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Judaea in the First Century AD

A review of recent scholarly contributions and their implications

Christoph Stenschke

SUMMARY

This article introduces six recent books on Judaea in the first centuries BC and AD, representing a small selection of the many studies which continue to appear. The enormous interest is caused by several factors such as the interest in the historical Jesus and his social world; interest in the “fringes” of the Roman Empire; and the constant flow of new discoveries in Israel since 1948. Many of the scholars involved are Israelis. There is consensus in all these studies that first century BC and AD Judaea / Palaestina was far more diverse and complex than previ-

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dieser Artikel stellt sechs, kürzlich erschienene Bücher über Judäa in den ersten Jahrhunderten vor und nach Christus vor. Sie repräsentieren eine kleine Auswahl der zahlreichen Werke, die am laufenden Band erscheinen. Das außerordentliche Interesse ist auf verschiedene Faktoren zurückzuführen, wie die Vorliebe für den historischen Jesus und sein soziales Umfeld, Wissensdurst in Bezug auf „Randerscheinungen“ des römischen Imperiums sowie der unablässige Strom neuer Entdeckungen in Israel seit 1948. Viele der beteiligten Wissenschaftler sind Israelis. In all diesen Studien besteht ein Konsens darüber, dass das Judäa bzw. Palästina des ersten Jahrhun-

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente six ouvrages récents consacrés à la Judée au I^{er} siècle avant et au I^{er} siècle après Jésus-Christ, et qui ne représentent qu'un échantillonnage des nombreuses études qui ne cessent de paraître sur ce sujet. Divers facteurs expliquent ce regain d'intérêt : ce qui touche au Jésus historique et à son milieu social retient toujours l'attention ; on s'intéresse à ce qui se passait aux confins de l'empire romain ; de nouvelles découvertes en Israël ne cessent de venir au jour depuis 1948. De

ously assumed.

Of the six volumes presented, two were written by Israelis, two by North Americans and two by German scholars. Three of the books were written by ancient historians, the other three were written or edited by scholars involved in biblical studies. Zangenberg's volume best indicates the international character of current research on ancient Judaea and indicates new approaches. At the same time it provides a fine example of how some highly technical research can be presented attractively to a wider audience.

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derts vor und nach Christus weitaus vielschichtiger und unübersichtlicher war als ursprünglich angenommen.

Von den sechs vorliegenden Bänden wurden zwei von israelischen Wissenschaftlern geschrieben, zwei von nordamerikanischen und zwei von deutschen. Drei der Bücher stammen von Althistorikern, die anderen drei wurden von Theologen aus dem Fachbereich biblischer Studien verfasst oder herausgegeben. Zangenberg's Band zeigt am besten den internationalen Charakter der gegenwärtigen Forschung über das antike Judäa auf und weist auf neue Ansätze hin. Gleichzeitig bietet er ein gutes Beispiel dafür, dass eine hoch technische Forschung durchaus auf attraktive Weise einer größeren Leserschaft dargeboten werden kann.

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nombreux spécialistes ayant contribué à ces travaux sont israéliens. Ces études manifestent un consensus sur le point suivant : à l'époque considérée, la Judée présentait bien plus de diversité et de complexité qu'on ne l'avait jusque-là pensé.

Deux des six ouvrages présentés ici ont pour auteurs des Israéliens, deux des Nord Américains et deux des Allemands. Trois ont été rédigés par des historiens de l'antiquité et les trois autres ont été écrits ou édités par des bibliistes. L'ouvrage de Zangenberg témoigne du carac-

tère international de la recherche actuelle sur la Judée antique et présente de nouvelles approches. Il constitue en même temps un bon exemple de la mise à portée du

grand public, et avec une présentation attrayante, d'une recherche d'une haute technicité.

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Rocca, Samuel, *Herod's Judaea: a Mediterranean State in the Classical World*. TSAJ 122 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). xi + 445 pp. Cloth. ISBN 978-3-16-149717-9. € 119.

Netzer, Ehud, *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder*. TSAJ 117 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006). xiii + 443 pp. Cloth. ISBN 3-16-148570-X. € 129.

Eck, Werner, *Rom und Judaea: Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palästina*. Tria Corda (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). 263 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-16-149460-4. € 30.

Zangenberg, Jürgen (ed.), *Das Tote Meer: Kultur und Geschichte am tiefsten Punkt der Erde* (Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 2010). 172 pp. Cloth. ISBN 978-3-8053-4074-8. € 35.

Hanson, Kenneth C., Douglas E. Oakman, *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008). 251 pp. paperback. ISBN 978-0-8006-6309-4. \$ 32.

Marshall, Jonathan, *Jesus, Patrons and Benefactors: Roman Palestine and the Gospel of Luke*. WUNT II.259 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). xiv + 383 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-16-149901-2. € 74.

Judaea in the first centuries BC and AD¹ has attracted a significant amount of attention in recent study. One of the reasons for this is the recent upsurge of interest in the historical Jesus in what is commonly called the “Third Quest” for the historical Jesus.² Another reason, closely linked to the former, is an ongoing interest in the social aspects of the world and life of Jesus, his followers and nascent Christianity.

Also, and outside of New Testament studies in the strict sense of the term, there has been a growing interest among ancient historians of various kinds in Judaea during the first centuries BC and AD. Some of this attention is and was fuelled by a wider upsurge of interest in the “fringes” of the Roman Empire, whether they were proper Roman provinces or the various territories in which the Romans made their presence felt in different ways; see, for example, the new series on the vari-

ous Roman provinces.³ The Eastern edges of the Roman Empire and the regions beyond the border (which was more permeable than absolute) seem to have been more the focus of this quest than other areas, e.g. the Northern fringes of the Empire, which have been studied in some detail in past research, studies often dominated by Europeans inquiring into their own past for various reasons and in pursuit of various agendas.

Some of this new interest in Judaea has been caused by the constant flow of discoveries since 1948 up to the present and their (at times painfully slow and haphazard) publication. Many of these discoveries are due to the large numbers of Israeli archaeologists and historians examining the material remains of the last Jewish state before its demise in 70 AD and the developments in the area during early rabbinic and Byzantine times. Some of these discoveries had, and continue to have, a strong and stimulating impact on New Testament scholarship; for example, excavation of the Jewish city of Sepphoris and Herod's port in Caesarea Maritima.⁴

Some studies of the past decade have focused on all of Judaea, some on specific areas (mainly Galilee, but also Samaria or the Decapolis), others have been locally confined. For each approach several monographs could be cited.⁵ Another characteristic of this more recent “Palästinawissenschaft”, as it used to be called, is its interdisciplinary nature and international character. Authors from vast fields of scholarly enquiry are involved and apply their particular questions, methodology and discourses of interpretation – which at times makes communication difficult! Many of them are Israelis from the various universities in Israel. Those of them who write in English make their own research – otherwise often published in Hebrew – and that of others scholars available to the international community.⁶

In addition to filling in many details and challenging older interpretations in various ways, there is consensus in all these studies that the worlds of first century BC and AD Judaea/Palaestina were far more diverse and complex than was previously assumed. In different ways, all these older and more recent studies benefit from the fact that

there is hardly another area in the ancient world for which there is such a plethora of different sources available for that period of time.

The six volumes to be presented here reflect these developments each in their own way: two of the books were written by highly competent Israelis (one of them a senior and leading figure of Israeli archaeology), two by North Americans and two by German scholars. Three of these books were written by ancient historians, of whom one is at the same time an architect and archaeologist. The other three were written or edited by scholars involved in biblical studies. Zangenberg's volume best indicates the international character of current research on ancient Judaea and indicates new approaches. At the same time it provides a fine example of how some highly technical research can be presented attractively to a wider audience. Although representative of dozens of published books in the area in the past decade, the volumes we have selected cannot, of course, cover the whole of this extremely rich and vibrant field of study. Throughout the article I will refer to other contributions but I am well aware that, even with these titles included, this review article does not offer a systematic or comprehensive survey of this area of research.

Samuel Rocca

For several decades it seemed that A. Schalit's monumental monograph on Herod the Great⁷ and the material in the English revision of E. Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)* had "said it all". However, the last few years have seen a renaissance of scholarly interest in Herod, the Herodian house and the various aspects of Herodian society.⁸ Impetus for this new quest came from some of the recently discovered archaeological, literary and epigraphic sources, from the strong impetus of a more critical understanding of Josephus as a historian with a distinct agenda⁹ and of the nature of his portrayal of Herod,¹⁰ from new methods of inquiry and from an increased focus on the social, economic and religious realities of the rule and age of Herod and his dynasty in view of the ever present influence of Rome. This upsurge of interest and these factors are the backdrop to the first two monographs to be reviewed here.

Samuel Rocca from the Faculty of architecture of the Judea and Samaria College in Ariel describes the focus of *Herod's Judaea: a Mediterranean State*

in the Classical World as follows:

The main theme of this book is an in-depth analysis of Herodian society. The most important facet of this analysis was the relationship between Herod as ruler and the Jewish subjects over whom he ruled, with particular emphasis on the influence of Herodian rule on Jewish society. Yet to understand the relationship between Herod and his subjects... it is necessary, as part of the general background, to undertake a general analysis of Herodian Judaea and its relationship with the Classical world, beginning with Augustan Rome, which was the centre of power, and followed by the main centres within the Mediterranean basin and the Hellenistic East. (1)

After methodological considerations (1-17), Rocca begins in *chapter one* with "Herod the King: Royalty and the Ideology of Power" (19-63). His discussion includes a brief survey of research on Herod (Rajak, Landau), Herod and the Jewish ideology of rule (the heritage of the house of David and the Hasmonean heritage), Herod and various aspects of the Hellenistic ideology of rule (Herod as the last typically Hellenistic king whose acts of euergetism are to be understood as expressions of his power as Hellenistic king in foreign policy), Herod as the client king of Rome and an instructive comparison between Herod and king Juba II of Mauretania (25 BC to 25 AD). Rocca concludes that Herod's rule was seen by his subjects in a more positive light than previously assumed:

Herod clearly enjoyed the admiration of the Jews in the Roman and Babylonian Diasporas. Moreover, had he not had the overwhelming support of his Jewish subjects, the Romans would never have appointed him king of Judaea. Augustus' addition of lands to Herod's kingdom, for example, attests to his successful rule. Herod also flourished as undisputed ruler of the Greek East in the tradition of Alexander the Great, and was recognised as such by both the Greeks and by the Roman overlords. (21)

Herod successfully presented himself as a traditional Jewish ruler and as a Hellenistic king. He took as his model the house of David and cast himself as the new Solomon. This was a credible claim as he rebuilt the temple to its full splendour and brought his subjects a long period of peace.

Herod's and Augustus' ruling ideologies, though stemming from different contexts, are

good examples of successfully coping with Hellenistic ideals, which were alien in both Jerusalem and Rome. (63)

Chapter two is devoted to the court of Herod (65-131). Rocca describes the origin and the various aspects of the royal court of Herodian Judaea (its composition, the role of family members such as brothers and sisters, wives and children and the role of Herod's friends and other members). The inner circle of friends consisted of ministers and advisors such as Ptolemy and Nicolaus, followed by orators, ambassadors and others without formal positions. The outer circle of *philoi* was made up by the friends of Herod's sons (one thinks of Manaen mentioned in Acts 13:1 as "a member of the court of Herod the tetrarch", a *suntrophos*). Other people at the court included visitors, Herod's military household, domestic staff, the Herodian cultural circle (Irenaeus, Philostratus and Nicolaus; as Herod wished to establish an impressive court, he created a cultural centre at his court in Jerusalem and needed a library), concubines, prostitutes and catamites. A further section sketches the origins and structures of Herod's various palaces (for a detailed study, see below on Netzer). The chapter closes with an instructive comparison between Herod's court and the household of Augustus, followed by an excursus on Herod's portrait and a discussion of the *gymnasium* of Jerusalem. On the latter Rocca concludes that

there appears to be a cultural framework in Jerusalem in which Greek education could be learned, outside the court, and that in Hasmonean and Herodian Jerusalem, the ruling class of Judaea could enjoy Greek education, side by side with Jewish education. (130)

Chapter three examines Herod's military power (133-196): the ethnic composition, strength and structure of Herod's army, its various campaigns and numerous and impressive fortifications (cf. Netzer 17-41, 179-217), military colonies and their role in defending the Herodian kingdom as well as Herod's modest navy.¹¹

Chapter four focuses on the administration and economy of Herod's kingdom (197-240). This includes its sources and the administrative division, taxation and revenues: a survey of the taxation system, the legendary income of Herod of up to 2000 talents and his social programme, including the role and significance of slavery in Judea; "the much reduced importance of slavery in the local economy" (239). It also includes the divi-

sion of the land (royal land and estates, privately owned land in villages and the significance and distribution of wealthier landowners' houses) and the various economic resources, such as agricultural products, glass, purple-dye, pottery and stone artefacts as industrial output, markets and internal trade and international business (by maritime trade and via the Spice Route). Rocca concludes that "all of this clearly points to Herodian Judaea as a typically Mediterranean country and economy" (240). This chapter closes with brief treatment of the languages of Herodian Judaea, which contains the words: "Together with Aramaic and Hebrew, Greek was also the dominant language of Judaea from the Hellenistic Period onwards. Greek was spoken and written side by side with Aramaic and Hebrew" (243f).

Chapter five surveys the ruling bodies of Herodian Judaea (249-279): the legal position of the ruler, Herod and his relationship with the Judean ruling class, the ruling bodies of the Herodian state (the political constitution and various bodies, the courts).

Chapter six addresses the cults of Herod's kingdom (281-321), namely the high priest and the temple cult of Jerusalem, the temple bureaucracy and actual cult, Herod's rebuilding of the temple. It includes sources of inspiration and parallels; the temple and the temple mount (cf. Netzer 137-187), the synagogues of Judaea as civic centres and a short summary of Herod's stance towards pagan cults. Outside of Judaea proper, Herod patronised all the cults of the Gentile Greeks. Inside his kingdom, Herod erected for his Gentile subjects only temples dedicated to the Imperial cult – which suggests that it had a political resonance as signifying allegiance to Rome, rather than indicating tolerance towards Herod's Gentile subjects.¹²

Chapter seven, "The Herodian City" (323-347), studies the relationship of the Herodian dynasty to cities, the urban features of the Herodian cities and Jerusalem as a classic city: demography, water supply, the leisure buildings and private buildings; the architectural remains "emphasise overwhelmingly the degree to which Jerusalem belongs to the urban Mediterranean world" (347). During Herod's reign, Judaea started a process of urbanisation, starting with the renovation of Jerusalem, continuing with the rebuilding of Caesarea Maritima and Sebaste by Herod's sons, primarily by Antipas, who also founded Tiberias. The process of urbanisation in Herodian Judaea reflected that of the surrounding classical world of the time. The

Herodian city “was a supremely Mediterranean entity” (347).

A final chapter looks at Herod’s death and funeral. The procession was modelled after that of Alexander the Great which remained the model for all Hellenistic kings. Herod was buried in a sarcophagus. Rocca includes a discussion of the burial practices of the period¹³ and also examines Herod’s tomb and testament (349-370). A concluding chapter (370-378), bibliography and various indices round off the volume which contains several black-and-white photographs and illustrations.

According to this persuasive portrayal, Herod looked to Augustus as an ideal model, worthy of imitation; all the more so as both men had many things in common. On the whole, Herod was a successful ruler, who enjoyed, at least for a certain period, the tacit support of the majority of his subjects. To his Roman overlords, Herod was a guarantor of internal and external peace. He pushed Judaea toward a major Hellenisation, albeit with many elements more akin to Rome than to the surrounding Hellenistic East. This Romanisation, contrary to Hellenisation, remained a feature common only to the ruler and the small ruling class.

Rocca shows to what extent the encounter between Judaism and the Greek and distinctly Roman world had materialised by and during the time of Herod (following E. Bickerman, M. Hengel and A. Momigliano), with all the consequences which this encounter will have had for the last decades of Second Temple Judaism, the Jesus movement and nascent Christianity. However, Rocca also notes that, during the Herodian age, the ties between Judaea and the surrounding Hellenistic world had reached their peak. Some later developments need to be understood as a counter-reaction to these ties. Rocca is to be thanked for establishing more clearly the position of Herodian Judaea in the context of the surrounding Graeco-Roman Mediterranean world of the time.

His study throws interesting light on many aspects of the background of Jesus and the early Church. The world he and they lived in was far less provincial than assumed in some older and, indeed, more recent research. Far from being a mere wisdom-loving peasant who loved to tell stories about the lilies in the field and the like, Jesus and his disciples lived and served not in some isolated area, but in the context of the Eastern Hellenistic world, with a distinctly Jewish, but also Roman, touch to this world.

Ehud Netzer

The second volume under consideration, *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder*, offers a detailed presentation and assessment of Herod’s enormous building activities in Judaea and beyond. The Israeli architect and archaeologist Ehud Netzer, Professor Emeritus of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, combines both disciplines in his detailed studies of the architecture of King Herod. The present monograph summarises decades of intensive study.

After a summary of “Herod, the Man and King” (3-16), Netzer surveys the various building projects of Herod: Masada (three phases of construction, 17-41); the three palaces and the hippodrome at Jericho (42-80), building projects in Samaria-Sebaste (81-93), the port-city of Caesarea Maritima (94-118), building projects in Jerusalem (119-136; the Antonia, three towers, the main palace, the *opus reticulatum* building and other tentative constructions), the rebuilding of the temple and its precinct in Jerusalem (137-178; the inner enclosure, the temple, the inner enclosure’s gates, offices and porticoes, the court of women, the outer court, the walls around the temple mount, the *Stoa Basileia*, the gates into the temple mount and the infrastructure of streets and open areas around it and discussion of where the temple was located on the temple mound). On Herod’s buildings in Jerusalem, see also Küchler, *Jerusalem*.

Netzer further describes the Herodium which was to serve and served as palace, burial site and memorial to Herod’s name (179-201) and the desert fortresses (203-217) including Machaerus. A further chapter describes other building projects inside and outside of Herod’s realm (218-224). Inside his realm were Paneias/Caesarea Philippi, Bathyra, Sepphoris, Gaba of the Cavalrymen, Antipatris, Phasaël, Betharamptha, Heshbon, Aggrippeion, the cave of Machpelah in Hebron, the enclosure at Mamre, the fortified villa at Khirbet-al-Murak and the baths at Callirrhoe. Herod’s many building projects outside of his realm in different towns of the Eastern Mediterranean stemmed mainly from political considerations.

Throughout Netzer draws on literary sources, mainly on Josephus, who is quoted as a contemporary source on Herod’s buildings. Netzer analyses and assesses Josephus’ statements critically. For each building and site, maps and other illustrations are included. Herod’s building projects, including stadiums and various temples of Augustus and

Rome, a theatre and a hippodrome, indicate to what extent he saw himself as a Hellenised Roman client king who tried hard to please the people he ruled over. Netzer concludes: “The scope and vibrancy of Herod’s building enterprise in general lead us to the inevitable conclusion that planning and erecting buildings was an integral part of his varied ongoing operations” (243).

This excellent survey is followed in part two by a general discussion (243-301) about the planning of palaces, temples, sport and other entertainment facilities, and cities. Netzer further examines the architectural influence from the Greco-Roman world on Herod’s buildings and the extent of Herod’s personal involvement in his various building projects. The epilogue on “Herod’s building program” (302-306) suggests that Herod’s building programme can roughly be divided into five stages and closes with an astute summary of the motives behind Herod’s huge building enterprise. For one of Herod’s many projects, Netzer concludes:

Unlike several scholars who claim that Herod’s piety was one of the reasons for rebuilding the Temple in Jerusalem, I am of the opinion that his political savviness [shrewdness, ed.] with regard to his Jewish subjects was the main factor behind this decision. (306)

The instructive volume closes with five appendices by Netzer and other authors:

Herodian Building Materials and Methods (Netzer, 309-319)

Herodian Architectural Decoration (O. Peleg, 320-338)

Herodian Stuccowork Ceilings (S. Rozenberg, 339-349)

Herodian Wall Paintings (S. Rozenberg, 350-376)

Herodian Mosaic Pavements (R. Talgam, O. Peleg, 377-383)

There are black and white photographs of the sites (some of them aerial views) and of various architectural features and details (385-414). A bibliography (415-428), an index of sources and a general index close the volume. Colour photographs and further discussion can be found in Netzer’s earlier lavishly illustrated monograph *Die Paläste der Hasmonäer und Herodes des Großen*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 1999), 32-127.

According to Netzer, Herod’s building programme throws a great deal of light on the king himself:

If it is possible to learn about Herod from his projects, then he was a practical and thorough man, with a broad world view, outstanding organisational talent and improvisational ability (in the best sense of the term), able to adapt himself to his surroundings and to changing situations – a man who anticipated the future and had his two feet planted firmly on the ground. (306)

Netzer describes several buildings or building complexes that also feature in the life of Jesus and/or the early church; for example, the building projects in Jerusalem or the rebuilding of the Second Temple and its precinct. According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 18, 116-119), John the Baptist was imprisoned and executed at Machaerus (described on 213-217). While the volume contains maps for the various sites, it does not contain maps of Judaea with the places of Herod’s building projects.¹⁴

Netzer’s volume is instructive and invaluable for studies of Herod the Great. Rocca’s detailed study sets Herod’s building programme in the larger context of his rule, of Herodian society at large and of the Hellenised world of the Roman East.¹⁵

Werner Eck

Werner Eck’s small volume on *Rom und Judäa* (11.5 x 18 cm) addresses specific aspects of Roman rule in Judaea. Eck is Professor Emeritus of Ancient History at the University of Cologne. The five lectures published here reflect the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaea/Palaestinae* (CIIP) project which intends to gather *all* inscriptions in *all* languages from Judaea/Palaestina under Greek and Roman rule from the conquest of Alexander the Great to the conquest of the area by the Arabs (described in the preface and on 165-170).¹⁶ Eck’s lectures illuminate aspects of Judaea from a distinctly *Roman* perspective. Says Eck:

Dies schien auch deshalb sinnvoll, weil der größere Teil der literarischen Überlieferung, angefangen mit den Makkabäerbüchern über Philo und Josephus bis zu den riesigen Corpora halachischer Literatur rechtlichen und erzählenden Inhalts von *jüdischer* Seite stammt und damit notwendigerweise auch diesen Blickpunkt einnimmt. (ix; italics CS)

New evidence has made it easier to assess how certain phenomena could have been seen, or were seen, by the Roman overlords. This is particularly

helpful as most studies of the area during that period are undertaken from a Jewish or Christian perspective. Eck raises a further interesting issue, namely,

ob und inwieweit Rom Judaea als eine Provinz besonderen Charakters angesehen hat oder ob diese Vorstellung sich nur heute für uns auf Grund der besonderen Überlieferung und aus der Optik der Nachgeborenen und deren Wissen um die spätere jüdische Geschichte so ergeben hat. (x)

Eck argues throughout the volume that Judaea was, from a Roman perspective, a normal province. In addition to new papyrological and archaeological sources, he draws considerably on inscriptions. (His own involvement in the *CIIP* project gives him access to unpublished material.) Together with the Roman perspective, this epigraphical focus adds a sense of freshness to his essays.

Essay one, “Judaea wird römisch: Der Weg zur eigenständigen Provinz” (1-51), outlines the development of Roman rule up to the end of the first Jewish war. The independence from the Roman province of Syria, the deployment of the *legio X Fretensis* under a senatorial legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*), no further interferences from the legate of Syria, a financial procurator of equestrian rank for Judaea indicate that, after the war, Judaea had all the elements necessary to be a normal province in the *Imperium*. From then on this state continued for almost 600 years, when it came to an end as a result of the final conquest by the Arabs in AD 640.

Essay two, “Die römische Herrschaft und ihre Zeichen” (53-103), surveys the various signs of Roman rule, in particular the presence and significance of the military *signa*. Other such signs were the various altars and sanctuaries erected by the Romans after AD 70 within and outside their military barracks and inscriptions in other contexts. Eck observes:

Wenn Rom und seine Vertreter über viele Jahrzehnte zumeist mit einer gewissen Zurückhaltung ihre Herrschaft durch äußere Zeichen bemerkbar machten, dann ändert sich dies grundlegend mit der Eroberung Jerusalems und der bewussten Zerstörung des Tempels. (59)

Die römische Herrschaft besetzte den öffentlichen Raum mit ihren Zeichen der Dominanz, gerade im ehemaligen Zentrum des Judentums. Und das galt in nicht geringerem Maß auch für die übrige Provinz. (75; by means of Roman

roads and mile stones with inscriptions)

One of the inscriptions discussed by Eck mentions a temple erected in Jerusalem for the *genius Africae* (62).

Essay three, „Repression und Entwicklung: Das römische Heer in Judaea” (105-155) surveys several aspects of the Roman military presence in Judaea, in particular the heavy losses which the Romans suffered during the second Jewish war AD 132-135 and the drastic measures taken to recruit new troops.¹⁷

In essay four, “Latein als Sprache Roms in einer vielsprachigen Welt” (157-200), Eck studies multilingualism and the use of Latin in Roman Judaea by drawing on various inscriptions and papyri. He discusses the trilingual *titulus* on the cross of Jesus and the inscriptions from the temple courts forbidding non-Jews to venture beyond certain limits. More than some literary texts, these epigraphic monuments point to the daily usage of different languages. These monuments were not limited to inscriptions on stone. Only inscriptions on stone survived, while texts like the *titulus* of the cross of Jesus did not because they were written on other materials. The significance of such *tabulae dealbatae* can be seen, for example, on wall paintings from Pompeji which depict various scenes of the life on the city’s *forum*. In these inscriptions Greek, Aramaic/Hebrew and Latin occur in this order of frequency (167). Eck concludes:

Die einzelnen Idiome hatten in Judaea, jedenfalls während der frühen und hohen Kaiserzeit, in weitem Umfang eine spezifische funktionale Bedeutung. Sie wurden nebeneinander verwendet, in manchen Bereichen exklusiv, in anderen konnte man, je nach persönlicher Entscheidung, die eine oder andere wählen, oder die Kommunikation mit anderen auch in mehreren Sprachen versuchen. Viele Personen, nicht nur die von außen kommenden hohen Amtsträger Roms, konnten sich offenbar auf ganz verschiedene Weise verständigen. Latein war für die Vertreter Roms Ausdruck der Macht – mindestens bis zum Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts. Wo es um diesen Aspekt ging, wird offensichtlich fast ausschließlich diese Sprache verwendet, dagegen waren die römischen Vertreter in der täglichen Routine flexibel und konnten, wenn es notwendig war, zu einem anderen Idiom wechseln, sogar zu einem einheimischen, wenn es galt sich zu verständigen, wie der *titulus crucis* zeigt. (196)

A final essay looks at the towns and villages of Roman Judaea/Palaestina (201-247). Its focus is on the organisation and self-administration of the province in relation to the provincial elites.¹⁸ Detailed indices of sources, persons, places and subjects complete the volume. Eck's distinctly Roman standpoint and the generous use of inscriptions and papyri offer fresh perspectives particularly on post-70 and post-135 AD Judaea. But there are also helpful insights into the New Testament era and the period between the two Jewish wars.

Jürgen Zangenberg

The collection of essays *Das tote Meer* (edited by Jürgen Zangenberg, now Professor of NT in Leiden) is included here as most of the essays address issues of the first century BC and AD. The volume intends

... die Geschichte dieser einzigartigen Region als Ganzes in den Blick zu nehmen. Nicht einzelne Orte wie Qumran oder Masada... sollen für sich betrachtet werden, sondern aus der Region heraus als Ganzes verstanden werden. Auch soll nicht allein das... Westufer, sondern das erst in den letzten Jahren für Besucher ebenso gut erreichbare jordanische Ostufer des Toten Meeres bewusst gleichwertig in die Darstellung einbezogen werden. (7)

The essays show to what extent the scholarly assessment of the history of settlement and culture of this region has changed in the past two decades and how this picture becomes ever more detailed, puzzling and fascinating as a result of lively scholarly debate and a constant stream of new archaeological discoveries.

Following Zangenberg's preface, describing the focus of the volume, the following essays are included:

- E.H. Neumann, E.J. Kagan and M. Stein, "Region der Extreme: Umwelt und Klimaveränderungen am Toten Meer"
- W. Zwickel, "Das Tote Meer: Ein Wechselbad der Kulturgeschichte"
- J. Zangenberg, "Die hellenistisch-römische Zeit am Toten Meer: Kultur, Wirtschaft und Geschichte"
- K. Galor, "Winterpaläste in Jericho: Steingewordener Machtanspruch der Hasmonäer und Herodianer"
- J.-B. Humbert, "Ist das ,essenische Qumran noch zu retten?"¹⁹

M. Popovic, "Die Schrifffunde vom Toten Meer: Schätze aus Höhlen zwischen Jericho und Masada"

G. Hadas, J. Zangenberg, "En-Gedi: Palmengarten und königliche Oase" (91-100);

K. Galor, "Masada und die Palastfestungen des Herodes"

C. Clamer, "Paradies am Meeresrand: Die Palastanlage von Ain ez-Zara/Kallirrhöe"

K. D. Politis, "Zoara, Khirbet Qazone und die Nabatäer am Südostende des Toten Meeres"

G. Faßbeck, "Fenster ins Leben: Die Dokumente Shimon Bar-Kochbas, der Salome Komaïse, Babathas und des Eli'ezer Ben-Samuel aus der Wüste Juda"

J. E. Taylor, "Aus dem Westen ans Tote Meer: Frühe Reisende und Entdecker", including a survey of reports by Western travellers from the 4th to the 19th centuries.

A detailed bibliography and notes close this attractive, large-format volume (22,5 x 26 cm) which is lavishly illustrated with charts and colour photographs of the architectural remains, but also of the landscape itself.²⁰ It offers a readable, up-to-date summary of international research on the Dead Sea from a *regional* perspective. There are many points of contact with the New Testament and its first-century world.²¹

Hanson and Oakman

The second edition of K.C. Hanson and D.E. Oakman's slim introductory volume *Palestine in the Time of Jesus: Social Structures and Social Conflicts* (first edition 1998) also deserves a mention. The aim of this volume is

to examine the primary social institutions of first-century Palestine through a social-scientific methodology; to present testable models of society that can be employed when studying the Bible and therefore be refined or modified as the reader acquires more information; to relate the systemic analysis directly to New Testament passages in order to demonstrate how this material is applicable. (xvii)

The authors offer a number of models of the world in which Jesus lived. The book itself "may be thought of as a metamodel of the social structures and social conflicts of that first-century period". (xxi) In contrast to what the authors term the approaches of "unreformed historians", they themselves make their models explicit from

large-scale down to small-scale, while continually testing the models against the textual, documentary and archaeological data. For them, some of the criticism of the first edition “was rooted in the ideological differences implicit in the approach of modelling the typical versus the historian’s focus on the individual detail”. (xxii) Some of that slightly polemical discussion seems dated and certainly not applicable to more recent research on first-century Judaea.

In their introductory chapter on the “Social System of Roman Palestine” (1-17), Hanson and Oakman describe the growing awareness of the biblical social world and the need to develop more adequate scenarios. They answer various criticisms that have been levelled against their social-scientific approach and provide questions for application and suggested reading. (The latter two sections appear in every chapter.)

Chapter two surveys kinship in “agrarian Roman Palestine” (19-55). It covers gender, genealogy and descent, marriage, endowment at marriage, divorce, inheritance and the family of Jesus as presented in the gospels. This is followed by a chapter on politics and patronage in “agrarian Roman Palestine” (57-91) which deals with elite and peasants’ interests and their clash in rebellion and social banditry, and with crucifixion as an example of the elite force in action. Chapter four addresses the political economy in “agrarian Roman Palestine” (93-121) and the interaction of Jesus with the “Palestinian political” economy:

While the theological interests of the evangelists and the early church have obscured it to some extent, Jesus and the early Jesus tradition offered a potent critique of political economy and an alternative vision for ordering material human relationships. Jesus’ alternative is first and foremost an expression of non-elite interests and aspirations. (117)

A final chapter examines the political religion in “Roman Palestine” (123-147), which includes the temple in Jerusalem and its expansion under Herod the Great, the personnel and various sacrifices, the social impact and implications of the temple and a discussion of Jesus’ relationship to the temple. The temple, according to the authors,

was a hub of a redistributive economy: goods and services, raw materials, crops, animals – all flowed to this central point. There, these goods were redistributed in ways not necessarily benefiting their original producers. Religious ide-

ology legitimated this arrangement. In fact, religious obligation sustained the arrangement. (145)

In the conclusion the authors list the benefits of their social-science approach to the issues at hand:

... we learn to read the NT and other ancient documents in terms of the complex social systems of which they are products.... it becomes clearer that the interests of the elite were often in conflict with the interests of the peasants.... we have the tools to look more realistically at how Jesus fit into and reacted to the social systems of first-century Palestine.... we see more clearly the complexity of the hermeneutical task for contemporary communities of faith that read the NT. (150f)

This is followed by glossaries of ancient groups, institutions, objects and events, of ancient documents, collections and authors and of social-scientific and cross-cultural terms. There are bibliographies for ancient documents and social-science theory and terminology as well as various indexes. Throughout the volume there are maps, figures, illustrations and sidebars. Each chapter contains the identification of central biblical passages or other texts, a list of questions that the passages raise, a construction of meaningful models or scenarios, application of the models or scenarios to the focal texts, with consideration of the initial questions, highlighting of aspects of the Jesus tradition through the models and scenarios, identification of material for further reflection and suggested applications of the chapter’s perspectives and recommended readings. The presentation of the material is lucid and exemplary.²²

While Hanson and Oakman succeed in inspiring their readers to appreciate the distance of Jesus’ social context from their own (the readers are to be freed from “thoughtless absolutisms and to be moved toward a greater appreciation of both the social meaning of Jesus of Nazareth and his enduring significance as a human liberator”, xxii), the scenarios which they present remain disputable in many points and need supplementation.²³ Hanson and Oakman write, for example, that they combine systems and conflict approaches to better comprehend

the *endless conflict within Jesus’ environs that never led to any significant social change*. Ancient agrarian or peasant societies were static over a long period of time. Another way to say this is that major families assumed pre-eminence within

static pyramidal political-economic structures legitimated by powerful rituals of political religion. (xxii)

For the time of Jesus, which is the period being considered here, one should not speak of “Roman Palestine” since this term is misleading or, at least, ambiguous. Despite Roman domination in the East, Roman *Syria Palaestina* did not exist before AD 135. Reference to all of *Judaea* (or its parts) would also have underlined the fact that the “human liberator” in “agrarian Roman Palestine” was first and foremost a Second Temple Jew living and acting within that matrix, however much that Judaism had been influenced by Hellenisation and Romanisation. In view of the urbanisation process in Judaea – which was well on its way when Jesus appeared on the scene – the emphasis on the “agrarian” world of Jesus requires serious qualification. All three words in the expression “agrarian Roman Palestine” beg serious questions, although they nicely capture the world of Jesus as seen by certain schools of mainly North American historical Jesus research that loves the peasant Jesus and his involvement in endless conflicts with empires (then and now never far away). And, as some have noticed, these schools can be just as prone to absolutisms as the readers that Hanson and Oakman want to liberate.

Jonathan Marshall

The monograph *Jesus, Patrons and Benefactors: Roman Palestine and the Gospel of Luke* serves as an example of studies that contribute both to our understanding of Judaea in the first century and our understanding of the historical Jesus. Jonathan Marshall investigates the notions of *patrocinium* and benefaction, and describes the actions and teaching of Jesus in relation to these forms of reciprocity with a view to understanding whether these practices were potentially appropriated by Jesus and the early Christians. To answer this question, Marshall chooses three passages from Luke’s Gospel in which Jesus instructs his disciples as test cases, given that there has been a tendency to interpret Luke-Acts with reference to ancient reciprocity, benefaction, and patronage.²⁴

In the “Introduction” (3-23), Marshall describes the recent discussion and usage of such terminology and concludes:

Socio-historical patron-client categories can describe a multitude of relationships, among

which might be *patronus*, *cliens*, or *evergetism*. But it is imperative to properly define and distinguish between socio-historical and Roman forms of patronage. The confusion created by these overlapping definitions motivates the present study to properly define terms and differentiate definitions. To the extent that patron-client relations are in view, this study focuses on Roman *patrocinium*. (7)

In the Roman world, *patrocinium* described a relationship between a patronus and a client. Patrons provided legal and financial aid to their clients and received public honour and loyalty in return. “Patrons and clients entered a relationship through the initiative, usually, of the clients who sought from the patron protection and help. Clients could be Roman or non-Roman, but the title *patronus* was reserved for Romans in positions of authority who entered this specific relationship”. (5)

Marshall describes the recent advances in scholarly understanding of patrons, clients and benefactors in the early Roman Empire, advances that improve our understanding of the relationships and duties of the people involved and how they might have operated in first-century Israel. He shows how New Testament scholars have sometimes neglected the best works from the previous generation and continue to ignore more recent works by scholars of ancient history have appeared in the last decade.²⁵ He positions his own research in the “Third Quest” for the historical Jesus. One of the hallmarks of this Third Quest is the construction of plausible historical backdrops for the historical Jesus. This “historical plausibility” – approach uses archaeological and literary sources to construct a legitimate picture of first-century Galilee or Judaea which is then compared to the sayings and actions of Jesus as they are depicted in the Gospels. This approach allows scholars to find answers to the question whether

the portrait of Jesus in the Gospel corresponds with what a first-century Galilean villager could have said or done if one accepts the version of the historical Galilee (or Palestine) determined from the archaeological and literary sources. Into what kind of political and social climate did Jesus enter and what kind of response to this climate, if any, did he make? (16)

In this quest, archaeological evidence is not used as a “proof” of the biblical text as if the material remains and its interpretation are somehow objective attestation of the “biased” text. Instead, it is

used as another voice describing life in Judaea during the early Roman Empire (18). After discussion of various socio-historical models, Marshall describes his aim as discerning the historical picture of early Roman Judaea and specifically the adoption, rejection, or modification of the specific *patrocinium* institute by Jesus and his earliest followers.

Chapter two (24-124) offers a detailed survey of benefaction and *patrocinium* in first-century Judaea. Marshall describes what the ancient sources say about reciprocity in ancient Greece, and benefaction and patronage in Hellenistic and Roman times, defining *patrocinium* and benefaction, and the criteria used to detect them. Next he surveys recent developments in the study of Hellenisation and Romanisation in Judaea and in archaeology and various methodological developments. This is followed by an investigation from a *regional perspective* of the traces of benefaction and *patrocinium* in Galilee (Cana, Nazareth, Capernaum, Tiberias and Sepphoris), Jerusalem, Caesarea Maritima, Samaria, smaller cities in Philip's tetrarchy, Gamla, Bethsaida and Tyre. This investigation of archaeological and literary sources shows significant *regional differences*. In *Galilee*, which according to the archaeological evidence was characterised by Jewish allegiance, no euergetic inscriptions have been found. This lack of evidence reduces the amount of benefaction that is to be expected there, and there is no clear evidence of *patrocinium* either. In contrast:

in *Jerusalem* monumental structures, benefaction inscriptions, and the honorary naming of structures and games all contribute to the suggestion that benefaction, to a lesser extent than *patrocinium*, operated in the early first-century. This parallels the finding of more Hellenism in the city in general. Fewer Roman and minimal signs of overt Romanisation in the archaeological remains suggest a lesser likelihood of *patrocinium*. (121; summary for the other areas on pp. 121f.)

Chapter three approaches the subject from a *personality perspective* in order to understand the specific practice of *patrocinium* or benefaction by Herod the Great, Herod Antipas, Herod Philip and Agrippa I (125-173). For each ruler, Marshall discusses education, relationship to the Emperor and Rome, public perception, construction projects, coins and benefactions. Three of the four Herods had reputations as benefactors – this

is found explicitly in the sources, yet only Agrippa I is explicitly identified as a *patron* (328).

Marshall concludes that Roman *patrocinium* was not ubiquitous, because it was reserved solely for describing certain Romans and Roman relationships. It did not exist in first-century Judaea as far as it can be deduced from the sources. Investigation of the historical *realia* of first-century Judaea thus challenges the use of sociological patron-client terminology and gives a more accurate perspective of the different modes of social interaction in the various regions.

Since *patrocinium* was relatively absent throughout the land, patron-client terminology potentially confuses the study of Palestine. One may be led to believe that Roman ways had taken control when, in reality, they had only created a veneer in many, but not all areas. (172)

A better category of description, therefore, would be the more general Greco-Roman idea of *reciprocity*. This idea does not necessarily entail all the intricacies of *patrocinium*, but admits other forms of interchange, including friendship (*amicitia*) and benefaction while not excluding *patrocinium*. The notion of friendship is especially pertinent to Lukan study because of Luke's frequent use of the concept. The personality perspective demonstrates the different levels of Hellenisation and Romanisation among the Herodian rulers and shows how all four of them more or less attempted to meet the ideals of Hellenistic kings.²⁶

Against his background, Marshall examines in detail three Lukan passages that have been adduced as examples of patron-client activity: in *Chapter four* Luke 6:17-38; in *chapter five* Luke 14:1-24 and in *chapter six* the Last Supper (Luke 22:14-34). He concludes that Jesus did not use the language of *patrocinium* in any of the instructions given in Luke's gospel. Luke appropriately prioritises Jewish matters and, venturing outside of Judaism, prefers benefaction ideology and terminology. "A first-century Jew from Galilee would have held Jewish matters in a position of first importance but travels and communication would have made him aware of benefaction ideology". (322) Marshall argues that it is inappropriate to interpret these passages in terms of *patrocinium*. Therefore Luke cannot be blamed for applying *patrocinium* where it did not exist. However,

Jesus does speak of asymmetrical, long-term, reciprocal relationships (sociological patron-client). Luke has not erroneously attributed a

discussion of sociological patron-client relationships to Jesus because they were present in Jesus' Palestine. (323)

In the conclusion, Marshall summarises the portrait of *patrocinium* and benefaction in first-century Judaea and its reflection in the Lukan passages. There were various venues through which a first-century Galilean Jew may have learned of these modes of interaction. Several details in these Lukan accounts suggest that Jesus was exposed to benefactors and benefactions, and perhaps also the ideology of *patrocinium*. Thus there is historical plausibility for this backdrop to various episodes: "Luke presents Jesus in categories appropriate for a first-century Jewish Galilean." (329) Such a person could attain this sort of knowledge and engage in this sort of critique. While Jesus approaches these forms of reciprocity in a manner which is reminiscent of contemporary Jewish practices, at the same time he departs from others in striking ways:

God reciprocates those who decide to follow his example of generosity to those who cannot repay. He advocated a form of generosity that was truly generous rather than simply being a sale disguised as a gift.... Unlike other critics, however, Jesus did advocate memorializing his own benefaction. His self-giving should be remembered by his disciples and those who show disloyalty will receive just punishment. Loyalty must be directed toward God and Jesus, otherwise it is miscredited. (333)

Marshall's persuasive study contributes to our understanding of the social conventions and interactions in the different regions of first-century Judaea and of the different practices of some of its rulers. It clearly indicates the necessity and the benefits of regional and personal distinctions. It uses reflected methodological approaches for studying the historical Jesus against this background (historical plausibility).²⁷ A better appreciation of these conventions sheds fresh light on some teachings of Jesus by showing the similarities, dissimilarities and new emphases against the background of Judean religion, culture and society. Studies like this suggest that this kind of quest for the Jesus of history against a historically plausible backdrop will continue to offer more insights into his teaching, ministry and significance.

At the same time, Marshall rightly cautions against mingling categories by emphasising that the narrowly and clearly defined category of Roman *patrocinium* and *socio-historically defined*

patron-client relationships should be distinguished from each other to prevent implying the presence of cultural norms which had not pervaded Judaea by the time of Jesus.²⁸

Conclusion

The volumes reviewed here indicate some of the issues currently discussed in ancient history and in early Jewish and New Testament studies. Despite different approaches and methodologies and, at times, widely diverging results, these and other contributions of the past decade indicate strongly that Judaea and, later on, Roman Palaestina were far more complex entities than hitherto recognised. There is clear consensus that the area was, to a larger extent, part of the Hellenistic world at an earlier stage than often realised and that there was an intricate interplay between Jewish identities and cultures of different kinds, Hellenism in different forms and intensity, and Romanisation in varying intensity from the first century BC onward. All of this led to what might be described – in modern terms – as a multicultural, multiethnic and multi-religious setting. Recent research has in some ways modified, but also by and large confirmed the earlier studies of the late Martin Hengel and others who rightly reminded the guild of New Testament students that the distinctions between "Hellenistic" and "Palestinian", once so common and once such an important clue for understanding the history of early Christianity, are more than questionable and should be abandoned for good in favour of more nuanced reconstructions.

The new, more detailed and complex, yet also richer portrait of Judaea in the first century has significant implications for the study of the historical Jesus and nascent Christianity.²⁹ It is clear that the older distinctions between Judaea/Palaestina and "the rest" of the Graeco-Roman world have rightly been jettisoned. While the early Jewish nature of Jesus and early Christianity needs to be emphasised, this Jewishness needs to be set in a larger context and needs to be understood as deeply influenced over a longer period of time by its Hellenised and Romanised surroundings. If these and other insights of the volumes here presented (and many more) are applied to the New Testament, fresh questions, approaches and insights will emerge to stimulate a more adequate and, at times, more exciting, understanding of the New Testament in the scholarly discussion, the church and society at large.

I want to close this survey on a theological note. The *Apostolic Creed* mentions that Jesus was born of the Virgin Mary and died under Pontius Pilate. The mention of Pilate dates the death of Jesus to a particular time, consigns it to a particular place, namely Roman Judaea (which is not mentioned) and relates it to the dominant powers of the time. It is remarkable that while John the Baptist or the disciples of Jesus are omitted, Pilate is included as the only man mentioned by name in the Creed. (Jesus features as the Son, not as Jesus of Nazareth.)

Obviously, any attempt to change or alter this Creed would be as presumptuous as it would be foolish. However, in view of the volumes we surveyed, of those we mentioned and of many more, but also in view of almost 2000 years of at times disastrous Jewish-Christian relations, we may wonder how this summary of Christian faith were to change in character if it included a statement such as “born of the Virgin Mary in Judaea” or “crucified under Pontius Pilate in Judaea”. What might be the gain of such an addition? Might it underline that this salvation – which was and remains from the Jews (John 4:22) – took shape and place in this Jewish and at the same time – to use modern terms – multicultural, multiethnic and multi-religious setting? Would such an addition emphasise that, although this salvation in God’s Christ was primarily addressed and directed to Israel, all other people, their cultures and aspirations were – throughout the life and ministry of Jesus and the early Judean community – not beyond the scope of this salvation but already somehow involved and present it – for better or worse – to an extent that has hitherto not been acknowledged?

After all, in the midst of the account of Jesus’ rejection and death, a man from Africa, Simon of Cyrene (in modern-day Libya) is mentioned in three gospels (Matthew 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26; cf. also Acts 6:9; 11:20; 13:1). Under Roman coercion he bore the cross of Jesus when none of the long-term followers of Jesus were there to do so. With Simon of Cyrene (Africa), Pontius Pilate from Italy (Europe) and the Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem as well as the ten thousands of pilgrims from all over the Jewish diaspora in the city (including Jesus the Jew and his entourage from Galilee) from Asia, the passion accounts mention people from all parts of the *oikumene* as it was known then. Do these references signal to all their readers up to this day: *mea res agitur*?

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Notes

- 1 Many publications now use BCE and CE (Before the Common Era and Common Era) but the editor prefers Before Christ and Anno Domini.
- 2 For a summary see D.C. Allison, “The Problem of the Historical Jesus”, in D.E. Aune (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to the New Testament*, Blackwell Companions to Religion (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010) 220-235.
- 3 E.g. D.J. Breeze et al., *Grenzen des Römischen Imperiums* (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie; Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 2006); see my reviews of this and other volumes of the series in *Neotestamentica* 42 (2008) 167-173.
- 4 E.g., the substantial collection of essays in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *Jesus and Archaeology* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2006) and by S. Alkier and J. Zangenberg (eds.), *Zeichen aus Text und Stein: Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments* (TANZ 42; Tübingen, Basel: Francke, 2003) and *Neotestamentica* 40 (2006) 402-406.
- 5 E.g., M. Küchler et al., *Jerusalem: Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zur Heiligen Stadt, Orte und Landschaften der Bibel IV.2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007); J. Zangenberg, *Magdala am See Gennesaret: Überlegungen zur sogenannten “mini-sinagoga” und einige andere Beobachtungen zum kulturellen Profil des Ortes in neutestamentlicher Zeit*, KAANT 1 (Waltrop: H. Spinner, 2001) and J. Zangenberg, H.W. Attridge and D.B. Martin (eds.), *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*, WUNT 210 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007); see my review on www.bookreviews.org.
- 6 For convenient surveys, see D.E. Aune, “The World of Roman Hellenism” (15-37), J.A. Newman, “The World of Early Judaism” (38-48) and C.T. Mc Colough, “Archaeological Setting” (49-60), in Aune’s *Blackwell Companion to the NT*.
- 7 A. Schalit, *König Herodes: Der Mann und sein Werk*, Studia Judaica 4 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1969, 2nd ed. 2001).
- 8 Examples are L.-M. Günther, *Herodes der Große, Gestalten der Antike* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005); cf. my review in *EThL* 84 (2008) 235-38; M.H. Jensen, *Herod Antipas in Galilee: the Literary and Archaeological Sources on the Reign of Herod Antipas and Its Socio-Economic Impact on Galilee*, WUNT II.215 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); see his website www.herodantipas.com; cf. my review in *Religion & Theology* 16 (2009) 113-115; and M. Bernett, *Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern: Untersuchungen*

- zur politischen und religiösen Geschichte Judäas von 30 v. bis 66 n. Chr., WUNT 203 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).
- 9 E.g. Z. Roder (ed.), *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*, JSJSup; Leiden: Brill, 2007).
 - 10 E.g. T. Landau, *Out-Heroding Herod: Josephus, Rhetoric, and the Herod Narrative*, AJEC (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
 - 11 Rocca offers a welcome update to I. Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmoneans and Herod*, TSAJ 25 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991).
 - 12 For details, see Bernett, *Kaiserkult*; see my review in *Neotestamentica* (in print).
 - 13 See also R. Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period*, JSJSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
 - 14 Helpful, recent maps can be found in S. Mittmann and G. Schmidt (eds.), *Tübinger Bibelatlas: Tübingen Bible Atlas* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2001), see my review in *Religion and Theology* 10 (2003) 237-241, and in A.-M. Wittke, E. Olshausen and R. Szydlak, *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt*, Der Neue Pauly – Supplemente 3 (Stuttgart, Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 2007), see my review in *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 19 (2008) 411-415.
 - 15 Other recent studies on Herod's building programme are L.-M. Günther (ed.), *Herodes und Jerusalem* (Stuttgart: E. Steiner, 2009), S. Japp, *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen: Die Bedeutung der Architektur für die Herrschaftslegitimation eines römischen Klientelkönigs*, Internationale Archäologie 64 (Rahden: VML, 2000) and A. Lichtenberger, *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).
 - 16 *The Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: A Multi-lingual Corpus of the Inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad* is edited by H. M. Cotton, L. di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, I. Roll and A. Yardeni. *Volume I: Jerusalem* is scheduled for October 2010 (hardcover; ISBN 978-3-11-022219-7. € 200, \$ 310). The publication plan for the CIIP is as follows (according to www.degruyter.de/files/down/epigraphik.pdf, pp. 27f):
 Volume II: Galilee and Northern Coastal Strip
 Volume III: Golan
 Volume IV: Caesarea and the Middle Coastal Strip
 Volume V: Samaria
 Volume VI: Judaea-Idumaea
 Volume VII: Southern Coastal Strip
 Volume VIII: Negev
 Volume IX: Milestones
 - 17 On the brick/tile production of Roman legions in Judaea and their distribution throughout the province, see W. Zwickel, "Römische Dachziegel", in J. Scheffy, W. Zwickel et al. (eds.), *Judäa und Jerusalem: Leben in römischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: KBW, 2010), 106-107 (with illustrations).
 - 18 For aspects of the economy of Roman Palaestina, see B.-Z. Rosenfeld and J. Menirav, *Markets and Marketing in Roman Palestine*, JSJSup 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
 - 19 See also K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert and J. Zangenberg (eds.), *Qumran – The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, STDJ 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
 - 20 "Die Fotografien richten so den Blick auf die oft übersehenen Grundlagen, die das Leben in dieser Region wie kaum in einer anderen geprägt haben." (10)
 - 21 For this regional approach, see also the earlier volumes by G. Faßbeck et al. (eds.); *Leben am See Genezareth: Kulturgeschichtliche Entdeckungen in einer biblischen Region*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz: Ph. von Zabern, 2003); see my review in *Novum Testamentum* 47 (2005) 397-399; and M. Nun, *Der See Genezareth und die Evangelien*, Biblische Archäologie und Zeitgeschichte 10 (Gießen, Basel: Brunnen, 2001), cf. my review in *FilNT* 14 (2001) 152-157.
 - 22 See also the information on www.fortresspress.com/hansoakman, where the table of contents and chapter one are available as pdf-files.
 - 23 See e.g. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Jesus und das Judentum*, Geschichte des frühen Christentums I (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007) 39-168.
 - 24 For example the contributions of J. B. Green, F. W. Danker and H. Moxnes.
 - 25 Eilers, Verboven, Nicols, Bowditch, Lomas and Cornell, De Rossi and Nauta.
 - 26 A summary of their benefaction policies is on 172-173.
 - 27 Cf. his discussion of Freyne and Jensen, 11-15, 18-19.
 - 28 Other recent contributions on historical issues in Judaea are M. Sasse, *Geschichte Israels in der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels: Historische Ereignisse, Archäologie, Sozialgeschichte, Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004) and J. Wilker, *Für Rom und Jerusalem: Die herodianische Dynastie im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Studien zur Alten Geschichte 5 (Frankfurt: Verlag Antike, 2007).
 - 29 For an example of such fresh perspectives see W. Horbury, *Herodian Judaism and New Testament Study*, WUNT 193 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); see my review in *Neotestamentica* 41 (2007) 235-238.