

throughout this wide-ranging book, which Baughan sees as a kind of exploration of multiple issues. Whether convinced on all points or not, scholars will find a wealth of information here about the ancient couch and its use, as well as details for a large number of examples. Almost anything one is looking for regarding *klinai* can be located, and the enormous amount of data and numerous illustrations have not been compiled elsewhere—making this an essential reference work on the subject.

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The Many Faces of Herod the Great. By ADAM KOLMAN MARSHAK. Grand Rapids, Mich.: WILLIAM B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING Co., 2015. Pp. xxxi + 400, illus. \$35 (paper).

As a man whose vilification extends into the present era, Herod the Great presents a significant challenge for the biographer. Adam Marshak approaches the challenge by examining the multiple images of himself that Herod presented to the world, focusing in particular upon four roles: Herod as rightful successor to the Hasmonean rulers of Judaea; as Hellenistic ruler among the successors of Alexander; as Roman client-king; and as King of the Jews in a wider sense, including the Diaspora. By performing these roles, Marshak argues, Herod was able to achieve a largely successful reign according to the criteria of the day: His reign was long and relatively peaceful; he died of natural causes; and he left his kingdom to his designated heirs.

How exactly did Herod perform these roles? As well as discussing the main political events, Marshak concentrates on the visible artifacts of his reign that presented powerful messages to his people, to his fellow rulers, and to Rome, including in particular his coinage and his extensive building program. Much of the written evidence for Herod's reign comes from the work of Josephus, and indeed Marshak relies on Josephus for much of his evidence, especially for the building program, for which he finds Josephus generally more reliable than rabbinic sources. For other aspects of Herod's reign, Marshak finds that Josephus's rhetorical style can make him a less reliable source, and so he focuses on aspects attested in multiple sources.

After providing historical groundwork in chapters on Rome and its client kings, Hellenistic monarchies, and Judaeian history from the Maccabees to Herod, Marshak begins his detailed study of Herod's rise to power and his use of visual symbols in order to consolidate that power. As Marshak points out, Herod was a commoner and a foreigner (he was from Idumaea, and his mother was Nabataean). As he had no priestly lineage, he could not rule as both king and high priest, as his Hasmonean predecessors had. To overcome these deficits, Herod married Mariamme, a Hasmonean princess, and appointed her brother as high priest.

To further link himself with the Hasmonean dynasty, Herod adapted Hasmonean architectural forms for the palaces he built in the desert fortresses he constructed to protect his realm. Structural similarities

can easily be seen in the comparative plans provided; however, illustrations of the other similarities, such as specific details of wall decoration mentioned in the text, would have been useful as well. Throughout his reign, Herod also made a habit of naming cities, buildings, and even parts of buildings for political reasons; the prominent tower in Jerusalem named after Mariamme is an example.

Herod also used coinage to create a connection between himself and the Hasmoneans. Study of Herod's coin issues is difficult and complex, in part because many are undated. Marshak argues that the coins he calls the "inscription-anchor series" were minted early in his reign and were intended to connect Herod to his Hasmonean predecessors. One problem with this interpretation is that the anchors on Hasmonean coins were inverted, while those on Herod's coins were upright; elsewhere (pp. 131–32) Marshak argues that variations in coin imagery could be quite significant, so it is hard to imagine why Herod would not have wanted to use the same positioning of the anchor symbol as in the Hasmonean coins.

Another issue arises with the anchor-double cornucopia coin, the most common of Herod's undated issues. Marshak theorizes that this coin may have been minted in 17 BCE to celebrate the return of Herod's two sons from Rome. While this may be the case (though other scholars disagree) it is troubling that later in the work (p. 165) Marshak states this theory as fact.

Ultimately, of course, the Hasmonean alliance proved a failure, and Herod's murder of his brother-in-law, his wife, and his two sons (and intended heirs) is in large part responsible for his bloody reputation. Now Herod had to concentrate on his role as a client king to Augustus, and once again Herod negotiated this role with great skill. He provided funds to Augustus for his invasion of Egypt, and was rewarded with management of the copper mines on Cyprus. Marshak notes that it is highly probable that other commercial connections existed as well.

Herod continued his practice of naming structures for political reasons, naming the two buildings in the Main Palace in the Upper City in Jerusalem for Augustus and Agrippa. He rebuilt Samaria/Sebaste in Augustus's name, as well as his most ambitious project, Caesarea Maritima, where the harbor was also named Sebastos after Augustus. The massive harbor project not only referenced Augustus; it was built using Roman construction techniques, including the use of hydraulic mortar that required the importation of massive amounts of volcanic pozzolana from Italy. Marshak rightly points out that this importation alone was a major undertaking. It is unfortunate, though, that Marshak includes only a very small schematic plan of Caesarea Maritima, in which it is difficult to make out details of the structures referenced.

Overlooking the harbor, and on an axis with it, was one of the three temples to Augustus and Roma that Herod built within his kingdom; so as not to offend his Jewish citizens, none were built in cities with a majority Jewish population. Marshak documents well the numerous instances of Roman building types, construction techniques, and decorative elements utilized by Herod. He provides plans and drawings of several buildings, such as the North Palace at Masada and the Augusteum at Sebaste, but once again, photographs and drawings of architectural sculpture, opus sectile, and frescoes would have made doubly clear Herod's plan of Romanization through his architectural program.

Marshak also examines numismatic evidence for visual references to Herod's relationship with Augustus. The coins bearing a "Year 3" inscription have been the subject of extensive scholarly debate over which year of Herod's reign was intended. After briefly summarizing the debate, Marshak presents his conclusion that the coins refer to Herod's reconfirmation as ruler of Judaea after Actium, and are thus a symbol of his legitimacy. Undated coins bearing a diadem could also refer to his reconfirmation. Marshak points out that Herod's coin inscriptions, unlike those of his Hasmonean predecessors, were exclusively Greek. Coin photographs are uniformly excellent, with all the markings legible.

Herod made a conscious effort to play the role of a Hellenistic monarch through his patronage of sites throughout the eastern Mediterranean. This patronage took the form of endowments, tax rebates, personal intercession, and donations for building construction. He donated buildings in the Levant, as well as in the Greek islands, in Athens, and in Nikopolis, the latter donation characterized by Marshak as being particularly politically astute, since it was the site of the defeat of Antony, Herod's former patron.

Both as a Hellenistic ruler and as an agent of Rome's program of cultural assimilation, Herod had to patronize Greek sacred sites, while maintaining his duty toward God. Marshak describes how he

accomplished this by avoiding the construction of pagan temples in places with large Jewish populations. Nevertheless, it is interesting to speculate on the reaction of his Jewish subjects when he was appointed manager of the Olympic Games in 12 or 8 BCE. Herod emulated other actions of Hellenistic rulers as well, such as making Jerusalem a center of intellectual inquiry and founding a city in his own name, Herodion, site of his largest palace and his tomb.

In many ways, as Marshak explains, Herod's most complex relationship was with his Jewish subjects. As a usurper whose Jewishness was even in question, he needed to build and maintain the support of his Jewish subjects. He did this in part by promoting himself as a patron of Diaspora Jewish communities, who in turn supported him and brought significant funds to the community through pilgrimage and temple taxes. Further, he built new structures at David's tomb and at the Abrahamic sites of Hebron and Mamre, in order to connect himself with the Jewish past. Most important of all, he undertook the rebuilding and renovation of the Temple in Jerusalem, which he remade into one of the largest sanctuary sites in the ancient world. Once again, Herod made use of visual referents in order to consolidate his claim to be a true and worthy King of the Jews.

This book is both accessible to a lay audience and of great value to scholars. The lay audience in particular will benefit from Marshak's lucid chapters on the historical, political, and cultural background of the region and the period, and appreciate his consistent practice of providing concise definitions of technical terms as they are encountered in the text. Marshak's command of both the primary and secondary sources is impressive, and his analysis of disputes between scholars judicious; when he gives his own opinions on these disputes they are always clearly identified as such.

While the work concludes with an extensive bibliography, an index of modern authors and one of ancient literature, there is no general index to the work, which seems an odd omission. As mentioned above, with the exception of coin illustrations, which are excellent, more architectural plans and illustrations of architectural decoration could have been provided; the lack of such illustrations is surprising in a work that focuses so much on visual representation. Despite these omissions, however, this book makes a major contribution to the study of the reign of Herod, as Hasmonean successor, Hellenistic ruler, Roman client-king, and King of the Jews, and should remain a standard for many years to come.

CAROLINE DOWNING

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Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spätbabylonischer Zeit: Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium aus Anlass des 75. Geburtstags von Joachim Oelsner, Jena, 2. und 3. März 2007. Edited by MANFRED KREBERNIK and HANS NEUMANN. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, vol. 369. Münster: UGARIT-VERLAG, 2014. Pp. vii + 338, illus. €91.

The book under review publishes essays from a colloquium held in celebration of Dr. Joachim Oelsner's seventy-fifth birthday. In addition to a brief foreword and updated bibliography of Oelsner's work (that is, updated from the bibliography in his *Festschrift*), this volume has twelve submissions. It ends with detailed indices of names (gods, people, and places), foreign words, and topics.

U. Becker's paper is a selective review of the literature on the famous lines in Ezra 7:12–26, highlighting the debates over the understanding of that passage as a historical source or simply as a literary narrative. While it is not quite original work, I personally find summaries like this useful. It provides a point-of-entry for students and scholars trying to get a handle on a knotty issue grounded in discipline-specific literature. J. Everling's submission is the publication of BM 22022, a brief text from the time of Alexander IV mentioning rations for workers repairing the Esagila temple. The article has an appendix with all known cuneiform texts dated to Alexander IV, listed in chronological order.

A. Fuchs lays out the evidence we have for the rise to power of Nabopolassar and tries to fit it together in a way that links the chronology to the often sparsely informative sources. This will be a useful resource for future researchers, although the title of this work ("Die ungläubliche Geburt des neu-