

CLAS 115: Hellenistic Monarchy and Judaea
Department of Classical Studies
Fall 2007 MW 5-6:30 pm

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Office Hours: M 6:30-8:00 pm, W 3:20-4:50 pm or by appointment

The Hellenistic Period was a time of marked political and cultural change. As a multiplicity of indigenous societies adopted Greek culture, they adapted and changed it to suit their own needs. This blending and combining of traditions led to substantial local diversity while simultaneously preserving a unified system of political and cultural norms. This course focuses on the political history of one of these indigenous societies as it encountered and reacted to Hellenism and Hellenistic culture. Throughout the semester, we will focus on the major political events, figures and themes of Judaeian history from the rise of the Hasmoneans to the death of Herod the Great in 4 BCE. Our investigations will attempt to construct an historical narrative of the period, focusing on how both the Hasmonean and Herodian dynasties adopted and adapted Hellenistic political culture to suit their local milieu.

Major questions to be examined will include: How did the Hasmoneans and Herodians utilize Hellenistic culture to create and maintain their legitimacy and control? How and why were the Hasmoneans and later the Herodians able to seize power despite initially dubious claims to legitimacy? What role did political self-presentation play in the maintenance of power and control? How did these dynasties interact with the Hellenistic monarchies? What role did royal women play in these dynasties?

At the end of the semester, students will have a better understanding of the major political events and movements within Hellenistic Jewish history from the second century BCE until the first century CE. They also will have learned how to study ancient Judaea from a critical and historical perspective. Finally, students will have improved their reading, writing and analytical skills and their ability to use primary sources to construct historically sound arguments.

If you are a student with a documented disability on record at Brandeis University and wish to have a reasonable accommodation made for you in this class, please see me immediately.

Course Requirements:

Each student will be expected to attend lecture regularly, read the assigned material and participate in section discussions. In addition, each student will write one midterm paper (5-6 pages) and one longer research paper (12-15 pages) on a topic to be chosen after consultation with the professor.

For the final paper, each student will submit a preliminary outline with thesis statement, a rough draft and a final draft. The purpose in this exercise is to encourage students to plan ahead and

improve their papers through editing and rewriting. The preliminary outlines will be graded with either a satisfactory or unsatisfactory grade based on their level of feasibility and depth of thought. The rough drafts are meant to be a first attempt at writing the paper, but they will be graded as a legitimate assignment. The final paper grade will be based on an average of the grades of the rough and final drafts. Credit will be given for significant revisions and improvement.

Grading will be based on the midterm paper (20%), the longer paper including the outline and draft (50%) and class participation (30%). Attendance will be factored into the class participation grade. Late work will be marked down one grade step for each day it is late.

The Midterm paper is due **Monday, October 15 at 4:00 pm**. The final paper is due the first day of finals, which is **Wednesday, December 12 at 4:00 pm**.

Academic Integrity:

You are expected to be honest in all of your academic work. Brandeis University policy on academic honesty is contained in your Student Handbook in section 5 under “Rights and Responsibilities.” Instances of cheating, plagiarism, or other alleged dishonesty will be reported to the Office of Campus Life for possible referral to the Student Judicial System. The adjudication process is also outlined in your Handbook. Potential consequences of academic dishonesty include (in addition to an “E” on the assignment) failure in the course, disciplinary probation, and suspension from the University. A record of any offense will remain in a student’s disciplinary file in the Office of Student Affairs throughout his or her career at Brandeis. Please know that I take this code very seriously. If you have any questions about my expectations, please ask me.

Required Texts:

All of the books may be purchased at the bookstore, and they will also be on reserve at the library.

Books to Purchase:

Josephus, *The Jewish War* (Penguin) = *BJ*

Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, Volumes 9-11 (Loeb) = *AJ*

Ehud Netzer, *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great*. Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2001.

Many of the primary texts are also available online. However, not all translations are equal.

Recommended versions include:

- I Maccabees (NRSV): http://www.anova.org/sev/htm/ap/09_1maccabees.htm
- II Maccabees (NRSV): http://www.anova.org/sev/htm/ap/10_2maccabees.htm
- Josephus: www.perseus.tufts.edu

For the various Roman authors, the recommended sites are:

- Perseus Project: www.perseus.tufts.edu
- The Internet Ancient Sourcebook: www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/asbook.html
- The Internet Classics Archive: www.classics.mit.edu

- LacusCurtius: penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html
- University of Virginia EText: etext.lib.virginia.edu/collections/languages/english/

An excellent website dedicated to Josephus and Josephine studies is:

- <http://pace.cns.yorku.ca/York/york/index.htm>

Weekly Assignments:

Nota Bene: Primary readings marked with a * appear in the course packet online. In addition, all of the secondary sources are also in the course packet.

Week 1: Introduction

Wednesday, September 5: From Nebuchanezzar to Antiochus The Great

Week 2: The Sources: Maccabees and Josephus

- I Maccabees
- II Maccabees
- Josephus, *Life* 1-16;
- Josephus, *BJ* 1.1-18, 7.454-5;
- Josephus, *AJ* 1. 1-17; 12.234-13.229, 14.9; 20.259-68.
- Louis H. Feldman, “Josephus’ Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with I Maccabees,” in *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism*, 1996, 137-163.
- Tessa Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society*, 2nd Edition, 2002, 1-10.

Monday, September 10: I and II Maccabees

Monday September 17: Nicolaus of Damascus and Josephus

Week 3: Hellenistic Political Ideology: Theory and Practice

- *Isocrates, *Nicocles* (Excerpts)
- *Kallixeinos, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus*
- *Theocritus, *Idyll* 17
- *Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* (Excerpts)
- Klaus Bringmann, “The King as Benefactor: Some Remarks on Ideal Kingship in the Age of Hellenism,” in *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, 1993, 7-24.
- F.W. Walbank, “Monarchies and Monarchic Ideals,” in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd ed. vol. 7, 1984, 63-100.
- Jim Roy, “The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King,” in *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity*, 1998, 111-135.

Wednesday, September 19: Hellenistic Political Theory

Monday, September 24: Pomp and Presentation in Hellenistic Monarchies

Week 4: The Hasmonean Revolt and Beyond

- I Maccabees.
- II Maccabees.

- Josephus, *BJ* 1.39-61; *AJ* 12.234-13.253.
- Ya‘akov Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins* (Antiochus VII Sidetes and John Hyrcanus I).
- Seth Schwartz, “A Note on the Social Type and Political Ideology of the Hasmonean Family,” *JBL* 112 (1993) 305-317.
- Brent Nongbri, “The Motivations of the Maccabees and the Judean Rhetoric of Ancestral Traditions,” on *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context*, 2005, 85-111.
- Erich S. Gruen *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, 1998, 1-40.

Monday, October 1: The Outbreak of the Hasmonean Revolt: Causes and Revision

Wednesday, October 3: The Hasmoneans as Seleucid Vassals

Week 5: The Expansion of the Hasmonean State

- Josephus, *BJ* 1.62-119; *AJ* 13.254-432.
- Ya‘akov Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins* (Coins of the Hasmoneans from John Hyrcanus I to Alexander Jannaeus).
- Ehud Netzer, *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great*, 2001, 13-39, 68-78, 132
- Menahem Stern, “Judaea and her Neighbors in the Days of Alexander Jannaeus,” *Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981) 22-46.
- Clemens Thoma, “John Hyrcanus I as Seen by Josephus and Other Early Jewish Sources,” in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman World: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, 1994. 127-140.

Monday, October 8: Expansion and Judaization under John Hyrcanus I and Aristobulus I

Wednesday, October 10: Alexander Jannaeus and the Hasmonean Apex

—Midterm paper questions handed out at end of class. Paper due on Monday, October 15 at 4:00 pm

Week 6: Inside a Hellenistic Jewish Monarchy

- Josephus, *BJ* 1.67-119; *AJ* 13.288-432.
- **Psalms of Solomon* 17
- *Babylonian Talmud: *b.Berakhot* 48a; *b.Sotah* 47a; *b.Kidduishin* 66a; *b.Sanhedrin* 107b
- Kenneth Atkinson, “Herod the Great, Sosius and the Siege of Jerusalem (37 B.C.E.),” in *Psalm of Solomon 17*,” *Novum Testamentum* 38 (1996) 313-322.
- Kenneth Atkinson, “None of the Weakness of Her Sex,” Uncovering a Lost Chapter in Women’s Studies,” *Universitas* (Handout)
- Joseph Geiger, “The Hasmoneans and Hellenistic Succession.” *JJS* 53 (2002) 1-18.
- Tessa Rajak, “Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition,” in *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*, 1996, 96-116.

Monday, October 15: Women in the Hasmonean Court

Wednesday, October 17: Opposition to the Hasmoneans

Week 7: Civil War: The Decline of the Hasmoneans and the Rise of Herod the Great

- Josephus, *BJ* 1.120-358; *AJ* 14.4-109, 119-185, 268-491.
- *Babylonian Talmud: *b. Kiddushin*. 70b; *b. Bava Batra* 3b-4a; *b. Sanhedrin* 19a-b
- Mariam Pucci Ben Zeev, “Seleukos of Rhosos and Hyrcanus II,” *JSJ* 26 (1995) 113-121.
- Daniel R. Schwartz, “Josephus on John Hyrcanus II.” In *Josephus and the History of the Greco Roman World: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, 1994, 210-232.

Monday, October 22: The Hasmonean Civil War and the Intervention of Rome

Wednesday, October 24: Rise of the Idumaeen Usurper: Herod’s Early Years

Week 8: Rivals and Friends: Neighboring Hellenistic Monarchies

- Josephus, *AJ* 14.297-300, 370-376; 15.21-50, 62-67, 88-103, 106-107, 108-160, 16.6-11, 130-132, 188-212, 220-228, 261-299, 325-355
- Plutarch, *Antony* 25-87
- R.A. Hazzard, *Imagination of a Monarchy Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda*, 2000. (Excerpts)
- David M. Jacobson, “Three Roman Client Kings: Herod of Judaea, Archelaus of Cappadocia and Juba of Mauretania,” *PEQ* 133 (2001) 22-38.
- Erich S. Gruen, “Cleopatra in Rome: Facts and Fantasies,” in *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honor of T.P. Wiseman*, 2003, 257-274

Monday, October 29: Cleopatra VII and Ptolemaic Egypt’s Relations with Judaea

Wednesday, October 31: Hellenistic Neighbors of the Herodian Kingdom

Week 9: Herod and Rome

- *BJ* 1.204-673; *AJ* 14.158-17.199.
 - *Skim Josephus focusing on Herod’s relationship with Rome*
- Images of Herod’s coins (on class website)
- Images of Herod’s building program (on class website)
- Herod *Philorhomaios* inscriptions (handout)
- Joseph Geiger, “Herodes *Philorhomaios*.” *Ancient Society* 28 (1997) 75-88.
- Robert L. Hohfelder, “Beyond Coincidence? Marcus Agrippa and King Herod’s Harbor,” *JNES* 59 (2000) 241-253.
- Adam Kolman Marshak, “The Dated Coins of Herod the Great: Towards a New Chronology,” *JSJ* 37 (2006) 212-240.
- Ehud Netzer, *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great*, 2001, 40-42, 68-87.

Monday, November 5: Herod, Client Kingship and Antony

Wednesday, November 7: Herod and Augustus: Forging a Role in the new Principate

Week 10: Herod and the Jews

- *BJ* 1.204-673; *AJ* 14.158-17.199.
 - *Skim Josephus focusing on Herod’s relationship with the Jews*
- Images of Herod’s coins (on class website)
- Images of Herod’s Jewish building program: Jerusalem, Hebron, Mamre (on class website)

- Louis H. Feldman, “Asinius Pollio and His Jewish Interests,” *TAPA* (84) 1953. 73-80.
- Louis H. Feldman, “Asinius Pollio and Herod’s Sons,” *CQ* 35 (1985) 240-243
- Gideon Fuks, “Josephus on Herod's Attitude towards Jewish Religion: The Darker Side,” *JJS* 53 (2002) 238-245.
- Peter Richardson, “Law and Piety in Herod’s Architecture,” *Studies in Religion* 15 (1986) 347-60.
- Seth Schwartz, “Herod, Friend of the Jews,” in *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel: The Arie Kindler Volume*, 2001, 67-76.

Monday, November 12: Herod the Hasmonean

Wednesday, November 14: Herod the Jewish Hero

—Outline for final paper due in class (peer editing)

Week 11: Herod the Hellenistic King

- *BJ* 1.204-673; *AJ* 14.158-17.199.
 - *Skim Josephus focusing on Herod’s relationship with his Greek subjects, his Greek neighbors and Greek cities around the Mediterranean*
- Herod’s Dedicatory inscriptions (handout)
- Images of Herod’s building program (on class website)
- David M. Jacobson, “King Herod’s ‘Heroic’ Public Image,” *RB* 95 (1988) 386-403.
- Aryeh Kasher, *Jews and the Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel*, 1990, 192-215.
- Ehud Netzer, *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great*, 2001, 43-47, **64-57**, 88-137.

Monday, November 19: Hellenistic Kingship and Self-Presentation in the Reign of Herod

Monday, November 26: Herod and the Hellenistic Virtues

Week 12: Internal Chaos: Herod and His Family

- *BJ* 1.204-673; *AJ* 14.158-17.199.
 - *Skim Josephus focusing on the string of conspiracies within the Herodian court and Herod’s use of his family to further his political goals*
- *Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrH* 90 Fr. 136.
- Tal Ilan, “Josephus and Nicolaus on Women.” In Tal Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History*, 1999, 105-125.
- Tal Ilan, “Intermarriage in the Herodian Family as a Paradigm for Intermarriage in Second Temple Judaism,” paper presented at *The Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting*, 2002. 1-15.
- Israel Ronen, “Formation of Jewish Nationalism Among the Idumaeans,” in Aryeh Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans and Ancient Arabs*, 1988. 214-220.

Wednesday, November 28: Opposition to Herodian Rule

Monday, December 3: Intrigue in the Herodian Court

Week 13: Herod's Death and Aftermath

- Josephus, *BJ* 1.665-2.116; *AJ* 17.191-355.
- Nikos Kokkinos, "Herod's Horrid Death," *BAR* 28/2 (2002) 28-35, 62.
- Alla Kushnir-Stein, "Another Look at Josephus' Evidence for the Date of Herod's Death," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 14 (1995) 73-86.
- Daniel R. Schwartz, "Joseph Ben Illem and the Date of Herod's Death," in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*, 1992. 157-166.

Wednesday, December 5: Herod's Death and the Road to the Great Revolt

—Final draft of paper due on Wednesday, December 12 at 4:00 pm