

PHILIPPIKA
Altertumswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen
Contributions to the Study
of Ancient World Cultures

Herausgegeben von / Edited by
Joachim Hengstl, Elizabeth Irwin,
Andrea Jördens, Torsten Mattern,
Robert Rollinger, Kai Ruffing, Orell Witthuhn

66

2014
Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Michał Marciak

Izates, Helena, and Monobazos of Adiabene

A Study on Literary Traditions and History

2014

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Bis Band 60: Philippika. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet
at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

For further information about our publishing program consult our
website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2014

This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.

Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission
of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies
particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage
and processing in electronic systems.

Printed on permanent/durable paper.

Printing and binding: ⊕ Hubert & Co., Göttingen

Printed in Germany

ISSN 1613-5628

ISBN 978-3-447-10108-0

“But I beg you – let the living not lose hope ever
And bear the torch of learning before their compatriots.”

J. Słowacki, *My Testament*
(trans. by M. Mikos)

“I have always been fascinated by the study of second temple Judaism.
I can hardly remember a time when I wasn’t.”

G. Boccaccini

To My Mother, My First Ever Teacher

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	11
Abbreviations and Preliminary Remarks	13
Introduction	15
Part 1. The Adiabene Narrative as a Skillful Literary Product	
Introduction	23
1. The Structure and Meaning of Josephus' <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> 20: 17–96	25
1.1. The Structure and Content of Ant. 20: 17–96	25
1.1.1. From Ant. 20: 17 to Ant. 20: 96 and beyond: the Literary Boundaries of the Adiabene Narrative	26
1.1.2. The First Unit: 20: 18–33 (Izates as a Chosen One)	28
1.1.3. The Second Unit: 20: 34–48 (the Conversion Story)	29
1.1.4. The Third Unit: 20: 49–53 (Helena's and Izates' Benefactions)	31
1.1.5. The Fourth Unit: 20: 54–68 (Izates and Artabanos)	32
1.1.6. The Fifth Unit: 20: 69–73 (Izates and Vardanes)	33
1.1.7. The Sixth Unit: Ant. 20: 74–91 (The Succession of Parthian kings, Plots against Izates Resulting in Foreign Invasions)	34
1.1.8. The Seventh Unit: 20: 92–96 (Izates' and Helena's Death and Burial)	35
1.2. Thematic Continuities in Ant. 20: 17–96 and its Genre	35
1.3. Josephus' Explicit Comments in the Adiabene Narrative	38
1.4. Conclusions and Further Steps	40
2. From Cradle to Grave: Izates' Birth and Death in Ant. 20: 17–96	41
2.1. The Report on Izates' Birth and Youth (Ant. 20: 18–33) in Light of Ancient <i>Kindheitsgeschichten</i>	43
2.2. The Report on Izates' Death (Ant. 20: 92–96) in Light of Ancient βίοι	47
2.3. Conclusions	50
3. Izates as a King	53
3.1. Greek and Roman Royal Ideology	54
3.2. Kingship in the Jewish Tradition	59
3.3. Josephus' Portrayal of Izates as a King	64
3.3.1. Izates' Wisdom	64
3.3.2. Izates' Self-Control and Courage	67
3.3.3. Izates' Justice and Clemency	68
3.3.4. Izates' Kindness, Modesty, Foresight, and Benefactions	71
3.4. Conclusions	73
4. Izates as a Jew	75
4.1. Observations on Recent Scholarship	75
4.2. Exegesis of the Text	77
4.2.1. Josephus' Understanding of Conversion	77
4.2.2. When Did Izates' Conversion Happen and How Did it Proceed?	85
4.2.3. All Things Being Equal? Josephus, Conversion, and his Audience	89
4.3. Conclusions	96
5. God's Providence and Human Piety in Ant. 20: 17–96	97

5.1. Terminology of Providence and Piety	98
5.2. Analysis of the Theme of God's Providence and Piety in Ant. 20: 17–96	106
5.2.1. God's Providence and Izates' Piety	106
5.2.2. Artabanos and the Idea of Sudden Changes of Fortune	112
5.2.3. The Romans and the Idea of World Hegemony	113
5.3. Conclusions	115
Conclusions to Part 1	117

Part 2. The Adiabene Royalty among their Own People

Introduction	127
6. The Adiabene Royalty as Benefactors and Models of Piety	129
6.1. Helena's Euergetism	129
6.2. The Adiabene Royalty as Models of Piety according to the Rabbis	131
7. The Adiabene Dynasty and their Royal Dwellings in Jerusalem	139
7.1. Helena's Mausoleum	139
7.1.1. Helena's Mausoleum in Josephus	139
7.1.2. Helena's Mausoleum in Non-Jewish Sources	142
7.1.3. The Description of <i>Le Tombeau des Rois</i> in Jerusalem	146
7.1.3.1. General Description of the Structure	147
7.1.3.2. Objects Found by the Excavators	151
7.1.3.3. Sarcophagus no. 5029 and its Inscription	153
7.1.3.4. The Identification of <i>Le Tombeau des Rois</i>	155
7.2. The Palaces of the Adiabene Royalty	163
7.2.1. The Palaces of the Adiabene Royalty according to Josephus	163
7.2.1.1. Grapte's Palace	163
7.2.1.2. Monobazos' and Helena's Palaces	164
7.2.2. The Adiabenean Palaces and the Archaeology of the Lower City of David	166
Conclusions to Part 2	169

Part 3. Cultural and Political Environment of Adiabene from the Third Century BCE to the Third Century CE

Introduction	173
8. Geographical and Ethnographical Texts on Adiabene	175
8.1. Strabo	175
8.2. Plutarch and Tacitus	184
8.3. Pliny the Elder	188
8.4. Ptolemy	190
8.5. Cassius Dio and Ammianus Marcellinus	191
8.6. Conclusions	196
9. Archaeological Sites	201
9.1. Arbela	201
9.2. Kilizu	202
9.3. Abu Sheetha	204
9.4. Ashur	204
9.5. Nineveh	208
9.6. Nimrud	215

10. Epigraphic and Numismatic Evidence.	219
10.1. Inscriptions	219
10.2. Coins from Adiabene	221
11. The Adiabene Onomasticon.	227
12. Chronology of the Adiabene Royalty in the Hellenistic and Parthian Periods.	233
12.1. Abdissar and Artaxares	233
12.2. Izates I and Monobazos I	235
12.3. Izates II and Monobazos II	235
12.4. The Second Century CE Chronology of the Adiabene Royalty	244
12.5. A Chronological List	245
13. Adiabene and Judaea in the Context of the Relations between Rome and Parthia.	247
13.1. Izates II and Monobazos II as Parthian Barbarians.	247
13.2. The Jews in Adiabene	252
13.3. The Adiabeneans in Jerusalem during the Jewish Uprising against Rome	255
13.4. Adiabene, Parthia, and Rome in the Context of the Jewish Uprising of 66–73 CE	261
Conclusions to Part 3.	265
Summary and General Conclusions	267
Bibliography	273
Index of Geographical Names.	309
Index of Personal Names.	313
Maps and Figures.	317