Roman pietas and Herod the Great

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ABSTRACT

Deep political and cultural connections which Herod had to Rome and to Augustus stemmed from his position of a client king of the Romans. This clientship was based on personal relation between both Herod and Augustus, and therefore we may draw parallels from *patronus-cliens* relationship known and documented from various ancient sources, and then interpret Herod's building program. Reciprocal bonds were based on concepts of *fides* (loyalty, security) and *pietas* (piety). Augustus extended his benefactions on Herod on many occasions and Herod rewarded him in generous manner, emulating the typically Roman virtue of *pietas* in similar manner as Augustus did himself in Rome. Roman-type temples of Augustus in Judaea (Samaria-Sebaste, Caesarea, Paneas) are proofs of Herod's 'extension' of Augustus' cultural program. Further attestation of Herod's *pietas* is fact, that it was Augustus' *genius* that was venerated in temples dedicated to him. These beginnings of the imperial cult may be traced, as is evidenced also in Augustan Rome, to the cult of *paterfamilias – patronus* which was practiced by his respective *cliens*.

INTRODUCTION

Herod's involvement in the sphere of Roman cultural milieu has been topic of several studies since large-scale excavations revealed his building endeavours, beginning with Yadin's research on Masada in 1960s. To name some, it was work of Duane Roller (1998) that showed strong connections between Herod and the Roman political and cultural élite and the way they influenced formation of Herod's architectural ideas. This theme was further explored by Japp (2000). Recently, Kropp (2009) re-examined Imperial cult under client kings in the Near East, including Herod. Geiger (1997) presented Herod as *philorhomaios* and *philokaisar* in context, and Regev (2010) examined Herod's Roman and Jewish identities. Bloch (2006) notes similarities in both Augustus' and Herod's program of piety propagation in their respective places, as for Herod in a sort of *imitatio Augusti*. The piety will be of concern for this article.

Josephus often writes about Herod's piety or even pious acts and 'support' for piety (e.g. *BJ* I.400, I.462; *AJ* XV.375 etc.). However, the Roman dimension of his 'pious conduct' has been left rather unnoticed. Thus, the aim of this paper is to explore a variety of forms in which king Herod expressed his virtue of piety and, to be more precise, especially his relation to Roman *pietas* and the *pietas* of his great contemporary – Augustus – and to interpret them in their historical, social and political context of the establishment of Roman principate.

Let us shortly review how we understand the term 'piety' in antiquity. First of all, it is the reverence for the deity and appropriate conduct of one's obligations towards them. Or in other words, there exists a certain reciprocal relationship between worshipper and deity which can be expressed as *do ut des* (GILL 2004, 527; RÜPKE 2001, 148–149; WARRIOR 2006, 6; MAHARAM 2000, 1009–1010. See e.g. Cicero *De nat. deo.* I.3). Similar relationship of respect, reverence and obligation is expected in the family context, between patrons and their clients, benefactors

and benefiters (e.g. Cicero *De off.* II.46; III.41; Drummond 2006, 160–163; Warrior 2006, 13), as well as in Hellenistic monarchies where kings were awarded with honours reserved only for gods (Walbank 2006, 90–94).

BUILDINGS CONNECTED TO HEROD'S PIETY

According to Josephus we can distinguish two forms of manifestation of piety (*eusebeia/pietas*) in terms we defined in the introduction: *naming of buildings* and *erection of temples*.

NAMING OF BUILDINGS

Significant individuals were honoured in this way with the members of imperial family being the most prominent. It included Augustus (Sebastos/Caesar) and his sons-in-law Agrippa and Drusus. Apart from them, only one Roman figure is represented by name – Antonius – the triumvir in the eastern provinces. The typology of buildings in question varies but they are all monumental public constructions (Fig. 1).
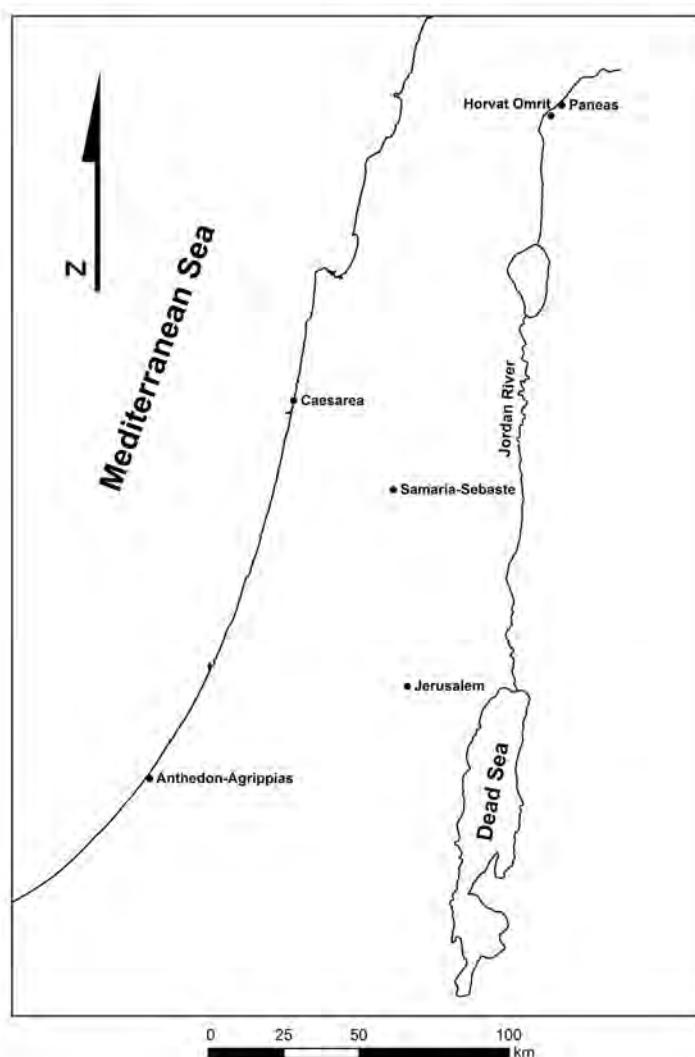

Fig. 1: Map of the sites mentioned in the text (by A. Pažout).

The first building to be constructed[1] was the fortress of Antonia (*BJ* I.402; *AJ* XV.292; 403; 409; Richardson 1996, 223) sometime between Herod's conquest of Jerusalem (37 BCE) and battle of Actium (31 BCE), overlapping with Antony's stay in the east. After Actium we encounter even more magnificent buildings. They include re-foundations of Samaria-Sebaste in 27 BCE (*AJ* XV.292; 296–316); Anthedon-Agrippias (*BJ* I.416) at unspecified date, and founding of Caesarea in 24/23 BCE (*BJ* I.408–413; *AJ* XV.331–341; XVI.136), which also included facilities named after Augustus (Sebastos harbour) and Drusus (lighthouse; *BJ* I.412; *AJ* XVII.87–88). In Jerusalem Herod built banqueting halls in his palace named after Augustus and Agrippa (*BJ* I.402; *AJ* XV.318).

Another category, although not belonging among buildings, should be mentioned. Quinquennial games in honour of Augustus' victory at Actium were established and held in Jerusalem. For this purpose hippodrome and theatre with trophies and inscriptions honouring Augustus were built (*BJ* I.415; *AJ* XV. 267–269). And finally, there are temples dedicated to Augustus (Caesarea, Sebaste and Paneium).

TEMPLES OF AUGUSTUS

Erection of the first temple began early in Herod's reign, already in 27 BCE, during reconstruction and foundation of military colony in Sebaste (*BJ* I.403; *AJ* XV.298). He is therefore a pioneer in promotion of the imperial cult in the Roman world. The next temple is linked to the foundation of Caesarea (*BJ* I.414; *AJ* XV.339). The last was conceived after Augustus' visit to Syria in 20 BCE, when Herod was confined new lands at the springs of Jordan (*BJ* I.398–399, 404; *AJ* XV.354, 363–364).

Caesarea

The temple stood on a low ridge, ca. 13m high, facing the harbour. Its main axis is oriented to the main axis of the harbour and so it diverges from the rectangular street grid. On the top of the elevation a platform of 100 × 90m was constructed. The portico is reconstructed around the precinct based on parallels with other temples. Towards the harbour two wings (21 × 9.5m) are projected with a 10 m wide monumental staircase situated in the space between them. The rest is reconstructed, after Netzer (Fig. 2 top), as a terraced garden. However, we lack sufficient proofs for this statement. Another staircase on the southern side of platform connected the precinct to one of the *cardines* (Levine 1975, 19; Netzer 2006, 103, 105; Porath *et al.* 2008, 1667; Roller 1998, 138–139).

Foundations measuring 46.4 × 28.6m survived from the temple. We can assume, from the fragments of masonry, that the plan was peripteral *hexastylos*, probably Corinthian, but there is no agreement as to whether these foundations are rest of *krepis* or podium (Netzer 2006, 103, 105; Porath *et al.* 2008, 1667). According to Josephus there used to stand a statue of Augustus modelled after Olympian Zeus and a statue of Roma after Argive Hera (*BJ* I.414).

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1   For chronology of various building projects see Kokkinos 1998, 370; Netzer 1981, 1; Netzer 2006, 302–305; Richardson 1996, 238; Roller 1998, 87–90.
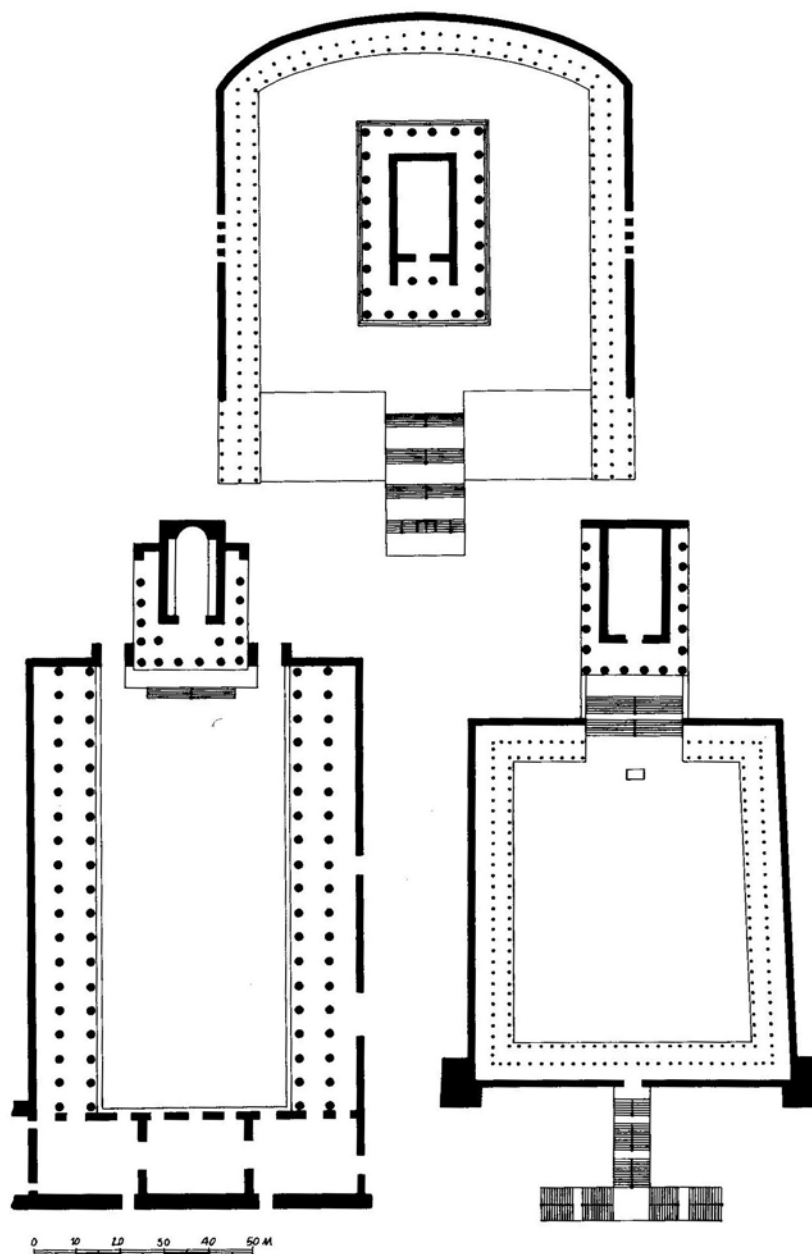
Fig. 2: Comparison of the temples. Caesarea top, Samaria-Sebaste bottom right, Forum Iulium bottom left (after NETZER 2006, Fig. 56).

Sebaste

The *temenos* of the temple in Sebaste was constructed in the same manner as in Caesarea on a monumental platform (83×72m) on the city acropolis. The foundations consist of two parallel walls along the eastern, northern and western part of the precinct. The space between them was vaulted creating a *cryptoporticus*. The area enclosed by the walls was then elevated. The entrance consisting of a monumental staircase is believed to have been placed on the badly preserved northern face of the platform. The *cryptoporticus* could have served as a base for double portico encircling the court.

The temple stood in the southern part of the platform on a 4.5m high podium with access in the form of a wide staircase (Fig. 2 bottom right). The podium measures 34.9 × 23.95m with a 6.95m deep portico. The temple is usually thought to be a Corinthian *hexastylos* of Roman type with columns standing around the frontal and two long sides, the back consisting of the southern wall of the *cela* with antae projecting to the sides (*peripteros sine postico*) (Avigad 1993, 1300–1310; Barag 1993, 3–18; Crowfoot – Kenyon – Sukenik 1966, 123–124; Netzer 2006, 85–88; Reisner – Fischer – Lyon 1924, 170–172; Roller 1998, 211).

Paneium

Paneium or Paneas is situated on the western foot of Mount Hermon in the valley of Nahal Hermon, tributary of Jordan. The sanctuary lies on a 20m wide rock terrace above the river, near the entrance to a grotto with a water spring. From the Hellenistic times there stood Pan's temple around which several smaller installations were erected (Ma'oz 1993, 136; Roller 1998, 190).

The sanctuary might be identical with the Ionic tetrastyle temple, standing on a *krepis* in front of the grotto opening. Two parallel walls are preserved, standing 10.5m away from each other with niches on the inner sides. The tympanum is reconstructed, after coins of tetrarch Phillip, with trophies similar to those from Piazza della Consolazione in Rome (Ma'oz 1993, 140; Rocca 2008, 318; Roller 1998, 190–191).

Another plausible temple is located on the terrace (20 × 120m) west of the grotto. Foundations of a rectangular hall 12 × 15m were carved in the rock. In certain sections, remains of masonry that formerly might have been covered with marble slabs were preserved. In front of the hall, perpendicular to its main axis, there are two parallel walls made in *opus reticulatum* with 2.3m distance between them. Netzer suggests reconstructing the temple as a *distylos in antis*, where *opus reticulatum* walls constitute foundation for portico and monumental staircase from the lower terrace (Netzer 2006, 219–221; Roller 1998, 192).

OVERVIEW

The sanctuaries built by Herod share several distinctive features. There is, in general, an evident effort to "monumentalize" the space, which is achieved by several means. First of all, it is their prominent position; often enhanced by terracing or high podia. Another feature is a huge precinct (*temenos*) encircled by porticos with gates (Caesaera, Sebaste) and monumental approaches, mostly staircases. The dimension played its role, too. The temples could become the focal point of city's panorama thanks to their orientation towards important city centre as was the case with Caesarea and its harbour (Levine 1975, 19; Netzer 2006, 270–271; Rocca 2008, 319).

Three temples of Augustus formally adopt the schemes of Greek temple architecture (Corinthian/Ionian order), which were nevertheless under the strong Roman influence. These temples are among the first Roman podium temples in the Roman East. The Roman influence in Paneium is apparent in construction methods (*opus reticulatum*). The above mentioned methods of monumentalization – *temenos* with porticos, monumental stairway etc. are again of Graeco-Roman origin, they have parallels in both Hellenistic (Temple of Athena in Lindos, Temple of Athena in Pergamum etc.) and Roman architecture (Forum Iulium, Forum Augusti; Fig. 2 bottom left), although similar temple enclosures were designed and constructed in the Near East approximately at the same time (Great temple of Petra, Temple of Jupiter in Damascus and Temple of Bel in Palmyra are slightly later). The fact that the imperial *fora* inspired these buildings is widely accepted (Netzer 2006, 291; Roller 1998, 94; von Hesberg 1996, 9–25).

WHAT DO HEROD'S BUILDINGS TELL US ABOUT HIS PIETAS?

Herod's actions can be interpreted in several ways which, as we shall see, are interconnected. They develop around topics of political matters, personal ties of the actors involved, structure of power and expression of piety.

POLITICAL CONTEXT

Rome had become the hegemon of Eastern Mediterranean from the Pompey's campaign (64–63 BCE) at the latest. Judean elites quickly realized the importance of good relations with Romans.[2] This connection between Roman state and local aristocracy was achieved through important political figures in Rome itself (Brunt 1971, 48; Braund 1990, 138–141; Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 75). Antipater cultivated relations with Gabinius (*BJ* I.175; *AJ* XIV.98–99) and after Pompey's death he befriended Caesar who elevated him to the status of Roman citizen as a reward for his service and who probably made him one of his clients (*BJ* I.187–194; *AJ* XIV.127–137; Braund 1984, 44; Richardson 1996, 111; Schäfer 2003, 85). Antipater's family (and so Herod) was granted citizenship and was under patronage of Roman statesmen from the time of Caesar; with Herod "switching"[3] later from being *cliens* of Iulii to that of *Antonii* and then back again in 30 BCE. In fact, we possess a piece of evidence, in the form of an honorary inscription from the island of Kos, reporting Herod's full name as *Gaius Iulius Herodes* and so attesting him to have indeed been a member of the Iulii family (Jacobson 1993–1994, 31–36). Herod served loyally to Sextus Caesar in Syria after leaving Galilee following the bandit affair, Sextus stood behind Herod on the same occasion and made him *strategos* of Samaria and Coele Syria (*BJ* I.199–214; *AJ* XIV.127–160; 163–170; 177–178).[4] The devotion to Rome persisted even during Civil Wars. In their beginning, Antipater and his sons were supporters of Caesar, then when republican forces seized eastern provinces, they switched allegiance to them (*BJ* I.217; 220–225; *AJ* XIV.268–280). Subsequently, Herod followed his father in the "guest-friendship" with Antony, with whom Herod maintained good relations also in the following years and who made Herod *tetrarch* (*BJ* I.216–244; *AJ* XIV.268–300; 324–326). A turning point came in the year 40 BCE when Parthians invaded Syria. Herod sought help in Rome (as a Roman citizen!) and was made king of Judaea by the Roman senate. Let us recollect opinions of Antony and Octavian and Senate's proceedings in Josephus: "[Antony]... *calling to mind how hospitably he had been treated by Antipater, but more especially on account of Herod's own virtue... and as for Caesar... remembering very fresh the wars he had gone through together with his father* [Antipater], *the hospitable treatment he had met with from him, and the entire good-will he had showed to him... gave a full account of the merits of his father, and his own* [Herod's] *good-will to the Romans... Antony came in, and told them that it was for their advantage in the Parthian war that Herod should be king; so they all gave their votes for it. And when the senate was separated, Antony and Caesar went out, with Herod between them...*" (*BJ* I.282–285).[5] At that time Herod had all important figures on his

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2   See for example Caesar's and Antony's decrees in *AJ* XIV.190–222, 306–322; Richardson 1996, 105–112; Schäfer 2003, 83–84; Grant 1973, 68–73.

3   It was not uncommon to have more than one patron and to transfer one's loyalty; see Brunt 1971, 48–49; Saller 1990, 53.

4   Richardson 1996, 111. The Latin equivalent would be probably *praefectus* and Coele-Syria might refer to Decapolis. See Gabba 1999, 103.

5   Ἀντωνίου δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεταβολὴν οἶκτος, καὶ κατὰ μνήμην μὲν τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου ξενίας... ἐνῆγεν δὲοὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς εἰς Ἡρώδην φιλοτιμίας...Καίσαρα μὲν οὖν εἶχεν ἑτοιμότερον αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀντιπάτρου στρατείας ἀνανεούμενον, ἃς κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ συνδιήνεγκεν, τήν τε ξενίανκαὶ τὴν ἐν ἅπασιν εὔνοιαν...

side and he knew how to take advantage of this situation. He remained loyal to Antony, who controlled eastern provinces, despite difficulties caused by Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt. After the battle of Actium Herod managed to win Augustus' favour when he approached him as an ordinary citizen (and as an old *cliens* of Iulii). In his speech he stressed loyalty to his friend, the fact he was a good adviser and his dutiful service. But the most important sentence is this: "*I own myself also to be overcome together with him* [Antony]*; and with his last fortune I have laid aside my diadem*" (*BJ* I.390).[6] We do not find such an explicit statement of dependence on Rome very often. In turn, Augustus restored Herod to his kingdom, gave him back lands taken away from him by Cleopatra and also other cities (Samaria, Gadara, Hippos, Gazah, Anthedon, Joppa and Straton's tower; *BJ* I.386–397; *AJ* XV.161–201). Around 23/20 BCE during Augustus' visit to the East he again awarded Herod with new territories, giving him Batanaea, Gaulanitis and Trachonitis from the hands of their former ruler Zenodorus. After Zenodorus' death the rest of his domain – Ulatha and Paneas at the source of river Jordan, was given to Herod, too (*BJ* I.398–400; *AJ* XV.342–364).[7] At that time he also made Herod *procurator* of Syria.[8] The construction of temple of Augustus followed soon afterwards.

Herod kept developing crucial relationship with Augustus and Agrippa in his rule further on. Apart from fulfilling his obligations, a personal contact of rulers and their families played part, e.g. education of Herod's sons in Rome etc. The peak of good relations was probably expressed in Agrippa's visit to Judea in 16 BCE, together with the fact that Herod was given permission to choose his successor freely (*AJ* XVI.12–15; RICHARDSON 1996, 229–231).

To sum up, Herod was a king by the will of Romans, he was a Roman ally and a friend of Roman people (*socius et amicus populi Romani*), all his power and legitimacy was derived from Roman favour, from triumvirs at the beginning, later from the Emperor. We can see subordination to Rome during the war in Trachonitis against bandits and Nabateans in 12–9 BCE. Although Herod sought permission for military action from the Syrian governor Volumnius, Augustus learned about the situation from Syllaeus, a Nabataean. Augustus got upset with Herod who in turn retreated and let Arabs pillage the country (*AJ* XVI.271–299). Herod speaks about the importance of Rome's favour (the "rulers of the world") in his speech before the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple, here he emphasizes lasting friendship and implies they are guarantees of peace (*AJ* XV.387).

PATRONAGE AND IMPERIAL CULT

We demonstrated the dependence of Herod on his Roman patrons in previous paragraph. In the *patronus-cliens* relationship, *pietas* (piety)[9] and *fides*[10] (loyalty, reliability) were required

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τὸν Ἡρώδην τάς τε πατρῴας εὐεργεσίας καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν διεξήεσαν... Ἀντώνιος καὶ πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πάρθων πόλεμον βασιλεύειν Ἡρώδην συμφέρειν ἔλεγεν, ἐπιψηφίζονται πάντες. λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιος μὲν καὶ Καῖσαρ μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην ἐξῄεσαν...

6   συνήττημαι δ᾽Ἀντωνίῳ καὶ τέθεικα μετὰ τῆς ἐκείνουτύχης τὸ διάδημα.

7   Augustus' visit is dated by the year 17 of Herod's reign, thus marking the year 23 BCE. The dedication of Batanaea, Trachonitis and Auranitis should then be earlier (ca. 24/23 BCE). The BJ, however, states the year ten (after Actium), i.e. 21/20 BCE.

8   He was probably responsible for collecting taxes, see GABBA 1999, 120.

9   We may supply few funerary inscription to illustrate that, for example: "...*patrono bene merenti...pietatis causa*" (CIL 6.9187); "...*patronis suis fecit dignis et meritis pro eorum pietati et sibi et suis*" (CIL 6.2225); "...*patronus pietatis causa*" (CIL 3.3658); "...*patrono pietatis causa...*" (CIL 3.6778) etc.

10 E.g. Cicero, *Fam.* XII, 21.2: "nam cum propterea mihi est probatus, quod est in patronum suum officio et fide singulari..."Between Romans and allied kings e.g. Cicero, *De off.* II.27; Tac. *Ann.* IV.47.

from client towards the patron (and vice-versa). True, Herod or other allied kings were not described as *clientes* of the Romans or of the emperor in the ancient sources; instead they are coined as *amici*. But *amicitia* and *clientela* were often interdependent and they are similar in many aspects. Moreover, Romans could avoid the term *cliens* in relation to their allies out of politeness (Rich 1990, 124; Saller 1990, 56, 60–61). Suetonius, for example, only goes as far as saying that the allied and friendly kings (*reges amici atque socii*) used to pay their respect towards Augustus "*…more clientium* (in the manner of clients [to their patrons])." (Suet., *Aug.* 60).

We should not forget that patronage and *amicitia* were both reciprocal relationships, in which *patronus*, or the one with higher authority gives in return his *fides* (here in the meaning "protection") and *beneficia*. In our context we can see two levels of this relationship – on the one hand, the Judaean state (Herod) was in treaty-less alliance (protection) with Rome (Augustus); another *beneficium* Augustus gave to Herod was e.g. free hand in composing his last will. Further evidence for their *amicitia* could be the will just mentioned in which Herod bequeathed Augustus large sum of money, several luxurious items and personal belongings (*AJ* XVII.190; Garnsey – Saller 1987, 152–155; Rich 1990, 124–131).

A variety of names and buildings (temples, cities, palaces) reflects this obligation. Some of the projects can be interpreted as "gratefulness", an expression of *pietas* towards his patrons. The most patent expression of piety are with no doubt three temples dedicated to Augustus (and Roma). The oldest one in Sebaste was built shortly after Octavian was declared Augustus in 27 BCE and it was the very first temple where emperor was venerated built by an individual – king and citizen (Dio LI,20.6–9).[11] There is a link between the temple and Augustus' support for Herod after Actium. The temple in Paneium may be linked to Augustus' visit in the East, when Herod was given land and offices from Augustus' hands. The temple in Caesarea may not be connected directly to any event but the choice of deity was undoubtedly influenced by political reality of the day.[12]

Among other means of promoting Herod's *fides* and *pietas* we must add games commemorating victory at Actium held in Jerusalem's hippodrome and theatre. Apart from the simple fact of celebrating the Emperor's victory, trophies and probably Augustus' *Res Gestae* were displayed, even though they had to be removed since people thought they defied the commandment concerning idolatry (*AJ* XV.267–279; Bernett 2007, 52–66; Geiger 1997, 79–80; Rocca 2008, 315–316, 324).

The deification of the ruler was typical of Hellenistic monarchies (Walbank 2006, 87–96; Lund 1992, 169–174). In Rome, on the other hand, the deification was granted posthumously (Beard – North – Price 2004, 349, 353). During Augustus' lifetime it was his *genius* what was venerated, as is again documented by Suetonius, declaring that cult in the restored temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens included his *genius* (Suet., *Aug.* 60).

Augustus modelled the worship of his own *genius* on that of *genius paterfamilias* – the core cult of Roman *sacra privata* – together with the cult of *lares* and *penates* (ThesCRA V, 143; Dumézil 2000, 366; Severy 2003, 10, 120–121). In a traditional household it was celebrated by the *paterfamilias* himself with libations and offerings of food. We learn that *genius* of *paterfamilias* was celebrated on *dies natalis*, on *Kalendae, Nonae* and *Ides* and other anniversaries. An important fact is that it was celebrated by the whole extended *familia* – apart from his relatives, also slaves, freedmen and *clientes* were included (Dumézil 2000, 366, 600–601; Gradel 2002, 36). We can observe this association in several ways. Libations on behalf of *Genius Augusti* were

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11 Earlier temples in Pergamum and Nicomedia were dedicated by *koinon* of Asia; Levick 2006, 657. For Sebaste see Bernett 2007, 66–68, 70.

12 For possible involvement of Livia in the cult see: Bernett 2007, 112–115.

voted in Senate as early as 30 BCE (Dio LI, 19.7; Taylor 1920, 124), even later in 7 BCE this cult was officially combined with the public cult of *Lares Compitales/Lares Augusti* in the city of Rome (Beard – North – Price 2004, 184–185. Gradel 2002, 116–117, 124–128). Next, Augustus introduced tradition of oath-swearing of loyalty to him by his name (e.g. *AJ* XVI.344; IGR III 137; OGIS 532 etc.), which was a common feature of the *paterfamilias* cult as well as an expression of his *auctoritas* over his *familia*. Other novelty was the celebration of Augustus birthday (Price 1984, 54, 56, 106, 118), again probably as an imitation of *paterfamilias* cult. Augustus definitely sought a way to be the "father" of the people, thus remodelling the structure of the state to the one of a Roman family with himself at its head (Severy 2003, 153, 160–161; Taylor 1931, 182–183).[13]

Herod's response was establishment of a cult of Emperor's *genius*. We find Herod acting as a Roman citizen, bound by *pietas* to his patron, in the institutional core of Roman religion (ThesCRA II, 189–192). He deliberately claims allegiance to the closest ring of Augustus' clients, exploiting all possibilities his position gives him and, most importantly, he consciously expands Augustus' own religious program of absorbing Roman citizenry to the sphere of his household via old religious customs.

The "Roman-ness" of his conduct was enhanced by the use of Roman architectural forms (Roman temple, Roman *fora*), even materials and building techniques (*opus reticulatum* in Paneium). Also, Herod might consciously expand or continue in Augustus' own building program, following a sort of *imitatio Augusti* (Bloch 2006). Augustus lists in his *Res Gestae*, 19–21 sacral edifices he built or rebuilt. There are the temples of *Divus Iulius, Forum Iulium* and *Forum Augusti* with the temple of Mars Ultor, which was vowed after victory in the war against assassins of Caesar. They all emphasized Augustus' *pietas* towards his adoptive father Gaius Iulius Caesar and dynastic propaganda certainly played its role. Not to mention other cult buildings symbolizing the return of the "golden age" underlying *pietas* towards Roman gods (e.g. Zanker 1988, 102–110, 167–169 and 172–179; Galinsky 1998, 86–88). This again points to Herod's building activity, extending his own *pietas* – in nearly identical architectural language. Next, Augustan art followed Classical art for its "moral" and aesthetic value (Zanker 1988, 239–242, 245–254). Likewise the cult statues in Caesarea were derived from Classical Greek sculpture types (Olympian Zeus and Argive Hera; *BJ* I.414). Finally, Herod visited Rome on several occasions, he maintained contact with both Augustus and Agrippa and their building activities surely were topic of their conversation (Richardson 2004, 235; Rocca 2008, 317–318; Roller 1998, 10, 33, 45, 66–68, 92).

CONCLUSIONS

We demonstrated Herod's close ties to leading figures of Roman politics, beginning with friendship between his father Antipater and Ceasar. This was a crucial moment for Herod and his family, since, without any doubt, they became Roman citizens and clients of Caesar and subsequently, through Caesar's adoption of Octavian, later emperor Augustus. The far-
-reaching political changes after the battle of Actium 31 BCE resulted in a new concept of power and self-representation of Octavian-Augustus. He was a son of the deified Julius, son of a god, bringer of peace and of the new golden age of Rome; which necessarily perpetuated the emergence and propagation of the emperor's cult. Worshiping rulers (during their

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13 Augustus was indeed honored as *pater patriae* from 2 BCE. This again brings us forward the topic of reciprocal piety between family members and especially to parents – *paterfamilias*.

lifetime) was common in Hellenistic monarchies of the East but, at that time, it was alien to Romans. Therefore it seems most likely that Augustus started to form his honours and cults on the model of *paterfamilias* – head of the Roman household.

Herod, as a Roman citizen and a *cliens* of Augustus, and his house, was bound by moral codes of *pietas* and *fides*. Augustus extended his *beneficia* on him – restored him as a king of Judaea, awarded him with territories, accepted his sons in Rome (and gave them education) and let him a free hand in disposing with his last will. Herod was, naturally, obliged to return reciprocally his *pietas* towards his patron. He did this in the manner of a king: not only he built cities, harbours and other monuments and named them in Augustus' honours, he dedicated three temples to the *Genius Augusti* and thus he bestowed highest honours he could for the living emperor – his patron, his *paterfamilias*, in traditional Roman view. We see Herod to act in Roman way, only on much grander scale. Worth mentioning is the extensive use of Roman buildings techniques in these temples, which strongly enhanced Herod's efforts to be integrated into the Roman world.

Indeed, in antiquity there is no clear boundary defining what is sacral and what belongs to everyday politics. Herod was *philorhomaios* and *philokasiar* also for his own good. Stakes were high and his own future, as well as future of his kingdom, rested in the hands of the Romans. His actions were undoubtedly motivated by this fact, nevertheless, political reality of his day, moral and religious obligations, discussed in this article, and his self-presentation and legitimization[14] are strongly interconnected and do not stand in opposition to each other.

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14   See especially works of Roller and Japp mentionned in the Introduction.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
IGR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*
TheSCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*

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