

Romanization and the Judaeae Elite

Why did the Romanization of Judaea fail despite pro-Roman sentiment amongst the Judaeae elite?

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Prologue.

As a young kid, I wanted to become a Roman. I was fascinated by the culture, their temples, the soldier's shields and the many other aspects of the Roman Empire as portrayed in popular culture. My parents would get me a piece of Roman-like wallpaper as a decoration in my bedroom, I loved it. In these young years I would replay, learn and look at many of these aspects of Roman culture by visiting museums, playing video games, reading books, making school presentations and watching reenactments. Over time, it became clear that my dream of becoming an ancient Roman citizen would become quite difficult, even though I dabbled with the idea of building a time machine for quite a while. Now, circa twenty years later, I cannot help but imagine that in first-century Judaea there must have been a young child named 'Simon', who had similar aspirations.¹ That Rome's cultural influence would reach this far, centuries later, can only be a sign of the influence it had carried in its own timeframe. The processes concerning the formation of identity were bound to a very unique and different set of rules than we have today, which makes it all the more interesting to understand this aspect of why this region defied this enormous empire in that time.

¹ R. Bauckham, *Jesus and the Eyewitnesses*. (Michigan 2017) 71–72. pp. 71: “15.6% of men bore one of the two most popular male names, Simon and Joseph.” pp. 72: “for the Gospels and Acts... 18.2% of men bore one of the two most popular male names, Simon and Joseph.”

0. Introduction.

“Had I found you all bent on war with the Romans, instead of seeing that the most honest and single-minded members of the community are determined to preserve the peace, I should not have presented myself before you, nor ventured to offer advice; for any speech in support of the right policy is thrown away when the audience unanimously favours the worse.”²

With these words Herod Agrippa II supposedly opened his speech in 66 CE to prevent the citizens of Jerusalem from starting a rebellion against the Romans. From these words we can assess that the reasons he would give against a war with the Romans that the people of Judaea seemed to have longed for, were at the least considered valid by the people listening.

Agrippa’s reasons for favoring peace with the Romans were many and covered economic, political, religious and philosophical subjects.³ In general, the speech explained that the Romans, with their huge empire and its many conquered peoples, were their superiors in almost every way concerning these subjects. Furthermore, it explained that they did not have it that bad under Roman rule as they thought they had it, and that others had better reason or were more able to rebel, but failed or did not even try. The speech was probably never given by Agrippa or anyone else for that matter. What its writer, Josephus, does show is the pivotal role of the indigenous elites for the process of Romanization, because they were the ones explaining the valid reasons for preventing the Jewish War from happening.⁴ Why then did this elite not succeed in their endeavor in Judaea and why did the Romans not act upon these insurrections earlier? In general, it is assumed that a pro-Roman indigenous elite was of vital importance to successfully integrating a relatively new province, like Judaea, into the Roman Empire.⁵ This process of integration is often referred to as Romanization and seemed to have failed in Judaea, in contrast to most of the eastern provinces in the Roman Empire. This thesis

² Josephus, *Jewish War II* 345-401. Transl. H. St. J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library.

See appendix for Agrippa’s full speech.

³ Josephus, *Jewish War II*, 16, transl. F.J.A.M. Meijer and M.A. Wes, *De Joodse Oorlog & Uit mijn leven* (Amsterdam 2010) Agrippa’s speech contains the following subjects: Freedom & Servitude, Procurators & Romans, Heritage & Ancestors, many greater states have fallen and have been conquered by the Romans, the Jews could barely win or lost against others that had been easily conquered by the Romans, other peoples should have more logical reasons for rebelling, yet they don’t and only need small garrisons to be kept at peace, because they recognize the benefits of Roman rule/the pointlessness of defying Roman rule, there will be no help from other Jews, God obviously wanted the Romans to rule/is on their side, defying the Romans/rebelling is against the laws of God, Roman repercussions against religion, Roman repercussions against the Jewish people: slaughter etc.

⁴ F.J.A.M. Meijer and M.A. Wes, *De Joodse Oorlog & Uit mijn leven* (Amsterdam 2010) 214, footnote 35.

⁵ M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain. An essay in archaeological interpretation* (New York 1990) 7. The indigenous elite was notably important for the administrative integration of a province.

will research why Romanization failed in first-century Judaea despite the fact that a pro-Roman elite did exist.

0.1. Understanding Romanization.

To be able to research the Romanization of Judaea, a thorough understanding of the context and definition of the concept of Romanization is important. This is by itself not an easy task, as its definition is heavily debated and some historians even state that the term itself should not be used.⁶ With this thesis I also hope to contribute to this ongoing debate on Romanization. The earliest definition of Romanization was introduced by Haverfield, which states that the Romans actively ‘civilized’ and assimilated local peoples, in which Roman elites played a fundamental role.⁷ This theory stems from the early twentieth century and now has, rightly so, strong negative connotations with imperialism and colonialism. It was, however, still commonly used to explain the cultural process in the Roman Empire until 1990, when Martin Millett redefined Romanization. He stated that Romanization was more a process that created a fusion of local culture and Roman culture into a new Roman culture, instead of Roman-dominated culture and that in this process the local indigenous elites also had a strong active influence.⁸ This ‘updated’ version of Romanization ignited the debate surrounding the concept, as it still had three big flaws according to several historians such as Webster and Mattingly. They point out that the theory is still mostly based upon emulation, that it leaves out all the lower socioeconomic classes and that the role of the Roman government in creating the structure for this process is marginalized.⁹ There is unfortunately no ready alternative to Millett’s theory of Romanization.¹⁰

⁶ Mattingly proposes that we should use other concepts to explain what was happening, while others like Woolf explain that no other concepts are satisfactory replacements. Although Romanization has negative cultural annotations, it remains a useful “shorthand” to explain the existence of the process.

⁷ F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1912) 18.

“The advance of this Romanization followed manifold lines. The Roman government gave more or less direct encouragement, particularly in two ways. It increased the Roman or Romanized population of the provinces during the earlier Empire by establishing time-expired soldiers—men who spoke Latin and who were citizens of Rome[1]—in provincial municipalities (*coloniae*). It allured provincials themselves to adopt Roman civilization by granting the franchise and other privileges to those who conformed. Neither step need be ascribed to any idealism on the part of the rulers. *Coloniae* served as instruments of repression as well as of culture, at least in the first century of the Empire. When Cicero[2] describes a *colonia*, founded under the Republic in southern Gaul, as ‘a watch-tower of the Roman people and an outpost planted to confront the Gaulish tribes’, he states an aspect of such a town which obtained during the earlier Empire no less than in the Republican age. Civilized men, again, are always more easily ruled than savages.[3] But the result was in any case the same. The provincials became Romanized.”

⁸ Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* 1-8.

⁹ J. Webster, “Creolizing the Roman Provinces” in: *American Journal of Archaeology* (2001, vol. 105) 217-219.

¹⁰ This problem and alternatives will be further discussed in chapter 1.1 and 1.4.

In this thesis, I will therefore stick to Millett's interpretation of Romanization, but to acknowledge its fallacies, I will endeavor to adjust it in such a way that it fits more to the Judaeian reality. Although it might not seem optimal for every Romanization study to have different definitions for the concept, it might actually be what Romanization entails. Woolf explains that Romanization is quite different per region or culture it interacts with.¹¹ This makes sense, as the heterogeneity of cultures and regions in the Roman Empire ensures different reactions to its rule and cultural impact. Therefore, it is perhaps needed to explain Romanization on a case-to-case basis and not in an empire spanning formula.¹²

To get back to the critique on Millett's theory of Romanization; one of the criticisms on his theory of Romanization is that it marginalizes the Roman government, whereas the origin of the process of Romanization had been in Roman policy. This policy aimed to control and administer region, which was often accomplished by gaining the loyalty of indigenous elites and ruling via them. While the Romans did not intend to Romanize their new subjects, they still indirectly did, by creating a structure through which the indigenous populations were in a way forced or invited to emulate or adopt certain parts of Roman culture, language or materials.¹³ So, Roman policy appears to have been an indirect driving factor in Romanization. It is important to note, however, that most of the evidence we have on this subject is restricted to literary or material sources that belonged to the socioeconomic upper classes.¹⁴ Although the ongoing debate on Romanization is mostly dominated by archaeological evidence, it is perhaps better to interpret archaeological evidence in combination with literary sources, as they give a unique contemporary insight on the use of archaeological findings. Next to that, research on Romanization has historically had a strong focus on the western provinces of the Roman Empire, even though a lot of evidence points toward a strong Roman influence on the eastern part as well. This thesis will therefore show how important the Romanization process in Judaea was in the events leading up to the Jewish

¹¹ G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman. The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge 1998) 245.

"There were so many kinds of Romans to become that becoming Roman did not mean assimilating to an ideal type, but rather acquiring a position in the complex of structured differences in which Roman power resided."

¹² The usefulness of a case-to-case basis of Romanization is further explained in chapter 1.1. For further reading: M.J. Versluys, "Understanding objects in motion. An archaeological dialogue on Romanization" in: *Archaeological Dialogues* (2014, vol. 21) 7.

¹³ N. Purcell, "The Creation of Provincial Landscape: the Roman Impact on Cisalpine Gaul" in: T.F.C. Blagg and M. Millett eds., *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 2002) 18-19, 21.

This will be further explained in chapter 1. Specifically, Purcell makes a case for the importance of dependence of the indigenous population on Roman infrastructure as a driving force for Romanization instead of an active Romanization policy implemented by the Romans.

¹⁴ M. Millett, "The Romanization of Britain: Changing Perspectives" in: *Kodai: Journal of Ancient History* (2004 vol. 13/14): 170-171.

War, and the Jewish War itself, as a comparative showcase for Romanization. The historical literary evidence of Josephus' *Bellum Iudaicum* provides the opportunity to obtain a deeper understanding of the influence of Rome on the development of identity among the local indigenous elites, in this case specifically of Judaea. The failure of Roman policy, and Romanization, in this region, which was uncommon in the Roman Empire, as well as the unique commentary by an originally non-Roman elite, make this a very interesting case for research into this Romanization process.

0.2. Judaea and Josephus.

To understand the failure of Romanization in Judaea, we first need to look into the background and various possible causes of the spectacular result of this failed process: the Jewish War. For this we have to look at the period that starts with the reign of Herod until the Jewish War. During this period, we saw economic, social, religious, and political instability in Judaea and Galilea, but also unprecedented growth. There has been a lot of historical debate about this period and the events resulting from this instability. It was the time and region from which Christianity claims its ancestry and also a crucial period in the formation of Judaism. It was during this tumultuous period that our main literary source lived. He was called Yosef ben Mattityahu, or more commonly known by his Latin name: Josephus. Born in 37 CE as a member of an important family of the priestly elite, he played an important role, it appears, in the Jewish War of 67-70 CE. This eventually led to him becoming a client of the Roman Flavian dynasty. As a client he became the author of various books on the Jewish War and the events leading up to it.

Josephus' first book on the Jewish War tells us his historical view on the events from the start of the Hasmoneans until the death of Herod (ca. 171 BCE – ca. 4BCE). He starts with an introduction to the subject in which he legitimizes his work and himself as a historian. In between he also shows where his loyalties lie as a Hellenized Jew with ties to the Roman emperor. Next to that, he also wrote about his ties to the Herodian elite and the Pharisees. Josephus' books on the Jewish War are filled with the conflict concerning the influence of Hellenization and the influence of the Romans over the Jewish people. It is important to recognize however that the Jewish people were very diverse in their acceptance of these influences, which in turn had various economic, social, cultural and religious reasons. Often historians tend to focus on the anti-Roman or anti-Hellenization sentiments among the Jewish population when they investigate the topics and reasons of the Jewish War. This research will

focus on the pro-Roman sentiments to show that actually a lot of the conflict originates from conflicts between indigenous elites in the Palestine region, rather than anti-Roman sentiment.

When researching the Jewish War, it makes sense to start with an assessment of the period during which Judaea was under Roman control. In this period, we see Josephus mention a variety of events that suggest a conflict, or are conflicts. Josephus himself puts a lot of emphasis on the religious conflict as a source for the Jewish War. He tells us in numerous instances how the Romans, either knowingly or unknowingly, violate the Jewish laws (J.W. II, 8-14)¹⁵. This makes sense as he is part of the priestly class in Judaea and he thus probably felt a need to defend his actions and those of the people of his class. Many historians also tend to look at the other factors that contributed to the start of the Jewish War, and even put them forward as the main cause of the revolt.

One important factor often put forward by historians is the incompetence of the Roman governors. Josephus himself often mentions the inadequacies and extreme malice shown by the many governors or procurators, although it is important to show that he also names quite a few successful governors or procurators. He even showed how some of the bad ones turned around. As they were the main implementers of Roman policy, we can consider these Roman procurators as the reason that Romanization failed in Judaea. But when we look up the various procurators Rome sent to Judaea, there do were no obvious relations between the many procurators other than their personalities as described by Josephus.¹⁶

It is, therefore, useful to consider a procurator who received both negative and positive reactions on his governance: Pontius Pilate.¹⁷ In 26 CE Pontius Pilate arrived as procurator, being sent by Tiberius, in Judaea. According to Josephus he erected standards with a picture of Caesar, which was, according to Jewish law, forbidden in the Holy City, Jerusalem. The next day he wanted to break the rebellious sentiment with violent intent by using a shrewd plan, but just when he was about to execute his plan, he was supposedly surprised by the Jewish religious fervor and backed down, removing the standards. Later he used the holy treasury of the temple to fund an aqueduct and, expecting riots, he used soldiers in civilian clothing to quell the population. The reaction of the Jerusalemite people was quite unique, as normally, when an imperial bust was added to the temples of the local pantheon of a Roman

¹⁵ This thesis refers to the translation of Josephus' Jewish War by F. Meijer and M. Wes, therefore the references to Josephus' works are as follows: J.W. (Jewish War) I-VII (book number), 1.1 (chapter.paragraph).

¹⁶ Josephus describes the various procurators in chapters: Josephus, *Jewish War Book II, 8-14*.

¹⁷ See Appendix fig. 8 for the full text on Pilate.

province, this was mostly accepted.¹⁸ These kind of decisions and actions were normally undertaken in liaison with the local elite, on which the local administration heavily depended. The Roman Empire's actions and reactions were often implemented through a system of patronage in which people with Roman citizenship were able to use and gain favors through a (long) chain of other citizens.¹⁹

0.3. Judaeen Elites.

Was the Judaeen elite then causing the strangely inconsistent policy implemented by the Roman procurators? It does not seem so, as quite often this elite sent delegations to the emperor or other Roman men with power to change the empire's policy. The chapter on Petronius provides an example (J.W. II, 10): Petronius was sent by Caligula to erect statues of him in all of Jerusalem and especially in the Temple. As a result, the Jewish people begged him not to go through with his orders. He then convenes with all of the notables and citizens, to whom he expresses the strangeness of the situation: all the other conquered peoples would allow statues of Caesar next to the statues of their own gods; to the Romans this was rebellion and malign disloyalty. Petronius was surprised by the religious fervor of the Judaeen population and priests and their willingness to go to extremes in denying the placement of these statues. Eventually they sway him with their explanation of the Jewish laws and threats of having to kill all the Jews. Thus, Petronius goes back to use his connections to see if it was possible to make an exception because of conflicting laws, so he does not have to slaughter the Jews. Petronius did not succeed and was sent back to fulfill Caligula's bidding, but fate, it seemed, intervened and Caligula was murdered, preventing the installment of the statues and the unrest seemed to have fizzled out afterwards. But why was the Judaeen elite so often not able to resist the actions of the various procurators and governors?

It seems this problem came from divisions among the Jewish elites and weakness of the dominant Jewish elite. To understand this, we first have to understand how Judaea was integrated into the Roman Empire. The process of integration started under the rule of the beforementioned Herod. He was able to forge his kingdom with the help of the Roman military power and through this became a client kingdom of Rome.²⁰ To cement his power in his kingdom he created a new pro-Roman elite out of his own family, favored men of the priesthood and other clients. This Herodian elite became the elite of Judaea who was mostly

¹⁸ M. Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem. The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (New York 2008) 65-67.

¹⁹ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 75-77

²⁰ See: appendix 2. Map of the kingdom of Herod the Great.

in control and had Roman favor and also often citizenship.²¹ Before the Herodian elite, there were two segments among the Jewish elite: the pro-Hellenistic elite and the anti-Hellenistic elite which originated way before Herod with the independence of Judaea under the Maccabees. So, what happened to these two groups of elites? Josephus calls them Sadducees and Pharisees, but he also later mentions the Zealots and Essenes as groups with influence.²² Apparently, large circles of people did not follow their own elite. And there was a growing antagonism between groups of the old (priestly) and new (royal) elites which made the Jewish elite as a whole dysfunctional. This thesis will demonstrate that the division between the Herodian elite and these other groups laid the foundation for the failure of the Romanization of Judaea and the resulting Jewish War.

In summary, in order to research the failed Romanization of first-century Judaea, this thesis will first evaluate the development of the concept of Romanization, the problems the concept brings, and how this process worked in Judaea and the rest of the Roman Empire. The second chapter will examine the different stages of Roman influence in Palestine region to get a clear picture of the reactions of the different groups of Jewish elites and how they developed alongside Rome's growing influence in the region. Subsequently, chapter 3 is concerned with the roles of these elites up to the revolt and what positions they had at the start of the revolt. This will then be followed by an analysis of these elites and various actors during the revolt, and an analysis of which elites took power and who lost power during the revolt in the fourth chapter. By researching these four points, this thesis will then come to an explanation of why Romanization failed in Judaea and what the elite's role was in this failure.

²¹ S. Freyne, "Galilee and Judaea in the First Century" in: *The Cambridge History of Christianity* (2006, vol.1) 50-51.

²² Josephus, *Jewish War II*, 8, 13.

Introduction of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes in 8. Introduction of Zealots and Sicarii in 13.

1. Romanization and Indigenous Elites.

To understand why the Romanization process failed in first-century Judaea, it is important to first grasp the concept of Romanization itself and the way it worked in different situations. This chapter will therefore first discuss the historiography of Romanization. After that, this chapter will cover examples of Romanization in other parts of the empire for comparison. It will first cover Romanization in the West, for here we also have good examples of uprisings against Roman interference, such as the case of Boudicca in Britain. Judaea is, however, in a very different position, both geographically, economically and culturally. Therefore, research on Romanization in other eastern provinces seems necessary, especially because of the strong influence of the Greek culture and language, which will be covered in the third section of this chapter. With that as a basis, I will then find a fitting definition of Romanization with which I will work throughout this thesis. After that this chapter will conclude with a comparative model to which we can uphold the Romanization process of Judaea.

To better understand the situation in the Palestine region this chapter will focus on a definition of Romanization by comparing Romanization in the West and in the East. For this, the rejection of Roman-centric view is important. While the rejection of a Roman-centric view would not represent the reality of the relation between Rome and the indigenous elites, it is still important to understand this relation from both sides. Both have their own motivations. The situation in Judaea shows a typical pericentric situation: there were obvious reactions to the local administration in the form of the procurators, who in turn were reacting to external pressure from Parthian and Arabian influences, as well as local elites.²³ However, these procurators were not at the center of Judaea's problems, but rather a more or less random outside influence on the internal problems of Jewish society and its hierarchical system. So, it is important to take into account both the acceptance of and resistance to Roman and Greek culture, in its material and immaterial aspects, by the various classes and factions in Judaea. As a last point, it is important to mention the multiplicity of identities that could be attained by the people in Judaea. For example, Josephus was part of the Herodian elite and the Roman elite, so he saw himself as both Jewish and Roman.

1.1. Historiography of Romanization.

Romanization is still a heavily debated concept among historians. Originally Romanization was a concept that developed during the nineteenth and early twentieth century along the

²³ Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power and Identity* 16.

lines of British imperial colonization to legitimize the idea that the West had to ‘civilize’ their colonies as the Romans supposedly had done. At that time, and today as well, historians had to analyze the various sources that showed the changes that were happening in Rome’s newly acquired provinces. To describe these changes, Romanization was invented and became a widely accepted term in the early twentieth century and was specifically made into a concept by Francis Haverfield (1860-1919). Haverfield defined Romanization by stating that it was the process in which Rome, as its conqueror, civilized the world by extinguishing the difference between Rome and the provinces in material, political, religious and linguistical culture.²⁴ In a way, it was a model that theorized that the Romans actively civilized and assimilated the peoples they conquered.

The idea that Romanization was a process with which the Roman Empire actively tried to civilize their neighbors was still popular in the post-colonial era, but during the last couple of decades this idea has fortunately started to change among historians. With (perhaps ironically) its roots in the United Kingdom, historians and archaeologists began to distance themselves from Romanization’s negative connotations and the debate about the process and the term itself.²⁵ In the 1990s we see the start of this change concerning the term Romanization. Martin Millett introduced an ‘updated’ version of Haverfield’s original definition of Romanization. He bases this upon the earlier works of Brendel and Slofstra. Brendel based his research on the development of Roman and Etruscan art, while Slofstra based it upon regional archaeological research in the Low Countries. They recognized the influence of local culture and claim that Roman culture was more like a cosmopolitan fusion of cultures.²⁶ He therefore suggests that Romanization must be seen as: “a process of dialectical change, rather than the influence of one ‘pure’ culture upon others.” He explains that: “‘Roman’ culture interacted with native cultures to produce the synthesis that we call Romanized.” This comes forth from the idea that the Roman Empire’s desire for expansion, especially during its republican period, was based mainly upon the need for more land in order to satisfy the elite. However, with the introduction of the Augustan administration the elite’s greed was curtailed, which meant that the flow of wealth from the provinces to the Roman center was also curtailed. In turn, the empire became more centralized and was

²⁴ D. Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire* (New Jersey 2011) 38. See also: F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1912) 18.

²⁵ D. Mattingly, “Being Roman: Expressing Identity in a Provincial Setting” in: *Journal of Roman Archaeology* (vol. 17, 2004) 5. See also: M. Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge 1990) and F. Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (Oxford 1915).

²⁶ Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* 1-2.

increasingly reliant on local elites to administrate the provinces, for example in its tax collection. This created a two-directional flow of wealth and thus integrated local elites in the Roman system. This also made it more interesting for local elites to adopt Roman customs and culture on a political, economic and social level.²⁷ In turn, the Romans needed these indigenous elites, as they themselves would not be able to supply all these conquered regions with an exclusively Roman administration. As a consequence, the Romans were inclined to leave many local political or social structures intact and offered the indigenous elites ways to be integrated into the Roman elite. This ensured the loyalty of these indigenous elites and quite often also the region's stability and therefore with Roman rule. Thus, Millett changes Haverfield's Romanization model in a model that was more focused on the local elite's active emulation and the creation of fused Roman culture instead of an imposed civilization or assimilation by the Roman elite with a passive local elite.

This, however, led to a lot of criticism from other historians, who claim Millett's model is still lacking in that it focuses on the elite and does not incorporate the non-elite. These problems were mainly pointed out by Mattingly and Webster. Mattingly states the problem with this approach is threefold: first it focuses solely on the elite, which makes sense as most of the information we have concerns this social class and they were the ones that were mostly in power. It does, however, not give the opportunity to see how the lower classes reacted and whether they were accepting to the changes of the elite. The second problem is the concept 'emulation' on which this theory is based. Emulation makes sense in a society without scarcity; when there are 'superior' Roman goods or concepts that can replace the local variants, people will accept them. In this theory, however, failure of emulation, or Romanization for that matter, were mostly blamed on problems within the elite or other regional differences, or problems precluding Roman conquest and Romanization. It does not accept the possibility that the origin of this failure could be the Roman inability to improve welfare. The third problem is that a model in which the local elite has all agency, it denies all influence from the government. This is problematic as the government actually appeared to streamline all of the power dynamics between the local elite, the Roman elite and the rest of the population. In that way, they directly influenced the way cultural exchanges flow.²⁸

²⁷ Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* 6-8.

²⁸ J. Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces" in: *American Journal of Archaeology* (2001, vol. 105) 217-219.

Also: Mattingly, "Expressing Identity" 6-7.

1.1.a. Creolization.

Webster proposed a model of ‘creolization’ as a solution to the problems with Romanization. The creolization model originates from the observed adaptation and mixture of culture by mostly runaway slaves in Latin America. It only focuses on the cultural adaptation of those who were excluded from society, so creolization takes the lower social classes as its point of departure. It shows how differences in power lead to the adoption of certain cultural aspects of the ruling class’ culture by the ruled class.²⁹ It focuses on selective adoption of cultural and linguistical aspects of another culture, without using it in its original way, as this was mainly done by people who were excluded from the rest of society. This did not mean it was always used as a form of rebellion or resistance, but rather an adaptation to a new rule and not just emulation to something people coveted. Mattingly advocates that both these theories have a function in explaining Romanization.³⁰ It is important to keep in mind when studying Romanization, that each indigenous culture seems to react in its own unique way. Even though there are many similarities, it may differ per faction, class or other kind of actor.

Despite some of its shortcomings, most historians still accept Millett’s theory, unlike Haverfield’s theory. More recently there has been an increase of objections against using the term Romanization by a large number of historians. As one of the earlier critics, Mattingly also suggests to stop using the term Romanization in his most recent work. He states that Romanization is insufficient in covering the power dynamics of the various provinces and people which Rome influenced independently, whether culturally, materially or in other ways. Because of this, the application of the term has become too inconsistent in many studies.³¹ To capture it in his own words: “The Romanization paradigm is a classic example of a common tendency to simplify explanation by labeling complex realities with terms that exaggerate the degree homogeneity.”³² The task is to balance out local differences with a broader mechanism evidently at work within various regions. Mattingly suggests that the aforementioned ‘creolization’ concept is better suited to explain the cultural exchanges in the Roman Empire. The most important argument for using this concept is that it doesn’t ascribe the adaptation of language, material and social structure by the underprivileged classes to the

²⁹ Mattingly, “Expressing Identity” 7.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 7.

³¹ Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power and Identity* 206-207.

³² *Ibidem*, 207.

desire to emulate the higher classes upon which the original theory of Romanization depends.³³

1.1.b. Discrepant Identity.

Another theory put forward by Mattingly is ‘discrepant identity’. It describes in another way how one culture influences another culture and vice versa during a period of imperial expansion.³⁴ Interestingly enough Mattingly brings this up in comparison with Romanization as another alternative to the term. This quite well shows how a lot of different alternatives have been put forward to replace Romanization, but seem to have been lacking in one field or are only applicable in very specific situations.³⁵ Versluys quite well points out the focus on Britain by many of the English historians, who are also the main proponents for discarding the term Romanization with all its colonialist annotations.³⁶ Perhaps then we have to combine the various alternatives to redefine Romanization?

Versluys advocates banishing the ‘leaning to the West’ and instead calls for study into the Roman world on a global and local level at the same time.³⁷ This would mean Romanization is the way Roman culture influences a provincial society in the Roman Empire. This does not mean it influences other cultures the same way, it only means that it influences it. It does not tell in what way it influences another people, only that it does influence this group. So, in the case of Judaea, we must ask in what way the Romans influenced the people here and why did it lead to the failed integration of this region into the empire? Implementation of a Roman-style elite led to a torn and weak elite which in turn led to a civil war and was followed by an elite-led social upheaval. When we look at the lower classes, it becomes clear that they were intertwined in the conflict in different ways. The Romanization process in Judaea was an important factor in Rome not being able to prohibit this civil war, and especially in avoiding the following war.

1.2. Romanization in the West.

Most of the criticism on Romanization is based on research focused on the Romanization of Britain (also of Africa, but like Britain, the discussion here is heavily intertwined with the specter of 19th and 20th century European imperialism and colonialism). However, to

³³ Mattingly, *Imperialism, Power and Identity* 40-41.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, 215.

³⁵ M.J. Versluys, “Understanding objects in motion. An archaeological dialogue on Romanization” in: *Archaeological Dialogues* (2014, vol. 21) 4.

³⁶ Versluys, “Understanding objects in motion.” 3-6.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, 7.

understand what Romanization is, it is perhaps more realistic to start with the earliest form of Romanization that had a more West-oriented focus: the Romanization of Cisalpine Gaul. Unlike the more ‘civilized’ southern conquests of the Italian Peninsula, one could say the northern conquest was less ‘civilized’. You could even go as far as making a connection between southern Italy and the eastern provinces and northern Italy and the western provinces. Of course, this is an oversimplification because it was still a quite wealthy and populous region with social links across the Alps, even though Cisalpine Gaul is often described as less civilized and sparsely inhabited.³⁸

Purcell explains that there were three important factors to the integration and Romanization of this region under Roman rule: colonization, a road network and centuriation. After a three-year (225-222 BCE) conquest of Cisalpine Gaul they founded the large *coloniae* of Placentia and Cremona, which they eventually connected to the Roman road network with the Via Aemilia.³⁹ All of the land surrounding these colonies and the roads were then centuriated, which was the act of reshaping the arable land into perfect squares and redistributing it among colonists and compliant locals.⁴⁰ According to Purcell, the Roman Empire did not really have a frontier, as they continually crossed or changed it.⁴¹ Yet, with the *colonia* Ariminum, Cisalpine Gaul lay in their reach, while with *coloniae* Placentia and Cremona, and the Via Aemilia Cisalpine became integrated into the Roman network. Therewith, they extended their reach. How do we explain this expansion and integration then?

The process was similar to the process described by Malkin’s Greek network. He explains that one of the reasons that the Greek colonies retained such strong Greek cultural values and even quite often Hellenized the surrounding regions and/or elites, lay with the Greek perception of the world and how these colonies had an important function in the Mediterranean. The colonies that the Greeks founded were often built upon former urban centers and gained a lot of independence after its foundation, creating a decentralized network of colonies.⁴² These Greek colonies then retained their culture because they were able to keep strong contacts with their far-away founders and other colonies. The scarce contact was a fallback-point for these colonies to identify themselves as Greek in this new

³⁸ N. Purcell, “The Creation of Provincial Landscape: the Roman Impact on Cisalpine Gaul” in: T.F.C. Blagg and M. Millett eds., *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 2002) 17-18.

Later more *coloniae* would be added.

³⁹ See fig. 9 in the Appendix.

⁴⁰ Purcell, “The Creation of Provincial Landscape” 18-19. Explanation of centuriation on p. 21.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 18

⁴² I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (New York 2011) 1-15.

and culturally very different world around them.⁴³ While they adopted certain local cultural aspects, Greek culture became dominant in these colonized regions, both linguistically and materialistically.⁴⁴ Just like the Greeks, the Romans did not see that a nation or culture was bound to a region or land in a way that we see it now. Because of this, the whole world was potential land for Roman settlers, at least theoretically. However, the world was always as big as the potential reach of the settler. That's why the Greek network expanded along the coastlines of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and along the banks of various navigable rivers ending in these bodies of water. Rome is and was an inland city, however, so its reach was much more limited, even though it was situated along the Tiber. Still, the Romans had other ways for extending their reach: the aforementioned *viae*. With this we also see the difference between the Roman network and the Greek network; the Romans needed to maintain and control their roads, which led to a more centralized network than the Greek network. Although the network was still a decentralized cellular network like the Greek network, it had one combining factor: Rome.⁴⁵ This would then explain why this region, and others like it, would adopt a more Roman-like homogeneous culture over time, and why the minority of Roman settlers would not adopt to local cultures instead. The question that still remains is why the Romans started their expansion into this region.

Purcell argues that this originally came from the Roman conquest of the landscape. This was incentivized by a religious frame, which stems from the idea that straightening out the landscape via straight road and square fields was the sacred way to change the landscape in accordance with their religious interpretations.⁴⁶ With the two beforementioned actions the Romans seemed to impose their administrative system upon the region of Cisalpine Gaul and thus making the indigenous population dependent on Roman infrastructure. To control this, the Romans founded the *coloniae* to ensure a central point of communication and distribution and as an access-point to the rest of the empire.⁴⁷ As Purcell puts it: "And the display of the power of the conqueror to grasp the landscape, human and physical, and change it, is what is essential to Roman imperialism; not greed, or a nebulous expansionism, or an imperial mission, least of all that of cultural Romanization."⁴⁸ Religion may have been the incentive,

⁴³ Malkin, *A Small Greek World* 70-71.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 116.

⁴⁵ Purcell, "The Creation of Provincial Landscape" 15-16.
Purcell explains here how Rome was a cellular empire.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 21-25.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, 22.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 27-28.

but when we look at the results of this process we definitely see the development of a Roman network and a steady Romanization of the region. So, next to the political integration of indigenous elites, the process of Romanization evolved from the economic, religious, and administrative integration of a region wherein the local population became dependent on the Romans.

1.3. Romanization in the East.

As pointed out before, throughout the history of research concerning Romanization, most of it was done on the western part of the Roman Empire.⁴⁹ This mostly stems from the original definition of Romanization by Haverfield. He stated that it was a process of ‘civilizing’ the natives and these lands were already ‘civilized’. They ultimately considered themselves Romans, but they did not speak Latin, nor did they adopt the Roman culture.⁵⁰ A second reason for this focus on the West lies in a historical geopolitical aspect wherein western countries used their Roman heritage to legitimize certain nationalistic values, imperialistic tendencies and their colonial rule. On the other hand, the older Greek influence on the East has had the same influence on these modern geopolitical constructs.⁵¹

The third reason is archaeological, which actually discerns the eastern situation: many areas in the East knew a long urban tradition well before Roman influence, while in the West urbanism was mostly introduced by the Romans, for example through *coloniae*. This led to very different archaeological patterns.⁵² Next to that, the East, like Rome, had been under Hellenistic influence, leading to many basic cultural similarities. Therefore, the Romans only had to introduce political and military changes to integrate eastern provinces into their empire, whereas in the West, there was a more prominent cultural gap. This led to an increased need for the Romans to intensively transform the region to integrate it. With the prominence of the Greek language in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, this has often made historians describe this process as Hellenization instead of Romanization, especially because of the strong Hellenistic influences of, for example, the diadochi states prior to Roman rule. However, it is exactly this urban tradition that demonstrates the

⁴⁹ S.E. Alcock, “Preface: East is East?” in: S.E. Alcock ed., *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1997) v.

⁵⁰ Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain* 11.

⁵¹ M. Millett, “A View from the West” in: S.E. Alcock ed., *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1997) 201.

⁵² *Ibidem*, 201.

influence of Romanization in the East. The Romans had a profound influence on the urbanization and the urban network in the East.⁵³

Just like the Hellenic rulers before them, the Romans renamed and reorganized the provinces in the East that they conquered. They often formed provinces according to the boundaries of the former elites. However, they would rename urban centers, by giving them Roman names in adherence to their conqueror or to the emperor and his titles, and then turn them in a provincial administrative center.⁵⁴ Roman influence did not end at renaming. Rome adopted local forms into the Roman system, both in the political, cultural and economic domain. This combined system was also introduced in older major Hellenic centers like Alexandria, Athens or Pergamon.⁵⁵ This especially had a strong architectural and cultural influence, as they had a very hierarchical system amongst the cities, through which many villages grew into minor towns all according to the Roman model.⁵⁶

To get back to the initial problem with Romanization in the East: Hellenization. Hellenic influence in the eastern part of the Roman Empire cannot be denied. Yet, as the examples before have pointed out, the Romans had their own policy that they implemented in their provinces. This was obviously based upon the indigenous structure of the region, which in the eastern provinces had been under Hellenistic influence for many centuries before the Romans came. There is no doubt that there was Hellenistic influence or even a Hellenization process in these eastern territories, but with Roman control of these regions we see a Romanization process that either replaces these influences or merges with them into a Greco-Roman cultural process.⁵⁷ After all, Romanization was not the Romans' goal, neither was it Hellenization. On the contrary, as Woolf points out, the Romans were not always comfortable with their Greek heritage aspects, and rather preferred aspects of it and molded them to their own liking, as to not challenge their own self-identity.⁵⁸ This also quite well shows the problem with the situation: the acquisition of multiple identities. Romans could accept and adopt parts of Greek culture and vice versa. But in the end, what we do see is many different

⁵³ G. Woolf, "The Roman Urbanization of the East" in: S.E. Alcock ed., *The Early Roman Empire in the East* (Oxford 1997) 13.

⁵⁴ Woolf, "Roman Urbanization of the East" 3-4. Typically, these names would be: Sebasteia, Caesareia and Sebastopolis, or like their conquerors/rulers: Magnopolis, Nicopolis, Tiberias and Germanicopolis.

⁵⁵ Woolf, "Roman Urbanization of the East" 4.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 4-8.

⁵⁷ M. Chancey, *Greco-Roman Culture and the Galilee of Jesus* (Cambridge 2005) 2.

This shows the process in Galilee.

⁵⁸ G. Woolf, "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek" in: *Proceeding of the Cambridge Philological Society* (Vol. 40, 1993-94) 133-135.

Roman cultural aspects being introduced in the eastern part of the empire, which can be attributed to Romanization.⁵⁹ Thus when we look at the Roman period we must take into account Romanization as an important new influence in the east, and specifically Palestine, as it brought a new identity situation to the region. However, the Romans gladly used the Greek network, as described by Malkin and discussed in the former subchapter, to build their own structure.

In conclusion: there were no strong differences in Roman policy between the East and the West, but this does not mean the effects were the same. Although the east had a more developed network and already had Greek in place as a lingua franca, it did not defer the Romans from implementing their own administrative, political and economic structure. Next to that, the presence of prior Hellenization led in many situations to people that tended to identify with multiple cultural aspects from different cultural backgrounds. Although some of the effects of Roman policy were different because of these factors, and even though Romanization was not the purpose of Roman policy, we still see an indigenous elite also becoming part of the Roman elite in the eastern provinces. The differences in culture and religion often did not interfere in a way that it led to severe interruptions of the Romanization process, which makes the casus of Judaea interesting and very much worth studying.

1.4. Conclusions.

This chapter has discussed the historiography of the term Romanization and also researched this process in the rest of the Roman Empire. Romanization has been heavily debated, and with good reason as Mattingly has pointed out. Romanization was heavily intertwined with early twentieth and nineteenth century imperialism. This negative connotation created the call for a new interpretation of the concept in the 1990s. Millet revised Haverfield's old definition of Romanization by stating that Romanization was a process of dialectical change, rather than influence of a 'pure' culture upon another culture. This revision sparked a new debate that led to the introduction of new concepts such as creolization and discrepant identity. These two new concepts correctly pointed out that the Millet's theory of Romanization was still lacking when describing the influence on other social classes than the elite. It was especially lacking concerning the role of the lower social classes and their influence on Roman culture itself and their supposed adaptation of Roman culture. While these other concepts do show Romanization's flaws, they do not provide an applicable alternative.

⁵⁹ Woolf, "Becoming Roman, Staying Greek" 122-130.

It is therefore important to understand how Romanization emerged from processes important to the Romans. They had religious reasons and political reasons, but also greed played a role. Romanization by itself never was the reason for Roman expansion or policy. Roman policy and its reasons seem to have been self-fulfilling, because it was successful. While the integration of new lands was similar in both the East and the West, there were different reactions to Roman policy in the various regions. There were different measures of success of their implementation, but mostly the regions were successfully integrated into the Roman Empire. In the East, the earlier Hellenization played an important role in the Romanization process of the region. Often, Hellenization had, in a way, prepared a region for later Romanization. It is, however, important to note that the two are different in many ways, but were successful for similar reasons. The Romanization process was more intertwined with Roman rule and therefore was more able to link newly conquered provinces to the Roman heartland via, for example the Roman road network. The most important factor still was the use of a local elite for political and administrative integration.

The following chapters will show that the indigenous elites were central to the failure of Romanization in first-century Judaea. It is now important to discuss in what way Romanization will be used in the rest of this thesis. Concerning the development of Roman culture amongst the elites, Millett's theory of Romanization provides a model that is applicable to the situation in 1st century Judaea. A second reason why Millett's theory appears to fit to the Judaeian revolt is that the elites were the main proprietors of the revolt in Judaea. So, the policy behind Romanization appears an important reason for the civil war in Judaea. Therefore, this thesis will use Millett's theory of Romanization to explain why Romanization failed in first-century Judaea.

2. Development of Roman Influence in Palestine.

The development of Roman influence and Roman policies in Palestine is crucial to understanding the Romanization of the region. This chapter will therefore explore the different stages of Roman influence in the region. These stages are roughly started by three crises: the first one being the oppression of the Jewish religion by the Seleucids, the second one by the succession crisis and resulting Roman intervention after the death of Alexandra Salome and finally the third one being the death of Herod and the following Roman annexation. Although the last one was not a fully blown violent crisis like the other two, the following period of Roman integration did end up in a major crisis in the form the Jewish War.

This chapter will illustrate developments of Roman influence and Roman policies in Judaea following events and behaviors that were described by Josephus. Josephus' first book on the Jewish War tells us his historical view on the events from the start of the Hasmoneans until the death of Herod (ca. 171 BCE – ca. 4BCE). In the second book we see how Judaea was annexed by the Romans after the short reign of Herod's son Archelaus (ca. 4BCE – 6CE). After this, Josephus describes events up to the start of the Jewish War. In books 3-7, he describes the war, in which he himself also plays a big part.

From these books we can gather how the original cultural transformation perspired of a traditional Temple-oriented society to a mix of traditional cultural aspects and Hellenistic influences, as can be seen in the combination of the High Priesthood and Kingship acquired by the Hasmonaeans.⁶⁰ The succession crisis and the resulting client-state relation in 67 BCE led to the first strong direct influences from Rome in the region. This relation was further amplified when Herod was made a Roman vassal king in Judaea in 37 BCE. The earlier Hellenistic influences made the transition to Roman rule and the acceptance of Roman influence easier for the Judaeans elites. The development of Roman and Hellenistic influences often met with resistance from the more conservative factions in Judaea. While these sentiments propelled the Hasmonaeans into their positions of power, the Romanization of the dominant Judaeans elite, during and after Herod, led to their incorporation into the Roman

⁶⁰ Kingship was first acquired by Aristobulus I in 104 BCE (J.W. I, 3.1)

world, and created a rift between the indigenous elites and the population. These three phases of Roman and Hellenistic influence will be the themes of the subchapters of this chapter.

2.1. Roman Influence Before Roman Intervention (before 67BCE).

Interaction between the Romans and the Jews was scarce under Hasmonaean rule until 67BCE, when we see direct Roman military intervention in the region. Before this turning point, Josephus only mentions the Romans twice. In which he describes the interactions as a friendship agreement and Rome-friendly politics (J.W. I, 1.4,2.1). Before this point Judaea is mainly under Hellenistic influence.⁶¹ As discussed in the first chapter, Hellenization is a different process than Romanization. The Hellenistic influences that were present during the Romanization process, were not the same as during the Hellenization process. It is therefore important to take note that 67BCE was also the point where we see a switch from a Hellenization process to a Romanization process.

However, this does not mean that the period before the direct Roman influence in Hasmonaean Palestine was not important for its development. The reactions of the Jewish elites towards Hellenization had similarities with later reactions towards Romanization. Both the Maccabee revolt, against the aggressive influence of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies during their waning power, and the revolt against the Romans, incited by the policy of one of their procurators, broke out during a period of civil war in the empire. Next to that, Hellenization was important to the development of the Hasmonaean kingdom itself, just as it was to the development of Rome. After all, both the Romans and the Jewish elites were significantly Hellenized by 67BCE.⁶² It is therefore important to also address the Hellenization of Judaea to be able to understand how the Romans interacted with it later.

Josephus' *Jewish War* starts both with the conflicts in the region of Judaea between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, and with the Jewish reaction to the Seleucids' oppressive Hellenization policies. Both greater powers claimed the region and fought over it. The Jewish elite seemed to have been divided along these lines as well. The Seleucids wanted to control the population more directly, the religious aspects in particular, and enacted a law that forbade circumcision. The Ptolemies wanted to control the population and were more tolerant towards local religious practices and traditions.⁶³ The Jewish elites used either of these

⁶¹ W. Eck, *Rom und Judaea* (Tübingen 2017) 4-5.

⁶² Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 105-106.

⁶³ Josephus, *Jewish War I*, 1.1. Josephus, *Jewish War VII*, 10.2-4.

The High Priest Onias sets up a Jewish Temple in Heliopolis, see also Book VII, 10.2-4.

powers to gain power in their own lands and fought until the country was in ruins. At a certain point, this led to a peak in anti-Hellenistic sentiment and also a general dissatisfaction with the ruling elites. Due to this, a more conservative and 'more' Jewish elite in the form of the Hasmoneans seized power in an extended period of wars for control over Judaea (J.W. I, 1.1-2, 2.1-3). The Hasmoneans still appeased to both powers, but only to maintain their own position of Jewish independence (J.W. I, 1.3, 2.1, 2.4, 4.4).

Gradually, just like in the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean region, the Hasmoneans started to introduce certain Hellenistic traits to their rule in order to maintain their position as ruler in the region. Early on there are some minor indications that the Hasmoneans were breaking with Jewish traditions, such as a pact between Simon and Antiochus or that John used treasures from David's tomb to pay for mercenaries (J.W. I, 2.2, 2.5). John seems to have had a stable rule according to Josephus, although he had one rebellion that was described as having been instigated by jealous countrymen. In Josephus' *Antiquities* these rebels are said to have been the Pharisees, typically seen as the anti-Hellenization cult, which could lead us to assume that John was at least neutral towards Hellenization (J.W. I, 2.8, Ant. XIII, 10.5-6).

Altogether, the neutral stance towards Hellenization made acceptance of Hellenic influences possible, as the Hasmonaeans adopted Hellenic cultural elements in most of their rule. This seems ironic, considering their origins as anti-Hellenists, but it seems to have been mostly pragmatic, as they did maintain their traditional Jewish role as High Priest, which must have been much more important to the population of Judaea. Especially under the reign of Aristobulus, nicknamed 'the Philhellene', this Hellenization of the Hasmonaeans developed, as he instituted a monarchy instead of just claiming the position of High Priest.⁶⁴ His reign was further characterized by his expansionism for which he used mercenaries instead of gathering an army from the Jewish population. In his wars, he was successful and very similar to the typical Hellenic king.⁶⁵ The newly acquired regions would not be incorporated into the Jewish polity like Idumea and Galilee and they stayed quite distinct from the Jewish majority, which led to resentment among the local population according to Goodman.⁶⁶

Josephus, however, described agitation among the Jewish population during Alexander's reign. His reign saw various uprisings. On the one hand, because of his many wars which

⁶⁴ Josephus, *Jewish War I*, 3.1, 2.3.

From this point onward, the Hasmonaeans also adopted or were known by Greek names.

⁶⁵ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 50-51.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, 51.

brought the country to the edge of destruction. On the other hand, because of his many unorthodox ways according to the Jewish religion (J.W. I, 4.3-6). This somewhat contradicts Goodman's later statement that "After a brief flurry of open antagonism to Greek culture, Jews, like Romans, adapted it for their own purposes and treated it as entirely natural."⁶⁷ However, it may perhaps not be entirely untrue either, as during his wars, there were also many cases of 'loyal Jews' joining his army. Yet, at the same time, many political opponents, probably Pharisees, would flee from Judaea (J.W. I, 4.6).

This seemingly paradoxical situation is exemplified when Alexander's political opponents solicit Demetrius, king of Coele-Syria, for a Seleucid intervention. According to Josephus, Alexander is beaten by the Seleucid army, but then gains support from Jewish loyalists. This forced Demetrius, fearing a new army, to halt the invasion and retreat (J.W. I, 4.4-5). This led to a back and forth between the Seleucid rulers and Alexander, until Alexander returned victorious and was heartily welcomed by the Jewish populace (J.W. I, 4.8). It seems that a part of the Jewish elite, perhaps orthodox Pharisees, wanted to rid themselves of Alexander as High Priest, who was not legitimate because of his unorthodoxy and his bloodline. On the other hand, many Jews seem to have joined him as they feared Greek oppression and thus accepted Hellenistic Hasmonaean rule, in the spirit of being able to freely practice their religion and traditions. It is therefore that we see partial acceptance of Hellenization, while the Hasmonaean elite was almost fully Hellenized in their rule. This three-way divide seems similar to the divide we see later in Roman Palestine.

Alexander's last war eventually proved fatal, as he died of disease shortly after. Alexandra Salome, his wife and also his brother's widow, takes over as queen after him. Her role as queen perfectly shows how the Hasmonaean had been Hellenized.⁶⁸ According to Josephus, Alexandra had been working against her two former husbands, as she was in the Pharisees' pocket. So, through her, the Pharisees gained power and also started systematically getting rid of their opponents, the Sadducees. She had two sons with Alexander, of which Hyrcanus became the High Priest, but he was easily influenced by others and mainly just a puppet. The other son, Aristobulus favored the Sadducees just like his father and seemed to have been working with them against his mother and the Pharisees, although Josephus stays very vague on the subject (J.W. I, 5). After her death, the political strife in the Jewish kingdom escalates as Hyrcanus and Aristobulus get embroiled in a succession war, puppeteered respectively by

⁶⁷ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 106.

⁶⁸ Eck, *Rom und Judaea* 6-7.

the Pharisees and Sadducees. This lasted until eventually the Romans intervene to stabilize and establish themselves as overlords in the region (J.W. I, 6.1-2).

2.2. Roman Influence During the Roman Client State Period (63-4 BCE).

With the double intervention by the Romans in the Hyrcanus-Aristobulus succession crisis, there was an immediate and extended increase of Roman influence in the region. Both parties vied for Roman assistance with defeating the other and also being able to keep other regional powers at bay. Through this Rome managed to make itself indispensable to Judaea, because of which they eventually had the choice on who should rule Judaea. Eventually the party of Hyrcanus and Antipater gained Roman favor and became the ones who were in power. The main reason for this seems to have been the willingness of Antipater to rule in name of the Romans and use Hyrcanus mainly as a puppet (J.W. I, 6-9). After having installed Hyrcanus as High Priest, Rome gained strong leverage over Judaea and the region, and it is generally accepted that from this point on Judaea was a Roman client state.⁶⁹ Eck also explains that from this point on the High Priest became more and more a position that focused on inward rule. So, rule over the Judaeian population and not a position that granted influence outside of the region.⁷⁰

After this we see that Aristobulus or his sons Antigonus and Alexander tried to regain power in Judaea at almost every time an opportunity arises and they managed to gain popular support at almost every occasion. Yet, every time they regained power, they started appeasing the Romans and tried working with them (J.W. I, 3-5, 7.2, 8.9, 9.1-2, 10, 12.2). This continuous war between elites seemed to often parallel internal instability in the Roman Empire, but nevertheless involved the local Roman powers as mediators or as the ones that forced the situation to become stable. When we look at what Josephus tells us, every time there is a civil war or another form of political strife, it seemed to start with evil advisors or sinister men that tried to create a wedge between the ruler and his elite.⁷¹ After that, the other party would round up the disgruntled populace and try to conquer Jerusalem or strategic sites like Masada or Herodium. This period of infighting and Roman interventions kept on until Julius Caesar defeated Pompey and restored peace in the Roman Empire.

This relatively stable period came to an end when in 44BCE Caesar got murdered and after which a new civil war broke out between Octavian and Marcus Antonius for the rule over the

⁶⁹ Eck, *Rom und Judaea* 8-9.

⁷⁰ Ibidem, 9-11.

⁷¹ E.g.: Josephus, *Jewish War I* 10.6-8, 24.

Roman Empire. At first, Herod's family seemed to be able to ingratiate themselves further with the Romans by helping the various Roman parties that were fighting each other. However, in 43BCE Antipater was murdered by Malichus and his sons were met with uprisings after avenging their father and also seemed to have forced Hyrcanus to distance himself from them (J.W. I, 11-12). The situation further escalated when two years later the Parthians, Rome's future long-time enemies, made use of Rome's instability and invaded the Levant. They conquered Palestine by backing Antigonus, Aristobulus' son, against Hyrcanus, and thus Herod and Phasaël. Antigonus and the Parthians treacherously assailed them, killed Phasaël and mutilated Hyrcanus. Herod fled to Rome and started building support over the next years.

Due to his mutilation Hyrcanus was no longer allowed to be High Priest, and because the Hasmonaeans in general no longer enjoyed Rome's grace by allying with the Parthians, Herod's support even led to him being crowned "King of the Jews" in 40 BCE by the Senate. His kingdom, however, was still under control of Antigonus and the Parthians. With Roman financial and military aid Herod manages to initially defeat Antigonus and recapture most of Judaea. He and his armies were needed to drive off the Parthians in Syria, which led to Antigonus once again striking against Herod. After returning from his campaign, he rid himself of Antigonus for good (J.W. I, 14.4-18.3). During the following years, he helped the Romans, mainly Antonius, in their wars and further expands his kingdom.⁷² During this he also undertakes actions to further consolidate his rule by getting rid of potential threats to his legitimacy as king of Judaea. This results in the execution of Hyrcanus (II) and the young Aristobulus III. He even executes his wife, Mariamne, because of her implication in a plot against him. Although it seems that this had a strong negative effect on his mental state, which made him more and more paranoid throughout his life, as far as Josephus described it, resulting in him murdering three of his sons.⁷³ From the start, the Romans used the influence they had in the region in a direct way to integrate Judaea into their network, by settling the land and constructing or rebuilding cities the Roman way. We see this as early as after the intervention by Pompey in ca. 63BCE. Pompey annexed most of the coastal and northern parts (Coele-Syria) of the Hasmonaeen kingdom.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the Romans rebuild and resettled cities that were destroyed during this and the later succession wars (J.W. I, 7.7, 8.4). Next to the introduction of Roman architecture and colonists, there also was the characteristic

⁷² See map 2 in the Appendix for Herod's kingdom.

⁷³ Sanders, *Judaism*, 31-32.

⁷⁴ See fig. 5 in the Appendix for maps of the Hasmonaeen Kingdom.

administrative reform, for Gabinius later introduced aristocratic rule and reorganized the region into five districts. Because these actions were quite often accomplished after the many destructive civil wars, they were often welcomed by the Jewish population according to Josephus (J.W. I, 8.5). The observations by Josephus concerning the populations joy, however, might also have been Roman appeasement. Nevertheless, this is ample evidence of direct Roman influence in the region that resembles Romanization quite well.

Whether the Jewish population accepted or welcomed Roman influence seems to be pointed out quite often by Josephus. The reasons often were along the lines of a longing for stability or out of fear for the Roman military. As a result of this, Jews often switched sides and joined the Roman-backed side.⁷⁵ Their army also seems to have been integrating with the Romans or their configuration. This makes sense, since one of the prominent things in all of Josephus' books is the reverence for the Roman armies' successes (J.W. I, 15.3, 16.1). The need for military capability is also illustrated by the fact that, when for the first time Jews go to another power than the Romans, it were the Parthians who were one of the few that were able to beat the Romans in warfare (J.W. I, 12).

After Herod became king, there was a more stable and peaceful period, which led to other forms of Jewish-Roman connections than through the army.⁷⁶ Still, the Roman army was important for Herod's legitimization, as he went to fight in various wars for the Romans. During his relatively peaceful reign, the Jewish elite seemed to get more and more integrated into Roman high society as well. Although Josephus mainly wrote about the Herodian dynasty having friends and family living in Rome for longer periods, the other Jewish elites also had high ranking Roman friends.⁷⁷ The connections would be especially important for these families to consolidate their power in the Roman Mediterranean world. In turn, the Romans would rely on these families to keep the country stable. After the annexation of Judaea, these connections would become even more important as they were the way to get things done in the Roman Empire, which I will explain in the next subchapter.

⁷⁵ Josephus, *Jewish War I*: 7.2 describes that a lot of Aristobulus-loyalists switch to the Roman side out of fear for its well-organized army. 15.4 describes a lot of people joining Herod (and his Roman forces), because they longed for a stable monarchy. 33.2-4 describe an uprising which led to taking down the Roman imperial eagle at the temple, afterwards the people try to appease to Herod out of fear for executions and thus accept this Roman influence.

⁷⁶ Eck, *Rom und Judaea* 12-13.

⁷⁷ Josephus, *Jewish War I*: Hasmonians: 8.5, 9.2 Malichus: 11 Herodians and friends: 22.2, 23.1, 23.5, next to that almost all of the expeditions undertaken by Antipater or Herod were with Roman military or political support.

Not just among the elites do we see an increase of cultural or political influence, during Herod's reign, but also among the rest of the Jewish population. Archaeological research in Galilee shows a strong increase of typical Roman-made red-slipped tableware being used in most of the Jewish household in this period.⁷⁸

We can conclude that during the client-state period we see a strong increase of Roman influence in the region, which seems to have been mostly based upon the stabilizing role of the Roman army in the region. At first, it was a general acceptance of Roman influence, since their armies were the main military force that could exert influence in the region and stabilize it. Eventually when Herod, together with the Roman armies, defeated the Parthians and pacified the region, we see a further increase of Roman military influence. However, Roman influence also started to show in other aspects of Jewish society. First because Herod's kingdom saw the creation of political and economic ties with the Roman Empire that were visible to a larger part of the population and second because Herod acknowledged Rome's superiority by attributing many of his building projects to Rome and by paying tribute in various forms.

2.3. Roman Influence after Herod (post 4BCE).

After Herod's death in 4 BCE, his realms were divided among his sons. Josephus mentions that Archelaus became king of Judaea, and Antipas and Philippos became tetrarchs of Galilee and Peraea, and Trachonitis, respectively. However, they were instructed by Herod to first gain ratification of their rule from Augustus.⁷⁹ This perfectly shows that their rule was now fully dependent on Roman approval. Their position also gets confirmed when in 6 CE Jews went to Rome to sue Archelaus and got him banished (J.W. II, 7.3). This was then also the point when the region of Judaea fully fell under direct Roman control.

Under direct Roman control we see how the region gets further integrated into the empire. While a lot of preparative steps were made during the reign of Herod, we see how the administration of the region now fell under Roman rule. The first clear sign for this was the implementation of Caesarea as the capital, formerly known as Strato's Tower, which was

⁷⁸ A. Berlin, "Romanization and anti-Romanization in pre-Revolt Galilee" in: A. Berlin and J. Overman, eds. *The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History and Ideology* (2002 London) 62-69.

⁷⁹ See Map 3 in the Appendix.

Josephus, *Jewish War I* 33.8-10.

Josephus, *Jewish War II* 1.1, 6.3. Salome, Herod's sister, inherited Jamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis. Although were under Archelaus' rule.

reformed into a Roman provincial capital.⁸⁰ Next to that we also see the first census being taken in Judaea and Galilee in order to be able to tax the region accordingly, which, quite famously, led to the rebellion led by Judas the Galilean in Galilee. According to Josephus, Judas instigated the rebellion by stating that the Jews should not pay taxes to the Romans and neither submit to their rule, as all Jews should only be ruled by God (J.W. II, 8.1). Josephus then stated that this was also the start of the Fourth sect. This is, however, widely discarded by historians, and seems to have been a construction to distance the Pharisees from this revolt.⁸¹ On this I will elaborate more in chapters 3 and 4.

Interestingly, the revolt seemed to happen at the same time as an increase in the use of local pottery products. As mentioned before, throughout the client state period there was increase in the use of red slipped table vessels and other non-Jewish products. From the end of the first century BCE start of the first century CE we see a change in this. There was a strong decline of the use of imported pottery, while an increase of local Jewish pottery. It is even more intriguing that this phenomenon was only visible among common Jewish households in Galilee.⁸² Berlin states that this was probably due to anti-Roman sentiment, and it can not be only anti-ruler or anti-Jerusalem sentiment. The reason for this lies with the fact that only Galilean Jews rejected these imported table vessels. Therefore, this was a cultural rejection, demonstrating a unified adherence to a traditional Jewish lifestyle.⁸³ It definitely shows a form of early resistance, but perhaps it might have also been a combination of both anti-Jerusalem, anti-ruler and anti-Roman sentiments. The rejecting reaction of Josephus against a Pharisee backed Judas might have been based upon a typical reaction in that time. This could have been a split among Pharisees, perhaps even among the original anti-Hellenization Pharisees and the more ‘modern’ ruling elite Pharisees.

After the Hyrcanus-Aristobulus succession crisis, the Jews had already seen plenty of Roman troops, as they were often used in the war following the crisis. With the annexation of Palestine came the continuous stationing and settlement of Roman soldiers. The army was quite important for a multitude of reasons in provincial economies. The most obvious way was the protection of trade the army provided. But also, the soldiers were paid by Rome and were spending it in the province they were stationed. The same was true for the Palestine

⁸⁰ Josephus, *Jewish War II* 2.1-2.3. province: 8.1 actual capital:9.2

⁸¹ Sanders, *Judaism* 407-410.

⁸² Berlin, “Romanization and anti-Romanization” 57-62.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, 68-69.

region.⁸⁴ This led to the spread of Roman coinage and the introduction of the region into Rome's wealth circulation. Another aspect lies within the soldiers' expenditures. While most expenditures were made to satisfy their standard life needs, a lot of the stationed troops would also invest their savings in the local economy in the form of loans. This must have led to further intertwinement of local and the larger Roman/Mediterranean economy.

The intertwinement of Judaeian economy was further increased when Judaea was annexed and it was absorbed into the greater Roman economy, or Mediterranean common market. This led to an increased attention from Roman elites and investors. This kind of economic integration was often accomplished in combination with the indigenous elites. Typically, the elites who based their power on Roman influence. Often, we then see voluntary tributes to the Romans. A typical situation for this was the fact that Herod's and later Salome's estates were inherited by members of the Roman imperial family. In this way, Romans would directly control estates in the region.⁸⁵

Just like its economy, the Judaeian elite was also further intertwined with the Roman elite. The elites further and further recognized the importance of connections to the Roman center of power. In the Roman Empire, the best way to accomplish this was via other elites and creating a network of elite social connections. This is why Herod's children often enjoyed their education in Rome and it is reasonable to assume that many other children from the upper echelons of Judaeian society enjoyed the same Roman education and network. Josephus was a typical example of this, as he explains how he had many connections in Rome (J.W. II, 21). Later we also see Agrippa II join Titus on his journey to Rome, to try and gain from the power transition after Nero's death (J.W. V, 9.2). This network, in which elites vie and trade each other favors through their connections, is called patronage.⁸⁶

Another important way to enjoy the benefits of the Roman patronage system was through the army. Quite often indigenous peoples were absorbed into the Roman army and stationed in faraway lands, such as the Syrian detachments in Britannia. This would lead to these men being loyal to their generals and Rome, as seen in the case of Vitellius who was put forward as emperor by the German legions under his control (J.W. V, 10). Next to that it was an important way to gain Roman citizenship. The Jews however had a difficult relation with the Roman army as they had to abide to the sabbath, on which they were not allowed to fight, and

⁸⁴ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 96-97.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, 96-97.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 77.

had dietary constrictions. These restrictions led to their underrepresentation in the Roman army, and was a reason for less integration of the Jews into the Roman Empire. There was less acceptance and understanding for their traditions and for Roman traditions by them.⁸⁷

2.4. Conclusions.

When we consider the development of Roman influence in the Palestine region, we can gather that Romanization in Judaea started with the Hasmonaean succession crisis and Roman intervention, as explained in the second part of this chapter. The Hellenizing period prior to this event was, however, very important in the preparation of the Hasmonaean rule for Roman overlordship. As Greek cultural influence was the common demeanor for its cultural exchange. The conflict against Seleucid military and cultural influence was also a unifying factor, as the Judaeans were loyal allies to Rome. They were both able to utilize Greek concepts to survive and consolidate themselves in a Greek dominated western Mediterranean region.

With the Roman conquest of the region, we see that Macedonian military influence on the region quickly diminishes, although Greek cultural influence stays very strong. In Judaea, Roman cultural influence grows rapidly. This may perhaps have been facilitated by anti-Greek sentiments among the Jewish population. Yet, most definitely, it has to do with the almost continuous wars in the region giving room for Roman and pro-Roman colonists. During Herod's stable rule this seems to change. Mostly because he started many building projects and founded cities, which were both often given Roman names and styled in Roman ways. While his rule was stable, there was quite some animosity against his rule, which seems to explode after his death and which also takes a partial anti-Roman sentiment form, especially in Galilee with Judas' revolt.

After this breaking point, there was a direct increase of Roman influence in the region. This was mostly due to its integration into the empire. With this integration came dependence on the Roman Empire in the fields of economy, administration, and law. Interestingly, we see a return to the use of mostly traditional locally produced goods in the region of Galilee, although much of the architecture reflects Roman styles. The combination of the regime changes, the loss of potential power by local elites to the roman-favored elites, and dependence on a different culture, seems to have been the switch for this return to local customs to the aforementioned defiance of Roman rule with uprising of Judas the Galilean.

⁸⁷ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 108-109.

The revolt was harshly put down and Roman control of the region increased with the settling of pro-Roman colonists in Galilee.

The Judaeen population, on the other hand, was more accepting of Roman rule. This was due to cooperation with the pro-Roman elites in Jerusalem and control over the Temple by the procurators. While some of the procurators incited riots, it was mostly controlled, due to the interference of the priesthood. The influence of Agrippa I and II also shows further integration of the Herodian elite into the Roman elite and administrative system, which follows the general pattern of Romanization.

3. Who were the Indigenous Elites in Judaea up to the Revolt?

Even though there was a typical development of Roman influence in the Palestine region, which showed an increase of Roman military, economic and cultural influence from the advent of the Hasmonaeans up to the Jewish War, there was an unprecedented increase of anti-Roman sentiment among the Jewish people at the end of Herod's reign. In many Roman provinces, the Romanized dominant indigenous elites had been the ones that kept the situation under control.⁸⁸ The fact that the Jewish War started, points out that they were somehow unable to do this. So, to get back to the main question, as to why Romanization failed in first-century Judaea, we first need to understand who these Jewish Indigenous elites were. This chapter will therefore discuss the various elites that were players in Judaea from the start of the Hasmonaeans up to the start of the Jewish revolt as they have been described by Josephus in relation to the original Jewish existing political factions, the contemporary political changes and the revolutionary parties. By understanding their origins, their rivalries, and actions we can understand why they either fought against or with the Romans in the Jewish War and thus perhaps understand why Romanization failed.

Thus far, this thesis has used the term 'elite' in a very general sense of the word, meaning the governing class. Chapters 3 and 4 need a better definition of the term as they more deeply research the factions that vied for control over Judaea. The online Cambridge dictionary defines 'elite' as: "the richest, most powerful, best-educated, or best-trained group in a society".⁸⁹ This is, however, a very broad definition and also a modern interpretation of the modern elites. Lenski discussed a more appropriate definition of the term "elite" that also works for an ancient society such as in Judaea. He explained that there are two aspects to the term elite. An elite is not merely one societal class, but can be either a smaller part of a class or encompass multiple classes. In the first case it refers to the 'top' segment of a class and in the second case a top segment of society, such as a political elite, consisting for example the priestly and aristocratic classes.⁹⁰ He then defines "elite" as: "the highest ranking segment of any given social unit, whether a class or total society, ranked by whatever criterion one chooses".⁹¹ In this period there were many different factions with their own elite, that were trying to become the dominant elite in Judaea. In this case 'dominant elite' was the elite that

⁸⁸ M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (1987 Cambridge) 34.

⁸⁹ Cambridge Dictionary: "Elite" <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/elite> 01-06-2021.

⁹⁰ G. Lenski, *Power and Privilege. A Theory of Social Stratification* (McGraw-Hill Book Company 1966) 78-79.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 78-79.

was the most powerful, and the ruling class in Judaeen society. So, the criterion in this case should be power, and thus to be able to vie for control over Judaea.

Since the post exilic restoration, Judaea was a mostly theocratic state, where the aforementioned elites almost always belonged to the priestly class.⁹² So, the Temple and the Priesthood were at the center of Judaism. Throughout the Hasmonaean, Herodian and Roman eras, we see three significant changes among these elites. The first came with the emergence of the Hasmonaean High Priests/kings (during the 2nd half of 2nd c. BCE). The second with the ascendance of Herod as king (37 BCE) and the third with annexation of Judaea by Rome (6 CE).

The subchapters are structured according to these changes. Therefore, the first subchapter will describe the development of the political factions that came from the rise of the Hasmonaean High Priests/kings until their demise under Herod (ca. 176 BCE – 37 BCE). These political factions were described, alongside their philosophies, as the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes by Josephus. They, and the Hasmonaean court, evolved under Hellenistic and Roman influences into a Hellenistic Judaeen/Jerusalemite elite. The second subchapter describes how Herod's rule introduced a new dominant elite in order to stay in power as a king instead of a High Priest. This new dominant elite, was not connected to the Judaeen population. In the third subchapter, this disconnected dominant elite, is described as the Romanized elite, that the Romans used as indigenous elite to control and administer the region. It then shows how this disconnection led to the socioeconomic and religious problems that created the hotbed for the Jewish revolt. In the last subchapter there will be an analysis of the revolutionary sentiments that accompanied the political developments in the first three subchapters. In this way, this chapter will describe the development of the various factions in Judaea up to the revolt. Then it explains which factors led to the growing rift in Judaeen society, which showed the failure of Romanization in Judaea, as the Roman-favored dominant elites at the start were completely disconnected from the Judaeen population.

3.1. Political Factions during the Reign of the Hasmonaean High Priests/kings.

The first three major players in Judaeen politics Josephus mentions were, respectively, the Hasmonaean High Priests/kings, and the Pharisee and Sadducee sects (J.W. I, 1.3, 5.2, J.W. II, 8.2).⁹³ Later he also mentions the Essenes, who seemed to have originated at around the same time. In the

⁹² Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea* 29-30.

⁹³ It is important to note that, though Josephus does not specifically mention them before these paragraphs, he probably does refer to them as political adversaries and notables, respectively.

second book of *Bellum Iudaicum*, he describes that “Jewish philosophy, in fact, takes three forms. The followers of the first school are called Pharisees, of the second Sadducees, of the third Essenes.” (J.W. II, 8.2). The fact that Josephus, himself a Pharisee, describes these schools as such, shows the difficulty of understanding whom these sects encompassed, what power they had and what their actual philosophies were, let alone understanding how it was influenced by for example Hellenization.⁹⁴ Around these religious philosophies the various Judaeans elites gathered and along these lines parties came into existence and developed shortly after the ascension of the Hasmonaeans in between 167 BCE and ca 140 BCE. The Pharisees and Sadducees stayed active until the destruction of the second Temple in 70, while the Hasmonaeans mostly disappeared due to the reign of Herod after 40 BCE. During this reign, Herod created an elite of his own, to legitimize and stabilize his rule, as he was not of priestly descent and could thus not gain the title of High Priest.⁹⁵ These elites often stayed loyal to Herod’s heirs who would intermittently rule over parts of his kingdom and did not have the same religious motivation, as they were rather motivated by wealth and power. After the annexation of Judaea, Josephus describes that the Fourth Philosophy came into being. According to Josephus, this Fourth Philosophy became a sect of zealots who believed that they should have no master but God (J.W. II, 8.1, Ant. XVIII, 1.1,1.6). This Fourth Philosophy would then later be at the foundation of many of the revolutionary parties. All of these factions and elites had their own agendas and roles within Judaeans society. The common denominator was that they had political influence and formed the Jewish narrative in the period leading up to the Jewish War.

The first change seemed to have happened after the Maccabean revolt, which was a double regime change. The first one being the fact that the Hasmonaeans were now in control of Judaea, but also because the High Priests and surrounding priesthood were not solely of Zadokite descent anymore.⁹⁶ The Maccabean revolt was induced by harsh anti-Jewish religious laws introduced by Antiochus IV the king of the Seleucids. He had come to control the region in ca. 175BCE after having worked together with Hellenizing priestly Jews, who tried to take power from the conservative Jewish High Priest. This led to strong anti-Hellenistic sentiment among the people, which led to the revolt in 167BCE (J.W. I, 1.1).

⁹⁴ J. Neusner, *From Piety to Politics* (1979 New York) 10.

⁹⁵ S. Rocca, *Herod’s Judaea* (2008 Tübingen) 34.

⁹⁶ Sanders, *Judaism* 16-17.

According to Sanders, the Hasmonaeans were supported by Hasideans. These were pious warriors that wanted to resist Hellenization and historians have made arguments that many of these Hasideans were the first of the sects of the Pharisees and the Essenes.⁹⁷ The Pharisees were the majority of the teachers of Judaic law. They were seen as pious but more pragmatic in their interpretation of the Judaic law, resulting in a very large oral religious culture, through which the Pharisees were able to teach or judicate the Jewish laws. Next to the Hasideans they were evidently mostly recruited from the non-Hellenized people, in which they did not discriminate on the basis of wealth or ancestry.⁹⁸ The Essenes on the other hand denied the Hasmonaeian inheritance of the High Priesthood and secluded themselves from society to wait for a worthy successor. They are described by Josephus as peace-loving and adhering to an often celibate and sober lifestyle (J.W. II, 8). They mostly kept out of political life until eventually they were mentioned at the start of Herod's reign (Ant. XV, 10.4). The Pharisees, however, did stay active in Judaeian political life. They were a relatively small group, that claimed to be the rightful rulers or teachers of all the Jews as they possessed knowledge of the "Oral Torah" of Moses. According to Neusner they were, when situated in the ancient world, much like any other Hellenistic school or sect. It were mainly the adherers of this philosophy, such as Josephus, who documented their importance, but also the rabbi's that would later produce important post-70 CE works such as the Talmud and the Mishnah.⁹⁹ This sparked off the debate about how influential they actually were up to the Jewish War. This debate revolves around the narrative Josephus provides, which is discussed hereafter. If we follow Josephus' narrative, it seems logical to assume that the periods in which the Pharisees were mentioned often, they were more influential, whereas in the periods that they were mentioned less often, they were less influential. Mason argues that this might also be due to Josephus not agreeing with Pharisee action in certain periods, or that he omits implicating events from his work in order to keep the Pharisees in a positive light to ensure their post-70 CE dominant role within Judaism.¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, there were the Sadducees, who claimed to be descendants from the Zadokite priestly families, who after the initial years of their existence were intermingled with other aristocrats. It is important to note that this does not mean all aristocrats were

⁹⁷ Sanders, *Judaism* 26, 324.

⁹⁸ Josephus, *Jewish War* I 2.2-3, 1.3-6. Suggested by the fact that the early Maccabees were almost always supported by the 'people' in their battles but especially in gaining the title of High Priest.

⁹⁹ Neusner, *Piety to Politics* 11.

¹⁰⁰ S. Mason, *Josephus, Judaea, and Christian Origins. Methods and Categories* (2009 Peabody) 185-187.

Sadducees. A complimentary theory is that the word Sadducee and Zadok/Tsadoq evolved from the word *tsedeqa* or *tsaddiq*, which mean righteous or righteousness. As such, they were just an aristocratic faction that claimed to be the righteous rulers and the high priesthood.¹⁰¹ Their rise and fall from dominance in Judaeen politics was often antagonistic to that of the Pharisees, as they were often competing with each other for the ruler's favor.

Ironically, the Hasmonaeans started to Hellenize with time, as explained in chapter 2. This became especially clear after John Hyrcanus' reign which ended in 104 BCE (J.W. I, 3,4,5). As Hengel explains, this was due to an increasing need to adapt to the strong Hellenistic influence in the region, as the Greek culture and language had become a universal way of diplomacy among the various actors in the eastern Mediterranean. During this period, they therefore adopted, next to the title of High Priest, the title of king in the Hellenistic style like their contemporaries.¹⁰² Logically, during this period the anti-Hellenization oriented Pharisees lost power politically, although Josephus claims they still had power among the people. The Sadducees, heavily intertwined with the aristocratic priestly elite, were favored by the Hasmonaeans.¹⁰³ This situation lasted until Alexander's death in 76 BCE, during who's reign the Pharisees were persecuted. After Alexander, uniquely, his wife, Salome, took over as queen and their son Hyrcanus II became High Priest. She was, however, heavily under the influence of the Pharisees and tipped the balance of power back in their favor, which eventually even led to the persecution of Sadducees and instatement of the Sanhedrin.¹⁰⁴

The following clash in 67 BCE between Salome's sons, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, was also a clash between the Pharisees and Sadducees respectively, in which both sides wanted to enlist Roman help. However, the Pharisees, as well as Antipater, were more willing to give up a certain degree of independence and Hyrcanus was more eligible to be a puppet.¹⁰⁵ To Josephus, who was a Pharisee, and Pharisees in general, the perfect Judaeen state would have been a theocracy with a High Priest at the head.¹⁰⁶ This is why they saw Hyrcanus solely as

¹⁰¹ Sanders, *Judaism* 25-26.

¹⁰² M. Hengel, "Die Begegnung von Judentum und Hellenismus im Palästina der vorchristen Zeit" in: M. Hengel, *Judaica et Hellenistica. Kleine Schriften I* (1996 Tübingen) 164.

¹⁰³ Josephus, *Jewish War I* 3-4. Sanders, *Judaism* 380-81.

Started with the reformation of Judaea into a Kingdom, until the expulsion of the Pharisees by Alexander,

¹⁰⁴ Josephus, *Jewish War I* 5.2-4. Sanders, *Judaism* 382.

¹⁰⁵ P. Schäfer, *Geschichte der Juden in der Antike. Die Juden Palästinas von Alexander dem Großen bis zur arabischen Eroberung* (1983 Stuttgart) 90-91.

¹⁰⁶ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 201-202

High Priest. This turning point and quick succession of different elites led to the rise of Antipater and the influence of the Romans.

Antipater seemed to have been very helpful for the Romans as he aided them in many battles and wars, through military means, via diplomacy or with financial contributions. Partially due to these actions he comes out on top together with Hyrcanus (J.W. I, 8, 9, 10.9-10, 11). He was therefore granted the position of Chief Minister and Hyrcanus was reinstated as High Priest (J.W. I, 10.1-2). Because of Antipater's new position, his sons Herod and Phasaël were also able to integrate themselves in the army and governance, since they were appointed as governors of Galilee and Judaea respectively.¹⁰⁷ Herod seemed to have been especially occupied and helped the Romans on various expeditions. According to Josephus, he became quite popular among the Jews because of his military successes. This even led to serious fear from Hyrcanus for his successes and ambitions (J.W. I, 10.5-9). During this period, Antipater starts rebuilding parts of Judaea and also starts the construction of the walls of Jerusalem, further consolidating his rule.

It therefore makes sense that when Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, conquered the region in collaboration with the Parthians, the Romans turned to Herod to reconquer the region and crowned him as king in return. In this aspect Herod was a typical Roman client-king, according to the Hellenistic model and to the non-Jewish world as a successor to the Hasmonaeans.¹⁰⁸ Judaism was however modeled around the Temple and its High Priest, so Herod had to find another way to legitimize his rule as king to the Jewish people. His approach was to stylize himself as the kings of the House of David, preceding the theocracy of the Temple. Specifically, he idealized himself as the successor to the legendary king Solomon by claiming to have the same virtues as him in his self-presentation, such as in the lavish expansion of the Temple.¹⁰⁹

To summarize, in the period prior to Herod's rule the High Priest and the Temple were the centers of power in Judaea. The factions or philosophies as described by Josephus are evidence to that, as they were all based on religious interpretation and gained their legitimacy from their priestly family lines. This theocratic system had been in place since the post-exilic restoration. The Hasmonaean rulers had, however, taken over control because of Hellenistic

¹⁰⁷ E.P. Sanders, *Judaism. Practice & Belief. 63BCE-66CE* (2005 London) 31.

¹⁰⁸ Schäfer, *Juden in der Antike* 101.

Rocca, *Herod's Judaea* 29-31, 36.

¹⁰⁹ Rocca, *Herod's Judaea* 21-25.

pressure from the Seleucids and thus based their power on the Priesthood and Jewish traditions. From this we can deduce that the priestly elite was the dominant elite in pre-Herodian Judaea. In order to adapt to the Greek dominance in the region, these Jewish traditions were, however, under strong Hellenistic influences. This eventually made it possible for the Hasmonaeans to assume the title of king. Later, Herod used this precedent to also assume the title of king. The strong Judaeian theocratic tradition, however, made his legitimacy among the Judaeian elites very weak.

3.2. Political Changes during the Reign of Herod

Herod's legitimacy problem might have been partially solved by stylizing himself as the kings of the House of David, but the fact remained that the dominant elites of the Hasmonaean reign were not used to a king. How then, did Herod retain control over Judaea, despite his obvious lack of a connection to the Hasmonaean-era elites due to being ineligible to the High Priesthood?

During Herodian rule, the Pharisees appear to have lost power in the government, although they still had popular support.¹¹⁰ Sanders points out that although Pharisees still had some popular support as the main teachers of the Judaic law, they were not able to influence Herod's rule a lot. This was due to Herod's strong autocratic power and influence. Next to that, his regime appears to have had a sort of secret police, who have been effective in disabling conspiracies against his rule. Herod's control was close to absolute.¹¹¹ Just like the Pharisees, the Sadducees did not have much power during Herod's reign. One of the reasons for this was that Herod controlled the appointment of the High Priest, on which I will elaborate later. It was from the Sadducees, however, that Herod, his successors, and the Romans often recruited the High Priests. The reason for this lies with the origin of the Sadducees, which was, just like the Pharisees, intertwined with the rise of the Hasmonaeans. However, during the Roman intervention they too vied for Roman support and since they were the main source of High Priests after Herod started appointing them, it is assumable that they still had some influence during Herod's reign.

In general, it seems that Josephus does not mention many undertakings of the original three sects during Herod's reign. He only does so at the start and end of his reign, when one could theorize that his power and control were at its weakest.¹¹² So, if the original elites did not

¹¹⁰ Sanders, *Judaism* 392-393.

¹¹¹ Rocca, *Herod's Judaea* 36-37.

¹¹² Sanders, *Judaism*, for Pharisees: 391-393, for Sadducees: 323.

have power, who, other than Herod, had power in Judaea during this reign? This question has to be asked. If we follow the general pattern of Romanization, we see that the Romans used client states ‘to separate the wheat from the chaff’ in order to create a dominant and loyal indigenous elite through which they could control the region. From this we can derive that the elites consisting of Herodian loyalists would be the ones in power under direct Roman rule.

To understand this, we have to understand how Herod maintained power and control, as this is where we will find the elites that wielded power. Evidently his first powerbase was Roman political and military backing.¹¹³ This explains why Herod restored and built many fortifications and conducted intensive diplomatic appeasement towards the Romans. The other factor was ancestral legitimization in the form of his marriage with Mariamne and the eradication of Hasmonaean contenders.¹¹⁴ The first powerbase obviously does not lead us to the indigenous elites. Though the second option was very important for the dynasty-building that Herod and his successors sought after, it was not the instrument of power that created a powerbase of which the Jewish indigenous elites profited. The Jewish state, that Herod had inherited, had mostly been a theocratic state. Its elites had therefore mostly formed around the priestly functions and the hierarchy often showed a High Priest at the top. Therefore, the powerbase from which power emanated during Herod’s reign and remained to do so until the Jewish War, was Herod’s power to appoint the High Priest.¹¹⁵ He accrued this privilege by being the one to appoint Ananelus after having executed and overthrown the Parthian-backed Antigonus (Ant. XV, 2). Later he would also rid himself of the last eligible Hasmonaean heir as High Priest: the young Aristobulus III (Ant. XV, 3). Now only his own sons had Hasmonaean blood, due to his marriage to Mariamne. While these sons were later murdered on Herod’s orders, his grandson Agrippa I, and his son Agrippa II, gained a lot of legitimacy due to their parental heritage, especially in Josephus’ eyes.¹¹⁶ To understand why the role of High Priest was the center of Judaeian power dynamics under Herod’s and Roman rule, it is important to research the role of the High Priest, the Temple and the priesthood.

The High Priest was, in a way, a first among equals among the priesthood. His function revolved around various important rituals and sacrifices. Only he was allowed to conduct

¹¹³ Schäfer, *Juden in der Antike* 101-102.

Schäfer also describes the administrative and judicial institutions as powerbases, which shows the places where Herod would appoint his own loyalists to.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 108-109.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 107.

¹¹⁶ See fig. 7 in the Appendix.

these at the Temple. Next to that, in a more unofficial role perhaps, he was an important link between the secular ruler and the priestly elites and people.¹¹⁷ While before Herod's reign this function was the highest position in Judaea and was a position that one kept for life, aside from depositions, it had now become a position that one could aspire to gain if you had the means and capabilities. The constant vying for power and the position of High Priest among the elite, created an elite that was dependent on Herod for their power and not just the Temple. This made loyalty to Herod, and later the Romans, a necessary trait among the elites vying for this position.

This chapter described that with the advent of Herod as king of Judaea, a new faction was created: the Herodian elite. This elite consisted of favorites among the existing elites, friends from abroad, Idumaeans and others who rested fully upon Herod's patronage. The creation of the Herodian elite was in a way a counterreaction to the 'grassroot', or original elites under Hasmonaean reign. As Herod, being only half Jewish, could not handle a strong Jewish aristocracy, he kept his Herodian elite very mixed and suppressed the older elites.¹¹⁸ While the Hasmonaeans ruled Judaea as High Priests via the Temple, Herod did not have this function available to him, as his Idumean lineage was not fit for this position. Obviously, this was problematic, as most of the Jewish elites were loyal to the Temple since they were its priests. This is exemplified by Josephus explaining what Herod's biggest fear was: being overthrown and replaced by someone from a priestly family, or one such as the Hasmonaeans (J.W. VII, 8.4). As noted before, a solution to this problem was twofold: the first one was to control the Temple and the second one was to create an elite that was loyal to him first. Herod succeeded partially in obtaining both.

3.3. Political Changes under Roman Rule.

With the death of Herod in 4 BCE and the annexation of Judaea in 6 CE, the Romans, according to their normative policy as described in chapter 1, utilized the dominant indigenous elite to control and administer Judaea. Therefore, they further built upon Herod's control via the Temple and the Herodian elite. The Jewish War illustrates, that this was not successful, as they were not able to keep control over the region. Why then did the continued use of Herod's elites not work?

¹¹⁷ Sanders, *Judaism* 322-323.

¹¹⁸ Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judaea* 40-43.

The importance of the High Priest as an intermediary is well shown in the case of Pontius Pilate:¹¹⁹ after Judas' revolt, the acceptance of Roman rule in Judaea seemed to stay intact until a series of procurators or other Roman dignitaries started to introduce symbols of the Roman pantheon or the imperial cult in Jerusalem in the form of banners and statues. Interestingly, as mentioned before, Herod managed to put up the imperial eagle over the temple gate during his reign and was even able to stop fanatics that tried to remove it on his sick bed. After this event, the High Priest was released from his position and replaced, because of his failure to stop the rebels (J.W. I, 33.2-4). Although the Romans were able to raise banners, and construct temples and shrines in the rest of the Palestine region, in Jerusalem they seemed to back down each time after intervention of the High Priest, like in the case of Pontius Pilate, who got prevented from introducing imperial banners by riots and an intervention by the High Priest and consorts.¹²⁰ The interaction between the priests and the procurator was a prime example of a Romanizing elite, as the procurator stabilized the situation with the active help of the indigenous elite even though it halted the implementation of Roman material culture in Jerusalem.

The Pontius Pilate case shows something else about his control of Jerusalem as well. After he was prevented from introducing the imperial banners in Jerusalem, he does start the construction of an aqueduct with money he appropriated from the Temple treasury (J.W. II, 9.4). This led to another riot, which he violently put down. But it does show us that he was able to access the treasury without much of a problem. This in turn tells us either, how intensively Pilate worked together with the High Priest and the temple, or that the High Priest did not command enough authority to halt Pilates actions.¹²¹ Furthermore, it exemplifies how important High Priests and the priestly elite associated with the Temple were for ruling Jerusalem. In a way, the authority of the High Priest was expanded under the Romans, as the High Priests would often be in control of the implementation of Rome's policy, administration and stability of the Temple, Jerusalem and partially Judaea. Meanwhile the procurators and prefects would reside in Caesarea ruling the non-Jewish parts of Palestine.¹²²

It is not strange that power emanated from the Temple, because before its destruction, the Temple was generally accepted as the center of all of Judaism and from there the priesthood

¹¹⁹ See fig. 8 in the appendix for the full passage in *Jewish War II*.

¹²⁰ Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* 81-84.

Josephus, *Jewish War II* 9.2-3.

¹²¹ J.C. Vanderkam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas. High Priests after the Exile* (2004 Minneapolis) 430-431.

¹²² Sanders, *Judaism* 322-324.

guided the Jewish peoples. In this time period, this also meant that it was the political center of the Jews, since religion and politics were heavily intertwined. In the Diaspora, the Temple's influence probably was less visible than in the Palestine region, but even in the latter it was supposedly viewed favorably and followed most of the time, as many Diaspora Jews would go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and often faithfully paid the Temple tax.¹²³ The increased Hellenization of Judaea actually furthered its influence over the Diaspora, which was something that Herod and the Romans very well realized.¹²⁴ The Temple itself was funded by the Temple tax, a tax of half a shekel that would be paid by most Jews. This tax supported the livelihoods of the priests and also paid for the services the Temple provided, such as the sacrificial rituals.¹²⁵

The people that worked in the Temple were the priests (or *Kohanim*) and Levites, who were, according to the Hebrew Bible, descendants from the tribe of Levi, and the priests specifically descendants of Aaron, the brother of Moses and also from this tribe. The priests were the clergy, and the Levites the lower clergy. They numbered in total around twenty thousand during the first century. So, the priesthood was hereditary.¹²⁶ These twenty thousand priests and Levites were, in rotating function and work, needed for the day-to-day administration and functioning of the Temple. Next to that, the priests would sacrifice, explain and recite Scripture, and perform other rituals. The Levites would assist them in these matters, but would also function as temple guards or in various roles, which were deemed too low for the priests, as temple servants.¹²⁷

When the priests and Levites were not 'on duty', they would have time to go home and work on their private affairs. While most of them lived in Jerusalem, many of them also lived in the various cities in Judaea and Galilee. In general, they were supposed to work for one week at the Temple every twenty-four weeks. In their 'free' time, priests would often serve as magistrates, teachers and in other leadership roles. Similar to the hierarchy in the Temple, Levites would assist them in this. Next to that, they would both serve as scribes, which was a

¹²³ Sanders, *Judaism* 47-50.

¹²⁴ Hengel, "Die Begegnung von Judentum und Hellenismus" 170.

¹²⁵ Sanders, *Judaism* 49-51,77.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, 77-78.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*, 81-83.

This meant, that these 20000 priests rotated in their functions and thus would not always have to work. There would never be 20000 priests working in the Temple at the same time.

role that encompassed copying texts, drawing up legal documents and advising on matters of the law.¹²⁸

At the head of these priests and Levites stood the High Priest. They worked together in running the Temple and the sacrifices, yet it was the Levites who bypassed the High Priest and the procurator by refusing to sacrifice for the Roman emperor, under leadership of Eleazar (J.W. II, 17.2). This event was named as the start of the war by Josephus. While it may have seemed small, the religious significance of this deed must have been large in this very religious society. What is even more interesting is that there must have been a change in the power dynamic between the High Priest, the Temple priesthood and the Roman procurator.

This power dynamic changed with Agrippa I, who was bestowed control over Judaea and also the appointment of the High Priest. Josephus lauds him with the title ‘the Great’, which makes sense as he was a loyalist of the Herodian family (Ant. XVII, 2.2). This came forth from this change of ‘power distribution’ as the dominant elite would once again vie for power in the temple and Judaea, while Agrippa controlled the distribution of the highest seat of power. In his rule and internal politics, he would set himself up as his grandfather, Herod, had done.¹²⁹ After Agrippa’s short reign, his kingdom returns to Roman control, but the power to appoint the High Priest, unlike before, stayed within the Herodian family. Interestingly, there is an increase of violence once Agrippa II assumes this control and gains lands in the region, due to actions performed by the procurators (J.W. II, 12.2). Schwartz explains that during Agrippa’s rule there was a revival of Sadducee power in Judaea. He suggests that this was due to this older Judaeans elite’s hope for a revival of a Hasmonaean-styled kingdom.¹³⁰ This could explain why there was an increase of violence after his death, as this may have resulted in a disillusioned and alienated indigenous elite.

It is plausible that the reason for this was a lack of direct control over the position of High Priest by the procurators. This lack of control made many of the elites that were loyal to the High Priest turn their back on the Romans. Meanwhile, the Roman procurators were left out of the politics of the indigenous elites and therefore tried to reach out to other local elites. This would explain why, just before the start of the war, the procurators Albinus and Florus would ingratiate themselves with others than the dominant Herodian and priestly elites.

¹²⁸ Sanders, *Judaism* 170-172.

¹²⁹ D.R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I. The Last King of Judaea* (1990 Tübingen) 133-134.

¹³⁰ Schwartz, *Agrippa I* 130, 153.

Albinus made deals with the revolutionary party in Jerusalem, quickly leading to insurrections, as others wanted to gain power at the cost of the dominant elite (J.W. II, 14.1). Josephus claims that “The crimes of Albinus were, for the most part, perpetrated in secret and with dissimulation”, which seems to acknowledge that he knew what he was doing (J.W. II, 14.2). His successor Gessius Florus on the other hand received strong critique from Josephus as he “ostentatiously paraded his outrages upon the nation, and, as though he had been sent as hangman of condemned criminals, abstained from no form of robbery or violence.” (J.W. II, 14.2). Florus went even further and unabashedly favored the Greek population in the region, plundered the Temple and executed Jewish-Roman citizens (J.W. II, 14.3-9). This seems like a situation where both the Roman procurators and the Jewish dominant elites were excluded from access to power; the Romans were not able to directly control the Temple and the Jews were not able to access the Roman power and its military legitimization. Therefore, we see two reactions; the procurators sought to control the population in the region via other elites, and the dominant Jewish elites tried to bypass and/or depose the procurator to access Roman (military and political) backing.¹³¹

In conclusion: the most important factors in the relation between the Romans and the dominant elite in Judaea were the Temple and the High Priest. However, due to the loss of the direct power relation via the appointment of the High Priest, both the Romans and the Judaeans lost control over the Jewish population in Judaea, as apparently the opposing factions had become more powerful than the dominant elites in Judaea. This had gotten to the point that the dominant elites would not be able to maintain control without the backing of the Roman procurator and his troops.

3.4. Revolutionary Responses.

The case of Albinus also directly shows us how powerful the revolutionary parties had become, as they apparently had the means to bribe and convince the proconsul to favor them. While they were not, per se, part of the elite of Judaea, these parties started to exert considerable influence over Judaea in the ca. 20 years before the war. Who were these revolutionaries and why did they seek to overthrow the dominant Judaeans elite?

Who the people or perhaps new elites in this revolutionary party were, becomes clear in Josephus’ texts concerning the war itself. Their endeavors will be covered in the next chapter, but Josephus names them as the Zealots, Idumaeans, Sicarii, and Galileans. While the

¹³¹ Schäfer, *Juden in der Antike* 132-133.

Idumaeans and Galileans had a clear regional background, their ideological origins were less clear. As discussed before, Josephus, probably falsely, stated that the fourth sect had its origin with Judas the Galilean and the revolt he instigated (J.W. II, 8.1).

Whether this is true or not, it does not explain the emergence of these new factions as elites that would compete for control over Judaea. This revolt does however show what ideas the leaders of this revolt adhered to. They mostly had the same theological ideologies as the Pharisees. However, they also had some very revolutionary new aspects added to their teachings. Horsley and Hanson summarize these ideas in four points:¹³²

1. “To cooperate with the tax assessment, (...) amounted to slavery for the Jews.”
2. “The understanding of the tribute as slavery was rooted in the fundamental Jewish faith that the people (of Israel) had been called to live under the rule of God, as expressed in Mosaic law.”
3. “One of the Pharisaic principles shared by the Fourth Philosophy was belief in ‘synergism’ with God. That is, although all things are ultimately in control of, or due to, the providential guidance of God, humans are responsible for acting according to the will of God, and God accomplishes his purposes by working through the people.”
4. “The Fourth Philosophy’s “unconquerable passion for freedom” would appear to be informed by a certain eschatological orientation.” This “would mean that if defeated, tortured, and killed before the final fulfillment of the Kingdom, they would be seen as glorious martyrs to God’s cause.”

It is interesting that these points come forth from the idea that Jews should only be ruled by God. So, their message was to strive for a theocratic state in which not wealth was the most important, but rather religious fervor. This is in a way a reactionary philosophy to the newly implemented regime under Herod and the Romans. It is not strange, that these points later seem to have been (partially) at the basis of the revolutionary parties during the Jewish War. Most specifically the aspiration for being independent of foreign rule. On the subject of independence, Josephus proclaims already at the start of the war that “Since we were powerless to stop the revolutionaries and in obvious and imminent danger, we professed to agree with their views.” (Life, 5.22). This was a statement that showed the true intention of the dominant aristocratic elite; they wanted to commit to peace with the Romans, also if this

¹³² R.A. Horsley and S. A. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs. Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis 1985) 192-194.

meant that they had to submit to Roman rule.¹³³ The continued suppression of warlike anti-Roman sentiments of the revolutionaries by the government under the former High Priest Ananus, who was part of the pro-Roman elite, eventually gave rise to accusations of treason by the revolutionary factions that were obviously denied by Josephus. This in turn was one of the factors that provoked the civil war that softened up Jerusalem for its later conquest by the Romans.

Next to Ananus and his ‘party’, on whom I will expand in the next chapter, we see, more or less, four parties that later vied for power in Jerusalem; the parties under John of Gischala, the Idumaeans, the Zealots and the Sicarii. These all had overlap with these revolutionary ideas, ensuring at least rudimentary cooperation among them. It is, however, difficult to see where they originated, as Josephus often labels them as bandits or brigands, as he does as well with all of his opponents.¹³⁴ Horsley and Hanson state that these bandits were social bandits and that it was from these ranks that these revolutionary parties stemmed. The theory is that the Jewish peasantry had been suffering socioeconomic hardships for a long time; it started at the succession wars of the Hasmonaeans and kept up, in various degrees, until the Jewish War. The Jewish peasants were so overwhelmed by this, that their only reaction was to abandon their homes and follow charismatic leaders in to a life brigandry, a rebel-leader against the Romans, or a prophet into the desert.¹³⁵

Interestingly however, Josephus mentions less bandits during the regime of Herod. This can be linked to the repressiveness of his regime, even though at the end of his reign a group of representatives of the Jewish aristocracy had complained that Herod had left an economically devastated country.¹³⁶ So, to expand on this, what we see is a period during Herod, where there was increasing socioeconomic inequality, which probably caused social disruptions and the appearance of brigands and bandits. However, due to Herod’s repressive and high control of the state, most of these reactions will have been put down quickly. Another reason, or perhaps something that was a ready alternative to this reaction, was to leave and work as a laborer at one of Herod’s many construction projects, such as the expansion of the Temple or the walls of Jerusalem.¹³⁷

¹³³ Horsley and Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs*. 227-229.

¹³⁴ Grünwald claims that these bandits or brigands were not social bandits but rather all cases where he used the term pejoratively. T. Grünwald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire: myth and reality* (London 2004) 2-5.

¹³⁵ Horsley and Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs*. 49-51.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*, 58.

¹³⁷ *Ibidem*, 58-59.

With the end of Herod's reign, the successful repression and redirection of the uprooted peasantry will have disappeared. This left room for the organization, without repression, of other means of survival for these peasants. This first becomes clear during the succession of Archelaus, where the people gathered to petition for tax reductions, the release of prisoners and the punishment of Herod's lackeys, to which Archelaus, in a fit of panic, reacts with violence (J.W. II, 1). In the years after this, Archelaus' reign crumbles as Josephus reports various 'brigand headmen', charismatic leaders and war veterans, that rose up and did a bid for power (J.W. II, 4). Varus, known for his later defeat at the Teutoburger Wald, was sent from Syria to restore order, which he did, quickly and ruthlessly (J.W. II, 5). This series of events coincides with the aforementioned switch in use of red slipped vessels and shows the intertwining of the 'bandits' that came forth from an anti-elite perspective to gain power, and anti-Roman sentiment.

When Archelaus is later banned to Vienna in 6 CE, this intertwining is exemplified with Judas the Galilean's revolt and its anti-Roman character. Especially, when we consider that these two periods of unrest were the groundwork for the mindset of the later 'bandits and brigands' that formed the revolutionary parties; first would be their struggle against the dominant elite and second, because of its backing of the dominant elite, against the Romans. On the other hand, there was less direct control under the Romans, which led to an increase of social banditry during times of socioeconomic oppression. Considering that Judaea, and Judaism for that matter, was very much centralized around Jerusalem, it makes more sense at the role of the Galileans and Idumaeans in the revolutionary parties. It was in these peripheries that control and exploitation must have been the lowest and the highest respectively.¹³⁸ This is exemplified by the emergence of John of Gischala who fled to Jerusalem with a large following of Galileans and led the most successful part of the resistance against the Romans.

In summary, in Judaeen society, a traditional Jewish theocratic state had been the norm since the post-exilic restoration. This government form came under pressure from Hellenistic and Roman influences during Hasmonaean rule. Their legitimization was, however, still based upon Jewish High Priest tradition. The Judaeen indigenous elites were also subject to these Jewish traditions. With the advent of Herod as king and not as High Priest, the government form underwent a change in which the High Priest was now subservient to the king. Herod,

¹³⁸ J.L. Reed, "Instability in Jesus' Galilee: A Demographic Perspective" in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* (129:2 2010) 343-365.

therefore, created his own elite: the Herodian elite, which consisted mainly of foreigners, and Idumeans. Next to that, he took control over the appointment of the High Priest. These two factors led to him keeping control over Judaea.

The Romans in turn, adopted Herod's elite and methods. An important part of the dominant elites in Judaea revolved around the High Priest and started to lose control, as they lost their direct connection with the Roman procurators. This happened because these dominant elites did not have enough direct relations with Jewish population, for they were created from the older elites, foreigners and Herod's sycophants and were only able to rule with Roman military and political backing. In a way, the Romans did not use an indigenous Judaeans elite, but rather a Jewish indigenous elite. This led to a very weak elite, as they did not have any strong local connections and probably only survived because of the legitimacy the Temple institution gave them.

In a turn of events, the cooperation between the Herodian elites and the revolutionaries proceeded from a desperate act by the dominant elites to stay in control, after Florus pressured revolutionaries into action. So, while the dominant elites were in a way a good example of Romanization, it also led to further alienation of the Jewish people, due to the dominant elites' weak control. This leaves us with the result of this alienation: the power shifts of these various factions during the war and the resulting reconstruction of Romanization in Judaea, which will be explained in the next chapter.

4. The Indigenous Elites and the Revolt.

The next and last step in understanding the failed Romanization of Judaea and its influence on the revolt is investigating the elites during the war. This chapter will therefore research the collapse of cooperation between Pro-Roman and neutral elites, and the Romans. In order to do so, I will look into the consequences of this collapse by studying in what way power shifted between elites before, during and after the end of the war.

Ironically, the revolt started with cooperation between the pro-Roman dominant elite and the revolutionaries. However, this chapter will illustrate that most of the war was actually a civil war and it was this civil war that exemplifies the failure of the Romanization of Judaea. The war can be roughly split in three parts: the early cooperation against the Romans (66 CE), the following war in Galilee (66-67 CE), and then the civil strife in- and siege of Jerusalem (67-70 CE). This chapter has been divided according to this timeframe as well. The first subchapter describes why the early revolt was successful, as the various factions were forced to work together and how the factions also showed their motivations. The second subchapter concerns the war in Galilee, which explains how deep the rift between the population and the elite was. Furthermore, it shows how this rift was even deeper between regions such as Galilee or Idumea and Jerusalem. After this, the third subchapter describes the siege of Jerusalem and the escalation into the civil war, as the various factions fought for control over Jerusalem.

4.1. Cooperation at the Advent of the War, 66 CE.

The aforementioned exclusion of the Judaeans elite by Florus, when he started to favor the Greek population in the region over the Jewish elite, led to a situation in which the dominant elite was not able to support him. They were also not inclined to, rather they would seek other means to gain or retain power in Jerusalem and over the Temple. This paved the way for the earliest nods towards cooperation between the dominant elite and the revolutionary parties, as the only form of attainable influence was now through popular support.¹³⁹ This subchapter discusses the early development of cooperation, despite animosity, between the various factions in the Jewish War up until Vespasian's invasion of Galilee.

The first elite faction to openly defy Florus and the Romans, was led by Eleazar ben Ananias, who, by symbolically stopping the loyalty sacrifices, became the central figure of the popular

¹³⁹ Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judaea* 153.

revolt.¹⁴⁰ Eleazar's actions were apparently a response to the lack of support from Florus, as he was part of the ruling class in Judaea. It is therefore important to keep in mind that his deviance was mainly focused against the procurator Florus, as he would probably have preferred to retain his position as part of the ruling class (under the Romans). Goodman explains, that Eleazar, did, however, wish to replace the ruling class, of which his father was also a prominent member. Eleazar even sent his companions to destroy his father's house, much to the delight of the people, since the dominant Jewish elite had been very oppressive under the Roman regime.¹⁴¹ Josephus claimed that the refusal to sacrifice in name of the Roman emperor was the advent of the war (J.W. II, 17.2). Whether this is true is debatable, it does however show the initial loyalties of the various factions that were crucial during the War. The Herodian elite or well-to-do citizens, High Priests and (prominent) Pharisees reacted to the refusal to sacrifice by sending two missions: one to the Jewish king of the former lands of Philip, Agrippa II, and one to the Romans, specifically Florus (J.W. II, 17.3-4).¹⁴² Florus decided to wait this out and make use of the internal disputes when it was more beneficial. Agrippa II, however, sent about two thousand horsemen to assist the pro-Roman factions in gaining control over Jerusalem.

Agrippa II stayed loyal to the Romans during the entire period, contributing both financially and militarily. His first open pro-Roman or anti-rebellion commitment was his speech, which was probably manufactured by Josephus, but it probably did show his sentiment.¹⁴³ Next to his fear of the Roman Empire, he also had a lot to lose in a civil war or war with the Romans. After all he was a client-king over a large area, that was mainly inhabited by Jews many of whom, especially in Galilee, had shown to be prone to insurrections. Next to that, Jerusalem was his ancestral power base, in which he had his palace, and it was home to the Temple, which he controlled through appointing the High Priest. All of these functions were granted by the Romans, and they were thus the basis of his legitimacy. This was similar to the basis of power his father had. Due to his upbringing in Rome, his father had gained the kingdom of Judaea through his friendship with Claudius. Agrippa II did not immediately inherit his father's kingdom as he was supposedly deemed too young. He eventually did gain parts of it via the same methods as his father.¹⁴⁴ This method of granting positions to friends and

¹⁴⁰ Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judaea*, 154.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 154-155.

¹⁴² See fig. 3 for a map of Philip's kingdom.

¹⁴³ See appendix for Agrippa's full speech (J.W. II, 16.4)

¹⁴⁴ S. Mason, *A History of the Jewish War. AD 66-74* (2016 Cambridge) 269.

loyalists, was a secure way of guaranteeing long term loyalty, while also ensuring centralization by not making hereditary rule the norm.¹⁴⁵ As discussed in chapter 3, Agrippa I stylized himself in the same way as Herod, and thus ensuring Roman backing and using the same dominant elites, which also explains the priesthood's and Josephus' loyalty towards him and his son, Agrippa II, as they were reliant on them for their positions of power.

It is therefore that Josephus documented Agrippa II as joining the Romans in almost every major event, with the reason to "help the people" that were either "not against the Romans", "peace loving", "trying to keep the Temple pure" or "loyal".¹⁴⁶ Perhaps these intentions were involved, but without a doubt, the main reason would have been his self-preservation. This was perhaps more due to Agrippa being a Roman first, and a Jew second. His close ties to Titus and Vespasianus are shown when he accompanies Titus on his trip to Rome in order to observe the political situation there (J.W. IV, 9.2).

Agrippa's early efforts, during the initial rebellion against Florus in 66 CE, were futile as his cavalry had to retreat from the city after heavy fighting with the unified rebels. After this, the rebels plundered the palaces of Agrippa, Berenice and the High Priest Ananias, also getting rid of the last pockets of pro-Roman resistance. With the way now clear, the rebels burned down the city archives, ridding the Jewish population of the shackles of debt (J.W. II, 17.6). Schäfer explains that this showed the social motive of the uprising: a redistribution of wealth, as many of the rebels were heavily indebted to the dominant pro-Roman elite.¹⁴⁷ This economic motivation was a major drive for the peasantry to join the insurrection as explained in the last chapter, and stems from the principle of social banditry.¹⁴⁸ The Zealots on the other hand, also had ulterior motives/another motive. After the city archives were burned down, the Rebels went on to take the Antonia castle and the Herodian palaces (J.W. II, 17.6-7). The Zealots on the other hand went to the Temple, with their new, perhaps messianic, leader Menahem in a king's outfit (J.W. II, 17.8-9). This points out two aspects in which the Zealots differ from the other revolutionaries: a dominant religious motivation instead of socioeconomic motivations and the aspired regime form. Instead of the standard aspiration

¹⁴⁵ Schwartz, *Agrippa I* 134, 152-153.

¹⁴⁶ Josephus describes Agrippa's reasons to join the Romans in the following paragraphs:

Josephus, *Jewish War II* 16, 17.4, 19.2-3, 20, 21.

Josephus, *Jewish War III* 1, 2.4, 4, 6, 9.7-8, 10.

Josephus, *Jewish War IV* 1.1-2, 9.2.

Josephus, *Jewish War V* 1.6.

Josephus, *Jewish War VI* 4.

¹⁴⁷ Schäfer, *Juden in der Antike* 135-136.

¹⁴⁸ Horsley and Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs*. 58.

for an improved socioeconomic situation, as was often aspired by the social bandits. They would first try to complete their religiously motivated goals. This religious motivation suggests big social implications, for it was the Zealots' way of reimplementing the theocratic state as seen under the early Hasmonaeans, but also getting rid of the dominant Herodian/pro-Roman elite by whom the Judaeian population had been oppressed. Next to that they wanted Menahem to be the new High Priest, or rather a messianic king, after they had murdered the old one (Ananias).¹⁴⁹ Hengel points out that this was their goal, in their 'holy war' against the foreign yoke, since this was the way to reinstate the theocracy in honor of God. However, this was condemned by Eleazar, the rebel temple priest. Then, the zealots were thwarted and Menahem was murdered by the mob. This in turn caused the split off of the Sicarii, who fled to the fortress of Masada.¹⁵⁰ This is interesting, as it shows how the Zealots were reactionaries, intending to reverse the political changes caused by Roman and Herodian rule.

After the completion of the conquest of Jerusalem by the rebels (ca. September, 66 CE), the Roman governor in Syria, Cestius Gallus, was sent with the 12th legion toward Judaea to reconquer the region. Gallus plundered and murdered on his way to Jerusalem, showing his intent for retribution. This must have led to a strong incentive, as the factions worked together quite well and under the leadership of capable generals an army was fielded.¹⁵¹ Gallus' troops were ambushed by the Jews and he retreated after some skirmishes. This created the perfect legitimization for the righteousness of the revolt. It also created the relief that was needed for the organization of the revolutionary regime. Due to the incident with Menahem, the provisional revolutionary government was led by the moderate High Priest Ananus. The Zealots would only be able to participate in the provisional government.¹⁵²

The cooperation between the various factions in Judaea seem to have been forced by the actions of Florus. However, it is important to note that Florus was not able to rely on the dominant Jewish elite either. Therefore, this uneasy alliance between the dominant pro-Roman elite and the revolutionary parties is more based upon the dominant elite's need to cling on to their position of power than anything else. This is exemplified by their attempts to still gain influence by sending delegations to Agrippa and the Romans.

¹⁴⁹ Schäfer, *Juden in der Antike*, 136.

¹⁵⁰ M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten* (Leiden 1976) 289.

¹⁵¹ Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judaea* 160.

¹⁵² Schäfer, *Juden in der Antike* 136-137.

4.2. Peace or Independence, the War in Galilee.

In the period between the defeat of Gallus and the defeat of the Judaeen resistance in Galilee, the uneasy alliance had started to show its first cracks. It showed the deep divides between the goals of the elites and the revolutionaries, as the one tried to reach a status quo with the Romans, while the others tried to form their own Jewish state. The failure of the revolt stemmed from this divide as it led to destruction of local leadership. The competition between the factions often led to their deaths in rapid succession.¹⁵³ Josephus' narrative on his fortification and defense of Galilee shows how this divide frustrated the early governance the region. It also shows how regional factions had their own agenda as well. This chapter describes this narrative and compares it to other revolts.

Josephus was tasked with fortifying and organizing Galilee, which the revolutionary government knew would probably be the first region to be attacked by the Romans.¹⁵⁴ Throughout the War, Josephus mentions various cities that were either supportive of Roman rule or Agrippa II. The limits of their support varied greatly though, as the support depended greatly on the dominant faction in these cities. Next to the cities that harbored Jewish minorities, there were also cities with Jewish majorities that were or became pro-Roman during the war. The largest one was Sepphoris, the administrative center of Galilee under Herod. Its reluctance to join the revolt was already visible in its defiance of Josephus who tried to gain its support when he had just become governor of Galilee and later as well when Sepphoris harbored Roman troops against Josephus (J.W. III, 2.4, 4.1).

Why did Sepphoris not join the Jewish revolt? This related to its original loyalties that resulted from its earlier recolonization under Antipas' reign. The recolonization happened due to Sepphoris' role in Judas the Galilean's revolt in Galilee after the death of Herod. This in turn provoked a reaction from the Romans. However, the details of these events are unclear.¹⁵⁵ What is clear is that its inhabitants like many other Galileans during Judas' revolt, harbored anti-Roman sentiments. Therefore, the city was recolonized by people mostly, directly or indirectly, loyal to Rome. So, this means there was a faction that was not loyal to someone like Josephus or others of the early rebel government, but was still loyal to Agrippa

¹⁵³ Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judaea* 174-175.

¹⁵⁴ Schäfer, *Juden in der Antike* 137.

¹⁵⁵ E.M. Meyers, "Sepphoris on the Eve of the Great Revolt (67-68 C.E.): Archaeology and Josephus." in: E.M. Meyers ed., *Galilee through the Centuries. Confluence of Cultures* (Winona Lake 1999) 114.

Josephus claims Sepphoris was burned and its inhabitants were sold into slavery, excavation of the site does not show any evidence of this however.

II or the Romans. This was underlined by the fact that they minted coins on which they pointed out their loyalty to Vespasianus and Nero by inscribing them with “Eirenopolis-Neronias-Sepphoris”. Only Caesarea did this as well, which was the staging point of the Roman conquest of the region, and the cauldron from which the war erupted.¹⁵⁶ In this, it is important to acknowledge that Josephus was probably defied by Sepphoris at this point, because he was preparing for war against the Romans. Many of his positive annotations on the city’s pro-Roman attitude were probably to put himself in a better position.¹⁵⁷

Josephus’ pragmatism, or subjective interpretation, was perhaps characteristic of many ‘pro-Roman’ people in the region.¹⁵⁸ Often, when Josephus mentions the surrender of a fortified town, the Romans did not do much more than bringing down a wall and purge the population of any possible rebels.¹⁵⁹ This pragmatic approach to adopting a pro-Roman attitude, might mostly be due to the necessity of being able to survive in a Roman dominated world, which was a typical aspect of Romanization. The fact that only a minority actually did this can be considered a sign of failing Romanization of the region.

This pragmatic approach to loyalty also shows why the Galileans rebelled after Herod’s death and why a city like Sepphoris stayed loyal during the war, while many other similar cities did not. The Galileans were not loyal to the elites who were in charge in Jerusalem and Judaea during the war. This might also have been the reason that Judas’ revolt was mostly limited to Galilee. During the revolt the elites did, however, join the war in all of Judaea. So, the fact that it mostly remained limited to Galilee, might have been due to the Romans’ quick repression of the revolt. The differences between the Judas’ revolt and the Jewish War seem to have been with the origins of the revolt. With the revolt of Judas the Galilean, the rebellion started with the census and introduction of the Roman taxation after a period of extreme economic inequality under Herod. This census created widespread fear for more economic oppression, and this fear was capitalized upon by Judas and his associates by introducing an ideological and theological argument. This argument, described by Josephus as the Fourth Philosophy, stated that economic slavery (taxation) to the Romans was wrong in the eyes of God, and that they should strive to only serve God directly (via a theocracy).¹⁶⁰ This made it

¹⁵⁶ Meyers, “Sepphoris on the Eve of the Great Revolt” 116-118.

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem, 115-116.

¹⁵⁸ Ibidem, 117.

¹⁵⁹ E.g., when Vespasian arrived at Tiberias, the pro-Roman notables greeted him and explained that the city’s inhabitants did not want a war. Vespasian agreed and then destroyed a part of the city gates and rids the city of the few leftover rebels (J.W. II, 9.8).

¹⁶⁰ Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judaea* 43-44.

possible for Judas and his associates to organize and gather support for a revolt. In comparison, Josephus claims that the Jewish War started with the refusal of the Temple priests to sacrifice on behalf of Caesar. The reasons for this were a little bit harder to point out, but seem to have been the repercussions to the riots after sacrifices of birds on the doorstep of a synagogue in Caesarea, the acquisition of funds from the Temple treasury, and the execution of Jewish-Roman citizens (J.W. II, 14.5, 14.6, 14.8-9, 17.2). So, why did these problems escalate into the Jewish War?

The original revolutionary government was led by the former Sadducee High Priest Ananus and the priesthood. While they definitely were part of the revolt, it was still their main focus to appease the Romans. Just like in cities such as Sepphoris or Tiberias, the pro-Roman elites would try to regain peace when possible. So, it is not strange that once the war in Galilee was over and the rebellious Galileans fled to Jerusalem, the contrast between the agendas of the priestly elite and the other rebel factions became clear.¹⁶¹ Once pressure on Judaea became too much and the Romans were marching on Jerusalem, we then also see a regime switch, as the various rebel factions, such as the Zealots, Idumeans and Sicarii, take over and struggle for control of the Jewish capital. Josephus often claims that the infighting among the various factions was fundamental to the Roman victory and the destruction of the Temple (J.W. IV, 3-4).

To conclude: during the war in Galilee there was resistance against the Roman invasion, but often the pro-Roman (dominant) elites in the region kept control or took over control and, like in Sepphoris, opted for peace. This was often achieved when there were no rebellious leaders to guide the rebellious population. The support the pro-Roman elites gained was based upon the pragmatic approach of the people, which was born out of necessity. This renders the following question: why did the pro-Roman/Romanized elite lose control over Jerusalem and why did this lead to its infighting and following defeat? To answer this, the following subchapter will analyze the events that led to the loss of control over Jerusalem after the war in Galilee.

4.3. The Acquisition and Loss of Power in Jerusalem.

After the loss of Galilee in 67, Josephus' main focus lies on the internal struggles of Jerusalem. As has become clear, the Temple was at the center of the revolt. Therefore, the

¹⁶¹ The dominant elite wanted peace under Roman rule since this guaranteed their continued control over Judaea and the Temple, whereas the other factions in general wanted independence from Rome. It is important to note that these factions also had other motivations and agendas next to independence.

capture of Jerusalem and the Temple mount was essential for control over the region. This was the case for the Romans, but also for the any faction that aspired control over Judaea. In this last subchapter, the breakup of the uneasy alliance and the following rises and falls of the factions in besieged Jerusalem in the summer of 70 will be discussed and analyzed in order to explain that the Jewish War was a civil war at its core. It emerged from the inability of the indigenous dominant elite to control and stabilize the region.

Ananus son of Ananus was the former High Priest who took control of Jerusalem as the head of the provisional government at the start of the War. He tried to balance the provisional government and wanted to secure peace with the Romans. This often caused conflict between him and the Zealots. Ananus managed to incite a large part of the population against the Zealots, triggering fierce in-fighting among the Jews in Jerusalem. This divided the city between the pro-Roman/peace faction of Ananus, who resided in the lower city parts, while the Zealots fortified their position in the Temple. Ananus stayed mostly in power until John of Gischala was sent to negotiate with the Zealots. He was an important Galilean leader and nemesis of Josephus, who had come to Jerusalem as a refugee after having fought the Romans in Galilee. He quickly gathered support among other leaders and the population and won over the Zealots during the negotiations (J.W. IV, 3.1-9, 3.11-14). It is important to recognize that John had a reputation as the last defender in Galilee, where he defended against attack from the Romans in Gischala. Here he had troops that consisted mostly of ‘bandits’, local farmers, and even citizens he managed to impress into his ranks (J.W. IV, 2). In 67CE, he managed to rout to Jerusalem with these men and invigorated the cause against the Romans.

It is important to note, that at this point it is not unreasonable to speculate that the population of Jerusalem might have thought that they could end this war on a positive note. After all, the Jews had been able to gain independence from the mighty Seleucids as well. Next to that, the Romans had for most of the war been holding back, as they did not want to spend too many resources on this war. Furthermore, the defenses of Jerusalem were in great shape and the supplies were plentiful at the start of the siege in 70 CE. The early success against Gallus must have been reason enough they could hold at least long enough to sign a profitable peace or surrender.¹⁶² After all, the losses were far away in Galilee. If not for the internal conflicts in the city, they might have even held out long enough for the Romans to lift the siege.

¹⁶² Goodman, *Ruling Class of Judaea* 177-178.

Because of the growing power of John, the Zealots became ‘bolder’ in their actions. They started to claim the power to appoint High Priests, and promptly installed someone of low social class. This obviously was a very clear sign through which they showed their anger towards the ruling priestly elite, which was typical for the ideologies of the ‘social bandit’. This sparked outrage among the priesthood and many others affiliated to the Temple. Ananus, and the others of the priestly elite or dominant elite, however, did not give up easily. As a reaction they started to propagate against the Zealots and managed to convince large parts of the Jerusalemite population, effectively splitting the city in two with violent clashes between the two factions (J.W. IV, 3.7-12). As explained before, John initially joined Ananus’ side. He was sent to negotiate with the Zealots, as he had a lot of support. Josephus then claims he secretly worked together with the Zealots and had come up with a plan to conquer the city together with the Idumaeans (J.W. IV, 3.13-14).

Meanwhile, after John had started negotiations with the Zealots, the Idumeans joined the fray. Josephus claims they were asked to come help against Ananus by John and the Zealots, as they accused Ananus of turning the city over to the Romans (J.W. IV, 4.1-2). However, the speed of their arrival, the required persuasion upon their arrival and later tensions between the factions don’t make this very likely, especially since Josephus was a Roman captive during these events. What seems more likely is that the Idumeans arrived at Jerusalem for the same reason as the Galileans did. In fact, this was also why most of the War was about Jerusalem; refugees, and other people understood that this city had the best defenses and was the center of control for the entire region. Mason argues that the number of refugees that fled to the city may have been one of the major driving forces behind the continuance of the War. He thinks the city would have surrendered, if not driven on by the refugees that could not surrender for fear of punishment.¹⁶³

According to Josephus, the Idumaeans counted 20.000 men. Ananus and consorts would not let them into the city, as they probably were aware that this would have meant the end of their (partial) control over the city. Because of a storm, which was framed as divine intervention, John and the Zealots manage to let the Idumaeans into the city and overwhelm Ananus’ faction (J.W. IV, 4, 5.1). This led to a slaughter and purge of the dominant elites. Josephus claimed that they slaughtered the population in general, but then contradicts himself by stating they limited themselves to militias, priests and ‘notables’ (J.W. IV, 5.1-3). Horsley

¹⁶³ Mason, *A History of the Jewish War* 465.

and Hanson point out that the Zealots focused their attention mostly on the Herodian nobility and rather tried to win other nobles or priests for their cause. In comparison, John would rather purge political opponents to consolidate his power. The Zealots would even try to use the Sanhedrin as a more ‘legitimate’ way to judge the Herodian nobles. This shows how deeply ingrained their frustrations with the order under the pro-Roman elites were and how they wanted to return to their ‘righteous’ traditional order.¹⁶⁴

The second reason for the slaughter and purges was that the dominant elites still strived for peace with the Romans, which once again meant the subjugation of the Judaeian people. This was also the main reason for these various factions to join forces. Josephus continues to deny the allegation that the dominant elite wanted to surrender the city to the Romans, but his contradictions, the desertion by the elites to the Romans, and continuous references to Roman superiority show the intended surrender.¹⁶⁵ John used this anti-Roman sentiment to keep control over the city, but its balance was precarious.

According to Josephus, the Romans realized that the infighting would soon return and that they hoped to make use of this in reconquering the region (J.W. IV, 6.2). This was along the lines of the Roman strategy to conquer new lands. It would let them use the new elite to consolidate power. The infighting returned when Simon ben Gioras had set his eyes upon Jerusalem. He had worked for Ananus before, but was deemed to fanatical in his religious endeavors, which might have been the reason that he joined up with Sicarii in Masada. He became a typical charismatic leader of a band of ‘bandits’. He managed to gather an army of initially slaves and ‘bandits’, but later urban citizens as well. He became popular among slaves particularly when he promised to free them and reward them handsomely (J.W. IV, 9.3-4). Simon first defeated the Idumaeans in Idumea and then marched upon Jerusalem. Upon arrival, the city was once again divided up among the various factions (J.W. IV, 9.6-12).

During this internal strife, Vespasianus had become emperor of the Roman Empire in 69CE. This, however, hastened the reconquest of Judaea, as he need a military victory to legitimize his rule.¹⁶⁶ Titus was therefore sent to assemble four legions and besieged Jerusalem. This

¹⁶⁴ Horsley and Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs*. 225-226.
Josephus, *Jewish War IV* 6.1.

¹⁶⁵ Horsley and Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs*. 226-227.
Josephus, *Jewish War IV* 5.2, 7.1.

¹⁶⁶ J.K. Zangenberg, “Peace from the Ashes: Commemorating the Wars in the East, the Centre, and the West of the Roman Empire during the “Long Year of the Four Emperors” (68–70 CE)” in: J. Baden, H. Najman, and E. Tigchelaar, eds., *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy vol. 2* (Leiden 2017) 1423.

encouraged some forms of cooperation between the factions, but by then a large part of the supplies had been destroyed and used up, which led to starvation and many desertions (J.W. V, 1.2-4, 1.6, 2.2, 2.4.). The siege was long as the revolutionary factions became more and more fanatical in their defense, but the city eventually falls, and the Temple was burned down (J.W. VI, 4).

The destruction of the Temple was supposedly either an accident or indirectly the fault of the rebels (J.W. IV,4.8, 5). The fact that Josephus mentioned the discussion on the destruction of the Temple by the leaders of the siege was telling enough. However, it also shows the reasoning behind its destruction: as long as it stood, the Jews would rebel again. It was the center where they would gather (J.W. IV, 4.3). This would mean that the Temple's destruction would decentralize the Jewish diaspora across the empire and make this minority easier to control. This was exemplified by the many insurrections among the Jews of the diaspora, such as in Alexandria and Cyrene, where seemingly class struggles erupted (J.W. VII, 10, 11). It shows how the destruction of the Temple changed the narrative for Jewish elites, as their center of legitimization had been destroyed.

In Judaea, the Priesthood was the most obvious faction that lost power due to the War as well. They lost their income, legitimization and function with the destruction of the Temple. Next to that Jerusalem was largely depopulated and mostly turned into a military zone.¹⁶⁷ After the Destruction, many priests stayed nearby, waiting and hoping for a reconstruction of the Temple. However, after the later Bar Kochba revolt (132-136CE), many priests were banished and moved to Galilee, as it had a large Jewish population, but with weaker connections to the Temple and its cult.¹⁶⁸ This, however, also meant that the indigenous elite which the Romans used to control the Palestine region was now obsolete. That Agrippa II was not used as a new local ruler, showed that the Romans would not build upon indigenous elites when reorganizing the region as province.

Zangenberg explains how the Romans envisioned the newly pacified province of Judaea: "with a very limited Jewish character".¹⁶⁹ Rather, they furthered their control over it with the replacement of the Temple tax by the *Capitularium* in order to finance the rebuilding of the Capitoline Temple. Perhaps, suggests Zangenberg, this was meant as a way to turn the

¹⁶⁷ Zangenberg, "Peace from the Ashes" 1425.

¹⁶⁸ S. Miller, *Studies in the History and Traditions of Sepphoris* (Leiden 1984) 132.

¹⁶⁹ Zangenberg, "Peace from the Ashes" 1442.

Temple in Rome into a new center of Judaism as a replacement for Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰ It created a direct link with Rome for all the Jews across the empire, instead of allegiance to the Temple at the edge of Roman reign.

The result, especially after the Bar Kochba revolt, was the diminishing role of the priestly elite and rather a form of Judaism that we recognize today. It revolves around the community and the Synagogue, led by the rabbis. After all, the Temple had been destroyed and the services it offered, such as sacrifice, were now impossible. The Rabbinic culture, on the other hand, was heavily influenced by the Pharisees.¹⁷¹ So, among the Jewish factions, the only ones that ‘gained power’ from the aftermath of the war were the Pharisees and in a way the diaspora. However, Palestine was rich in minorities, and in its reorganization as province, the Romans created new Roman *coloniae* and stationed legions. It is probably from these sources that Rome recruited its local leadership. What is interesting, is that next to the *coloniae*, the Romans also integrated the region further into the Roman road system. The new governor was tasked with reassigning new land plots for veterans which meant that the local population lost a lot of territory.¹⁷² This was perfectly in line with the standard integration of a region as a Roman province into the empire, just as explained in the first chapter. After the war, the Romans had to restart the process of Romanization in the region or reinvigorate their original attempts.

4.4. Conclusions.

Although it initially started as a rebellion against the oppression by Florus, the revolt quickly developed into a fully-fledged civil war, during which the indigenous pro-Roman elite was slowly dethroned. Upon its dethroning, the revolutionary parties initiated a struggle for control over Jerusalem and the future rule over Judaea. The Romans, however, intervened and they were all defeated. The result was the destruction of Temple and most of Jerusalem, depopulation of the area, and the disruption of the Judaeian cult and society.

Throughout these events there were five different agendas. The first one was the removal of Florus as procurator, the second one the appeasement of Rome and peace, the third one the removal of the economically oppressive indigenous dominant elite, the fourth one independence from Rome, and the fifth one the reinstatement of theocratic regime in Judaea. The Herodian elite and the priesthood followed the first two agendas. The regional rebels and

¹⁷⁰ Zangenberg, “Peace from the Ashes” 1439-1442.

¹⁷¹ Sanders, *Judaism* 387.

¹⁷² Zangenberg, “Peace from the Ashes” 1424-1425.

those that followed John of Gischala were invested in the first, third and fourth agendas. The Zealots and sicarii were mainly focused on the last two agendas. While the matching motivations for the initial revolt led to a unified revolt against Florus and the Romans, the older disputes between the dominant Judaeian elite were the driving force for the third agenda, namely getting rid of the pro-Roman dominant elite. This created the rift between the parties that led to the infighting in Jerusalem. This infighting created a situation where surrender or victory, concerning the Romans, was impossible. It even led to a much longer siege and war, as neither of the factions would give up control as long one of them controlled the Temple.

The support lent by Agrippa II, during the war, to the Romans is perhaps characteristic for the dominant, pro-Roman indigenous elite. The result was different per group, while some of the cities and towns, such as Sepphoris, dominated by these elites would quickly surrender or outright support the Romans, others would at least try to retain control and push for 'peace'. This was demonstrated by Ananus and his faction's actions from the start of the war until their demise at the hand of the revolutionaries. Their failure in this endeavor is perhaps exemplary for the failed Romanization of Judaea, as it was the weak control over the region by these indigenous elites that led to the Jewish War. Hence their only option was to restart the process of integrating and Romanizing the now new province.

5. Why did Romanization fail in first-century Judaea and what was the Role of the Elite?

This thesis set out to answer why Romanization in first-century Judaea failed. For this purpose, this thesis was divided into four chapters that each answered a sub question. The purpose of the first chapter was to delve into the historiography of Romanization in order to obtain a useful definition of Romanization for this thesis. The second chapter provides an overview of the development of Roman (and Hellenistic) influence over Judaea from ca. 200 BCE up to 67 CE. The following the third chapter discusses the indigenous elites and factions in Judaea during the same time period as in chapter two in order to determine their motivations, origins, power balances, and what influence Romanization had on them. The last chapter then continues investigating these elites and factions, but focuses on their efforts during the Jewish War, to point out the direct effects of the failure of Romanization in Judaea. This conclusive chapter will summarize the results of these chapters to provide an answer why Romanization of Judaea in the first-century failed.

5.1. General Conclusions.

In order to understand why Romanization failed in first-century Judaea, this thesis started off with researching the concept Romanization itself. For the purpose of this research, Millett's theory of Romanization is the most applicable. The reason for this is its focus on Romanization via the dominant indigenous elite. Millett proposed that because of the empire's expansion, the Roman administration became more reliant on local indigenous elites to administrate their newly conquered provinces. These indigenous elites were reliant on Rome as well, because the power structure was one of patronage, where people would exercise power via their political and economic network. This dialectical flow of power led to the emulation of 'Roman elite culture' by local elites in the provinces.

In the case of Judaea, the failure of Romanization was a result of a Romanized indigenous elite that was alienated from the rest of the population and their failure to preserve their dominance over the region. Why was this elite alienated from the Jewish population in Palestine? This was due to social, economic and religious reasons. These reasons originated far earlier than Herod's ascension to power. As explained before, Judaea had been a mostly theocratic state after the post-exilic restoration. Chapter 2 explains that the first factor that prepared Judaea for Roman influence was the Hellenization of the region. This was, however, a two-sided phenomenon. On one side, it incorporated it into the Hellenized region, and

prepared it for the (Hellenized) Roman political structure. On the other side, the oppressive Seleucid Hellenizing regime was the reason for the Maccabean revolt and instilled a strong conservative Judaeo-Jewish culture among the Jewish population that had anti-Hellenistic aspects.

While the Hasmonaeans started as anti-Hellenization rebel leaders, they eventually came under Hellenistic influence, as they adopted the title of 'king'. They did however keep their function as High Priest, so internally they kept to Jewish traditions, while they presented themselves externally as a Hellenized kingdom. The Hasmonaeans also were the first ones to agree upon a friendship agreement with the Romans, as they had a common enemy in the Seleucids. Roman influence in the greater Levant region, must have been big enough to legitimize Roman intervention during the Hyrcanus-Aristobulus succession crisis. This enabled the conversion of Judaea into a Roman client state. After a Roman civil war, Parthian interference and the revolt of Antigonus, Aristobulus' son, the Romans were forced to sever ties with the Hasmonaeans and installed the more controllable Herod as client king of Judaea.

When Herod came to power, he had to consolidate it from an outsider position. Even though he was Jewish, as he had no priestly legitimization in a formerly theocratic society. His solution therefore was to control the theocratic system of Judaea, by placing himself above it and directly controlling the Priesthood via the High Priest. He accomplished this by taking the power to appoint the position of High Priest. Furthermore, he used foreigners and non-Jerusalemite elites as his own elites to rule. This in turn led a "Herodian elite" that was only able to gain power through Herod, and thus was directly loyal to him instead of the Temple. The resulting elite had therefore transformed into an elite that became more and more alienated from the Jewish population, but was still somewhat in control because of the gravitas that the position of High Priest carried. A combination of his control over the elite and his oppressive regime let Herod keep control of his kingdom. This made his reign overall a peaceful reign, and was probably to the Romans just as good and perhaps preferable to the former client state under the Hasmonaeans. During this period, we therefore see a general increase of Roman economic and cultural influence in the region, due to Herod's many construction projects. This was an improvement in contrast to the earlier limited military influence after the Hyrcanus-Aristobulus succession.

This improvement came at a cost, however, as it further intertwined Roman control with Herod's regime and reputation. Herod's death came to haunt the Romans, as the specter of

his oppressive regime set up his successor, Archelaus, to fail in keeping control. Because of this Rome was forced to intervene and help out its favored indigenous elites. This led to socioeconomic civil struggle, that exploded after Herod's death, and the development of anti-Roman sentiments because of its intertwinement. Archelaus' position had become unsustainable and the Romans were forced to annex the region. The regions ruled by Herod's other successors would be annexed at a later point, mostly because they were able to stay in Rome's graces.

Rome now sent procurators to control the region. In order to retain control over the region, the Roman procurators adopted Herod's power of appointing the High Priest. This created a relation between the Jewish elites and the Roman procurator, which kept their dominance in the region. Intrigue in the Roman court made the rise of Herod's grandson Agrippa I possible. Agrippa had gained the favor of the Roman emperors and eventually gained Herod's former kingdom. This was perhaps due to a favor or perhaps to create a stronger future basis of control over the region. With the rule of Judaea, also came the power to appoint the High Priest. Agrippa's reign, however, was short-lived and due to the young age of his son, Judaea was once again under Roman control.

The bond between the Roman procurators and the Jewish elites, accomplished by their control over the High Priesthood, had disappeared with Agrippa, as this power was inherited by his uncle instead. This created a situation where the Jewish elites and procurators would decreasingly be able to exert influence over each other, as there was a structural failure of control via the Temple. The control via the Temple had always been indirect, which therefore only led to indirect loyalty and no direct loyalty to the Romans. This comes to the forefront of Judaeian problems when later, Florus started favoring the Greeks and abusing the Jewish elites by for example taking money from the temple. This created a situation in which a now partially excluded Jewish elite started to friction with their Roman overlords, which inaugurated the initial stages of the revolt.

Since they wanted to stay in control of Judaea, the pro-Roman elites joined the revolt and even were the main leaders during the early stages of the war. As explained in chapter 4, their original weak position, as pro-Roman dominant elites within Jewish society, was then the reason for the civil war and prolonged disastrous war with the Romans. Their weak position was exemplified by the motivations of the other rebellious factions; the Idumaeans, Galileans, Zealots, and Sicarii. The early focus of the rebels on destroying the archives and palaces, and

murdering important pro-Roman members of the dominant elite, shows how much they were frustrated with their socioeconomic situation. This is coherent with Hanson and Horsley's theory on social banditry, which explains how people would follow charismatic leaders into rebellion or banditry if socioeconomic circumstances became too harsh. The religious motivation for the rebellion was shown in the early stage of the war, as well as the final struggle. Central in both these situations was control over the Temple, for this was the center of Judaism. Therefore, it also served as the center of the expression of the religious ideas of the Zealots and Sicarii. During the early stages of the War, it was the place where Menahem was to be crowned and later it was also the place where the Zealots would appoint their peasant-High Priest. Both of these events were expressions of dissatisfaction over the apparent illegitimacy of the dominant (religious) elite, and were reactionary attempts to return to a Jewish traditional and legitimate theocracy or kingdom under God. All these socioeconomic and religious factors were crucial to the various revolutionary factions, which would essentially start a civil war in Judaea against the Romanized dominant elite in Judaea.

So, to return to the research question of this thesis: why did the Romanization of first-century Judaea fail despite a pro-Roman elite? The dominant elite in Judaea in the first-century, was an elite that was barely native to Judaeian society and had lost connection to the other important members of its society. Next to that, it had lost or never had its religious legitimacy in the eyes of large parts of a population, enrooted in the cultural traditions of a theocracy. With the growing internal strife and inequality, the dominant elite was almost solely reliant upon Roman backing, and when this disappeared, due to Florus and their involvement in the war, this sparked civil war. Roman affiliation with this elite, aroused anti-Roman sentiments among large parts of the population. The loss of their favored dominant elite, resulted into the failure of Romanization in first-century Judaea.

5.2. Epilogue.

With a now clearer understanding of the failure of Romanization in first-century Judaea, it is now appropriate to discuss the implications of this thesis in its field and the further research possibilities. This thesis has been an interpretation of the events leading up to the Jewish War in 67-70 CE. To realize this, it is focused on the functioning of the Romanized dominant indigenous elite, rather than on the revolutionary factions. These revolutionary factions have mostly been the focus of research on the Jewish War. Therefore, it gives a different aspect in analyzing the reasons for the Jewish War and the civil war that occurred in Judaea. Next to

that it also puts first-century Judaea in the larger perspective of the Romanization process in the Roman Empire.

While this research was based upon Millett's theory of Romanization, a casus like Judaea is excellent for interpreting the Romanization process in the east, rather than most of the research, which was concentrated on the west. It therefore is a good example for Woolf's intention to describe Romanization on a case-to-case basis. Especially because Josephus' works are unique in their aspect that they were not written by the Romans themselves, but rather by a Romanized indigenous member of the elite. Perhaps comparative research concerning the influence of Romanization on cases like the uprisings in Britannia and Germania under Boudica and Arminius respectively is needed.

Another aspect of this is research on the Romanization of Judaea after the Jewish War. Chapter 4.3 already describes events and their implications after the destruction of the Temple and the end of the Jewish War. The period up to the Bar Kochba revolt and the period after this revolt each are very strong candidates for comparative research in combination with the situation leading up to the Jewish War in order to further understand the methods of the Romans for control over this region. All these different options show that there is still much to be said on the case of Judaea as case for research on Romanization, as well as Romanization being an important factor in the cause of the Jewish War.

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Appendix

1. King Agrippa's Speech. From Josephus, *Jewish War II* 345-401. Transl. H. St. J. Thackeray 457-481 (<https://www.loebclassics.com/>). This passage quite well explains the reasons for Josephus to commit to a pro-Roman stance. He mentioned all the positive sides to Roman rule, all the negative sides to angering them, and considers the reasons the Jews had for wanting to rid themselves of Roman rule, which he tried to disprove.

“Had I found you all bent on war with the Romans, instead of seeing that the most honest and single-minded members of the community are determined to preserve the peace, I should not have presented myself before you, nor ventured to offer advice; for any speech in support of the right policy is thrown away when the audience unanimously favours the worse. perhaps avarice and the prospect of enriching themselves at the expense of the weak in the event of a general convulsion, I, in order to bring these misguided persons to reason and a better frame of mind, and to prevent virtuous citizens from reaping the consequences of the errors of a few, have thought it my duty to call you all together and to tell you what I conceive to be to your interest. If my remarks are not to the liking of any of my audience, pray let him not create a disturbance. For those who have irrevocably determined to rebel will still be at liberty, after my exhortation, to retain their sentiments; but my words will be lost even upon those who are anxious to hear them, unless you all give me a quiet hearing.”

“Now, I know that there are many who wax eloquent on the insolence of the procurators and pronounce pompous panegyrics on liberty; but, for my part, before examining who you are and who are this people whom you are undertaking to right, I would first consider apart two distinct pretexts for hostilities which have been confused. For, if your object is to have your revenge for injustice, what good is it to extol liberty? If, on the other hand, it is servitude which you find intolerable, to complain of your rulers is superfluous; were they the most considerate of men, servitude would be equally disgraceful.”

“Consider then these arguments apart and how weak, on either ground, are your reasons for going to war; and first the charges against the procurators, The powers that be should be conciliated by flattery, not irritated; when you indulge in exaggerated reproaches for minor errors, you only injure yourselves by your denunciation of those whom you incriminate; instead of maltreating you, as before, in secret and with a sense of shame, they will now despoil you openly. There is nothing to check blows like submission, and the resignation of the wronged victim puts the wrongdoer to confusion. Granted that the Roman ministers are intolerably harsh, it does not follow that all the Romans are unjust to you any more than Caesar; yet it is against them, against him, that you are going to war. It is not by their orders that an oppressive governor comes from them to us, and they cannot see in the west their officers in the east; it is not easy even promptly to hear yonder the news from these parts. How absurd it were, because of one man to make war on a whole people, for trifling grievances to take arms against so mighty a power, which does not even know the nature of our complaints! The wrongs which we lay to their charge may be speedily rectified; for the same procurator will not remain for ever, and it is probable that the successors of this one will show greater moderation on taking office. But war once set on foot cannot be lightly either broken off or carried through without risk of disaster.”

“Passing to your present passion for liberty, I say that it comes too late. The time is past when you ought to have striven never to lose it. For servitude is a painful experience and a struggle to avoid it once for all is just; but the man who having once accepted the yoke then tries to cast it off is a contumacious slave, not a lover of liberty. There was, to be sure, a time when you should have strained every nerve to keep out the Romans; that was when Pompey invaded this country. But our forefathers and their kings, though in wealth and in vigour of body and soul far your superiors, yet failed to withstand a small fraction of the Roman army; and will you, to whom thralldom is hereditary, you who in resources fall so far short of those who first tendered their submission, will you, I say, defy the whole Roman Empire?”

“Look at the Athenians, the men who, to maintain the liberty of Greece, once consigned their city to the flames; the men before whose pursuit the haughty Xerxes, who navigated the land and trod the sea, Xerxes for whom the deep was too narrow

and whose army overflowed Europe, fled like a fugitive slave on a single galley; the men who, off the coast of little Salamis, broke the immense might of Asia. Those men today are the servants of the Romans and the city that was queen of Greece is governed by orders from Italy. Look at the Lacedaemonians after Thermopylae and Plataea, after Agesilaus the explorer of Asia, they are content to serve the same masters. Look at the Macedonians, who still cherish Philip in their imagination, still have before their eyes the vision of her who with Alexander scattered broadcast for them the seeds of the empire of the world; yet they submit to endure such a reversal of fate and bow before those to whom Fortune has transferred her favours. Myriads of other nations, swelling with greater pride in the assertion of their liberty, have yielded. And will you alone disdain to serve those to whom the universe is subject?"

"What are the troops, what is the armour, on which you rely? Where is your fleet to sweep the Roman seas? Where is your treasury to meet the cost of your campaigns? Do you really suppose that you are going to war with Egyptians or Arabs? Will you shut your eyes to the might of the Roman Empire and refuse to take the measure of your own weakness? Have not our forces been constantly defeated even by the neighbouring nations, while theirs have never met with a reverse throughout the whole known world? Nay, even that world has not sufficed for their ambition. For, not content with having for their frontiers on the east the Euphrates, on the north the Ister, on the south Libya explored into desert regions, on the west Gades, they have sought a new world beyond the ocean and carried their arms as far as the Britons, previously unknown to history. I ask you, then, are you wealthier than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, more intelligent than the Greeks, more numerous than all the peoples of the world? What is it which inspires you with confidence to defy the Romans?"

"It is hard to serve,' you will tell me. How much harder for Greeks who, though noblest of all races under the sun and occupants of so vast a territory, are yet subservient to six rods of a Roman magistratic! A like number suffices to curb the Macedonians, who with better right than you might claim their liberty. And then the five hundred cities of Asia: do they not, without a garrison, bow, before a single governor and the consular fasces? Need I speak of the Heniochi, the Colchians, the race of the Taurians, the people of the Bosphorus, the nations bordering on the Euxine

and Lake Maeotis? These peoples, who formerly recognized no master, not even one from their own ranks, are now in subjection to three thousand soldiers, while forty battle-ships bring peace to that once unnavigated and savage sea. What strong claims to liberty might be advanced by Bithynia, Cappadocia, the Pamphylian nation, Lycians and Cilicians? Yet they pay their tribute without resort to arms. Then, what of the Thracians, who are, spread over a country five days' march in breadth and seven in length, a country more rugged and far stronger than your own, the rigour of whose icy climate repels an invader: do they not obey the orders of two thousand Roman guards? The Illyrians, their neighbours, who inhabit the region extending from Dalmatia to the frontier of the Ister, are they not kept in check by no more than two legions, with whom they themselves unite to repel the incursions of the Dacians? The Dalmatians, too, who have so often reared their heads for liberty, whose constant defeats have only led them to muster their forces for a fresh revolt, do they not now live in peace under a single Roman legion?"

“But if there is one people above all others which should be tempted by its grand opportunities to raise the standard of revolt, it is surely the Gauls with their magnificent natural ramparts, on the east the Alps, on the north the river Rhine, on the south the chain of the Pyrenees, on the west the ocean. But, though encompassed by such formidable barriers, though swarming with a population of three hundred and five nations, possessing, so to say, in their native soil the springs of prosperity and irrigating well-nigh the whole world with the overflow of their products, the Gauls are yet content to be treated as a source of revenue to the Romans and to have their own prosperous fortune meted out to them at their hands. And this they tolerate, not from any lack of spirit or because they are an ignoble race, they who for full eighty years fought for their independence, but because they are overawed at once by the power of Rome and by her fortune, which brings her more triumphs even than her arms. That is why they submit to the orders of twelve hundred soldiers, they who have cities enough almost to outmatch that number. Then the Iberians—neither the gold which their soil produces, nor the vast extent of land and sea which separates them from the Romans, nor the tribes of the Lusitanians and Cantabrians with their fever for war, nor the neighbouring ocean, the ebb and flow of whose tides terrifies the very inhabitants, none of these sufficed in their struggle for independence; no, the Romans carrying their arms beyond the Pillars of Hercules, traversing through clouds the mountains of

the Pyrenees, have reduced even them to servitude; to guard this nation of fighters, so stubborn, so remote, a single legion now suffices. Which of you has not heard tell of the horde of Germans? Nay, you have surely often seen their stalwart and burly figures, for the Romans have captives from that nation everywhere. This people occupies an immense country, their hearts are even greater than their stature, their souls disdainful of death, their rage fiercer than that of the most savage of beasts; yet the Rhine sets a bound to their impetuosity and, tamed by eight Roman legions, the captured are reduced to slavery, while the rest of the nation has found safety in flight. Again, consider what a wall of defence had the Britons, you who put your trust in the walls of Jerusalem: the ocean surrounds them, they inhabit an island no less in extent than the part of the world in which we live; yet the Romans crossed the sea and enslaved them, and four legions now secure that vast island. But why enlarge, when the Parthians themselves, that race of finest warriors, lords of so many nations, provided with so vast an army, send hostages to the Romans, and the nobility of the east may be seen in Italy, under the pretext of peace, bending to the yoke?

“Thus, when almost every nation under the sun does homage to the Roman arms, are you alone to defy them, regardless of the fate of the Carthaginians, who, for all their pride in the great Hannibal and in the nobility of their Phoenician descent, fell beneath the hand of Scipio? Neither Cyrenians, of Spartan breed, nor Marmaridae, that race that stretches to the regions of drought, nor Syrtes, whose very name strikes terror, Nasamons, Maurians, Numidians in their countless hosts, none have checked the valour of Rome. This third part of the inhabited world, the mere enumeration of whose nations is no easy task, bounded by the Atlantic ocean and the pillars of Hercules, and supporting right up to the Red Sea Ethiopians innumerable, they have subdued it all; and these peoples, besides their annual produce, which feeds for eight months of the year the populace of Rome, over and above this pay tribute of all kinds and ungrudgingly devote their contributions to the service of the empire, far from seeing, as do you, an outrage in the orders which they receive, although but one legion is quartered among them.”

“But why seek so far afield for proofs of the power of Rome, when I can find them at your very door, in Egypt? This country, which extends as far as Ethiopia and Arabia Felix, which is the port for India, which has a population of seven million five

hundred thousand souls, exclusive of the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be estimated from the poll-tax returns, this country, I say, does not disdain to submit to Roman domination; and yet what an incentive to revolt she has in Alexandria, so populous, so wealthy, so vast! The length of that city is thirty furlongs, its breadth not less than ten; the tribute which she yields to Rome in one month surpasses that which you pay in a year; besides money she sends corn to feed Rome for four months; she is protected on all sides by trackless deserts, by seas without ports, by rivers or lagoons. Yet none of these assets proved a match for the fortune of Rome, and two legions stationed in the city curb this far-reaching Egypt and the proud nobility of Macedon.”

“What allies then do you expect for this war? Will you recruit them from the uninhabited wilds? For in the habitable world all are Romans—unless, maybe, the hopes of some of you soar beyond the Euphrates and you count on obtaining aid from your kinsmen in Adiabene. But they will not, for any frivolous pretext, let themselves be embroiled in so serious a war, and, if they did contemplate such folly, the Parthian would not permit it; for he is careful to maintain the truce with the Romans, and would regard it as a violation of the treaty if any of his tributaries were to march against them.”

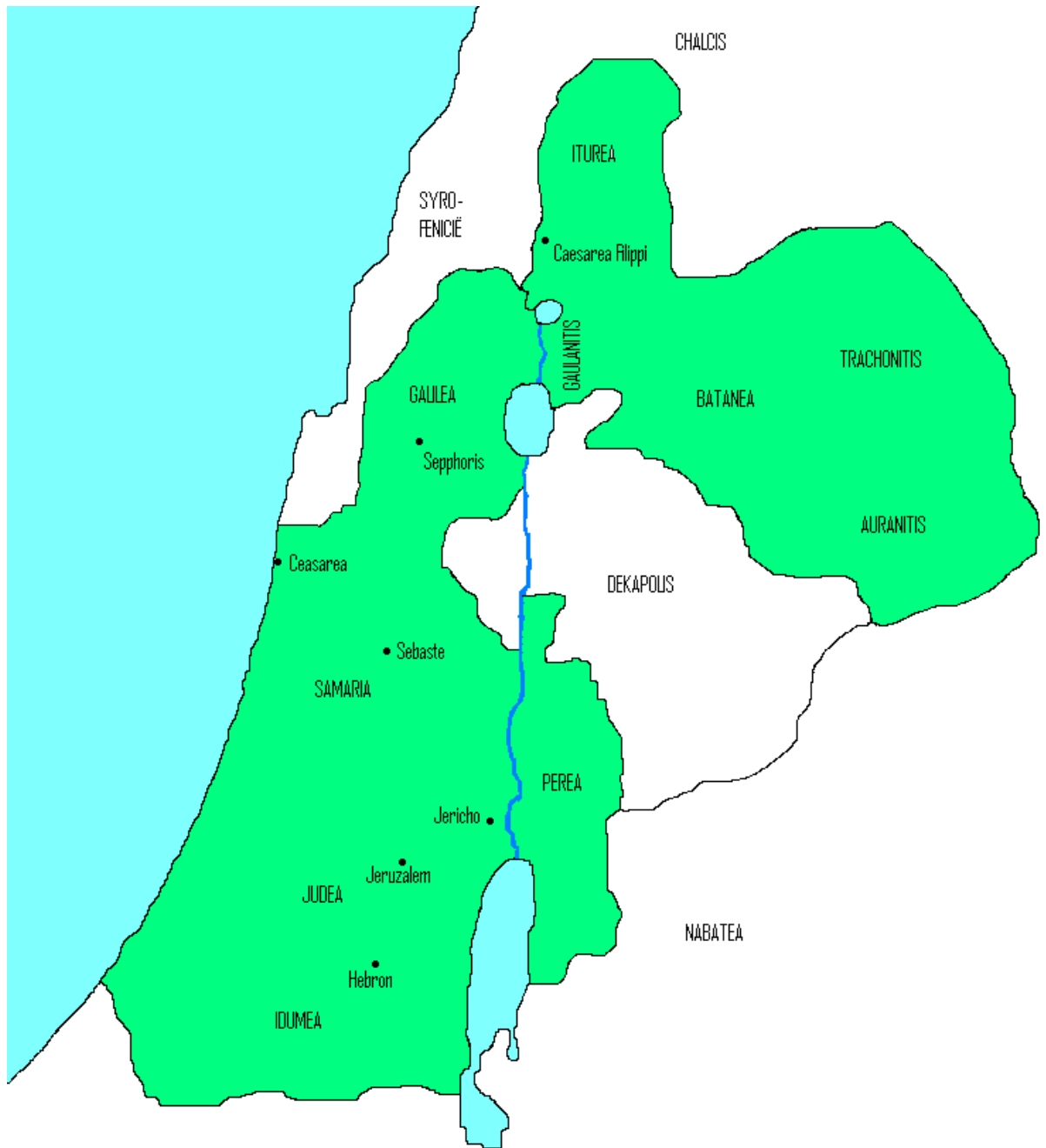
“The only refuge, then, left to you is divine assistance. But even this is ranged on the side of the Romans, for, without God’s aid, so vast an empire could never have been built up. Consider, too, the difficulty of preserving your religious rules from contamination, even were you engaging a less formidable foe; and how, if compelled to transgress the very principles on which you chiefly build your hopes of God’s assistance, you will alienate Him from you. If you observe your sabbath customs and refuse to take any action on that day, you will undoubtedly be easily defeated, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who pressed the siege most vigorously on the days when the besieged remained inactive; if, on the contrary, you transgress the law of your ancestors, I fail to see what further object you will have for hostilities, since your one aim is to preserve inviolate all the institutions of your fathers. How could you invoke the aid of the Deity, after deliberately omitting to pay Him the service which you owe Him?”

“All who embark on war do so in reliance on the support either of God or man; but when, in all probability, no assistance from either quarter is forthcoming, then the aggressor goes with his eyes open to certain ruin. What is there, then, to prevent you from dispatching with your own hands your children and wives and from consigning this surpassingly beautiful home of yours to the flames? By such an act of madness you would at least spare yourselves the ignominy of defeat. It were well, my friends, it were well, while the vessel is still in port, to foresee the coming storm, and not to put out into the midst of the hurricane to meet your doom. For to the victims of unforeseen disaster there is left at least the meed of pity; but he who rushes to manifest destruction incurs opprobrium to boot.”

“There may be some who imagine that the war be fought under special terms, and that the Romans, when victorious, will treat you with consideration; on the contrary, to make you an example to the rest of the nations, they will burn the holy city to the ground and exterminate your race. Even the survivors will find no place of refuge, since all the peoples of the earth either have, or dread the thought of having, the Romans for their masters. The peril, moreover, threatens not only us Jews here, but also all who inhabit foreign cities; for there is not a people in the world which does not contain a portion of our race. All these, if you go to war, will be butchered by your adversaries, and through the folly of a handful of men every city will be drenched with Jewish blood. Such massacre would be excusable; but, should it not take place, think what a crime it were to take up arms against such humane opponents! Take pity, then, if not on your children and your wives, at least on your mother city and its sacred precincts. Spare the temple and preserve for yourselves the sanctuary with its holy places; for the Romans, once masters of these, will refrain their hands no more, seeing that their forbearance in the past met only with ingratitude. As for me, I call your sanctuary and God’s holy angels and our common country to witness, that I have kept back nothing which could conduce to your preservation; as for you, if you decide aright, you will enjoy with me the blessings of peace, but, if you let yourselves be carried away by your passion, you will face, without me, this tremendous peril.”

2. Map of the kingdom of Herod the Great, just before his death in 4 BCE:

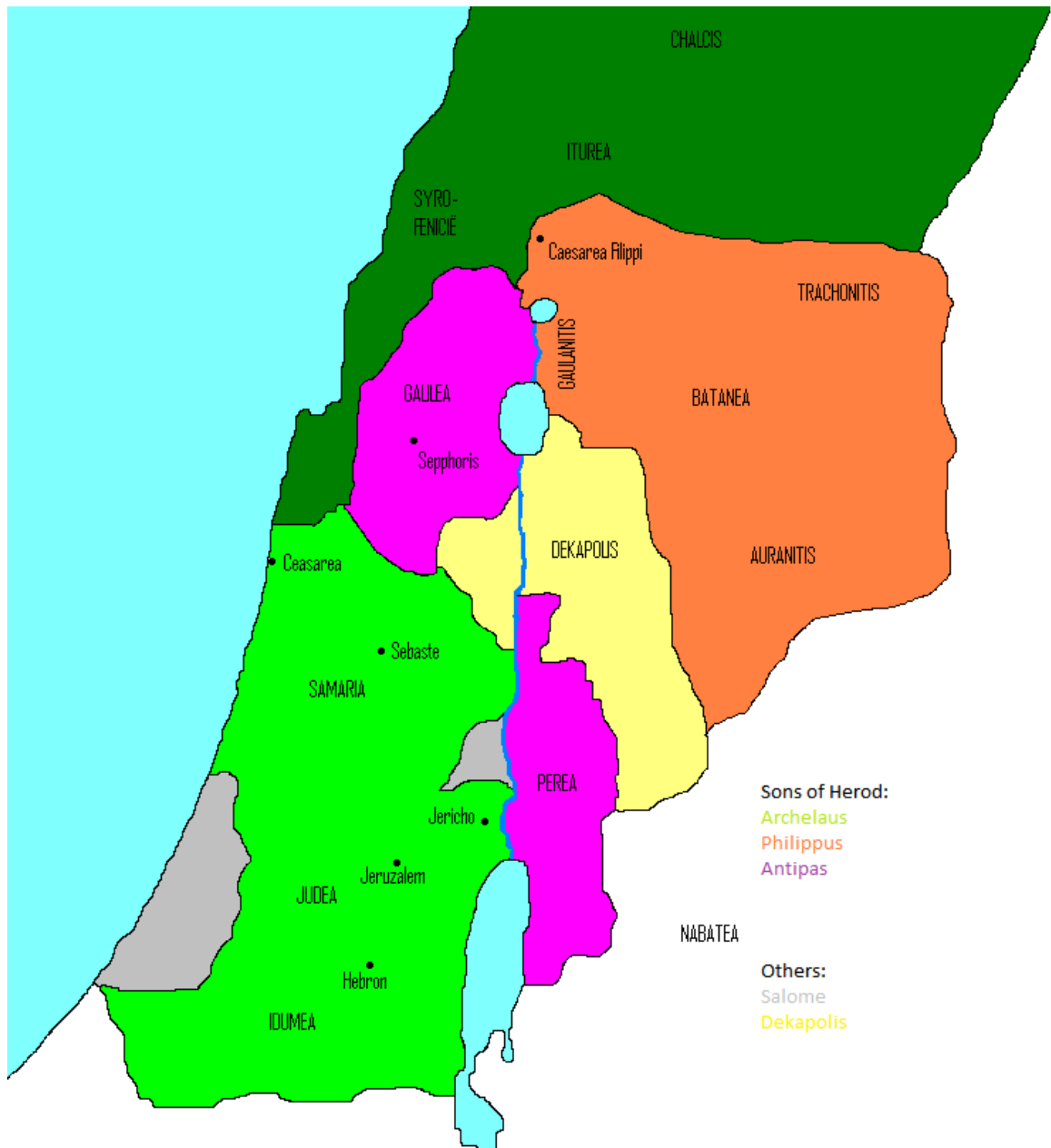
(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rijk_Herodes_de_Grote.PNG)



This map also quite well shows how Herod expanded his kingdom outside of Hasmonaean Judaea and Idumea as shown in fig 5.

3. Map of the division of Herod's Kingdom after his death in 4 BCE:

(Edited version of: https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Matthew_2:22)



4. Map of Judaea 66 CE (Goodman, M., *The Ruling Class of Judaea* (New York 1987) xii):

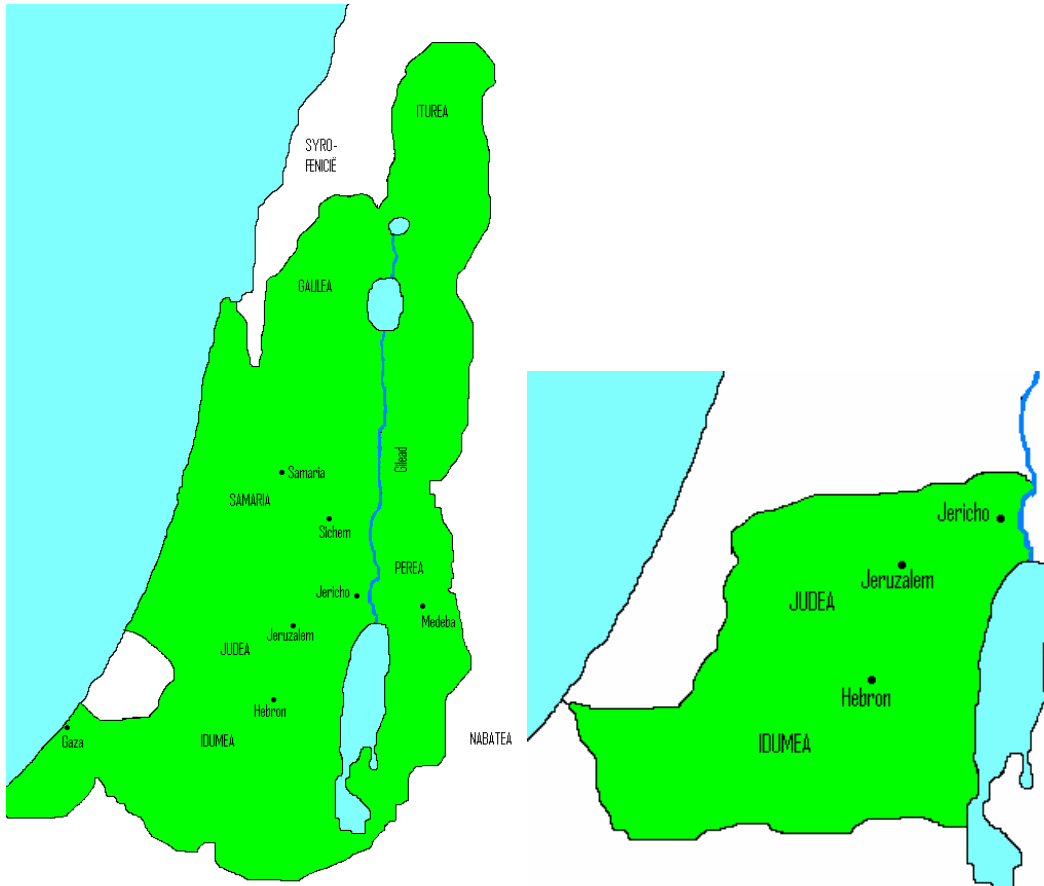


Map 1 Roman Palestine in A.D. 66

5. Map of the Hasmonaean Kingdom up to 63BCE and a map of the kingdom after Roman annexations

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyrchanus_II#/media/File:Hasmoneese_rijk.PNG &

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyrchanus_II#/media/File:Judea_na_Pompeius.PNG)



6. Map of the Roman Empire 117CE (P. King, *The Greatest Extent of the Roman Empire – 14 CE Ancient Rome & Rise of Christianity. What about Rome’s geography made it different from that of ancient Greece?*):

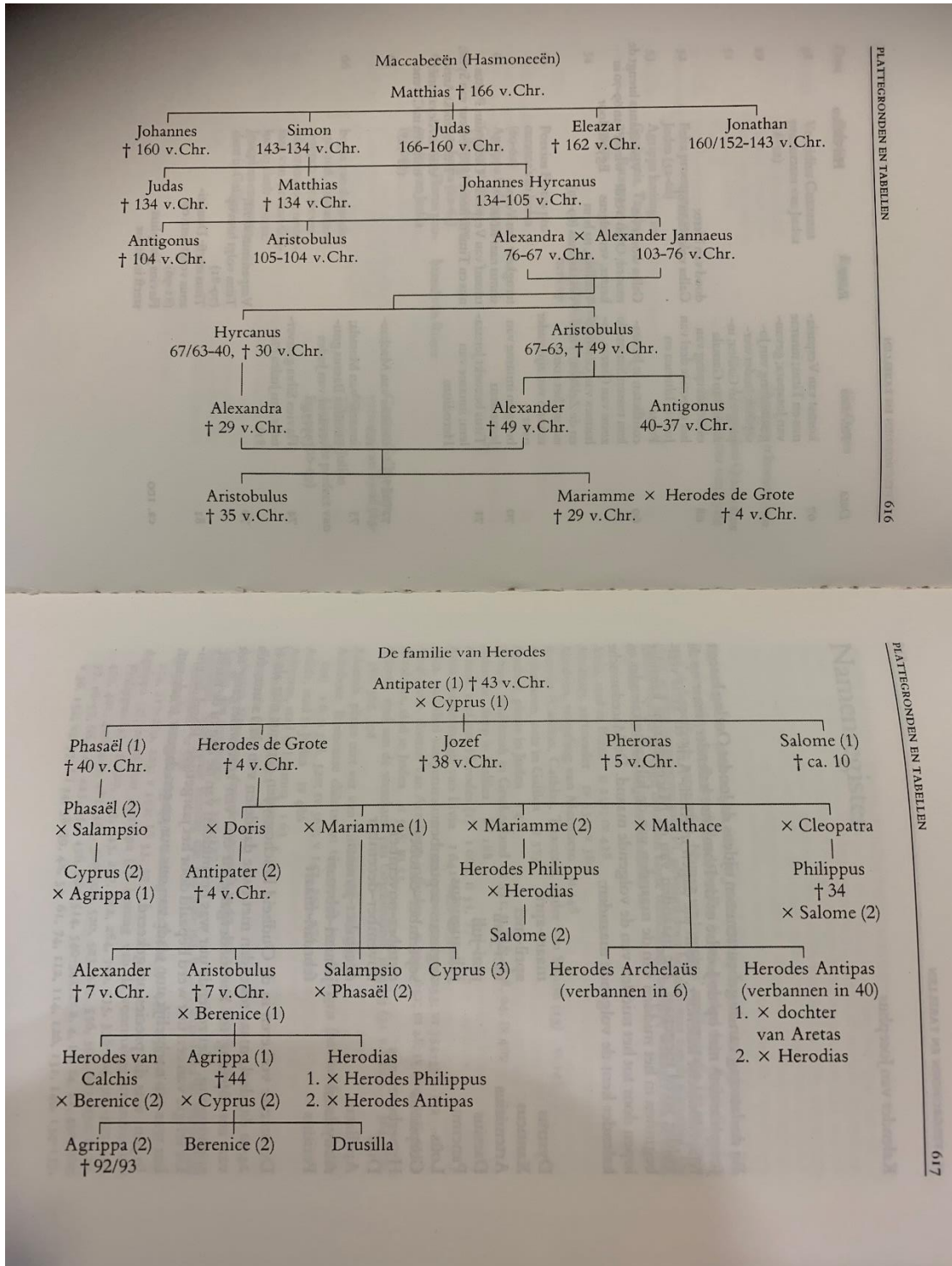
<https://slideplayer.com/slide/5279253/>)



 Geographical Tour: A Tour of Empire

This map shows that Judaea was part of periphery of the Roman Empire, but also shows how it was a vital passageway between Syria and Egypt.

7. Hasmonaean and Herodian Dynasties (F.J.A.M. Meijer and M.A. Wes, *Flavius Josephus. De Joodse Oorlog & Uit Mijn Leven* (Amsterdam 2010) 616-617 (Dutch translation of: *Jewish War and Life*))



8. The Case of Pontius Pilate (procurator: 26-36 CE). From Josephus, *Jewish War II* 9.2-4. Transl. H. St. J. Thackeray 389-393 (<https://www.loebclassics.com/>)

Pilate, being sent by Tiberius as procurator to Judaea, introduced into Jerusalem by night and under cover the effigies of Caesar which are called standards. This proceeding, when day broke, aroused immense excitement among the Jews; those on the spot were in consternation, considering their laws to have been trampled under foot, as those laws permit no image to be erected in the city; while the indignation of the townspeople stirred the country-folk, who flocked together in crowds. Hastening after Pilate to Caesarea, the Jews implored him to remove the standards from Jerusalem and to uphold the laws of their ancestors. When Pilate refused, they fell prostrate around his house and for five whole days and nights remained motionless in that position. On the ensuing day Pilate took his seat on his tribunal in the great stadium and summoning the multitude, with the apparent intention of answering them, gave the arranged signal to his armed soldiers to surround the Jews. Finding themselves in a ring of troops, three deep, the Jews were struck dumb at this unexpected sight. Pilate, after threatening to cut them down, if they refused to admit Caesar's images, signalled to the soldiers to draw their swords. Thereupon the Jews, as by concerted action, flung themselves in a body on the ground, extended their necks, and exclaimed that they were ready rather to die than to transgress the law. Overcome with astonishment at such intense religious zeal, Pilate gave orders for the immediate removal of the standards from Jerusalem. On a later occasion he provoked a fresh uproar by expending upon the construction of an aqueduct the sacred treasure known as Corbonas; the water was brought from a distance of 400 furlongs. Indignant at this proceeding, the populace formed a ring round the tribunal of Pilate, then on a visit to Jerusalem, and besieged him with angry clamour. He, foreseeing the tumult, had interspersed among the crowd a troop of his soldiers, armed but disguised in civilian dress, with orders not to use their swords, but to beat any rioters with cudgels. He now from his tribunal gave the agreed signal. Large numbers of the Jews perished, some from the blows which they received, others trodden to death by their companions in the ensuing flight. Cowed by the fate of the victims, the multitude was reduced to silence.

9. Roman Viae on the Italian Peninsula (https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Via_Aemilia)

