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Conclusions to Part 2

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Josephus' remarks in Bell. about Queen Helena (her euergetism, mausoleum and palace) show that she occupied a very prominent place in the socio-religious dimension of the 1st c. CE Judea. Namely, Queen Helena appears as a good queen for her own people. She was a queen who had her own royal dwelling among her kinsmen, and who provided for them when they were in need. She was also a queen whose memory is permanently preserved for future generations through her eye-catching tomb. The legacy of Helena's importance is very evident in non-Jewish sources. Especially, the example of Pausanias' testimony is revealing here. Pausanias reflects a local tradition in which the memory of Helena is still preserved by her wonderful grave. However, details as to who Helena was (even compared to Josephus' brief references in Bell. including only her royal title and family connections) seem to have been lost or irrelevant, but the memory of her as a local heroine lived on, and even was enriched by folklore.

Other members of the Adiabene royalty also came to live in Jerusalem and built their palaces there, which accounted for some of the most prominent features of the city landscape in the 1st c. CE. Josephus' incidental references to the three palaces of the Adiabene royalty show the deeply legitimized presence of the Adiabene royalty as a whole in the 1st c. CE Judea. The socio-religious importance of Helena and of other members of the Adiabene royalty also echoes in tannaitic sources that picture Helena and Monobazos (Munbaz) as examples of utter piety. Especially Helena seems to have won over the hearts and minds of Palestinian Rabbis who use the example of her pious practice as a decisive argument in their debates.

Several attempts have been made to identify buildings used by the Adiabene royalty in the archaeological record of today's Jerusalem. First, Helena's mausoleum has widely been identified as a sepulchral structure located on Nablus Road and known as *Le Tombeau des Rois*. The available geographical and topographical information, as well as architectural details gleaned from ancient sources allow only an approximate location of Helena's mausoleum. In turn, *Le Tombeau des Rois* is located in the general vicinity of that approximate location and no other structure existing today better fits the data provided by ancient literature. Therefore, we conclude that in the present state of archaeological research on sepulchral structures north of the old city of Jerusalem, the identification of *Le Tombeau des Rois* with Helena's mausoleum is likely. However, there are no positive arguments to suggest that the only intact sarcophagus discovered by de Saulcy is that of Queen Helena. On the contrary, the linguistic evidence suggests that the individual bearing the name צַדְדָּה / צַדְדָּה do not need to be identified with a person known otherwise as Ἑλένη. If *Le Tombeau des Rois* is to be identified with Helena's mausoleum, which is likely, then צַדְדָּה / צַדְדָּה has to be seen as a different female member of the Adiabene royalty.

As for the palaces of the Adiabene royalty, identifications operate on a very difficult (incomplete and disturbed) archaeological record. So far, only two attempts have been made to identify a newly-discovered structure as a palace of the Adiabene royalty (B.Mazar and D.Ben-Ami/Y.Tchekhanovetz). Since neither excavation unearthed tangible proofs (e.g. inscriptions), we cannot confirm any of these identifications. Thus, the search for Adiabenean palaces in the City of David will have to continue.

