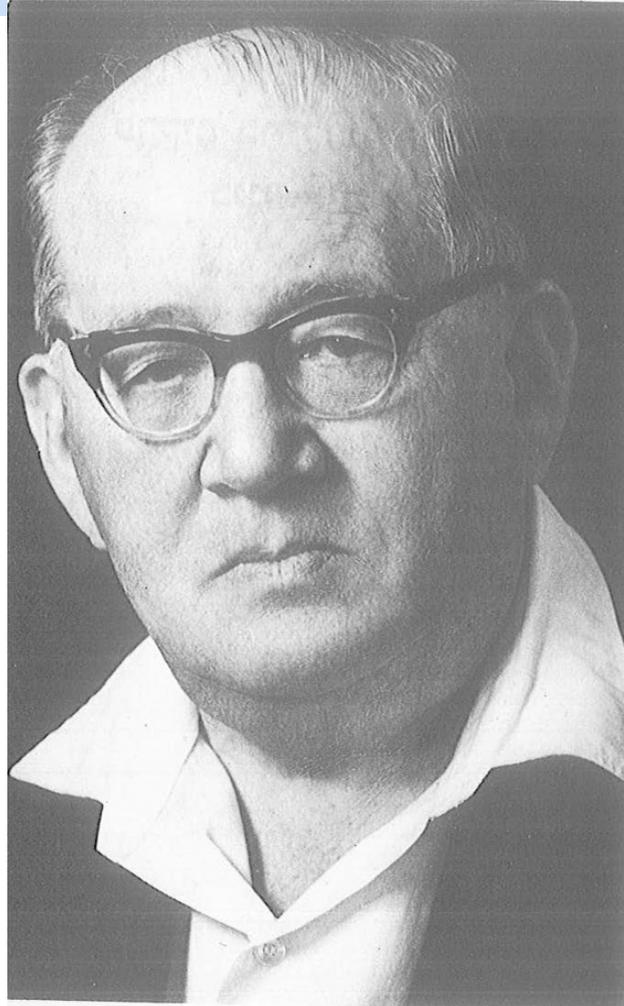


Abraham Schalit's Herod, before and after the Holocaust



1898 born in Galicia;
1927 PhD. on Josephus in Vienna
1929 to Palestine
1950 appointed Hebrew U.
1979 died in Jerusalem

- “On Abraham Schalit, Herod, Josephus, the Holocaust, Horst R. Moehring, and the Study of Ancient Jewish History,” *Jewish History* 2/2 (Fall 1987) 9-28
- “More on Schalit’s Changing Josephus: The Lost First Stage,” *Jewish History* 9/2 (Fall 1995) 9-20
- “Hellenism, Judaism, and Apologetics: Josephus’s *Antiquities* according to an Unpublished Commentary by Abraham Schalit,” *Jewish Studies Internet Journal* 19 (2020 – online)

The Herodian Period in Perspective

- 587/6 BCE – **Babylonia** destroys the First Temple
- 539 – Cyrus, after conquering Babylonia, allows Judeans to return
- 332 **Persian** period ends with Alexander the Great's conquest of East
 - > **Hellenistic** rule: "Successors" until 301; Ptolemaic rule until 200; Seleucid rule until 168/140; Hasmonean rule until 63 BCE
- 63 BCE **Rome** takes over Hasmonean state; rules via Hasmonean vassal until 40 BCE
- 40/37 – 4 Herod, King of Judea, "ally" of Rome; kingdom split up after his death, Roman rule in Judea begins in 6 CE
- 44 **CE** all of Palestine reunited under Roman rule
- 66-73/4 Judean revolt against Rome; Jerus. and Temple destroyed in 70
- 132-136 Bar-Kochva's revolt

Schalit's first books

- “Die Vita des Josephus: Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung” (Dissertation Vienna, 1927) ( “Josephus und Justus: Studien zur Vita des Josephus” [*Klio*, 1933])
- *Roman Administration in Palestine* (1937, in Hebrew)
- Annotated Hebrew translation of Josephus, *Antiquities* 1-10 (1943/44)

It all began with a footnote

הגון³⁴. ואם שמענו את דעתו של דיוניסיוס, שלא הטיכי העוורת היא השלטת בעולם אלא הצדק הגומל לצדיק כצדקתו, כפי שמוכיחים דברי ימיה של רומי, שקבלה את השלטון על העולם כשכר על צדקתה בימי קדם, הרי גם יוסף מורה לנו הלכה, ש"יכול כל מי שרוצה לחקור את דברי הימים האלה" — כלומר את דברי ימי היהודים — "ללמוד מהם ביחוד דבר אחד זה והוא, שכל הנוהרים אחרי רצונו של אלהים ואינם נושאים את לבם לעבור על החוקים הטובים, הצלחתם בכל דבר היא נעלה מכל דמיון ושכרם, האושר, ניתן להם מאת האלהים. וכל אימת שיסורו מדרך שמירת המצוות המדוקדקת, נעשה להם כל דבר קל לקשה וכל מעשה טוב, שישתדלו לעשותו, סופו אטון שאין לו תקנה". דברי יוסף אלה מתכוונים לא רק לפרט אלא בראש וראשונה לכלל ישראל³⁵,

33. השוה את הפרקים 4–5 של ההקדמה.

34. את המסקנה הזאת אין יוסף מסיק במפורש, אולם היא כלולה בחשיבות הנודעת, לדעתו, לנושא שספרו מטפל בו.

35. את הרעיון הזה פיתח יוסף ביחוד במלחמות ה'ט', ג' (367 §). על השאלה הזאת דנתי במאמר: Zur national-politischen

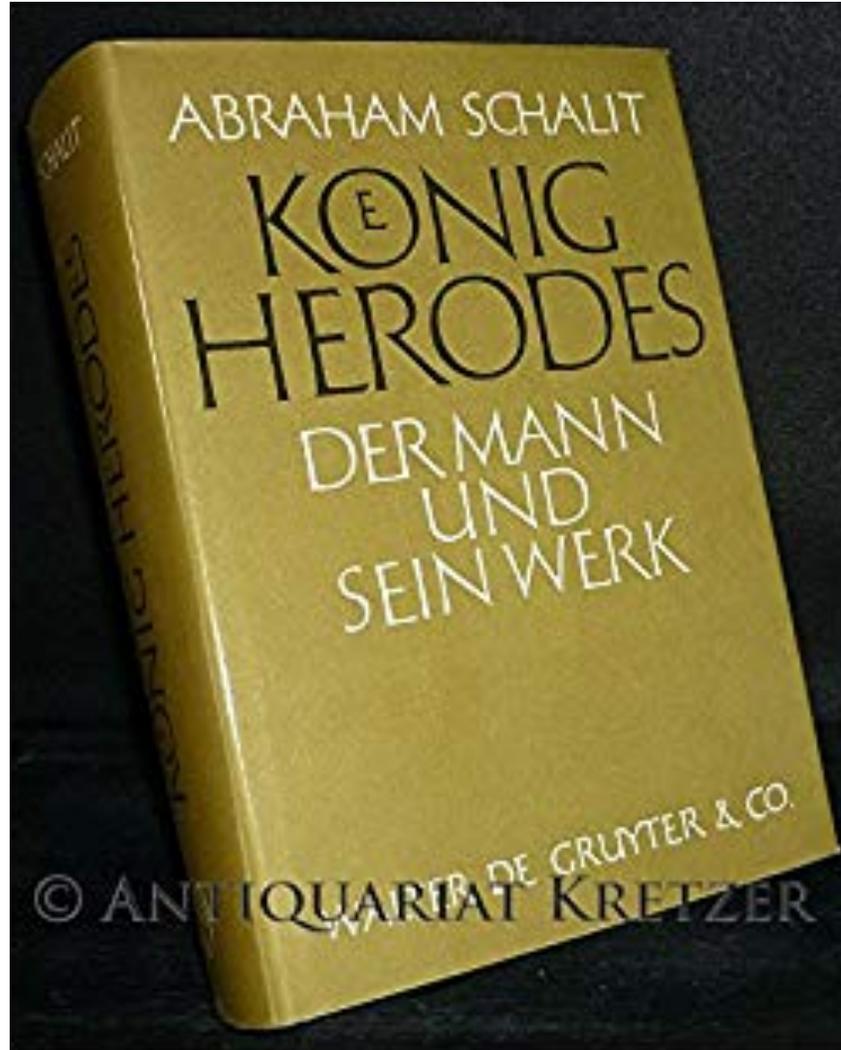
Theorie des Josephus שטרם יצא לאור.

Schalit, Introduction to *Antiquities* (1943/44), p. XXIII: "Josephus developed this idea especially in *War* 5.367 [where Josephus declares that God has passed over to the Romans, DRS]. I discussed this question in my article, 'Zur national-politischen Theorie des Josephus,' which has not yet been published." But a decade earlier Schalit had published "Josephus and His National-Political Views", *Moznaim* 2 (1933/34): 296-305 (in Hebrew).

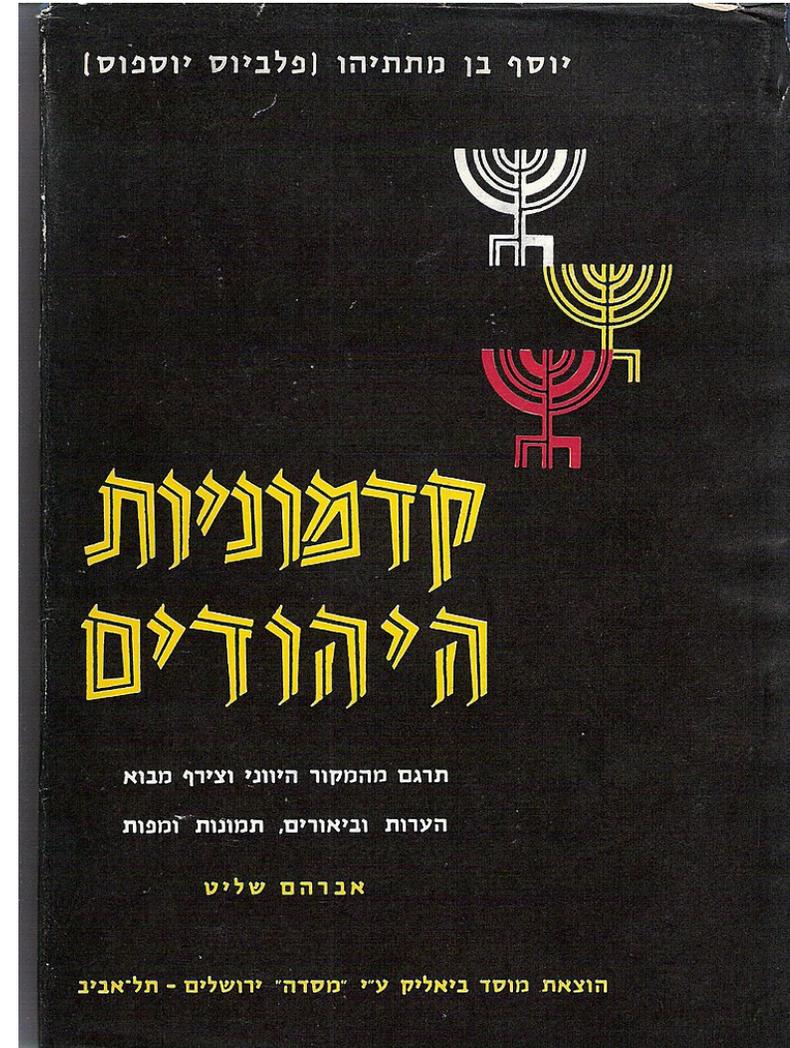
WHY REFER HEBREW READERS TO NON-EXTANT GERMAN ARTICLE RATHER THAN AN EXTANT HEBREW ONE?!

Schalit's main works

1969



900 pages, including 48 “additions” and 15 “appendices”



1943/44;
1963

Schalit's 3-volume translation of Josephus's *Antiquities*

Namenwoerterbuch zu Flavius Josephus, 1968
Untersuchungen zum Assumptio Mosis, 1989

Hebrew Original, 1960

542 pages,
including 170 page
of notes



Herod and Josephus – Both Accepted Roman Rule in Palestine

Herod, 72(?) – 4 BCE

As his father, was a senior administrator under Hyrcanus II

Vassal King and “ally” of Rome

Married Hasmonean, then killed them off

Built all over, including Caesarea and Jerusalem (*Masada, Jericho, Sebaste, Herodium...*)

Josephus, 37 – ca. 100(?)

Priestly family in Jerusalem

Rebel leader in Galilee, 66/67

Respected prisoner, translator etc.

Flavius Josephus, historian

War Antiquities Life Against Apion

Last lines of Hebrew volume, 1960

Hordos HaMelekh, 341-342: One can understand Herod's contemporaries, who were full of disgust and rage at the sight of the king's ways and deeds in public and private affairs. But we, who look upon the ways of the man and the king from the distance of 2000 years and for whom it is easy to distinguish the lights and shadows of human life – for us, it is proper to weigh justly the points in his favor and those against him, after we put aside those issues that are of merely transient significance. When we do that, we cannot but recognize that there was a beneficial element in Herod's Roman policy, which – had the nation's leaders known how to exploit it for the good of the nation– it is possible that they would have succeeded in preventing the terrible catastrophe that befell it in the last seventy years of the Second Temple Period...

Herod was one of the most courageous and innovative statesmen to appear in the Jewish people in antiquity. He left behind him a great political legacy, which, however, did not find worthy heirs – those who knew how to “break the cask and preserve the wine.” Herod's heirs were wimps (נמושות)... And so it happened, that he remained “bald on both sides”: they forgot the good that he had done, but remembered from generation to generation the monstrosities, so that all that remained were the names “wicked Herod” and “Slave of Edom[= Rome].” But the historian of today must call him by the name he deserves: “Herod King of Israel” (הורדוס מלך ישראל). 9

Might makes “right”

- *Hordos HaMelekh*, 238: “...and it is possible, that Herod’s amazing success too had its impact and brought even his enemies to believe, to some extent, in his righteousness (צדקת האיִשׁ). For this is the rule concerning matters of state and real life in every time and every place: it is final success that determines who is ‘right’” (ביד מי הצדק').

Aroused very severe criticism in Israel

>**He expected it:** Schalit dedicated *Hordos HaMelekh* (1960) to the memory of Joseph Klausner (d. 1958), “although I am certain, that had he read the book, he would have sentenced me to death in boiling water for having desecrated the nation’s *sancta* – in his opinion.”

>**He got it, including:**

- G. Kressel, “Herod – An Example of Abominable Machiavellianism” (1961/62, in Hebrew): “It was the shock that I experienced upon reading this book that brought me to turn to the public with regard to this new-old doctrine, and its consequences: it justifies the most abominable and murderous jungle in human relations...[I felt] a deep shock upon reading such things in Hebrew, and in this day and age, after we have seen how millions have been murdered and incarcerated in the name of a system, which too is ‘political wisdom,’ and then, after a few years, on the basis of another ‘political wisdom,’ that arch-murderer was thrown as something hateful from his resting place in his mausoleum.”

[Oct. 1961: Khrushchev condemned Stalinism, and Stalin’s body was removed from Lenin’s mausoleum .]

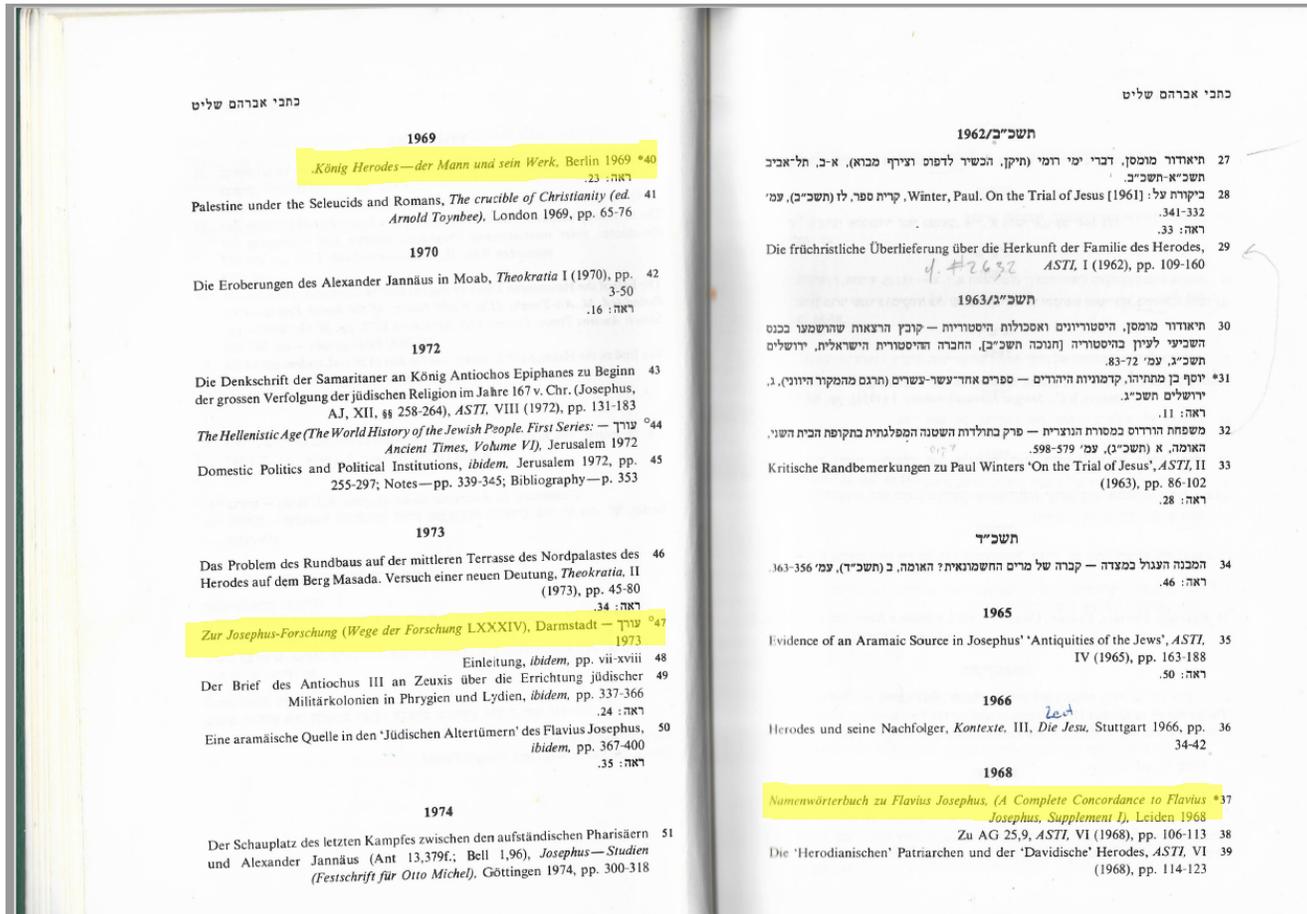
- I. Baer, *Zion* 36 (1975/76) 131, n. 14: “Schalit flatters the aristocrats and rulers of Rome while negating the honor of the Jewish people and denying its right to save its soul from a governmental system that was dedicated entirely to cruel murder and sexual perversity.”
- A. Kasher, *A Persecuted Persecutor* (2007)

Schalit responded via essay on Th. Mommsen, on rulers who do what needs to be done, and failures who do not
(*“nice guys finish last”*)

“For Mommsen, Julius Caesar was not the murderer of the Roman Republic; rather, he did what he had to do. Pompey was a small man (*adam qatan*), for he was not able to do that which was possible to do and that he was supposed to do.”

(published in 1962 both as lecture and as introduction to Hebrew translation of Mommsen’s *History of Rome*)

Basically, however, Schalit turned away from Israel – to German and Germany



ל'ואבא	67	ל'ואבא
Zur Form vgl. das zu 'ל'ואבא Bemerkte A 9 147. 142. 143. 144. 148. 149. 151. 153. 155. 157. 161. 164. 165. 168. 171	'ל'ואבא Rechabiter VL 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא M 'ל'ואבא LXX 'ל'ואבא A 9 132. 134. 136	10 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Absalom, Freund des Simon A 13 202
'ל'ואבא → 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא → 1 'ל'ואבא	1 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא Jerusalem VL 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא Isaador R 'ל'ואבא י'ואבא Lit Schlatter, HN, 60 B 2 628 Vita 197. 324. 325. 332	11 'ל'ואבא Sadduzäer, Freund des Jonathan Hyrkan A 13 293. 295
30 תיאור מומסן, היסטוריונים ואסכולות היסטוריות — קובץ הרצאות שהושמעו בכנס השביעי לעיון בהיסטוריה (הנוכה תשכ"ב), החברה ההיסטורית הישראלית, ירושלים תשכ"ג, עמ' 83-72. *31 יוסף בן מתתיהו, קדמוניות היהודים — ספרים אחרי-עשר-עשרים (תרגם מהמקור היווני), ירושלים תשכ"ג. 32 משפחת הדרוס במסורת הנוצרית — פרק בתולדות השנה המפלגתית בתקופת הבית השני, האומה א (תשכ"ג), עמ' 598-579. 33 Kritische Randbemerkungen zu Paul Winters 'On the Trial of Jesus', <i>ASTI</i> , II (1963), pp. 86-102 ראה: 28.	12 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Onias, Gesandter Hyrkans I. VL 'ל'ואבא A 14 222	
34 המכנה העגול במצדה — קברה של מרים החשמונאית? האומה, ב (תשכ"ד), עמ' 356-363. ראה: 46.	2 'ל'ואבא Hoherpriester, Bruder der zweiten Mariamne, Sohn des Boëthas-solus Simon VL 'ל'ואבא A 17 164. 339 18 3. 26 20 238 Vita 4	13 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Sienna, Anhänger des Johannes von Gischala Vita 190
35 Evidence of an Aramaic Source in Josephus' 'Antiquities of the Jews', <i>ASTI</i> , IV (1965), pp. 163-188 ראה: 50.	3 'ל'ואבא Genosse des Josephus VL 'ל'ואבא Vita 29	14 'ל'ואבא Pharisäer, Feind des Josephus Vita 197. 199. 200. 201. 216. 217. 226. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 236. 245. 246. 249. 250. 251. 252. 254. 256. 260. 262. 262. 264. 269. 271. 273. 277. 278. 279. 281. 282. 284. 287. 287. 292. 297. 299. 301. 303. 305. 306. 310. 311. 312. 316. 318. 320. 332
36 Herodes und seine Nachfolger, <i>Kontexte</i> , III, <i>Die Jesu</i> , Stuttgart 1966, pp. 34-42	4 'ל'ואבא Vater des 3 Ananos B 2 240. 243. 256 A 18 95. 123 19 213. 316 20 162. 163. 163. 164	'ל'ואבא → 1 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא → 3 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא Prophet M 'ל'ואבא LXX 'ל'ואבא A 9 206. 207. 209
37 <i>Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus. (A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus, Supplement I)</i> , Leiden 1968 Zu AG 25,9, <i>ASTI</i> , VI (1968), pp. 106-113 38 Die 'Herodianischen' Patriarchen und der 'Davidische' Herodes, <i>ASTI</i> , VI 39 (1968), pp. 114-123	3 'ל'ואבא Vater Simons und Judas' B 2 451. 628	'ל'ואבא A 12 125
	4 'ל'ואבא Vater des 3 Ananos Eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht für Niess Annahme, daß dieser 'ל'ואבא identisch ist mit dem Hoherpriester — 2 'ל'ואבא. Zwingend ist sie aber nicht. B 2 533	'ל'ואבא Stadt in Israel VL 'ל'ואבא (gen.) A 16 M 'ל'ואבא LXX 'ל'ואבא A 8 305
	5 'ל'ואבא Jüdischer Kämpfer B 6 169. 173	'ל'ואבא Konjektur ist unbegründet. Völlig sinnlos ist das von Niess in den Text gestrichelte 'ל'ואבא, woraus RSOOP gar 'ל'ואבא machen d.h. die Stadt des Johannes! Mit Recht nimmt Schlatter, HN, 83 als Form des J. 'ל'ואבא an. A 8 305
	6 'ל'ואבא Kyrenäer, Sikarier B 7 438. 441. 447. 449. 450 Vita 424	'ל'ואבא B 1 425 7 22 A 1 124 11 305 16 15. 27 Ap 2 29
	7 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Königs Saul M 'ל'ואבא LXX 'ל'ואבא A 6 95. 105. 106. 110. 111. 124. 125. 128. 129. 205. 209. 212. 224. 226. 229. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 240. 240. 252. 253. 275. 369 7 5. 6. 9. 111. 112. 112. 113. 116. 117. 205. 296	1 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Josaphat, König von Juda M 'ל'ואבא י'ואבא LXX 'ל'ואבא A 8 328 9 45. 95. 96. 97. 102. 161
	8 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Simeon M 'ל'ואבא 'ל'ואבא (2 Sam 21, 21) LXX 'ל'ואבא A 7 164. 166. 178. 304	2 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Abab M 'ל'ואבא י'ואבא LXX 'ל'ואבא A 9 27. 27. 29. 31. 32. 33. 34. 51. 52.
	9 'ל'ואבא Sohn des Ebiathar M 'ל'ואבא LXX 'ל'ואבא A 7 207. 359	

Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus, 1968

From Schalit's list of publications

Including his last manuscripts

> Posthumous book: *Untersuchungen zur Assumptio Mosis* (1989)

> Saved from recycling bin in Mainz: 200+ German typescript commentary on Josephus, *Antiquities* 11*

* DRS, "Hellenism, Judaism, and Apologetics: Josephus's *Antiquities* according to an Unpublished Commentary by Abraham Schalit," *Jewish Studies Internet Journal* 19 (2020; online)

From manuscript on *Antiquities* 11, with his handwritten proofreading marks

dass der aufmerksame Leser sich einen solchen Kausalnexus aus dem Zusammenhang bildet, welche Schlussfolgerung dann aber einen rein subjektiven Charakter tragen würde. Anders liegen die Dinge in der joesephischen ~~Konkrete~~ Paraphrase. Josephus trägt nicht nur einen klaren Kausalnexus in den Gedankengang hinein, sondern er fügt, darüber hinaus, auch ein neues Moment hinzu, das im biblischen Text nicht vorhanden ist, und stellt es an die Spitze der Erörterung als denjenigen Punkt, dem der ganze Gedankengang zustrebt und ihm so recht eigentlich seinen Sinn verleiht. Konkret gesprochen: Josephus lässt den Cyrus Folgendes sagen: Da der "Allergrösste Gott", ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγιστος, der "Allerhöchste Gott", ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος in der Sprache des Kompilators von Esdras A 2,3, ihm die Herrschaft über die Ökumene verliehen hat, sei er, Cyrus, zu der Überzeugung gelangt, dass dieser "Allergrösste Gott" dem Gott Israels gleichzusetzen sei; hat ihn doch dieser Gott beim Namen genannt und beauftragt, ihm einen Tempel in Jerusalem, im Lande Juda, zu errichten. Das letzte Glied der Argumentation scheint zwar locker angehängt bildet aber zweifellos einen organischen Teil des Kausalnexus. Den ganzen Kausalnexus der Argumentation des Cyrus nach der joesephischen Paraphrase des Ediktes lässt sich demnach folgendermassen darstellen: Da einerseits der "Allergrösste" (= ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγιστος) dem Cyrus die Herrschaft über die Ökumene verliehen und da andererseits der vom Volke der Israeliten angebetete Gott den Cyrus beim Namen genannt und ihn geheissen hat, ihm einen Tempel in Jerusalem zu bauen, so ist daraus zu schliessen, dass der "Allergrösste" ("Allerhöchste") "Gott, der ihm, dem Cyrus, die Weltherrschaft verliehen hat, kein anderer als der von den Israeliten angebetete Gott sein kann. Indem aber Josephus den Cyrus diese Schlussfolgerung ziehen lässt, verlagert er den Schwerpunkt des ursprünglichen Ediktes, wie es uns in der Bibel geboten wird, vom rein Tatsächlichen ins Theologische. Mit anderen Worten: Zweck und Sinn des Ediktes läuft bei Josephus darauf hinaus, zu zeigen, dass der berühmte Perserkönig die Meinung gewonnen hätte, dass der Gott Israels der einzige Weltengott sei, dem kein anderer Gott zuzugesellen oder anzugleichen sei. Es liegt auf der Hand, dass Josephus hier jesajanisches Gedankengut verwertet, wie allein schon aus solchen Stellen wie Jes. 44,6; 46,5 hervorgeht. In 44,6 stellt der Prophet die Ausschliesslichkeit des Gottes Israels fest: ... אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים אֲתִיבָהּ וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים אֲתִיבָהּ (Übersetzung: "... Ich bin der Erste und ich bin der Letzte und ausser mir ist kein Gott"). In 46,5 hinwiederum stellt Jesaja die Angleichungslosigkeit an den Gott Israels in Form einer rhetorischen Frage zur Erörterung, in der implizite die Verneinung einer solchen Möglichkeit enthalten ist: ... לֹמַר תְּדַמּוּנִי וְתַשְׁלוּנִי וְתַשְׁלֹּנִי וְתַשְׁלֹּנִי (Übersetzung: "Wozu könnt ihr mich vergleichen und gleichmachen und mich ähnlich setzen, dass wir uns gleichen" / Übersetzt von H. GUTHREY). Ein ähnlicher Gedanke ist auch in Jes. 43,10 ausgedrückt. Es ist nur natürlich und folgerichtig, dass Josephus im Rahmen seines grossen apologetischen Werkes, als welches die Archäologie anzusprechen ist, an der Schwelle der Geschichte des Zweiten Tempels, einem

Schalit on Josephus and Herod in the 1930s: The Opposite Pole

Schalit to Klausner, Sept. 1933: ““I believe that we may in complete tranquility admit Josephus’ baseness, without our having to be embarrassed. There are such base people throughout the world – among every people and tongue – and there is no necessity to declare this reptile pure (לטהר את השרץ); if we were to do that, we would produce a brief for the defense, but not at all history. Let us, rather, leave the ‘Ehrenrettung’ of Josephus to someone like Hugo Willrich, who has been showing his prowess at things like that for many years in ‘saving the honor’ of the evil Caligula, Herod, and others.”

Schalit to Klausner, 1933, on Herod "the reptile" that only Antisemites would "purify"

לפינו דוקו זונחנו הנהפסוס החפסוס מחובבוס אעלמ בזומי זנו חלם, לנכל מתק
לקי אמר אפודת ~~הנה~~ הנאלמו ל ווסף בן מתנובו מקאו לנצטרק אהתקובל. מנאלוס
ול בלם העלם אכל חומה אלסן - לומנו זורה ווסמו - אזון צרק ~~לטהר זנת הלכ~~.
בו בזולס כנה תלכו סנארובה, חולס קלם חולסן אלו רוסטורובה. נלזור זנת עסק
ה ~~theuredding~~ ל ווספוס אזול כבלמו אולרוק, לעלה כנה כנה לעוס
רבות לזנת חומניו בזנת הרזוב ~~קומלה~~ ~~המלאמז~~, הרדוס אעל -

The article Schalit tried to bury

Introduction to Hebrew translation of *Antiquities*, I (1943/44), xxiii, n. 35:

“Josephus developed this idea especially in *War* 5.367 [*where Josephus declares that God has passed over to the Romans, DRS*]. I discussed this question in my article, ‘Zur national-politischen Theorie des Josephus,’ which has not yet been published.”

“Josephus and His National-Political Views”, *Moznaim* 2 (1933/34): 296-305
(Hebrew)

(also neither in his c.v. of ca. 1950, nor in his published list of publications)

In that article of 1933/34, Schalit condemned Josephus for giving up on the nation's "life" in return for its mere "existence"

[last page:] "Here we see Josephus on the way to complete denial and absolute negation of the national tradition. The only thing that Josephus still wants is **national existence without the national principles** as understood by the Zealots: the principles of national chosenness (by God) and of the necessity of self-defense...**Here is the main contrast between Josephus and the Zealots. They did not recognize the possibility of separating the existence of the people from its national life, and totally rejected (דחו בשתי ידיים) the view, that the people is allowed to continue its life in all circumstances, namely, after the loss of the principles that turn national existence into national life (ההופכים את קיום האומה לחיים לאומיים)...**

"Despite his degenerate character (אופיו המקולקל), Josephus loved his people and was worried about its future..."

What Intervened between the 1930s and 1950s?

Hordos HaMelekh, 23: “Had Yannai’s son [Aristobulus II] behaved wisely and responsibly, it is possible that the Roman rulers would not have developed their prejudice that the Jews of Palestine were a force that was hostile to the Roman state and endangered it – and that, therefore, Rome should exercise its power in order to suppress this hostile force. In any case it seems likely that that would have softened the force of the Roman ruler’s canard, that such was the attitude of the Jews of Palestine toward Rome from the outset. The historical role that the moment of 63 BCE imposed upon Aristobulus was to a peaceful mediator between the Roman regime and the Jews of Palestine. Such mediation would have opened up the way for the Jews to participate in the great work of construction of the Roman empire—willingly and not under duress. It is likely, that a willing integration would have saved the Hasmoneans’ rule and the Hasmonean state; and it might even be possible to conjecture, that it would have prevented the great national disaster (*shoa*) that came later, in 66—70 CE.”

Schalit’s introduction to his *Josephus-Forschung* (1971), p. xviii: “Today we look at events in Judea in the late Second Temple period differently than what was usual two generations ago. The problematics of Jewish existence in the Roman empire (*Reich*) were much more complicated than what was once assumed, and it is, therefore, impossible to condemn Josephus as one who betrayed his people.”

Conclusion: Schalit looked at the options of ancient Jews in the light of those of Jews during the Holocaust – from which he concluded that it is power that makes the world go around. From that he inferred that smart people (“just people”) are those who recognize who has power and make the most of things, for themselves and their nation, without resisting that power, while stupid people (= “bad people”) attempt to do more for themselves and their nation by resisting that power. Herod and Josephus were like Judenräte in a regime that was not bent on killing Jews.

Herod the Great

The King's Final Journey



13 Feb 2013 - 04 Jan 2014

 **Curators: Dudi Mevorah, Silvia Rozenberg**

 **Bella and Harry Wexner Gallery**

The first exhibition entirely dedicated to Herod the Great, Israel's greatest builder and one of the most controversial figures in Jewish history. Large reconstructions and new finds from Herod's palaces in Herodium, Jericho, and other sites are on display. Exhibited to the public for the very first time, these artifacts shed new light on the political, architectural, and aesthetic influence of Herod's rule (37–4 BCE). Herod's tomb – discovered at Herodium after a 40-year search by the late Prof. Ehud Netzer of the Hebrew University – holds pride of place. The exhibition is held in memory of Prof. Netzer, who fell to his death in 2010 on the site of his discovery.

Thank you