

authority for Kings (p. 189). The attitude displayed in Kings towards alternative cult sites restricts the authority of Kings to Yehud and exhibits a diaspora perspective not visible in Chronicles. Kings ends with the last Davidic king achieving some sort of respect in the Diaspora, whereas Chronicles ends with the command of the Persian king to go up to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple. The book of Kings argues that kingship had failed and forces its reader in the Persian period to accept the loss of political autonomy (p. 195). Rather than kingship, the book of Kings promotes the authority of the prophetic voice and of the Torah of Moses. Prophetic authority is ranked above royal authority, and the authority of the Torah is over both, since kings are judged according to whether or not they follow its precepts.

For James Linville, the authority of Kings lies in its utility for explaining and justifying the exile (p. 207). Linville disagrees with Römer, arguing that the author of Kings undermines the role of the prophets. Kings' authority stems from the fact that it can be viewed as a metamyth about how the covenant curses in Torah came true (p. 214).

Individually these articles are interesting and useful discussions of the various biblical texts. Together they suggest that the value of the Deuteronomic history in the Persian period was its elevation of Torah law over that of earthly rulers and its confirmation that YHWH has the power to fulfil his promises.

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Izates, Helena, and Monobazos of Adiabene: A Study on Literary Traditions and History. By MICHAŁ MARCIAK. *Philippika*, vol. 66. Wiesbaden: HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG, 2014. Pp. 316, illus. €62.

A captivating tale in Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews* (*Ant.* 20:17–96) describes the conversion to Judaism in the first century C.E. of members of the royal family of Adiabene in northern Mesopotamia. Marciak uses this tale as a starting point for fulfilling his intention to “deliver the first ever monographic study on the family of royal converts from Adiabene in the broader perspective of the cultural and political environment of Hellenistic and Parthian Adiabene” (pp. 18, 267). In this intention, he has succeeded admirably, because, as will be seen, he has undertaken an exhaustive study, including not only examination of this and other relevant passages in the works of Josephus, but also of the works of other ancient authors, including an exploration of rabbinical literature. What is more, he has studied artifacts from archaeological investigations both in Jerusalem and Mesopotamia, and additional numismatic and epigraphic evidence as well. Throughout his exposition of these sources, Marciak concurrently evaluates the work of previous scholars on these topics, and documents it thoroughly in the notes to each chapter.

Described by Marciak as “slightly revised” (p. 11) from his doctoral dissertation produced in 2012 for the University of Leiden, this work is clearly intended for a specialized audience. Readers will need at least some familiarity with the relevant ancient languages and literatures, since words and phrases in ancient (and modern) languages are for the most part presented without English translations. The work could have benefited from a thorough final edit, as there are a number of grammatical errors. While this may seem a quibble, in some passages these errors may affect the reader's ability to fully grasp the author's intent.

Marciak begins by presenting an exegesis of Josephus's conversion story of Helena and her son King Izates of Adiabene. He is concerned with presenting the story as a “conscious literary product” (pp. 18, 117), indeed, as modeled on the ancient *bios* or biographical account of an eminent person from birth to death. In fact, Josephus even describes a portent of the future greatness of Izates that is delivered to his father Monobazos before his birth. Marciak demonstrates that many such literary tropes are employed in Josephus's account, which has the overall theme of Izates as a pious king who can count on God's providence in even the most threatening situations.

The center of the narrative is the conversion of Izates, which follows that of his mother Helena. While Izates follows Jewish practices, he forbears to be circumcised for fear of the reaction of his

Adiabenean subjects. After being informed by Eleazar, a Jew from Galilee, that he must be circumcised in order to truly follow the Law of Moses, he agrees to undergo circumcision. Marciak states that “the danger posed to Izates by his Adiabene subjects is never explicitly referred to [as] his circumcision but to the practice of ‘Jewish ancestral customs’” (p. 92), but this statement does not consider the passage where Josephus writes that “if it should be proved that he had performed the act [*praxis*], the king would risk losing his throne” (*Ant.* 20:47).

Helena’s conversion is secondary to the narrative, not surprisingly given Josephus’s focus on the life of Izates; nevertheless, Josephus makes a considerable digression from his narrative in order to tell the story of Helena’s journey to Jerusalem to visit the Temple (*Ant.* 20:49–53). While there, she saves the people of Jerusalem from a famine by sending for food from Egypt and Cyprus; after hearing about the famine, Izates himself sends funds for further famine relief. For her acts of euergetism, Helena is praised in rabbinic literature as an example of a pious queen of the Jewish people and, significantly, is not referred to as a convert to Judaism. Helena’s son Munbaz (Monobazos, older brother and successor of Izates) is also praised for providing help for the needy in Jerusalem and for providing sumptuous gifts to the Temple.

In his conclusion to the exegesis of the story of Izates, Marciak briefly discusses Josephus’s sources. Some scholars believe that Josephus must have used a source familiar with the realia of the Parthian world (such as a court chronicler), as evidenced by some details found in his descriptions of court life. Marciak argues convincingly that these Parthian realia are explained to the reader “as an outsider explaining them to other outsiders” (p. 122). Regardless of Josephus’s sources, it is clear from Marciak’s exegesis that the structure and meaning of the Adiabene narrative are basically his own, and exhibit the same proficiency in Greek and identification with Jewish institutions found in the rest of the work. Furthermore, ideas found elsewhere in the works of Josephus can be found in this narrative. For example, Izates is reluctant to ally himself with the Parthian king Vardanes against the Romans because of the Romans’ strength and good fortune (*tyche*) (pp. 113–15). This positive view of the Romans can be found elsewhere in *Antiquities*, as well as in *De Bello Judaico*.

Marciak is to be commended not only for his literary investigations, but also for his decision to study the physical remains of Adiabene royalty both in Jerusalem and in their homeland in northern Mesopotamia. In Jerusalem, Adiabene royalty made a significant impact on the landscape in the form of Helena’s famous tomb (“At the Pyramids”) and the construction of several palaces. While in recent years archaeologists have claimed that they have discovered the remains of Adiabene palaces, Marciak does not find these claims to be supported. On the other hand, the well-known *Tombeau des Rois* in Jerusalem has long been identified with Helena’s tomb, and Marciak agrees with this attribution. He examines in great detail the sources that provide geographical references for the location of the tomb, namely, Josephus, Pausanias, Eusebius, and Jerome. Unfortunately, the famous pyramids themselves are no longer extant, or this examination would have been obviated. Based on the geographical references, the monumental nature of the tomb, and the dating of the artifacts found there, Marciak concludes that the tomb is indeed that of Helena and other members of the royal family of Adiabene.

The tomb was first explored systematically in 1863 by the French researcher de Saulcy, though it was not intact, having been plundered in antiquity. Study of the artifacts provides a date consistent with the connection with Adiabene royalty. Ceramics are generally in the Herodian style, and the coins date from the time of Herod until 68/69 C.E., during the Jewish uprising, in which Adiabene royal family members took part. A number of sarcophagi were also uncovered, including one intact sarcophagus that contained the remains of jewelry and what appeared to be the skeleton of a female (since crumbled away). This sarcophagus contained an inscription in two different Aramaic scripts, both referring to a royal female with the name Saddam/Saddah. While some scholars have attempted to connect this name with Helena, Marciak rightly judges the evidence for this as tenuous. The sizable tomb complex contained many different chambers intended for multiple burials; the sarcophagus could have belonged to any female member of the royal family.

In the third and final part of his work, Marciak studies the cultural and political environment of Adiabene from the third century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. Once again he begins by discussing the ancient sources, beginning with Strabo, whose descriptions in *Geographica* comprise the earliest references to Adiabene. Marciak carefully studies names of settlements and topographical features in order

to establish the location and cultural affiliations of Adiabene. This is no easy task since the boundaries of the kingdom changed significantly over time, and the influences of neighboring peoples upon its culture are many. Latin sources are written primarily from the point of view of Roman military campaigns in the area, as in Tacitus's discussion of factionalism in Parthia and Cassius Dio's account of Trajan's war against the Parthians (now known only from Byzantine excerpts).

A most useful discussion of archaeological sites in the region, like Arbela (Erbil), Kilizu (Qasr She-mamok), and Nineveh, provides important evidence of the cultural diversity of Adiabene. First, there is evidence of the continuity of ancient Assyrian cults, particularly that of Ishtar. References to Greek cults can also be found, especially that of Tyche, so important in the Hellenistic world. At Nineveh inscriptions prove that the civic organization of the city followed Greek traditions. In a separate treatment of epigraphic, numismatic, and onomastic evidence, Marciak adds to the evidence for Adiabene and its rulers, and concludes with a useful chronology of Adiabene royalty, some better attested than others (p. 245). In short, as Marciak summarizes, Adiabene "includes co-existing Semitic, Greek, and Iranian elements . . . [and] can rightly be called a country located at the crossroads of cultures between East and West" (p. 217).

In his concluding chapter, Marciak considers Adiabene and Judaea in terms of the relations between Rome and Parthia, concluding with a discussion of the role of Adiabene in the Jewish Uprising of 66–73 C.E. In this uprising, Adiabene fighters not only acquitted themselves well, but were also clearly treated by Josephus as fully integrated into the Jewish population.

For the scholar in search of a balanced and detailed study of Adiabene royalty it would be difficult to best this encyclopedic work. Marciak has undertaken a truly interdisciplinary study, covering not only the written sources for his topic but also the physical evidence. His thorough analysis almost always results in a hesitation to claim too much for the evidence, which is an admirable feature throughout the work.

Marciak concludes with two suggestions for further research (p. 272). First, he hopes for new archaeological investigations in the area of ancient Adiabene; unfortunately, the extreme political instability in much of the region makes such investigation unlikely in the near term. Even worse, in the past year terrorists have deliberately destroyed ancient artifacts from Nimrud, Nineveh, and other sites. Second, he considers that further in-depth studies such as this one on the Adiabene conversion can provide valuable new evidence about Jewish identity and history in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

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Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant.

By MARIAN H. FELDMAN. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 2014. Pp. xvii + 250, illus. \$70.

The year 2014 saw the appearance of two publications on art and interconnections in the Near East and Mediterranean during the first millennium B.C.E. One is the book under review here. The other, *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age* (Aruz, Graff, and Rakic 2014), accompanied the stunning exhibition of the same name at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Viewers and readers explored complex webs of interaction, guided by stimulating displays, captions, and catalogue essays. Feldman's remarks there on metalwork (pp. 157–60) link the two publications. Indeed, so many of the objects and issues figure in both, yet are approached so differently, that the books ought to be used in concert.

In her own monograph, Feldman begins by defining her terms and principal argument. By "communities of style," she means that "the material effects of art objects, particularly that of style . . . generate community networks, and . . . accomplish this through their unique ability to catalyze collective memories" (p. 2). As she explains further, "more than simply a guide to attribution, style serves to establish