

# STVDIA ANTIQVA

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THE JOURNAL OF THE STUDENT SOCIETY  
FOR ANCIENT STUDIES

WINTER 2002  
VOLUME 2, NUMBER 1

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY  
PROVO, UTAH

**STUDIA ANTIQUA**  
**THE JOURNAL OF THE STUDENT SOCIETY**  
**FOR ANCIENT STUDIES**  
**BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY**

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## UPDATE ON THE STUDENT SOCIETY FOR ANCIENT STUDIES

The BYU Student Society for Ancient Studies is eager to sponsor this second issue of the journal. We feel that the first issue was warmly received at the student, faculty, and administrative levels and anxiously expect an even broader measure of circulation with this second issue. We are grateful to the authors who contributed to this edition of the journal for their diligence and willful cooperation, to those individuals who have displayed an incessant pledge of support for the journal, and to those who have provided manifold suggestions for the improvement of its content and overall format.

The Society held elections in the first week of April 2002 to appoint new officers for the 2002–2003 academic year. Candidates seeking a position prepared a one-page essay detailing the following: (1) academic biographical information, (2) areas of special interest in the ancient world, (3) title and content of any original papers written on topics relevant to the ancient world, (4) future academic objectives, (5) future career objectives, (6) level of participation shown for the Society's professor lectures and student forums, (7) innovative ideas for the continual improvement of the Society's operations for the coming year, and (8) specific Society office desired. The candidates' essays were thoroughly read and re-read by the 2001–2002 Society officers. The official Society charter regulates that candidates seeking election are to be selected by means of a democratic vote involving all members of the Society. Since, at this time, the only official members of the Society are its officers, the voting process was discreetly yet lawfully carried out behind the locked doors of the Hugh Nibley Ancient Studies Library on the fifth floor of the HBLL.

We are thrilled about the number of fellow students who actively sought office in this year's elections, for the number of candidates more than quadrupled in size in comparison to last year's elections. We truly thank all who applied for a position and congratulate those individuals who were elected: Robert Hunt (President), Christopher Madill (Vice-President), David Staheli (Secretary), Carli Anderson (Treasurer), Elizabeth Siler (Historian), Andrew VanVleet (Website Coordinator), Olya Pustolyakova (Lecture/Forum Technical Coordinator), and Matthew Grey (General Publication Director). The technical responsibilities that once belonged to the Society Historian have been appropriately distributed to the newly created offices of Website Coordinator and Lecture/Forum Technical Coordinator. Thus, this upcoming year is the most critical yet in securing the function of the Society, for the majority of its officers are no longer a group of age-old friends majoring in Near Eastern Studies, but rather a fresh conglomeration of students with varying majors linked together by a shared passion for the ancient world.

We thank all those who contributed to the enormous success enjoyed by the Society during the 2001–2002 academic year. Attendance has soared at professor lectures, the purpose behind student forums has been concretely established, and generous donations have allowed the once fledgling idea of the journal to become an enduring reality. As always, we invite you to inform us of any proposals that would improve the service offered by the Society. Thank you again for a great inaugural year. We strive to set our aims high because we have confidence in the high level of support all of you most eagerly provide.

Davin B. Anderson  
Society President

May 2002  
Brigham Young University

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Student Society for Ancient Studies at Brigham Young University is pleased to present this second issue of *Studia Antiqua*. Since the printing of its initial volume (Fall 2001), the journal has experienced the success the Society had hoped for. With few exceptions, it has been enthusiastically received by both students and faculty alike. Such support and success has only served to encourage the publication of and work on future issues of the journal. As was stated in the preface of the previous volume, we can only hope that as this support and positive reception continues, the journal itself will continue to progress in quality and circulation until it becomes a natural part of the ancient studies programs on the BYU campus.

One of the exciting aspects of working on a second issue is witnessing the evolution of the project. While we were thrilled to be able to even produce a first edition, we have naturally learned much about such an endeavor that will enable the journal's quality to improve. The production of the journal has also grown in terms of its staff. For example, while on the first issue there were essentially three editors working to pull the project together, we now have an entire Editorial Staff consisting of competent and hard-working student editors. The Faculty Review Board has grown, the funding has increased, and a talented student illustrator has been added. The reader may also notice a new format consisting of footnotes, article abstracts, and slight changes in the layout of the articles. Finally, a concluding section comprised of abstracts from recent Honors Theses dealing with ancient studies has been added to update students on the work of their peers. All of these aspects demonstrate the evolution of the project and are certainly opening wonderful possibilities for the journal's future. The Society and Editorial Staff are already planning exciting additions for upcoming issues. The hope, of course, is that by the time the founding members have moved on, both the Society and the

journal will be consistent and high-quality forums for ancient studies students at Brigham Young University.

Once again there are many individuals who deserve thanks for their significant support of *Studia Antiqua*. S. Kent Brown and Pat Ward in ancient studies have been an invaluable resource and help as the Society and journal have gotten off the ground. Members of the journal's Faculty Review Board have again put in many hours in assisting the authors with preparing their articles for publication. Our various financial contributors also deserve special thanks. M. Gerald Bradford of the Institute for the Study and Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts, Roger T. Macfarlane of the Classics Department, and Dilworth Parkinson of the Department of Asian and Near Eastern Languages have all donated significant amounts of funding allowing for the publication of the journal. At the Humanities Publications Center, Mel Thorne and Linda Hunter Adams have offered assistance and facilities which have been very helpful. At BYU Printing, Drew Johnson has been very professional and pleasant to work with. I would personally like to thank our Managing Editors—Mindy Anderson, Andrea Ludwig, and Robert Ricks—as well as those of our new Editorial Staff who have put countless hours into making this issue of the highest quality possible. All of the above, including all of the students and faculty who have continued to support the journal in various ways, deserve our sincere gratitude.

Once again we are excited to present our second issue of the journal. We hope that ancient studies students and faculty from the many different disciplines will continue to be involved and participate in making this journal an important campus institution. It will be exciting to witness its evolution in the coming semesters and to experience the opportunities it offers to our ancient studies students as they continue to work in such a fascinating field.

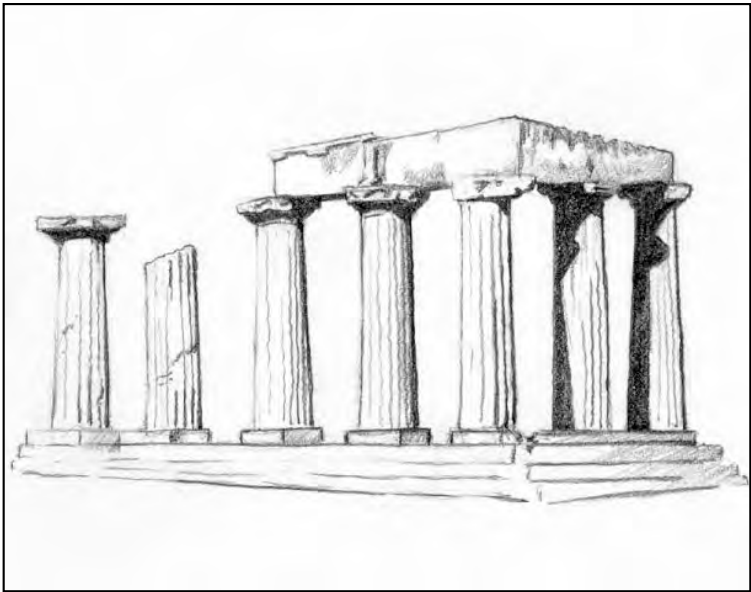
Matthew J. Grey  
Editor in Chief

June 2002  
Provo, Utah





# CLASSICAL STUDIES



Ruins of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth



# Herod and Augustus: A Look at Patron–Client Relationships

Robert D. Hunt

*The relationship between Augustus Caesar and Herod the Great typifies the patron–client relationship that Rome used as a system of foreign policy. This article explores their relationship: how it came about, its wider implications, and, most important, how this system can explain Rome’s ostensible “hands-off” policy regarding its client states.*

The scholarship on the relationship of ancient Judea with the Roman Empire can seem contradictory. When mentioning Judea, Roman historians correctly refer to Rome’s stringent “hands off foreign policy.” The kingdoms under Rome’s influence, Judea included, were autonomous, yet pledged loyalty to Rome. By contrast, Near Eastern historians conclude that a “totalitarian” Roman Empire “invaded” Judea, using it as a satellite nation and buffer state. Any sovereignty was token and in name only. How can both these conclusions be correct? The answer lies in a peculiar system prominent in the ancient world and used by the Roman Empire: the patron–client relationship. This system allowed the Roman government to give autonomy to client kingdoms in practice and name while still maintaining virtual full control. This synthesis of ideas is best represented in the relationship between Augustus Caesar and Herod son of Antipater. After 40 B.C. Herod was technically a sovereign king over the relatively small kingdom of Judea, but the politics of the day required Herod’s loyalty to whoever was

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in power in Rome. This relationship began with his father, Antipater, and the Roman general and statesman Pompey. The patron-client relationship, an integral part of Roman domestic politics, provided one of the most important frameworks of Roman society.<sup>1</sup> The Romans also used it as a type of international affairs system. Understanding this relationship helps reconcile the positions of Roman and Near Eastern historians.

### Patron–Client Relationship

Most members of Roman society were both patrons and clients; members of the lower class were clients of the middle and upper classes, and the middle class of the upper aristocracy.<sup>2</sup> Among the aristocracy “wealthy families were clients of wealthier families.”<sup>3</sup> The relationship between these classes underscores two main principles that governed this system: reciprocity and asymmetry. Patrons and clients engaged in the reciprocal, personal trading of goods and services. This trading relationship was long lasting and differed from the marketplace. Additionally, the participants had an unequal relationship distinguishing a patron–client relationship from a friendship.<sup>4</sup> This relationship “is one of the most characteristic features of Roman life lasting, in some form, from the origins to the downfall of the city and beyond.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 158.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), vii.

<sup>3</sup> John Crook, *Aspects of Greek and Roman Life* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), 93–94.

<sup>4</sup> See Saller’s discussion on this, 1–6; also E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae: 264–70 B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 10–11.

<sup>5</sup> Badian, 1. Badian remarks that “Romulus created it and Justinian provides for it. . . . The client may be described as an inferior entrusted, by custom or by himself, to the protection of a stranger more powerful than he, and rendering certain services and observances in return for this protection. This state the Romans called ‘*in fide alicuius esse*’” (1).

*Fides*, literally faith, trust, or trustworthiness, was considered by Romans a moral quality. In some instances it meant good will;<sup>6</sup> clients were expected to trust and maintain loyalty to their patrons. In return, patrons cared for and supported their clients. *Fides* describes such loyalty and represents reciprocal trust between patrons and clients.<sup>7</sup> This trust came as patrons and clients exchanged favors or goods which were referred to as *officia* and *beneficia*. Generally, *beneficium* was the favor given to the potential client before the relationship was established, and *officia* were the gifts traded between both patrons and clients after the relationship solidified.<sup>8</sup> Patrons and clients traded these favors as the outward expression of their *fides*.<sup>9</sup> In many cases, the favors traded were not of equal value. Clients were required to pay back only what they could afford. More specifically, one favor might be repaid with a completely different and unrelated favor or favors that were impossible to quantify, such as political maneuvering or judicial defense.<sup>10</sup> More important than what was exchanged was the reciprocal nature of these favors. Differentiating between these terms clarifies the patron–client system.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 227, n. 60. See also Badian, 2; he writes “[*fides*] implies trust, and therefore trustworthiness: it is a term of moral obligation and of moral judgement, with the religious implications such terms often have.”

<sup>7</sup> See Crook, 94.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 94–96. These explanations are general and the ancient sources display exceptions. For instance, there are examples of *beneficia* and *officia* being used to describe favors and goods traded between those of equal social standing, but in general, these two terms set off a patron–client relationship. For present purposes the above explanations will be used to differentiate these two terms.

<sup>9</sup> Saller, 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 15–20.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. Also note that these terms (specifically *fides*) “denote a close relationship on a moral (i.e., extralegal) basis; the legal element may or may not be the sort of *potestas* the patron has over his freedman or the victorious general over the surrendered enemy” (Badian, 10).

When describing those involved in this relationship, Romans used different words, chiefly *patronus*, *cliens*, and *amicus*. The usage depended upon the user's social status. The upper class would downplay their superior role by using the term *amicus* instead of *cliens*, which usually implied inferiority.<sup>12</sup> The middle and lower class, on the other hand, would publicize the honor paid their patron. This advertisement of their loyalty most often came in the form of inscriptions, dedicated to their patron and announcing their *fides*. A middle or lower classman was duty-bound to advertise his loyalty, and being the client of an important figure could actually bring prestige.<sup>13</sup> By contrast, the word *amicus* did not carry any negative connotations and, as a result, aristocrats used this more neutral word when describing their clients.<sup>14</sup> There were those, however, who were *amici* to each other but were not in a patron–client relationship. When two equals, for example two senators of high rank, engaged in such a “friendship” (*amicitia*), no subordinate role was assumed. Using this word enabled those in a superior position to tactfully define their position.

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<sup>12</sup> Badian, 7.

<sup>13</sup> The extant literary sources, most often written by the upper class rarely use the words *patronus* and *cliens* to describe the patron–client relationship. Saller postulates that this reflects the derogatory nuances of these two words. An aristocrat would be less likely to use them than a middle- or lower-class counterpart, so as to avoid blatantly broadcasting superiority to others. Thus, two senators would not use these two words in describing each other as that would be a “tactless advertisement” of one's superiority over the other. Similarly, Augustus, superior to all, did not use these words to describe those around him, all of whom were subordinate. Conversely, *patronus* and *clientes* are ubiquitous in inscriptions erected by dutiful, lower-class clients. See Saller, 9–10.

<sup>14</sup> The use of this word led to different levels of *amici*, i.e., *amicitiae inferiores* and *amicitiae minores*. “Seneca claimed that the practice could be traced back to C. Gracchus and Livius Drusus, who divided their friends/followers into three groups: the first comprised peers who were received in private; the second included those lesser *amici* permitted into the *atrium* in groups for the morning salutation; the lowliest group was made up of humble clients who were admitted en masse and might be humiliated by being kept out of the house by slave *nomenclatores*” (Saller, 11).

Patrons and clients filled certain roles in this system. The patron acted as a mentor to his client helping him financially and advising him in his vocation. Beyond this, benefits between patron and client extended to the political sphere (of those so inclined), each one supporting and helping the other's career where possible. The client was also a companion to the patron as he grew older and protected his family and reputation after the patron's death.<sup>15</sup> The client typically remembered the patron in his will.<sup>16</sup> Domestic Roman patron–client relationships, in many cases, were the basis for Rome's international relations.

### Patrons and Clients Internationally

As Roman policy and military influence spread throughout the Mediterranean world, Roman client states and client-kings were born and the patron–client relationship evolved to become a part of Rome's foreign policy. Official treaties (*foedera*) with countries “played . . . a small and insignificant role in the story of Rome's eastern advances,” as Rome established the principle of *amicitia* or friendship with these countries.<sup>17</sup> This friendship was based on the trust earned by the foreign country as *beneficia* and *officia* exchanged hands.<sup>18</sup> This trust or *fides* was the foundation for all of Rome's international relationships and treaties in peace or war.<sup>19</sup> This type of relationship gave Rome very “elastic” relations with countries, allowing it to interfere or ignore certain situations to its benefit. Erich Gruen helps elucidate such international relations. He writes:

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<sup>15</sup> Saller, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Edward Champlin, *Final Judgments: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills 200 B.C.–A.D. 25* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 144, 153–54.

<sup>17</sup> Gruen, 54.

<sup>18</sup> Badian, 155–57.

<sup>19</sup> Coleman Phillipson, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* (New York: Arno, 1979), 117; see also 390–93.

*Amicitia* represented an informal and extralegal relationship, not requiring a treaty, a pact, or any official engagements. . . . *Amicitia* could be entered into in a variety of ways. Military cooperation . . . made the partners *amici*. A state that sought Roman assistance and was accepted into *fides* [trust] would henceforth be adjudged an *amicus*. Even former enemies, once defeated in war and agreeing to terms, would take on the new status: peace treaties resulted in *amicitiae*. Further, almost any diplomatic intercourse, any friendly exchanges between states, could create the relationship.<sup>20</sup>

By calling these states *amici*, Rome downplayed the relationship's asymmetry. In time, Rome became the patron of the Mediterranean world. *Amici* or *clientes* supported her economically and militarily, and, as Rome reciprocated in kind, client kingdoms benefitted from Rome's patronage. These kingdoms retained effective autonomy and freedom while paying their *officia* to Rome.<sup>21</sup> This autonomy had its limits; client-kings were subordinate to Rome when it came to their own foreign relations.<sup>22</sup>

### Rome the Patron and Judea the Client

Rome's patronage of Judea began when Pompey the Great, in 63 B.C., intervened in a civil war that plagued Judea and successfully

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<sup>20</sup> Gruen, 55, 61. Badian also remarks on this idea of treaty. He writes, "*Deditio* [surrender] . . . it is a voluntary arrangement: the weaker party may refuse to offer and the stronger to accept it. The relation of dependence is formed only by the acceptance of the offer. . . . *Deditio* . . . gives the recipient [the conqueror] complete power. But by accepting it, he morally binds himself not to make extreme use of it" (5–6). Thus, Badian differentiates between *deditio* (surrender) and *fides*, which implied entrusting oneself to another as a client. See Badian, 9.

<sup>21</sup> Senatorial provinces and Imperial provinces were distinct from one another and client provinces paid their *officia* accordingly. "Cicero remarks that *imperatores* who receive conquered peoples into *fides* become their *patroni* by ancestral tradition" (Gruen, 163). We also note that a client-king was able to gain honor among his own people by showing loyalty to Rome.

<sup>22</sup> Phillipson, 104.



besieged Jerusalem for three months. Two Hasmonaean<sup>23</sup> princes were vying for power over Palestine: the rightful heir and high priest, Hyrcanus II, fought for control against his insurgent brother, Aristobolus, who had seized the throne in 67 B.C.<sup>24</sup> Both Hyrcanus (aided by Antipater, his chief advisor and Herod the Great's father) and Aristobolus appealed to Pompey for assistance. Pompey favored Hyrcanus. After his victory Pompey reinstated Hyrcanus as high priest,<sup>25</sup> and Hyrcanus and Antipater pledged their *fides* to Pompey and became his clients.<sup>26</sup>

Judea now joined a number of other client states in the East. Pompey set up an "inner ring of client kingdoms" that acted as

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<sup>23</sup> The Hasmonaean had defeated the Greek Seleucids during the Maccabean war and, consequently, became the ruling dynasty of Judea. Hyrcanus and Aristobolus were the sons of Queen Alexandra, who ruled after her husband died. When Hyrcanus was given the position of High Priesthood, which at this time was combined with the position of king, Aristobolus rebelled and defeated Hyrcanus at Jericho. Hyrcanus agreed to retire into private life but after much persuasion from Antipater fled to Nabatea and allied himself with the Arab king Aretas, Aristobolus' enemy. Afterwards, Hyrcanus besieged Jerusalem with Aretas' help. See Joseph. *AJ* 14.1-2; *BJ* 1.6.

<sup>24</sup> In 66 B.C., Pompey sent Scaurus, one of his officials, to Damascus to intervene in this internecine conflict. Scaurus favored Aristobolus and ordered Hyrcanus and Aretas to lift the siege of Jerusalem, forcing Hyrcanus to remain in exile. In 63 B.C., however, both Aristobolus and Hyrcanus met Pompey in Damascus, where Pompey postponed a decision until he dealt with Aretas, who had rebelled against the Romans. Using the delay to solidify his position, Aristobolus fortified the city Alexandrium. Pompey was not to be fooled and ordered Aristobolus to discharge his troops. Aristobolus then fled to Jerusalem, which was besieged despite Aristobolus' leaving the city to enter into negotiations with Pompey. Aristobolus' supporters in Jerusalem did not follow his lead and resisted the Roman forces. Jerusalem was taken, and Pompey, no doubt curious about the Jewish religion, entered the Holy of Holies. He left everything intact and ordered the priests to cleanse the Temple and resume their practice, but incurred the wrath of the Jews for entering their most sacred spot. See Joseph. *AJ* 14.2-4; *BJ* 1.6-7; Dio Cass. 37.15.3-16.4; Plut. *Pomp.* 41; Flor. 1.40.30.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 14.4.4; 15.6.4; 20.10.1; *BJ* 1.7.6; Strabo 16.2.46 (where Strabo mistakenly calls Hyrcanus, Herod).

<sup>26</sup> Antipater remained Hyrcanus' chief advisor and, with further political machinations, became the real political power in Judea.

buffer states against possible invasion from “northern tribesmen” or by the Parthians, who constantly threatened Rome’s eastern borders.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, Rome’s reliance on these states was not just strategic but financial. Pompey instituted a tribute system that enriched not only Rome but also Pompey’s personal treasury. He also set a precedent for dealing with Judea. “He . . . probably realised, as several emperors were later to discover, that the Jews would be a continual nuisance if brought within the Empire. The subtler methods of indirect control, through amenable high priests, were worth trying.”<sup>28</sup> In this way, the Jews were given autonomy under their high priest, who took on a more political role.

Through his actions in the East, Pompey became the patron of the kingdom of Judea. His emergence and subsequent patronage of the East is worth observing here, as it provided the model of patronage for future Roman heads of state. Pompey’s campaign in the East was unique in at least three regards. First, he exercised powers in the field without accountability to a senatorial commission. (Later, Augustus used similar powers in his rise to become *princeps*.) Second, his newfound client-kings paid him tribute, which made him incredibly rich virtually overnight. This vast wealth remained in the imperial budget up to and beyond Augustus’ principate. Third, his settlement laid a foundation for Rome’s relations with foreign governments, which his successors followed. “Rome henceforth administered the civilized, that is, Hellenized, areas of the *oikoumene* directly, while turning over the nonassimilated fringe to the mercies of client-kings.”<sup>29</sup> Later

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<sup>27</sup> These client states included “Bosporus, Colchis, Armenia Minor, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Commagene, the Syrian and Cilician principalities, and Judaea, with Armenia and its dependent Sophene thrusting deep into Parthian territory as an additional protection” (Robin Seager, *Pompey: A Political Biography* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979], 54).

<sup>28</sup> John Leach, *Pompey the Great* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), 96.

<sup>29</sup> Gruen, 659–66.

Pompey remarked that he had found Asia a frontier province but left it at the heart of the empire.<sup>30</sup>

Julius Caesar defeated Pompey at the battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C., and by so doing inherited Pompey's patronage.<sup>31</sup> The patron–client relationship between Judea and Rome thus continued with Julius Caesar. After Pompey's murder in 48 B.C.,<sup>32</sup> Caesar set out on a campaign to Egypt. Hyrcanus and Antipater displayed their *fides* by giving aid to Caesar. Hyrcanus and Antipater persuaded Alexandrian Jews to ally themselves with Caesar, and Antipater led a contingent of Jews in Caesar's army.<sup>33</sup> Hyrcanus and Antipater's *officia* did not go unnoticed, as Caesar reciprocated with his own *beneficia*. He confirmed Hyrcanus' appointment as high priest and made Antipater governor of Judea; he also allowed Hyrcanus and Antipater to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem that Pompey had destroyed.<sup>34</sup> Caesar's patronage did not last long since, on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., Caesar was assassinated, throwing Rome into civil war. The emergent victors were Mark Antony, Octavian, and Aemilius Lepidus.<sup>35</sup>

## Herod the Great

Antipater appointed his sons Phasael and Herod as governors over Jerusalem and Galilee respectively.<sup>36</sup> When Antipater was murdered in 44 B.C., Herod continued in his father's political

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<sup>30</sup> Plin. *HN* 7.99: “*quam extremam imperii habebat provinciam mediam fecit*”; Flor. 1.40.31: “*Asiam ultimam provinciarum accepisse eandemque mediam patriae reddidisse.*”

<sup>31</sup> Plut. *Pomp.* 68–71; see also Joseph. *AJ* 14.7.8; *BJ* 1.9.1.

<sup>32</sup> After his defeat Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was beheaded by the Egyptian monarch. See Plut. *Pomp.* 71.

<sup>33</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 14.8.1–2; *BJ* 1.9.3–4.

<sup>34</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 14.8.3; *BJ* 1.9.5–1.10.4.

<sup>35</sup> Plut. *Caes.* 66–69.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 14.9.1–2; *BJ* 1.10.4.

footsteps. When the Second Triumvirate—a coalition government consisting of Octavian, Marc Antony, and Lepidus—was formed in Rome, Mark Antony gained control of the eastern provinces and Egypt. Herod, who possessed his father’s political acumen and adopted his pro-Roman tactics, now pledged his allegiance (*fides*) to Marc Antony.<sup>37</sup> Antony, in turn, as Herod’s patron, furthered his political career by confirming Antipater’s appointment of Herod as tetrarch in 41 B.C.; the following year, accompanied by Octavian, he supported Herod in the Roman Senate as it proclaimed Herod king of Judea.<sup>38</sup> Antony’s support of Herod in the Senate reveals additional *officia* exchanging hands. As a client, Herod came to Antony with large sums of money. Antony in turn promoted Herod politically in the Senate. To be sure, Herod’s relationship with Antony was profitable, albeit frustrating. Antony’s obsession with Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, caused him to gift some of Herod’s land to her. Herod, as a dutiful client and honoring his *fides* to Antony, was powerless to resist Antony’s “generosity.”<sup>39</sup>

### Augustus and Herod

Herod’s loyalty to Antony was tested further when Antony and Octavian struggled for ultimate power over Rome. As Antony prepared for battle against Octavian, Herod, the faithful client, rushed to his aid with money and troops. This support displayed Herod’s *fides* to Antony. The Roman leader had different plans for

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<sup>37</sup> Herod initially gained the trust of Antony through a substantial sum of money; see Joseph. *AJ* 14.12.2.

<sup>38</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 1.14.4.

<sup>39</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.4.1–2. Fortunately for Herod, “Antony, in spite of his association with Cleopatra, was convinced that the policy of the western great power required a Jewish-Palestinian as well as an Egyptian state; and so he never allowed the queen of Egypt, in spite of an embarrassing amount of insistence on her part, to obliterate Herod’s country” (Michael Grant, *Herod the Great* [New York: American Heritage Press, 1971], 14).

Herod: he sent him back to Palestine to deal with the Arabs who had recently become somewhat rebellious and refused land payment to Antony. The patron–client relationship shows its true colors here. Herod, as the client, was duty bound to follow Antony’s instructions, and he returned to Palestine to oppose the rebellious Arabs. Herod’s gifts of both troops and money and his handling of the “Arab” problem represent *officia*. Herod was duty bound to support his patron, Antony, in this way.

Herod’s political luck changed for the worse when Octavian routed Antony at Actium on September 2, 31 B.C.<sup>40</sup> Herod now had to choose between loyalty to his defeated and nearly vanquished patron, Antony, or maneuver himself into position to find Octavian’s grace. Herod chose the latter and traveled to Rhodes to meet Octavian. Always the shrewd politician, Herod boldly approached Octavian with bags of gold and without his diadem, to show humility and submission. Instead of downplaying his role with Antony, he emphasized it. He assured Octavian he would give the same service and loyalty to Octavian if given the chance to prove himself. Octavian was impressed and confirmed the appointment Antony had given Herod. Herod had found a new patron.<sup>41</sup>

Herod further showed his *fides* as he “lavishly” entertained Octavian at Ptolemais and gave him supplies for crossing the desert on his way to Egypt to meet Antony. He then continued this display of faithfulness escorting Octavian through Syria. On Octavian’s return, Herod again played the dutiful host and escorted him north to Antioch.<sup>42</sup>

All of this political maneuvering, escorting, and entertaining proved to be something like a trial period for Herod, as Octavian tested him to see what kind of a client he would be. Herod passed the test. In 30 B.C., after handily defeating Antony and Cleopatra,

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<sup>40</sup> Dio Cass. 50.12–34; see also Joseph. *AJ* 15.6.1.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.6.5–7; *BJ* 1.20.1–4.

<sup>42</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.6.7; *BJ* 1.20.3.

Octavian rewarded Herod for his efforts. Octavian returned to Herod all of the territory that he lost to Cleopatra through Antony and, in addition, gave land to Herod that had not been part of the Kingdom of Judea since Pompey had diminished it.<sup>43</sup> He also confirmed Herod as king. The exchanging of these favors initiated the patron–client relationship between Octavian and Herod.

Octavian now replaced Antony as Herod's patron. Herod was a sovereign king but, as the client of Octavian, always maintained personal loyalty through him to Rome. Octavian now ruled the Roman world, and Herod, as his client, acquired a limited amount of power. This appointment to power was the favor that came as a result of this patron–client relationship. Thus, Herod showed *fides* by escorting Octavian and entertaining him. Octavian, after securing his position by defeating Antony, rewarded this *fides* by entering into a patron–client relationship with Herod. This example clearly shows the reciprocal nature of this system. Octavian received Herod's loyalty and support and, in turn, bequeathed to Herod power over his kingdom.

Herod's main duty as ruler over his newly confirmed kingdom—defense—also shows the reciprocating nature of this system. As a client-king, Herod had responsibilities after his confirmation of power: defending the frontiers of Rome was one of the functions of a “client monarch.”<sup>44</sup> Octavian did not want another Parthian problem in the East, and the loyalty of the Arabs in the southeast was tenuous at best. The business of such international politics was transient and risky, and in a foreign crisis Octavian wanted someone on his frontiers whom he could trust implicitly. The trial period Herod went through after Actium may have been Octavian's “testing ground,” and Herod had sufficiently

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<sup>43</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.7.3; *BJ* 1.20.3. This land included Hippos on the eastern shore of the Galilee; Gadara beyond Jordan; Jericho, which included palm and balsam groves in the Jordan Valley; Samaria, Straton's Tower, Joppa and Anthedon. Suetonius mentions such behavior from Augustus. See Sue. *Aug.* 48.

<sup>44</sup> Grant, 14.

demonstrated his *fides* to Octavian. Herod was now responsible to aid Rome when necessary and give tribute to help its finances.

Inscriptions for Herod bearing the titles φιλορωμαῖος (friend of the Romans) and φιλοκαίσαρ (friend of Caesar)<sup>45</sup> show that Herod fully embraced his new role as Octavian's client. As a client-king, it is surmisable that Octavian favored Herod with the honorary designation *amicus et socius populi Romani*.<sup>46</sup> Herod was friend and ally to Octavian and, as such, friend and ally to the Roman People.<sup>47</sup> In reality, as mentioned before, the term *amicus* designated Herod as a client. Herod, although a client-king, was sovereign over his kingdom while subordinate to Octavian.<sup>48</sup> It is this fact that seems to contradict itself. Using the patron–client relationship as a foreign relations strategy, Rome successfully managed this contradiction. Roman generals, politicians, and aristocrats became patrons over similar leaders in the nations surrounding Rome. As Rome's influence spread throughout the Mediterranean world, this relationship reached the highest levels of leadership. Both in Rome and its surrounding states, sovereign kings and politicians retained their sovereignty while becoming

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<sup>45</sup> OGIS 414=IG III 550, Ὁ δῆμο[ς] βασιλέα Ἡρώδην φιλορωμαῖον εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ἑαυτὸν. OGIS 427=IG III 551, [Ὁ δ]ῆμος ἰ [βασι]λέα Ἡρώδην Εὐσηβῆ καὶ φιλοκαίσαρα ἰ [ἀ]ρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας. Recently two other inscriptions were discovered that also may relate to this issue. See Y. Meshorer, "A Stone Weight from the Reign of Herod," *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970): 97–98; A. Kushnir-Stein, "An Inscribed Weight from Ashdod: A Reconsideration," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 105 (1995): 81–84; see also Benjamin D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 21 (1952): 370.

<sup>46</sup> Grant makes this assumption, apparently on the basis of Herod's clientage. See Grant, 97.

<sup>47</sup> The use of the designation "friend" (*amicus*) instead of client portrays Octavian's wisdom in deflecting outward praise and downplaying Herod's subordinate role.

<sup>48</sup> Herod was a sovereign king. If any Roman legions existed in Judea at all, they were few and only there to keep internal order. See Eliezar Paltiel, *Vassals and Rebels in the Roman Empire: Julio-Claudian Policies in Judaea and the Kingdoms of the East* (Bruxelles: Latomus Revue D'Études Latines, 1991), 24.

subject to their patrons. As Badian writes, “it was *clientela* in its private aspects that enabled Rome to assert and maintain that dominance over ostensibly independent states, which she claimed by virtue of the extension of this same category of Roman thought to the sphere of international relations.”<sup>49</sup>

These inscriptions also portray a unique aspect of Octavian as patron. Cicero writes that by tradition Roman generals became patrons to vanquished enemies and that this patronage was hereditary.<sup>50</sup> However, the enemies’ surrender was not to the general, but rather to the Roman People, with the general acting as representative of the Roman People. The client state became *amicus* to the Roman People and client to the general or politician. Any formal treaty or *foedus* was made with the Roman People through the conquering leader.<sup>51</sup> This is seen in Judea with both Pompey and Julius Caesar. By contrast, through his victory at Actium and later political maneuvers, Octavian became *princeps* over the Roman Empire and as such held a unique and singular position. When the lines between Octavian’s role as private patron and his public function blurred, the significance of being *cliens Augusti* far outstripped the formal status of *amicus populi Romani*.

As the Principate evolved under Octavian, the emperor’s role as patron became more defined. The emperor began distributing various types of favors (*beneficia*). Locally and internationally the emperor gave political, religious, and military advancements and positions.<sup>52</sup> Certain provinces became “imperial provinces.” This meant they were under the emperor’s jurisdiction<sup>53</sup> with the

<sup>49</sup> Badian, 165.

<sup>50</sup> Cic. *Off.* 1.35.

<sup>51</sup> See Badian, 156.

<sup>52</sup> See Saller, 42–45.

<sup>53</sup> These provinces were Gaul, Syria, Cyprus, and Egypt. The Senate and people received the remaining provinces. Augustus took all the provinces with armies. The “term *provincia* meant both a sphere of operation and a geographically defined area. The Roman presence in the Near East at this moment consisted of a single ‘provincia’ called Syria.” Judea was its own kingdom. “Under the constitutional arrangements made in Rome in January 27 B.C. Syria



emperor acting as governor.<sup>54</sup> The beneficiaries of this patronage, the client-kings, would then have gratitude (*gratia*) towards the emperor and would be expected to reply with favors (*officia*) of their own. Additionally, the client-king's subjects were clients to the king and, by extension, to the emperor.

A loyal client showed his *fides* to his patron through political support. After Actium, Octavian needed such displays of support to establish his position in the Senate. Patrons could expect support from their clients not only in calamity but in their day-to-day responsibilities. Badian writes:

In providing him with the means for capturing popular favour . . . *clientela* abroad were of very real value to the prominent Roman wanting a public career. But beyond this concrete importance there was the reputation they gave him: for power, in Rome, was indissolubly linked with standing and prestige, and these were advertised by foreign *clientela* as much as by the attendance of Roman clients. Foreign envoys attending his levee no doubt added distinction to the crowd; the introduction of envoys and even of kings into the Senate was a public advertisement of his standing among the allies; and Roman senators serving in the provinces could see visible reminders, in stone and bronze, of the benefits he had conferred on cities, nations and kings, and of their fulsome gratitude.<sup>55</sup>

Herod, of course, had no persuasive power in Rome's Senate and so he found other arenas to show his support: the provinces. Certainly, Octavian needed not only support at home in the Senate, but also loyalty from the provinces and his client-kings.

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became . . . a province of Caesar as opposed to a province of the Roman people." This means that the governors of this province were "appointed by the Emperor and were called *legati*." There were also three legions in Syria, as opposed to probably less than a legion in Judea. See Fergus Millar, *The Roman Near East: 31 B.C.–A.D. 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 31–32. See also Crook, 72.

<sup>54</sup> Saller, 41–42.

<sup>55</sup> Badian, 161–63.

Herod helped promote his new patron's political agenda and prestige. He sent a donation to Nicopolis, which was being constructed near Actium to commemorate Octavian's victory against Antony and Cleopatra.<sup>56</sup> Also in 28 or 27 B.C., Herod introduced the Actian Games in Judea to be held every four years.<sup>57</sup> These actions were intended as propaganda to portray Octavian in a good light. In 27 B.C., Herod showed additional political support. On January 16 of that year, Octavian initiated a constitutional reform, part of which included changing his name to Augustus.<sup>58</sup> During this year Herod rebuilt the capital of Samaria and renamed it Sebaste, the Greek word for Augustus. He also included a temple to Roma and Augustus.<sup>59</sup> It is likely that Herod renamed the city and temple to promote Augustus politically by acknowledging his support for this action. Assuredly, this had only little influence in the Senate in Rome, but such propaganda would not have gone unnoticed in the provinces.

As previously stated, clients broadcast their loyalty and devotion to their patrons with inscriptions. Herod did this on an enormous and unprecedented scale. The aforementioned designations Herod took, φιλορωμαῖος and also φιλοκαίσαρ, were found on inscriptions. Herod, however, went beyond simple slabs of stone carved with honorific writings—he created “inscriptions” of a different kind with a gigantic building program. He named buildings and cities after his patrons. From 37–35 B.C., he rebuilt and re-fortified a citadel in Jerusalem and named it Antonia after his pa-

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<sup>56</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 16.5.3; see also Strabo 7.7.5-6; Paus. 5.23.3, 7.18.9, 10.38.4; Plut. *Ant.* 62.

<sup>57</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.8.1.

<sup>58</sup> Dio Cass. 53.16. The exact meaning of this name-title is unknown but there were many political and religious undertones in such a change. Octavian was proclaimed *Imperator Caesar Augustus* by the Roman Senate; later other powers were confirmed upon Augustus, namely in 23 and 19 B.C. See Dio Cass. 53.22, 54.10.

<sup>59</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.8.5, 15.10.1; *BJ* 1.3.7, 1.21.2. See also Strabo *Geog.* 16.2.34.

tron at that time, Mark Antony.<sup>60</sup> Herod expanded and refurbished his palace in Jerusalem. He named two of the “apartments” Caesareum and Agrippium.<sup>61</sup> Herod built a theater in Jerusalem and adorned it with inscriptions commemorating Augustus’ victories and great feats.<sup>62</sup> The rebuilding of the Samaritan capital, Sebaste, and its temple, as well as its subsequent renaming have been mentioned. In 22 B.C., Herod began building a city on the Mediterranean coast and finished it twelve years later. He named it Caesarea, to honor not just his immediate patron, Augustus, but possibly also Julius Caesar, who initiated Herod’s prosperity through Antipater. He named the lighthouse tower Drusion, after Augustus’ son-in-law Drusus. Inside the city was a temple to Augustus.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, he set up temples to Augustus in non-Jewish cities throughout his kingdom.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, it was as the historian Josephus writes: there was no place in Herod’s kingdom without something built for Augustus’ honor.<sup>65</sup> By naming cities and buildings after his patrons Herod announced his devotion to them and fulfilled one of the responsibilities of a client.

While Herod’s building program was under way, he worked to build his political position. Unfortunately for Herod, his political woes did not cease once he gained Octavian’s support after Actium. Judea’s neighbors to the south-east, the Nabateans, had never truly been conquered by Judea or Rome.<sup>66</sup> They made their presence felt

<sup>60</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.8.5; *BJ* 1.21.1.

<sup>61</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.9.3; *BJ* 1.21.1. Marcus Agrippa was Augustus’ loyal confidant and friend and also second in power only to Augustus; he and Herod also became friends. (See Joseph. *AJ* 16.2.1–3; *BJ* 1.21.8.) Herod’s devotion to Agrippa led him to name one of the Temple gates Agrippa. (See Joseph. *BJ* 1.21.8.)

<sup>62</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.8.1.

<sup>63</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 14.4.4, 15.8.5, 15.9.6; *BJ* 1.21.6–7; see also Sue. *Aug.* 60.

<sup>64</sup> Around 20 B.C., Herod built Pnias as a temple to Roma and Augustus. See Joseph. *AJ* 15.10.3; *BJ* 1.21.3.

<sup>65</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 1.21.4.

<sup>66</sup> The Romans never conquered Petra, the Nabatean capital. The Nabateans, however, wisely entered into a trade agreement with Rome. See Paltiel, 26.

when, in 12 B.C., they encouraged and supported bandits from a Herodian controlled area north-east of Jerusalem, Trachonitis.<sup>67</sup> These bandits raided along the countryside. Herod disposed of them mercilessly, but forty of these bandits found asylum and a base in Nabatea and continued wreaking havoc by launching raids into Judea. Some of their raids even extended into Roman territory in Coele Syria. Although Herod destroyed these brigands in his own territory, he found his hands tied regarding any invasion into Nabatea to eradicate these robbers. As a client-king, Herod was responsible for order and peace in his kingdom but was forbidden to wage any conflict on a foreign power without permission. Seeking such permission, Herod called upon Caesar's governor in Syria, C. Sentius Saturninus. Saturninus ruled that Nabatea pay a tribute to Herod and any refugees be restored. Saturninus only permitted an invasion of Nabatea when the Arabs balked at these demands. Herod was successful in his campaign. Following protocol he wrote a letter to the Roman authorities informing them of his victory and explaining his subsequent actions. Rome, through Saturninus, acted as Herod's patron.

Herod's true patron, Augustus, heard a different story in Rome. Sylleus, the Nabatean ruler, had traveled to Rome before Herod invaded his kingdom. After hearing of Herod's invasion, Sylleus hugely embellished the account of the hostilities, weeping to Augustus that 2,500 men among the Arabs had been killed.<sup>68</sup> He accused Herod of such atrocities that Augustus angrily asked Herod's friends and enemies in his court only one question: had Herod invaded Nabatea? Josephus reports that Herod's friends and enemies were required to answer this one question in the af-

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<sup>67</sup> This account is found in Joseph. *AJ* 16.9. In 24/23 B.C., Augustus had taken Trachonitis, along with Auranitis and Batanea, from Zenodorus, an Iturean who controlled the area. When he failed to suppress these bandits, Augustus removed these lands from his power.

<sup>68</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 16.9.3. In fact, Herod had killed only a small portion of the bandits.

firmative. Without waiting to hear any more details, Augustus raged against Herod in a letter stating that while in the past he had used him as his friend, he now would use him as his subject.<sup>69</sup> These words must have stung Herod, who for so long had nurtured and cultivated a relationship with Augustus. Now Augustus was threatening to withdraw his patronage of Herod by stating that Herod was no long his friend (*amicus*), the term used by superior members of a patron–client relationship.<sup>70</sup> Sylleus’ story supported Augustus’ actions. Herod was Augustus’ client and thus he could not conduct foreign campaigns without Rome’s permission. Herod must have thought that his correspondence with Saturninus was enough. But he used a little too much leeway, as “[a]ll decision-making depended very immediately on representations made to the Emperor in person in Rome, as well as on letters addressed to him.”<sup>71</sup> Augustus was reminding Herod of their relationship: he was patron and Herod was client. Herod “could not pursue independent external initiatives . . . [despite his] considerable freedom domestically.”<sup>72</sup> Fortunately for Herod, after many supplications and letters, Augustus finally learned the truth and restored his relationship with Herod.

As mentioned previously, a patron–client relationship is, by definition, reciprocal, as favors or *officia* were exchanged between the two parties. Herod was a dutiful client and supported Augustus politically and financially. Augustus reciprocated.

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<sup>69</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 16.9.3.

<sup>70</sup> The use of the term “friend” is interesting. Josephus, writing in Greek, uses the word φίλος. E. Gruen writes that φίλος was the Greek institution equivalent to *amicus* when Rome began expanding its territory. See Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 95; see also his full discussion on this subject 54–95. Rome used φίλος to describe the patron–client relationship it had with the Greeks. Again, see Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 159. It is unknown whether Augustus wrote to Herod in Greek or Latin. If he wrote in Greek it is probable that he use the word φίλος.

<sup>71</sup> Millar, 41.

<sup>72</sup> Peter Richardson, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 229.

Herod's political appointments and increase in land have been mentioned. Augustus and Livia, his wife, sent 500 talents to Caesarea to pay for the celebration of the city's dedication.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, Augustus continued to give Herod additional lands, substantially increasing his kingdom. Some of this increase came in the situation with Zenodorus, mentioned above, when the Iturean lost some lands after the bandit problem. When Zenodorus died of a ruptured intestine, Augustus bestowed his remaining lands upon Herod. Herod had proved his loyalty, his *fides*, many times to Augustus and such increase in his kingdom was Augustus' reciprocating *officium*. Augustus further showed his approval of Herod by allowing his sons to come to Rome to study. At least two of these, Alexander III and Aristobulus IV, lived in the palace with Augustus, benefitting from such close interaction with the Roman Emperor.<sup>74</sup> Augustus, probably influenced to some degree by Herod's sons, also gave him the right to name his own

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<sup>73</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 16.5.1. Livia also took part in this patron-client relationship with the Herodian dynasty. In addition to the talents sent to Caesarea "she sent expensive gold libation bowls as an offering to Herod's restored Jerusalem Temple," (Eric D. Huntsman, *The Family and Property of Livia Drusilla* [Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997], 181). She also had a patron-client relationship with the queen Salome, Herod's sister. When Salome wanted to marry Sylleus, Livia acted as intermediary between Herod and Salome and "encouraged, or perhaps instructed, Salome to marry . . . Alexas" (Joseph. *AJ* 17.1.1). See also Huntsman, *Livia*, 181. Livia also inherited from Salome the gifts and cities Herod gave his sister when he died. Additionally, it is likely that these 500 talents came back to Augustus and Livia as stipulated in Herod's will. They received 1500 talents along with gold and silver and expensive clothing. Augustus reciprocated by giving Herod's legacies to his dynastic successors. This kind of reciprocity was commonly outlined in clients' wills to their patrons. See Richardson, *Herod*, 39-40; see also Champlin, 144, 150-5.

<sup>74</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.10.1. Some of Herod's other sons also went to Rome to study and were cared for by Augustus but the information on these sons is too scant to paint a substantial picture (Richardson, *Herod*, 231-2; this follows exactly Augustus' practice as described by Roman historian Suetonius, who writes (*Aug.* 48.1), *ac plurimorum liberos et educavit simul cum suis et instituit*.

successor.<sup>75</sup> This reciprocation continued when, in 12 B.C., Herod gave 300 talents to Augustus. In return, the Roman Emperor bequeathed upon Herod the copper mines of Cyprus.<sup>76</sup> The revenues of these mines must have repaid the 300 talents many times over.

Another major event during Herod's rule outlines the reciprocating nature of Augustus and Herod's relationship. In 24 B.C., a terrible famine hit Judea and its environs and lasted two years.<sup>77</sup> Herod called upon the prefect of Egypt, Petronius, to aid him in dealing with this problem. Petronius exported grain to Judea for a fraction of the cost and "assisted them [Judea] every way, both in purchasing and exporting the same."<sup>78</sup> Egypt was an imperial province and under the Emperor's direct control and, consequently, Petronius was under Augustus' supervision. As such, Petronius was duty-bound, as Augustus' client, to help another of Augustus' clients.

## Conclusion

The patron–client relationship was a complicated and intricate social system throughout the ancient world. Rome was no exception to this rule. As Rome spread throughout the Mediterranean world, this system naturally evolved into Roman foreign policy. Augustus, as *princeps*, ruled his Roman subjects as their patron. As this patronage extended into the East with Pompey, client-kings arose. After the death of Hyrcanus II and Antipater, Herod the Great took full advantage of this system, allying himself with Rome and committing his support to Augustus.

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<sup>75</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.10.1. This right was later withdrawn when Augustus denounced Herod after the Sylleus incident. Unfortunately for Herod, Augustus never renewed this right and Herod was forced to clear his will changes until his death.

<sup>76</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 16.4.5.

<sup>77</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.9.2.

<sup>78</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 15.9.2.

This system allowed for a contradiction in the way Rome governed. On the one hand, client-kings like Herod were sovereign; on the other hand, they were subservient and maintained loyalty to Rome. As Augustus' position in the Roman Empire changed, and his public and private roles blurred together, this contradiction became even more pronounced. Herod maintained a level of autonomy as a sovereign king of Judea while committing his *fides* or trust to Augustus. In this way Herod benefitted from Augustus' patronage and Augustus, if the need arose, could dictate to Herod how to rule his kingdom. As a client-king, Herod ruled, in most cases, efficiently and prosperously. Herod's subjects profited from his clientage as this prosperity disseminated into the kingdom. Understanding this unique system of patrons and clients elucidates the imbalance between two different schools of thought regarding Roman involvement in Judea. Was Rome a conqueror, bending client states to its own will, or a mediator, simply facilitating good systems of government and interfering only when necessary? The patron–client relationship allowed Rome to do both.



# Crucifixion in the Roman World: The Use of Nails at the Time of Christ

John C. Robison

*One of the most difficult misconceptions to resolve concerning crucifixion is the question of how a person was attached to the cross. Even in the well-known case of Jesus, we are never told how he was fastened to the cross. Consequently, many arguments and debates have arisen: Were individuals nailed to the cross? If so, was the nailing confined to the hands or were the feet also included? A careful analysis of the literature, the historical context, and the archeological evidence demonstrates that the use of nails in crucifixion is sufficiently attested at the time of Christ to validate the supposition that he was indeed nailed to the cross.*

Since the time of Jesus many questions, theories, debates, and misconceptions have arisen in relation to crucifixion. While much is known concerning crucifixion, the answers to many questions still elude us. One of the most debated questions at present is the method of how a person was attached to the cross.<sup>1</sup> One reason for the persistence of this question is that until 1968, there was absolutely no archaeological evidence that substantiated crucifixion.

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<sup>1</sup> Some have pointed to a collection of seventeen skeletons discovered at the port of Athens from the seventh century B.C. (see Brown, 950). But these skeletons, rather than being pierced, had only iron rings *around* their necks, hands, and feet, not through them. Thus, while this might be a precursor to crucifixion, it is not proof of it. Actually Irving Barkan, "Capital Punishment in Ancient Athens," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1935), (Private ed., Chicago:

Some would argue that only ropes were employed in crucifixion.<sup>2</sup> Others, like Hengel, state that nails were almost always used, and ropes were the exception<sup>3</sup>—the majority of scholars fall somewhere in between.<sup>4</sup> While each party presents its own arguments, no definitive conclusions have so far been reached.

A careful analysis of the written sources adds much to our knowledge of this subject. After reviewing the literature dealing with nailing and tying, a brief historical overview of crucifixion will be presented, along with certain limitations inherent in this study. Earlier misunderstandings will then be identified after which a detailed analysis of nails and ropes will be attempted; for the literature, historical context, and archeological evidence combine to suggest that nailing was a prevalent practice utilized by the Romans in the first century A.D.

## Review of Literature

In the opening years of the twentieth century, the standard view regarding crucifixion was that “the sufferer . . . was bound to

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Dist. by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1936), 63–7, uses this in describing a punishment called *apotympanismos*. This involved the binding of criminals and such to boards with “cramp irons” until they expired.

<sup>2</sup> Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. Norman Perrin from the German 3d ed., 1960 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), 223; E. Brandenburger, “Σταυρός, Kreuzigung Jesu und Kreuzestheologie,” *Wort und Dienst, Jahrbuch der theologischen Schule Bethel* 10 (1969): 18; cf. Paul Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, 2d ed., rev. and ed. by T. A. Burkill and Geza Vermes (Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1974), 95.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross*, trans. John Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 31–32.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance J. H. Charlesworth, “Jesus and Jehohanan: An Archeological Note on Crucifixion,” *The Expository Times* 84 (1972–3): 149–50; Joseph Zias and Eliezer Sekeles, “The Crucified Man form Giv’at ha-Mivtar: A Reappraisal,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 35 (1985): 26 (hereafter cited as Zias and Sekeles 1985); and Raymond E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 949.

[the cross] with cords. He was then . . . fastened with . . . nails to the wood of the cross.”<sup>5</sup> In 1932, a study was undertaken by Joseph Hewitt entitled “The Use of Nails in the Crucifixion.”<sup>6</sup> Hewitt sought to demonstrate that the popular view of Jesus’ crucifixion—at least in regards to his feet being nailed—was based “on the slenderest of foundations.”<sup>7</sup> The bulk of his work focused on artistic representations of crucifixion, ably demonstrating that the use of nails in art and the blood shown in those works followed theological more than historical precedent. He also concluded that ropes were most frequently to bind one to the cross and, subsequently, the feet were rarely, if ever, nailed. Disappointingly though, he devoted less than a third of his work to written sources,<sup>8</sup> leaving much to be researched in this area.

Despite its limitations, Hewitt’s study became the standard source in regards to the use of nails and ropes in crucifixion for the next four decades, and it still remains a prominent source today. His results and earlier scholarly opinion, as well as the need for further research, are noted in the writings of such prominent scholars as Joseph Blinzler, Joachim Jeremias, and Paul Winter

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<sup>5</sup> *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913, s.v. “Cross and Crucifix,” 519; W. Adams Brown, “Cross,” *A Dictionary of the Bible* vol. 1, ed. James Hasting (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1903), 529.

<sup>6</sup> J. W. Hewitt, “The Use of Nails in the Crucifixion,” *Harvard Theological Review* 25 (1932) 29–46

<sup>7</sup> Hewitt, 29. While it is true that to base one’s knowledge on the ever changing products of the artist’s world is not sound; it is also not sound to argue from absence of evidence. Yet this is precisely Hewitt’s argument; because the sources do not explicitly state that Jesus’ hands and feet were nailed, and because the ancient sources are rather silent as to how one was crucified, Hewitt concludes then that nailing through the feet is improbable. One of the purposes of this present argument is to demonstrate a number of such weaknesses in Hewitt’s work.

<sup>8</sup> Hewitt cites a mere eleven sources, only one of which deals with the use of ropes, and this is clearly noted to be an exception. *Hist. Apost.* iii: “It is stated that the proconsul ordered Andrew to be bound hands and feet with ropes, and that no nails at all be employed, so as to give him a longer period of suffering before he died,” (as quoted in Hewitt, 44).

during the 1950s and the 1960s.<sup>9</sup> Blinzler, taking a moderate position on the issue, said that sometimes ropes were employed and sometimes nails.<sup>10</sup> He did posit though, that when a person lived for multiple days, he was most likely attached to the cross with ropes.<sup>11</sup> Jeremias, seemingly influenced by Hewitt,<sup>12</sup> remarked that crucifixion was a “bloodless punishment,”<sup>13</sup> certainly implying the use of ropes;<sup>14</sup> yet he provides no research to support his position. Winter, strongly following Hewitt, concludes that the feet of the crucified were never nailed—the crucified were usually tied, and nails were used for the hands only minimally.<sup>15</sup>

All of this changed, though, in 1968 with the discovery of a series of ancient tombs located in a suburb of Jerusalem named

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Blinzler, *The Trial of Jesus: The Jewish and Roman Proceedings against Jesus*, trans. Isabel and Florence McHugh (Westminster, Maryland: Newman, 1959), 250–264; Jeremias, 223; Winter, 95–97; cf. Zias and Sekeles 1985, 26; and Brown, 949, for continued use of Hewitt; these are in regards to Hewitt's supposition that tying was used in Egypt.

<sup>10</sup> Blinzler, 264, possibly noting the limitations of Hewitt, states: “Another question not fully cleared up concerns the method of attaching the condemned to the cross.” Though he notes the problem, he does not offer a solution beyond that already mentioned.

<sup>11</sup> Blinzler, 250.

<sup>12</sup> Hewitt, 37.

<sup>13</sup> Jeremias, 223.

<sup>14</sup> Certainly Hengel, 31; and Joseph Zias, “Crucifixion in Antiquity,” *The Jewish Roman World of Jesus*, ed. James D. Tabor, 11 February 1999, <<http://www.uncc.edu/jdtabor/crucifixion.html>> (2 February 2002), (hereafter cited as Zias 1999) see his position as such. This view of crucifixion as being bloodless and thus the implication of tying is stated more forcefully by Brandenburger, 18.

<sup>15</sup> It is helpful to understand that almost all research and writings on crucifixion center in one way or another around the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. As such there are often biases present that affect the research. In the case of Winter, he seeks to minimize the historicity of the Gospel accounts, thus tying and no minimal nails strengthen his position. In like manner, Jeremias' section on crucifixion seeks to show Christ as a sacrificial lamb, his point on the bloodlessness of the punishment helps his argument that the account reflects symbolic language more than history.

Giv'at Ha-Mivtar.<sup>16</sup> There in the arid climate of Israel, N. Haas discovered the remains of one Jehohanan, who, among other peculiarities, was found to have his lower leg bones not only shattered near the proximal end but also transfixied by a large iron spike near the distal end. It was immediately hypothesized, and is now very well accepted by scholars, that this find at last presented archeological proof of crucifixion. Haas's conclusions relative to this evidence are as follows: (1) the nail, which was bent, had pierced both of Jehohanan's calcanean (leg bones);<sup>17</sup> (2) a scratch on the right radius showed where a nail had passed close to the bone, indicating that Jehohanan had been nailed through all four limbs; (3) the shattered and broken leg bones were indicative of crurifragium (the breaking of the leg bones mentioned in the gospels and elsewhere); (4) a wooden plaque, found by the head of the nail, had helped secure his feet; and (5) wood fragments at the tip of the nail demonstrated that the upright of Jehohanan's cross was made of olive wood. There were a number of concerns expressed by Haas with the results concluded from this discovery.<sup>18</sup> Because of pressure from certain religious groups to inter the bones within a matter of weeks, very few of the bones could be studied at length. After they were preserved, there was only a short time in which to conduct the study because of the fragile nature of the bones and the time it took to properly preserve them.

Based on this new archaeological evidence from Israel, debates ensued in the academic world concerning how one was attached

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<sup>16</sup> N. Haas, "Anthropological Observations on the Skeletal Remains from Giv'at ha-Mivtar," *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970): 38–59.

<sup>17</sup> Almost all scholars agree that the nail bent as a result of hitting a knot in the stipes (the upright portion of the cross): see Haas, 58; Charlesworth, 149; Zias and Sekeles 1985, 27; Zias and Charlesworth, 283.

Two dissenting views are Y. Yadin, "Epigraphy and Crucifixion," *Israel Exploration Journal* 23 (1973): 20–22; and Vilhelm M ller-Christensen, "Skeletal Remains from Giv'at ha-Mivtar," *Israel Exploration Journal* 26 (1976): 36–37; both believe that the nail was intentionally bent.

<sup>18</sup> Haas, 49–51, 57.

to the cross.<sup>19</sup> In 1972, Charlesworth noted that this discovery of Jehohanan curtailed Hewitt's conclusion concerning nails and feet.<sup>20</sup> The following year, Yigael Yadin observed that the length of the nail was shorter than what had been originally reported.<sup>21</sup> He also hypothesized that olive wood would never be used for the stipes of a cross. He proposed, based on these findings, that the feet were nailed together, and the tip intentionally bent. Jehohanan's legs would then form a kind of lasso that would go over the top of the cross, leaving the victim hanging head downward. His theory never gained wide acceptance. The following decade brought a variety of hypotheses concerning how Jehohanan, and the crucified in general, were attached to the cross. In addition to these came numerous criticisms of Haas's findings.

In 1985, Zias and Sekeles re-examined the skeleton of Jehohanan in an attempt to resolve the confusion.<sup>22</sup> Their findings differed considerably from Haas. Commending him for his work they noted the following irregularities in his conclusions:

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<sup>19</sup> Along with Haas's, two other reports concerning the tombs were published: J. Naveh, "The Ossuary Inscriptions from Giv'at Ha-Mivtar," *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970): 33–37; V. Tzaferis, "Jewish Tombs at or near Giv'at ha-Mivtar, Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970): 18–32. Subsequent articles concerning this discovery were published in 1973 by Charlesworth, 147–150; Yadin, 18–22; in 1976 Møller-Christensen, 35–38; in 1979 Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, "Der Gekreuzigte von Giv'at ha-Mivtar," in *Theologia Crucis, Signum Crucis: Festschrift für Erich Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Carl Andresen and Günter Klein (Tübingen: Mohr, 1979), 303–334.; in 1985 Zias and Sekeles 1985, 22–27; in 1992 Joseph Zias and J. H. Charlesworth, "Crucifixion: Archaeology, Jesus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 273–89.; and in 1999 Zias, to name a few.

<sup>20</sup> Charlesworth, 148–49.

<sup>21</sup> Yadin, 21.

<sup>22</sup> Zias and Sekeles 1985, 22–27. Speaking of their project and describing what they would be examining in their re-evaluation Zias and Sekeles note: "Prior to reburial [1970] the present authors were permitted to study the material after its reconstruction by Professor Haas, which together with the original photographs, casts and radiographs constituted the basis of the following reevaluation" (Zias and Sekeles 1985, 22).

(1) only one bone, not two as originally thought, was pierced by the iron nail; (2) the nail measured only 11.5 cm in total length, not the original 18 cm (12 cm after the bend) as initially indicated; (3) the mark on the wrist was not a conclusive nail mark, rather it was a scratch like “many non-traumatic scratches and indentations . . . found on ancient skeletal material;” (4) they demonstrated that olive could possibly be used for a stipes, noting that the trunk of an olive tree can reach a height of two to three meters; and (5) the breaks in the lower leg bones were not the result *crurifragium* but occurred after burial.<sup>23</sup>

Zias and Sekeles then made a final conclusion that bears strongly on the present discussion. Because they discovered no traumatic marks on Jehohanan’s upper limbs and noting the statement by Josephus that during the siege of Jerusalem the Roman legions traveled up to ten miles to secure wood, Zias and Sekeles concluded with Hewitt that “there is ample literary and artistic evidence for the use of ropes rather than nails to secure the condemned to the cross.”<sup>24</sup>

Three subsequent papers since 1985 must be mentioned to complete this review. In 1989, Fredrick. Zugibe conducted a number of experiments to determine if a crucified person truly

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<sup>23</sup> While their findings have been extremely helpful in clarifying a number of issues, it would be wise to note that there are limitations to their manner of re-evaluation. For example, Haas in his findings, noted that the mark on the right radius was of the sort that is “produced on fresh bone” (Haas, 58). Zias and Sekeles, speaking from memories and photographs some 15 years old state that the mark which Haas described was no different from “two similar non-traumatic indentations . . . on the right fibula,” the only bone that they were actually able to observe and analyze (Zias and Sekeles 1985, 24). In this case I side with Haas who had both sets of bones and was in a much more able position to judge such pieces of evidence.

<sup>24</sup> Zias and Sekeles 1985, 26. As noted earlier, surely Haas witness has greater strength in this point, being the primary witness than Zias and Sekeles who were working from memories and pictures. Also I will argue against the lack of wood being evidence for ropes. It ought to be noted that Hewitt himself observed that artistic representations in no way reflected historical reality (See Hewitt’s discussion (33–37), and his conclusion (44)).

died from asphyxiation, this being the prevailing view for the past fifty years, and to see if nails through the hands would hold the weight of the body.<sup>25</sup> His experiments ably demonstrated that when a person was crucified with the arms at a 60–70 degree angle there was no threat of asphyxiation. The experiments he conducted on cadavers also established that there are three places in the hand and one in the wrist that would satisfactorily hold the weight of the crucified.<sup>26</sup>

Then in 1992, Zias and Charlesworth published a study which, in part, reviewed Zugibe's findings, the Jehohanan case, and the impact on our understanding of how one is attached to the cross because of these discoveries. Of Zugibe they note that while his findings are "probably medically accurate," there are limitations to them, namely that his conclusions on asphyxiation can only be applicable to those crucified with their arms stretched out on a cross.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> F. T. Zugibe, "Two Questions about Crucifixion: Does the Victim Die of Asphyxiation? Would Nails in the Hands Hold the Weight of the Body?" *Bible Review* 5 (1989): 34–43.

<sup>26</sup> Zugibe, 37, 42. The original theory of asphyxiation became popular after Dr. Barbet brought to light two experiments (the first conducted in WWI and the second in WWII, both by the Germans), where victims were attached to a beam with their hands straight up over their heads. It was found that if weights were attached to their feet the victim expired within ten minutes; without the weights he would die within forty-five minutes. Though Barbet's conclusions are valid only if the crucified's hands were attached directly overhead to the stipes itself, the theory of death by asphyxiation has become so widespread that almost every author thus far mentioned states this as the usual cause of death. Dr. Zugibe therefore conducted experiments under careful medical observation where men and women were attached to a crossbeam with their arms at a 60–70 degree angle from 5–45 minutes. Though almost all persons experienced heightened blood pressure and heart rate, not a single one had the least degree of breathing difficulty (except for a few cases of initial hyperventilation). Zugibe's experiment demonstrates distinctly that asphyxiation was not the usual cause of death. This then brings into question the purpose of the sedile (a small outcrop from the cross that the crucified would sit on). In times past it was conjectured that the sedile would stop a person from asphyxiating; this will be discussed later. In regards to how the crucified most often died, Zugibe concludes that death was most often by shock (40–41).



Referring to Jehohanan and the question of how victims were attached to a cross, Zias and Charlesworth rightly state that “one’s assessment . . . must not be limited to skeletal remains. One must take into account the literary sources from the Roman period.”<sup>28</sup> They reason that based on the lack of archeological evidence of nails; the lack of injury on the forearms of Jehohanan (the positioning of Zias and Sekeles), and the “ample literary . . . evidence for the use of ropes”; they conclude that ropes were the method employed for attaching Jehohanan’s arms to the cross.

Lastly Zias addressed the issue in 1999 of how one was crucified. He looked at three issues: 1) whether women were crucified—to note if gender altered the method of attachment, 2) the absence of nails in archeological finds, and 3) the relationship between ropes and nails in crucifixion. He concluded that women were probably crucified, citing two Mishnaic sources and the common knowledge that it was a slave’s punishment.<sup>29</sup> He also theorized that ropes would have been used for mass crucifixions and nails for small groups or individuals—like Jehohanan. He explains the archeological absence of nails was due to their quality as highly coveted magical items.<sup>30</sup>

So, while the question of how a body was attached to a cross in antiquity has been frequently debated and discussed, there is still a wide range of views concerning ropes and nails. While Hewitt ably discussed the problem, he did not successfully close the discussion; this was in part because he did not sufficiently re-

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<sup>27</sup> Zias and Charlesworth 1992, 282. This question will also be addressed later.

<sup>28</sup> Zias and Charlesworth 1992, 282. While they state this, they do not follow their own advice as far as one might hope. Rather, they mention a few sources, but conduct no new research on the subject.

<sup>29</sup> *Tractate Mourning* 2.11 possibly shows women also being crucified in Alexandria in A.D. 37–41; *Sanh.* 6.5 in which Simeon B. Shetah had 80 women accused of sorcery crucified.

<sup>30</sup> *Shabbath* 6.10; Zias 1999, 4.

view and analyze the textual sources. The discussions on Jehohanan have also brought much to light. Yet even at present, I have not been able to discover a study that adequately covers the topic of how a body was attached to a cross in antiquity.

### Historical Background

It would be helpful to this discussion to overview briefly the history and purpose of crucifixion. Crucifixion was preceded by impaling for almost 1,500 years. Impaling goes back at least as far as the early second millennium B.C., where under Hammurabi women who had colluded in the death of their husband with other men would be so punished.<sup>31</sup> The Assyrians (distant successors to Hammurabi and Old Babylon), as well as other Near Eastern cultures, continued the practice of impaling down through the seventh century B.C., especially as a punishment for rebellious peoples.<sup>32</sup> The Persians, who dominated the ancient Near East from the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. seem to have acquired impaling from the Assyrians and are the people with whom impaling is often associated;<sup>33</sup> In conjunction with the practice of impaling somewhere during the Persian period the earliest manifestations of crucifixion appear.<sup>34</sup> There is some confusion as to the exact time that crucifixion was first employed, both because it is not often specifically detailed in any ancient

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<sup>31</sup> James Bennett Pritchard, "Law Code of Hammurabi," No. 153, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), 172 (hereafter cited as *ANET*).

<sup>32</sup> "Ashurbanipal on the Rassam Cylinder," *ANET*, 295.

<sup>33</sup> Herodotus 1.128.2; 3.125.3; 3.132.2; 3.159.1

<sup>34</sup> It is from this time that we have Herodotus 9.120 mentions that the Russian king Xerxes "nailed [Artayctes] to boards and hanged him aloft." The Greeks of the seventh century B.C. till at least the time of Philip practiced a punishment called apotympanismos which involved the binding of criminals and such to boards with "cramp irons" until they expired (Barkan, 63–72). Such an example is seen in the seventeen skeletal remains found in Athens in which iron rings were found around their neck, arms, and legs.

record and because the very words that meant “stake,” σταυρός and στόλοψ, were also used for “cross.” This will be discussed in greater detail later. From the Persians it went to the Greeks and other Near Eastern peoples—like the Jews<sup>35</sup>—while the Phoenicians transmitted it to the Carthaginians and the Carthaginians to the Romans.<sup>36</sup>

Crucifixion had many purposes in the ancient world. For some of the more nomadic peoples like the Scythians and Britons, impaling/crucifying had extensive religious significance.<sup>37</sup> For others, such as the Assyrians, Persians, and Macedonians it was utilized to make an example of rebellious peoples.<sup>38</sup> For the

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<sup>35</sup>Josephus *Ant.* 12.256 (Syrians crucifying Jews); 13.380–3: The Hasmonean king, Alexander Janneus, crucified some 800 Pharisees. That this was not just a random case, though possibly demonstrative of the Greek hellinizing influence, recorded in the laws of the Essenes are three instances where they are commanded to crucify, 11QTemple 64:6–13, as well as a clear example of this in one of their biblical commentaries, 4QpNahum 3–4; 7–9.

<sup>36</sup>The passing of crucifixion to the Romans most likely occurred during the Punic Wars. Some indication of this comes from Livy; in 22.13.9 he speaks of Carthaginians crucifying and then shortly thereafter in 22.33.2 (217 B.C.) he has the Romans using it on a band of twenty-five rebellious slaves. It is possible that they acquired it sometime earlier, probably again from the Carthaginians, owing to their frequent contact. Such a concept would come from the frequent use of crucifixion by Plautus's plays (254–186 B.C.) which indicate the practice had been used widely and for generations. For general overviews of crucifixion please see D. J. Burke, “Cross; Crucify,” in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 1979; Gerald G. O'Collins, “Crucifixion,” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1992.

<sup>37</sup>Hdt. 4.71–2: a Scythian ritual of surrounding the dead king's funeral bier with fifty impaled horses and fifty impaled men; *Dio Cassius* 62.7.2.: The Britons having captured many of the noblest of Roman women tortured them terribly and then “impaled the women on sharp skewers run lengthwise through the entire body. All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets and wanton behavior, not only in their other sacred places, but particularly in the grove of Andate.”

<sup>38</sup>Hdt. 3.159.1: Darius having captured rebellious Babylon “impaled about three thousand men that were chief among them;” Arr. *Anab.* 6.17.2: Alexander

Carthaginians, in addition to its deterrent effects, it was used as a method of motivating their generals. There are numerous examples of Carthaginian generals being crucified for making poor decisions in battle.<sup>39</sup> In contrast, crucifixion in the Roman Empire was used almost exclusively on slaves and rebels. The overwhelming purpose of crucifixion in the Roman empire was to maintain law and order, often by intimidating and humiliating subject peoples. As previously noted, the vast majority of Roman crucifixions resulted from rebellion or sedition. In fact, the Romans felt that more than punishing the criminals who were crucified, the practice had a greater affect as a deterrent upon further crime and disorder.<sup>40</sup> Crucifixion then was made to be the most heinous and awful of punishments, and everything possible was done to make it appear as such. Thus we have reports not only of people simply being attached to the cross, but also of crucifixions in horrific postures, private parts being impaled, and bodies being left on crosses to be ravaged by both bird and beast.<sup>41</sup> The use of nails, with their awful piercing, the attendant bleeding and nerve shattering pain, fits within this context more than does

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having beaten Musicanus, “Alexander ordered him to be hanged (κρεμάσαι) in his own land, together with the Brahmans who had been the instigators of the revolt.”

<sup>39</sup> Polyb. 1.11.5; 1.24.6; 1.86.4.

<sup>40</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 15.44.3: In speaking of the Christian crucifixions carried out under Nero, Tacitus states that “in spite of a guilt which had earned the most exemplary punishment, there arose a sentiment of pity, due to the impression that they were being sacrificed not for the welfare of the state but to the ferocity of a single man.”

<sup>41</sup> Sen. *Dial.* 6 (*Cons. ad Marciam* 20.3): “I see cruces . . . some hang their victims with head toward the ground, some impale their private parts, others stretch out their arms on a fork-shaped patibulo;” Joseph. *BJ* 5.449–51: 500 persons a day were crucified, being nailed “in different postures;” Tac. *Ann.* 15.44.3: speaking again of the Christians, Tacitus says that “they were covered with wild beasts’ skins and torn to death by dogs; or they were *crucibus adfixi*, and, when daylight failed were burned to serve as lamps by night;” Eusebius *Historia Ecclesia* 8.8 says that some people were crucified in the usual manner of malefactors, while others were hung upside-down.

the use of ropes. While ropes might be used to draw out the life of the crucified and increase an individual's suffering, nails, being more horrific, would seem to accomplish the overall goal more effectively.

In addition to the historical transmission of the practice of crucifixion from one people to another, there was also a transformation in the shape of the cross. Originally, the instrument employed was a simple pole or spike (thus the Greek term *σταυρός*), to which one was attached. Later, the cross took the shape of the letter Tau (T)<sup>42</sup> or the traditional cross. Some conjecture that the common practice in Rome of binding the arms of a slave to a yoke-like instrument called a *patibulum*,<sup>43</sup> led to the addition of the crossbeam to the stipes.<sup>44</sup>

### Limitations

One of the most obvious limitations to any study of crucifixion based on ancient sources is the general way that most crucifixions are described in antiquity. Of some 275 accounts researched, 223 use only general verbs or phrases such as *in crucem*

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<sup>42</sup> Lucian *Iud. voc.* 12.

<sup>43</sup> This punishment involved a person having his arms bound to a piece of wood like a yoke and then being driven and beaten through the streets of a town. Such a punishment would humiliate the person, and serve as an example to others. In crucifixion, the crossbeam, called a *patibulum*, was carried by the victim to his cross, where he was stripped, whipped, and then affixed to the cross. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.69.2: A Roman citizen ordered one of his slaves to be punished by his fellow-slaves. And so they "having stretched out both his arms and fastened them to a piece of wood which extended across his breast and shoulders as far as his wrists, followed him, tearing his naked body with whips." A good example of the carrying of a *patibulum* combined with crucifixion is seen in the gospel accounts: Matt 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26.

<sup>44</sup> Definitely by the first century A.D., the crosspiece appears to have been a common part of the cross. Sen. *Dial.* 6 (*Cons. ad Marciam* 20.3); Epictetus, *Diatribes* 3.26.22; Min. Fel. *Oct.* 9.4. See also Burke, 826.

*suffere*<sup>45</sup> (to be raised on a cross), *in cruce[m] tolli*<sup>46</sup> (to be lifted up on a cross), σταυρόω (to crucify, to impale), and σκολοπιζω (to crucify, to impale) without ever mentioning the actual details of the method of attachment. Even when the sources do mention the method of attachment, there can often be ambiguity due to the multiple meanings of the words used.<sup>47</sup> Absolute clarity is only had when relatively rarely used words like *clavus* (nail), *alligo* (to tie; to secure with rope), or προσηλώω (to nail, rivet; to nail up) are employed. Yet, as shall be seen later, there are a number of words that, while not so definitive in their meaning as those just mentioned, do strongly lend themselves to a sure interpretation.<sup>48</sup>

Another problem, alluded to earlier, is that there is no distinct historical point at which crucifixion replaces impaling.<sup>49</sup> In fact, there is strong evidence that both were being practiced through and past the second century A.D, though the majority of scholars favor crucifixion as the more common of the two in the Roman Period.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Livy 30.43.13

<sup>46</sup> Livy 38.48.12–13

<sup>47</sup> For instance, Plutarch, *Vit. Cleom.* 38–9 relates how Ptolemy slew the king of Sparta, flayed, and then hanged/impaled him. In 38, he says he κρεμά (hang) καταβυρωσαντας him, and in 39 ἀνεσταυρώμενον (crucify/impale). Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*, 14.5: “The cross (*cruces*). . . and the stake (*stipitem*) which they drive straight through a man until it protrudes from his throat.” One clear example of impaling in Persian times is related by Plutarch in *Artax.* 17.5 concerning a woman's punishing a eunuch. He says that she, “ordered to flay him alive, to set up his body slantwise on three σταυρών and to nail his skin to a fourth.”

<sup>48</sup> The majority of words like these lean toward nailings, as shall be seen. The major philological problem with many words used, even with words that are more specific than in *cruces*, is that they simply mean to “fix” or “secure,” neither lending themselves toward tying or nailing.

<sup>49</sup> Hdt. 7.194 gives us an example that must refer to crucifixion in the time of Xerxes, and one that most likely involved tying, though this is not definitive. It is the story of one Sandoces who was ἀνασταύρωσε and yet because of his good service to Darius he was latter taken down.

<sup>50</sup> Plutarch *Moralia* 499D speaking of vice causing unhappiness states: “But you will nail him to a cross or impale him on a stake;” Tert. Apol. 12.3: “You hang Christians on crosses and stakes (*crucibus et stipitibus*).

A third and final limitation deals with the sources themselves. Each source has its own biases and motives, so every historical reference (including myths, medical treatises, etc.) that is found must be treated as fully as possible. In addition to historical sources, there are numerous fictional and “romance” novels that speak of crucifixion, often with the hero about to be crucified only to be saved at the last moment. Only one or two of these sort will be analyzed because, though they speak in greater detail about crucifixion, it is almost impossible to assess their accuracy. Finally, there are the writings of the early Christian church fathers.<sup>51</sup> I have included only the church fathers who were alive while crucifixions still took place (thus none after Constantine). The Church fathers had the particular bias of needing to justify Jesus’ crucifixion in a world that looked on such a punishment with disgust and horror. While biased, their detailed accounts of crucifixion often from executioner accounts must still be considered to gain an understanding of crucifixion at large and in the particular. Though manifold limitations do exist, there is still much that can be garnished from each record with careful, diligent study.

### Early Misunderstandings

Past research has perpetuated a few misconceptions concerning the use of ropes in crucifixion. One of these is confusing the ancient Roman practice of *arbor infelix* with crucifixion.<sup>52</sup> *Arbor infelix* involved the “bind[ing of one] with a rope to the barren tree” (*infelici arbori reste suspendito*) and then scourging/beating him to death.<sup>53</sup> By 50 B.C. Cicero, in an elegant, prepared speech,

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<sup>51</sup> I have looked mainly at Ignatius, Tertullian, Justin, the Gospel of Peter, and Eusebius.

<sup>52</sup> Thus Hewitt, 41, uses this in part as the basis for his argument on ropes being used; cf. Brown, in his otherwise masterful work, *The Death of the Messiah* seems to use this passage in a similar way (949).

<sup>53</sup> Livy 1.26.6; also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.10.3; Cic. *Rab. Post.* 13–16; see Hengel, 39–45 for an excellent discussion of *arbor infelix*.

clearly states that the ancient practice of *arbor infelix* had “long since disappeared.”<sup>54</sup> Suetonius, in *Claudius* and in *Nero*, reiterates that the practice of *arbor infelix* was not current during the first century (the time when both the majority of nailings are attested to [as will be shown] and the crucifixions of Jesus and Jehohanan transpired). In expounding the emperor’s cruelty, Suetonius writes in his book on *Claudius*: “When he was at Tibur and wished to see an execution in the ancient fashion, no executioner could be found after the criminals were bound to the stake (*deligatis ad palum*).”<sup>55</sup> As to what this ancient fashion was, Suetonius states of *Nero*:

Nero . . . read that he had been pronounced a public enemy by the senate, and that they were seeking him to punish him in the ancient fashion and he asked what manner of punishment that was. When he learned that the criminal was stripped, fastened by the neck in a fork and then beaten to death with rods he committed suicide.<sup>56</sup>

Yet *Nero* was familiar with crucifixion as *Tacitus* asserts that he had many Christians “fastened on crosses (*crucibus adfixi*).”<sup>57</sup>

Besides the confusion between *arbor infelix* and crucifixion there also appears to be some question about a statement that *Hewitt* made that has been subsequently carried through to the arguments of *Zias* and *Sekeles*, and *Zias* and *Charlesworth*.<sup>58</sup> *Hewitt* stated that crucifixion started in *Egypt* and that “the *Egyptians* did not nail their victims, they tied them.”<sup>59</sup> He quotes

<sup>54</sup> *Cic. Rab. Post.*, 13.

<sup>55</sup> *Suetonius Claud.* 34.1.

<sup>56</sup> *Suet. Ner.* 49.2.

<sup>57</sup> *Tac. Ann.* 15.44.3. *Nero* who was familiar with crucifixion, and many other awful forms of torture, did not know the details of *arbor infelix*. Thus at the time when nailings are most attested to the strongest link that some have to the practice of tying, *arbor infelix*, was long since, it would seem, out of practice.

<sup>58</sup> *Zias* and *Sekeles* 1985, 26; *Zias* and *Charlesworth* 1992, 283.

<sup>59</sup> *Hewitt*, 40.



no sources for either of these assertions, and neither of the two studies co-authored by Zias cited anyone but Hewitt as a source.<sup>60</sup> That Hewitt asserts crucifixion as having originated in Egypt, I can only think that he is referring to a situation mentioned in Josephus where the author states that Pharaoh had his baker, from the famous Joseph story of the Bible, ἐσταυρωθήσαν.<sup>61</sup>

As to Hewitt's theory that the Egyptians used only ropes for crucifixion in Egypt, the lone source I could find was the fictional "romantic" novel of Xenophon of Ephesus (circa A.D. 160 and long after crucifixion had become prevalent throughout the Mediterranean). The hero Habrocomes was sentenced to death by crucifixion. Near the Nile "they set up their cross and attached him to it, making his hands and feet fast with ropes; for such was the procedure in crucifixion among the people of that region."<sup>62</sup> If this is the source that Hewitt utilizes, there is much to be desired. A surer source both in regards to historicity and reliability is Philo of Alexandria (20 B.C.–A.D. 50), who lived in Egypt. Speaking of the inane of the human intellect he states: "Thus the mind

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<sup>60</sup> Zias and Sekeles 1985, 26: "Moreover, in Egypt, where according to one source crucifixion originated, the victim was not nailed but tied." Zias and Charlesworth 1992, 283: "In Egypt, where according to one source crucifixion originated, the victim was not nailed but tied." The source that both of these articles refer to is Hewitt. Brown (949) also relies solely on Hewitt for this data.

<sup>61</sup> Joseph. *Ant.* 2.77; Gen. 40:19–22. I can find no other work that agrees with Hewitt. Friedrich, 573, believes that it originated in Persia, as does O'Collins, 1207. Burke, 825–6, implies that crucifixion's antecedent was the Assyrian practice of impalement, while Harry Thurston Peck, ed., "Crux," in *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities*, 1937, states that there is some doubt that the Persian form of crucifixion were practiced by the Romans. He feels that it was more the Carthaginians and Romans who practiced the form we are familiar with. The only other rationale that I can think of for his statement is that the Israelites, as they exited Egypt, were given the Law which included Deuteronomy 21:20–23 injunction of hanging corpses of certain criminals on trees, yet this by no means shows the practice of crucifixion as having started in Egypt, especially where many scholars place the writing of Deuteronomy around the seventh century B.C. at the time of King Josiah.

<sup>62</sup> Xenophon, *An Ephesian Tale*, 4.2.1 (Hadas, 106).

stripped of the creations of its art will be found as it were a headless corpse, with severed neck nailed (προσηλώμενος) like the crucified (ἀνασκολοπίσθεντες) to the tree of helpless and poverty-stricken indiscipline.” In another treatise, speaking of the body and soul of one who loves their body, Philo states that the two are joined together “like men crucified and nailed to a tree.”<sup>63</sup> Philo, for his arguments to be efficacious, must be stating a practice that not only he had seen but was at least familiar also to his contemporaries. At least in the first century A.D. nailing was a method of affixing persons to the cross in Egypt. An interpretation of Xenophon, if we accept any historicity in his fictional writing, should not be considered the norm for all of Egypt any more than Philo, given the scarcity of sources from that location.

### Nails vs Ropes

As has been noted, a number of studies have either indicated that ropes were the predominate way of attachment or that they were used as often as nails.<sup>64</sup> A thorough study of ancient sources does not seem to confirm their assessment. The most direct way of discovering this is to review the actual words used to connote nailing and tying. For nailing the words used are *clavus*, *figo*, *affigo/adfigo*, *offigo*, *suffigo*, *antefigo*, and καθηλώω/προσηλώω; for tying *spartum*, *alligo*, sometimes προσδέω, and κρεμάννυμι.

The word *clavus* means “nail,”<sup>65</sup> and it or its counterpart in other languages is attested to seven times.<sup>66</sup> Lucan tells us in a fanciful tale of Erithco who “purloins the nails (*insertum manibus*)

<sup>63</sup> Philo, *De somniis*, 2.212ff; Post. 61–62.

<sup>64</sup> See Hewitt, 37, 42; Winter, 95; Jeremias, 223; for a middle view see Zias and Sekeles 1985, 26; Zias and Charlesworth 1992, 282; Brown, 949.

<sup>65</sup> *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (hereafter cited as OLD), 335.

<sup>66</sup> Luc. 543–47; Sen. *De vita*. 19.3, metaphorically of driving in ones own nails; Plin. *HN* 28.46; G. of Pet. 6:2, drawing the nails from Christ's hands (Greek); *Shabbath* 67a, spikes from crucified bodies as amulets (Hebrew); Apul. *Met.* 3.17, spikes from crucified bodies as amulets; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 4.10.

that pierced the hands.” Pliny speaks of possible uses of these nails when he says that they can cure neck ailments. While in Apuleius’s tale *Metamorphoses*, the story is told of the bitter Chryserosthis who in revenge against a robber chieftain “crept up and suddenly with a mighty blow nailed our leader’s hand to the panel of the door with a large spike (*grandique clavo*). . . . Leaving him fatally ensnared as it were on the cross.”<sup>67</sup>

The root of all Latin verbs used to describe nailing is *figo*.<sup>68</sup> *Figo* occurs three times, none with cause to doubt nailing. It occurs once as a curse found in a graffito: *in cruce figarus*, “may you be nailed to the cross.”<sup>69</sup> It is also used to describe a strange practice described by Pliny of a tyrant whose workers killed themselves rather than slave for him in his mines. As a means of stopping this he crucified their bodies and refused them burial. The last case is from Suetonius describing Domitian’s cruel ways.<sup>70</sup>

The most common form of *figo* is *affigo/adfigo*. Its meanings all point toward nailing.<sup>71</sup> It occurs seventeen times with only one of these a possible exception to the meaning of nailing.<sup>72</sup> In Sallust there is a fragment of a text discussing pirates that states that the most notorious were “either hung from the mast and flogged or

<sup>67</sup> Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 4.10

<sup>68</sup> OLD, 699–70: “To drive in, to fix in, insert (nails, stakes, etc), to drive in a nail;” “to transfix, pierce, run through;” “to fasten up, fix, nail;” “to fasten, secure, nail;” and five definitions meaning planting, implanting, or making rigid. Please note that the meaning of *figo* can also be “to pierce,” and in some cases derivatives of *figo* are better translated as “to impale” rather than “to nail.” When this occurs it will be noted. Also, there are many examples of derivatives of *figo* clearly meaning “to nail.” For example Tac. *Ann.* 1.61.4 uses *antefigo* of Germans who have nailed the heads of Romans to trees.

<sup>69</sup> *CIL IV*, 2082, as quoted and translated in Hengel, 37.

<sup>70</sup> Pliny, *HN* 36.107; Suetonius, *Dom.* 10.1.

<sup>71</sup> OLD, 79: “To fix by piercing, fasten, nail, or pin (to); to hang up; to crucify; to stick or fix (into or onto);” “to transfix or pierce;” and then four other meanings implying attaching (as of organs), restricting, or devoting.

<sup>72</sup> Sallusti Crispi, *Historiae Augustae*. fr. 3.9, pirates fastened high upon a mast; Livy 28.37.2, Carthaginian general crucified; Livy 33.36.3, slave leaders in a revolt; Val. Max.

fastened high up on a [patibulo] without being tortured first (*In quis notissimus quisque aut malo dependens verberabatur aut immutilato corpore improbe patibalu eminens affigebatur*).<sup>73</sup> Hengel concludes that this is to prolong their suffering, from which one might presume that they were bound. There are scholars though who have stated that the method of being bound would not effect the rapidity of expiration.<sup>74</sup>

One of the surest attestations of this word is found in an account by Suetonius describing the time Galba served as a governor of an African province. Suetonius first tells us that he was over-severe, “For he cut off the hands of a money-lender who carried on his business dishonestly and nailed (*adfixit*) them to his counter.” He also realizes that Galba “crucified (*cruce adfecit*) a man for poisoning his ward.” Not only is *adfigo* the word that appears most often in conjunction with nailing, but also it is used in relation to the greatest variety of people (Macedonians, Romans, Germans, and Carthaginians) and the greatest span of time (from c. 100 B.C. to A.D. 330).

Another derivative of *figo* is *offigo*<sup>75</sup> This verb occurs twice, both in the writings of Plautus. In one of his off-color stories, Plautus tells of a slave who offers a financial reward to anyone willing to be crucified for him. But to be sure that they are secured to the cross, he says, “I’ll give a talent to that man who shall be the first to run to the cross for me; but on condition that twice his

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6.9.15, Caesar crucifies pirates; Val. Max. 9.2.3; Petro. *Sat.* 111–112 x2; Curt. 4.4.17, Alexander crucifies 2000; Curt. 6.3.14, Alex desires to crucify a leader; Curt. 7.5.40, Alexander crucifies Bessus; Curt 7.11.28, Alex crucifies Ariamazes; Tac. Ann. 4.72.3, Germans, tired of outrageous Roman taxes, crucify Roman soldiers; Tac. Ann. 15.44.3; Tac. *Hist.* 4.3.2; Suet. *Dom.* 11; Suet. *Galb.* 9; Apul. *Met.* 3.9, a murder is to be crucified; SHA *Avid. Cass.* 4.6, he crucifies arrogant centurions; SHA *Tyr. Trig.* 29.4, the angry people crucify Celsus in effigy.

<sup>73</sup> Sall. *Hist. fr.* 3.9 in , Sallusti Crispi, *Historiarum Reliquiae*, ed. Bertoldus Maurenbrecher (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1966), 113, translation by Hengel, 41.

<sup>74</sup> Zias and Sekeles, 26.

<sup>75</sup> OLD, 1244: “to drive in (a stake or sim.);” “to fasten (one thing against another) by nailing or sim.”

feet, twice his arms are fastened there (*ut offigantur bis pedes, bis brachia*).” The other reference is to one bearing a patibulum through the street and then being nailed to it at the site of crucifixion.<sup>76</sup>

*Suffigo* also derives from *figo*, and while it can mean “to crucify,” the majority of its meanings are vague.<sup>77</sup> Thus while it occurs five times because nothing definitive can be gathered from the meaning, and each instance is vague enough to not lend itself to a sure interpretation—these will not be considered further.<sup>78</sup>

There are two Greek words, both deriving from the same root, that mean “to nail;” these are καθηλώω and προσηλώω.<sup>79</sup> They occur fourteen times,<sup>80</sup> with a possible exception mentioned in Diodorus of an Indian king who threatens her with σταυρῶ προσηλώσειν.<sup>81</sup> This could possibly be “to impale her on a stake,” rather than “nail her on a cross.” But given the anachronistic nature of his writings and his use of a similar phrase in 25.5.2 this is not as likely.

Some of the most well known instances of nailing come from these words. The thousands mentioned by Josephus as being

<sup>76</sup> Plautus. *Most.* 36off.; Plautus. *Car.* fr. 2 (per Hengel, 62).

<sup>77</sup> *OLD*, 1861: It has meanings of: “To fix beneath as a support; to fasten to something lying above;” “to insert (something sharp) below;” to attach to the top of, to fix aloft; to fasten to a cross or other instrument of punishment, to crucify.”

<sup>78</sup> Caesar, *Bellum Africum*, 66, Ceaser crucifying Numidians; Seneca. Ep. 101.14; Suet. Iul. 74.1, pirates crucified by Caesar; Apuleius, *Met.* 6.31; of a girl threatened with crucifixion; Apul. *Met.* 10.12, stepmother exiled, slave crucified.

<sup>79</sup> Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1513 (hereafter cited as Liddell and Scott): “to nail, rivet, fix;” “to be fastened by nails;” “nail up.”

<sup>80</sup> Hdt. 9.120, Xanthippus nails Artayctes to planks; Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*. 105; Meid worthy of nailing; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.1; Prometheus nailed to the Caucas mountains; Diodorus Siculus, 2.18.1; Diodorus Siculus, 25.5.2, Matho crucifies Hannibal; Philo *Post.* 61–62, Men souls are nailed to bodies like those crucified; Philo dreams 2.213, analogy of nailed to tree; Joseph. BJ 2.306–08, 2000 by Florus; Joseph. BJ 5.449.51, 1000’s under Titus; Ignatius, *To the Smyrnians*, 1.1, of Christ; Ignatius, *To the Smyrnians*, 1.1, analogy of faith as nailed to the cross; Plutarch, *Moralia*. 499B; Lucian *Prom.* 1–4; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecd.* 8.8.

<sup>81</sup> Diodorus Siculus, 2.18.1.

nailed to crosses in many positions during the siege of Jerusalem; Herodotus uses this word to describe Xanthippus nailing Artayctes to planks near the Hellespont; and Ignatius uses this to describe the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. This root is also used philosophically. As cited above, Philo states that men who love their bodies are like the crucified nailed to a tree, attached securely to a dead thing. In another analogy speaking of the human intellect without creative power is like “a headless corpse, with severed neck nailed like the crucified to the tree of helpless and poverty-stricken indiscipline.” Similarly, Ignatius says that our faith must be as sure as if it were nailed to a cross.<sup>82</sup>

Turning now to a review of words for ropes and tying, one word for rope is *spartum*. Only it and one similar word were found among all 275 sources to give any direct witness for tying. Both of these occur in reference to the ropes of the crucified being used for magical purposes. The first is from Pliny, who besides mentioning nails as a cure for neck ailments also includes *spartum e cruce* “ropes from a cross.” The other is from Lucan, who again speaking of Erithco, says that before “purloining the nails” she must “break with her teeth the fatal noose (*Laqueum nodosque nocentes ore suo rumpit*).”<sup>83</sup>

Besides these two references to tying there is also the word *alligo*<sup>84</sup> It occurs two times, each with an exception that should be noted. The first reference comes from the outraged discourse of Cicero, who in painting a picture of the weakness of Verres, states that he “bound [rebellious slaves] to the stake (*palum alligati*)” only to release them in front of all present.<sup>85</sup> The other occurrence comes from the fictional story of Xenophon’s Ephesus where, as previously quoted, he was “attached to [the cross], making his

<sup>82</sup> Philo, *Post.*, 61–62; Philo *dreams* 2.213; Ignatius, *To the Smyrnians*. 1.1.

<sup>83</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 28.46; Lucan, 543–47.

<sup>84</sup> *OLD*, 104: its root is *ligo* and has the meaning of “to tie, bind, fashion;” “to secure with ropes;” and nine other meanings dealing with binding.

<sup>85</sup> Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.5.10–11.

hands and feet fast with rope,”<sup>86</sup> only to escape and continue his to pursue his “lost love”. Thus both times that an actual tying occurs it is for the lesser purpose of having the crucified released.

There is something of a Greek equivalent to *alligo* which is προσδέω.<sup>87</sup> But while *alligo* definitely means “to tie,” προσδέω is not quite so concrete in meaning. It occurs once, and in this the case of Nero binding boys and girls to crosses/stakes and torturing them.<sup>88</sup> From the context it is not possible to say if the binding was with ropes or nails. One might suppose that it is with rope because then it would be less bloody, yet Nero is torturing them which seems to imply blood. Despite the obtuseness of the situation this case will be considered a tying.

Another verb in Greek that sometimes indicates tying is κρεμάννυμι.<sup>89</sup> This word and its meanings will be discussed and argued later, but it occurs thrice where tying does seem to be the merited translation.<sup>90</sup>

Thus out of 275 sources surveyed 47 texts clearly indicate nailing, while only 7 indicate tying.<sup>91</sup> This data will be further analyzed below, but qualifications should be noted here. First, it is not possible to procure from this data any exact statistical ratio of nailing compared to tying. Obviously there are some 221 sources that are too ambiguous to ascertain whether they refer to tying or nailing, in addition to others not yet surveyed. Second, distinct statistical results cannot be drawn from this data, it is possible, both from the number of attestations of nails and the ubiquitous manner in which nailing is implied, to conclude that nailing was the more frequent and common method of affixing one to the

<sup>86</sup> Xenophon *Ephesiaca* 4.2.1.

<sup>87</sup> Liddell and Scott, 1506: “to bind on or to;” “to attach.”

<sup>88</sup> *Dio Cassius*, 63.13.2

<sup>89</sup> Liddell and Scott, 993: “to hang up;” “to crucify;” “to be hung;” “to suspend.”

<sup>90</sup> Hdt. 7.194; Joseph. *BJ* 7.202; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesia*, 5.1.41.

<sup>91</sup> Thus, contra Hewitt, 42, who states speaks of “the scanty references for the use of nails” in bolstering his argument against the use of nails in Jesus’ feet.

cross. Third, those authors who state or imply that tying is well attested to in antiquity or that tying is more common than nailing are probably in error.

### Nails in Context

This last section will focus on answering questions brought up by scholars in the first section. The first question to be discussed is whether there was a usual way in which people were crucified.<sup>92</sup> Though both Josephus and Seneca mention that they witnessed people being crucified in many positions,<sup>93</sup> there is some indication that there was a standard way for people to be crucified, that is with their arms outstretched; Seneca himself refers to the crosses with stretched out arms. Eusebius mentions that some Christians were “crucified, some as malefactors *usually* are, and some, even more brutally, were nailed in the opposite manner, head-downwards (emphasis mine).”<sup>94</sup> Seneca, in another passage speaks of crucifixion as one “hav[ing] his limbs stretched out upon the cross.”<sup>95</sup> In John 21:18, Peter is told that he will die with his arms outstretched (ἐκτενείας τὰς χεῖρας). One ancient source who gives some indication of the widespread nature of crucifixion with arms outstretched, speaks of a man receiving a massage as

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<sup>92</sup> Zugibe's analysis of death by asphyxiation relies upon the person being crucified upright with arms outstretched. Zias and Charlesworth 1992, 282, noted that this could not be applied in all cases because of statements found in Josephus and elsewhere. Also Blinzler's assertion that those who lived more than a day most have been tied is brought into question by Zias and Sekeles 1985, 26. There is no way to demonstrate this historically, except that we know that one of the purposes of crucifixion was to make it as painful and drawn out as possible. This being the case, and with the heavy attestation of nails, Blinzler's theory would seem to be questionable.

<sup>93</sup> Joseph., *BJ* 5.451: “The soldiers out of rage and hatred amused themselves by nailing their prisoners in different postures.” Seneca, *Dial. Cons. ad Marc.* 20.3: “some hang their victims with head toward the ground, some impale their private parts, others stretch out their arms on a fork-shaped gibbet.”

<sup>94</sup> Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesia*, 8.8.

<sup>95</sup> Seneca, *Dial. De ira.* 1.2.3.



appearing as one crucified, and in another of the criminal, “outstretched on the infamous stake.”<sup>96</sup> Thus there is some indication that the usual method of crucifixion was with outstretched arms.

Some have questioned the historical accuracy of Jesus being nailed to the cross. An analysis of the recorded instances of nailing in regards to time and place provide some striking data. The earliest recorded nailings take place earlier than the third century B.C., and of these there are seven recorded. In the third century B.C. there are four instances recorded, in the second century B.C. there are three, and again in the first century B.C. there are three recorded. The first century A.D. shows a sharp incline with twenty-one nailings recorded, while the second century records seven, and both the third and fourth century record one instance each; for all practical purposes crucifixion ceased in the mid-fourth century A.D. Again, if one were to look at nailing by place, it will be noted that there are six recorded instances in Greece, two in regard to Carthage, and thirty-nine in regard to Rome (eight in Palestine, two in Egypt, and twenty-nine in Rome and its other provinces). Once more while this says nothing definitive about nailing specifically, it does demonstrate that historically speaking the greatest use of nails, both in time and place, center around the time of Jesus.

Zias in 1999 suggested that perhaps the instances of tying or nailing were dependent upon the numbers crucified.<sup>97</sup> When mass numbers were involved they would be tied in order to save time. One might add that they would also save money, at approximately a third-pound a nail (based on the one found with Jehohanan). In the Spartacan revolt alone, this would have consumed some four tons of iron. This is a very tempting theory, especially when

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<sup>96</sup> *Anthologia Latina* 415.23; Epictetus *Diatribes* 3.26.22; If this is the case then the findings of Zugibe in regards to asphyxiation are very relevant. This argument also is contra Zias, who hypothesizes tying with hands above the head.

<sup>97</sup> Zias 1999.

greater than sixty percent of recorded nailings deal with individuals or small groups of people.

Further, in the case that Zias alludes to, where 6,000 survivors of the Spartacan revolt were crucified along Appian's Way, the verb that Appian uses derives from κρεμάννυμι "to hang,"<sup>98</sup> and thus for Zias "to tie." There are three other recorded instances where this verb might also mean "to tie." Herodotus uses κρεμάννυμι of a man once crucified some years back, but Darius had him taken down for his good merit. The story implies that he is functioning well, and so we can imagine that he was tied.<sup>99</sup> Josephus records an occasion where the Romans, in trying to force a city to surrender are about to crucify the town hero.<sup>100</sup> While there is nothing definitive in this case, one could imagine that by tying they might have drawn the melodrama out further. Lastly, Eusebius mentions Blandia as crucified, but when no beast would touch her, she was taken down to receive some other torment at a future date.<sup>101</sup> This also seems to indicate tying.

Yet with greater scrutiny, a few loopholes arise in Zias's theory. First Appian, who tells us of the Spartacan revolt, not only uses κρεμάννυμι to speak of crucifixion in that instant, but he employs that verb for every case of crucifixion throughout his whole history.<sup>102</sup> This somewhat negates defining the verb as tying.

<sup>98</sup> App. *B. Civ.*, 1.120; this verb is mentioned thirteen times in conjunction with crucifixion: Hdt. 7.194 (nr-Darius—a man anestauroed, but taken down—not impalement); Diodorus Siculus, 16.35.5 (nr-Philip of Onomarchus); Joseph. *BJ* 7.202 (of fake out); App. *B. Civ.* 1.119 (spart -o-71bc); App. *B. Civ.* 1.120 (6000-a-71BC); App. *B. Civ.* 4.20 (Cicero's head and hand); App. *B. Civ.* 4.29 (slave who betrayed master-o-40'sbc); App. *Mith.* 97 (nr-slaves-o-60'sbc); App. *Mith.* 29 (Nr-Deserters-o-60'sbc); Arr. *Anab.* 6.17.2 (nr-Alex of leaders); Arr. *Anab.* 6.14.4 (nr-Alex of doctor); Lucian *Prom.* 1-4 (total cruc lang—one nailed said to hang there); Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 5.1.41 (a woman hung up, taken down)

<sup>99</sup> Hdt. 7.194. Of course, there is the story of Oedipus in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (26), where we are told that he had an iron spike through both legs in his youth and yet he grew up to be a fully functional adult.

<sup>100</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 7.202-03.

<sup>101</sup> Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesia*, 5.1.41.

<sup>102</sup> App. *B. Civ.* 1.119; App. *B. Civ.* 1.120; App. *B. Civ.* 4.29; App. *Mith.* 29;

Further, Appian uses the same verb to describe the impaling of Cicero's head and hand on the Rostrum;<sup>103</sup> thus Appian might be using this word with a meaning closer to *figo* than *alligo*. Lucian, in describing one nailed, also uses κρεμάννυμι to describe him.<sup>104</sup> The use of the verb κρεμάννυμι should probably not be used to confirm tying.

Besides looking at the linguistics, historical records also seem to negate Zias's theory. Alexander, in his eastward campaign, had 2,000 nailed to crosses after he captured Tyre.<sup>105</sup> Additionally, Josephus records Florus as having nailed some 2,000 Jewish knights in order to control rebellions, and Titus' soldiers nailed thousands of Jews to crosses during the siege of Jerusalem.<sup>106</sup> It would seem then that nailing or tying is not based upon numbers.

Both Zias (1999) and Zias and Charlesworth have conjectured on the lack of archeological evidence of nails. The above findings on nailing are contra the conclusions of Zias and Charlesworth, but building and expanding on the theory of Zias (1999), who stated that the lack of evidence "is best explained by the fact that nails of a victim crucified were among the most powerful medical amulets in antiquity and thus removed from the victim following their death,"<sup>107</sup> I would quote two further sources that demonstrate the wide spread use of the crucified's nails as amulets. Pliny,

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App. Mith. 97. Zias's argument is somewhat weakened also in that three of the five times that this verb is used it refers to acts against a single person and not to large groups. If the verb was used in reference to large groups only, this would have strengthened his argument.

<sup>103</sup> App. *B. Civ.* 4.20. It is also interesting to note that of the five time Appian uses κρεμάννυμι three refer to singular instances and only one to mass crucifixion. Even this then speaks against Zias's theory.

<sup>104</sup> Lucian, *Prom.*, 1–4.

<sup>105</sup> Curtius Rufus 4.4.17

<sup>106</sup> Joseph. *BJ* 2.306–08; Joseph. *BJ* 5.449.51. If anything should speak of the frequency of nailing it should be this. In the middle of a war when supplies were low, the soldiers were nailing Jews up on crosses at the rate of 500 a day, demonstrating that even with scarcity of materials, nailings still occurred.

<sup>107</sup> Zias 1999, 4. Zias references only *Shabbath* 6.10 (wrongly as 6.6).

in the first century A.D., states that the nail from a cross can help neck ailments;<sup>108</sup> while Lucian, in his tale of Erithco the witch, states that she “purloins the nails that pierced the hand,” for magical use.<sup>109</sup>

Yet the use of nails as amulets must be seen as secondary to the economic realities of the time. One has only to reflect on the value of metal, not only in ancient times but even today, to recognize the folly in assuming that nails would have been routinely left in the carcasses of the crucified. Note that in the body of Jehohanan, where two nails had been used to attach him to the stipes, only one nail was found, and that due to an anomaly.<sup>110</sup>

In their reassessment of Jehohanan, Zias and Sekeles report that when the nail was driven in it left traces of rust (i.e. they used a rusty nail to crucify him).<sup>111</sup> We cringe at the thought but such was the reality of the day. Diodorus records a repeat nailing on a cross but not that the nails were necessarily reused.<sup>112</sup> There is also the account in the Gospel of Peter (6:21) of the crucifiers drawing the nails out of Jesus’ hands. One need think only of war-torn Judea when the soldiers were crucifying five hundred a day to recognize the prudence in reusing the nails. It is probably that nails were often reused.

## Conclusions

Over the centuries the crucifixion of Jesus Christ has produced a host of discussions, questions, and studies, including the question of how one is attached to the cross. Certain conclusions, however, can be advocated based on research and ancient sources that recorded crucifixions. First, nailing is much more well at-

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<sup>108</sup> Pliny *Naturalis historia* 28.46.

<sup>109</sup> Lucan 543–47.

<sup>110</sup> Haas, 42.

<sup>111</sup> Zias and Sekeles 1985, 23.

<sup>112</sup> Diodorus Siculus, 25.5.2.

tested in the written record than is tying. Second, some of the confusion in the past regarding the issue of nailing and tying has arisen from confusing the practice of crucifixion with *arbor infelix*. Third, it is probable that most people crucified were attached to the cross with their arms outstretched in an upright position. Fourth, nailing is most frequently mentioned during the time and in the place where Jesus lived— in the first century A.D. and under Rome rule. Fifth, this suggests that the Jerusalemite Jehohanan was more likely to have been nailed through the forearms, as originally asserted by Haas, than that he was tied. Sixth, the number of people crucified at one time is not necessarily related to the use of nails or ropes. Seventh, the lack of archeological evidence related to nails is most likely attributed to economic concerns leading to their reuse and secondarily their employment as magical healing amulets.

A study of ancient sources, historical context, and archeology are invaluable in asserting the realities extant in the ancient world. This study has demonstrated that the use of nails for crucifixion was prevalent during the time of Jesus and in his area and is helpful in supporting the historicity of the gospels.

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# NEAR EASTERN STUDIES



Ziggurat at Ur



# Sacred Libraries in the Temples of the Near East

David S. Porcaro

*Since the beginning of written records, libraries have been a source of sacred knowledge. In the ancient Near East, however, libraries were more than mere record depositories. The libraries of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Israel were intimately connected with temples whose librarian-priests held a monopoly on the art of writing and even performed ritual. Libraries and temples in these areas worked together as an important part of ancient society.*

Walking into the library today, one enters a sacred place. The atmosphere is hushed and books are handled with care. Many mysteries are to be found in the words enscribed in the multitude of books on the shelves: information at the fingertips of anyone willing to enter this hallowed world. While walking down the rows of books one may wonder how the library has developed into this state and why this public building conveys a sense of sanctity. To answer these questions it is necessary to look at the traditions that led to civilization as a whole. It is the rise of civilization that introduced records. To be civilized is to possess law and order, art and science, all of which produce and require a literary tradition. This search for the root of libraries and archives inevitably leads the searcher to the “proto-librar[ies]”<sup>1</sup> of the temple.

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<sup>1</sup> Michael H. Harris, *History of Libraries in the Western World*, 4th ed. (Metuchen, N. J. and London: Scarecrow, 1995), 8, where Harris calls the temple the usual example of the proto-library.

Here, in the archives of the ancient Near East, the intimate relationship between temple and library is found. Examination of the role of the library in the ancient temples of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Israel demonstrates that libraries in ancient temples played a much more important role in society than merely a place for storing documents. Often the libraries were used to store sacred writings, business documents, and state records. They were even places where rituals were performed, lessons learned, and documents formed.

## Mesopotamia

As the earliest record of writing has come out of Mesopotamia, so has one of the earliest centers of record keeping. Just exactly which factor came first—organized religion requiring the organization of writing, or religion advancing under the convenience of writing—is a debatable topic.<sup>2</sup> Either way, Mesopotamian religion was deeply connected with a scribal tradition.

The role of the temple library in Mesopotamia is similar to that of Egypt. It presumably started as gaps developed in the oral transmission of sacred tales. The need arose to organize and canonize the religious literature, due to variations in ritual or the oral tradition. The incantations, omens, prayers, scriptures,<sup>3</sup> creation stories, genealogies of the gods, sacred laws, rituals, and songs were preserved as an attempt to define that which is orthodox and that which is orthoprax<sup>4</sup>. As the centuries continued, commentary on

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<sup>2</sup> Don Heinrich Tolzman, Alfred Hessel, and Reuben Peiss, *The Memory of Mankind: The Stories of Libraries Since the Dawn of Time* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2001) 1.

<sup>3</sup> Harris, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Stephen J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts: Towards an Understanding of Assurbanipal's Personal Tablet Collection" in *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran*, eds., Tzvi Abusch, John Huehnergard, and Piotr Steinkeller (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 305–36; Lieberman discusses to some detail the steps temples go through in order to produce what is canonical.



the primary texts was added to the library.<sup>5</sup> The business transactions of the temple, including deposits to and loans from the temple, were also recorded in the temple archives. The scribes were often trained in the sciences, which were considered a facet of religion; hence texts were recorded on astronomy, astrology, math, and medicine.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to the need to record and canonize, the change of culture and language led scribes to preserve texts in libraries in fear of losing them to the “invading” language.<sup>7</sup> One example of this is demonstrated during the introduction of Akkadian at the end of the Ur III Dynasty. With the fear of losing not only the Sumerian language but also the religious gems found in Sumerian texts, priests and scribes worked frantically to preserve the traditions and texts that were recorded in the dying language.<sup>8</sup> Hence libraries emerged to store these records and to understand the mysteries they contained. The library became essentially the root of wisdom and learning, and the home for preservation of many types of knowledge.

Mesopotamian examples of temple libraries abound as demonstration of their importance to society. The oldest temple archive documents in Mesopotamia were found in Erech and date to about 3100 B.C. These mostly contained records of sheep and goat deliveries to the temples.<sup>9</sup> The libraries in the temples of Ur held many business records, which display superb organization and cataloguing ability.<sup>10</sup> Excavations in Sippar revealed more than 2,000 documents in the temple of Shamash.<sup>11</sup> In Nuzi, the library

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<sup>5</sup> Harris, 8. This is a business which has kept many a scholar alive today; one need only look as far as the stacks of biblical commentaries in any library today for an example.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>7</sup> Mogens Weitmeyer, *Archive and Library Technique in Ancient Mesopotamia*, *Libri* 6:3 (1956), 224–25.

<sup>8</sup> Menahem Haran, “Archives, Libraries and the Order of the Biblical Books,” *Journal of Near Eastern Society* 22:54.

<sup>9</sup> Weitmeyer, 219.

<sup>10</sup> Posner, 46.

<sup>11</sup> “Intact Temple Library Found at Sippar” *Biblical Archaeology Review* (July/August 1989): 50–51.

was nearly the center of the temple; in fact, only a wall separated the temple's cella from the archive.<sup>12</sup> The temple in Nippur contained religious and even private business documents, oaths, and deeds.<sup>13</sup> The acropolis at Nimrud had a building complex that included the Temple of Nabu, which had records of all types, including menologies, and hemerologies: reference files of the temple staff.<sup>14</sup> Assurbanipal, famous for his library in Ninevah, also established a temple library separate from his palace library.<sup>15</sup>

Erech, Sippar, Nuzi, Nippur, Nimrud, and Ninevah are just a few of the many temple libraries that played a major part in shaping Mesopotamian cultures, and in preserving them until today. Not only did Mesopotamian temple libraries play a very important role in business transactions and record keeping, but were often the sites where great religious texts and epics were discovered.

## Egypt

"We must look to the temples of ancient Egypt for the first libraries;" so begins James W. Thompson's book *Ancient Libraries*.<sup>16</sup> In Egypt, like elsewhere in the ancient world, the temple was the center of society. The temple not only was the center of worship and the house of the gods, but the source of law and the home to priests, granaries, courts, libraries and schools.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to the temple's central role in society, the priests themselves held an important place in society. They often held the monopoly on literacy, and were usually classed with the nobles of society.<sup>18</sup> Egyptian priests kept the records in both the temples and

<sup>12</sup> Weitmeyer, 220.

<sup>13</sup> Richardson, 49.

<sup>14</sup> Posner, 41.

<sup>15</sup> Harris, 22.

<sup>16</sup> (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1940), 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>18</sup> Ernest C. Richardson, *The Beginnings of Libraries* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), 143.

the palaces.<sup>19</sup> In fact, the *hartumei mitzraim* (magicians of Egypt) of Genesis 41:8 and Exodus 7:11, may have been priests of the temple library<sup>20</sup> or librarians whose powers extended beyond merely that of writing and cataloging records.

It was the “House of Life” (*pr ‘nkh*) that was usually recognized as the temple library in Egypt.<sup>21</sup> Though the purpose of this building is debatable, it has been documented in Egyptian texts as an archive of birth, marriage and death records;<sup>22</sup> a place where hymns of worship were written and stored;<sup>23</sup> a place of ritual;<sup>24</sup> a school for scribes and priests;<sup>25</sup> and a house for learning the sciences and medicine.<sup>26</sup> This latest example is worth noting because other types of Egyptian temples were also associated with medicine such as the “Hall of Rolls” in Heliopolis, the temple of Ptah in Memphis, the temple of Horus at Edfu, and the largest collection, the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis.<sup>27</sup>

Other records, not necessarily referring to the “House of Life” note that temples in Egypt housed collections of scriptures, rituals, hymns, and incantations. These collections also contained works of drama (such as the Drama of Osiris), literature and the sciences.<sup>28</sup> These temples also played the role of school to the scribal students. Sometimes the temples became communities in and of themselves, employing many people of varying professions

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 142–43. Richardson also notes that it is the priest who usually houses the records in most primitive society.

<sup>20</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “The House of Life” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1938), 164–165.

<sup>21</sup> John M. Lundquist, *The Temple: Meeting Place of Heaven and Earth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), 25.

<sup>22</sup> Gardiner, 175.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 172.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 174. On page 175 Gardiner notes that the scribes of the “House of Life” were even accused of sorcery.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>27</sup> Harris, 29–31.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 29.

to keep them running.<sup>29</sup> In addition to their religious role, temples also housed secular records, like the annals of Thutmose's Syrian war which were deposited in the Amon temple at Karnak.<sup>30</sup>

These temples also included a component of knowledge unavailable to most people. In Denderah, only the prophets could enter the secret temple library.<sup>31</sup> Elsewhere an Egyptian record commands, "open the heart to no strangers concerning it—a true secret of the House of Life."<sup>32</sup> The esoteric teachings found in the temple libraries were long sought after by the Pharaohs of Egypt. Rameses IV spent a considerable amount of time in the House of Life at Abydos, where he finally discovered the mysterious forms of Osiris.<sup>33</sup> Menjahotpe, in his Abydere Stela from Cairo, proclaimed that he was the "master of the secrets of the House of Life."<sup>34</sup> Neferhotep also spent his time in the Heliopolis temple examining the "rolls of the house of Osiris."<sup>35</sup> The secret knowledge has led some scholars to hypothesize that the central shrine of the Egyptian temples contained a chest full of sacred texts.<sup>36</sup>

The temple library was an important structure to the culture of Egypt. Richardson claims that by the time of the Exodus there were probably libraries in all the Egyptian temples and palaces.<sup>37</sup> The temple libraries and archives in Egypt were more than just a place to store records, but quite truly a vital part of the life of ancient Egypt. The libraries were places of sacredness which often

<sup>29</sup> Such as in Abu Simbel, *ibid.*, 29.

<sup>30</sup> Ernest Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 83-84.

<sup>31</sup> Ernest C. Richardson, *Some Old Egyptian Librarians* (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1911), 70.

<sup>32</sup> Gardiner, 164.

<sup>33</sup> Lundquist, 25.

<sup>34</sup> Gardiner, 160.

<sup>35</sup> Ernest C. Richardson, *Biblical Libraries* (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1963), 62-63.

<sup>36</sup> Richardson, *Egyptian Librarians*, 73.

<sup>37</sup> Richardson, *Biblical Libraries*, 70.

supported a priestly class and its rituals. Egyptian temples were also occasionally linked with state record keeping. These temple libraries of pre-Hellenistic Egypt most surely laid the foundation for other great Egyptian libraries and schools, e.g., Alexandria.

## Israel

Israel's greatest collection of sacred texts, the Hebrew Bible, has also been the most studied and adhered to. It is, in a sense, Israel's mobile temple library. But the primary texts that led to the formation of the Bible are not available. In fact, Dearman succinctly notes that:

unlike several other civilizations of the ancient Near East, no substantial library, major royal archives, or large monumental inscriptions have been discovered from any period of the monarchy in ancient Israel.<sup>38</sup>

Taking this into consideration, it has also been noted in the Bible and the Talmud that the temple contained a library. The chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah may have been housed in the temple (1 Kings 14:19, 29; 15:7, 23, 31). Hilkiah the high priest found scrolls in the temple, though how many and the nature of which is not clear (2 Kings 22:8–10). The centerpiece of the Holy of Holies was, in fact, a chest that contained the decalogue.<sup>39</sup> The Talmud even records the temple court as holding books.<sup>40</sup> There were also archives on the temple mount near the Akra fortress that held genealogies, marriage lists, and royal

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<sup>38</sup> J. Andrew Dearman, "On Record-Keeping and the Preservation of Documents in Ancient Israel (1000–587 B.C.E.)," *Libraries and Culture* 24 (Summer 1989), 344.

<sup>39</sup> This may have been in imitation of similar practices in Egypt. See Richardson, *Egyptian Libraries*, 73.

<sup>40</sup> Mishnah: *Moed Qatan* 3:4, *Kelim* 15:6; Babylonian Talmud: *Baba Batra* 14b; Talmud Yerushalaim: *Sheqalim* 4:2.

correspondences.<sup>41</sup> In addition, a Tannaitic listing in Baba Bathra 14b has led some to conjecture that there was an organized cataloging system for the biblical library.<sup>42</sup>

Though the records are scarce, often having been destroyed by invading armies, it is obvious that Israel, at least to a small extent, also maintained temple libraries. Though the large volumes of manuscripts and records do not remain, the most holy of the Israelite sacred libraries has been preserved as the Bible.

## Conclusion

The temple library has been a major component of ancient Near Eastern society, from Egypt, to Mesopotamia and even to Israel. In these temple libraries writing was developed. Here sacred documents were created, copied, and preserved by scribe-priests. In the library scientific and literary documents were studied and stored. Archival documents were preserved and even dedicated to the gods in the libraries. The temple libraries were the centers where the kings submitted their highest civil achievements for preservation. The library was a type of Mecca that drew many to study the mysteries of the gods. Here business transactions were made, authorized and recorded. It is no wonder that the need for sacred libraries continued through Christian monasteries, Islamic mosques, and Jewish synagogues. The temple was the center of the community, and the library was the center of the temple. The temple libraries of the ancient Near East were more than mere repositories—they were man's source for wisdom and knowledge of the sacred and profane.

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<sup>41</sup> Haran, 56.

<sup>42</sup> Nahum M. Sarna discusses this hypothesis in great detail in *Ancient Libraries and the Ordering of the Biblical Books: a Lecture Presented at the Library of Congress, March 6, 1989* (Washington D. C.: Library of Congress, 1989).

# The Five Pillars of Islam in the Hadith

Scott Edgar

*Whether one is Sunni or Shi'ite Muslim, the Five Pillars of Islam are the same: Faith (witness), Prayer, Charity, Fasting, and the Pilgrimage. These Pillars come from the Qur'an, but are not well defined therein. It is in the Hadith literature that the Five Pillars are fully defined and detailed. This paper shows how the Hadith elucidates the Five Pillars set forth in the Qur'an.*

From Arabia arose a prophet who would transform a society and inspire the eventual Islamic Empire—which at its height spread from Spain in the west to the borders of China in the east. The weapon in this conquest was not the sword, however, but the message of One God and his messenger, the Prophet Muhammad. That Muhammad was able to accomplish this was remarkable since he lived in a time when the Arabian Peninsula was inhabited by different warring tribes, but he did not come alone. He brought with him the Qur'an, the eternal word of God. From the Qur'an came the basis for the Islamic law, that governed the newly united Arabian tribes, and where the Qur'an was silent or not precise, the word of Muhammad dictated the law.

While Muhammad was alive, the umma functioned well, but in 632 A.D. Muhammad died. This caused two great dilemmas. The first was that of succession. Who should lead the umma since Muhammad was the Seal of the Prophets? There needed to be a successor, but how was he to be chosen: through lineage or merit? This issue was solved soon enough, and it was decided that

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succession should be according to merit, or according to who was most similar to the Prophet. The second issue was that of governing and law. Guidelines outlined in the Qur'an were still in effect. Although it had not yet been written down, certain men had memorized it, and it was still the basis for governing among the Muslims. The Qur'an, however, was still not clear on certain issues and was completely silent on others; something more was needed. Fortunately, before his death Muhammad clarified points on which the Qur'an was not clear and expounded where the Qur'an was silent.

### Background of Hadith

The first four Caliphs, the Rashidun Caliphs, governed as best they could. They "led the Muslims in the spirit of the Prophet, though leaning sometimes on their personal judgment."<sup>1</sup> This was not sufficient for long though.

After some time, . . . when difficulties arose for which they themselves could not find a solution, they began to take as an example the sunna, the customary behaviour of Muhammad, following the recollections of some of the Companions and making adherence to it the pre-eminent guiding principle after the Qur'an.<sup>2</sup>

The Qur'an was the main source for law and religion, but the "Ways and Wont of Muhammad and his utterances form[ed] a living commentary on and a supplement to the Qur'an."<sup>3</sup>

These "Ways and Wont of Muhammad" that were gathered were termed Hadith.<sup>4</sup> G. H. A. Juynboll defined Hadith as "all the

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<sup>1</sup> G.H.A. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt* (E.J. Brill: Leiden, Netherlands, 1969), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Juynboll, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *The Sayings of Muhammad*, compiler and trans. Allama Sir Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardy (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc, 1941), 17.

<sup>4</sup> Hadith with a capital "H" refers to the collection, and hadith with a lower case "h" refers to an individual hadith.



sayings, deeds and decisions of the Prophet Muhammad, his silent approval of the behaviour of his contemporaries, and descriptions of his person.”<sup>5</sup> The Hadith contain many teachings of Muhammad that might seem minute to the non-Muslim. For example, we learn that Muhammad was fond of beginning things on the right hand side.

The Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, was fond of beginning on the right side, in putting on his shoes and in combing his hair and in performing ablution, (in fact) in all his actions.<sup>6</sup>

This may seem trite, but Muslims seek to imitate the Prophet in any mode possible. The Qur’an teaches that in Muhammad Muslims have “an excellent exemplar for him who hopes in Allah and the Latter day, and remembers Allah much.”<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it seems proper to try and live like Muhammad in all ways possible—even in the parting of the hair.

The Hadith are not just filled with the everyday actions of Muhammad. They also elucidate many doctrinal matters that are central to Islam whether Sunni or Shi’i. Chief among these are the Five Pillars of Islam. The Qur’an is the main source for the Five Pillars, which are Shahada (faith), Salat (prayer), Zakat (charity), Sawm (fasting), and Hajj (pilgrimage), but without the clarifications or adjuncts in the Hadith, the explanation of the Five Pillars in the Qur’an would not be “sufficiently precise.”<sup>8</sup> It is through the lens of the Hadith that the Five Pillars of Islam are made clear and the proper mode of each is put forth—in fact, it is in the

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<sup>5</sup> Juynboll, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari*, trans. Dr Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Chicago: Kazi Publications, 1979), 4.

<sup>7</sup> Qur’an, trans. Mawlana Muhammad Lahore (Pakistan: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha’at Islam, 1973), 33:21.

<sup>8</sup> Faruq Sherif, *A Guide to the Contents of the Qur’an* (London: Ithaca Press, 1985), 1.

Hadith where the Pillars as such are definitively listed.<sup>9</sup> In this paper, I will examine how the Hadith have added to and expounded on the Qur'anic treatment of the Five Pillars of Islam.

### Shahada

The first of the Five Pillars is shahada or the Witness of Faith. It consists of, first, the acknowledgement that Allah is the one true God and that no other gods or offspring are associated with him, and second, that Muhammad is his messenger and that Allah's word is revealed through Muhammad. This doctrine is clearly laid out in the Qur'an and is reinforced throughout the Hadith.<sup>10</sup> There is no new doctrinal aspect developed in the Hadith about the shahada, but it does reiterate what the Qur'an says on the issue. There is a story related in the Hadith about Muhammad being asked by a group of people for "something good so that we may (carry out) take it from you and also invite to it our people whom we left behind (at home)," and he answered, "I order you to do four things and forbid you from four things," and the first of the four things he ordered was "[to] believe in Allah. (And then he explained it to them i.e.) to testify that none has the right to be worshipped but Allah and I (Muhammad, peace be upon him) am Allah's Apostle."<sup>11</sup> This leaves no doubt in any Muslim's mind about what the Witness of Faith entails.

### Salat

The second Pillar in Islam is salat or the five compulsory prayers each day. The Qur'an teaches that prayer has been "enjoined on the believers at fixed times."<sup>12</sup> However, it does not go

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<sup>9</sup> Bukhari, 1:17.

<sup>10</sup> For a few selections of references to Allah see Qur'an 2:163; 2:116; 3:17; 16:51; 112:1; and for Muhammad, see 2:253; 5:15.

<sup>11</sup> Bukhari, 1:298.

<sup>12</sup> Qur'an 4:103.

into detail about the times of prayer each day. It touches on general times of prayer, but not specific times. The Qur'an instructs the believers to "keep up prayer at the two ends of the day and in the first hours of the night,"<sup>13</sup> but to get specific times of prayer, the believer must consult the Hadith.

The five prayers are named and defined in the Hadith. They are Fajr, Zuhr, Asr, Maghrib, and Isha. The times of each are also given, and the importance of knowing the proper times of prayer is set forth in a hadith reported by a companion of the Muhammad named, Abdullah. He asked Muhammad, "Which deed is the dearest to Allah?" and Muhammad replied, "To offer the prayers at their early stated fixed times."<sup>14</sup>

The times of the prayers were set forth in the Hadith:

- *Fajr*. This is the morning prayer which is offered before the sunrise. Aisha, one of Muhammad's wives, told of going and offering the Fajr prayer with Muhammad, and "after finishing the prayer they would return to their homes and nobody could recognize them because of darkness."<sup>15</sup>
- *Zuhr*. This is the noon prayer. In the Hadith we learn that the "Prophet used to offer the Zuhr prayer just after mid-day (as the sun declines at noon)."<sup>16</sup> During the hot months, however, Muhammad would allow the delaying of the Zuhr prayer until the heat of the desert subsided a bit because the "severity of the heat is from the raging of the Hell-fire."<sup>17</sup>
- *Asr*. This is the prayer said after the Zuhr and before the sun sets. Aisha remembered that the "Prophet used the pray the Asr prayers at a time when the sunshine was still inside my chamber and no shadow had yet appeared in it."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 11:14

<sup>14</sup> Bukhari, 1:300.

<sup>15</sup> Bukhari, 1:321.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 1:305.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 1:304.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 1:307.

- *Maghrib*. This is the evening prayer and the “time for the evening prayer is that when the sun disappears and (it lasts) till the twilight.”<sup>19</sup> The Hadith teaches that Muhammad observed the evening prayer before the “twilight had vanished.”<sup>20</sup>
- *Isha*. The last of the compulsory prayers is prayed any time from twilight until midnight. From the Hadith we learn that Muhammad “used to offer the Isha prayer in the period between the disappearance of the twilight and the end of the first third of the night.”<sup>21</sup>

Now, aside from clarifying the times of prayer, the Hadith also advises on times when prayers are not to be offered. For instance, the Fajr prayer is to be offered before the sunrise, the Zuhr prayer is offered after the sun declines from its noontime zenith and the Isha prayer is to be offered after the sunset. In relation to those times of prayer, Muhammad prohibited prayer when the “sun begins to rise till it is fully up, when the sun is at its height at mid-day till it passes over the meridian, and when the sun draws near to setting till it sets.”<sup>22</sup> This prohibition was in place because, according to Muhammad, the sun “rises between the horns of Satan.”<sup>23</sup> Concerning Salat, the Hadith offers the necessary information to fulfill that which is dearest to Allah by defining the times of prayers.

## Zakat

The next Pillar is zakat or charity. Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, in his translation of Imam Muslim’s compilation of hadiths, prefaces the section on zakat by stating that it is not a “mere tax, but a form of

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<sup>19</sup> *Sahih Muslim*, trans. Abdul Hamid Siddiqi (Lahore, Pakistan: Ashraf, 1980), 1:300.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:300.

<sup>21</sup> Bukhari, 1:317.

<sup>22</sup> *Muslim*, 2:395.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:395.

worship whereby a man comes close to his Lord.”<sup>24</sup> The Qur’an states that the adherence to charity is a characteristic of the true believers and of the God-fearing.<sup>25</sup> As such, it is pertinent to understand the requirements and bounds of the zakat. The Qur’an teaches that it is only for the poor and needy,<sup>26</sup> leaving unspecified what one must pay on and how much one is required to pay.

The amount of the charity that one must pay is according to his possessions and how he earns his living. For example, no charity is “payable on less than five wasqs of (dates or grains), on less than five camel-heads and on less than five uqiyas (of silver),”<sup>27</sup> and there is no charity due on slaves or horses.<sup>28</sup> If one earns a living through agriculture then “[a] tenth is payable on what is watered by rivers, or rains, and a twentieth on what is watered by camels.”<sup>29</sup> The distinction is this: that which is watered by natural means (rivers or rains) has only one tenth due on it whereas that which is watered by artificial means (camels) has one twentieth due on it. Also, if one earns his living dishonestly then he is forbidden from paying the charity because “Allah accepts only honestly earned money.”<sup>30</sup> Even if a man has no form of income, he can still pay charity by striving to be righteous.

Abu Dharr reported: Some of the people from among the Companions of the Apostle of Allah (may peace be upon him) said to him: Messenger of Allah, the rich have taken away (all the) rewards. They observe prayer as we do; they keep the fasts as we keep, and they give Sadaqa [charity] out of their surplus riches. Upon this he (the Holy Prophet) said: Has Allah not prescribed for you (a course) by following which you can (also) do Sadaqa? In every declaration of the glorification of Allah

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:465.

<sup>25</sup> Koran, trans. N.J. Dawood (New York: Penguin, 1999), 2:177.

<sup>26</sup> Qur’an 9:60.

<sup>27</sup> *Muslim*, 2:466.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:467.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Bukhari*, 2:281.

. . . there is Sadaqa, and every Takbir is a Sadaqa, and every declaration that He is One is a Sadaqa, and in man's sexual intercourse (with his wife) there is a Sadaqa.<sup>31</sup>

Or in short, “[e]very act of goodness is [charity].”<sup>32</sup>

The Hadith also teaches the importance of giving charity in secret. Muhammad told of seven types of people to whom “Allah would give protection with His Shade on the Day when there would be no shade but that of Him (i.e., on the Day of Judgment)” and among those people is he who “gives charity and conceals it (to such an extent) that the right hand does not know what the left has given.”<sup>33</sup> Beyond secrecy, another virtue in charity giving is that of giving while the giver is still “healthy and close-fisted, one haunted by the fear of poverty, hoping to become rich (charity in such a state of health and mind is the best).”<sup>34</sup>

The sin of neglecting charity is great. Even if one can give only half of a date then he is better off than not giving anything. There is a hadith that echoes a similar point of Latter-day Saint theology. It states that Muhammad, speaking of charity, said, “He who among you can protect himself against Fire, he should do so, even if it should be with half a date.”<sup>35</sup> More specifically, Muhammad revealed that the punishment for

any owner of gold or silver [who] does not pay what is due on him, when the Day of Resurrection would come, plates of fire would be beaten out for him; these would then be heated in the fire of Hell and his side, his forehead and his back would be cauterized with them.<sup>36</sup>

Then, after the plates cool down, the process is repeated for a day, which is equal to the length of fifty thousand years until judgment

<sup>31</sup> *Muslim*, 2:482

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 493.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 494.

<sup>35</sup> *Muslim*, 2:486; cf. Doctrine and Covenants 64:23.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:470.

comes,<sup>37</sup> and so, according to the Hadith, there is great incentive to pay the zakat if just to be spared cauterization.

### Sawm

The fourth Pillar of Islam is Sawm or Fasting—specifically during the month of Ramadan. The Qur’an is not silent on this Pillar. From the Qur’an we learn that the fast can be postponed if one is traveling,<sup>38</sup> that sexual intimacy with one’s wife is permissible during the nights of Ramadan,<sup>39</sup> that the fasting should begin when “the whiteness of the day becomes distinct from the blackness of the night at dawn,”<sup>40</sup> and that the fast ends at nightfall.<sup>41</sup> The Hadith literature elaborates on many aspects of the Fast of Ramadan beyond the basics found in the Qur’an.

Ramadan is supposed to last for thirty days—from new moon to new moon. However, the sky is not always clear and the moon is not always visible. Concerning this problem, Muhammad said, “Do not fast till you see the new moon, and do not break fast till you see it; but if the weather is cloudy, calculate about it.”<sup>42</sup> To “calculate about it” means to count thirty days. Another point about the length of the Ramadan fast is made in the Hadith. It is told by Aisha that

[w]hen twenty-nine nights were over, the Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him) came to me . . . I said: Messenger of Allah, you had taken an oath that you would not come to us for a month, whereas you have come after twenty-nine days which I have counted. Whereupon he said: the month may also consist of twenty-nine days.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Qur’an 2:185.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 2:187.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> *Muslim* 2:524.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 2:528.

Muhammad's intent in this hadith was to dispel a superstition of pre-Islamic Arabia that had carried over into Islam. The superstition held that a month consisting of twenty-nine days was inferior to a month consisting of thirty days.<sup>44</sup>

The Hadith also contains other rules and guidelines for the Fast of Ramadan. For instance, it is forbidden to fast for "a day or two days ahead of Ramadan."<sup>45</sup> Also, those who do not fast in order to have the strength to serve in times of great need are praised,<sup>46</sup> and if one dies in a state of fasting thereby leaving part of the fast undone, then the portions of the fast left undone need to be completed by another. Muhammad likened it to an unpaid debt and explained that the "debt of Allah deserves its payment more than (the payment of anyone else)."<sup>47</sup> And so, the Hadith provides essential guidelines for the Sawm that are not found in the Qur'an.

## Hajj

The fifth Pillar of Islam is the Hajj or Pilgrimage. The Qur'an teaches the necessity of the Pilgrimage,<sup>48</sup> the prohibition of hunting during the Pilgrimage,<sup>49</sup> what is done to make restitution if game is killed intentionally,<sup>50</sup> and the circling of the Ka'bah, or "Ancient House." One finds in the Hadith, however, many details concerning the Pilgrimage that shed light on its doctrines and practices.

One of the doctrines of the Pilgrimage is that it can be performed through proxy, and, as with the Fast, it is found only in the Hadith. A man by the name of Abdullah bin Abbas told of his

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:528, see n. 1477.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:527.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:545.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 2:556.

<sup>48</sup> Qur'an 2:196; 22:27.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 5:1, 5:95.

<sup>50</sup> Qur'an 5:95.



brother who was riding behind Muhammad. He recalled that a woman said:

“O Allah’s Apostle! The obligation of Hajj enjoined by Allah on His devotees has become due on my father and he is old a weak, and he cannot sit firm on the Mount; may I perform Hajj on his behalf?” The Prophet (may peace be upon him) replied, “Yes, you may.”<sup>51</sup>

Along with the doctrine of proxy, the doctrine of being reborn through observance of the Pilgrimage is also found in the Hadith with the prerequisites for rebirth being set forth. Muhammad taught that:

whoever performs the Hajj for Allah’s pleasure and does not have sexual relations with his wife, and does not do evil or sins then he will return (after Hajj free from all sins) as if he was born anew.<sup>52</sup>

The hope of this cleansing effect would be a powerful incentive for any Muslim who is striving to draw nearer to Allah to perform the Pilgrimage. We also learn that “no pagan is allowed to perform Hajj . . . and no naked person is allowed to perform Tawaf [circumambulating] of the Ka’aba.”<sup>53</sup> So, where the Qur’an underscores the necessity of making the Pilgrimage, the Hadith contains the doctrines and blessings of this Pillar.

In addition to expounding on the blessings and doctrines, the Hadith also presents many of the practices that the Muhrim<sup>54</sup> adopts during the Pilgrimage such as the kissing of the black stone,<sup>55</sup> what clothing to wear,<sup>56</sup> the running between Safa and

<sup>51</sup> Bukhari, 2:344.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 2:347.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 2:401.

<sup>54</sup> *Muhrim* is one who is in the state of ihram for the purpose of the Hajj.

<sup>55</sup> Bukhari, 2:394.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 2:358.

Marwa,<sup>57</sup> and the need for self-reliance during the Hajj<sup>58</sup>. These are only a selection of a few of the practices that are taught in the Hadith, but there are more that guide the Muhrim through the Pilgrimage.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, whether one is Sunni Muslim or a Shi'i Muslim, it is the binding thread of the Five Pillars that link the divisions of Islam. To be sure, the Qur'an is the basis for each of the Pillars, but to the clearest idea of what each Pillar consists of, one must go to the Hadith. It is in the Hadith that the Five Pillars are magnified so they can be clearly understood and practiced.

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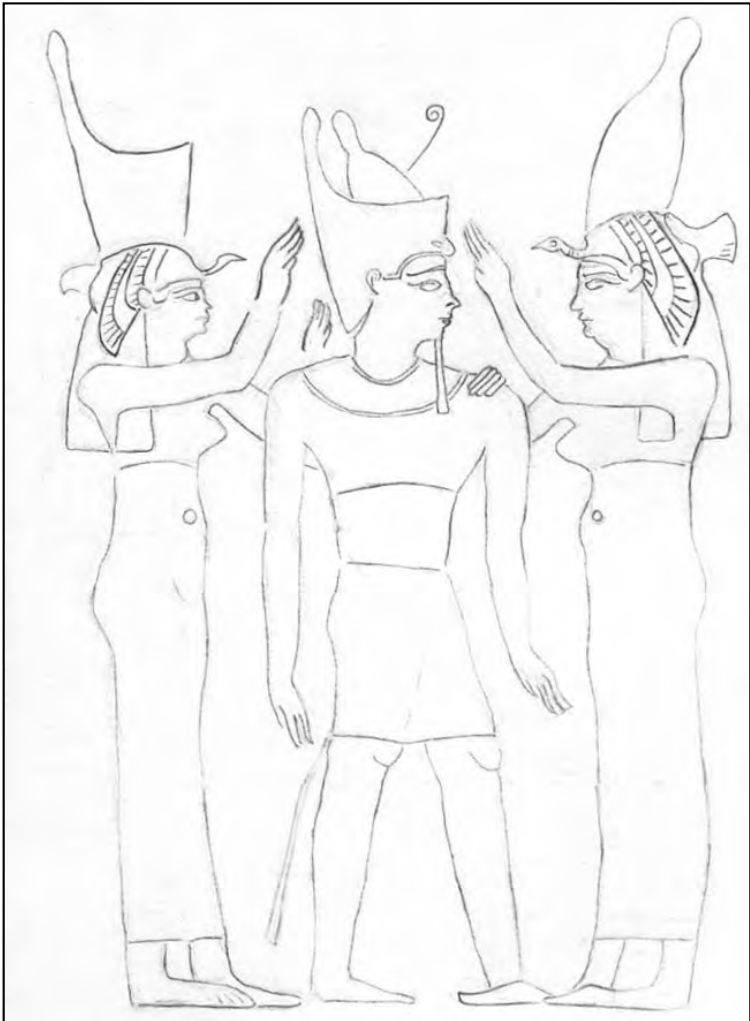
<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 2:348.





# BIBLICAL STUDIES



Relief depicting the enthronement ceremony of Ptolemy VIII being crowned king of both Upper and Lower Egypt. He is shown wearing the ceremonial robe, beard, and double crown.



# The Syro-Ephraimite War: Context, Conflict, and Consequences

Vann D. Rolfson

*The Syro-Ephraimite War holds a salient position in the history of Ancient Israel. This article explores the causes and conditions of the war and its role in the scattering of Israel.*

The Syro-Ephraimite War was a conflict that would be the catalyst for the prophesied scattering of Israel. Choices made within the war led to the total destruction of Syria, the later fall of Israel, and to the subsequent captivity and deportation for most of Judah. This war finds its place in the writings of Isaiah:

And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward Jerusalem to war against it, but could not prevail against it. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria is confederate with Ephraim. (Isaiah 7:1–2)

The Syro-Ephraimite War occurred just before the destruction and deportation of Israel. Most countries of the ancient Near East had been claimed by the expanding Assyrian Empire as provinces or vassal states. Judah was one of the few states which retained her independence. Pekah, king of Israel, and Rezin, king of Syria, endeavored to enlist Judah in a coalition to fight the Assyrians. When Ahaz, the king of Judah, refused to join their coalition,

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Pekah and Rezin combined their forces against Judah in an effort to replace Ahaz with a king more favorable to their cause.

Though often enemies, previous successful military coalitions between Syria, Israel, and Judah provided a powerful precedent for uniting against Assyria. Syria and Israel's reaction to Judah's refusal to join their coalition resulted in the Syro-Ephraimite War. The downfall of these three countries stemmed from decisions made during this war. Therefore, acknowledgement of this war is crucial to understanding the scattering and gathering of Israel.

### Historical Context

Animosity between Syria, Israel, and Judah began before the death of Solomon and the separation of his kingdom (see 1 Kings 11:23–25; 1 Kings 12:4). Solomon's son Rehoboam became king of the Southern Kingdom of Judah while Jeroboam became king of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. War quickly ensued between the two and Solomon's vassal territories took the opportunity to establish independence.<sup>1</sup> The early kings of Israel and Judah were continually at war (see 1 Kings 14:30; 1 Kings 15:7, 16).

Many of the wars between Israel and Judah centered on their bordering territories—essentially the land of Benjamin. Though Rehoboam's successor, Abijam, at one point gained an upper hand, neither country gained clear lasting control over the area.<sup>2</sup> After King Baasha of Israel regained much of the land captured by Abijam, Asa, Abijam's successor as king of Judah, removed the treasures from the temple. He then gave them to Ben-Hadad I, the king of Syria, and entered into a treaty with him. Ben-Hadad I accepted and then attacked Israel from the north. The first coalition between these countries had favorable results. The attack

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<sup>1</sup> John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 227–228.

<sup>2</sup> Yohanan Aharoni and Michael Avi-yonah, *The Modern Bible Atlas* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), 122.





Map of Israel, Judah, and surrounding regions during the Syro-Ephraimite War.

diverted Israel's attention from its conflict with Judah in the south to Damascus in the north giving Judah an opportunity to regain control over its borders.

Meanwhile to the east, Assyria was nearing the end of a century-long period of political and cultural stagnation. The Assyrians rose to power again in 911 B.C. under Adad-Nirari II. He liberated his country from invaders, primarily Arameans whom he pushed back into Aram (Syria). By revitalizing Assyria, Adad-Nirari II created a means for his successors to establish a new Assyrian Empire.<sup>3</sup>

Ashurnarsipal II followed Adad-Nirari's example of military leadership by expanding Assyria's borders. He used tactics of torture and fear to exact tribute from his neighbors. Caught by surprise and terrified by Ashurnarsipal's horrific methods of dealing with captives, many nations quickly capitulated and gave him the requested tribute. In a western campaign he reached the Mediterranean Sea. While there, he exacted tribute from the coastal cities of Arvad, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre.<sup>4</sup>

Recognizing the danger of Assyrian conquest, many of the kingdoms within Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria formed a coalition to defend against an Assyrian invasion when Ashurnarsipal's successor, Shalamasnesar III, turned his forces to conquest in the West in 853 B.C. The Assyrians met the coalition at Qarqar (Karkara). The Assyrian Monolith Inscription is the only extant record of this battle:

I destroyed, tore down and burned down Karkara, his royal residence. He brought along to help him 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalymen, 20,000 foot soldiers of Adad-'idri (Ben Hadad) of Damascus, 700 chariots, 700 cavalymen, 10,000 foot soldiers of Irhuleni from Hamath, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 foot soldiers of Ahab, the Israelite, 500 soldiers from Que, 1,000 soldiers from Musri, 10 chariots, 10,000 soldiers from Irqanata, 200

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<sup>3</sup> Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), 263.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

soldiers of Matinu-ba'la from Arvad, 200 soldiers from Usanta, 30 chariots, 1[0?],000 soldiers of Adunu-ba'lu from Shian, 1,000 camels of Gindibu', from Arabia, [...],000 soldiers of Ba'sa, son of Ruhubi, from Ammon—these were twelve kings. They rose against me [for a] decisive battle.<sup>5</sup>

Since the only record of the battle is Assyrian, and as always the Assyrians claimed victory, we may infer that the battle was a tremendous success for the coalition. The Assyrian objective of conquest and exacting tribute from these nations was thwarted and Shalmaneser did not launch another western campaign for at least four years.<sup>6</sup> The coalition's primary objective was to turn the Assyrians from their lands. This was met as the Assyrians abandoned their plans for conquest. Traditional enemies such as Ahab of Israel and Ben Hadad of Syria had become allies to resist the Assyrians.

Aharoni, a modern scholar, contends that Judah probably also joined in this coalition against the Assyrians though they were not mentioned in the Monolith Inscription. He supports this inference by referring to military cooperation between Israel and Judah against the Syrians during this period.<sup>7</sup> I Kings 22:1 notes a period of peace between Syria and Israel: "And they continued three years without war between Syria and Israel." This time of peace occurred between the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.) and the death of Ahab (850 B.C.). An alliance between Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and Ahab by the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son to Ahab's daughter likely occurred within or before that period of peace (see 2 Chron. 18:1). Ahab requested the help of Jehoshaphat against the Syrians—not knowing the exact dates, it is possible to conclude that this could have been the second time Ahab had enlisted

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<sup>5</sup> James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), 1:190.

<sup>6</sup> Yohanan Aharoni and Michael Avi-yonah, *The Modern Bible Atlas* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), 127.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

Jehoshaphat's military support and the Battle of Qarqar the first time. Regardless of Jehoshaphat's participation in the Battle of Qarqar, he made a lasting bond with Israel when he responded to Ahab, "I am as thou art, my people are as thy people, and we will be with thee in the war" (2 Chron. 18:3).

Though Ahab died in the campaign, Jehoshaphat continued his policy of cooperation with Israel through the reigns of Ahab's successors, Jehoram and Ahaziah.<sup>8</sup> With their union, a meaningful precedent for coalition against outside forces had been set.

### The Syro-Ephraimite War

Over the next century Assyrians continued their campaigns west eventually taking as vassals Syria, Israel, and many other kingdoms that had opposed them at Qarqar.

After the death of Jeroboam II, king of Israel, in 746 B.C., the throne passed to five different kings within ten years. Jeroboam's son, Zechariah, was killed by Shallum who was in turn murdered by Menahem. Menahem gained stability and spared Israel from Assyrian conquest by voluntarily paying tribute and becoming a vassal state to Assyria.<sup>9</sup>

In 737 B.C., Pekah, a captain in the Israelite army, usurped the throne of Pekiahah, who had inherited the throne of his father Menahem only months earlier.<sup>10</sup> Pekah distinguished his reign by rejecting Israelite vassalage to Assyria and joining with Syria in revolt. They realized that individually or combined, neither of their

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<sup>8</sup> When Moab rebelled against Israel, Jehoshaphat went with Jehoram to battle against Moab (2 Kings 3:7). At another point, Jehoshaphat entered into a joint venture to build ships with Ahaziah. Together they endeavored to build a fleet at Ezion-geber to do trade with Tarshish.

<sup>9</sup> John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 271.

<sup>10</sup> Nadav Na'aman, "Forced Participation in Alliances in the Course of the Assyrian Campaigns to the West," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ed. Mordechai Cogan (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1991), 92.

countries had the military capability to successfully withstand the Assyrian army. Thus, they sought to follow precedent in fighting Assyria by creating a coalition of nations.

Nearly all of the nations in the area sympathized with Syria and Israel's views, since they also felt the yoke of Assyrian oppression. Philistia and Edom both joined their effort. Judah was the one essential nation that refused membership from the anti-Assyrian coalition.

The coalition apparently felt that to enlist Judah in their cause they would need to replace Judah's king with a more cooperative ruler. They chose the son of Tabeal, a member of Judah's aristocracy who was governor of Gilead. In Isaiah's warning to Ahaz he explains Syria and Israel's intention:

Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein for us, and set a king in the midst of it, even the son of Tabeal. (Isaiah 7:6)

The coalition attacked Judah on three fronts. Rezin and Pekah, along with the son of Tabeal, attacked northern Judah. Though the numbers recorded in the Chronicles account are clearly over-inflated, the number slain and taken captives were probably substantial.<sup>11</sup>

Wherefore the LORD his God delivered him into the hand of the king of Syria; and they smote him, and carried away a great multitude of them captives, and brought them to Damascus. And he was also delivered into the hand of the king of Israel, who smote him with a great slaughter.

For Pekah the son of Remaliah slew in Judah an hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men; because they had forsaken the LORD God of their fathers.

And the children of Israel carried away captive of their brethren

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<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey R. Chadwick, personal interview by Vann Rolfson, Brigham Young University, 27 Feb 2002. He estimates one tenth the number stated in Chronicles.

two hundred thousand, women, sons, and daughters, and took also away much spoil from them, and brought the spoil to Samaria. (Chronicles 28: 5, 6, 8)

At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day. (2 Kings 16:6)

Rezin and Pekah then laid siege to Jerusalem. The Philistines and the Edomites, both traditional enemies of Judah, took advantage of Judah's war in the north by attacking towns in the south-east and southwest.<sup>12</sup> Surrounded by enemy forces, Ahaz reacted by allying himself with Assyria. He took the silver and gold from the temple and the royal treasury and sent it to Tiglath-pileser with a pledge to serve him and a plea for his help against the coalition.<sup>13</sup>

So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me.

And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria.(2 Kings 16: 7-8)

At this point, the record in Chronicles and Kings diverges.

And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin.(2 Kings 16:9)

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<sup>12</sup> 2 Chronicles 28: 17–18 “For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah, and carried away captives. The Philistines also had invaded the cities of the low country, and of the south of Judah, and had taken Beth-shemesh, and Ajalon, and Gederoth, and Shacho with the villages thereof, and Timnah with the villages thereof, Gimzo also and the villages thereof: and they dwelt there.”

<sup>13</sup> There are many spelling variations for Tiglath-Pileser. In Biblical quotes, I used the original spelling.

And Tilgath-pilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not.  
 For Ahaz took away a portion out of the house of the LORD, and out of the house of the king, and of the princes, and gave it unto the king of Assyria: but he helped him not. (2 Chron. 28: 20, 21)

With his tribute, Ahaz indentured Judah to Assyrian vassalage. Tiglath-Pileser led his armies west to deal with the countries that had refused to pay tribute, regardless of Ahaz's request for assistance.

### Consequences of the War

In 733 B.C. the Assyrians sacked Damascus. The Assyrians killed Rezin and deported many people from Damascus to Assyria. In addition to taking Damascus, Tiglath-Pileser destroyed Rezin's birth city, Hadara, and 520 other cities in the area making them "like mounds after a flood."<sup>14</sup> The independent kingdom of Syria was decimated. The Assyrians provincialized Syria, splitting it into four provinces. Damascus became a capital city of one of the provinces.

When Tiglath-Pileser attacked Israel he took much of its northern territory but did not proceed into the hill country and attack Samaria. In the Assyrian Annals this is described:

Israel . . . all its inhabitants (and) their possessions I led to Assyria. They overthrew their king Pekah and I placed Hoshea as king over them. I received from them 10 talents of gold, 1,000 talents of silver as their [tri]bute and brought them to Assyria.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Wayne T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 187.

<sup>15</sup> James B. Pritchard, ed., *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), 1:194.

Hoshea offered tribute to Assyria and killed Pekah; thus Tiglath-Pileser recognized Hoshea as a cooperative ruler and officially accepted him as the king of Israel.<sup>16</sup>

For its rebellion, Tiglath-Pileser deported many of Israel's northern inhabitants and made provinces of Israel's northern territory. He created the Assyrian provinces of Megiddo in Galilee, Dor on the Mediterranean coast, and Gilead in Transjordan.

Not long after Tiglath-Pileser's death in 727 B.C., Hoshea refused to pay his tribute. Shalmaneser V, Tiglath-Pileser's son, rose up against Israel and imprisoned Hoshea. He found that Hoshea had been in league with Egypt against Assyria. For Hoshea's defiance, Shalmaneser began a three-year siege of Samaria (2 Kings 17). In 722 B.C. his successor, Sargon II, completed the siege and deported its inhabitants. In his annals, Shalmaneser indicates that he deported 27,290 people from Samaria.<sup>17</sup> This number only includes the inhabitants of the city—it may be extrapolated that up to 200,000 people were deported from the countryside.<sup>18</sup> Sargon then rebuilt Samaria and filled it with deported people from other areas:

At the begi[nn]ing of my royal rule, I . . . the town of the Sama[ri]ans [I besieged, conquered] [for the god . . . who le]t me achieve (this) my triumph . . . I led away as prisoners 27,290 inhabitants of it (and) [equipped] from among [them (soldiers to man)] 50 chariots for my royal corps . . . [The town I] re[built] better than (it was) before and [settled] therein people from countries which [I] myself [had con]quered. I placed an

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<sup>16</sup> Nadav Na'aman, "Forced Participation in Alliances in the Course of the Assyrian Campaigns to the West," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ed. Mordechai Cogan (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1991), 94. Na'aman argues that Samaria was punished, though not destroyed as was Damascus, because the Assyrians viewed the Israelite rebellion as a deviation from the past

<sup>17</sup> Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), 2:2.

<sup>18</sup> Jeffrey R. Chadwick, personal interview by Vann Rolfson, Brigham Young University, 27 February 2002.



officer of mine an governor over them and imposed upon them tribute as (is customary) for Assyrian citizens.”<sup>19</sup>

In reaction to Rezin and Pekah’s attack, Ahaz, the King of Judah acted against Isaiah’s counsel not to fear Syria and Israel.

Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be fainthearted for the two tails of these smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin with Syria, and of the son of Remaliah. (Isaiah 7:4)

Ahaz offered tribute from the temple and the royal treasury to Assyria in return for protection from Israel and Syria.

So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me.

And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king’s house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. (2 Kings 16:7-8)

Assyria gladly accepted the gift and turned his attention toward Syria. In the short term, Judah was freed from war with Syria and Israel. In the long term, by willingly becoming a tributary state to Assyria, Ahaz placed Judah into a difficult position from that time forward in being required to give tribute to Assyria. If Ahaz had not paid tribute to Assyria, there may not have been a pretext for the later Assyrian conquest of Judah.

The death of Sargon in 705 B.C. inspired dissention throughout the Assyrian Empire. Hezekiah, the son of Ahaz, apparently had been making great preparations to revolt by building fortifications at key cities throughout Judah before Sargon died. At

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<sup>19</sup> James B. Pritchard, ed. *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), 1:195.

Sargon's death Hezekiah refused to pay tribute to Assyria.<sup>20</sup>

Sennacherib, Sargon's son, lived up to his father's reputation as a cruel and powerful emperor. Sennacherib answered Hezekiah's revolt by invading Judah in 701 B.C.. He destroyed the Judean countryside capturing all of its 46 fortified cities and deporting 200,000 people.<sup>21</sup> In his annals this is how Sennacherib refers to the incident:

As to Hezekiah, the Jew, he did not submit to my yoke, I laid siege to 46 of his strong cities . . . . I drove out (of them) 200,150 people . . . . Himself I made a prisoner in Jerusalem, his royal residence, like a bird in a cage. Thus I reduced his country, but I still increased the tribute . . . upon him beyond the former tribute, to be delivered annually.<sup>22</sup>

Sennecharib's armies laid siege to but did not take Jerusalem. In desperation, Hezekiah agreed to exchange a massive tribute for peace with Assyria. To pay his raised tribute, Hezekiah stripped both the temple and the royal treasury.

And Hezekiah gave him all the silver that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house. (2 Kings 18:15)

Of all of Judah, only the city of Jerusalem was spared. We can estimate that the 200,000 people Sennacharib deported made up roughly ninety percent of the inhabitants of Judah.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> John Rogerson and Philip Davies, *The Old Testament World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 152.

<sup>21</sup> F. F. Bruce, *Israel and the Nations* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1978), 71.

<sup>22</sup> James B. Pritchard, ed. *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1958), 1:200.

<sup>23</sup> Jeffrey R. Chadwick, interview, 2002.

## Conclusion

Syria, Israel, and Judah's destruction all resulted from the Syro-Ephraimite war. Though the war itself was not the cause for the destruction of any of their countries, the war surely hastened it. Assyria was in a state of empire building and these countries were in its path. It is not likely that Assyria would have allowed any of them to remain as independent enclaves surrounded by the empire for very long.

By focusing their forces on controlling Judah, both Israel and Syria were caught unprepared to defend themselves from the Assyrians. The kingdom of Syria was completely obliterated; its inhabitants killed or deported and scattered. The Assyrians gave the Israelites another opportunity to exist as a vassal country. In essence the Assyrians allowed Israel the opportunity to change their ways but they would not. The writer of 1 Kings recounts Israel's punishment for refusing to change their ways.

Yet the LORD testified against Israel, and against Judah, by all the prophets, and by all the seers, saying, Turn ye from your evil ways, and keep my commandments and my statutes, according to all the law which I commanded your fathers, and which I sent to you by my servants the prophets.

Notwithstanding they would not hear, but hardened their necks, like to the neck of their fathers, that did not believe in the LORD their God.

Until the LORD removed Israel out of his sight, as he had said by all his servants the prophets. So was Israel carried away out of their own land to Assyria unto this day. (1 Kings 17:13, 14, 23)

Hoshea's refusal to pay tribute and his subsequent defiance to the Assyrians resulted in the destruction and deportation of all of Israel. The Ten Tribes of Israel were effectively lost as they were taken to Assyria and scattered.

The safety Ahaz sought by pledging tribute and loyalty to Assyria existed only a short time. It seems that Assyria needed little encouragement to demand Judah's vassalage. Ahaz simply made Assyria's work easier. Ahaz's vow of allegiance played a large part in the later destruction of Judah. When his son Hezekiah sought to establish Judah's independence, ninety percent of the country was destroyed or deported. Often unrecognized, this deportation is a key element in scattering of the tribes Israel. Only the city of Jerusalem was spared. Of Jerusalem the Lord said, "For I will defend this city to save it for my own sake, and for the sake of my servant David" (Isaiah 37:35).

The Syro-Ephraimite War was a key factor in leading to the fall of Syria, Israel, and the scourging of the Judean countryside and cities a generation later. These were the critical elements of the scattering of Israel.

The riches of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be taken before the king of Assyria . . . And he shall pass through Judah; he shall overflow and go over, he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel. (Isaiah 8:4,8)

# King of Kings: The Enthronement of Yahweh

Jeremy J. Stewart

*Ancient Near Eastern kingship had a profound influence on Israelite kingship. The Israelites eventually enthroned their God, Yahweh, as well as their future Messiah. This led to the enthronement of Jesus Christ by His followers, an observance and a tradition that continues until the present.*

The motif of God and Jesus Christ sitting upon heavenly thrones is a common image in Christian theology. How and where did this tradition begin? What is the relationship between deity and kingship, and how did God end up ruling in a man-made governmental position?

From the time of Adam to Abraham, pastoral nomadism and local tribal leadership was essentially all that was known throughout the ancient Near East. A new form of government emerged from this tradition that would influence the politics, social structure, and theology of each of the civilizations that it reached. Kingship and monarchic politics spread throughout the Middle East and gave rise to new beliefs and ideals, including that of divine kingship. Ancient Israel was no exception to this movement. Influenced by its Mesopotamian, Transjordanian, and especially Egyptian neighbors, ancient Israel's newfound sedentary civilization not only adopted kingship as the official form of government, but likewise integrated many of the derived aspects

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of royal politics into their own religion. Perhaps none of these changes carries the magnitude of the eventual enthronement of Yahweh, the God of Israel. The ideology that arose from Israelite kingship inspired and shaped everything from messianic beliefs to modern religions. A study of ancient kingship in the Middle East thus enhances our understanding and appreciation for the kingship of God and the heavenly reign of Jesus Christ.

### **Kingship in the Ancient Near East**

Ancient Near Eastern kingship has its roots in the development of the position of the father, or elder, of a clan or tribe. Without executive backing or sufficient organization to amass real authority, the power of these leaders was limited to moral influence, without extensive rights to make or enforce laws. The role of the elder of the clan “was to guide rather than to dictate the conduct of his free subjects, to declare what was just rather than to enforce it.”<sup>1</sup> These leaders began to consolidate their power, giving birth to the limited monarchy. The authority and prestige of the tribal leaders increased, and they soon began to resemble the modern perception of a kingly figure. Although these kings had authority to make and enforce laws and were often seen as the supreme judge, their power remained fragile, resting in the hands of their subjects—a force over which they had very little control. Despite this progress towards royal rule, the authority of the king would continue to evolve drastically before it reached the status of absolutism.

From this point the monarchies of the ancient Near East can be categorized under three groups. The petty kings of the Canaanite city-states represent the weakest of the three. These

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<sup>1</sup> W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1901), 62. “In Aramaic the root 𐤀𐤋𐤁 (from which the common Semitic word for “king” is derived) means ‘to advise’; and in Arabic the word *Amir*, ‘commander,’ ‘prince,’ also means ‘adviser.’”

kings were often “of foreign origin and ruled, with the support of a military aristocracy, over the population of the city-state.”<sup>2</sup> Their range of influence and power fluctuated widely. In the Canaanite Uragitic documents, for example, the former kings “were recognized as demigods.”<sup>3</sup> The kings of Northern Syria, in contrast, were regarded merely as human beings.

A second form of kingship can be seen among the Transjordanian peoples. Theirs was a nationalistic form of kingship, in which a king led and was supported by the native military. These kings’ rule depended on the success and loyalty of their armies.

The third and most powerful form of kingship was found predominantly in the regions of Mesopotamia and Egypt, where kingship “was regarded as a political order divinely ordained for the good of the empire.”<sup>4</sup> Under this model the concept of kingship jumped from secular to sacral, and the kings were “regarded as being[s] endowed with divine talents and enjoying a special relationship with the deity.”<sup>5</sup> The Mesopotamians, for example, believed their king to be superhuman and divine, ordained to maintain the rule of the gods. Although he was not thought to be the literal son of the gods, he became their offspring through adoption. This divine election afforded the king immense power and elevated him to a divine status, and yet his divinity was strictly functional, unlike the Egyptian pharaoh’s metaphysical endowment.

Nowhere in the Middle East was monarchic rule so well established and defined as it was in Egypt. The idea of kingship was intertwined throughout the entire Egyptian theology, for the pharaoh was the god’s *ka*, his first-born. “The Egyptian pharaoh

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<sup>2</sup> George A. Buttrick, ed., *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Abingdon, 1962), 3:11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:11.

<sup>5</sup> Bernhard W. Anderson, *Out of the Depths* (New York: Joint Commission on Education and Cultivation, 1970), 26.

was believed to have been the offspring of Ra and worshipped as the incarnation of Horus, Osiris, and Seth.”<sup>6</sup> As such, he was responsible for maintaining *ma’at*, the order of the universe, which had been established by his father, Ra, during the creation. As the “Lord of *ma’at*,” pharaoh contended against the powers of chaos, powers that prevailed from the time of a pharaoh’s death until the ascension of his successor. Pharaoh was “the absolute lawgiver . . . the very source of justice . . . the giver of life, sustainer of fertility, and dispenser of abundant blessing. The Egyptian kings, being divine, were worshiped in their life and death.”<sup>7</sup> They also enjoyed a special relationship with the gods, were regarded as priest-kings, and made offerings for the living and the dead.<sup>8</sup>

Another important phenomenon developed with the spread of kingship throughout the Near East, namely the ideology that deity, as the bestower of earthly kings’ power, was actually the ultimate king. “Among the Semitic peoples which got beyond the mere tribal stage and developed a tolerably organized state, the supreme deity was habitually thought of as king.”<sup>9</sup> Although this heavenly king was believed to be the ultimate ruler, “divine sovereignty was conceived as a kingship precisely similar to human kingship.”<sup>10</sup> The god-king shared the same attributes, benefits, and especially responsibilities as the earthly king. “What the Semitic communities asked, and believed themselves to receive, from their god as king lay mainly in three things: help against their enemies, counsel by oracles or soothsayers in matters of national difficulty, and a sentence of justice when a case was too hard for human decision.”<sup>11</sup> Thus we begin to see the

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>7</sup> Buttrick, 3:14.

<sup>8</sup> Stanley A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine In the Second Millennium B.C.* (London: Archibald Constable, 1908), 62.

<sup>9</sup> Smith, 66.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 64.



enthronement of gods, such as Ra in Egypt, and El and Ba'al in Canaan,<sup>12</sup> as well as many others.

### Enthronement Ceremonies

One of the most intriguing aspects to emerge from the kingship tradition is the development of enthronement ceremonies. Each monarchy had its own rituals and procedures that installed the new king on the throne, yet these rites varied only slightly from one civilization to the next. Most of the ceremonies were applied to the ascension to the throne of both a new king and the local god, and most contain common elements such as crowns, thrones, scepters, hymns, namings, and anointings. In order to more fully understand these ancient enthronement rituals, let us look specifically at the traditions and customs surrounding these ceremonies in ancient Egypt.

Three main sources shed light on the enthronement ceremonies of ancient Egypt: the temple reliefs of the New Kingdom,<sup>13</sup> certain Pyramid Texts, and the so-called "Mystery Play of the Succession." I will focus briefly on the latter.

A textbook example of Egyptian enthronement ceremonies is preserved in a large papyrus, "The Mystery Play of Succession,"

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<sup>12</sup> E. Theodore Mullen, Jr., *The Assembly of the Gods*. (California: Scholars, 1980), 10, 25, 38, 84–85.

<sup>13</sup> A wonderful example of Egyptian enthronement ceremonies is found on the walls of Queen Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el Bahri. Following the birth scenes, we find what we assume to be the most important elements of her enthronement. The reliefs begin with Amon and Harakhte purifying her, and "then Amon, holding a young prince [sic] on his knee, confronts the assembly of the gods," to whom Hatshepsut is presented. These acknowledge her as the daughter of god, Amon, and wish her well on her journey. She is next shown traveling with her father, Thotmes I, who presents the new king before the people. She was received with great favor, and they "proclaimed the royal names of the new Pharaoh." Shouts were given of her divinity, as well as pleas that she would live eternally, and then "they groveled at her feet; they prostrated themselves at her royal command." Queen Hatshepsut is then depicted receiving new names from the priests, being crowned with the white crown of the South and the red crown

which “is the actual ‘script’ of a play performed at the accession of Senusert I.”<sup>14</sup> The play dates to 2000 B.C., and was probably performed anew for the enthronement of each successive king. Actors in the play included the king, royal princes, court officials, priests, and relatives of the king. It was imperative that the kings begin their rule with this play, for “the king was not properly king unless he had enacted the Play of the Succession at various cities.”<sup>15</sup> This enthronement play was not thought to be merely a make-believe or reenactment play, but a ceremony that “had some virtue or power in itself,”<sup>16</sup> thereby bestowing power upon the new king.

Much work went into the preparation of the ceremony. Priests would prepare the accessories and gather the royal insignia, including scepters, crowns, clothing, etc. The prince was delivered to the temple, where he received his new “crown-prince name.”<sup>17</sup> Anointings, hymns, and prayers began the ceremony. As the play commenced and the king was “initiated into the solemn mystery of the divine things,”<sup>18</sup> the scenes changed “from Paradise to heaven and next, perhaps, to the field where Adam was condemned to labor after the fall.”<sup>19</sup> One observer of the cere-

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of the North, and robed with “a great mantle upon her shoulders.” All of these events served as a purification, a preparation for the actual enthronement, “which will take place on the next New Year’s Day.” This ceremony is the climax of the coronation, and is accompanied by special hymns, allusions to the creation of the earth, and a “text [that] ends with a prayer on behalf of the new king.” With all of these events now fulfilled, the “new queen is led in great pomp to Amon, her celestial father, who embraces her, and she enter . . . ,” now enthroned and endowed with all power. Compare Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (California: Scholars, 1980), 10, 25, 38, 84-85, 106-108; Alexandre Moret, *Kings and Gods of Egypt* (New York and London: The Knickerbocker, 1912), 24-26.

<sup>14</sup> Frankfort, 123.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Ivan Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), 5.

<sup>18</sup> Frankfort, 125.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

mony spoke of the sacredness and complexity of the play, stating “that there is much dressing and undressing of the king, with many sacred robes and insignia.”<sup>20</sup> Just prior to the actual coronation of the new king, a pillar, known as the *Djed* (or *dd*) pillar was erected. “In its nature and origin the *dd* pillar is no doubt the leafless tree, the tree or plant of life,”<sup>21</sup> which was a representation of the new king, as well as Osiris, the god of vegetation. The ceremony associated with the raising of this pillar was “part of the rites of royalty and probably serves as a symbol of rebirth and resurrection.”<sup>22</sup>

At this point the climax of the ceremony—the actual enthronement and coronation—took place. A sacrifice was offered by the priests of both the Upper and Lower Kingdoms, who then approached the new king. They placed a gold headband on his head, the last anointing was performed, and the newly enthroned king broke bread and gave it to them before taking his own meal. This feast was directly related to both the enthronement ceremony and the New Year Festival, “and was also especially celebrated in connection with the consecration of temples.”<sup>23</sup> It has also been suggested that a shortened and simplified version of this ceremony may have been performed at jubilee festivals, and in the daily cult, where the king served as the high priest.<sup>24</sup>

Egyptian enthronement ceremonies, such as the one just outlined, vary slightly from one to the next, however, all have common elements. Namings, for example, play a crucial role in the elevation of the prince to the role of king and god. Although the common number of throne names rested at five, there was no limit to the number of names taken by kings and gods, for power

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>21</sup> Engnell, 10. As a hieroglyph this pillar represents Osiris, with meanings ranging from eternal life and immortality to “a special form of the ladder of heaven well-known to comparative religion.”

<sup>22</sup> Frankfort, 128.

<sup>23</sup> Engnell, 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

and richness directly corresponded with the abundance of appellations. That the gods similarly had secret names is evidenced in the New Kingdom story of Isis and Ra. The great magician goddess Isis, as the opponent to the sun god, Ra, was said to know everything—everything, that is, “except the sun god’s (true) name.”<sup>25</sup> Egyptians considered this to be the most secret thing of all. Isis, through evil schemes, tricked Ra into revealing his real name. These secret names were given only to the kings. Upon their reception the kings were prohibited to ever pronounce them. “It is said of the deceased king at the end of his journey to the sky, when he appears among the gods as the highest god, that ‘his mother does not know his name’; like the sun god before he was tricked, the deceased king shares with no one the knowledge of his name.”<sup>26</sup>

Another prevalent aspect of Egyptian enthronements concerns the common stages in the ceremonies. Three stages are prevalent in ancient Near Eastern, and especially in Egyptian, enthronement ceremonies. These three stages are: “(1) the elevation of the new king to divine status; (2) his presentation to the gods of the pantheon; (3) his enthronement and reception of kingly power.”<sup>27</sup> The above-outlined Egyptian enthronement was patterned around these three steps and, as we will see, this pattern also reached ancient Israel where it shaped both secular and sacred enthronement ideals.

### Kingship in Israel

When Moses led the children of Israel out of Egypt they left a world that revolved around divine kingship. With plagues and tumbling waters, Yahweh, the God of Israel, proved Himself to be

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<sup>25</sup> Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), 88.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland Murphy, eds., *The Jerome Biblical Commentary* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968), vol. 2, 61:12, 384.

the King over all the other gods. Israel's natural reaction was to crown its God: "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever. For the horse of Pharaoh went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, and the Lord brought again the waters of the sea upon them; but the children of Israel went on dry land in the midst of the sea" (Exod. 15:18–19). The reply of Yahweh, the newly enthroned god-king, came to His people in the form of a covenant: "Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine: And ye shall be unto me a *kingdom* of priests, and an holy nation" (Exod. 19:6, italics added.). This recognition of Yahweh as king, of course, was in a religious context. This meant that any deviation from the covenant with their god would lead Israel into complete anarchy (Judg. 21:25), for they had not yet established an earthly king to enforce their laws.

Israel's first attempt to introduce earthly kingship into their nation was with Gideon, after he had proven victorious against the raiding Midianites. In Egypt (as well as in other places surrounding Israel) a victory over another nation, and especially the deliverance of the people, gave the conqueror a right to the throne. This explains Israel's reaction as they pleaded with Gideon: "Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also: for thou hast delivered us from the hand of Midian" (Judg. 8:22). Gideon's response, however, shows the degree to which he recognized Yahweh as the only rightful king. He reminds the Israelites, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the Lord shall rule over you" (Judg. 8:23). The institutionalization of kingship in Israel, however, would be realized in the near future.

The path to kingship in Israel was forged by the slow settlement of the tribes and nomadic peoples into a sedentary civilization. The final impetus, however, was the desperate political situation in which they found themselves.

“In the time of Samuel, the Israelites were under a heavy Philistine yoke (1 Sam. 13:19–21); some of the territories, which had escaped the Philistine overlordship, suffered repeatedly under other onslaughts brought about by the Transjordanian Ammonites (1 Sam. 11:1–2) and the inroads of foraying nomads such as the Amalekites (1 Sam. 14:48). Thus, the introduction of kingship was a historical necessity.”<sup>28</sup>

The prophet Samuel certainly didn't feel that it was necessary for Israel to have a king. Upon their request he rehearsed to them the nature and evils of kingly rule, but finally consented, signing the ordeal off as an apostasy and rejection of the Lord as king (1 Sam. 8:4–22). The Lord appointed Saul to be Israel's new ruler and Samuel accordingly anointed Saul as king over Israel (1 Sam. 10)<sup>29</sup>.

Such kingly characteristics as divine appointment, anointing, and military rule, demonstrate that Israelite kingship closely resembled the rule of its neighboring nations. “There is considerable evidence for Israel to suggest that the bureaucracy was modeled upon Egyptian patterns.”<sup>30</sup> One major difference demands mention: Unlike the metaphysical, mythological nature of the Egyptian king, the Israelite king was not worshipped by his subjects, but remained a vassal to the Heavenly King. There did exist, however, a special father-son relationship between Yahweh and those who were enthroned, which directly corresponded with the Egyptian model. The Lord declared, “I will be his father, and he shall be my son,” (2 Sam. 7:14) and recapitulated later with “Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee” (Ps. 2:7). As part of this covenant Yahweh also promised King David that his house and his kingdom would be established forever, thereby establishing the kingly line of Israel.

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<sup>28</sup> Buttrick, 3:12.

<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to note that in 1 Sam. 11:12–15, after Saul's first victory as king, they “renewed the kingdom,” “made Saul king before he Lord,” and “sacrificed sacrifices of peace offerings before the Lord.”

<sup>30</sup> David N. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*: s.v. “King” (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 4:40.

It is difficult to fully reconstruct the rituals surrounding the enthronement ceremonies of ancient Israel due to the limited details found in the Old Testament. The accounts of the enthronements of Solomon (1 Kings 1:32–40) and Joash (2 Kings 11:4–20) do offer some insights, especially in showing that the Israelite enthronement ceremonies followed the basic three-stage pattern prescribed earlier: First, they were elevated to a divine status through anointings and pronouncements; second, not only were they presented before the gods, but they were chosen by God Himself and then presented to the people; and finally the new king was enthroned and received kingly power. A closer inspection of the aforementioned kingly coronations will help to validate this point, as well as shed some light on the subject of Israelite enthronement ceremonies.

Solomon's enthronement began with him riding upon his father's mule to the Gihon Spring (1 Kings 1:33–38). He was accompanied by prophets, priests, and foreign mercenaries (v. 44). After arriving at Gihon, Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet took a horn of holy oil from the tabernacle and anointed Solomon king (vv. 34, 39, 45). "The most essential part of the enthronement ceremony was the anointment of the king, and the less decisive components of the ritual surrounded this particular one."<sup>31</sup> After the anointing of the new king, they blew the trumpets, and the people joined in shouting: "Long live King Solomon!" A joyful procession then accompanied the king from the holy place to his new throne, where he took his place and received the obeisance of his people (v. 40).<sup>32</sup>

King Joash's ceremony is detailed in 2 Kings 11:4–20 and closely resembles King Solomon's. He was crowned by the priest of the temple, received the "testimony", and was anointed king (v. 12).

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<sup>31</sup> Buttrick, 3:14.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. It is possible that King Solomon's name was changed at some point in the ceremony. He certainly had more than one name, including Jedidiah (2 Sam. 12:25).

Those present clapped their hands and shouted “May the king live!” The king then stood by a pillar of the temple while his people rejoiced and blew the trumpets. In verse 17, the priest Jehoiada officiated in making a covenant “between the LORD and the king and the people, that they should be the LORD’s people; between the king also and the people.” The people and the bodyguards then accompanied the king from the temple to the royal palace, where King Joash took his place on the throne (v. 19). “Somewhere within this ceremony, the king received a new name, a throne name.”<sup>33</sup>

### Enthronement of Yahweh

“In a Palestinian world familiar with the concept of kingship, from the king of a single city such as Jericho on the one hand to the king of a nation like Assyria on the other, what could need less apology than the designation of Yahweh as King, a God who was believed to have sovereign power in the world?”<sup>34</sup> As has already been stated, it was a common concept throughout the entire ancient Near East that the local god was the king and supreme ruler of the state or polity. With the rise and development of the earthly Israelite kingship, it should be remembered that Yahweh was the original king of Israel. The validity and dating of some important verses supporting this claim, including Exodus 15:18, 19:16, Numbers 23:21, Deuteronomy 33:5, 1 Samuel 8:7, 12:12, and Judges 8:23, are unfortunately debated at great lengths. Many scholars discredit these passages, giving them later dates that render them invaluable. “But there is sufficient evidence to substantiate the claim that the covenant of Israel with Yahweh was a royal covenant, and Israel pledged loyalty to him in a covenantal cere-

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Edward C. Hobbs, *A Stubborn Faith* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1956), 59–60.



mony (cf. Josh. 24).<sup>35</sup> This would explain why the prophets thought of earthly kingship as an apostasy (1 Sam. 8:7; Hos. 8:4; 2 Nephi 10:14). Yet despite this secular kingship, Yahweh remained on his throne in Israelite ideology.

In keeping with the notion that Israelite kingship was based on neighboring models, some form of enthronement ceremony must have occurred to ensure Yahweh of his throne. The German scholar, Sigmund Mowinckel, led the way for a study of Yahweh's enthronement in his revolutionary work, *Psalmenstudien*.<sup>36</sup> Mowinckel observed a group of psalms, which he called the "Enthronement Psalms." He hypothesized that these thematically related Psalms, including Psalms 47, 93, and 95–100, constituted a mythical enthronement festival similar to those found in Canaanite, Babylonian, and Egyptian theology.

"In these Psalms Yahweh is depicted as a mighty king who reigns over the entire world (47:3, 8, 9, 10). He subdues foreign nations under Israel (47:4). Israel rejoices, sings and bows down before Yahweh (95:1, 2, 6; 97:8) and so do the nations (47:2, 7, 8; 97:1; 98:4–6; 99:3; 100:1–2). The peoples enter the courts of Yahweh with songs of praise and offerings and prostrate themselves before him (96:7–9). With joyous song and the sound of a shofar, Yahweh ascends (47:6). He seats himself on his holy throne (47:9), the throne that was established long ago (93:2)."<sup>37</sup>

These Psalms, he asserted, formed part of the text for the ceremony itself and were "composed to be performed in the temple of Jerusalem."<sup>38</sup>

A recurring and crucial expression in these psalmic descriptions is יהוה-מלך (93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1) or אלהים-מלך (47:8). These expressions translate into "Yahweh has become king," or

<sup>35</sup> Buttrick, 3:14.

<sup>36</sup> Sigmund Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*. (Amsterdam: Verlag P. Schippers, 1961).

<sup>37</sup> Allan Rosengren Petersen, *The Royal God*. (England: Sheffield, 1998), 15.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 20

“God has become king,” and imply that the Lord will reign hereafter. Because Yahweh was already king before the ceremony it is assumed that these Psalms represent a reenactment play of the ascension of the Lord to the throne, a ritual drama that was repeated annually in the Israelite cult. Through this repetition the participants discovered new powers within themselves and covenanted with their king.<sup>39</sup> Dr. Allen Petersen expanded the idea of enthronement reenactments:

“Cult was to the ancient Israelites—and to primitive man in general—a phenomenon that included sacred actions through which society took a share in the divine force, the blessing. In order to get a share of the blessing the entire community [had] to covenant with the deity. Therefore the god is lord of the covenant.”<sup>40</sup>

This is the very essence of cult worship. When the Israelites were chosen by Yahweh, they entered into his cult—into a sacred world, with sacred covenants required for admission. Sacred actions took the form of dramas, or reenactments of the mythical and historical events on which the existence of the community was based, such as the enthronement of their God. Consequently, when Israel reenacted the enthronement of their Heavenly King they recognized him as their only king, the sacred acts became “reality for the participants,” and their “covenant [was] renewed year after year.”<sup>41</sup> Of course, the Jerusalem temple was at the center of these ritualistic events. It was there, over all other sanctuaries, that Yahweh chose to seat himself on his throne.

Through these so-called “Enthronement Psalms” we discover that the rituals of Yahweh’s enthronement ceremony directly correspond with the other secular and religious models of the era. These psalms distinctly follow the three-step formula of the

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

ancient Near Eastern enthronement ceremonies and even include prevalent ideas such as creation (100:3; 95:5; 96:5), new names (96:8; 99:3; 100:4), and Yahweh as “King above all gods” (95:3; 96:4; 97:7).

### Enthronement of the Messiah

It would be impossible to ignore the impact that kingship had on Israelite messianic expectations. Surrounded by both foreign and domestic kings, the oppressed Israelite nation anxiously anticipated a messiah who would come, subdue their enemies, and take his place as king, to rule and reign forever over Israel. It follows that Israel’s messiah would have to follow the pattern of divine kings.<sup>42</sup> Leopold Sabourin noted that kingship was a common theme in prophecies of the coming Messiah. He stated,

“The great messianic texts [i.e. prophecies] are in fact associated with royal figures: the prophecy of Nathan (2 Sam 7:1–16); the sign of the Emmanuel (Isa. 7:14); the advent of the just king (Isa. 11:1–9) and the Bethlehemite Messiah (Mic. 5:1); and finally, the enthusiastic poem of Zechariah’s disciple, describing the arrival of the humble and peaceful king (Zech. 9:9). Thus the royal dignity was a prominent feature among the principal attributes of the expected Messiah.”<sup>43</sup>

As one would expect, ancient Israel’s messiah—their Savior King—also has a similar enthronement ceremony associated with his reign. Amid the tumult of aspiring Assyrian kings, as well as powerful Egyptian and Israelite vassal kings, the prophet Isaiah prophesied of the deliverance of Israel and outlined the enthronement of the Messiah. After the dismal description of Israel’s situation in the eighth chapter of Isaiah, the prophet continued in

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<sup>42</sup> This pattern includes descent from the royal line of David (2 Sam. 7:16), and of the covenant line of Abraham (Gen. 17:6), anointings (Ps. 2:2,6), divine sonship (2 Sam. 7:14, Ps. 2:7), as well as many other kingly attributes.

<sup>43</sup> Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning* (New York: Alba House 1974), 161.

chapter nine, promising that those who “walked in darkness” will see “a great light” (v. 2). Thus begins the enthronement of the Messiah. Verse two “takes on the tone of a hymn, and describes the rejoicing of the redeemed before their God.”<sup>44</sup> This hymn continues in verse three, where the Lord is praised for fulfilling his promise to Abraham to multiply his posterity (Gen. 17:2,4,6–7). Verse four speaks of Israel’s liberation and final victory over her enemies, and in verse six “the people themselves join in the hymn and proclaim the enthronement of the redeemer”<sup>45</sup>:

Because to us a child is born,  
To us a son is given;  
And the dominion will be on his shoulders;  
And his name will be called  
Wonderful Counselor,  
Mighty God,  
Everlasting Father,  
Prince of Peace.<sup>46</sup>

Although this passage is popularly recognized as a vision of the Messiah’s birth, many Christian scholars agree that this prophecy also refers to the future reign of the Messiah, when all enemies have been subdued, and the King and his people will live in everlasting peace. In this enthronement hymn Isaiah “makes use of the language of the enthronement ritual of Judah, a recollection of which had been preserved among the circles of the Jerusalem priests and the temple singers.”<sup>47</sup>

The hymn begins with the proclamation of the birth of a son who will liberate Israel and who is, no doubt, connected with the divine sonship in 2 Samuel 7:14 and Psalms 2:7. This son is also

<sup>44</sup> Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 125.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>46</sup> Donald W. Parry, *Harmonizing Isaiah: Combining Ancient Sources* (Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), 2001), 64.

<sup>47</sup> Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 210.

identified with the child of Isaiah 7:14 whose name was to be called Immanuel, 'God is with us'. The Messiah is then elevated to his new status where "dominion will be on his shoulders," a phrase which "points to the vesting rite of a king who, as part of a coronation and enthronement ceremony, places or has placed upon his shoulders the robe of regal authority. In this passage the robe represents both kingly and priestly power."<sup>48</sup>

Isaiah proceeds by describing the nature of the Messiah's kingly rule with a series of majestic titles. "What is to be expected from him as ruler is indicated by his great throne-name which, unlike the five-element title given to the king of Egypt, consists only of four elements."<sup>49</sup> "[These] names are based on typical throne names but are, in fact, adaptations of such titles to indicate something other than the normal king."<sup>50</sup> The first of these appellations, Wonderful Counselor, "implies that the future king's rule shall be guided by a divinely-inspired wisdom (Isa. 11:2-4) which shall command the awe with which men regard the counsel of God."<sup>51</sup> The second "emphasizes the fullness of his power,"<sup>52</sup> and along with Psalms 45:6 is one of only two places in the Old Testament where the king is called God. He is then named the Everlasting Father, pointing to the protective and saving care he exercises over his people. The final throne name, the Prince of

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<sup>48</sup> Donald W. Parry, Jay A. Parry, Tina M. Peterson, *Understanding Isaiah* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1998), 96.

<sup>49</sup> Kaiser, 2nd ed., 212. For the Egyptian royal titles and the bestowing of them cf. A. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1950), 71. David, upon his ascension to the throne, took on a similar four-part name, or five if you count his father's: "David, the son of Jesse; . . . the man who was raised up on high; the anointed of the God of Jacob; and the sweet psalmist of Israel" (2 Sam. 23:1).

<sup>50</sup> Andrew H. Bartlet, *The Book Around Immanuel: Style and Structure in Isaiah 2-12* (Indiana: Eisenbrauns 1996), 122.

<sup>51</sup> J.R. Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible* (New York: Macmillan, 1956), 421.

<sup>52</sup> Kaiser, 1st ed., 129.

Peace, is reminiscent of the divine name in Judges 6:24 (שלום-היה), and portrays the “great future (Isa. 2:3–4) that the Messiah is to inaugurate (Mic. 5:5; Zech. 9:10).”<sup>53</sup>

Isaiah finishes the enthronement of Israel’s Messiah by placing him on the throne of David, where he will establish his kingdom “with judgment and with justice,” and reign in peace and righteousness “from henceforth even for ever” (Isa. 9:7). “With the coming of this king, the history of the human race, characterized by unrest, strife and devastation, approaches its conclusion. He will bring to the world an all-embracing and never-ending salvation.”<sup>54</sup> Such were the kingly messianic expectations of the Israelite nation.

### Enthronement of Jesus Christ

Early Christian doctrine reflects ancient Israel’s belief in a kingly messiah, and it was their belief that Jesus Christ fulfilled those messianic expectations. One of the main objectives of Matthew was to establish the kingship of Jesus Christ. He works towards this aim by establishing the lineage of Jesus of Nazareth, focusing on his kingship throughout the birth narrative, and by showing the audience the numerous ways in which Jesus’ birth, life, ministry, and death were the fulfillment of kingly messianic prophecies.

Matthew begins his gospel by giving the reader two genealogical reasons to be convinced of Jesus’ kingship: “The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham” (Matt. 1:1). Matthew then proceeds to lay out Jesus’ royal lineage. “The purpose of the genealogy is to show that Jesus is the Messiah. Jesus is King Messiah, the son of David, and Messiah of Israel, the

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<sup>53</sup> Dummelow, 421.

<sup>54</sup> Kaiser, 1st ed., 130.

son of Abraham.”<sup>55</sup> Matthew explains to his audience that not only was Jesus the heavenly king, but he had a literal right, through lineage, to be the royal leader of Israel.

“If the crown of David had been assigned to his successor in the days of Herod it would have been placed on the head of Joseph. And who would have been the legal successor to Joseph? Jesus of Nazareth would have been then the King of the Jews, and the title on the cross spoke the truth. God had raised Him up to the house of David.”<sup>56</sup>

Matthew then moves on to the birth narrative, which he sees as a direct fulfillment of the Immanuel prophecy in Isaiah 7:14 (Matt. 1:22–23). This is the same son who would be enthroned by Israel after he had subdued their enemies.

The story of the Magi is unique to the gospel of Matthew and “like the genealogy of Jesus, affirms that Jesus is King Messiah.”<sup>57</sup> The Magi, of whom we know very little, came from the east to Jerusalem, asking, “Where is he that is born King of the Jews?” (Matt. 2:2). Even the star that they followed reminds us of the prophetic star of the Davidic Messiah: “There shall come a *Star* out of Jacob, and a *Sceptre* shall rise out of Israel” (Num. 24:17, italics added). That Jesus was born in Bethlehem, the place of David’s birth and the origin of the prophesied king Messiah, only reaffirms that Jesus fulfilled of the messianic prophecies. In this instance and ten others Matthew employs the phrase unique to him, “that it might be fulfilled,” to show that Jesus was the long-awaited king.<sup>58</sup> It is apparent that Matthew, as well as the other

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<sup>55</sup> Brown, vol. 2, 43:18, 66.

<sup>56</sup> James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 87, 90.

<sup>57</sup> Brown, vol. 2, 43:20, 67.

<sup>58</sup> Another example of this occurs when Matthew points out Jesus’ fulfillment of the first two verses of the enthronement hymn found in Isaiah 9:1–7 (Matt. 4:12–16).

Gospel writers, believed that Jesus was the Israelite King Messiah.<sup>59</sup>

The New Testament contains several enthronement ceremonies pertaining to the enthronement of Jesus as “Son of God” and “King of Israel” (John 1:49). The first of these is the narrative of the triumphal entry of Jesus to the temple mount, an account depicted in all four gospels. In it we find that Jesus was anointed (John 12:3), he rode on a young ass to the temple mount<sup>60</sup> (Matt. 21:7; Mark 11:7; Luke 19:35; John 12:14), and the people followed, shouting variations of “Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord!” (Matt. 21:9; Mark 11:9–10; Luke 19:38; John 12:13). This ceremony is especially reminiscent of the ceremonies of Solomon and Joash.

Three more enthronement ceremonies from early Christianity are extremely valuable for study: Philippians 2:9–11, 1 Timothy 3:16, and Hebrews 1:5–13 each serve as enthronement hymns<sup>61</sup> in which the three stages of Jesus’ heavenly enthronement, or exaltation, are given in an order directly corresponding to the enthronement rituals of the ancient Near East.<sup>62</sup> Although Paul’s beliefs about the heavenly kingship of Jesus Christ differed greatly from the Jewish beliefs of the conquering Messiah, the enthronement ceremonies maintain similar characteristics and only augment in significance.

*Philippians* 2:6–11 In the middle of his instructional epistle to the Philippians on how to be more like Jesus, Paul “inserts a hymn

<sup>59</sup> For more NT references to Jesus Christ as King, cf. Matt. 25:34, 27:37; Mark 15:2, 26; Luke. 23:3, 38; John 1:49, 6:5, 19:3; Acts 17:7; 1 Tim. 1:17; Rev. 1:5, as well as many others.

<sup>60</sup> As a fulfillment of Zechariah 9:9 “Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy King cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass.”

<sup>61</sup> Concerning these passages as hymns, cf. Freedman, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 3:350; and Brown, *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. Vol. 2, 50:17, 250; 57:22, 355; 61:12, 384.

<sup>62</sup> Brown, vol. 2, 61:12, 384.



to Christ, possibly of Jewish-Christian liturgical origin,<sup>63</sup> with which “his readers would be familiar, and which expressed his own ideas more forcefully and beautifully than he could do himself.”<sup>64</sup> The hymn, found in Philippians 2:6-11, consists of only two sentences, but is considered by many to be “the great passage which is the chief glory of the epistle. Nowhere in his writings does [Paul] rise to a loftier height of eloquence, or afford us a deeper insight into his Christian beliefs.”<sup>65</sup> The first sentence of the hymn (vv. 6-8) tells of Christ’s divine pre-existence, his ultimate condescension to leave his abode with God to take on the “likeness of man,” and his supreme humility and obedience “unto death, even the death of the cross.” The hymn does not end at the cross, however, but rather continues with a second sentence depicting the exaltation and enthronement of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.  
(Phil. 2:10- 11)

This portion of the hymn embodies the three stages of ancient Near Eastern enthronement ceremonies: the raising of the new king to divine status, his presentation to God, and his enthronement and reception of kingly power. God, because of Christ’s aforementioned humility and obedience, places His Son on an ex-

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., vol. 2, 50:17, 250. “The hymnic interpretation of this section is based on the rhythmic quality of the sentences, on the use of parallelism (found in Old Testament psalms and poetry), and on the rare, characteristically un-Pauline expressions (*kenoun*, . . . *harpagmos*, *hyperypsoun*, *morphe*, *shema*, *is theo einai*).”

<sup>64</sup>George A. Buttrick, *The Interpreter’s Bible* (New York: Abingdon, 1955), 11:46.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

alted throne and bestows upon Him a new name. “The name is *Kyrios* which appears at the end of the hymn; this LXX equivalent of Adonai (my Lord) was used as the substitute for the ineffable tetragrammaton, YHWH. It is the name that surpasses that of all celestial beings,”<sup>66</sup> and the name “under which our Saviour will be adored throughout the universe.”<sup>67</sup> The hymn then attributes to Christ the words that Isaiah originally penned concerning Yahweh: “I have sworn by myself . . . that unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear” (Isa. 45:23). We learn from the final strophe of the hymn that the glory of God the Father is found in every tongue confessing that Jesus Christ is *Kyrios*, Lord. “The glory of the Father will be realised in the universal acknowledgment of the Lordship of the Son whom He enthroned.”<sup>68</sup> Hence the invitation from Paul to his reader in the verses following the hymn: “Wherefore . . . work out your own salvation with fear and trembling . . . that ye may be . . . the sons of God” (Phil. 2:12–15). “The Servant-Son of Man is confessed as Lord, a perfected humanity is combined with the majesty of Yahweh. The universe gives glory to God and thereby attains the goal of its creation and redemption.”<sup>69</sup>

1 *Timothy* 3:16 Paul included another enthronement hymn in his writings, this time inserted into his first epistle to Timothy. After stating his reason for writing to Timothy, “that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God”

<sup>66</sup> Brown, vol. 2, 50:19, 250.

<sup>67</sup> Dummelow, 973.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 974.

<sup>69</sup> Matthew Black, *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), 987. Moses 1:39 takes on a new significance when we consider that God receives His glory from the recognition by His children that Jesus Christ is the Enthroned King and Lord (Yahweh). Thus, as we acknowledge our Lord for what He is and then follow Him with the humility of a servant (Phil. 2:7) and obedience unto death (v. 8), then is God's glory fully realized, and we become His sons—i.e. kings (v. 15). “For behold, this is my work and my glory to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man” (Moses 1:39).

(1 Tim. 3:15), Paul quotes a hymn “patterned . . . after the ancient Egyptian enthronement ceremony,”<sup>70</sup> which includes the three-stage patterns previously mentioned. This particular ancient Christian hymn is thought to be a creed of the “true believer” set to music, attested to by its “rhythmic structure and the assonance of the six Greek verbs.”<sup>71</sup>

Paul’s purpose for inserting this hymn into his writings was to help the reader to understand how to behave in the house of God. The Greek word used here, ἀναστρέφεισθαι, does not simply mean “behavior” in the narrow sense, but is used to describe a “manner of life.”<sup>72</sup> This becomes imperative as we examine the hymn itself.

And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness:  
 God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit,  
 seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles,  
 believed on in the world, received up into glory. (1 Tim. 3:16)

Beginning with the first line, we hear of the greatness of the “mystery of godliness,” which forms the preface for the next three phrases. Surely the mystery of godliness is great, but what is it? It does not mean mysterious in the modern sense, but revealed truth. It is a word that immediately evokes reflection upon the “mystery cults”, where higher rites and rituals were revealed only to the deserving, be that through membership, worthiness, etc. With the previous mentioning of the “house of God” and now the “mystery of godliness,” the idea of Israel’s temple worship is certainly present.<sup>73</sup> As the participants accept the mystery, they also accept the responsibility to profess godliness. “Holy itself, and proceeding from the Holy One, it bids its recipients be holy, even as He is Holy Who gives it.”<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Buttrick, *The Interpreter’s Bible*, 11:423.

<sup>71</sup> Brown, Vol. 2, 57:22, 355.

<sup>72</sup> Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Anchor Bible*, s.v. “The First and Second Letters to Timothy” (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 231.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Alfred Plummer, *The Pastoral Epistles* (New York: A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1900), 133.

The mystery found in the final three passages of verse 16, therefore, “is nothing less than finding the secret of godliness, how to live godly lives, how to become like God.”<sup>75</sup>

In keeping with this conviction, the final portion of this ancient hymn quantifies the mystery of godliness. It is this: Christ, Yahweh descended to earth and took on a body of flesh—human in every aspect. Although Christ appeared in flesh, he remained absolutely sinless, which led to his justification as Heavenly King by the Holy Ghost. This ratification of Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost also meets with the acclamations of angels, men (including the Gentiles), and the entire world. Finally the Lord Jesus Christ is “received up into glory,” where He is endowed with all power and subsequently takes His eternal throne. Here, again, the early Christians enthroned their Heavenly King, through praise and song, in a positively Near Eastern traditional fashion.

*Hebrews* 1:5–13 The final hymn is found in the first chapter of Paul’s epistle to the Hebrews. The book of Hebrews clearly has two goals: to establish Christ’s position as the Great High Priest, and secondly as the Exalted King. “The entire structure of the Epistle rests on this great conception, the Son of God, the eternal Priest-King.”<sup>76</sup> The hymn found in the first chapter of this epistle is the most clear and complete example of New Testament enthronement hymns and thoroughly fulfills each of the three Near Eastern enthronement requirements, as well as all of the ancient Israelite expectations. The hymn even separates nicely into three stages, and its literary progression “brings listeners into the drama of Christ’s enthronement by allowing them to overhear what God

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<sup>75</sup> Frederick C. Eiselen, Edwin Lewis, and David G. Downey, eds. *The Abingdon Bible Commentary*. Prof. W. J. Lowstuter (New York: Abingdon, 1929), 1,282. Notice that this enthronement hymn of the Lord Jesus Christ is the pattern given to us through which we are to follow to become like God, the Eternal King.

<sup>76</sup> Thomas Charles Edwards, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1900), 17.

declares to the Son and to the angels.<sup>77</sup> The first step (vv. 5–6) is the public announcement, by God the Father, of Jesus' elevation to the rank of Son of God whom angels must adore (elevation to divine status). In the next stage (vv. 7–12) we find the declaration of Jesus Christ's everlasting lordship (presentation to God, angels, and man). The final stage (v. 13), and the apex of the ceremony, is the actual enthronement of the Lord on the right hand of god (enthronement and reception of kingly power).

5. For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?<sup>78</sup> And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son:<sup>79</sup>

6. And again, when he bringeth in the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him.<sup>80</sup>

7. And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.<sup>81</sup>

8. But unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom.

9. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.<sup>82</sup>

10. And, Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth; and the heavens are the works of thine hands:

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<sup>77</sup> Craig R. Koester, *The Anchor Bible*, "Hebrews" (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 201.

<sup>78</sup> Psalms 2:7, a royal psalm celebrating the enthronements of the Judaic King as well as the Messiah, is here quoted to establish Christ's legitimacy and divinity.

<sup>79</sup> 2 Sam. 7:14 is quoted here pointing out the father-son relationship between God and Davidic Ruler. The day of the king's accession to power was the day on which he was "begotten" as the Son of God. Christ is the Son of David, the Son of God, the Messiah.

<sup>80</sup> Quoting a combination of Deuteronomy 32:43 (a line found only in the LXX version of the OT) and Psalm 97:7

<sup>81</sup> A Quote taken from Psalm 104:4. Used to bring out the contrast between angels and the Son. The angels are mutable, transitory beings, unlike the son, who is Everlasting.

<sup>82</sup> Here the author quotes Psalm 45:6–7, relating Christ to the Messianic King.

11. They shall perish; but thou remainest; and they all shall wax old as doth a garment;  
 12. And as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.<sup>83</sup>  
 13. But to which of the angels said he at any time, Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool?<sup>84</sup>

Not only does this hymn perfectly mimic other models of enthronement from the ancient Near East, it also contains many elements that establish the legitimate rule of Jesus the King in both Near Eastern and Israelite expectations. Foremost, the hymn incorporates quotations from seven different Old Testament references to Yahweh and the Messiah as King of Heaven and Earth. Common elements of divine kingship emerge, including sonship and begottenness, creation references, priesthood, anointings, new names, inheritances, and power given both in heaven and on earth. Reference is also made to kingdoms, crowns, thrones, and sceptres. These components are combined together in this early Christian hymn to testify of the eternal kingship of Jesus Christ, and to instruct His subjects on how to approach “the throne of grace” (Heb. 4:16).

“This . . . world is the kingdom of which the King-Priest is eternal Monarch. As we partake in His priesthood, we share also in His Kingship. We enter into the holiest place and stand before the mercy-seat, but our absolution is announced and confirmed to us by the Divine summons to sit down with Christ in His throne, as He has sat down with His Father in His throne.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Taken from Psalm 102:25–27, these verses referred to Yahweh as the creator and permanent God-King. They are here used to prove that Jesus is that very King.

<sup>84</sup> A direct quote from Psalm 110:1. “Hebrews draws on the familiar use of Ps 110:1 as a testimony to Jesus’ exaltation, while giving a fresh interpretation of the psalm in terms not only of Christ’s royal power but also of the definitive quality of his priestly work and his victory over suffering and death in the contest of faith.” Koester, 203.

<sup>85</sup> Edwards, 308–309.

## Conclusion

As kingship developed throughout the ancient world, the Israelite nation institutionalized its practices and incorporated them into its own politics and religious beliefs. Following the patterns set forth by their neighbors, Israel enthroned their God, Yahweh, as well as their future Messiah. The New Testament testifies that this Heavenly King descended from His throne to save all mankind both spiritually and temporally. The early Christians continued to enthrone their King through their obeisance to him, as well as through song and ritual.

Just as enthronements were commonly associated with temple rituals in antiquity, so too are enthronement reenactments still performed in modern temples today. The participants recognize their Lord as the Great King of the universe, and then are themselves elevated to a new, divine status, presented before their God, and are eventually endowed with all power and welcomed to sit down, as a king, with their Heavenly King.

When we know that God reigns it makes us quiet and free. When we know what kind of God He is Who reigns, it gives us light and hope. When we know God's plan for us, we follow His example of enthronement until we too receive a celestial crown. It is then that the Lord Jesus Christ becomes the "King of Kings" (Rev. 19:16).





# HONORS THESES ABSTRACTS

This section presents abstracts from recently completed honors theses dealing with topics of the ancient world. The purpose of making these abstracts available is to update ancient studies students on the work of their peers. The full texts of these honors theses are available in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University.



# The Pompeian Building Complex of 55 B.C.

Rebecca A. Allen

This thesis treats the architectural aspects of the massive building project in the Campus Martius completed and dedicated by Pompey in 55 B.C. and the historical and political context in which it was conceived. The complex's buildings consisted of a public portico, a senate house, a residence for Pompey, and a magnificent new theater, Rome's first, with several shrines and a temple to Venus Victrix attached to its cavea. Although there were several architectural predecessors in Italy, the Pompeian complex was the first of its kind in Rome, both in appearance and in motivation. The timing of the theater's conception and construction helps illustrate that its construction was primarily political and that Pompey aimed first at reasserting and ensuring his own primacy on Rome's political scene. The buildings were laden with Pompeian imagery, and this concentration of images made the building complex unusually effective. Not only did Pompey build a theater and a public park for Rome's masses, he also attempted to display religious piety by building the temple of Venus Victrix. Both his new residence and the new senate house allowed Pompey to supervise the political situation and to demonstrate that he would be politically viable for years yet to come. The similarity of

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the subsequent imperial fora, which were modeled after Pompey's complex, and the continued importance of the complex, particularly the theater, long after Pompey's death demonstrate the significance of the Pompeian achievement.

# The Ritual Use of Music in Ancient Israelite Worship

Mindy J. Anderson

This extract is taken from my honors thesis where I focus on the role the Levites played in association with the Ark of the Covenant and the Temple of Solomon to determine Israel's use of music as a form of worship.

Music served as a conduit of communication between the LORD and his children. Extant text traces the first occurrence of ritual music to Moses. The use of music was commanded by the LORD at this time and in later Israelite history. The LORD revealed through his prophets that music should accompany prescribed ritual acts.

The Levites ministered before the LORD, offering up thanks and praise with instrument and voice. The Levites accompanied and aided worshippers in keeping divine commands to remember and offer thanksgiving to the LORD. Using their lyric text, the Psalms, the Israelites gathered in holy places and invoked the name of the LORD, literally requesting his presence. The psalms accompanied ritual acts. A Levitical temple orchestra, composed of lyres, harps, cymbals, and trumpets accompanied the daily sacrifices.

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Israelite worshippers sang songs of ascent as they would journey up to the house of the LORD. Music was a medium through which the Israelites were able to worship, expressing thanks and praise, as well as publicly announced the LORD's presence.

Levites were charged with caring for the day-to-day requirements of temple service. This included the upkeep and preparation of vessels, instruments and furniture of the tabernacle and temple. The musical instruments were considered vessels of service and therefore under the charge of the Levites. According to Sigmund Mowinckel, the Levites held a more important role than most biblical scholars admit. He believes that the Levites received a portion of prophetic inspiration.<sup>1</sup> To better understand the use of music it is imperative to study the verbs associated with it.

### 'To Prophesy' with Music

In the post-exilic period, Levites functioned as cultic prophets. The verbal root נבנ in the *niphal* (נבנ) and *hitpael* (הנבנ) describe divine inspiration. The verb is translated as "prophesy" in the King James English version. According to A.A. Wolf, the terms "prophet" and "seer" anciently had the same meaning as "musician" and "singer."<sup>2</sup> The root נבנ is found four times in the Hebrew Bible in a musical context.<sup>3</sup>

When Saul was anointed by Samuel, Samuel told him that he would meet a company of prophets prophesying with musical instruments. 1 Samuel 10:5–6 gives both verbs in the *hitpael*. With them, Saul was told, he would prophesy.

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<sup>1</sup> Mowinckel uses 1 Chronicles 15:22; 25:1; and 2 Chronicles 20:19 as indication of this. See Raymond Jacques Tournay, *Seeing and Hearing God with the Psalms*, trans. J. Edward Crowley (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 29–30.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969), 90.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kugel discusses the relation of poet and prophet in, "Poets and Prophets: An Overview" in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition*, edited by James L. Kugel (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 7–12.

David appointed Levitical families to play the cultic instruments of harp, lyre and cymbal, in order to give thanks and to praise the Lord. In addition to other cultic duties, the Levites were set apart to prophesy in their musical calling, specifically with harps. 1 Chronicles 25:1 states that the Levite musicians prophesied (הִנְבִּיאִים) with these instruments. הִנְבִּיאִים is a *ketib* and should be read as the *niphal* participle הִנְבִּיאִים. Verse three of the same chapter verifies the use of the *niphal* participle (הִנְבִּא). The Levites not only played the instruments but also prophesied with them.

John Kleinig, writing about the use of liturgical song in Chronicles, sees reason for the use of this root in connection with the musical role of the Levites. Kleinig observed that the Levites communicated words of the LORD, conveyed the congregation's answer to the LORD, and prophetically proclaimed the LORD's name and his acceptance, urging the Israelites to remember their God (1 Chronicles 23:13).

### 'To Minister' with Music

The root שָׂרַת occurs ninety-three times in the Hebrew Bible. Sixty-seven of these verses relate to temple settings. שָׂרַת is translated as "minister" in the King James version, connoting priestly service in the temple. The action of ministering is directly associated with temple ritual, the burning of incense (1 Chronicles 23:13), burnt and peace offerings (2 Chronicles 31:2), and offering up of thanks and praise (2 Chronicles 31:2). The verses that contain this root describe priestly functions as well as the dress and sacred vessels of the temple. 1 Chronicles 16:4 affirms that Levites "ministered (מִשְׂרָתִים) before the ark of the LORD, to record, thank and praise the LORD God of Israel." 1 Chronicles 6:32 states that the Levites "ministered (מִשְׂרָתִים) with singing" before the tabernacle. In both instances the *piel* participle is used. Fulfilling their Levitical role to play or "minister" with musical instruments, the Levites acted as cultic prophets. They prophesied to

give thanks and praise to the LORD (1 Chronicles 25:3). The contributors to the Hebrew Bible chose to use the verbs “prophesy” and “minister” in these musical contexts outlined above, indicating the interconnection of music and ritual.

Levites served a prophetic role as they accompanied and aided worshippers in keeping divine commands to remember and offer thanksgiving to the LORD. A bearer of prayer and praise, the Levites used music to invoke the Divine Presence. Though the sacrificial rite could have existed without musical accompaniment it did not. Music completed the ritual.



# Magna Mater: Cult and Temple through the Rule of Augustus

Eliza A. Ciccotti

The cult of Magna Mater was brought to Rome from Pessinus, the Phrygian goddess' chief sanctuary, in 204 B.C. In 191 B.C. construction of a temple to the goddess on the Palatine was dedicated and the cult stone was moved from the Temple of Victory to its permanent home. The ludi Megalenses were initiated to celebrate both the arrival of the stone in 204 B.C., as well as the dedication of the temple itself. This festival was played out in six days of theatrical performances in front of the temple, and a single day of circus games followed. Lucretius, in ca. 55 B.C., provides a full description of what it might have been like to attend a procession in honor of Magna Mater.

In 111 B.C., fire struck the brow of the Palatine, and the Temple of Magna Mater was destroyed. Reconstruction was undertaken shortly thereafter by a Metellus, widely posited to be Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, cos. 109 B.C. During this stage of temple reconstruction, a concrete podium faced in opus quasi reticulatum replaced the original structure of massive tufa blocks. In A.D. 3, the temple again suffered damage by fire and was this time restored by Augustus. To this stage are attributed the Corinthian columns carved from peperino and covered in stucco that have been discovered during excavations.

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Fifty years before Augustus undertook the task of restoring the Temple of Magna Mater and at about the same moment Lucretius wrote, Catullus wrote *Carmen* 63. In this wildly exotic retelling of the self-castration of Attis, every aspect of the cult of Magna Mater that might be found uncomfortable to Roman hearers was brought to the foreground. However, this ecstatic view of Magna Mater is not the only possible view of the goddess. It is in her capacity as a bringer of civilization and defender of cities that she was accepted as a goddess of the Roman state. Furthermore, Magna Mater was associated with the stories of Aeneas' flight from Troy and geographically linked with Rome's founder, Romulus. It is in these aspects, not the Catullan, that Magna Mater was presented as a goddess acceptable to the Augustan program.

**STVDIA ANTIQVA**  
THE JOURNAL OF THE STUDENT SOCIETY  
FOR ANCIENT STUDIES  
BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

The Student Society for Ancient Studies at Brigham Young University is pleased to present this issue of *Studia Antiqua*. From its inception, the Society has sought to provide BYU students from all disciplines of ancient studies opportunities to further their academic interests. Certainly one element that is critical for such a specialized field is that of student research and publication. To provide this venue of student publication, *Studia Antiqua* (“Ancient Studies”) has been created. The journal is dedicated to publishing original undergraduate and graduate research in all areas of ancient studies. It is hoped that such a publication will offer students the opportunity to improve their research and writing abilities, allow them to experience the editing and publication process, as well as prepare them for further educational pursuits by building their academic resume. The Society hopes that this opportunity will motivate ancient studies students in their current class work by allowing them to expand their academic vision and goals.

The process employed by the journal first has the students submitting papers they have written which are reviewed by the Student Editorial Advisory Board (consisting of the Society Presidency). Once the board decides which papers represent the highest quality of original research and writing, those selected papers are given to the appropriate member of the Faculty Review Board. As respected faculty in each area of ancient studies review their respective papers, the students are given helpful and professional suggestions for improvement, making each paper more academically credible. The papers are also given to competent student editors who help with grammar, structure, and formatting.

SUBMISSIONS of original ancient studies articles will be accepted during the first week of every Fall and Winter semester, and should be turned in to the Ancient Studies Office in 5435 HBL. All articles must be of sufficient length to cover the topic and should be fully documented in Chicago Style. For questions regarding submissions, applying for an editorial position, or for any other comments contact the journal’s Editor in Chief through the Ancient Studies secretary (801 422-3498).

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