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 G REEKS ASMONEAN Ostensibly, the Maccabean revolt against the Syrian Greeks was a reaction against the attempt of the latter to enforce Hellenization on the Jews. Yet Antiochus Epiphanes had not the slightest interest, any more than his father had had, in stamping out local culture as such, let alone in proselytizing for Hellenism, a role that, ab initio, was alien to the Greek mind and seems to be a modern invention. 68 Nevertheless, considerable evidence indicates that the successors of Judah Maccabee succumbed increasingly to the very Hellenization that they had originally opposed so vehemently. Simon, the last of the Hasmonean brothers, built a mausoleum that was completely in the Hellenistic style of his time. 69 Moreover, it is most striking that the Hasmonean king Aristobulus I, who ruled from 104 to 103 B . C . E . , adopted the surname Philhellene, which was popular among Eastern monarchs. 70 His successor, Alexander Jannaeus, hired mercenaries from Asia Minor to preserve and extend his realm. A claim of a friendship between the people of Pergamum and the Hebrews in the time of Abraham similar to that between the Spartans and the Jews that we have noted above is made in a document quoted by Josephus (Ant . 14 . 255), dating from the reign of John Hyrcanus in the latter part of the second century B . C . E . , when Pergamum renewed this friendship formally. Such a treaty undoubtedly lent prestige to the fledgling state of the Hasmoneans, inasmuch as Pergamum was a brilliant center of culture, especially of sculpture, particularly during this period, and ranked second only to Alexandria in this respect. Yet there is no evidence that the treaty led to any kind of cultural exchange between their respective peoples. That the masses of the people strongly resisted paganism can be seen from the passion with which they resisted the attempts of the procurator Pontius Pilate early in the first century C . E . to introduce busts of the emperor into Jerusalem, so that even Pilate was astonished at the strength of the devotion of the Jews to their laws and straightway removed the images (Josephus, War 2 . 169 – 74 ; Ant . 18 . 55 – 59). 71 We see

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CONTACTS BETWEEN JEWS AND NON-JEWS 19 similar zeal on the part of large numbers of Jews a few years later when, we are told (Ant . 18 . 263), many tens of thousands of Jews came to the Roman governor Petronius at Ptolemais asking that he slay them rather than set up an image of the Emperor Gaius Caligula in the Temple in Jerusalem. When many additional tens of thousands similarly faced Petronius at Tiberias (Ant . 18 . 270), he realized their stubborn

determination and decided to write the emperor asking him to revoke his orders (Ant . 18 . 278).

7. C J P AND ULTRAL ERIODS : T C THE ONTACTS BETWEEN EWS DURING THE HE G A H LLEGED REEK L I LANGUAGE G REEKS ASMONEAN AND R OMAN NFLUENCE OF Josephus's admission (Against Apion 1 . 50) that he needed assistants in composing the version in Greek of the Jewish War illustrates that few attained the competence in the language necessary for reading and understanding Greek literature. Another indication that real knowledge of Greek was not widespread is the fact that Josephus, a mere youngster of twenty-six, was chosen in the year 64 to go on a mission to the Roman emperor, presumably, in part, because he knew Greek well, though also perhaps because he had connections at the Imperial Court. 72 It is Josephus himself, certainly not a modest person (cf. Ant. 20 . 264), who says that knowledge of foreign languages is a skill common to freedmen and even slaves. 73 From this Sevenster concludes that every man, even a slave, if he put his mind to it, could learn to speak good Greek; but the point of the passage is that learning Greek was frowned on, so that only the lowest classes of the population acquired the skill. 74 To be sure, because slaves and freedmen knew and used Greek, we may wonder whether people in the middle and upper classes may not have had to know some Greek in order to deal with them and whether, indeed, the upper classes may not have been influenced by popular culture, because culture can and often does trickle up. Indeed, Hengel assumes that Jesus, who, as a building craftsman, belonged to the middle class, was capable of carrying on a conversation in Greek, inasmuch as the synoptic tradition presupposes without further ado that he could talk with the captain from Capernaum, with Pilate, and with the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mark 7 : 26). 75 And yet the language in which slaves communicated with their masters was apparently Aramaic, so that slaves probably knew Greek mostly because they had to act as interpreters in business transactions. As to Jesus' knowledge of Greek, there is no specific indication in the Gospels that he lapsed into Greek as he did into Aramaic from time to time; and, in any case, in antiquity, as we can see from conversations between Greeks and

Trojans in Homer and between Greeks and Persians in such writers as Herodotus, there is generally no indication that interpreters were needed, even though it is quite clear that they must have been present. As late as the third century C . E . , Jo ĩ anan ben Nappa ĩ a, who taught in Sepphoris and Tiberias in Galilee, is quoted (Jerusalem Talmud, Pe'ah 1 . 1 . 15 c) as stating that one may have one's daughter taught Greek, for it serves her as an ornament, whereas one may not teach one's son Greek, according to the Mishnah (Sotah 9 : 14). Similarly, in the third century, admittedly in a polemical passage, Origen (Against Celsus 2 . 34) declares that Jews are not very well [or at all] versed in Greek literature. 76 It has been suggested that the upper classes, such as the Tobiads or the Herodian princes 77 or Josephus, spoke Greek, and the uneducated, particularly in the rural areas, spoke Aramaic. But the poor quality of the Greek on ossuaries and the continued use of Aramaic by Josephus in the first century and by the rabbis long thereafter indicate that no such clearcut distinction is defensible. Moreover, when Bar Kochba or one of his officers in the second century C . E . declares that he is writing in Greek because "we have no one here capable of writing Hebrew," the implication is that normally one would write in Hebrew rather than in Greek. 78 Incidentally, it is not aversion to adopting the language of a conqueror that led the Jews to retain their ancestral language so stubbornly. After all, Aramaic itself was the language of a conqueror in the sixth century B . C . E . Moreover, within two centuries after the conquest of the Land of Israel by the Arabs in 640 C . E . , Arabic displaced Aramaic as the chief language of the Jews. 79 Clearly, under certain conditions the Jews proved willing to adopt the language of a conqueror. Letters, contracts, documents, ossuary inscriptions, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament, rabbinic works— all indicate that the predominant language of the Jews of the Land of Israel throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods— in fact, from the time of the Babylonian captivity in 586 B . C . E . until approximately two centuries after the Arab conquest of the Land— was not Greek but Aramaic, though Hebrew, it appears, continued to be spoken, certainly throughout the Mishnaic period. 80 Thus, we hear that when Titus sought to convince the Jews to surrender Jerusalem, he sent Josephus to speak with them in their "ancestral language," presumably Aramaic (Josephus, War 5 . 361). Likewise, when Paul (Acts 21 : 40 , 22 : 2) addresses the Jews in Jerusalem, he does not speak in Greek but in Hebrew (or in Aramaic). To be sure, during the

War of Quietus (115 – 17 C . E .) Jews were forbidden (Mishnah, Sotah 9 : 14) to teach their sons Greek (ironically, the very word used in the decree is the Greek *polemō* , rather than the usual Hebrew word for war, *milhamah*), so that prior to the decree Greek must have been taught to some degree in Jewish circles. Yet as late as the end of the second century C . E . , Rabbi Judah the Prince recognized the predominant place of Aramaic as the language of the Jews when he asked rhetorically, “Why use the Syriac [i.e., Aramaic] language in the Land of Israel? [Use] either the Holy Language or Greek” (Baba Qamma 82 b– 83 a, Sotah 49 b). If this condemnation of Aramaic indicates its popularity, why does the edict prohibiting Greek not imply a similar popularity? In the case of Aramaic, the leader of the Palestinian Jewish community, the patriarch Judah the Prince, expresses a preference and gives advice, apparently realizing that to ban Aramaic totally would be useless because it was so widely spoken, whereas the rabbis issue an outright prohibition against Greek. True, edicts against an activity imply scores of people in favor of an activity, but we may again note that it is the masses, not the rabbis, that Josephus and Paul choose to address in Aramaic (or Hebrew), and that it is the masses, not the rabbis, whom Judah the Prince berates for using Aramaic. Moreover, though we may well suppose that some non-Jewish soldiers and merchants must have picked up a certain amount of Hebrew or Aramaic, we have no evidence that any non-Jew in antiquity ever mastered Hebrew or any other Near Eastern language in order to study the sacred books of the East in the original. Hence, the use of Aramaic and of Hebrew served as a constant barrier against assimilation. Consider once again the significance of the decree issued during the war of Quietus (115 C . E .) forbidding the teaching of Greek. Actually, it tells us nothing about the extent of the knowledge of Greek at an earlier period. Bear in mind that the Talmud mentions the patriarch, Rabban Gamaliel II (Baba Qamma 83 a, Sotah 49 b), as an exception in that he was permitted during the previous century to teach Greek culture to his students. 82 Further, the rabbis challenge the patriarch himself for teaching Greek, implying the strength of their discontent. As for the Greek coins that have been found in the Land of Israel, those of the Hasmoneans in the second and first centuries B . C . E . bear legends in Greek and in Hebrew, 83 whereas those of the Herodians in the first century B . C . E . and the first century C . E . feature Greek alone. Coins with both languages may mean only that the rulers realized that the coins would be handled not only by Jews but also by non-Jews, who must have been numerous in the Land of Israel. If Herod and his sons, as well as the Roman procurators, placed only Greek inscriptions on their coins, this illustrates either their disregard of the sentiments of the Jewish masses or the degree to which the Greek language had penetrated the economic, but not necessarily the cultural and religious, structure of Jewish life. Furthermore, the fact that two-thirds of the graffiti on ossuaries are in Greek would seem to show that Greek had entered into everyday life— or death, at any rate. Hengel cites a climactic bit of evidence— a graffito in the form of a love poem from Marisa, in which a courtesan exults over a lover to whom she has shown the door, keeping his coat as a pledge. 84 Hengel likewise cites the two famous warning inscriptions found in Jerusalem which prohibit Gentiles from entering the inner precincts of the Temple (CII 2 : 1400), the inscription dedicated to a donor from Rhodes who paid for a stone pavement on or near the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, 85 and the inscription presumed to be from Seleucid military settlers Acra in Jerusalem. 86 Moreover, at a cemetery in Beth Shearim, dominates in a majority of epitaphs for rabbis. for the ossuaries, they range in date up to the third century C . E . , and very earliest are from the second century B . C . E . , a full century after Hengel claims the Land of Israel had been thoroughly Hellenized. 87 To confirm his point that Jews in the first century were trilingual, Hengel cites a new discovery of an ossuary found near Jerusalem belonging to the granddaughter of Theophilus, who was high priest between 37 and 41 ; but the inscription itself is in Aramaic, and the only Greek element in it is the Greek origin of the name Theophilus. 88 As for the scandalous graffito from Marisa, it turns out to be not Jewish but Sidonian; and to suggest that proximity to another people’s immorality would necessarily have corrupted Jews is extravagant, especially when the Jews looked with such contempt upon the Sidonians. As for the warning inscriptions, they tell us nothing about the degree to which Greek had penetrated Jewish life, inasmuch as they are clearly directed to non-Jews. The inscription from the Rhodian Jew can tell us what we already know, namely that the predominant language of the Jews in Rhodes was Greek. Furthermore, the inscription of

Seleucid military settlers, as Bar-Kochva has demonstrated, is not of Jews but of Hellenistic soldiers, as the oath by Ares would seem to indicate. 89 As for the rabbinic cemetery at Beth Shearim, not until the end of the second century C . E . did it become an important center for burials. 90 Moreover, of the synagogue inscriptions found thus far in the Land of Israel, though they range in date from the first to the seventh centuries, by which time Greek should really have become predominant, less than a quarter (about 30 of 140) are in Greek, the rest being in Hebrew or Aramaic. Goldstein has suggested that one of the routes of contact with Hellenism was through Greek tourists with philosophic training and that these tourists found the Jews so interesting that Jews may have been pestered for some time by visiting "philosophers" just as modern primitives are by anthropologists today. 91 Yet the only citable examples of such "philosophers" are Hecataeus of Abdera and Megasthenes; and the latter is so similar to Theophrastus and to Clearchus of Soli in his views that we may guess that he derived his information from them without necessarily visiting Judaea. 92 in the Greek As the

What about Hellenization through contact with the multitudes of Diaspora Jews, most of whom were Greek-speaking from at least 270 B . C . E . and who came to Jerusalem each year for the three pilgrimage festivals? Two of these festivals lasted a full week, and pilgrims generally planned to arrive early. According to Josephus (War 6 . 425), at any rate, there were approximately 2 , 700 , 000 Jews 93 in Jerusalem who partook of the Passover lambs when the war against the Romans began in 66 C . E . The overwhelming majority of these were certainly not from Jerusalem, estimates of whose population vary from 25 , 000 to 82 , 500 or 220 , 000 . 94 In addition, because of the tremendous success of the Jewish proselytizing movement, as we shall see, 95 there must have been many Greek-speaking proselytes in the Land of Israel. Indeed, according to Philo (De Specialibus Legibus 1 . 12 . 69), "countless multitudes from countless cities come, some over land, others over sea, from east and west and north and south at every feast." Moreover, Hengel postulates that the court of Herod, which was surely dominated by the spirit of Hellenism with its game hunting, gymnastics, musical and dramatic performances, and chariot races, must have attracted visitors. 96 However, we must allow for exaggeration on the part of Philo 97 and Josephus, and we must assume that most of the pilgrims came from the Land of Israel itself, 98 whose Jewish population was at least 700 , 000 , with 5 , 000 , 000 as an overly generous maximum and 2 , 000 , 000 99 as the most reasonable estimate. Doubtless many Diaspora Jews were reluctant to make a pilgrimage, especially in view of the precarious conditions of travel. Indeed, even Philo, wealthy as he was and living in comparative proximity in Alexandria, came only once, so far as we know (De Providentia 2 . 64). In any case, our figures in Josephus, for whatever they are worth, are for the year 66 , not necessarily for an earlier period and surely not for the period after the destruction of the Temple, when the numbers of Diaspora Jews coming to Jerusalem surely decreased. Furthermore, we have no firm figures for the number of proselytes. Moreover, as for the attractions that Herod's court allegedly had for visitors, we have no evidence at all of this in Josephus; and, in view of Herod's religious deviations and personal misbehavior, we may guess that he was hardly an attraction for Jews who took all the trouble to come to Jerusalem to pay their respects to the Temple.

Geographically, the Jews of the Land of Israel were surrounded by non-Jewish lands where Greek was widely, though hardly exclusively, 100 spoken; and even within the Land there were some thirty Greek cities 101 where Hellenization was, as the archaeologists have shown, far advanced. But, as Tcherikover 102 has noted, not a single Greek urban community was founded in Judaea, nor did Hellenism, with few exceptions, become deeply rooted in Samaria or Idumaea. Only a relatively small percentage of the Jews lived in the larger cities, such as Jerusalem or Caesarea, where contacts with non-Jews in commercial and governmental matters, and hence with the Greek language and perhaps with Greek culture, were more frequent. The average Jew had little if anything to do with overseas commerce, because, as Josephus (Against Apion 1 . 60) remarks and as we have noted, "Ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us." The great majority of Jews, as he goes on to say, and as is clear from rabbinic literature, were farmers, most of whom had very small plots of land. 8. H ELLENIZATION IN , people, the that such until DURING THE H L ASMONEAN AND . U R OWER VS OMAN G P PPER ALILEE ERIODS Apparently, the most densely populated area of the Land of Israel was

Galilee, according to Josephus (Life 235), who, as a general there, should have known a good deal, even if he exaggerates, about the make-up of the Land and its population. There were 204 villages, the smallest with 15 000 inhabitants (War 3 . 43). This leads to a minimum of 3 , 060 , 000 attractions of urban life notwithstanding. 103 It is not surprising most of the inscriptions from the Galilean region come from Greek cities as Ptolemais, Tyre, Carmel, and Scythopolis. 104 Not the second century C . E . do we begin to find Greek inscriptions from synagogues. There seems good reason to draw a distinction in degree of Hellenization between Lower Galilee and Upper Galilee, because the latter is almost devoid of Greek epigraphy and its art is limited mainly to menorahs, eagles, 105 and simple decorative elements. 106 Here we find no zodiacs with Greek inscriptions nor mosaics with richly ornamented designs. 107 Lower Galilee had several sizable urban centers that were linked to the more pagan, cosmopolitan (and Greek-speaking) West; 108 and it was in Lower Galilee, significantly, that Jesus spent most of his career. Meyers is probably wrong to speculate that the negative reflections of the later Talmudic sages on first-century Galilee and some of the clichés in the New Testament about Galilee (e.g., John 7 : 52) stem more from the degree of accommodation to Hellenism than from a presumed rural and agricultural Judaism; 109 for the rabbis do not focus their attacks on places that were really Hellenized, such as Caesarea. Indeed, genuine contact with the pagans must have been slight, because on only one occasion (Matt 6 : 7 , whose historicity is suspect) does Jesus refer to pagan practices, namely when he criticizes the Gentiles heaping up empty phrases in their prayers. Even this thought might have come to him from his reading of the biblical account (1 Kgs 18 : 26 – 27) of the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal. As Meyers has noted, not only is representational art more conservative in Upper Galilee than in Lower Galilee even as late as the third and fourth centuries C . E . , and not only is there a striking paucity of depictions of the Torah shrine in particular, 110 but there is also a prevailing attachment to Hebrew and Aramaic and a unique ceramic repertory, such as is lacking in Judaea and is present to a lesser degree in Lower Galilee. Even during the procuratorial period in the first century, as AviYonah 111 has argued, Upper Galilee and apparently the western Golan were not, for practical purposes, under Roman control. The explanation for the transfer of Jewish settlers to Upper Galilee after the wars with Rome may be that they wished to escape the Hellenization that had by that time begun to overtake Jewish settlements elsewhere, 112 just as in our own day Hasidic communities have begun to leave the “Pale of Settlement” in Brooklyn for such relatively remote areas as Monroe County, New York. But even in Lower Galilee, the people, as portrayed by Josephus, were deeply religious in theory and in practice, and presumably only minimally affected by Hellenism. 9. C J P AND ULTURAL ERIODS : E C ONTACTS BETWEEN EWS DURING THE H DUCATION AND L G REEKS ASMONEAN AND R OMAN ITERATURE The existence of gymnasiums in Phoenician and in other cities of Palestine must have abetted the intellectual influence of Hellenism in nonJewish Palestine, especially in Gadara, where we find such names as Meleager the poet in the mid-second century B . C . E . , Philodemus the philosopher in the mid-first century B . C . E . , Theodore the orator who instructed the future emperor Tiberius (Suetonius, Tiberius 57) at the end of the first century B . C . E . , and Oenomaus the Cynic philosopher at the beginning of the second century C . E . Stephanus of Byzantium mentions that the great Platonist Antiochus who lived during the first century B . C . E . , as well as three Stoic philosophers, two grammarians, and two historians, 113 lived in the coastal city of Ashkelon. According to Hengel, Applebaum’s claim that a gymnastic education must have necessitated the betrayal of Judaism is probably too sweeping; but inasmuch as attendance in the gymnasium entailed observing pagan festivals, it is hard not to agree with Applebaum. 114 And yet the presence of gymnasiums in Phoenician and other cities of the Land of Israel does not mean that Jews attended them; indeed, there is no evidence that they did, except during the brief period of the high priesthood of Jason (2 Mac 4 : 9 – 12). Moreover, to argue that because Hellenism profoundly influenced several non-Jewish writers in Palestine, it must have influenced Jews is to rely on the unproven assumption that there were meaningful cultural contacts between Gentiles and Jews; we know of such contacts only with Oenomaus (î agigah 15 b). In a recent book Harris notes that Josephus refers in passing to eight sports buildings in the Land of Israel and argues that there were hardly enough Gentiles there to fill them. 115 Inasmuch as the rabbis

('Avodah Zarah 18 b) inveigh against those who visit stadia, the apparent popularity of athletics would seem to be an instance of pagan influence. But when we consider that in 66 the Gentile inhabitants of Caesarea (War 2 . 457) massacred twenty thousand Jews, we must presuppose a large non-Jewish population; many thousands of Roman troops, moreover, were ready at all times to view athletic contests. Likewise, the presence of theaters and amphitheaters in such cities as Jerusalem and Jericho is hardly evidence that sizable numbers of Jews attended them, because Josephus (Ant . 15 . 268) describes theaters and amphitheaters as "alien to Jewish custom." 116 In fact, Morton Smith, after contending that Greek influence had commenced long before Alexander and that it was already deep-seated through repeated military conquests and economic and administrative penetration, is forced to admit that the factors behind the changes called Hellenization were not universally, or even primarily, Greek, but rather Persian. 117 After enumerating seven major differences between classical and Hellenistic culture, he concludes that except for one, the importance of written law, the Hellenistic world more closely resembled Persia or Egypt than it did classical Greece. In particular, we may note a Persian parallel to the motif that there will be six thousand years from the beginning of time to the final judgment of humanity by fire, and its Talmudic counterpart (Sanhedrin 97 a– b), which quotes the Tanna de-vei Eliyahu as declaring that the world is to exist for six thousand years, the last two thousand of which will be the Messianic era; and this, according to tradition, will culminate in the Last Judgment. 118 Narrative romance with erotic motifs, such as the stories of Esther, Tobit, and Judith, and the Testament of Joseph , is said to derive its form from the Hellenistic period. In particular, the Testament of Joseph , dating in its original form from perhaps the second or first century B . C . E . , supposedly shows the influence of Euripides' Hippolytus . 119 It has also been alleged that the account of the rebellion and fall of the watchmen angels in the Ethiopian Enoch 6 – 11 shows the influence of the Greek story of Prometheus; 120 but it is more likely that a common Oriental source had influenced Hesiod in his account. 121 Similarly, the pseudepigraphon, a typical Hellenistic product, has abundant Greek parallels. Yet Greek influence on erotic motifs of certain books of the Bible, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha is unprovable, because such motifs are found in Egyptian and Iranian sources also and may have influenced the Bible by that route. Furthermore, in the Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch (30 . 3 – 5) we find the Greek names of the planets, and the order preserved is in partial agreement with that of the Greek physicists (cf. Cicero, De Divinatione 2 . 43 . 91), as Matthews 122 notes; but we may remark that astronomy was a science that knew no bounds, geographical or theological, and Greek influence is not necessarily implied. It has likewise been postulated that Alexandrian wisdom speculation, which we meet for the first time in the Graeco-Jewish philosopher Aristobulus, who lived during the middle of the second century B . C . E . , had its origins in the Land of Israel. But we hear amazingly little in Philo, Josephus, or the Talmud of contact between Alexandria and the Land. Indeed, we may well speculate that if we had the writings of the revolutionaries who opposed Rome rather than those of Josephus, we might well conclude that there was much less Hellenization than there actually was. After all, even the procurator Pontius Pilate was shocked at the power of the Jewish resistance to his attempt to introduce busts of the emperor (War 2 . 169 – 74 , Ant . 18 . 55 – 62). Even such ultra-pious Jewish sects as the Essenes and the Dead Sea Sect are said to have had contact with Hellenism. Thus, the Essenes' stress on the ordering of the world, even before creation, and in the divine plans points to analogies with the hymn to Zeus of Cleanthes. 123 Noting that astrological fragments have been found among the Dead Sea fragments, Hengel declares that astral and solar theologizing could never have gained such significance had it not been for the victorious progress of astrology in the Hellenistic era. He furthermore argues that there are direct points of contact in the military technique of the War Scroll, which he postulates is based on a Hellenistic book of tactics. 124 Moreover, the form of the Essene community reminds us of the law of associations in the Hellenistic period. 125 Indeed, the presence of Greek documents in the Dead Sea caves would indicate that knowledge of Greek had penetrated even the most fanatical religious groups. Most strikingly, a manuscript of the Minor Prophets in Greek has been found in the Dead Sea caves. It is possible, however, that the scroll was brought by a more worldly person, who had decided to join the sect and who presented the scroll to the sect's library so that the leaders of the sect might be able to refute their opponents. In any case, as we can see

increasingly as the manuscripts found in the caves are published, the library of the sect contained a wide diversity of views and not merely those of the sect itself. Moreover, the vast majority of Qumran texts are in Hebrew or Aramaic and contain no Greek loanwords. It is at least as likely that the Essenes' idea of dualism was derived from Iranian influence as that it came from the Greeks or from an Alexandrian Jewish source; after all, the library at Alexandria included two million lines of the writings of Zarathustra. 126 What about the astrological fragments? 127 Astrology predates the Greeks; in particular, the Babylonians cultivated it. Isaiah (47 : 12 – 13), moreover, already attacks astrologers. As for the monastic-like form of the Essene community, it seems most likely that the Essenes would have avoided drawing on Hellenistic laws of association because they abhorred all alien influences. 128 They may well have owed their monastic ideals to the tradition of the Rechabites mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah (chapter 35). Finally, even if there was Hellenistic influence on the Essenes, we must recall that Philo and Josephus agree in giving the total number of Essenes as a mere four thousand; 129 despite the attention Josephus devotes to them, their influence on the rest of the Jews was not great. The Jewish historian Eupolemus (to be distinguished from pseudoEupolemus), who wrote a history of the Jews in the middle of the second century B . C . E ., composed a work in Greek, fragments of which have come down to us. Its linguistic and stylistic deficiencies are so serious that, according to Hengel, it can hardly have been composed in Alexandria. 130 Holladay, in his recent edition, lays stress on Eupolemus's use of Hebrew measuring units, notably cors . 131 Furthermore, Fallon has noted that Eupolemus's rendering of the name of Hiram and his translation of terms that the Septuagint has merely transliterated argue for his use of the Hebrew text and hence for a provenance from the Land of Israel. 132 To argue that Eupolemus must have composed his work in Judaea rather than in Alexandria because his Greek is deficient, however, is to assume that every Alexandrian Jew wrote Greek as well as Philo did and that everyone in the Land of Israel wrote it as poorly as did the authors of the graffiti. If, as Hengel asserts, the Jews of the Land of Israel were so deeply Hellenized, they should have written Greek much better than Eupolemus did. Moreover, the cors appear in the Septuagint (1 Kgs 5 : 11), which Eupolemus certainly knew, and they reflect commercial contact with the Land of Israel. As for Eupolemus's rendering of the name Hiram and his translation of terms that are merely transliterated in the Septuagint, we may suggest that such data may have been available to the author separately. After all, we have found papyri that give the same etymologies of Hebrew names as are found in Philo. 133 Finally, it seems hard to believe that if Eupolemus was a Jew, a priest, a historian of the biblical period, a friend of the Hasmonaeans, and an inhabitant of the Land of Israel, Josephus, who was all of these, should not have drawn on him as a source. In fact, when Josephus mentions Eupolemus (Against Apion 1 . 218), Josephus cites him together with Demetrius of Phalerum and the Elder Philo, apparently as non-Jews, because he speaks of them as not accurately following the meaning of "our" records. Likewise, those who identify this Eupolemus with the Eupolemus, the ambassador of Judah the Maccabee to Rome who is mentioned in 1 Maccabees 8 : 17 – 18 and 2 Maccabees 4 : 11 , have to explain how a Jew from the Land of Israel could have referred to David, the most famous of all Jewish kings and the ancestor of the awaited Messiah, as the son of Saul (quoted in Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica 9 . 30 . 3). 134 Of course, Josephus could be wrong with regard to Eupolemus, or he might be guilty of misrepresenting the facts. But this is unlikely in a work as well crafted as the treatise Against Apion , clearly Josephus's most careful work. He had to be especially diligent in his research because he had taken upon himself the burden of defending his people against the attacks of the numerous and vicious anti-Jewish bigots of his day, who would have reduced him to absurdity if they could have found him either less than accurate in his citations or guilty of misrepresentation. Because the contents of the five books of Jason of Cyrene, whose history is summarized in 2 Maccabees, refer completely to Judaea, it has been conjectured that the author had a lengthy stay there and knew Aramaic and Hebrew. 135 But most scholars, though admittedly there is no definitive evidence, regard Jason of Cyrene as having received his rhetorical training in Alexandria. 136 The evidence that he spent a lengthy period in the Land of Israel is at best circumstantial. Some have suggested that the Second Book of Maccabees, which dates most probably during the early years of the reign of John Hyrcanus (135 – 104 B . C . E .) and which

is written in an ornate Greek style, rich in poetic metaphor, pathos, drama, and rhetoric, and reminiscent of the flowery, ornate style of many Hellenistic Greek historians, was composed in Jerusalem. 137 Whereas the fervor for the Jerusalem Temple is said to be a strong argument for composition in Jerusalem, 138 a similar fervor for the Temple is found in the Letter of Aristeas, which, in all probability, was written by an Alexandrian Jew about 100 B . C . E . (or somewhat earlier), not long after the probable date of the Second Book of Maccabees. At about the same time, we may conjecture, Philo the Elder, in all probability an Alexandrian Jew, composed a lengthy epic on Jerusalem in fourteen (or four) books in rhetorical Homeric hexameters. 139 Granted, a few books in Greek were composed in Palestine. Thus, the colophon of the Greek book of Esther indicates that the translation was done in Jerusalem in the latter part of the second century B . C . E . Moreover, it is against this background that we can understand the transformation of Haman into a Macedonian who sought to betray the Persian kingdom to the Macedonians. Furthermore, Hengel points out that the Greek of the additions to this book is substantially better than that of the translated passages. 140 Likewise, in the first century B . C . E ., the infamous Herod the Great wrote memoirs in Greek, now completely lost, cited by Josephus (Ant . 15 . 174) as the source of one account of the execution of the high priest Hyrcanus. 141 Furthermore, in the first century C . E ., Josephus's rival, Justus of Tiberias, wrote A Chronicle of the Jewish Kings and A History of the Jewish War, neither of which is extant; and even Josephus, grudgingly (Life 40) to be sure, has to admit that Justus was not unversed in Greek culture, a fact confirmed by Justus's later elevation to the role of private secretary to King Agrippa II of Judaea in the latter part of the first century. Of course, the supreme example of Hellenization in literature of a Jew from the Land of Israel is Josephus himself, particularly in his paraphrase of the Bible. 142 Yet we must emphasize that he wrote all his works in Rome and not in Jerusalem; that, as we have noted, he needed assistants (Against Apion 1 . 50) to help him with the Greek of the Jewish War; and that when he did not have these assistants, as apparently was the case in the Antiquities, his style suffered considerably. Indeed, Josephus, who is not known for modesty, theorizes (Ant . 20 . 263) that the habitual use of his native tongue prevented his attaining precision in the pronunciation of Greek. It is important, moreover, to realize that Josephus addresses his magnum opus, the Antiquities, to non-Jews primarily, as is clear from the statement that his work was undertaken in the belief that the whole Greek world would find it worthy of attention (Ant . 1 . 5) and from the precedent he cites, namely, the Septuagint (Ant . 1 . 10), which, according to the traditional version in the Letter of Aristeas, was undertaken about 270 B . C . E . at the behest of a non-Jewish king, Ptolemy II Philadelphus. We well ask why he did not address it to Jews (except incidentally, in a passage as Antiquities 4 . 197), if Hellenization cut as deep as asserts it did. We may also ask why, if Hellenization was so profound, Philo never refers to the Hellenized writers of the Land of Israel why Josephus refers only once to Philo as a writer (Ant . 18 . 259) and to refer to the Hellenistic Jewish historians as Jewish (Against Apion 1 218). On the other hand, an impressive series of works in Hebrew and in Aramaic emanate from the Land of Israel, the only Near Eastern land that, so far as we know, produced such a range of works in its own language(s). Even such natives of Egypt and Babylonia as Manetho and Berossus, as early as the beginning of the third century B . C . E ., wrote their histories in Greek. No other people had a sacred book comparable to the Bible as a national history, as a decisive influence on its national consciousness, and as a means to maintain continuity with the past. If . may such Hengel and fails .