

CHAPTER I

Hellenism and the Jewish World of Antiquity

ONE OF THE MOST ENGAGING AND PRODUCTIVE AREAS OF research in the modern study of Jewish history in antiquity is the issue of Hellenization. In attempting to legitimize the scientific study of Jewish topics, nineteenth-century scholars often highlighted phenomena common to Jews and their surrounding society.¹ Only in the twentieth century, however, has this field become central to the concerns of both Jewish and Christian scholars.

A number of factors—some academic, others of a quite different nature—come into play in bringing this subject to the fore. Prominent in the latter category is the Jewish experience in the modern era. Given an open cosmopolitan setting in the Western world, Jews have been able to navigate relatively freely and unencumbered. This freedom affects where they live, and has socioeconomic, political, and cultural implications as well. Jews have not only become integrated into the wider society, but they have also brought many elements of the outside world into their homes, organizations, schools, and synagogues. Not surprisingly, then, the involvement of Jews in the outside world and the profound influences that this

1. G. D. Cohen, *Studies in the Variety of Rabbinic Cultures* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), pp. 299–324; I. Schorsch, “Ideology and History,” in H. Graetz, *The Structure of Jewish History and Other Essays*, ed. I. Schorsch (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1975), pp. 1–62. See also A. Momigliano, “J. G. Droysen between Greeks and Jews,” *History and Theory* 9 (1970): 139–53 (reprinted in A. Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1977], pp. 307–23).

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contact has had upon them have stimulated scholars to investigate the Greco-Roman (and medieval Spanish) experience, which in many ways is analogous to the Jewish situation today.

Moreover, many Jewish scholars were especially interested in exploring this realm owing to their own religious biases. For those of more liberal persuasion the implications of discovering outside influences are clear. Indication of such contacts and their salutary effects on the Jews serves to strengthen the hand of these scholars in contemporary debates. Indeed, arguing for religious change in light of new developments in the modern world gains a measure of legitimacy if one can demonstrate that similar dynamics were operative in both the Second Temple and rabbinic periods. It is thus not coincidental that research in this area has often emanated from those associated in some way with the Reform and Conservative movements, such as L. Zunz, A. Geiger, L. Herzfeld, K. Kohler, I. Elbogen, I. Davidson, L. Finkelstein, S. W. Baron, G. Cohen, B. Cohen, S. J. D. Cohen, and others.²

2. L. Zunz, *Die Namen der Juden: Eine Geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Leipzig: L. Fort, 1837); idem, *Literaturgeschichte der syngogalen Poesie* (Berlin: Gerschel, 1865); A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1857); M. Meyer, "Abraham Geiger's Historical Judaism," in *New Perspectives on Abraham Geiger: An HUC-JIR Symposium* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1975), pp. 3–16. On L. Herzfeld, see S. Baron, *History and Jewish Historians: Essays and Addresses* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1964), pp. 322–43; K. Kohler, "Über die Ursprünge und Grundformen der synagogalen Liturgie," *MGWJ* 37 (1893): 441–51, 489–97; I. Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993); I. Davidson, *Otzar Hashira Vehapiyyut* (4 vols.; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1924–33); L. Finkelstein, "Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah," *HTR* 30 (1943): 1–38; Baron, *History and Jewish Historians*, pp. 23–42; idem, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (18 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1952–83); G. D. Cohen, "The Blessing of Assimilation," in *Great Jewish Speeches throughout History*, ed. S. Forman (North Vale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1994), pp. 183–91; S. J. D. Cohen, "The Origins of the Matrilineal Principle in Rabbinic Law," *AJS Review* 10 (1985): 19–53. See also S. Heschel, "Abraham Geiger on the Origins of Christianity: The Political Strategies of *Wissenschaft*

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On an academic level, the nature and extent of such outside influences are continuously being highlighted by the ongoing discovery of ancient materials. Ancient texts often point to the commonality between biblical practices and those of the surrounding cultures, and to the apparent influences of the latter on the former. The discoveries of Nuzi, Mari, Ugarit, and Ebla are cases in point for the biblical period, and the many documents that have surfaced over this last century relating to Greco-Roman Egypt and elsewhere tell the same story for later antiquity.³ A number of studies have dealt with Hellenism specifically and the Roman East generally, further highlighting this widespread cultural influence in various parts of the region.⁴

Of no less importance is the steady stream of archeological discoveries brought to light over the last century which not only have added to our knowledge of antiquity but, more specifically, have had a considerable impact on the study of Hellenization. Throughout antiquity the material culture of the Jews was heavily indebted to, and in many cases totally dependent on, that of the regnant contemporary culture. The Jews never boasted an architectural or artistic tradition of their own (save, perhaps, a limited cluster of symbols that evolved only in late antiquity). In scores of excavations at Jewish sites, evidence for the impact of contem-

des Judentums in an Era of Acculturation,” in *Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation: Past Traditions, Current Issues and Future Prospects*, ed. M. Mor (Lanham, Nebr.: University Press of America, 1992), pp. 110–26.

3. See, for example, N. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1966), pp. 4–23, 39–59, 86–92, 102–3, 127–29; V. Tcherikover, A. Fuks, and M. Stern, *CPJ*.

4. See, for example, P. Grimal et al., *Hellenism and the Rise of Rome* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968); F. Millar, “The Phoenician Cities: A Case-Study of Hellenisation,” in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 209 (1983): 55–68; A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, eds., *Hellenism in the East* (London: Duckworth, 1987); G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); F. Millar, *The Roman East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

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porary civilization is discernible at every turn, from architecture and art to small finds and epigraphical remains. Thus, archeological data continuously enhance our awareness of the extent of Hellenization, while serving to open new avenues of investigation and research.⁵

THE ISSUE OF "HELLENISM" AND "HELLENIZATION" IN MODERN RESEARCH

Two studies on Hellenization and the Jews in the Greco-Roman period, conducted in the 1930s and 1940s, constituted major contributions in their own right and have also had a profound influence on subsequent research. Two scholars, living on separate continents and investigating very different historical contexts on the basis of entirely different sources, published within five years of each other what proved to be pioneering studies in the field. E. Bickerman's monograph *Der Gott der Makkabäer* (1937; English trans. *The God of the Maccabees*, 1979), with its revolutionary interpretation of the causes of Antiochus IV's persecutions in 167 B.C.E., focused on the Seleucid context of this period of Jewish history and the key role of Jewish Hellenizers in promoting these events. In subsequent years, Bickerman published a series of seminal studies elucidating the wider context of events and documents relating to Jewish history in the Hellenistic era. His other two books on the subject, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (1962) and his posthumous *The Jews in the Greek Age* (1988), further elaborate on the extensive influence of Hellenism on the Jews in the period between the conquest of Alexander and the Maccabean uprising.

5. Convenient summaries of archeological excavations and finds may be found in *NEAEHL*; R. Hachlili, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1988). See also E. Meyers and J. Strange, *Archaeology, the Rabbis and Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1981).

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Bickerman, one of the foremost scholars of ancient history in the twentieth century, approached Jewish history with an unmatched command of Greco-Roman sources as well as a profound understanding of classical society and culture.

The other seminal work, appearing in 1942, was S. Lieberman's *Greek in Jewish Palestine*. Here, for the first time, in a series of incisive and wide-ranging studies by one who was later recognized as the foremost talmudic scholar of the century, was an exposition of the extent to which the rabbis knew Greek and were familiar with Greek culture. A companion volume, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, appeared eight years later. True enough, the existence of well over three thousand Greek and Latin loanwords in rabbinic literature had already been noted for decades, since the appearance of S. Krauss's monumental *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (1899). Lieberman, however, went beyond the use of Greek and Latin words and phrases to demonstrate just how extensive this familiarity was—embracing rabbinic knowledge of pagan customs, administrative organization, legal terminology, and the natural sciences. The timing of Lieberman's first publication was influenced by the discovery of the Bet She'arim necropolis in the southwestern Galilee in the late 1930s. Having been in constant contact with the site's excavator, B. Mazar, Lieberman learned of the high degree of Hellenization at this major Jewish necropolis that has come to be identified with R. Judah the Prince, editor of the Mishnah, as well as with later Patriarchs and several rabbinic figures. How, it was asked, could one explain such widespread Hellenization in a supposedly rabbinic cemetery? Such a correlation, according to Lieberman, should not be surprising, for indeed many rabbis were well versed in contemporary Greco-Roman culture.

The studies of Bickerman and Lieberman signaled a surge of investigations over the ensuing decades, all relating to Hellenistic

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contacts and influences on the Jews and Judaism.⁶ E. R. Goodenough, having devoted many years to compiling data regarding Jewish art in this period, presented the material in a fully documented and accessible fashion in his multivolume work *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (1953–68). In fact, Goodenough is to be credited with having a major hand in creating the field of ancient Jewish art history, which hitherto had been largely unknown. However, as Goodenough emphasized on a number of occasions, his collection of Jewish art was not assembled for its own sake but served as a stepping stone for a grand theory regarding the meaning of these Jewish symbols and the nature of Judaism at this time. His claim was that Jewish art is the most important evidence for understanding popular Judaism in antiquity, and that the most fundamental beliefs of the Jews revolved around the ideas of mysticism and salvation—ideas that he claimed were common themes in popular Greco-Roman religions of the time. Thus, Jewish art forms, and the religious beliefs reflected therein, can only be understood within their Greco-Roman setting. While Goodenough's suggested reconstruction of popular mystical religion among Jews was severely criticized by both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars, his notions regarding the extensive Hellenization of Jewish art and its nonrabbinic provenance gained much acceptance in subsequent years.⁷

6. Mention should be made of H. A. Wolfson's two-volume monumental study, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948). As majestic as this study was, and despite its revolutionary thesis regarding our understanding of the Greek and Jewish worlds of Philo, Wolfson's work had a limited impact on other fields of ancient Jewish studies. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that Philonic research was all too often viewed as *sui generis* and not reflective of what was going on in most Jewish circles of antiquity.

7. For a comprehensive and insightful summary of the reactions to Goodenough's magnum opus, see M. Smith, "Goodenough's 'Jewish Symbols' in Retrospect," *JBL* 86 (1967): 53–68.

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During the fifteen years in which Goodenough's volumes were published, other scholars were addressing the issue of Hellenism from various perspectives. M. Smith's popular article entitled "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century" (1956) made a brief but trenchant statement regarding the impact of Hellenism before 70 C.E. on Jewish society in general and on the Pharisees in particular. A year later, S. Stein's article on the relationship of the Passover seder and *Haggadah* to Greco-Roman symposia pointed to the remarkable parallels between these two religious and social frameworks,⁸ and B. Cohen's two-volume *Jewish and Roman Law: A Comparative Study* (1966) suggested many points of contact between these two legal corpora (see below, chapter III).

In the 1960s, a number of Israeli scholars further highlighted a wide variety of Hellenistic influences on Jewish civilization in antiquity. A. Schalit's *King Herod* (1960, Hebrew) and V. Tcherikover's *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (1931, Hebrew; rev. ed. in English, 1961) addressed the Hellenistic and Roman contexts as vital to understanding the historical developments in Palestine during the last three centuries B.C.E. In particular, Schalit stressed the political and cultural setting under Augustus necessary to gain a full appreciation of Herod and his policies. In describing Hellenistic and Hasmonean Palestine, Tcherikover took pains to point out the broad political and socioeconomic setting that influenced much of Jewish history during these centuries. Moreover, he devoted the last half of his book to the Jews of Egypt, pointing out the ways this large Diaspora community adjusted to its surroundings—politically, socially, economically, and culturally. Tcherikover had already addressed some of these issues in his prolegomenon to *Cor-*

8. Idem, "Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," in *Israel: Its Role in Civilization*, ed. M. Davis (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1956), pp. 67–81; S. Stein, "The Influence of Symposia Literature on the Literary Form of the Pesah Haggadah," *JJS* 8 (1957): 13–44.

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pus Papyrorum Judaicarum in 1957 (with A. Fuks and M. Stern, 3 vols., 1957–64). Likewise, in the early 1960s, Y. Gutman examined Jewish authors of Hellenistic Egypt and the impact of Greek culture on their writings. In an entirely different area, G. Scholem's monograph *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (1960) served to further demonstrate the impact of foreign cultures—this time gnostic circles—on Jewish mysticism of the first centuries c.e. Finally, in 1966, M. Margalioth published his reconstruction of *Sepher Ha-Razim*, a fourth-century Jewish handbook of practical magic that was heavily indebted to popular pagan (later Christian) traditions and practices ubiquitous throughout the ambient Roman-Byzantine world.

At about this time Christian scholars became actively involved in the question of the Hellenization of Jewish society. The motivation for their studies differed from one person to another, but common to all was the desire to elucidate as fully as possible the world of Jesus and the early Jewish-Christian church in Jerusalem and Judaea. There was also the realization that the old dichotomy between Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism, with only the latter seen as profoundly Hellenized, was fast becoming obsolete. It had become evident that Palestinian Judaism itself was significantly Hellenized. Thus, if one wished to delineate the sources of Hellenistic influence on the early church, and particularly on Paul and other New Testament authors, one would have to consider Jerusalem, Judaea, and the Galilee and not only Alexandria, Antioch, Asia Minor, or Rome.

J. Sevenster's book *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Could the First Jewish Christians Have Known?* (1968) made a strong case for the knowledge of Greek among early Christians, including Jesus. The implications of such a thesis are far-reaching, for if indeed Jesus knew and spoke Greek, then the possibility that some of the gospel traditions have preserved his actual sayings would be that much greater. Sevenster's study was followed in 1970 by Fitzmyer's article on the languages of first-century c.e. Palestine which clearly

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and persuasively demonstrated the dominance of the two *linguae francae* of the time, Aramaic and Greek.⁹ In the following year, M. Smith published *Palestinian Parties and Politics That Shaped the Old Testament*, which spanned much of the first millennium B.C.E., from the First Temple to the Hellenistic periods. Among the studies therein, Smith devoted a chapter to Hellenization, in which he treated in detail the contributions of the Persian and Greek worlds to the development of Palestine in the pre-Alexandrian era. The roots of later Hellenization were to be found in this meeting of cultures as far back as the Persian period, the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.E.

A landmark study, published in German in 1969 and appearing in English translation in 1974, was Hengel's two-volume *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. Hengel claimed that Jews and Judaism had already encountered significant Hellenistic influence in the third century B.C.E. and that many Jewish groups had quickly absorbed and adapted themselves to the regnant cultural patterns of the Hellenistic world. He sought parallels to explain a wide range of developments within Jewish society in the 150 years between the death of Alexander the Great and the Maccabean revolt. Not only did Hengel claim to find Hellenistic elements in the Jewish books and sects of this era (e.g., Ben Sira, the Ḥasidim, the Dead Sea sect), but he canvassed Palestinian archeological and pagan evidence in order to paint as comprehensive a picture as possible of the cultural transformation in the region as a whole. Hengel also adopted Bickerman's thesis regarding the Hellenizers' role in instigating the persecutions of Antiochus IV in 167 B.C.E., carrying the theory a step further by attributing to these Jews a zealotry which advocated abrogation, or at least the radical curtailment, of the authority of

9. J. Fitzmyer, "Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D.," *CBQ* 32 (1970): 501–31.

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the Law within Jewish society. Hengel subsequently followed this monumental study with a number of monographs that treated the question of Hellenization in the later Second Temple period,¹⁰ the most significant being *The "Hellenization" of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (1989).

Throughout the past few decades more focused studies have appeared, exploring specific aspects of Hellenization in greater depth. H. Fischel's work opened up new vistas of research vis-à-vis the ties between rabbinic midrash and the larger Greco-Roman world, as had D. Daube's studies on rabbinic hermeneutical rules several decades earlier.¹¹ Other studies, to mention but a representative sample, dealt with a range of topics: Hellenistic Jewish, especially apocalyptic, literature (J. J. Collins), Hellenistic Judaism (L. L. Grabbe), Philo (H. A. Wolfson, A. Mendelson), Ben Sira (J. T. Sanders), Qumran (D. Winston, S. Shaked, M. Hengel, D. Mendels), Pharisees (E. Bickerman, M. Geller), epigraphy (B. Lifshitz), Josephus' Greek milieu (T. Rajak), Josephus' use of Greek models and values in describing biblical figures (L. Feldman), Jewish nationalism (D. Mendels), Pharisaic-rabbinic schools and their teachings in light of parallel developments in Greek philosophical schools (J. Goldin, S. J. D. Cohen, S. Mason, P. Alexander), ha-

10. For example, *The Son of God: The Origin of Christology and the History of Jewish-Hellenistic Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1976); *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980); "The Interpretation of Judaism and Hellenism in the Pre-Maccabean Period," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism 2*, ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 167–228; *The Johannine Question* (London: SCM Press, 1989), pp. 109–35; *The Pre-Christian Paul* (London: SCM Press, 1991), pp. 54–62.

11. H. Fischel, "Story and History: Observations on Greco-Roman Rhetoric and Pharisaism," *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch* (1968): 59–88; idem, "Studies in Cynicism and the Ancient Near East: The Transformation of a 'Chria,'" in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1968), pp. 372–411; idem, *Rabbinic Literature and Greco-Roman Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 1973); D. Daube, "Rabbinic Methods and Interpretation and Hellenistic Rhetoric," *HUCA* 22 (1949): 239–64; idem, "Alexandrian Methods of Interpretation and the Rabbis," in *Festschrift Hans Lewald* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1953), pp. 27–44.

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lakhah (B. Cohen, S. J. D. Cohen), and late antique Palestine (M. Avi-Yonah).¹² Recent articles by U. Rappaport and T. Rajak have treated the general phenomenon of Hellenism under the Hasmoneans with considerable insight and refinement.¹³

As might have been anticipated, this emphasis in scholarly literature during recent decades has not gone unanswered. The pen-

12. J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem* (New York: Crossroad, 1983); idem, "Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Hellenistic Environment," *BASOR* 220 (1975): 27–36; L. L. Grabbe, "Hellenistic Judaism," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part Two, Historical Syntheses*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 53–83; Wolfson, *Philo*; A. Mendelson, *Secular Education in Philo of Alexandria* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1982); J. T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom* (Chico: Scholars, 1983). On Qumran, see below, chapter III, n. 15; E. Bickerman, "La chaîne de la tradition pharisienne," *RB* 49 (1952): 44–54; M. Geller, "New Sources for the Origin of the Rabbinic Ketubah," *HUCA* 49 (1978): 227–45; B. Lifshitz, "Greek and Hellenism among the Jews of Eretz Israel," *Eshkolot* 5 (1967): 20–28 (Hebrew); idem, *Donateurs et fondateurs dans les synagogues juives* (Paris: Gabalda, 1967); T. Rajak, *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); L. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 594–96 (bibliography); D. Mendels, *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism* (New York: Doubleday, 1992); J. Goldin, *Studies in Midrash and Related Literature* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988), pp. 57–76; S. J. D. Cohen, "Patriarchs and Scholararchs," *PAAJR* 48 (1981): 57–85; S. Mason, "Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian Philosophies," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* new series 4, ed. J. Neusner (Atlanta: Scholars, 1993), pp. 1–28; P. Alexander, "Quid Athenis et Hierosolymis? Rabbinic Midrash and Hermeneutics in the Graeco-Roman World," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature*, ed. P. R. Davies and R. T. White (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), pp. 101–24; B. Cohen, *Jewish and Roman Law: A Comparative Study* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1966); S. J. D. Cohen, "Origins"; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews of Palestine: A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest* (New York: Schocken, 1976), pp. 71–76.

13. U. Rappaport, "On the Hellenization of the Hasmoneans," *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 477–503 (Hebrew); idem, "Hellenization of the Hasmoneans," in *Jewish Assimilation, Acculturation and Accommodation: Past Traditions, Current Issues and Future Prospects*, ed. M. Mor (Lanham, Nebr.: University Press of America, 1992), pp. 1–13; T. Rajak, "The Hasmoneans and the Uses of Hellenism," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature*, ed. P. R. Davies and R. T. White (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), pp. 261–80.

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dulum was bound to swing in the opposite direction, both for academic and, at times, nonacademic reasons. As early as 1961, S. Sandmel sounded a methodological clarion call, warning of the dangers of parallelomania; similar phenomena might not necessarily be a consequence of direct influence. In a number of instances, a response if not a rebuttal to one of the above-noted works was immediate. G. Alon responded critically to many of Lieberman's examples; E. E. Urbach, A. D. Nock, and others to Goodenough's thesis; L. Feldman, F. Millar, M. Stern, and M. D. Herr to Hengel's magnum opus; and, after some time, I. Gruenwald, D. Halperin, E. Schweid, M. Idel, and J. Dan to Scholem's thesis.¹⁴ At times the authors debated whether there was any Hellenistic influence whatsoever in a given area. Another issue was to determine the extent of this Hellenization; how cogent were the arguments in favor of extensive exposure to and adoption of Greek ways? In a series of ar-

14. Response to Lieberman: G. Alon, *Studies in Jewish History* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1958), 2, pp. 248–77 (Hebrew); responses to Goodenough: E. E. Urbach, "The Rabbinical Laws of Idolatry in the Second and Third Centuries in the Light of Archaeological and Historical Facts," *IEJ* 9 (1959): 149–65, 229–45; A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), pp. 877–918; for other responses to Goodenough, see studies cited by M. Smith, "Goodenough's 'Jewish Symbols'"; responses to Hengel: L. Feldman, "Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism' in Retrospect," *JBL* 96 (1977): 371–82; idem, "How Much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine?" *HUCA* 57 (1987): 83–111; idem, *Jew and Gentile*, pp. 3–83; F. Millar, "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism,'" *JJS* 29 (1978): 1–21; M. Stern, *Studies in Jewish History: The Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1991), pp. 3–21 (Hebrew); M. D. Herr, "Hellenism and Judaism in Eretz Israel," *Eshkolot* new series 2–3 (1977–78): 20–27 (Hebrew); responses to Scholem: I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980); D. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1988); E. Schweid, *Judaism and Mysticism According to Gershom Scholem: A Critical Analysis and Programmatic Discussion* (Atlanta: Scholars, 1985); M. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 30–32; J. Dan, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1989) (Hebrew); idem, "Jewish Gnosticism," *JSQ* 2 (1995): 309–28.

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ticles and in the volume *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (1975), A. Momigliano offered a judicious treatment of the nature of Hellenization and the extent of its influence both in the Diaspora and Judaea.

The ensuing exchanges among scholars have helped to further refine the arguments of each side, and certain claims have been reformulated in response to criticism. For example, Lieberman appears to have adopted a more cautious stance about the nature and degree of Hellenistic influence on the rabbis in his article “How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?” (1963) and in the introduction to the Hebrew translation of his two books (1963).¹⁵ Likewise, Goodenough in volume XII (1965) responded to critiques of his first eleven volumes by backtracking on certain claims and moderating (some would say thus undermining) several aspects of his overall theory. Finally, over the last several decades, other studies have attempted to minimize the extent of Greek or Roman influence claimed by earlier authors. B. Bokser’s monograph on the Passover seder and W. S. Towner’s article on rabbinic hermeneutical rules, as well as those of B. S. Jackson and R. Katzoff on the relationship between Jewish and Roman law, are cases in point.¹⁶

15. S. Lieberman, “How Much Greek in Jewish Palestine?” in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 123–41; idem, *Greek and Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 2d ed. (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1984), pp. xi–xiii (Hebrew).

16. B. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); W. S. Towner, “Hermeneutical Systems of Hillel and the Tannaim: A Fresh Look,” *HUCA* 53 (1982): 101–35; B. S. Jackson, “On the Problem of Roman Influence on the Halakah and Normative Self-Definition in Judaism,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition 2: Aspects of Judaism in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. E. P. Sanders et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), pp. 157–203; R. Katzoff, “Sperber’s Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature: A Review-Essay,” *JSJ* 20 (1989): 194–206.

On the influence of Christian literature, art, and archeology on Jewish life in later antiquity, see below, chapters III and IV.