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ALLIES, AVENGERS, AND ANTAGONISTS: ROME'S LEADING MEN THROUGH THE EYES OF *IOUDAIOI*

By

KATHERYN ELIZABETH WHITCOMB

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And approved by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Allies, Avengers, and Antagonists: Rome's Leading Men Through the Eyes of *Ioudaioi*

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Dissertation Director:

Serena Connolly

My project investigates Jewish attitudes towards Roman authority, particularly the emperors. The primary focus of my study is areas of continuity and change in Jewish expressions of their views on Roman leaders as Rome evolved from a distant Republic exerting diplomatic influence in the eastern Mediterranean during the second century BCE to the imperial overlord of Judaea in the first century CE. Throughout my study I examine the ways in which Jewish literature and material culture of the period voiced opinions on Roman leaders both through the assimilation of Rome's leading figures into a Jewish world view as well as through the reception and reappropriation of Roman self-imaging. I examine works such as I Maccabees, and the historical texts of the Jewish authors Philo and Josephus. The building program of Herod the Great also provides rich material for my analysis because of the strong political statements made through the choice of Augustus as a dedicatee for many of the buildings. Further, Herod's innovative building projects provided a focal point for other, non-elite Judaean Jews to express their opinions about the emperor by demonstrating their approval or disapproval of the buildings themselves. I also examine the coins of the Herodian Dynasty as expressions of these rulers' relationship to Rome's emperors. As part of my analysis of the literature and

material culture I explore the ways in which Judaean Jews, who were first conquered by the Romans in 63 BCE, rationalized their conquest in cultural terms (theological and philosophical), and how their reception of the self-images of Rome and leading Romans manifested itself in the rationalization of conquest. I argue against the prevailing scholarly opinion that Jews universally rejected the imposition of Roman hegemony and suggest instead that the evidence shows that many Jews held a more nuanced opinion of Roman authority, viewing it as a divinely sanctioned reality that could be a benevolent or a maleficent force. My study has broad significance because it aims to deepen our understanding of the ways in which a specific conquered people in the ancient world perceived and gave expression to the general experience of being conquered, explaining their conquest in their own cultural terms as well as through the assimilation of the cultural terms of the conqueror.

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Introduction

ויעמד שטן על ישראל ויסת את דויד למנות את ישראל – And Satan stood up against Israel and he incited David to number Israel – I Chronicles 21:1[1]

Scholarly Framework and Approach

I Chronicles 21 tells the story of King David's misguided attempt to count the number of Israelites. For his actions God became angry with him and determined to punish Israel. David was forced to choose the manner of this punishment and he decided upon a pestilence which descends upon the Israelites and in particular wreaks havoc on the city of Jerusalem. Finally, God took pity on the Israelites and allowed David to propitiate him with sacrifices. God's wrath on account of David's sin was thus turned aside, but not before punishment had been partially exacted.[2]

This story of God's anger at the presumption of David in taking a census of the Israelites helps explain why in 6 CE, when Augustus turned Judaea into a Roman province and ordered that a census be taken of the population there, popular opposition arose. Although most were persuaded to submit to the census by the high priest, Joazar, one man, Judas the Galilean, continued to preach against it, claiming that submission to the Romans through taxation was akin to slavery. Judas and his partner Zaddok stirred up popular seditions, which, according to Josephus increased in violence over time and eventually led to the collapse of Judaean society and the destruction of the most enduring symbol of Judaism: the Temple in Jerusalem.[3]

Josephus' depiction of events has led to a general consensus among scholars that following the imposition of direct Roman control over Judaea relations between the Jewish population and the Roman authorities increasingly deteriorated until culminating

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[1] All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
[2] I Chronicles 21:1-27.
[3] Joseph. *AJ* 18.1-10.

in the outbreak of the Jewish Revolt in 66 CE. Mary Smallwood promotes this view in her comprehensive study, *The Jews Under Roman Rule*, stating, "The hardening of the Jewish nationalist feeling into a militant resistance movement at the very start of the period of Roman rule was the fundamental cause of the recurrent disturbances of the next sixty years and of the revolt which was their climax..."[4] Martin Hengel also traces the origins of the Revolt back to the "Zealot" movement begun by Judas and continued, with various success until the Revolt began.[5] Martin Goodman, like Smallwood and Hengel, saw the Revolt as the consequence of systemic opposition to the Romans following the creation of the province of Judaea. In his view, however, this opposition manifested itself in the form of popular resentment towards the Roman attempt to impose an artificially created ruling class on the Judaeans.[6] Even Fergus Millar characterized the relationship between Judaea and Rome following the creation of Judaea as a province as, "marked both by communal hostilities of a sort which cannot be paralleled elsewhere and by major conflicts with the Roman state to which there is also no other parallel."[7] From these perspectives, Roman rule and Jewish religious life were inherently incompatible, leading eventually to a clash which resulted in the destruction of the Jewish way of life as it had been practiced for centuries.

More recent studies, however, have called into question this interpretation of events. Goodman, for example, now sees no inevitability in the great conflict that took place between the Jews and Romans from 66-73 CE. Rather, he maintains that Josephus'

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[4] E. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 155.
[5] Martin Hengel, *The Zealots*, translated by David Smith, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989).
[6] Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[7] Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC – AD 337* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 353.

testimony attests to a period of peace and stability following the creation of Judaea as a Roman province.[8]

My study builds on the recent work that tends to see a greater level of cooperation between the Roman authorities and the Jewish inhabitants of the Empire, especially in the period between the creation of Judaea as a Roman province and the outbreak of the Revolt. I draw on much of the same literature included in Hengel's landmark study (as well as other authors), namely: I Maccabees, the *Psalms of Solomon*, Josephus, and Philo. In addition, I also consider the public building projects of Herod as well as the coins of Herod and his successors because these "sources" give a broader range of Jewish expressions beyond the viewpoint of the elites who were producing literature. I approached this collection of evidence neither with the aim of proving a particular point of view, nor with the intention of adding to the debate concerning the causes of the Jewish Revolt, but rather with the goal of discerning what these varied sources reveal about Jewish views on Roman authority. While investigations into the causes of the Revolt are certainly valuable, they have the potential to be misleading as they try to fit all of the evidence into a cohesive picture of cause and effect.

In my study, I focus on Roman leaders – first the governors of Syria and other powerful Romans in the east, then the Julio-Claudian emperors – as the epitome of Roman power and thus as a lens through which Jews and Judaeans expressed their views on that power. It is important to note that the Jewish inhabitants of the Empire could experience Roman power and influence in a number of ways: through legal proceedings, commercial transactions, infrastructure reforms (among many others). An investigation

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[8] Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2008).

into Jewish views on Rome's leading men thus, admittedly, examines only a narrow segment of evidence. By concentrating on Jewish expressions of their opinions on Rome's leading men from the time of I Maccabees until the outbreak of the Revolt I am, however, approaching the topic of Roman-Jewish relations from a new angle. Previous studies have focused on Jewish views of Rome in general;[9] on particular authors' views of Rome;[10] and on particular rulers, such as Gaius or the Flavians, to the exclusion of others.[11] My approach, however, allows me to investigate areas of continuity and change in Jewish opinions through a cross-section of time and different political circumstances, while also keeping the study within manageable bounds.

I challenge commonly held opinions regarding not only the views expressed by individual Jewish authors of these Roman leaders, but also what these expressions can tell us regarding the opinions held by Jewish people more broadly on the topic of Roman authority. Of course, it is difficult, if not impossible, to recreate the sentiments of people who did not leave a record of their own. For this reason any conclusions reached regarding what authors such as Josephus and Philo, both members of the elite stratum in their respective societies, reveal about Jewish views more generally must remain largely speculative.

In my investigation of the various literary pieces of evidence I use a variety of analytical techniques. For every literary work in my study a consideration of the aim and

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[9] Cf. Shaye D. Cohen, "Respect for Judaism by Gentiles According to Josephus," *The Harvard Theological Review* 80.4 (1987): 409-30; N. de Lange, "Jewish Attitudes to the Roman Empire" in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, edited by P. Garnsey and C. Whittaker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, trans. Robyn Fréchet (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006);.

[10] Cf. Richard Barraclough, "Philo's Politics. Roman Rule and Hellenistic Judaism," in *ANRW* 21.1, pt. 2, edited by Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984); Erwin Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938); Brent Shaw, "Josephus: Roman Power and Responses to it," *Athenaeum* 83.2 (1995): 357-90

[11] Cf. Peder Borgen, "Moses, Jesus, and the Roman Emperor Observations in Philo's Writings and the Revelation of John," *Novum Testamentum* 38.2 (1996): 145-159.

intended audience of the author is crucial for arriving at a better understanding of what these works reveal about Jewish opinions on Roman leaders. In addition, it is also necessary to take into account the political and historical context of each work when determining to what extent it can be seen to represent the views of its author as well as Jews more generally.

Political context, particularly the author's relationship to the ruling dynasty, provides a basis for much of my analysis of I Maccabees. My reading of this work is further enhanced by the argument, made by Hans Gärtner, that the author received, appropriated, and reflected contemporary Roman self-imagery.[12] Through a consideration of the author's political aims as well as an understanding of his level of engagement with Roman self-imagery it is possible to arrive at a better understanding not only of the author's views regarding Rome, but also of the extent to which this work can be said to reflect contemporary Jewish opinions more generally.

My reading of the *Psalms of Solomon* is largely informed by recent scholarship on the social context of the *Psalms*, which tends to see the work as written by and for a group that was removed from mainstream Jewish society. Further, I argue, an appreciation of the *Psalms*' assimilation of Pompey and his invasion of Judaea into a biblically-inspired world view aids our understanding of both the level of criticism leveled at Pompey as well as the extent to which any criticism can be said to reflect on Rome more generally.

For my analysis of the works of Philo and Josephus I rely primarily on two approaches. I examine the portrayal of each emperor within the larger narrative context of

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[12] Hans Armin Gärtner, "Reflexe romischer Selbstdarstellung im 1. Makkabäerbuch" in *Mousopolos Stephanos Festschrift für Herwig Görgemanns*, edited by Manuel Baumbach, Helga Köhler, Adolf Martin Ritter (Heidelberg: Unversitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998), 309-19.

each work. This allows me to provide a more nuanced reading of how these authors portray Roman leaders, rather than simply to say, "Philo praises X," or, "Josephus condemns Y." In addition, it is often helpful and informative to compare their depictions of Roman leaders with what is known about these leaders as historical figures from Greco-Roman sources. Such comparisons highlight the ways in which Philo's and Josephus' treatments of these leaders are similar to and different from other portrayals. This in turn draws the focus towards which features of each leader these authors were interested in developing and which they suppressed.

My interpretation of Herod's building projects relies heavily on the assumption that these edifices were "read" as political statements. This assumption is based on the literary evidence that suggests that Herod himself intended his buildings to convey messages both to the Roman leaders as well as to his people.[13] A variety of factors contributed to how Herod intended these buildings to be viewed and interpreted, including: location, building material, choice of dedicatee, and architectural technique.

For my analysis of the coins of Herod and his successors I take a mostly comparative approach. The coins of Herod, for example, when compared with contemporary Roman coins as well as the coins of his predecessors show that Herod did not seem to concern himself greatly with acknowledging any particular Romans through his coinage. Rather, he seems to have wanted on the one hand to recognize the Roman contribution to his achievement of the monarchy while on the other to emphasize a degree of continuity with the previous ruling regime, the Hasmoneans. In contrast, the coins of two of Herod's successors, Philip and Agrippa I, when compared to the coinages of other client rulers as well as municipal mints in the Roman provinces, demonstrate a

[13] Joseph. *AJ* 16.12-15.

remarkable level of engagement with imperial imagery. These coins, in contrast to many of their contemporary mints, not only consistently include portraits of the emperor and members of the imperial family, but also (in the case of Agrippa) even copy types found at Rome.

Important Terms and Concepts

Leading Men – My study encompasses a time of great political change within the Roman world. During this period, Judaea experienced Roman authority in the form of the Senate, supreme military commanders, governors, dictators, triumvirs, and finally, the emperor. To refer to this group collectively, or in parts, I have chosen to use the terms "Rome's leading men," or "Roman leaders."

Jew/Judaean – There is great debate concerning how to translate the term Ιουδαιος/α.[14] While many scholars simply translate it as "Jew," others have suggested that it could also be understood as a geographic signifier (Judaean), or even an adherent of Judaism.[15] In this study I use the term Jew when referring to a person who practices Judaism, but is not an inhabitant of the geographically defined territory of Judaea. The term Judaean is used to describe people who live, or have lived in Judaea, but who may not have followed Judaism. Finally, the term Judaean Jew is applied to those who both live in Judaea and practice Judaism.

Self-imagery – As often as possible I try to avoid using the term "propaganda" as it implies a cohesive ideology that was purposefully disseminated by a regime in order to

[14] For an excellent discussion of the issue see Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 38 (2007): 457-512.
[15] Cf. Ross S. Kraemer, "On the Meaning of the Term "Jew" in Greco-Roman Inscriptions," *The Harvard Theological Review* 82.1 (1989): 35-53.

achieve a particular objective.[16] Instead, I prefer to use the more neutral term "self-imagery," or even "idealized self-imagery" to describe the images that states and people projected of themselves, but that were not necessarily part of a systematic attempt to persuade others to a particular point of view.

Herodian – I use the term Herodian to describe both things pertaining to the reign of Herod, as well as descendants of Herod who ruled over parts of his territory (e.g. Archelaus, Antipas, Philip, Agrippa I, Herod of Chalcis).

Chapter Summary

I considered it important to include the historical context of Roman-Judaeo relations in my study. For this reason the first chapter is devoted to a survey of the political history of Judaea and its immediate environs from the Babylonian invasion in 597 BCE to the Jewish Revolt against Rome in 66-73 CE. I cover the successive regimes of the Persians, Ptolemies, Seleucids, Maccabees, and finally, Romans. Due to the vast amount of material covered in this chapter it is possible to give only a brief summary of each period. In an effort to make each summary meaningful in the context of the dissertation as a whole I have focused upon the nature of political power as well as the level of religious autonomy enjoyed by the Judaeans under each successive regime.

Chapter Two analyzes the first surviving evidence of Jewish perspectives on Rome: I Maccabees. In this instance it is only possible to discuss the view given of Rome generally, rather than of individual Roman leaders, because at this time, in the Middle Republic, Rome was still governed primarily by the Senate and consuls. The age of dictators, triumvirs and emperors was yet to come, and thus it is on the Senate and "Rome" that I Maccabees concentrates.

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[16] Cf. Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2014), 4.

I Maccabees has traditionally been read as unambiguous evidence that Rome was viewed positively by a majority of the population of Judaea throughout the first century of their interaction. I question this assumption on the basis of a number of factors. First, I Maccabees demonstrates a deep level of engagement with Roman idealized self-imagery from the second century BCE. This idealized self-image of Rome is used by the author to promote his goal of supporting the legitimacy of the Hasmonean leadership. It is thus difficult to determine what view of Rome the author himself, let alone the Judaean population generally, held at the time that I Maccabees was written. Further, despite the generally positive depiction of Rome, I Maccabees seems to display some anxiety regarding Rome's imperialistic tendencies. This suggests that although the author is primarily concerned with portraying an idealized version of Rome, nevertheless he recognizes the inherent danger that growing Roman power poses to the autonomy of other states.

This chapter continues with a close reading of the *Psalms of Solomon*, a text that has been used by many scholars as evidence that Jewish opinions of Roman authority became universally and irretrievably negative following Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem. Just as I Maccabees is not an indication of universal positive views on Rome, so too, the *Psalms of Solomon* cannot be used in support of the argument that Jewish opinions turned, as a whole, against Roman authority after Pompey. The *Psalms* were likely written by multiple authors for a group that saw itself as removed from mainstream Jewish society. For this reason alone they cannot be used as a testament to widespread Jewish opposition to Roman authority. Further, those psalms that refer to Pompey do not suggest a condemnation of Roman authority generally. Rather, by drawing parallels

between Pompey and previous biblical invaders (such as Nebuchadnezzar), these psalms establish Pompey as a divine agent exacting punishment on sinful Jerusalem. In addition, they set up an expectation for the reader that Pompey will receive divine punishment only if he goes beyond the bounds of punishment described by God. When Pompey is punished by God it is clear that this is because of his individual arrogance, not for any action that he committed on behalf of Rome. Therefore, it is not possible to accept these *Psalms*, even if they did represent the opinions of a majority of Jews, as expressions of hatred for Roman authority generally.

Continuing with the idea that the surviving evidence does not illustrate a universal hatred of Roman authority current among the Judaean population, Chapter Three takes a novel approach to Josephus by reviewing his portrayal of Roman leaders in the east during the period following Pompey's invasion and before the installation of Herod as king. Josephus is our only surviving Jewish source for this period, so it is an unfortunate circumstance that his evidence must be relied upon exclusively. I argue that through his depictions and assessments of the Roman leaders in the east, Josephus reveals that Jewish opinions, both his own and perhaps those of the people living during the time about which he is writing, were not universally hostile to Roman authority and influence in their political lives. In fact, leaders such as Gabinius and Caesar, and to a lesser extent Mark Antony, were seen as positively impactful on Judaean political and religious life. Conversely, leaders such as Crassus and Cassius were viewed negatively, but this does not imply that Roman authority was universally rejected or despised.

Chapter Four investigates the Julio-Claudian emperors from the perspectives of the surviving literary evidence, namely Philo and Josephus. As with the preceding

chapters, a major theme of this chapter is examining the validity of the assumption that Roman authority was universally rejected and opposed. The Julio-Claudians ruled at a time when Judaea was directly subject to Rome and this has led many to assume (as was discussed above) that Roman authority became particularly problematic for the Judaeans at this time. In this chapter I attempt to demonstrate that more nuanced readings of both Philo and Josephus illustrate that Roman authority, as it was typified in the emperor, was not seen as diametrically opposed to Jewish religious liberty. Although both authors express some anxiety, and even indignation, at the amount of power wielded by the emperor, both also show that the emperor could be relied upon to ensure Jewish religious freedom. For example, Philo gives overwhelmingly positive (perhaps even hypocritically so) portrayals of Augustus and Tiberius, while vilifying Gaius to a degree that the historical record does not entirely warrant. I argue that although Philo undeniably gives remarkably positive depictions of Augustus and Tiberius, these must be read in the context of Philo's intended audience and therefore cannot be understood as pure reflections of Philo's attitude towards these men. In the case of Tiberius, Philo acknowledges that officially sanctioned actions were directed against the Jews, but through his portrayal of Tiberius' response to these actions Philo expresses the expectation that the emperor also has the power to right past wrongs.

Josephus' depiction of these emperors also highlights the positive and negative aspects of their supreme power with regards to the Jews and Judaeans. For example, Augustus, who is mainly portrayed in a flattering way, is shown to have an occasional lapse in judgment. These lapses have far-reaching negative consequences for Judaean Jews, illustrating that on account of his position of supreme authority the emperor has the

potential to inflict great harm. This same sentiment is discernible in Josephus' depiction of Claudius, who, like Augustus receives a generally positive treatment that is occasionally undermined by the emperor's personality flaws.

Through my readings of Josephus and Philo I endeavor to show that a more nuanced interpretation of how these two authors depict the Julio-Claudian emperors reveals that both held more sophisticated views of Roman authority than has previously been acknowledged. Josephus is not the Jewish apologist lackey of the Flavians who gives one-dimensional portraits of the emperors either to impress his imperial audience or to prove that good emperors always respected the Jews. Indeed, Josephus expresses some anxiety concerning the level of power that these emperors held, but also seems to acknowledge that they generally harbored no animosity towards the Jews and could even, on occasion, engage in acts that particularly benefited them. Philo does not, as has been assumed, give completely flattering depictions of Augustus and Tiberius merely to illustrate the level of Gaius' depravity. Rather, he skillfully constructs his images of these emperors in order to guide his reader towards a model of imperial behavior.

Chapter Five examines the political statements made by Herod through his construction of temples in honor of Roma and Augustus as well as the coins of Herod and his successors. While literary works are generally the products of the aristocracy, public buildings and coins provide perspectives from a slightly different segment of the population: the rulers. The temples of Roma and Augustus built by Herod, I argue, attest to Herod's desire to honor the emperor Augustus, but also, and perhaps more importantly, demonstrate his attempts to project an image of himself as a competent, successful ruler, who enjoys a close personal connection with the most powerful man in the known world.

The temples can thus be seen as indications of the high level of cooperation between the Judaean king and the Roman emperor, but also as attestations of Herod's desire to project the image that he is master, to a certain extent, of his own domain. Further, the very political nature of Herod's temples makes it possible, through a consideration of public reactions to them, to discover something about how ordinary Jews may have felt about the role that the emperor played in their political lives.

While the coins of Herod and his son Archelaus do not appear to express any overt references to Rome or the emperor, the coins of many of Herod's successors do. Contrary to some other scholars, I argue that the coins of Herod do not depict overt Roman imagery, rather, they seem to be more concerned with connecting Herod's rule to that of previous Judaean rulers.[17] There may be some acknowledgement of the role that Roman power played in obtaining Herod's throne, but this does not seem to be the overriding concern. In contrast, the coins of Herod's sons Antipas and Philip, as well as those of his grandson Agrippa I, make overt connections to the Roman emperor. Philip and Agrippa even go so far as to put the emperor's portrait, as well as portraits of imperial family members, on their coins. This suggests that these three rulers saw their power, and wanted their subjects to see their power, as strongly connected to the emperor. Further, I argue, it may in fact have been politically most expedient for Philip and Agrippa, both of whom ruled over largely non-Jewish territories, to assert the connection between their authority and that of the emperor, rather than to draw on the dubious political capital of Herod. Both Antipas and Philip enjoyed long, successful reigns, suggesting that their desire to connect themselves to the emperor, and to showcase

[17] The coins of Archelaus differ little from those of his father and it is doubtful that they contain any references to Rome. For this reason they are not treated in any depth in my study.

that connection to their people, was an effective means of promoting their authority. Agrippa, too, seems to have been a successful ruler who was generally well-liked, but his reign was cut short by an untimely death.

A Note on Literary Sources

I have chosen to limit the literary sources at which I look by the chronological span of I Maccabees and Josephus, roughly the end of the second century BCE to the end of the first century CE. I have additionally limited my discussion to works that can be securely dated to this time period and thus have excluded texts such as the Testament of Abraham and the Sibylline Oracles, although some have argued that these texts (or at least part of these texts) were composed in the time frame that I am covering. The Dead Sea Scrolls do not feature in my argument primarily because there is much debate concerning the identity of the Kittim, the name many have assumed refers to the Romans.

Philo

Very little is known about Philo's personal life. He was likely born sometime between 25 and 20 BCE and died shortly after he led an embassy to Gaius on behalf of the Alexandrian Jews, perhaps in 42 or 45 CE.[18] He was part of a distinguished family in Alexandria and he received an excellent, thoroughly Hellenized education.[19] Philo seems to have participated fully in the religious life of his community and must have been held in high regard by the Jews in Alexandria.[20]

Philo's works have generally been divided into four categories, as noted by Sandmel: the historical works; "Questions and Answers to Genesis" and "Questions and

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[18] Samuel Sandmel, "Philo Judaeus: An Introduction to the Man, his Writings, and his Significance," in *ANRW* 21.1, pt. 2, edited by Wolfgang Haase, 3-46 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984). Although slightly different dates (b. 20-10BCE, d. 50 CE) are suggested by C. Mondésert, "Philo of Alexandria," in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, edited by William Horbury, W. D. Davies, John Sturdy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 878.
[19] Sandmel, "Philo Judaeus," 5.
[20] Mondésert, "Philo of Alexandria," 879.

Answers to Exodus;" "Allegory of the Laws;" and "Exposition of the Law."[21] Most of his writing was concerned with biblical exegesis and the allegorical meanings of passages from the Bible. As important as these texts are for the study of first-century CE Diaspora Judaism, however, it is the first category of Philo's works, the historical writings that will be of primary concern for this study. In particular, the *Legatio ad Gaium* provides rich material for the student of Jewish-Roman relations during the first century CE. Further, the *Legatio* contains a striking feature which is in some ways comparable to the "eulogy of Rome" found in I Maccabees. In the context of enumerating Roman protections of Jewish religious freedom, Philo provides what some scholars have termed an "encomium of Augustus," a feature that makes this work of particular importance to this study.

Josephus

Josephus was born in 37/8 CE in Judaea and likely died sometime around the turn of the second century.[22] He came from an aristocratic, priestly family.[23] The value of Josephus' historical narrative is complicated by a number of factors. Like any author, his perspectives on and interpretation of events are influenced, to a certain extent, by the concerns, prejudices, and biases of his social position. He cannot necessarily be relied upon to reproduce accurately the opinions and perspectives of those of a different social status than himself, even when he claims to speak with their voice. Further, Josephus' narratives were strongly influenced by his complicated relationship with Rome. By his own account, Josephus attempted, in the beginning, to dissuade his countrymen from

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[21] Sandmel, "Philo Judaeus," 6-13.
[22] H. W. Attridge, "Josephus and his Works," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael Stone (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 185, 187.
[23] Joseph. *Vit*. 1.

inciting war with Rome.[24] When war became inevitable, however, he threw his lot in with the rebels' cause and even commanded forces in Galilee.[25] Although he commanded well and fought valiantly (by his own estimation), he was taken prisoner by the Romans and held captive until being released by Titus upon his father's accession.[26] Josephus spent the remainder of his life as a client of the Flavian house, living and writing in Rome.[27] In the course of his life, Josephus' relationship with Rome and Roman authority evolved from opponent to adherent. It is to be expected, then, that his works will reflect this complicated relationship, expressing both criticism and praise of the empire and its leaders. In the words of Jonathan Edmondson, "His experiences as a local Judaean political leader and military commander, Roman captive, partially favoured protégé of a new ruling dynasty, and prolific author make him a fascinating, if controversial, witness to the political and cultural impact of the Roman Empire on those subjected to it."[28]

The Greek version of the *Bellum Judaicum* (here *War*) Josephus' first work, was likely written between 75 and 79 CE, perhaps under the patronage of the Flavian family.[29] It narrates the events leading to and encompassing the Jewish revolt against Rome, beginning with a brief account of the Maccabean revolt and the Hasmonean

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[24] Joseph. *Vit*. 17-9, 28-9.
[25] Joseph. *BJ* 2.568.
[26] Joseph. *BJ* 3.141-398.
[27] See Hannah Cotton and Werner Eck, "Josephus' Roman Audience: Josephus and the Roman Elites" in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, eds. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, James Rives (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), 37-52.
[28] Jonathan Edmondson, "Introduction," in *Flavius Josephus in Flavian Rome*, 32.
[29] Attridge, "Josephus and his Works," 192. Louis Feldman, "Josephus," in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 3, eds. William Horbury, W. D. Davies, and John Sturdy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 903 suggests that the published version of the *War* came out after 79 CE.
It should be noted that Josephus composed an earlier version of the work in Aramaic, but decided to translate this work into Greek for the benefit of those who live under Roman hegemony (προυθέμην ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλὼν ἃ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον – I set before myself the task of translating into the Greek language, for the benefit of those under Roman hegemony, those things which I formerly composed in my father tongue and sent to the inland barbarians (*BJ* 1.3))

dynasty, then moving on to Rome's involvement in Judaea. Josephus claims that he wrote the work to give an accurate account of the rebellion, as well as to correct previous accounts that misrepresented the war either because of a desire to flatter the Romans or out of hatred for the Jews.[30] In conjunction with Josephus' stated purpose of improving the accuracy of the historical account, many scholars claim that the *War* also exhibits a significant apologetic strand, a desire to explain the causes for the rebellion to a Greco-Roman audience.[31] From this perspective, Josephus is at pains to establish the generally good relationship between the Jews and Romans and to explain the rebellion as a tragedy perpetrated on the many by the few. While an apologetic purpose may certainly color aspects of Josephus' narrative, I will argue that he gives a more nuanced portrayal of Roman leaders, criticizing some while extolling others. He does not attempt to obscure episodes that reflect poorly on the relationship between Roman leaders and the Jewish people, such as Tiberius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 19 CE, although he does take care to place such episodes in context, mitigating their negative impact.

The *Antiquitates Judaicarum* (here *Antiquities*) was written approximately twenty years later than the *War* and completed towards the end of Domitian's reign.[32] Josephus explains his intentions in writing this work, claiming that he intends it to be a resource by which the Greeks might learn of Jewish antiquities and the constitution of their government. Further, it will also explain the origins of the Jews, from whom they received instruction in legislative piety, and with what wars they were engaged prior to

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[30] Joseph. *BJ* 1.1-3.
[31] Cf. Attridge, "Josephus," 195-200; Feldman, "Josephus," 904.
[32] Joseph. *AJ* 20.267; Attridge, "Josephus," 210-11. See also Tessa Rajak, *Josephus*, 2nd edition (London: Duckworth, 2002), 237-8 for a brief discussion concerning issues of dating the *Antiquities*.

the war with the Romans.[33] As with the *War*, many scholars have argued that the *Antiquities* demonstrates an apologetic tendency, but also a desire to obscure the differences between Jews and other civilized peoples.[34] Others, however, have argued that an apologetic aim does not explain why Josephus composed such an extensive work, presumably for a gentile audience.[35]

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[33] Joseph. *AJ* 1.5-6.
[34] Cf. Attridge, "Josephus," 185; Feldman, "Josephus," 908; Gregory Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 298, 308.
[35] Steve Mason, "Should Any Wish to Enquire Further (*Ant*. 1.25): The Aim and Audience of Josephus' *Judean Antiquities/Life*," in *Understanding Josephus*, edited by Steve Mason (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 69.

Chapter One: A Brief Survey of the Political History of Judaea from the 6th Century BCE to the 1st Century CE

In 40 CE the Roman emperor Gaius, likely in response to the destruction of an imperial cult altar by the Jewish inhabitants of Jamnia in Judaea, attempted the unthinkable: ordering a statue of Jupiter with his own portrait features to be produced and placed in the Temple in Jerusalem; essentially turning the Temple into a space dedicated to the imperial cult.[36] Had this effort succeeded it would have desecrated the Temple, the center of Jewish religious life. When news of Gaius' proposal reached the population of Judaea, there was much distress about what was to be done. While some came out in large numbers to protest the advance of Petronius, the Roman governor of Syria sent to carry out Gaius' order, others proclaimed their loyalty to the emperor and the people of Rome.[37] In acknowledgement of this impassioned resistance, Petronius apparently appealed to the emperor to desist from his insensitive action. At the same time, Agrippa I, the Herodian king of Galilee and other nearby regions, also beseeched the emperor to avoid offending the Jews in this way. Gaius eventually consented to rescind his request for divine honors in Jerusalem and leave the Jewish cult unmolested.[38] Crisis was

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[36] Full accounts of this episode can be found in Philo *Leg*. 247-60, and Josephus *AJ* 18.261-309; *BJ* 2.184-203. See also Tacitus *Hist*. 5.9-10, for a description of Jewish resistance to Gaius' action. See also J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 111-43; Per Bilde, "The Roman Emperor Gaius (Caligula)'s Attempt to Erect his Statue in the Temple of Jerusalem," *Studia Theologica* 32, (1978): 67-93; Erich S. Gruen, "Caligula, the Imperial Cult, And Philo's *Legatio*," *The Studia Philonica Annual* 24 (2012): 135-47; James McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult: From Augustus to Domitian," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 27.3 (2005), 264-9; Daniel Schwartz, *Agrippa I* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1990), 74-87. For the destruction in Jamnia as the immediate reason for Gaius' decision see Philo *Leg.* 199-202.

[37] Joseph. *BJ* 2.192-7. On the various forms of resistance see Bilde, "Gaius' Attempt," 79-82; Gruen, "Caligula," 136, 140.

[38] Our main sources, Philo and Josephus differ on who was ultimately responsible for dissuading Gaius. Philo (*Leg*. 275-329) suggests that King Agrippa I, grandson of Herod and close friend of Gaius, was the main agent in changing Gaius' mind. Josephus gives credit to Agrippa I (*AJ* 18.289-300), but ultimately sees divine intervention as the only thing that stops Gaius (*BJ* 2.200-3). See Bilde, "Gaius' Attempt," 83-6 and Lester Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), II. 401-3 for a brief discussion of the differing accounts.

averted, and order restored in the city and in the Diaspora communities. More normal relations between the Roman government and the Jewish population of the empire, however, did not resume until Gaius' death and Claudius' ascension in the following year.[39]

This episode illustrates some important themes that recur in the narrative of the Jewish experience of foreign empires, and the Roman Empire in particular. First, at this time, as at many other times in its history, Judaea and its people were subject to a foreign sovereignty. Second, this episode depicts a difficult predicament that many Jews of antiquity faced: the desire to remain loyal to religious ideals while being governed by others whose religious beliefs were different from and occasionally in conflict with their own. This is not to say that the religious liberty of Jews in antiquity was constantly threatened, merely that the potential for a diminishing of that liberty existed under any foreign regime. Finally, this episode demonstrates not only the level of power that an emperor could exercise over his people's daily lives, but also successful ways in which a subject people negotiated that power. Although Gaius intended to commit an act that would have significantly impacted the Jews' right to practice their ancestral customs, nevertheless he was dissuaded from doing so and, in the end, maintained the status quo.

Gaius' attempted sacrilege and the Jewish reactions to it have led some scholars to see this as a turning point in Roman-Jewish relations. The statue episode was a poignant reminder to many Jews of the fragility of their situation; living under the sovereignty of another power was an omnipresent potential threat to their religious

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[39] Cf. Mary Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 192-3 for the view that Claudius deliberately took action to ameliorate the tensions between Jews and the Roman authorities, such as appointing a Jewish king, Agrippa I, over all of Herod's former kingdom.

autonomy.[40] According to this view, the Jewish concern regarding the threat to their religious liberty under Rome initially began following the establishment of Augustus as princeps and the institution of the imperial cult.[41] Further, when Augustus deposed the Herodian Archelaus at the behest of a delegation of Jewish elites in 6 CE and imposed direct Roman rule over the (now) province of Judaea, the situation allegedly grew irretrievably worse until, decades later, a revolt broke out in Judaea, precipitated by the cessation of sacrifices performed in the Temple on behalf of the emperor.[42] This war would result in the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the end of Jewish religious life as it had been for the past six centuries.

While it does highlight important themes from Jewish history, the episode with Gaius in fact proves more instructive in its uniqueness in the context of Roman-Jewish relations prior to the Jewish Revolt of 66-73 CE. In contrast to the tension that this episode engendered between the Roman emperor and the Jewish people, there is evidence to suggest that during the Republic and the early years of the empire Jews experienced good relations with Rome and its leaders even, as in the case of the Maccabees, calling on the Romans for aid against other oppressors. Indeed, the fact that Gaius was persuaded to call off his statue project may be further evidence that relations between Roman leaders and their Jewish subjects were generally non-antagonistic, and even genial. The majority

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[40] Martin Hengel, *The Zealots*, trans. David Smith, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1989), 106.

[41] Cf Hengel, *The Zealots*, 101-5. Hengel sees the advent of Augustus' reign and the introduction of the imperial cult as a catalyst for revolutionary feelings against Rome. He argues that contrary to such practices as Hellenistic ruler cult, the imperial cult was an entity unconfined by geography and the personal charisma of the individual ruler. Thus, submitting to the rule of Rome under the emperor was seen by many Jews as tantamount to breaking the first commandment: to be ruled by Rome was to admit the divinity of the emperor. In contrast, see McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 257-78.

[42] Cf. Hengel, *The Zealots*, 327-43; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 155. This view is largely based on comments made by Josephus concerning the spiraling violence that occurred in Judaea following the imposition of direct Roman rule and the taking of a census (Joseph. *AJ* 18.1-10). For the argument that the Revolt was the not the result of a continuing trend of violence see Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2008), 379-423. See Joseph. *BJ* 2.409-10 on the cessation of sacrifices as the beginning of the war.

of this study will be devoted to examining the extent to which the surviving evidence that attests to Jewish perspectives on Rome's leading men, particularly the emperors, supports the claim that Roman-Jewish relations were generally tolerant and cooperative. It will first be necessary, however, to place the Jewish experience of Roman political authority in its historical context.

The following chapter is a brief survey of the political history of Judaea and its immediate environs from the time of the Babylonian occupation to the end of the Jewish Revolt of 66-73 CE. The primary foci of this survey will be: the political and governing structures of Judaea as it passed from rule by one foreign power to another; and the level of political and religious autonomy that Jews experienced under different regimes. The main purpose of this survey is to investigate the political and social history that shaped how Jews encountered the Roman Empire and how the Jewish experience of imperial rule changed when Rome became the strongest power in the Mediterranean and eventually took over rule of the region of Judaea. Although major historical issues will be examined in this survey, in depth discussion of such issues will be reserved for the later parts of this study that deal specifically with the time periods in question. The Babylonian invasion of Judah[43] provides a fitting starting point for the survey as an example of one extreme experience of foreign rule: complete destruction of existing political and religious structures. This will be paralleled in the end of the survey by the Great Revolt and the destruction of the Second Temple.

[43] At this time the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the territories which will later make up the area known as Judaea, are separate. I will, therefore, refer to them by these historical names until the time when they become Judaea.

Destruction and Exile: The Neo-Babylonian Period[44]

Beside the rivers in Babylon,
there we sat;
loudly we wept,
When we remembered you, O Zion!
Beside the poplars in her midst
we hung up our lyres.
For there our captors demanded of us
words of song,
and our mockers songs of gladness:
"Sing for us a song of Zion!"
O how could we sing Yahweh's song
upon alien soil?
Should I forget you, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand wither!
Let my tongue stick to my palate,
should I remember you not!
If I do not raise you,
O Jerusalem,
Upon my head in celebration![45]

597 BCE saw the neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar enter the city of Jerusalem, overthrow the native monarch, Jehoiachin, and establish Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, as king of Judah.[46] Following the occupation, Judaean captives, among them the deposed king, were brought back to Babylon, where the king was imprisoned and the other captives, most of them skilled artisans, were integrated into Babylonian society.[47] After several years of professed loyalty to the neo-Babylonians, Zedekiah attempted to gain independence for his people over the objections of the

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[44] For primary sources on this period see II Kings 24-5; II Chronicles 36:1-20. For a brief overview of this period see Phillip Hitti, *History of Syria* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1951), 212, 217-8. For a more detailed survey, with particular focus on Judah and its people see T. C. Mitchell, "Judah Until the Fall of Jerusalem (*c.* 700-586 B.C.)," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 3, 2nd edition, eds. John Boardman, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 394-409.
[45] Psalm 137:1-6. Translation from the Hebrew and commentary are in Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms III: 101-150* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1970), 268-74.
[46] II Kings 24:17.
[47] II Kings 24: 12-16. See also Hitti *History of Syria*, 201-2. It seems that the captives were selected for their physical prowess as well as their skill in crafts. These were integrated into Babylonian society as skilled workers.

prophet Jeremiah, who maintained that subjection to Babylonia was God's will.[48] This objection will be echoed many times and in various forms throughout the history of Judaean struggles against foreign powers. Zedekiah's rebellion resulted in a protracted siege of Jerusalem which ended with the city's second capture by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 BCE. The Temple, the center of religious life for those who followed the God of Israel, was destroyed along with the city. Thousands of inhabitants of Jerusalem and the neighboring countryside were deported to Babylon as captives.[49] Zedekiah was among those captured and brought to Babylon; with his removal the line of Davidic kings terminated and Judah's status as an independent (or semi-independent) monarchy came to an end.[50] The political and religious world of Judah and its people was shattered. Thus began the period of exile and the Jewish Diaspora.[51]

As the verses above demonstrate, this traumatic event lingered in the Jewish historical memory as a period of suffering and destitution, God was punishing them indeed for their wickedness.[52] The Temple of Solomon (the First Temple) had been destroyed and a significant portion of the population of the region exiled to a foreign land, not knowing when, if ever, they would be allowed to return. Judah ceased to be a kingdom in any sense of the word. It was governed for a time by the Babylonian puppet

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[48] Jer. 21:1-10. Submission to Babylon was seen as God's punishment for his chosen people for not following his laws and worshipping false idols (Jer. 25:1-11). By rebelling against Babylon, Zedekiah was bringing further punishment on his people (Jer. 27:8).

[49] II Kings 25: 1-17. The number of actual captives has been disputed and is now agreed to be much lower than originally thought. Still, the exact number remains elusive. See Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.116-7. See also Lester Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, vol. 1 (New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 199-202 for an updated discussion regarding population estimates of Judah at this time. On the effect of the deportations on post-war society in Judah see Hans M. Barstad, "After the 'Myth of the Empty Land': Major Challenges in the Study of Neo-Babylonian Judah," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, eds. Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 3-20.

[50] Mitchell, "Fall of Jerusalem," 407.

[51] Hitti, *History of Syria*, 202.

[52] Dahood, *Psalms III*, 269 suggests that the psalmist is an exile recently returned to Judah from Babylon.

Gedaliah, but when he was assassinated governance presumably fell to Babylonian officials.[53] For the next half-century, those who remained behind in Judah and the neighboring territories quietly submitted to Babylonian sovereignty.[54] Many of those who were taken to Babylon strove to maintain their native culture and keep alive the traditions of their ancestors, perhaps biding their time until a future return to their native land.[55]

Salvation and Return: The Persian Period[56]

In 539 BCE a newly risen power, the Persians, attacked Babylon and successfully subdued the capital city by 538. All Babylonian territories, including Judah and its neighbors, came under the power of the Persians and their king, Cyrus. Eager to distinguish himself as a different kind of ruler from the Babylonians, Cyrus began a program of cultural restoration, returning people and gods to their native lands.[57] As part of this program an edict was allegedly issued by the Persian monarch stating that all Judaean captives who wished to return to their homeland and rebuild their Temple might do so.[58] Seeing in Cyrus an instrument of divine intervention, contemporary Jewish

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[53] II Kings 25: 22. See also T. C. Mitchell, "The Babylonian Exile and the Restoration of the Jews in Palestine (586 - *c.* 500 B.C.)," in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 3, 2nd Edition, eds. John Boardman, et. al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 410-4.

[54] Although the loss of so many people was no doubt devastating, Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.121 notes that many in the poorer population who stayed behind may have actually welcomed the Babylonian occupation as it gave them the opportunity to own the land vacated by those taken captive.

[55] Jeremiah 29 encourages the exiles to put down roots and settle in Babylon, but not to despair of a return to Judah. For a discussion of the Murasu archive as evidence that many Jews did in fact assimilate successfully into Babylonian society see Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Israel in the Persian Period: The Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 122.

[56] For primary sources on this period see the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. For modern surveys of this period, with a focus on Judaea and its people see Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, I.132-66, 263-349; Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.119-145; Mitchell, "Babylonian Exile," 410-60; Ephraim Stern, "The Persian Empire and the Political and Social History of Palestine in the Persian Period," in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, eds. W. D. Davies, and Louis Finkelstein, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 70-87; and Solomon Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962), 1-33.

[57] Mitchell, "Babylonian Exile," 426. See also Elias Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 29-30; Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 1-2.

[58] Ezra 6:3-5. Some scholars doubt the authenticity of this decree, partly because it fits in so nicely with other propaganda produced by Cyrus proclaiming his restoration of native cults and religious traditions.

sources proclaimed him as an anointed agent of the God of Israel and the deliverer of his people.[59] Following Cyrus' edict many Judaeans returned home to rebuild the Temple and their lives in Judah (or Yehud, as it was now called by the Persians) under the leadership of Sheshbazzar, a Judaean aristocrat.[60] By 516/5 BCE the Temple had been rebuilt, and two more groups of exiles had returned to Jerusalem.[61] Judah was recovering.

While the rest of the Persian period suffers from a significant lack of literary sources, one important event in the history of Jewish religion and governance is well documented: the establishment by Artaxerxes I (r. 464-424 BCE) of the Torah, or the law of Moses, as the authoritative law code for the Jews.[62] This action, along with conflicting ideas concerning leadership among the returned exiles, and the lack of a native monarchy, possibly led to the increasing importance of the high priest[63] during the Persian period.[64] The Persian province, or satrapy, including Jerusalem and its environs

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See Roland de Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, trans. Damian McHugh (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1971), 63-96. See also Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, I.271-6 for a discussion of the decree and the nature of the exiles' return to Judah.

[59] Isaiah 44:28 - 45:1. For a discussion of Cyrus's role as an anointed one of God see Lisbeth Fried, "Cyrus the Messiah? The Historical Background to Isaiah 45:1," *The Harvard Theological Review* 95.4 (2002): 373-93.

[60] Ezra 1:11. Like the number of exiles, the number of those who decided to return to Judah is debated. See Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, I.274; Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.127; also Stern, "Palestine in the Persian Period," 70-2. On the leadership of Sheshbazzar see Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, I.276-7.

[61] Ezra 6:15. For a discussion of the chronology of the rebuilding of the Temple as well as the political and religious issues that surrounded the process of rebuilding see Peter Ross Bedford, *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 85-299; see also Mitchell, "Fall of Jerusalem," 428-37.

[62] Ezra 7:12-26. See Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, II.325-334 regarding the authenticity and significance of this decree. See also Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 13-15, who notes the possibility that it was under Artaxerxes II (404-359 BCE), not Artaxerxes I, that this decree was issued. For a discussion of the legal reality that Ezra is reflecting see Lester Grabbe, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 138-50.

[63] The high priest was the highest religious office in Judaism. Although the office was primarily religious in nature, since the removal of the last king, the high priest performed a political function as well. Until the time of Herod, the office of high priest was, with few exceptions, hereditary and held for life. More on the political aspects of the high priest is discussed in the following sections.

[64] For a discussion of the developing political parties and the increasing importance of the high priest during this period see Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 7-15. Although see also James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 101-11; and Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High priesthood in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 238-9 for more cautious views on the level of power obtained by the high priest during this time.

was still governed by secular satraps (whether Persian, Jewish, or a mix of both is unclear), but the high priest now became a powerful figure within the government of Judah and its representative to the Persian governor.[65] Although the increased power and political position of the high priest meant that during the Persian Period the Jews enjoyed a high level of political and religious autonomy, it would have dramatic, and sometimes disastrous, effects on the interactions between the Judaeans and the ruling power in subsequent regimes.

Mixing Cultures: The Hellenistic Period[66]

Judah and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean remained under Persian control until the conquests of Alexander the Great (r. 336-323 BCE). By 332 BCE Alexander had conquered much of the region along the eastern Mediterranean coast as he made his way to coveted Egypt. It seems that by the time Tyre fell to his siege-works the entirety of Palestine, including the inhabitants of Jerusalem, had willingly submitted to his rule.[67]

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[65] For the disagreement on whether the satrapy including Judah was governed by Jewish or Persian governors see Mitchell, "Babylonian Exile," 439-40 and Stern, "Palestine in the Persian Period," 72. On the governing structure of Yehud during the Persian period in general, with a discussion of the importance of the high priest, see Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, I.142-55. For the increasing importance of the high priest see particularly Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.74; Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 15.

[66] For primary sources on this period see Joseph. *AJ* 11.304-347 (Alexander), 12.1-118 (Ptolemy I and II), 12.129-153 (Antiochus the Great), 12.154-236 (Ptolemy III and V, Oniads and Tobiads). For modern surveys of this period see Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period*, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), I.6-57; Martin Hengel, "The Political and Social History of Palestine from Alexander to Antiochus III (333–187 B.C.E.)," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism.*, eds. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 35-78; Dov Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics 219 to 161 B.C.E.* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, II.267-329; Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.204-220; 269-276; Chris Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition: Hasmonean Relations with the Roman Republic and the Evolution of the High priesthood* (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 54-87; Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 37-76.

[67] Arrian II.25.4. It should be noted, however, that Josephus (*AJ* 11.317-9) describes a passive resistance by the Jewish high priest, who refuses to send Alexander aid and protests his loyalty to Darius. Josephus goes on to claim that the high priest (and by extension Judaea) and Alexander are eventually reconciled through divine intervention and Alexander pays homage to the Jewish god (*AJ* 11.325-36). On this narrative in Josephus and its historical significance see Erich Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 189-245; also (briefly) Erich Gruen, "Fact and Fiction: Jewish Legends in a Hellenistic Contest," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture,*

As with most of his empire, Alexander did not overly trouble himself with establishing a strong administrative structure in Judaea[68] and its neighbors. It is likely that he left the existing Persian structure largely intact, with the region being ruled by satraps and having as its capital the city of Damascus. In addition, the high priest seems to have maintained a significant level of civic authority, providing continuity with local practices.[69] Thus, throughout Alexander's brief tenure as master of the region it seems that much remained unchanged from the previous two centuries in the political and religious structures of Judaea.

Although Alexander's personal interaction with Judaea and its people was limited, perhaps even non-existent, his conquests had a deep and lasting impact. When Alexander died without a designated heir in 323 BCE the vast territory that he had conquered was divided among his friends and generals. After years of fighting, the region encompassing Judaea finally fell to Ptolemy I in 301 BCE, although Seleucus I would also lay claim to it. Thus began several decades of warfare between these two Hellenistic powers in order to gain control of the area.[70]

From 301-200 BCE, the territories of Syria and Palestine were held, with minor interruptions, by the Ptolemies. Perhaps in keeping with established practices, or perhaps because Ptolemaic interest in Judaea was largely limited to its status as a source of

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History, and Historiography, eds. Paul Cartledge et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 78-9.

[68] With the advent of Macedonian rule, the name of the province becomes Iudaia, or Judaea. Therefore, this name will be used to designate the area from this point forward.

[69] See Joseph. *AJ* 11.329-39 on Alexander's alleged interaction with the Jews in Jerusalem. See also Hengel, "Palestine from Alexander to Antiochus," 43. On the civic as well as religious responsibilities of the high priest during the early Hellenistic period in general see VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 112- 239 who, through an in depth discussion of the individual high priests, demonstrates the high level of civic authority that this position exercised. Although see Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 243-265, 325 who argues that the high priest still lacked significant civic authority at this time.

[70] On the claims of Ptolemy and Seleucus see Polybius 5.67. See also Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 45-51.

revenue, the Jews continued to enjoy religious freedom under the Ptolemies. In addition, the high priest seems to have continued to maintain his position as not only a religious, but also a secular authority. He may even have served as the tax collector and Judaean representative to the ruling regime.[71]

After a century of relative stability, however, Ptolemaic government in the region ended with the ambition of Antiochus III (Antiochus the Great). In 201 BCE Antiochus launched an invasion of Syria and by 200 BCE he had claimed Coele-Syria (a region which included Judaea). A new Seleucid administration was set up almost immediately to replace the old Ptolemaic one in the conquered territories. Antiochus left the policies of his Ptolemaic predecessors mostly unchanged, granting the Jews a certain amount of autonomy in running their own government. Also at this time Antiochus decreed that state money might be given to fund the expensive sacrificial program in Jerusalem, a practice that was continued and perhaps expanded under his immediate successor, Seleucus IV.[72] By providing state funds for the Temple sacrifice, Antiochus demonstrated his recognition that the Temple was the center of Jewish religious life, but also protected himself from any retribution for his conquest from the god of the Jews.[73]

Nominal Independence: The Maccabean Period[74]

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[71] See Dio. Sic. 40.3.1-7 on the political function of the high priest at this time. On the civic stature of the high priest at this time see VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 122-168. See also Grabbe, *A History of the Jews*, II.185-191; Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 57. Bickerman, *Jews in the Greek Age*, 141, also includes a discussion on the development of the role of high priest during the Ptolemaic period.

[72] See Joseph. *AJ* 12.138-144 on the political and religious freedoms granted to the Jews by Antiochus the Great; II Maccabees 3:3 on Seleucus IV's generosity. See also Bickerman, *Jews in the Greek Age*, 128-9.

[73] Bickerman, *Jews in the Greek Age*, 127.

[74] For primary sources on this period see Joseph. *AJ* 12.237-13.404; *BJ* 1.31-106; I and II Maccabees. For modern surveys of this period see Jonathan Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1976), 104-74; Jonathan Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983), 84-112; Jonathan Goldstein, "The Hasmonean Revolt and the Hasmonean Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism.*, eds. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 292-351; Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.276-302; Eyal Regev, *The Hasmoneans: Ideology, Archeaology, Identity* (Bristol, CT: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 103-28; Seeman, *Rome and Judea in*

Following the period of peace and stability that Antiochus III's reign provided, a series of conflicts broke out in Judaea that would eventually lead to the Maccabean Revolt, the first Jewish revolt against a foreign sovereign in over four hundred years.[75] This revolt was not only hugely significant in its time, but would influence the course of Jewish history for the next three centuries. It is important, therefore, to discuss briefly the causes of the revolt, the revolt itself, and its immediate aftermath.

In the middle of the second century BCE tensions began to grow in Jerusalem for reasons that are not known for certain, but many scholars see as stemming from the potential for an increased influence of Hellenistic culture within the city.[76] Traditionally, scholars have seen the source for this rising tension as a conflict between so-called "Hellenizing" Jews, those who wished to expand the incorporation of Greek cultural elements into Jerusalem and the Jewish sphere in general, and "traditional" Jews, those

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Transition, 88-243; Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, trans. S. Applebaum (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 175- 265; Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 76-172.

[75] Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 190-1, argues that the revolt of the Judaeans actually began before the Maccabean involvement, but that our sources (I and II Maccabees) distort the picture to praise their heroes.

[76] The bibliography on this topic is vast. For a concise overview of the history of scholarship on Hellenization and Judaism see Lee Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 3-32; For different perspectives on the process of Hellenization within Jerusalem and Judaea see in particular Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, who sees "Hellenization" occurring in Judaea as a consequence of Alexander the Great's conquest; and Louis Feldman, "Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism* in Retrospect," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96, no. 3 (1977): 371-82, and "How Much Hellenism in the Land of Israel?," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 33, no. 3 (2002): 290-313, who strongly disagrees with Hengel's argument, preferring to see the process of "Hellenization" beginning much closer in time to the Maccabean Revolt. For an excellent review of Hengel, including the significance and limitations of his landmark study see J. K. Aitken, "Review of Martin Hengel's *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123.2 (2004): 329-341. On the role of the influential Tobiad family and their economic interests in the Hellenization of Judaea in the years preceding Antiochus IV's reign see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 152-74; Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 60-80. On the impact of Alexander's conquests and motivating factors for "Hellenization" in Judaea see also Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 22-31.

who wished to keep Judaism and Jews "Jewish."[77] Recently, however, this view has been challenged and scholarship has tended away from seeing "Hellenization" as the root of the conflicts, preferring instead to see the political contest between two contenders for the high priesthood as the source.[78] Events reached a breaking point in 168/7 BCE when the supporters of these two opposing candidates became involved in a violent conflict in the city of Jerusalem.[79] In this same year, Antiochus IV came to Jerusalem, punished the rioting inhabitants and ransacked the Temple.[80]

Apparently seeing a connection between religion and the rebellious behavior, Antiochus banned the practice of the Jewish religion in Jerusalem and Judaea.[81] In addition, some sort of abomination – the details are lost to us – was set up in the Temple of Jerusalem, ruining its sanctity.[82] With Antiochus' ban on the practice of the Jewish

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[77] See Joseph. *AJ* 12.237-241 and II Maccabees 4:7-17 on the conflict between the high priests and the intrusion of Hellenism. For the argument that Hellenizing reform was the source of conflict and violence in Jerusalem see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 255-309. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 105-22 includes an interesting discussion on the nature of the debate over "Hellenizing." In his view, Antiochus IV was engaging in a program of cultural unity based on the Roman model of assimilation of conquered peoples. The debate in Judaea was thus between those who wished to garner favor with Antiochus by adopting Greek cultural elements and those who rejected this betrayal of their ancestral customs.

[78] Cf. Aitken, "Review of Hengel's," 337-9 on the unreliability of the evidence in determining whether there was in fact any conflict between "Hellenizers" and "traditional Jews;" and Erich Gruen, "Hellenism and Persecution: Antiochus IV and the Jews," in *Hellenistic History and Culture*, ed. Peter Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 257-9 for a rejection of the theory that factional divides occurred over "Hellenism" and "traditional" Judaism. See also Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism* , 26-8 who argues that it does not make sense to define a "Jewish" culture and a "Hellenistic" culture present in Judaism at this time. All Jews, to a greater and lesser extent, were Hellenized in that they participated in and reacted to the predominance of Hellenistic culture; Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 74-87.

[79] II Maccabees 5:5-6. See also Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics*, 153-61 who places the timing of this conflict to 169/8 BCE;Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 187-8.

[80] Joseph. *AJ* 12.246-252; I Maccabees 1:20-24, 29-35; II Maccabees 5:11-26. See also Daniel Schwartz, "Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jerusalem," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, Daniel Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45-56; Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics*, 153-61.

[81] Joseph. *AJ* 12.253-4; I Maccabees 1:41-50; II Maccabees 6:1, 6-11. For a discussion on the connection between Jewish religious practices, rebellious behavior, and "pure" Judaism, see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 140-1. For other possible motivations behind Antiochus' persecution see Gruen, "Hellenism and Persecution," 238-64.

[82] Joseph. *AJ* 12.253; I Maccabees 1:54; II Maccabees 6:2-5. For a discussion of what this abomination may have been, see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 142-155.

religion three possible courses of action now presented themselves to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judaea: apostasy, martyrdom, or rebellion justified on religious grounds.[83]

The last was the route taken by Mattathias, a Jew of priestly lineage, and his five sons, who would later be known as the Maccabees, or Hasmoneans.[84] Refusing to submit to Seleucid coercion, Mattathias took his sons, and any others who would follow him, to the hills surrounding Jerusalem, where they began a guerrilla war against both apostate Jews and the Seleucid regime.[85] Despite the death of Mattathias soon after the revolt began, the Maccabees had some success fighting their Seleucid oppressors under the leadership of Judas, one of Mattathias' sons.[86] By 165 BCE Judas and his brothers had gained control of parts of Jerusalem and restored the Temple to the God of Israel, destroying Antiochus' abomination.[87] Although they suffered some military setbacks, in 163 BCE the Jews won the right to practice their religion freely when Antiochus IV died and was succeeded by his young son, Antiochus V. In order to strengthen his tenuous power, the new king seems to have been eager to conciliate his Jewish subjects and so he

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[83] Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics*, 230.

[84] See I Maccabees 2:1 for Mattathias' lineage. Mattathias' family name, Hashmonay, leads to the Maccabees and their descendants being known as the Hasmoneans. See Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 295. See also Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 62-89 for a full discussion on dating and the historicity of the sources.

[85] Joseph. *BJ* 1.36-7; *AJ* 12.268-70; I Maccabees 2:15-26. It should be noted that although Mattathias and his sons were fighting against the Seleucids, this should not be interpreted as their desire to fight against the influence of Hellenistic culture in Judaean society, as many scholars have assumed. See Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society*, 33-6; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 3-12;

[86] Joseph. *BJ* 1.39; *AJ* 12.272-315; I Maccabees 3, 4:1-35; II Maccabees 9. The Jewish victories were in large part due to the preoccupation of Seleucid power elsewhere in the empire. Despite the testimony of I and II Maccabees, the numbers of Seleucid troops sent against the Hasmoneans are quite small. See Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.285-7.

[87] Joseph. *AJ* 12.316-26; I Maccabees 4:36-61; II Maccabees 10:1-8. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 303-4.

restored the Temple to them and declared that the Torah was now binding law for all Jews.[88]

It seems that at this time many Jews felt that the need to resist Seleucid rule was obsolete; the battle for religious freedom was won.[89] The Maccabees, however, appeared to be intent on an independent Jewish state over which they would be the leaders.[90] An important step towards this goal was taken by Judas before his death in 161 BCE when he negotiated a treaty with Rome, establishing that each would come to the other's aid in case of an external military threat (for more on this treaty and its literary context see Ch. 2, pgs. 58-77).[91] While making treaties with a foreign sovereignty was undoubtedly an attempt by Judas to establish some sort of independence for Judaea, as well as political legitimacy for himself, it is important to note that at the time of Judas' death, Judaea was still technically under Seleucid sovereignty.

Intrigues within the Seleucid dynasty presented further political opportunities for the Maccabees. The culmination of this was that one contender for the Seleucid throne, Alexander Balas, promised Jonathan, Judas' brother, the high priesthood with all of its attendant authority in exchange for his support. Jonathan accepted this offer and thus began the Hasmonean tradition of holding the high priesthood.[92] In 151 BCE Balas

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[88] The declaration that the Torah was binding law may have come later, under Demetrios II. See Joseph. *AJ* 12.379-382; I Maccabees 6:55-61; II Maccabees 11:24-5. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 306.
[89] Joseph. *AJ* 12.389-401; II Maccabees 14:3-11. See Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 102-8. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.289-90, who notes that this illustrates the diversity of feeling among Jews at the time. While most were content to allow Seleucid rule as long as they could freely practice their religion, others, following the Maccabees, insisted on political as well as religious freedom.
[90] Joseph. *AJ* 12.402-14. See also Regev, *The Hasmoneans*, 16.
[91] Joseph. *AJ* 12.414-9; I Maccabees 8:21-32. For Judas' increasingly precarious position in the Judaean political sphere see Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 110-12. For the disputed dating of this treaty see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, eds. Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar, 2nd edition, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973), 171-2, n. 33.
[92] Joseph. *AJ* 13.43-6; I Maccabees 10:15-21. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.295. There may have been some opposition to Jonathan holding this position since he was not of the Zadokite line, which traditionally supplied the high priests (see Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 124-5). Although see Regev, *The Hasmoneans*, 120-2

defeated Demetrius (another contender) and, within a few years, confirmed Jonathan as a friend, general, and governor of the province of Judaea. Jonathan was now in the highest religious and secular positions in the province. Despite having gained much ground towards independence, however, Judaea was still a dependent nation.[93]

Finally, in 143/2 BCE, under the leadership of Simon, Mattathias' last surviving son, a semi-autonomous Hasmonean state of Judaea was recognized and the last Seleucid troops were expelled from Jerusalem.[94] For the first time in centuries, Judaea experienced political as well as religious freedom; the people were free to maintain their military strongholds, they were exempt from taxes, and there was to be peace between Judaea and the Seleucids.[95] With one minor interruption, Jerusalem and Judaea would continue undisturbed by outside interference until the conquests of Pompey brought Judaea under the Roman sphere of influence, eighty years in the future.[96]

Simon was succeeded by his son, John Hyrcanus, who embarked on campaigns of conquest throughout the neighboring regions. When John died in 104 BCE, his son, Judas Aristobulus succeeded him. There is very little information concerning the brief reign of Aristobulus, but it seems that he was the first Hasmonean to take the title of

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on the lack of opposition to the Hasmonean priesthood from the Sadducees, who were the traditional challengers of non-Zadokite priests.

[93] I Maccabees 10:59-66. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, I.295.

[94] Joseph. *AJ* 13.213; I Maccabees 13:34-42; See Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 18-25 for a discussion of the degree to which Simon and his successors were still beholden to the Seleucids for the legitimacy of their authority. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 318.

[95] I Macc. 13:38-40. On the extent to which this decree constituted political freedom see Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 20-1.

[96] In the late 130's Antiochus VII, another Seleucid claimant to the throne, captured Jerusalem. Simon was assassinated and succeeded by his son, John Hyrcanus, who remained high priest even after Antiochus' occupation. Judaea was once again under the sovereignty of the Seleucids. Independence was reasserted, however, when Antiochus died unexpectedly while on campaign in the east in 129 BCE. See Joseph. *AJ* 13.225-53. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 323-4.

"king."[97] Thus, the Hasmoneans were now both kings and high priests, symbolically uniting control of the religious and secular spheres into one person. On his death, Aristobulus was succeeded by his younger brother, Alexander Janneus, who also took the title of king (βασιλέυς).[98] He died in 76 BCE, leaving the throne to his wife, Alexandra Salome.[99]

Under the Hasmoneans Judaea experienced near complete political and religious autonomy for the first time in centuries. Not only did they take over the religious authority of the country through the position of high priest, but eventually they declared themselves kings and independent of foreign rule. Although this would appear to be a great moment in Jewish history, there were clearly some Jews who expressed opposition to the Hasmonean leadership of Judaea.[100]

Civil War and Subjugation: The Roman Republican Period[101]

In 63 BCE Pompey the Great arrived in Syria following his victories over various eastern monarchs. Under Pompey's direction the area wrested from the declining Seleucid dynasty, including Syria and Palestine, was reorganized into the province of

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[97] Joseph. *AJ* 13.301; *BJ* 1.70. Josephus claims that "τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς βασιλείαν μετατιθεὶς περιτίθεται μὲν διάδημα πρῶτος – having changed the government into a kingdom, he was the first to put on a diadem." Aristobulus' title is not attested on his coinage, so it is not possible to say whether he went by the Hebrew title of מלך. For the coinage of Aristobulus see in particular David Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 5th edition (New York: Amphora, 2010), 190-2. On the slight confusion in the ancient sources (Strabo, *Geog*. 16, 2.40 claims that Aristobulus' brother Alexander Janneus was the first to proclaim himself king) see Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 332-3. This action, too, may have met with some resistance since kings were traditionally from the line of David, which ended with the Babylonian invasion (see Ch. 2, pgs. 68-70; see also Zeitlin, *Judaean State*, 318).

[98] Joseph. *AJ* 13.320. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 334.

[99] Joseph. *AJ* 13.407; *BJ* 1.107. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 334-342. It should be noted that leaving the throne to a female monarch with adult male children is unprecedented in Judaean history.

[100] Cf. II Maccabees 14:3-11; Joseph. *AJ* 13:288-96, 301-2, 372-6; *BJ* 1.90-2. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 329, 338.

[101] For primary sources on this period see Joseph. *AJ* 14.1-389; *BJ* 1.120-285. For modern surveys of the period see Emilio Gabba, "The Social, Economic and Political History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," in *Cambridge History of Judaism.*, eds. William Horbury, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 94-167; Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.337-43; Gilbert Labbé, *L'affirmation de la puissance romaine en Judée: 63 avant J.-C.-136 après J.-C.* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012), 19-39; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 267-280; Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 272-364.

Syria and placed under the rule of a Roman governor. Although Pompey likely needed little motivation, a civil war that was waging in Jerusalem between the two sons of Alexander Janneus provided him with an excuse to become involved in Judaean affairs. Hyrcanus, the eldest son of Janneus, had been appointed high priest by his mother, Alexandra Salome, when she ascended the throne. The younger son, Aristobulus, became very popular with the army, however, and when Alexandra died, leaving the kingship to Hyrcanus, Aristobulus interfered. He forced his brother to renounce the kingship and the high priesthood, then took both for himself.[102]

Both sides sued for assistance, or at least recognition, from Rome. Support was initially given to Aristobulus through a decision of Scaurus, a quaestor serving under Pompey, but later transferred to Hyrcanus when his long-time friend and supporter, Antipater, sued for Pompey's aid.[103] When Pompey invaded Jerusalem to enforce his will, Aristobulus' partisans took up positions in the Temple precinct, claiming that they would not submit to Rome. Pompey was forced to besiege the Temple and eventually secured the surrender of Aristobulus' supporters. After his victory Pompey shockingly entered the holy spaces of the Temple, causing great distress among the population of the city.[104] With the capture of Jerusalem, Pompey claimed the right to impose his will on Judaean politics. In fact, Josephus points to these events as the definitive moment when Judaean freedom was forsaken and Roman domination began, a point to which we will return later in this study.[105]

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[102] Joseph. *AJ* 13.408; *BJ* 1.109, 117-122. See also Goldstein, "Hasmonean Dynasty," 346.
[103] Joseph. *BJ* 1.128-33. For a more detailed discussion of the delegations sent to Pompey see Ch. 2, pgs. 77-9.
[104] Joseph. *BJ* 1.141-152.
[105] Joseph. *AJ* 14.77.

After his victory, Pompey reestablished Hyrcanus in his position as high priest, but not as king.[106] The nation's boundaries were restricted to the old kingdom of Judah, and the lands that were gained under the Hasmoneans fell into Roman hands. Aristobulus and his family were taken as hostages to Rome. In addition, the Jews were now required to pay a tribute to Rome. Thus, as a result of this civil war, Judaea was deprived of its monarchy, subjected to Roman intervention, and stripped of much of its territory, including its valuable port cities along the eastern Mediterranean coast.[107]

Factionalism within the Hasmonean dynasty continued, however, and an uprising against Hyrcanus led by Alexander, son of Aristobulus, in 57 BCE forced Gabinius, the newly arrived governor of Syria, to intervene.[108] Following the suppression of this uprising, Gabinius divided Judaea into five districts, each with its own administrative center.[109] These districts were likely run as theocracies, with a Sanhedrin, or council, in charge of governance. Hyrcanus remained in the position of high priest, but his level of civic authority is unclear.[110] Equally unclear is how well this system functioned and for how long it lasted; it is possible that by the time Gabinius' governorship ended in 55 BCE the five district arrangement had already been dissolved.[111]

Further military action by Gabinius against surviving partisans of Aristobulus and his family was needed: once against Aristobulus himself in 56 BCE, and once more

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[106]Joseph. *AJ* 14.73; *BJ* 1.153. See also Labbé, *la puissance romaine en Judée*, 23.
[107]Joseph. *AJ* 14.74-9; *BJ* 1.154-8. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 97; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 256-9. There is some debate about whether or not Judaea was considered part of the Roman province of Syria at this time. For an excellent discussion concerning Judaea's status (and a rejection of the idea that it was part of the province of Syria) see Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 266-9.
[108] Joseph. *BJ* 1.160-8. See also Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 267-8.
[109] Joseph. *AJ* 14.91; *BJ* 1.169-70.
[110] Joseph. *AJ* 14.91; *BJ* 1.169. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 98; Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 280-3; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 32.
[111] It is also possible that this form of government was not officially abolished until after Caesar's victory in Alexandria over the troops of Ptolemy XIII. See Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 98-9.

against Alexander in 55 BCE.[112] After the suppression of Alexander's final revolt, Antipater and Hyrcanus were rewarded with a reorganization of the government according to Antipater's wishes.[113] The number of revolts that broke out at this time and the perceived level of popular support for them have led some scholars to suggest that Roman intervention in the government of Judaea was resented and hopes of a restored autonomous Jewish state were strong.[114] As I hope to show in the following chapters, however, there is little evidence to suggest that Roman interference was opposed by the majority of Judaeans.[115]

Judaea, although nominally governed by its own people, nevertheless continued to be subject to interference by the governors of Syria as well as other Roman leaders in the region.[116] Following Caesar's victory over Pompey in the battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE and his subsequent defeat of Ptolemy XIII in the Alexandrian War he bestowed honors and rewards upon the Judaeans and their elite.[117] Caesar confirmed Hyrcanus in his position as high priest and proclaimed him *ethnarch* of the Jews and a "friend and ally of the Roman people."[118] Antipater, for his support of Caesar, was granted Roman citizenship and given the title *epitropos*.[119] In addition, Antipater's two sons, Herod (the

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[112] Joseph. *AJ* 14.92-7, 100-2; *BJ* 1.171-4, 176-7. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.340-1; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 33-5.
[113] Joseph. *AJ* 14.103; *BJ* 1.178. See Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 35.
[114] Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 99.
[115] Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 284 argues that these uprisings demonstrate the level of factionalism within Judaean society, not that there was widespread opposition to Rome.
[116] For more on the governors of Syria and their actions in Judaea see Ch. 3.
[117] For a more detailed discussion of Caesar's activities with respect to the Judaeans and their leaders see Ch. 3, pgs. 116-23.
[118] Joseph. *AJ* 14.137 (Hyrcanus confirmed as high priest), 14.190-212 (on the title of ethnarch and other honors awarded to Hyrcanus and the nation of the Jews); *BJ* 1.194 (high priesthood only). See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 100; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 37 note 53. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 241 suggests that Caesar conferred these honors on the two men following their assistance during the Alexandrian War.
[119] Joseph. *AJ* 14.143; *BJ* 1.194, 199-200. It is unclear exactly what this title means, but it is perhaps best translated as "procurator" or "prefect" (see Labbé, *la puissance romaine en Judée*, 32). Smallwood, *Jews*

future king of Judaea) and Phasael, were named *strategoi* of Galilee and Jerusalem, respectively.[120]

By 44 BCE civil war had again broken out in Rome, this time between the partisans of Caesar (Octavian and Antony) and his assassins, led by Brutus and Cassius. When the assassins' position in Rome became untenable, Cassius set out for Syria, which at the time was governed by Bassus, a former follower of Pompey.[121] Cassius seized the province for the assassins' cause and levied a heavy tax on the Jews, among others, to help pay for the war effort. This action makes it clear that Judaea, although nominally independent, was still subject to the demands of the dominant power in the region.[122] After the Battle of Philippi, at which Octavian and Antony defeated Brutus and Cassius, the victors turned their attention to stabilizing the eastern provinces. Herod and his brother were named tetrarchs despite some popular opposition.[123] Hyrcanus was confirmed again as high priest.[124]

Just as the region was in the process of re-stabilizing following the Roman civil war, in 40 BCE the Parthians invaded Judaea, ravaging the countryside and threatening Jerusalem itself.[125] This invasion introduced a new element to the already complicated political atmosphere of Jerusalem and Judaea. Essentially, the Parthians opposed any measures taken by the Romans to settle the area. They thus backed Antigonus, son of

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Under Roman Rule, 39 suggests that Antipater was responsible for tax collection and safe-guarding Roman interests in Judaea. See also Michael White, "Herod and the Jewish Experience of Augustan Rule," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. Karl Galinsky (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 364.

[120] Joseph. *AJ* 14.158; *BJ* 1.203. It should be noted that there appears to have been a level of resentment among the aristocracy in Jerusalem at the power accrued by Antipater and his two sons (see Joseph. *BJ* 1.208-9; see also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 101).

[121] Joseph. *AJ* 14.268. See also Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 248.

[122] Joseph. *AJ* 14.271-6; *BJ* 1.218-22. For more on Cassius' actions in Judaea and responses to it see Ch. 3, pgs. 128-33. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 104.

[123] Joseph. *AJ* 14.324- 6.

[124] Joseph. *BJ* 1.242-4. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 104.

[125] Joseph. *AJ* 14.330- 4; *BJ* 1.248-9.

Aristobulus, and opposed those who were supported by Rome, namely Herod, Phasael, and Hyrcanus.[126] The latter two fell victim to the intrigues of the Parthians and the partisans of Antigonus, but Herod managed to flee first to Arabia (Nabataea), then to Cleopatra in Egypt, and finally to Rome.[127] There, in December of 40 BCE, Herod, with the support of Antony and Octavian, was granted the title of king (βασιλεύς) of Judaea by a unanimous vote of the Senate.[128] Thus began a new era of Judaean politics: the much dramatized monarchy of Herod (the Great).

Semi-Independent Rule: The Herodian Period[129]

Initially Herod was a king without a country. By 37 BCE, however, he was successfully established in his capital of Jerusalem. This was achieved only after reluctant Roman support managed to dislodge the Parthians and Antigonus after a five-month siege of the city.[130] Thus Herod's power and legitimacy could be, and was to a certain extent, seen as derived from the military backing of Rome, not from his own lineage or other right to rule. He was, in many respects, a dependent king.

Herod enjoyed the friendship and trust of Mark Antony, and, after Actium, of Octavian.[131] In exchange for his pledge of loyalty to Octavian he not only maintained his

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[126] Joseph. *AJ* 14.340; *BJ* 1.250-4. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 104-5.
[127] Joseph. *AJ* 14.342-8 (Phasaelus and Hyrcanus), 14.352-62, 370-80 (Herod's escape); *BJ* 1.271-9. After being taken prisoner through treachery, Phasael committed suicide by bashing his head into a stone floor (*AJ* 14.367). The threat of Hyrcanus' political power was mitigated when he was deformed by having his ears removed, thus making him unable to hold the office of high priest (*AJ* 14.366).
[128] Joseph. *AJ* 14.381-5; *BJ* 1.284. See Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 54-6.
[129] For primary sources on this period see Joseph. *AJ* 14.394-17.192; *BJ* 1.286-665. For historical overviews of this period see Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 113-25; Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.324-8, 349-62; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 287-329; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 60-104.
[130] Joseph. *AJ* 14.468-81; *BJ* 1.345-53. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 106; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 284.
[131] Joseph. *AJ* 15.183-95; *BJ* 1.386-92.

crown, but also regained many lands that had been allotted to Cleopatra by Antony.[132] By the end of his reign, Herod's territory stretched from southern Lebanon to the Negev, from the Mediterranean to Transjordan; his subjects included Jews, Samaritans, Greeks, Syrians, and Arabs.[133] Without significant bloodshed he gained back what had been lost during the Hasmonean civil war and Pompey's reconstructions.

After the fall of Antony and Cleopatra, Herod became the most important political figure in the eastern Empire. As an ally and supporter of Rome, he played an integral part in maintaining peace and stability in the region and along the borders of the Empire. For fifteen years following Actium his reign was characterized by peace, stability and rapid growth in Judaea.[134] During this time he engaged in numerous building projects both within the borders of his own country and around the eastern Mediterranean, firmly establishing himself as a powerful, Hellenistic monarch.[135] In addition, these building projects may have helped to integrate Herod's kingdom into the Roman Empire through participation in the process of "Romanization."[136] Two of Herod's biggest building projects demonstrate his adherence to his Jewish ideals, as well as his loyalty to his new benefactor; these are the renovation project of the Temple in Jerusalem, and the

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[132] Joseph. *AJ* 15.217; *BJ* 1.395-6. See *AJ* 15.343-8, 360 and *BJ* 1.398-9 on further land grants by Augustus to Herod.
[133] See Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.325.
[134] See Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 296 and White, "Jewish Experience of Augustan Rule," 368-374, on the division of Herod's reign into different phases.
[135] Achim Lichtenberger, "Herod and Rome: Was Romanisation a Goal of the Building Policy of Herod?," in *Herod and Augustus: Papers Presented at the IJS Conference, 21st-23rd June, 2005*, eds. David M. Jacobus and Nikos Kokkinos (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 55-8.
[136] For a detailed discussion on some of Herod's building projects and how they furthered "Romanization" in Judaea see Byron McCane, "Simply Irresistible: Augustus, Herod, and the Empire," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127.4 (2008): 725-35.

construction of the city and harbor of Caesarea, which included a magnificent temple to Roma and Augustus.[137]

Despite, or perhaps because of his success on the international level, however, Herod faced occasional opposition at home. His lineage as well as his dependence on Rome may have marked him as an outsider among his own people.[138] Some religious figures even advocated submission to Herod's reign as a punishment inflicted by God akin to the Babylonian invasion and the persecution by Antiochus IV.[139] Animosity towards Herod and his dependence on Rome can be seen in one incident that occurred in 5 BCE. Two Pharisees induced their followers to destroy a golden eagle that hung above the Temple doorway, believing it to be sacrilegious since the eagle was often associated with Rome. Herod arrested the leaders, as well as some of the other perpetrators of the act, and had them executed. Many citizens saw this punishment as unjust and demonstrative of Herod's cruel and tyrannical nature.[140]

Herod's reign lasted until 4 BCE when he died as an old man of natural causes. The longevity and general stability of his reign suggest that, despite the disturbances noted above, Herod was a largely successful ruler. Although dynastic intrigues characterized the final years of his life, Herod died with a will, naming his heirs, and dividing his kingdom among them (Augustus would, however, make the final decision as

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[137] For more on the building projects of Herod, specifically those that were dedicated to the emperor, and the political message that they sent see Ch. 5, pgs. 209-221. For detailed discussions of Herod's building projects see Achim Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999); Duane Roller, *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). See also Peter Richardson, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 183-96.
[138] Cf. Benedikt Eckhardt, "'An Idumaean, that is, a half-Jew' Hasmoneans and Herodians Between Ancestry and Merit," in *Jewish Identity and Politics Between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba*, ed. Benedikt Eckhardt (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 91-115.
[139] Joseph. *AJ* 14.172-6 and 15.3-4.
[140] Joseph. *AJ* 17.149-60; *BJ* 1.648-55. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 99.

to the distribution of Herod's kingdom; see Ch. 4, pgs. 169-70).[141] Although Herod undoubtedly faced some opposition to his authority from various aspects of the populations over which he governed, Judaea would never again under the Roman Empire enjoy such stability, independence, and power as it did during Herod's rule.

Modern scholarship has found it difficult to assess the effectiveness of Herod's reign and its reception in contemporary Judaea. It was, however, a turning point in Roman-Jewish relations and for this reason deserves closer examination. Largely influenced by later traditions including the New Testament and criticisms found in Josephus' portrait of Herod, early modern scholarship attributed to Herod such qualities as "cruelty" and "ruthlessness," seeing in his reign little to praise. [142] He acquired a reputation for being universally hated by his Jewish subjects for his despotism, his love of Rome and Hellenism, and being only "half-Jewish."[143] Even scholars such as Emil Schürer maintained that Herod, "in his inmost heart remained a barbarian."[144] This bias is largely due to the fact that earlier scholarship viewed Herod only as an eastern monarch, someone who was unfamiliar with the Romanizing world in which he lived, and one who should be assessed based on his adherence to Jewish laws and traditions.[145] Thus,

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[141] Joseph. *AJ* 17.188-92.
[142] A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), xi.
[143] White, "Jewish Experience of Augustan Rule," 375. See *AJ* 14.403 on Herod's status as a ἡμιουδαίος. See Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 234 note 3 for more on Herod's ancestry.
[144] Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 310.
[145] For an assessment of Herod's transgression of Jewish laws see Gideon Fuks, "Josephus on Herod's Attitude Towards Jewish Religion: The Darker Side," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 53.2 (2002): 238-45. It should also be noted, however, that Herod may have protected Jewish religious sensibilities by deliberately choosing to construct temples to the emperor in large urban centers outside of Judaea proper. Recognizing that honoring the emperor was necessary for maintaining his position of power, he took the initiative and made the decisions about where to place the temples and honor the emperor's cult (see McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 257-78). For more on this view see Ch. 5, pg. 220.

Josephus' comments on Herod as a transgressor of Jewish law became a popular standard by which he was measured.[146]

More recent scholarship, however, has tried to arrive at a more balanced view of Herod by assessing him based on his ability to navigate the tricky political world in which he lived, a world that was becoming increasingly dominated by Rome and the emperor Augustus.[147] From this perspective Herod is a progressive king who has in mind the interests of not only himself, but also his people. The facts seem to bear out this view; Herod successfully kept his kingdom as an independent ally and supporter of the Roman Empire for more than thirty years. In that time period his people were ruled by a native monarch, enjoyed religious autonomy, and saw an increase in their power and prestige.

An Unimportant Province: The Roman Imperial Period[148]

When Herod died, petitions were made to Augustus regarding the rule of his extensive kingdom. Some elite Jews petitioned to have the government of Judaea pass back into Roman hands, while others, such as Nicolaus of Damascus, petitioned the emperor on behalf of Herod's surviving sons.[149] In the end, Augustus decided that Herod's kingdom would be divided among his sons in accordance with his last will, with Archelaus, the most recently named heir, receiving Judaea, Idumea, Samaria and the title

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[146] Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 15.267-8, 328-9. It should be noted that Josephus also gives very positive portrayals of Herod; see, for example Joseph. *AJ* 14.158-60 on Herod's dealing with robbers in Galilee.

[147] For a brief discussion of scholarship, past and present, that deals with the negative and positive aspects of Herod's reign, see McCane, "Augustus, Herod, and the Empire," 725-7. For a more positive assessment of Herod and his reign cf. Samuel Rocca, *Herod's Judaea* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 19-63.

[148] For primary sources on this period see Joseph. *AJ* 17.200-20.258; *BJ* 2.1-7.455. For secondary sources on this period see in particular Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 126-167; Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.366-8, 383-461; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 330-513; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 105-330.

[149] Joseph. *AJ* 17.219-20, 224-7; *BJ* 2.14-22. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 107-10.

of ethnarch; Philip receiving Batanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis as well as the title of tetrarch; and Herod Antipas receiving Perea and Galilee, also as tetrarch.[150]

Archelaus' rule over Judaea lasted for less than a decade and seems to have been marked by mismanagement and even cruelty. After delegations criticizing his rule were sent to Rome, he was deposed by Augustus in 6 CE and sent into exile in Gallia Lugdunensis.[151] Philip, on the other hand, successfully governed his territory with its predominantly non-Jewish population until his death in 33/4 CE.[152] Antipas, too, was a successful ruler and governed his largely Jewish population to the content of both the populace and the Romans until he was suspected of treason and exiled by the emperor Gaius in 37 CE.[153]

When Archelaus was deposed the territory that he had ruled was annexed and became a Roman province. It was placed under the leadership of a governor of equestrian rank, who was chosen by the emperor and subservient to the governor of Syria, a man of consular rank. A small Roman garrison of auxiliary units was likely left in Jerusalem although the provincial governor now lived in Herod's new city, Caesarea.[154] Since the governor took over the position of the deposed monarch, he was now also in charge of appointing the high priest,[155] and controlled access to the sacred

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[150] Joseph. *AJ* 17.317-20; *BJ* 2.93-7. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.367.
[151] Joseph. *AJ* 17.339-44; *BJ* 2.111. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 130; Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.368.
[152] Joseph. *AJ* 18.106.
[153] Joseph. *AJ* 18.240-55; *BJ* 2.181-3. See also Gabba "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 130-2. The actual date of exile and annexation may have occurred slightly later, in 40 CE. See Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 191.
[154] Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East: 31BC – AD 337* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 44-5.
[155] For a detailed discussion of the high priesthood under Roman rule see VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*, 394-490, especially 420ff. See also Mary Smallwood, "High priests and Politics in Roman Palestine," *Journal of Theological Studies*, 13, no. 1 (1962): 14-34.

priestly vestments – a point which no doubt bothered many Jews.[156] Although, in accordance with Roman practice, the local aristocracy in the form of the high priest and the Sanhedrin[157] was invested with administrative and judicial authority, all power flowed from the Roman governor. Thus, Rome was now in control of the political and religious spheres of Jewish life.[158]

When he turned Judaea into an imperial Roman province, Augustus was doing nothing out of the ordinary from the perspective of Roman imperial administration. This action, however, was to have dramatic effects on the history of Judaea and its people. Judaea was a unique region in the Empire; its people guided by strong and often isolating religious traditions. For this reason, sensitivity to the idiosyncrasies of the people would be an important characteristic for any successful ruler, while conversely, insensitivity could lead to disaster. In addition, the imposition of Roman rule set up a delicate balance of power in the new province with different groups competing in favor of their various interests: Rome wanted stability in the region; the local elites were concerned with maintaining their status, but also with a level of political autonomy; the poorer masses likely simply wanted relief from taxation and a measure of stability. With such competing interests, maintaining peace in the province would not be easy and indeed, following its introduction into the Roman Empire, Judaea was subject to periods of violence and political instability within its borders. While some scholars have claimed that these periods of violence were part of a larger trend that gradually escalated until

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[156] Joseph. *AJ* 18.93-94. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 148-9.

[157] For a discussion of the Sanhedrin, its composition, and its political role throughout the history of Judaea see Shemuel Safrai, "Self-government," in *The Jewish People of the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, eds. Shemuel Safrai and Martin Stern (Philadelphia, Fortress Press: 1974), 377-419.

[158] For a detailed discussion of negative effects of the Roman "creation" of a new ruling class and the investment in this new class of an artificial authority see Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 109-33.

culminating in the rebellion against Rome that came to be known as the Great Revolt and resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, others, myself included, see the situation as much less dire (see above, pgs. 21-2).

Directly after it became a Roman province, Judaea was subject to a census taken by the governor of Syria, Quirinius, and Coponius, the new governor of Judaea.[159] There appears to have been widespread opposition to the census and it was even regarded by some as a form of slavery.[160] Violent opposition to the census was preached, and practiced, by Judas the Galilean and Zaddok (or Saddok), a Pharisee.[161] For the first time, the Judaeans were experiencing Rome from the perspective of a province.[162]

Over the next few decades Judaea was subject to a number of unremarkable Roman governors.[163] The very fact that we know so little about them, however, suggests that they were relatively capable administrators who were at least tolerated by the Judaeans.[164] The infamous tenure of Pontius Pilate began in 26 CE, during the reign of the emperor Tiberius. Unlike his predecessors, he engaged in a number of actions that made him unpopular among the Jews, including appropriating Temple funds to build an aqueduct, bringing Roman standards bearing the emperor's likeness into Jerusalem, and

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[159] Joseph. *AJ* 18.1-3. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.384, 423.
[160] The appearance of the census in the Gospel of Luke (written approximately a century after the census) demonstrates that it was an event that became part of the historical memory of Judaeans. See Joseph. *AJ* 18.4 for the view that the census was a form of slavery. See also Hengel, *The Zealots*, 76.
[161] Joseph. *AJ* 18.4-6; *BJ* 2.118. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.423. For a detailed discussion of Judas' and Zaddok's resistance to the census, as well as the ongoing effects of their movement see Hengel, *The Zealots*, 76-145.
[162] This is in contrast to the earlier Roman interference following Pompey's reorganization which seemed to be much more concerned with maintaining control in Syria, than in interfering with Judaean self-governance.
[163] Josephus names four governors: Coponius, M. Ambibulus, Annius Rufus, and Valerius Gratus (*AJ* 18.29-33).
[164] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 156-7.

placing gilded shields in the palace precinct.[165] These actions provoked repeated protests from the Jewish population in the city until finally, in 36 CE Lucius Vitellius, the governor of Syria, arrived in Jerusalem and removed Pilate, sending him back to Rome to stand trial. He then appointed a new high priest and returned control of the priestly vestments to the Jews; an action which secured him favor among the city's population.[166]

Shortly after the removal of Pilate another momentous shift occurred in Judaean politics. When the emperor Tiberius died in 37 CE, his successor, Gaius, granted the title of king to Agrippa I, a grandson of Herod, who had grown up in Rome with Tiberius' son, Drusus, as well as the future emperor Claudius.[167] This title came with the lands of the former tetrarchy of Agrippa's uncle Philip.[168] Further land grants followed when, in 39/40 CE Antipas, Herod's son, appealed to Gaius for a title equal to his nephew's, was accused and convicted of treason, and sent into exile.[169] Judaea and Jerusalem, however, remained under Roman control for the time being.

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, in 39/40 CE Gaius ordered a statue of Jupiter, bearing the emperor's facial features, to be erected within the Temple in (Roman-controlled) Jerusalem. This action by Gaius sparked massive protests by the Jews. According to most accounts these protests were peaceful, but nonetheless the legate of Syria, Petronius, was sent with two legions to quell any disturbance.[170] Finding

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[165] On the use of Temple funds for the construction of the aqueduct see Joseph. *AJ* 18.60-62; *BJ* 2.175. On the introduction of the effigies into Jerusalem see Joseph. *AJ* 18.55-9; *BJ* 2.169-74. For the placing of gilded shields in the palace see Philo, *Leg*. 299-306. For the tenure of Pilate see Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 137-9; Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 160-174.
[166]Joseph. *AJ* 18.95. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.425.
[167] For a more detailed discussion of Agrippa I's relationship with the imperial family see Ch. 4, pgs. 180-1, 183-4.
[168] Joseph. *AJ* 18.237; *BJ* 2.181. See also Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 132; Millar, *Roman Near East*, 57.
[169] See note 153 above.
[170] See note 37 above.

passionate resistance to Gaius' plan, Petronius petitioned the emperor to desist.[171] It is unclear what exactly followed this petition by Petronius, but the end result was that the statue was not placed in the Temple and thus a desecration was avoided. Although a crisis was averted at this time, Gaius' arrogant action may have demonstrated to many Jews that the institutionalized worship of the emperor had the potential to threaten their religious independence.[172]

When Claudius became emperor after Gaius' death he attempted to undo some of the damage done to Roman and Jewish relations by Gaius' arrogance. One step in this direction was the issue of an edict of tolerance towards the Jews.[173] Claudius took further steps towards restoring the relationship by adding the entirety of the province of Judaea to Agrippa I's monarchy in addition to the lands he already possessed.[174] Agrippa was also granted the authority to appoint high priests.[175] With these actions, Claudius restored the rule of Herod's entire kingdom (and more) to a Judaean monarch.[176] Once again, the Judaeans were able to enjoy a great degree of political and religious autonomy.

Many Jews considered Agrippa to be a benevolent and loyally Jewish king. He acted as a pious Jew while within the confines of Judaea, and his Hasmonean ancestry on his grandmother's side also likely helped to ingratiate him to his subjects.[177] His reign

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[171] See note 38 above. See also Millar, *Roman Near East*, 59.
[172] See note 40 above.
[173] See note 39 above. For more on Claudius' relationship with the Judaeans as well as Diaspora Jews see Ch. 4, pgs. 191-7.
[174] Joseph. *AJ* 19.274-5; *BJ* 2.215. Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 192-3 claims that this grant was made out of gratitude for Agrippa's help in securing Claudius' throne, but it is likely that he also did not miss the political capital that could be gained by restoring a native monarch to the Jewish throne, hopefully easing tensions in the province.
[175] Joseph. *AJ* 19.297. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 193-4.
[176] Joseph. *AJ* 19.274; *BJ* 2.215. See also Millar, *Roman Near East*, 59-60.
[177] Joseph. *AJ* 19.299. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 193-5 for a discussion of the sincerity of Agrippa's adherence to Judaism. Evidence for Agrippa's adherence to Jewish customs while inside Judaea can be seen on his coinage; see Ya'akov Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins* (Nyack, NY: Amphora, 2001), 96-8.

was regarded as one of the high points of the Jewish state under Roman influence. Unfortunately, it did not last long and with his death in 44 CE Judaea was once again deprived of its monarchy and became a Roman province.

Although Agrippa I left behind a living son, Agrippa II, Claudius deemed him too young to receive control of his father's kingdom and so Judaea reverted to a Roman province, again governed by an equestrian legate appointed by the emperor.[178] One of the first acts of Cuspius Fadus, the Roman legate, when he arrived in Jerusalem was to request guardianship of the priestly robes, perhaps to assert his authority over the population. This was eventually denied him by Claudius, likely through the influence of Agrippa II, and guardianship of the robes remained with the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem.[179] Further favor was shown to the Jews when Herod of Chalcis,[180] Agrippa I's brother, received authority over the Temple in Jerusalem and its funds, as well as the right to appoint the high priest.[181] The effect of these actions was that while secular authority rested with the Roman governor a Judaean monarch, King Herod, retained control of the Jewish religious sphere. This arrangement lasted until the death of King Herod in 50 CE. At this time Agrippa II inherited his uncle's kingdom of Chalcis as well as his privileges of appointing the high priest and managing the Temple. He did not, however, receive rule of the province of Judaea.[182]

Following Fadus, Tiberius Julius Alexander (46-48 CE), an apostate Jew from Alexandria, became governor of Judaea. His tenure seems to have been characterized by

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[178] Joseph. *AJ* 19.360-3; *BJ* 2.220. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 199-200.
[179] Joseph. *AJ* 20.6-10. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 260-1.
[180] Herod is referred to as "king" because he is ruler of the kingdom of Chalcis, a vaguely defined region near Judaea. He will thus be called here "King Herod" in an effort to distinguish him from his grandfather.
[181] Joseph. *AJ* 20.15-6. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 261-2.
[182] Joseph. *AJ* 20.104; *BJ* 2.223. See also Millar, *Roman Near East*, 63.

stability and peace. His successor, Ventidius Cumanus (48-52 CE), oversaw two violent incidents between Jews and Romans and was eventually recalled to Rome to give an account of his administration. Cumanus was succeeded by Felix (52-58/9 CE), one of Claudius' freedmen. Although Felix appears to have dealt successfully with a growing bandit situation in Judaea, Josephus points to his governorship as the time when seditious sentiments began to gain strength in Jerusalem. Two more governors followed Felix, Festus (58/9-62 CE) and Albinus (62-64 CE), whom Josephus characterizes as a thoroughly evil man, before the fateful procuratorship of Florus (64-66 CE), the governor under whom revolt broke out.[183]

The causes of the rebellion are difficult to discern. This is largely due to the fact that our main sources for the revolt are the works of Josephus, whose depiction of the events is largely colored by his own involvement in them, as well as the context in which he is writing: Flavian Rome.[184] It seems that the injustices of Florus led to the development of at least two factions within the city: those who urged peace with and submission to the Romans, and those who agitated for rebellion and an overthrow of the Roman government. Initially, the "peace party" was the most popular, but they eventually resorted to force to keep the "extremists" in check. Help was sought from the Romans and from Agrippa II, but only Agrippa responded. His small force was unable to keep the "peace party" in control of Jerusalem. While his men were allowed to surrender and leave the city, the Roman garrison stationed there was massacred. Rebellion at this point seemed inevitable.[185]

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[183] Joseph. *AJ* 20.100-223; *BJ* 2.220-83. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, Chapter 11.
[184] Cf. Tessa Rajak, *Josephus*, 2nd edition (London, Duckworth: 2002), 78-103, for a detailed discussion of the factors that influenced Josephus' portrayal of the revolt.
[185] Joseph. *BJ* 2.411-37. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 293-4.

The situation escalated when Gallus, with an entire legion brought in from Syria, besieged Jerusalem, then inexplicably retreated his troops back to Caesarea.[186] This rout of a Roman army apparently spurred the rebels in the city, and forced the former "peace party" to accept the inevitable.[187] At this time a new, independent government was established in Judaea, consisting of a council of state, embodied in the Sanhedrin, and a popular assembly, which held supreme authority. The high priest was once again in charge of Judaean politics and he and his supporters now took control of the war effort.[188]

Early in 67 CE the future emperor Vespasian was appointed commander of the war in Judaea.[189] He was successful in his command and by the summer of 68 CE had succeeded in subduing most of the country, with only Jerusalem left as a stronghold.[190] While preparing to besiege Jerusalem, however, Vespasian received word that Nero was dead.[191] His command in Judaea legally ended with the death of the emperor, and thus the war was put on hiatus until confirmation from the new emperor could be obtained. The rebels in Jerusalem did not use their time of peace wisely. Rather than prepare for future Roman attacks, they engaged in ferocious battles amongst themselves, with rival factions fighting for primacy over the others.[192]

Vespasian finally prepared to commence the attack in the spring of 69 CE without imperial consent, but his plans were once more interrupted, this time by the proclamation of him as emperor.[193] The war, which should have been brought to a speedy conclusion a

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[186] Joseph. *BJ* 2.527-55.
[187] Joseph. *BJ* 2.556, 562.
[188] Joseph. *BJ* 2.562-3. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 297-8.
[189] Joseph. *BJ* 3.3-5.
[190] Joseph. *BJ* 4.550-5. See also Millar, *Roman Near East*, 73.
[191] Joseph. *BJ* 4.558.
[192] Joseph. *BJ* 4.128-34. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 312-3.
[193] Joseph. *BJ* 4.601-4.

year earlier, was now delayed for another season. Vespasian consolidated his power, then made his way to Rome, leaving his son, Titus, in command of the war in Judaea.[194]

Titus commenced operations against the rebels in Jerusalem in the spring of 70.[195] After a fifteen day siege, he was inside the outer walls of the city.[196] He was not able to breach all of the Jewish defenses, however, until the 10th of August. On this day, after defeating the last desperate assault of the Jewish rebel forces, which were garrisoned in the Temple precinct, Titus ordered his men to set fire to the sacred structure.[197] For the second time in their history, the Jewish people witnessed the destruction of their Temple at the hands of foreign invaders. Before the Temple was completely destroyed, however, the Roman soldiers managed to ransack and loot it, carrying off priceless treasures. Thousands of Jewish prisoners were captured and held for procession in Titus' triumph in Rome, or for providing entertainment in arena games.[198] Judaea was devastated. The brief period of independence gained during the Revolt gave way to Roman provincial status once again. It seems, however, that Rome was not insensitive to the role that poor governance had played in the years leading up to the revolt. Future governors of Judaea would be experienced men of praetorian rank, many of whom went on to prominent careers in the imperial administration.[199]

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[194] Joseph. *BJ* 4.656-8. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 317.
[195] Joseph. *BJ* 5.258-62. For Titus' siege of Jerusalem and its aftermath, see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 319-28.
[196] Joseph. *BJ* 5.263-302.
[197] Joseph. *BJ* 6.249- 66. Although Josephus states explicitly that Titus did not want the Temple burned (*BJ* 6.241), this seems rather fanciful (see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 325-6).
[198] Joseph. *BJ* 6.414-8, 7.96.
[199] See Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 331-2.

Chapter Two: From Allies to Avengers: The Romans in I Maccabees and the *Psalms of Solomon*

Introduction

The political relationship between Rome and Judaea officially began (according to surviving evidence) in 164 BCE when the Roman legates Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius addressed a letter to the People of the Jews (τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ιουδαίων), offering to speak on their behalf before the Seleucid monarch in Antioch.[200] It may have been this offer of assistance that later prompted Judas Maccabeus, in 161, to seek an alliance with Rome in his people's ongoing struggle against the Seleucids. A memorial of this alliance is preserved, along with a "eulogy of Rome" in I Maccabees 8. The generally positive picture of Rome given in I Maccabees suggests that relations between the two sovereignties were amicable both at the time the alliance was made, and much later when I Maccabees was written (ca. 100 BCE). Indeed, many historians believe that, although the treaty between Judaea and Rome may have been allowed to lapse, it was not until Pompey invaded Jerusalem in 63 BCE to stop a civil war that had broken out amongst the Hasmonean dynasts that relations between Rome and Judaea began to sour.[201] According to this view, in direct consequence of Pompey's invasion, Judaean opinions concerning Rome changed forever for the worse and it is from this point forward that the Jews began

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[200] II Maccabees 11:34-8. For a brief overview of the issues surrounding this letter see Erich Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 745-7.

[201] Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, trans. Robyn Fréchet (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2006), 13. Many scholars go so far as to assert that the positive view of Rome portrayed in I Maccabees 8 proves that the book was written before Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem and the turn of Jewish sentiment against Rome (more on this below). For this view see, e.g., H. W. Attridge, "Historiography," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael Stone (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 171; Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 63; George Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 117.
See Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 7-11 on the numerous renewals of the alliance and the possibility that it may have lapsed after the death of John Hyrcanus in 104 BCE. On the cessation of official Judaeo-Roman relations see also Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 230, 242-3.

their enduring hostility towards Roman power. Evidence for the new hostility to Rome is found in the *Psalms of Solomon*, a collection of poems that includes some passages that seem to condemn Pompey and the Roman occupation of Jerusalem.[202]

It is necessary to revisit both the idea that I Maccabees attests to the continued widespread popularity of Rome in Judaea as well as the assertion that the *Psalms of Solomon* provides testimony that Judaean opinions of Rome became universally and irrevocably negative following Pompey's invasion. I Maccabees was likely written with the purpose of legitimizing and promoting the rule of the Hasmoneans. The "eulogy of Rome" must be read and analyzed in this context. Further, some anxiety concerning Rome's growing power may be manifest in the text of I Maccabees 8, suggesting that although the author wanted to convey a primarily positive image of Rome, nevertheless it was impossible for him to ignore completely the negative aspects of Rome's imperialistic tendencies. The *Psalms of Solomon* also seem to have been written from the perspective of the ideology of a particular group. While these psalms may express negative opinions about Pompey, and perhaps others associated with Rome, it must be kept in mind that the *Psalms* were likely written by more than one author who was part of a sectarian group concerned more with the contemplation of theological righteousness than political circumstances. This group by no means spoke for a majority of Jews, or even for a majority of their own social stratum. Thus, one must be cautious in accepting both I Maccabees 8 and the *Psalms of Solomon* as straightforward testimonies of a rigidly

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[202] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 30. I should point out here that this is not a view to which I subscribe, but more on this later in the chapter. N. de Lange, "Jewish Attitudes to the Roman Empire," in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, eds. P. Garnsey and C. Whittaker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 260 notes that the *Psalms of Solomon*, the main source for the opinion that Jews unilaterally turned against Rome, contains little specific judgment on Rome, but rather expresses an ambiguity about Rome's awesome power. Moreover, it is difficult to say that Jewish opinion as a whole completely turned against Rome at any point in the history of the relations of the two. For this view, see for example Sidney Tedesche and Solomon Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 30-1.

defined sentiment. Nor can these texts be used as evidence to determine the opinion of Judaeans as a whole. Rather each should be carefully examined in its historical and cultural context in order to evaluate the image of Rome revealed in the text as well as the merit of the work as a barometer of contemporary Jewish sentiments towards Rome.

I Maccabees

Historical Context

In 170/69 BCE Antiochus IV Epiphanes invaded Egypt. During his return journey to Syria he came to Jerusalem, where he violently put down a rebellion that had broken out in the city.[203] Not long after, in 168/7 BCE, Antiochus invaded Egypt for a second time, but on this occasion his advance through the country was checked by the Romans, who famously forced him to leave Egypt and return home.[204] Antiochus again visited Jerusalem on his return journey, but this time he allegedly massacred and enslaved thousands of the inhabitants, then ransacked the Temple and carried off its treasures.[205] This provoked further violent outbreaks among the Jews, which soon prompted Antiochus to take additional action against them. The king banned the practice of Judaism in Judaea; there were to be no circumcisions, no keeping of the Sabbath, and no holocausts or sacrifices offered in the Temple sanctuary. In addition, he profaned the altar in the Temple in Jerusalem, and mandated that all Jews instead offer sacrifice to pagan gods.[206] The precise reasons for the religious nature of Antiochus' retaliation have long been debated.[207] If Antiochus desired to inspire fealty and peace through his actions, he

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[203] On the causes of the internal conflict in Jerusalem, see Ch. 1, pgs. 30-1.
[204] Polyb. *Histories* 29.27.4-8.
[205] Joseph. *AJ* 12.246-52; I Macc. 1:20-4; II Macc. 5:11-26. On the sequence of visits to Jerusalem and Antiochus' actions there, see Schwartz, "Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jerusalem," 45-56.
[206] I Macc. 1:44-54.
[207] For a discussion of the possible reasons for the religious persecution see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 140-1; Gruen, "Hellenism and Persecution," 238-64.

failed miserably. Further rebellion against the king was led by the family of the Maccabees, under the direction of Mattathias, a devout Jew who refused to renounce his religion. When Mattathias, along with his sons and followers, took to the hills around Jerusalem, violent opposition to Antiochus' persecution began in earnest.[208]

The Maccabees were eventually successful in their rebellion against Antiochus and the Seleucid regime. They purified and rededicated the Temple, overcame Seleucid armies to achieve nominal freedom for their nation, and eventually, were proclaimed first high priests and then kings of Judaea.[209] These last honors came despite the Hasmonean lack of proper lineage: high priests were chosen from the line of Zadok, while kings must be from the line of David.[210] Thus, the Hasmoneans were innovative in their seizure of power; their status was meritorious rather than hereditary.[211]

Introduction to I Maccabees[212]

I Maccabees is an historical account of the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucid regime, covering from Mattathias' decision to take up arms in response to the persecution of the Jews in 167/6 BCE to the murder of Mattathias' son Simon in 134. Its view of history is similar to the historical books of the Old Testament, with the aim of showing

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[208] Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 190-1 argues that the revolt of the Judaeans actually began before the Maccabean involvement, but that our sources (I and II Maccabees) distort the picture to praise their heroes. See also, Schwartz, "Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jerusalem," 53-4.

[209] For a more detailed discussion of the Maccabean Revolt and the establishment of Hasmonean authority see Ch. 1, pgs. 32-5.

[210] Numbers 25:6-13 establishes the hereditary office of the high priesthood for the sons of Phineas (one of whom is Zadok); 2 Samuel 7:8-16 gives God's promise to David that the kingdom of his descendants will remain firm.

[211] On the establishment of Hasmonean authority through military success, religious piety, and eventually, political dominance see Eckhardt, "Hasmoneans and Herodians Between Ancestry and Merit," 91-115 (especially 104-8); Regev, *The Hasmoneans*, 103-128; Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 208, 236-7.

[212] For the Greek text of I Maccabees I will be using A. Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, Vol. 1, 9th ed. (Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1935 (repr. 1971)). For general introductions to I Maccabees see Attridge, "Historiography," 171-6; also Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 114-7. For more detailed discussions of the work see F. M. Abel, *Les Livres Des Maccabees* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1949); Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 1-179; Tedesche and Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees*.

the power of God to overcome Israel's enemies through his chosen agents.[213] As God's instruments, the Maccabees appear as the heroes of the work and through its pages they are justified as the rightful leaders of Judaea and inheritors of the high priesthood.[214]

The author of I Maccabees is unknown, although it is generally assumed that he was a supporter of the Hasmoneans and may even have known the family personally.[215] Most scholars agree that the author was a Jew from Judaea, perhaps Jerusalem itself. This is based largely on his detailed knowledge of Hebrew scripture and Palestinian geography, as well as the scholarly belief that he was an eye witness to the events that he describes.[216]

I Maccabees was likely written during the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE), or shortly after his death, during the reign of either Aristobulus I (104-3 BCE) or Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE).[217] The argument for a late second/early first century date rests largely on the end of the book, where it states that the remaining history of John Hyrcanus' reign is covered in a chronicle of his pontificate.[218] The original language of composition of I Maccabees was Hebrew, but only a Greek translation survives.[219]

I Maccabees 8

After narrating the persecution by Antiochus, the beginnings of the Maccabean revolt, and the successes of the Maccabees, including the restoration of the Temple and

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[213] Tedesche and Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 26.
[214] Cf. Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 206-7. See also Attridge, "Historiography," 172; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 114.
[215] Tedesche and Zeitlin, *First Book of Maccabees*, 27.
[216] See Abel, *Les Livres Des Maccabees*, XXI and Tedesche and Zeitlin, *First Book of Maccabees*, 25.
[217] Tedesche and Zeitlin, *First Book of Maccabees*, 27 claim that the book was written towards the beginning of Hyrcanus' reign. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 117 suggests a slightly later date, after the death of John Hyrcanus and during the early reign of Alexander Jannaeus. See also Tedesche and Zeitlin, *First Book of Maccabees*, 28-32, for the various stages of composition and redaction that may have occurred in the compilation of I Maccabees as we now have it.
[218] I Maccabees 16:23-4.
[219] Tedesche and Zeitlin, *First Book of Maccabees*, 32.

major victories over Seleucid armies, I Maccabees shifts abruptly to a discussion of the virtues of Rome and Judas Maccabeus' desire to form an alliance with the burgeoning empire. I Maccabees 8 claims that Judas had heard of the military successes of Rome in the West, their ability to crush any kings who came against them, including the great Antiochus III, their loyal friendship to those who requested it, and their status as kingmakers. Despite this exalted political position, however, not one Roman was induced to put on a diadem or wear purple vestments. In addition, Rome boasted a unique form of government including a senate, which met daily to discuss the concerns and well-being of the people. Every year one man was elected to oversee the entire government and this man was obeyed implicitly without anyone being incited to jealousy.[220] I Maccabees 8 continues on to describe the long journey to Rome that Judas' legates undertook in order to free Israel from the yoke of Seleucid slavery. The chapter concludes with the text of the alliance to which the Roman Senate and Judas' legates agreed.[221]

As Hadas-Lebel has pointed out, although the authenticity of the treaty between Rome and Judaea has been hotly debated, nevertheless this chapter in I Maccabees provides valuable historical information concerning Jewish views of Rome during the second and early first centuries BCE.[222] The extended depiction of Rome in I Maccabees 8 is remarkable both within the context of I Maccabees as well as in the context of the larger literary sphere of the time. This becomes evident through a brief comparison of the treatment of Rome in I Maccabees 8 to the treatment of Sparta given later in the same

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[220] I Maccabees 8:1-16.
[221] I Maccabees 8:17-32.
[222] Mireille Hadas-Lebel, "L'évolution de l'image de Rome auprès des Juifs en deux siècles de relations judéo-Romaines – 164 à +70," in *ANRW* 2.20.2, ed. Wolfgang Haase (New York/Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987), 738. This point was also made by Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 341.

work and to the treatment of Rome given in II Maccabees, a work roughly contemporary to I Maccabees.

According to I Maccabees, Jonathan, brother and successor of Judas Maccabeus, requested an alliance with Sparta in accordance with their ancestral kinship. While the text of a letter from the Spartans acknowledging both the kinship and the alliance is given in I Maccabees, there is no description of Sparta or the Spartans analogous to that of Rome given in I Maccabees 8.[223] Given the similarity of the situations, one would expect that the Spartans, too, would receive some special treatment from the author of I Maccabees. The absence of a "eulogy of Sparta" marks the "eulogy of Rome" as a significant feature of I Maccabees. In addition, the treaty with Rome is also mentioned by II Maccabees, a source nearly contemporary to I Maccabees, but in this text there is no chapter describing the virtues of Rome. A notice of the treaty is used merely to identify the figure of John, whose son was one of Judas' ambassadors to Rome.[224] Thus, a comparison between two similar events (the treaties with Rome and Sparta), as well as a comparison of the treatment of the same event in I and II Maccabees demonstrates that the eulogy of Rome is a unique and significant feature of I Maccabees and perhaps of contemporary Jewish literature.

Despite the recognition of its importance, however, this text has received little attention from Classical scholars. Even Hadas-Lebel's most recent discussion of the text reduces its significance to a one-dimensional attestation of Rome's continued popularity in Judaea through the reigns of the later Hasmoneans.[225] In the following sections of this

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[223] See I Macc. 12:1-23 on the embassy to Sparta under Jonathan and I Macc. 14:16-23 on the renewal of the alliance under Simon.
[224] II Macc. 4:11.
[225] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 13, 20.

chapter I will analyze the narrative of I Maccabees 8 within its historical and cultural context with the aim of arriving at a more nuanced understanding of what this text reveals concerning Judaean attitudes towards Rome at the turn of the second century BCE. To aid in my analysis I will draw heavily on the scholarship of Seeman and Goldstein, both of whom discuss I Maccabees 8 in the context of the author's concern with supporting the Hasmonean dynasty and the legitimacy of their claims to be the leaders of Judaea. The work of Gärtner, who has shown that I Maccabees 8 demonstrates a profound engagement with Roman idealized self-imaging, is also strongly influential in my analysis.[226]

To begin the analysis of I Maccabees 8 it will first be helpful to compare this text to the corresponding passages in Josephus, who used I Maccabees as a source when composing his histories.[227] By noting which aspects of the text Josephus chose to preserve (and which he did not) we can more clearly see the elements that were important to the second century author of I Maccabees. Because such a comparison is not the main focus of this study, however, a brief summary will suffice. Further, this comparison is not intended to analyze Josephus' portrayal of Rome at this time, or to assess whether his depiction of Rome is more or less positive than that of I Maccabees 8 (Josephus' attitudes towards Rome will be discussed later in this study), but rather to illustrate that the author of I Maccabees 8 was concerned with constructing a positive portrayal of Rome with

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[226] Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 4-12 (on the goals of I Maccabees in general), 346-369 (on the goals of I Maccabees 8 in particular); Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 203-43; Hans Armin Gärtner, "Reflexe romischer Selbstdarstellung im 1. Makkabäerbuch," in *Mousopolos Stephanos Festschrift für Herwig Görgemanns*, ed. Manuel Baumbach, Helga Köhler, Adolf Martin Ritter (Heidelberg: Unversitätsverlag C. Winter, 1998), 309-19.

[227] Cf., H. W. Attridge, "Josephus and His Works," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael Stone (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 213-4.

particular elements that are not reproduced by Josephus, who writes in a time and place far removed from the context of I Maccabees.

In his *Antiquities*,[228] Josephus states that Judas became interested in an alliance with Rome because he had heard of their prowess in war against the Galatians, Carthage, and numerous Hellenistic kings. Judas sends ambassadors to Rome to ask the Senate for an alliance and friendship (παρεκάλει δι᾽ αὐτῶν συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους). The ambassadors achieve their objective and the Senate agrees to an alliance and pact of goodwill with the Jews (συμμαχίας καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Ἰουδαίων). A copy of this decree is engraved in bronze and lodged in the Capitol (another copy was sent to Judaea).[229]

From this brief summary we can see that there are significant differences between the account given in I Maccabees 8 and that in Josephus. While Josephus mentions Rome's military strength, I Maccabees depicts them as nearly invincible. Further, I Maccabees claims that Rome only goes to war when attacked; Josephus makes no such distinction. Where I Maccabees stresses that Rome is always faithful to its friends and gives a discussion of Rome's form of government, including the refusal of any Roman to wear a diadem and purple vestments, Josephus says nothing. Finally, Josephus makes no mention of Judas' hope that Rome will remove the Seleucid yoke from Israel.[230]

The following sections will examine those features of the narrative of the treaty with Rome that appear in I Maccabees 8, but not in Josephus, in order to develop a better

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[228] Joseph. *BJ* 1.38 also mentions the alliance with the Romans, but it does not include any details concerning Judas' motivation for seeking the alliance, or even the text of the decree itself. For this reason I will limit my discussion to the *Antiquities*, which provides a much fuller treatment of the event.
[229] Joseph. *AJ* 12.414-9.
[230] It should be noted that Josephus mentions Rome's conquest of Carthage, while I Maccabees does not. For a discussion of possible reasons for I Maccabees' silence on the wars with Carthage, see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 348.

understanding of the perspective and goals of its author in relation to Rome. I argue that the author of I Maccabees at times appropriates Roman idealized self-imagery in order to support his aim of legitimizing and promoting the Maccabees as leaders of Judaea. By appropriating and affirming an idealized image of Rome, the author of I Maccabees not only demonstrates that a Judaean alliance with Rome is fitting, but also illustrates that the Romans, a strong, just, global power, have sanctioned the leadership of the Maccabees by agreeing to this alliance. It will then be necessary to assess, based on the aims of its author, to what extent the view of Rome depicted in I Maccabees 8 can be said to represent the views of Judaeans as a whole.

At the beginning of I Maccabees 8 Rome's military exploits are praised with the claim that they destroyed all those kings who *attacked* them (καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐπελθόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς), including the Hellenistic kings Philip, Perseus, Antiochus III, and "the men of Greece."[231] Here the author is careful not to portray Rome as the aggressor in any of these wars, but rather as the respondent to aggression.[232] Although this passage may portray the author's actual opinion of Rome's foreign policy, it is more likely that it reflects Roman propaganda efforts in the Greek east throughout the second century BCE, which strove to portray Rome's martial actions there as a response to injustices or injuries inflicted on Rome's allies by the Hellenistic kings.[233] Rome

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[231] I Macc. 8:4-11. This passage leaves ambiguous whether the previously mentioned conquests of Gaul and Spain (I Macc. 8:2-3) were the result of Roman initial aggression or in response to aggression from the Gauls and Spanish. The repeated use of καὶ to begin vv.1-12 suggests, however, that the ideas expressed in these verses should be read as connected and thus the Romans consistently fought against only those who attacked them first.

[232] See Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 351.

[233] Gärtner, "romischer Selbstdarstellung," 313. See for example Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 31.1.8-10 and 31.6.1 on Rome's reasons for proposing war with Philip of Macedonia; and 40.30.10 on Rome's pretexts for going to war with Perseus, Philip's son. See Elias Bickerman, "Bellum Philippicum: Some Roman and Greek Views concerning the Causes of the Second Macedonian War," *Classical Philology* 40. 3 (1945): 137-48, for a discussion of Roman propaganda concerning causes for the war with Philip. Also, Ernst

recognized the importance of appearing not to be the aggressor and actively promoted this image of itself, even if the contrary was sometimes true.

That this passage is reflecting Roman conceptions of Rome's justice in war and not necessarily the author's ideal of a just war can be seen in a comparison between Rome's characterization here and the characterization of Judas' and the other Maccabees' motivation for fighting. For example, Mattathias calls to the fight everyone who is zealous for the law (Torah) (Πᾶς ὁ ζηλῶν τῷ νόμῳ).[234] Judas assures wavering troops that heaven helps those whose cause is just; enemies will be shattered before his men, who are fighting for their lives and their laws (ἡμεῖς δὲ πολεμοῦμεν περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν νομίμων ἡμῶν "We are waging war for our lives and our laws").[235] For the author of I Maccabees, Judas and his followers are fighting a just war because they are fighting for their way of life and for their laws. The legitimacy of their fight is sanctioned by heaven, who aids those who fight justly.[236] The Romans, by contrast, are not fighting for the preservation of biblical law (or even their own), but rather in response to aggression against them. This does, as stated above, constitute a "just war" according to Roman criteria, but not necessarily according to biblical ones. Nevertheless, the fact that the criteria by which the Romans wage war are included in a passage supporting the statement that the Romans are "mighty in strength" (δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι), suggests that the

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Badian, "Rome and Antiochus the Great: A Study in Cold War," *Classical Philology* 54.2 (1959): 85-9 on Rome's efforts to represent the war with Antiochus as a response to his invasion of Greece. For the development of Rome's legal procedure for declaring a "just" war, and a discussion of the Roman-centric perspective of the justice of a war, see Clifford Ando, *Law, Language, and Empire in the Roman Tradition*. *Empire and After* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 37-63.

[234] I Macc. 2:27.

[235] I Macc. 3:21-22. For other examples of the justice of the Maccabees' cause as exhibited by the aid they seek and receive from heaven, see also I Macc. 3:46-4:35, 5:55-62 (which illustrates what happens when war is not waged justly, or with heaven's sanction, by Maccabean allies), 7:39-44, 9:46-9, 16:1-10.

[236] For other biblical and classical literary precedents of "just war," see Henning Graf Reventlow, "The Biblical and Classical Traditions of 'Just War'," in *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, Yair Hoffman and Benjamin Uffenheimer (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 160-175.

author of I Maccabees accepted, and perhaps wanted his audience to perceive as justified the Roman motivation for bringing violence to their enemies.[237] By affirming their martial actions as justified through the appropriation of an idealized Roman self-image, the author of I Maccabees supports his aim of promoting Hasmonean rule. Through their alliance with Rome, the Maccabees secure for themselves the legitimization of their authority in Judaea from a strong, just, global power.[238]

Although the Judaeans were not at this time subject in any way to Rome, Ando's discussion of the function of ideology in legitimizing Rome's domination of provincial populations may shed some light on why the author of I Maccabees was interested in reproducing Roman propaganda here and elsewhere (as will be discussed below). Ando describes one aspect of ideology as, "patently official claims to the inherent validity of whatever legitimating principle serves as the warrant for an official action."[239] Thus, Rome's projection of itself as the respondent to aggression, and therefore an actor in a just war, can be seen as a means by which Rome justified the legitimacy of its bellicose actions in the Greek east. By reproducing this image of Rome, the author of I Maccabees is accepting and promoting the legitimacy of Rome's martial actions. This in turn bolsters the legitimacy gained by the Maccabeans through their ties of friendship with Rome.

Beyond establishing the justice of Rome's military action, the description of Rome's victories over aggressive Hellenistic kings, including the great Seleucid king Antiochus III, further serves the political aims of the author of I Maccabees. This passage

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[237] As Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 210-11 points out, the phrase δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι is used in I Maccabees to describe only the Romans and the Maccabees, suggesting an affinity between the two.
[238] On I Maccabees' use of Rome throughout its narrative to legitimize Hasmonean power in the eyes of a domestic audience see Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 203, 206-8.
[239] Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 24.

supports, through the demonstration of Rome's martial prowess against the current enemy of the Jews (the Seleucids in general and Antiochus IV specifically), the correctness of an alliance with Rome in accordance with biblical prescriptions. The Old Testament contains many warnings against alliances with wicked and weak powers.[240] It is clear from the opening lines of I Maccabees 8 that Rome is by no means a weak power; not only did they overcome oppressive Hellenistic kings, but they also defeated the Gauls in battle, forcing tribute upon them, and conquered land in Spain.[241] By portraying Rome as just and invincible in war against its enemies, the author of I Maccabees demonstrates for his audience that Rome will be a valuable ally and that the Maccabees' treaty with them is justified.[242] Thus, according to I Maccabees Judas Maccabeus made a strong political alliance while at the same time adhering to the biblical mandates of his ancestors; in other words, he acted as a good and suitable leader of the Jewish people should.

The wisdom of the Maccabean alliance with Rome as well as the domestic validation that Rome offers its Maccabean allies are reinforced later in this same passage. In contrast to their military victories against foreign aggressors, the Romans are also depicted as being faithful friends and allies to those who seek their friendship: εἰσὶν δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐδοκοῦσιν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς προστιθεμένοις αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅσοι ἂν προσέλθωσιν αὐτοῖς, ἱστῶσιν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν... μετὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαναπαυομένων αὐτοῖς συνετήρησαν φιλίαν "They are mighty in strength and they

[240] See for example II Kings 18:21 on the weakness of Egypt as an ally; II Chronicles 28:16-21 on the fickleness of Assyria as an ally.
[241] The reference to defeating the Gauls could be to any number of conflicts. See Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 350-1 for a list of the possible Roman victories over Gauls to which this passage may be referring. He also discusses here the Roman conquest of Spain and victories over Carthage.
[242] See Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 347 for a discussion of I Maccabees 8's concern with Rome's qualifications as an ally.

willingly accept all who seek alliance with them, and as many as approached them, with these they establish friendship...with their friends and with those relying on them they preserve friendly ties."[243] This statement also seems to appropriate Rome's idealized image of itself, while further contributing to the legitimacy of Rome as an ally.[244] By being faithful and aiding those who seek their friendship, Rome has proven itself to be trustworthy and honest. These characteristics fit the biblically prescribed necessity for an ally (noted above).[245] Thus, this remark concerning Rome's fidelity further underscores the wisdom of Judas' decision to seek alliance with Rome. In addition, this added demonstration of Rome's virtue further underscores the validity that Roman backing adds to the Maccabean claim to power. Rome, the trustworthy and faithful state, chooses to link itself to the Maccabees and thereby legitimates their standing in Judaean society.

After describing Rome's military prowess and the faithfulness that they keep with their friends, I Maccabees 8 remarks that despite all of their successes in the Mediterranean world no Roman was induced to put on a diadem or wear purple to display his grandeur, "καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τούτοις οὐκ ἐπέθεντο αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς διάδημα, οὐδὲ περιεβάλοντο πορφύραν ὥστε ἁδρυνθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ - And among all these men no one placed upon himself the diadem, nor encased himself in purple as to augment himself."[246] This statement can be read on many levels. First, it can be seen as a reflection of the famous Roman rejection of kingship: according to tradition, since the abolishment of its

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[243] I Macc. 8:1, 11.
[244] Gärtner, "romischer Selbstdarstellung," 314.
[245] Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 347 suggests that this may also be an effort on the part of the author to show that the Romans are similar to the Jews; like the Jews they do not refuse friendship/citizenship to those who ask for it. I am not wholly convinced by this argument. I do not think it is necessary, or even beneficial, for the author of I Maccabees to present the Romans as similar to the Jews in order to persuade his audience that an alliance with Rome was a wise decision. Moreover, if the author of I Maccabees was concerned with portraying the Jews and Romans as similar he could have done so more explicitly as he does in the case of the Spartans, where it is specifically stated that they are kindred with the Jews.
[246] I Macc. 8:14.

own monarchy the Romans had rejected even the name of king.[247] Thus, this passage can be read as affirming the Roman tradition; despite the exalted position achieved by their commanders in the field and the vast number of kings and territories that they had subdued, the Romans refuse the symbols of a king. Second, this passage can be read as a commentary on contemporary Judaean politics. Finally, the statement that no Roman assumed a diadem or wore purple could be interpreted as reflecting Roman rhetoric directed against Hellenistic kings in particular.

In addition to reflecting Roman ideology concerning their rejection of kingship, the author of I Maccabees may also have intended this observation and its succeeding description of the Roman government to make a comment on contemporary Judaean politics. Directly following the statement about diadems and purple clothing I Maccabees 8 launches into a discussion of the unique Roman political constitution. In Rome there is a senate (βουλευτήριον), made up of three hundred and twenty men who meet daily to discuss the well-fare of the people. Each year, care of the government is given over to one man and everyone obeys that man without envy or jealousy, "καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἑνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἄρχειν αὐτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ κυριεύειν πάσης τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ πάντες ἀκούουσιν τοῦ ἑνός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν φθόνος οὐδὲ ζῆλος ἐν αὐτοῖς - And they entrust to one man the right to run the government for one year and to be lord over all their land, and everyone listens to this one, and there is no jealousy, nor even any rivalry among them."[248]As Seeman has argued, the description of Rome as ruled harmoniously

[247] See Cic., *Rep*., 2.52; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 2.19. On the development of Rome's famous rejection of kings see Andrew Erskine, "Hellenistic Monarchy and Roman Political Invective," *Classical Quarterly* 41.I (1991): 106-120.

[248] I Macc. 8:15-6. As many scholars have noted, there are clearly inaccuracies in the description of Rome's republican government. For a discussion of the inaccuracies and possible reasons for them see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 357; and Hadas-Lebel, "L'évolution de l'image," 742.

by one man who is not a king can be interpreted as reflecting the political situation in Judaea where one (Hasmonean) man possessed ultimate authority, but was not a king (assuming, of course, that I Maccabees was written prior to the reign of Aristobulus). The deliberate misrepresentation of Rome's successful rule by one man (at this time Rome's government was headed by *two* annually elected consuls) could thus be seen as a positive comment by the author on the state of the Hasmonean government.[249] Conversely, if the composition of I Maccabees is dated to the reign of Judas Aristobulus, then the laudatory description of Rome's government could be interpreted not as a positive comment on Hasmonean authority, but rather as a slightly veiled criticism of the current Hasmonean regime. As Josephus tells us, Aristobulus was the first Hasmonean to put on a diadem, proclaiming himself king.[250] He thus would have been the first king of Judaea since Nebuchadnezzar overthrew Zedekiah nearly five centuries earlier (see Ch. 1, pgs. 23-4), and also would have been the first not of the line of David. With his description of Rome's kingless but successful government, the author of I Maccabees may be reflecting contemporary Jewish indignation at this usurpation of the Davidic monarchy.[251] In this way, the author of I Maccabees may be advocating a return to the earlier style of Hasmonean government, where one man ruled without taking the title of king.

The argument that I Maccabees is criticizing Aristobulus' assumption of the kingship would be more convincing if the reference to Rome's rejection of kingship was limited to the wearing of a diadem. The inclusion of purple vestments, however, suggests that this passage of I Maccabees 8 cannot be criticizing Aristobulus' assumption of the

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[249] Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 213.
[250] Joseph. *AJ* 13.301; *BJ* 1.70.
[251] See Hadas-Lebel, "L'évolution de l'image," 743; also Gärtner, "romischer Selbstdarstellung," 315-6. For a rejection of the idea that I Macc. is here criticizing the Hasmonean assumption of kingship see Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 38, note 165.

kingly title because elsewhere the wearing of purple by various members of the Hasmonean dynasty is noted without apparent criticism. For example, at I Maccabees 10:20-1, 62 Jonathan wears purple robes and at 14:43 Simon wears purple robes and gold ornaments. Veiled criticism of Aristobulus in this passage would seem to contradict the sentiments of other passages in the book and thus appears unlikely.[252]

In addition to promoting the Hasmonean form of government, the emphasis of this passage on Roman political unity can also be interpreted as an attempt by the author to send a political message to his contemporaries.[253] The Hasmoneans experienced opposition to their rule throughout their dynasty.[254] In particular, John Hyrcanus seems to have been vehemently criticized by the Pharisees, a sect with whom he originally identified, but from whom he later turned.[255] If I Maccabees was written during Hyrcanus' reign, then the author could be exhorting his fellow Jews to be unified under the Hasmoneans as the Romans are unified under their government. A later date for the composition of the text would not necessarily invalidate this point as both Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus also experienced opposition to their rule.[256]

Beyond reflecting Rome's idealized image of itself as antithetical to monarchy and commenting on contemporary Judaean politics, the note about rejecting the diadem and purple clothing with its corresponding description of Rome's government may also reflect Roman propaganda and Jewish sentiment directed against Hellenistic monarchy. It seems that the Roman form of government was an object of much fascination in the ancient world, particularly as Rome became a powerful empire and conquered more and

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[252] See Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 216-7.
[253] Hadas-Lebel. "L'evolution de l'image," 742. See also Gärtner, "romischer Selbstdarstellung," 315-6.
[254] Cf., II Maccabees 14:3-11.
[255] Joseph. *AJ* 13:288-96.
[256] Joseph. *AJ* 13.301-2 (Aristobulus); *AJ* 13.372-6 and *BJ* 1.90-2 (Alexander Jannaeus).

more of the Mediterranean. Polybius famously remarked on Rome's government, suggesting that it was precisely its unique constitution that made Rome so powerful in foreign affairs.[257] Roman authors, too, saw the Republican system and its successes as the product of a moral society.[258] As Hadas-Lebel succinctly and elegantly states, "[La] République romaine...doit la gloire de ses armes à l'harmonie de son régime et l'harmonie de son régime à sa vertu."[259] Thus, by drawing attention to the unique constitution of the Roman government, I Maccabees 8 may also be reflecting the idealized self-image of Rome as a harmonious power founded upon a moral society, which led to its numerous successes on the world stage.[260]

In addition to displaying the author's familiarity with Roman ideology concerning their political structure, this passage also demonstrates that the Republican government was decidedly not a kingdom, thus placing it in contrast with the Hellenistic monarchies that had controlled Judaea for the previous century and a half. This distinction is important in light of a comment made at the very beginning of I Maccabees concerning the wickedness of the Hellenistic kings. In a brief discussion of the dramatic reign of Alexander the Great, I Maccabees 1 concludes with, "καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ ἀπέθανεν. καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπέθεντο πάντες διαδήματα μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ ἐπλήθυναν κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ. - And so, Alexander ruled for twelve years then died. And his subordinates ruled [after him], each in his own territory. And they all put on diadems after his death and their sons also after them for many years

[257] Polyb. *Histories* 6.11-13.
[258] See for example, Enn. *Ann*. 500 (V).
[259] Hadas-Lebel, "L'évolution de l'image," 744.
[260] Gärtner, "romischer Selbstdarstellung," 319.

and they increased the evils in the world."[261] Not only are the successors of Alexander generally guilty of bringing ills into the world, according to I Maccabees, but Antiochus IV, who persecuted the Jews and is the main antagonist of I Maccabees, is singled out for particular criticism, being characterized as a sinful root (ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλὸς).[262]

The contrast between Rome and Hellenistic kings that I Maccabees 8:15-6 suggests may pick up on these earlier statements of condemnation. That Rome is decidedly not a monarchy, especially a Hellenistic monarchy, is further underscored by the statement that introduces the excursus on Rome's government: the claim that no Roman wears a diadem or purple, two distinct characteristics of Hellenistic kings.[263] By describing Rome's unique form of government, which, although headed by a single man, is pointedly not a kingdom, the author of I Maccabees may be reflecting the idea that Rome's success is due to its sound government structure based upon a morally upright society. At the same time, this passage suggests that Rome's Republican government is a counter-point to the imperialistic Hellenistic kings, against whom the Maccabees and their descendants the Hasmoneans were fighting to establish independence.

The proposal that the author of I Maccabees is here criticizing Hellenistic monarchy through praise of the Roman constitution may find support in two scholarly arguments. Seeman suggests that I Maccabees was composed during John Hyrcanus' military campaigns against the Seleucids in 128-2 BCE.[264] Anti-Hellenistic sentiment would not be out of place in a work composed at a time when hostilities had resumed between the Jews and Seleucids. Further, Rajak has proposed that Rome asserted its

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[261] I Macc. 1:7-19.
[262] I Macc. 1:10.
[263] See Elias Bickerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1938), 32 on the use of the purple clothing and diadem as insignia of Hellenistic kings.
[264] Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 240.

protection of Jewish sovereignty early in the reign of Hyrcanus, when Jerusalem was besieged by Antiochus VII in 135-4 BCE.[265] If this was the case, it would be fitting for I Maccabees to engage in criticism of Hellenistic monarchy through praise of Rome.

After the so-called "eulogy of Rome," I Maccabees 8 continues with the selection and send off to Rome of Judas' embassy. The purpose of this mission was to establish an alliance of friendship with Rome in order to "raise up the yoke from themselves" (ἆραι τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν). Like so many preceding it in the chapter, this phrase too seems to resonate with idealized Roman self-imagery from the second century.[266] Since Rome's intervention in Greece during the war with Philip of Macedon (200-197 BCE), it had been Roman policy to portray themselves as the liberators of Greece.[267] This image was crucial for maintaining Greek support in a series of wars which otherwise may have been viewed simply as two disinterested hegemonies (the Romans and a succession of Hellenistic kings) vying for supremacy.[268] I Maccabees 8 accepts and promotes the image of Rome as the liberator of those under the yoke of tyranny, reinforcing the idealized portrayal of Rome's growing imperial power. That I Maccabees 8 is reproducing Rome's idealized image of its international policy is clear from the fact that at the time I Maccabees was written Rome had already demolished the Macedonian monarchy and

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[265] Tessa Rajak, "Roman Intervention in a Seleucid Siege of Jerusalem?" *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22.1 (1981): 65-81.

[266] See for example, Polyb. *Histories* 18.44-6 on Flamininus' dramatic declaration following the war with Philip that the Greek states were to be free of garrisons, free from tribute, and free to govern themselves. The speech in Polybius is likely a fabrication by the author, but this does not discount the role that Flamininus played in the liberation of the Greek states, or the reality of Rome's *eleutheria* policy in the east. For a discussion of Flamininus' role in Roman foreign policy in the Greek east see Joseph Walsh, "Flamininus and the Propaganda of Liberation," *Historia* 45 (1996):344-63. See also Gärtner, "romischer Selbstdarstellung," 309-11 and Badian, "Rome and Antiochus," 85-9 on Rome's propagandistic aims in the region.

[267] On Rome's promotion of the "freedom" of the Greeks to accomplish its political goals in the east see Sviatoslav Dmitriev, *The Greek Slogan of Freedom and Early Roman Politics in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), especially 357-79.

[268] See Badian, "Rome and Antiochus," 89.

reduced the region to a province (the monarchy fell in 168 BCE and Macedonia was annexed in 148) as well as sacked the city of Corinth (146 BCE). Although Rome claimed that these actions, too, promoted Greek freedom, in this case the liberation of individual cities from the control of others within Greece, an outside observer might question whether Rome's interests went beyond merely liberating the Greek states and tended rather towards tyrannical imperialism.[269]

Despite Rome's trend towards imperialistic hegemony during the course of the second century, however, the idealized image of Rome persists in I Maccabees 8. This could be, as Hadas-Lebel asserts, because the Jewish author is more concerned with political relations of the time than with object reality; Rome and Judaea were still on good terms politically, so no purpose would be served by recalling Rome's more oppressive acts. Another reason for this overly positive image of Rome, however, could be that this idealized image better served the political aims of the author of I Maccabees. As several scholars have noted, one main purpose of the text is to promote the legitimacy of Hasmonean rule. This was an important issue because, as was noted above, the Hasmonean claim to power was unusually based on merit, not on ancestry. One way the author of I Maccabees promotes Hasmonean legitimacy is by placing the Maccabees in the tradition of biblical heroes.[270] Another way he achieves the same goal is by asserting that Maccabean authority is sanctioned by a strong, just, global power: Rome.[271] That Judas Maccabeus seeks a Roman alliance demonstrates his capabilities as a thoughtful, pious leader; that Rome accepts this alliance shows that the Maccabees are the legitimate

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[269] For Rome's continued use of "freedom" as a justification for its destruction of Corinth and involvement in Macedon see Dmitriev, *Greek Slogan of Freedom*, 326-350, especially 348ff.
[270] Attridge, "Historiography," 172.
[271] Cf. Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 206-7.

leaders of Judaea. Rome can only serve the purpose of legitimizer, however, if Rome itself is seen as a significant and trustworthy player on the stage of world politics. For this reason, the author of I Maccabees appropriates and affirms Rome's idealized self-imagery, portraying Rome as engaging and being victorious in only just wars, faithfully keeping pacts of friendship and alliance, and possessing a strong, non-monarchical government whose stability is based upon the moral rectitude of its people.

It should be noted, however, that although I Maccabees 8 demonstrates a deep engagement with Roman idealized self-imagery, which has the affect of producing a generally positive image of Rome, nevertheless the text may betray some anxiety concerning Rome's expanding power. For example, in the context of relating Rome's many victories in war, I Maccabees 8 states that the Romans waged war on the mainland Greeks (in response to a plot laid by the Greeks), then, "ᾐχμαλώτισαν τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπρονόμευσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς γῆς καὶ καθεῖλον τὰ ὀχυρώματα αὐτῶν καὶ κατεδουλώσαντο αὐτοὺς ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης· - They took captive their wives and their children and they plundered them; they took possession of their land and they destroyed their strongholds; they enslaved them even to this day."[272] Further, it is revealed that those whom the Romans wished to be kings were kings; those they opposed were brought down.[273] The extended description of the punishment inflicted upon the mainland Greeks could be interpreted as an expression of anxiety about the unrestricted nature of Roman power. Since there is no one who can oppose them, should they wish to conquer and enslave a population they will. Moreover, even kings are not safe from their reach. While these conditions are

[272] I Macc. 8:10.
[273] I Macc. 8:13.

acceptable so long as Rome is fighting against enemies of the Maccabees, the fate of the mainland Greeks, as well as the kings who opposed Rome, could serve as a warning that Roman power was not to be crossed. Thus, although giving a generally positive portrayal of Rome suits the political purpose of the author of I Maccabees, he appears to have lingering reservations concering the extent of Rome's power.

This potential anxiety concerning the growing power and reach of Rome as well as the political purpose for which I Maccabees was written suggest that we should be cautious when exploring the implications that the generally positive portrayal of Rome has for our understanding of Judaeo-Roman relations at the time (both of the events that are depicted and of the writing of the text). I Maccabees is, to a great extent, a work designed to promote the legitimacy of Hasmonean leadership in Judaea, written by a person who may have had ties to the ruling family.[274] The text demonstrates a deep engagement with Rome's idealized self-image, which in and of itself should recommend caution to its interpreters and those who wish to use it as evidence of prevailing Jewish attitudes towards Rome. Moreover, I Maccabees deliberately uses these idealized images of Rome in order to promote its own ideological goals: the support and legitimizing of the Hasmonean dynasty. Further, the possible anxiety expressed in the passage relating Rome's punishment of the mainland Greeks suggests that the author of I Maccabees was not unaware of the potential danger inherent in Roman imperialism. This is not to say that we should reject the idea that Roman and Judaean relations were generally cordial and supportive throughout the first century of their interaction, but rather to suggest that we must not assume, as some scholars have, that the Judaean population as a whole viewed Rome as a benevolent and invincible power. The mostly positive opinions of Rome

[274] See Tedesche and Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees*, 27.

expressed by I Maccabees 8 are those of a partisan member of the elite who composed his work with a particular political agenda.

After I and II Maccabees, no further testament of Jewish perspectives on Rome exists until the advent of Pompey in the east in the middle of the first century BCE. It is presumed from this silence that relations between the two entities continued in undisturbed friendship. As Rome's power in the Mediterranean transitioned from heavily diplomatic to heavily martial, however, Judaea became threatened by the increasing scope of Roman hegemony. This threat became a reality in 63 BCE when Pompey entered Jerusalem and besieged the Temple. It is in the response to this aggression that our next Jewish sources on Rome arise: the *Psalms of Solomon*.[275]

The Psalms of Solomon

Historical Context[276]

When the Hasmonean queen Alexandra Salome died in 67 BCE, after a reign of nine years, she left her throne to her son John Hyrcanus II, who had already been serving as high priest. Hyrcanus' position as king was soon challenged by his younger brother, Aristobulus II, and civil war ensued. Although Aristobulus gained the upper hand and installed himself as king, Hyrcanus was soon convinced to renew the fight and challenge Aristobulus in turn, enlisting the help of Aretas III, king of Petra.[277]

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[275] It is also likely that the Habbakuk *Pesher*, as well as other texts from Qumran, refer to the invasion by Pompey. This speculation rests entirely on the identification of the "Kittim" in these texts with the Romans, a fact that has not been established. See Hanan Eshel, "The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kochba in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, Daniel R. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29-44 for a succinct discussion of the various identities of the Kittim in the Dead Sea Scrolls.
[276] For an overview of the events leading up to Pompey's siege and the siege itself see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 20-7. For a detailed account of the siege machinations see F. M. Abel, "Le siège de Jérusalem par Pompée," *Revue Biblique* 54 (1947): 243-55.
[277] Joseph. *AJ* 14.4-18; *BJ* 1.120-6.

While the brothers were engaged in this struggle for power, Pompey, with a special command in the east to bring the Mithridatic wars to a close, defeated Mithridates and in the process subdued Tigranes of Armenia, one of the most powerful kings in the region.[278] Pompey's victories brought the majority of the waning Seleucid Empire under the dominion of Rome, and thus made Pompey the most powerful man in the east. Both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus now chose to present their case before the Roman victors, sending legates to intercept Scaurus, Pompey's quaestor, as he made his way towards Judaea. Scaurus decided in favor of Aristobulus, but the matter was not ended with the institution of Aristobulus as king.[279]

One year later, three delegations of Jews arrived in Damascus to present their concerns before Pompey. One delegation claimed the right of Hyrcanus to the kingship based on primogeniture, another argued for Aristobulus based on Hyrcanus' incompetence, and yet a third delegation asked that Pompey completely abolish the illegitimate monarchy.[280] Although allegedly deciding against Aristobulus, Pompey delayed any action regarding the Jewish situation until he could chastise Aretas for his interference in Judaea.

On their journey south, however, Aristobulus, perhaps frustrated with Pompey's equivocation, fled and began preparations for war.[281] This action induced Pompey to leave off his expedition against Aretas and turn his army instead towards Judaea and the fortresses held by Aristobulus. Aristobulus was persuaded to submit himself again to Pompey's judgment, but seems still to have kept up preparations for war should the

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[278] Vell. Pat., *Historiae*, II.33.1; II.37.5.
[279] Joseph. *AJ* 14.29-33; *BJ* 1.127-30.
[280] Joseph. *AJ* 14.37-45.
[281] Joseph. *AJ* 14.46-7.

government be granted to his brother.[282] As Pompey advanced on Jerusalem Aristobulus finally ceased his resistance and agreed to give up the city of Jerusalem to Pompey and to submit himself to the Roman general's will. When Pompey's agent, Gabinius, attempted to receive the city, however, he found it barred to him as Aristobulus' soldiers had decided not to abide by the terms set by their leader.

Pompey then marched on the city in retaliation, which caused the outbreak of a conflict amongst its inhabitants. The partisans of Aristobulus were for fighting against Pompey, while others, including Hyrcanus' supporters, were for accepting him peacefully into the city. Pompey was eventually let in, but found Aristobulus' supporters barricaded within the Temple precinct. It took three months, but eventually Pompey overcame the Temple's defenses with siege works. His troops then poured in to the Temple complex, slaughtering those who offered resistance and those who did not.[283] Perhaps most traumatic to the population of Jerusalem, however, was Pompey's entrance into the Holy of Holies in the Temple, a sanctuary which no one but the high priest was allowed to enter or view.[284] This sacrilege made a lasting impression on Jewish cultural memory.

With Aristobulus' supporters overcome, Pompey proceeded to sever from Judaean control the lands conquered under the previous Hasmoneans. In addition, a tribute was imposed on the land of Judaea. Hyrcanus, presumably as a reward for his

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[282] Joseph. *AJ* 14.48-52. The narrative in the *War* (1.132-7) is slightly different, claiming that it was Aristobulus' arrogant behavior in Damascus that prompted Pompey to march against Jerusalem; the desire to punish Aretas for his interference is completely absent from Pompey's motivation to march south.
[283] Joseph. *AJ* 14.54-66; *BJ* 1.138-51.
[284] Joseph. *AJ* 14.71-2; *BJ* 1.152. It should be noted that while Josephus condemns Pompey's desecration of the Temple, he is also quick to note Pompey's piety, claiming that he did not loot the Temple's treasures, but did order the purification of the sacred space on the next day after its capture (*AJ* 14.72-3; *BJ* 1.153).

service, was granted the high priesthood, but there was to be no king in Judaea. Aristobulus and his family were led away in bondage to Rome.[285]

Introduction to the Psalms of Solomon[286]

The *Psalms of Solomon* is a collection of eighteen poems, whose contents include descriptions of historical events, assertions that God will reward the righteous and punish the sinners, and prayers that God will spare the righteous from harsh punishment. The main themes of the collection are justifying the righteousness of God, distinguishing between groups of sinners and the righteous, and exploring eschatological issues. These poems contain many similarities in form, content, theme, and language with the biblical, or canonical, psalms.[287] Although they are attributed to Solomon, the legendary king of Israel, this collection of psalms is unrelated to both the king and his reign.[288] It seems likely that the name of Solomon was attached pseudonymously to this collection by a later redactor, perhaps to lend legitimacy or authority to the otherwise anonymous collection.[289]

Much uncertainty and therefore much speculation surround the *Psalms of Solomon*. The original date of composition is unknown, but is generally placed in the

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[285] Joseph. *AJ* 14.73-9; *BJ* 1.155-8.

[286] For the Greek text of the *Psalms of Solomon* I will be using A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, vol. 2, 9th ed. (Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1935 (repr. 1971)): 471-489. For general introductions to the *Psalms of Solomon* see M. de Jonge, "Psalms of Solomon," in *Outside the Old Testament*, ed. M. de Jonge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 159-77; Albert Denis, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*: (*Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament*), 2 vols. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), 507-46; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 203-12; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 192-5; Robert Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1st edition, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), 639-70.

[287] De Jonge, "Psalms of Solomon," 159.

[288] De Jonge, "Psalms of Solomon," 159. Aside from the titles of individual poems, the collection does not even mention the name of Solomon.

[289] For further discussion of the attribution to Solomon and possible reasons for it see H. E. Ryle and M. R. James, ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ: *Psalms of the Pharisees, Commonly Called the Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), lx-lxii. See also Clara Kraus Reggiani, "I Salmi di Salomone, una testimonianza storica," *Annali di storia dell'esegesi* 15,2 (1998): 417.

middle of the first century BCE, largely based on historical allusions within the text that many read as references to Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem and desecration of the Temple in 63 BCE (more on this below).[290] There may have been one author or numerous authors over a period of time, but it is likely that whoever composed the *Psalms* was a Jew living in Judaea, perhaps in Jerusalem itself.[291] Whether there were multiple authors or not, the collection as it survives today seems to have been compiled sometime before the end of the first century CE.[292] The original language of composition was almost certainly Hebrew, but only Greek and Syriac versions survive.[293]

The *Psalms* clearly distinguish between the group for which they were composed, identified as the "righteous" (δίκαιος) or "god-fearing" (παντὸς ἐν φόβῳ θεοῦ) and others, who are deemed "sinners" (ἁμαρτωλὸς) and "lawless" (ἄνομος). The identity of the "righteous" group has been a subject of much debate, particularly in the last half-century. Early assessments claimed that the group was beyond doubt Pharisaic, but more recent scholarship has called this into question, particularly since the discovery of the texts at Qumran.[294] For the purposes of this study, the religious affiliation of the group is

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[290] Denis, *la littérature religieuse*, 521; Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 640-1. When the *Psalms* came together in the collection that survives for us is unknown, but Wright suggests that it must have been before the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE as no mention of this momentous event is made ("Psalms of Solomon," 641). Conversely, Denis suggests that collation took place after the destruction of the Temple (*la littérature religieuse*, 521). Similarities between the *Psalms* and First Baruch suggest that the *Psalms* were in existence before the end of the first century CE, but the first mention of the *Psalms* as a collection occurs in the fifth century CE and the earliest manuscripts containing the *Psalms* date to the tenth century CE (see Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 639-41).

[291] De Jonge, "Psalms of Solomon," 159; Denis, *la littérature religieuse*, 517 who is emphatic that the work could not be the product of one author due to its lack of logical organization; Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 641.

[292] See above, note 255.

[293] See Joachim Begrich, "Der Text der Psalmen Salomos," *Zeitschrift Für Die Neuetestamentliche Wissenschaft* 38 (1939): 131.

[294] For the traditional association between the *Psalms* and the Pharisees see Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xlvi-lii. For challenges to the Pharisaic authorship of the *Psalms* see especially James O'Dell, "The Religious Background of the Psalms of Solomon (Re-Evaluated in the Light of the Qumran Texts)," *Revue de Qumran* 3 (1961): 241-57; Robert Wright, "The Psalms of Solomon, the Pharisees and the Essenes," in *1972 Proceedings for the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and*

not as important as the fact that the *Psalms* reveal a group that saw itself as opposed to the ruling party (presumably the Hasmoneans) and as disinherited from mainstream society.

Related to the debate concerning the identity of the group which produced the *Psalms* is the purpose for which they were written. While there is no scholarly consensus on the matter, compelling arguments have been made for the *Psalms*' liturgical function.[295] It is possible that they were sung as part of a synagogue service.[296]

Although the genres of I Maccabees and the *Psalms of Solomon* are dissimilar (the one being a historical narrative, the other a collection of poetry), nevertheless they contain many similarities in purpose, precedent, and use of historical events. Like I Maccabees, the *Psalms of Solomon* are chiefly concerned with justification. In the case of the *Psalms*, however, this justification is of the righteousness of God and the justice of his judgments on human beings. Also like I Maccabees, the *Psalms* are written on a biblical model.[297] Both texts also make use of historical events to advance their goals.

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the Society of Biblical Literature Pseudepigrapha Seminar, ed. Robert Kraft (Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972), 136-54; and R. R. Hann, "The Community of the Pious: The Social Setting of the Psalms of Solomon," *Studies in Religion* 17 (1988): 169-89. For an overview of scholarship on the subject see Joseph Trafton, "The Psalms of Solomon in Recent Research," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 12 (1994): 7-8. It is also possible that the *Psalms* were produced by authors who were part of no group, but were merely educated men disillusioned with the political situation in which they lived. For this view see Richard Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), 130-1. A brief discussion of the merits of this view can be found in Rodney Werline, "The Psalms of Solomon and the Ideology of Rule," in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, edited by Benjamin G. Wright, III and Lawrence M. Wills (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006), 83.

[295] See especially P. N. Franklyn, "The Cultic and Pious Climax of Eschatology in the Psalms of Solomon," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 18.1 (1987): 3-7 on the possible liturgical function of these psalms. Also, Kenneth Atkinson, "Toward a Redating of the Psalms of Solomon: Implications for Understanding the S*itz im Leben* of an Unknown Jewish Sect," *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* 17 (1998): 100 for further evidence that they were used in a synagogue setting. See D. Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Michael Stone (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 573 for a rejection of the liturgical purpose of the *Psalms*.

[296] Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, lx; Denis, *la littérature religieuse*, 522.

[297] Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 646 discusses the dependence of these psalms on the Davidic psalter (the canonical psalms found in the Old Testament) and identifies "several classic psalm types" into which these

While I Maccabees justifies the choice of the Maccabees as God's agents for change through a positive portrayal of the Maccabees' actions and motivations, however, the *Psalms* justify the righteousness of God through the condemnation of sinners and the vivid portrayal of their punishment. This is seen most clearly in the historical allusions found in Psalms 2, 8, and 17, all of which seem to refer to the invasion of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 BCE.[298]

The Historical Psalms: 2, 8, 17

For a number of reasons the historical psalms (2, 8, and 17) stand out both within the context of the psalmic genre and within the context of the *Psalms of Solomon*. At first glance they are noteworthy because at 37, 34, and 46 verses, respectively, these three psalms are the longest of the collection (only Psalms 4 and 5 come close to their length with 25 and 19 verses, respectively). In addition, these psalms stand out because of their pointed historical allusions (the only other psalm to include references to specific historical events is Psalm 9, which refers, briefly, to the Babylonian invasion and exile). As Wright notes, these psalms "do not display the patina which comes with repeated liturgical handling, the wearing away of specific historical allusions...To the contrary, the Psalms of Solomon preserve specific, thinly veiled allusions, sharp edges of historical reality."[299] In this respect the historical psalms are distinct not only within the context of the *Psalms of Solomon*, but even within the entire psalmic genre.

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psalms fall: hymn, lamentation, thanksgiving song, didactic poem. See also de Jonge, "Psalms of Solomon," 159.

[298] Psalm 1 may also be included in the "historical psalms" category because it clearly alludes to a war in Jerusalem (v. 2). Since it contains no identifiable historical allusions, however, it will not be included in this discussion.

[299] Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 646.

Scholarship on the historical psalms has taken two main routes: determining the identity of the foreigner who invades Jerusalem, and evaluating the view of Rome displayed in the *Psalms*.[300] While these kinds of investigations are valid and meaningful they may also obscure a deeper understanding of the *Psalms*' use of Jewish literary tradition to prove the righteousness of God during a particular moment in history. In particular, scholars who assume that the *Psalms* display an uncompromisingly hostile view of Rome that is representative of Judaean opinions as a whole do not take into account the stereotypical nature of the portrayal of Roman agents in the *Psalms* or the larger context of these psalms as the work of and for a particular group.[301]

In the following sections I will examine the historical psalms in their literary and cultural context in order to arrive at a better understanding of their portrayal of Rome and the opinion of Rome that may lie behind their composition. In addition, it will be necessary, as in the case of I Maccabees 8, to investigate to what extent these psalms can be said to represent the view of Judaeans as a whole. I will attempt to show that, contrary to scholarly consensus, these psalms do not prove that Judaean views of Rome changed dramatically for the worse following Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem and the Temple.

Psalm 2 begins with God's refusal to interfere as an arrogant sinner batters down the walls of the Temple and proceeds to profane the Temple sanctuary with his sandaled feet.[302] Although this is a traumatic event and the psalmist is very troubled by the

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[300] On the identity of the foreigner cf., Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 106-7; Kenneth Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting* (Boston: Brill, 2004), 19-36; Denis, *la littérature religieuse*, 509; Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xxxix-xli; Johannes Tromp, "The Sinners and the Lawless in Psalm of Solomon 17," *Novum Testamentum* 35 (1993): 344-61. For the view of Rome in the *Psalms* see de Lange, "Jewish Attitudes," 258-60; Hadas-Lebel, "L'evolution de l'image," 746ff; Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 22-39; Werline, "Ideology of Rule," 74-80.
[301] See Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 109; Hann, "Community of the Pious," 170-4.
[302] Pss. of Sol. 2:1-2.

violence, nevertheless he is convinced that this is God's just punishment for the sins committed by the people of Jerusalem, "ἐγὼ δικαιώσω σε ὁ θεός ἐν εὐθύτητι καρδίας ὅτι ἐν τοῖς κρίμασίν σου ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου ὁ θεός / ὅτι ἀπέδωκας τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν τὰς πονηρὰς σφόδρα - I will prove you just, o God, in righteousness of heart, that in your judgments is your righteousness, o God, that you rendered to the sinners what was their due for their actions and for their sins, their exceedingly wicked sins."[303] The chastisement, however, does eventually reach a level that makes the psalmist uneasy and he beseeches God to turn his wrath from Jerusalem lest its inhabitants perish entirely in the onslaught of passionate anger exhibited by the gentiles.[304] God quickly answers the psalmist's prayer, revealing to him the sinner's arrogance pierced upon the heights of Egypt, unburied and unmourned, "ἔδειξέν μοι ὁ θεὸς τὴν ὕβριν αὐτοῦ ἐκκεκεντημένον ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων Αἰγύπτου ὑπὲρ ἐλάχιστον ἐξουδενωμένον ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διαφερόμενον ἐπὶ κυμάτων ἐν ὕβρει πολλῇ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ θάπτων - God showed to me the wantonly violent one, having been stabbed near the deserts of Egypt, considered less than the least thing on land and sea, his body born about on the waves in much contempt, and there was no burial for him."[305] This is a fitting death for one who considered himself the master of land and sea and had no regard for the supremacy of God.[306] The poem concludes with an exhortation to the "great men of the earth" (οἱ μεγιστᾶνες τῆς γῆς) to

[303] Pss. of Sol. 2:15-6.
[304] Pss. of Sol. 2:22-4.
[305] Pss. of Sol. 2:26-7.
[306] Pss. of Sol. 2:28-9. See Deuteronomy 7:9-10 for God's promise that he will destroy those who hate him.

observe God's just judgment and a call to the righteous to praise God, for he is merciful to those who fear his judgment.[307]

Throughout Psalm 2, and the other historical psalms, no names or other definitive markers are given by which to identify the figures of the poem. Flusser has suggested that this is because of the eschatological nature of the poems: like other apocalyptic texts they use coded language to refer to people and groups.[308] Despite the lack of names, however, scholarly consensus has identified the sinner of this psalm as Pompey and the events described refer to his invasion of Jerusalem in 63 BCE.[309] Parallels between Josephus' account of Pompey's attack on the Temple (*AJ* 14.62), and the description given here are cited as the first clue that this psalm is referring to the great general.[310] Further evidence is given in the lament that the sinner profaned the Temple, as Pompey was known to have done.[311] Finally, the description of the sinner's death in Egypt closely resembles descriptions of Pompey's death at the hands of Ptolemy XIII.[312]

Psalm 8 contains many of the same themes and images as Psalm 2. This poem begins with the sounds of war.[313] The author quickly realizes that Jerusalem is under attack, but sees this as a necessary evil to redirect its citizens towards a path of righteousness.[314] A review of God's judgments throughout history proves the

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[307] Pss. of Sol. 2:32-7.
[308] Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers," 573.
[309] See for example, Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 651, note 2. Pierre Prigent, "Psaumes de Salomon," in *La Bible: Ecrits Intertestamentaires*, ed. A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 954 goes so far as to subtitle this psalm, "La prise de Jérusalem par Pompée."
[310] Prigent, "Psaumes de Salomon," 954, note on verse 1; Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 651, note c.
[311] For a discussion of the possible candidates for those who profaned the Temple see Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xxxix-xli; also Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 22.
[312] Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 653, note c2; Prigent, "Psaumes de Salomon," 957, note on verse 26. Caes. *B Civ*. 104 gives a brief description of Pompey's death in Egypt. Vell. Pat., *Historiae*, II.53 provides another near contemporary account. It is not until Plut. *Pomp*. 77-9, however, that we receive the picture of Pompey's pathetic burial.
[313] Pss. of Sol. 8:1-2.
[314] Pss. of Sol. 8:4-6.

righteousness of God, so Jerusalem must deserve to be punished on account of her crimes.[315] Again, God brings in foreign agents (ἤγαγεν τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς "he led him from the farthest reaches of the earth") to exact his punishment on the sinners. The foreigner is met joyfully by the leaders of the land, then is peacefully let into Jerusalem as a father is welcomed into his son's house. He then proceeds to wreak havoc, slaughtering the leading men of the city and leading Jerusalem's sons and daughters into captivity.[316] The psalmist concludes the poem with a prayer to God, acknowledging the righteousness of his punishment and urging that he not allow the punishment to go too far and risk annihilating his chosen people.[317]

According to many interpretations of this poem, the author is leveling criticism at the Hasmoneans, who have stolen the high priesthood and thus defiled God's sanctuary. It is their sinful actions that cause the onslaught of the foreign invader, who is identified by scholars as Pompey.[318] This identification again rests largely on geographical signifiers and the similarities between the details of Pompey's campaign given in Josephus and the description given here. While the geographical identifier ("the farthest reaches of the earth") is not very specific, the account of the invader's entrance into Jerusalem does fit Josephus' narrative of the events leading up to the siege of the Temple. According to Josephus, Pompey met with delegates from the opposing parties in Damascus and when he arrived outside Jerusalem was welcomed by at least some of the city's inhabitants (the partisans of Hyrcanus). Once in the city, he besieged the Temple,

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[315] Pss. of Sol. 8:7-8.
[316] Pss. of Sol. 8:15-21.
[317] Pss. of Sol. 8:23-32.
[318] For Pompey as the foreigner see de Jonge, "Psalms of Solomon," 168, notes on verses 11b and 16-18; Prigent, "Psaumes de Salomon," 969-70, notes on verses 11-19; Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 658, note 8.

killed many of its defenders, and sent Aristobulus and his family off to Rome in chains.[319]

Psalm 17 is perhaps the most discussed psalm of the collection. This is largely due to the messianic expectations that the conclusion of the psalm expresses.[320] While the eschatological elements are extremely interesting, and their importance to the study of first century BCE Judaism cannot be denied, nevertheless it is the historical allusions within the psalm that are most important to this study. The poem begins with an address and benediction to God.[321] Abruptly, however, it shifts focus to lament the onset of sinners against "us." These sinners steal the throne that had been promised to the line of David and arrogantly establish a monarchy. The usurpers are punished, however, when God overthrows them by means of a "man alien to our race" (ἄνθρωπον ἀλλότριον γένους ἡμῶν).[322] As the psalm continues, a "lawless one" (ὁ ἄνομος) destroys the country, massacring citizens and expelling them to the west.[323] This person, too, is a foreigner, whose heart is "alien to our god" (ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ ἀλλοτρία ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν).[324] Because of his alien status, he is arrogant and brings pagan practices with him to Jerusalem, where they are taken up by many of the inhabitants of the city. This forces the devout in the city to flee into the wilderness, where they will be free of the sin of assimilation.[325] Nature herself rebels against the unnatural practices in Jerusalem, which

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[319] Joseph. *AJ* 14.37-79; *BJ* 1.128-58.
[320] For a discussion of the messianic expectations in this psalm see, for example, Michael Knibb, "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2.2 (1995): 165-184.
[321] Pss. of Sol. 17:1-4.
[322] Pss. of Sol. 17:5-10.
[323] Pss. of Sol. 17:11-2.
[324] Pss. of Sol. 17:13.
[325] Pss. of Sol. 17:14-8.

prompts the psalmist to beseech God to send a legitimate king of the line of David, one who will smash the unlawful nations and bring his people to righteousness.[326]

The allusions in Psalm 17 are commonly thought to refer to the following historical persons: the illegitimate usurpers of David's throne are the Hasmoneans; the "man alien to our race", and the "lawless one" is Pompey, coming to overthrow the Hasmoneans.[327] There are, however, numerous problems with these identifications, and recent studies have questioned the accuracy of the attributions to the Hasmoneans and Pompey.[328] In particular, Atkinson has persuasively argued against identifying the "man alien to our race" as Pompey. He points out that Pompey hardly fits the description of one who overthrew the Hasmoneans, as he was known to be in collaboration with Hyrcanus. Rather, the foreigner should be identified as Herod, who, with the backing of Rome, became king of Judaea in name in 40 BCE and in practice in 37 BCE, following a siege of Jerusalem.[329] According to this interpretation, the date of Psalm 17, therefore, must fall between Herod's assault on Jerusalem in 37 and the death of Hyrcanus in 30 BCE.[330] I will return to this point later in the chapter.

Although the investigation into the identity of the foreign invader in the historical psalms is a valuable undertaking, attempts to mine every bit of evidence for clues to the identity of the invader have perhaps obscured the fact that the foreigner and his invasion are portrayed in language that is deliberately traditional and stereotypical. Identifying the

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[326] Pss. of Sol. 17:19-46.
[327] See for example, de Jonge, "Psalms of Solomon," 173-4, notes on verses 5-6 and 7-14; Prigent, "Psaumes de Salomon," 984-5, notes on verses 5-7; Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 665-6, notes c and f.
[328] See for example, Tromp, "The Sinners and the Lawless," 344-61 who suggests that the sinners and the "lawless one" are the Romans, whereas the "man alien to our race" who will punish the sinners is the Parthians.
[329] For the identification of the foreigner in this poem as Herod see also Benedikt Eckhardt, "PsSal 17, die Hasmonäer und der Herodompeius," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 40 (2009): 65-92.
[330] Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 106-7.

real historical figures behind these psalms is difficult and uncertain precisely because the author draws parallels between him (them) and other agents of God's justice. Many of the characteristics given to the foreign invader in the *Psalms* could apply to any number of foreign invaders throughout Judaean history. In fact, it is only through compiling the characteristics of the invader that occur throughout the three historical psalms that scholars are able to arrive at an identification of the foreigner.[331] This is not to say that the identification of the foreign invader with Pompey (or Herod), which seems particularly certain in Psalm 2, is invalid or invaluable. Rather, I suggest that recognizing that the *Psalms* deliberately draw similarities between key features of their foreign invader and other foreign invaders from Judaean history can deepen our understanding of how the group of the *Psalms* viewed Roman authority and individual Romans.

The tendency of scholarship to obscure the parallels between the foreign invader of the *Psalms* and other foreign invaders from Judaean history has led to erroneous interpretations of the *Psalms'* attitudes towards Rome. Werline, for example, claims that the *Psalms* prove that Pompey, and by extension the Romans, were rejected as an oppressive and chaotic force.[332] Pompey is thus a metonym for Rome in the *Psalms* and criticism of him equates to criticism of Rome. On the evidence of the *Psalms*, Hadas-Lebel claims that Pompey's invasion marks a turning point from which Judaeo-Roman relations begin an irremediable decline. [333] Atkinson argues that Pompey's invasion left a lasting impact on Jewish conceptions of the messiah as seen in the *Psalms*, and also some

[331] See for example Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xxxix-xli. In my opinion, this creates methodological problems by assuming that each of the historical psalms is referring to the same invader. As scholarship has demonstrated, plausible identifications can be made for other historical figures if the psalms are read individually (see above, notes 293 and 294).
[332] Werline, "Ideology of Rule," 76.
[333] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 30.

texts from Qumran. In his opinion, the "militant Davidic messiah" only appears in Jewish literature following Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem. The militant messiah is a righteous counterpart to the Roman general and he will exact a violent revenge against Rome.[334]

Before moving on to my own analysis of the historical psalms let me first establish that there are in fact many parallels between the invader of the *Psalms* and other invaders from Judaean history. I will then explore in what ways these parallels affect our interpretation of the *Psalms*' view of Pompey and of Rome, attempting to arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the *Psalms* than those referenced above. The following is not meant to be an exhaustive list of parallels between the foreign invader of the *Psalms* and his biblical predecessors, but rather a representative sample.[335]

As Werline has also noted, the foreign invader of the *Psalms of Solomon* who enacts God's punishment is a figure who draws on a long line of biblical precedent.[336] Like his biblical predecessors, the foreign invader of the *Psalms* is chosen by God to punish the sinners of Jerusalem. It is precisely because the inhabitants of Jerusalem have sinned that God has chosen to send a punisher against them. In Psalm 2, the invasion is seen as righteous punishment sent by God against his sinful people (κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς "He did this to them according to their sins").[337] Psalm 8 also portrays the invader as an agent of God who invades Jerusalem at the divine behest, "οὐ

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[334] Kenneth Atkinson, "The Militant Davidic Messiah and Violence Against Rome: The Influence of Pompey on the Development of Jewish and Christian Messianism," *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 9 (2011): 7-19.

[335] Other parallels not discussed here include the description of the foreigner as a dragon (2:25; see Wright, "Psalms of Solomon," 653, note a2); and the characteristic that the foreigner comes "from the farthest reaches of the earth" and "strikes mightily" (8:15; see Reggiani, "una testimonianza storica," 425).

[336] Werline, "Ideology of Rule," 75 notes parallels with the king of Assyria (Isa. 10:5, 10-19), the king of Babylon (Isa. 14), Pharaoh (Ezek. 31-2), and Antiochus IV (Dan. 11:40-45). To this I would also add Jer. 21:1-10, 32:26-35 where subjection to Babylon was seen as God's punishment for his chosen people for not following his laws and worshipping false idols. Reggiani, "una testimonianza storica," 426 also notes the *Psalms*' use of biblical models to describe this event.

[337] Pss. of Sol. 2:7.

παρέλιπον ἁμαρτίαν ἣν οὐκ ἐποίησαν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἔθνη διὰ τοῦτο ἐκέρασεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα πλανήσεως ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς ποτήριον οἴνου ἀκράτου εἰς μέθην ἤγαγεν τὸν ἀπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς τὸν παίοντα κραταιῶς ἔκρινεν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῆς - They omitted no sin which they did not accomplish beyond even the Gentiles; on account of this God mixed for them a disorienting spirit, he gave them to drink until drunkenness a cup of unmixed wine, he led a man from the farthest reaches of the earth, one who strikes mightily, and he decided upon war for Jerusalem and her land."[338] Psalm 17 expresses similar themes to both 2 and 8. Because of their sins God first exacts punishment on the people by imposing sinful rulers upon them (καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν ἐπανέστησαν ἡμῖν ἁμαρτωλοί "And on account of our sins sinners rose up against us").[339] Later these sinful rulers too are punished when God sends against them a man "alien to our race," "καὶ σύ ὁ θεός καταβαλεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀρεῖς τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπαναστῆναι αὐτοῖς ἄνθρωπον ἀλλότριον γένους ἡμῶν - And you, o God, you will overthrow them and you will remove their seed from the earth, when a man alien to our race has risen up against them."[340] Thus, like biblical precedents, a recurring theme in the *Psalms* is the lack of agency of the foreign invader. It is the people who have sinned, forcing God to punish them. It is God who compels the invader and inflicts punishment on the sinners.

Further similarities between the invader of the *Psalms* and biblical punishers can be seen. In Psalm 2 the foreigner and his troops desecrate God's sanctuary, "ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου ἔθνη ἀλλότρια κατεπατοῦσαν ἐν ὑποδήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ - In their arrogance the foreign race went up onto your sanctuary and they

[338] Pss. of Sol. 8:13-15.
[339] Pss. of Sol. 17:5.
[340] Pss. of Sol. 17:7.

trampled it in their sandals."[341] Psalm 8 tells us that through God's will the invader punished the sinners in Jerusalem and desecrated things consecrated to God (the Temple).[342] In Psalm 17 rather than desecrating the Temple and things consecrated to God the foreigner instead institutes pagan practices within the city of Jerusalem, "καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦ σθένους αὐτῶν - And he introduced all sorts of things into Jerusalem, just as the Gentiles do in their cities [for their gods]."[343] These descriptions of desecration recall biblical precedents such as Nebuchadnezzar, who burned the Temple during his invasion (see II Kings 25:9), and Antiochus IV, who ransacked the Temple's treasures, then later built an "abomination of desolation" on its altar (see I Macc. 1:21-3, 54; II Macc. 6:2-5). Without the aid of further identifying characteristics, the actions of the foreign invader of the *Psalms* could belong to a number of points in history.

Also like biblical predecessors, the foreign invader of the *Psalms* apparently caused widespread destruction within the city of Jerusalem and carried many of its inhabitants into slavery.[344] This characteristic of the foreign invader in the *Psalms* further demonstrates that he has been assimilated to the biblical model of an archetypal instrument of God's punishment. Although Josephus' account of Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem does mention the slaughter of the priests and the partisans of Aristobulus in the Temple, he does not mention a full-scale massacre of the city's inhabitants. Similarly, although his account says that Aristobulus' family was led away into captivity, he does

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[341] Pss. of Sol. 2:2.
[342] Pss. of Sol. 8:22.
[343] Pss. of Sol. 17:14.
[344] See Pss. of Sol. 2:6, 8:20-1, 17:11-12. For biblical parallels see II Kings 25:9-11 (Nebuchadnezzar); I Macc. 1:30-2 (Antiochus IV).

not suggest that large numbers of captives were deported.[345] By describing the scenes of widespread destruction and desolation that the invader leaves in Jerusalem, the *Psalms* draw another parallel between this figure and the archetypal foreign punisher familiar from the Bible.

From the above survey it is clear that the author(s) of the *Psalms* deliberately assimilated their foreign invader with his biblical predecessors. The parallels do not necessarily serve to eclipse the historical identity of the invader, but rather to demonstrate that he, like previous foreign invaders is an instrument in God's plan for humanity. De Lange suggests, for example, that the *Psalms* exhibit an assimilation of the Romans into the "traditional Jewish world-view."[346] This is to say that by portraying the Romans in terms reminiscent of biblical empires who threatened Judaea, the *Psalms* introduce the Romans into God's plan for the world. It is God who directs the Romans to invade Judaea to punish the Jews for their sins, and it is God who will displace the Romans as Judaea's overlords at the appropriate time.

If we accept, as I am inclined to do, that Pompey is indeed the foreign invader for at least some of the historical psalms, we can arrive at a more nuanced interpretation of the *Psalms'* attitude towards Rome by applying de Lange's theory of Roman assimilation into the psalmists' world-view. The final verses of Psalm 2 claim that the psalmist prayed to God for salvation from the present calamities inflicted by the foreign invasion and that soon his prayer was answered. The answer to the prayer does not come in the form of the downfall of Rome, however, as we might expect from biblical precedents (this was the case, for example, when Babylon was destroyed in retaliation for its arrogance when

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[345] Joseph. *AJ* 14.69-71, 79; *BJ* 1.149-51, 157-8.
[346] De Lange, "Jewish Attitudes," 260.

exacting God's judgment on Judaea in the sixth century BCE), but rather in the murder of Pompey alone.[347] Further, it is expressly stated that Pompey was killed because of his own arrogance, punishing Jerusalem beyond the bounds prescribed by God. In addition, Pompey's death is fitting for a sinner who considered himself master of land and sea: οὐκ ἐλογίσατο ὅτι ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν καὶ τὸ ὕστερον οὐκ ἐλογίσατο. εἶπεν ἐγὼ κύριος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔσομαι καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνω ὅτι ὁ θεὸς μέγας κραταιὸς ἐν ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ τῇ μεγάλῃ. - He did not think that he was a man and he did not think about later. He said, 'I will be master of land and sea' and he did not recognize that God is great and powerful in his great might."[348] Pompey receives divine justice not because of his role in the invasion of Jerusalem, which was divinely sanctioned, but because he exceeded the limits of this role, punishing excessively and eventually considering himself as great as, or even greater than God. He did not have the proper respect for God's part in his own actions, or for God's role in the universe. Thus, while Psalm 2 does suggest criticism of the foreign invader through the divine retribution exacted against him, this judgment is significantly based not on the act of invasion itself, but rather on the arrogance of the invader. It is, therefore, an oversimplification to say, as some scholars have, that God's judgment of *Pompey* proves that the *Psalms*' exhibit a negative view of *Rome*.

The lack of hostility towards Rome as a whole may be reinforced later in Psalm 2, where the psalmist suddenly addresses an external audience with, "καὶ νῦν ἴδετε οἱ

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[347] See Jer. 25:12-14. According to Isa. 10:23-27 Assyria will suffer the same fate once it has served God's purpose.

[348] Pss. of Sol. 2:28-9. As I Maccabees 8 often reflected Roman self-imaging, this passage, too, is likely drawing on Pompey's self- image as semi-divine. See Jean-Louis Ferrary, "Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros en l'honneur de Romains," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 124.1 (2000): 341-5 for a discussion of the evidence for Pompey's propaganda program proclaiming himself master of land and sea. It should be noted, however, that the reference to mastery of land and sea may also reflect generally on Hellenistic conceptions of sovereignty (see Arnaldo Momigliano, "'Terra Marique'," *Journal of Roman Studies* 32 (1942): 64).

μεγιστᾶνες τῆς γῆς τὸ κρίμα τοῦ κυρίου. - And now, you great men (officials) of the land, see the judgments of the lord."[349] Atkinson, following Ryle and James, discusses the possible identification of these "great men" with Caesar and his party, who took over administration of the east following their victory over Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 BCE.[350] Although the psalmist is likely not expecting a Roman audience to read these psalms, the address to the great men (if they are, as Atkinson argues, Roman officials) would suggest, then, that the psalmist recognizes that Pompey was exceptional in his arrogance and expresses the hope that it is possible for Roman hegemony to be acceptable. Pompey did not recognize that God is the lord over all, but it is possible for other Romans to heed the lesson.

Although Psalm 2 clearly condemns Pompey's arrogance and sees him justly punished for it, the other historical psalms may not be so judgmental of the foreign invader. Psalm 8, for example, while it does describe an invasion of Jerusalem and the slaughter that ensues, puts the blame for the invasion entirely on the sins of the Jerusalemites and God's need to punish them.[351] In addition, it is God who brings the invader to Jerusalem. Thus, in attacking the Temple, the invader is merely acting as an instrument of God sent to punish the deserving sinners. It is the sinners, rather than the invader, who are criticized for bringing death and destruction to the city and its people. Moreover, although this psalm does conclude with a prayer for God's mercy, it does not include a description of the invader's death similar to that found in Psalm 2. This suggests three possibilities: 1) the foreign invader should not be identified with Pompey

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[349] Pss. of Sol. 2:32.
[350] Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 52-3. See also Ryle and James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, 27, note on line 36.
[351] See above, pgs. 91-2.

and thus there is no infamous death over which to gloat; 2) if the foreign invader is Pompey, the psalmist does not consider him to be deserving of punishment; 3) as Atkinson argues, this psalm does refer to Pompey, but was completed before his death (and thus before Psalm 2).[352] From Atkinson's perspective, the lack of description of Pompey's punishment can be attributed to the fact that it has not yet happened, rather than to a difference of opinion in Psalms 2 and 8.

Of these possibilities I find the second to be the most plausible. Indicators within the poem certainly make identification of the invader with Pompey reasonable. Further, this poem does not, as Atkinson argues, display an expectation that Pompey will be punished for his actions.[353] Unlike Psalm 2, where it is expressly stated that the foreign invader attacks with passionate rage, rather than zeal (line 24), Psalm 8 merely describes the (righteous) punishment of Jerusalem and asks God not to be too harsh in his judgment. This has the effect of removing blame from the foreigner, Pompey, and placing it upon those who sinned and thus incurred God's wrath. Pompey does not deserve punishment because he is acting as God's instrument.

In Psalm 17, like Psalm 2, we again see God punishing the punishers for their arrogant actions. Significantly, however, this group does not appear to be the Romans, but rather the Hasmonean monarchy.[354] As numerous scholars have pointed out, the *Psalms* in general, and Psalm 17 in particular seem to be extremely critical of the Hasmoneans. It is they who are the sinners, and they who have brought God's judgment

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[352] Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 102.
[353] Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 102.
[354] It should be noted that Tromp believes the rulers of Psalm 17 to be the Romans and not the Hasmoneans. While this argument is interesting, I find the description of the sinners as those who usurped David's throne difficult to explain if we accept these sinners to be the Romans.

upon Jerusalem and her people.[355] Given that Psalm 17 describes an expected act of divine retribution against arrogant punishers, in this case the Hasmoneans, for their sins, we may expect to see a similar vision for Rome, if the *Psalms* are indeed anti-Roman. That such a scene does not appear anywhere in the *Psalms* suggests that condemnation of Rome is not a concern for the work's author(s).

It should be noted, however, that the argument has been made that Psalm 17, with its description of the coming of the messiah (vv.21-46), exhibits criticism of Rome generally, rather than just Pompey specifically for his invasion. From this perspective, the psalmist prays to God that he might send the messiah to rid the Jews of their Roman oppressors.[356] To counter this argument I would like to return to Atkinson's suggestion that Psalm 17 is not, in fact, referring to Pompey and the Roman invasion, but rather to Herod. If Atkinson is correct, and I believe he is, then the messianic expectations of Psalm 17, as he notes, are directed against the rule of Herod, not against Roman authority.[357] Although it may be argued that criticism of Herod can be seen as criticism of Roman authority, which admittedly played a large role in Herod's acquisition and maintenance of power, this is not at all an easy case to make. Herod's relationship with Roman authority and his subjects' perception of that relationship are complicated topics. While some ancient sources and modern scholars have dismissed Herod as an agent of Rome, it is not at all clear that this was how he saw himself, or how his subjects viewed

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[355] Compare to Joseph. *AJ* 14.77 where he claims that the civil war between the Hasmonean brothers led to the loss of Judaea's freedom. Interestingly, however, Josephus contains no trace of the idea that this is God's judgment on the Jews (see Reggiani, "una testimonianza storica," 426).
[356] See for example Werline, "Ideology of Rule," 79-80.
[357] Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 109. Although, Samuel Rocca, "Josephus and the *Psalms of Solomon* on Herod's Messianic Aspirations: An Interpretation," in *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*, ed. Zuleika Rodgers (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 324-7 suggests that the messianic expectation in Psalm 17 is not directed *against* Herod, but rather *implies* Herod. Herod is the expected messiah who will restore Jerusalem.

him.[358] Moreover, criticism of Herod need not imply criticism of Rome since portions of the population over which he ruled were hostile to Herod for a variety of reasons, as is the case with any ruler throughout history.[359]

Given the disparate levels of criticism leveled at Pompey in two of the historical psalms, it is impossible to say that the *Psalms of Solomon* exhibit discontent with Roman interference in Judaea. The attitude of the individual psalms towards Pompey is ambivalent; while he is not innocent of violence against Jerusalem, nevertheless he is acting under compulsion from God. It is only in Psalm 2 that we see Pompey receiving divine punishment, a punishment which was due to his individual arrogance rather than to his invasion of Judaea. Moreover, there is no example in the *Psalms* where the Romans as a whole are the recipients of divine vengeance, something one would expect to see if the *Psalms* were in fact critical of all Roman influence in Judaea.

It is now necessary to examine to what extent the sentiments concerning Pompey and Roman interference in Judaea that the *Psalms of Solomon* express can be said to be indicative of Jewish attitudes as a whole at the time. Hadas-Lebel has argued, based on the assumption that the *Psalms* were likely produced by the Pharisees, that they are indicative of a larger trend in Jewish society: a rising hatred toward and condemnation of Rome.[360] As was noted above, it is by no means certain that the group of the *Psalms* can be securely identified as the Pharisees. Other viable candidates include the Essenes, the

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[358] On Herod's perceived dependence on Rome and opposition to it see, for example, Joseph. *AJ* 17.149-60; *BJ* 1.648-55 (discussed in Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 99). For Herod's attempts to project an image of collaboration with, rather than subordination to Rome see Erich Gruen, "Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora," in *Herod and Augustus*, eds. David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 13-27.

[359] Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 14.172-6, 15.3-4 on popular criticisms of Herod.

[360] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 38. This larger trend, she argues, is proven by the diverse sources (*Psalms of Solomon*, Habbakuk Pesher, and the Third Sibyl), which attest to this hostility.

Hasidim, and a group of dissident scribes.[361] While no scholarly consensus has been formed about the identity of the group, recent scholarship shows that the group of the *Psalms* had removed itself (or was removed) from mainstream Judaean society. As Atkinson has noted, the group of the *Psalms* clearly had distanced itself from the traditional space of Jewish worship: the Temple, thus signifying that their group was not a part of "Judaism at large."[362] Further, this group saw itself as in opposition to or in isolation from the ruling elite, the law courts, and the common people.[363] Given the lack of evidence to support an identification with the Pharisees as well as the clear indications that the group of the *Psalms* saw itself in opposition to many facets of Judaean society, it hardly seems logical to assume that this sectarian group represents the views of greater Judaean society, evidence of widespread discontent with the relationship between Rome and the Jews. Moreover, it seems quite likely that the individual psalms that make up the collection were written by multiple authors. If my assertion that Psalms 2 and 8 illustrate differing opinions on Pompey's actions in Jerusalem is correct, this could be explained by the positing of two different authors for the poems. Thus, it would not be possible even to claim that the *Psalms* as a body represent the views of the entire group who produced them, much less the opinions of a majority of the inhabitants of Judaea.

Conclusion

Jewish views on Rome have traditionally been seen as a strict dichotomy divided by Pompey's invasion of Judaea in 63 BCE. Based on the evidence of I Maccabees, Jewish views on Rome are generally assumed to be almost universally positive during the

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[361] Hann, "Community of the Pious," 170 (branch of Essenes); O'Dell, "Religious Background," 257 (Hasidim); Horsley, *Spiral of Violence*, 130-1 (community of scribes).
[362] Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 109.
[363] Atkinson, "Toward a Redating," 110-11. See also Hann, "Community of the Pious," 170-1.

first century of their interaction. Conversely, the *Psalms of Solomon*, written after Pompey's invasion, seem to prove that Jewish opinions turned nearly completely (and irrevocably) against Rome and its interference in Jewish affairs. As I hope to have shown in the preceding chapter, however, neither of these positions is tenable. It is undeniable that I Maccabees gives a mostly positive portrayal of Rome. Several factors, however, should caution against interpreting this view as a general comment on the popularity of Rome in Judaea at large during the course of the second century. First, I Maccabees itself seems to express some anxiety about Rome's growing power and hegemonic tendencies, thus calling into question the assertion of modern scholars that I Maccabees gives an unequivocally positive portrayal of Rome. Second, in a number of passages I Maccabees clearly engages with and reflects Roman idealized self-imagery from the second century BCE. The author likely does this in order to support his aim of promoting the legitimacy of Maccabean leadership in Judaea. Since the author is reproducing Roman idealized self-imagery in order to promote his own political purpose it is impossible to say that these idealized portraits are representative of how a majority of Judaeans perceived Rome. Rather, they represent the view of Rome that an elite Judaean, who likely had close ties to the ruling family, found most suited to his purpose of promoting that family's legitimate seizure of power.

Similarly, the historical psalms found in the *Psalms of Solomon*, which undeniably present a tragic picture of the invasion of Jerusalem by a foreigner, cannot be used as evidence that the majority of Jews took a negative view of Rome following Pompey's conquests in the east. The three historical psalms which may describe Pompey's invasion clearly draw parallels between the foreign invader and previous

biblical invaders. By drawing parallels between their foreign invader and biblical precedents, these psalms set up expectations for the audience, namely that Pompey (and by extension the Romans) will be punished for his misdeeds if in fact he is judged to be acting outside of the boundaries proscribed by God. One psalm, Psalm 2, does describe Pompey being punished, but it is clear that this is for his arrogance in thinking himself greater than a man, not because he led the invasion of Jerusalem. In none of the psalms is divine punishment of Rome described or even imagined. Thus, it is not possible to assert that the *Psalms* in and of themselves demonstrate a unified hatred for and condemnation of Rome.

In addition, the *Psalms* were clearly composed by and for a group that had removed itself from mainstream Jewish society. This group was critical of the ruling authority as well as the administration of the Temple in Jerusalem. Because of the group's status within Judaean society it is illogical to claim that the views expressed in the *Psalms* are representative of the views of a majority of Judaeans at the time.

Chapter Three
The Good, The Bad, and The Bewitched: Roman Leaders and Judaea from Pompey to Herod

With Pompey's siege and capture of Jerusalem, the Judaean experience of the Roman Empire changed dramatically. Pompey did not impose direct Roman rule in Judaea, choosing to keep the territory politically separate from the Roman province of Syria. He did, however, refuse to preserve the Hasmonean monarchy, preferring instead to name Hyrcanus as high priest in Jerusalem with some level of civil authority over the Judaeans.[364] Following the imposition of Pompey's, and by extension Roman, will on the Judaean political establishment, Rome could no longer be viewed by the Judaeans as a distant, growing power, sought after for political friendship and alliance. Rather, it now became a hegemonic authority, the entity whose approval must be sought for major decisions in the realm of international politics. This change in Rome's status *vis-à-vis* Judaea meant that Judaeans' experience of Roman authority was now filtered through the structure of provincial administration. At the head of this administration was the governor of Syria, the representative of Roman power in the region.

As was seen already in the previous chapter, with Pompey's invasion and assertion of Roman supremacy, the Judaean experience of Roman power now became much more about the relationship between an individual Roman leader and the Judaean population. This evolving relationship reflected the changing political situation at Rome as it transitioned from a Republic governed by an aristocratic oligarchy to an Empire

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[364] Joseph. *AJ* 14.73-9; *BJ* 1.153-7. See also Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.320. Although there is some ambiguity concering Judaea's exact status with relation to the province of Syria following Pompey's settlement, Chris Seeman points out that the fact that Josephus mentions that cities were taken from Judaea and joined to the province of Syria suggests that Judaea itself was still considered a separate political entity, although under the sphere of influence of the Roman governor (Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 467).

governed primarily by one man. In Jewish writings following Pompey's invasion the idealized, but somewhat vague and inaccurate description of Rome's democratic political workings exhibited in I Maccabees gives way to more detailed descriptions and evaluations of the men who controlled Syria: their administrations, characters, and exploits. This is not to say that Jews ceased to express opinions on Romans and the Roman state in general, but rather that the governors of Syria, as well as other Roman leaders in the region became a greater focus for the expression of Jewish sentiments regarding Roman authority. Thus, an investigation into how these leaders were portrayed in Jewish sources yields valuable insight into the views that Judaeans held concerning Roman authority following Pompey's conquest.

As I argued in the preceding chapter with respect to the *Psalms of Solomon*, although the political situation in Judaea had now changed significantly and there was occasional opposition to the new regime, Judaeans did not universally and irrevocably begin to adopt negative opinions of the Romans, as some scholars have suggested.[365] In fact, some Roman governors of Syria seem to have left favorable impressions of their administration on the Judaean people in whose affairs they became involved. In addition, men such as Julius Caesar and Marc Antony, who did not govern Syria, but nevertheless exercised a significant amount of influence in the region, also receive a positive (or mostly positive) treatment in our sources. Of course, some governors, such as Marcus Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus seem to have exercised their powers as governor injudiciously and certainly were viewed more negatively. The variety of evaluations of these governors and other leaders seen in the Jewish sources suggests, however, that Jewish attitudes towards Roman leaders at this time were ambivalent (as de Lange

[365] Cf. Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 366.

noted).[366] Indeed, I will argue that an analysis of the depiction of Roman leaders following Pompey's settlement in the east demonstrates that attitudes towards these leaders, and by extension Rome, were shaped by the character of the individual rather than by a universally adopted outrage at Judaea's partial subjugation.

The only surviving Judaean account of the governors of Syria, as well as other Roman political actors, between Pompey's conquest and the kingship of Herod comes from Josephus. While Josephus is, of course, a valuable source, his work is also problematic, as was discussed previously in the introduction to this study. One must proceed with caution, therefore, when investigating Jewish views on Roman leaders from the time of Pompey to the reign of Herod. While it may be possible to detect vestiges of contemporary Jewish opinions in the writings of Josephus, it must also be remembered that he is writing in a time and place far removed from the world about which he writes.

The Good Romans: Gabinius and Caesar

The first governor of Syria following Pompey's conquests in the east was M. Aemilius Scaurus, one of Pompey's legates during the Mithridatic war.[367] Scaurus' governorship seems to have left little lasting impression on the people whom he governed directly and those over whom he had political influence, such as the Judaeans. Josephus' narrative of his tenure takes up less than half the space of his account of Scaurus' prior involvement in adjudicating the dispute between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. He gives us very little information about Scaurus as governor beyond his aborted war against the

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[366] De Lange, "Jewish Attitudes," 260.
[367] Joseph. *AJ* 14.79. For an overview of the governors of Syria following Pompey's conquest see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 244-53. See also T. Corey Brennan, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 410-3.

Nabataeans.[368] The next two governors of Syria, L. Marcius Philippus (61-60 BCE) and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (59-58 BCE) were even less noteworthy; a record of their rule survives only as a short note in Appian and not at all in any surviving Jewish sources.[369] It is thus with Aulus Gabinius, the fourth governor of Syria following Pompey's eastern campaigns, that our investigation will begin.

Gabinius

In 57 BCE Gabinius, who had also served as Pompey's legate in the war with Mithridates and who played an important role in the siege of Jerusalem, became governor of Syria as a proconsul (the three previous governors were of praetorian rank).[370] Josephus gives a rather detailed narrative of Gabinius' career in Syria and Judaea in both the *War* and *Antiquities*. Upon arriving in Syria, Gabinius, Josephus tells us, was immediately confronted with the ongoing problem that was to plague his entire tenure: the civil war in Judaea between the families of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus.[371] He was forced, on a number of occasions, to oppose the rebellious activity of Aristobulus' family and support Hyrcanus' claim to authority.[372] Amidst this turmoil, however, Gabinius

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[368] Joseph. *AJ* 14.80-1; *BJ* 1.159. Scaurus may also be mentioned in connection with a massacre in 4Q324a (see Daniel Schwartz, "Aemilius Scaurus, Marcus" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Lawrence H. Shiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 9-10).

[369] App. *Syr*. 51. Although it is risky to make an argument *ex silentio*, it may be worth considering that this silence on the part of our sources, particularly Josephus, suggests that there was no widespread hostility to the new political role that Rome exercised in relation to Judaea. If there were major disturbances or demonstrations against the governors of Syria surely these would be noted by Josephus.

[370] Joseph. *AJ* 14.82; see also App. *Syr*. 51.

[371] Joseph. *AJ* 14.82. See also Richard Williams, "The Role of "Amicitia" in the Career of A. Gabinius (Cos. 58)," *Phoenix* 32.3 (1978): 202. What prompted Aristobulus' son Alexander, who had escaped from Rome to Judaea some years previously, to become martially active at this time is a subject of debate. For the view that Gabinius' reforms in Judaea provoked Alexander to action see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 31. See also Uwe Baumann, *Rom und die Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag, 1983), 52 for the silence in our sources regarding Alexander's motivation. For an overview of the repeated rebellions led by Aristobulus and his son that were quelled by Gabinius and the ways in which the Roman response to these rebellions can inform our understanding of Roman attitudes towards Judaea at this time see Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 277-87.

[372] Joseph. *AJ* 14.82-6, 92-6; *BJ* 1.160-6, 171-4. For a more detailed discussion of these violent outbreaks see Ch. 1, pgs. 37-8.

began reordering Judaea, rebuilding cities that had been destroyed and splitting the country into five administrative districts.[373] Josephus comments that with this action the Judaeans, "ἀσμένως δὲ τῆς ἐξ ἑνὸς πικρατείας ἐλευθερωθέντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῳκοῦντο – having been freed gladly from the rule of one man hereafter were governed by an aristocracy."[374]

Josephus goes on to narrate how, despite the ongoing disturbances in Judaea, Gabinius made an expedition against the Parthians. His campaign was interrupted, however, by the arrival of Ptolemy XII, whom Gabinius then resolved to settle back on his throne in Egypt.[375] After successfully restoring Ptolemy, with the help of Antipater - a Judaean commander and close friend and advisor to Hyrcanus - and other Jews, Gabinius returned from Egypt only to quell yet another rebellion in Judaea, this led by Alexander, Aristobulus' son.[376] Josephus claims that he then settled the government, "ὡς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι - as was agreeable to Antipater."[377] His tenure completed, Gabinius departed Syria, leaving the rule of government to his successor, Marcus Licinius Crassus.[378] Josephus concludes his account of Gabinius' career in the *Antiquities* with the vague yet laudatory, "καὶ Γαβίνιος μὲν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν δράσας ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ῥώμην Κράσσῳ παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν. - And

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[373] Joseph. *AJ* 14.87-91; *BJ* 1.169-70. Richard Williams, "*Rei Publicae Causa*: Gabinius' Defense of his Restoration of Ptolemy Auletes," *The Classical Journal* 81.1 (1985): 28 claims that Gabinius divided Judaea into these districts in order to "bring more stability to Palestine." This view is echoed by Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 280-3. Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 31-2 however, sees Gabinius' motivation for the division in a completely different light, intended not for stability, but rather for destabilization. For this view see also Grabbe, *Judaism*, II.321-2. Josephus' comments of praise regarding this action suggest that he, at least, did not see this as an attempt to destabilize Judaea, see below, pgs. 115-6.

[374] Joseph. *BJ* 1.170. *AJ* 14.91 expresses a similar sentiment: "καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπηλλαγμένοι δυναστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῆγον – And having been released from tyranny they continued under an aristocracy."

[375] On Gabinius' motivations for aiding Ptolemy see Williams, "*Rei Publicae Causa*," 25-38.

[376] Joseph. *AJ* 14.98-100; *BJ* 1.175-6.

[377] Joseph. *AJ* 14.103-4; *BJ* 1.177-8.

[378] Joseph. *AJ* 14.104.

Gabinius, having accomplished great and illustrious deeds during his command, went back to Rome, entrusting the government to Crassus."[379]

In order to provide a more meaningful analysis of Josephus' portrait of Gabinius and to determine what it may reveal concerning Jewish opinions regarding not only his tenure, but also of Roman authority in general it will be helpful first to review, briefly, what is known about the historical Gabinius. Further insight can be gained by comparing Josephus' portrait of Gabinius to that from other Greco-Roman sources. Through such a comparison it is possible to see in what ways Josephus' depiction of Gabinius differs from and aligns with the Gabinius from these sources. This in turn will inform to what extent we may be able to glean insights into contemporary Jewish opinions on Gabinius and his administration from the text of Josephus.

Prior to his appointment to the province of Syria, Gabinius had enjoyed an active and distinguished role in the political and military exploits of his day.[380] He was a trusted friend and political ally of Pompey and a frequent supporter of the unofficial "First Triumvirate" formed by Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar.[381] In addition, Gabinius seems to have consistently demonstrated a concern for the condition of provincial populations, sponsoring two laws in his career that were aimed at improving the relationship between

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[379] Joseph. *AJ* 14.104.
[380] On possible features of Gabinius' early career, see Ernst Badian, "The Early Career of A. Gabinius (*Cos.* 58 B.C.)," *Philologus* 103 (1959): 87-99.
[381] On Gabinius' relationship with Pompey see Williams, "The Role of "Amicitia,"" 195-210.

Rome and its provincial subjects.[382] This concern for provincial populations may also have manifested itself in Gabinius' notorious ill-treatment of the *publicani* in Syria.[383]

Despite, or perhaps because of his distinguished career and powerful allies, Gabinius faced prosecution when he returned to Rome following his proconsulship in Syria.[384] For his role in restoring Ptolemy XII to his throne and for his treatment of the *publicani* in his province Gabinius faced a barrage of charges including *maiestas*, *res repetundae*, and *ambitus*. Although acquitted on the charge of *maiestas*, Gabinius was soon convicted of *res repetundae*, extortion of his provincial subjects (and perhaps of Ptolemy XII) and sent into exile.[385] No record of the outcome of the *ambitus* case remains.

Unfortunately for Gabinius, the majority of Greco-Roman sources seem to have judged his career, and especially his administration in Syria, through the lens of his subsequent trial and the criticisms from his aristocratic opponents. Much of the culpability for the destruction of Gabinius' reputation can be laid at the feet of his contemporary Cicero who, for political reasons was keen to criticize Gabinius' administration in Syria.[386] Cicero claimed that Gabinius obtained his province by trampling the authority of the Senate; once obtained he plundered the province for his

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[382] Cic. *Att*. 5.21 (on the law prohibiting loans to foreign ambassadors) and Cic. *Q Fr*. 2.11 (on the law requiring the Senate to hear cases from foreign ambassadors in the month of February). See also Erich Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 250-2.

[383] Cic. *Prov*. *cons*. 10-11. For a discussion of Gabinius' potential removal of *publicani* from Judaea see David C. Braund, "Gabinius, Caesar, and the publicani of Judaea," *Klio* 65 (1983): 241-4.

[384] See Gruen, *Last Generation*, 311-22 on the political motivations behind prosecuting friends and allies of the unofficial triumvirate formed by Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.

[385] Cic. *Rab*. *Post*. 38. Gabinius was later recalled from exile and died while fighting for Caesar in the civil war with Pompey (see Caes. *B Afr*. 43).

[386] Gabinius as consul in 58 BCE failed to prohibit Clodius from successfully exiling Cicero.

own gain and allowed banditry and murder to run rampant.[387] Cicero condemned Gabinius further for ruining good Roman citizens with his avarice, pride, and cruelty (*avaritia*, *superbia*, *crudelitas*).[388]

The influence of the famous orator's judgment certainly seems apparent in later Greco-Roman sources. For example, the historian Cassius Dio, who wrote over two hundred years after Cicero's death, describes Gabinius as a horrible administrator, who, after causing great injury to his province on account of his greed, prepared to invade Parthia to gain even more wealth. He was only prevented from doing this by the enticing offer of Ptolemy XII.[389] On his way to Egypt, Dio claims, Gabinius put down another disturbance in Judaea and exacted further tribute from the Jews.[390]

Appian, writing during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, is less critical of Gabinius than Dio, but nevertheless he portrays Gabinius in a generally negative light. He too attributes Gabinius' involvement in Egypt to a desire for the money offered by Ptolemy XII for his restoration. Further, Appian notes, Gabinius was exiled by the Senate for invading Egypt unlawfully and for undertaking an ill-omened war.[391]

Plutarch gives perhaps the most detailed and least critical portrait of Gabinius found in the Greco-Roman tradition in his *Life of Antony*. Yet he too cannot help at least partially attributing Gabinius' actions in Egypt to his lust for riches. He claims that Gabinius was extremely tempted by the large sum offered by Ptolemy XII for his restoration (καίπερ ἐξηνδραποδισμένον κομιδῆ τοῖς μυρίοις ταλάντοις – although reduced to utter slavery by the offer of ten thousand talents), but it is not until he is

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[387] Cf. Cic. *Prov. cons.* 3, 9-11; *Pis*. 40-1.
[388] Cic. *Prov. cons.* 11.
[389] Cass. Dio 39.56.1-3.
[390] Ibid. 39.56.6.
[391] App. *Syr*. 51.

persuaded by Antony that he condescends to invade Egypt.[392] Thus, although Plutarch's portrayal of Gabinius is generally neutral, he, like other Greco-Roman sources, sees avarice as a primary motivator in Gabinius' involvement in the affair of Ptolemy XII.

In contrast to the Greco-Roman sources, who generally depict Gabinius as a one-dimensional figure who is largely motivated by greed, the picture of Gabinius that emerges from Josephus' portrait of the governor is of a capable administrator whose actions are motivated by a variety of factors. Josephus consistently describes Gabinius as a capable fighter and commander, acting on behalf of Hyrcanus. In the manner of a just general Gabinius fights and overcomes his enemies when he must, but first he offers unconditional peace if his opponents will surrender.[393] He does not participate in unnecessary killing and keeps his promises to those who keep faith with him.[394] Josephus' Gabinius is also an able administrator who settles affairs with a genuine concern for the people he governs. He rebuilds cities in Judaea that have been destroyed by the constant wars.[395] In addition, he settles the government of Judaea in a way that abolishes the monarchy and restores the power of the aristocracy; a settlement which Josephus commends and with which the people are allegedly pleased.[396] Further, in his statement concluding Gabinius' tenure (see above, pgs. 107-8) Josephus appears to give a positive assessment of Gabinius' conduct during his time as governor.

Given the vast differences between the portrayal of Gabinius in Greco-Roman sources and Josephus it appears that Josephus constructs his narrative of Gabinius using a different source than the one that seems prevalent in the Greco-Roman tradition.

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[392] Plut. *Ant*. 3.1-2.
[393] Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 14.85-6, 101-2; *BJ* 1.160-6.
[394] Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 14.96-7; *BJ* 1.167, 171-4.
[395] Joseph. *AJ* 14.87-8; *BJ* 1.165.
[396] Joseph. *AJ* 14.91, 103; *BJ* 1.170, 178.

Although the positive assessments of Gabinius may be attributed to Josephus' own interpretation of events, rather than to his source, nevertheless the inclusion of elements, such as the reorganizing and rebuilding of Judaea as well as the settlement of the government according to Antipater's wishes, suggest that Josephus was drawing on a different source from the Greco-Roman authors. Moreover, in contrast to the Gabinius found in Cicero and Dio, and to a lesser extent in Appian and Plutarch, Josephus' Gabinius does not do harm to his province. There is no trace in Josephus of the Gabinius who sought personal gain through the destruction of the people he governed. Unlike his successor, Marcus Crassus (see below, pgs. 124-8), Josephus' Gabinius makes no move to appropriate the extensive treasures of the Temple in Jerusalem. This is a surprising oversight from a man whom Cicero and Dio depict as overwhelmingly greedy. The fact that neither Cicero nor later Greek and Roman sources accuse Gabinius of robbing the Temple suggests that their portrayal of him as an avaricious despot is greatly exaggerated. From Josephus, however, a picture of him emerges that seems to be more consistent with his legislative activities: a man who is concerned with the welfare of the population of his province and strives to enact policies that increase regional stability and benefits to the provincials.

One further consideration makes Josephus' positive portrayal of Gabinius even more striking and suggests that he may be reflecting actual opinions from the time period about which he is writing, rather than giving his own assessment of events. At other times in his narrative when Josephus portrays Jewish civil strife, he blames internal conflict for causing the destruction of Jewish liberty and happiness. For example, when he tells of Pompey's involvement in the dispute between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus he claims that

the fraternal conflict resulted in the loss of Judaean liberty and the beginning of their subjugation to Rome:

> Τούτου τοῦ πάθους τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αἴτιοι κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσαντες· τήν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπεβάλομεν καὶ ὑπήκοοι Ῥωμαίοις κατέστημεν καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἣν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐκτησάμεθα τοὺς Σύρους ἀφελόμενοι, ταύτην ἠναγκάσθημεν ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς Σύροις.
>
> Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were the cause of this suffering for the Jerusalemites, because they were in conflict with each other. For we lost our freedom and we became subject to the Romans. And the territory, which we had acquired through arms from the Syrians, being removed [from our possession] this we were compelled to restore to the Syrians.[397]

Later in time, when Josephus laments the destruction wrought on his country by the Jewish revolt against Rome (66 – 73 CE) he states, "ὅτι γὰρ αὐτὴν στάσις οἰκεία καθεῖλεν – Because domestic strife destroyed it [our country]."[398] He lays the blame for the war and the subsequent destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem as well as the other miseries suffered by the Judaeans squarely on the shoulders of those who stirred up internal dissension in Judaea. It is these tyrants who brought the wrath of God (through Roman agency) down on the Judaeans.[399]

Despite Josephus' proclivity for portraying Judaean internal strife as a cause for their destruction and despoliation, no trace of this sentiment is found regarding the civil wars that waxed during Gabinius' governorship. As was detailed above, Gabinius put down uprisings by Aristobulus and various members of his family on numerous occasions. Civil war is a relatively common occurrence in Judaea from 57 to 55 BCE. And yet, despite Gabinius' involvement in the repeated civil conflicts, he is able to settle

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[397] Joseph. *AJ* 14.77.
[398] Joseph. *BJ* 1.10.
[399] Ibid. 1.10.

the government, Josephus claims, as the Jews themselves would have wished.[400] This assessment of Gabinius' involvement in Judaean affairs seems uncharacteristic of Josephus, particularly in light of his penchant for blaming civil strife for the miseries suffered at the hands of Romans.

Having suggested that Josephus draws on a non-Greco-Roman source not only for his narrative of the events during Gabinius' tenure, but also for his positive assessment of Gabinius' activities, it is now necessary to examine who, or what, this source may have been. At the end of his narrative on Gabinius' governorship Josephus mentions that Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo give identical accounts of Gabinius' exploits in Judaea.[401] Gmirkin interprets this comment as proof that both Nicolaus and Strabo followed the history of Theophanes of Mytilene, a client of Pompey who wrote a propagandistic history of his exploits and the widely acknowledged source for all later accounts of Pompey's eastern campaigns.[402] While I disagree with Gmirkin's assessment that Gabinius concerns himself merely with finishing what Pompey started in the east and does not take any initiative of his own in developing governing policy, his suggestion that Theophanes is the source for Josephus' portrayal of Gabinius could explain the generally positive portrait of the governor and the assertion that Gabinius' governmental reforms were welcomed by the people of Judaea. As Gmirkin argues, Theophanes is concerned with "selling" Pompey's and his successors' reforms in Judaea and thus is careful to portray these reforms as necessary and at the behest of the people. Unfortunately, only a

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[400] Joseph. *AJ* 14.91, 103; *BJ* 1.170, 178.
[401] Joseph. *AJ* 14.104.
[402] Russell Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus* (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 260-1. Gmirkin follows F. Rizzo, *Le Fonti per la Storiadella Conquista Pompeiana della Siria* (Palermo: Banco di Silicia, Fondazione per l'incremento economico culturale e turistico della Sicilia Ignazio Mormino, 1963), 35-8 in assuming that all later accounts of Pompey's campaigns (including those of Nicolaus and Strabo) are derived from Theophanes.

brief account of Gabinius' tenure in Judaea survives in Strabo and none at all in Nicolaus, so it is impossible to say how closely Josephus may have followed their accounts (and through them the narrative of Theophanes).[403]

Gmirkin's argument that Theophanes (through Strabo and Nicolaus) is the dominant source for Josephus' narrative of Pompey's and his successors' campaigns in the east is not without difficulties, however.[404] It does not, for example, explain the brevity of Scaurus' tenure in Josephus' narrative. If Josephus is drawing almost exclusively on Theophanes, it seems likely that he would include a longer narrative on the governorship of Scaurus, who was also a friend and supporter of Pompey. Thus, perhaps another source in which Gabinius' actions in Judaea were treated more extensively, as well as more positively, should be considered as inspiration for Josephus' depiction. Goodblatt, for example, suggests that Josephus' account of the delegations to Pompey in Damascus does not reflect a propagandistic Roman source, but rather actual Jewish sentiments of the time.[405] It is possible that a similar source, namely a record of contemporary Jewish opinions, existed for Josephus' account of Gabinius, and that this source was favorable to the Roman governor.

If Josephus was indeed drawing on a source that reflected contemporary Jewish opinions of Gabinius' governorship, this would suggest that at least some contemporary Jews positively assessed Gabinius and the Roman authority that he exercised. This is not necessarily surprising given that Gabinius was repeatedly involved in bolstering one faction of the Hasmonean dynasty, Hyrcanus, and likely was viewed favorably by his

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[403] Strabo *Geog.* 12.3.34, 17.1.11.
[404] See Regev, *The Hasmoneans*, 162 on the difficulties of assuming that Theophanes provided the dominant source for Josephus' discussion of Pompey, in particular.
[405] David Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 39-40.

supporters. More interesting is Josephus' comment that the people gladly received Gabinius' administrative reforms in Judaea. Although it is impossible to say if such a sentiment came from Josephus' source for the time period, or from his own interpretation of events, nevertheless it demonstrates that Josephus did not think that it was unbelievable that the general population of Judaea would favorably view intervention by a Roman authority.

It should be noted that although Josephus (and perhaps his source) describes many positive features of Gabinius' governorship, suggesting that Roman interference in Judaea was at least tolerated if not on occasion welcomed, it has been argued that the repeated rebellions by the family and supporters of Aristobulus bear witness to widespread hostility towards Roman hegemony in Judaea at this time.[406] While this could be the case, it is more likely that the frequent rebellions merely are a testament to the persistent struggle of Aristobulus' family for control of Judaean politics. As Seeman astutely points out, the repeated revolts by the family of Aristobulus against Hyrcanus and his supporters demonstrate the degree of factionalism within Judaean society; support is not for the restoration of the monarchy of the Hasmonean dynasty universally (and by implication against Rome), but rather for one or another member of the Hasmonean family. Support is centered on the individual, not on a general call for freedom from Roman influence.[407]

Caesar

In 49 BCE civil war broke out in Rome between Julius Caesar and Pompey. The two opposing forces met at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE, from which Caesar

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[406] Gabba, "History of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," 99.
[407] Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 284-7.

emerged victorious. Pompey managed to escape to Egypt, where he was ignominiously murdered by the adherents of Ptolemy XIII. Following Pompey's defeat and death, Caesar became the undisputed master of the Roman world, serving as dictator until his own murder in 44 BCE.

Josephus' portrayal of Caesar focuses mainly on his interactions with Hyrcanus and Antipater in the context of his war with Pompey and its aftermath. Caesar enters Josephus' narrative when, after conquering Rome, he released Aristobulus from captivity in the hopes that the Hasmonean would help Caesar gain control in the east, Pompey's support base.[408] This plan backfired, but later Caesar would receive crucial support from the other branch of the Hasmonean family: Hyrcanus and his friend Antipater. When Caesar pursued Pompey to Egypt, Josephus tells us, and became engaged in an unexpected war there with the forces of Ptolemy he received critical aid from the Judaeans through Hyrcanus and Antipater.[409] With peace mostly restored, Caesar turned his attention to Syria, where, among other official acts, he granted Roman citizenship and exemption from taxes to Antipater and confirmed Hyrcanus as high priest in recognition of their support in the Alexandrian War.[410] Further honors were bestowed somewhat later during Caesar's stay in Syria when Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, unwisely accused Antipater and Hyrcanus before Caesar, unwittingly giving Antipater a platform from which to highlight his contributions to Caesar's campaigns. In response to Antigonus' accusations, Caesar confirmed Hyrcanus again as high priest and named Antipater

[408] Joseph. *AJ* 14.123; *BJ* 1.183.
[409] Joseph. *AJ* 14.127-32; *BJ* 1.187-9.
[410] Joseph. *AJ* 14.127-37; *BJ* 1.187-93.

procurator (ἐπίτροπος)[411] of Judaea. He also allowed the walls of Jerusalem to be rebuilt under Hyrcanus' direction.[412]

Upon his return to Rome, Josephus claims, Caesar received an embassy from Hyrcanus that, "παρεκάλει βεβαιώσασθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. – asked that he [Caesar] confirm his friendship and alliance with him [Hyrcanus]."[413] In the context of Caesar's response, Josephus gives a lengthy digression on the many decrees of Caesar regarding the Jews.[414] These decrees include: 1) Caesar, with the will of the Senate, decrees that for his fidelity Hyrcanus shall be ethnarch and high priest of the Jews, him and his children forever; Hyrcanus' family will be considered friends of Rome; he and his sons shall retain all the rights and privileges of the high priesthood and shall judge the Jewish people according to their customs; there shall be no billeting or tribute expected of Judaea;[415] 2) Hyrcanus and his children shall rule the nation of the Jews (Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος) and shall receive the profits from their own possessions (i.e. they will not have to pay tribute); ambassadors shall be sent to Hyrcanus to discuss a pact of friendship and alliance;[416] 3) for his valor and virtue, as well as for the good of the Roman people, Hyrcanus and his children shall be high priests as their ancestors were;[417]

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[411] It is unclear exactly what administrative duties Antipater performed as procurator, but he may have been somehow involved in tax-collection. Additionally, the title, which encompassed the entire territory of Judaea in its jurisdiction may suggest that Antipater was to act as the "resident representative of Rome, safeguarding Roman financial interests" (see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 39).
[412] Joseph. *AJ* 14.140-4; *BJ* 1.195-200.
[413] Joseph. *AJ* 14.185.
[414] For a comprehensive overview and commentary on these documents see Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights in the Roman World* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 22-106. For a detailed discussion of the relationship of the individual documents cited by Josephus to each other see also Miriam Pucci Ben Zeev, "Caesar's Decrees in the Antiquities: Josephus' Forgeries or Authentic Roman *Senatus Consulta*?" *Athenaeum* 84.1 (1996): 71-91.
[415] Joseph. *AJ* 14.190-5.
[416] Joseph. *AJ* 14.196-8.
[417] Joseph. *AJ* 14.199.

4) the Jews are granted the right to possess and wall Jerusalem;[418] 5) the Jews shall pay tribute to Jerusalem; Judaea is exempted from the burden of billeting; Joppa and other lands that were lost are restored to Hyrcanus and the Jews; Hyrcanus and his sons can sit in the senatorial seats at the gladiator shows; they shall be introduced to the Senate with due respect and receive a prompt response from them;[419] and 6) Caesar commands the Parians to allow the Jews of Delos to practice their ancestral customs; not even at Rome are the Jews prohibited from doing thus.[420] The sum of these decrees, along with others issued by various Roman magistrates, demonstrates for Josephus that, "τὴν μὲν οὖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς γενομένην δεδηλώκαμεν – we have made manifest, therefore, the friendship and alliance existing between ourselves and the Romans at that time."[421]

Following the decrees Josephus gives a brief account of Caesar's final actions concerning Syria. After Pompeian supporters intent on seizing power in the region murdered the Syrian governor, Caesar's relative S. Caesar, he sent Murcus (or Marcus) to reestablish stability in the province. Although he may have planned further military action his own death prevented this.[422]

Josephus' account of Caesar attests to a high level of cooperation between the Roman leader and the leaders of Judaea: Hyrcanus and Antipater. Caesar received various kinds of support from these two and in return he rewarded them with titles and tax exemptions. These actions suggest that good relations existed between the Roman dictator and the Jewish leaders. Further evidence for cooperative and mutually beneficial

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[418] Joseph. *AJ* 14.200-1.
[419] Joseph. *AJ* 14.202-10.
[420] Joseph. *AJ* 14.213-6.
[421] Joseph. *AJ* 14.267.
[422] Joseph. *AJ* 14.268-70.

relations is found in the decrees mentioned by Josephus. These decrees have been the subject of intense scholarly debate, much of it centering on their authenticity (or lack thereof). Nevertheless they provide valuable information concerning Jewish attitudes towards Caesar as well as the nature of Roman-Jewish relations at the time.[423]

It is generally agreed now that the decrees cited by Josephus are reproductions of authentic texts, albeit in fragmentary and often confused form. Other issues, however, such as the extent to which these decrees constituted universal legislation concerning the religious liberties of the Jews remain a contested issue.[424] While the authenticity of the documents in Josephus and the extent to which they constituted a "charter" for Jewish religious liberty are important issues, however, they do not bear directly on the present study. Rather, what is of importance here is the purpose for which Josephus includes these documents. He clearly states this purpose as an introduction to the decrees:

> ἔδοξεν δ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί μοι πάσας ἐκθέσθαι τὰς γεγενημένας Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσιν αὐτῶν τιμὰς καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν, ἵνα μὴ λανθάνῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ οἱ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχον ἡμᾶς τήν τε ἀνδρείαν ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀγαπήσαντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἀπιστοῦσι τοῖς ὑπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀναγεγραμμένοις περὶ ἡμῶν τῷ μηκέτ' αὐτὰ πανταχοῦ μηδ' ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀποκεῖσθαι τόποις, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καί τισιν ἄλλοις τῶν βαρβάρων, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δόγματα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν· ἔν τε γὰρ δημοσίοις ἀνάκειται τόποις τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ χαλκαῖς στήλαις ἐγγέγραπται, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καῖσαρ Ἰούλιος τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίοις ποιήσας χαλκῆν

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[423] For a brief overview of the issues that arise from these decrees and scholarship on these issues see Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 272-4.

[424] See in particular Ben Zeev, "Caesar's Decrees," 71-91 for the view that these documents are authentic. For the opposite view see H. R. Moehring, "The Acta Pro Judaeis in the Antiquities of Flavius Josephus: A Study in Hellenistic and Modern Apologetic Historiography," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty, part 3: Judaism before 70*, ed. J. Neusner, 124-58 (Leiden: Brill, 1975). See Tessa Rajak, "Was There a Roman Charter for the Jews?" *Journal of Roman Studies* 74 (1984): 107-23, for an examination of whether or not Caesar's decrees (among others) can be read as universal legislation. Although see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 135-6 who accepts that Caesar's decrees established Judaism as a *religio licita*, "an incorporated body with an authorized cult, throughout the empire."

> στήλην ἐδήλωσεν, ὅτι Ἀλεξανδρέων πολῖταί εἰσιν, ἐκ τούτων ποιήσομαι καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.[425]
>
> For it seemed to me to be necessary to set forth all of the honors and allegiances having been secured by the Romans and their leaders for our people, lest they escape the notice of all other peoples, and to what extent the kings of Asia and those of Europe esteemed us and our bravery and sought our friendship. On account of ill-will towards us, many do not believe the records concerning us kept by the Persians and the Macedonians since they are not made available everywhere nor are they displayed in public places, but are kept by us and by some other barbarian peoples. But it is not possible to gainsay the ordinances of the Romans; for they are set up in the public places of cities and even now they are inscribed on pillars of bronze in the Capitol. Even Julius Caesar, having produced a pillar of bronze, displayed it for the Jews in Alexandria, declaring that they are citizens of Alexandria. From these things I will make my demonstration.

Josephus makes clear with this statement that he is chiefly concerned with establishing beyond a doubt that the Romans (as well as other peoples) and their leaders held the Jews in high regard and had a history of honoring them, a point that he reiterates after giving the text of the decrees. By reproducing the decrees of Caesar Josephus is, as Rajak discusses, preserving them for the annals of history at a time that was particularly difficult for Jews in the Mediterranean, following the bitter war with Rome and the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem.[426]

It is necessary for Josephus to state his purpose so clearly and to direct his reader in such a way because the decrees of Caesar that he cites, are not, in fact, strong proofs of what he claims. As Gruen has shown, placing these documents in their historical context illustrates how little significance they had as demonstrations of any particular regard the Romans had for the Jews. He points out that these decrees were issued by Caesar at a

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[425] Joseph. *AJ* 14.186-9.
[426] Tessa Rajak, "Document and Rhetoric in Josephus: Revisiting the 'Charter' for the Jews," in *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism*, eds. Shaye Cohen and Joshua Schwartz, 177-90 (Brill: Leiden, 2007).

time when he desperately needed loyal support in the east. Moreover, in the context of the aftermath of Pharsalus, the privileges granted to Hyrcanus and the Jews were not unique and did not constitute special treatment.[427] In addition, as Hadas-Lebel has noted, these decrees primarily constitute privileges bestowed on Hyrcanus as an individual, not on the Jews as a people.[428] This further illustrates that Caesar was concerned with rewarding the political loyalty of his supporters, not recognizing the contributions and achievements of a people.

By specifically mentioning Caesar in his introduction to the documents which he claims prove Roman esteem for the Jews as well as the level of friendship and alliance that existed between the Jews and the Romans at that time, then quoting several decrees of Caesar allegedly proving his point, Josephus perhaps is trying to capitalize on Caesar's legacy in the Roman world in order to bolster his claim that the Romans and their leaders had a tradition of holding the Jews in high regard. Although Josephus goes on to quote many decrees by various Roman magistrates, he emphasizes Caesar's importance by beginning with his decrees and by placing the other decrees within the context of his narrative of Caesar's involvement with Judaean affairs.

While Josephus may be pushing the boundaries of what his documentary evidence proves regarding the level of cooperation and mutual respect that existed between Roman authorities and the Jews at this time, nevertheless his positive portrayal of Caesar and his use of Caesar as an exemplary model for Roman legislative activities regarding the Jews and their leaders, suggest that Josephus viewed Roman authority in Judaea at this time as

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[427] Erich Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 88-90. See also Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights*, 460-7 on the granting of similar rights by the Romans to other peoples under their control.
[428] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 43-5.

a potentially positive entity. It is also possible that Josephus emphasizes Caesar's role in honoring and respecting the Jewish people and their leaders because he is reflecting the opinions of Jews contemporaneous to Caesar who may have seen his time in power as one that was particularly favorable to the Jews. This is supported by a passage in Suetonius' biography of Caesar, where he claims that of all those who mourned Caesar's death, the Jews were conspicuous in their grief, "In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quaeque more lamentata est praecipueque Iudaei, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt. - In the height of public mourning a multitude of foreign peoples in groups also lamented after their own fashion, especially the Jews, who indeed for many nights kept vigil at his funeral pyre."[429] Suetonius, unlike Josephus, has no ulterior motive for portraying Caesar as having a special relationship with the Jews (in fact, the opposite could be the case; see Ch. 4, pg. 153). It therefore seems reasonable to assume that Caesar was well-regarded by the Jews during his lifetime, certainly by those in Rome and likely those in Judaea and the rest of the Diaspora as well.

The Bad Governors: Crassus and Cassius

Although Gabinius and Caesar receive a generally positive treatment in Josephus, perhaps because both helped to improve the situation of the Jews during the time that they were in control in the Roman east, not all Roman leaders behaved with moderation and generosity while in control in Syria. In the works of Josephus, both Marcus Crassus, member of the unofficial "First Triumvirate," and C. Cassius Longinus, infamous assassin of Caesar, receive negative treatments. Far from improving the lot of the Jews, these two governors committed atrocities, including looting the Temple in Jerusalem and

[429] Suet. *Iul*. 84.5.

selling Jews into slavery. The portraits of these two men demonstrate that Josephus, as well as perhaps his source(s), was not averse to criticizing Roman power in Judaea and the men who exercised it.

Crassus

Following Gabinius' eventful tenure, Marcus Licinius Crassus came to govern Syria, beginning his governorship in early 54 BCE. Of Crassus' administrative policies in Syria no record remains. For ancient (and many modern) authors, Crassus' defining characteristic was his greed.[430] This feature was dramatically, and tragically, exemplified in the failed invasions of Parthia which Crassus planned and executed in 54 and again in 53.[431] Although the first campaign was moderately successful, during the second campaign Crassus was disastrously defeated at the battle of Carrhae.[432] Crassus lost his own life in this expedition, thus ending his career as governor.

Josephus' narrative, which includes Crassus' career in Syria, adds little to the outline given above. He does give the additional detail that Crassus looted the Temple in Jerusalem, an act which even Pompey did not hazard.[433] Further, "Κράσσος δὲ πάντα διοικήσας ὃν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο τρόπον ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν – Crassus, having administered everything in a manner that was pleasing to him, set off for Parthia."[434] This is in contrast to the manner in which Gabinius settled affairs, at least in Judaea, which was according to the wishes of the local leader Antipater.

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[430] Cf. Cic. *Off*. 3.75, for a contemporary view of Crassus' greediness. See also Allen Ward, *Marcus Crassus and the Late Roman Republic* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1977), 1-3 on ancient and modern scholars' reductive treatment of Crassus.
[431] Plut. *Crass*. 17.1-4 (first invasion), 20.1-31.7 (second invasion).
[432] Cf. Plut. *Crass*. 23.1-31.7.
[433] Joseph. *AJ* 14.105-9; *BJ* 1.179.
[434] Joseph. *AJ* 14.119.

As was the case with Gabinius, comparing Josephus' (albeit brief) depiction of Crassus with the historical Crassus and also with his legacy in Greco-Roman sources is useful for developing an analysis of Josephus' portrayal. This comparison, like that of Gabinius, will help illustrate the ways in which Josephus' treatment of Crassus is similar to and different from other sources and thus will lead to a better understanding of Josephus', and perhaps contemporary Judaean, attitudes towards the Roman governor.

There are many parallels between the lives and careers of Gabinius and Crassus. Like Gabinius, Crassus had enjoyed a distinguished military and political career before becoming governor of Syria. He successfully put down the rebellion by Spartacus in 71 BCE. In 60 BCE he became, along with Caesar and Pompey, part of the unofficial "First Triumvirate," the most powerful political entity of the day. As many ancient sources attest, Crassus enjoyed a remarkable level of political influence and power during the 60's and 50's BCE.[435]

Also like Gabinius, Crassus experienced misfortune at the end of his career which would largely dictate the terms by which future generations remembered him. Although Crassus' wealth and alleged greed were certainly known to his contemporaries, these would become defining characteristics of his personality for later authors; as Plutarch notes, "πολλαῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ Κράσσου κακίαν μόνην ἐπισκοτῆσαι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν - His persistent meanness and his love of riches threw a shadow over the many virtues of Crassus."[436] For authors writing after Carrhae, Crassus' defeat and his excessive greed were inextricably linked. His avarice was seen as the reason behind his invasion of

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[435] Cf. Sall. *Cat*. 48.5; Cic. *Fin*. 2.57; Vell. Pat. 2.30.6. See Gruen, *Last Generation*, 66-74 on the nature and extent of Crassus' political power.

[436] Plut. *Crass*. 6.5. See also Erich Gruen, "M. Licinius Crassus: a Review Article," *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 (1977): 118 on the enduring view in modern scholarship of Crassus as a "money-grubbing capitalist, second-rate politician, and incompetent military man."

Parthia, thus consigning his expedition to the realm of unjust war. For the vice that led him to embark on war unjustly he is punished by the gods with defeat and death in the very enterprise that was supposed to glorify and enrich him. Seneca the Younger, for example, writing approximately one hundred years after Crassus' death says, "Sic Crassum auaritia Parthis dabit, non horrebit reuocantis diras tribuni, non tempestates longissimi maris, non circa Euphratem praesaga fulmina et deos resistentes: per hominum et deorum iras ad aurum ibitur. - Thus avarice will deliver Crassus to the Parthians. He will not shudder at the curses of the tribune calling him back, not at the storms of the most boundless sea, not at the ominous lightning bolts near the Euphrates and the gods in opposition: he will pursue gold through the wrath of gods and men alike."[437]

From this brief overview it is clear that Josephus expresses sentiments similar to other Greco-Roman sources regarding Crassus; both appear to neglect the accomplishments of Crassus in favor of highlighting the destructiveness of his greed. In contrast to his predecessor Gabinius, Crassus receives a one-dimensional treatment in Josephus that is exclusively confined to his pursuit of money, much like the treatment that he receives in Greco-Roman sources. Further evidence of the alignment between the thematic presentation of Crassus in Josephus and other Greco-Roman sources can be seen in Josephus' account of Crassus' looting of the Temple. Josephus claims that Crassus despoiled the Jerusalem temple of not only the money which it contained, but also other valuables. In addition, Crassus broke an oath that he had sworn to the priest in charge of

[437] Sen. *Q Nat.* 5.18.10. For a discussion of the moral rhetoric surrounding later authors' treatment of Crassus' defeat see Susan Mattern-Parkes, "The Defeat of Crassus and the Just War," *The Classical World* 96.4 (2003): 387-96. See also Ward, *Marcus Crassus*, 281 on the misinterpretation of Crassus' motivation for embarking on the war against Parthia. In Ward's view, Crassus was driven not by greed, but by the desire to be the most important man in Rome, something he could not achieve without a military victory on par with those of Caesar and Pompey.

the temple's treasures by carrying off not only a priceless golden beam concealed in the temple, but also all of the other valuables (the priest had attempted to ransom the other temple treasures with the beam, whose hiding place he revealed to Crassus).[438] When Crassus had settled affairs in the region without any regard for the native populations he set off for Parthia, where he and his army perished.[439]

Although Josephus does not explicitly connect Crassus' despoiling of the Temple with his defeat at Carrhae, nevertheless the proximity of these two events within the narrative, coupled with the fact that they are the only features of Crassus' tenure that Josephus relates, suggests that the author desired his audience to see a connection between the two. Hence, like other ancient (and many modern) authors, Josephus reduces Crassus to a greedy, reckless man who had no respect for the divine. Josephus may certainly be drawing on the long Greco-Roman literary tradition when he depicts Crassus as a blindly greedy warmonger. Unlike our other sources on Crassus, however, Josephus depicts his avariciousness in a way that makes it particularly pertinent, and harmful, to the Jews. Whereas the Crassus of Greco-Roman tradition impiously disregarded the warnings of prognosticators, Josephus' Crassus plundered the dwelling place of God and broke an oath made to a priest. While the sacrilege of plundering the Temple could simply be an attempt by Josephus to assimilate the infamous Crassus into a Jewish world view, it could also be that Josephus is drawing on a source that included information that the Greco-Roman sources did not (or did not bother to reproduce).

Even if Josephus is drawing on a different source than his Greco-Roman counterparts it is not possible to determine to what extent this source reflected the

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[438] Joseph. *AJ* 14.105-9.
[439] See above, note 434.

opinions of Jews contemporary to Crassus. It is possible to say, however, that when constructing his narrative Josephus (and perhaps his source) did not care to elaborate on the Syrian career of Crassus beyond the moral lesson it provided.[440] Whatever else Crassus may have accomplished in his time as governor, it was his greed and disrespect that were remembered and reproduced. This suggests a generally negative attitude towards Crassus and his administration, both at the time that he governed and afterwards.

Cassius

Following Crassus' fall to the Parthians, C. Longinus Cassius, then a quaestor who had served under Crassus, took over the command of the army and the province of Syria. After a brief tenure, which included fending off attacks from the Parthians, who were perhaps emboldened by their defeat of Crassus, Cassius returned to Rome in 51 BCE to be succeeded by the next governor, M. Calpurnius Bibulus.[441] Several years later, in the turmoil that followed the assassination of Caesar in 44 BCE, Cassius returned to Syria, the province that Caesar had allotted to him prior to his murder.[442] He then persuaded the current governor of Syria, Caecilius Bassus, to join his cause. Bassus ceded command of his Roman troops to Cassius, making him the supreme Roman authority in the region.[443] To prepare for the imminent war with Caesar's supporters, Cassius used his position of authority to exact crushing tribute from the region including Asia, Syria, and Judaea.[444] After securing Syria against the forces of Caesar's supporters, Cassius left the province in the care of his nephew and rejoined his fellow conspirator Brutus in Asia

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[440] Gmirkin, *Berossus and Genesis*, 261 sees Josephus' lack of depth in the Crassus narrative as proof that Theophanes' account must have ended with Gabinius and deliberately excluded Pompey's rival Crassus.
[441] Cf. Cic. *Att*. 5.20; Cass. Dio 40.28-9; Joseph. *AJ* 14.119. Josephus completely passes over the three governors (Bibulus, Veiento, and Q. Metellus Scipio) who held Syria between Cassius' return to Rome in 51 BCE and Caesar's return three years later. See also Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 247.
[442] App. *B Civ*. 4.57.
[443] Cic. *Fam*. 12.11.
[444] App. *B Civ*. 4.74; Joseph. *AJ* 14.272; *BJ* 1.219.

Minor.[445] The two then made their way to Macedonia, where the final battles were fought between the murderers and supporters of Caesar. According to Appian, Cassius ordered one of his subordinates to kill him when he perceived that he and Brutus had lost the war.[446]

Josephus' account of Cassius' involvement in Syria adds a few details to this general narrative that are significant to the present study. It seems that upon returning to Roman-controlled territory after the disaster at Carrhae, Cassius became involved in putting down an uprising in Judaea.[447] This uprising may have been led by Pitholaus, a Jewish commander[448] and former supporter of Hyrcanus, and perhaps was encouraged by both Crassus' robbing of the Temple and his defeat in Parthia, which proved that the Roman legions were not invincible.[449] To put an end to this disturbance, Cassius captured the city of Tarichaea in Galilee and subjected its inhabitants to slavery.[450] He also ordered the execution of Pitholaus at the behest of Antipater, who had at that time influence over Cassius.[451] All of this was accomplished during Cassius' first term as the Roman commander of Syria.

When Cassius returned to the region following the assassination of Caesar he not only requested tribute, according to Josephus, but when some cities were unable to pay

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[445] App. *B Civ*. 4.63.
[446] Ibid. 4.113.
[447] Joseph. *AJ* 14.119-20.
[448] Josephus (*BJ* 1.172, see also *AJ* 14.93) states that Pitholaus, "ἦν ὁ ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ὑποστράτηγος – was the subordinate commander from Jerusalem."
[449] For a brief discussion of the motivations behind this rebellion see Baumann, *Rom und die Juden*, 66-7. See also Arnaldo Momigliano, "Richerche sull'organizzazione della Giudea sotto il dominio Romano (63 a. C. – 70 d. C.)," *Annali della R. Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Lettere, storia, e filosofia* 3 (1934): 191-2 on the plundering of the Temple as motivation for the Jewish uprising following Crassus' failed Parthian campaign.
[450] It is not certain that Cassius' actions in Tarichaea were connected to Pitholaus' uprising. See Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 293. Although see Baumann, *Rome und die Juden*, 66-7 for the argument that the two are connected.
[451] Joseph. *AJ* 14.120; *BJ* 1.180-2.

this tribute, he also sold their inhabitants into slavery.[452] His wrath was mildly deflected, however, by the efficiency of Herod, Antipater's son and the future king of Judaea, in gathering tribute and the generosity of Hyrcanus and Antipater, who contributed some of their own funds to relieve Jews who could not meet Cassius' monetary demands.[453] Cassius demonstrated his growing confidence in Herod when, having gathered an army to protect the region he placed it under the command of Herod, further promising him that when the war with Caesar's supporters was over he would make him king of Judaea.[454] Later, after Herod's father Antipater had been treacherously murdered by a fellow Jewish commander, Cassius assented to Herod's desire to punish his father's murderer and even offered assistance in carrying out the task.[455]

Cassius is a complicated figure from a historiographical perspective. On the one hand he could be praised for the role that he defined for himself: a liberator of the oppressed from tyranny. On the other hand he was a murderer who conspired to kill the ruler of his people. Traditions preserving both aspects of his legacy survive in ancient sources. Appian, for example, describes him as both a promoter of liberty and one who conspired to bring down a great man out of jealousy.[456] Plutarch depicts him first as a violent-tempered man who was prepared to bring down Caesar for personal reasons, but later contradicts this view, claiming that Cassius was since boyhood a hater of tyranny.[457]

In the *Antiquities* Josephus deliberately does not engage in the controversy surrounding the murder of Julius Caesar, preferring to eschew it with the brief, "Καῖσαρ

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[452] Joseph. *AJ* 14.271-5; *BJ* 1.220-2. Although contrast this accusation with App. *B Civ*. 4.64 where Cassius is seen taking pity on the inhabitants of Tarsus who cannot meet his exorbitant demands.
[453] Joseph. *AJ* 14.272-6; *BJ* 1.220-2.
[454] Joseph. *AJ* 14.280; *BJ* 1.225.
[455] Joseph. *AJ* 14.288; *BJ* 1.230.
[456] App. *B Civ*. 2.111, 113.
[457] Plut. *Brut*. 8.3, 9.1-2.

δ' ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Κάσσιον καὶ Βροῦτον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κτείνεται κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. - But Caesar was killed by them, Cassius and Brutus, in the Senate house, having held power for three years and six months. This affair, however, has been set forth in other places already."[458] Josephus is not interested at this point in the vicissitudes of Roman politics. His language in the *War* is rather stronger, assigning culpability to Brutus and Cassius for their crime, yet still reluctant to engage deeply with the affair, "συνίσταται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μέγας πόλεμος Κασσίου καὶ Βρούτου κτεινάντων δόλῳ Καίσαρα - There was at this time a great war among the Romans on account of the treacherous slaying of Caesar by Brutus and Cassius."[459] Josephus further dismisses the dramatic impact that Cassius had on Roman politics in his account of Cassius' death which consists of a brief note that he was defeated by Antony and Octavian, "Κάσσιον μὲν οὖν χειροῦνται Ἀντώνιός τε καὶ Καῖσαρ περὶ Φιλίππους, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις δεδήλωται. - Antony and Caesar defeated Cassius near Philippi, as has been related by others."[460]

Although he does not engage in the controversy surrounding Cassius' role in Caesar's death, nevertheless, Josephus makes Cassius a complicated figure, a man who perpetrated acts of cruelty, while also fostering a personal, mutually beneficial relationship with Judaea's leading men. On the one hand he ruthlessly enslaved thousands of Jewish people, some simply because they could not pay his required tribute.

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[458] Joseph. *AJ* 14.270.
[459] Joseph. *BJ* 1.218.
[460] Joseph. *AJ* 14.301. "Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κάσσιον περὶ Φιλίππους ἀνελόντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς μὲν Ἰταλίαν Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀντώνιος - And when they had overcome Cassius near Philippi, they withdrew, Caesar into Italy and Antony to Asia" (*BJ* 1.242). Josephus' refusal to cover Cassius' death in detail may be attributed to a number of motivations. He could simply be eschewing a topic that was already well-treated by other ancient authors. It is equally possible, however, that his negative opinion of Cassius led him to deny the Roman a heroic death scene.

Josephus underscores the injustice of these actions later in the narrative when he describes Antonius as triumvir attempting to right the wrongs done to the Jews by Cassius (see below, pg. 135). On the other, he followed the advice of Antipater, showed favor to his son, and took an interest in punishing Antipater's killer.

Despite the critical view of Cassius suggested by Josephus' inclusion of the stories where he oppresses the Jews and sells many of them into slavery, Cassius' relationship with the Antipatrids, and in particular the concern he showed in avenging Antipater can be seen as a positive reflection on Cassius' character. Josephus reports that there was popular anger in the city of Jerusalem when it was suspected that Malichus, a powerful Judaean commander, was involved in the murder of Antipater.[461] This suggests that a large segment of the population supported Antipater and was disturbed by his murder. Cassius' concern for avenging Antipater and punishing his murderer could thus be seen as a positive action from the perspective of many of the Jerusalem population.

Although I would argue that Josephus' attitude towards Cassius is more negative than positive, nonetheless his inclusion of episodes that seem to reflect well on Cassius suggests that he was not viewed as an irredeemably poor administrator. Despite his cruelty and ruthlessness, Cassius had the ability to contribute to Judaean politics in a positive way. That Josephus included any positive assessment of Cassius is particularly striking in the context of Flavian Rome, which, like much of the early imperial period was not, as Mason has noted, an environment where one would be keen to praise Caesar's assassins.[462] Thus, this nuanced portrayal of Cassius can be seen as a further

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[461] Joseph. *BJ* 1.227.
[462] Steve Mason, "Figured Speech and Irony in T. Flavius Josephus," in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, eds. Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, James Rives (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 252-3.

demonstration that Josephus at least did not understand Roman authority to be universally reviled by Judaeans at the time.

The Bewitched: Mark Antony and the Ambiguity of Roman Power

Marcus Antonius

Following the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 BCE the Roman world came under the government of a new, officially sanctioned triumvirate, composed of Marcus Lepidus, Octavian (Augustus), and Mark Antony. The triumvirs divided authority over the Roman world amongst themselves, with Octavian and Lepidus receiving portions of the west as their purview and Antony the east, a theater in which he had operated as cavalry master under Gabinius. Antony then undertook a tour of the east, settling affairs as he saw fit and exacting tribute from the region to pay off his troops. Among other administrative details, he established L. Decidius Saxa as governor of Syria.[463] Like many of his predecessors, Saxa's tenure has left little trace in the historical record. Josephus makes no mention of him at all, narrating seamlessly from Cassius' defeat at Philippi to Antony's taking charge of the east. It is, however, during Saxa's governorship that events are set in motion which will cause a profound shift in Judaean politics.

Early in 40 BCE a Parthian army invaded Roman Syria. Saxa fell in battle and eventually all of Syria, Phoenicia, Judaea, and parts of Asia Minor were conquered.[464] Pacorus, the leader of the Parthians, deposed Hyrcanus in Jerusalem and set up Antigonus

[463] Cass. Dio 48.24.3.
[464] Cass. Dio 48.25-26.

as ruler in his stead.[465] As Seeman notes, the removal of Hyrcanus from the high priesthood, and his inability to resume the position due to his mutilation, deprived the Romans of a favored political option: a loyal native supporter who could be relied upon to promote Roman interests in the region.[466] Thus, the Parthian invasion and deposition of Hyrcanus precipitated a profound shift in Roman-Judaean relations. Before the end of the year, the Roman Senate made the dramatic decision to reestablish the monarchy in Judaea, this time under the rule of Herod, son of Antipater.[467]

Although the authority of the Roman governor of Syria still held sway in Judaea until the Parthian invasion, and thereafter the nation came under Herod's kingship, Mark Antony was the ultimate authority in the east until his defeat by Octavian in 31 BCE. It is not surprising, then, that he figures prominently in Josephus' narrative of the time period. Josephus' portrayal of Antony is extensive and multi-dimensional, encapsulating the complicated nature of his historical personality as seen in other sources, such as Plutarch.[468] As triumvir, his first intervention into Jewish affairs was to deny an embassy sent to him to accuse Herod. This he did, according to Josephus, because Herod had previously bribed him and not out of any concern for the welfare of the Jews or a belief in Herod's innocence.[469] Another embassy was sent later for the same purpose. This time Antony consulted Hyrcanus as to who was most fit to rule. When Hyrcanus responded,

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[465] Joseph. *AJ* 14.330-3. Josephus claims that Antigonus lured the Parthians into Judaea with a promise of one thousand talents and five hundred women. Dio (48.26.2) suggests that Pacorus established Antigonus (whom he mistakenly calls Aristobulus) as ruler to spite the Romans, who had supported Hyrcanus.
[466] Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 364.
[467] Joseph. *AJ* 14.384-5; *BJ* 1.284. Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 364 discusses the likelihood that the Parthian naming of Antigonus as king was behind Rome's decision to restore the Judaean monarchy under their own nominee. Not to be outdone, Rome nominates its own king in response to Parthia's candidate.
[468] Cf. Plut. *Ant*. 3.1-6 (on Antony's prowess in battle and compassion for worthy enemies) and 21.1-2 (on Antony's general penchant for debauchery).
[469] Joseph. *AJ* 14.301-3; *BJ* 1.242.

"Herod and his brother Phasael," Antony was glad and named the two brothers tetrarchs of Judaea. When further disturbances in Judaea on account of Herod's rule were reported to Antony he responded by taking the Jewish ambassadors prisoner and threatening them with violence.[470]

Another early initiative of Antony's, according to Josephus, was to attempt to remediate the wrongs committed by Cassius, including liberating those Jews who were sold into slavery and restoring lands taken from them. Antony responded favorably to an embassy that reached him at Ephesus, requesting that the Jews who were made captive by Cassius may be set free. In addition, Antony issued a decree condemning Brutus and Cassius and granting freedom to all Jews who were sold into slavery by Cassius as well as the restoration of Jewish property seized by him.[471]

Although Antony's benefactions to Herod and his family were undone when the Parthians invaded Judaea and established Antigonus as the king, capturing Phasael and forcing Herod to flee for his life, Josephus relates that he soon found a way to honor Herod further. When Herod eventually made his way to Rome, a sympathetic Antony convinced Octavian and the Senate to name Herod king of Judaea.[472] Herod managed, with Roman aid secured by Antony, to win his kingdom within three years of being named king.[473] With Herod secure on the throne, Antigonus was sent to Antony, where he was beheaded, allegedly the first monarch ever to receive this punishment at Roman hands.[474]

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[470] Joseph. *AJ* 14.324-9; *BJ* 1.243-7.
[471] Joseph. *AJ* 14.304-22.
[472] Joseph. *AJ* 14.330-89; *BJ* 1.248-85.
[473] Joseph. *AJ* 14.394-466; *BJ* 1.288-343.
[474] Joseph. *AJ* 15.8-10; *BJ* 1.357. See also Plut. *Ant*. 36.2.

By this time, however, Josephus reports, Antony had become so enamored of Cleopatra that he began to pillage land from various eastern potentates in order to add it to her kingdom. Judaea was one victim of this policy, losing its lucrative balsam groves to Cleopatra's ambition.[475] According to Josephus, Antony's infatuation with Cleopatra would ultimately prove to be his downfall for when preparations were made for the final war with Octavian, Herod was only prevented from helping him by the machinations of Cleopatra. Antony and Cleopatra lost the war to Octavian, leaving him master of the Roman world.[476]

Further evidence of Cleopatra's bad influence on Antony and his devolvement into the hedonistic, uncontrolled, pleasure-seeking lifestyle familiar from many Greco-Roman sources is seen in the affair regarding the appointment of Herod's brother-in-law, Aristobulus, as high priest.[477] With Herod unwilling to appoint the sixteen-year old youth to such an influential position, the boy's mother, Alexandra, enlisted the aid of Cleopatra, whom she knew to be very influential with Antony. Eventually it was decided to send portraits of both Aristobulus and his sister, Mariamne, Herod's wife, to Antony, who could not fail to be enticed by their beauty. When Antony saw the portraits and heard the first-hand account of his friend Dellius, he was overcome with sexual passion for the siblings. Since he did not wish to offend Herod by dishonoring his wife, Antony contented himself with sending for the boy. Knowing that Antony would refuse himself nothing, even pederasty, Herod refused to allow Aristobulus to leave.[478] Apparently

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[475] Joseph. *AJ* 15.88-95; *BJ* 1.361.
[476] Joseph. *AJ* 15.108-10; *BJ* 1.364-5.
[477] For Antony's luxuriant, self-indulgent character cf. Plut. *Ant*. 2.3, 6.5, 9.1-6.
[478] Joseph. *AJ* 15.25-30.

Antony's deviant sexual proclivities and his lack of impulse control were so well-known that Herod could surmise his purpose from a simple letter of summons.

From Josephus' narrative Antony emerges as an ambiguous figure. On the one hand he provided many benefactions to the Jews. He listened to Hyrcanus when he suggested that Herod and Phasael were the best men to lead the Judaeans; he liberated those who were oppressed by slavery and restored their possessions;[479] and he was instrumental in establishing a native king over Judaea for the first time since Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem.[480] On the other hand, he on occasion demonstrated a complete lack of self-control that had far-reaching negative consequences for those under his power. He allegedly accepted bribes from Herod and supported his leadership above the objections of a Jewish embassy; he is described as a slave to his love for Cleopatra (Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι δεδουλωμένον), involving himself in a relationship that negatively impacted not only himself but everyone around him;[481] and his lack of self-control threatened the honor of a noble Jewish youth.

Josephus' ambiguous portrayal of Antony both encapsulates important characteristics of his narrative on the Roman leaders of Syria and the east during this time period, while also foreshadowing issues concerning Roman authority that will emerge during the Empire (see Ch. 4). Roman leaders and the power that they wielded on behalf of Rome could certainly have a positive impact on Judaean politics and religious life.

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[479] While the decrees granting Jewish freedom and the restoration of their property certainly appear to illustrate Antony's benevolence towards the Jews, the significance of these decrees should be considered in the context of post-Philippi politics, when the Triumvirs were trying to supplant the political rhetoric of the assassins with their own. Antony is perhaps not so much concerned with granting benefactions to the Jews as he is in promoting his own image as a righter of the wrongs committed by Brutus and Cassius. Cf. Seeman, *Rome and Judea in Transition*, 356 on Antony's propagandistic purpose in issuing these decrees.
[480] Herod's installation as king was, of course, not viewed as a positive development by the entire population over which he ruled. For a brief overview of ancient and modern assessments of Herod's kingship see Ch. 1, pgs. 43-4.
[481] Joseph. *BJ* 1.243.

This can be seen in the cases of Gabinius, Caesar, and to a certain extent Cassius. Conversely, Roman leaders and the power they wielded on behalf of Rome could have a negative impact on Judaean politics and religious life as is seen in the cases of Crassus and Cassius. Antony encompasses both aspects, in some ways positively impacting Judaean life while in others having a negative impact.[482] It is certainly within his control to provide benefactions for the Jews, but the nature of his ultimate authority also means that any character flaw such as self-indulgence has the potential to have far-reaching consequences.

Conclusion

Josephus' nuanced depictions and assessments of the Roman leaders in Syria and the east between Pompey's conquest of Judaea and the accession of Herod as king attest to the lack of universal resentment to Roman rule in the region at this time. While it is impossible to discern for certain where Josephus is relying upon a source for his assessments, and where he adds his own evaluations, the fact that he chooses to include positive assessments of some Roman leaders demonstrates both his own ambiguous opinions regarding Roman power, as well as his understanding that Roman authority was not universally opposed by the Judaean people at the time about which he is writing. Further, it is possible that Josephus' narratives reflect, at least in part, genuine opinions of Judaeans at the time, additionally suggesting that following Pompey's conquest Roman authority and influence were not universally seen as an unequivocally negative reality, as some scholars have argued.[483] Rather, what emerges from Josephus' narrative of these

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[482] In this way he is somewhat like Cassius, but, I would argue, Antony's positive impact is much greater than is Cassius'.

[483] Cf. Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 30. Hadas-Lebel is here echoing the sentiments of I. Levi, "Les dix-huit bénédictions et les psaumes de Salomon," *Revue des Études Juives* 32 (1896): 177.

governors and leading men is the idea that Roman power and influence could have both a positive and a negative impact on the lives of those under their influence. The benevolent or maleficent nature of Rome's power depended upon the individual wielding that power (or in the case of Antony on the changing disposition of the individual in power). Roman influence in Judaea and the entire region at this time cannot be said, in and of itself, to be viewed as universally good or evil. It is the men who wield the power who can act for good or ill, and there are examples of both.

While it is certainly possible that Josephus could be drawing on a biased source (such as Theophanes of Mytilene) for his generally positive portrayal of Gabinius' activities in Judaea, nevertheless, as I noted above, the fact that he is not opposed to including a positive portrait of the Roman governor demonstrates that he did not understand Roman influence in the region to be ubiquitously despised during the time period his narrative covers. Further evidence that Josephus felt that Roman power, and those who wielded it, could be a force for good is seen in his depiction of Julius Caesar, particularly his digression in the *Antiquities* on Caesar's decrees.

Of course, it is possible to argue that Josephus' positive portrayals of these Roman leaders are governed by an apologetic purpose. From this perspective Josephus emphasizes Caesar's decrees enforcing religious tolerance simply because he wishes to show that the Romans were not always hostile to the Jews, not because Jews at the time of Caesar considered him to be a benefactor, or held him in any particular esteem. If we are to assume, however, that Josephus' portraits of Roman leaders were substantially, or perhaps even exclusively influenced by an apologetic purpose and do not reflect, at least to some extent, the views of Judaeans at the time about which he is writing it becomes

difficult to explain, in particular, the portrayal of Cassius. Aspects of the narrative of Cassius in Josephus are decidedly un-apologetic. For example, in the context of describing Herod's zealous collection of taxes at Cassius' behest Josephus states, "σῶφρον γὰρ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ [Herod] Ῥωμαίους ἤδη θεραπεύειν καὶ τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν εὔνοιαν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων - it seemed prudent to him [Herod] to court the Romans and to obtain their goodwill, even at the expense of others."[484] Although Josephus' criticism of Cassius could be explained by the argument that Cassius was *persona non grata* in the Roman world and thus could be criticized with impunity, the above statement is clearly a comment on the potential for Romans generally to abuse their power and influence. Josephus' negative portrayal of Cassius, and his guarded criticism of the potential to abuse power suggest, then, that his primary concern is not always apologetic. He is perfectly comfortable demonstrating that some Romans exercised their power in a way that was detrimental to the Jews.

The depiction of Marc Antony reveals that this ambivalence towards Roman authority can be focused within a single individual. As the most powerful man in the east following the Battle of Phillipi, Antony turned his influence towards ameliorating the wrongs committed by Cassius. He liberated enslaved Jews and restored their property to them. His concern for justice did not, however, prevent him from essentially stealing important lands from Judaean control in order to give them to his lover, Cleopatra. It also did not inhibit his desire to satiate his deviant sexual appetites, even if satisfaction came in the form of a most noble Judaean youth. Thus, Antony in Josephus' accounts exemplifies both the possible good to which Roman authority could be turned as well as the injustice to which it could devolve.

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[484] Joseph. *AJ* 14.274-5.

Chapter Four: Champions and Villains: The Julio-Claudian Emperors in Josephus and Philo

Introduction

During the reign of Herod (40 - 4 BCE) a momentous shift occurred in the realm of Roman politics: Octavian defeated Antony to become the most powerful man in the Roman world and the principate began. A political trend that had begun nearly a century earlier culminated in the effective consolidation of Roman power in the hands of one man. Although the imperial administration in the provinces continued to operate much as it had under the Republic, with provincial governors acting as the focus of Roman power in the region, the emperor now became the epitome of Roman authority; any grievance against the provincial governor, or a client ruler, could be referred to the emperor for final judgment. In this capacity, the emperor became the highest authority to which provincials and other subject populations could make an appeal.

Further political developments that would have a dramatic impact on Judaea and its surroundings followed the death of Herod. Initially, Augustus decided to divide the king's domain among his three eldest sons: Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip. Archelaus proved to be an ineffective administrator, however, and, following his removal from office by Augustus in 6 CE, his ethnarchy of Judaea, Idumaea, and Samaria became a Roman province, placed under the supervision of an equestrian legate. Herod's former kingdom was now even more divided, both geographically and politically, than it had been at his death. The core of his kingdom, with its predominantly Jewish population, was under the supervision of a Roman governor, while Galilee and Paraea, also largely inhabited by Jews, remained under the control of the tetrarch Antipas and the largely non-Jewish populations of Batanea and Auranitis remained in the hands of the tetrarch Philip.

It has been argued, predominantly based on some statements of Josephus, that the imposition of direct Roman rule in Judaea at this time instigated a cycle of violence that would culminate in the Jewish Revolt against Rome in 66 CE.[485] To be sure, episodes of violence, beginning with some popular opposition to a census ordered by Augustus did occur throughout the sixty years of near continuous Roman rule prior to the Revolt. While Josephus claims that the opposition to the census was the beginning of greater troubles in Judaea which would eventually lead to the great revolt against Rome, however, his narrative of events in Judaea in the years following the establishment of direct Roman rule does not suggest an unstoppable crescendo of violence that inevitably led to revolt.[486] Rather, what emerges from the accounts of the *War* and *Antiquities* is the impression that while periods of violent conflict between Jews and Romans, particularly in Judaea, were an unfortunate and sporadic occurrence, these were the exception rather than the norm. That Roman and Jewish relations were not irreparably damaged by the imposition of direct Roman rule in Judaea is demonstrated not only in Josephus' depiction of the history of Judaea at this time, but also in his portrayal of the Julio-Claudian emperors and their interactions with the Jewish population of the Empire.

Many scholars see an apologetic aim as a significant factor in the composition of Josephus' *Antiquities*.[487] This, along with the assumption that Josephus was writing the *War*, at least, for an imperial audience, and perhaps even at the behest of the Flavian household, has led most scholars to see Josephus' portraits of the Julio-Claudians as

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[485] Cf. Hengel, *The Zealots*, 76-143.
[486] Joseph. *AJ* 18.2-10 on the seditions arising from the census as the root of the more extreme troubles to follow. For an examination of Josephus' evidence on the supposed spiral of violence in Judaea see Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem*, 379-423.
[487] Cf. Attridge, "Josephus and his Works," 185; Louis Feldman, "Josephus," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, eds. William Horbury, W. D. Davies, John Sturdy, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 908; Gregory Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 298, 308.

fundamentally one-dimensional. From this perspective, Josephus, like many Greek and Roman authors, reflects the optimistic image of Augustus observable in literature and other media of the time.[488] He persists in giving a positive portrayal of Rome's first emperor, despite the fact that history seems to have proven that he was not always as great a friend to the Jews as Josephus would like to portray him.[489] Further, in his depiction of the principates of Tiberius and Gaius, Josephus whitewashes some incidents that could be seen as directed against the Jews and motivated by anti-Jewish sentiment on the part of the emperors in order to maintain his narrative fiction that these emperors also were generally well-disposed, or at least indifferent, towards the Jews.[490] Nero, on the other hand, is seen as generally condemned by Josephus both for his shortcomings as a human being as well as for his role in the outbreak of the Revolt.[491]

While an apologetic tendency may color Josephus' narrative in a way that portrays key Romans in a more positive light than historical events would warrant, more than apology is at work in Josephus' portrayals of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Recent scholarly work has called the assumed imperial audience into question and proposes instead a variety of audiences for Josephus' work, ranging from a specific community of Jews struggling to redefine their religious identity in a post-revolt world to Roman (and possibly Greek) elites interested in learning about Judaism.[492] As the discussion about audience has broadened it is also possible to broaden how we interpret Josephus'

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[488] The examples of the optimistic view of Augustus are numerous, but see in particular Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 1-76 and Vergil, *Georg*. 1.1-42.
[489] On Josephus' Flavian audience see Henry St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: the Man and the Historian* (New York: Ktav, 1967 [1929]), 52. For the view that Josephus gives an uncritically positive view of Augustus see Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 54-9.
[490] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 68-9.
[491] Cf. Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 71-2.
[492] Cf. Shaye D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 97; Steve Mason, "Should Any Wish to Enquire Further (*Ant.* 1.25): The Aim and Audience of Josephus' *Judean Antiquities/Life*," in *Understanding Josephus*, ed. Steve Mason (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998).

portrayal of the emperors. While it may be true that on occasion Josephus portrays the Julio-Claudians in a more positive way than the historical record warrants, I argue in this chapter that a more nuanced reading of Josephus' depiction of the Julio-Claudians leads to a better understanding of how this author perceived the authority of these emperors.

Scholars have also interpreted the work of Philo as entirely laudatory and supportive of the Augustan regime.[493] Like Josephus and other authors, Philo appears to be caught up in the maelstrom of positive feeling regarding Augustus.[494] In his *Legatio ad Gaium*, Philo praises Augustus as a bringer of peace, restorer of liberty, and admirer of Jewish customs. Although he certainly seems to give unqualified praise of Augustus, the context in which he is writing and the potential audience for whom he is writing must be considered when evaluating Philo's portrayal of the princeps. Philo writes the *Legatio*, at least in part, as an invective against the emperor Gaius, condemning him for his impious disregard for the Jewish religion. Because of his desire to use Augustus as an exemplum, to instruct Gaius (and other imperial audiences) in the correct behavior of an emperor towards his subject peoples, Philo magnifies the role that Augustus played in establishing religious liberty for the Jewish population of the Empire. His praise of Augustus, therefore, could perhaps best be interpreted as an idealized version of Augustus' religious tolerance, rather than a reflection of reality, or even a reflection of Philo's true feelings regarding the first emperor. Thus, as with Josephus' narrative, closer analysis of Philo's work in conjunction with a consideration of a possible intended

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[493] Cf. Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 56-7; E. Mary Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 228-30; Richard Barraclough, "Philo's Politics. Roman Rule and Hellenistic Judaism," in *ANRW* 21.1, pt. 2, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1984), 452-4.
[494] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 57 for example, claims that Philo's praise of Augustus is only rivaled by the *Carmen Saeculare* and *Odes* of Horace.

audience reveals a more nuanced view of Augustus and his significance to Jewish religious freedom than has previously been assumed.

Philo also appears to give a more positive picture of the principate of Tiberius than the historical record mandates. In the *Legatio* he not only provides a eulogistic account of Tiberius' reign, but also seeks to exculpate him of any wrong-doing against the Jews, even in the face of contrasting historical evidence. While the praise of Tiberius may be explained through the same reasons given for elucidating the praise of Augustus - Philo wishes to heighten Gaius' degradation and villainy while also providing an exemplum for other imperial audiences - it is clear that Tiberius functions as a model for slightly different behavior than Augustus. While Augustus is simply the model princeps, especially regarding the treatment of Jews within the Empire, Tiberius provides a model for how the princeps should behave in times when the rights of the Jews have been threatened. Thus, Philo not only gives an idealized version of Tiberius' reign, he also provides a model for how Jewish relations with the emperor can, and should, be conducted. Like Josephus, Philo recognizes that these relations are not perfect, but nevertheless he seems to express a belief that the Roman emperor, when acting properly, can provide protection for the peoples of his Empire, especially the Jews.

Philo of Alexandria

Two works of Philo of Alexandria have been interpreted by many scholars as unequivocally positive in their assessment of Augustus and Tiberius, particularly in regards to their policy of religious tolerance towards the Jews.[495] A cursory reading of the *Legatio ad Gaium*, and, to a lesser extent, the *In Flaccum* indeed seems to show that these works exhibit uncomplicated praise of these two emperors. On closer reading,

[495] Cf. Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 41-58.

however, Philo's text, considered in the context of its potential imperial audience as well as in conjunction with other sources on Augustus' attitudes towards Judaism, reveals that Philo's praise is exaggerated and perhaps even misleading. This is not to say that Philo did not hold, or wish his audience to perceive, a positive opinion of Augustus, but rather to caution that his praise of the first emperor must be read and understood in its historical and literary context. The praise of Tiberius, too, must be understood in its political and literary context.

Before beginning an analysis of the portrayal of the emperors in the *Legatio*, it will first be useful to discuss briefly scholars' constructions of Philo's attitude towards Roman power in general. Based on a passage in Philo's *De Somniis*, in which he discusses the wisdom of not expressing one's true feelings in the presence of kings and tyrants (*Som*. 2.81-92), Goodenough argues that Philo had a deep and abiding hatred for Roman rule. This sentiment does not manifest itself in the *Legatio*, which Goodenough presumes was intended for a Gentile audience, because Philo knew when to be cautious in expressing his political feelings. Philo sees the Roman emperor as an instrument for the will of God and uses the *Legatio* as a vehicle to instruct him in good leadership.[496] Barraclough interprets Philo's view of Roman rule as less hostile than does Goodenough. In his opinion, Philo is able to appreciate the benefits of Roman rule. He points out that the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria historically had a better relationship with the Romans than did their Greek counterparts, and that the immediate political situation, rather than the issue of Roman rule generally dictated Philo's political feelings. Moreover, Philo, as Goodenough argued, saw the power of the emperor as emanating from the power of God; an emperor was successful and prosperous in his rule, such as

[496] Erwin Goodenough, *The Politics of Philo Judaeus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938), 7-19.

Augustus was, if he respected God's chosen people.[497] Although, as I hope to show below, Philo's idealistic portrayal of Augustus (and Tiberius) should be read with caution, and analyzed in its historical and literary context, nevertheless I find it difficult to accept Goodenough's arguments both regarding Philo's alleged hatred of Roman rule and his desire to obscure these feelings while writing the *Legatio*.[498] Surely Philo recognizes the dangers inherent in tyranny, but this does not prove that he regarded all Roman rulers as tyrants. Indeed, if, as Goodenough argues, Philo intended the *Legatio* to instruct the emperor in good leadership, this would seem to suggest that Philo saw the emperor as someone who was capable of receiving (and benefiting from) instruction. For these reasons I am inclined to favor the more balanced approach of Barraclough.

Historical Context of the Legatio ad Gaium

In 38 CE riots broke out in the city of Alexandria between the Greek and Jewish populations of the city. What provoked the riots is debated, but it seems likely that they were in some way related to a Jewish petition for Greek citizenship in Alexandria.[499] The situation was made worse by the ineffectual leadership of the Roman governor A. Avillius Flaccus, who, likely because of his uncertain position on the accession of Gaius seemed unable, or unwilling, to quiet the unrest in the city. After a visit of the Herodian King Agrippa, a personal friend of Gaius' who had recently been granted a kingdom in the northern Levant, conditions for the Jews in Alexandria worsened. The Greeks of the

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[497] Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 422-53.

[498] This is not to say that Philo did not tailor the content and style of his various writings to suit different audiences, merely to suggest that the *Legatio* is not an aberration among Philo's writings, uniquely disguising his hatred of Roman rule.

[499] Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 422-7; Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 3-4. Although see Gruen, *Diaspora*, 71-83 for a reexamination of the evidence for whether or not Jews were likely seeking Alexandrian citizenship. Gruen argues that the evidence simply does not support the prevailing scholarly view that Jews were desperately seeking an elevation in their status through the acquisition of Alexandrian citizenship.

city were perhaps indignant that the Jews had been granted a king when they themselves had been denied independent rule since Augustus' defeat of Antony and Cleopatra nearly seventy years earlier.[500] In addition to making a mockery of King Agrippa's presence in the city, the Greeks now also denied the Jews even their former legal status in the city and forced them into ghettos. Synagogues were desecrated or damaged and personal property was looted and destroyed. Many Jews were imprisoned and tortured; others were killed.[501] When Flaccus himself was arrested and brought to Rome for trial the pogrom seems to have abated, and the Jews took the opportunity to send an embassy to Gaius in Rome to request reparations for their suffering. Philo led this delegation, which ultimately was unsuccessful. Gaius made no decision, or at least no decision has come down to us, regarding the situation in Alexandria and the plight of the Jews.[502]

The Work

The *Legatio* was likely written after Gaius' death and the accession of Claudius. There are two related debates surrounding the nature of this work: for whom and for what purpose was it written? Goodenough suggests that the work was written for a gentile audience in general, and the emperor Claudius in particular. In his view, the *Legatio* represents a treatise on the ideal ruler and warns Claudius not to persecute the Jews.[503] Smallwood, on the other hand, sees the work as primarily concerned with demonstrating the power of God to look after his chosen people.[504] In her opinion, clues in the text suggest that Philo also envisaged a non-Roman audience for this work.[505] Barraclough

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[500] Philo, *In Flac*. 24-39.
[501] Philo, *Leg*. 120-35. See also Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 11-21.
[502] Philo, *In Flac*. 104-24 (on Flaccus' arrest); *Leg*. 166-94, 351-72 (on the embassy and its result). See also Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 23-7.
[503] Goodenough, *Politics of Philo*, 19.
[504] Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 40.
[505] Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 176, where she comments on the explanation of Roman law given at *Leg*. 28.

convincingly demonstrates that these two purposes are not mutually exclusive, and that the *Legatio* seems to have two primary audiences in mind: Claudius, who needed to be persuaded not to follow the ways of Gaius and persecute the Jews; and Jews who may have been wavering in their faith and needed a demonstration of God's solicitude for his chosen people.[506] In addition to the evidence cited by Smallwood in support of a non-Roman audience, he finds support for a non-Jewish, and even imperial audience in the positive description of the Roman world, as well as the praise accorded to Livia, Augustus, and Tiberius.[507]

As the title suggests, one main focus of the work is describing an embassy undertaken by Philo, among others, to Rome to petition the emperor for redress following the violence of 38 CE. Within this framework, however, it seems that Philo is actually trying to emphasize the power of God to protect, or at least avenge his people, when they are persecuted.[508] Philo begins the work with a lament on the folly of old men and an assertion that God still favors his chosen people. He then turns quickly to a description of Gaius' ascendency to power and the universal rejoicing that accompanied this event. Gaius soon indulges in debauchery, however, which leads to an onset of sickness. It is after he recovers from this sickness that Gaius begins to show his true, cruel and brutal nature. He orders the execution of his cousin, as well as his father-in-law, and a close advisor. Next Gaius embarks on his greatest folly yet: convincing himself that he is a living god. He begins to dress in the attributes of the demi-gods Herakles, Dionysus, and the Dioscuri. In a stunning display of rhetoric, Philo asks why Gaius bothers to dress as

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[506] Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 451.
[507] *Leg*. 8-13 (on the positive character of the Roman world), 319-320 (Livia), 140-61, 311-18 (Augustus and Tiberius). See Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 450.
[508] Cf. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 861; Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 40.

these demi-gods and carry their insignia when he in no way mimics them in their benefactions to humanity. Rather, where these demi-gods helped humans and gave them aid, Gaius does exactly the opposite, oppressing and brutalizing his people. After becoming satiated with the demi-gods, Gaius then turns to full gods: Apollo, Ares and Hermes. Again, he takes on their attributes, but not their character traits. Fully convinced that he is a god, Gaius begins to be suspicious of the Jews, who alone refuse to recognize him as a divinity. Gaius' hostility towards the Jews inspires the Greek Alexandrians to become violent towards their Jewish neighbors. Jews are attacked, robbed, forced to live in ghettos, and murdered. The prefect of Egypt, Flaccus, does nothing to stop the violence, which encourages the Greeks further. Now synagogues are destroyed and desecrated; those that are not burnt are made unfit as places of worship by placing images of the emperor in them.[509]

Augustus

Augustus makes his first appearance in the *Legatio* following the description of the desecration of the synagogues in Alexandria. After insisting that the Alexandrians did not dishonor the synagogues with images of any ruler prior to Gaius, including both the Ptolemaic line as well as the previous Roman emperors, Philo turns to the example of Augustus. He describes Augustus' principate in unequivocally glowing terms, "ὡς μικροῦ σύμπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀναλωθὲν ταῖς ἀλληλοκτονίαις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς φανισθῆναι, εἰ μὴ δι' ἕνα ἄνδρα καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν Σεβαστόν οἶκον, ὃν ἄξιον καλεῖν ἀλεξίκακον. - So that nearly all of mankind would have been destroyed by mutual slaughter and would have disappeared completely, if not for this one man and princeps,

[509] Philo, *Leg*. 8-135. For a discussion of the dramatic effect achieved by highlighting Gaius' pretensions to divinity see Gruen, "Caligula," 138-43.

Augustus, who deserves the title 'Averter of Evil.'"[510] Philo expresses the opinion that Augustus saved mankind from general destruction and established peace throughout the world. Moreover, he rejected divine honors and respected the Jews for their refusal to use divine language to describe a human being.[511] In addition, he protected the Jews' right to follow their ancestral laws:

> ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡσίωτο περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὥστε μόνον οὐ πανοίκιος ἀναθημάτων πολυτελείαις τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν ἐκόσμησε, προστάξας καὶ διαιωνίους ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελεχεῖς ὁλοκαύτους καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων ἀπαρχὴν τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ.
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> But he revered our customs such that he and nearly all his household honored our Temple with an extravagance of dedications, and he ordered that continual sacrifices be offered up to the most high god, perpetual burnt offerings each day, at his own expense.[512]

The point that Philo is making here is that even though Augustus achieved superhuman feats and benefited mankind greatly, the Alexandrians did not place *his* image in the synagogues. The reason for this was that Augustus respected the customs of other nations as much as he respected those of the Romans, and in particular he showed approval (ἀπεδέχετο) of the Jews.[513]

The first part of this "encomium of Augustus" reads somewhat like the *Res Gestae* and would not be out of place in any literary work of the Augustan period.[514] Although perhaps unexpected in a non-Roman source, the excessive praise for Augustus

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[510] Philo, *Leg*., 144.
[511] Philo, *Leg*., 154.
[512] Philo, *Leg*., 157.
[513] Philo praises Augustus similarly, although much more briefly, in the *In Flaccum* (49, 50, 74), a work seemingly written with similar aims as the *Legatio*: to prove the power of God to protect and avenge his chosen people (cf. Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 446).
[514] Gheorghe Ceauşescu, "Augustus, der "Hellenisator" der Welt (Kommentar zu Philo, Legatio ad Gaium, 143-147)," *Klio* 69 (1987): 46 suggests that this section was taken from an unknown eastern poem composed shortly after the emperor's death. Ceauşescu is here following the work of Ethelbert Stauffer, *Jerusalem und Rom* (Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1957), 33. See also Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 454 who suggests that Philo drew on language found in contemporary eulogies to form his praises of the emperor.

is not surprising in a text such as the *Legatio*, which was clearly intended, at least in part, as an invective against Gaius. By highlighting his predecessors' virtues Philo underscores Gaius' culpability.[515] This effect is enhanced by Philo's pointed comparisons between the two emperors; whereas Gaius pretends to be a god, taking on the insignia of deities such as Hermes, Apollo, and Ares, Augustus rejects divine honors; where Gaius sows evil and discord, Augustus was a true "averter of evil" (ἀλεξίκακον), bringing about peace and harmony.[516] Moreover, as Goodenough suggested, the emperor Claudius was perhaps an intended audience for the *Legatio*; praising Augustus' respect for the Jewish faith would thus seem to send a message to Claudius to act as his famous predecessor had done and redress the wrongs committed by Gaius.[517]

There are, however, two curious aspects of Philo's treatment of Augustus. First, his description of Augustus' respect for Judaism does not correspond to what may be gleaned from Roman sources regarding Augustus' attitude towards the religion. In a section in which Suetonius describes Augustus' respect for ancient religious practices he claims, "sed et Gaium nepotem, quod Iudaeam praeteruehens apud Hierosolymam non supplicasset, conlaudauit – But he [Augustus] even commended his grandson Gaius because, when passing through Judaea, he did not worship at Jerusalem."[518] Suetonius' assertion that Augustus did not have a particular respect for the Jewish religion suggests

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[515] Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 454. For Philo's structuring of the *Legatio* in such a way as to highlight Gaius' shortcomings see also William R. Schoedel, "Apologetic Literature and Ambassadorial Activities," *The Harvard Theological Review* 82.1 (1989): 66-8.

[516] As Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 228 points out, this adjective was used earlier in the *Legatio* (112) when Philo is describing the true attributes of the god Ares, whom Gaius mimics, but does not emulate. The repeated use of ἀλεξίκακος, Smallwood argues, demonstrates that Augustus is deserving of the epithet, which in other literature is applied to Herakles (Lucian *Alex*.4), Hermes (Ar. *Pax* 422), and Zeus (Plut. *Comm. not*. 1076b), while Gaius is not.

[517] Goodenough, *Politics of Philo*, 19. See also Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 446-51 on the possible audiences for the *Legatio*.

[518] Suet. *Aug*. 93. Although see Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 117 for the suggestion that Augustus' approval of Gaius' action is not so much theological as it is political, a sign of Augustus' disapproval of the government of Archelaus, Herod's son.

that Philo's insistence on Augustus' piety is exaggerated, if not completely fabricated. This in turn suggests that it is the exemplarity of Augustus, rather than an accurate representation of his religious feelings, that is useful for Philo, a point to which I will return. It should be noted, however, that Suetonius' statement regarding Augustus and Judaism may reflect the anti-Jewish sentiments of the times in which he was writing, the period between the first Jewish Revolt and the revolt of Bar Kochba. Nevertheless, it is striking that he would choose to include such a statement, which is unnecessary to support the flow of his narrative, suggesting that there is some truth behind it.

The second notable feature of Philo's praise of Augustus and his respect for Judaism is that he does not at all mention Julius Caesar, a figure whom we might expect to see in a recitation of Roman protections of Jewish rights since Caesar was arguably a much friendlier politician to the Jews than Augustus ever was.[519] This omission becomes particularly jarring when one reads closely Philo's description of Augustus' "protection" of Jewish religious freedom. He states:

> ἠπίστατο οὖν καὶ προσευχὰς ἔχοντας καὶ συνιόντας εἰς αὐτάς... ἠπίστατο καὶ χρήματα συνάγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἱερὰ καὶ πέμποντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα... ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔτε ἐξῴκισε τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκείνους οὔτε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν αὐτῶν ἀφείλετο πολιτείαν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἐφρόντιζον, οὔτε ἐνεωτέρισεν εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς οὔτε ἐκώλυσε συνάγεσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων ὑφηγήσεις οὔτε ἠναντιώθη τοῖς ἀπαρχομένοις...[520]
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> He understood, therefore, that they [the Jews] had synagogues and that they gathered in them...He understood that they collected sacred money from the "first-fruits" and sent it to Jerusalem...But nevertheless he did not banish them from Rome, nor did he rescind their Roman citizenship because they were mindful of their Judaean heritage; he did not introduce changes into the synagogues, nor did he prevent them from gathering for the exposition of the Laws; he did not oppose [them sending] the first-fruits...

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[519] See Ch. 3, pgs. 116-23.
[520] Philo, *Leg*. 156-7.

According to Philo Augustus is clearly familiar with Jewish practices and customs. He does not so much encourage their religious freedom, however, as he does not prohibit it. The repetition of οὔτε in this passage betrays the fact that the emphasis is not on what Augustus *did*, but rather what he *did not* do.[521] Augustus' role in the *Legatio* is thus rather that of a passive participant in the permission of Jews to enjoy their religious liberty, which in turn suggests that some leader before Augustus' time must have actively promoted the religious rights of the Jews. Although not mentioned by Philo, this leader likely was Julius Caesar.[522] Thus, although Philo attempts to lavish praise on Augustus, even he cannot disguise the fact that this princeps was perhaps a more marginal figure in the history of Roman protections afforded to Jewish religious practices.

Philo's omission of Julius Caesar takes on even greater significance when one considers the special relationship that Julius Caesar had with Alexandrian Jews in particular.[523] According to Josephus, Caesar had a pillar of bronze inscribed with his public proclamation that the Jews of Alexandria were citizens of that city.[524] Given Caesar's historical significance in the realm of Jewish religious liberty in general, and his special relationship with Alexandrian Jews specifically, it becomes especially surprising that he is passed over in the text of Philo, an Alexandrian Jew who was trying to highlight the Roman protection of Jewish rights.

Perhaps an answer to this riddle can be found in one of the intended audiences of the *Legatio*, rather than in the personal feelings of its author. Let us turn again to the

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[521] On Augustus' passivity with respect to guaranteeing Jewish religious liberty see Gruen, *Diaspora*, 28.
[522] Cf. Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 236.
[523] My thanks to Professor Michael Carasik for suggesting that I consider the significance of Julius Caesar's relationship with Alexandrian Jews.
[524] Joseph. *AJ* 14.188. See Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights*, 27-31 for a discussion of the issues that arise from Josephus' citation of this tablet.

evidence of Suetonius, who claims that Gaius liked to think that his mother, Agrippina, was the product of an incestuous relationship between Augustus and his daughter, Julia.[525] Clearly in Gaius' mind it is a connection to Augustus, in a political as well as a biological sense, that is the most important for his self-image. Philo seems to support the importance of the connection to Augustus as the political precedent for the dynasty to which Gaius belonged by speaking of the world peace that reigned from the advent of the rule of the *Augustan* family.[526] Further evidence that Augustus, and not Julius Caesar, provided a political precedent for the Julio-Claudians, particularly in the realm of Jewish affairs can be see in the Letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians (P. London, 1912). In this letter Claudius confirms that the Jews in Alexandria shall be allowed to enjoy their customs as they did in the time of the Deified Augustus.[527] It is thus Augustus to whom the succeeding Julio-Claudians, including both the antagonist and a potential member of the intended audience of the *Legatio* look for political precedent.

Perhaps, then, Caesar's benefactions to the Jews are not mentioned in Philo's work because Caesar is not the model to whom Philo's potential audience looks as a suitable exemplum for their political behavior. Rather, it is Augustus who is emphasized as exemplary, however exaggerated his role may be, because of his illustrious status within the dynasty that bears his name. By obscuring Caesar's role in establishing religious liberties for the Jews Philo is able to highlight the contributions of Augustus. He

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[525] Suet. *Calig.*, 23.
[526] Philo, *Leg*., 48.
[527] Victor Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, eds. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), no. 153, col. V.87. See also Mary Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), no. 370.87. It should be noted that Claudius may be citing Augustus as precedent because it is only under his principate that Egypt became a Roman province. Julius Caesar would have had no legal standing to impact the condition of Jews in Egypt. Although see Barbara Levick, "Antiquarian or Revolutionary? Claudius Caesar's conception of his Principate," *The American Journal of Philology* 99 (1978), 96-105 on Claudius' use of Caesar as a model for his principate.

thus cleverly manipulates the historical record in order to provide a more effective model for his imperial audience, a model to whom this audience would be more receptive as a political exemplum.

Tiberius

In his *Legatio* Philo gives similar, although less extensive, praise to Tiberius as he did for Augustus.[528] It has often been noted that Philo exaggerates his account of Tiberius' merits (as he did with Augustus) in order to enhance the culpability of Gaius; by idealizing Tiberius he makes Gaius' character flaws seem that much greater.[529] In this way also, Philo could be utilizing Tiberius along with Augustus as an exemplum of the ideal ruler for his imperial audience.[530] Similarly, Philo may be presenting Tiberius in the best possible light in order to demonstrate to his imperial audience that Gaius was exceptional in his attack on the Jews.[531] Although these points are undoubtedly valid and useful, perhaps a deeper understanding of Philo's portrayal of Tiberius may be reached through a comparison of Philo's portrait and Josephus'.

As a prelude to his discussion of Augustus' excellent attributes, Philo first enumerates the merits of Tiberius and asks why he too, despite his several accomplishments was not offered divine honors as Gaius expects for himself. In support of his praise of Tiberius Philo claims that during the twenty-three years of Tiberius' reign there was no hint of war throughout the land. Tiberius granted peace and the blessings of peace (τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ) freely and bountifully. In addition,

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[528] Also like Augustus, Tiberius is positively portrayed in Philo's *In Flaccum*, but to a much lesser extent. Cf. Philo *In Flac*. 105-6.
[529] Cf. Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 454; Goodenough, *Politics of Philo*, 102-3; Schoedel, "Apologetic Literature and Ambassadorial Activities," 67; Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 159.
[530] Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 455.
[531] Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 244 following E. T. Merrill, "The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome Under Tiberius," *Classical Philology* 14 (1919): 365-72.

Tiberius' noble birth, fine education, and remarkable eloquence singled him out as a man worthy of the greatest distinction.[532]

This eulogistic account of Tiberius' reign and character picks up on earlier themes introduced by Philo in his portrayal of Gaius' coming to power. Near the beginning of the treatise Philo claims that:

> Τίς γὰρ ἰδὼν Γάιον μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τελευτὴν παρειληφότα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀστασίαστον καὶ εὔνομον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένην εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον, ἑῴοις, ἑσπερίοις, μεσημβρινοῖς, ἀρκτικοῖς—τοῦ μὲν βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, τοῦ δ' Ἑλληνικοῦ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ ... οὐκ ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατεπλάγη τῆς ὑπερφυοῦς καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονος εὐπραγίας[533]
>
> For someone seeing that Gaius, after the death of Tiberius Caesar, had inherited the hegemony of all the land and sea, a hegemony free from factious strife and well-governed, having been brought to harmony in all its regions: east, west, south, north – the races of barbarians with the Greeks and the Greeks with the barbarians...was he not amazed and astounded at [Gaius'] extraordinary and indescribably good fortune?

By describing the excellent condition of the Empire which Gaius inherited, Philo emphasizes the capable and successful administration of Tiberius. The Empire is seemingly without problems, and as Philo goes on to state, is even in an excellent financial state.[534]

Later in the *Legatio*, in the context of a letter written by Agrippa I asking Gaius to desist from placing his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem, Philo praises Tiberius in a way that is more specific to his concern for Jews and Judaism. He states that Tiberius

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[532] Philo, *Leg*. 141. See Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 227 for Philo's omission of the wars that did take place during Tiberius' reign. See also Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 455.
[533] Philo, *Leg*. 8.
[534] Philo, *Leg*. 9. See Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 159 on the (in)accuracy of Philo's statements here. See also Suet. *Calig*. 37 on the fortune amassed by Tiberius and left for Gaius.

maintained the policy of Augustus by keeping the Temple and its rituals inviolate.[535] Further – and here Philo as Agrippa adds a note of validity to his account by claiming that he will recount Tiberius' beneficence towards the Jews although he himself (Agrippa) suffered greatly at Tiberius' hands (see below, pgs. 180-1) – Tiberius protected the Jews against the actions of Pilate when the governor attempted to annoy the Jews by placing inscribed gilded shields in Herod's palace in Jerusalem. When a letter from the Jewish leaders informs Tiberius of Pilate's actions, Philo's Agrippa claims that he flew into a rage and wrote immediately to Pilate demanding that the shields be removed to Caesarea Maritima and dedicated in the temple to Augustus there.[536]

Aspects of Tiberius' reign that may seem to contradict Philo's assertion that the emperor was favorable to the Jews and Judaism are explained away. For example, Philo mentions in passing a "disturbance" in Italy that took place while Tiberius was under Sejanus' sway.[537] As soon as Sejanus was dead Tiberius realized that his slanderous attacks, motivated by anti-Jewish sentiment, had inflicted unjust injury upon the Jews. Tiberius sought to rectify the injustice by instructing provincial governors to inform the Jews that their entire ethnos was not being punished, only those who were found guilty of criminal activity, and that the emperor was as well-disposed as ever towards their people.[538] By placing the blame for any anti-Jewish activity squarely on the shoulders of Sejanus Philo absolves Tiberius of any wrong-doing.

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[535] Philo, *Leg*. 298.
[536] Philo, *Leg.* 299-305. Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 305 suggests that after the removal of Sejanus in 31 CE the Jews understood that Tiberius would be more receptive to an appeal to support their native customs and therefore this incident must have occurred late in Pilate's tenure.
[537] See Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 243-4 for a brief discussion on whether or not this "disturbance" refers to Tiberius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome.
[538] Philo, *Leg*. 159-61.

It has been suggested that both Philo and Josephus try to present Tiberius in the best possible light, even in the face of contradictory historical evidence, because both are committed to maintaining the necessary fiction that Roman leaders benevolently protected Jewish rights.[539] As I hope to show below, Josephus does not depict Tiberius as particularly favorable to Jews, rather he attempts to demonstrate that Tiberius behaved towards the Jews just as he behaved towards other populations of the Empire. In contrast, Philo goes well beyond merely obscuring what could be construed as anti-Jewish behavior by Tiberius and describes him as an ideal ruler and one who champions Jewish rights. The differences in how both men approach aspects of Tiberius' reign that could be seen as anti-Jewish nicely illustrate a further dimension of Philo's portrayal of Tiberius and how this portrayal functions within Philo's *Legatio*.

Both Philo and Josephus address two aspects of Tiberius' reign that may be interpreted as anti-Jewish: the expulsion of the Jews from Rome and the disastrous governorship of Pontius Pilate.[540] While in both episodes Josephus explains clearly the negative actions taken against the Jews, he also demonstrates that Tiberius was acting as he was accustomed to do with other populations of the Empire. It is not that Tiberius was without fault when it came to his actions regarding the Jews; rather that he was not treating them thusly *because* they were Jews. His actions, according to Josephus, contain no malice against the Jews as a people.

Philo, on the other hand, acknowledges that injustices were carried out against the Jews, because they were Jews, during the reign of Tiberius. He attributes the force behind

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[539] Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 68.

[540] I recognize that there is some discussion regarding whether or not Philo actually alluded to Tiberius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 19 CE. Regardless of whether it is this event to which Philo alludes, however, it is sufficient to say that Philo refers to some negative activity directed against the Jews during the reign of Tiberius.

these actions to the perfidy of Sejanus and Pilate, however. Moreover, as soon as Tiberius becomes aware of the evils wrought by these two men he takes immediate action to remedy the situation. Thus, Philo's Tiberius saves the day by actively championing the Jews' right to practice their religion without interference.

By acknowledging that injuries were specifically directed against the Jews during the reign of Tiberius, Philo is then able to provide his audience with an appropriate example for how these injuries should be addressed by the emperor. As soon as the injustice is detected, swift and decisive action is required by the emperor to ameliorate the situation. An example of the emperor righting wrongs committed against the Jewish people is particularly pertinent in the context of Philo's *Legatio*, which was written in the immediate aftermath of the pogroms suffered by the Jews in Alexandria as well as the attempt by Gaius to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem. If a member of Philo's intended audience is the emperor Claudius the example of Tiberius becomes even more significant. Not only do Augustus and Tiberius provide evidence that the emperors were well-disposed towards the Jews and respected their right to practice their religion freely, in addition Tiberius actively addresses wrongs committed against the Jewish people during his reign. Tiberius thus provides a model for Claudius to follow when addressing the situation in Alexandria and the actions of Gaius.

Gaius

Philo's portrayal of Gaius in the *Legatio* has been the subject of many scholarly works and debates. Much of this work centers around the information Philo gives regarding Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem.[541] Others discuss

[541] Cf. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)*, 111-43; Bilde, "Gaius' Attempt," 67-93; Gruen, "Caligula," 135-47.

the exaggeratedly negative portrayal of Gaius as a means for Philo to emphasize his culpability and aberrance in relation to his predecessors (and hopefully successors).[542] What has not received due attention in these studies, particularly those on Philo's exaggerated portrayal of Gaius' evils is Philo's insistence on Gaius' behavior as an unfortunate model which others may follow. Through a series of narrative cues, Philo shows that Gaius' behavior is not only insidious in and of itself, but also because it inspires others to similar bad behavior. In this way Philo alerts his audience, be it imperial or otherwise, that the emperor is an important figure not only because of the political decisions that he makes, but also because of the example he sets for his peers and also for those subject to him.

Philo first marks the potential for the emperor's behavior to be broadly influential in a speech given to the princeps by Macro (Q. Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro), the praetorian prefect. Macro cautions:

> οὐδενὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὅμοιον εἶναί σε δεῖ, οὔτε ἐν θεάμασιν οὔτε ἐν ἀκούσμασιν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὅσα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἀλλὰ προφέρειν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις διενήνοχας. ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα γῆς καὶ θαλάττης νικᾶσθαι πρὸς ᾠδῆς ἢ ὀρχήσεως ἢ χλευαστικοῦ σκώμματος ἤ τινος τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ μεμνῆσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καθάπερ ποιμένα τινὰ καὶ ἐπιστάτην ἀγέλης...[543]
>
> It is right that you not be like anyone of these present, nor any man at all, not in [viewing] spectacles and not in [listening to] music and not in all other things which are of the senses, but in every aspect of your life you ought to excel to such a degree as is fitting to you who enjoys such great good fortune. For it is unseemly for the ruler of the land and the sea to be conquered by songs or dances, or derogatory jokes, or something else of a

[542] Cf. Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 456-60; McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 264.
[543] Philo, *Leg*. 43-4.

> similar vein, but always in everything to remember he is the hegemon, like a kind of shepherd and overseer of herds...

Philo thus has Macro remind Gaius that his behavior is on display to the broadest possible audience. Not only is it open to criticism, but it will also set an example for others to follow. Gaius must, therefore, choose his conduct wisely so that he neither becomes an object of censure nor provides a bad example for others to follow. Macro emphasizes this point with a later comment, stating:

> πρὸς δὲ μείζονα κύκλον ἔθνους ἢ χώρας οὐ πρόσεισι, καὶ μάλιστα ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὸ ὑμέτερον γένος τὸ Σεβαστὸν ὄντως ἤρξατο πρυτανεύειν τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ εὐημέρει τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ ἐν μέσοις ἐξητάζετο πρὸς ἐσχατιὰς ὑπερόρια καὶ Ταρτάρου μυχοὺς ἤλασε.[544]
>
> And it [jealousy] does not come near towards the greater circle of peoples or land, especially from the time when your family, the Augusti began to guide all things everywhere. For as many evils as flourished and could be enumerated in [our] midst, these they impelled towards the farthest reaches of the world and the chambers of Tartarus.

According to Macro's instruction, Gaius' predecessors have been a positive influence on the entire world which they governed. Jealousy has no place in this world due to their model behavior. In order to be a good governor, Gaius should learn from their example. Needless to say, Gaius does not follow Macro's advice.

As Gaius devolves into self-indulgence and self-delusion the broad-reaching effects of his behavioral example become apparent. Philo claims that when the Alexandrian mob perceived (συναισθόμενος) Gaius' tyranny and his hatred for the Jews they were induced to action.[545] As Barraclough notes, Philo is here misrepresenting Gaius' animosity towards the Jews. It is not likely that Gaius' hostility predated the

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[544] Philo, *Leg*. 48-9.
[545] Philo, *Leg*. 120.

arrival of Agrippa in Alexandria and the subsequent outbreak of violence against the Jews. Therefore Gaius' hostility towards the Jews could not possibly be the cause of the Alexandrian violence.[546] By misrepresenting the chronology of events (as well as the intensity of Gaius' animosity) Philo attempts to convince his audience that the emperor's behavior is directly responsible for the outbreak of violence against the Jews.

This ability of the emperor's behavior to influence others is also seen in an event in Jamnia (see map, Fig. 8) related by Philo later in the *Legatio*. Apparently having learned from travelers of Gaius' hostility towards the Jews ("οὗτοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιφοιτώντων ἀκούοντες, ὅσῃ σπουδῇ κέχρηται Γάιος περὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκθέωσιν καὶ ὡς ἀλλοτριώτατα διάκειται πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν γένος... – These people having heard from visitors with what zeal Gaius longed for his own deification and that he cherished most hostile [feelings] toward the entire Jewish race..."), the non-Jewish population of Jamnia planned to violate Jewish religious sensitivities by erecting an altar there (a pagan altar within the confines of the holy land of Judaea was an affront to Jewish religious custom).[547] Again, Philo connects the behavior and attitudes of the emperor to the actions of those who desire to harm the Jews. By making his own hostility towards the Jews so public, Gaius gave license to others who may have had similar proclivities, or even to those who simply wanted to impress the emperor through emulation.

A less momentous, but more personal demonstration of the effect that Gaius' behavior had on those around him is given by Philo in the closing sections of the *Legatio*. Here Philo relates how he and the other Jewish-Alexandrian ambassadors were given an

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[546] Barraclough, "Philo's Politics," 459-60.
[547] Philo, *Leg*. 201.

audience before Gaius. The emperor lambasts them for being "god-haters" (θεομισεῖς) and generally treats them with disrespect and hostility. This treatment, Philo claims, resulted in the ambassadors, "χλευαζόμενοι καὶ κατακερτομούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα μιμεία τις ἦν· - being mocked and violently abused by [our] antagonists as if we were in a theatrical farce. Indeed the affair was a sort of farce!" Thus, on an individual level as well as on an international level the behavior of Gaius was influential.

That the emperor's behavior inspired those around him to act similarly is not, perhaps, a startling revelation. Philo's repeated demonstration of this commonplace in respect to Gaius' behavior and attitude towards the Jews, however, serves to remind his audience of the potential for the emperor to do extensive damage to those subject to him. Not only was Gaius culpable because his behavior was directly responsible for insult and injury to the Jews through his decision to erect his statue in the Temple, but also because his unjust behavior inspired others to injustice, compounding the harm suffered by the Jews. An emperor must remember that the example he sets serves as a model not only for his successors, but also for those whom he governs. Thus, Gaius provides a particularly instructive example for Philo's audience of how not to behave.

Admittedly, those who follow Gaius' lead in persecuting the Jews in the *Legatio* can be seen as taking advantage of an opportunity, rather than being inspired to action that, in the absence of imperial sanction, otherwise may not have occurred to them. Philo makes clear, however, that the emperor was capable of persuading his constituents away from a potentially unjust course of action through his own model behavior. Citing the precedent of Augustus Philo claims that, "Τοιγαροῦν οἱ πανταχοῦ πάντες, εἰ καὶ φύσει

διέκειντο πρὸς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ εὐμενῶς, εὐλαβῶς εἶχον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν νομίμων προσάψασθαι· - Accordingly, everyone everywhere, even if they were not by nature favorably disposed towards the Jews, cautiously withheld themselves from participating in the destruction of any of the Jewish customs."[548] Thus, by setting an example Augustus was able to dissuade some people away from their natural proclivity to be disruptive. Gaius, in contrast, inspired and indulged the cruel nature in others.

Josephus on the Julio-Claudians

As I discussed in the previous chapter, Josephus provides our only Jewish perspective on the workings of the Roman administration in Judaea from the time of Pompey until the principate of Augustus. He therefore provides a unique literary bridge between the Republican system of governance and that of the Empire. It is thus through his narratives alone that we can assess how Judaean opinions may have changed as the political atmosphere shifted.

There are many elements of continuity between Josephus' narratives of the governors of Syria and that of the Julio-Claudians. For example, through positive and negative assessments of the Romans in power, both narrative strands reflect ambivalence towards Roman authority and an acknowledgement that power wielded unwisely can have significant negative impacts on the populations of the ruled. The difference now, of course, is that power has become concentrated to an even greater extent in one person, the emperor.

Although Josephus generally depicts Augustus and Claudius positively, he also uses irony (as defined by Mason, see below) to subvert the mostly positive image of these two emperors as unequivocally benevolent rulers, and thus calls into question the ability

[548] Philo, *Leg.* 159.

of absolute power to be truly beneficent. Mason argues that irony is an important element in Josephus' narrative and is used effectively to subvert the image that the Flavians, particularly Titus, promoted of themselves. He argues that Josephus utilizes two different kinds of irony: audience-dependent (where the audience is expected to have prior knowledge that completes the narrative irony) and text-dependent (where the text provides context for the irony) in order to undermine the Flavian narrative of the Jewish War, but also to criticize Jewish participants in that war.[549] Mason's definition of text-dependent irony can be applied also to Josephus' depictions of Augustus and Claudius, thus increasing our understanding of Josephus' attitude toward these emperors.

In the cases of Tiberius and Gaius, Josephus does not exculpate the emperors from behaving badly, as some scholars have argued. Instead he claims that they are behaving in a manner that is consistent with each man's system of government. Thus, he is not apologizing for, or defending these emperors' actions against the Jews, rather he places them in historical and political context in order to demonstrate that the Jews are not treated differently than other peoples, whether favorably or unfavorably, by these two emperors. By relating these events, but explaining them as in keeping with each emperor's character and administration, Josephus expresses reservations about the power wielded by each man, but refrains from suggesting that either was motivated by a particular dislike for, or desire to act against the Jewish people.

Further evidence that these two emperors behaved without negative bias towards the Jewish population of the Empire can be seen in Josephus' depiction of their relationships with two Jewish leaders: Antipas and Agrippa I. Both Antipas and Agrippa I are treated respectfully by Tiberius and Gaius, but both also suffer misfortune at their

[549] Mason, "Figured Speech and Irony," 250, 255-68.

hands. In each case Josephus makes clear that their Jewish identity in no way influenced how these two leaders were treated by the emperors, rather it is the intricacies of their personal relationships with Tiberius and Gaius that motivated events.

Josephus' treatment of Nero is comparatively brief. Although he does certainly acknowledge this emperor's considerable personality defects, he also, significantly, leaves Nero almost entirely out of the narrative leading up to the outbreak of Revolt. This suggests that while Josephus recognizes Nero's flaws, he still considered the emperor to be a potential bastion against violence or disrespectful actions directed against the Jews.

Augustus

We are first introduced to Augustus as the sole ruler of the Roman world in Josephus' narrative when Herod goes before him to plead for forgiveness for being Antony's friend and supporter. As a sign of deference and humility, Josephus tells us, Herod removed his diadem prior to entering the new emperor's presence. He then argued that the support and loyalty that he had demonstrated towards Antony should not be held against him, but rather should serve as an indicator of the friendship he will hold towards his new overlord (Augustus). Augustus, whom Josephus describes as possessing a great and magnanimous temper (φιλότιμος και λαμπρός),[550] is impressed by this and gives Herod back his crown. He is also careful to obtain the approval of the Senate for this action, thus making Herod's monarchy, in Josephus' estimation, more secure. In return, Herod lavishes extravagant gifts on the princeps, even beyond what his country can afford.[551]

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[550] Joseph. *AJ* 15.194.
[551] Joseph. *AJ* 15.183-196; *BJ* 1.387-90.

This episode highlights immediately aspects of Augustus' role within Josephus' narrative that will be prevalent, but also problematized throughout the course of Josephus' account. First, Augustus is clearly the ultimate authority in the Roman world; his advice and consent must be sought for every major political decision and it is his voice that has the final say. Second, a defining characteristic of the princeps is his even and judicious temper; he does not make decisions rashly or out of anger. As I hope to demonstrate, however, Josephus emphasizes this characteristic as a narrative ploy only to be dismantled later in the narrative. Finally, Augustus' exalted position in the Roman world leads those who stand to gain from his favor to strive to honor and please him; a motivation which apparently supersedes most, if not all, other considerations. Herod is so determined to please and impress his patron that he will even potentially harm his own people by sapping his kingdom's resources in order to make a good impression on Augustus.

These three features of the emperor are prominent throughout Josephus' account of Herod's reign. Josephus indicates that Augustus is the supreme authority in the Roman world on numerous occasions in his dealings with Herod. Augustus is continually increasing Herod's lands as he deems fit, it is Augustus who is asked to judge the guilt of Herod's sons when they are accused of plotting to overthrow and kill their father, and Herod refuses to take action outside of his kingdom without imperial permission.[552] Finally, it is to Augustus that Herod, and his sons, turn to settle the issue of the inheritance of the monarchy of Judaea. It is a sign of honor that Augustus grants Herod

[552] Joseph. *AJ* 15.215-7, 345; *BJ* 1.395-400 (increase in lands); Joseph. *AJ* 16.87-126; *BJ* 1.452-4 (judging of Herod's sons); Joseph. *AJ* 16.271-85, esp. 283 (Herod seeks imperial permission).

the right to choose his own successor, even if the emperor does eventually make the final decision.[553]

Josephus' narrative thus clearly reflects the changed power dynamics of the principate. Augustus dominates the storylines in which he appears and directs the action of each episode much as he dominates and directs the political activities of the Roman world. Other characters take their cues from him as he manages the political realm of the Roman Empire and the literary realm of Josephus' narrative. Absolute power is, however, not necessarily a good thing, and as further elements of Josephus' account demonstrate, the autocratic authority of the princeps can result in negative consequences for the people over whom he exerts influence.

As I noted above, from the very beginning of Augustus' involvement in the narrative Josephus identifies him as judicious and clement. These qualities are reinforced on a number of occasions, such as the affair of Herod's sons, whom Herod has come to believe are guilty of planning patricide. When the Jewish princes Alexander and Aristobulus are unable to defend themselves before the onslaught of their father's accusations, Augustus perceives the truth of their innocence and judges them accordingly.[554] Augustus' deliberativeness and thoughtfulness are also evident at Herod's death when the issue of succession arises. Three delegations come before Augustus: one from Herod's son, Archelaus; one from another son, Philip; and one from the people of the Jews asking that they might be liberated from the yoke of the Herodian monarchy altogether and placed under the jurisdiction of the governor of Syria. In Josephus' narrative, after convening a council and deliberating on the matter, Augustus decides to

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[553] Joseph. *BJ* 1.454, 458.
[554] Joseph. *AJ* 16.87-126.

entrust part of Herod's kingdom to Archelaus as ethnarch, part to Philip as tetrarch, and part to Antipas (another of Herod's sons), also as tetrarch.[555] Within ten years Archelaus is rejected by his people and Augustus is asked to hear another set of delegations sent from Judaea. Augustus sentences Archelaus to exile for his maladministration, and turns his territory into part of the Roman province of Syria.[556] Apparently the emperor is concerned with making deliberate, well-thought out decisions that benefit the interests of the Roman people, but also take into account the welfare of the provincial populations.

Yet Josephus on occasion subverts this image of Augustus as the calm, rational assessor of affairs. This has the effect of highlighting the fact that his position of absolute authority in the Roman world means that his moments of imperfection have far-reaching consequences. For example, when Herod invades Arabia in response to raids that have been made into Judaea he incurs the wrath of Augustus, despite having sought approval for his actions from the Roman governor of Syria. Josephus tells us that the emperor believes the tales that Sylleus, an Arabian potentate, brings against Herod. Augustus' quick judgment before receiving all of the facts leads Herod to lose confidence in his ability to govern his realm effectively. This in turn causes Judaea to fall into a state of anarchy. Finally, however, Augustus is made to see the justice in Herod's actions (through the artful machinations of Nicolaus of Damascus, Herod's advisor and friend) and Herod and the princeps are once again reconciled.[557] Josephus thus makes a direct connection between a failure of judgment on the part of the emperor and the devolution of Judaea into anarchy. Because of the nature of his power, Augustus is to some degree responsible for the harm that comes to the Judaeans. Further, Josephus engages an

[555] Joseph. *AJ* 17.228-320.
[556] Joseph. *AJ* 17.342-354.
[557] Joseph. *AJ* 16.286-352.

element of text-dependent irony (as defined by Mason, see above pg. 166) in this section. Whereas previously in the narrative the emperor was described as deliberative, judicious, and magnanimous in temper, it is now revealed that he can make rash and petty decisions. Through the use of irony, establishing Augustus as a thoughtful, rational man only to deconstruct this image later, Josephus undermines the idea of Augustus as a larger-than-life leader.

The consequences of the concentration of power in the hands of the princeps are further emphasized in Josephus through his description of the iniquity in Augustus' and Herod's relationship. This iniquity is perhaps best exemplified by Herod's persistent desire to honor the emperor in any way he can, even if this involves, in Josephus' opinion, transgressing the laws of the Jews. Josephus claims that Herod, on account of his desire to please Caesar, departed from the customs of the Jews, "ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς θεραπείας, ἣν ἐθεράπευεν Καίσαρα καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλεῖστον δυναμένους, ἐκβαίνειν τῶν ἐθῶν ἠναγκάζετο καὶ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων παραχαράττειν, πόλεις τε κτίζων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ναοὺς ἐγείρων, οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων – On account of his ambition for this thing [security and increased honor in his position as king] and the attention which he paid to Caesar and the most powerful Romans he was compelled to depart from [Jewish] customs and to debase many of [our] laws, building cities on account of his ambition and raising temples, although not in [the territory] of the Jews."[558] This sentiment is expressed in slightly different terms earlier in the *Antiquities*, "Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέβαινεν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ ξενικοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ὑποδιέφθειρεν τὴν πάλαι κατάστασιν ἀπαρεγχείρητον οὖσαν, ... πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετηρικὸν ἀθλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι –

[558] Joseph. *AJ* 15.328-9.

Moreover, on account of this he departed from the customs of his fatherland and he gradually corrupted the ancient inviolable institutions with foreign practices...first he established contests of athletes to be held every five years in honor of Caesar."[559] By claiming that it is a desire to please Augustus which compels Herod to transgress Jewish law, Josephus suggests that Augustus, or his political position, is at least partly culpable for Herod's misbehavior. Although Josephus does not criticize Augustus directly, or even imply that he actively encouraged Herod to transgress the laws, nevertheless it is clear that some aspect of Augustus, or his elevated political position, induced Herod to honor the emperor through means that were beyond the confines of Jewish law.

It is important to note that in his criticisms of Herod and his relationship with Augustus, Josephus may be expressing his own, post-Jewish Revolt opinions, rather than those of Jews contemporary to Herod and Augustus. James McLaren argues, when discussing Herod's building of temples in honor of Augustus, that Josephus' criticisms of Herod's actions regarding Augustus, and his assertion that Herod's desire to please Augustus led to his overstepping Jewish law, are not evidence that there was wide-spread opposition by the Jews to Herod's innovations (more on this below, Ch. 5, pgs. 219-20).

Another important factor to keep in mind when analyzing Josephus' portrayal of Augustus is that criticism of Augustus via Herod must be understood in the context of Josephus' portrayal of and opinions on Herod. This is a complex issue, and one to which I cannot devote sufficient space here.[560] For the purpose of this study it suffices to say that at times Josephus appears to be more concerned with providing a negative view of

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[559] Joseph. *AJ* 15.267-8.

[560] For a discussion of the portrait of Herod provided by the *Antiquitie*s and how Josephus' sources may have influenced this portrayals see Mark Toher, "Nicolaus and Herod in the 'Antiquitates Judaicae'" *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 101 (2003): 427-47.

Herod than with adhering to historical accuracy. For example, scholars have noted that Josephus is vague about which laws exactly Herod is allegedly transgressing in his attempts to honor Augustus.[561] This suggests that Josephus is more concerned about voicing criticism of the king than in reflecting accurate views of those contemporary to Herod.

While Josephus' negative assessment of Augustus' influence on Herod's actions may be influenced by his desire to criticize Herod, nevertheless it is significant that his criticisms do involve Augustus. Combined with his ironic portrayal of Augustus' deliberative and judicious temper, his criticisms of Herod's desire to honor the princeps suggest that Josephus is ambivalent about the authority exercised by the emperor; although Augustus' power can certainly be beneficent towards the Jews, it can also negatively impact their way of life by inducing their king to transgress traditional customs as well as causing the region to devolve into anarchy.

For each of the Julio-Claudian emperors following Augustus, Josephus gives a similarly multi-faceted portrayal that includes both positive, as well as negative character assessments. In the cases of Tiberius and Gaius, both of whom were associated, in other sources, with activities that could be interpreted as anti-Jewish, he consistently illustrates, and even on occasion explicitly states, that these emperors treated the Jews in much the same manner as they treated other groups of the Empire. From Josephus' point of view, each potentially anti-Jewish episode should be considered in the wider context of the emperor's foreign (or domestic) policy. This holds true, within Josephus' narrative, regarding both imperial actions which may be interpreted as anti-Jewish as well as

[561] Cf. Jan Willem van Henten, *Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary: Judaean Antiquities 15*, vol. 7b, ed. Steve Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 237, note 2210.

imperial relationships with Jewish leaders. For Claudius, however, who, like Augustus, is often seen as a benefactor to the Jews, and whose actions towards the Jews perhaps need no exculpating, Josephus employs similar narrative devices as he did with Augustus. Although Claudius often appears as a positive figure in Josephus' narrative, he, like Augustus, is also the subject of text-dependent irony. This has the effect of subverting the idealized image of Claudius and calling into question the extent of his beneficence towards the Jews. Thus, in its nuanced treatment of these emperors, Josephus' narrative may in fact reflect a more realistic picture of Jewish-Roman relations than most scholars seem willing to accept.

Tiberius

Unlike his predecessor, Augustus, and his successor, Gaius, Tiberius is a rather minor character in Josephus' narratives. His account of Tiberius' reign in the *War* is limited to a note that Tiberius confirmed both Antipas and Philip in their tetrarchies, a brief discussion of the events of the governorship of Pontius Pilate, and a concise account of Agrippa I's alleged treasonous comments concerning Tiberius and the hoped for succession of Gaius.[562] The treatment of Tiberius in the *Antiquities*, while still shorter than that of other emperors, is fuller and gives a deeper character analysis of Augustus' successor.

Josephus' Tiberius emerges from the *Antiquities* as a complicated figure. On the one hand he exhibits behaviors that have the potential to be detrimental to peaceful Jewish and Roman relations, such as the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, most likely in 19 CE. On the other hand he clearly maintains good personal relationships with some Jewish leaders, such as Antipas, Herod's son. Further, within those episodes that appear

[562] Joseph. *BJ* 2.168-80.

to demonstrate Tiberius' lack of respect for (or even downright maliciousness towards) the Jews, Josephus provides a nuanced reading of the situation, providing an explanation of the emperor's behavior which places it in the larger context of his character and administration.

Following a seemingly unrelated digression on the affair of Paulina, a Roman aristocrat who was lured into sexual misconduct by some priests at the temple of Isis in Rome, Josephus gives a brief account of Tiberius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome. He precedes the expulsion with an explanatory story of a Jewish man, who had been expelled from Judaea for transgressing the laws of his religion and was now residing in Rome. This man pretended to instruct a Roman woman in the laws of his religion, but with the help of three accomplices managed to defraud the victim of money, which he appropriated for himself after telling her he would send it to the Temple in Jerusalem. Tiberius learns of this crime and in retaliation expels all Jews from Rome.[563]

While Tiberius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome could be interpreted as an act motivated by anti-Jewish sentiment, Josephus carefully constructs his narrative in a way that removes most of the blame from Tiberius. As noted above, the account of the expulsion of the Jews follows a digression on Paulina, which details the story of an unfortunate woman being duped by seemingly pious priests of Isis. The placement of this digression in the narrative is rather jarring as it breaks the continuity of Josephus' account of calamities that befell the Jews during the tenure of Pontius Pilate, governor of Judaea from 26-36 CE. While this awkward placement could be attributed to clumsy styling by Josephus, in fact it cleverly introduces the story about the expulsion of the Jews from

[563] Joseph. *AJ* 18.81-4.

Rome. To illustrate this point it is necessary to give a brief description of the Paulina affair.

Paulina was a noblewoman of Rome, whose chastity and dignity were above reproach. When Decius Mundus fell in love with her and entreated her, through money and gifts, to be his bed-mate for a night she refused. Mundus was eventually able to fulfill his desire with the help of his freedwoman, Ide, and the collaboration of some priests of Isis. These priests informed Paulina, who was an ardent follower of Isis, that the god Anubis wished to sleep with her. Paulina agreed and spent the night in the temple of Isis having intercourse with "Anubis," who was in fact Mundus in disguise. Days after this treacherous event, Paulina discovered how she had been betrayed. Her husband informed Tiberius of the crime and the emperor responded by crucifying the priests involved (and also the freedwoman, Ide), demolishing the temple of Isis, and commanding that her statue be thrown into the Tiber. Mundus was merely banished for his part in the affair.[564]

Tiberius was understandably wary following the victimization of Paulina and was in no mood to tolerate the fraudulent behavior of any other men who claimed to be acting on religious grounds. Framing the narrative in this way, Josephus then describes the aberrant behavior of a small group of Jewish men, one of whom had already been shunned by Jewish society. The juxtaposition of the Paulina affair with the deviant behavior of the Jewish men serves to remove most of the blame from Tiberius for expelling the Jews from Rome. In an atmosphere of suspicion engendered by the injury done to Paulina, Tiberius reacted strongly to the criminal activity of a group of men who claimed to be acting in the name of their religion. The fact that they were Jews is less material than the fact that they were using a religious institution to further their nefarious

[564] Joseph. *AJ* 18.66-80.

purposes. Had not the cult of Isis previously been expelled wholesale from Rome also because of the misdeeds of some of her priests?[565] To remove blame further from Tiberius' shoulders, Josephus concludes the narrative with this statement, "καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἠλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως. – And they [the Jews] were expelled from the city through the dishonorable deed of four men."[566] Thus, it is the criminals who are responsible for this misfortune befalling the Jews, not the emperor who passed judgment.

Other episodes in the course of Tiberius' principate, which on the surface would seem to reflect poorly on the emperor's relationship with the Jews, are also treated deftly by Josephus in a way that deflects any implications of anti-Jewish motivation on the part of the emperor. Josephus spends a significant portion of his narrative covering the period of Tiberius' reign detailing the atrocities committed by Pontius Pilate against the Jews while he served as the governor of Judaea.[567] Despite the numerous violent outbreaks during Pilate's long tenure (26-36 CE), it is not until he orders a wholesale massacre of some innocent Samaritans, thus irrefutably illustrating his inability to keep order in his province, that he is commanded to return to Rome and give an account of his actions before the emperor.[568] Tiberius' inaction in allowing Pilate to remain so long as governor

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[565] Suetonius (*Tib*. 36.1) and Tacitus (*Ann*. 85.5) both mention the expulsion of the Jews and the Egyptians from Rome. Neither one, however, elaborates on these expulsions with the story of Paulina or of the Jewish men.

[566] Joseph. *AJ* 18.84. Josephus claims that all the Jews (πᾶν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν) were ordered out of Rome by Tiberius, but as Gruen, *Diaspora*, 32 notes, there is clearly a significant Jewish population in Rome later in Tiberius' reign, so this expulsion cannot have been particularly thorough.
Hadas-Lebel, *Jerusalem Against Rome*, 69 argues that Josephus exculpates Tiberius by relating the story of the four Jewish men defrauding the Roman matron. While this certainly plays a role in Josephus' explanation for Tiberius' actions, it does not take into account the digression on Paulina.
For a discussion of the possible political motives behind Tiberius' expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 19 CE see Gruen, *Diaspora*, 29-36.

[567] Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 18.55-9, 60-2, 85-9.

[568] Joseph. *AJ* 18.89. Before Pilate made it to Rome, however, Tiberius had died and so no hearing before the emperor ever occurred.

of Judaea despite his repeated insensitivity, or even maliciousness, towards Jewish customs could be seen as evidence of the emperor's lack of respect for the Jews and Judaea.

As with the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, however, Josephus gives narratological cues to the reader that suggest that he wanted Tiberius to be seen as a ruler who treated the Jews just as he did other peoples of the Empire. In this case, however, Josephus is more explicit in this interpretation of Tiberius. Within his account of the life of King Agrippa I, Josephus gives a digression on the dilatory nature of Tiberius. He comments that Tiberius was always slow to appoint new governors to provinces. As evidence of this he cites the case of Judaea, which received only two governors, Gratus and Pilate, in the twenty-two years of Tiberius' reign.[569] Further, Josephus states, "καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰουδαίων τοιοῦτος ἦν, ἑτεροῖος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων. – In this respect he was not [behaving] one way towards the Jews and in another way towards the rest of his subjects."[570] While this statement surely goes to demonstrate Josephus' point that Tiberius always delayed in appointing governors and that the specific example of the Judaean situation could be applied to other peoples of the Empire, it also can be interpreted to mean that Tiberius was not inflicting Pilate on the Jews through some sort of malicious inattentiveness to their plight, but rather because this was his general policy throughout the Empire. Thus the Judaeans received no special treatment, whether positive or negative, from Tiberius.

Despite not regarding the Jews with any particular favor or disdain, Josephus' Tiberius does share deep personal and political ties with two prominent Jewish leaders:

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[569] Joseph. *AJ* 18.177.
[570] Joseph. *AJ* 18.178.

Antipas and Agrippa I. Josephus tells us that Antipas enjoyed great favor with Tiberius, and even built a city in his honor (incidentally one of the few cities built in honor of Tiberius).[571] In addition, Antipas was chosen for the important position of host at the peace talks between the Parthians and Romans, a particularly tricky diplomatic affair due to the perennially antagonistic nature of the two parties.[572] As Smallwood notes, the fact that Antipas was chosen for this duty demonstrates the level of faith that Tiberius placed in him, as well as Antipas' natural diplomatic abilities.[573]

Further evidence of the good standing between Tiberius and Antipas is apparent in Tiberius' reaction to the conflict initiated by Antipas' decision to divorce his Nabataean wife and marry his niece, Herodias. When Aretas, the king of Nabataea and father of the rejected woman, soundly defeated Antipas in battle Tiberius responded by ordering Vitellius, the governor of Syria, to retaliate and capture Aretas either dead or alive.[574] While Tiberius' reaction could be seen as merely an effort to enforce stability and imperial order in the region, two features of Josephus' narrative suggest differently. First, Josephus states that Tiberius ordered the attack against Aretas in response to an appeal from Antipas, suggesting that Tiberius was at least partially motivated by his personal relationship with Antipas.[575] Second, according to Josephus Tiberius died while Vitellius was still making preparations for the attack on Aretas. When Vitellius heard of Tiberius' death he quickly left off the expedition into Nabataea.[576] If the matter were of consequence to the internal security of the Empire and not predominantly a mission of

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[571] Joseph. *AJ* 18.36-8.
[572] Joseph. *AJ* 18.96-105.
[573] Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 186.
[574] Joseph. *AJ* 18.96-105.
[575] Joseph. *AJ* 18.115.
[576] Joseph. *AJ* 18.124.

personal vengeance presumably Vitellius would have persisted in the attack against Aretas despite the death of the Tiberius.[577]

Although his relationship with Antipas seems to have been good, Josephus depicts Tiberius' connections with Agrippa I, grandson of Herod, as rather more vicissitudinous. Agrippa was educated in Rome and became close friends with Tiberius' son, Drusus. When Drusus died in 23 CE, however, Tiberius refused to see his son's friends because the sight of them caused him grief.[578] Agrippa, by this time heavily in debt, left Rome to try his fortunes elsewhere. When he eventually returned to Rome, approximately thirteen years later, Agrippa again sought out imperial company. Despite initially receiving a very warm welcome from Tiberius, however, he was soon excluded from the presence of the emperor, who had learned that Agrippa owed a large some of money to the imperial treasury.[579] The debt paid, Agrippa again enjoyed imperial favor, even becoming friendly with Tiberius' grand-nephew, the future emperor Gaius.[580] At the end of Tiberius' life a further incident served to remove Agrippa one final time from Tiberius' graces. Allegedly, Agrippa was overheard claiming that he wished Tiberius would soon die and leave the throne to Gaius. This pronouncement was considered treasonous by the emperor and Agrippa was put into bonds, where he would remain until Tiberius' death a few months later.[581]

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[577] Josephus does state that Vitellius desisted because, with the accession of Gaius, he no longer had authority to carry out the military operations ordered by Tiberius (*AJ* 18.124). His actions must also be read, however, in the context of Josephus' earlier statement that Vitellius resented Antipas' communication to Tiberius regarding the Parthian resolution, which preempted Vitellius' own, and caused Vitellius to look for an avenue of vengeance; an avenue which later presented itself during the reign of Gaius (*AJ* 18.105).
[578] Joseph. *AJ* 18.143, 146.
[579] Joseph. *AJ* 18.161-4.
[580] Joseph. *AJ* 18.165-6.
[581] Joseph. *AJ* 18.168-70, 179-204.

Although Josephus elsewhere is very admiring of Agrippa I, he does not seem bothered by or inclined to pass a negative judgment on Tiberius for his ill treatment of Agrippa.[582] Rather, Josephus' narrative involving Tiberius' relationship with Agrippa, along with its sequel, his narrative involving Gaius' relationship with Agrippa (more on this below), seem more concerned with illustrating the vicissitudes of fate than giving an assessment of either of the emperors. As Josephus himself states when introducing his account of Agrippa:

> διέξειμι λοιπόν, ὁπόσαι Ἀγρίππᾳ τύχαι συνέλθοιεν, ὥς τε αὐτῶν διάδρασιν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ μέγιστον ἀξιώματός τε ἅμα προκόψειεν καὶ δυνάμεως.[583]
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> Now I relate the rest, how many misfortunes convened on Agrippa, and how, having made his escape from them, he at once advanced to the greatest height of dignity and power.

Thus, in the context of his narrative, it is necessary for Josephus to bring Agrippa to the utmost low before he can raise him to the loftiest heights. Tiberius serves the narratological purpose of providing a pretext for Agrippa to be imprisoned, the deepest misfortune Agrippa experiences.

Through his manipulation of historical events within his narrative structure, Josephus presents Tiberius as a leader who did not act differently towards the Jews than he did to any other peoples under his rule. By placing the expulsion of the Jews from Rome directly after the digression on Paulina Josephus frames this negative event in a way that removes any anti-Jewish motivation from Tiberius' actions. Similarly, after dwelling at length on the mismanagement of Judaea by the governor Pilate, Josephus

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[582] Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 18.129 on Agrippa's dignified and worthy character. There may be an indication of criticism for Tiberius, however, at *AJ* 19.295, where Josephus states that Agrippa was, "ἀπὸ μικρᾶς αἰτίας εἰς δεσμώτην – on account of a small matter [put] into bonds."
[583] Joseph. *AJ* 18.142.

later remarks in his narrative that Tiberius was in the habit of allowing governors to remain for long periods of time in their positions, thus demonstrating that Tiberius was not intentionally inflicting Pilate on the Judaeans. Through his portrayal of Tiberius' personal and professional relationships with two Jewish leaders: Antipas and Agrippa I, Josephus highlights the important position of these two men within the imperial structure. Further, although Josephus could criticize Tiberius for his erratic treatment of Agrippa, he does not. Rather, Josephus employs Tiberius in his narrative of Agrippa in order to emphasize the dramatic change in Agrippa's fortunes.

Gaius

Scholarship on Gaius in Josephus is primarily concerned with two main themes: Josephus' extraordinary account of Gaius' assassination and its sources; and the episode involving Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem.[584] While investigations into these themes are important not only for studies of Josephus, but also for studies of Gaius and first century historiography, I will touch briefly upon only one of these themes: Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem. Rather, my analysis of Gaius in Josephus will focus on how the author portrays Gaius in such a way as to demonstrate that he, like Tiberius, does not single the Jews out for special treatment, whether positive or negative. As with Tiberius, Josephus demonstrates that Gaius treats the Jews similarly to other peoples of the Empire through his authorial comments on an incident which appears to be directed maliciously against the Jews as well as in his

[584] On Josephus' sources for the account of Gaius' assassination see especially: Louis Feldman, "The Sources of Josephus' «Antiquities », Book 19," *Latomus* 21.2 (1962): 320-333; Thomas E. Goud, "The Sources of Josephus "Antiquities" 19," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 45.4 (1996): 472-482. On Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple see especially Bilde, "Gaius' Attempt," 67-93.

depiction of the personal relationships that Gaius has with specific Jewish leaders, namely Antipas and Agrippa I.

Like Tiberius, Josephus' Gaius also has close personal and political relationships with two Jewish leaders: Antipas and Agrippa I. Although at the hands of Gaius these two men eventually receive diametrically opposed fortunes, nevertheless Gaius' relationship with each of them, as depicted by Josephus, demonstrates that at least initially Gaius bore no overt hostility towards the Jews, or to Jewish leadership. In order to illustrate that Josephus' Gaius appears to bear no ill-will towards the Jews or Jewish leaders in the beginning years of his reign, it is first necessary to give a brief synopsis of events involving these two men and Gaius' relationship with them.

Gaius and Agrippa first became friends, Josephus asserts, when Agrippa returned to Rome in 36 CE and sought Tiberius' favor.[585] Following Tiberius' death, Gaius not only freed Agrippa from prison, but he also named him king of the former tetrarchy of Agrippa's uncle Philip, who was by this time deceased, as well as the tetrarchy of Lysanias.[586] Agrippa remained in Rome for over a year following his reception of the monarchy, then finally sailed for his new kingdom in order to put affairs into order.[587] On his way to his kingdom, Agrippa visited Alexandria (an event which Josephus completely overlooks), where his presence aggravated tensions already existing between the Greek and Jewish populations of the city.[588] When Agrippa finally reached his own kingdom his presence allegedly stirred the jealousy and ambition of his sister, Herodias, wife of

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[585] Joseph. *AJ* 18.166; *BJ* 2.178.
[586] Joseph. *AJ* 18.236-7; *BJ* 2.181.
[587] Joseph. *AJ* 18.237.
[588] Philo *In Flac*. 25-43.

Antipas the tetrarch.[589] Antipas soon made his way to Gaius (Josephus claims because he was incessantly nagged by his wife) in order to petition the emperor for a title and dignity equal to that of his nephew.[590] For reasons that are not explicitly stated, Agrippa, when he learned of his uncle's intentions and journey, sent letters to Gaius accusing Antipas of conspiring with Sejanus against Tiberius as well as planning treason against Gaius' government with the king of Parthia.[591] Although Gaius received Antipas favorably at first, after he received Agrippa's letters he interrogated the tetrarch concerning his plans with Parthia. Unable to deny that he had amassed a weapons arsenal, Antipas was sentenced to exile by Gaius. His tetrarchy was then given to Agrippa, presumably as a reward for his information.[592] Based on numismatic evidence (discussed in more detail in the following chapter), Antipas' final regnal year was his forty-third, which corresponds to 39-40 CE. There is some debate, however, over whether his interview with Gaius and subsequent exile took place in the summer of 39, or the summer of 40 CE.[593]

Despite the personal setbacks suffered by Antipas as a result of his petition to Gaius, Josephus' narrative makes it clear that Gaius bore no animosity either towards Antipas as a Jewish leader, or to the Jewish people under Antipas' rule. When Antipas arrived in Campania, Josephus tells us, he was received personally by Gaius, "Γάιος δὲ ἅμα τε προσαγορεύων τὸν Ἡρώδην - And Gaius at once greeted Herod [Antipas]." Further, Antipas is offered a timely audience with the emperor.[594] There is no hint in

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[589] Joseph. *AJ* 18.240.
[590] Joseph. *AJ* 18.245-6.
[591] Joseph. *AJ* 18.250; *BJ* 2.183.
[592] Joseph. *AJ* 18.252; *BJ* 2.183.
[593] Cf. Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 191 note 39, who argues for 40 CE; and Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 352-3 note 42, who argues for 39 CE.
[594] That this is the case can be surmised from the chronology Josephus gives regarding the delivery of Agrippa's letters accusing Antipas. Josephus claims that these letters arrived just after Antipas himself, but were presented afterwards because Antipas had already gained audience with the emperor. Had Antipas

Josephus that Gaius disrespected Antipas in any way, or treated him differently than he would any other foreign ruler. In fact, it was not until Antipas was accused of colluding with the king of Parthia, a dangerous enemy of Rome, and was unable to deny that he had indeed amassed an arsenal of weapons beyond what was necessary to defend his kingdom, that Gaius decided on his banishment.[595] In addition, Gaius granted Antipas' former tetrarchy to Agrippa, thus keeping the territory under the governance of a Judaean ruler. Although Agrippa would not be named king of Judaea until after Gaius' death, nevertheless, this otherwise reviled emperor was responsible, through his appointment of Agrippa as king of neighboring territories, for beginning a positive trend in Judaean politics that would usher in a brief, but fondly-remembered period of native rule.[596]

In his depiction of the events involving Antipas and Agrippa in the early years of Gaius' reign, Josephus demonstrates that Gaius harbored no malicious intentions towards the Jews as a people. While he does condemn Antipas to exile, this is because of the potential political threat posed by Antipas, and not for any more sinister reason. Further, he puts Agrippa, another descendant of Herod, in control of Antipas' former territory, thus preserving Herodian control in the region. Following the episode with Antipas, however, Josephus acknowledges a negative shift in Gaius' personality and administration, a shift which will have severe consequences for all of the peoples of the Empire, including the Jews.

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waited a considerable time to receive an audience with the emperor the letters would have had time to arrive and perhaps already have been read. See Joseph. *AJ* 18.248.

[595] Joseph. *AJ* 18.250-2. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 191-2.

[596] Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 65-6 suggests that Gaius may have kept Judaea in "cold storage" for Agrippa by not appointing a governor over the territory following Pilate's removal. Further, he suggests, it may have been the intentions of the emperors since Augustus to give Judaea back to a native king as soon as the opportunity presented itself.

After describing the exile of Antipas, Josephus claims that Gaius now began to think of himself as a god.[597] Josephus acknowledges that this megalomania affected all inhabitants of the Empire, as I will discuss below, but dwells on the suffering inflicted upon the Jews by Gaius' conviction that he is more than mortal. In the *War*, Josephus goes on directly from the narrative of Antipas to describe Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem as an example of his impiety. In the *Antiquities*, however, Josephus inserts the detail that it was the disturbances that occurred in Alexandria which spurred Gaius to action.[598] Since Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple is covered in detail in Chapter One, I will only give a brief synopsis below of the major points in the narrative. According to Josephus, Gaius intended to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem, through the use of force if necessary, perhaps in retaliation for the Jews refusing to worship him as a god. When Publius Petronius, the governor of Syria sent to carry out this task, met with strong resistance from the Jews, he determined to write to Gaius on their behalf. Although King Agrippa had previously successfully petitioned Gaius not to place his statue in the Temple, when Gaius received Petronius' letter he flew into a rage at the thought that anyone would resist him. He angrily responded to Petronius, ordering the governor to kill himself. Divine providence

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[597] Joseph. *AJ* 18.256; *BJ* 2.184.

[598] Joseph. *AJ* 18.257. Josephus' chronology here is a bit confused. The disturbances in Alexandria grew in intensity following Agrippa's visit in the summer of 38, at least a year before Antipas was deposed. While it is unclear when exactly the Alexandrian embassies arrived before Gaius, he must have known about the rioting prior to Antipas' removal. See Smallwood, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 37-40 on the probability of the embassy taking place in the spring/summer of 40 CE. Petra Sijpesteijn, "The Legationes ad Gaium," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 15.3/4 (1964): 87-96, however, convincingly argues for the earlier date of spring/summer 39 CE, which would place Antipas' visit either contemporary with or even after the delegations from Alexandria.
Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 81-3 claims that Josephus' apologetic purpose leads him to place the Temple affair in *Antiquities* directly after his comments on Gaius and the note about the riots in Alexandria. In Schwartz's view Josephus wishes to obscure any conflict between the Jewish religion and the Roman state. He therefore places blame for the Temple affair on Gaius' hubris and the hostility of the Alexandrian Greeks towards the Jewish inhabitants of Alexandria.

intervened, however, and saved both Petronius and the Jews from destruction through the timely assassination of Gaius.[599] The attempt to place Gaius' statue in the Temple was promptly abandoned, never to be revisited.

Josephus' introduction to this episode in the *Antiquities* seems to suggest that Gaius was motivated by a desire to inflict punishment on the Jews specifically for their disregard for him as exhibited through the riots in Alexandria. He mitigates this potential criticism, however, with comments made later in the *Antiquities*, which suggest that although he recognized that Gaius' actions could be interpreted as anti-Jewish, the attribution of this malicious motive to Gaius may stem more from Josephus' source (perhaps Philo) rather than from Josephus' own understanding of the affair.[600] For example, in the beginning of Book XIX of the *Antiquities*, when introducing the dramatic account of Gaius' assassination, Josephus states:

> Γάιος δὲ οὐκ εἰς μόνους Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ τοὺς ὁπόσοι τῇδε οἰκοῦσιν ἐπεδείκνυτο τῆς ὕβρεως τὴν μανίαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ πάσης ἐσομένην γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἔστελλεν αὐτήν, ὁπόση Ῥωμαίοις ὑπακούει, μυρίων τε ἀνέπλησεν αὐτὴν κακῶν ὁπόσα μὴ ἱστόρητο πρότερον. μάλιστα δὲ ᾐσθάνετο τοῦ δεινοῦ τῶν πρασσομένων ἡ Ῥώμη κατ' οὐδὲν αὐτὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν λοιπῶν πόλεων ἡγουμένου...[601]
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> But Gaius did not exhibit the madness of his insolence against the Jews alone, those living in Jerusalem and others, as many as there were living at that time, but he sent it [his madness] through all the land and sea, as

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[599] Joseph. *AJ* 18.256-309; *BJ* 2.184-203.

[600] For the claim that Gaius was intending to punish the Jews in particular for not honoring him appropriately see Joseph. *AJ* 18.261 "Γάιος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων εἰς τοσόνδε ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιῶφθαι μόνων... κελεύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβαλόντι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν... ἱστᾶν αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ – And Gaius, bearing it ill that he was overlooked in this way by the Jews alone...ordering [Petronius], having made an expedition into Judaea with many troops...to place his statue in the temple of God." See Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 18-23 for a discussion of Josephus' sources for this account and in particular his reliance on Philo.
McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 263 notes, however, that Josephus significantly points out that Gaius is indignant that the Jews are not worshipping him personally. Given the general Roman distaste for paying divine honors to living people, it is likely that a Roman audience would not have shared Gaius' indignation.

[601] Joseph. *AJ* 19.1-2.

> much as was subject to Rome, and he filled it [the land subject to Rome] with a myriad of evils, more than have been recorded previously. And Rome experienced the worst of his doings, because he considered that she was not more worthy of honor than the other cities...

Here Josephus emphatically states that Gaius is not singling out the Jews alone for punishment, but rather he inflicted himself on the entire population of the Empire. Far from being extraordinary, the Jews, both those in Jerusalem and those in the Diaspora, receive from Gaius treatment equal to other peoples of the Empire. In fact, as Josephus claims at the end of the passage, it is Rome (not the Jews) that suffers the most consequences from Gaius' misrule.

Josephus reinforces the point that Gaius visited his megalomania equally upon everyone in the Empire just a few sections later in the *Antiquities*:

> τῶν τε ἱερῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀσύλητον κατέλιπεν, ὁπόσα γραφῆς ἢ γλυφῆς ἐχόμενα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς κατασκευὰς ἀνδριάντων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἄγεσθαι κελεύσας παρ' αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὰ καλὰ κεῖσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ἢ ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ, τυγχάνειν δὲ τοῦτο οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. ἐκόσμει τε τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀγομένοις τήν τε οἰκίαν καὶ τοὺς κήπους ὁπόσαι τε αὐτῷ καταγωγαὶ διὰ γῆς τῆς τῶν Ἰταλῶν.[602]
>
> He did not even omit the inviolability of the Greek sanctuaries, commanding that all of the paintings and engravings and the remaining fixtures of the statues and offerings be brought to him, for beautiful things should not reside in any other place than in the most beautiful, and the city of the Romans happened to be [the most beautiful]. He adorned his house with the things thus taken and also his gardens, as many residences as he had throughout the land of Italy.

Thus, Josephus makes it clear that not only did Gaius extend the ill-effects of his egomania throughout the entire Roman world, but even the sacredness of Greek holy places were not safe from desecration when it served Gaius' selfish needs. Through this statement he makes it clear that the Jewish religion was not the only one whose

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[602] Joseph. *AJ* 19.7-8.

institutions were under attack by Gaius, thus emphasizing that Gaius was not engaging in a persecution of Jews specifically.

Further evidence that Josephus does not see, or did not wish his audience to see, Gaius as committed to inflicting misery uniquely on the Jews can be seen in Josephus' inclusion of Agrippa's ability to dissuade Gaius from his statue project. As some scholars have noted, his interaction with Agrippa demonstrates that Gaius was not above reason, or even above rescinding his own orders when the situation demanded.[603] Had punishing the Jews been his sole objective he would have continued on this path regardless of Agrippa's wishes.[604] Although Gaius did change his mind again, nevertheless it is significant that Josephus depicts him as being willing to listen to the pleas of Agrippa.

Gaius' infliction of ubiquitous suffering is also noted, although with more subtlety in the *War*. After a brief note on the beginning of Gaius' reign Josephus goes on to say, "Γάιος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην, ὥστε θεὸν ἑαυτὸν καὶ δοκεῖν βούλεσθαι καὶ καλεῖσθαι τῶν τε εὐγενεστάτων ἀνδρῶν ἀκροτομῆσαι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκτεῖναι δὲ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν. – And Gaius Caesar abused his fortune to such an extent that he presumed himself to be a god and he preferred to be addressed thusly and to cut down the most noble men of the country, and he even extended his impiety to Judaea."[605] Both the structure of this sentence as well as Josephus' use of language emphasize that the Jews, although victims of Gaius' irrational behavior, were by no means the only ones to suffer on account of his madness. Josephus states first that Gaius attacked the noble men of his own country, bringing to the fore the

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[603] Cf. McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 268.
[604] Josephus' account of this event can be compared with Philo's (*Leg*. 331-7), which claims that although Gaius told Agrippa he would call the project off, he secretly planned to have a statue made in Rome and shipped to Jerusalem.
[605] Joseph. *BJ* 2.184.

fact that the Jews were not alone in their suffering, or even perhaps the group who suffered most. Further, Josephus' use of καὶ before the phrase ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίαν shows that the Jews were victimized, *in addition to* other populations of the Empire; they were not unique in being afflicted by Gaius' principate.

By emphasizing that Gaius dealt violence and injury on all of the peoples of the Empire, Jews and non-Jews alike, Josephus depicts Gaius in a way that is similar to his portrayal of Tiberius. Both emperors engaged in activities that could be seen as motivated by anti-Jewish feeling. Rather than obscure these events from his narrative, however, Josephus takes care to address each episode as well as to explain away the potential anti-Jewish motivations of the emperors. From Josephus' perspective, these episodes should be understood in the broader context of the emperor's foreign (or domestic) policy, demonstrating that neither emperor was engaged in specifically anti-Jewish behavior. Thus, Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem no longer appears as a concerted attack against the Jewish faith, but rather as one in a series of sacrilegious activities spurred by Gaius' conviction that he was more than mortal.

Through his portrayal of Gaius' political and personal relationships with Antipas and Agrippa I, Josephus demonstrates that, at least in the early years of his reign, Gaius exhibited no particular hostility towards the Jewish people or their religion. Josephus does note that Gaius' behavior changed dramatically in the latter years of his reign, and that he did initiate actions which could be viewed as anti-Judaism and its followers. Through his comments introducing the Temple affair, however, Josephus illustrates that he believes that Gaius was not acting towards the Jews in a way that was different from how he treated other populations of the Empire. Romans suffered at Gaius' hands, as did

other religious institutions, such as Greek temples. Josephus thus demonstrates that it was Gaius' personality and actions which were conspicuous, not his hatred for the Jews.

Claudius

Whereas Josephus explains away seemingly anti-Jewish actions during the reigns of Tiberius and Gaius by placing these events within the larger context of each man's principate, his narrative of Claudius' principate suggests that with this emperor's rise to power Roman and Jewish relations took a definite turn for the better. This is exemplified numerous times, particularly in the *Antiquities*, both through Josephus' description of Claudius' relationship with Agrippa I and his brother, Herod of Chalcis, as well as through Claudius' actions regarding the legal rights of Jews throughout the Empire. Despite the generally positive atmosphere during Claudius' reign, however, Josephus manages, as he did with Augustus, to insert into his narrative a note of anxiety concerning the autocratic authority which the princeps held. This is achieved through the revelation of one of Claudius' character flaws, a flaw which has the potential to be the cause of negative consequences for the Jews.

Claudius enters Josephus' narrative in an extraordinary account of his rise to power following the assassination of Gaius. It seems likely, given the differing character portraits of Claudius presented in this account, as well as the prominent role attributed to Agrippa I in securing Claudius' candidacy for the principate that Josephus relied on a variety of sources to construct his narrative. These sources may have included oral reports from Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, as well as the written testimony of a senatorial annalist and even the autobiography of Claudius.[606] Josephus' focus on the instrumental

[606] Cf. Goud, "The Sources of Josephus 'Antiquities' 19," 478-82; Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 91. Goud points to, among other things, the different portraits of Claudius as provided by *AJ* 19.212ff (the bumbling Claudius

role played by Agrippa in securing the principate for Claudius, along with the subsequent actions of Claudius regarding Agrippa and Jews of the Empire in general has led some to argue that Claudius was markedly pro-Jewish, at least in the early years of his reign. Further, this pro-Jewish stance likely arose out of his gratitude for Agrippa's help in securing his position.[607] While Josephus' account of Claudius' reign vis-à-vis the Jews certainly does include positive features, there are times in the narrative when this positive image is subverted and the dangers inherent in the concentration of power in the hands of the emperor are highlighted as they were earlier with Augustus.[608]

According to Josephus, almost as soon as he had secured his position as princeps, Claudius not only confirmed the kingdom and title granted to Agrippa by Gaius, but also enlarged it to include all of the domains formerly encompassing the kingdom of Agrippa's grandfather, Herod.[609] In this way Claudius restored a native king to Judaea for the first time in nearly fifty years. In addition, Claudius added the territories of Lysanias to Agrippa's holdings, making him a wealthy man.[610] The political ties between the emperor and the Jewish king were sealed by a formal treaty between the two men completed in the forum at Rome.[611] While the close proximity in Josephus' narrative of Claudius' assumption of the principate and his bestowal of lands and titles on Agrippa has led many to believe that Claudius intended these rewards as signs of his gratitude for

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familiar from Roman sources such as Suetonius *Claud*. 10.1) and *AJ* 19.162-5 (where Claudius is chosen by the soldiers on account of his dignity and worthiness) as evidence of at least two sources used by Josephus in his account of Gaius' murder and the acclamation of Claudius as emperor.

[607] Cf. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, III, 77 note 91.

[608] Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 90-105 questions the view that Agrippa played an instrumental role in Claudius' rise to power and that as a result Claudius was "pro-Jewish."

[609] Joseph. *AJ* 19.274; *BJ* 2.215.

[610] Joseph. *AJ* 19.275; *BJ* 2.218.

[611] Joseph. *AJ* 19.275.

Agrippa's role in helping him secure the principate, it should be noted that Josephus does not state this explicitly.[612]

Beyond enlarging Agrippa's domain to include Judaea and other areas, Josephus tells us that Claudius engaged in a number of other activities that would prove beneficial to the Jews, both in Jerusalem as well as in the Diaspora. He granted the kingdom of Chalcis to Agrippa's brother, Herod.[613] In addition, he issued two important edicts confirming the right of Jews to practice their religion and follow their ancestral customs without interference or molestation from outsiders.[614] The first of these edicts was issued, at the behest of Agrippa and Herod of Chalcis, to Alexandria (and Syria), where violence had again broken out between the Greek and Jewish residents of the city.[615] A similar edict, again prompted by Agrippa and Herod, was issued to the Roman world at large, stipulating that the rights granted to the Jews of Alexandria shall be enjoyed by Jews everywhere throughout the Roman world.[616] In and of themselves these edicts demonstrated the imperial concern that the Jews continue to enjoy religious liberty within the Empire. As Josephus makes clear with this brief statement, "Τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῖς διατάγμασιν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειάν τε καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν ἀποσταλεῖσιν ἐδήλωσεν ἣν περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχοι γνώμην Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ· - By means of these

[612] Cf. Schwartz, *Agrippa I*, 91-3 who points out that Claudius granted lands to a number of other client kings during his reign. He also argues that from Claudius' perspective a Roman-raised Hasmonean-Herodian ruler over Judaea presented the best of both worlds. See also Smallwood, *Jews Under Roman Rule*, 191-2 for the foreign policy considerations that may have factored into Claudius' decision to confirm and increase Agrippa's domain.
[613] Joseph. *AJ* 19.277; *BJ* 2.217.
[614] For a discussion of these edicts, their authenticity, and their relation to the Letter of Claudius sent to the Alexandrians (P. London 1912), see in particular Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights*, 294-342.
[615] Joseph. *AJ* 19.278-85.
[616] Joseph. *AJ* 19.286-91.

edicts, dispatched to Alexandria and to all the inhabited world Claudius Caesar made clear what opinion he held concerning the Jews."[617]

The power of these edicts is reinforced by Josephus through an account of an incident which occurred in the city of Dora in Syria. When some youths placed a statue of the emperor in a synagogue in the city Agrippa quickly brought the affront to the attention of Petronius, the governor of Syria. Petronius then issued an edict to Dora mandating that the perpetrators of the crime be brought before him for punishment. In the text of his edict Petronius refers back to the precedent set by the edict of Claudius protecting Jewish religious rights.[618] By referencing Claudius' edict Petronius thus reminded the population of Dora (and Josephus reminds his audience) that an affront against Jewish law is equivalent to an affront against imperial law.

Following Agrippa I's death in 44 CE Josephus illustrates that Claudius engaged in further activities that benefited the Jews, primarily those in Jerusalem. After the death of their king the Jerusalemites petitioned the emperor for the right to maintain control over the high priestly vestments, which had been under the care of Agrippa, but with his death would likely become the purview of the new Roman governor, Cuspius Fadus. Claudius granted this request, primarily at the behest of Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, but also, as Josephus tells us, because of his own personal belief that every people should have the right to worship their deity as they see fit.[619] Other privileges pertaining to the operation of the Jewish cult in Jerusalem which had been controlled by Agrippa now were granted to Herod of Chalcis, after he petitioned the emperor for these rights. Herod obtained from Claudius authority over the Temple in Jerusalem, as well as control of the

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[617] Joseph. *AJ* 19.292.
[618] Joseph. *AJ* 19.300-11.
[619] Joseph. *AJ* 20.6-14.

Temple funds, and the right to appoint the high priest.[620] Through his granting of the petitions of the people and the king Claudius thus allowed the Temple and its operations to remain in the control of Jewish hands, despite the fact that Judaea was now once again a Roman province.

Although Josephus undoubtedly portrays Claudius in a very positive light in his relationship with the Jews of the Empire, he also includes statements in his narrative that express anxiety regarding Claudius' position of power with respect to the Jews. For example, when Agrippa I died after a brief reign Claudius' immediate reaction was to place Agrippa's son, Agrippa II, in charge of his father's kingdom, but then he changed his mind. In the *War* Josephus allows that Agrippa was not granted his father's kingdom merely on account of his young age, but in the *Antiquities* he gives a more detailed account for Claudius' reasoning behind denying Agrippa II his father's monarchy. Josephus claims that Claudius was dissuaded from proclaiming Agrippa II king by those of his freedmen and friends who held most sway with the emperor (ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ φίλων οἱ πολὺ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι ἀπέτρεψαν... ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοὺς εἰκότα λέγειν ὁ Καῖσαρ – but those of his freedmen and friends having the most power over him turned him aside [from this plan]...Caesar thought, therefore, that they spoke fittingly).[621] This claim that Claudius was dissuaded from a course of action which he deemed fit by the arguments of his freedmen and friends is reminiscent of Roman sources on his principate.[622] By making this comment Josephus thus draws attention to

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[620] Joseph. *AJ* 20.15.
[621] Joseph. *AJ* 19.362.
[622] Suetonius, for example, comments that, "sed et haec et cetera totumque adeo ex parte magna principatum non tam suo quam uxorum libertorumque arbitrio administrauit, talis ubique plerumque, qualem esse eum aut expediret illis aut liberet. – But both these things [treaties with foreign rulers] and others even so far as extended to the greater part of his principate he conducted not so much by his own

one of Claudius' weaknesses and questions his ability to make appropriate decisions for the Empire generally and the Judaeans particularly.

Josephus further undermines the portrayal of Claudius as a positively impactful emperor, as far as the Jews were concerned, in his account of affairs which transpired during Cumanus' governorship of Judaea. According to Josephus, Cumanus weathered a number of incidents involving Roman disrespect of Jewish traditions, but things finally came to a head when a conflict arose between some Samaritans and Galileans.[623] Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, was asked to settle the dispute between them after Cumanus proved to be ineffectual. Quadratus ultimately decided to send the leading men of both factions to Rome to make their account before Caesar.[624] In the *War*, Josephus merely reports that Claudius heard the arguments of each side, which were bolstered by the espousal of Agrippa II for the Jews and "many of the powerful men" (πολλοὶ τῶν δυνατῶν) on the side of Cumanus, and resolved to punish the leading Samaritans as well as Cumanus.[625] Again a more detailed account is provided by the *Antiquities*, in which Josephus tells us that Claudius, despite having already set a date for the hearing, was inclined to follow the advice of his freedmen and friends, who were partial to Cumanus and the Samaritans, and not bother hearing the case at all. Only the intervention of Agrippa II, who persuaded Agrippina to exhort her husband to hear the case and decide on behalf of the Jews, gained justice for the Jews and punishment for the Samaritans.[626] Thus, although Claudius ultimately decided in favor of the Jews in this

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judgment as by that of his wives and freedmen, such that in every way he acted as they directed or as they allowed" (Suet. *Claud*. 25.5). See also, Tac. *Ann*. 12.1 on Claudius' reliance on his freedmen and wives.

[623] On the insulting actions of some Roman soldiers during Cumanus' tenure see Joseph. *AJ* 20.105-17; *BJ* 2.224-31.

[624] Joseph. *AJ* 20.125-33; *BJ* 2.239-44.

[625] Joseph. *BJ* 2.245.

[626] Joseph. *AJ* 20.135-6.

conflict, Josephus makes it clear that he only followed the right course of action because he was impelled to by Agrippa II and Agrippina. Had Claudius been left to his own devices he would again, this time with perhaps further negative consequences for the Jews, have been persuaded by his freedmen and friends to follow a course against his better judgment.

Through his depiction of Claudius' reliance on his freedmen and friends, Josephus demonstrates that the benevolence of Claudius could quickly be turned away from the Jews. Since power over the fate of Jewish religious liberty rested ultimately with the emperor, it was necessary that the emperor be well-disposed (or even indifferent) towards Jewish religious customs. Claudius' deference to his freedmen and friends, who were apparently opposed to the Jews, put the Jewish right to practice their religion without interference into jeopardy. Thus, although much of Claudius' reign is good and beneficial towards the Jews (as well as other populations of the Empire), his ability to be persuaded away from a correct course of action by others gives Claudius the potential to be an instrument of negative consequences for the Jews.

Nero

Surprisingly, perhaps, given the dramatic nature of his reign, Nero is a rather shadowy figure in Josephus' narratives. After briefly recounting Nero's many murders of those close to him (Brittanicus, Agrippina, Octavia, among others) Josephus explains his sparse treatment of the emperor with the statement, "Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐῶ πλείω γράφειν· πολλοὶ γὰρ τὴν περὶ Νέρωνα συντετάχασιν ἱστορίαν – But concerning these affairs I leave off writing any more; for many men have already compiled the

history of Nero."[627] In addition, Josephus claims, many lies have been told about Nero, either out of a desire to flatter him, or out of hatred for him. Josephus himself, however, is concerned only with telling the truth and will, therefore, recount only those events of Nero's time that deal directly with the Jewish situation.[628]

This last statement is startlingly reminiscent of the beginning of the *War*, where Josephus laments that:

> οἱ μὲν οὐ παρατυχόντες τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' ἀκοῇ συλλέγοντες εἰκαῖα καὶ ἀσύμφωνα διηγήματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναγράφουσιν, οἱ παραγενόμενοι δὲ ἢ κολακείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἢ μίσει τῷ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καταψεύδονται τῶν πραγμάτων, περιέχει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπου μὲν κατηγορίαν ὅπου δὲ ἐγκώμιον τὰ συγγράμματα, τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς τῆς ἱστορίας οὐδαμοῦ, προυθέμην ἐγὼ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ μεταβαλὼν ἃ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῇ πατρίῳ συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα πρότερον ἀφηγήσασθαι.[629]
>
> Many who were not present at the events, but having collected random and discordant accounts through hearsay, wrote [them] down in a sophistic manner; others who were present either from flattery towards the Romans, or from hatred towards the Jews have written spurious accounts of the affairs. Some of these writings include accusation, while others include encomium, but nowhere is there an accurate record of history. I have, therefore, appointed for myself the task of translating into the Greek language, for the benefit of those under Roman hegemony, the work which I had previously composed in my native language and sent to the barbarians.

In both cases, Josephus claims that false accounts have been given; some out of desire to flatter, others out of hatred for the subject about whom they are writing. Josephus alone, apparently, is capable of (and willing) to give an accurate account of events.[630] One might expect, then, given the atrocities that Nero had already committed in his personal life,

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[627] Joseph. *AJ* 20.154. *BJ* 2.250-1 expresses a similar sentiment with, ""Ὅσα μὲν οὖν Νέρων δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ πλούτου παραφρονήσας ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὴν τύχην... ἐπειδὴ δι' ὄχλου πᾶσίν ἐστιν, παραλείψω... – As to the many ways, therefore, that Nero, delirious on account of his excess of both good fortune and riches, acted insolently towards fate ... I will pass over them since through a multitude [of authors] this account is everywhere."
[628] Joseph. *AJ* 20.154-7; *BJ* 2.251.
[629] Joseph. *BJ* 1.1-3.
[630] This is, of course, a trope common in ancient historiography.

that this cruel and unpredictable emperor would feature prominently in Josephus' account of the lead up to and outbreak of the Revolt. This is not, however, the case.

Following the ascension of Nero to the imperial authority, Josephus' narratives become almost completely focused on events in Judaea as he builds his story more dramatically towards its tragic climax: the Revolt. While many of the governors of Judaea feature prominently in these narratives, Nero is conspicuously absent. In the *War* in particular, Nero makes no appearance throughout these turbulent times until the very outbreak of the revolt. His name is not even mentioned in the appointment of each new governor of Judaea. The *Antiquities* does credit Nero with the appointment of the governors, but otherwise, like the *War*, makes little mention of the emperor until the very outbreak of the Revolt.

By largely removing Nero from the narrative of events leading up to the Revolt, Josephus may be obscuring any role that the emperor played in the outbreak of violence. Unlike the governors of Judaea, at whose feet Josephus lays much blame, Nero receives very little criticism.[631] Conversely, this lack of emphasis on any agency that Nero may have had in the outbreak of revolt could imply that he did nothing to stop it either. He was neither an exacerbating nor an ameliorating force. While this could be interpreted as a disinclination to pass judgment on Nero, it is also possible that by not making him part of the solution, Josephus was thus making him part of the problem.

One instance where Josephus does seem to assign agency to Nero for actions that led directly to the outbreak of the Revolt is in his telling of an incident that occurred in Caesarea. Josephus states that in Caesarea, the city built by Herod (see Ch. 5, pgs. 215-7),

[631] This is not to say that Josephus chose to leave a good impression of Nero's reign, or saw him as a successful emperor.

a conflict arose between the Jewish and Greek inhabitants concerning who had greater authority in the city. Eventually this led to violence between the two groups and Felix, the governor of Judaea, was forced to intervene, killing many Jews in the process. Delegations were sent to Nero by the Jews and the Greeks to petition their cause, and in the case of the Jews to accuse Felix. According to Josephus, the Jews might have prevailed but for the intervention of Pallas, Felix's brother. Nero ruled that the Greeks had the higher authority in Caesarea, which soon led the Jews to armed rebellion.[632]

It is important to note that in this episode where Nero is held at least partially responsible for the outbreak of the Revolt, the emperor is still portrayed as a person to whom the Jews might appeal in order to right wrongs and maintain their religious liberty.[633] Josephus thus draws attention to the fact that the Jews may have obtained a favorable decision from Nero but for the intervention of Pallas. Coupled with Nero's absence through much of the narrative leading to the Revolt Josephus may be using this episode in Caesarea to highlight the emperor's inability (or refusal) to act on behalf of the Jews and thus to ensure the maintenance of peace in the region. The emperor was the ultimate authority to whom the Jews could appeal to uphold their religious freedoms, as exemplified by the Caesarea episode, and yet Nero refused to accept this role. In instances where he could have punished wayward governors of Judaea he did not. Thus, although he had very little agency in bringing about the revolt, his refusal to act on behalf of the Jews was equally detrimental.

In the midst of rising turmoil in Judaea, Josephus depicts the emperor Nero, infamous for his cruelty and unpredictability as a figure to whom the Jews felt they could

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[632] Joseph. *AJ* 20.173-3, 182-4; *BJ* 2.266-92.
[633] Cf. Joseph. *BJ* 2.283 on the governor Florus' attempts to stir up sedition in order to prevent the Jews from accusing him before Caesar.

still appeal to remediate the wrongs committed against them. That the emperor was even now, to a certain extent, a person on whom the Jews believed they could rely demonstrates that Roman authority, particularly the emperor, was not universally rejected or reviled. Unfortunately, in key instances where Nero had the opportunity to protect the rights of the Jews and perhaps to safeguard peace in the region he either did nothing or acted in a way that was harmful to the Jews' relationship with imperial authority.

Conclusion

As the Roman political world changed following Actium, the emperor became the focal point of the Roman political sphere. He was now the ultimate representative of Roman authority and the highest power to which subject populations could make an appeal. This augmented political position also resulted in a cultural phenomenon, which saw an increased focus on the emperor as a model.[634] With this increased cultural focus on the emperor, the evidence for Jewish opinions concerning Roman authority grew. In this larger body of evidence, similar trends to those already observed regarding Jewish attitudes towards Roman leaders can be seen.

Similar to his accounts of the Roman leaders in Syria, Josephus' narratives of the emperors suggest that he was ambivalent towards the power that the emperor wielded. Despite generally positive assessments of both Augustus and Claudius, both men are shown to have character flaws that had the potential to impact negatively the Jewish religious and political world. In this way, Josephus' perspective on the emperor's

[634] On the shift in historiography in particular from a focus on the *res gestae populi Romani* to a focus on the *res gestae divi Augusti* see Christopher Pelling, *Plutarch and History* (London: Duckworth & Co., 2002); Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Anthony Woodman, *Velleius Paterculus: The Tiberian Narrative 2.94-131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 35-45. For a discussion of this phenomenon in Josephus see Christina Shuttleworth Kraus, "From Exempla to Exemplar? Writing History Around the Emperor in Imperial Rome," in *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson, Steve Mason, James Rives (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 181-200.

authority demonstrates continuity with his assessment of the governors and leading Romans in Syria in the time between Pompey's conquest and the kingship of Herod.

Contrary to his own claims, and the interpretations of some modern scholars, Josephus' works do not demonstrate that, following the imposition of direct Roman control of Judaea in 6 CE, relations between the Judaean Jews and Roman authorities irremediably worsened. Evidence for the mutual cooperation between Roman authorities and the Jews, as well as a Jewish understanding that the emperor could generally be relied upon to remediate wrongs committed against the Jews, can be seen in Josephus' narratives themselves. While Josephus does recount actions of Tiberius and Gaius that could be interpreted as motivated by the emperor's anti-Jewish attitude, he is careful to place these actions within the broader context of each emperor's reign and thus to remove any anti-Jewish motivation from them. This could be, and has been, attributed to Josephus' apologetic purpose. I argue, however, that he is not trying to defend the actions of these emperors so much as he is trying to demonstrate that the policies of these emperors were never directed against the Jews specifically and even could be seen, in some instances, as consistently applied to all peoples of the Empire. This is true for Tiberius' appointment of provincial governors as well as for Gaius' attempt to desecrate the Temple in Jerusalem (one of many temples he despoiled, or attempted to defile).

Josephus' treatment of Nero further demonstrates that the Roman emperor was expected to be a figure on whom the Jewish people could rely to uphold their rights. As conditions worsened in Judaea and seditious sentiments seemed to be on the rise, Nero was the person whom the Jews sought to remediate the wrongs committed against them by their neighbors as well as by the Roman governors of Judaea. Nero, however, is

largely absent from Josephus' account of the lead up to the rebellion, suggesting that he either was incapable or unwilling to exert whatever power he may have had to stop the rebellion by imposing imperial justice. Thus, although he ostensibly forebears from mentioning Nero's many faults in his narrative, nevertheless, Josephus is able to demonstrate, from a uniquely Jewish perspective, Nero's failure as a Roman emperor.

Although Philo's aims and audience are quite different from those of Josephus, his *Legatio ad Gaium* similarly testifies to a level of cooperation and tolerance between the Jews of the Empire and the Roman emperor. Philo, who is concerned with displaying the exemplarity of each emperor, idealizes the reign of Augustus in order to provide a model of imperial behavior for his (potentially) imperial audience. Tiberius, too, is a model of behavior. Unlike Augustus, however, Tiberius presided over a time when the Jews suffered from official acts that were apparently targeted against them (expulsion from Rome, extended governorship of Pilate). By mentioning these incidents, then promptly setting Tiberius up as the hero who ameliorates the situation Philo provides a model for how an emperor should respond to periods of intolerance. Although Philo may be portraying Tiberius' actions in a much better light than is factually warranted, nevertheless, the fact that he is willing to portray the emperor as a positive force in (re)establishing Jewish religious liberty shows that he did not see the emperors and Jewish communities of the Empire as oppositional forces.

Philo's Gaius, by contrast, provides an example of behavior not to follow. Philo seems deliberately to misrepresent Gaius' motivations with respect to his actions towards the Jews in order to enhance his culpability. As an emperor provides an exemplum for his successors, he also provides an exemplum for his contemporary subjects. Gaius' aberrant

behavior and cruelty thus signify to his contemporaries that such conduct is acceptable and even encouraged. That Philo is able to criticize Gaius so openly and emphatically, however, suggests that his example was not being followed by his successor, Claudius. Thus, Philo's emphasis on Gaius' deplorable conduct testifies to the restored amicability between the Jewish population of the Empire and the emperor. If Claudius was not perceived as considerably different from his predecessor it is hardly conceivable that Philo would feel able to condemn Gaius so freely.

Chapter Five: Rulers on Rulers: Herod and His Successors Reflect on the Julio-Claudians

Introduction

From an examination of the literary evidence concerning Jewish perspectives on Roman leaders I turn now to the analysis of two other areas of expression: public buildings and coins. These two media provide unique avenues for approaching the topic of Jewish perspectives on Roman leaders because, unlike literature, which was predominantly produced and consumed by the elite in any given society, public buildings and coins were produced by the ruling authority and consumed by all levels of society.[635] Thus, public buildings and coins provide not only a glimpse into how Judaean leaders perceived and reflected upon Roman authority, but also, through a consideration of public reactions to the buildings (and to a lesser extent the coins), they can lend insight into how Judaeans more broadly felt about Roman authority.

Although, as I hope to have shown, the literary sources attest to a certain ambivalence regarding the emperor Augustus, one area where praise of and homage to him may be straightforwardly expressed by a Jewish source is in elements of the building program of Herod of Judaea. As with the literary sphere, Augustan ideals came to dominate the building activities and choices, not only of Roman elites, but also of client

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[635] There are, of course, many uncertain factors involved in the production of coinage in particular. Often the minting authority is not known, and it is unclear exactly how iconographical decisions were made. For my discussion of the coins I will be working under the premise that coins were understood by the people who used them to be deliberate instruments of conveying a ruler's ideological message (see Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 212).
I will be confining my discussion of public buildings to very specific projects that were undertaken and funded by Herod. Although Herod was surely not involved in the day-to-day decision making regarding these building projects, nevertheless the personal pride that he seems to have taken in these projects suggests that he desired them to be seen as expressions of his political ideology (cf. Joseph. *AJ* 16.12-15; Lichtenberger, "Herod and Rome," 48).

kings and provincial aristocrats.[636] In the case of Herod, although some of his building projects clearly demonstrate a desire to honor the emperor, it has also been argued that he brilliantly anticipated and navigated the changing political environment in order to mediate between the inevitability of participating in "Romanization" while also protecting the traditional customs of his Jewish people.[637] Further, Herod's extensive building program and its pervasive references to Augustus and the imperial family can be seen as an attempt by the king to promote his own self-image as a Hellenistic king both to his kingdom and to the world at large.[638] Thus, while Herod undoubtedly intended to honor the emperor through certain building projects, he did so on his terms and in a way that attempted to mediate any impact that the new political order would have on Herod's people. In this way Herod manipulated the image of the emperor in order to ensure an important place for himself and his kingdom in the new Roman world, while also helping to preserve his core constituents' religious liberty.

In addition to his building program, some scholars argue that the coinage of Herod also participated in the movement to honor Augustus and therefore legitimize his own status.[639] They attribute to Augustus (and Augustan imagery) a significant influential

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[636] On the process of "Romanization" that occurred throughout the Empire during, and arguably in response to the principate of Augustus see in particular Greg Woolf, "Provincial Perspectives," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, edited by Karl Galinsky, 106-129 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See also Ramsay MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 1-29 on this process in the east generally and Karl Galinsky, "The Augustan Programme of Cultural Renewal and Herod" in *Herod and Augustus*, edited by David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos, 29-42 (Leiden: Brill, 2005) for this process more specifically in Judaea.
[637] On Herod's early adoption of "Romanization" and the political messages he intended to send through his buildings in honor of Augustus see Robert L. Hohlfelder, "Images of Homage, Images of Power: King Herod and his Harbour, Sebastos," *Antichthon* 37 (2003): 13-31. For Herod's concern for his Jewish subjects see McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 259-60. See also McCane, "Augustus, Herod, and the Empire," 725-35 on Herod's attempts to "pull" his subjects towards the Roman Empire through the construction of Roman-inspired architecture.
[638] Gruen, "Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora," 13-27.
[639] Cf. Donald Ariel, "The Coins of Herod the Great in the Context of the Augustan Empire," in *Herod and Augustus*, edited by David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos, 113-26 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Adam Marshak,

role in, for example, the choice of symbolism for the coins of Herod. While I do not agree with this assessment of Herod's coinage, I feel it is important to address the topic and the implications it has for deepening our understanding of Jewish perspectives on leading Romans. In my discussion of Herod's coins I argue that although Herod may acknowledge the role that Rome played in his acquisition and maintenance of power, it cannot be said definitively that he was honoring Augustus with his coinage. This discussion of Herod's coins will also serve to put into context my analysis of the coins of his successors.

In contrast to the coins of Herod, those of his successors display an increasing level of preoccupation with the Roman emperor, and in some cases the imperial family. Through their use of imperial imagery, the coins of Herod's successors provide even clearer evidence than the works of Philo and Josephus that even though the power of the Roman emperor was supreme, nevertheless there was room for mutual respect and collaboration between the Jewish and Roman ruling authorities (and by extension between their communities). In areas that were inhabited by largely Jewish populations, namely the tetrarchy of Antipas, references to the emperor were consistently made on the coins, but, in accordance with Jewish law, the portrait of the emperor never appeared. The same protocol was followed later by Agrippa I when he minted coins in the city of Jerusalem. Coins minted by Herodians ruling outside of Jewish-dominated territories, however, demonstrate a remarkable level of engagement with imperial imagery through the use of portraits of the emperor and members of the imperial family. These include the coins minted in the tetrarchy of Philip as well as those of Agrippa I minted outside of

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"The Dated Coins of Herod the Great: Towards a new Chronology," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 37.2 (2006): 212-40.

Jerusalem. The coins of Herod's successors clearly demonstrate that these rulers had a strong interest in connecting their power to that of the Roman emperor. Within this framework, however, we also see that these rulers were not expected, and had no desire, to contravene the native customs of the territories over which they ruled in order to demonstrate their loyalty to and connection with Roman authority.[640]

Building an Image: Herod's Cities and Temples in Honor of Augustus

As recent scholarly work (and Josephus' narratives) has highlighted, Herod and Augustus had a special relationship, both politically and personally.[641] The unique quality of this relationship was dramatically expressed in the building programs of Herod that were intended to honor the princeps. As Josephus states, "καθόλου δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅντινα τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτήδειον τόπον τῆς πρὸς Καίσαρα τιμῆς γυμνὸν εἴασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν ἐπλήρωσεν ναῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεξέχεεν καὶ πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἐνιδρύσατο Καισάρεια. – To speak in general, there was not any place in his kingdom suitable for honoring Caesar that he left unadorned. And when he had filled his own country with temples, he poured out honors into his provincial territory and founded many cities named Caesarea."[642] Moreover, as Lichtenberger notes, Herod clearly intended for these buildings to be "read" as political

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[640] In general, it seems that civic coinages in the provinces and client kingdom coinages were not expected or required to place the emperor's image on coins, the decision was left up to the minting authority. On the inclusion of the emperor's image on civic coinages in the provinces see Marietta Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family: local identity and Roman rule," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 26 (2013):243-61. For a discussion of the coinages of client kings and their inclusion of imperial imagery see Karsten Dahmen, "With Rome in Mind? Case Studies in the Coinage of Client Kings," in *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, eds. Ted Kaizer and Margherita Facella (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010), 99-112.

[641] See for example the recent volume devoted to various aspects of the relationship between these two men: *Herod and Augustus*, eds. David M. Jacobson and Nikos Kokkinos (Leiden: Brill, 2005). See also the famous passage in Josephus (*AJ* 15.361): "Καῖσαρ μὲν οὐδένα μετὰ Ἀγρίππαν Ἡρώδου προετίμησεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ μετὰ Καίσαρα πρῶτον ἀπεδίδου φιλίας τόπον Ἡρώδῃ - Caesar esteemed no one after Agrippa more than Herod, and Agrippa gave to Herod the first place of friendship after Caesar."

[642] Joseph. *BJ* 1.407.

statements. This is supported by the fact that Herod took Marcus Agrippa, Augustus' friend and political colleague, on a tour of his building projects, presumably to share their political message with the powerful Roman. The magnificence and grandeur of his buildings advertised his power, supported by Rome, to Herod's subjects, and to the Romans they emphasized his stability and resources.[643] The building program of Herod thus provides a unique glimpse into the ways in which a Jewish king who was strongly allied with, and arguably dependent on Rome attempted to express not only his loyalty to Rome and Augustus, but also his prominent status vis-à-vis his relationship with the emperor.[644] In addition, popular reactions to Herod's efforts to navigate the changing political situation that resulted when Augustus gained control of the Roman world offer insight into how Augustus may have been received by Judaean Jews. For these reasons a discussion of Herod's building program is an important feature to include in this study.

Introduction to Herod's Building Program

Herod's building program began in 40 BCE, when he was still only tetrarch of Judaea, and continued throughout the entirety of his reign as king. His building projects ranged from private residences, to religious spaces, to entire cities. In the beginning of his reign, when he was still fighting to establish control over his territory, his building projects were largely limited to military construction such as fortresses.[645] As his reign progressed, however, his building projects became more elaborate, varied, and lavish. Lichtenberger separates Herod's building program into three main, interrelated categories: 1) buildings, such as fortresses, aimed at the protection of Herod's

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[643] Lichtenberger, "Herod and Rome," 43-62, esp. 48ff. On Agrippa's visit to Herod's kingdom see Joseph. *AJ* 16.12-15.
[644] On Herod's use of his relationship with Rome to promote his eminent status internationally as well as domestically see Gruen, "Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora," 13-27.
[645] Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 87.

sovereignty; 2) buildings aimed at promoting his rule, a theme inherited from Hellenistic kings; and 3) buildings that demonstrated the subordination of Herod's authority to Rome. This final category had a dual objective; by constructing buildings that demonstrated his relationship to Rome Herod was both acknowledging his subordination to Rome while also projecting a positive image of his kingdom to an external (and internal) audience.[646] Further, Lichtenberger describes Herod's building policy as "flexible," able to mediate between the desire to showcase his kingdom as a modern, Hellenistic-style state, while also respecting the customs and traditions of his Jewish subjects.[647] Although Herod spent most of his attentions on Judaea, he also provided funds for building projects on the Greek mainland and isles, as well as Asia Minor and Syria.[648]

Roller discusses why Herod, who ruled a kingdom in which public building had not been a conspicuous feature of any recent ruler's domestic (or foreign) policy, would choose to engage in such an elaborate building program throughout his career. He notes that Herod grew up in an environment that taught him the value of architectural patronage. His father, Antipater, was a modest supporter of public building projects in Judaea, who associated with and supported the interests of some of the greatest Roman benefactors of the day: Pompey and Caesar. In addition, Herod was coming of age during the reformation and rebuilding of Judaea carried out by Gabinius (see Ch. 3, pgs. 106-8), which perhaps also influenced Herod's later interest in building.[649] Having learned the

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[646] Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 186.
[647] Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 187.
[648] Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 89-90.
[649] See Duane Roller, "New Insights Into the Building Program of Herod the Great," in *The World of the Herods*, vol. 1, edited by Nikos Kokkinos and Konstantinos D. Politis, 313-20 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007); Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 86-7.

value of architectural patronage from leading Romans of his day, Herod was quick to apply this lesson to his own kingdom, likely with the hopes of solidifying his rule by impressing both his Roman patrons and his subjects.

As Lichtenberger noted, one main goal of Herod's building program was to express honor and homage to Rome and leading Romans.[650] He achieved this in a variety of ways from the straightforward naming of buildings and cities after prominent Romans to drawing on Roman models to construct his public buildings.[651] The names of prominent Romans occur numerous times in conspicuous areas of the Herodian building program. Jerusalem contained the Antonia fortress near the Temple, named for Mark Antony, presumably for his aid in establishing Herod as king of Judaea;[652] the harbor at Caesarea boasted a Druseion tower, named for Augustus' stepson Drusus who had died shortly before the city's completion;[653] and the refounded cities of Caesarea and Sebaste pay homage to both Augustus and his adopted father, Julius Caesar.[654] In addition, Herod incorporated numerous Roman models into his building program, despite the fact that Hellenistic models abounded in his territory. For example, Herod constructed amphitheaters, Italian-style theaters, palaces based on Roman villa architecture, Italian-style temples, and cities complete with a central forum.[655] Herod's readiness to name building projects after prominent Romans, as well as his incorporation of Roman architectural models into his building program demonstrate not only his desire to pay

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[650] On Herod's intention to honor Rome and Romans through buildings see also Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 90-100; Lichtenberger, "Herod and Rome," 44-8; Hohlfelder, "Images of Homage, Images of Power," 13-31.
[651] Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 87, 90-118; Lichtenberger, "Herod and Rome," 45.
[652] Joseph. *BJ* 1.401.
[653] Joseph. *AJ* 15.336; *BJ* 1.412.
[654] Joseph. *BJ* 1.403 (Sebaste), 414 (Caesarea).
[655] Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 90-118. Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 187 thinks that Herod abstained from building a permanent, stone theater in Jerusalem specifically in order to avoid giving offense to his Jewish subjects.

homage to Rome, but also his astute progressiveness. Roman architecture in the east was an innovation and Herod was leading the charge. His architectural program thus demonstrated his loyalty to the Roman regime while also promoting his own status as a successful and powerful ruler by bringing his country to the forefront of embracing the new imperial style.

The Temples of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea and Sebaste

Because Herod's building projects in general, and those honoring Augustus in particular are too numerous to discuss in detail here, I will confine myself to the discussion of two of the more significant examples: the temples to Roma and Augustus found in Sebaste and Caesarea.[656] These temples are particularly useful for this study for a number of reasons. First, they both receive detailed descriptions in the works of Josephus. In addition, they have been the subject of a great deal of attention from modern scholars, including archaeologists. This has led to extensive excavation of both Caesarea and Sebaste, as well as the positive identification of these temples.[657] Further, the temples provide superlative examples of buildings constructed by Herod not only to advertise, internationally and domestically, his relationship to the most powerful Roman of his day, but also to pay homage and honor to Augustus.[658]

Herod began construction on the city of Sebaste (from the Greek for Augustus) in 27 BCE, within the same year that Augustus received his honorific name, as a monument

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[656] Herod also built a temple to Augustus at Paneas, but the remains of this temple have yet to be discovered. See Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 190-2.
[657] Cf. Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 82-3 (Samaria), 116, 120 (Caesarea).
[658] Hohlfelder, "Images of Homage, Images of Power," 25-6 notes that it is likely that Herod needed permission to construct temples devoted to the imperial cult. With this in mind it seems probable that Augustus was aware of Herod's intention to build temples dedicated to himself and Roma.

to his patron.[659] The new city was built on the site of the old city of Samaria, a city with which Herod had a long and complicated history.[660] In 43 BCE Herod traveled to Samaria to settle internal disputes there, leaving the city in peace.[661] During the civil war with Antigonus, Samaria came over to Herod's side and provided support for him in the ongoing struggle. It was here that he brought his family to be safe during the conflict.[662] Further, it was in this city that he would marry his much beloved wife, the Hasmonean Mariamne.[663] To ensure the continued loyalty of the city Herod populated Sebaste with former soldiers as well as residents from the neighboring territory, creating a largely non-Jewish population.[664] Beyond Herod's own deep connections with the city the Romans, under Gabinius, had shown some interest in restoring the city also, and thus Herod's choice of construction here can be seen as an indication of his desire to continue in the Roman tradition.[665]

In Herod's renovated city, the Sebasteion, or temple of Roma and Augustus, dominated the urban landscape and served as its focal point (Fig. 1).[666] The temple, the remains of which have been excavated, was built on a natural high point in the city which had been augmented with manmade structures.[667] It was built upon a raised podium and measured approximately 24 x 35m (Fig. 2). The capitals appear to be of the Corinthian

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[659] Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 210. For a description of Herod's construction of the city and his reasons for it, see Joseph. *AJ* 15.296-8. On Sebaste as a monument to Augustus see Joseph. *BJ* 1.403.
[660] See Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 80-1.
[661] Joseph. *AJ* 14.284; *BJ* 1.229.
[662] Joseph. *AJ* 14.411-13; *BJ* 1.302-3.
[663] Joseph. *AJ* 14.467; *BJ* 1.344.
[664] Joseph. *AJ* 15.296.
[665] Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 210.
[666] Joseph. *BJ* 1.403. See also Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 211.
[667] Lisa C. Kahn, "King Herod's Temple of Roma and Augustus at Caesarea Maritima," in *Caesarea Maritima A Retrospective After Two Millennia*, edited by Avner Raban and Kenneth G. Holum (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 136.

order. Inside, the temple apparently had three naves with two corresponding aisles.[668] Josephus claims that the temple was conspicuous both in size and in beauty (μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει).[669]

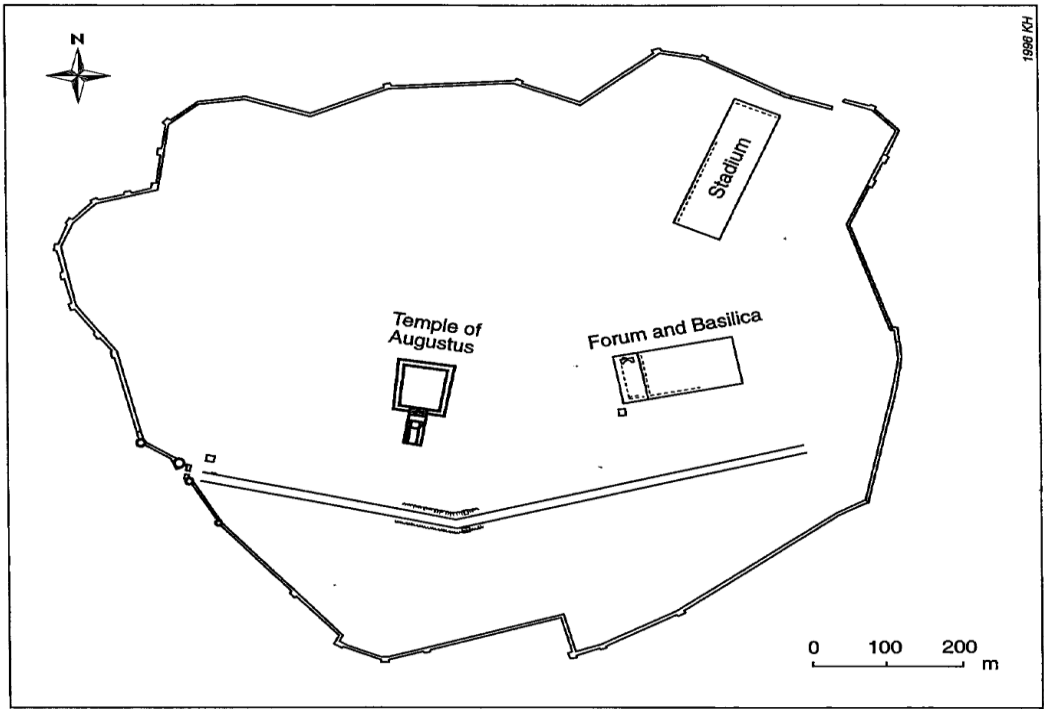

Fig. 1 City Plan of Sebaste[670]

[668] Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 83.
[669] Joseph. *AJ* 15.298.
[670] Map courtesy of Duane Roller and reprinted with permission.

Fig. 2 Remains of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, Sebaste[671]

Construction on Caesarea likely began in the late 20's BCE and was completed by 10 BCE. This new city was built on the site of an abandoned Hellenistic city called Strato's Tower (Στράτωνος πύργος). A magnificent harbor was its showpiece. As a rival to Alexandria, Caesarea and its harbor would provide political significance as well as economic stability for Herod's domain.[672] The city was laid out according to a Hippodamian plan, with important features located on arcs forming concentric circles around the city's centerpiece: the temple of Roma and Augustus (Fig. 3).[673] The prominence of the temple was enhanced, as Lichtenberger notes, by the fact that it was

[671] Image courtesy of Duane Roller and reprinted with permission.
[672] For a detailed description of the city and its harbor see Joseph. *AJ* 15.331- 41; *BJ* 1.408-14.
[673] Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 134-9.

oriented to the city's harbor, making it conspicuous amidst the otherwise grid-like pattern of the city.[674]

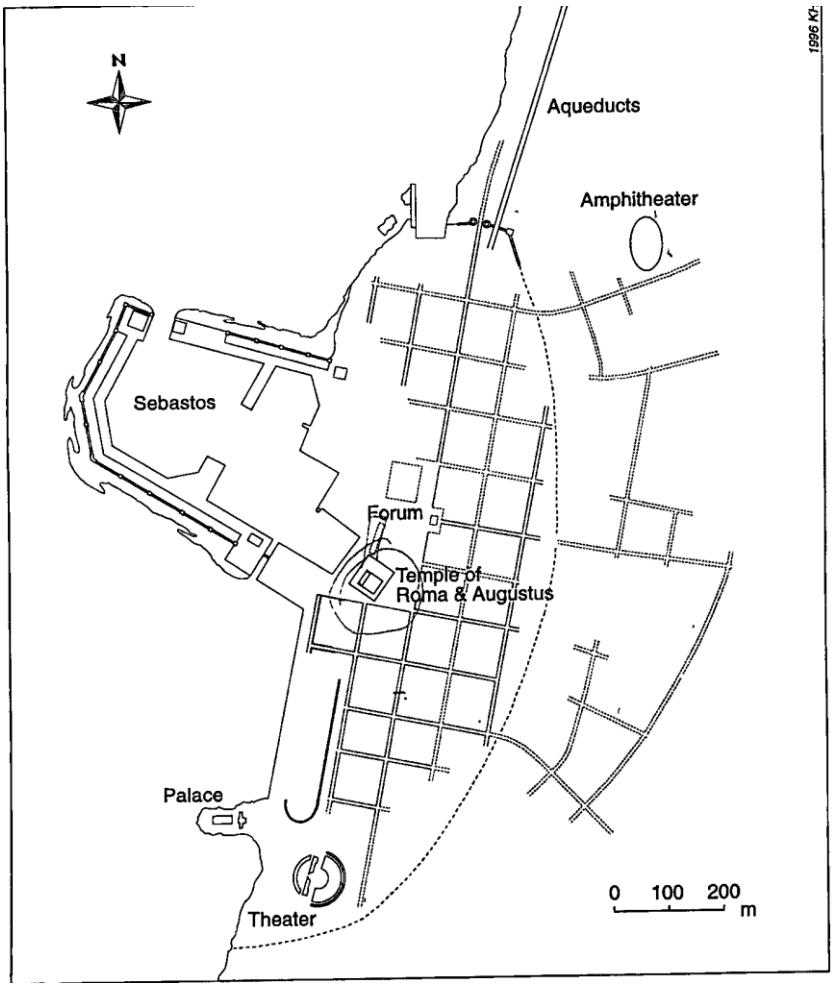

Fig. 3 City Plan of Caesarea[675]

Like its counterpart in Sebaste, the temple of Roma and Augustus in Caesarea likely stood on a naturally elevated place with an artificially constructed platform. From its location overlooking the harbor it would have been seen from a considerable distance out to sea.[676] It seems that the temple was constructed of local stone, perhaps faced with

[674] Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 121.
[675] Map courtesy of Duane Roller and reprinted with permission.
[676] Joseph. *AJ* 15.339. See also Kahn, "King Herod's Temple," 133. In its position overlooking the harbor, and because it was visible so far out to sea, the temple can be seen as guarding or protecting shipping and those who make their living on the water. See Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 121.

stucco to achieve a gleaming white look. The temple was likely hexastyle, with columns of the Corinthian order. It may have measured taller than 22m and approximately 31m wide.[677] According to Josephus, the temple housed two artfully-crafted colossal statues, one of each of its patron deities.[678]

In both Sebaste and Caesarea it is clear that the newly founded cities were planned with the temples as their centerpieces, making them an integral part of the city construction from the very beginning.[679] The importance of these temples is further underscored by their locations on elevated platforms and, in the case of Caesarea, the temple's conspicuous orientation in relation to the rest of the carefully planned city. Additionally, the choice to dedicate these two temples to Roma and Augustus shows that Herod recognized the political advantage to be gained by constructing a religious space for the imperial cult within his territory.

Every feature of these two temples speaks to their ideological importance within Herod's building program. They are beautifully crafted based on Greek models, conspicuously and deliberately placed within the newly constructed cities, and dedicated to the most powerful entities of the day: Roma and Augustus. While it is easy to see in these temples straightforward expressions of Herod's desire to honor Augustus, they can also be seen as demonstrations of Herod's power and status. McCane, for example, argues that the temple at Caesarea was not simply an expression of homage to Rome and the emperor, but was also an invitation to the people of Herod's kingdom to participate in the benefits that the great Roman Empire offered. The temple's orientation, looking out

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[677] Kahn, "King Herod's Temple," 139-45.
[678] Joseph. *AJ* 15.339; *BJ* 1.414. See Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes*, 120-1 on the significance of Josephus' comparison of these statues to the works of Phidias (Zeus of Olympia) and Polykleitos (Hera of Argos).
[679] McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 260; Roller, *Building Program of Herod*, 211.

to the Mediterranean Sea, invited the increasingly globalized world beyond the water into Herod's domain.[680] In addition, McCane suggests, the temple at Caesarea exerted a "pull" towards Romanization on Herod's subjects by presenting the Empire as "real, natural, good, and attractive..."[681] Gruen also emphasizes the domestic importance of Herod's building of these temples (among other buildings honoring leading Romans): by establishing a strong connection between his regime and Roman authority through these buildings Herod was sending a message to his people that his power was backed by the emperor in Rome.[682] Thus, Herod's construction of the temples to Roma and Augustus in Sebaste and Caesarea can be seen not only as expressions of his homage to Rome and Augustus, but also as signals to his subjects of the important role that he and the territory over which he ruled occupied within the burgeoning Roman Empire.

Although many scholars are beginning to see Herod's building program as progressive, innovative, and beneficial not only to himself, but also to his people, others see a more negative aspect to his building. Fuks, for example, argues that Josephus sharply criticizes Herod for building these temples in honor of Augustus. In addition, Fuks claims, Josephus' criticism demonstrates what Jews in general must have thought of Herod and his attempts to honor Augustus. He uses as evidence Josephus' claim that, "Ἰουδαίοις μὲν ἀπολογούμενος μὴ καθ' αὑτὸν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐντολῆς καὶ προσταγμάτων αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, Καίσαρι δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὸ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἐθῶν ὅσον τῆς ἐκείνων τιμῆς ἐστοχάσθαι χαριζόμενος – to the Jews he defended himself with this claim, that

[680] McCane, "Augustus, Herod, and the Empire," 734.
[681] Ibid., 735.
[682] Gruen, "Herod, Rome, and the Diaspora," 16-7. This message could be further enforced, as Hohlfelder, "Images of Homage, Images of Power," 25-6 notes, by the fact that Herod would have needed imperial permission to build temples dedicated to Augustus. That he received this permission may be seen as an indication of the esteem in which he was held by Augustus.

he did these things not by his own initiative, but by command and prescriptions, for both Caesar and the Romans, as if it was not so pleasing to him to have a regard for his native customs as for the honor of those men."[683] The fact that Herod had to defend himself to his Jewish people suggests that there was opposition to his innovations. Although Josephus offers no direct criticism of the building of the temples, and even comments on their magnificence, in Fuks' opinion the presence of this statement of defense directly before the description of the construction of Caesarea shows Josephus' negative opinion of Herod's actions.[684]

Contrary to Fuks' argument, McLaren points out that Josephus is silent on whether or not there were protests from the Jewish people at the time that these temples to Augustus were constructed, which leaves the issue of whether or not protests actually took place uncertain. In McLaren's opinion, Josephus' statement that Herod transgressed the customs of his nation by building cities and temples in honor of Augustus should be interpreted as reflecting post-70 issues, when the Temple in Jerusalem had been destroyed and (at least for the *Antiquities*) the egomaniacal "*dominus et deus*" Domitian was the leader of the Roman world.[685] With the destruction of the Temple and the consequent cessation of the daily sacrifices on behalf of the emperor that took place there, the balance between the religious space for the imperial cult and that for the Jewish cult within his territory that Herod had strived to establish was upset.[686] Jews in a post-70 CE world, such as Josephus, were struggling to determine how to demonstrate their

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[683] Joseph. *AJ* 15.330.
[684] Fuks, "Josephus on Herod's Attitude towards Jewish Religion," 239-40.
[685] McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 257-78.
[686] Sacrifices on behalf of the emperor were deliberately stopped prior to the Temple's destruction, and arguably could be seen as a declaration of defiance by the Jewish rebels (Joseph. *BJ* 2.409). The fact that the Temple was destroyed in the ensuing war, however, meant that such sacrifices could never again be resumed.

loyalty to an emperor who was a more zealous promoter of the imperial cult than many of his predecessors, while also struggling to define their own religious space. Within this historical context, Josephus is keen to place emphasis on respecting Jewish religious institutions, which in turn meant criticism of any sort of perceived affront to these institutions, such as the construction of temples dedicated to the imperial cult.[687]

McLaren has further noted that Herod deliberately constructed temples honoring the emperor in refounded cities outside of the traditional boundaries of Judaea (see Fig. 5) in order to avoid offending Jewish religious customs, something upon which Josephus remarks (*AJ* 15.329). Thus, although the construction of temples to Roma and Augustus clearly demonstrates his desire to support the imperial cult within his domain, Herod also exhibits a concern for the customs and religious qualms of the Jews by specifically choosing sites outside of the traditional boundaries of Judaea for the construction of these temples. In addition, the cities of Sebaste and Caesarea almost certainly had a mixed Jewish-Gentile population, making the introduction of the imperial cult there more acceptable.[688]

Although Josephus expresses criticism of Herod and the role that Augustus played in Herod's building of temples and cities in his honor, this criticism should not be interpreted as evidence (*contra* Fuks) that there was wide-spread opposition to Herod's attempts to bolster his own authority by emphasizing his status vis-à-vis the emperor. McLaren convincingly argues that Jews in the Herodian period and beyond seem to have had no objection to living in a city whose centerpiece was a temple dedicated to Roma and Augustus. Despite a thriving Jewish population in Caesarea, for example, after

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[687] McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 276-8.
[688] McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 259-60. See also Richardson, *Herod*, 184.

Herod's death the temple of Roma and Augustus there does not fall into disrepair. This suggests that although the temple was built on Herod's initiative, the Jewish population of the city was tolerant of its presence. [689] Nor was there outspoken opposition to these temples as there was, for example, to Herod's introduction of Augustan military trophies in Jerusalem.[690] This is perhaps in part because of the preemptive efforts of Herod to define for his territory the space dedicated to the imperial cult, a space that was outside of the holy land of the Jews.[691] Thus, Josephus was likely expressing his own post-70 criticism of Augustus' role in Herod's building of temples and cities in his honor, rather than reflecting contemporary views of the emperor and Herod's homage to him. This is not to say that there may not have been some opposition to the prominent role that Augustus played in the construction and promotion of Herod's ideology, merely that hostility was not expressed universally, or even by a majority of Jews in Judaea.

Herod's Coins and Reflections on Rome

Introduction to Herod's Coinage

While it is clear that Herod's temples of Roma and Augustus served the dual purpose of honoring the emperor and promoting Herod's prestigious status to an external and internal audience, there is much greater debate about Herod's coinage, its intent, and function. Arguments have been made, for example, that Herod's dated coins used iconography that was intended to mimic, and thus to honor, Augustus's iconography. In the words of Ariel, "Being so restricted [by the prohibition not to include images of the emperor on his coins] it could be argued that most of those Augustan images which

[689] McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 261.
[690] Joseph. *AJ* 15.272-80.
[691] McLaren, "Jews and the Imperial Cult," 262.

Herod *could* adopt, he *did* adopt."[692] Because the coins have been seen, like the buildings, as a means of paying homage to the emperor Augustus, it is important to consider them in this study.

Herod's bronze coins are separated into two major categories: the dated series, containing the date LΓ (Year Three), which will be of importance to my discussion here; and the undated series, coins containing no chronological marker that were likely minted throughout Herod's reign. The dated series are universally agreed to be of better quality and craftsmanship than the undated series, leading scholars to speculate on the possibility of different mint locations.[693] Both Jerusalem and Samaria/Sebaste have been suggested, with reasonable arguments supporting both theories. These coins are predominantly found in and around Jerusalem and Samaria, with a greater number found in Samaria, making a certain mint location more difficult to determine.[694] Since coins are generally found in numbers in inverse proportion to the distance from the place of minting, the greater numbers of finds in and around Samaria may suggest this city as the place of minting.[695]

In the Roman-dominated Mediterranean bronze coins generally circulated locally and operated on a fiduciary status, meaning that the face value of the coin bore no relation to the value of the metal used to produce it.[696] This seems to be true for Herod's coins as well, and it is likely that Herod's bronze coins were used primarily within the

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[692] Ariel, "Augustan Context," 120.
[693] Cf. Marshak, "Dated Coins of Herod," 226.
[694] Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 234.
[695] Marshak, "Dated Coins of Herod," 226; Ariel, "Augustan Context," 114.
[696] Ariel and Fontanille, *The Coins of Herod*, 49. See also Constantina Katsari, *The Roman Monetary System: The Eastern Provinces from the First to the Third Century AD* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 72-5; Michael Amandry, "The Coinage of the Roman Provinces through Hadrian," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, edited by William Metcalf, 391-404 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 398.

borders of his kingdom.[697] It is probable that Herod only minted bronze coins (although some scholars have suggested that he minted silver also), making the bronze coinage the only medium through which Herod could express an authoritative ideological program.[698]

The reasons behind Herod's minting of bronze coinage are a matter of much debate.[699] Ariel and Fontanille, for example, argue that Herod minted bronze coins only sporadically to facilitate his expenditure. Minting of small bronze coins allowed Herod to avoid overpaying for his many expenses in the areas of public and private building, military salaries and upkeep, and court expenses. Additionally, Ariel and Fontanille claim, Herod may have minted bronze coins for the purpose of distributing *congiaria* and *donativa* to the people and troops.[700] Meshorer, however, claims that Herod minted his bronze coins for propaganda value, at least at first.[701] In his view, Herod used his dated coin series to proclaim his legitimacy as king during a time when he was fighting for the throne against his rival, the Hasmonean Antigonus.[702] Finally, Hendin suggests that small bronze coins were minted by the kings of Judaea in the first centuries BCE and CE in order to facilitate retail transactions in the market.[703]

Another important issue regarding Herod's coins, and one related to his reasons for minting, is the question of audience. A variety of possible audiences for and interpreters of these coins suggests itself: Roman soldiers, receiving the coins as payment

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[697] Ariel and Fontanille, *The Coins of Herod*, 157.
[698] On the possibility that Herod minted silver coinage see Ya'akov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (New York: Amphora, 1982), 7-8. For a more skeptical view see Ariel and Fontanille, *The Coins of Herod*, 42.
[699] A more detailed treatment of this issue is the topic of a forthcoming study by the author entitled "Herod the Great's Small Change Prerogatives."
[700] Ariel and Fontanille, *The Coins of Herod*, 23-27.
[701] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 19.
[702] Ariel and Fontanille, *The Coins of Herod*, 23 reject the idea that Herod used his coins as a propaganda tool. In their opinion, Herod used other means, such as popular assemblies, to convey his ideological messages.
[703] David Hendin, "Leptons of Herod the Great," *The Celator* 19.3 (2005): 41.

or gifts; builders and other skilled laborers who were employed on Herod's numerous building projects; the general populace, who may have received the coins through market transactions or as gifts from Herod through a *congiarium*. For chronological, political, and iconographical reasons (discussed in further detail below, pgs. 233-5) the most likely audience for these dated coins seems to me to be the Roman soldiery and others who fought on Herod's behalf during the war with Antigonus. It is also important to consider, although it is impossible to determine with certainty, how these monetary pieces would have been "read" by those who came in contact with them. It is likely that every audience for these coins understood their "message" to have come from the ruling authority, making them a vehicle for the promotion of the ruler's ideology, but each audience may have interpreted this "message" differently.[704]

The bronze coins of Herod demonstrate both continuity and innovation in relation to the coins of his predecessors. Like the Hasmonean priest-kings before him, Herod avoided the use of animate or mythical images on his coins, something prohibited by the second commandment.[705] Consequently, as many scholars have pointed out, this meant that Herod could not include a portrait of the emperor on his coins (although this convention was broken by later members of his dynasty).[706] In a departure from the coinage of his predecessors, however, Herod was the first Judaean ruler to use exclusively Greek legends on his coins – previous Hasmonean rulers had used both paleo-Hebrew and Greek script.[707]

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[704] Cf. Ando, *Imperial Ideology*, 212.
[705] Ariel and Fontanille, *The Coins of Herod*, 1.
[706] Cf. Ariel, "Augustan Context," 120.
[707] Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 236.

The Dated Coins

Although there are many issues of debate surrounding Herod's dated coinage, two of the most contested areas are: in what year did Herod mint these coins? And, what symbols appear on the coins and how should they be interpreted? On the issue of the date of minting, several theories have been postulated. While there is consensus that the date (Year 3) on the coins must be counting from a significant point in Herod's career, there is much disagreement as to what point this may be. Kanael provided what would become the prevailing opinion when he suggested that these coins were minted in 38/7 BCE, three years after Herod was appointed king of Judaea and the year in which Herod took full possession of his kingdom by capturing Jerusalem.[708] Other suggestions include: 40 BCE, the third year in which Herod ruled as tetrarch in Judaea;[709] 27 BCE, the third year from which Herod's position as king of Judaea had been confirmed by Octavian (30 BCE) and the year in which Herod refounded Sebaste;[710] and 20 or 15 BCE, two years that correspond to important state visits by Augustus and Agrippa, respectively, as well as the third anniversary of each man's assumption of the *tribunicia potestas*.[711] Establishing the date of minting is important because it informs one's interpretation of the imagery found on the coins. For reasons that I will discuss below, I find the date of 38/7 BCE to be the most convincing.

As with the date of minting, opinions abound regarding the symbols and symbolism found on the dated coins of Herod. In the first part of this section I will give a

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[708] Baruch Kanael, "The Coins of King Herod of the Third Year," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 42.3 (1952): 264.
[709] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 9-11.
[710] Marshak, "Dated Coins of Herod," 230.
[711] Jodi Magness, "The Cults of Isis and Kore at Samaria-Sebaste in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," *Harvard Theological Review* 94.2 (2001): 165-70.

description of each of the four coin types in the dated series, presenting what I consider to be the most likely identification for each image. In the next part of this section I will discuss the various scholarly interpretations of these images and their significance. Finally, I will examine what these conclusions regarding the imagery on the coins can tell us regarding Herod's ideological program on the dated coin series.

The largest denomination of the dated coin series, Type 1 (Fig. 4), displays a military helmet in the center of the obverse, crowned by a star, and flanked by two palm branches.[712] The reverse depicts a three-legged table in the center with the date, LΓ, to the left of the table and the monogram TP to the right. The legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ("of king Herod") encloses the entire field. Type 2 (Fig. 5), the next largest denomination in the series, contains a shield on the obverse and a crested helmet with the date LΓ to the left and the monogram TP to the right on the reverse. Again, the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ encloses the entire field of the reverse. Type 3 (Fig. 6), the second smallest denomination in the series, bears a poppy on a stalk, or a pomegranate, on the obverse and a caduceus in the center of the reverse. Again, the date LΓ appears to the left of the caduceus and the monogram TP on the right. The legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ encloses the entire field. On the smallest denomination, Type 4 (Fig. 7), the obverse bears a palm branch in the center, flanked by leaves on either side. The reverse displays what has been identified as an aphlaston, a device found at the stern of ancient warships, with the date LΓ on the left and the monogram TP on the right. Again, the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ encloses the entire field.

[712] For my descriptions of the symbols found on the coins I generally rely on Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 237-8.

For those scholars who argue that these coins were minted after Augustus became sole ruler of the Roman world, the images on the coins reflect a strong engagement with Augustan iconography. The star on top of the cap/helmet on Type 1 is interpreted as a reference to the *Sidus Iulium*, the comet which announced the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, while the tripod on the reverse can be read as a reference to Apollo, an important deity in the Augustan regime.[713] Conversely, the military helmet on this type can be interpreted as a Dioscuri cap, a reference to the gods who accompanied Demeter/Kore, whose temple Herod rebuilt in Samaria/Sebaste, the city which he refounded in 27 BCE in honor of Augustus.[714]

Types 2, 3, and 4 demonstrate a similar engagement with Augustan imagery. The Macedonian type shield on the obverse of Type 2 can be interpreted as a reference to the *clipeus virtutis*, voted to Octavian by the Senate in 27 BCE.[715] On Type 3 the caduceus can be read as a reference to Mercury, whose cult may have been promoted under Augustus' reign.[716] In addition, the poppy head (not pomegranate) was a symbol that was particularly associated with Demeter/Kore. Combined with the fact that Herod likely replaced a temple to Isis at Samaria with a temple to Kore, this symbol can be seen as another reference to the founding of Sebaste and thus honoring Augustus.[717] Finally, the

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[713] Ariel, "Augustan Context," 119.
[714] Marshak, "Dated Coins of Herod," 214, 228-9.
[715] Ariel, "Augustan Context," 119; Marshak, "Dated Coins of Herod," 215-6.
[716] Ariel, "Augustan Context," 120. Ariel is here following the suggestion of David M. Jacobson, "A New Interpretation of the Reverse of Herod's Largest Coins," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 31 (1986): 161.
[717] Marshak, "Dated Coins of Herod," 226-8.

aphlaston on Type 4 can be seen as a reference to Octavian's victory at Actium, as it was a symbol increasingly used by Octavian to commemorate his naval victory.[718]

For those who argue for a pre-Augustan mint date for these coins, the images reflect either generic references to Roman power through the adaptation of images found on Republican coins, or they demonstrate no engagement whatsoever with Roman iconography, adopting instead images familiar from Jewish iconography. Meshorer, for example, who sees Herod's dated series as propaganda advertising Herod's legitimacy over that of his rival, Antigonus, argues that the majority of the symbols found on these coins are also found on Roman Republican issues minted between 44 and 40 BCE.[719] The tripod and apex (Meshorer's identification) of Type 1 are found on the same Republican issue (Sydenham 1292 = Crawford 502/4); the winged caduceus of Type 3 has a precedent in the coinage of Antony (Sydenham 1189, 1190 = Crawford 520/1, 522/2); and the aphlaston paired with laurel branch tied with fillet (Meshorer's identification) on Type 4 also imitates Roman designs (Sydenham 1287 = Crawford 501/1).[720] Only two symbols found on Herod's coins are not also found on Roman coins, but even these can be explained as references to Roman or pagan imagery. The shield may represent Rome's military backing of Herod's monarchy and the poppy stalk honors the local cult of Demeter/Kore at Samaria.[721] While Meshorer sees many of the symbols on Herod's dated coins as imitations of Republican types, however, he cautions that these symbols were

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[718] Ariel, "Augustan Context," 120; Marshak, "Dated Coins of Herod," 215. See also Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, translated by Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 39, 82-5.
[719] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 19-20.
[720] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 19-20.
[721] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 20-2.

not likely intended to be "read" with the same meaning as the Republican originals. Rather, they were intended to send a generic message about the source of Herod's legitimate power: Rome and its military.[722]

Hoover, on the other hand, argues that each coin type of Herod's dated series was carefully crafted so that the obverse has a Roman symbol and the reverse a Jewish one.[723] He suggests that the tripod on Type 1 could be interpreted as a reference to either Cassius or Octavian, while the symbol on the reverse is a pileus, made famous on the coins of Brutus. He further argues that this type, unlike the other three types, contains exclusively Roman symbols because it was likely used to pay Roman mercenaries. In support of this argument he notes that this type is similar in size and weight to a Roman sestertius.[724]

Types 2, 3, and 4 all, in Hoover's opinion, demonstrate the pattern of Roman symbol on the obverse, Jewish symbol on the reverse. He sees the helmet on Type 2 as a traditional Republican style helmet and therefore a signifier of generic Roman power. The Macedonian shield on this type suggests the quality of Herod's coinage since Macedonian shields were associated with the validity of lead weights used for measuring goods in the Jewish market.[725] Type 3 demonstrates a Roman connection through the use of the caduceus, which was a symbol often used by Antony in the east, so is likely a reference to his power there.[726] The pomegranate on this type can be seen as a reference to the Temple in Jerusalem and in particular the office of high priest. By referencing Antony, Herod is reinforcing the legitimacy of his power because of his connection to

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[722] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 22.
[723] O. D. Hoover, "Preemptive Strike: The Image of Authority on the Dated Coins of Herod the Great," *The Picus* 4 (1995): 10-12.
[724] Hoover, "The Image of Authority," 21-2.
[725] Hoover, "The Image of Authority," 16-7.
[726] See also Mehsorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 20.

Rome. A similar purpose is served by the pomegranate, which emphasizes the legitimacy of Herod's power through his connection to the Temple and the Hasmonean dynasty.[727] Finally, the aphlaston on Type 4 can be seen as a reference to Cassius, who also used this symbol on his coinage (Crawford 505/1, 505/2). The palm branches on this type can be interpreted as a reference to the Jewish festival of Sukkot.[728]

In contrast to the interpretations given above, Meyshan sees no Roman symbolism on Herod's dated coins and instead argues that Herod endeavored to avoid offending Jewish religious sensibilities with his coinage.[729] Although he does not explicitly state a year for minting these coins, he assumes that they were minted while, or shortly after, Herod was fighting for possession of his kingdom. Because Herod's grip on power was not strong he had to be careful not to alienate his Jewish subjects through offensive imagery. In Meyshan's opinion, the symbol identified as a helmet in Type 1 is actually a vessel for burning incense in the Temple. The palm branches flanking this vessel indicate Herod's thanks for his victory over Antigonus in the civil war. The "tripod" on the reverse of this type he identifies as an altar used in the Temple for burning incense.[730] For Type 2, Meyshan simply offers that the obverse and reverse of this coin demonstrate conformity in the symbolism: both the helmet and shield are symbols of war.[731] He again offers little in the way of interpretation of the images on Type 3 beyond that these symbols are associated with fertility and happiness, thus promoting these qualities in Herod's reign.[732] An innovative interpretation of Type 4, however, suggests that this type

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[727] Hoover, "The Image of Authority," 13-5.
[728] Hoover, "The Image of Authority," 18-20.
[729] Joseph Meyshan, "The Symbols on the Coinage of Herod the Great and Their Meanings," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 91.2 (1959): 109-21.
[730] Meyshan, "The Symbols and Their Meanings," 109-11.
[731] Meyshan, "The Symbols and Their Meanings," 116.
[732] Meyshan, "The Symbols and Their Meanings," 116.

pays homage to Herod's birthplace of Askalon. The aphlaston was a symbol associated with that city, while the palm branch symbolizes honor and praise. The imagery on this final coin thus provides further evidence for Meyshan's thesis that Herod's coins promote the ideology of his regime while also giving thanks to God for his victory over Antigonus in 37 BCE. There is no hint of Roman symbolism or effort to praise Rome through his coinage.[733]

In general I find the theory offered by Hoover, that the dated coins of Herod include images that were influenced by both Roman and Jewish iconographic traditions to be compelling. The image on the obverse of Type 1 is most likely a military helmet, which seems to be a clear reference to military, perhaps Roman, power.[734] In addition, it is possible that the star crowning the helmet may be interpreted similarly to the star found on coins of Alexander Janneaus (Hendin 1150) as a reference to Jewish monarchy.[735] It is difficult to accept, however, that the image on the reverse is a tripod and was intended to reference the Roman use of this object. Herod in all other respects seems to have respected the religious sensitivities of his Jewish subjects (Josephus' criticism notwithstanding). Since these coins circulated in Judaea, and in particular in Jerusalem, I find it hard to believe that he would have included such a blatant symbol of pagan religion on his coinage. Perhaps Meyshan is correct in identifying this image as an altar used in the Temple.

Type 2 also seems to me to be promoting the idea of military prowess and successful monarchy. The military helmet on this type should not, however, be identified

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[733] Meyshan, "The Symbols and Their Meanings," 116-7.
[734] See Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 229-30 for a detailed discussion of the reasons for identifying this image as a military helmet.
[735] Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 182.

with a Republican style helmet, but rather, I think, bears a striking resemblance to the helmet depicted on a coin type of John Hyrcanus I (Hendin 1136). Hyrcanus I was famous for his military endeavors and for increasing the boundaries of Jewish-controlled land.[736] An association with Hyrcanus I through coinage could thus promote Herod's military prowess, a promise to expand the territory under his rule, and an association with a successful ruler of the previous dynasty. For the shield on this type I am convinced by neither the argument that it is a reference to the *clipeus virtutis*, nor the idea that it promotes the legitimacy of Herod's coinage. I am more inclined to follow Meyshan's suggestion that the images on obverse and reverse of this coin display iconographic and ideological conformity in promoting the idea of military prowess.

Although I find Meshorer's identification of the symbol on the obverse of Type 3 as a poppy-head most convincing, I find it difficult to accept his (and later Marshak's) assertion that this symbol was intended to reference the cult of Demeter/Kore in Samaria. Meshorer provides no explanation for why Herod would be concerned with honoring the local cult of Demeter/Kore at Samaria and such a sign of favoritism seems out of place prior to Herod's refounding of the city in 27 BCE. Since the caduceus on this coin does not appear in earlier Jewish coinage, but can be found on contemporary coinage of Antony, I think it likely that Herod was referencing his Roman patron through this symbol. Finally, the aphlaston on the reverse of Type 4 can certainly be seen as referencing Roman naval power and may be a direct reference to the coinage of Cassius. Cassius, like Antony, supported Herod and so it is not unlikely that Herod would wish to honor him with his coinage.

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[736] Joseph. *AJ* 13.254.

As can be seen from this brief overview, there is much debate about the dating of this coin series, as well as the symbols and symbolism found on each coin type. There does seem to be some agreement, however (*pace* Meyshan), that Herod was attempting to acknowledge his Roman benefactors by placing what could have been interpreted by contemporaries as Roman, or at least Roman-inspired images on his coins. While I think it is very likely that Herod intended to acknowledge Rome, and even perhaps particular Romans on his coinage, I am not persuaded that the Year Three series was intended to honor Augustus specifically.

Aside from the iconographical issues inherent in arguing that Augustus was the intended recipient of Herod's appreciation as manifested in the coinage, the dating of the series also provides obstacles. In order for it to be the case that Herod's dated series was intended to acknowledge and honor Augustus, it is necessary that the coins were minted following the battle of Actium, when Augustus replaced Antony as the dominant Roman figure in the east. Marshak and Ariel argue that the Year Three date could be a reference to the third year whence Herod received his confirmation as king by Augustus. This places the date of minting in 28/7 BCE, which nicely corresponds to the beginning of construction of Sebaste. One strong piece of evidence that has not been sufficiently noted by these two scholars, however, is the testimony of Josephus. In his narratives of Herod's reign, Josephus gives very few relative chronological signifiers (at *BJ* 1.401 he notes that Herod began construction of the Temple in Jerusalem in the fifteenth year of his reign; and at *AJ* 15.299 he notes that it was in the thirteenth year of Herod's reign that famine and pestilence struck Judaea). Since Josephus uses relative chronological signifiers so rarely, his note that Herod began his conquest of Jerusalem in the *third year* of his reign

(counting from his inauguration by Antony, Octavian, and the Senate in Rome in 40 BCE) stands out.[737] Clearly the winning of Jerusalem was an important point in Herod's career, and as Josephus notes, Herod began the process of capturing the city in the *third year* of his reign. The emphasis on this event happening in the third year of his reign is necessary because for the first three years Herod was engaged in a civil war with Antigonus for the crown of Judaea and may not have been considered the legitimate king by some segments of the population. Based on the evidence of Josephus, and the obvious importance of the taking of Jerusalem, I consider the date of 38/7 BCE to be the most plausible for the minting of the Year Three coins.[738]

The argument for this date may find further support in the size and weight of the coins. As Hoover points out, the largest dated coin (Type 1) is similar in weight to a Roman sestertius and may thus have been used to pay off Roman mercenaries. One time when it was particularly important for Herod to pay off Roman mercenaries was in 38/7 BCE when he besieged and took Jerusalem, for, as Josephus tells us, Herod was forced to pay off the Roman soldiers who helped him take the city in order to avoid the city being sacked and looted.[739]

Based on the imagery found on Herod's dated series of bronze coins as well as the likely date of minting I find it very likely that Herod intended this coinage both to promote his connections to Rome and perhaps individual Romans as well as to highlight his own legitimacy as king of Judaea. In this way his dated coin series functions in much

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[737] Joseph. *AJ* 14.465; *BJ* 1.343.

[738] Uriel Rapaport, "Note sur la chronologie des monnaies hérodiennes," *Revue numismatique* 10.6 (1968): 64-75 also notes the importance of the evidence of Josephus for dating this coin series of Herod. He places the date of minting before Herod takes Jerusalem in the summer of 37 BCE because, according to his calculations, the third year of Herod's reign would fall between April 38 and April 37 BCE. In his view, Herod minted the dated series in anticipation of his hoped-for conquest of Jerusalem, but the conquest itself did not actually happen until the fourth year of his reign.

[739] Joseph. *AJ* 14.482-6.

the same way as his building projects dedicated to the emperor. While there are many symbols on these coins that appear to reference Roman coin types, however, I am not persuaded that these symbols are intended to honor Augustus in particular. Thus, while Herod's coins certainly seem to be honoring and acknowledging Roman support to some degree, the likely date of minting as well as the generic nature of the imagery suggest that they should not be interpreted, in my opinion, as attempts by the king to honor and acknowledge his relationship to Augustus.

Fig. 4[740]
(1944.100.62798)

Fig. 5
(1944.100.62803)

[740] Images for Figs. 4-6 are courtesy of the American Numismatic Society and reprinted here with permission. Numbers in parantheses refer to ANS accession numbers.

Fig. 6
(1944.100.62804)

Fig. 7[741]
(Hendin 1172)

Coins of the Herodian Dynasty

Introduction

In contrast to the coins of Herod, which do not contain any overt references to particular Romans, the coins of his successors refer to every emperor from Augustus to Claudius. They thus provide rich information regarding how these rulers envisioned their power with respect to Roman authority, and how they perceived Roman power functioning in their territories. Many scholars have noted that the coins of Herod's successors demonstrate a remarkable level of engagement with imperial imagery, especially imperial portraits. This is particularly apparent when these coins are considered in relation to the coinage of other, contemporary client rulers, as well as the

[741] Image courtesy of David Hendin and reprinted here with permission.

coinage of the surrounding territory of Roman Syria.[742] Like Herod's buildings and coins the use of imperial imagery on the coins of his successors can be seen as serving a dual function, both expressing loyalty to the emperor while at the same time emphasizing each rulers' status through his personal ties with Roman authority. The degree to which each successor of Herod, from Antipas to Agrippa I, expressed this loyalty and closeness varied widely, depending on factors such as each man's personal experience with Rome and the demographic make-up of the territory over which he governed.

As Ariel has demonstrated, the coins of Herod's successors have much in common with the coins of Herod himself.[743] Generally speaking, the coins of Herod's successors, like the coins of Herod, did not circulate beyond the borders of their respective territories.[744] Also like Herod, each of Herod's successors seems to have minted exclusively in bronze. In addition, many of the coins of the Herodian rulers draw on iconography well-known throughout the region generally and on the coins of Herod specifically.[745] In a stark departure from the coins of Herod, however, many of his successors use images that are strongly influenced by Roman imperial iconography and make clear reference to the presence of Roman authority within their territory.

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[742] See Dahmen, "With Rome in Mind?," 99-112 on the coins of Herod's successors in relation to other client kings. See Andrew Burnett, "Syrian Coinage and Romanisation from Pompey to Domitian," in *Les Monnayages Syriens*, edited by Christian Auge and Frederique Duyrat, 115-122 (Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2002) for a discussion of the coins of Herod's successors in the context of other contemporary coins in Syria.
[743] Lecture of Donald T. Ariel, entitled, 'What do Herod's Coins and Those of his Successors Have in Common?,' given at a colloquium entitled "The Archaeological Significance of Herod the Great" in the 2012 Archaeological Institute of America and American Philological Association Joint Annual Meeting, on January 8, 2012.
[744] Cf. Meshorer, *Treasury*, 85 (Antipas), 90 (Philip).
[745] Ariel, "Herod's Coins," 5-6.

The Emperor on Herodian Coinage

It seems that those of Herod's successors who ruled over regions that were composed largely of Jewish inhabitants refrained from offending the Jewish population by avoiding the use of animate images on their coins.[746] For this reason their ability to pay homage to the emperor through coinage was limited due to the prohibition against portraying imperial (or their own) portraits on their coinage. As numerous scholars have noted, however, this did not prevent these rulers from acknowledging the emperor in other ways through their coinage. This tendency is perhaps best exemplified by Herod's son Antipas, who inherited from his father the largely Jewish-inhabited regions of Peraea and Galilee (see map, Fig. 8).

[746] The Herodian rulers were apparently not alone in their desire to avoid giving offense through their coinages. See Alla Kushnir-Stein, "Reflection of Religious Sensitivities on Palestinian City Coinage," *Israel Numismatic Research* 3 (2008): 125-36.

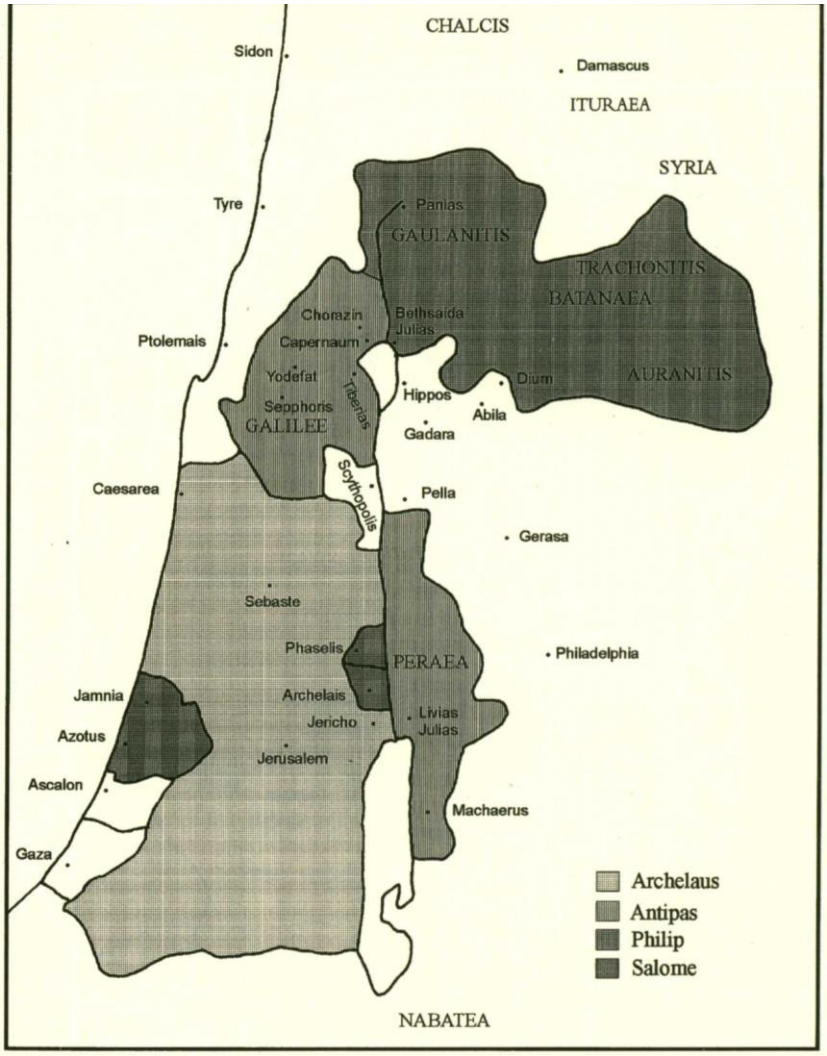

Fig. 8 Map of the territories of Herod's successors[747]

The Coins of Antipas[748]

Antipas began minting coins in his capital, Tiberias, during the twenty-fourth year of his reign, or 20/1 CE.[749] These coins bear the legend ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑϹ in Greek, surrounded

[747] Map courtesy of Peter Richardson and reprinted here with permission.

[748] The coins of Archelaus, who ruled as ethnarch over Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea are very similar to the later issues of his father, Herod. Some coins, those bearing galleys and galley prows, have been interpreted as referring to Archelaus' important voyage to Rome in order to petition the emperor Augustus for his father's kingdom (See Meshorer, *Treasury*, 79). I am not persuaded by this interpretation, however. One compelling argument against this interpretation is that Herod also used maritime imagery, including a galley, on his coins despite the fact that he made no such voyage to Rome. Because Archelaus' coins demonstrate very little, if any, reference to Rome and the emperor they will not be included in this study.

by a wreath on the obverse, and a reed dividing the date L ΚΔ (Year 24) and surrounded by the legend ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ on the reverse (Fig. 9). This coin series likely commemorated the founding of Tiberias in 19 CE as the capital of Antipas' tetrarchy.[750] Coins minted in the thirty-third, thirty-fourth, and thirty-seventh years of Antipas' reign use similar imagery to those minted in Year 24, with the name ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑϹ appearing within a wreath on the obverse and a palm branch dividing the date and surrounded by the legend ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ on the reverse (Fig. 10).

There are many significant features of these earlier coins of Antipas, but I will limit myself to a discussion of those concerning the emperor Tiberius. The appearance of the name ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑϹ on the Year 24 coinage is evidently the first time that a city name appears on any Jewish issue.[751] It is possible that the presence of the city's name serves merely to identify the mint location (previous Jewish coinage was minted exclusively in Jerusalem, although see above, pg. 222 on the possibility that Herod minted coins in Samaria), but Antipas likely intended it to send a political message as well. The presence of the new city's name on his coinage served to emphasize the importance to Antipas' regime of the founding of this city in honor of the emperor Tiberius. Josephus claims that Antipas was in great favor with Tiberius and that he built not only this city in his honor, but also a city named Julias in honor of Tiberius' mother, Livia (after Augustus' death in 14 CE her official name became Julia Augusta).[752] Beyond drawing attention to the city's

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[749] Although see Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 247 on the possibility that Antipas struck coins earlier in his reign, in Year Four (1BCE/CE). Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 35 suggests that the reason Antipas waited so long into his reign to mint coinage was because he lacked the infrastructure to do so. Given the clear political importance of minting coinage, as demonstrated by the other members of the Herodian dynasty, who minted coins very early in their reigns, I find it difficult to believe that Antipas would have waited so long to mint any coinage and am inclined to accept Hendin's argument.
[750] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 81-2. See also Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 36.
[751] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 36.
[752] Joseph. *AJ* 18.36 (on Tiberias); 18.27 (on Julias).

importance in his administration, it is also possible that Antipas intended the legend as a reference to the emperor himself. As Kushnir-Stein has pointed out, the only coins of Antipas that do not bear the name of the city were minted after Tiberius' death in 37 CE.[753] Thus, by giving his newly founded city's name a prominent place on his coinage Antipas expressed his desire to honor the emperor Tiberius, while also drawing a connection between his own authority and that of the emperor.

The last series of coinage minted by Antipas, in the final year of his reign, emphasizes a connection to another emperor: Tiberius' successor, Gaius. These coins bear the legend ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ surrounded by a wreath on the obverse and a palm tree, branch, or dates (depending on the denomination) dividing the date L ΜΓ (Year 43 = 39/40 CE) and surrounded by the legend ΗΡΩΔΗC ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗC on the reverse (Fig. 11). In this series the name of Antipas' capital city has been replaced with the name of the ruling emperor.

The change of the obverse from the legend ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑC to ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ may signify more than just a desire to acknowledge the accession of a new emperor. Meshorer notes that this coin series is the only one to use the minting authority's name (Herod, the tetrarch) in the nominative. Moreover, the name of Gaius is presented in the dative case, suggesting that this coin series was minted for and in honor of the emperor.[754] Meshorer supports this theory through a consideration of the historical context of this coin series. As I discussed previously (see Ch. 4, pgs. 183-4), Josephus tells us that Antipas, perhaps needled by his wife Herodias, decided to sail to Rome to ask Gaius for a title equal to that bestowed on Antipas' nephew, the formerly beggared

[753] Alla Kushnir-Stein, "Coins of the Herodian Dynasty: The State of Research," in *The World of the Herods*, edited by Nikos Kokkinos (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007), 56.
[754] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 41.

Agrippa I. Perhaps in preparation for this voyage and petition Antipas minted the final coin series of his reign, bearing the young emperor's name in the dative as a sign of honor and deference.[755] Unfortunately for Antipas, the flattery of the coins could not overcome the accusations of his nephew and he was banished from his territory, eventually to perish in exile.[756]

I am not particularly convinced by Meshorer's theory, however, primarily because there is no evidence to suggest that Gaius would have seen these coins and thus their message would not have reached its prime audience. Moreover, as was mentioned above, Antipas did not mint coins regularly. A gap of two years between Gaius' accession and Antipas' minting a coin with his name therefore is not necessarily in need of explanation. What is interesting about these coins bearing Gaius' name, however, is that they demonstrate that Antipas' desire to connect his regime to that of the supreme Roman authority was not limited to his personal connection with Tiberius (discussed in detail, see Ch. 4, pgs. 178-80). Rather, Antipas' coinage consistently sends the message, to all those who were using it, that the tetrarch's authority was connected to that of the emperor, whoever he might be. Although Antipas refrained from including animate images on his coins, likely to avoid giving offense to his largely Jewish population, nevertheless he expressed his desire to honor and acknowledge the Roman emperors through the use of their names on his coinage as well as through the reference to a city he founded in Tiberius' honor. By explicitly naming the emperor on his coins Antipas departs from the minting customs of his father, Herod. Since coinage was an effective way for a city (or ruler) to express self-identity, the use of the emperor's name on

[755] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 83-4.
[756] Joseph. *AJ* 18.247-52.

Antipas' coins must be seen as a signal that this ruler made a strong connection between his power and the Roman emperor and that he wanted to promote that connection to those over whom he ruled.[757]

I would further like to propose that the success of Antipas' long reign, coupled with the overt connections to Roman authority displayed on his coinage (and arguably in his building of a capital city dedicated to Tiberius), suggests that the majority of the population of Antipas' tetrarchy was not bothered by the role that Roman authority played in their political lives.[758] Unlike Herod and Archelaus, who also ruled over predominantly Jewish populations, Antipas did not experience any organized opposition to his rule (or at least no record of any such opposition has survived). In addition, Antipas made clear statements of his connection to the Roman emperor through his bronze coinage, a medium with which a large portion of the population would come into contact. While it would be simplistic to claim that lack of evidence of any organized opposition to Antipas' reign clearly demonstrates his subjects' acceptance of the importance of Roman authority in their political lives, nevertheless, it is significant that Antipas was comfortable proclaiming his connection to the emperors so publicly and consistently.

It is important to note that while promoting a strong connection to the emperor through his coinage, Antipas also emphasized his position as a successor of Herod through the nomenclature Herod, tetrarch. In addition, he used imagery – the palm in its various forms - that was not only familiar from the coins of Herod, but also from other

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[757] On coinage as an expression of local identity see Christopher Howgego, "Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces," in *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, edited by Christopher Howgego, Volker Heuchert, and Andrew Burnett, 1-17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[758] Despite recording Judaean opposition to continued Herodian rule after Herod's death, Josephus characterizes Antipas' rule as generally peaceful and stable (cf. *AJ* 18.36-8, 96-105). There does seem to have been some popular discontent with Antipas' imprisonment and subsequent execution of John the Baptist, however (see Joseph. *AJ* 18.116-9).

local mints.[759] Thus, although Antipas demonstrates a strong desire to legitimize his coinage, and by extension his government, by connecting it to the emperor, he nevertheless is careful to maintain his identity both as a Herodian ruler and as a local potentate.

The Coins of Philip

The coins of Antipas' brother Philip, in contrast, focus almost exclusively on images that refer to the emperor while at the same time neglecting to make any connection to his father. Philip, tetrarch of the largely non-Jewish territories of Batanea, Trachonitis, Paneas and Auranitis, became the first Judaean ruler to portray the Roman emperor on his coins.[760] Significantly, it seems that Philip was not only the first Judaean ruler to place the emperor's portrait on his coins, but may have been among the first client rulers of Rome to do this.[761] This custom would be repeated by Herod's grandson, Agrippa I, as well as Agrippa's brother, Herod of Chalcis. Through the use of the emperor's portrait as well as portraits of Livia and other symbols associated with Roman authority, the coins of Philip display a remarkable emphasis on the connection of Philip to the imperial family. Further, Philip makes no mention of his father Herod on his coinage (unlike Antipas who titled himself "Herod, the tetrarch" and Archelaus whose coin legends read "Herod, the ethnarch"), preferring to go by the title, "Philip, the tetrarch." The emphasis on the emperor and his family combined with the absence of the

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[759] Cf. Hendin, *Biblical Coins*, 237-41; Ariel, "Herod's Coins," 4-5.

[760] Although it is generally assumed that Philip ruled a largely non-Jewish territory see John Francis Wilson, *Caesarea Philippi: Banias, The Lost City of Pan* (London: I. B. Taurus & Co., 2004), 70-3 on the potentially large numbers of Jews living in communities in and around Caesarea Philippi.
I will deliberately use the terms "Herodian" and "Judaean" to describe both Philip and his tetrarchy. While Philip was a son of Herod, and is generally considered to be a "Jewish" ruler, he ruled over a largely non-Jewish territory and seems to have concerned himself little with the practice of Judaism (although see Philo, *Leg*. 300 on Philip's possible intervention in the affair of Pilate and the shields in Jerusalem).

[761] Dahmen, "With Rome in Mind?," 99-112.

name Herod results in the obscuring of Philip's connection to Herod's legacy as well as a distinct lack of expression of local identity in the iconographic scheme of Philip's coinage.[762]

Philip first minted coins in the fifth year of his reign (1/2 CE) in the city formerly known as Paneas, but refounded under Philip as Caesarea Philippi (so called in order to distinguish it from the Caesarea founded by Herod).[763] The larger denomination in this coin series bears the portrait of a bare-headed Augustus on the obverse while the smaller denomination depicts the Augusteum, the temple dedicated to Augustus in Paneas, on its obverse. Both denominations identify the Roman emperor with the legend ΚΑΙϹΑΡ ϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΥ (larger denomination) and ϹΕΒΑϹ ΚΑΙϹΑΡ (smaller denomination). Both of these coin types also include the portrait of Philip on the reverse, the first portrayal of a Judean king on his coinage.[764] Around the outside edge of the reverse, circling Philip's head is the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. The date L E is divided by the base of Philip's neck (Figs. 12 and 13).[765] After this first issue, Philip's image disappears from his coinage until the very end of his reign.[766]

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[762] See Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family," 243-62 on the ways in which municipalities celebrated their civic identity, while also incorporating elements of imperial iconography. See also Dahmen, "With Rome in Mind?," 99-112 for a discussion of the ways in which other client kings incorporated local imagery with imperial imagery on their coins.
[763] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 85.
[764] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 44. Although see Jean-Philippe Fontanille, "Herod Philip: The First Jewish Portrait," *Israel Numismatic Research* 6 (2011): 108 who argues, based on die studies, that the head of Augustus appears on the reverse and the head of Philip on the obverse.
[765] Coins minted in the twelfth and sixteenth years of Philip's reign (8/9 and 12/13 CE, respectively) demonstrate similar iconography to those minted in Year 5, but there are some minor differences. These bear the laureate head of Augustus (rather than bare-headed) on the obverse with the legend ΚΑΙϹΑΡΙ ϹΕΒΑϹΤΩ, a change to the dative from the genitive and nominative cases of the earlier coins. The reverse depicts the Augusteum of Paneas with the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ (abbreviated to ΤΕΤΡ in some issues) and the date L I B (L I ϛ for Year 16) appearing between the columns of the temple (Fig. 14).
[766] A. Kindler, "A Coin of Herod Philip – the Earliest Portrait of a Herodian Ruler," *Israel Exploration Journal* 21.2/3 (1971): 162, suggests that Philip may have stopped placing his portrait on his coinage after being forbidden to do so by Roman authorities.

Despite the absence of Philip's portrait on his later coinage, the image of the emperor remains quite conspicuous. In all of the issues that Philip minted for the rest of his reign (Years 19, 30, 33, 34, 37 = 15/16, 26/27, 29/30, 30/31, 33/34 CE, respectively), at least one denomination, always the largest (with occasionally smaller denominations as well) in each series bears the laureate head of Tiberius with some form of the legend ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. The reverses of these coins feature the Augusteum with some form of the legend ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ and the date. One notable exception to these rather formulaic issues is the inclusion of the added title ΚΤΙΣ (short for ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ, "founder") on the reverse legend of the largest denomination minted in Year 34 (Fig. 15). It is likely that this coin was minted to commemorate Philip's founding of the city of Julias, named for Livia, who died in 29 CE.[767]

Three of Philip's later issues also bear portraits of Livia. The smallest denomination of coins minted in Year 30 (= 26/27 CE) depicts a draped bust of Livia on the obverse with the legend ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. The reverse of this coin depicts a hand holding three ears of grain and the legend ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΟΣ (Fig. 16).[768] Coins with the same imagery and legends on obverse and reverse were minted in Year 34 (= 30/31 CE), and again in Year 37 (= 33/34 CE). Both of these coins are the medium denomination in their respective series.

Interesting patterns begin to emerge from this brief survey of Philip's coins. Despite appearing on his earliest coinage, for most of the reign of Tiberius, and even for the latter years of Augustus' principate, Philip himself is nowhere to be seen on the extant examples of his coinage. Coins of the larger and medium denominations from Years 5,

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[767] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 88-9.
[768] Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 260, based on the presence of the date L Λ, alone places this coin among those of Philip's Year 30 issues.

12, 16, 19, and 30 bear the head of the emperor, while one issue of the smallest denomination of Year 30 likely features Livia. The tetrarch is still, of course, named, but unlike the earliest coinage minted under Augustus, Philip's portrait is not present. A similar pattern is observable in the final issues of Philip's reign, following the death of Livia (Years 34, 37 = 30/31, 33/34 CE, respectively). In these issues the portrait of Tiberius, with identifying legend, always appears on the largest denomination; the portrait of Livia, with identifying legend, appears on the medium denomination; and the portrait of Philip, whose head alone is bare, also with identifying legend, appears on the smallest denomination. A clear hierarchy is established by these coins, placing the emperor at the top, followed by the emperor's mother, and finally Philip himself. This emphasis on the emperor and imperial family may be strengthened by the fact that, according to Fontanille, the coins bearing Philip's portrait are the rarest of all of his coin types.[769]

Further, where one would expect to see an expression of local identity – on the reverse of the coin – these coins display yet another reference to the emperor: the Augusteum. While it can be argued that the Augusteum is in a way an expression of civic identity – the temple was likely one of the most conspicuous features of the city – it is still significant that the reverse of these coins, like their obverses, use imagery that connects Philip and his tetrarchy to the authority of the emperor and his family. The importance of the emperor and imperial family is further strengthened by the eclipse of any association with Philip's father, Herod. While Antipas (and Archelaus also) consciously promoted his association with Herod by naming himself as Herod on his coins, Philip, in contrast, uses the identifier, "Philip, the Tetrarch;" the name Herod is

[769] Fontanille, "Herod Philip," 106.

nowhere to be found. Thus, in comparison to his brothers, the coinage of Philip demonstrates a high level of preoccupation with the emperor and imperial family while at the same time denying any relation to the legacy of Herod.

Additional evidence for Philip's strong desire to connect himself to the Roman emperor may be seen in an intriguing undated coin. This series portrays the jugate portraits of two Augusti, one male and one female on the obverse, identified with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ and the Augusteum, with the legend ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ on the reverse (Fig. 17). The female figure has been identified as Livia, but there is some debate about whether the male is Augustus or Tiberius.[770] As with the identity of the male figure on this coin, there is some debate regarding in what year it was minted. I propose that this coin type was in fact minted over a period of years, beginning, perhaps, with the first issue minted under Tiberius. In weight and size (7.63g and 22mm) this coin seems to correspond to the largest denomination minted during Philip's reign. Although Philip (and other Herodians) seems to have preferred minting in four denominations, from the extant examples of Philip's coinage the largest denomination is missing for all of the series minted under Tiberius – the largest coin extant appears to be of the larger-medium denomination, measuring 18mm and weighing between 5 and 6g. I suggest, then, that the jugate portrait coin was minted over a period of years as the largest denomination in each issue. It thus completes the hierarchy established by Philip's other denominations of placing the emperor, and in this case the empress, at the top on the

[770] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 87 suggests that this coin was minted in the first year of Tiberius' reign to commemorate Augustus after his death. The Augusti represented on the coin are therefore Augustus and Livia. He supports his theory with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ which surrounds the heads of Livia and Augustus on the obverse. Livia did not receive the title of "Augusta" until after Augustus' death, giving a *terminus post quem* for this coin. Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 261, prefers to see this coin as part of the Year 34 series and identifies the portraits as those of Tiberius (rather than Augustus) and Livia. *RPC*, 4951, 681 also prefers a minting date after 26/7 CE and suggests that the portraits should be identified with Tiberius and Livia.

largest denomination, and so forth. This argument is supported by a similar issue minted at Ephesus during the reign of Augustus. There the highest denomination coin, interestingly also measuring 22mm, bears the jugate portraits of Augustus and Livia and seems to have been related to the city's desire to compete with its neighbors in representing the emperor and his family as ostentatiously as possible.[771]

It is widely accepted that Philip included imperial portraits, as well as his own, on his coinage because the largely non-Jewish population of his territory allowed him to do this without offending his people's religious sensibilities.[772] Meshorer further argues that greater incentive to place Augustus' portrait on his coins may have come from the fact that Philip received exactly what he wanted from Augustus in the settlement following Herod's death. Unlike his brothers Antipas and Archelaus, both of whom were disappointed when they failed to receive the entire kingdom of their father, Philip was content with his modest tetrarchy, exactly what had been promised to him in Herod's will.[773]

Meshorer's theory is attractive, and certainly provides a plausible explanation for why Philip, unique among not only his brothers but also other contemporary client kings, takes the extra step of placing the emperor's portrait on his coins, rather than simply naming him or including other allusive symbols.[774] It does not account, however, for why Philip continued to put the reigning emperor's portrait on his coins after Augustus' death,

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[771] See Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family," 255.
[772] Cf. Dahmen, "With Rome in Mind?," 108; Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 257; Baruch Kanael, "Ancient Jewish Coins and Their Historical Importance," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 26.2 (1963): 51; Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 44-5; Adolf Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*, sixth edition (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1973), 19.
[773] Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 45.
[774] See Dahmen, "With Rome in Mind?," 101-7 on the ways in which the client kings of Mauretania, Nabatea, Pontus, and Commagene referenced Augustus without actually placing his image on their coins (Polemon II of Pontus (r. 38-64 CE) was an exception in that he, like Philip included the emperor's portrait on his coins).

why he chose to include Livia, and, perhaps most importantly, why he nowhere used the name of Herod on his coinage.

Certainly the demographic composition of Philip's tetrarchy played a role in the decisions he made regarding his coinage. Rather than simply allowing him to include the emperor's portrait on his coins, however, I suggest that the demographics and political history of his tetrarchy in fact mandated that Philip emphasize his connection to the emperor and deemphasize his relationship to Herod. Herod had gained the territory comprising Philip's tetrarchy in two separate grants from Augustus (23 and 20 BCE) following an outbreak of banditry in Trachonitis.[775] The region had previously belonged to the Roman province of Syria. It appears that throughout his reign, Herod endured outbreaks of minor rebellion in the area, prompting him to establish several military colonies composed of loyal veterans.[776] With Herod's contentious relationship to the region, as well as its prior history as part of the Roman province of Syria, perhaps it was more politically beneficial for Philip to draw a strong connection between his regime and that of the emperor, rather than that of his father.

Numerous features of Philip's coinage thus point to his desire to make a strong connection between his regime and the Roman emperor. He consistently portrayed the emperor's portrait on his coins, a feature that was by no means standard on other local coinages of the time.[777] In addition, he included portraits of Livia on his later coin issues, establishing a clear hierarchy through the denominational structure with the emperor on the largest denomination, Livia on the medium denomination, and the tetrarch himself

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[775] Joseph. *AJ* 15.343-8.
[776] Joseph. *AJ* 16.271-85, 17.23-6. See Rocca, *Herod's Judaea*, 187-9.
[777] Cf. Burnett, "Syrian Coinage and Romanisation," 120; Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family," 245-7.

occupying the smallest denomination. Finally, the reverses of these coins, where one would expect to see an expression of local identity, depict the Augusteum, yet another reference to the emperor.[778] Beyond making strong references to the emperor and the imperial family, the coinage of Philip also obscures any association with Philip's father, Herod, an association that both of Philip's brothers consciously promoted. Although it is certainly possible that the demographic composition of his tetrarchy allowed Philip to give expression to an innate proclivity to honor the emperor on his coinage, as others have argued, it seems to me to be more likely that the character as well as the political history of his tetrarchy necessitated that Philip stress his connection to Roman, rather than Herodian, authority.

The Coins of Agrippa I

With the coinage of Agrippa I the expression of loyalty towards and personal relationship with the emperor is increased even over the coins of Philip. In addition, Agrippa's coins demonstrate a level of Roman influence unique not only among his Judaean predecessors, but also among other, contemporary client kings and civic mints. Not only does Agrippa include images that refer to Rome and the emperor on his coinage, but he seems to have copied exactly some types that were minted in Rome.[779] Agrippa's coinage also stands out in the context of other provincial coinages from the period in that it depicts historical events.[780] Agrippa does, however, follow the convention set by his Herodian predecessors in refraining from placing his portrait on issues that were minted

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[778] See Horster, "Coinage and images of the imperial family," 247. See also Kushnir-Stein, "Reflection of Religious Sensitivities," 129 for a discussion of the "duality" expressed by coins issued in Sepphoris and Neapolis, two cities with largely Jewish populations, through the use of imperial imagery on the obverse and local imagery on the reverse.

[779] Cf. Burnett, "Syrian Coinage and Romanisation," 121-2; Dahmen, "With Rome in Mind?," 108.

[780] Andrew Burnett, "The Coinage of King Agrippa I of Judaea," in *Mélanges de Numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, edited by H. Huvelin, M. Christol, G. Gautier (Wetteren, Belgium: Cultura Press, 1987), 37.

in Jerusalem.[781] Agrippa's uniquely extensive use of imperial imagery on his coinage may be the result of his long-standing, close relationship with the imperial family, but it may also, as in the case of Philip, be intended to legitimize Agrippa's slightly tenuous claim to power.

Like the coins of Philip, the early coins of Agrippa establish a hierarchy in their denominational structure with the emperor appearing on the largest denomination of each issue, followed by members of the imperial family, Agrippa himself, and Agrippa's heir. Agrippa draws on a broader range of imperial imagery and portraiture than did Philip, but the basic hierarchical structure is the same. This can be seen on the coins minted at Caesarea Philippi, Philip's former capital, during the second and fifth years of Agrippa's reign.

The largest denomination in both the Year 2 and 5 issues bears the laureate head of Gaius with the inscription ΓΑΙΩ (expanded to ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙϹΑΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ on the Year 5 coins) and the date on the obverse. The reverses of these coins bear portraits of imperial family members. Year 2 coins depict the three sisters of Gaius: Julia, Drusilla and Agrippina Minor standing, holding cornucopiae, with Julia leaning against a column. The inscription reads ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΡΟΥΣΙΛΛΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑ (Fig. 19). This reverse is evidently an imitation of a sestertius minted at the same time in

[781] In contrast to the coins minted in Caesarea Philippi, those minted in the sixth year of his reign in Jerusalem bear no images or even references to the Roman emperor. These coins depict a canopy on the obverse with the legend ΒΑϹΙΛΕΩϹ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (On the symbolic significance of the canopy see Meshorer, *Treasury*, 96). On the reverse appear three ears of barley or wheat with the date Lς (Year 6 = 41/42 CE; Fig. 18). It seems that Agrippa carefully observed the Jewish prohibition against graven images in Jerusalem and Judaea by removing his portrait and any images of the imperial family from his coinage minted there. This regard for Jewish religious customs is in keeping with the characterization of Agrippa given in Josephus (*AJ* 19.292-331). It also preserves the tradition not only of previous Judaean rulers, but also of the Roman procurators who governed the region for much of the first century CE (Cf. Kushnir-Stein, "Reflection of Religious Sensitivities," 131-2).

Rome, which also depicted Gaius' three sisters.[782] On the reverse of the Year 5 coins there is a male figure in a quadriga with the inscription ΝΟΜΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (Fig. 20). The inclusion of the word nomisma, "coin," is highly unusual on the legend of a coin and perhaps should alert the audience that something remarkable is being done with the iconography as well.[783] While early identifications named the male figure in the quadriga on the reverse as King Agrippa, scholars have now reached a consensus that the figure is in fact Gaius' deceased father Germanicus.[784] This type appears to be an exact copy of a dupondius type minted in Rome by Gaius to honor and draw attention to his dead father.[785]

Smaller denominations of the Year 2 and 5 coins show other members of the imperial family as well as Agrippa and his family. A medium denomination in Year 2 shows the diademed head of Agrippa with the legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑC on the obverse. The reverse of this coin shows Agrippa's son, Agrippa II, on horseback with the inscription ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC (Fig. 21). This reverse is likely a close copy of a dupondius minted in Rome by Gaius in honor of his deceased brothers, Nero and Drusus.[786] A third coin in this series bears the draped bust of a woman on the obverse, possibly with the inscription ΚΥΠΡΟC near her head.[787] If the reading of this inscription

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[782] Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 27. See also Meshorer, *Treasury*, 92.
[783] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 93-4 states that this is the only time on coinage from this period that the word "coin" appears on a coin.
[784] Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 28-9; Kushnir-Stein, "Coins of the Herodian Dynasty," 57; Meshorer, *Treasury*, 93-4; See Joseph Meyshan, "The Coinage of Agrippa the First," *Israel Exploration Journal* 4.3/4 (1954): 188 for an early identification of the figure in the quadriga as Agrippa.
[785] Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 28-9; Meshorer, *Treasury*, 93-4; Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, 52-3.
[786] Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 27. See also Meshorer, *Treasury*, 92, who notes that here Agrippa II is depicted in the manner of a Roman *princeps iuventutis*, thus signifying his status as the future ruler.
[787] *RPC*, 4975 reads the inscription as]ΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤ[and leaves the identification of the female figure as unknown. The same inscription is read by Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 28 who tentatively suggests that the figure may be Agrippina the Elder.

is correct, then the figure should be identified as Cypros, the wife and queen of Agrippa I.[788] The reverse of this coin bears a hand holding ears of grain and a vine with the legend ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ (Fig. 22). Finally, the smallest denomination of this series bears the enigmatic inscription ΓΑ ΒΑΣ within a wreath on the obverse and a temple, perhaps the Augusteum at Caesarea Philippi, and the date on the reverse (Fig. 23).[789]

A medium denomination in the Year 5 series bears the draped bust of a woman on the obverse with the legend [ΚΑΙΣ]ΩΝΙΑ ΓΥΝΗ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. If the recreation of this inscription is correct, the obverse bears a portrait of Caesonia, Gaius' wife. The reverse of this coin depicts a female figure standing, holding a Victory and a branch with the legend ΔΡΟΥΣΙΛΛΗ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ (Fig. 24). This figure has been identified variously as Drusilla, Gaius' daughter and Drusilla, Gaius' favorite sister, who died in 38 CE.[790] If this coin does in fact depict Caesonia and Drusilla, wife and daughter of Gaius, this would be the only extant representation of these two women;[791] neither appeared on coins minted in Rome, and perhaps only one example of Caesonia' portrait survives on a coin from Spain.[792]

The two smallest denominations of Agrippa's Year 5 coinage concentrate on Agrippa and his family. The larger of the two denominations shows the diademed head of Agrippa with the inscription ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ on the obverse. Queen Cypros again appears, in a standing pose, on the reverse of this coin with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΣ (Fig. 25). On the smallest issue the bust of the young Agrippa II appears with the inscription ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ on the obverse. The reverse depicts

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[788] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 92. See also Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 269.
[789] For a discussion of the possible ways of reading this inscription see Meshorer, *Treasury*, 92-3.
[790] Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*, 269 (daughter of Gaius); Meshorer, *Treasury*, 95 (sister of Gaius).
[791] Kushnir-Stein, "Coins of the Herodian Dynasty," 57.
[792] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 95.

crossed double cornucopiae and the inscription ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ (Fig. 26). Although these denominations are devoted to images of Agrippa and his family, nevertheless the emperor's presence is invoked. Meshorer sees echoes of Drusilla's pose from the larger denomination in the stance of Cypros, thus recalling the imperial family. Further, the title "Philokaisar" refers explicitly to Agrippa's relationship with the emperor Gaius.

While the early issues of Agrippa are similar to those of his uncle Philip in that they make use of imperial portraits to establish a hierarchy with the emperor at the top, and the client ruler and his family at the bottom, they also go well beyond the iconographical limit set by Philip by including not only images of the emperor and his mother, but also of the emperor's wife, children, siblings, and father. Further, some of Agrippa's coins seem to be direct copies of types minted contemporaneously in Rome. This extensive use of imperial portraits as well as other imperial imagery suggests that Agrippa, perhaps even more than Philip or other Herodians, desired to make a strong connection between his regime and Roman authority. One reason Agrippa may have been keen to make such a strong connection is that he had spent a good portion of his life living in Rome, associating with the imperial family. This would explain not only his familiarity with Roman coin types, as other scholars have noted, but also his need to legitimize his position as king by connecting his authority to the emperor.[793] Unlike Herod and his sons, Agrippa did not grow up in the territory over which he ruled. Without a strong personal connection to his kingdom, it is possible that Agrippa felt that the support that Roman authority gave him was necessary in order to legitimize his claim to power.

[793] On Agrippa's familiarity with Roman coin types see Meshorer, *Treasury*, 94.

The final issues of Agrippa's reign, minted in Years 7 and 8 (42/43 and 43/44 CE, respectively) in Caesarea Maritima, are exceptional among the coinage of contemporary client kings in that they depict historical events which took place during the reign of Agrippa. The largest denomination minted in Year 7 is difficult to interpret and has led to numerous scholarly discussions concerning its iconography and symbolism. On the obverse of this coin there is a laureate head of Claudius with the inscription ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ ΓΕΡΜ. The reverse of this coin is more problematic. It represents what appears to be a temple façade containing four figures. Two of the figures stand opposing each other and holding circular objects, one kneels in the foreground, and the fourth is only a partial figure, perhaps a bust, seen in the background behind the two standing figures. The legend encircling the temple and its figures reads ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ (Fig. 27). The scene on the reverse of this coin has been popularly interpreted as commemorating Claudius' victory over the Britons.[794] More recently, however, Burnett has convincingly argued that this scene in fact shows the consecration of a treaty between Claudius and Agrippa at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (more on the treaty and its commemoration on Agrippa's coins below).[795] The smaller denominations of coins minted in Year 7 are similar to those minted in the earlier years of Agrippa's reign in that they highlight the king and his family.[796]

An intriguing scene is depicted on the obverse of the largest denomination minted in Year 8. Three male figures are present. The two to either side appear to be crowning

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[794] Meyshan, "Coinage of Agrippa," 190.
[795] Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 35-6.
[796] The medium denomination bears the head of Agrippa on the obverse with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. The reverse depicts a standing female figure, identified as Tyche, with her right hand on a rudder and her left hand holding a palm branch (or cornupcopia) with the inscription ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΛΙΜΗΝΙ (Fig. 28). On the obverse of the smallest denomination of this series is a portrait of Agrippa II with the inscription ΑΓΡΙΠΠΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The reverse depicts only an inverted anchor and the date, LZ (Fig. 29).

the middle figure, who is togate and *capite velato* holding a wreath. With the help of a well preserved specimen, as well as a similar type minted contemporaneously by Agrippa's brother, Herod of Chalcis, the legend has been read as follows: ΒΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΣΕΒ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΒΑΣ ΗΕΡΩ[ΔΗΣ].[797] This legend thus identifies the three figures as Agrippa I (standing left), Claudius (standing middle) and King Herod of Chalcis, Agrippa's brother (standing right). It appears that this coin obverse is depicting the signing of a pact of friendship between the two kings and the emperor.[798] This interpretation is reinforced by the reverse of the coin which shows two clasped hands within a wreath and the extraordinary legend ΟΡΚΙΑ ΒΑΣ ΜΕ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΠΡ(ος) ΣΕΒ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ Κ(αι) ΣΥ]Ν ΚΛΗΤΟΝ Κ(αι) ΔΗΜΟ ΡΩΜ ΦΙΛΙ Κ(αι) ΣΥΝΜΑΧΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ (Fig. 30). The syntax of this inscription makes translating it rather difficult, but I am inclined to follow Burnett's reading of, "sworn treaty of the great king Agrippa to Augustus Caesar, the Senate and the Roman People: his friendship and alliance."[799]

This coin is particularly interesting because while it does make clear reference to the emperor Claudius, it also seems to downplay his significance in the Roman political sphere. First, the obverse of the coin seems to show the three men as relative equals. They are all standing and appear to be of equal size. Further, Agrippa and his brother Herod seem to be crowning Claudius, rather than the other way around as one might expect. Claudius' significance is further downplayed by the inclusion of the Senate and People of Rome in the inscription on the reverse of this coin. By deemphasizing the

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[797] For a discussion of this coin in relation to a similar coin minted by Herod of Chalcis see Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 34-5.
[798] Mehsorer, *Treasury*, 100-1; Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 35. See Joseph. *AJ* 19.275.
[799] Burnett, "Coinage of King Agrippa I," 33. Meshorer, *Treasury*, 101 translates the inscription slightly differently as, "A vow and treaty of friendship and alliance between the great king Agrippa and Augustus Caesar [Claudius] and the People of Rome."

figure of Claudius Agrippa's coinage could be reflecting contemporary Roman political sentiment following the assassination of Gaius. Josephus, for example, relates how uncertain the situation was in Rome following Gaius' assassination, implying that the restoration of the Republic was a viable possibility.[800] Further, it seems that Claudius was sensitive to the anxieties of the Senate and made a greater effort to include them, at least ostensibly, in his administration.[801] Thus, the inclusion of the Senate and People of Rome in the legend of Agrippa's coin could serve both to strengthen his position of king (his pact was made not only with the emperor, but with the entire governing structure of Rome) and to demonstrate his recognition of the current political climate in Rome.

Agrippa's coinage (with the exception of those coins minted in Jerusalem) demonstrates a level of engagement with imperial imagery that was in some ways similar to that of his uncle Philip. The king's coins, however, exhibit an unprecedented level of personal connection to the emperor. In the early years of his reign, while Gaius was still alive, this was demonstrated not only through the inclusion of the emperor's portrait on his larger denominations, as his uncle Philip had done, but also through the use of portraits of other imperial family members as well as the direct copying of issues that were produced by Gaius in Rome. As Meshorer points out, one reason for Agrippa's copying of issues produced in Rome could be that the amount of time he spent in Rome gave him ample opportunity to observe the types that were minted there.[802] Unlike Philip, whom Josephus tells us lived continually in his tetrarchy, Agrippa's personal connection to his kingdom was tenuous due to the considerable amount of time he spent in Rome,

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[800] Cf. Joseph. *AJ* 19.188-9, 227-35. Suetonius also speaks to the level of authority that the Senate was hoping to gain back following Gaius' assassination (Suet. *Claud*. 10).
[801] Cf. Suet. *Claud*. 12; Joseph. *AJ* 19.246-7.
[802] Meshorer, *Treasury*, 94.

even in the early years of his reign.[803] This lack of personal connection to his kingdom may have led Agrippa to seek a greater level of legitimacy from Roman authority than his predecessors had done.

Later in Agrippa's reign the personal connection to the emperor is still present on his coinage, but it is in competition with Agrippa's connection to the Roman governing structure in general. The diminishing of the significance of the emperor, and the imperial family, may be due to the fact that Agrippa's personal relationship with Claudius was not as strong as was his relationship with Gaius. The emperor's diminished significance on Agrippa's coinage may also, however, reflect the political situation in Rome following Gaius' assassination. Thus, while Agrippa reproduced many of the features of the coins of Philip – a practice understandable particularly in the early years of his reign when he ruled primarily over Philip's territory and minted coins from his capital – he also introduced some innovations of his own. To a degree greater than any other Herodian ruler before him, Agrippa connected his position as king to the personal relationship which he enjoyed with the emperor ruling in Rome.

Conclusion

One area where honor of and homage to Augustus do appear to be expressed in an uncomplicated fashion is in the building projects of Herod the Great, specifically the temples to Roma and Augustus constructed at Caesarea and Sebaste. Both the dedication of these temples to the imperial cult, as well as their prominent positions within their respective cities (planned from the beginning of the cities' refounding) speak to the important role that Augustus played in Herod's kingdom. In addition, these grandiose buildings with their eminent dedicatee served to promote Herod's status domestically,

[803] Joseph. *AJ* 18.107.

among his own subjects, as well as internationally, throughout the Roman world at large. Lack of wide-spread opposition to or criticism of Herod's decision to honor the emperor through the dedication of temples to the imperial cult suggests that many Jews at the time accepted the significant role that Augustus would play in Judaean politics.

In contrast to the temples built by Herod, however, his dated coin series should not be seen as a means of honoring or acknowledging Augustus. While these coins likely display images that were intended to imitate, and thus acknowledge, Roman precedents, the dating of these coins to the third year of Herod's reign (38/7 BCE) necessitates against them being minted in order to honor Augustus. Thus, while the dated coins of Herod may attest to his desire to acknowledge the role that Rome, and even some prominent Romans played in his rise to power, it cannot be said that they specifically refer to Augustus and his role in Herod's political success.

In the coinage of Herod's successors, however, it was important to express, to whatever degree they were able, the legitimacy of their power as it was established by the emperor. For Antipas, who ruled over a largely Jewish territory, this expression found itself in simply naming the emperor (metonymically in the case of Tiberias) on his coins. Philip was innovative among Herod's descendants in his decision to put the emperor's portrait on his coins. While this innovation may be explained by the assertion that the largely non-Jewish character of Philip's tetrarchy allowed him to use the emperor's image, this theory neither explains why Philip honored the emperor to such a degree as to reference the imperial authority on both sides of his coins nor why he evinced any mention of the name Herod on his coins. Clearly Philip was eager to demonstrate his connection to Rome and the emperor as emphatically as possible, even beyond what the

conventions of his territory and the times had established. One reason for this may be found in the political history of his territory, which, although governed by Herod for approximately two decades before his death, nevertheless displayed some disloyal tendencies. A similar, and arguably more dramatic preoccupation with the emperor is seen in the coins of Agrippa I. Agrippa goes beyond even what Philip had achieved by highlighting his close personal connection to the emperor. Not only was Agrippa's position sanctioned by Rome, it was the direct result of Agrippa's personal friendship with the emperor Gaius. In addition, Agrippa emphasizes his connection to Roman authority by minting types that were current in Rome at the time, something none of Herod's other successors were likely to have done due to the limited amount of time they spent in the capital city.

The coins of Herod's successors give perhaps the greatest attestation of the interconnected and interdependent political lives of the Herodian rulers (and their people) and the Roman emperors. The Herodian tetrarchs and king repeatedly reference the emperor and the imperial family on their coinage. Where they are prohibited by custom from including portraits of the emperor, as in the case of Antipas and the Jerusalem coins of Agrippa I, they simply use the emperor's name to signify their connection to his authority. For Philip and the non-Jerusalem coins of Agrippa, however, a strong emphasis is placed on the connection to Roman authority through the use of the emperor's portrait as well as the portrait of imperial family members. These repeated demonstrations of a strong connection between the Herodian ruler and the authority of the emperor illustrate that this was an effective connection for these rulers to make. Clearly references to the emperor on the coinage of the Herodians were not objected to by the general populace;

with the exception of Archelaus, Herod's sons enjoyed long and successful tenures and it seems that Agrippa would have done the same had not an early death intervened. Thus, the coins of Herod's successors attest not only to their desire to connect their power to the emperor in Rome, but also may indicate their subjects' general acceptance of this connection.

Coins of the Herodian Dynasty

Fig. 9 Year 24 Issue of Antipas, 20/1 CE[804] (Hendin 1199)

Fig. 10 Year 33 Issue of Antipas, 29/30 CE (Hendin 1203)

Fig. 11 Year 43 Issue of Antipas, 39/40 CE (Hendin 1216)

[804] All coin images are courtesy of David Hendin and are reprinted here with permission. Numbers in parantheses are reference numbers found in Hendin, *Guide to Biblical Coins*.

Fig. 12 Year 5 Issue of Philip, 1/2 CE
(larger denomination)
(Hendin 1219)

Fig. 13 Year 5 Issue of Philip, 1/2 CE
(smaller denomination)
(Hendin 1220)

Fig. 14 Year 12 Issue of Philip, 8/9 CE
(Hendin 1221)

Fig. 15 Year 34 Issue of Philip, 30/1 CE
(Hendin 1230)

Fig. 16 Year 30 Issue of Philip, 26/7 CE
(Hendin 1227)

Fig. 17 Undated coin of Philip with jugate portraits (Hendin 1229)

Fig. 18 Year 6 Issue of Agrippa I, 41/2 CE (Hendin 1244)

Fig. 19 Year 2 Issue of Agrippa I, 37/8 CE (largest denomination) (Hendin 1236)

Fig. 20 Year 5 Issue of Agrippa I, 40/1 CE (largest denomination) (Hendin 1240)

Fig. 21 Year 2 Issue of Agrippa, 37/8 CE (medium denomination) (Hendin 1237)

Fig. 22 Year 2 Issue of Agrippa I, 37/8 CE (medium-small denomination) (Hendin 1238)

Fig. 23 Year 2 Issue of Agrippa I, 37/8 CE (smallest denomination) (Hendin 1239)

Fig. 24 Year 5 Issue of Agrippa I, 40/1 CE (medium denomination) (Hendin 1241)

Fig. 25 Year 5 Issue of Agrippa I, 40/1 CE (medium-small denomination) (Hendin 1242)

Fig. 26 Year 5 Issue of Agrippa I, 40/1 CE
(smallest denomination)
(Hendin 1243)

Fig. 27 Year 7 Issue of Agrippa I, 42/3 CE
(largest denomination)
(Hendin 1245)

Fig. 28 Year 7 Issue of Agrippa I, 42/3 CE
(medium denomination)
(Hendin 1246)

Fig. 29 Year 7 Issue of Agrippa I, 42/3 CE
(smallest denomination)
(Hendin 1247)

Fig. 30 Year 8 Issue of Agrippa I, 43/4 CE
(Hendin 1248)

Conclusion

I. Premise of Dissertation/Dissertation Question

This study began with the simple quest to investigate the opinions which Jews, predominantly those in Judaea, expressed about the Julio-Claudian emperors. An investigation of this kind makes little sense, however, taken out of the context of the relations between Roman authority and the Jews during the Second Temple period. For this reason the study expanded to include the very first documentation of Roman-Jewish relations in I Maccabees, as well as the early governors of Judaea, put in place following the conquest of the East by Pompey the Great.

While literature provides the most evidence for Jewish expressions of their views on the Roman emperor, it is also important to include other media in order to achieve a fuller picture of Jewish opinions overall. Literary works are often, or even exclusively, written by the elites of any ancient society, and therefore offer a rather narrow perspective from which the modern scholar may glean evidence. The public building program of Herod the Great, by contrast, offers a medium through to examine the ways in which this ruler expressed his relationship to and political perspective on the emperor. In addition, through a consideration of reactions to Herod's buildings in honor of the emperor it may be possible to discern something about how Jews more generally felt about the role that the emperor played in their political lives. Coins also provide valuable evidence for how Judaeans, particularly the ruling Herodians responded and reacted to the Roman emperor. These are perspectives that cannot be discerned through the literature alone.

It has often been argued that following the conquests of Pompey and the imposition of Roman political influence over Judaea Jewish opinions became irrevocably hostile towards Roman authority. A related argument has also found much favor, namely that when Judaea became a Roman province following the deposition of Herod's son Archelaus in 6 CE, a cycle of violence began, instigated by Judaean Jews who saw Roman overlordship as akin to slavery, which led inevitably to the Jewish Revolt of 66-73 CE. As I hope my study has illustrated, the evidence suggests that neither of these assumptions is correct. The surviving evidence demonstrates that neither did Jews express universal hatred towards Roman authority following Pompey's conquest, nor did a majority of them find life under Roman rule, whether direct or indirect, to be abhorrent and demanding of violent opposition.

II. General Conclusions

The available literary evidence attesting to Jewish perspectives on Rome's leading men crosses many boundaries of genre, aim and audience, and time from the biblically inspired histories of I Maccabees and Josephus to the sectarian poems of the *Psalms of Solomon* and the invective of Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium*. Nevertheless, common themes concerning attitudes towards Rome and its leading men are observable throughout this diverse corpus.

Opinions of Rome and its leading men did not change abruptly from positive and optimistic to hostile and pessimistic as Rome gained successively more control over Judaean politics. I Maccabees does give a rather idealized portrait of Rome and Rome's government, as many scholars have noted, but this portrait is not without expressions of anxiety regarding Rome's growing power. In contrast, at least one of the *Psalms of*

Solomon offers a clear condemnation of the arrogance of Pompey and his actions in Jerusalem, but nowhere does the collection as a whole suggest a general criticism of Rome and other Roman leaders as has often been assumed. In fact, Psalm 2, which clearly condemns Pompey, may also reveal an expectation that not all Roman leaders are like him and that others will be more understanding of God's influence in the world.

Both the works of Philo and Josephus have been interpreted as giving distorted pictures of the Julio-Claudian emperors due to their personal experience with Roman authority. Philo is charged with portraying Augustus and Tiberius in an overly positive light, particularly in respect to their relationship with the Jewish population of the Empire, while exaggeratedly vilifying Gaius. According to some scholars his invective purpose in writing the *Legatio ad Gaium* led him to make Gaius look worse by extolling his predecessors excessively. While I agree that Philo portrays Augustus and Tiberius more positively than the historical record seems to warrant, I believe this is due to his attempt to instruct his audience in the ideal way for an emperor to behave towards the Jewish people. Thus, while the work of Philo allows that there were certainly times of extreme tension between the emperor and the Jewish inhabitants of the Empire, such as in the case of Gaius' attempt to place his statue in the Temple in Jerusalem, there was a general expectation that the emperor could and would ensure the religious liberty of his Jewish subjects.

Many scholars see an apologetic aim in the works of Josephus and thus interpret his depictions of the emperors (particularly the "good" emperors) as rather optimistic, or even whitewashed. In contrast, my study demonstrates that Josephus (and perhaps his sources) evaluated each Roman administrator following the conquest of Pompey, from

the governors of Syria to the Julio-Claudian emperors, based on his own merit. Josephus does not seem to be guided either by a desire to obscure the harmful acts committed against the Jews by some emperors, or by a general feeling of hostility towards Roman authority figures and political influence. While he seems careful to show that there was generally an attitude of cooperation and mutual respect between the Roman authorities and the Jewish people, he also expresses some anxiety regarding the absolute power that many of these men held over the lives of their people.

The building program of Herod the Great as well as his coins and those of his successors also attest to the level of cooperation and mutual respect shared by Judaean and Roman rulers. Through his temples and cities honoring Augustus Herod both pays homage to the emperor while at the same time demonstrating his ability to govern his realm effectively. In addition, the apparent lack of opposition to Herod's construction of temples in honor of the emperor suggests that many Judaean Jews were not offended by the role that the emperor played in their political lives. Herod's successors, like Herod himself, seem to have been concerned with connecting their regimes to the Roman emperor. From Antipas to Agrippa I the Herodian rulers used references to and images of the emperor and his family to connect their regimes to the central authority in Rome. This served to express loyalty to the emperor while also promoting the legitimacy of each Judaean leader's rule. It is significant that each ruler, from Herod onward made these demonstrations of loyalty to Rome in a way that avoided offending Jewish religious sensitivities. Thus, Herod and his successors recognized the necessity of acknowledging Rome's role in establishing and maintaining their positions of power, while also keeping in mind the needs and expectations of the people over whom they governed. That Herod

and his successors, with the exception of Archelaus, enjoyed long and successful tenures suggests that the majority of their subjects accepted without malice the role that Roman authority played in their political lives.

III. Wider Applicability

This study has broad significance beyond its investigation into Jewish perspectives on Rome's leading men as Rome transitioned from a distant Republic exerting diplomatic influence in the eastern Mediterranean during the second century BCE to the imperial overlord of Judaea in the first century CE. As a case study of the ways in which a specific people in the ancient world perceived and gave expression to the act of being conquered, this dissertation provides a basis for exploring how other peoples who came under the influence of the Romans explained their conquest in their own cultural terms as well as through the assimilation of the cultural terms of the conqueror. Further, this study demonstrates that the development of Rome into an imperial power did not engender universal rejection of and hostility towards the men that stood at the head of that power. Rather, many Jews, including non-elites, elites, and rulers negotiated the reality of Roman authority through a process of assimilating leading Romans into their world view as well as appropriating the self-images of Rome and her leading men into their own narratives of Roman power. In addition, by avoiding taking a teleological approach to the history of Jewish relations with Roman authority, as others have done when, for example, investigating the causes of the Jewish Revolt, I have been able to develope more nuanced readings of the literary evidence. This in turn, I believe, has led to a better understanding of how authors such as Philo and Josephus perceived Roman leaders and their role in the lives of the Jewish population of the Empire.

My analysis of Jewish perspectives on Rome's leading men, and in particular the Julio-Claudian emperors has other wide-ranging applications. This study encompasses an examination of Jewish perspectives on Rome's leading men and emperors through a cross-section of time and different political circumstances. The course of this study covers Jewish perspectives on Rome's leading men as Judaea transitions from an autonomous kingdom, to a semi-autonomous theocracy, to a client kingdom, to a Roman province. The findings of this study could thus be broadly applicable to a number of different political situations in the course of the Roman Republic and Empire, such as the Roman "conquest" of Greece, the reduction of Egypt to an imperial province, and perhaps even Roman involvement in the West (although evidence for native reactions to Rome's presence in the West is far less than in the East).

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