

To what extent was the Hasmonean queenship of Alexandra Salome the result of the impact of Hellenism on Jewish culture?

Magali Perrault

Module: Power and Culture in the Hellenistic East (CLAH7010)

Word count: 5,001

The impact of Hellenism on Jewish culture and the interactions between the Hasmoneans and their Hellenistic neighbours have been the subject of many important studies, from Tcherikover and Hengel to Gruen or Levine¹. Concurrently, Macurdy's seminal review of Hellenistic queens in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Egypt and the work of Pomeroy have generated a large and continuously growing body of scholarship concerned with the role and agency of Hellenistic female rulers².

In this context, it might come as a surprise that Alexandra Salome, who ruled the Hasmonean kingdom from 76 to 67 BC, has only recently started to receive significant academic attention. The subject of a monograph by Atkinson in 2013, she has been studied under a feminist lens by Ilan or equated to the figures of Esther and Judith by Biblical scholars such as Liebowitz or Patterson³. Yet, to this day, only very little work has been done on what the accession of a woman to queenship in Judaea could contribute to the debate regarding the impact of Hellenism on Judaism. With some partial exceptions⁴, Alexandra Salome has not been studied and discussed in relation and in comparison with her more famous Hellenistic counterparts, or even her predecessors and successors in Judaea.

Besides the difficulty to break down the traditional academic boundaries between classical historians and Biblical scholars and the impossibility to master a considerable range of data, this lack of

¹ Tcherikover, 1959; Hengel, 1974; Gruen, 1998; Levine, 1998

² Macurdy, 1932; Pomeroy, 1984. See also Bielman Sanchez, 2003; Carney, 1991; Fantham, 1994; Savalli Lestrade, 1994 and 2003

³ Atkinson, 2012; Ilan 2006; Liebowitz, 2012; Patterson, 2002

⁴ Schwentzel, 2011; Wilker, 2016

scholarly interest is further compounded by two issues. Firstly, the sources regarding the Hasmonean queen are limited, partial and even contradictory: Josephus' *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*⁵, a brief mention of her under the name of Shelamzion in the Dead Sea Scrolls⁶, as well as the archaeological remains of the (twin) palace she built for her sons Hyrcanus and Aristobulus in the region of Jericho⁷. Secondly, the concepts of Hellenism and Judaism remain themselves deeply ambivalent and require an (unavoidably inadequate) working definition. As a starting point and for the purpose of this study, I will therefore provisionally adopt Sterling's description of Judaism as "the ethnic-religious identity of the Jews whose ancestral traditions required some distinctive religious and social practices" and of Hellenism as "the post-Alexander culture of the Greeks ... cultivated in specific educational and social practices", essentially "the Greek way of life" first described and stigmatised in 2 *Macc* 4:10,13 and 11:24⁸.

Investigating the status of royal women across such a wide geographic and time spectrum is bound to lead to problematic inferences and to a fair amount of unwarranted "over-generalisations"⁹ but, despite those caveats, this essay will proceed from the premise that an examination of Alexandra Salome's ascent to the Hasmonean throne in the context of the Hellenistic ages constitutes a valid case study of its own. I will therefore start by successively looking at both the Jewish and Hellenistic influences that made possible Alexandra Salome's rise to power, before showing how the role of Hasmonean royal women might also have been impacted by other and broader customs and traditions, stemming from Macedonia, pharaonic Egypt, Persia and in fact the ancient Near East as a whole. Lastly, this essay will purport to show how an analysis of the nature of Hasmonean female power can provide new interdisciplinary perspectives on ancient Judaism as well as vindicate an updated definition of Hellenism as a cultural melting-pot, where Eastern cultures played a major role alongside Greek references and where, in Judaea as elsewhere, royal women such as Alexandra

⁵ Jos. *Bl.* 1.5.1-4; Jos. *Ant. Iud.* 13.15-16

⁶ Dead Sea Scrolls, Historical Texts C-E (formerly Mishmarot C), 4 Q331-3.

⁷ Regev, 2013, p.226

⁸ Sterling, 2001, p.264; Regev, 2017, p.175

⁹ Carney, 2010, p.196

Salome, were indeed both able and willing to exercise more political influence and agency than in later Roman times.

To start with, the first perspective on Alexandra Salome that needs to be examined considers her ascent to the Hasmonean throne as coincidental, merely the outcome of unique historical circumstances which can, and perhaps even should, only be studied in isolation. According to this historiographical tradition, Alexander Jannaeus's decision to bequeath Judaea to his wife instead of his two grown-up sons (consequently allowing the Pharisees' return to the centre stage) appears to be a political strategy, "a deliberate scheme of the cruel and wily king"¹⁰. This interpretation might indeed seem supported by Josephus (*Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 13.15.5), who tells us how the monarch, on his deathbed, advised Alexandra Salome to rule with the help of the Pharisees and "promise [them]...to do nothing without them in the affairs of the kingdom"¹¹. In this context, the accession of a woman to the throne seems primarily a last resort and a pragmatic legitimatising tool for a contested dynasty. This is of course neither new nor specifically Hellenistic and the Hasmonean dynasty as a matter of fact collapsed only four years after Alexandra Salome's death, in a process strikingly similar to what happened in ancient pharaonic Egypt, where the rule of four out of the five women who reached power on their own also coincided with the end of the dynasties to which they belonged¹². Women such as Alexandra Salome thus achieved power "by default"¹³, in troubled times and solely because of their family connections and status as wives, widows, mothers or sisters: queenship could hence only occur as an "avatar" of kingship¹⁴. The importance of "amphimetric"

¹⁰ Efron, 1987, p.172

¹¹ Jos. *Ant. Iud.* 13.15.4

¹² Grzybek, 2008, p.34; Cooney, 2015, p.228

¹³ Corbier, 2008, p.xix

¹⁴ Bielman Sanchez, 2003, p.61

strife¹⁵ and of the succession conflicts between the sons of polygamous rulers has been emphasised in the Hellenistic context and, although Hasmonean kings of course did not practice polygamy, the feud between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, which became an open war after their mother's death, could tentatively additionally explain Alexander Jannaeus's decision to leave power to his wife. The rise of a woman such as Alexandra Salome might also finally simply be the result of the inconsequence and incompetence of male rulers, what Strabo once bluntly called, in the Egyptian context, their "uselessness"¹⁶.

Yet, this view that emphasises the exceptional conditions required to allow royal women such as Alexandra Salome to seize power seems far too limitative and ignores the political and cultural circumstances of ancient Judaea. Josephus himself, in his (earlier) *Jewish War* presents a somewhat different picture of the events that followed Alexander Jannaeus's death, which suggests that Hasmonean society was at this time willing to accept a female and "pious" ruler:

Alexander left the kingdom to his Alexandra his wife, and depended upon it that the Jews would now very readily submit to her, because...she had got the goodwill of the people..., for this woman kept the dominion, by the opinion that the people had of her piety¹⁷.

Alexandra Salome has been considered (for instance by Baltrusch, Burckardt, Goodman or Puech¹⁸) as an exception in an ancient Jewish culture where women could not and did not traditionally play a political role. Yet, the "goodwill of the people" mentioned by Josephus could be linked to several precedents where ancient Jewish women had in fact managed to gain influence and govern a society,

¹⁵ Duvall Penrose, 2016, p.222

¹⁶ Strabo Geogr.XVII, 1, 12-13; Grandjean et al, 2017, p.201

¹⁷ Jos. *Bl.* 1.5.1

¹⁸ Baltrusch, 2001, p.171; Burkhardt, 2016, p.233; Goodman, 1987, p.31; Puech, 2012, p.54

which had, through the Bible and, as noted by Millar, perhaps unlike most of its neighbours in the ancient East, a strong sense of “national history”¹⁹.

Firstly, the notorious Athaliah is often summarily dismissed as a wicked usurper but she ruled Judaea on her own and, if Ilan is correct, it is paradoxically only after (and probably because of) her controversial reign that the Deuteronomy later came to specifically stipulate that Judaea will “set a king”, but not a queen, over itself²⁰. Judaeans women such as Deborah and Bathsheba (who attended royal audiences next to her son Solomon) are also reported as having wielded significant power or influence²¹.

Perhaps more significantly, although fictional, the Bible arguably reflects the reality of the status of women in ancient Jewish society and is full of examples of influential and powerful female leaders. Rebekah, Ruth but perhaps even more so Esther, Susannah and Judith have therefore all been studied and envisioned by scholars such as Brenner, Ilan or Levine as mythical and virtual predecessors of Alexandra Salome²². The colophon to the Greek version of *Esther* has hence been dated from 76 or 77 BCE, shortly before the Hasmonean’s reign and the book of *Esther* itself appears to have been composed “within two to thirty-eight years” before her queenship²³. Similarly, *Judith* has been dated from Alexandra Salome’s times and the story of *Joseph and Aseneth*, in contrast with other Hellenistic novels, portrays a strong-willed and much more “feminist” (converted) Jewish heroine²⁴. Whether those fictional tales mirror a society ready to put a female sovereign on the throne or were merely written as “propaganda” material to legitimise Alexandra Salome’s power *a posteriori* is

¹⁹ Millar, 1993, p.352

²⁰ Ilan, 2006, p.47

²¹ Schwentzel, 2013, p.70

²² Brenner, 1995; Ilan, 1997, p.2, 37; Levine, 1991, pp.124, 125, 145

²³ Ilan, 1999, p.153; Liebowitz, 2012, p.9

²⁴ Rocca, 2005, p.97; Levine, 1991, p.150, 154

contested and debatable but her queenship undeniably reflects and echoes the previously-existing importance of women in the Biblical tradition.

Within the Hasmonean dynasty itself, other women prior to Alexandra Salome achieved genuine political power and influence²⁵. In 104 BC, although left nameless by Josephus, John Hyrcanus's wife was put to death by her son Aristobulus I "because she disputed the government with him" and because her husband "had left her to be mistress of all"²⁶. Approximately one year later, Salina Alexandra, Aristobulus I's wife and widow, did not (willingly or not) assume power herself but, according to Josephus, still had sufficient authority to let the former king's brothers "out of prison..., and [make her son?] Alexander Janneus king"²⁷. In Sievers' words, "female members of the [Hasmonean] monarchy had an opportunity and a need to take their destiny and that of their family into their own hands; and a sizable number did so"²⁸.

The Hasmoneans did not follow the Ptolemaic example of sibling marriages, on the model of Isis and Osiris or Hera and Zeus²⁹. However, the members of the Judaeian ruling family tended to marry among cousins or close relatives, as exemplified by the debate as to whether, as argued by Zeitlin³⁰, Alexandra Salome's marriage to Alexander Jannaeus was a second, levirate, union. Following Atkinson and Ilan, I will reject this hypothesis (and have *de facto* already distinguished above Alexandra Salome from Aristobulus I's wife Salina Alexandra)³¹ but this matters in any case less than the fact that the dynasty's marriage strategy was clearly founded on the need to preserve the Hasmoneans' legitimacy as holders of the high priest office. Consequently, it conceded an important, specifically religious, legitimising role to a woman such as Alexandra Salome, who is likely to have been from birth a Hasmonean "princess" and was considered a worthy bride for the future king

²⁵ Ilan, 2016, p.214; Ilan, 2006, pp. 43–60

²⁶ Jos. *Ant. Iud.* 13.11.1

²⁷ Jos. *Ant. Iud.* 13.12.1

²⁸ Sievers, 1989, p.145

²⁹ Carney, 2013, pp.78–79; Clayman, 2014, p.72; Bingen, 2007, p.41; Hölbl, 2001, p.112

³⁰ Zeitlin, 1960, p.1; Dabrowa 2010, pp.85–6; Schwentzel 2011, pp.233–234

³¹ Ilan, 1993, p.189; Atkinson 2012, p.885

Alexander Jannaeus, even if she was probably (and unusually in those years) already twenty-one and her groom possibly thirteen to fifteen years younger at the time of their wedding³².

What is more, after Alexandra Salome and the end of the Hasmonean dynasty, women also significantly continued to play an important role under the early Herodians. The Hasmonean-born stepmother and wife of Herod, Alexandra and Marianne, as well as his sister Salome are hence all depicted by Josephus as formidable characters, able and willing to exercise considerable political influence on their male “referents”. Because women had traditionally been able to wage so much influence in Judaea, it actually comes almost as a surprise that Herod’s sister Salome was not offered or did not seize the throne after her brother’s death³³.

To be true and as already pointed out, Josephus repeatedly emphasises the piety of the queen, who “chiefly studied the ancient customs of her country and cast those men out of the government that offended against their holy laws”³⁴. The manifestations of Alexandra Salome’s power feature indeed several elements, which, mostly for religious reasons, undeniably distinguished it from her Ptolemaic and Seleucid counterparts. Unlike for the Seleucid Laodice, there was no deification or cult for the Hasmonean royal women but also no evidence of the “propaganda” or “advertising” documented for instance for Berenice II³⁵. Unlike Laodice, Olympias and many other Hellenistic female sovereigns, there is no evidence of Hasmonean evergetism, at least not of the type performed by their Hellenistic counterparts³⁶. What is more, Alexandra Salome does not appear to have issued coinage with her name or image, although three possible explanations have been given for this absence of numismatic evidence. Firstly, there was a documented overproduction of coinage during the reigns of her predecessors Hyrcanus, Aristobulus and Alexander Jannaeus, which meant that the queen might not have needed to engage in an active monetary policy: according to Schwentzel, Alexander Jannaeus’s issues were indeed still in circulation under Herod’s reign. Secondly, Alexandra Salome, for political

³² Keyes, 2016, p.22; Atkinson, 2012, p.868

³³ Roller, 2018, p.59

³⁴ Jos. *Bl.* 1.5.1

³⁵ Clayman, 2014, p.10; Carrez–Maratray, 2008, p.101

³⁶ Goodman, 1987, p.126

or religious reasons, might have deliberately chosen to mint her coinage in the names of her two sons and presumed successors Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, or even continued to strike coins in the name of their late husband. Lastly, absence of evidence is as always no evidence of absence and Frederic William Madden controversially attributed in 1881 to Alexandra Salome a coin bearing the Greek inscription “Basilika (queen) Alexandra”³⁷. Ultimately, what however made the Hasmonean kingdom so specifically Jewish was the existence of a high priesthood which was, for religious reasons and unlike the throne itself, not accessible to any woman, including Alexandra Salome who duly appointed to this position her eldest son Hyrcanus³⁸. In this context, the queen’s assumption of secular power could arguably be interpreted as fully compliant with and entrenched in Jewish traditions, a return to the Deuteronomic principles (*Deut.*17:14–20) and customs that prescribed a strict separation of political and divine powers and the rule of a wise monarch under the supervision and control of priests and religious leaders³⁹.

However, the rise of a woman as the secular ruler of the Hasmonean kingdom could, for exactly the same reasons, be interpreted in an almost completely opposite way, as evidence of the impact of Hellenism on Jewish culture and the Hasmoneans. Although she appointed her son Hyrcanus as high priest, Alexandra Salome remained in control of the army⁴⁰ and thus tentatively illustrates Momigliano’s view that, “by trying to combine a theocratic rule in the old Jewish style with a principality on the Hellenistic model, the Hasmoneans found themselves involved in more than ordinary difficulties and contradictions”⁴¹. If ancient Judaeae precedents, sources and traditions are then more ambivalent than often assumed, the extent to which Alexandra Salome’s accession was

³⁷ Atkinson, 2012, p.2311; Regev, 2013, p.175, 215–218; Keyes, 2016, p.28; Schwentzel, 2013, p.126

³⁸ Jos. *BJ*.1.5.1

³⁹ Atkinson, 2016, p.138; Puech, 2012, p.55; Schwentzel, 2013, p.67

⁴⁰ Babota, 2014, p.278

⁴¹ Momigliano, 1975, p.113

essentially and even solely the consequence of Hellenistic influences on Jewish culture now needs to be examined. The importance of Hellenism as a factor which made possible Alexandra Salome's queenship has been recurrently hinted at by Atkinson, Regev, Sartre, Wilker or Keyes⁴² and there are many reasons to consider Alexandra Salome as a quintessentially Hellenistic queen.

This is first documented by the name of the queen itself. Names indeed matter, as suggested by Carney's study of the Macedonian queen Olympias' four successive names⁴³ or Mac Auley's analysis of the repetition of female names within the Seleucid dynasty, showing that Laodice had become a "quasi title" for Seleucid royal women⁴⁴, like Arsinoe, Berenice or Cleopatra in the Egypt of the Ptolemies. In a similar way, "Salome" came to constitute the "standard" name for the female members of the Hasmonean and later Herodian families, and epigraphic evidence from 330 BC–200 CE and the 267 Judaeans identified indicates that it probably became the second most common and popular name in the region⁴⁵. In addition, "Salome" of course, like many of her Hasmonean male counterparts and her husband himself, bore the Greek name "Alexandra", an arguably even more explicit hint of Hellenistic influences.

Secondly, although the Hasmoneans, essentially for religious reasons, did not intermarry with the other Hellenistic monarchies (limiting to an extent the "continuous cross contamination" due the movement and "exchange" of women across the reigning dynasties⁴⁶), Alexandra Salome's rule still proves the integration of the kingdom in the Hellenistic balance of power. Josephus hence documents the queen's foreign policy and diplomacy as well as her negotiations with the likes of Cleopatra Selene, Aretas, Ptolemy and Tigranes:

⁴² Sartre, 2001, p. 402; Atkinson, 2012, p.539; Wilker, 2016, p.232; Regev, 2013, p.18.

⁴³ Carney, 2006, p.16

⁴⁴ McAuley, 2018, p.472

⁴⁵ Atkinson, 2012, p.901.

⁴⁶ Carney, 2011, p.195

when Alexandra sent out her army to Damascus, under pretense that Ptolemy was always oppressing that city, she got possession of it; nor did it make any considerable resistance. She also prevailed with Tigranes, king of Armenia, who lay with his troops about Ptolemais, and besieged Cleopatra, by agreements and presents, to go away. Accordingly, Tigranes soon arose from the siege, by reason of those domestic disturbances which happened upon Lucullus's expedition into Armenia⁴⁷.

More generally, it is hard to imagine Alexandra Salome's rule in a vacuum and without references to the contemporary and increasing power of the neighbouring Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal women. Ptolemaic Egypt had of course (with some intermittences) ruled Judaea between 312 to 200 BC, Ptolemy VIII for instance decided in 116 BC to appoint his niece and wife Cleopatra III as sole successor and, in 81 BC (just five years before Alexandra Salome's ascent to the Hasmonean throne), Ptolemy IX chose to bequeath the kingdom to his daughter Berenice III⁴⁸. In the Seleucid empire, the princesses were similarly used to contract political marriages and alliances which allowed the monarchy to strengthen its rule, for instance over Bactria and the eastern provinces of the kingdom⁴⁹. In this context, Alexandra Salome appears much less of an exception, a Hellenistic queen like all others.

Along with other Hellenistic royal women, she has been described as a "warrior queen"⁵⁰.

Macedonian queens such as Olympias and Adea-Eurydice took an active role on the battlefields, although Hellenistic female leaders more traditionally tended to limit themselves to recruiting activities⁵¹. Alexandra Salome is for instance said to have employed pagan mercenaries in the Hasmonean army and to have entertained political and territorial ambitions in the region of

⁴⁷ Jos. *Bl.* 1.5.3

⁴⁸ Sartre, 2018, pp.32, 34

⁴⁹ Wenghofer and Houle, 2016, p.194

⁵⁰ Atkinson, 2012

⁵¹ Pillonel, 2008, p.120

Damascus⁵². In Josephus's words, the queen "increased her own army to such a degree, that she became terrible to the neighbouring tyrants, and took hostages of them".⁵³

Thirdly, from a cultural standpoint, the remains of the twin palaces built by Alexandra Salome near Jericho for her two warring sons include traditional Jewish ritual baths (*mikwa'ot*) but also unambiguously testify to the (characteristically Hellenistic) *tryphe* and secularity of Hasmonean rule⁵⁴, a factor which might have made female power acceptable. There is no evidence of Alexandra Salome's evergetism and of the epigraphic habit that characterised Ptolemaic or Seleucid queens⁵⁵ but a hint of Alexandrianism and Hellenism might also be detected in the fact that the Pharisees which supported the queen were seemingly especially popular among Judaea's elite and upper-class women⁵⁶. The importance of their leader Ben Shitah as the main champion, mentor and political allied of the queen might itself be reminiscent of the role of the *philo*i and the networks considered essential to the influence of royal women in the Hellenistic world⁵⁷.

Finally, more generally, Alexandra Salome's accession could arguably be interpreted as evidence that the glorious times of David, Solomon as well as the Maccabean revolt were effectively over. This would indeed fit well with Carney's argument that the replacement of the traditional Greek, Homeric conception of kingship by a less heroic and more pragmatic vision of monarchy opened the political field to Ptolemaic queens and princesses⁵⁸. In line with this interpretation, Alexandra Salome is therefore not only a typical Hellenistic queen but she is also the sovereign of a characteristically Hellenistic monarchy, now largely and increasingly devoid of its theocratic and specifically Jewish

⁵² Dabrowa, 2010, p.96

⁵³ Jos. *Bl.* 1.5.2

⁵⁴ Regev, 2013, p.226; Dabrowa, 2010, p.110

⁵⁵ Wilker, 2016, p.250

⁵⁶ Atkinson, 2013, p.2782

⁵⁷ Carney, 2011, p.197; Bielman Sanchez and Lenzo, 2016, p.172

⁵⁸ Carney, 2013, p.105

aspects.

After having thus considered what makes Alexandra Salome both Jewish and Hellenistic, I will argue that her Hasmonean queenship actually forces us to go beyond and rethink the definition of Hellenism itself. Even if Greek culture was undeniably the “most dynamic package with which the Jews engaged”⁵⁹, the Hasmoneans were not engaged in an exclusive dialogue with Greek culture but were also heavily influenced by various other Oriental traditions and customs, which all contributed to the Hellenistic mix and tended to concede significant leverage and influence to royal women such as Alexandra. Writing around 300 BC, Hecataeus of Abdera already contended that Jewish culture had been impacted by Persian and Macedonian societies⁶⁰ and, beyond the Jewish and Greek models already studied, there were indeed also plenty of examples of female power stemming from, among others, Macedonia (as distinct from “Greece”), pharaonic Egypt, Persia or Nabataea.

The extent to which Macedonia was “Greek” is of course itself debated⁶¹ but the role of women in politics in any case significantly increased with and after the reign of Philip II and his formidable wife and mother of Alexander, Olympias. This “Macedonian model” has been considered a major influence for the royal women of Ptolemaic Egypt⁶².

Similarly, pharaonic Egypt, with whom Jewish culture had historical and cultural contacts far before the Hellenistic age, itself granted much more power to women than Greek customs. Manetho might of course have exploited and embellished the past to please and legitimise the Ptolemaic rulers at whose court he was working but his claim that women had been allowed to rule Egypt since the Old Kingdom⁶³ and the second dynasty should probably be taken seriously. The 22-year reign of the 18th

⁵⁹ Rajak, 2001, p.3

⁶⁰ Quoted in Momigliano, 1975, p.77

⁶¹ Engels, 2010, p.81

⁶² Duvall Penrose, 2016, p.190; Ashton, 2008, p.10

⁶³ Carney, 2013, p.85; Gryzbek, 2008, p.26

dynasty female pharaoh Hatshepsut could for instance effectively appear as a model for the later Cleopatras or Arsinoes⁶⁴. Although the real influence of royal women in pharaonic Egypt has been relativized, this native Egyptian tradition arguably played a role in the conception of queenship in Hellenistic times and in Hasmonean Judaea, especially given the long-standing relations between Jews and Egyptians and the importance of the Jewish diaspora and community of Alexandria and Egypt.

Persia and the Achaemenids, who ruled Judaea from 539 to 332 BC, constitute another potential inspiration for Alexandra Salome and Hasmonean women. The continuities between the Persian and Hellenistic eras are now acknowledged to have been much stronger than previously assumed⁶⁵ and this tentatively applies to the functions of royal women too. There is, to be true, no Achaemenid queenship as such and the Greek literary sources who describe female members of the Persian dynasty such as Atossa as dominating their often effeminate husbands or sons might be more “propaganda” from Greek historians such as Herodotus than “history”⁶⁶. Despite this, Brosius’s seminal study has convincingly demonstrated and confirmed the role of Achaemenid royal women on the battlefields, as property owners and managers as well as, in accordance with customs inherited from the Near Eastern courts of Assyria or Babylonia, the influence of the queen mother⁶⁷. The Persepolis Fortification texts also document how female members of the dynasty participated as well as granted audiences⁶⁸.

Further instances of powerful women, although more tardive and possibly themselves influenced by Hellenistic cultural trends, also occur in the kingdom of Commagene⁶⁹, the Hecatomnid dynasty of Caria⁷⁰ or in Nabataea, the kingdom bordering Judaea. The image of royal couples only appear on Nabataean coinage with Obodas III, at the times of Herod and the regence of Shuquilat II dates from

⁶⁴ Duvall Penrose, 2016, p.186

⁶⁵ Briant, 1996, p.896

⁶⁶ Dominick, 2007, p.432

⁶⁷ Brosius, 1996, p.90, 124, 198

⁶⁸ Brosius, 2007, p.33

⁶⁹ Schwentzel, 2010, p.429

⁷⁰ Roller, 2018, p.18

75 or 76 AD, but Nabatean queens such as Huldu already had an influence in the first century BC, Aretas III became in 65/64 Hyrcanus's ally in the conflict with Aristobulus and there is some evidence of important trade and cultural relations and what has been called "Nabataenizing" among Judaeans elites and in Jerusalem⁷¹.

Eventually then, considering the extent to which the Hasmonean queenship of Alexandra Salome was the result of the impact of Hellenism on Jewish culture can provide us with a new perspective on two important debates regarding Hellenism: the impact of Hellenism on "non-elite" women as a whole and the agency of Hellenistic female rulers.

Firstly, studying and focusing on female rulers and elites does not allow for an assessment of the impact of Hellenism on Jewish society and Jewish women as a whole. The status of elite and upper-class women such as Alexandra Salome might have significantly improved in Hellenistic times but, without evidence from other social classes, could only lead us to vindicate Hengel's argument that Hellenism only made superficial inroads into Jewish customs, mostly among the elite and aristocracy of Jerusalem⁷²: the same argument was for instance also made in the context of Egypt by Préaux and Bingen, who emphasised the survival of "indigenous cultures" in Hellenistic societies⁷³.

The evidence regarding Alexandra Salome remains in this respect indeed characteristically ambivalent. The story of the witch-hunt of Ashkelon (Mishnah, mSanhedrin 6:4), during which "eighty women" were reportedly hung during Alexandra Salome's reign⁷⁴, has been duly noted as (just another?) example where a female ruler ordered or condoned a deeply "misogynist" policy but the Hasmonean queen has also been praised by modern feminist scholars for a reform of the

⁷¹ Perassi, 2012, p.121; Schwentzel, 2014, p.154; Knauf, 2009, p.345–346

⁷² Hengel, 1974, p.56

⁷³ Préaux, 1978, p.9; Bingen, 2007, p.216

⁷⁴ Ilan, 2006, p.214

ketubbah and marriage laws, which granted more protection and rights to Jewish women in the event of a divorce⁷⁵. More broadly, in the case of Macedonia, Carney contends that the rise of royal women was mirrored in the increasing evergetism and visibility of “elite” women as a whole⁷⁶ but it is hard and virtually impossible to document this in the case of Judaea, given the specificities of Jewish culture itself. In Judaea, as in most of the ancient world, force is to acknowledge that lower-class women and non-elite women as a whole remain unfortunately largely invisible in the literary, archaeological and epigraphical records.

Secondly, and perhaps even more significantly, the rise of female power has traditionally assumed to be a major characteristic of the Hellenistic period. The public role of Hellenistic female rulers has in fact been hotly debated, with wide disagreements between those who emphasise the effective power and authority of Arsinoe II and other royal women⁷⁷, those who nuance the reality of the political leverage of queens such as Berenice II⁷⁸ and a third, middle, way which contends that the concept of “influence” provides a more adequate and balanced description of those sovereigns’ agency⁷⁹. In this context, the lack of sources as well as the contradictions of Josephus himself make it in any case extremely hard to evaluate the genuine extent of Alexandra Salome’ power. If one is to believe Josephus, Alexandra Salome was merely a figure head and the toy of the Pharisees, effectively the real religious as well as secular power behind the throne: “these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour little by little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs...they had the enjoyment of the authority”⁸⁰. On the other hand, the political acumen and cunning of the Hasmonean queen has been acknowledged by many scholars, if only

⁷⁵ Ilan, 2006, p.112

⁷⁶ Carney, 2010, p.424

⁷⁷ Carney, 2013, pp.37, 39

⁷⁸ Clayman, 2014, p.159

⁷⁹ D’Agostini, 2016, p.35

⁸⁰ Jos. *Bl.* 1.5.2

because she seemingly managed to convince her husband to appoint her as his successor and apparently had the “genial idea” to consolidate her power by promising to the Pharisees “a return to the constitution of Simon”⁸¹. Josephus also in any case somewhat contradicts himself a few lines later when he acknowledges that the queen “was a wise woman in the management of great affairs”⁸². In this sense, Alexandra Salome’s genuine power seems indeed ultimately hard to deny and would appear to confirm the growing impact of “elite” women in the post–Alexander era.

As a conclusion and at the end of this comparative investigation of Alexandra Salome and other female rulers, I will argue that the Hasmonean queen, in line with her double name and the palace she built for her sons, was “Hellenistic”, both Greek and Jewish. She illustrates how Hasmonean monarchs, while remaining Jewish, embraced Greek traditions and conventions in their exercise of power and her reign demonstrates the “compatibility” of Jewish and Greek cultures evidenced by Gruen and Fine⁸³.

What is more, Alexandra Salome’s ascent to the Hasmonean throne could be explained and legitimised by both Jewish and Greek elements but was also made possible by the impact of Macedonian as well as Near Eastern cultures such Persia or even Nabataea. This consequently forces us to expand our initial working definition of Hellenism and, to paraphrase the expression used by Stephens in relation to Ptolemaic culture, “see” more than “double”⁸⁴. Hellenism was not solely the adoption of Greek ways but also the result of a profound social and cultural change characterised (in

⁸¹ Baltrusch, 2001, p.173

⁸² Jos. *Bl.* 1.5.2

⁸³ Gruen, 1998, p.xiv; Fine, 2010, p.54

⁸⁴ Stephens, 2003

fact like the later Romanisation) by “hybridity”⁸⁵ and the interactions of other, Near Eastern, cultures (mostly Achaemenid and even Jewish) with “purely” Greek customs. The queenship of Alexandra Salome was hence undoubtedly the result of the influence of Hellenism on Jewish culture, provided (following and coming back to Droysen’s original intuition) Hellenism is defined as “a Hegelian synthesis of Oriental cultures and Greek civilization”⁸⁶.

Ultimately, this case study hopefully illustrates the need for more interdisciplinary and comparative work on Hasmonean women to provide new insights on both ancient Judaism as well as Hellenism itself. Hellenism, in Judaea as elsewhere, allowed the elevation of royal women such as Alexandra Salome, something that seemingly distinguishes it from the times of Romanisation as well as rabbinic Judaism. The reduced status of women in Roman Egypt compared to the Ptolemaic times has for instance been documented⁸⁷ but is also striking in Judaea. In contrast with their Hasmonean predecessors and Alexandra Salome, Herodian women were mostly used as legitimising tools for their male spouses (as illustrated by Herod’s union with the Hasmonean Marianne)⁸⁸, were only able to exert a limited political influence and do not appear to have ever been genuinely considered as legitimate contenders to the throne⁸⁹. Josephus’s much more negative portrayal of Alexandra Salome in his *Antiquities* compared to his earlier *Jewish War* could be the result of his increasing reliance on the misogynist and “anti”-Hasmonean Nicolaus of Damascus⁹⁰ but it could equally be the (conscious or not) consequence of the historian’s now much longer exposure to a Roman society where women were not expected or allowed to exert direct political power⁹¹. In the case of Judaea, this phenomenon and the general decrease of female agency were tentatively even further compounded after Titus’s destruction of the Second temple in 70, when the ascent of rabbinic Judaism emphasised

⁸⁵ Sartre, 2008, p.28, 41

⁸⁶ Moyer, 2011, p.11

⁸⁷ Vandorpe, 2010, p.418

⁸⁸ Gelb, 2013, p.30

⁸⁹ Schwentzel, 2011, p.232

⁹⁰ Ilan, 1996, p.221

⁹¹ Bacchi, 2013; Ilan 2016, p.216; Liebowitz, 2015, p.187.

the religious aspects of Jewish culture and hence contributed, in Tal Ilan's words, to "silence"⁹² women and virtually erase the memory of queen Alexandra Salome.

⁹² Ilan, 2006

Bibliography

Primary sources:

Josephus. *The New Complete Works*. W. Whiston (trans.). 1999. Grand Rapids: Kregel.

The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English. G. Vermes (trans.) 2011. London: Penguin.

Secondary sources:

Atkinson, K. (2012) *Queen Salome: Jerusalem's Warrior Monarch of the First Century B.C.E.* Jefferson (NC) and London: Mc Farland (Kindle electronic edition and references).

Atkinson, K. (2016) *A History of the Hasmonean State*. London: Bloomsbury.

Bacchi, A. (2013), 'The Two Faces of Queen Shelamzion in Josephus', Abstract of a paper given to the *Society for Biblical Literature, Pacific Coast Regional Meeting* on Judaism in the Greco-Roman Era, Fullerton, 24th March. Available at

https://www.academia.edu/4683843/The_Two_Faces_of_Queen_Shelamzion_in_Josephus_Abstract

(Accessed: 2 May 2019).

Babota, V. (2014) *The Institution of the Hasmonean High Priesthood*. Leiden: Brill, Boston.

Baltrusch, E. (2001) 'Königin Salome Alexandra (76-67 v. Chr.) und die Verfassung des hasmonäischen Staates', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 50(2), pp.163-179.

Bielman Sanchez, A. (2003) 'Régner au féminin. Réflexions sur les reines attalides et séleucides', in Prost, F. (ed.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée: Cités et Royaumes à l'époque hellénistique*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, pp.41-61.

Bielman Sanchez, A. and Lenzo, G. (2016). 'Deux Femmes de Pouvoir chez les Lagides: Cléopâtre I et Cléopâtre II (IIe siècle av. J.C)', in Bielman Sanchez, A., Cogitore, I. and Kolb, A (eds) *Femmes influentes dans le monde hellénistique et à Rome*. Grenoble: Ellug, Université Grenoble-Alpes, pp.157-174.

Bingen, J. (2007) *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Brenner, A. (1995) *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Briant, P. (1996) *Histoire de l'Empire Perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre*. Paris: Fayard.

Brosius, M. (1996) *Women in Ancient Persia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Brosius, M. (2007), 'New out of old? Court and court ceremonies in Achaemenid Persia', in Spawforth, A.J.S. (ed.) *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp.17–57.

Burkhardt, L. (2016) 'Die Schwester potentiell einflussreicher Männer: Einige *Exempla* aus dem römischen Reich in der Kaiserzeit', in Bielman Sanchez, A., Cogitore, I. and Kolb, A (eds) *Femmes influentes dans le monde hellénistique et à Rome*. Grenoble: Ellug, Université Grenoble-Alpes, pp.217–236.

Carney, E. (1991) "'What is in a Name?": The Emergence of a Title for Royal Women in the Hellenistic Period', in Pomeroy, S.H.N. (ed.) *Women's History and Ancient History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, pp.155–172.

Carney, E. (2006) *Olympias: Mother of Alexander the Great*. New York and London: Routledge.

Carney, E. (2010) 'Macedonian Women', in Roisman, J. and Worthington, I. (eds) *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp.409–427.

Carney, E. (2011) 'Being royal and female in the early Hellenistic period', in Erskine, A. and Llewellyn Jones, L. (eds) *Creating a Hellenistic World*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, pp.195–220.

Carney, E. (2013) *Arsinoë of Egypt and Macedon: A Royal Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carrez–Maratray, J.Y. (2008), 'A propos de la boucle de Bérénice: la publicité des reines lagides', in Bertholet, F., Bielman Sanchez, A. and Frei–Stolba, M. (eds), *Egypte–Grèce–Rome: les différents visages des femmes antiques: Travaux et colloques du séminaire d'épigraphie grecque et latine de l'IASA, 2002–2006*. Bern, Berlin, Brussels: Peter Lang, pp.93–116.

Clayman, D.L. (2014) *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corbier, M. (2008) 'Avant–propos: les femmes et le pouvoir, les pouvoirs des femmes', in Bertholet, F., Bielman Sanchez, A. and Frei–Stolba, M. (eds) *Egypte–Grèce–Rome: les différents visages des femmes antiques: Travaux et colloques du séminaire d'épigraphie grecque et latine de l'IASA, 2002–2006*. Bern, Berlin, Brussels: Peter Lang, pp.xiii–xx.

Cooney, K. (2015) *The Woman who would be king: Hatshepsut's Rise to Power in Ancient Egypt*. London: OneWorld publications.

Dominick, Y.H. (2007) Acting Other: Atossa and Instability in Herodotus', *Classical Quarterly* 57(2), pp.432–444.

Dabrowa, E. (2010) *The Hasmoneans and their State: A Study in History, Ideology and the Institutions*. Krakow: Jagellonian University.

D'Agostini, M. (2016) 'Representation and Agency of Royal Women in Hellenistic Dynastic Crises: the case of Berenike and Laodike', in Bielman Sanchez, A., Cogitore, I. and Kolb, A (eds) *Femmes influentes dans le monde hellénistique et à Rome*. Grenoble: Ellug, Université Grenoble–Alpes, pp.35–59.

Duvall Penrose, W. (2016) *Postcolonial Amazons: Female Masculinity and Courage in Ancient Greek and Sanskrit Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Efron, J. (1987) *Studies on the Hasmonean Period*. Leiden: Brill editions.

Engels, J. (2010) 'Macedonians and Greeks', in Roisman, J. and Worthington, I. (eds) *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia*. Chichester: Wiley–Blackwell, pp. 81–98

Fantham, E. (ed.) (1994) *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fine, S. (2010) *Art and Judaism in the Greco–Roman World*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gelb, N. (2013) *Herod the Great: Statesman, Visionary, Tyrant*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Goodman, M. (1987) *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome A.D. 66–70*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grandjean, C. Hoffmann, Capdetrey, L. and Carrez–Maratray, J.Y. (2017) *Le Monde Hellénistique*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Gruen, E. (1998) *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Grzybek, E. (2008) 'Le pouvoir des reines lagides : son origine et sa justification', in Bertholet, F., Bielman Sanchez, A. and Frei–Stolba, M. (eds) *Egypte–Grèce–Rome: les différents visages des femmes antiques: Travaux et colloques du séminaire d'épigraphie grecque et latine de l'IASA, 2002–2006*, Bern, Berlin, Brussels: Peter Lang, pp.25–38.

Hengel, M. (1974) *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period (2 volumes)*. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Hölbl, G. (2001) *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ilan, T. (1993) 'Queen Salamzion Alexandra and Judas Aristobulus I's Widow: Did Jannaeus Alexander Contract a Levirate Marriage?', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 24, pp.181–190.

- Ilan, T. (1996) 'Josephus and Nicolaus on Women', in Cancik, H., Lichtenberger, H. and Schäfer, P. (eds) *Geschichte - Tradition – Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*. Tübingen: J.C.B Mohr, pp.221-262.
- Ilan, T. (1997) *Mine and Yours are Hers: Retrieving Women's History from Rabbinic Literature*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ilan, T. (1999) *Integrating Women into Second Temple History*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson publishers.
- Ilan, T. (2006) *Silencing the Queen: The Literary Histories of Shelamzion and other Jewish Women*. Leiden: Brill.
- Ilan, T. (2016) 'Josephus on Women', in Chapman, H.H. and Rodgers, Z. (eds) *A Companion to Josephus*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, pp.213–235.
- Keyes, A. (2016) *To What Extent Was Hasmonean Queenship a Characteristically Hellenistic Institution?*. Unpublished MA thesis, Heythrop college. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/310478557_To_What_Extent_Was_Hasmonean_Queenship_a_Characteristically_Hellenistic_Institution (Accessed: 15 March 2019).
- Knauf, E.A. (2009) 'The Nabatean Connection of the Benei Hezir', in Cotton, H., Hoyland, R.G., Price, J.J. and Wasserstein, D.J. (eds) *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.345–351.
- Levine, A.J. (1991) *Women Like This: New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Levine, L.I. (1998) *Judaism and Hellenism: Conflict or Confluence?*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- Liebowitz, E. (2012) 'Esther and Alexandra: Paradigms of Queenship in the Septuagint and in Josephus' Writings', *Lectio Difficilior*, pp.1-15.

- Liebowitz, E. (2015) 'Josephus's Ambivalent Attitude towards Women and Power: the Case of Queen Alexandra', *Journal of Ancient Judaism*, 6, pp.182–205.
- McAuley, A. (2018) 'The Tradition and Ideology of Naming Seleukid Queens', *Historia* 67(4), pp. 472-494.
- Macurdy, G.H. (1932) *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Women Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Egypt*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Millar, F. (1993) *The Roman Near East: 31 BC–AD 337*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.
- Momigliano, A. (1975) *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moyer, Ian S. (2011) *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patterson, D.N. (2002). "Honoured in her Time ": *Queen Shelamzion and the Book of Judith*. Unpublished Ph.D dissertation. University of Ottawa.
- Perassi, C. (2012) 'Le regine nabatee nella documentazione monetale', in Siena, S.L. and Perassi, C. (eds), *La Giordania che abbiamo attraversato: Voci e immagini da un viaggio*. Scilla:Unicatt, pp.106–129
- Pillonel, C. (2008) 'Les reines hellénistiques sur les champs de bataille', in Bertholet, F., Bielman Sanchez, A. and Frei-Stolba, M. (eds) *Egypte–Grèce–Rome: les différents visages des femmes antiques: Travaux et colloques du séminaire d'épigraphie grecque et latine de l'IASA, 2002–2006*. Bern, Berlin, Brussels: Peter Lang, pp.117–145.
- Pomeroy, S.B (ed.) (1984) *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: From Alexander to Cleopatra*. New York: Shocken.

- Préaux, C. (1978) *Le Monde Hellénistique: La Grèce et l'Orient 323–146 av. J.C.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Puech, V. (2012) *Les Juifs dans le monde hellénistique*. Paris: Ellipses.
- Rajak, T. (2001) *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction*. Leiden: Brill.
- Regev, E. (2013) *The Hasmoneans: Ideology, Archaeology, Identity*. Göttingen and Bristol: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Regev, E. (2017) 'The Hellenization of the Hasmoneans Revisited: The Archaeological Evidence'. *Advances in Anthropology*, 7, pp.175-196.
- Rocca, S. (2005) 'The Book of Judith, Queen Sholomzion and King Tigranes of Armenia: A Sadducee Appraisal', *Materia Giudaica*, 10, pp.85-98.
- Roller, D.W. (2018) *Cleopatra's Daughter and other royal women of the Augustan era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sartre, M. (2001) *D'Alexandre à Zénobie: Histoire du Levant Antique: IV^e siècle av. JC - III^e siècle ap. JC*. Paris: Fayard.
- Sartre, M. (2008) 'The nature of Syrian Hellenism in the late Roman and Early Byzantine periods', in Eliav, Y.Z., Friedland, E.A., and Herbert, S. (eds) *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven: Peeters, pp.25–49.
- Sartre, M. (2018) *Cléopâtre: un rêve de puissance*. Paris: Tallandier.
- Savalli-Lestrade, I. (1994) 'Il ruolo pubblico delle regine ellenistiche', in *Studi offerti dagli allievi a Giuseppe Nenci in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*. Lecce: Congedo, pp.415-432.
- Savalli-Lestrade, I. (2003) 'La place des reines à la cour et dans le royaume à l'époque hellénistique', in Bielman Sanchez, A., Frei-Stolba, R. (eds) *Les femmes antiques entre sphère privée et sphère*

publique, *Actes du diplôme d'Etudes Avancées, Université de Lausanne et Neuchâtel, 2000-2002*.

Bern: Echo, pp.59-76.

Schwentzel, G.G. (2010) 'Reines commagénienes : la place des basileuses dans les hiérophories et Iotapè Philadelphie', *Res Antiquae* 7, pp. 429-440.

Schwentzel, C.G. (2011) 'Les fonctions des souveraines hasmonéennes, hérodiennes et nabatéennes: étude comparative', *Studi Ellenistici*, 24, pp.233–251.

Schwentzel, C.G. (2013) *Juifs et Nabatéens: Les Monarchies ethniques du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Schwentzel, C.G. (2014) 'La reine Huldu et la coiffe isiaque : Isis et le pouvoir royal à Pétra (1er s. av. J.-C. - 1er s. apr. J.-C.)', in Bricault, L. and Versluys, M.J. (eds), *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis, Actes du colloque de Boulogne-sur-Mer, 13-15 octobre 2011*. Leiden : Brill, pp. 147-162.

Sievers, J. (1989) 'The Role of women in the Hasmonean Dynasty', in Feldman, L.H. and Hata, G. (eds) *Josephus, the Bible and History*. Leiden: Brill, pp.132–146.

Stephens, Susan A. (2003) *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sterling, G.E. (2001) 'Judaism between Alexandria and Jerusalem', in Collins, J.J and Sterling, G.E (eds) *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*. Notre Dame Indiana: University of Indiana Press: pp.263–301.

Tcherikover, V. (1959) *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Vandorpe, K. (2010) 'Women and gender in Roman Egypt: The impact of Roman rule', in Lembke, K., Minas-Nerpel and Pfeiffer, S. *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 415–435.

Wenghofer, R. and Houle, D.J. (2016) 'Marriage Diplomacy and the Political Role of Royal Women in the Seleukid Far East', in Coşkun, A. and McAuley, A. (eds) *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation,*

Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 194–211.

Wilker, J. (2016) 'A Dynasty without Women? The Hasmoneans between Jewish Traditions and Hellenistic Influence', in Coşkun, A. and McAuley, A. (eds) *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 231–252.

Zeitlin, S. (1960) 'Queen Salome and King Jannaeus Alexander: A Chapter in the History of the Second Jewish Commonwealth', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 51 (1), pp.1–33.