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Manifest Identity: From *Ioudaios* to Jew

Household Judaism as Anti-Hellenization in the Late Hasmonean Era

Around 100 BCE, early in the reign of the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, two Levantine authors provide very similar descriptions of a contemporary cultural idea. The first is Meleager, a native of the city of Gadara. Writing in Greek, he asserts:

My birthplace was of Syria, the Attic haunt of Gadara;
My foster nurse was the island of Tyre, and Eukrates I own for sire ...
I am Meleager. Yes, and what if Syrian? Stranger, marvel not:
We inhabit a single homeland, the world.[1]

Meleager describes the cosmopolitan ideal – the world is our common home where more unites than divides us. He doesn't ignore the various identities by which people differentiated themselves; indeed he makes a point of listing his for three of his poem's four lines: his city of birth; his Attic cultural affiliation; the city where he moved to study; his family lineage; and his "nationality". But he asserts forthrightly that all are subordinate to a single larger identity, that of citizen of the world.

We do not know the name of the second author. He originally wrote in Hebrew, but his words come down to us only in Greek translation. This second author composed the work we know as 1 Maccabees. In it, he describes a decree formulated by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV, some sixty years earlier. He says that "the king wrote to all his kingdom for all to become one people (εἰς λαὸν ἕνα) and for each to abandon his own customs" (1 Macc. 1:41–42).[2] In contrast to Meleager's proud assertion of cosmopolitanism, our second author presents the notion of a single people as an indictment – an alien notion with baleful consequences.

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[1] AP 7.417.1–5 = Gow/Page, Greek Anthology, Meleager epigr. II.1–5

[2] For a recent discussion of this decree in context see Mendels, "Memory", 52. I realize that the author of 1 Maccabees represents this statement as original to the time of the decree, meaning around 165 BCE. That may or not true, but in the event it is not verifiable. What is undeniable is that he wrote it down around 100 BCE, and that he clearly believed that its formulation would be understandable and persuasive to his audience. For this reason I think it is legitimate to offer it as a pendant to the epigram of Meleager.

For Meleager, cosmopolitanism is an easy add-on, a cultural win-win. He does not risk violating the essence of any of his various identities by adopting other ideas and practices. For the author of 1 Maccabbees, Israel's cultural practices are fundamentally compromised by other customs. Instead of win-win it's a zero-sum game, with difference as the trump card.

The wholly opposed attitudes of Meleager and the author of 1 Maccabees have been exhaustively analyzed. I admit great trepidation in joining this long-standing conversation. My goal is to provide a physical context for the period in which these authors write and a material template for thinking about the attitudes they express. My focus will be on the period leading up to the time of our authors' statements, the two generations or so after 142 BCE, when Simon captures the Akra and rids Jerusalem of its Seleucid garrison.

I begin by constructing a framework of chronological, geographic, and typological parameters, in other words situating the remains according to when, where, and what. The period is essentially the second half of the second century BCE. The areas to be examined are Judea and its immediate surroundings, meaning Idumea to the south, Samaria to the north, and the Mediterranean coast to the west and north. To the east, in ancient Perea, there are no datable remains from this time for us to consider. As for what to look at, I start with the admittedly scanty material evidence from Judea, and then move outwards to the remains from surrounding regions.

First, however, a larger question. What is at stake here? Despite the rich array of written sources, the intertwined character of political action and social response in Judea over several volatile centuries still confuses us. We want to pin down a few fixed points in a fast-moving story, so that we have a chance of understanding and yes, even learning something. Yet our written sources, though many and detailed, are insufficient. Each represents the point of view of an individual or a small group; when we take them together we have the notes and bars of a score but not the symphony. Material remains are the instruments of the orchestra – they provide the physical means for conveying the music. For us, those remains provide the physical surroundings in which Meleager, the author of 1 Maccabees, and their contemporaries compose, surroundings whose parameters necessarily inform but also limit their vision.

After 142 BCE:
Life in Jerusalem and Judea in the Early Days of Hasmonean Rule

In Jerusalem, a spate of recent excavation and publication now allows us to confidently assess the city's size, density, and character in the early decades of Hasmonean rule. The first thing to be said is that this is a time of population growth. Before this time, from the early third through the mid-second century BCE when the city was under Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule, people lived south of the Temple Mount, on the long spur of the City of David. This is the only part of the city where datable remains in primary deposits have been found. In the second half of the second century BCE, architectural and material remains indicate that the Western Hill is resettled. A newly strengthened fortification line is built, enclosing the entire area as far west as the Citadel. This newly protected area is not, however, densely occupied (fig. 1). The line of the wall follows clear topographic logic, with the builders taking advantage of a shallow east-west valley that demarcates the northern edge of the Upper City on the Western Hill. Their construction outlines a huge area that on present evidence is lightly occupied for another two generations or so, until the middle of the first century BCE.[3]

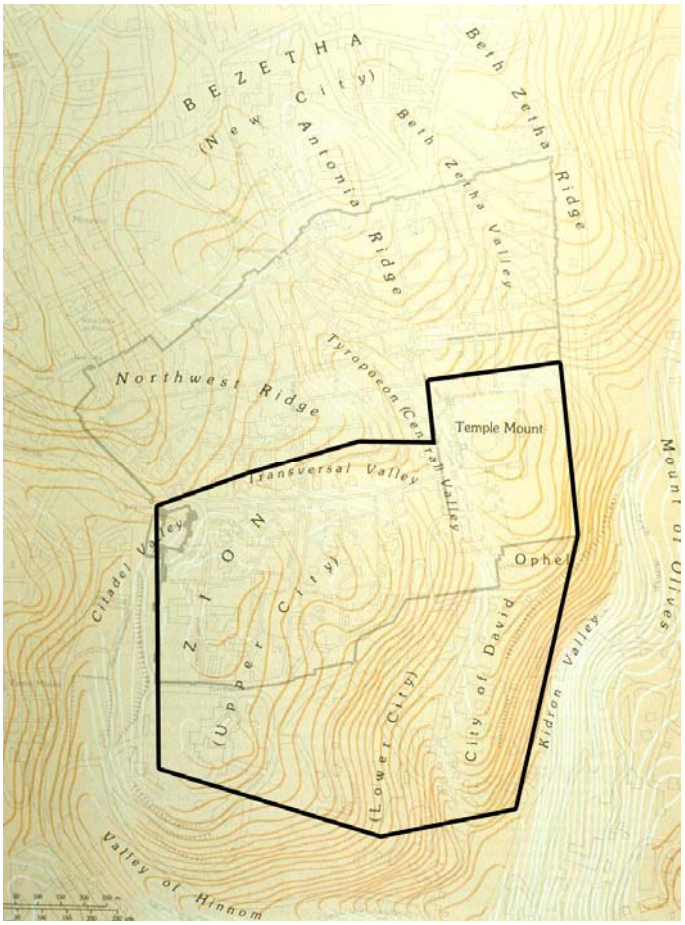

Figure 1: Topographical plan of Jerusalem.

[3] On the City of David see Ariel, *Excavations*. On the Upper City see Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery", 148–50; Ariel, "Imported Greek Stamped Amphora Handles". On the Armenian Garden see Tushingham, *Excavations*. For a recent re-evaluation of the size of Jerusalem in the early Second Temple period, and especially the relationship between this modest and limited area and the more expansive description in the book of Nehemiah, see Finkelstein, "Archaeology" and "Territorial Extent".

The character of Jerusalem's later second century BCE occupation is consistent across the city, from the older and more densely built-up City of David to the newer, more sparse settlements on the Western Hill. Excavated remains from every zone tell a single story: people lived simply with only the most basic of household goods, all manufactured in the immediate environs of the city. The best representation of this lifestyle comes from the pottery found in the huge earth fills built up against the northern side of the newly constructed fortification around the Upper City. Thousands of vessels and fragments represent a household repertoire limited to the essentials: cooking pots, juglets for dispensing liquids such as cooking oil, small saucers and bowls for dining, lamps and perfume flasks, water pitchers and large jars for holding grain as well as wine and oil (fig. 2).[4] Imported, speciality, and luxury items do not appear at all. The picture provided here has been echoed everywhere in the city where levels of this period have been recovered: the Armenian Garden, the Citadel, the Tyropean Valley, and the City of David.

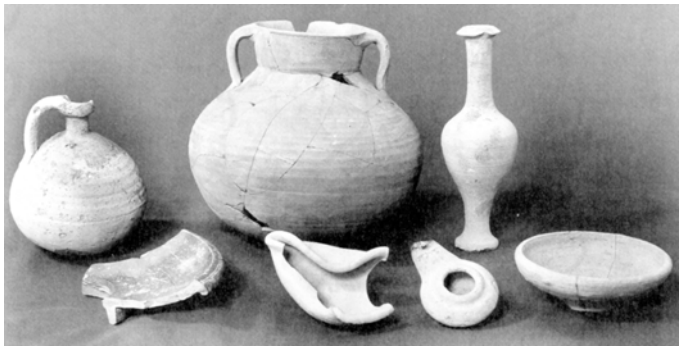

Figure 2. Pottery of the later second century BCE from Jerusalem.

Where did Jerusalem's new residents come from? Not, apparently, from villages in the surrounding countryside. The evidence of regional surveys shows clearly that in Judea as well as the region immediately north of Jerusalem the number of rural sites increases from the earlier to the later second century.[5] The Land of Benjamin survey found 75 sites with remains dating from the fifth through the third centuries BCE; by the end of the second century BCE the number is more than doubled, with over 175 sites (fig. 3). However, while the countryside is increasingly populated, almost all the sites are relatively small. Even previously substantial settlements, such as Beth Zur and Tell el-Fûl, are smaller in the later than the earlier second century. A telling reflection of this restructured countryside comes from the site of Ramat Rahel, a strategic, well-watered spot that dominates fertile surrounding valleys and also controls the main route that connects Jerusalem with

[4] These come from Upper City excavation Area W, strata 5–4, and Area X-2, strata 7–5; see Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery", 113–21.

[5] The most recent compilation of evidence is Tal, "Hellenism", 59–61 with further references there. For a summary of the region north of Jerusalem see Magen, "Land of Benjamin".

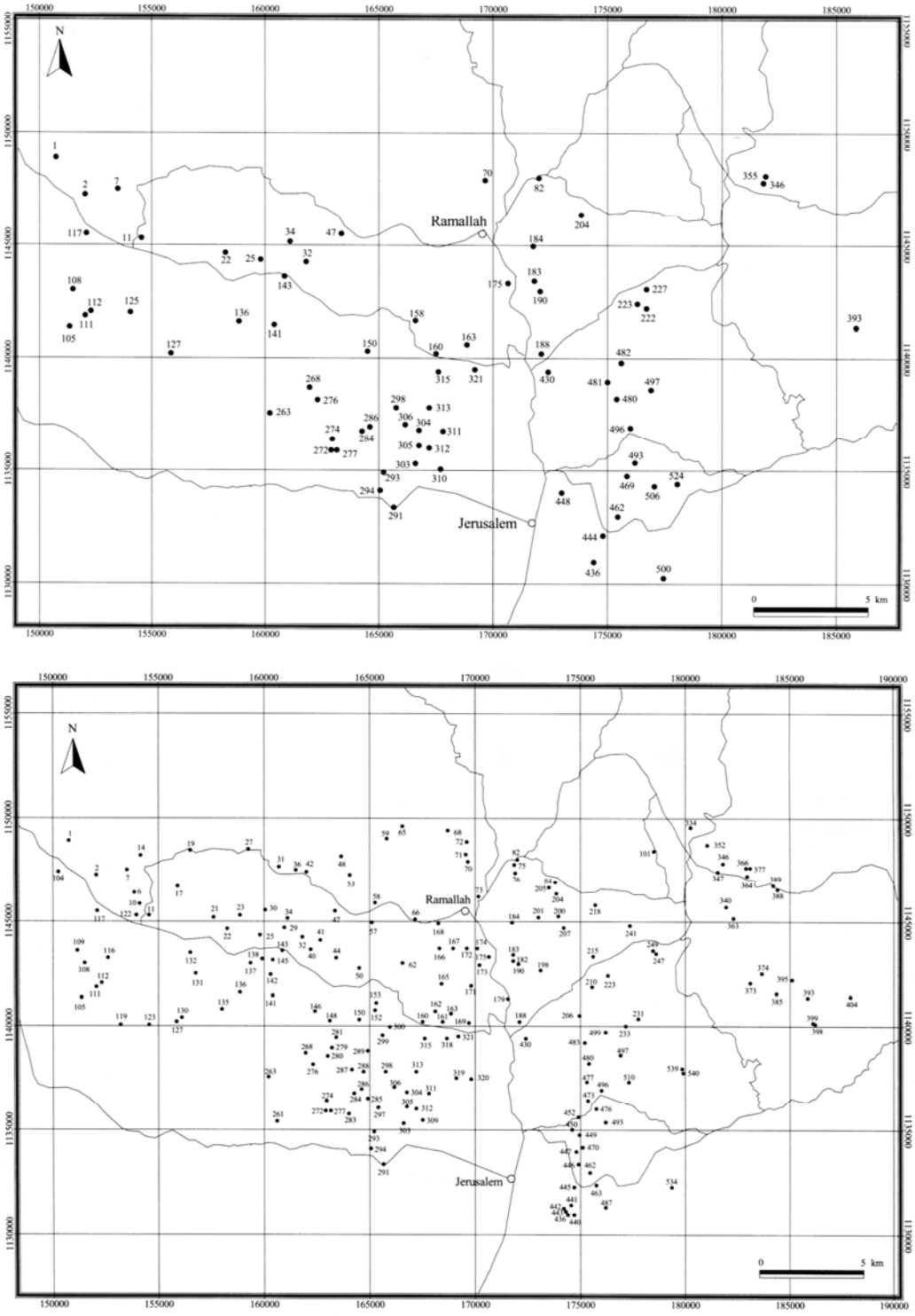

Figure 3. Top: Survey map of region immediately north of Jerusalem showing sites dating from the fifth through the third centuries BCE. Bottom: Survey map of region immediately north of Jerusalem showing sites dating from the third and second centuries BCE.

the coast. For several hundred years the site had housed an important administrative center linking Jerusalem to its agricultural hinterland. By early Hasmonean times that compound is at least partially dismantled and the settlement notably reduced in size.[6]

Qalandiyeh, one of the largest rural sites yet excavated, provides a view of life in the countryside. Qalandiyeh's inhabitants made wine and oil in quantity. Their compound includes a spacious production area with six wine presses, a large oil press, and smaller equipment perhaps for extracting perfumes. To one side stands a large main building with a central courtyard and surrounding rooms and storage areas. To the other is a second courtyard building with dwellings, workrooms, and storerooms. Construction is marked by well-dressed thresholds and doorjambs. The impression of comfortable country life is augmented by the 450 coins dating to the late Hellenistic and early Roman eras found at the site.[7] The coins testify to the inhabitants' ongoing commercial success as well as to the wider connections: 60 coins from Ptolemaic and Seleucid mints, Tyrian shekels, and even a Roman Republican denarius dating to 46 BCE. And yet, despite their contacts and monetary means, the finds show that Qalandiyeh's residents do not acquire luxury or imported goods. Instead, their houses hold the identical array of basic locally manufactured household goods as we see from houses in Jerusalem.[8]

The picture is the same at smaller sites throughout Judea. Typical is the small settlement of Umm el-Umdan, just outside Modein along one of the two natural routes connecting Jerusalem to the coast. Residents here live in simple houses with courtyards and open areas for gardens and animals. Their possessions are limited to the basic necessities of life – storage jars, cooking pots, small bowls and oil lamps – with nothing special or extra or foreign.

Thus in the first two generations of Hasmonean rule, Judea was a rural society. People lived dispersed throughout the region's hills and valleys, with Jerusalem the only place of significant size. In both city and countryside, people were self-sufficient and received no imported goods. Theirs is a culture of material simplicity, marked more by what is absent than what is present. This leads to a dificult question: how should we parse this absence? Is it inflected, by which I mean meaningful, or is it simply circumstantial?

We have two angles by which to assess this stripped-down lifestyle. One is to look back, to the material remains of the preceding several generations who lived under Ptolemaic and then Seleucid rule. The other is to look out,

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[6] Lipschits et al., "Palace and Village", 37–8.
[7] Ariel, "Coins".
[8] Magen, "Qalandiyeh"; idem, "Qalandiya", especially pp. 83–4.

to the remains from sites in Idumea, Samaria, and along the coast during the decades contemporary with early Hasmonean rule. The evidence from both views, back in time as well as the present surroundings, shows that residents of Jerusalem and Judea had easy access to imported goods, both luxurious and mundane. This in turn suggests that the simple households of early Hasmonean times reflect peoples' purposeful choices.

I begin with Jerusalem in the years before Hasmonean rule.

Before 142 BCE: Life in Jerusalem before Hasmonean Rule

In contrast to life in the early decades of Hasmonean rule, people living in Jerusalem under Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule could and did acquire imported goods. The most well-represented item was imported wine, primarily from Rhodes. Over a century of excavation has produced over 1000 stamped handles and many more unstamped amphora fragments (fig. 4, top). About 90% of the datable handles come from the later third through the middle of the second centuries BCE; the numbers drop abruptly after that point. Since local potters of this time were producing large storage jars for the region's wine and oil producers, the imported amphoras likely reflect some of the local population's taste for foreign wines.[9]

Figure 4. Top: stamped amphora handle found in Jerusalem, from a wine jar made in Rhodes, second century BCE. Bottom: Carved ivory box found in Jerusalem and depicting Zeus, in the guise of an eagle, carrying the youth Ganymede, second century BCE.

Residents set their tables with imported dishes. From several areas of the City of David excavations as well as from the pottery-laden fills in the Armenian Garden excavations are black slipped and painted plates, bowls, and drinking cups from Athens, Antioch, Alexandria, and other smaller producers in the eastern Mediterranean.[10] The specific forms and styles also occur at cities such as Tarsus in

[9] Ariel, *Excavations*, 12–25

[10] Tushingham, *Excavations*, 37, 41; Hayes, "Fine Wares", 183; Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Hellenistic to Early Roman Fine Ware", 206–8; Berlin, personal study and forthcoming publication of

Cilicia, Paphos on Cyprus, Berenice in Libya – and, most notably, Samaria, just a day's journey north from Jerusalem itself.[11] The amounts found in Jerusalem are not large, but then again neither is the city's population dur-

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Area G pottery – details: table vessels (figs. 51.2–5, 7–27, 52.13), four amphorae (figs. 53.1–4), and a few imported-type lamps, probably made in coastal workshops (figs. 53.5–12). The two earliest pieces are mid-late fourth century BCE Attic imports: an incurved rim bowl (fig. 51.13) and a bell krater (fig. 51.19). From the later fourth and third centuries BCE come three everted rim bowls (figs. 51.8, 10, 11), a thickened rim saucer (fig. 51.16), a rolled rim saucer (fig. 51.18), two West Slope painted dishes (figs. 51.20, 21), a West Slope painted hydria (fig. 51.23), two skyphoi (figs. 51.22, 25), two kantharoi, one with West Slope decoration (figs. 51.26, 52.13), and a cup foot with interior rouletting (fig. 51.27). For the small bowl with West Slope style laurel leaves on the interior (fig. 51.20) there are precise parallels at Paphos and Tarsus, and the decoration is quite common at Tarsus on other forms as well. Context dates range from the first half of the third century BCE through the middle of the first century BCE (though the later fills contain much residual material). The small skyphos covered in a mottled black to brownish-red slip (fig. 51.22) is also paralleled at Tarsus, as well as in Cyprus and at several Levantine sites. The ribbed skyphos (fig. 51.25) is paralleled at Tarsus. Both these latter forms appear in contexts ranging from the earlier third through the mid-second century BCE.

Other Area G vessels have fabrics that match descriptions of vessels found at both Antioch and Hama and described by the excavators as Antiochene (Waagé, "Tableware", 6; Christensen/Johansen, *Poteries*, 9); parallels for all occur at Antioch, and are otherwise confined to Levantine sites. The characteristics of inner full glaze and exterior upper half were noted as common at Tarsus (Jones, "Pottery", 153), Tell 'Arqa (Thalmann, "Tell 'Arqa", figs. 43.1–4 [incurved rim bowls], 43.16–18 [fish plates], 43.20 [everted rim bowl], all dated second century BCE), Samaria (Crowfoot, *Objects*, 223, on everted rim bowls in Hellenistic Fort Wall group, deposit closed c. 150 BCE). Parallels for these possibly Antiochene vessels are very largely found within the same sites and contexts: the third century BCE group at Antioch, the third and second century BCE level at Keisan, the mid to late second century BCE horizon at Pella, the Hellenistic Fort Wall deposit at Samaria, and the middle and upper levels of the Middle Hellenistic Unit at Tarsus, dating from the mid-third to the mid-second century BCE.

[11] The third century BCE imports from Antioch are all labelled as Attic (Waagé, "Tableware", 4), as are those from Tarsus (Jones, "Pottery", 158). At the latter site they are considered the impetus behind late third and second century BCE local production of lower-priced (and lower quality) imitations. Hayes identifies all early Hellenistic fine wares from the House of Dionysos at Paphos as Attic as well, and says they were replaced in the later third century by Aegean, Pergamene and Italic wares ("Paphos", 5–7). But see the cautionary articles by Clairmont ("Greek Pottery I"; "Greek Pottery II") in which he attempts to define vessels of Alexandrian and Cypriote manufacture; it was these centers, he believes, which supplied most if not all of the black vessels found in the Hellenistic Near East. See also the discussion by Kenrick regarding the Benghazi (Berenice) ceramics, wherein a large group of black glaze vessels with a fine, hard, pinkish clay were isolated as Attic (Black-glazed B1 ware), but subsequent atomic absorption analysis showed that while many were indeed Attic, others were not, and that these latter were "not always visually distinguishable from the Attic" (*Excavations*, 31, 501). As for Samaria, all West Slope ware is considered Attic in origin, and is dated to the first half of the third century BCE (Crowfoot, "Hellenistic Pottery", 238). However Jones in the Tarsus publication ("Pottery", 262) had already noted that such plates were unlikely to be Attic. In the Samaria volume, Crowfoot quotes Homer Thompson as calling the profile "quite un-Attic" ("Hellenistic Pottery", 243). Hayes (*Paphos*, 6 note 15, and 7, has suggested a source in the southeastern quadrant of the Aegean, based on the finds from Paphos. The form may derive from earlier Attic West Slope plates, such as an example from Athens with a horizontal rim and crisply articulated ridges (Thompson, "Two Centuries", A38, figs. 6, 117, from a deposit closed c. 260 BCE).

ing these years. Archaeologists have also found a few luxury objects, such as a ivory box carved with a rendition of Zeus, in the guise of an eagle, and the youth Ganymede (fig. 4, bottom). It is true that remains of this period are frustratingly paltry. Occupation was confined to the City of David spur, an area with extensive later building. We can not point to a single intact house. But we do have large fills laden with household goods from this period. Thus while the nature of the evidence does not permit us to gauge real numbers or intensity of use, the simple fact of the appearance of imported wine and dishes and occasional luxury objects demonstrates that foreign goods as well as people could and did make their way to the city.

Such finds supply a material backdrop to the more vivid picture that written sources afford of Ptolemaic and early Seleucid Jerusalem. For example, the map in figure 5 shows the places where, in 259 BCE, Zenon, a Ptolemaic official, stopped for flour while on an inspection tour of royal lands. After landing at Strato's Tower, he journeys to Jerusalem, thus documenting both imperial contact and an easily accessed route inland from the coast (Edgar, Catalogue: P. Cairo Zen. I 59.004). Perhaps the most famous example of outside contact comes from the Letter of Aristeas, which describes Ptolemy II's summoning of 70 sages from Jerusalem to Alexandria in order to produce a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (Aristeas 32:70). As Lee Levine has pointed out, if the source is reliable one must conclude from this episode that there were at least that many scholars in the city with sufficient knowledge of Greek.[12] This evidence, taken to-

Figure 5. Map showing places that the Ptolemaic official Zenon visited in 259 BCE according to P. Cairo Zenon I 59.004.

[12] L.I. Levine, *Jerusalem*, 58–9.

gether, evokes an image of Ptolemaic Jerusalem as a city with at least some sophisticated residents in close touch with and benefitting from Mediterranean contact.[13]

After 142 BCE: Life in the Surrounding Regions in the Early Days of Hasmonean Rule

Before Hasmonean rule and also after it is established, Judea remains a rural society with Jerusalem the only place of significant size. But the array of foreign goods disappears, resulting in much plainer households. Though the population in both town and countryside increases under Hasmonean rule, that population's links with the world beyond Judea essentially disappear. Is this a general phenomenon? How do these early Hasmonean-era Judeans live in comparison to their contemporaries to the south, west, and north?

This question is readily answered: later second century BCE material remains from areas surrounding Judea reveal that people there live in a fundamentally different economic and social universe. Urbanized settlement patterns, Greek styles of house décor, Aegean wines and imported plates, figurines in Greek styles and subjects – the pervasiveness of all such goods demonstrates that at ground level, people were intimately connected to the wider Mediterranean world and its dominant Hellenizing culture. Typical are the array of remains from the Idumean city of Marisa, the coastal city of Dor, and the revitalized city of Samaria. I present these sites

[13] An important question that these scanty and residual fragments do not help answer is: who was actually living in Jerusalem prior to the conquest of the Akra? Was the city's population comprised largely of priests, their servants, and perhaps a small number of officials, with wealthy landholders and workers living on farms in the surrounding countryside? Or did the city also accommodate independent workers, a kind of middle class between peasant farmers and the wealthy? It should be remembered that people lived only in the City of David, since the Upper City was still unsettled in this period (Geva, "Hellenistic Pottery", 148–50). In this context it is interesting to consider the actions of Antiochus III after his conquest of the southern Levant, most significantly the remission of the punitive tax load that had been in place under the Ptolemies. According to Josephus Antiochus cancelled all personal and city taxes as well as promising a series of imperial dispensations so that citizens might "retrieve the condition of their city". These included: "for their sacrifices of animals, ... for wine and oil, and frankincense, the value of 20,000 pieces of silver, and [six] sacred artabrae of fine flour, with 1460 mendimni of wheat, and 375 mendimni of salt ... and for the materials of wood, let it be brought out of Judea itself, and out of the other countries, and out of Libanus, tax free; and the same I would have observed as to those other materials which will be necessary, in order to render the temple more glorious; and let all that nation live ... discharged from poll-money and the crown tax, and other taxes also ..." (Ant. 12.140–2).

because they have the widest excavation exposure and the broadest array of published material, but I emphasize that the same types and varieties of remains appear at tens and tens of other excavated sites, large and small, throughout these regions.

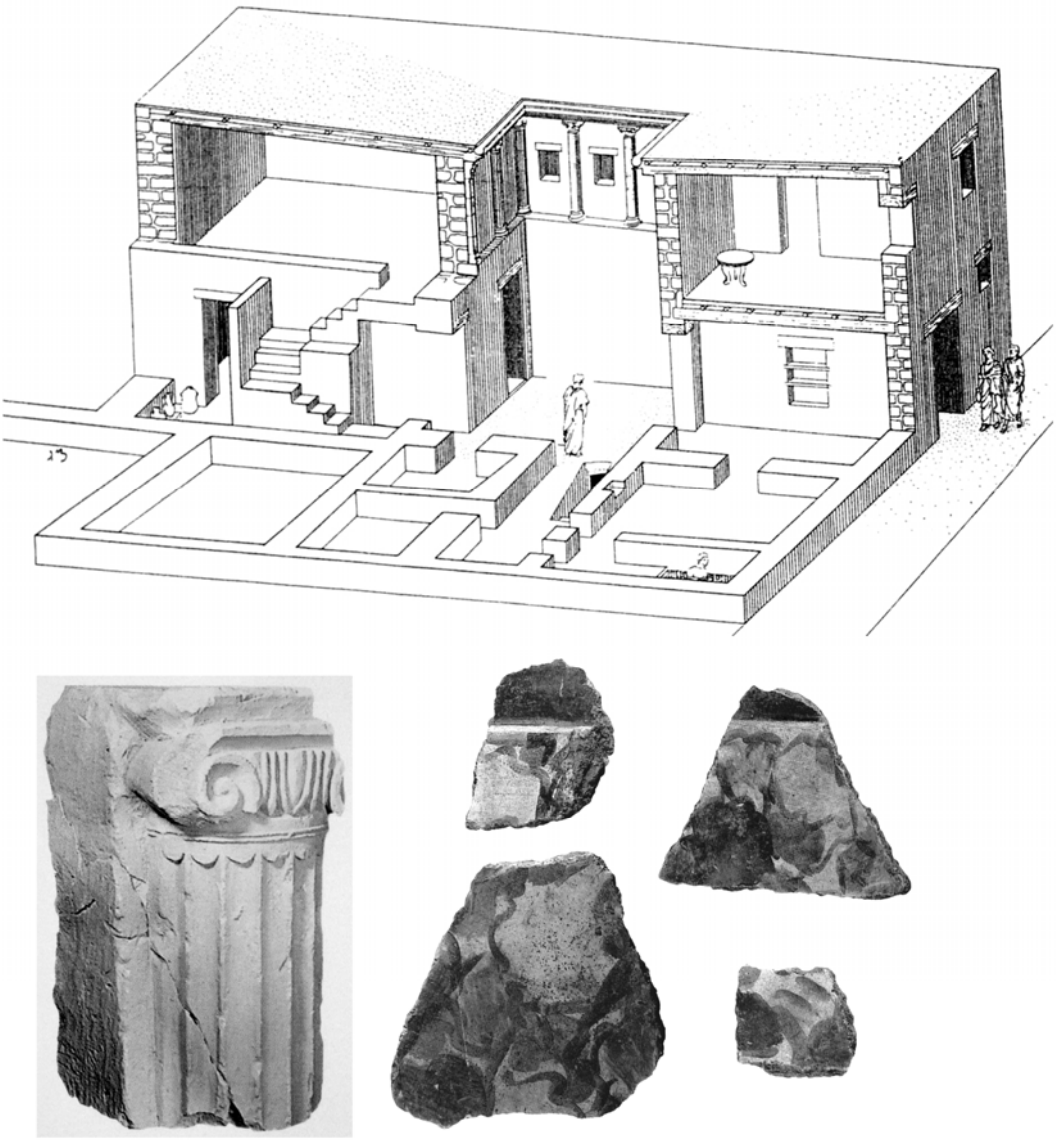

Figure 6. Marisa, house and interior décor, second century BCE. Top: axonometric reconstruction of House 53. Bottom: stuccoed Ionic pilaster and painted plaster wall decoration.

First Marisa, the largest city in Idumea. By the middle of the second century BCE the ancient tel is the acropolis of a large city, with blocks of houses covering the lower slopes and beyond. From these houses as well as from huge underground chambers beneath and around them, archaeologists have recovered literally thousands of objects that allow a detailed view of people's physical surroundings.

I adopt the point of view of a Judean invited into a home in Marisa. A narrow entrance off the street leads to a sheltered interior courtyard. Once inside he is struck by interior adornment – painted walls and Greek-style columns affixed to the walls (fig. 6). When invited to sit down for a meal, he notices many things. First, in one corner, an array of foreign wine jars; from the later second century BCE alone there have been recovered at Marisa stamped handles and whole jars from Rhodes, Kos, and Knidos in the Aegean, Pamphylia in Anatolia, Brindisi in the Adriatic Sea, and North Africa.[14] He may drink that wine from a bowl of painted faience or clear glass or even from a rhyton decorated with the head of a horse or the Greek goddess Athena (fig. 7, top).[15] Turning to the table, he may notice that the legs take the form of Ionic columns, just as in the courtyard décor. On that table he will find an assortment of decorated dishes, including special jars for mixing and pouring wine along with an array of black and red slipped plates, bowls, and cups.[16] Each table in the dim room is illuminated by small but elaborately detailed lamps (fig. 7, bottom).[17] His host might open conversation with an explanation of the origins of these

Figure 7. Marisa, tablewares, second century BCE. Top left: faience bowl. Top right: terracotta rhyton with head of Athena. Bottom: imported terracotta lamps.

[14] Ariel/Finkielsztejn, "Amphora Stamps". See also summary comments in Kloner, "Maresha".

[15] T. Levine, "Pottery", 124–6; Jackson-Tal, "Preliminary Survey"; Erlich/Kloner, *Terracotta Figurines*, 73–7.

[16] T. Levine, "Pottery", 74–92, 98–100, 106–8, 131, 134.

[17] T. Levine, "Pottery", 115–21.

various items, a wide arc from Ephesus to Rhodes, Antioch to Cyprus to Tyre, Alexandria to Carthage, and even as far west as Campania in the Italian peninsula.

On a shelf in the corner our Judean visitor's eye would surely be caught by colorfully painted molded vessels and figurines. Among the Greek heroes and gods found at Marisa are Herakles, the Dioskouri, Aphrodite, Athena, Artemis, anonymous musicians, dancers, and water-bearers, Herms and gorgons, and even theatre masks. This last might surprise since no built theatre has yet been found here, but in fact terracottas evoking Greek plays are common at sites from the Black Sea and central Anatolia through the southern Levant – in other words at places on the peripheries of Hellenistic society, where their presence likely refects peoples' desire to display cultural literacy and connections.[18]

Figure 8. Dor, imported decorated table ware, third century BCE.

A visitor to Dor would see the same general picture, though some of the specifics differ. Here too whole city blocks have been uncovered and associated household goods retrieved. As at Marisa, Dor residents regularly enjoy wine from the Aegean islands of Rhodes, Knidos, and Thasos and eat off of black and red slipped dishes from eastern Mediterranean and Levantine producers (fig. 8).[19] Among the terracotta figurines are Herakles, Eros, Aphrodite, Cybele, and some well turned-out females.[20] Most impressive are two large stone sculptures of Greek subject and style – a winged Nike, goddess of victory, and a protective pillar topped with a head of Hermes (fig. 9).[21]

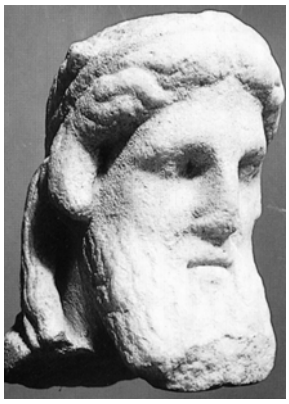

Figure 9. Dor, stone head of Hermes, second century BCE.

As at Dor and Marisa, so at Samaria: people live fully within the reach and ambit of the Hellenistic Mediterranean. They own terracotta and bronze figurines; identified subjects include Herakles, Eros, Aphrodite, Persephone, theatre masks, and

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[18] Erlich/Kloner, *Terracotta Figurines*, especially p. 56 on theatre masks.

[19] Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Pottery", 183–204 (amphoras) and 209–18, 222–33 (imported table wares); Stern, *Dor, Ruler of the Seas*, 226–52; idem, "Dor", 1700.

[20] Rosenthal-Heginbottom, "Teracottas"; Erlich, *Art*, 48–9.

[21] Stern, *Dor, Ruler of the Seas*, pl. VII.1; idem, "Dor", 1700; Erlich, *Art*, 22–3.

various offerants, dancers, and well-dressed ladies.[22] A dedicatory inscription to Isis and Serapis provides emphatic witness to a foreign cult.[23] As elsewhere, a variety of imported dishes and wine jars reveal that inhabitants partake of the Hellenistic good life. Again, the most compelling testimony are the several hundred Aegean wine jar fragments, because they can be precisely dated and sourced, and so demonstrate when and from where foreign goods arrived here: annually down to 110 BCE, from Sinope on the Black Sea; Thasos, Chios, and Paros in the northern Aegean; Kos, Knidos, and Rhodes in the southern Aegean; and Kourion on Cyprus.

A coin hoard dating to about 100 BCE discovered at the southern coastal city of Ashkelon complements and helps explain this dense array of Mediterranean goods.[24] The hoard includes one silver and 46 bronze coins. Most are small issues from cities in western and southern Asia Minor with the remainder from Paphos, Antioch, and Tyre. The coins were likely the ongoing collection of a member of merchantship's crew. Their origins reflect a route along the Asia Minor coast, then via Cyprus over and down along the eastern Mediterranean coast, with an eventual docking at Ashkelon.[25] The hoard's date of about 100 BCE is particularly striking, as it conforms so well with the pattern of Aegean wine jars. I have so far cited only the finds from Marisa, Dor, and Samaria – but as Gérald Finkielsztejn's studies at sites throughout Israel have shown, trade from Rhodes and the cities of western Asia Minor is widespread and even increases in the second half of the second century BCE.[26]

The monetary economy reflected in the array of coins collected by the Ashkelon merchantship crew member also exists in early Hasmonean Judea. By 100 BCE Hasmonean coins occur by the thousands. Indeed in Israel more coins of Alexander Jannaeus alone have been found than from all the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings together with the coins of the newly independent Phoenician cities. At the single site of Gamla, archaeologists have found several hundred non-Hasmonean coins of various mints along with almost 4000 coins of John Hyrcanus and his sons Aristobolus and Alexander Jannaeus (fig. 10, left).[27] These coins are crucial testimony on two levels. First, their very existence reflects knowledge and acceptance of Mediterranean-wide cultural practice. This acceptance is further emphasized by the fact that Hasmonean coins display Greek as well as imperial Seleucid

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[22] Reisner et al., *Excavations*, pl. 77; Crowfoot, "Teracottas", 83; Erlich, *Art*, 22, 34, 49.

[23] Lake, "Greco-Roman Inscriptions", 37 no. 13; Magness, "Cults".

[24] Gitler/Kahanov, "Late Hellenistic Coin Hoard".

[25] Gitler/Kahanov, "Late Hellenistic Coin Hoard", 392.

[26] Finkielsztejn, *Chronologie*; see also a summary of this argument in Gitler/Kahanov, "Late Hellenistic Coin Hoard", 394.

[27] Syon, "Coins", 34–6.

symbols such as the anchor (fig. 10, right). Second, the sheer quantities in which the coins appear demonstrate that people have a ready means of exchange. Coins are available, and are used.

Figure 10. Left: coin of the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus, with anchor on reverse. Right: clay sealing depicting anchor, from the archive room of the Seleucid-era imperial administrative building at Kedesh, in northern Israel.

Their means notwithstanding, physical remains from early Hasmonean Judea reflect a largely rural society whose members live in an emphatically and deliberately simplified mode, devoid of foreign material affectations, culturally insular, traditional and inwardly oriented. Meanwhile, people living in Idumea, along the coast, and at Samaria are intimately connected to the wider Mediterranean world and its dominant Hellenizing culture. Two quotes, by men who knew this time and place well, capture the contradiction. The first is by a Jew possibly from Egypt whom Josephus called Aristeas. He writes: "Palestine possesses also harbors, well-situated, which supply its needs, that at Ascalon and Joppa, and Gaza as well as Ptolemais, founded by the king" (Letter of Aristeas 115). In contrast is Josephus himself, who says: "Well, ours is not a maritime country; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attractions for us" (Contra Apionem 160).

There is one exception to the Mediterranean cultural universe surrounding Judea: the temple-city on Mount Gerizim, just 10 km southeast of Samaria. Excavations here have uncovered a monumental sanctuary and well-built town covering about 400 dunams (fig. 11, top). A plethora of inscriptions and historical references identify the population as Samaritans, a sect who follow the Torah and consider themselves descendents of biblical Israel. The architectural remains are grand and impressive, while jewelery, other metal finds, and especially thousands of second century BCE coins reflect prosperity.[28] Among the inscriptions found within the sacred precinct

[28] Magen, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, pls. 10–12 and pp. 210–12.

are many that carry Greek names and a number written in Greek.[29] These provide a context for two Samaritan inscriptions found on the Aegean island of Delos, one of which dates to the later second or early first century BCE. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the sanctuary's size, importance, and foreign connections, Samaritan households contain only and exactly the same basic forms of locally made vessels found in Judean homes (fig. 11, bottom).[30] Samaritans and Judeans appear united in their deliberate disavowal of Mediterranean goods and likely also the culture they represent – a point that incidentally begs the question of the motives that led John Hyrcanus to besiege and destroy the city in 110 BCE.[31]

I now return to the two witnesses with whom I opened. Meleager's description of this time and place as "an Attic haunt" and a "single world" are readily understandable. Mediterranean goods coming largely from the cities of the Aegean and Asia Minor would obviously be characterized as Greek, and even though 350 years have passed since the Parthenon rose on the Acropolis of Athens, that city still stands as a cultural exemplum. We can also feel how this time and place would cause the author of 1 Maccabees to couch his description of the decree of Antiochus IV as an imminent threat: "the king wrote to all his kingdom for all to become one people and for each to abandon his own customs".[32]

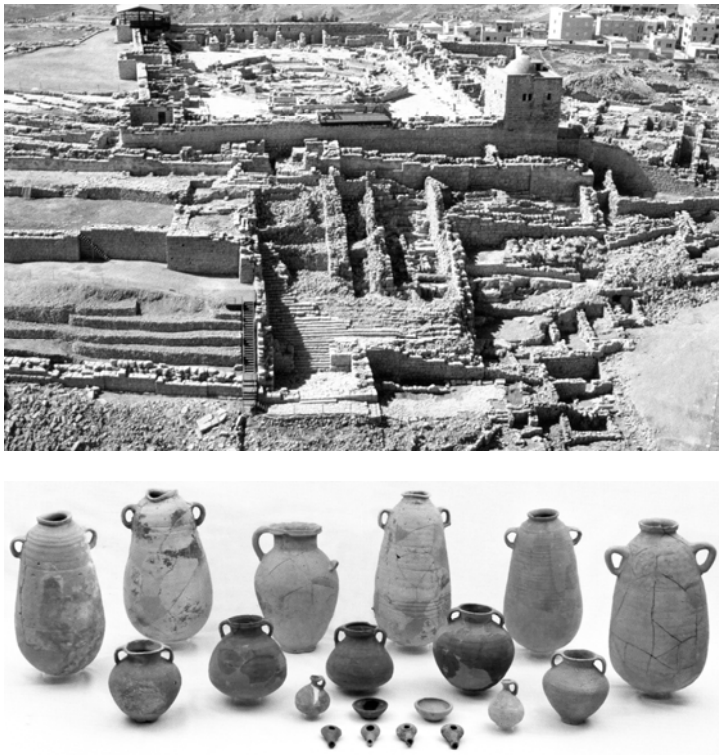

Figure 11. Mt. Gerizim. Top: view of sanctuary. Bottom: pottery from temple and city, second century BCE.

[29] Magen, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, 237–8.

[30] Magen, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, 209–10.

[31] For recent discussion of this, see Magen, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, 178; Magen, "Gerizim, Mount", 1742. Josephus recounts the event in Ant. 13.254–7 but his proffered date of 128 BCE has been countered by a wealth of datable remains extending to 110 BCE.

[32] For a somewhat different analysis of the impact of the dominant Mediterranean culture on the authors of 1 and 2 Maccabees, see Mendels, "Memory", 44–53.

The intersection of chronology and aspect matters. In 142 BCE Simon captures the Akra and expells the Seleucid garrison. When he dies eight years later, his son John Hyrcanus takes over. This dynastic succession marks the transfomation of a small native rebellion into an independent polity. Five years later, in 129 BCE, the Seleucid king Antiochus VII Sidetes dies while on campaign in Parthia, an event that relieves the new ruler of his obligation to fund and supply troops on behalf of imperial Seleucid aims.[33]

Figure 12. Map showing places destroyed by the Hasmonean king John Hyrcanus between 112 and 108/7 BCE. Dotted line indicates area controlled by Hasmoneans between 142 and 112 BCE.

The manner in which Hyrcanus now chooses to deploy his resources is well reflected in the archaeological record: burned, damaged, and destroyed sites, large and small, throughout the region. These, in conjunction with a host of datable objects, allow us to chart his actions (fig. 12): in 112/11 BCE Marisa is destroyed and essentially abandoned, followed by Mt. Gerizim in 110, Samaria in 108 and Beth She'an-Scythopolis in 108/7.[34] By 103 BCE, when Hyrcanus' son Alexander Jannaeus takes the throne, the Hasmoneans control Idumea, Judea, Samaria, and Perea across the Jordan. This is the physical context of, and the political events leading up to, the moment of Meleager and the composition of 1 Maccabees.

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[33] The best expression of the political opportunity of this moment remains that by the Roman historian Tacitus, who famously said: "The Macedonian power was now weak, while the Parthian had not yet reached its full strength, and, as the Romans were still far off, the Jews chose kings for themselves" (Histories 5.8).

[34] Kloner, "Maresha"; Avigad, "Samaria", 1302; Mazor, "Beth Shean", 1628.

Early First Century BCE: Household Judaism Appears

This is also the immediate background to a new cultural practice, one that I identified in a 2005 article as "household Judaism". The practice of household Judaism appears just now, in the early first century BCE, and continues to develop into the first century CE. Two physical aspects mark this earliest stage. First, throughout the expanding Hasmonean kingdom, peo-

Figure 13. Storage jars from Jerusalem (top) and Gamla (bottom), first century BCE.

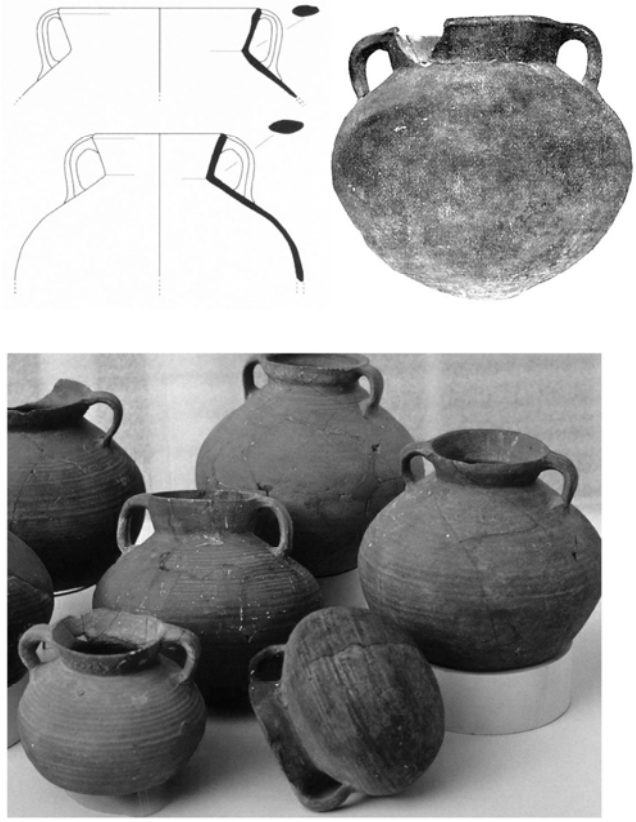

Figure 14. Cooking pots, first century BCE. Top left: from Jerusalem, Binyane Ha'Uma production site. Top right: Beth Zur. Bottom: Gamla, Area B.

ple's common household items are now manufactured with identical typological details such that they all look alike. For example, large storage jars, whether found in a home in Judea or Gaulanitis, have a wide, flat band around the mouth (fig. 13). Cooking pots now have a high, slightly canted neck (fig. 14). The types of lamps and small bowls and saucers are now made on identical models. Scientific analyses demonstrates that these basic household goods are not products of a single manufacturing center. Instead they are made of different clays, all local to the vicinities of the settlements in which they are found. In other words, throughout the Hasmonean kingdom potters make and people use the same types of vessels.

Interestingly, while all these vessels remain undecorated and strictly utilitarian, all are now made more carefully. In figure 15 are two water pitchers, one from early Hasmonean times (on the left) and another from a generation or so later (on the right). The later vessel has thinner walls, a more carefully finished lip (better for preventing dribbles), and a shorter neck and higher center of gravity, both of which make it easier to pour. Such attention to workmanship and detail characterizes all locally made household pottery of the first century BCE.

Figure 15. Left: pitcher from Jerusalem, second century BCE. Right: pitcher from Beth Zur, first century BCE.

Second, stepped plastered pools (*mikva'ot*) now appear – and in the same settlements in Judea, the lower Galilee, and the Golan where the new array of household goods show up (fig. 16).[35] *Mikva'ot* allow individuals to purify themselves in connection with household-based events. Their sudden and widespread appearance does not mean that the rite of immersion is new. But it does mean that now across a broad spectrum of society people use *mikva'ot* regularly and so want them available. *Mikva'ot* are distinctive and easily recognizable; both the installations and the practice they allow advertise ethnic identity and proclaim cultural separation.[36]

To appreciate the message of both *mikva'ot* and the new vessels, one must enter private household space – hence my term "household Judaism" to describe this new phenomenon. Four points are worth noting. First, *this is visible practice*, conscious, specific behavior carried out via material objects. Second, *the specific objects are new*, first appearing in the early years of the last century BCE but not before. Third, *the objects are basic and domestic*; they represent the choices of private individuals. Finally,

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[35] Netzer, *Palaces,* 39–43, 91, 102–5, 117–23, 160–2, 170–1; Reich, "Area A", 88–90; Magness, *Qumran,* 147–58; Reich, "Archaeological Evidence", 48–52; Gutmann, "Gamala", 463; idem, *Gamla,* 118–22. Reich asserts that the earliest *mikva'ot* may be dated to the second part of the second century BCE ("Synagogue", 289). His examples are the same as those I have listed here. In fact, there is no positive evidence for so early a date from any of these locales; and further all of these installations have a stratigraphic *terminus ante quem* of the later first century BCE. I believe these *mikva'ot* most likely date from the time of Alexander Jannaeus.

[36] *Mikva'ot*, or at least installations that are physically identical to *mikva'ot*, first appear in homes throughout Idumaea dating to the third and second centuries BCE. This is a fascinating point, and one that deserves more detailed discussion.

none seem to be connected to or mandated by halakhah. In my original characterization I wrote that "household Judaism allowed Jews to infuse daily life with a religious sensibility, 'to advance the holy into the realm of the common' and thereby form a new cultural identity."[37]

Unlike the material lifestyle of early Hasmonean times, household Judaism is active: it depends on regular and widespread demand for and supply of specific goods as well as the construction of *mikva'ot*. Seth Schwartz has described Jewish identity in the last century BCE and first century CE as an "ideological complex" founded on "three pillars – the one God, the one Torah, and the one Temple".[38] I suggest that household Judaism comprises a fourth pillar, because it allows individuals to craft a discrete and distinct home and lifestyle. With its practice, Judeans live as one people – no matter where they actually reside within the Hasmonean kingdom. In effect, household Judaism is instrumental to the transformation from Judean to Jew.

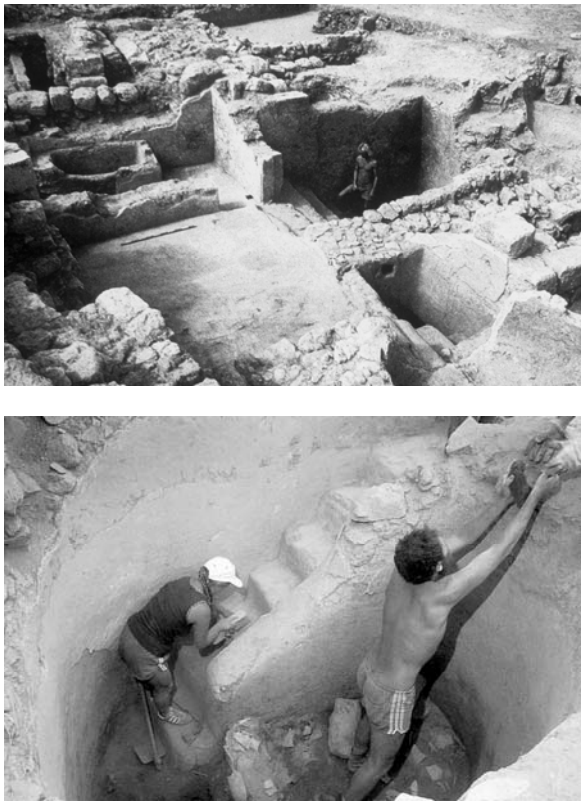

Figure 16. Top: Mikve, Jerusalem Upper City, first century BCE. Bottom: Mikve, Gamla, Area B, first century BCE.

What is the impetus that leads to household Judaism? Might we see it as a reaction to Meleager's cosmopolitan world view? In 2005, I presented developments in chronological order but I did not study the era that led up to it. Instead, I

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[37] Berlin, "Jewish Life", 425. The quote is from Milgrom, "Dynamics", 29. In a recent article Lee Levine asserts that "any discussion of Jewish identity in antiquity must recognize the fact that by the later Second Temple period Jews had developed a corporate identity with a significant degree of cultural and religious commonality as well as a degree of continuity from one generation to the next" ("Jewish Identities", 26–7). While I agree with this, I note that his discussion elides exactly where and how this common Judaism developed. That moment, with its attendant contingencies and experiments, is the crux of this study as well as Berlin "Identity", in which I study developments in the first century BCE in more detail.

[38] Schwartz, *Imperialism*, 49. See also L.I. Levine, "Jewish Identities", 26–7. David Goodblatt adds another layer with a thoughtful examination of differing nomenclature for Jews: Hebrew writers use "Israel"; non-Jews and Jews writing in Greek use "Judeans"; and official Hasmonean court writings refer to Judah ("Israelites", 82–6).

characterized household Judaism from the perspective of hindsight, looking back from a time several generations after it first developed. Here I present household Judaism as a development from an earlier material world and its political events. From this vantage point, it looks a bit different – less innocently empowering, more charged.[39]

In a recent study called "How Experiments End", Albert Baumgarten has examined the various modes by which the Romans related to and organized their rule over Jews in the land of Israel.[40] He argues for an historical understanding in which we acknowledge that successive historical stages create new realities. He encourages explanations that avoid a "neat and clear account that fits our sense of how events should happen" in favor of the "messy story ... [that avoids] teleological determinism …"[41]

The paradigm of contingent historical processes is a useful one for thinking about the beginning and subsequent development of household Judaism. After all, in the early first century BCE, Jews find themselves in a new political world. Around them some foreign powers are receding while others act as agents furthering self-realization. This is a point of decision, a chance to choose a course. What is chosen depends on many factors: a leader's vision and authority; the attitudes and actions of surrounding peoples; but most significantly the group's sense of themselves, their proper place in the world and what they are owed. What do Jews choose now, and why?

At this point we are on the edge of knowing, balanced between evidence and the conclusions we draw from it. We need all of that evidence – both written and material, the notes of the score and the instruments of the orchestra – to understand this specific historical and cultural moment. For both written and material remains are products of and reactions to this time, a time when people choose to make their homes and possessions distinct, to preserve and edit older texts, and also to write new ones, new stories that show us how they understand their history and their destiny.[42]

And so the author of 1 Maccabees writes his story. He evokes the book of Joshua in order to recount the story of Judah Maccabee – only now, instead of territory, the children of Israel fight for a way of life. Our author

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[39] I am indebted to an insight of Pierre Bourdieu (*Outline*, 164), as excerpted by Baumgarten ("Experiments", 161): "every established order tends to produce (to very different degrees and with very different means) the naturalization of its own arbitrariness".

[40] Baumgarten, "Experiments". Baumgarten credits his approach to Galison (*How Experiments End*) and the seminal study of Kuhn, *Structure*.

[41] Baumgarten, "Experiments", 160–1.

[42] Israel Finkelstein ("Jerusalem"; "Archaeology"; "Territorial Extent") has recently written a series of articles in which he argues strongly for a Hasmonean compositional date for certain sections of Nehemiah, specifically those that describe the size of Jerusalem and Yehud. Many aspects of his argument dovetail with points that I explore here.

takes an old theme and he composes a new score. When we study the material remains that his listeners leave behind we can almost hear them playing along.

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