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STELLINGEN

Behorende bij het proefschrift  
Izates and Helena of Adiabene. A Study on Literary  
Traditions and History

voor

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## I

D.R. Schwartz 2007b: 96-107 has argued that foreign women could only live like Jews, but could not actually become Jews. However, our study on literary traditions concerning Helena shows that Helena was self-evidently taken to be Jewish by writers from very different sections of Jewish society: Josephus, the rabbis, the transmitters of local tradition preserved in Pausanias. In this light, we can conclude that if foreign women were deeply assimilated into Jewish culture, they could be recognized as Jewish by many of their contemporaries.

## II

G. Widengren 1957:200-201 and J. Neusner 1969: 64 have suggested that “auxiliary troops” from Adiabene took part in the Jewish uprising in 66-73 CE. However, no ancient text provides evidence for the presence of such troops in Jerusalem and Judea in 66-73 CE; the sources instead inform us about many Adiabenean individuals and families present in Judea in 66-73 CE. Therefore, the presence of many Jews from Adiabene in the 66-73 CE Judea should not be attributed to an abrupt dispatch of military resources from Adiabene to Judea upon the outbreak of the revolt, but can instead be understood as the result of a gradual process of migration and assimilation of many Adiabeneans into Palestinian Jewish society that was reinforced by the conversion of the Adiabene royal house.

## III

Many ancient sources mention Nineveh as part of Adiabene (Plin., *Nat.* 6:16.42; Tac. *Ann.* 12.13; Cass. Dio 86.26.1-4; Amm. Marc. 23.6.20-22). These sources furthermore confirm that the adherence of Nineveh to Adiabene lasted from the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE until the 4<sup>th</sup> c. CE. Therefore, the material culture of Nineveh is highly relevant to our understanding of Adiabene’s cultural profile in the Parthian period in general, but in the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE in particular.

## IV

Most modern scholars hold the view that the only intact sarcophagus discovered in *Le Tombeau des Rois* is that of Queen Helena. However, there is no archaeological or linguistic evidence to support this identification. On the contrary, the linguistic evidence suggests that the individual bearing the name צרה / צרָה need not be identified with the person known otherwise as Ἑλένη. Therefore, we have concluded that the woman interred in sarcophagus no. 5029 might not be Helena but an otherwise unattested female member of the Adiabene royalty.

## V

Traditionally many scholars have seen Antiochus IV’s involvement in Judea in 168/167-164 BCE as the result of his religious policy to promote the cult of Zeus. However, such a policy would have been highly unusual and impractical for a Hellenistic ruler. In contrast, a critical analysis of sources in their literary and historical context suggests that

many other political, social and economic factors had a great impact on the outbreak of the Judean crisis in 168/167 BCE.

## VI

While many scholars stress the active role of the Hasmonean dynasty in the progressive Hellenization of Judea, it has been aptly argued by Dąbrowa 2010a that the Hasmonean’s use of Hellenistic models of government was much more pragmatic and in fact the Hasmoneans cherished their national heritage.

## VII

In the latest edition of the Samaria Papyri, J. Dušek rejects the historicity of Sanballat II, governor of the province of Samaria in the Persian period. However, it seems that both numismatic evidence and the Wadi Daliyeh Bulla no. 22 confirm the existence of Sanballat II as a historical person and probably a governor of Samaria in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

For a recent discussion see J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C.*, Leiden 2007: 530-531; E. Lipiński, ‘Review of Jan Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C.*, *Palamedes. A Journal of Ancient History* 3, 2008: 227-246; M. Marciak, ‘Discoveries in Wadi Daliyeh. Some Remarks on Historical Conclusions Based on the Interpretation of the Samaria Papyri and Their Bullae’ *The Qumran Chronicle* 17, 2009: 31-49.

## VIII

While many scholars see the conquest of Sophene by Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia (95-55 BCE), as the result of his policy to “unite one people under one king” (P. Bedoukian), it rather seems that the main motif of his conquest was due to the fact that Sophene straddled a very important section of trade routes between Armenia, Antioch and the East.

See P. Z. Bedoukian, (1978): *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia*, London, 1978: 12 and, by contrast, H.A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in relation to Ancient World Trade*, Lisbon, 1965: 25, 34.

## IX

The invasion of *Eastern* tribes of Dahae and Sacae on the Parthian territory at the time of Vologases II (presented by Josephus as God’s punishment) can best be understood in light of some modern parallels, especially in the light of the *tsunami* of job-seekers from other *European* countries into the Netherlands.