat Hist	Pliny the Elder, Natural History
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar papers
Tacitus Hist.	Tacitus, History

INTRODUCTION

Herod the Great. His name conjures up images monumental building projects alongside of tales ofbrutal repression and murder. Within the Christian community, Herod became the archetype of evil, most noted where the author of Matthew links him through the slaughter of the innocents to the vile Pharaoh.[1] While this story probably has little grounding in history, Herod did rule Judea with an iron fist and executed those who would threaten him. Yet even the most brutal and repressive tyrants had their supporters and Herod was no different. While oppression and repression certainly had their role and function within the Herodian regime, they alone cannot account for his ability to minimize or quash dissent. Nor can they explain why Herod was so popular with his Roman patrons, his royal neighbors, the Jewish Diaspora, and the myriad cities dotting the Eastern Mediterranean, with whom he had rather friendly relationships.

This study examines the reign of Herod the Great for evidence indicating that he was a major catalyst in Hellenizing Judea and that this process was one of the major reasons for the success of his reign. Herod was an adept political player who knew how to manipulate the political system to his own advantage. He rewarded his friends, eliminated his enemies, and secured his hold on the throne, becoming in the process one of the most important and influential client kings in the Rome Empire.

He was the king who brought Judea, on some societal levels, great economic and political prosperity. He was a magnificent builder, the mastermind behind astounding

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[1] Matthew 2:1-19

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structures such as Masada and the Temple Mount. He rose to great heights of power and authority despite a dubious background and questionable legitimacy among the native Judean populace. This thesis does not seek to whitewash the cruelties of his reign, but seeks to analyze Herod's complex effects on the Hellenization of Judea as a major factor in the success of Herod's kingship.

DISCUSSION OF THE SOURCES

No discussion concerning Herod the Great is possible without a knowledgeable understanding of major sources citing his rule. Modern authors writing about Herod have focused primarily on either the literary evidence, such as Josephus and Nicolaus of Damascus, or on the archaeological record. I will incorporate these along with other material culture to inform and complement one another. This requires a careful consideration of the benefits and weaknesses of each kind of evidence, as well as the shortcomings unique to each type, in order to determine what can be evidenced. This section will briefly introduce the four major types of sources and provide a general overview of how these sources will appear in the study: archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, and literary evidence.

Archaeological Evidence

Herod's name became "Great" due to the extraordinary size and scope of his building projects. Thus, the amount of cultural material from Herod's reign is immense.[2] Major sites in the Levant include Caesarea, Jericho, Herodion, Hebron, Masada,

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[2] The number of sites within Judea that can be attributed to Herod varies depending on which scholar is asked. Duane Roller claims at least thirty sites. Sarah Japp claims twenty-four entries within Judea and five outside of Herod's kingdom. See Duane W. Roller, <u>The Building Program of Herod the Great</u> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Also, Sarah Japp, <u>Die Baupolitik Herodes' Des Grossen : Die Bedeutung Der Architektur FüR Die Herrschaftslegitimation Eines RöMischen KlientelköNigs,</u> Internationale ArchäOlogie (Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf, 2000).

Samaria/Sebaste, Jerusalem, and of course, the Temple Mount. Additionally, Herod's building benevolence also extended into some parts of the diaspora. Many of these sites have been excavated for years by various teams of archaeologists, thus enabling them to create detailed reconstructions and models. These reconstructions, coupled with professional analysis of these building sites, reveals function from a practical as well as aesthetic point of view. Scholars such as Yigal Yadin, Ehud Netzer, Kenneth Holum, Duane Roller, Achim Lichtenberger, and Sarah Japp all have insights on the messages of Herod's building program.[3]

These studies, supplemented by my own visits to these sites, allow me to assess how these sites conveyed messages of Hellenization to Herod's subjects and foreign visitors. When examined within the historical, social and cultural context provided by these literary sources, his architecture can speak loudly about his intentions.

There are caveats associated with the use of archaeological evidence, primarily, the incompleteness and ever-shifting nature of the archaeological record. Many of Herod's buildings remain, yet we are still left with significant gaps in our evidence. Secondly, while buildings can and do have the ability to articulate political messages, those symbolic messages are not explicit and rely on the viewer's immersion in the culture to have their desired effect. Because of these two factors, modern scholars, who

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[3] Yigael Yadin, Masada; Herod's Fortress and the Zealot's Last Stand (New York,: Random House, 1966). Ehud Netzer and Rachel Laureys-Chachy, The Architecture of Herod: The Great Builder (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008).Also, Kenneth G. Holum, King Herod's Dream : Caesarea on the Sea, 1st ed. (New York: Norton, 1988), Ehud Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press : Israel Exploration Society, 2001). Roller, The Building Program of Herod the Great. Lichtenberger, Achim. 1999. "Jesus and the Theater in Jerusalem." In James H. Charlesworth, Jesus and Archaeology (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2006). Edited by J.H. Charlesworth. Grand Rapids 2006. Lieu, Judith. "Not Hellenes but Philistines? The Maccabees and Josephus defining the 'Other.'" JJS 53 (2002)246-263. Liver, J "The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature." HTR 56 (1963) 173-198 . Japp, Die Baupolitik Herodes' des Grossen : die Bedeutung der Architektur für die Herrschaftslegitimation eines Römischen Klientelkönigs

are far removed from the original context of the buildings, can often draw only the most reasonable conclusion based on what evidence remains.

In sum, archaeological evidence, when read in combination with other evidence, can and does offer tremendous insight into the political intentions and even achievements of Herod.

Epigraphic Evidence

Unfortunately, there is not a great amount of this type of evidence, and this is the greatest obstacle to its use. According to Peter Richardson, there are only about nine inscriptions that mention Herod by name, and some of them might be referring to other members of the Herodian family such as Agrippa I.[4] The reason is unknown for this lack of sources and is somewhat surprising. In light of Herod's generosity around the Mediterranean world, we might expect to find a great deal of inscriptions or at least fragments mentioning Herod. Regrettably, there is only speculation regarding the lack of them.

Coupled with this relative dearth of epigraphic evidence is an almost complete lack of any statues depicting the king. While there have been attempts to identify certain statue heads as Herod, most famously one in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, no definitive identifications have been made.[5] Although it is likely that Herod would not have erected statues of himself inside Judea, he might have done so outside. Additionally, it is noteworthy that he never placed his own image on his coins.

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[4] Richardson, Peter. "Religion and Architecture. A Study in Herod's Piety, Power, Pomp and Pleasure." *Bulletin of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies* 45 (1985) 3-29

[5] Harald Ingholt, "A Colossal Head from Memphis, Severan or Augustan?", " Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (1963). 125-142

However, we do have inscriptions from statue bases, and thus it is likely that statues of Herod were attached to them. However, we can only speculate as to why none of his statues survived intact or are currently unable to be identified. Despite their small numbers, these epigraphs demonstrate Herod's benefactions and ascribe titles to him such as Φιλορώμαιος, Εὐσεβης and Φιλοκαίσαρος.[6] Titles such as these place Herod within royal circles of benefactors and enable us to compare and contrast him with others.

Numismatic Evidence

Similar to other kings around the ancient world, Herod struck coins. Though we only have evidence of bronze coins, it is likely he struck other metals. Numismatic scholars have divided these into two types of Herodian bronze coins.[7] The first class, which appears in far greater numbers, possesses a lightweight and low artistic quality. They are classified as undated coins due to the fact that they contain neither a date nor a mintmark. Images on this undated series include: an anchor, a ceremonial table, a *chi* within a diadem, double cornucopiae with a caduceus, a ship with oars, and an eagle. The second class is a dated series that contains a date, mintmark, and are heavier. In this group, *LΓ* (year 3) appears on the left of the reverse on every issue. A monogram, *TP*, also accompanies this date, and it always appears on the right side of the reverse. Every coin of this series has the inscription ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (of King Herod), which starts on the left side below and forms a closed circle. In order to reconcile the obvious

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[6] Φιλορώμαιος (philorṓmaios,) translates as "lover of Rome." Εὐσεβης (eusebes) translates as "Pious". Φιλοκαίσαρος (philokaisaros) translated as "friend of Caesar".Wilhelm Dittenberger and Wilhelm Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae : Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum, 2 vols. (Chicago: Ares, 2001). OGIS, 414, 427.

[7] See Figures 1-3 starting on page 103. Cf Yaakov Meshorer, Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period (Chicago,: Argonaut, 1967).10-12

differences in quality and style between the dated and undated issues, scholars have generally agreed on a two-mint hypothesis.[8]

The coins are an extremely useful source of evidence because they are contemporaneous with Herod and, unlike written sources of the period, they are not susceptible to individual bias. Further, coins were the images seen daily by Herod's subjects and were a central part of his visual public presentation. They articulated political messages and ideas and advertised major accomplishments, crafting an image of the King. Through analysis of these coins, we can reconstruct how Herod and his regime attempted to depict himself and his messages to subjects.

Literary Sources

The preponderance of our information on Herod and his regime comes from literary sources. These authors can be divided into two categories: First, authors who wrote historical treatises that dealt exclusively or significantly with Herod, primarily Josephus and his source, Nicolaus of Damascus, and second, authors whose works offer scattered references to Herod and his regime.

Additionally, the first category includes both Ptolemy the Historian and Strabo, who wrote a history in addition to his *Geography*. Both historical texts, however, are not complete and they survive only in fragments. Further, the fragments that do survive do not add much to our knowledge of Herod and his regime. For instance, the fragment of

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[8] Yaakov Meshorer, <u>Ancient Jewish Coinage</u>, 2 vols. (Dix Hills, N.Y.: Amphora Books, 1982). 11-12, 17-18. Further, Meshorer notes that the scholarly consensus is that there were two Herodian mints, one that produced lightweight coins of relatively low quality and with numerous mistakes and errors in minting, and another, which produced heavier coins of relatively high quality and regular lettering

Ptolemy does not even discuss Herod. Instead, it speaks about the conversion of the Idumaeans to Judaism.[9]

The other category of historical sources comprises those texts where Herod and his reign appear only in passing comments. Appian, Cassius Dio, Plutarch, and Strabo in his *Geography* all make references to Judea and its monarch, but most of these references are a sentence or paragraph at most. Given the brevity with which they discuss Herod, it is difficult to gather much specific information from these sources. At best, they supplement Josephus and Nicolaus, and at worst, they distort historical reality with errors of historical fact and interpretation. For example, Strabo, in his *Geography*, seems to confuse Herod with his father, Antipater, and even claims that Herod was a High Priest, a position he could have never occupied.[10] Further, there is literary material such as the Psalms of Solomon and the Dead Sea Scrolls that were reflective of segments of society during Herod's reign.

Josephus and His Sources

By far the most discussed sources for the reign of Herod the Great are the two voluminous works of Flavius Josephus, *Jewish War* (ca. 75-79 CE) and *Jewish Antiquities* (ca. 93-94 CE). *Jewish War* covers the period from the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes to Titus Caesar's return to Italy following the destruction of the Temple in 70

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[9] Ptolemy's history survives as a fragment copied by Ammonius into his work, "*Concerning the Difference of Related Words.*" *Ammonius and Pre-1801 Imprint Collection (Library of Congress), AmmōNiou Peri HomoiōN Kai DiaphorōN LexcōN. Ammonius De Adfinium Vocabulorum Differentia. Accedunt Opuscula Nondum Edita: Eranius Philo, De Differentia Significationis; Lesbonax, De Figuris Grammaticis; Incerti Scriptores, De Soloecismo & Barbarismo; Lexicon De Spiritibus Dictionum, Ex Operibus Tryphonis, Choerobosci, Theodoriti, Etc. Selectum. Ammonium, Ope Ms. Primae Editionis Aldinae, & Aliunde, Emaculavit & Notis Illustravit, Reliqua Ex Codd. Mss. Bibilothecae Lugduno-Batavae, Nunc Primum Vulgavit Ludovicus Casparus Valckenaer* (Lugduni Batavorum,: J. Luzac). Pg 243.

[10] Strabo, Horace Leonard Jones and J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, Geography, Loeb Classical Library, 8 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917).16.2.4

CE. *Jewish Antiquities* begins with a retelling of the whole Torah and ends right before the outbreak of the Great Jewish Revolt in Judea.

Two problems arise when attempting to bridge the centuries between when Josephus wrote and modernity. First, Josephus was not a modern historian. Second, Josephus relies heavily on Nicolaus of Damascus for the period before his time. Josephus was certainly in the middle of the events during the Great Jewish Revolt (66-70 CE), but was born about forty years after the death of Herod the Great.[11] Obviously, with any gap in time, errors and exaggerations in the narrative are possible. There are a few mitigating factors. First, Josephus had access to excellent sources such as Nicolaus, Ptolemy the Historian, and Strabo. He also appears to have had some access to Herod's memoirs. Further, Josephus seems to have had a friendly relationship with King Agrippa II, Herod's great-grandson. Indeed, Josephus claims that Agrippa wrote sixty-twoletters praising the veracity of *Jewish War*.[12] Although Agrippa may have been dead by the time *Antiquities* was published, it is not impossible that Josephus solicited information from him concerning his great-grandfather and his reign.

Ascertaining Josephus

Because of the centrality of Josephus, and his source Nicolaus, any serious study of Herod must involve an evaluation and method for reading these sources. While a complete methodology is beyond the scope of this thesis, I will be using Josephus in a way that is consistent with the general picture that has emerged from the scholarship of

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[11] Felix Jacoby, Die Fragmente Der Griechischen Historiker <v. 2, pts. B-C ; vols. (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1993).Pg 136

[12] Flavius Josephus and Steve Mason, Life of Josephus (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003). *Vita 5*, pg 364-366

Josephus. I will highlight Tessa Rajak's assessment on Josephus' depiction of Herod in *War* and *Antiquities* as exemplifying the picture of Josephan scholarship.[13]

Rajak rightly notes that two portraits emerge: the relatively positive portrait that emerges from *War* and a more negative counterpart from *Antiquities*. In *War*, Josephus presents Herod's *bios* following a similar pattern of the Hellenistic "lives of great men" genre, exemplified by Plutarch's *Lives*. However, in *Antiquities*, the narrator attempts to remain analytic, with Josephus writing in the manner of Thucydides, with speeches and documents highlighting the narrative.

Rajak also notes that Josephus exhibits a distinct bias in his portrait of Herod. In *Antiquities*, Josephus saw himself as the historian of the last Herodian ruler, Agrippa II, and his view may therefore reflect more of Agrippa's view. Additionally, Josephus had both personal and public reasons for his negative view of Herod and the Herodian Family. Josephus regarded himself as a Hasmonean who clearly deplored Herod's rise to power. As a self-described priest, Josephus was likewise repelled by Herod's deplorable treatment of the high priesthood and its public status.

Despite these reasons for bias in Josephus' portrait of Herod, on the whole, Flavius Josephus was a mature and competent historian compared to his contemporaries. He was fully immersed in Greco-Roman historiography and used classical motifs and allusions not just as window-dressing, but also as an integral part of his presentation. He was writing for a local Roman audience that was composed of non-Jewish, Greek-speaking individuals who were positively inclined towards Jews and Judaism. In a larger

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[13] This view is adapted from a reading of Tessa Rajak, <u>Josephus : The Historian and His Society</u>, 2nd ed. (London: Duckworth, 2002).

sense, his goals in *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities* were to rehabilitate Judaism's image in a Hellenistic world that had become extremely hostile to it.

Thus the question must be asked: how useful is Josephus as a historical source? In the first place, we must acknowledge that despite any scholarly misgivings about Josephus as a reliable source, he remains the only major source for this period. However, we should not blindly accept everything he says. As previous scholars have persuasively shown, Josephus' own interests and rhetoric are extremely influential on his presentation of the material, and it is essential that we keep these goals and rhetorical strategies in mind when reading him. Although Josephus as a source does have some limitations, overall he still seems remarkably accurate in his general account. As a native Judean, his frequent geographical asides are generally trustworthy,[14] although some of the details are not.[15] Both archaeological evidence and the few separate remarks from other contemporary sources substantiate much of what he wrote about Jerusalem and Judea.[16] His knowledge of Jewish Law[17] and his description of the Temple seem trustworthy,[18] as are his knowledge of the Roman army and the major events of the Jewish War. This is not surprising since he had access to both the official Roman archives and the

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[14] Per Bilde, "The Geographical Excursuses in Josephus," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman World: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith,* Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers eds. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994)247-262.

[15] Zev Safrai, "The Description of the Land of Israel in Josephus' Works," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History,* Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata eds. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) 295-324.

[16] Magen Broshi, "The Credibility of Josephus," *JJS* 33 (1982) 379-384; Benjamin Mazar, "Josephus Flavius and the Archaeological Excavations in Jerusalem," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History,* Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata eds. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) 325-329.

[17] David M. Goldenberg, "*Antiquities* IV, 277 and 288, Compared with Early Rabbinic Law," *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity,* Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata eds. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987)198-211.

[18] Lee I. Levine, "Josephus' Description of the Jerusalem Temple: War, Antiquities, and Other Sources," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco Roman World: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith,* Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 233-246.

commentaries of Titus and Vespasian. Further, Mariam Ben Zeev has shown that many

of the decrees and letters from foreign rulers that Josephus quotes in the *Antiquities* are

generally reliable.[19] Thus, while Josephus may not always be accurate in the details, his

level of reliability remains relatively high.

In conclusion, we only have the sources that exist. While we can wish that a

complete manuscript of Nicolaus' *History* or a lost copy of Herod's memoirs might

surface, we are left with Josephus. If one rejects him entirely or is too skeptical of his

reliability, then there is little that anyone can say about Herod and his regime. On the

other hand, if we read Josephus with some caveats for details, and in conjunction with

other sources, we can begin to reveal a clearer, more complex picture of Herod.[20]

CONCEPTS AND TERMINOLOGY

Herod's Success

In order to label Herod the Great as a "successful" or "effective" ruler, it is necessary that

we determine exactly what these terms meant in Greco-Roman Judea.[21] To determine

this, I have focused on the following criteria: first, a long reign; second, a relatively

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[19] Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, Jewish Rights in the Roman World : The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Joseph Flavius, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998).

[20] For fuller discussion on these topics, I found these books insightful: Stewart Perowne, The Life and Times of Herod the Great (New York,: Abingdon Press, 1959), Samuel Sandmel, Herod; Profile of a Tyrant, 1st ed. (Philadelphia,: Lippincott, 1967), Michael Grant, Herod the Great (London,: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), Peter Richardson, Herod : King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans, Personalities of the New Testament, 1st Fortress Press ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999).

[21]While it is likely that Herod, and certainly his sons, would have been exposed to Plato's *Republic* or Aristotle's *Politics* among other writings, I purposely avoid philosophical or moral criteria in my evaluation of a successful reign. For more on Herod in light of Plato and Aristotle, see Adam Kolman Marshak, " Herod the Great and the Power of Image : Political Self-Presentation in the Herodian Dynasty, " Ph D, Yale University, 2008. Ch 5.

peaceful and stable reign culminating in a death from natural causes; third, the ability of a king to pass on his dominion to heirs.

First, I have chosen these three because they are logical indicators of success. While an early death might be simply a matter of chance and thus is not always an indication of failure, having a long and stable reign necessitated a large degree of success. If a ruler could not govern properly, it was likely that his reign would be short, considering the number of usurpers to the throne.

The second criterion is also predicated on reason. Since the usual goal and duty of any ruler is to protect his citizenry and territory, a general absence of war and instability would mean he had accomplished this task. I am not claiming that any instability is an immediate sign of failure. Even legendary kings such as David or Solomon experienced some sort of rebellion. However, the ability to control these periodic uprisings and keep the country's territorial integrity intact was the mark of a good ruler.

The final criterion, passing on the kingdom to a chosen heir, was a difficult task in the ancient world. If one achieved a high level of peace and stability, it would not be too difficult for the designated heir to take the throne. Further, there was a belief in the ancient world that the skills of government could be passed from parent to child.[22] Thus if the parent were successful, his son would have a good chance of receiving the necessary support to inherit his father's throne and kingdom.

It seems clear to me that Herod achieved all three of these criteria. Although there were minor revolts and riots during his reign, no major revolution occurred, and he rarely experienced defeat in the wars he fought. Herod also ruled for a considerable length of

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[22] Philo *Leg.* 10.54-56

time, more than thirty-three years. Few Roman emperors lasted as long. Finally, Herod was able to pass his kingdom on to his heirs. Although the kingdom split into three areas and did lose certain cities such as Gaza, Herod himself determined this division. The only major change Augustus made to Herod's will was the granting of the title *ethnarch* rather than king to Archelaus with the opportunity for him to receive the title of king in the future if he deserved it. Ultimately, he did not earn it.

Hellenization, Romanization and Judaism

One of the challenges to this thesis is deciding what evidences something as "Hellenization" and/or "Romanization" and to what extent they affected local cultures. Additionally, one must be wary in defining and contextualizing the term "Judaism." Various scholars have weighed in on these subjects.

Hellenization and Romanization

In this section I will explore various scholars' definitions and connotations of the words "Hellenization" and "Romanization."

W.W. Tarn notes that it is "practically impossible to arrive at an all-encompassing definition of Hellenism."[23] Further, he notes that the term is often used to include what is more accurately described as Hellenistic culture. Those who would use the term in such a general way would also include the culture, which developed out of it until the rise of Byzantine culture. Additionally, Tarn sees Hellenism in two phases. The first phase was an extension of Greco-Macedonian culture into the East and the second was a philosophy imitated by the Romans and forced upon the East.

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[23] W. W. Tarn, <u>Hellenistic Civilisation</u>, 3d ed. (London,: E. Arnold, 1952). 2-4

Victor Tcherikover, building off Tarn's work, further sub-divides Greco-Macedonian Hellenism into, among others, Syrian Hellenism.[24] Tcherikover sees Syrian Hellenism as a distinct category from its parent in that was largely preoccupied with form over content. Its speech, nomenclature, and architecture were generally Greek, but overall Syrian Hellenism rejected its philosophy.

In Martin Hengel's transformative book, *Judaism and Hellenism*, he notes that the application of the terms Hellenism and Judaism is too broad to be meaningful. Hengel states, "It says too much, and precisely because of that it says too little."[25]

G.W. Bowersock agrees with Hengel that Hellenization is a "useless barometer for assessing Greek culture, because it implies a total replacement of a local culture, for this rarely occurred."[26] However, Bowersock prefers the term "Hellenism" as it is more easily definable into a matrix, which includes language, philosophy, mythology, images and religion among others. For him these constitute an "extraordinary flexible medium of both cultural and religious expression."[27]

Lee Levine sees Hellenism as the "cultural milieu of Hellenistic, Roman and—to a more limited extent—Byzantine periods."[28] In addition, he views "Hellenization" as "the process of adoption and adaption of this culture on a local level."[29] He also sees the

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[24] Avigdor Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews (Philadelphia,: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1966).116.

[25] Martin Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism : Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period, 1st American ed., 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974).54

[26] G. W. Bowersock, Hellenism in Late Antiquity, Jerome Lectures (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), Bowersock, Hellenism in Late Antiquity. xi

[27] Bowersock, Hellenism in Late Antiquity. 7

[28] Lee I. Levine, Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity, The Samuel & Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).16

[29] Levine, Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity.16-17

degree of receptivity varying from region to region and from class to class.[30] Further,

Levine emphasizes the importance of chronology, noting that evidence of Hellenism

increases with the passing of each century.

John M.G. Barclay focuses on the above terms in relation to the diaspora.[31] He

defines "Hellenism" as a fusion of cultures after Alexander, characterizing it as "a

common urban culture in the Eastern Mediterranean, founded on the Greek language . . .

typically expressed in certain political and educational institutions and largely maintained

by the social elite."[32] He argues that Jews might engage Hellenism in one area of life

while ignoring it in others. Similar to Bowersock, Barclay lists several identifying "areas"

of Hellenistic culture: political, social, linguistic, educational, ideological, religious, and

material culture.[33] He notes the variety of impacts on Judaism, which Jews in one locale

might engage in one area, while not in another area. Moreover, Barclay advocates and

uses sociological methods and conceptions of assimilation, acculturation, and

accommodation. He applies these models to Judaism and Hellenism in various locales,

while paying attention to class difference.

Mark Chancey also notes that the interactions among Greeks, Romans, and

indigenous cultures in the ancient world are too complex for any one model to be valid.[34]

Chancey unpacks the ideological baggage that all three terms entails, yet still advocates

using these terms as a convenient short-hand despite their shortcomings. For instance, he

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[30] Levine, Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity. 22

[31] John M. G. Barclay, Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora : From Alexander to Trajan (323 Bce - 117 Ce) (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).

[32] Barclay, Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora : From Alexander to Trajan (323 Bce - 117 Ce).88

[33] Barclay, Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora : From Alexander to Trajan (323 Bce - 117 Ce).90-98

[34] Mark A. Chancey, Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). 14

notes that in the most obvious sense "Hellenism" refers to the presence of Greek culture.

Chancey further advocates a broad definition of Hellenization and Romanization:

"Hellenization . . . denotes the process, in all their variety of interactions between Greek,

Roman and local cultures . . . without implying the erasure of local culture."[35] Further,

Chancey lists several important implications that will help scholars avoid pitfalls

associated with these terms. The most important aspects of culture he examined are:

architecture, language, numismatics, education, philosophy, economics, and technology,

although other significant areas also exist.[36]

Judaism

Similar to the above discussion on Hellenization and Romanization, the term

"Judaism" is not a unified consensus term used by scholars. Two major scholarly views

have emerged regarding the use of this term.[37] The first sees Second Temple Period

Judaism as an independent and self-compartmentalized phenomenon. This view

effectively separates each "sect" of "Judaism" from one another, historically and

contemporarily. The second sees "Judaism" as a complex and historical process where

each sect is not hermetically sealed apart from others.

My usage of this term will reflect the second view. Further, I will embrace E.P.

Sanders' argument for "Common Judaism." This is a Judaism that shares similar praxes

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[35] Chancey, Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus. 14

[36] Chancey, Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus.14-16

[37] For further discussion on these views and the use of the term "Judaism" see Gabriele Boccaccini, Middle Judaism : Jewish Thought, 300 B.C.E. To 200 C.E (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991). Also, Lawrence H. Schiffman, From Text to Tradition : A History of Second Temple and Rabbinic Judaism (Hoboken, N.J.: Ktav Pub. House, 1991). Shaye J. D. Cohen, From the Maccabees to the Mishnah, Library of Early Christianity, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987).

of covenantal monotheism, continuity with the history of Israel, Sabbath observance, circumcision, and dietary restriction.[38]

Conclusion

In sum, my thesis rests on the assumption that, to a varying degree, many developments within the spectrum of Judaism during the Second Temple Period can be interpreted against a growing background of Hellenistic Roman influence: for example, the increasing emphasis on ritual purity, as demonstrated by the rising use of stone vessels and ritual baths; sectarianism; revitalization and revivalist movements; and of course, the events leading up to the two Jewish revolts. I will investigate to the extent possible the Hellenization of Judea from the starting point of the Hasmoneans to its acceleration under Herod the Great, while keeping at the forefront the limitations noted by Chancey: "There is no shortage of questions about Greco-Roman culture and Judaism . . . but there is a practical limit to what any one project can do."[39]

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[38] E. P. Sanders, Judaism : Practice and Belief, 63 Bce-66 Ce (Philadelphia PA: Trinity Press International, 1992). 33-48.

[39] Chancey, Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus. 21-22

HELLENIZATION OF JUDEA UNDER THE HASMONEANS

In this chapter I will argue that the Hasmoneans could be Jewish Kings, while at the same time actively adopting the norms of Hellenism in political rule. The Hasmonean rule, in turn, literally laid the foundations for a paradigm for Herod's rule and his building program. Thus, Herod was able to bring Hellenistic changes, monumental and enduring changes, to Judaism and Judea. Additionally, I will show that in this period Hellenism was being continually dissolved inseparably into Judean life. While Hellenism had already made significant inroads in Judea prior to the Maccabean revolt, the process itself has been a point of scholarly contention. A minority of scholars, such as Louis Feldman, argue for a minimalist approach regarding the extent of Hellenism in pre-Maccabean Judea. The majority of scholars agree in principle with Martin Hengel that Hellenism significantly influenced Judea prior to the Maccabean revolt and that it was not only being forced upon Judea from the outside, but it was also welcomed by a section of the population from within. [40] Josephus blames this segment of Jews for the attempt to Hellenize his people.[41] Tcherikover is of the opinion that Hellenization was due more to the internal cooperation of Jewish Hellenizers than of Syrian determination to force the issue.[42] This segment of Hellenized Jews was instrumental in Herod's Hellenization efforts.

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[40] Hengel, Judaism and Hellenism : Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period.

[41] AJ 12.384.

[42] Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews. 117-118.

Diplomacy with Gentiles

Although the Hasmoneans uttered an isolationist and anti-Gentile political rhetoric, the reality was far more complex. From the time of Judah Maccabee down to Mattathias Antigonus, the Hasmoneans interacted with Gentile city-states. First and foremost, they rose to power through a suzerain-vassal treaty with the Seleucids. Additionally, the Hasmoneans actively sought alliance with other non-Jewish states, including Rome and Sparta.[43]

At the beginning of the revolt, the Maccabees were comparatively weak, and their area of influence did not extend very far beyond Jerusalem and its rededicated Temple. This is evidenced by the army of Antiochus V Eupator, which forced Judah and his men to flee Jerusalem soon after they had taken the city.[44] Further, the Hasidim and other major factions within the Maccabee alliance broke off and allied with the Seleucid ruler Alcimus in 162 BCE.[45]

The death of Judah Maccabee in 160 BCE dealt a severe blow to the movement. More defeats followed, as well as a wane in influence with the inhabitants of Palestine, resulting in an all-time low of political influence.[46] However, fortunes trended upwards when Jonathan Maccabee slowly began accumulating victories and thus influence. The real turning point came in 152 BCE, when the Seleucid leader Alexander Balas offered Jonathan the high priesthood in exchange for his support against Balas' rival Demetrius

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[43] 1 Maccabees 8:17-32, 12:1-23, 15:15-24. Also, Flavius Josephus and H. St J. Thackeray, Jewish Antiquities, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998). 12.415-419, 13.163-170.

[44] 1 Macc. 6:48-54; AJ 12.375-383

[45] 1 Macc. 7:13-18; *AJ* 12.395-39

[46] 1 Macc. 9:23-27; *AJ* 13.1-5

I.[47] From this point until the death of Antiochus VIII in 129 BCE, the Hasmoneans served as high priests under the Seleucids.[48] First Jonathan and then his brother Simon used the civil wars of various Seleucid rivals to confirm their position as high priest and gain more powers and privileges. The Hasmoneans also exploited the Seleucid civil wars to expand their territory. [49]

In addition to interactions with their Seleucid overlords, the Hasmoneans also engaged in local diplomacy. For example, during the civil wars, Aristobulus II sought the aid of Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, who married Aristobulus' daughter.[50] When Hyrcanus II needed help retaking Jerusalem, he called upon his ally Aretas III, the King of Nabataea.[51] Unfortunately, Hyrcanus' friendship with the Nabateans, specifically their new King Malichus II, was the pretext Herod used to execute Hyrcanus in 30 BCE.[52]

These relationships illustrate how well-integrated the Hasmoneans were into the circle of regional politics. They established and maintained friendships with their neighbors like every other Hellenistic regent.

Use of Honorary Inscriptions

While the Hasmoneans were engaging with neighboring Hellenistic regents, they were also adapting to the political norms of Hellenistic kingship. This accommodation to Hellenism is exemplified by the decree presented to Simon Maccabee in 143 BCE. This

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[47] 1 Macc. 10:16-20; *AJ* 13.43-4

[48] 1 Macc. 10:51-66; AJ13.83-85. Also, Erich S. Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism : The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition, Hellenistic Culture and Society (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1998). Pg 17.

[49] Doron Mendels, The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism, The Anchor Bible Reference Library, 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1992). 81-105.

[50] AJ 14.126

[51] AJ14.14-21, 29-33

[52] AJ 15.165-178

decree, found in 1 Maccabees 14:25-49, is unique in the Jewish context, but it is comparable to other Hellenistic royal decrees. Its inclusion in the text likely derives from an actual decree, although the text has likely been shaped before its embedding into the narrative.[53] The larger narrative suggests that the Greek and Roman letters of decree were to Simon reconfirming their alliance with the Maccabees as well as his recent military victories.[54]

Jan Willem Van Henten compares this decree for Simon Maccabee with four Hellenistic priestly decrees: (1) the Canopus decree of 238 BCE; (2) the Raphia decree of 217 BCE; (3) the Rosetta Stone of 196 BCE; (4) the Alexandria decree of 186 BCE.[55] According to Van Henten, all four of these decrees have the same five-part structure: (a) date; (b) reference to the issuing assembly; (c) motivation for the decision; (d) the decision itself; (e) provisions for publication of the decision.

Among other things, the inscription emphasized the personal sacrifice that Simon and his family had undertaken "in order that their (the Judean) sanctuary and the Law might be preserved." In other words, they fought in defense of the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\sigma\varsigma$ $\pi\sigma\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ of the Judeans.[56] Additionally, the inscription also praised Simon for his personal benefactions to the public good. Simon, acting the role of the royal patron, had funded numerous building projects and other public works out of his own money.[57] Simon also fortified several towns and cities along the Judean borders and, most importantly, he fortified

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[53] Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism : The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition. 34-35.

[54] 1 Macc. 14:16-24; Jan Willem Van Henten, "The Honorary Decree for Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc. 14:25-49) in Its Hellenistic Context," in Collins and Sterling 2001, 129-130.

[55] Van Henten, The Honorary Decree. 122-145

[56] 1 Macc. 14:29. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\iota\sigma\varsigma$ $\pi\sigma\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$, (Patrios Politeia) translates as "the Constitution of the Fathers"

[57] 1 Macc. 14:32. Cf. Van Henten, The Honorary Decree., 127

Jerusalem and increased the height of its walls.[58] Lastly, he defeated the enemies of the

people, expelling them from Judea.[59] For all of this, the Seleucid King Demetrius granted

him power and authority and made him a φιλός.[60] The decree establishes Simon as an

autocrat who held both religious and political power. His decrees could not be revoked,

and he was entitled to wear special clothing available to no other person. Contracts were

made in his name.[61] Simon's role is depicted as that of a father to his people, and the

Jewish state is like his familial estate.[62] Simon's legitimization, as illustrated by the

decree, is a new development in Hellenistic Judaism. It corresponds to a trend in

depicting the ruler's image as illustrated by the Egyptian priestly decrees examined by

Van Henten and Krentz.[63] Similar to the Egyptian kings mentioned in the priestly

decrees, Simon was honored because of his deeds. Thus, like typical Hellenistic kings,

Simon's status was dependent upon his actions and accomplishments; his legitimacy

rested on his ability to fulfill his obligations as ruler.

Simon likely politicked his way into becoming the permanent appointment as

High Priest and Ethnarch. The decree merely confirmed his position as political and

religious leader of Judea. It would seem that this decree was issued in order to legitimate

his position and power and to enhance his status in the eyes of both his subjects and his

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[58] 1 Macc. 14:33-37

[59] 1 Macc. 14:31,36

[60] 1 Macc 14:38-39. φιλός (Philos) translates as "son"

[61] 1 Macc. 14:41-49

[62] Van Henten, The Honorary Decree 132.

[63] Van Henten , The Honorary Decree., 130-132; Krentz, Edgar. "The Honorary Decree for Simon Macabee." in John J. Collins and Gregory Sterling, Hellenism in the Land of Israel, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 2001).

neighboring dynasts, who would have seen Simon behaving as a typical Hellenistic king, regardless of his internal rhetoric.[64]

Greek Names and Symbolism

Given the high level of accommodation and adaptation to Hellenism, it is not surprising that the Hasmonean family eventually took Greek names in addition to their Hebrew ones. This naming pattern began with the sons of John Hyrcanus I, who were named Antigonus, Judah Aristobulus I, and Alexander Jannaeus. After them, there is at least one Alexander (son of Aristobulus II), two men named Aristobulus (son of Alexander Jannaeus and brother of Mariamme), and one Antigonus (Mattathias Antigonus the son of Aristobulus II).[65] The general population did not see the use of Greek names in a negative light. These Greek names appeared on Hasmonean coins along with their Hebrew and Aramaic counterparts.[66] Further, it seems that the Hasmoneans actively used their Greek names in public, and that they were a part of their official titles. The use of such names, which recall famous Greek rulers of the past such as Alexander the Great and the Antigonids, was a conscious move by the Hasmoneans to situate themselves within the milieu of Hellenistic kingship and to argue for the inclusion of the Hasmonean dynasty within the larger Greek world.[67]

We also see the appearance of several high-ranking members of the Hasmoneans' inner circle who bear clearly Greek names. Two of Judah's trusted lieutenants and

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[64] Feldman, Louis. "How Much Hellenism in the Land of Israel?" Review of Hellenism in the Land of Israel. Edited by John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling. JSJ 33 (2002) 290-313.

[65] Tal Ilan, "The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans, " JQR 78 (1987) 1-20.

[66] Meshorer, Ancient Jewish Coinage. 52-55

[67] Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism : The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition. 32-33.

ambassadors to Rome bore Greek names, Eupolemus and Jason.[68] Two of the men

leading Judah's army were named Dositheus and Sosipater.[69] Jonathan and Simon sent

two ambassadors to r\Rome named Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Antipater, son of

Jason.[70] This means that less than twenty years after the Maccabean revolt, the

Hasmonean inner circle contained men whose fathers and themselves bore Greek names.

Such examples prove that the taking of Greek names by members of the Hasmonean

family and by their court meant no change in attitude or ideology.[71]

Besides Greek names, at least one Hasmonean, Aristobulus I, adopted a Greek

epithet as part of his title. According to Josephus, Aristobulus was known as Ὁ

Φιλέλλην.[72] It is unclear whether this was part of his official title or whether others used

it simply to describe him. Nevertheless, the title does suggest an active interest in and

promotion of Hellenism by the Hasmoneans.[73]

Hasmonean Coins

In addition to the use of Greek names and titles, the Hasmoneans also utilized Hellenistic

symbols on their coinage. For instance, one of the most common symbols on Hasmonean

coins was the crossed double cornucopiae. This image appears on at least one coin of

each Hasmonean ruler who minted coins, and is the most prominent image on the coins

of John Hyrcanus I, Judah Aristobulus I and John Hyrcanus II.[74] The cornucopia was one

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[68] 1 Macc. 4:11

[69] 1 Macc. 12:19, 24

[70] AJ 12.239.

[71] Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism : The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition. 32

[72] Ὁ Φιλέλλην (philhellene) translates as "Lover of Greece."
[73] AJ 13.318

[74] Meshorer, Ancient Jewish Coinage. 45-46, 215

of the most commonly used symbols in the Greek world, and it was often associated with

Tyche or Demeter. As a symbol of plenty, the cornucopia was frequently paired with a

poppy head, which was another symbol of fertility.[75] However, on the Hasmonean coins,

the symbol in the middle of the two cornucopiae is not a poppy head but a pomegranate.

Mesheror convincingly argues that the crossed double cornucopiae with a pomegranate in

the middle was an original Hasmonean creation, which was ultimately copied in a civic

issue of Ascalon from the time of Augustus. [76]

Perhaps the most conspicuous Greek symbol on Hasmonean coinage was the

anchor. The anchor was a common symbol on coins of the Hellenistic East. It was the

dynastic symbol of the Seleucids, tracing its origins back to a story about the dynasty's

founder, Seleucus Nicator, having an anchor-shaped birthmark on his thigh.[77] The

anchor was often used to advertise maritime interests, events, conquests, or simply sea

power in general.[78] Jannaeus and other Hasmoneans' open use of coin motifs with clear

Greek influences speaks further to their desire to adapt to the norms of Hellenistic

kingship. Moreover, it illustrates them partaking and taking full part in the wider political

environment of the Hellenistic world.

Paleo-Hebrew Coins

The Hasmoneans sought to establish themselves within Israel's past through their use of

Paleo-Hebrew script on their coins, even though it had not been used since the end of the

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[75] Meshorer, Ancient Jewish Coinage. 33-34

[76] Meshorer, Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period. 22-25

[77] For the story of the birthmark see Justin 15.4. For an in-depth discussion of the coins see Dittenberger and Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae : Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum. 219, 227

[78] David Hendin, David Hendin and Herbert Kreindler, Guide to Biblical Coins (New York: Amphora Books, 1987). 214.

Davidic monarchy and the majority of Judeans could not read it. As Meshorer explains, archaeological evidence has shown that "Aramaic script, also known as the 'square script' or 'Syrian script,' was the most common script during the first century BCE."[79] It was used for writing both Hebrew and Aramaic. More importantly, even if they were not able to read the coin legends, Judeans would certainly have recognized the script as ancient and one that harkened back to the glory years of their Davidic past. Thus, the Hasmoneans leveraged their coinage to claim a symbolic ownership of the past.

Conclusions

Given the importance of the Hasmonean dynasty, especially during Herod's reign, it is not surprising that he would seek to adapt their practices or marry their descendants. The Hasmoneans, despite their somewhat xenophobic and anti-Gentile rhetoric, were fully engaged with the Hellenistic world and adopted many of the norms of Hellenistic kingship. This reality explains why few, especially from the elite class, objected when Herod continued the Hasmonean policy of publically accommodating Hellenism. In the next chapter, I will explore how Herod leveraged these coins in language, but still used the pictography as a symbolic linkage to the Hasmonean and their coins.

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[79] Yaakov Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba.* (Nyack, NY: Amphora, 2001). 40-41 The coinage of the First Jewish Revolt and the Bar Kochba also used paleo-Hebrew for the coin legends. Presumably, the minting authorities, like the Hasmoneans, were evoking the majesty and legitimacy of the Davidic dynasty.

Herod's life, from his youth to his old age, was saturated with Hellenistic culture. This saturation revealed itself in his plan to monumentally Hellenize Judean cultural institutions, primarily in the political, architectural, and religious arenas.

Politics: Herod and the Hasmoneans

The Hasmoneans and Herod shared a dual vision of political methodology: being a Jewish ruler to Jewish subjects, and a Hellenistic ruler to Gentile subjects and to the Gentile world. The difference lies in the roots of the Jewish paradigm; the Hasmoneans looked to the High Priest, whereas Herod to Solomon and the other First Temple Kings. Further, Herod sought to capture the Hasmonean legacy symbolically by his use of coin imagery and literally through his marriage to Mariamme.

Herod, Hasmoneans, and High Priest

The Hasmonean political methodology, especially its theocratic and genetic lineage, was very problematic for Herod's early rule. Herod was not in the priestly lineage and, by Josephus' account, was the son of a commoner.[80] Initially, Herod had to battle several priestly claimants to his throne and ended up marrying a Hasmonean princess to solidify his claim. By marrying Mariamme, niece of the Hasmonean High Priest Hyrcannus II, [81] Herod attempted to secure his legacy in two ways. First, he promoted her brother

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[80] For a full account of Herod's birth see Josephus, AJ 14.78 and BJ 1.181.

[81] AJ 14.467; BJ 1.344

Alexander to High Priest[82], which would enable Herod to be seen as part of the family and closer to the priesthood. Second, he ensured that his future heirs born by Mariamme would be of Hasmonean blood and through them he could guarantee a legitimate legacy and dynasty. These heirs, Alexander and Aristobulus, were given Hasmonean royal names.[83] However, at the Feast of Tabernacles,[84] Herod realized that the Hasmoneans were looking to overthrow him. After the near-disaster of appointing Aristobulus as High Priest, Herod killed any remaining Hasmonean heirs, including his wife, mother-in-law, and sons, for fear that the people might attempt to restore them to the throne. This event may explain Herod's motivations in seeking to de-emphasize the political importance of the priesthood and emphasize the importance of the First Temple Kings.

Hasmonean and Hellenistic Kingship

Along with this theocratic tradition, Herod also inherited a Hellenistic kingship model from the Hasmoneans. While the Hasmoneans and Herod shared this dual vision of political methodology, the difference between them lies in the roots of the Jewish paradigm. The Hasmoneans looked to establish their legitimacy through their priestly lineage. Herod did not have this lineage. Thus, he looked to other biblical figures without priestly lineage, notably David, Solomon, and the other First Temple Kings. Herod also tried to adopt the Hasmonean legacy to gain popular support.

Herod was influenced by Hasmonean politics in several ways. First, King Alexander Jannaeus was a source of inspiration for Herod. Born during the reign of

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[82] AJ 15.31-41, BJ 1.437

[83] An interesting note is that after Herod's conquest of Jerusalem, he took the royal decorations of the Hasmonean kings and gave them to Mark Antony as a gift. This was given along with war spoils from Antony's other political foes. See AJ 15.5

[84] I will discuss this event in fuller detail later. Josephus records the events of that feast in AJ 15.3

Alexander Janneaus, Herod was probably greatly influenced by his accomplishments. Jannaeus' achievements, such as extending his kingdom through conquests on the Mediterranean coast and in Transjordan, along with his elevated status in the Hellenistic world, likely became a measuring stick for Herod.

Coins and Kingship

In a similar vein, Herod minted coins sharing Hasmonean symbols. These symbols were to emphasize the continuity of his reign with theirs. Many of these coins show the anchor on one side and the double cornucopiae on the reverse. The message of the double cornucopiae is obvious. As a successor to the Hasmoneans, Herod felt empowered to depict their heraldic symbol. Herod's legitimacy was tied to the Hasmonean dynasty, which Herod continued through his marriage to Mariamme and the birth of their children. The Greek inscription on the coin within the wreath read, "Of King Herod," clearly indicating that he, and not the Hasmoneans, was the master.[85]

Architecture and Kingship

Herod also laid claim to the Hasmonean legacy through his architecture. In his early reign, Herod was more concerned with strengthening his hold over the country. Because of this, his building program focused primarily upon fortresses and aggrandizing them into fortified palaces, many of which were built upon pre-existing Hasmonean foundations.[86] Through these fortresses, Herod could control large areas of territory while simultaneously providing himself with strategic places of refuge atop plateaus. Nevertheless, despite this emphasis on modernizing Hasmonean sites, Herod still

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[85]For a fuller description see Meshorer, Ancient Jewish Coinage. 26-27

[86] For Josephus' commentary on Herod's building program see *BJ* 1.401-421

commissioned a few large original palaces. Both his desert fortresses and these original palaces illustrate his attempts to evoke continuity with the Hasmoneans through architectural design.[87]

A major part of Herod's early building program was the renovation and reconstruction of old Hasmonean fortresses like Alexandrion and Hyrcania.[88] The Hasmoneans, specifically John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus, had constructed a series of strong and easily defendable fortresses, which also served as treasuries and strategic places of refuge. These fortresses survived the Hasmonean/Herodian civil war, but Herod was not merely content to rebuild the fortifications. Instead, he refurbished the defenses, adding palatial luxuries such as pools, peristyles, reception rooms and baths, in essence transforming these simple fortresses into far more luxurious fortified palaces.[89] Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Herod chose to keep the Hasmonean fortress names even though he had recently usurped the throne from their direct descendent Antigonus. Given this fact, the names for Hyrcania (named for Hyrcanus I) and Alexandrion (named for Alexander Jannaeus) suggests a desire to honor these Hasmoneans and connect him to them as their legitimate successor, although we do see him later changing names of cities in order to honor members of his own family. Naming is a vivid way of making political statements. As we see in Herod's later reign, the King used the renaming of cities to honor important individuals such as Augustus, Agrippa, and members of the Herodian family and court such as his brother Phasael and his father Antipater. Further, as stated

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[87] Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great. 67-68

[88] For further details on Herod's reconstruction of Hasmoena fortress see Netzer and Laureys-Chachy, The Architecture of Herod: The Great Builder. Chapter 9, 202

[89] Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great. 68-69

above, he also renamed one of the desert fortresses after his mother Cypres.[90] Other

noteworthy places that the Hasmoneans built and Herod improved include Masada,

Machaerus, both Palaces at Jericho, and the Temple Mount district.[91]

Conclusion

The Hasmoneans and Herod shared this dual vision of political methodology: a Jewish

ruler to Jewish subjects, a Hellenistic ruler to Gentile subjects and the Gentile world.

Early in his rule, Herod sought to associate himself with the popular Hasmonean family.

When Herod felt threatened by the incident at the Feast of Tabernacles he looked to pull

the people away from the Hasmonean ruling paradigm of the High Priest and toward his

paradigm of First Temple Kings.

Politics: Herod and the First Temple Kings

Jews widely considered the period under David and Solomon, the most celebrated Jewish

kings, to be the most glorious part of their history. King David had dominated an empire

that is recorded as having stretched from Sinai to Syria, and his son, King Solomon, built

the First Temple. Both of these men were celebrated in Jewish religious texts and by later

Hellenized Jews in their art and literature.

Herod and David

Herod connected himself to David and Solomon through architectural and literary means,

with the ultimate goal of appearing as a new David, a king from humble origins who rose

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[90] *BJ* 1.417; *AJ* 16.143. For the archaeological analysis of this fortress see Netzer "Cypros" 2001,233-280. Cf. Netzer *Palaces* 2001, 72-75

[91] For further information on the relationship between Hasmonean and Herodian comparison of remains see Roller, The Building Program of Herod the Great. 184-186. Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great. 75-76.

to power through his skill and charisma, a king destined to rule. Simultaneously, Herod also sought to be seen in the mold of Solomon, who ushered in an era of peace, prosperity, and building expansion.

David, Herod and Architecture

According to Josephus, around 10 BCE, Herod constructed a lavish memorial to David at the entrance of his tomb in Jerusalem.[92] This edifice, reportedly built of white marble, was a costly and conspicuous monument on the Jerusalem skyline.[93]

While many scholars have commented on Josephus' dubious motivations for portraying Herod as robbing the tomb, those are not important for my argument.[94] An interesting theory presented by Jacobson suggests that Herod might have built the monument as a Hellenistic ἡρῷον, honoring David as the κτίστης of Jerusalem.[95] According to this theory, Herod's building was another expression of his desire to further Hellenize Judea and to turn Jerusalem into a true Hellenistic metropolis. As Jacobson says, "It was common practice for Hellenized cities to honor a hero-founder and to fill these tombs with treasure." This would explain how David's tomb managed to retain its treasures even after the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians. Samuel Rocca further expands on Jacobson's theory and suggests that Herod wanted to link

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[92] Construction of the memorial is placed between 10-5 BCE. See Lichtenberger, Achim. "Jesus and the Theater in Jerusalem" in Charlesworth, Jesus and Archaeology.

[93] Jacobson, David. "King Herod's 'Heroic' Public Image," *RB* 95 (1988) 399.

[94] In AJ 16.179-184. Josephus accuses Nicolaus of concealing Herod's true motive for building the tomb. He writes that Herod had built the monument only after plundering David's tomb. Further he states that Herod had the tomb opened at night to avoid detection and only took a few close friends to the event. The king did not find any money but did find several items of gold and other valuables, which he took away. Josephus then asserts that Herod would have gone deeper into the tomb and even opened the graves of David and Solomon, but suddenly a supernatural flame appeared and killed two of his bodyguards.

[95] Jacobson. "King Herod's," *RB* 95 (1988) 398-99

himself visually with David and to set himself up as the new model of Jewish kingship. [96]

Further, Rocca notes that this was a quite common act in the Mediterranean world; rebuilding old and venerable tombs of national heroes was a way to claim legitimate leadership.[97]

Herod and David in Literature

Since David was the paragon of heroic Jewish kingship, any association with him would only increase Herod's legitimacy and status. If Herod could persuade readers that in his biography there were numerous similarities between him and this model Jewish king, then they might be more inclined to accept his rule and support him. Not long before Herod sailed to Rome to visit Augustus and his children (ca. 19-16 BCE), he commissioned Nicolaus of Damascus to write a history in which Herod would figure prominently. The history referred to in the passage is likely either Nicolaus' *Universal History* or the memoirs of Herod, which Josephus claims existed. The *Universal History* appears only in a few short fragments embedded within other works such as *Jewish Antiquities*. Tal Ilan has an excellent argument that Herod recognized a similarity between his career and that of David, and he encouraged Nicolaus of Damascus to use David as a model for Herod's story in hopes of appearing Davidic.[98] Herod was always worried about his standing with his Jewish subjects, and he hoped that the good publicity such a story would bring would endear him to future generations.[99] A further support that

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[96] Samuel Rocca, Herod's Judaea : A Mediterranean State in the Classical World, Texte Und Studien Zum Antiken Judentum, (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). 27

[97] In his footnotes, Rocca further notes the example of Alexander the Great's homage of national heroes during his conquests. Rocca, Herod's Judaea : A Mediterranean State in the Classical World. Pg 27

[98] Tal Ilan. "King David, King Herod and Nicolaus of Damascus," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 5 (1998): 195.

[99] Tal Ilan. King David, 195–240.

Nicolaus was the author of the Herod/David material is that Herod's story mirrors David's in several crucial ways as it appeared in the Books of Samuel. Louis H. Feldman has argued persuasively that Josephus' version of the Biblical event, which appears in *Jewish Antiquities* 1-11, is actually a careful paraphrase and rewrite.[100] If Josephus were the author of the Herod/David material, one would think that Herod's story would follow David's as it appears in *Jewish Antiquities* almost exactly.

Nicolaus artfully uses the strengths of the connections between Herod and David while minimizing the differences. Tal Ilan elucidates several similarities in the narratives of the two kings.[101] First, in order for David (and later Herod) to seize the throne, the old dynasty had to be discredited. Second, both David and Herod married into the previous dynasty, and both assumed power through the intervention of the previous dynasty's enemies. In both cases, the last member of the previous dynasty was removed by those same enemies. Third, once both David and Herod had seized the throne, they eliminated any remaining members of the previous dynasty. Once their positions were secure, both David and Herod removed the queen whom they had married for political reasons (Michal for David and Mariamme for Herod).[102] Finally, both had succession problems resulting in the death or execution of three of their sons.

Even with all of these literary similarities, Nicolaus still had one major problem. Although David may have come from a relatively insignificant family, he was still a Judean. Herod, on the other hand, was an Idumaean. Such a doubtful lineage might

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[100] Louis H. Feldman, <u>Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible</u>, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, (Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1998).

[101] Tal Ilan,. <u>King David</u>, 200

[102] Baruch Halpern, <u>David's Secret Demons : Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King</u>, The Bible in Its World (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans, 2001).

explain why Nicolaus went to such great lengths to create a false but glorious family lineage for Herod, one in which he was a descendant of leading Jews from Babylon.[103] As Ilan rightly observes, David himself had a somewhat checkered lineage, considering his descent from the Moabite Ruth.[104] Nicolaus could have compared Herod's Idumaean identity favorably with David's Moabite background. However, Nicolaus chose not to adopt this approach. Perhaps, as Ilan suggests, Nicolaus chose not to mention Herod's Idumaean background when comparing Herod to David because of the possibility that such a comparison might have recalled for his readers the villainy of Doeg the Idumaean, who had slaughtered all of the priests in the city of Nob.[105] Such an unwillingness to recall the murderous actions of one of Herod's fellow Idumaeans could well explain an additional reason why Nicolaus created a lineage for Herod.

Herod and Solomon

It is no surprise that Herod would choose Solomon as a paradigmatic figure. Solomon was known as the builder of the first Temple and the ruler who brought a long period of peace after David's wars of conquest. Solomon was also seen as a model of the just ruler who ensured subjects received a fair trial, and was considered to be a wise man, a philosopher, and a scholar. A great number of biblical writings are attributed to Solomon, including the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, and the Book of Proverbs, among others.[106]

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[103] AJ 14.9

[104] Tal Ilan,. King David, 224-225

[105] 1 Sam. 22:6-19

[106] There is not a scholarly consensus on whether the tradition of the authorship of these books was already established in the Herodian Period.

While there are strong connections between King David and the Hasmoneans,[107] and David with Herod, Solomon was the logical choice for a model of Jewish Kingship for Herod.

In addition to Solomon's erudite reputation, he also engaged in less admirable behavior. He had a reputation for luxurious decadence; his court was populated with numerous foreign wives and concubines. Solomon was also accused of introducing foreign cults and practices into Jerusalem to satisfy his wives. These actions go against the explicit commandments of kingship found in Deuteronomy 17, specifically, "not to multiply horses and wives." Perhaps Solomon's errors could even give a political excuse to Herod's own shortcomings.

First and foremost, Solomon was the best paradigm of Jewish Kingship for Herod. Herod could present himself as the successor to Solomon through diplomacy, along with his peaceful reign, military accomplishments, and his building program throughout Judea.[108] The best source for parallels between King Herod and the Israelite Kings, specifically David and Solomon, is found in Josephus, in Herod's speech connected with rebuilding the Temple. I will explore this connection later in relation to the construction of the Temple.

Herod and Solomon in Literature

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[107] On connections between why the Hasmoneans choose David see Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism : The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition. 138-141.

[108] What is important for my argument is that the common Jew would have seen Solomon as a great builder and King. Exactly what sites, if any, Solomon built in Judea is of much debate. For contrasting views see Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, The Bible Unearthed : Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts (New York: Free Press, 2001). Also, Amihay Mazar, Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B.C.E, The Anchor Bible Reference Library, 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1990).

During the Greco-Roman period, Jewish writers in fact valorized the illustrious past of

Solomon's reign as a golden age that constituted the pinnacle of Jewish history, as

evidenced by the *Psalms of Solomon* among other works.[109] By choosing Solomon as his

paradigm, Herod could endear himself especially to the Jewish Diaspora, but also to the

native Judeans at-large. For the Gentile upper-class and the Greco-Roman ruling class,

especially in Phoenicia, Solomon was a figure from the Jewish past that shared the same

ideal qualities of a Hellenistic king. For example, Eupolemus depicts Solomon as an

experienced diplomat who dominated neighboring countries through shrewd

diplomacy.[110] Other writers, including Theophilus, Dios, and Menander, depict Solomon

as a figure who tolerated foreign gods and cults.[111]

Herod, Solomon and Architecture

The inauguration of the Temple construction speech gives us a series of interesting

parallels between Herod and Solomon. The speech is found in *Antiquities*, and probably

derives from Nicolas of Damascus as its primary source.[112] The speech, which Josephus

attributes to Herod, is made before the Temple construction begins and in it Herod clearly

compares himself to Solomon. In his comparison, Herod states that the exiles from

Babylon could not rebuild the Temple as beautiful as Solomon had erected it and that he

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[109] For more information on Hellenistic writers' praise of Solomon see Kenneth Atkinson, An Intertextual Study of the Psalms of Solomon : Pseudepigrapha, Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity (Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2001). Also Robert R. Hann, The Manuscript History of the Psalms of Solomon, Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series / Society of Biblical Literature, (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982). And finally, Richard A. Horsley, Revolt of the Scribes : Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins (Minneapolis, Minn,: Fortress Press, 2010).

[110] Only fragments of Eupolemus' book remains. For further discussion see Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism : The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition. 141-146

[111] Menander and Dios are mentioned by Josephus in *Against Apion* 1.112-120. Theophilus writes that the King of Tyre erected a statue of Solomon's daughter. See Gruen, Heritage and Hellenism : The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition. 146

[112] AJ 15.385

would build a more glorious house. Thus, the place of worship would surpass the splendor of Solomon's Temple[113] and become a veritable "House for all Nations." Herod would show this in his innovative inclusion of the Court of Women and Court of Gentiles. Thus, as Solomon was the successor to David, Herod was now the successor of Solomon and the heir of the Temple through architecture. Herod could now claim dominance on the Temple Mount and over the High Priest whose duties resided on it.

Conclusions

One of Herod's major obstacles to rule was his lack of legitimacy among the Judean people. He attacked this obstacle on one end by legitimizing his authority through marriage to the Hasmoneans, and on the other he sought to connect himself to the legacy of Solomon and David through literature and architectural propaganda campaigns. Solomon's image had been, to some extent, already Hellenized in literature such as the *Psalms of Solomon* and he was a popular figure both inside and outside of Judaism. Inside of Judea, Herod looked to strengthen his connections with David and Solomon through renovating their tombs, securing similar borders, and of course, the aggrandizement of the Temple Mount.

Politics: Other Jewish Views of Kingship

As noted above, Second Temple Period Judaism was not monolithic, but encompassed several sects and divergent political philosophies. Many of these sects found fault with the priestly aristocracy and/or the Hasmonean leadership. The literature of these groups

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[113] Hays and Maxwell-Miller call it a "Royal Chapel," the purpose of which was to fulfill the needs of the royal court. See J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, <u>A History of Ancient Israel and Judah</u>, 2nd ed. (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006). Pg 202.

reflects their dissidence, but also articulates new ideas of political kingship floating around during this period.

Temple Scroll

One of the clearest discussions of kingship appears in the Temple Scroll, which was found at Qumran. The Temple Scroll (11Q19) is the longest and perhaps the best preserved of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Among other things, it discusses the Law of the King, and although much of the Temple Scroll reiterates the rules of the Law, there are significant and interesting additions. Like Deuteronomy 17, the Temple Scroll focuses more on limiting the powers of the king and seems to reflect a concern with and distrust of monarchy.[114]

According to the scroll, the ideal king is a full Judean, whom God has chosen and the people have appointed as king.[115] He does not have more than one wife and this wife is also a Judean.[116] Evidently, the author of the Temple Scroll was worried that a foreign bride would lead the king away from God and into sin. Finally, the king is not able to accumulate vast quantities of gold and silver for himself. In essence, he is the exact opposite of Solomon or a Hellenistic king.[117] While this strong emphasis on the limitations of the king echoes Deuteronomy 17, the author of the Temple Scroll also discusses some of the positive duties of the ideal king. The Temple Scroll sees the king as a military leader who would command the army and lead soldiers into battle. Indeed, the

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[114] Yigael Yadin, <u>The Temple Scroll</u>, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1985).56-80

[115] 11Q19 56:15

[116] 11Q19 57:16-19

[117] 11Q19 56:16-19

Temple Scroll has an extended section in which it discusses exactly how the king should conduct his campaigns.[118]

There were certainly limitations on the king's freedom to organize his army as he saw fit. The Temple Scroll permits the king a bodyguard, but this troop has to be composed of only Judeans.[119] Perhaps this was a response to the foreign mercenaries in the armies of the Hasmoneans and the Herodians.[120] Before going into battle, the king is supposed to consult the high priest, so that he may learn the will of God. 11Q19 instructs the king to consult the Urim and Thummim and if he does, the king will be victorious in battle. An author who was interested in priestly supremacy would most likely have written such a requirement because this arrangement clearly subordinated the king to the high priest. The king might lead the troops into battle, but the high priest was his guide and superior.[121]

Besides being a competent military leader, the king is also obligated to organize domestic affairs responsibly and equitably. This meant that he would have to behave justly towards his subjects and not covet or confiscate their property.[122] He would have to judge wisely in legal matters and rule in concert with a council of priests and elders. This council would meet with the king and advise him on matters of justice and on the Law.[123] The good king listens to his council and does not act without their recommendations. Such a situation significantly limited the king's power and authority, making him

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[118] 11Q19 58:3-17.

[119] 11Q19 57:5-10

[120] For more information on foreign mercenaries serving in the armies of the Hasmoneans and the Herodians see Israel Shatzman, The Armies of the Hasmoneans and Herod (Tubingen, J.C.B. Mohr, 1991). 31-32

[121] 11Q19 57:18-21.

[122] 11Q19 57:20-21

[123] 11Q19 57:12-15

dependent upon his council and essentially *aprimus inter pares,* and in some sense, not even that.

Finally, upon the king's ascension, the priests should supervise the copying of the Law, so that the king would always have it as his guide. This requirement echoes Deuteronomy 17 and serves to further subordinate the king to the priests.[124] If the king follows the Law and keeps God's commandments, God will grant him success and prosperity.[125] God will also give him victory in battle, a long reign and life, and the succession of his dynasty forever. Alternatively, if the king were unfaithful to God and did not follow his commandments, God would destroy the king's dynasty and not allow his sons to succeed him.[126] However, all of this would occur only if the king adhered to 11Q19's hierarchy in which God and the priests were firmly above the king. Ironically, in order to be successful and prosperous, the king had to willingly limit his power and authority.

Psalms of Solomon

Although the Hasmoneans solidified their control and cemented their legitimacy as kings and high priests, there still were groups that never accepted Hasmonean rule. One such group likely wrote the *Psalms of Solomon.* [127] In *Psalm* 17, the author lambastes the

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[124] 11Q19 56:20

[125] 11Q19 59:16-21

[126] 11Q19 59:13-15

[127] There has been significant debate over the dating of the *Psalms of Solomon,* especially Psalm 17, which strongly criticizes the Hasmoneans' usurping of the David throne and may reflect Herod as a divine agent of punishment on them. The generally accepted view, voiced by Martin Hengel, is that the Psalms date to around Pompey's Campaigns (65 BCE- 62 BCE). Kenneth Atkinson argues that this psalm actually describes the siege of Jerusalem by Gaius Sosius and Herod the Great in 37 BCE. For more discussion see Kenneth Atkinson, "On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from *Psalm of Solomon* 17," *JBL* 118 (1999) 435-460. Also, Martin Hengel, The Zealots: Investigations into the

Hasmoneans for usurping the throne of David. After narrating the fall of the Hasmonean house and the oppression wrought by Herod, the psalm's author describes his messianic ideal. In the author's mind, this ideal king is first and foremost from the line of David.[128] He also is expected to rule justly and righteously.[129] He is a powerful warrior and military commander, who will humble the Gentiles so that they serve him. Finally, this messianic king behaves piously towards God and trusted in God's strength and power.[130]

Conclusion

These two documents give us a glimpse not just into a more conservative view of political kingship, but also help scholars to see how Hellenized the Hasmoneans had become and how much room was left for Herod to continue Hellenizing Judean politics. For Herod the significant problem would continue to be the issue of his legitimacy vis-a-vis his linage. His solution was to accept his status as a non-priestly commoner, weaken the status and influence of the high priesthood, and attempt to gain legitimacy with his Jewish subjects through his fulfillment of the duties and responsibilities of the ideal Jewish king. In this way, even if Herod could not actually be an ideal Jewish king, he could at least act like one.

Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D. David Smith trans. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989) 20.

[128] *Pss. Sol.* 17.4, 22

[129] *Pss. Sol.* 17.26-32.

[130] *Pss. Sol.* 17.22-25, 30

HEROD: FRIEND OF THE ROMANS

Rome was as useful to Herod as he was to it, and such mutual benefit explains why the

client-king relationship worked so well. In this chapter I will outline Herod's ascent to

the throne along with the details of the client-king relationship. I will show that this

relationship was one of the main motivators in Herod's Romanization project of Judea.

Through this successful client-king relationship Herod received Roman economic,

military, and political support. Further, he gained privileged access to Roman technology,

especially building technology, with the aid of which he engaged in his monumental

building projects. All of these resulted in a top-to-bottom reorganization of Judea into a

Roman organizational model.

Herod and Augustus

Actium was a watershed moment for both the Roman world and Herod himself. For

about twenty years, the Roman world had experienced almost constant civil war and

unrest as the conflicts between the Roman elites spread into the internal affairs of client

kingdoms. Over this same period, Herod had changed patrons not once but three times,

and now Actium required his fourth and final shift in alliance.[131] For the rest of his reign,

he would be a client of Octavian, who later became Augustus Caesar. Herod's

relationship with Augustus would oscillate over the years, but one thing that remained

constant was Herod's usefulness to Augustus and his fulfillment of most if not all of the

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[131] Herod transferred his allegiance from Pompeius to Caesar to Cassius to Antonius. Finally, he became an ally and friend of Octavian.

obligations incumbent upon him as a client king. It is for this reason primarily that Augustus, despite his temporary doubts about Herod, consistently supported him.

After the battle at Actium, news spread quickly of Antonius' defeat and subsequent flight to Egypt. Herod, realizing that his patron had lost, attempted to salvage the situation and protect his hold on his kingdom. Josephus reports that the king was extremely anxious about his situation, especially because his claim to the throne was not as strong as that of the Hasmoneans. In order to secure his position, Herod had to eliminate his potential rivals, most notably the elderly John Hyrcanus II.[132]

Herod rushed to Rhodes to meet with the victorious Octavianus and persuade him that he would best be served by maintaining the status quo in Judea. In the scene depicted by Josephus, Herod removed his diadem as a sign of humility and respect, but refused to play the part of the terrified suppliant.[133] According to Josephus, Herod told Octavianus that he had been dedicated to Antonius' cause and had supported him without reservation. He also asserted that had he not been detained by his war with the Nabataeans, he would surely have been at Actium on Antonius' side. Herod even claimed that after the battle, he had attempted to advise Antonius on how to reconcile with Octavianus, namely by eliminating Cleopatra. Herod further laid all the blame for the disintegration of the alliance between the two Romans and the ensuing civil war on the Egyptian queen. This would probably have been a good strategy because Augustus wanted to blame her.[134] Josephus writes that Herod concludes his speech thus: "I share in Antonius' defeat, and with his downfall I lay down my diadem. I have come to you,

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[132] *BJ* 1.433-434; *AJ* 15.163-178

[133] *BJ* 1.387; *AJ* 15.187-188

[134] The Senate declared war on Cleopatra not Antonius. See Dio 50.6.1

resting my hopes for safety upon my integrity and presuming that it will be asked what kind of friend, not whose friend, I have been."[135]

Whatever Herod actually said might have been persuasive, but Octavianus probably decided to confirm Herod as king because he was the best candidate to rule Judea. Octavianus would have remembered the friendship that the Antipatrids had enjoyed with Julius Caesar, and he also would have remembered Herod's friendship with Sextus Caesar and his successful reign as tetrarch of Galilee. More immediately, the Judean king had been a consistent ally of Rome against Parthia and had helped secure Rome's eastern frontier. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Herod had already proved that he could easily switch loyalties and be as useful to Octavianus as he had been to Antonius. Plutarch writes that after Actium, Herod, seeing that Antonius was defeated, betrayed his former patron.[136] Josephus also mentions this change of allegiance, but adds that royal forces had attacked a group of gladiators rushing from Syria to Egypt to assist Antonius.[137] Thus, contrary to what Josephus had written in Herod's supposed speech, the king, sensing that Octavianus had triumphed, must have tried to show his flexibility in loyalty by attacking his former patron's men. As G. W. Bowersock says, Herod "understood the folly of loyalty to the dead."[138]

Octavianus needed kings who were more loyal to the Roman system than any particular individual. Rome required men who were familiar with their people and their country and had shown the ability to control both. Herod was precisely that type of

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[135] *BJ* 1.388-390; *AJ* 15.189-193. It is unlikely that Josephus accurately recorded Herod's speech, especially because Nicolaus was not present at the time.

[136] Plutarch, Hans Gärtner and Konrat Ziegler, <u>Vitae Parallelae</u>, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum Et Romanorum Teubneriana (Monachii ; Lipsiae: K.G. Saur, 2000). *Ant*. 71

[137] *BJ* 1.392; *AJ* 15.195-196.

[138] G. W. Bowersock, <u>Augustus and the Greek World</u> (Oxford Eng.: Clarendon Press, 1965). 55

individual, and this, more than anything else, was why Octavianus confirmed Herod's authority and even expanded his territory. Over the next twenty-six years, the king would prove that Octavianus had not made a mistake at Rhodes.

Herod and Rome: Becoming King

In 40 BCE, Lysanias, tetrarch of Ituraea and Chalcis, induced the Parthians to support Mattathias Antigonus' invasion of Judaea. Lysanias' father Ptolemy had married Antigonus' sister Alexandra, and Ptolemy had supported Antigonus' failed invasion a few years before. After Lysanias (or Antigonus in *Jewish Antiquities*) promised the Parthian satrap Barzapharnes one thousand talents and five hundred women for his harem, the Parthians, who had already invaded Syria, agreed to support Antigonus. The Parthian army, under the command of Barzapharnes and Pacorus, the Parthian prince, accompanied Antigonus and invaded from the coast. This army marched south from Tyre, which refused them entry, to Ptolemais, and then onto Sidon and Judaea. According to Josephus, as the Parthians, under the command of a royal cupbearer who was also named Pacorus, progressed into Judaea, a large number of Jews flocked to Antigonus' camp.[139]

Antigonus sent his supporters to attack Jerusalem, and they managed to enter the city and fight their way up to the royal palace. However, Phasael and Herod successfully defended the palace and trapped Antigonus' supporters in the Temple. This stalemate lasted until Pentecost, when Antigonus proposed that Pacorus mediate the conflict. Phasael agreed to meet with the Parthian and even agreed to accompany Hyrcanus on an embassy to Barzapharnes in Galilee in the hopes that he might end hostilities between the

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[139] Josephus does not specify who these Jews were, but we can speculate that they were likely the Galilean Jews who had supported the bandit Hezekiah and had been forcibly suppressed by Herod. See *BJ* 1.204205; *AJ* 14.158-160

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two sides. When Hyrcanus and Phasael arrived in Galilee, they discovered that

Barzapharnes had no intention of ending the hostilities, but merely wished to install

Antigonus as king. After Barzapharnes left Galilee to rejoin Pacorus, the Parthian prince,

the Parthians imprisoned Phasael and Hyrcanus. In one version of events, Phasael killed

himself rather than become a bargaining chip for Antigonus and the Parthians, while

Antigonus mutilated Hyrcanus so that he could not be high priest anymore.[140]

Meanwhile, Herod realized that his position within Jerusalem was hopeless. So, he

gathered up his family and his followers and fled to Idumaea. Realizing that the Parthians

were pursuing him, Herod sent the women in his party ahead and secured his retreat.[141]

After fending off the Parthians, Herod pressed on to Masada, but during the trip, a group,

whom Josephus simply identifies as "Jews," consistently harassed Herod's party. Most

likely these Jews were simply bandits who saw an opportunity to plunder Herod's party

as they fled or who were trying to ingratiate themselves with Antigonus by attacking

Herod. Either way, Herod and his party fought them off, and later he built Herodium on

the site of their skirmish.[142]

Upon reaching the fortress of Rhesa in Idumaea, Herod met up with his brother

Joseph. Joseph provided Herod with valuable military reconnaissance and advised him to

dismiss most of his followers since Masada could not support the approximately nine

thousand who were in Herod's company. Herod dismissed the majority of his followers,

and they dispersed throughout Idumaea, while he and eight hundred of his followers

pressed on to Masada. Herod's ability to hide his followers throughout Idumaea suggests

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[140] *BJ* 1.248-260,268-273; *AJ* 14.330-347,363-369. Josephus provides two accounts of the death of Phasael.

[141] *BJ* 1.263-264; *AJ* 14.352-358

[142] *BJ* 1.265; *AJ* 14.359-360

that his support in this region was unsurprisingly high. Such support for Herod might explain why the Parthians destroyed Marisa, the regional capital of Idumaea.

After depositing his family in Masada and garrisoning it, Herod traveled to Petra, hoping to recover some of the money that the Nabataean king Malichus owed him. He planned to use this money to ransom his brother, whom he did not know was already dead. Herod expected that Malichus, remembering Herod's father's friendship with the Nabataeans would give him the money as a gift, or would at least lend him the money with Phasael's son as a pledge. *Jewish Antiquities* indicates that Herod and his father had lent large sums of money to Malichus in the past, and Herod was likely relying on this past relationship and perhaps his mother's Nabataean background. Unfortunately for Herod, Malichus and his elites saw this as an opportunity to renounce their debts to the Antipatrids. Perhaps Malichus also saw this as a chance for him to free himself of Roman control. Additionally, it is likely that the Parthians threatened Malichus with reprisal if he should help Herod. For all of these reasons, Malichus ordered Herod to leave Nabataea immediately.[143]

Realizing that he lacked support in the region, Herod turned westward and made his way to Egypt in hopes of catching a ship to Rome. He soon reached Pelusium, but he could not secure passage to Alexandria aboard an Egyptian naval vessel. Instead, he managed to persuade the local officials to escort him on a private ship to Alexandria. Josephus states that Herod relied on his fame and rank to persuade the local officials to help him.[144] When he arrived in Alexandria, he was briefly detained by Cleopatra before finally sailing to Rhodes. *Jewish War* claims that Cleopatra wished Herod to command an

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[143] *BJ* 1.274-276; AJ 14.370-372

[144] *BJ* 1.278; *AJ* 14.375

expedition she was planning. While Thackeray gives some credence to this claim and suggests that this might have been part of Antonius' Parthian campaign, it is unlikely that Cleopatra would have entrusted her military to a foreigner and not one of her own commanders, on whose loyalty she could rely. This story seems more likely an invention of Nicolaus of Damascus, designed to highlight Herod's military prowess.[145]

Because of the rough winter sailing weather, Herod was almost shipwrecked off the coast of Pamphylia, but he managed to arrive in Rhodes safely. In Rhodes, he reunited with two of his supporters, Sapphinius and Ptolemy. *Jewish Antiquities* states that Herod gave money to Rhodes to rebuild the city, which had been damaged during the most recent civil war, and constructed a large trireme for his journey to Brundisium. *Jewish War* does not mention the benefaction, only the trireme he commissioned to sail him to Rome. There is no reason to doubt *Jewish Antiquities*' account since it agrees with Herod's later benefaction to Greek cities. A possible motivation for Herod's benefaction was that despite his dearth of funds, he was still interested in portraying himself as a kingly figure while he was traveling to Rome to secure Roman support. Herod likely did not actually present the Rhodians with the money at that time, especially since Herod had been so short of funds that he had solicited a loan from the Nabataean king Malichus. Further, Josephus explicitly states that Herod had secured much of his wealth in Idumaea.[146] Nevertheless, Herod likely promised the city a certain amount and hoped that once he was named king, he could raise the necessary capital.[147]

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[145] *BJ* 1.279; *AJ* 14.376

[146] For Herod hiding his wealth in Idumaea see *BJ* 1.268; *AJ* 14.364

[147] *BJ* 1.280-281; *AJ* 14.377-379

In order for Herod to become king, he needed the support and confirmation of the Roman Senate; he needed an introduction to the Senate and an *appellatio*. Marcus Valerius Messala and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus introduced him to the Senate, emphasized the loyalty of Herod and his family, and argued that Herod was a better candidate for the throne of Judaea than Antigonus, who was a client of the Parthians. The Senate agreed and formally appointed Herod as King of Judaea. Accompanied by Antonius and Octavianus as well as other magistrates, the new King of Judaea then climbed the Capitoline Hill and offered sacrifices in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus before the decree of Herod's appointment was deposited into the public records.[148]

Herod played the role of the good client king, who dutifully travels to Rome and receives official recognition from the Senate for his royal title. He relied on the patron/client system to acquire Antonius' support as well as the fact that he was a Roman ally while Antigonus was a Parthian supporter. By tapping into the cultural mindset of his Roman audience, Herod the refugee was transformed into Herod the *rex sociusque et amicus*. He could now return to Judaea and claim his kingdom with the help of Roman military might.[149]

Herod as Roman Client King

Herod was not the first ruler of Judea to make an alliance with Rome. Various Hasmonean rulers, beginning with Judas Maccabaeus in 161 BCE, had signed treaties of friendship and alliance with Rome.[150] This treaty, known as a *foedus aequus*, granted equal status between Rome and Judea. Judea was legally recognized as *socius et amicus*

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[148] *BJ* 1.284-285; *AJ* 14.384-388

[149] For Herod's conquest of Judaea see *BJ* 1.286-357; *AJ* 14.390-491

[150] Stern, M. "The Treaty between Judea and Rome in 161 BCE," Zion LI, 1986. 3-28

populi romani, an ally and friend of the people of Rome. The same type of treaty likely

was passed onto Herod, but he had two advantages over his Hasmonean predecessors.

First, Herod was a Roman citizen, through his father Antipater. Second, Herod's personal

ties with the rulers of Rome helped him succeed where other rulers failed to establish that

bond. Herod understood the obligations entailed in the *cliens-patronus* relationship and

the advantages that he could gain. It is obvious that he took his side of the obligations

very seriously and could deal with Rome from a position of strength on several levels.[151]

Herod's personal influence can best be exemplified, according to Gabba, by the fact that

Herod's Judea was one of the few client states that did not pay tribute to Rome.[152] As we

will see below, Herod fulfilled most of these obligations, and as a result, Octavianus

rewarded him by expanding his territory and bestowing other honors upon him.

Military Support

Despite his best attempts to claim otherwise, Herod was not a military conqueror. He had

achieved a few victories, and had certainly defeated Antigonus. Nevertheless, his

campaign against the Nabataeans before Actium was inconclusive, and his later campaign

against them in 8 BCE did not lead to any real gains and had even angered Augustus.

While perhaps not a gloriously successful conqueror, Herod did still provide important

military support to Augustus and Rome. This took the form of action against bandits and

supplying royal forces to supplement the Roman army.

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[151]AJ 15,190. Josephus wrote that Herod explained his position to Octavian at Rhodes in 32 BCE thus: "For if a man owns himself to be another's friend (cliens?), and knows him to be a benefactor (patronus?) he is obligated to hazard everything, to use every faculty . . . and all the wealth he has for him . . . " For a full explanation see M. Stern, The Kingdom of Herod (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv, 1992). Pg 39-46

[152] See E. Gabba, "The Finances of King Herod," Aryeh Kasher, Gideon Fuks, Uriel Rappaport, Merkaz le-ḥeḳer Erets-Yiśraʾel ve-yishuvah (Haifa Israel) and Merkaz le-ḥeḳer Erets-Yiśraʾel ve-yishuvah (Tel Aviv Israel), Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel : Collected Essays (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990).

Suppression of Galilean Bandits[153]

During his tenure as στατηγός of Galilee, Herod proved his ability to control banditry.

According to Josephus, there was a large collection of brigands around Arbela.[154]

Herod's army attacked and drove most of the brigands out of Galilee and across the

Jordan River.[155] His success was important because such brigandage disrupted the trade

routes that ran through Judea. This success against banditry was a major reason why

Augustus extended Herod's kingdom in 24/23 BCE to include the territories of

Trachonitis, Batanaea and Auranitis.

Navy

In 14 BCE,[156] Herod and a number of ships from his royal navy sailed from Caesarea to

join Marcus Agrippa's expedition to the Black Sea.[157] This expedition was initiated to

subdue a revolt, and Herod's ships would have been an extremely useful addition.

Shatzman argues that Herod maintained a large navy rather than merely providing a

symbolic contribution.[158] Indeed, if Herod's fleet was a standing navy, it may partially

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[153] For further discussion see also John Dominic Crossan, The Historical Jesus : The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant, 1st ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991).

[154] Josephus connects Hezekiah with the Judah the Galilean, the leader of the "Fourth Philosophy," a revolutionary sect that insisted on "no ruler but God" (AJ 18.23). According to Josephus, Judah was Hezekiah's son. It is therefore possible that Hezekiah's banditry may have had anti-Roman implications as well as social protest. However, if this were the case, it is surprising that anyone would object to Hezekiah's summary execution. Because of these objections, I believe Hezekiah had to have been of relatively high social class regardless of his politico-religious aims. For Judah being Hezekiah's son see AJ 17.271.

[155] BJ 1.304-313; AJ 14.421-430. The only ones remaining were a group who lived in a series of caves probably near Arbela. Herod's army attacked this group by lowering soldiers down into the caves in baskets. The soldiers then threw torches into the caves to flush the brigands out.

[156] According to Shatzman, there is no evidence on the date of the establishment of a permanent Roman fleet in Syria, although the earliest attestation appears during the reign of Hadrian. 186.

[157] AJ 16.16-23.

[158] Israel Shatzman, The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod : From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks, Texte Und Studien Zum Antiken Judentum (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991). 186-187. Shatzman provides three pieces of evidence to support his view. First, Herod received ships from Cassius and Murus to operate on

explain why Rome did not build a fleet in the East until much later, relying instead on the ships of its client kings. We know from Josephus that immediately upon his return to Caesarea, Herod assembled the people and recounted his journey, emphasizing his role as the protector of the Jews of Asia. He then remitted a fourth of the people's taxes, which only further increased their goodwill to him.[159]

Providing troops

After Actium, Augustus confirmed Herod as King of Judea. Almost immediately, Herod displayed his usefulness by supplying Octavianus and his army with provisions as they traveled to and from Egypt in pursuit of Antonius and Cleopatra. Herod's donation after Actium demonstrated his ability and willingness to provide support for Roman military campaigns.

Consulting Rome

Besides providing military aid, Herod also fulfilled other client king obligations. In particular, he was always careful to solicit approval from Rome and its leaders before embarking on a major decision or course of action.[160] As a result, Antonius, and later Augustus, were able to exercise a reasonable amount of control over decisions that concerned them.

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the sea of Gallilee. Second, the harbor at Caesarea Maritima would have been the base for the ships. Third, Herodian and Hasmonean coins depict warships. Also, Shatzman notes that it is impossible to know what type of warships were constructed. Further he notes Josephus report that Hyrcanus accused his brother Artistobulus of sea piracy in front of Pompey. He also notes the likelihood that the Hasmoneans had a navy from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus onward, which was harbored at Joppa.

[159] *AJ* 16.62-65

[160] For example, Josephus (*BJ* 1.230; *AJ* 14.288.) demonstrates that although Herod wanted to kill Malichus immediately after discovering his guilt in Antipater's death, before taking any action, he waited to receive permission from Cassius.

One of the major issues about which Herod consulted Rome was when he began to suspect Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamme, of plotting to overthrow him. This visit to Rome was an intelligent move for the King because it involved Augustus in his capacity as a patron and the ruler of the Roman world. Herod could shield himself from any culpability by depicting himself as merely following his patron's advice. Such consultation would have pleased Augustus because it would have enabled him to control succession within the Judean kingdom. During the inquiry, Alexander persuaded Augustus that he and his brother were not guilty of treason but merely of speaking ill of their father. Augustus admonished Herod's sons and then reconciled them with their father. [161] This reconciliation was short-lived; Herod finally executed the two princes, after he first secured written approval from Rome.[162] He followed a similar procedure prior to executing another son, Antipater. Indeed, not only did Herod inform Augustus, but he also invited the governor of Syria, Quinctilius Varus, to represent Rome at the trial and to give his opinion on the matter. In this way, he received official sanction for his action not only from Varus, but also from Augustus, who wrote back approving any action the King might take.[163] Deferring to Rome was a central obligation for a client king, but one with little downside. More often than not, Augustus permitted his client kings to act however they chose. Through his actions, Herod ingratiated himself with his Roman patron but with little cost, since he retained his freedom of action.

Royal Gifts

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[161] *BJ* 1.452-454; *AJ* 16.90-126

[162] *BJ* 1.535-537; *AJ* 16.356

[163] *AJ* 17.89-145

Herod actively supported Antonius with financial gifts and when he switched his loyalty to Augustus, he simply continued his old policy of presenting gifts to his patron.[164] By doing so, he showed his adaptability and proved that a change of patron did not mean a change of behavior. Herod's financial involvement with the Imperial family extended to the copper industry on Cyprus. In 12 BCE, after temporarily settling his domestic troubles, Herod offered Augustus a gift of three hundred talents. In exchange, Augustus granted Herod the management of the Cypriot copper mines and half of their revenue.[165] This is the only formal financial relationship between Herod and Augustus that is mentioned by the literary sources. Nevertheless, we can speculate that more existed.

Honoring Augustus and Agrippa

In any patron-client relationship, respect to one's patron was essential. It was also expected that a client would show respect to his patron by publicly honoring him. Herod had already shown a willingness to honor his patron. In particular, the king named the impressive fortress overlooking the Temple after Antonius. This behavior continued into the Augustan relationship. One of the social media Herod favored was architecture, in order to visibly stamp the landscape and advertise his connection and loyalty to new regime.

Architecture as Homage

A common way for client kings to honor their superior was naming specific buildings, rooms, fortresses, and reception halls on occasions of their visits or other special events. Herod was no different in these honorific ways. It is likely that at least Herod's court and

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[164] *BJ* 1.393; *AJ* 15.196,199, 200

[165] *AJ* 16.128

upper crust of Judea would have been aware of homage structures, bringing them further

into the Romanization orbit.

Palaces and Reception rooms

Herod built rooms in his palaces that were dedicated to Augustus and Agrippa. For

example, the main palace that Herod constructed in Jerusalem's Upper City was a

complex of two buildings.[166] One of them was called the Caesareum after Augustus,

while the other was named after Agrippa. Additionally, he also named one of the

reception rooms in the Third Herodian Palace at Jericho after Augustus and one after

Agrippa. [167]

Almost certainly, Herod's naming of his most important and most lavish palaces

and reception halls after Augustus and Agrippa would have been known to the court as

well as visitors.[168] Through the dissemination of this information, Herod could advertise

his close relationship with the *Princeps* and his current successor and heir. Herod's

alliance and friendship with Rome as well as his desire to position his kingdom entirely

within the Roman sphere were made manifest in stone and stucco. At the same time, he

was fulfilling his obligations as a client king by honoring his patrons and showing his

respect for and gratitude towards them. It is unthinkable that Augustus and Agrippa

would not have known about these honors. Indeed, it is likely that both Romans

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[166] *BJ* 1.402,407; *AJ* 15.318

[167] There is a certain amount of debate about which precise buildings and rooms Herod named after his Roman patrons. For further information see Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great. 126

[168] These included Herod's palaces at Masada, Jericho, and Herodium, among others. All of the walls of these reception halls were painted with frescoes and stuccowork, and the entire floor was paved with *opus sectile*. In the center of the room, the pattern was a mix of rhombi, triangles, and squares, which together formed hexagons. For further elaboration see Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great.

personally saw their namesake rooms in the main palace, and Agrippa might have seen their counterparts at Jericho.[169]

Samaria/Sebaste

Herod always thought on a grand scale, and there was no better way to honor Augustus and Agrippa than by building cities and naming them after his two patrons. The first of these cities was Samaria.[170] In 27 BCE, the Roman Senate voted to give Octavianus the new name Augustus.[171] Soon after the Roman Senate's decision, construction began to rebuild Samaria.[172] Rebuilding Samaria allowed Herod to fulfill several needs at once. First, it enabled him to display his loyalty and friendship with Augustus. Second, it was a strategically important military and economic location. Lastly, the building of a pagan temple was in the center of town. The location of this temple complex was no accident. Herod positioned it over the site where the royal palace of the Kingdom of Israel once stood.[173] This positioning was a literal and metaphorical declaration of Herod's intent to transform the city from Samaria—former capital of the Kingdom of Israel—into Sebaste, a model Graeco-Roman city and an urban symbol of Herod's position within the new political order.[174] Further, his decision to populate the city primarily with non-Jews minimized the disruption caused by the temple.[175]

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[169] Netzer and Laureys-Chachy, <u>The Architecture of Herod: The Great Builder</u>. 303

[170] For Herod renaming Samaria and calling it Sebaste see *BJ*1.403; *AJ* 15.296. Cf. Strabo 16.2.34

[171] Dio 53.16.6-8

[172] Sebaste became the first city to be rebuilt and named in Augustus' honor, and by the end of the first century BCE, the eastern part of the empire was littered with cities named Sebaste, Sebasteia, or Sebastopolis. See Dan Barag, "King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste," *PEQ* 125 (1993): 4-13. Cf.Roller, <u>The Building Program of Herod the Great</u>., 209-212.

[173] Barag, Dan. "King Herod's Royal Castle at Samaria-Sebaste." *PEQ* 125 (1993) 16.

[174] Barag. 1993, 14.

[175] *BJ* 1.403; *AJ* 15.292-298

Caesarea Maritima[176]

Herod's use of large-scale urban architecture continued after 27 BCE. Indeed, we see a

tremendous expansion in this program, culminating in the construction of Caesarea

Maritima and the rebuilding and expansion of the Temple in Jerusalem. Around 22 BCE,

Herod began construction of Caesarea Maritima.[177] The city, which became his new

capital, was located on a stretch of coastline recently belonging to Cleopatra but which

Octavianus had given to Herod at Rhodes in 30 BCE. This impressive civic building

program,[178] which took twelve years to complete (finishing ca. 10/9 BCE), also included

a completely artificial harbor made from imported hydraulic concrete,[179] which Herod

named Sebastos. When Sebastos was finished, it became the largest port on the

Mediterranean coast. Oriented towards the West and Rome, its harbor rivaled

Alexandria's and perhaps stole some of its trade. Herod's motives for building Caesarea

include a desire to ingratiate himself with Augustus and to strengthen his position as a

loyal ally and client king. He also wanted to use the city to stake his claim on the

international stage and enhance his own position in world affairs. Further, a new port city

would increase the prosperity of his kingdom by improving international trade and

commerce. Moreover, Herod bore the cost of construction and maintenance of this harbor

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[176] There are a plethora of books on the grandeur of this city. I found this one to be rather useful. Holum, King Herod's Dream : Caesarea on the Sea.

[177] For Josephus' discussion of Caesarea and its construction see *BJ* 1.408-414; *AJ* 15.331-341.

[178] Through both literary and archaeological evidence, we know that Caesarea was full of magnificently decorated civic, financial, and residential buildings. In addition, another temple to Augustus and Rome was located at the center of the city. This temple contained gigantic statues of Augustus and Rome that, according to Josephus, rivaled the Olympian statue of Zeus and the Hera at Argos. (*BJ* 1.408-414; *AJ* 15.331-341)

[179] The artificial harbor at Caesarea was Herod's building masterpiece. Constructed of *pozzolana,* which was imported from Italy, it was big enough for a large fleet to anchor. To welcome ships into the harbor, Herod built a massive tower and called it Drusion after Augustus' recently deceased stepson, Drusus (*BJ* 1.412; *AJ* 15.336)

and city himself, while Rome and its leaders could benefit from its use whenever they wanted. When the city was completed, Herod held a huge festival, celebrating his accomplishment with games that would occur every five years in honor of Augustus.[180]

Romanization of the Royal Court

Another obligation of the client-king relationship was to encourage and promote Romanization within his kingdom. This process was often a top-down phenomenon in which rulers and their court voluntarily adopted Roman customs and habits, which slowly disseminated throughout the realm. Herodian Judaea was no exception. Although some degree of Hellenization had already occurred in Judaea during the Hasmonean period, Herod accelerated the process. By the end of his reign, Judaea was fully within the Roman sphere, and Roman influences could be seen everywhere from buildings to bathing practices.

There is significant evidence that Herod maintained an active program of Romanization within the life and activities of his court. This behavior includes, among other things, (1) the education of Herod's sons at Rome, (2) the importation and consumption of Roman products, and (3) the increasing use of Roman military tactics in the royal army.

Educating His Sons

Since the third century BCE, Roman client kings had been sending their sons to Rome to introduce them to Roman elite society and to be educated. Herod was no exception. He sent eight sons to Rome, beginning with his sons by Mariamme, Alexander and

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[180]*BJ* 1.415; *AJ* 16.136-141

Aristobulus, who traveled to Rome in 22 BCE "to present themselves to Caesar."[181]

While in Rome, the princes stayed in the home of "a certain Pollio." [182] Client kings sent

their sons to Rome in order to receive an education, but perhaps more importantly, to

enable them to make contacts both with leading Romans and with fellow client princes.

These young men would develop ties of friendship and patronage that would aid them in

later life and make the transition from king to successor as seamless as possible. Just as

important, however, was the acculturation that these princes underwent while in Rome.

During their stay, they would encounter Roman customs and behaviors. Undoubtedly

they would adopt many of these customs, including perhaps a familiarity with Latin. The

end result was that these young princes became increasingly Romanized, and when they

returned home, they brought their new Romanization with them. In this way, Herod's

princes became the glue that bound the Judean kingdom ever more tightly to the Roman

center.[183]

Importation of Roman luxury food goods

Garum and *allec*,[184] along with wine, apples, and honey, were all luxury items that were

imported from all over Italy to Masada and Herod's table. The king's decision to import

these luxuries speaks to his desire to further place himself within a Roman cultural

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[181] *AJ* 15.342

[182] A debate has arisen over which exact Pollio this was. The three possible candidates proposed by scholars, most notably Louis Feldman, are: (1) Gaius Asinius Pollio, (2) Publius Vedius Pollio or (3) a local Jew named Pollio, possibly even Pollio the Pharisee. For more information see Louis H. Feldman, "Asinius Pollio and His Jewish Interests," *TAPA* (84) 1953. 77-80.

[183] A negative result of Herod sending his sons to Rome was that they were free to potentially plot against him far away. For Antipater plotting against Herod while in Rome see *AJ* 17.6.

[184] The existence of kosher *garum* and *allec* (types of fish sauces) enabled him to keep Jewish dietary laws while still enjoying the latest in Roman culinary delights. Herod could be both Jewish and Roman simultaneously. See Hannah Cotton, Omri Lernau and Yuval Goren, "Fish Sauces from Herodian Masada," *JRA 9* (1996) 223-226

sphere. Wine grapes grew all over the Mediterranean, and there were plenty of vineyards in Judea and its neighboring regions, but it is significant that Herod would choose to import specifically Italian vintages. Perhaps Herod had adopted the Roman custom of eating apples at dessert.[185] If so, this would be yet another example of his increasing Romanization at court.[186] This Romanization was not in conflict with or mutually exclusive of his Jewish identity.

Romanization of the Army

A key way in which Herod demonstrated a desire to bring his kingdom more fully into the Roman sphere was through the army. During his reign, we can see an increased reorganization of the army along Roman lines. We have relatively little knowledge of the Hasmonean army. However, we do know that it began as an all-Jewish or mostly Jewish army and that John Hyrcanus I was the first ruler to recruit Greek mercenaries. However, by the reign of John Hyrcanus II, the Hasmonean army was a mixture of Jew and Greek.[187] Further, Rocca argues that Herod's army's ethnic composition did not differ much from the preceding Hasmonean army.[188]

A debate amongst scholars is the nature of Herod's army model: was it Hellenistic or Roman?[189] Schalit favors a Hellenistic model,[190] while Rocca argues for "a typical

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[185] Cotton and Geiger 1996,169.

[186] Yigael Yadin, Hevrah la-hakirat Erets-Yisrael ve-atikoteha. and Universitah ha-Ivrit bi-Yerushalayim., Masada : The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965 : Final Reports, The Masada Reports, 7 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society : Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989 149-158.

[187] Daniel R. Schwartz, Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992). 11-35

[188] Samuel Rocca and Christa Hook, The Army of Herod the Great, Men-at-Arms (Oxford ; New York: Osprey, 2009). 13.

[189] Schalit examined the titles and terms used by Josephus in his narration as well as the military traditions of Judaea and concluded that the royal army used a Hellenistic military model. However, as Shatzman observes, such a statement is somewhat misleading because it lacks enough specificity due to Josephus

Hellenistic army," but one that "showed strong Roman influences."[191] To summarize

their arguments, I agree with Rocca that there is ample evidence that Herod's army was

organized and trained according to Roman military patterns while based on a Hellenistic

model, like the Hasmonean army before it. Josephus' military terminology refers to both

Hellenistic and Roman military offices and units. However, the presence of officers who

likely were Romans, Herod's own experience with Roman armies, the royal armies' later

seamless absorption into the procurate army, and most importantly, the greater utility of

organizing the army according to a Roman model, all suggest that this was what Herod

and his commanders did. If the royal army was a quasi-Roman military force and if it did

contain Roman veterans, it would have been an extremely useful conduit for

Romanization and the increasing adaptation of Judean citizens to Roman cultural values

and norms. Within the multi-ethnic mixture of Herod's kingdom, this royal army, unified

by its common discipline and organization, could have served as an extremely powerful

source of social cohesion. Such unity would have increased Herod's internal security and

thus would have aided his ability to fulfill his obligation as a client king to provide a

stable and peaceful friendly kingdom to Rome and its leaders.

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writing in Greek and using Greek terms. There was a significant difference between the army of Alexander and his immediate successors and those of later Hellenistic kings, such as the Ptolemies and Seleucids. Moreover, since we know that other contemporary client kings used the Roman army as a model, it is possible that Josephus' use of terms is not so straightforward, in that he might have been utilizing Greek terms for what was in fact Roman organization.

[190] Abraham Schalit, König Herodes; Der Mann und sein Werk, Studia Judaica Forschungen Zur Wissenschaft des Judentums, (Berlin,: De Gruyter, 1969)163-169.

[191] Rocca and Hook, The Army of Herod the Great. 16.

Romanization of Architecture

One clear indicator of an active process of Romanization was the construction and use of uniquely Roman and Italian structures. In Herod's kingdom, we can see numerous examples of Roman buildings such as amphitheaters, theaters, temples and baths, although the architecture of these structures is sometimes slightly modified from the Roman standard. This importation of Roman building types illustrates an active decision to adopt Roman cultural norms.

Roman Theaters and Amphitheaters

During his reign, Herod commissioned at least two theaters in his kingdom and two outside of his kingdom at Damascus and Sidon.[192] The theater in Jerusalem appears in Josephus' narrative, although no remains of this structure survive. This theater seems to have been constructed for the games Herod hosted in 27 BCE to honor Augustus.[193] Recently, Achim Lichtenberger and Joseph Patrich have proposed a new hypothesis concerning this theater. They argue that the theater in Jerusalem was not a monumental stone structure but rather a temporary wooden one.[194] Theybases their argument on comparisons with contemporary Roman theaters and on Vitruvius, who wrote in his *De Architectura* (16-13 BCE) that Rome's theaters were mostly wooden edifices.[195] Nevertheless, simply because theaters were constructed out of wood and were temporary

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[192] Roller suggests there might also have been theaters at Jericho and Sebaste. Roller, The Building Program of Herod the Great. 93.

[193] Emil Schürer, Géza Vermès and Fergus Millar, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135), Rev. English ed. (Edinburgh: Clark, 1973). 289-90.

[194] Achim Lichtenberger, "Jesus and the Theater in Jerusalem," in Charlesworth, Jesus and Archaeology. 286-299.

[195] Pollio Vitruvius, De Architectura : Vitruvio Ferrarese : La Prima Versione Illustrata, Studiolo (Modena: F.C. Panini, 2004), Pollio Vitruvius and Thomas Gordon Smith, Vitruvius on Architecture (New York: Monacelli Press, 2003). 5.5.7

did not mean that they could not be monumental. We can imagine that Herod, like Lucius

Mummius, Lucius Pulcher, and Aemilius Scaurus, spared no expense in decorating his

building.[196] In addition to the gold and silver we know about, there were probably other

lavish architectural decorations such as marble columns and colorful frescos.

The king may have had several motivations for constructing a wooden theater.

First, Herod evoked the Roman theater with his construction, and through this, his

adoption of Roman customs and his connection with Rome. [197] At the same time, the

erection of a massive and magnificent temporary theater would also have connected him

with Hellenistic royal practice, since there was also a tradition in the classical and

Hellenistic worlds of temporary architecture, especially architecture connected with

festivals. Finally, by building a temporary wooden structure, which could be assembled

or disassembled when necessary, Herod may have been attempting to minimize the

possible antagonism among his Jewish subjects caused by the erection of a theater in the

capital.

In addition to theaters, Herod also commissioned at least three amphitheaters in

his kingdom, one in Jerusalem, one in Jericho, and one in Caesarea.[198] However,

archaeological remains exist only at Jericho and Caesarea. The two surviving

amphitheaters are interesting in that they are not amphitheaters in the classical Roman

sense. Indeed, Herod seems to have modified them so that they were able to

accommodate both athletic and equestrian events. Nevertheless, the mere institution of

games was in itself both an innovation for Judea and an adoption of Roman customs. By

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[196] Lichtenberger, "Jesus and the Theater in Jerusalem" 294.

[197] Lichtenberger 2006, 295

[198] See *BJ* 1.414; *AJ* 15.341,15.268,17.194 for Josephus using the term amphitheater

sponsoring such games during the Actian and Caesarian festivals, Herod displayed his

desire to bring his kingdom more fully in line with the larger Roman world through

constructing these venues for games and for the spread of Greco-Roman culture.[199]

Games

Herod, while traveling to Rome for his third time in the summer of 12 BCE, found

himself in Olympia and was given an honorary post of *agonothetes* (president or

superintendent) of the sacred games. Herod's beneficence propelled the games into the

2nd century CE.[200] This act of patronage is yet another link between Herod and other

Roman emperors. This connection to the Olympic Games is another way by which

emperors could consolidate loyalty of the provinces. Greco-Roman festivals were closely

associated with the Roman emperors as a way to connect the Imperial cult with popular

athletic festivals. While Herod did not participate in the games, he donated time and

money to ensure their existence and in so doing, he acted in accordance with the client-

king relationship.

Roman Temples

Herod also constructed three pagan temples to Augustus and Roma at Caesarea, Panias,

and Sebaste, as well as several temples in honor of various deities outside of his

kingdom. The three temples to Augustus and Roma highlighted Herod's relationship with

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[199] For more on the Greco-Roman games in Judea see Josephus *AJ* 15.268-74.
For more on the Actian Games see Robert Alan Gurval, <u>Actium and Augustus : The Politics and Emotions of Civil War</u> (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).
For more on the Panian Games see John Francis Wilson, <u>Caesarea Philippi : Banias, the Lost City of Pan</u> (London ; New York: I. B. Tauris, 2004).

[200] *BJ* 1.427.

Rome both through their dedications and also through their architecture.[201] At Sebaste,

Herod's temple to Augustus and Roma was one of the centerpieces of the new city. All of

the *Augustea* in Herod's kingdom seem to have been built following Roman patterns of

construction. In particular, all three were constructed on a high platform towering over

the rest of the city. Moreover, Herod constructed these temples so as to make them dwarf

everything else in the city and appear to be removed and separate from the rest of the

city. In contrast, Classical and Hellenistic temples, while somewhat separate from rest of

the city, were more fully integrated into the city plan.[202] Another sign of Roman

influence is that all three Augustea were reached by climbing a large and monumental

stairway. This hallmark of Roman temple architecture focused attention on the front of

the temple and controlled access to the interior.[203]

Roman Baths

Bathing and immersion in water had been an aspect of Judean culture for centuries before

Herod's reign. Nevertheless, his introduction of Roman bathing culture was another

avenue through which he directed his kingdom ever further into the larger Greco-Roman

world. Within his kingdom, Herod constructed over twenty-seven individual bathing

facilities in seven of his excavated palaces and fortresses. Although Herod certainly

inherited from the Hasmoneans a local tradition of bathing construction, if we examine

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[201] Lisa C. Kahn, "King Herod's Temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea Maritima," in Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum, Caesarea Maritima : A Retrospective after Two Millenia, Documenta Et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui (Leiden ; New York: E.J.Brill, 1996). 134-137

[202] Henner von Hesberg, "The Significance of the Cities in the Kingdom of Herod," in Klaus Fittschen, G. Foerster, Universitah ha-vrit bi-Yerushalayim. Makhon le-arkheologyah. and Universität Göttingen. Archäologische Institut., Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence : Acts of a Symposium, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3. Folge, Nr. 215 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

[203] Roller, The Building Program of Herod the Great. 92-93

the Herodian facilities closely, we can see the Roman influence.[204] For example, the bath

complex next to the Northern Palace at Masada is a clear imitation of the standard Roman

bathhouse down to even the finest details of decoration and the *Reihentyp* floor plan with

an *apodyterium*, *frigidarium*, and *caldarium* arranged in a series. Further, the complex

also contained the latest Roman *hypocaust* system, remains of which are still visible

today. [205] Another Roman-style bathhouse, complete with all of the expected rooms, was

built in the basement of the lowest terrace of the Northern Palace.[206] This Roman

influence can be seen at other sites as well. At Upper Herodion, builders constructed

another bath complex with a similar layout, in which the *apodyterium*, *frigidarium*,

tepidarium, and *caldarium* were arranged in a circuit. Vitruvius recommends such a

layout.[207]

Would Herod's Judean elites have objected to the introduction of Roman bathing

complexes and practices? While we cannot know precisely what individual elites thought

of these new bathhouses, it is noteworthy that despite Herod's enthusiasm for Roman-

style bath complexes, other Judean elites were less interested in them, as evidenced by

their decision not to build their own Roman-style bathing facilities; only three examples

from other Judean elites exist in the kingdom. Nevertheless, in spite of this hesitancy,

Judean elites could not have been untouched by Roman influence, since participation at

court would have required some exposure and even participation in Roman bathing

culture. Further, if Roman baths were really so unpopular with his court, one would

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[204] Danielle Steen Fatkin, "Royal Power and Bathing in Herod's Palestine," Stanford Univ., 2007.

[205] Netzer *Masada*. 1991, 76-101; Masada: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965: Final Reports, vol. 5 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1995) 193-205. Cf. David M. Jacobson, "Placing Herod the Great and his Works in Context," *PEQ* 134 (2002) 87

[206] Netzer *Masada* 1991,164-170. Cf. Netzer *Palaces* 2001,118.

[207] For Vitruvius' recommendation see *De Arch.* 5.10.5

assume that the king would not have built so many. Just as he did not use figurative art that violated his subjects' religious sensibilities, so too would he not have constructed a bathing complex that offended a significant number of his courtiers.[208]

As in other areas, Herod adopted Roman techniques and styles, he modified his versions to suit his local needs and environment. For instance, he placed Judean immersion pools in Roman-style bathhouses.[209] Perhaps this blending of the two traditions made the adoption of some elements of Roman bathing customs more palatable to a local elite audience, who might have been initially skeptical of the king's innovative building. Either way, the king's decision to build bathhouses that utilized Roman architectural forms speaks to his desire to Romanize both his court and his kingdom.

Using Roman Technology and Decoration

In addition to the utilization of Roman buildings, Herod's architects also employed Roman technology and building techniques, such as the use of *pozzolana* for harbor installations, such as Sabastos, and the appearance of *opus reticulatum* and *opus sectile.* Native building traditions were long established by the end of the first century BCE, and Herod's decision to use new and innovative means of construction speaks to his desire to position his kingdom more fully into the emerging Roman world.

Pozzolana

In order to construct such a massive harbor complex under such conditions, Herod utilized the most modern building methods and materials, including hydraulic cement, composed of *pozzolana,* a volcanic ash imported from Italy around the Bay of Naples.

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[208] Fatkin, "Royal Power and Bathing in Herod's Palestine. ",20-21

[209] See chart in Fatkin, "Royal Power and Bathing in Herod's Palestine." Appendix C, Fig. 14b.

Vitruvius, whose treatise on architecture was completed just before work began on

Sepaotoq (ca. 25 BCE), had written about and recommended the use of *pozzolana* in

marine structures.[210] Its use was essential in order to compensate for the poor quality of

the local *kurkar* stone. Builders at Caesarea used large concrete blocks—many of which

were about thirty cubic meters in volume and weighed ninety tons—in concert with stone

blocks, which had been the main building material in earlier harbors.[211] Stone blocks

might also have been used to protect the outer side of the foundations of the breakwaters.

Herod's builders erected a series of double-walled wooden frames shaped like

rectangular boats to construct the harbor quays. These frames were floated into position

and sunk. Workers then poured concrete into the molds once they were submerged and

anchored in their proper place.

Opus Reticulatum and *Opus Sectile*

Both of these building techniques were readily identifiable as Roman and both appear for

the first time in Palestine in Herodian buildings. *Opus Reticulatum* involved the use of

uniformly cut small *tufa* bricks placed in diagonal rows. Behind the lattice-like outer

facing was a core of concrete. The finished patterns resemble a net, hence the term

(*reticulatum* is Latin for "net"). This building technique first came into vogue in Rome

during the first century BCE. In Palestine, however, it does not seem to have been used

before or after Herod. Scholars usually date the arrival of *opus reticulatum* in Judaea to

the late part of Herod's reign, since the buildings where it appears, such as the Third

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[210] Vitruv. *De Arch.* 5.12.2-6

[211] Netzer, The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great., 218-221

Winter Palace at Jericho, the Northern Palace at Masada, and the Augusteum at Panias, all date to that period.

Besides *opus reticulatum,* Herod's builders also used *opus sectile* to decorate the floors of his palaces, such as Masada, Jericho, and Herodion. *Opus sectile* is a technique in which materials such as marble, mother of pearl, and glass, were cut or inlaid into walls and floors to make a picture or form a pattern. At Masada, *opus sectile* floors can be found in all three major rooms of the bathhouse.[212] As opposed to those of *opus reticulatum*, the *opus sectile* floors in Herod's palaces would have been visible to any guest. It is not surprising, then, that Herod would put his Roman-style floors in Roman-style structures such as bathhouses, nor that he would also place a Roman floor in one of his most conspicuous and public rooms in Jericho, the large reception hall. Visitors to the palace would be visually reminded of Herod's Romanization each time they entered the room, and, if Netzer is correct that this hall was a main reception room, these reminders would be frequent and public.

Use of Aniconic Roman Wall paintings

Several Roman decorative frescos appear in Herodian architecture. One of the most ubiquitous was Roman-style wall painting. Almost all of the rooms in Herod's buildings were stuccoed, and many of them contained some kind of wall painting or decoration. For example, at Masada, Room 15 of the large bathhouse and all three of the terraces of the Northern Palace were decorated with frescoes painted in Pompeian Second Style.[213]

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[212] For Vitruvius' discussion *of opus sectile* see Vitr. *De Arch,* 7.1.4.

[213] Yigael Yadin, Hevrah la-hakirat Erets-Yisrael ve-atikoteha. and Universitah ha-Ivrit bi-Yerushalayim., <u>Masada : The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965 : Final Reports</u>, The Masada Reports, 7 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society : Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989). 193-205

These Second Style wall paintings also appear at Caesarea, Samaria, Jerusalem, Jericho, and Herodion.[214] This is not at all surprising, since we know that the king imported several Italian artisans and engineers to design and construct Caesarea Maritima as well as his other later palaces. What is surprising is the almost total lack of figurative art in his private residences. Mosaics can be found in all of Herod's palaces, but the designs are mostly geometric patterns, along with a few depictions of designs prominent in Jewish art such as olive branches, pomegranates, and fig and vine leaves.[215] In other words, none of the artistic elements present in the wall paintings would have offended traditional Jews. Nevertheless, Herod's decision to decorate his palaces using the latest Roman wall painting designs and techniques speaks both to his Romanization and his desire to advertise this acculturation to his visitors and guests.

Conclusion: Herod, Friend of the Romans

Throughout Herod's reign, and even despite some temporary setbacks in their relationship, Augustus maintained an alliance and friendship with him precisely because he was the most suitable candidate for the job. From Augustus' perspective, his client king had fulfilled his obligations to Rome and his duties as a client king. As such, Augustus used Roman military and political power to support Herod and his claim to the Judean throne. Without such support, it would have been much more difficult if not impossible for him to remain on the throne, die a natural death, and pass on his kingdom as he saw fit. Roman support was essential to this success, and such support would not

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[214] Roller, The Building Program of Herod the Great. 166-170

[215] Ehud Netzer, Rachel Laureys-Chachy, Rachel Bar-Nathan and Ḥevrah la-ḥaḳirat Erets-Yiśra'el ye-'atiḳoteha., Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho : Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society : Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2001). 255-256

have been forthcoming if Herod had not realized what was expected of him and acted accordingly.

Herod had plenty to gain from such activities. As we have discussed above, the successful client king received Roman economic, military, and political support, which often deterred any attempts to depose him. Further, he gained privileged access to Roman technology, especially Roman building technology, with which he could construct elaborate and lavish buildings, further enhancing his own reputation and glory. Rome was thus as useful to Herod as he was to it, and such mutual benefit explains why the client-king relationship worked so well.

THE HELLENIZATION OF THE PRIESTHOOD

In this section I will argue that Herod's appointment of diaspora high priests was a major game changer for the Temple Cult. Since the time of the Hasmoneans, the high priest had been seen as a political-national leader. Herod's weakness was his lineage, which barred him from the Priesthood, but it did nothing to stop him from trying to control and subdue it.

High Priesthood and the Hasmoneans

The Hasmoneans' use of the high priesthood was also an important foundation-setter for Herod. During the majority of the Second Temple Period, the most powerful figure in the Judean state was the High Priest. As David Goodblatt argues, during the Persian period, specifically the 4th century BCE, the theory of priestly monarchy arose.[216] In this theory, the high priest was the undisputed leader of the community and behaved in much the same way as a king. For example, evidence of this situation appears in the Tobiad romance. Joseph and his son Hyrcanus may have been powerful and influential men, but the high priest was clearly the most senior official in Judea. The Tobiads seem to have been nothing more than tax farmers, and Joseph received permission to negotiate with the

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[216] As Goodblatt shows, primary sources ranging from Pompeius Tragus to the Aramaic *Testament of Levi* attest to the priestly monarchy as the ruling political body of Judea. Non-Jewish authors consistently described the Judeans as being ruled by priests. Regardless, this is not to say that other powerful and influential offices did not exist. Additionally, there likely were groups who favored the restoration of a monarchy or who wished some other form of rule. However, the evidence in both material written by Jews and material written by non-Jews, indicates that those supporting the rule of the priests, and especially the high priest, were more influential. See David M. Goodblatt, The Monarchic Principle : Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity, Texte Und Studien Zum Antiken Judentum (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck), 1994). 1-130. For non-Jewish authors referring to the Judeans as ruled by priests see Strabo *Georg.* 16.2.46; Tac. *Hist.* 5.8.3; Just. *Epit.* 36.2.16; Dio 37.15.2.

Ptolemaic King from the high priest, Onias.[217] Furthermore, during the time after the death of the high priest, Simeon, son of Onias, and Jonathan Maccabee's assumption of the high priesthood in 152 BCE, the high priest seems to have been the highest-ranking official in Judea. In the period just before the Maccabaean revolt, Onias III, Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus all seem to be ruling Judea. The only people who outranked them were Seleucid officials. Thus, when the Hasmoneans replaced the descendants of Zadok as high priests, they did not change the Judean constitution, merely the office holders.[218]

The high priesthood must have been an office of great respect, because when the Hasmoneans first become preeminent, they did not claim the office. It is only after Alexander Balas appointed Jonathan Maccabee as high priest that the family routinely occupied the position. After ruling as high priests for more than fifty years, the Hasmoneans decided to also claim the kingship while retaining the high priesthood.[219] The notion of separating the high priesthood from the monarchy was contemplated by both Hyrcanus I and Alexander Jannaeus, since both nominated their wives to succeed them.[220] This might suggest that the later Hasmoneans based their rule on the kingship, not the high priesthood. However, Josephus' description of Mattathias Antigonus' exchange with the Roman commander Pompaedius Silo suggests that he and others regarded the high priesthood as a prerequisite for kingship.[221] In the exchange recorded

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[217] *AJ* 12.160-236. Goodblatt 1994,13-15.

[218] Goodblatt, 1994, 20-23.

[219] The importance of the high priesthood and the status associated with it likely explains why Alexandra was so insistent that her son, Aristobulus III, become high priest *(AJ* 15.23-24, 36). Alexandra likely saw this as a way for the Hasmonean family to revive its fortunes and eventually eclipse Herod himself. Unsurprisingly, Herod eliminated Aristobulus as soon as he became a threat *(BJ* 1.437; *AJ* 15.49-56).

[220] *BJ* 1.71, 107; *A J* 13.302, 407. For Salome Alexandra appointing her son John Hyrcanus high priest see *BJ 1.109; AJ* 13.408

[221] Dio 48.41

by Josephus, Antigonus argues that it was contrary to Roman notions of justice to give the kingship to Herod. If Antigonus was unacceptable to Rome, there were other Hasmoneans of priestly rank more worthy than Herod.[222]

This view of the high priesthood being a qualification of kingship is also implied by Josephus in *Jewish Antiquities* 14:77-78, where he blames Aristobulus and Hyrcanus for the dissension that led to Pompey's conquest in 63 BCE. In this section, Josephus complains about the transfer of royal power from those of high priestly backgrounds to commoners. Such an attitude implies that there was an ideology that believed the high priesthood was a prerequisite to kingship and spoke to the ideology of priestly monarchy. This suggests that the Hasmoneans never completely abandoned their reliance on the high priesthood, even as they also adopted other ruling models such as Hellenistic kingship.[223]

Why was the high priesthood so important? The centrality of this office to Judea and its people is clear. High priests had ruled Judea for hundreds of years, whereas a Jewish king had not existed since the sixth century BCE. Thus, it is not surprising that the Hasmoneans would want to monopolize the office and retain it even after they had claimed the title of king. The status that came with the high priesthood undoubtedly served to legitimize the Hasmoneans in the eyes of the people. Furthermore, with the status accorded to the high priesthood, the Hasmoneans likely increased their influence with the Jews living outside of Judea, either in the neighboring regions of Palestine or in the Diaspora. On a more local level, by occupying the high priesthood, the Hasmoneans

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[222] *AJ* 14.403-404. Cf. Goodblatt, The Monarchic Principle : Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity.24-25

[223] Goodblatt, The Monarchic Principle : Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity., 23-25

were able to control the vast system of Temple tithes. Thus, they were likely able to

control the priests as well as the Levites who relied on the Temple tithes for support.[224]

Herod's Hellenization of the Priesthood

Herod's usurping the authority to appoint the high priest may be regarded as

revolutionary. Until the time of the late Hasmoneans, the foreign overlord of Judea was

the authority who appointed the high priest. Before Herod, the High Priest was chosen

from the Odiad family and later from the Hasmonean family. It is true that Herod was not

the first ruler to appoint the high priest, but he was the first native Jewish ruler to do

so.[225]

Priestly Appointments in the Classical World

There are several similarities between the Classical world priests and Judean high

priesthood. In Greece and Rome, the pagan hierarchy of priesthood depended upon one

person. In Athens, for instance, the *archon basileus* was the chief priest and was elected

every year. In the Hellenistic states, the king functioned as high priest more often than

not in both Greek and native religions. The Hellenistic king was the supreme priest for

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[224] For Julius Caesar's decree, which indicates that the high priest collected the priestly gifts and then redistributed them see *AJ* 14.203. For Schwartz's theory about the Hasmoneans using the collected priestly gifts to secure priestly support see Seth Schwartz, "Herod, Friend of the Jews," in *Jerusalem andEretz Israel: The Arie Kindler Volume,* Joshua Schwartz, Zohar Amar and Irit Ziffer eds. (Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum and The Ingeborg Center For Jerusalem Studies, 2001) 71.

[225] Until the time of the late Hasmoneans, the foreign overlord was the appointing authority. The Ptolemies and later the Seleucids selected a high priest from the Oniad family. Often the appointment passed from father to son. This could change according to the whims of the ruler, for example, when Jason bribed Antiochus IV to appoint him priest over Onias III. However, Jason was a member of the Onias family. When Antiochus realized that Jason was not going to fully obey him, he appointed Menelaus, a priest, but not of the Onias family. Later, when the Hasmonean Jonathon was found to better suit interests, the Seleucid Alexander Balas appointed him. Thus the first Hasmonean high priests, including John Hyrcanus, were Seleucid appointees. For more information see E. J. Bickerman and Jewish Theological Seminary of America., The Jews in the Greek Age (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988). 144-45 and also, Schürer, Vermès and Millar, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135). 149-150.

life, and his son and heir would succeed him at that task. In Rome, the *pontifex maximus*[226] held an elected position, with an appointment for life, and he was high priest of the Roman religion. It is interesting to compare the fate of the Jewish high priest and that of the Roman *pontifex maximus* during the earlier Imperial Period. From Herod's time onward, the Jewish high priest was appointed and dismissed quite frequently. The Roman *pontifex maximus*, however, which was a position that became a prerogative of the Roman emperor from the time of Augustus onward, became a hereditary appointment.

Herod and the Priesthood

The Romans wished native temples to be religious and spiritual centers, rather than political and nationalistic symbols. Herod succeeded in following this Roman ideal. After laying siege to Jerusalem and assuming the throne, Herod began his systematic weakening of Temple institutions almost immediately. Herod first looked to weaken the office of the native Hasmonean High Priesthood. He accomplished this by appointing a series of weak priests, mostly from the Diaspora. First, he appointed an old friend from the Babylonian Diaspora named Hananel. Hananel came from a priestly family, but not from the direct line of the High Priest. In doing so, Herod installed a High Priest he knew he could control: "One of Herod's principal measures was to make the Temple and the high priesthood a tool of his own rule."[227] Herod feared that a prominent native High Priest would undermine his own power, potentially resulting in destabilizing riots.

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[226] On the *pontifex maximus* see G.W. Bowersock, "The Pontificate of Augustus," in K. A. and M. Toher (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire, Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, Los Angeles, 1990, pp. 380-394.

[227] Horsley, <u>Revolt of the Scribes : Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins</u>.Pg 116.

Herod narrowly escaped his fear becoming reality when he, at the urging of his

Hasmonean wife Mariamne, removed Hananel as High Priest and appointed Aristobulus

III to the position. Later that year at the Festival of Tabernacles Herod realized his

mistake. Josephus records the event:

Aristobulus . . . went up to the altar, according to the law, to offer the sacrifices, and this with the ornaments of his high priesthood, and when he performed the sacred offices, he seemed to be exceedingly comely, and taller than men usually were at his age, and to exhibit in his countenance a great deal of that high family he was sprung from – a warm zeal and affection towards him appeared among the people, and the memory of his grandfather Aristobulus was fresh in their minds; and their affections got so far the mastery of them, that they could not forebear to show their inclinations to him. They at once rejoiced and were confounded, and mingled with good wishes their joyful acclamations which they made to him, till the good-will of the multitude was made too evident; and they more rashly proclaimed the happiness they had received from his family than was fit under a monarchy to have done.[228]

Herod, being ruthlessly pragmatic, found a quick solution to squelch any spark of

rebellion. He invited the young Hasmonean to a celebration at his Jericho Palace and had

him drowned in the pool. Herod then reinstated Hananel to the office of High Priest.

Later he appointed an Egyptian by the name of Jesus who was the son of Phiabi to the

position. In 23 BCE, he removed Jesus and appointed Simeon, the son of Boethus, in

order to marry his daughter. By appointing weak priests from the Diaspora and replacing

them at a whim, Herod established that the position no longer held the national esteem it

held previously. The High Priest as a national symbol of political leadership was a thing

of the past. Mendels writes that "[Herod] harshly dominated the high priests. He also

watched the Temple Mount carefully from the Antonia, a fortress he built at the

beginning of his reign in Jerusalem."[229]

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[228] *AJ* 15.3.3

[229] Horsley, <u>Revolt of the Scribes : Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins</u>.284

The question now becomes: Why? Why would Herod the Great seek to decrease the political influence of the Jerusalem Temple? First and foremost, Herod did so to follow policy. By lowering the profile of the Temple as a political center, Herod was true to his masters, the Romans, who wanted to eliminate any political power from native temples, while allowing a religio-cultural one to remain. Herod's practice of appointing weak, unimpressive men to the position of High Priest was also in keeping with Roman practices elsewhere. Lee Levine cites that "The subordination of the religious elite to the political leadership was a hallmark of Romanization."[230] Herod served his own purposes by weakening the high priesthood and in their weakness his office found strength.

Another possible motivation was Herod's fear of the Hasmonean lineage, as his Jewish lineage was regarded as suspect at best. Early in his reign he tried to capitalize on the Jews' affinity for the Hasmoneans by marrying a Hasmonean descendant. Herod went so far as to claim to be of the Hasmonean line. This pretending came to a halt with the near-disaster of appointing Aristobulus as High Priest. Soon after that misstep, Herod killed any remaining Hasmonean heirs, including his wife, mother-in-law, and sons, for fear that the people might attempt to restore them to the throne.

Herod also robbed power from other religious authorities by diminishing the role of the Pharisees and other scribes. During the reign of the Hasmonean Dynasty the Pharisees saw political power come and go. By the time of Salome Alexandra, the Pharisees had taken control of many matters of state. Richard Horsley notes that Alexandra "reinstated the Pharisees to positions of power in the administration of the

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[230] Lee I. Levine and Jewish Theological Seminary of America., Jerusalem : Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 B.C.E.-70 C.E.), 1st ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2002).171

kingdom/temple-state."[231] Also under Herod, "the Pharisees and other scribes were in effect demoted, no longer having their previous influence in the operations of society.[232]

Another of Herod's strategies for depoliticizing the Temple was to separate the political aspect of the Temple to emphasize the spiritual aspect through focusing on its religious and cultic activities. Herod used the Sanhedrin, a panel of priests and scribes, to hear all civil cases between Jewish citizens. The Sanhedrin met in the Temple complex. They heard the evidence and ruled on each case using the Torah and other written traditions to decide the cases. This served a two-fold purpose. First, it let the people see the laws of their ancestors enacted and interpreted. It was a religious practice and tradition to bring these cases in front of "judges." In allowing the council to meet and decide cases, Herod allowed the citizens of Jerusalem to express their religion. Second, the Sanhedrin kept the priests and scribes content. Priests and scribes made up a large part of the vocal opposition to Herod's rule. By allowing the Sanhedrin to meet, Herod could placate at least a select elite group of those priests and scribes. While Herod was busy placating the native population, he also sought to endear himself to the Diaspora Jews, thus bolstering his case as being the King of every Jew.

Conclusion: High Priests after Herod's Death

Herod's effectiveness as a ruler can be seen in that after his death, things did not proceed quite so smoothly. Once the figure of a strong-willed king vanished with the death of Agrippa I, the High Priests could no longer be in control of the situation. In fact, the Roman procurators and the Herodian kings dismissed the High Priests at will, though

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[231] Horsley, <u>Revolt of the Scribes : Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins</u>.110

[232] Horsley, <u>Revolt of the Scribes : Resistance and Apocalyptic Origins</u>. 116

after Archelaus' fall, they once more represented the Jews, this time vis-a-vis Rome. However, the High Priests had the power, authority, and the will to perform political duties in Judea with respect to the Romans. The result was a disaster: the First Revolt and the destruction of the Temple.[233]

Herod and the Rebuilding of the Temple

Jerusalem prior to Herod's building program was a cramped and underdeveloped city, certainly not an ideal city for a center of religious pilgrimage. Archaeological evidence suggests that at the end of the Persian period, the development of the city was still slow and gradual. This continued into the pre-Hasmonean period; the city remained within the fortified boundaries of the City of David into the third and second centuries BCE and occupied an area no larger than thirty acres. Population estimates are in the low thousands.[234] By the beginning of the Hasmonean period, the city had expanded onto the whole of the southwestern hill.

Initial Planning

Before Herod could begin this project, though, he had to secure the consent and approval of the populace, if he were to gain the maximum benefit for such a costly endeavor. To this end, according to Josephus, he assembled the Jerusalemites and announced his intentions. In his speech that appears in *Jewish Antiquities*, Herod stresses the peace and prosperity experienced by the kingdom, his friendship with the Romans, his past experience with building and construction, and how all of these would enable him to

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[233] The chronology of first century CE high priests is quite a complicated subject. See also L. Levine, Jerusalem, Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 13CE—70 CE), Philadelphia 2002, pp. 352-358. Levine examines the number of families from whom the high priest was chosen. He also emphasizes that Herod elevated these families to the priesthood.

[234] The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem, 1 atlas (152 p) (New York: Simon & Schuster,, 1990).

accomplish the reconstruction project. Most notably, he also emphasizes that all of those previous projects are nothing compared to this ultimate act of piety he is about to undertake.[235] The response to this speech was one of disbelief and skepticism, and in order to placate his subjects, Herod promised to not begin to tear down any walls or structures until all of the materials were assembled.[236] To this end, he assembled one thousand wagons, hired ten thousand workers, and trained over one thousand priests in masonry and carpentry. Although these numbers are probably estimates, they illustrate the size and scope of the project as well as the amount of expenditure Herod was willing to incur.

When did the construction begin on the Temple and its esplanade? Josephus offers two dates for the commencement of building activities on the Temple Mount, either in Herod's fifteenth year *(BJ* 1.401) or in his eighteenth year *(AJ* 15.380). Further complicating this issue is that it is unclear whether Josephus was counting from 40 BCE or from 37 BCE. The two dates most accepted by scholars are 23/22 and 20/19 BCE.[237] Josephus states that the entire construction took either eight or nine and a half years.[238]

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[235] In his speech to the people, Herod uses the word "piety" (εὐσεβές) twice to describe his rebuilding project. See *AJ* 15.384, 387.

[236] *AJ* 15.388-390. Given the duration of the building project, especially the fact that it was not totally completed until 64 CE, it is unlikely that all of the materials were assembled prior to the beginning of construction. What is more likely is that Herod assembled a large amount of the initial construction materials, enough to placate the populace and prove to them that the project was feasible. Cf.E. Mary Smallwood, The Jews under Roman Rule : From Pompey to Diocletian, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity (Leiden: Brill, 1976)., 91-92. Also, James C. VanderKam, From Revelation to Canon : Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2000).

[237] Schurer argues that 20/19 BCE was the correct date (Schurer 1973, 292). E. Mary Smallwood (Smallwood 1976,91-92) instead suggests that 23/22 is a better date. Roller attempts a synthesis and argues for a commencement date of 20/19 BCE based on Augustus' visit to Syria, but he suggests that preliminary

Building the Temple

My argument is that Herod purposefully incorporated architectural Romanization into the

Temple mount as much as he possibly could. There is no doubt that Herod could not

change the blueprint layout of the interior of the Temple as defined by the Torah. His

goal was a symbolic synchronization of the Roman and Jewish cultic architecture. While

this synchronization was nothing new, as Solomon's temple likely reflected Syro-

Phoenician architecture, Herod expanded the Temple esplanade, adding the Courts of

Women and Gentiles to welcome in the Diaspora and Roman values.

Herod incorporated several aspects of Hellenistic and Roman architecture into the

Temple Mount.[239] The most obvious, other than the Courts of Women and Gentiles,

would be the *Stoa Basileia*, and Corinthian column bases and heads. Samuel Rocca

argues that the primary source of inspiration for Herod's Temple Mount was neither

Jewish nor Hellenistic, but Roman. Rocca cites the contemporary Roman forum as the

primary architectural influence on the Herodian *temenos*.[240] *Contra* Rocca, Jacobson sees

that, just as Solomon erected the Temple in the Syro-Phoenician style, so Herod built his

temple "purely accidental[ly]" in the popular style of the day.[241] For my purposes it is

important to note the general agreement that these two scholars have on the influence of

the Roman basilica blueprint on Herod's structure. Rocca notes that a basilica generally

surveying may have taken place for many years prior to the official initiation of work, thus explaining
Josephus' two dates (Roller 1998,176-177).

[238] Josephus writes that the construction of the sanctuary itself took eighteen months and courts and
porticos took eight years. This could mean either that the whole project lasted eight years with eighteen
months of it being dedicated to the sanctuary or that the project lasted nine and a half years. See Smallwood
1976,9 2.

[239] For David M. Jacobson's detailed discussion of the Roman influences on Herod's reconstruction see
"Herod's Roman Temple," *BAR* 282 (2002) 18-27, 60.

[240] Rocca, Herod's Judaea : A Mediterranean State in the Classical World. 300

[241] Jacobson, David M. "Herod's Roman Temple," *BAR* 282 (2002) 18-27.

consisted of a rectangular-shaped plaza, surrounded by a colonnade.[242] Jacobson notes that the Temple Mount incorporates characteristics of earlier Roman sanctuaries in Latium, such as the Temple of Fortuna at Praeneste, the Temple of Jupiter at Terracina, and the Temple of Hercules at Tibur. These characteristics are symmetrical entrances, a centrally placed Temple and enclosing colonnades.[243] As we shall see, Herod's Temple likely purposefully incorporated all these forms and more.

The first stage of the construction program was the expansion of the esplanade. Using the latest engineering and construction techniques, Herod's builders doubled the size of the platform. This project required a massive removal of earth and rock. About 31,000 cubic meters were removed from the northwestern edge of the platform alone, leaving a steep scarp of more than nine meters.[244] The southwestern corner of the Mount was built upon a foundation that lay about thirty-one meters below the esplanade, and the southeastern and northeastern corners were about forty-one and thirty-five meters below the esplanade, respectively. The retaining walls themselves were four and a half meters to five meters thick and built of *ashlars* laid in courses averaging between one and one-and-a-fifth meters high. The sheer size and monumental nature of merely the retaining walls gives us some idea of the visual effect the Temple would have had when it was standing. Hellenistic royal architecture reveled in the magnificent and awe-inspiring, and Herod's Temple would have fit nicely within this category.[245]

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[242] Rocca, Herod's Judaea : A Mediterranean State in the Classical World. 300

[243] Jacobson, "Herod's Roman Temple" 22-23.

[244] All these measurements are from Netzer 2006,161-162. Cf. Shimon Gibson and David M. Jacobson, Below the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (Oxford: British Archaeological Society, 1996) 268-279.

[245] For a discussion of the drive towards immense size, height and visual effect see Richardson 2004,277

In order to enter the Temple's precinct, one had to walk through one of the Temple's monumental gates.[246] The more heavily trafficked of these seem to have been on the west and the south sides. West of the Temple was the Upper City, and between it and Mt. Moriah was the Tyropoeon Valley through which ran an important north-south roadway. On the western side of the Temple Mount were four gates, which today are named after the men who discovered them. The final gate on the western side was at the top of what is known today as Robinson's Arch. The arch is the only remaining part of what once was a monumental stairway, built on piers and arches, which linked the Temple Mount to the roadway that ran along the base of the western retaining wall. The gate itself opened onto the *temenos* directly west of the *Stoa Basileia,* and it may have been used primarily or even exclusively by Herod and his court when he visited the *Stoa* and the Temple.[247] Once through one of the gates, visitors reached the Herodian *temenos* and the Sanctuary itself. Although bound by Biblical descriptions of the First Temple regarding the Sanctuary, Herod had significant freedom to design the rest of the site. He chose to construct double colonnades on the north, west, and east sides of the *temenos*.

Because of his lack of priestly standing, Herod could not enter the innermost parts of the Temple. However, as king, he no doubt wanted to maintain his prestige and presence as much as possible on this newly expanded and refurbished Temple Mount. To that end, he constructed the *Stoa Basileia*, a building so large and magnificent that it

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[246] Josephus' description of the Temple gates is found in *AJ* 15.410-420.

[247] *AJ* 15.410. In this passage, Josephus mentions four gates. The first gate in this passage refers to the one that stood above Wilson's Arch. It led to the Hasmonean palace, which was opposite the Temple Mount and in which Agrippa II constructed his *triclinium* that provided an uninterrupted view into the Temple courtyards *(AJ* 20.189-195). The two gates that "led into the suburb" are Warren's Gate and Barclay's Gate, and the final gate mentioned by Josephus in this passage refers to the one accessed by Robinson's Arch. For discussions of Robinson's Arch see Benjamin Mazar and Gaalyahu Cornfeld, <u>The Mountain of the Lord</u>, 1st ed. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975).,13

would be useful and appropriate for ceremonies and grand receptions, especially during national gatherings. This *stoa* was still within the extended Temple platform. However, because it was outside of the bounds of the sacred precinct, Herod had much more free reign in its architectural design.[248]

The lower colonnades of the *Stoa* had column bases with double convex moldings of the Attic-Ionic type and Corinthian capitals.[249] The *Stoa Basileia* was probably one of the most spectacular individual buildings Herod constructed in the course of his reign. It is perhaps no surprise that it was located at the focal point of his kingdom, the Temple Mount. It enabled him to have a presence on the Mount at all times. During any occasion when the king decided to entertain guests at the *Stoa,* it would have been closed to the general public, but at other times throughout the year, it was probably open to anyone who visited the Temple Mount.

Inclusion of the Diaspora: Courts of Women and Gentiles

Herod also sought to be inclusive of the Diaspora in the cultic life of the Temple in Jerusalem. He accomplished this by promoting and supporting increased pilgrimage and opening up the ranks of the high priesthood to the Diaspora. By the end of Herod's reign, Judaea and Jerusalem had become significant pilgrimage sites for Jews all over the Mediterranean as well as those living as far away as Babylon.

Herod's reconstruction also created a space where Gentiles and foreigners could come, and a Court of Women that was open to Jewish women. Gentiles could climb the Temple Mount and enter the *temenos* as long as they did not pass beyond the *Soreg,* the

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[248] For Josephus' description of the structure see *AJ* 15.411-416

[249] Netzer and Laureys-Chachy, <u>The Architecture of Herod: The Great Builder</u>. 167-170.

barrier and rampart that separated Gentiles from Jews. Large signs placed at regular

intervals delineated the boundary of the *Soreg* and warned Gentiles against entering the

inner courts of the Sanctuary.[250] When Marcus Agrippa came to Jerusalem in 15 BCE, he

went up to the Temple Mount with Herod in order to offer sacrifices. Agrippa must have

only gone as far as the *Soreg,* as he would not have wished to cause offense or incite a

disturbance.[251] The Court of Women created a specified space in which women could

enter and observe various activities such as the Nazarites boiling their offerings and the

inspection of the altar wood for worms. These were Herodian innovations, as there was

no Court of Women in Zerubbabel's Temple or in the later Hasmonean alterations. This

courtyard was located east of the Inner Enclosure and was entered from one of three gates

leading out to the *temenos*. A fourth gate, the Nicanor Gate, connected the courtyard to

the Priests' Court. Despite its name, this courtyard was not meant for women alone, but

rather for Jews of both genders. Nevertheless, by providing an area that women could

enter, and in the process allowing them to come closer to the Sanctuary itself, Herod was

in a way creating a more inclusive cult. He was also transforming the Jerusalem cult from

a Judean-specific one to a more inclusive worldwide cult, which could be honored and

reverenced by Jews and non-Jews alike.[252]

Conclusions

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[250] Excavators have found two examples of this warning, written in Greek. It is also mentioned by Josephus in *BJ 5.193,* 6.125; *AJ* 15.417. The text of these prohibitions that hung around the boundary of the *soreg* read, "No foreigner shall enter within the balustrade of the Temple, or within the precinct. Whoever is caught doing so will have himself to blame for his death that will follow in consequence." One of the stones is found in the Istanbul Museum and the other in the Israeli Museum.

[251] *AJ* 16.13-15.

[252] Richardson 2004, 287-291

It is important to emphasize that a further feature common to cultic architecture in both Rome and Jerusalem was the Hellenization of the outer forms. This was reflected mainly in the exterior of the cultic building and in the use of Greek styles, such as the use of the Corinthian style that completely dominated Rome itself. The Native Judean architectural "degrees of holiness" could not be re-patterned, but Herod adapted these to Hellenism. This building would have advertised the acceptance by worldwide Judaism of Herod's majesty. While it is certainly true that the leaders prior to Herod had reached out to the Diaspora, Herod took this policy to a new level and fully engaged the Diaspora, transforming Jerusalem into a metropolis for all Jews and a massive pilgrimage site. Further, because of its size and visibility on the Mount, visitors to the Temple would be visually reminded of Herod's piety as the rebuilder of the Temple, transforming it to an international place of prestige and worship.

The rebuilding was a major success. It significantly enhanced Herod's status as a pious king. It also employed tens of thousands of laborers, and since work on the Temple was never fully completed until 64 CE, his reconstruction provided lifetime employment for thousands of workers and even their descendants. Because of all of this, he could claim responsibility for a new "golden age" of economic prosperity and piety towards God. Indeed, in his speech before the rebuilding, Herod emphasized the prosperity and wealth of the kingdom under his stewardship and the piety of his project.[253]

Herod clearly was interested in emulating and even surpassing Jewish biblical heroes. The reconstruction and expansion of the Temple Mount enabled him to achieve this goal and to further assert himself as a legitimate and worthy successor to David and

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[253] *AJ* 15.384, 387

Solomon. It solidified his position as a Jewish king in his own right, elevated the status of the Temple Mount in the Roman world, transformed it into the largest sanctuary site in the ancient world, and embellished it to such a degree that the rabbis would state that "He who has not seen the Temple of Herod has never seen a beautiful building."[254]

Herod and the Diaspora

Because of the wealth and relative security he had achieved by the middle of his reign, Herod was able to devote his time to glorifying himself and positioning himself as a Jewish king in the Hellenistic model.

Patron of the Diaspora

Herod was a famous and active patron of Greek cities that housed Diaspora Jews. In 14 BCE, while in Asia visiting Marcus Agrippa, Herod was approached by the Jews of Ionia. They complained to the king that they were suffering mistreatment at the hands of their neighbors by being forced to appear in court on holy days and being denied the ability to follow Mosaic Law. [255]

As the ruler of Judaea and therefore the protector of the Temple, Herod was in a unique and privileged position with Diaspora Jews. Many of them would have approved of his renovation and rebuilding of the Temple, which had begun several years earlier.[256] Others would have seen Herod as a powerful king, friendly with Agrippa and likely to help out his co-religionists. Some of them might even have considered Herod to be the King of Jews everywhere and was the person to assist them. In any case, a Jewish envoy approached Herod and secured his services as well as those of his spokesman, Nicolaus

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[254] *b.Bava Batra* 4a.

[255] *AJ* 16.27-28

[256] Roller, The Building Program of Herod the Great.210

of Damascus.[257] After an eloquent speech, in which Nicolaus emphasized the loyalty of the Jews and enumerated the abuses done to them, Nicolaus reminded Agrippa that Herod and his family had been loyal supporters of Rome, and that Herod supported the Jews' petition. Agrippa then ruled in favor of the Ionian Jews and confirmed their rights of citizenship. Such a vigorous defense of Jewish interest was only natural for a king trying to make a name for himself.[258] This beneficent defense of Jewish interests would have enhanced Herod's political image with Diaspora Jews, and it would also have won him support back home, where his subjects would have approved of his actions on behalf of their religious brethren. Herod thus began to position himself as the King of all Jews, not just the King of the Palestinian Jews. Simultaneously, by playing to the Diaspora, Herod distributed his political power-base away from the locus of Jerusalem. Diaspora Temple Priesthood

As I explained earlier, Herod's initiative to depoliticize the Native Hasmonean priesthood resulted in appointing Diaspora Jews to the office. Indeed, one of the hallmarks of Herod's religious policy was that High Priest candidates would not inherit the office. Instead, Herod appointed them, often to short terms of office, and frequently deposed them. Further, Herod consciously snubbed aristocratic Jerusalem families in favor of candidates from the Diaspora, particularly Egypt and Babylon. This pattern began with his first appointment, Hannael, who, according to Josephus, came from Babylon. During

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[257] *AJ* 16.29-30

[258] *AJ* 16.31-65. Cf. 12.125-128

the course of his reign, only two high priests, Aristobulus III and Mattathias ben

Theophilus, were unambiguously native Jerusalemites. [259]

Herod's motivation or such a policy was likely grounded in political expediency.

By denying the highest religious position to a native Jerusalemite, Herod was preventing

any local elite from gaining enough power and prestige to challenge his authority.

Further, for those in the high priesthood, because they were not native Jerusalemites, they

could not gain enough of a local power-base to rival Herod. As foreign appointees, they

were entirely dependent upon Herod for support.[260] Nevertheless, Herod may also have

been using these appointments of non-Jerusalemite High Priests to further include the

Diaspora. As Seth Schwartz argues, these appointments may have been designed to

weaken the connection of the high priesthood with Judaea, so that the office became

connected with all Jews, not simply Judeans.[261] Thus, it may have been one part of

Herod's larger plan to transform the Temple from a Judean-specific institution to a

Jewish one by involving all Jews in the religious life of his kingdom. The benefit to

Herod would be that instead of being merely King of the Judeans, he would be King of

the Jews,thus raising his status from a local ruler, to a world-wide figure. Herod sought to

be viewed as a true King of the Jews. "He wanted to be seen more favorably by religious

Jews both in Palestine and in the Diaspora, some of whom had no reason to like him. And

indeed he may have succeeded in gaining their favor"[262]

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[259] Stern. "Social and Political Realignments in Herodian Judaea," *Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982) 49-52

[260] Goodman, Martin, The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt AD 66-70. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). 41-42, 111-112, 118-120.

[261] Schwartz, Seth "Herod, Friend of the Jews." In *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel: The Arie Kindler Volume 1*. Tel Aviv: Eretz Israel Museum and The Ingeborg Center For Jerusalem Studies, 2001. Pg 73-74.

[262] Mendels, The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism.286.

Internal politics may also have played a role in Herod's decision to patronize certain cities. It is no accident that many of the cities chosen contained large Jewish populations. Evidence for these communities comes from archaeological and literary material. For example, archaeologists have uncovered a synagogue at Delos whose oldest levels date to before the First Mithradatic War (88-84 BCE).[263] Additionally, Delos is one of the cities Josephus mentions that issued an edict granting the Jews special privileges, in particular exemption from military service.[264] Other cities that appear in the edicts cited by Josephus include Kos, Laodicea, Pergamum, Sidon, and Tyre.[265]

As King of Judaea, Herod was the most prominent Jewish figure in the ancient world. Through his influence as a patron and benefactor to Greek cities, Herod may have been able to improve the situation for Diaspora Jews living within the cities that he patronized. This in turn would have enhanced Herod's image as the patron and defender of the Diaspora, an image that would have played well inside his kingdom. Furthermore, it stands to reason that a city beholden to Herod through ties of patronage and clientage would try to avoid offending him by mistreating, at least in an official capacity, the Jews in their midst.

Conclusion

While it is certainly true that leaders prior to Herod had reached out to the Diaspora, Herod took this policy to a new level. He fully engaged the Diaspora by transforming Jerusalem into a metropolis for all Jews and a massive pilgrimage site. One of his major

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[263] Trumper, Monika. "The Oldest Original Synagogue Building in the Diaspora: The Delos Synagogue Reconsidered." *Hesperia* 73 (2004) 513-598.

[264] BJ 14.231-232. *AJ* 14.213

[265] *AJ* 14.190-267

contributions was to transform the central Judean institutions (Temple and high

priesthood) from their exclusive Judean identity to one accessible to other Jews including

Galileans and Idumaeans and those living in the Diaspora.[266]

THE GOLDEN EAGLE INCIDENT[267]

The most well-known example of Herod's religious conflicts with his subjects is the

eagle incident in which a group of religious Jews tore down the golden eagle[268] Herod

had placed above one of the Temple's gates.[269] When Herod became deathly ill and a

rumor began to circulate that he had died, two teachers, Judah ben Sephoraeus and

Mattathias ben Margalus, pressed their students to help them cut down the eagle and

destroy it because in their view it violated the Second Commandment. These two

teachers, along with a group of students, climbed up on the gate, knocked the eagle to the

ground, and cut it up with axes.[270] They were immediately caught, and ultimately Herod

sentenced the teachers and their accomplices to death by burning.[271] I shall argue that

their attack should be seen, not as primarily being motivated by religion nor by a reaction

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[266] Schwartz, pg 68.

[267] Richardson raises several complicated questions, most of which there are no answers for such as, Where was it placed? Who could see it where it was placed? What was its shape? For his discussion see Richardson, Herod : King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans. 15-18.

[268] There is debate on what the nature of the eagle was. Was it a three-dimensional or a two-dimensional frieze sculpture? This would affect it vis-à-vis the interpretations of the second commandment. Richardson asserts that it was probably a low relief stone sculpture covered with gold leaf. Richardson, Herod : King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans. 15

[269] There is some debate about exactly which gate the eagle was placed over. Richardson sides with the Agrippa gate. In a minority opinion Wilkinson places it over the Temple door proper. For further discussion see Richardson, Herod : King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans. 16. Also, John Wilkinson, Jerusalem as Jesus Knew It : Archaeology as Evidence (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978). 87.

[270] BJ 1.649-651; AJ 17.151-156

[271] BJ 1.652-655; AJ17.156-160,167

to Hellenization, but by nationalistic aspirations at the point when the regime was at its weakest.

The eagle incident would seem to be a clear case of Herod violating Jewish Law. Josephus explicitly states that it is "unlawful to place in the Temple either images, busts or representations of a living creature."[272] However, the prohibition is not necessarily as clear as it initially seems. It is found in Exodus 20:4: "you shall not make yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in the heaven above, in the earth beneath or in the water under the earth." Richardson sees this prohibition encompassing two parts: the first prohibits idolatry while the second one prohibits figurative representations from the natural world.[273] Richardson's analysis of the rabbinic material has shown that for the most part the rabbis emphasized the first prohibition against idolatry, but were surprisingly lenient on the second. He cites several examples to evidence the point.

One such example is a passage in the Mishnah in which Rabban Gamaliel is seen bathing in the Bath of Aphrodite in which there was a statue of the goddess. When confronted about the apparent illegality of his actions, Gamaliel replies, "I came not within her limits (Aphrodite); she came within mine!" He adds, "Thus, what is treated as a god is forbidden, but what is not treated as a god is permitted."[274] The most general

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[272] *BJ* 1.650

[273] Peter Richardson, <u>Building Jewish in the Roman East</u>, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, (Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2004). 230-235.

[274] *m.'Avodah Zarah* 3:4. Cf. *m. 'Avodah Zarah* 4:3

prohibition on images, attributed to Rabbi Meir, is also relatively late. It says, "All

images are forbidden because they are worshipped once a year."[275]

The rabbinic material shows a general evolution to greater and more inclusive

prohibitions against the creation of images. Further, these opinions are not monolithic and

represent a range of severity. Even if the rabbinic material does not represent first-century

BCE attitudes, there is even clearer evidence that Herod's eagle was not the outrage

Josephus depicts. Assuming the eagle was erected around 18-15 BCE it would have been

perched above the gate for more than ten years before Judah and Mattathias attacked it.

We can imagine tens of thousands of Jews walking through the gate and under the eagle

without considering the Temple defiled or polluted. Only a small group of religious Jews

objected enough to act and then only when they believed Herod was dead. [276] One might

counter-argue that the issue was not the eagle, but its presence within the Temple

precinct.[277] However, the First Temple and possibly the Second contained religious

images within the precinct, specifically the cherubim who stood on either side of the Ark

of the Covenant.[278] Finally, the eagle makes an appearance on the reverse of one of

Herod's coins.[279] As Meshorer and others have argued, this coin was minted as a

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[275] *m.'Avodah Zarah* 3:1. For Richardson's discussion of the rabbinic material see Peter Richardson, David M. Granskou and Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion., Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity, Studies in Christianity and Judaism, (Waterloo, Ont., Canada: Published for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986)., 351-354.

[276] Fuks, Gideon "Josephus on Herod's Attitude towards Jewish Religion: The Darker Side." *JJS* 53 (2002). Even Fuks, who is quite critical of Herod's attitude towards Judaism, acknowledges that the majority of Jews did not have a problem with the eagle.

[277] *BJ*1.650. Josephus raises this exact objection, stressing the illegality and immorality of placing a graven image within the Temple complex.

[278] Richardson, Granskou and Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion., Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity. 354.

[279] Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba.* 67-69.

numismatic counterpart to the golden eagle and thus dates to circa 15 BCE.[280] If all Jews really objected strenuously to the image of an eagle statue, would they not also object to the image of the bird on their coins?

Other Incidents

Josephus records a number of other episodes in which Herod's subjects feel as if he has shown a lack of respect for their religious sensibilities. What makes these different than the eagle is the speed with which these concerns were alleviated. Between his discussion of the execution of the Sons of Baba and his description of the drought of 25/24 BCE, Josephus inserted a special section in which he discusses Herod's violation of Jewish ancestral customs.[281] He specifically mentions his institution of quinquennial athletic games in Jerusalem in honor of Augustus and his construction of a theater in the city and an amphitheater on the plain.[282] Josephus accuses Herod not only of "departing from the native customs" of the Jews, but also corrupting their traditional way of life.[283]

Theater idols

Additionally, Josephus accuses Herod of upsetting his subjects by placing trophies in the theater, which the Jews believed violated Mosaic Law. In the episode in *Jewish Antiquities*, Herod recognized the people's anger and attempted to assure them that the

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[280] Meshorer is unsure of whether the coin was minted before the golden eagle or afterwards. He argues that it seems more likely that the coin was struck to advertise the eagle than vice-versa. Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba.* 67-69.

[281] Schürer notes the abrupt narrative shift between AJ 15.266 and 15.299 and thus postulates that a different source was inserted in between these two sections. This source, which is rather hostile to Herod and criticizes him for his violation of Jewish ancestral rights, might be Josephus or another Jewish author. It is certainly not Nicolaus, who would not have criticized his patron in such a way. Schürer, Vermès and Millar, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135). 290-291.

[282] *AJ* 15.268

[283] *AJ* 15.267-270,274-275

trophies were not in fact idols but were merely wooden stands with weapons on them. He

summoned a group of leading Jews and stripped the trophies of their arms revealing the

bare wood behind. With the trophies fully revealed, the people's anger was assuaged and

the situation ended peacefully and quietly.[284] This episode, while criticizing Herod for his

violation of Jewish Law, also depicts him actually attempting to alleviate his subjects'

concerns and prove to them that he was not in fact disrespecting the Second

Commandment.

Pilate and the standards

Under Pontus Pilate (26-36/37 CE)[285]another well-attested event occurred that, although

after Herod's reign, may shed light on Jewish perceptions.This incident took place in

Jerusalem and involved Roman imagery in the form of standards .[286] First, by introducing

Roman military standards, which were images of the Emperor, into the city, Pilate

flouted the strictly observed prohibition in contemporary Jewish society against the use of

images. He also clearly deviated from what seems to have been standard Roman practice

to not use such symbols in Jerusalem. Josephus reports that the standards were brought

into the city at night. Upon learning what Pilate had done, the Jews of the city protested

and sent a delegation to Caesarea. Josephus tells us of the incident:

[The Jews] interceded with Pilate many days that he would remove the images; and when
he would not grant their requests, because it would tend to the injury of Caesar, while yet
they persevered in their request, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their

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[284] *AJ* 15.277-279

[285] These dates are a source of debate. See Schürer, Vermès and Millar, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135). 130-131 and Schwartz, Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity. Schwartz argues that Pilates term of office was 19 to 37 CE.

[286] BJ 2.9; AJ 18.3,55-62. Philo, Embassy 299-305; and Luke 13:1. For further information see Helen K. Bond, Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation, Monograph Series / Society for New Testament Studies (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat, which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them routed, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home. But they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Caesarea. (AJ 18.3.1)

Presumably, the Roman standards and statues in the Jerusalem theater were of a more offensive nature and evoked much more of a reaction among the native population than the eagle Herod had set up over a gate on the Temple Mount which sat for around ten years.

In the end, there clearly was some objection by a certain segment of Jews to Herod's eagle and its location above a gate of the Temple. However, it seems that the majority of Jews were either not offended or not offended enough to act. What had first seemed like a major violation of Jewish Law was actually at most another issue of interpretation. Herod certainly came close, but he did not break the Law as interpreted by the majority of Jews. Further, I argue that their attack could be seen, not as primarily being motivated by religion or by Hellenization, but by nationalistic aspirations. This can be seen as an opportunist attack on the symbol of the Roman Empire and of Herod's regime, perhaps in the hopes of sparking popular revolt at the point when the regime was perceived to be at its weakest. This is further evidenced by the revolts that broke out following Herod's actual death.[287]

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[287] Josephus notes the following: Herod's demobilized veterans in Iduema armed themselves and fought Archelaus' troops (BJ 2.55; AJ 17.269-70). Judas, son of Hezekiah, broke into Sepphoris' armory, equipped his supporters and attacked Antipas's supporters (BJ 2.56; AJ 17.271-72); Simon gathered a group of robbers in Perea, attacked Jericho, and burned Herod's palace (BJ 2.57-59; AJ 17.273-76).

Peraens also attacked another of Herod's palaces (BJ 2.59; AJ 17.277) and Athrongeus, a shepherd, raised a group and attacked Romans and Jews in Judea (BJ 2.60-65; AJ 17.278-84).

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF HEROD

If Herod had a Hellenistic attitude towards life, then we should also see reflected in his death. Herod died what seems to be a horrid death in March or April of 4 BCE.[288] Josephus mentions that Herod was buried at Herodium, but does not describe the tomb itself.[289] According to Ehud Netzer, Herod was buried in a monumental tomb found at the upper part of his Herodium Palace.[290] On May 7, 2007, Netzer announced that he had discovered the actual tomb of Herod in Lower Herodion. While digging in the vicinity of the monumental building, his team found a tomb structure and pieces of an ornate pink limestone sarcophagus, which are now considered to be fragments of Herod's sarcophagus. Although he discovered no bones, Netzer has argued that the sarcophagus' location and ornate appearance indicate it was Herod's.[291] Furthermore, Netzer sees Herod as having been buried in a typical two-part system for the period. Herod was buried near the spot where his brother Phasael committed suicide and where Herod, suddenly alone, embarked on his royal career.

Netzer recognizes two elements which identify this as Herod's monumental tomb: (1) The open area, which is similar to a hippodrome, which was used for the funeral procession; and (2) a rectangular building made of cut stone, which is oriented along the procession axes. The façade appears to be in the Doric Style and topped by a pyramid.

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[288] AJ 17.213; BJ 2.10. Also see Kokkinos, "Herod's Horrid Death", BAR 28, 2, 2002 28-35.

[289] BJ 1.677-669

[290] For further information on Herod's burial, see Netzer and Laureys-Chachy, <u>The Architecture of Herod: The Great Builder</u>. Chapter 8, 179-201

[291] Amiram Barkat, <u>We have found Herod's Tomb</u>, *Haaretz,* May 8, 2007

The inner building walls were decorated with niches faced by Corinthian columns. Additionally, these walls were covered with frescoes and the ceiling was plastered. In short, it was reflective of all the palaces and architecture that Herod had built, all in the Roman style. However, Samuel Rocca raises an interesting question: was Herod buried in an ossuary or a sarcophagus?[292] In other words, did he have a traditional Jewish burial or a Roman burial?

Rocca makes the argument that Herod was buried in a sarcophagus. He presents evidence that during the last years of Herod's reign, a new burial method appears in Judea: the ossuary. Further, he provides evidence that in Jewish areas, ossuaries are found side by side with sarcophagi.[293] Rocca further analyzes burial practices in Rome, Greece, and in Judea. He notes the extent to which the burial customs of Herodian Judea were not only similar to those of the Greek world, but even more those of Augustan Rome. Additionally, he notes that Herod's family was buried in sarcophagi.

Conclusion.

In sum, Herod's burial in a very ornate sarcophagus is consistent with his lifestyle. Herod's building the Herodian as a multi-purpose facility, palace, fortress and mausoleum shows that he planned for his death well in advance and in a manner reflective of his lifestyle.

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[292] Rocca, Herod's Judaea : A Mediterranean State in the Classical World. 357-363

[293] Rocca, Herod's Judaea : A Mediterranean State in the Classical World. 357-363

CONCLUSION

Herod believed in Hellenism. His effect on the Hellenization of Judea was a major factor in the success of kingship. He stood for a policy of melding the best of the West with the East to the extent allowable and possible with the segment of his conservative religious subjects. Herod was a politician *par excellence*. Herod may not have been universally loved, but like any successful ruler, he persuaded enough of the power structures that he was an effective and worthy king.

Images of Herod's Building Program

Figures 1-3: Herodian Coin Images Coins (Courtesy of Adam Marshak)

Figure 4: Herod's kingdom (Courtesy of Peter Richardson)

Figure 5: Herod's building program outside of Judaea (Courtesy of Peter Richardson)

Plate 1: Herod Coins Classification
Part I: The dated series
(All the pictures are composites)

Note: The inscription on the coins of Herod the Great is always the same, in full or abbreviated form: ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ("*of King Herod*")

1

AE 8 prutot (Hendin 486 - TJC 44)
Obverse: Tripod with ceremonial bowl, date LΓ (left) & monogram TP (right)
Reverse: Helmet flanked by 2 palm branches
Dies listed: 102 Obv - 26 Rev   Scarcity: 100%

2

AE 4 prutot (Hendin 487 - TJC 45)
Obverse: Helmet flanked by date & monogram
Reverse: Shield
Dies listed: 6 Obv - 3 Rev   Scarcity: 30%
(Coin type #1 = 100%)

3

AE 2 prutot (Hendin 488 - TJC 46)
Obverse: Winged caduceus flanked by date and monogram
Reverse: Poppy on branch with fillets
Dies listed: 3 Obv - 3 Rev   Scarcity: 17%

4

AE prutah (Hendin 489 - TJC 47)
Obverse: Aphlaston flanked by date and monogram
Reverse: Palm branch with leaves
Dies listed: 6 Obv - 4 Rev   Scarcity: 15%

Figure 1

Plate 2: Herod Coins Classification
Part II: The diadem series
(All the pictures are composites, except no. 10)

5

AE 2 prutot (Hendin 490a - TJC 49-50)
Obverse: Open diadem with letter *Chi* (X) inside
Reverse: Temple table on platform flanked by
branches and vessel above
Dies listed: 12 Obv - 37 Rev   Scarcity: 31%
(Coin type #1 = 100%)

6

AE 2 prutot (Hendin 490 - TJC 48)
Obverse: Closed diadem with letter *Chi* (X) inside
Reverse: Temple table on platform flanked by
branches and vessel above
Dies listed: 17 Obv - 40 Rev   Scarcity: 18%

7

AE prutah (Hendin 491 - TJC 51)
Obverse: Closed diadem with letter *Chi* (X) inside
incomplete inscription
Reverse: Temple table on platform
Dies listed: 5 Obv - 9 Rev   Scarcity: 8%

8

AE prutah (Hendin 493 - TJC 52)
Obverse: Closed diadem with letter *Chi* (X) under
Reverse: Temple table on platform
Dies listed: 3 Obv - 3 Rev   Scarcity: 3%

9

AE prutah (Unlisted)
Obverse: Closed diadem with no "*Chi*" (type I)
Reverse: Temple table on platform
Dies listed: 2 Obv - 4 Rev   Scarcity: 2%

10

AE lepton (TJC 57, hybrid?)
Obverse: Closed diadem with no "*Chi*" (type II)
Reverse: Palm branch
Dies listed: 1 Obv - 1 Rev   Scarcity: unique

11

AE prutah (Hendin 493 - TJC 53)
Obverse: Open diadem with no "*Chi*"
Reverse: Temple table on platform
Dies listed: 3 Obv - 5 Rev   Scarcity: 3%

12

AE prutah (Hendin 494 - TJC 53a-54)
Obverse: Small diadem with no "*Chi*"
Reverse: Temple table on platform
Dies listed: 7 Obv - 9 Rev   Scarcity: 7%

Figure 2

Plate 3: Herod Coins Classification
Part III: The other series
(All the pictures are composites)

13 **AE lepton (Hendin 495 - TJC 55)**
Obverse: Temple table on platform and inscription
Reverse: Two crossed palm branches
Dies listed: 6 Obv - 6 Rev   Scarcity: 7%
(Coin type #1 = 100%)

14 **AE lepton (Hendin 496 - TJC 56)**
Obverse: Temple table and inscription
Reverse: Palm branch
Dies listed: 7 Obv - 6 Rev   Scarcity: 4.3%

15 **AE lepton (Hendin 497 - TJC 58)**
Obverse: Temple table and inscription
Reverse: Vine branches
Dies listed: 1 Obv - 1 Rev   Scarcity: 0.5%

16 **AE prutah (Hendin 498 - TJC 60)**
Obverse: Inscription
Reverse: Anchor within laurel wreath
Dies listed: 3 Obv - 2 Rev   Scarcity: 8%

17 **AE prutah (Hendin 499 - TJC 61 to 64)**
Obverse: Inscription in concentric circles or
3-4 horizontal lines
Reverse: Anchor within variously decorated circle
Dies listed: 35 Obv - 45 Rev   Scarcity: 22%

18 **AE prutah (Hendin 500 - TJC 59)**
Obverse: Anchor
Reverse: Double cornucopia with caduceus between
the cornucopiae
Number of dies too numerous to list
Scarcity: approximately 1500%

19 **AE lepton (Hendin 501 - TJC 66)**
Obverse: Cornucopia
Reverse: Eagle with dot behind his neck
Dies listed: 75 Obv - 30 Rev   Scarcity: 45%

20 **AE lepton (Hendin 502 - TJC 66)**
Obverse: Anchor
Reverse: War galley
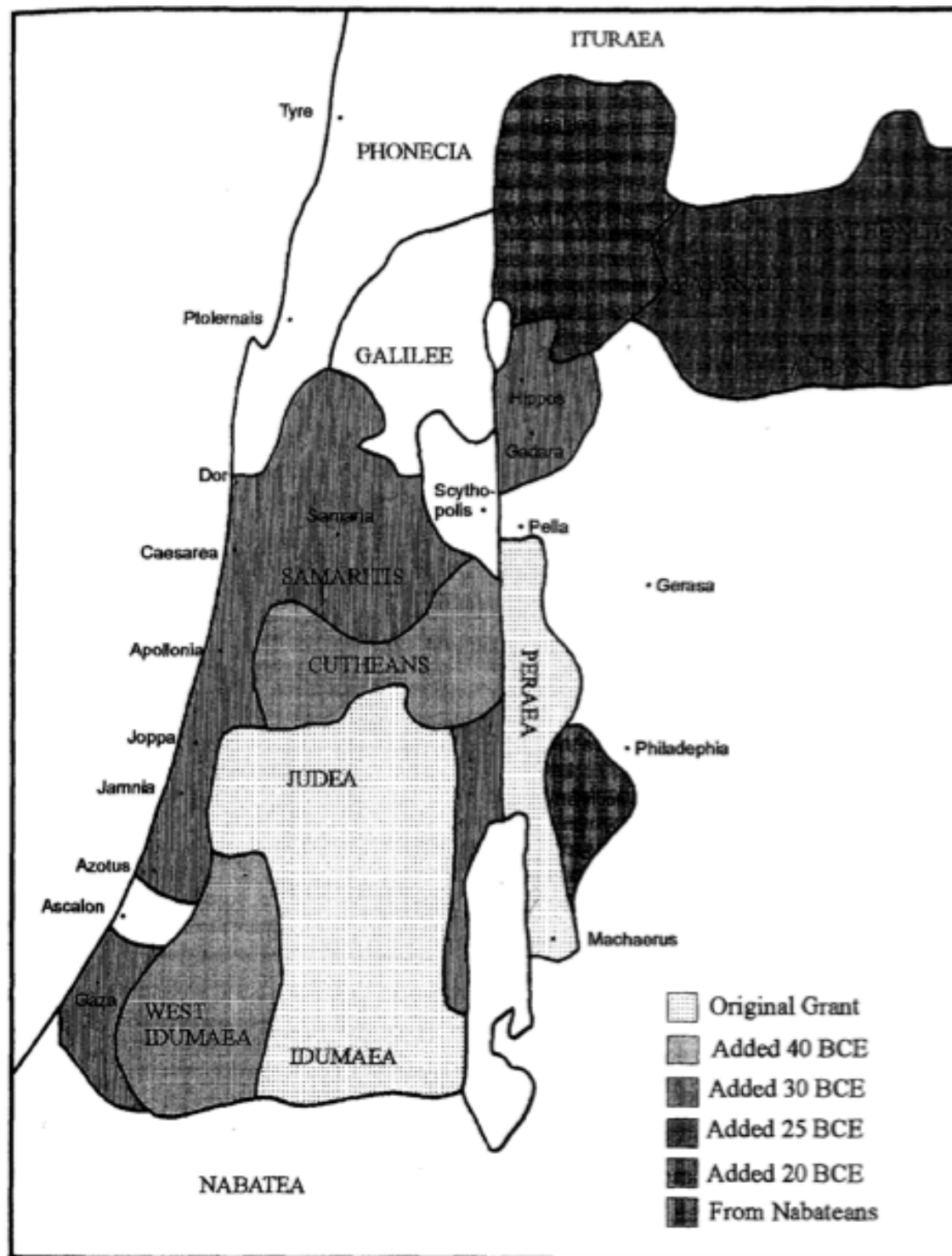Dies listed: 12 Obv - 18 Rev   Scarcity: 13%

Figure 3

Figure 4

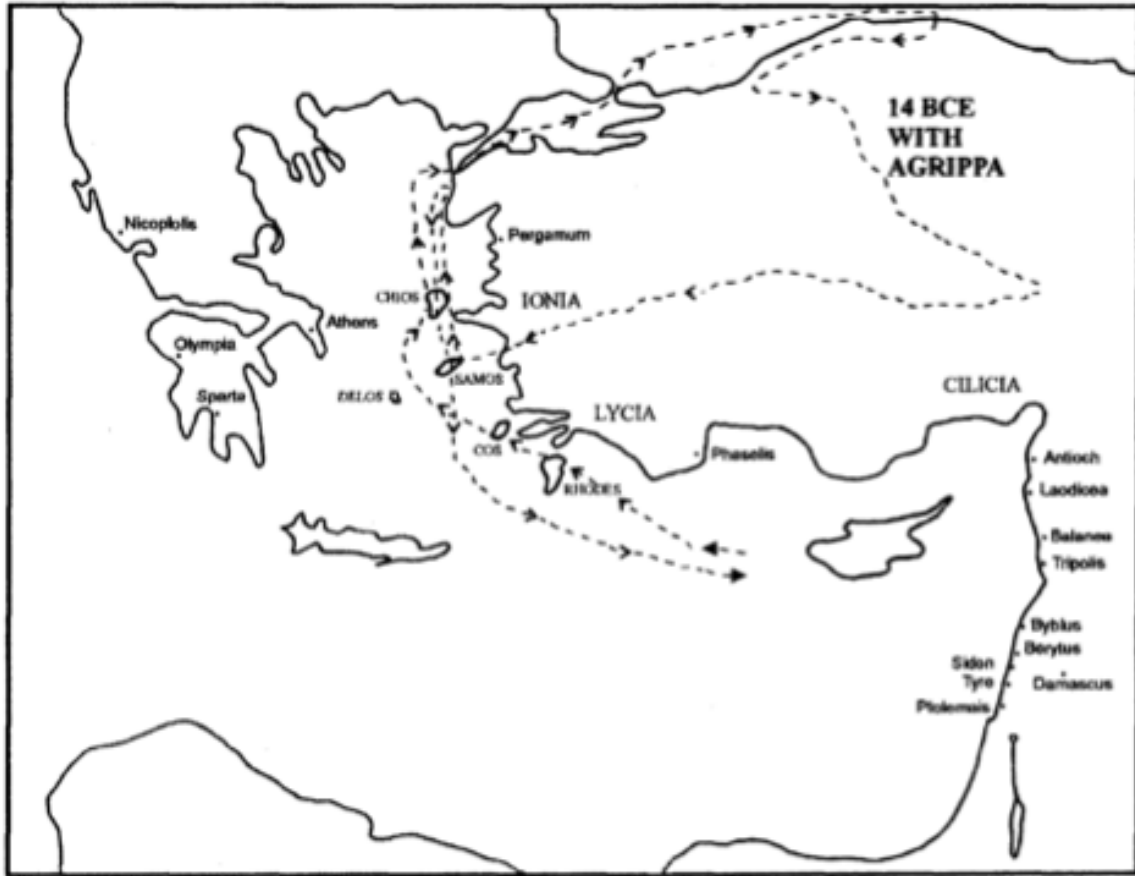Figure 5

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