

## **Diversity, Resistance, and Survival in Second Temple Judaism: Jewish Identity Under Greco-Roman Rule and Its Implications for the Korean Peninsula**

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The issue posed for discussion in this paper is a challenging one for a writer, particularly if that person is a specialist in only one of the two topics to be brought into conversation. It does appear to this novice that there are some similarities in the geo-political locations of Israel and Korea and their attendant histories. Korea is not caught in between major civilizations and empires as is characteristic of Israel throughout most of its history with its strategic location at the crossroads of the continents of Asia and Africa, with European access available both by land and sea. But it has been dominated by imperial pressures for a good deal of its history including Chinese, Mongolian, and Japanese aggressions. More recently American and Soviet military and economic forces have exerted hegemonic influence through their ongoing Korean proxy conflict. Both Israel and the Korean peninsula have also faced internal political conflict and division, with the two Koreas an obvious example. There are apparent geo-political and historical considerations that provide a considerable basis for the conversation of this symposium.

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This conversation does not evaluate and compare the geo-political considerations of the two entities across history, but rather picks two discrete moments in time for consideration, the Greco-Roman period in the history of Israel and the Jewish people, and the immediate period in Korean history perhaps beginning with the end of the Japanese occupation, presumably with a concentration on the recent past and a projection into the immediate future. I will concentrate on the first with occasional rather uninformed remarks about the latter in the conclusion. As apparent from the opening comments, fundamental to this paper is the issue of empire, whatever form it might take. In order to provide a context for the discussion of Jewish identity during the Greco-Roman period, permit me to do a brief summary of the history of that period.

The immediate context for the issue of identity among the successors of Israel and Judah begins with the Babylonian conquest of 597 BCE and the subsequent destruction of the temple in 586 BCE. By that time Israel and Samaria, the northern kingdom, had been brought to an end with the Assyrian invasion of 722 BCE. Only the small province of Judah remained and it now came to an end. The political entity Israel that had been the primary reference point for identity no longer existed. The loss of that land, that identity, is recorded in some of the lament literature of the HB (Hebrew Bible-Old Testament), both in the Psalms and the Prophets. While these lamentations and reflections took on a religious character, the evidence that the religious identity was primary prior to the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests is not clear. For example, very few high priests from the period prior to the exile are identified in the literature of the HB. The historical actors known to us from the HB for the most part are the kings and those who interact with or respond to them and their actions. But a good deal of the literature of the HB is religious. The literature describing

Israel before the exile but written after it is an indication of the shift in identity occasioned by the destruction and the exile.

With the Babylonian exile we find the beginning of the dispersion or diaspora, including the deportation, apparently of the elites to Babylonia. There is also evidence of emigration to Egypt as noted in Jer 42-44 and to the immediate surrounding lands such as Moab and Edom (Jer 40:11). The Egyptian presence is most apparent in the Elephantine papyri, going back to the fifth century BCE. During the Greek and Roman periods the presence of Judeans has become scattered throughout the Mediterranean as well. By the first century BCE the Judean population of Alexandria is larger than that of Judea, Samaria, and the Galilee.<sup>1)</sup> However issues of identity and belonging are the legacy of the dispossession and destruction of the Babylonian conquest, a continuing by-product into the Persian empire and those that follow. The theological problems this raises are apparent in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Presumably they lie at the heart of some of the theological restiveness that characterizes the wisdom literature as well. While the Persian empire demands attention this is not the focus of this paper.

That the conquests of Alexander the Great (333-323 BCE) changed the nature of the lands inhabited by Judeans is clear. In the wake of his death in 323 BCE the land of Israel was in constant turmoil as the battles for succession raged across its borders. When the dust settled, as the result of the Battle

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1) There is controversy about the translation of the Greek term *Ιουδαῖοι* since it can be translated as either Judeans or Jewish. I tend to use the term Jewish for the late Second Temple period but in the Maccabean literature Judean may be apt. In any case, when using the word Jewish in Second Temple literature I am not using it to describe a religion or religious system but rather “the collective experience of the Jewish people in late antiquity without assuming a coherent ideology or even a consistent way of life behind it” (John Kampen, *Matthew within Sectarian Judaism*, AYBRL [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019], 3).

of Ipsus in 301 BCE, Israel was in the hands of Pompey I (300-282 BCE) who had gained control of the land of Egypt establishing it as the dynastic home. The Ptolemies farmed out taxes of particular areas to local elites responsible for the collection of tribute in a given area. Often this was part of the process of cementing the power of the local elites in those territories. In some instances this was an integral part of the process of the creation of this native elite. The systematic nature of the manner in which the exploitation of its landholdings was organized and executed by the Ptolemaic administration is documented in the Zenon Papyri, the records of a Ptolemaic administrator sent to do an evaluation of the resource potential of Israel for the central administration in the middle third century BCE.

In 200 BCE Antiochus III (223-187 BCE) seized control of the southern Levant at the battle of Paneion near the present-day Israel-Syria border. The area remained under the control of the Seleucid dynasty until the Roman expansion into the Near East, in the case of Israel in 63 BCE. While the imperial system of hegemony remained largely the same as under the Ptolemies, the world had changed and the rising dominance of Rome over the Mediterranean areas put new pressure on the Seleucid emperors. They wanted to satisfy their imperial ambitions while ruling over an increasingly threatened empire. Antiochus the Great also attempted expansion into Asia Minor and Thrace, coming into even more direct conflict with Rome. As a result of his defeat at Magnesia in 190 BCE he had to pay stiff reparations to Rome, for which he plundered his territories. This included robbing temple treasuries of the Near East such as the one at Elymais, which resulted in his death. It is this imperialist impulse that leads to the tragic events in 167 BCE when Antiochus IV (175-164 BCE) son of Antiochus the Great, having prohibited the practice of Israelite religion

and mandating a book-burning of the Torah, desecrates the temple in Jerusalem. This results in the Maccabean revolt and the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty that rules in Judea until 63 BCE. How are we to interpret the impact of these events?

## 1. Hellenism

One major interpretive lens for these events and for the Greco-Roman era as a whole is found in the work of the epitomist of Jason of Cyrene, 2 Maccabees 2:19-15:39. In this work many have found the basis for one way in which to frame the identity issues of the time, ἑλληνισμός versus ἰουδαϊσμός (hellenism versus Judaism). Such a perspective is still common in the literature concerning the period.<sup>2)</sup> The term ἑλλην of course was originally used to describe the Greek culture and language and its usage in that manner continues.<sup>3)</sup> But in the Near Eastern context the term also had other implications already recognized by J. G. Droysen in 1840.<sup>4)</sup> He argued that Hellenism should be understood to be the new culture that emerged when classical Greek culture met the Near East. Through the establishment of military colonies and even the construction of new cities such as Antioch and some of the cities of the Decapolis, Alexander and his successors succeeded in spreading the influence of Greek culture throughout the former Persian empire and beyond. But

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2) See also 2 Macc 2:21; 4:10, 15; 6:9; 8:1; 11:24; 14:38.

3) Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 3rd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 35-37.

4) Johann Gustav Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: F. Perthes, 1836-1843); Arnaldo Momigliano, "J. G. Droysen Between Greeks and Jews," in *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1977), 307-23.

the “Hellenic” culture that emerged was not an imposition of classical Athens; it included the Phoenician influences from the Mediterranean which itself had Greek and Italian components, the Egyptian elements from Alexandria, the Mesopotamian influences from Babylon and Persia, and the lesser known groups from the Arabian peninsula and Asia Minor.<sup>5)</sup> In this process of hybridization, Greek culture was orientalized. An interesting example with long-term consequences is the manner in which the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rulers came to be divinized, regarded as gods, a possibility resisted in Greece and Rome but much more quickly embraced in the Near East and Egypt. It is this amalgam that the terminology of 2 Maccabees appears to address. It is this cultural amalgam that the Jewish inhabitants of that world would have experienced as Hellenism. Is the spread of Hellenism a sufficient paradigm to explain the development of Jewish life, and identity, throughout the Second Temple era?<sup>6)</sup>

An examination of this question can begin with an explanation of the causes of the Maccabean revolt. One pivotal and widely-adopted explanation was that of Elias Bickerman.<sup>7)</sup>

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5) Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, John Bowden trans., 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974); Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* (Peabody: Hendriksen, 1998); Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, HCS 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Seth Schwartz, *Were the Jews a Mediterranean Society? Reciprocity and Solidarity in Ancient Judaism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

6) Note the survey of work on this issue by Sean Freyne, “Galilean Studies: Old Issues and New Questions,” in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition* (ed. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge, and Dale B. Martin; WUNT 210; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 13-29. This work is cited as evidence that this issue is no longer the most relevant.

7) Elias Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt*, Horst R. Moehring trans.. SJLA 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1979; orig. 1937).

In his analysis of the usurpation of the high priesthood by Jason (175-172 BCE) and then by Menelaus (172-163 BCE) these two constituted the attempt to introduce Hellenistic reforms into the religious and cultural life of Jerusalem. According to 2 Maccabees 4:7-10 Jason, the brother of Onias III of the traditional Oniad high priestly lineage, purchased the high priesthood from the king, established a gymnasium to provide a Greek education for the elite Jewish youth, and “shifted his compatriots over to a Greek way of life (Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτήρα).” Three years later Jason sent Menelaus on a mission to bring money to the king and while there he outbid Jason for the high priesthood (2 Macc 4:23-26), thereby removing the high priestly office from the control of the historic Oniad family. Josephus tells us that the Tobiads supported Menelaus in his struggle against Jason (*Ant.* 12.239-40). The early history of the Tobiads is murky, however they seem to have been a powerful tribal family based in Transjordan who had extensive contacts with the Ptolemies. It is most likely that Joseph, son of Tobias, who was a tax-farmer for the Ptolemies in the third century BCE, was from this clan. This is one of the local elites who rose to prominence under Ptolemaic rule. Josephus also says that they urged Antiochus IV to foster Hellenism in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 12.240).

The activities of Antiochus IV suggest a high level of imperial oppression and violence. With his need for finances, he first of all absconded with all of the temple treasure, a description that is followed in 1 Maccabees 1:24-28 by a poem describing murder and devastation. He then sent a force to collect tribute, plundered, burnt, and tore down the city, taking captive the women and children, and installing his troops in the citadel. Again this is followed in 1 Maccabees 1:36-40 by a poem on the shedding of innocent blood around the sanctuary and the latter’s defilement. Residents of Jerusalem fled and her sanctuary

became like a desert. This was followed by the order to become one people, giving up all particular customs, in other words the practices associated with Jewish cultic observance including circumcision. Those found possessing the book of the covenant were condemned to death, “they kept using violence against Israel, against those were found month after month in the towns. . . . they put to death the women who had their children circumcised, and their families, and those who circumcised them; and they hung the infants from their mothers’ necks” (1 Macc 1:58-60). The chapter concludes, “They chose to die rather than be defiled by food or profane the holy covenant; and they did die. Very great wrath came upon Israel” (1 Macc 1:62-63). In Bickerman’s evaluation the impulses and activities of the elite circles in Jerusalem as they found expression in the events attributed to Jason and Menelaus were responsible for the forced Hellenization with the tragic consequences described above. Bickerman’s thesis is central to the seminal work by Martin Hengel entitled *Judaism and Hellenism*. As noted by Hengel concerning the events in Jerusalem:

This gives greatest probability to Bickerman’s view that the impulse to the most extreme escalation of events in Judea came from the extreme Hellenists in Jerusalem itself.<sup>8)</sup>

This forced hellenization provoked resistance and it is that resistance which Hengel developed as a central thesis of his work, suggesting that it originated among the Hasideans (or Ḥasidim) of 1 Mccabees 2:42, 7:13, and 2 Mccabees 14:6.<sup>9)</sup> In this instance the problem of Second Temple Jewish identity is posed as a

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8) Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, John Bowden trans., 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 1:287 (italics are his).

9) John Kampen, *The Hasideans and the Origin of Pharisaism: A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees*, SCS 24 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

religio-cultural conflict. Furthermore this conflict is posed as the assimilation debate characteristic of many immigrant groups, including the Jews of nineteenth and twentieth century Europe and North America. In the logic of this case the upper classes in Jerusalem were interested in preparing their children for a successful life within the Hellenistic world and this impulse was opposed by a group who wanted to retain a more authentic Jewish life centered in Torah observance and piety.<sup>10)</sup>

Hengel's thesis evoked criticism, particularly from Jewish classicists and historians.<sup>11)</sup> Of some significance is the recognition of the widespread nature of Hellenistic influence on Jewish literature of the Second Temple and Middle Roman periods. What was most striking about Hengel's construct was that it was based upon the Palestinian evidence and did not include the significant amount of Greek material from Egypt and elsewhere. With primary attention to the latter body of literature a different portrait of the issues emerges in the work of Gruen. His work begins with a reassessment of the significance of the Maccabean revolt:

Association with Hellenistic princes and dynasts advanced Jewish interests from the start, a feature of which Judas as well as his successors took full advantage. The entrenchment of Hasmonean authority depended in large part upon the acknowledgment, cooperation, and backing of the Seleucids—and *vice-versa*. . . . Hasmonean leaders practiced Hellenic ways without compromising Jewish integrity. The supposed conflict was never an issue.<sup>12)</sup>

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10) The role of Jewish piety in the Hasmonean mode of rule is developed in Eyal Regev, *The Hasmonians: Ideology, Archaeology, Identity*, JAJSup 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

11) Louis H. Feldman, "Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism' in Retrospect," *JBL* 96 (1977): 371-82; Fergus Millar, "The Background to the Maccabean Revolution: Reflections on Martin Hengel's 'Judaism and Hellenism,'" *JSJ* 29 (1978): 1-21; Louis H. Feldman, "How much Hellenism in Jewish Palestine?" *HUCA* 57 (1987): 83-111.

In his exploration of the Jewish works written in Greek he finds an exceptionally creative adaptation and enhancement of the Jewish experience. For example, in the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian, Moses engages in dialogue with Zilpah and learns that she is one of the seven daughters of a priest from Libya who also is sovereign and general of the land and a ruler and judge of the city. Libya is a land of dark-skinned Ethiopians and tribes of many nations. In other words, Moses was associated with a vast and celebrated land that attached international and multicultural elements to his persona as founder. There is a dream throne scene in which Moses is exalted to the opening of the heavens to receive the diadem and scepter. The interpretation by his father-in-law as a non-Jew has a similar effect.<sup>13)</sup> Gruen concludes:

The Jews were not so much permeated by the culture of the Greeks as they were an example of it. This made it all the more important to exhibit the features of their own legacy in the terms and legacy of their adopted one.<sup>14)</sup>

As is demonstrated by Gruen and others, the Jewish encounter with Hellenism is true throughout the Diaspora and the land of Israel. Hellenism is not confined to the experience of Jews outside the land nor to those who wrote in Greek. Hellenistic Jews “rather redefined themselves in terms of a culture that they now made their own but left intact the core of their ancestral legacy. They displayed a talent not so much for accommodation as for expropriation.”<sup>15)</sup> A simple assimilationist model is inadequate to account for the Jewish experience in the Hellenistic

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12) Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, HCS 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 40.

13) Gruen, *Heritage*, 129-35.

14) Gruen, *Heritage*, 292.

15) Gruen, *Heritage*, 293.

world nor does it provide a continuum adequate to account for issues of Jewish identity. In the Greek literature of Egypt we find the argument that its readers can be both Hellenistic and Jewish.<sup>16)</sup> In this literature and during this time period, one of the methods of Jewish survival was the adoption of Hellenistic cultural, literary, and linguistic patterns in ways that empowered the Jewish community.<sup>17)</sup>

## 2. Empire

A less accommodating attitude to the question of Jewish existence in the Hellenistic empires can be found in other Jewish literature. The most apparent examples are to be found in apocalyptic literature. In the midst of the myth of the fallen angels in 1 Enoch 6-13, the earliest explanation of the origin of evil in apocalyptic literature, we see repeated references to bloodshed and violence. Nickelsburg suggests that this text with a very complicated literary history finds its origin in the time of the Diadochoi, that period when the successors of Alexander fought for the control of the empire and Israel too frequently was one of the battlegrounds.<sup>18)</sup> The author of the final version of this section of 1 Enoch understood the violence of Hellenistic rule to be the evil which required explanation. In this act of conscious and deliberate angelic rebellion the giants who are a group of powerful half-breeds emerge and devour the fruits

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16) Because native Egyptian identity is a different issue I do not deal with it here. It does play an important role in the riots against the Jews in Alexandria in the forties CE.

17) Cohen characterizes the Jewish response as accommodation (*From Maccabees*, 34).

18) George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 165-73.

of the earth, slaughter humankind and the animal world, and then turn on one another. The human race is not the perpetrator of this evil which God will punish, but rather victims of that evil. The motif of the four kingdoms found in Daniel 2 and 7 suggests a similar concern, here adapting a traditional Near Eastern scheme already in existence to the Jewish experience.<sup>19)</sup> This same motif is again present in the apocalyptic treatment of the Roman Empire in 4 Ezra 11 and 2 Baruch 39. The God of Israel is more powerful and will endure beyond the rapacious appetites of the Hellenistic and Roman empires. But within the apocalyptic tradition there is evidence also of a transformation of the nature of the opposition to the people of God.

In the explicitly apocalyptic sections of Daniel 7-12 it is apparent that the appeal is to a select group of the righteous. In Daniel 11:14: “The lawless among your own people shall lift themselves up to fulfill the vision, but they shall fail.” Of even more consequence is Daniel 11:33-35:

“The wise among the people shall give understanding to many; for some days, however, they shall fall by sword and flame, and suffer captivity and plunder. When they fall victim, they shall receive a little help, and many shall joint them insincerely. Some of the wise shall fall, so that they may be refined, purified, and cleansed. . . .”

The end result of this apocalypse makes it clear:

“But at that time your people shall be delivered, everyone who is found written in the book. Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. Those who

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19) John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed., Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 92-98.

are wise shall shine like the brightness of the sun. . . .” (Dan 12:1-3).

In other words the dualistic tendency evident in apocalyptic literature indicates a division within Israel. This is apparent in the Epistle of Enoch, the latter portion of 1 Enoch and a later composition than chaps 1-36 and 72-82. In 1 Enoch 94:1-98:8 we see repeated condemnation of the actions of the rich which are then contrasted with those of the righteous. Note that the contrast is not between the rich and the poor. Of greater significance for our purposes of this paper is the context of these discourses in the Epistle wherein it is the action of the leadership within Israel that is called into question when the rich are mentioned. The violence and bloodshed is now attributed to the Israelite leaders and aristocracy who are neither righteous nor wise. This is a rather surprising turn-about but consistent with developments during the Hasmonean era. How do we account for this other perspective?

The century of Jewish self-rule under the Hasmoneans (ca. 160-63 BCE), sometimes called the first Jewish Commonwealth, is one of progress and conflict. Beginning as a guerilla movement that reclaimed Judean control of the temple (the story of Hannukah) and then expanded to the control of territory, the Hasmoneans first had themselves appointed as high priest by the Seleucid ruler and then with Alexander Jannaeus (possibly already with Aristobulus) as king, followed by Salome Alexandra as queen. The expansionist John Hyrcanus already had followed the practice of employing mercenaries to accomplish his territorial goals, as was the practice with his Hellenistic forerunners and contemporaries. While there is debate on details, this is an era of population increase, economic growth, and territorial expansion for what had been the small province of Judea. That population growth includes returnees from the Diaspora.

The original guerilla movement certainly does represent a

form of resistance to Seleucid power and hegemony. This is made clear in the Hasmonean dynastic account of its own origins in 1 Maccabees 2, where the story of the resistance of Mattathias, the rural priest and father of the dynasty, is recounted. The heroic efforts of Judah Maccabee constitute the heart of the story of 2 Maccabees and also are recognized elsewhere, such as in the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch (1 En 90:6-19).<sup>20)</sup> This section of the composition appears to be contemporary with the final form of Daniel, also a story of resistance to Seleucid rule developed most explicitly in the last apocalypse of the composition. But the nature of the resistance in Daniel does not come from the Hasmonean revolt. Perhaps pointing to the guerrilla movement of Judah Maccabee, the “little help” of Daniel 11:34 points towards the futility of a violent resistance.<sup>21)</sup> The same message about the nature of the resistance is evident in 11:14, wherein the efforts of the בני פריצי עמר (“violent sons of your people”) are said to result in failure. There is a resistance to the empire but that resistance is not related to the Maccabean revolt but rather rests with faithfulness and being “wise” to understanding the true role of the divine in human history and experience rather than revolution.

Opposition to the Hasmonean rule is also evident in the developments related to the growth of Jewish sectarianism during this era.<sup>22)</sup> While the fact that the first reference of Josephus to the Jewish sects of the Second Temple era is found in Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 13.171-72 during the high priesthood of Jonathan (160-142 BCE) has received more historical warrant than is justified as a chronological indicator for the origins of

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20) George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1, Hermeneia* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 396-98.

21) Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, “Daniel,” *NIB* 7.144-45.

22) Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation*, JSJSup 55 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

the sects, the perception (or memory) of Josephus embedded in that reference is important. It does suggest that the rise of the Jewish sects is related to the Hasmonean period, even if not necessarily related to the time of Jonathan. The most broadly accepted hypothesis about the chronology of the physical site of Qumran suggests that the phase of its existence related to Jewish sectarianism began in about 100 BCE.<sup>23)</sup> This now means that the history of the sect as it is described in the sectarian literature from the Qumran corpus such as the Damascus Document, the Community Rule, the Thanksgiving Hymns, the War Scrolls, and the interpretive literature known as the Peshirim points to an existence that begins prior to and is somewhat independent of the site of Qumran at the northwest corner of the Dead Sea.<sup>24)</sup> The sectarian scrolls provide evidence of a movement presumably scattered throughout Judea that was critical of and dissented from the ruling Temple hierarchy and, for the most part, of the Hasmoneans.<sup>25)</sup> A genre of literature that represents native responses to and critiques of imperial hegemony and destruction can also be applied to the native elites that may have a very different relationship to imperial rule. In the sectarian literature we see evidence of social structures or movements who have their origin as critiques of and in

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23) Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

24) Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).

25) The relationship specifically to the Hasmonians is complicated in some texts: Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2008); Kenneth Atkinson, *The Hasmoneans and Their Neighbors: New Historical Reconstructions from the Dead Sea Scrolls and Classical Sources*, Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies (London: T & T Clark, 2018).

opposition to the native elites who are negotiating the place of the native population within the imperial hegemonic structures and ideology.

The literature that emerges from the Qumran corpus builds a case for the sectarian viewpoint and actions on the basis of the narrative of the HB. The legal literature of communal discipline and functioning does have a basis in the *ברות מושה* (“law of Moses”). The theology and laments of the Thanksgiving Hymns draw on the entire repertoire of the HB, especially the Psalms. The Peshier literature draws its authority primarily from the prophetic literature. But similarities between the actual structures and configuration of sectarian community life and other exemplars throughout the Hellenistic world are apparent. This possibility was already demonstrated by Weinfeld in his comparison of the penal code in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document with the *νομοι* (“laws”) of Greek and Roman associations, including the Roman religious association of the Iobacchi.<sup>26)</sup> The similarities of the Qumran legislation to these other associations demonstrates their existence in a shared ethos. A more extensive evaluation of this evidence was carried out by Gillihan.<sup>27)</sup> He notes the manner in which associations tend to replicate the organizational patterns, laws, and self-descriptive language of the state. State-like features are evident in patterns of leadership, councils, initiation procedures, rules for behavior, and discipline central to the life of the voluntary associations throughout the Roman Empire. Among ideological features he observes that values such as piety, conformity to

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26) Moshe Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, NTOA 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

27) Yonder Moynihan Gillihan, *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A Comparative Study of the Covenanters' Sect and Contemporary Voluntary Associations in Political Context*, STDJ 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

natural and anthropological order, justice, and human thriving were dispersed throughout the Roman empire and in associations reflecting those values of civic ideology.<sup>28)</sup> Civic associations played an integral role in sustaining the life of the Roman Empire. Of importance for a sectarian analysis is the manner in which counter ideologies emerge in civic organizations which contest the claims of the state.<sup>29)</sup> It is there that he locates the sectarian ideologies of the Qumran documents. In so doing he demonstrates the manner in which they critique the state or society as a whole for failing to live up to their stated ideals and offer a corrected interpretation of those themes including an alternative organization and regulations to which its members belong. What is apparent is that the nature of these groups, their communal structures, the rules of their internal disciplines, their rhetoric of group formation, and the writings and teachings considered authoritative were a critique of the state or society in which they were located. This critique functioned as a means of calling that state or society to account for failing to live up to its stated ideals. In its beliefs and practices it offered a correct interpretation of those fundamental values as well as alternative structures based upon those principles.

How this functioned in Jewish society is apparent in the definitions of sectarianism adopted by Jewish historians. Note Cohen:

A sect is a small, organized group that separates itself from a larger religious body and asserts that it alone embodies the ideals of the larger group because it alone understands God's will.<sup>30)</sup>

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28) *Civic Ideology*, 75-78, 505-06.

29) *Civic Ideology*, 95-132.

30) Shaye Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 2014), 125.

This feature is also apparent in the more developed definition of Baumgarten:

I would therefore define a sect as a voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms - the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders - to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity.<sup>31)</sup>

The sect lives in tension with the surrounding society while claiming to live out the beliefs and values of that society in a manner which it claims the larger society either ignores or has abandoned. What Gillihan has demonstrated in the case of Jewish sectarianism is that it adopted models from the even larger society in which the Jewish world of the time found itself in order to launch their critique. This suggests the common ethos of the societies in which these movements emerged rather than producing evidence of a deliberate strategy.

### 3. Apocalyptic Literature

The coincidence of empire as political control and culture is true of many of the conquests each of which in some manner changed the life and fortunes of the people inhabiting the Southern Levant including the land of Israel. The imperial sweep through the region beginning with the Persians followed by the Greeks was particularly pronounced with regard to the cultural impact associated with imperial domination. In her study of theologies of resistance in Second Temple Judaism, Portier-Young, influenced by Antonio Gramsci, concludes the

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31) Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 7.

following:

I understand domination as the social and ideological structures that create and maintain conditions of subordination as well as particular strategies and actions that aim to establish, maintain, or augment these structures.<sup>32)</sup>

Closely related to such an understanding of imperial domination is the ideological aspect of this social control:

hegemony asserts as normative and universal what are in fact particular and contingent ways of perceiving the world, mapping the universe and humanity's place in it, and defining poles of opposition.<sup>33)</sup>

Just as imperial domination frequently contains aspects of both violence and non-violence in its modes of social control, so resistance to these forces is complex, diverse and multi-layered.

Resistance to the ideological aspects of the Hellenistic empires is evident in the Jewish literature of that period. The above survey of the literature demonstrates two primary modes. The mastery of Greek literature by Jewish authors permitted central features of the Israelite narrative to be recast in creative and imaginative ways. The Greek literature produced by these Jewish authors is best understood as an example of expropriation rather than accommodation. In their writings some of these intellectuals demonstrated a mastery of the forms and content of Greek literature while describing different aspects of the Jewish experience. In so doing they provided the ideological roots for a way of thinking and living in which Jews could retain their identity in the context of a different culture and even language,

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32) Anatheia Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 26.

33) Portier-Young, *Apocalypse*, 12.

thereby contributing to their survival.

Elsewhere other Jews relied on other primarily eastern traditions and their own sacred literature to develop and promote in apocalyptic literature an ideology that would challenge the fundamental aspects of the hegemony of Hellenistic imperial rule. Both violent and non-violent exemplars of resistance are evident in the Jewish apocalyptic literature. Fundamental to this literature is the challenge to imperial hegemony.

The direct relationship between apocalyptic literature and the Hasmonean revolt is not as clear. While in its own dynastic account in 1 Maccabees the Hasmoneans would portray their own origins as a heroic act of faithfulness and successful resistance, this is not as clear in the record of the apocalyptic literature. While we see glimpses of the acknowledgment of the achievement of Judah Maccabee in the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch (cited above), apocalyptic literature is not favorable to the Maccabean revolt. The Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 93:1-10; 91:11-17) ignores the revolt and its significance. The sectarian portion of the Qumran literature arises as an alternative to the Hasmonean dynasty and to the control of the temple cult. In this constructive process, they perhaps unwittingly were also adopting models from the Hellenistic world they inhabited. In other words, they were utilizing traditions from outside the Jewish experience to develop models of resistance.

## Conclusion

In 1972-1974 I wrote for my denominational newspaper a column entitled “News in Brief,” which was a summary of significant non-Mennonite religious news.<sup>34)</sup> The news releases

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34) *Mennonite Reporter*, published in Waterloo, Ontario.

during those years were filled with stories about human rights abuses in South Korea and the manner in which major Christian denominations were challenging the authoritarian regime of President Park Chung Hee over these issues. Statements from the Korean Council of Churches and stories of the imprisonment of prominent Christian leaders filled those news reports. A history of Korea written in the 1990's provides a context for these reports:

Since 1948 and until very recently the politics of South Korea have been characterized by two expanding and opposing forces. Controlling the society at the top has been an increasingly oppressive and systematic authoritarian coalition of political, bureaucratic, economic, and security groups, dominated by a single dictatorial leader. Confronting this massif of power has been a growing and ever more diverse and sophisticated collection of opposition groups, both within and outside the formal political structure.<sup>35)</sup>

More recent analysis of this era by Danielle Chubb demonstrates the effects of Park Chung Hee's impact on dissident civil society actors:<sup>36)</sup>

Physical manifestations of this influence can be witnessed in

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35) Carter J. Eckert, Ki-baik Lee, Young Ick Lew, Michael Robinson, and Edward W. Wagner, *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak; published for Korea Institute, Harvard University, 1990), 347.

36) The broader detailed discussions on the development of Park's era can be found at the following books: Hyung-A Kim, *Korea's Development Under Park Chung Hee* (London: Routledge, 2004); Byung-Kook Kim, Ezra F. Vogel, et al., *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013); G. W. Shin, S. W. Park, and D. Yang (eds.), *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience* (London: Routledge, 2007); Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: Volume 3. Global Empires and Revolution, 1890-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Don Oberdorfer and Robert Carlin, *The Two Koreas* (New York: Basic Books, 2014)

the networking choices made by civil society groups, who often found themselves in solidarity with strange bedfellows: students, labor union activists, opposition politicians, and church leaders came together to work for a common cause. This was accompanied by a parallel discursive phenomenon, whereby the message emanating from the most vocal members of civil society began to shift, at times taking on a more markedly radical character.<sup>37)</sup>

In describing the conceptual framework of her analysis, she “recognizes the dynamic and historically constituted relationship between agents and meaning-structures in view of a discursive understanding of power.”<sup>38)</sup> The three key elements employed were “the importance of historical trajectory; the complex nature of power relations (between both state and non-state actors, as well as within civil society itself), and the negotiated status of beliefs.” All of these elements come into the present as issues of the relationship between the two Koreas dominate both domestic and international discussion. For example, how does the narrative of resistance to imperial power and authoritarian governments inform the present issues? What happens when the narrative of resistance becomes one of the dominant narratives? What has been hinted at above is that all of these elements identified by Chubb could also be profitably employed in an analysis of Jewish life during Hasmonean control within the Hellenistic eras.<sup>39)</sup> I leave the analysis of the two Koreas in the present up to others.

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37) Danielle L. Chubb, *Contentious Activism and Inter-Korean Relations, Contemporary Asia in the World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 47.

38) Chubb, *Contentious Activism*, 198.

39) For an interpretation of Daniel 3 in the context of the earlier Japanese imperial rule, see Hyun Chul Paul Kim, “Crossing Boundaries: Daniel’s Three Friends meet Rev. Ki-Chol Chu of Colonized Korea,” in *Landscapes of Korean and Korean American Biblical Interpretation*, ed. John Ahn, IVBS 10 (Atlanta: SBL, 2019), 195-215.

What can we conclude about native identity and imperial power from the literature produced during and in light of the Hasmonean period in Jewish history? Simple rejection of foreign cultural influences under imperial control is not a very feasible option, even when that influence is tied to explicit hegemonic objectives. From the Alexandrian model, it seems that a more successful strategy is one in which the native peoples become masters of the dominant culture and then employ aspects of that culture to translate their own experiences into that new context, thereby providing sources of identity within that hegemonic rule and empowering the native institutions and its people. In the case of the Hasmonean revolt and the establishment of the only era of Jewish self-rule between the destruction of the temple in 587 BCE and the founding of the modern state of Israel in 1948, the rebellion is successful as its leadership learns to negotiate its status within the rivalries of the Hellenistic hierarchy of the day and cultivates relationships with the competing and rising imperial power of Rome.

In this process of negotiation the Hasmonean high priests and kings are modelling themselves after the Hellenistic emperers they oppose, while simultaneously making the case for their Jewish identity and promoting legislation to that effect. For example, the oldest examples of טְקוּאוֹת (“ritual baths”), apparently a Second Temple innovation, are found in the archaeological evidence from Hasmonean habitations.<sup>40</sup> This native elite of Jewish self-rule also evoked significant resistance, apparent in the apocalyptic literature. In these compositions, whether directed against the Hellenistic empires, the Hasmonean kingdom, or the priesthood of the temple, the empowerment of the identity of the native resistance is the objective in this literature, not the advance of a strategy for overthrowing those in power. In the advance of sectarian Jewish groups, the

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40) Regev, *The Hasmoneans*, 252-58.

development of this identity is translated into specific social structures using models available with the imperial cultural world of the time.

**<주제어>**

다양성, 생존, 제2성전 유대교, 정체성, 한반도

**<Key Words>**

diversity, survival, Secon Temple Judaism, identity, Korean peninsula

\* 접수일 2020년 7월 31일, 수정일 2020년 9월 28일, 게재 확정일 2020년 10월 5일

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<초록>

## 제2성전 유대교 시대에서의 다양성, 저항과 생존

-그리스-로마 통치 속의 유대적 아이덴티티,  
그리고 한반도에 주는 의미-

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이 연구는 뚜렷이 구별되는 두 순간을 다루고 있다. 하나는 이스라엘의 역사에서 그리스-로마 시대이며, 다른 하나는 일본 강점기의 끝과 함께 시작된 한국 역사의 시기이다. 그리스-로마 시대의 역사는 이스라엘 땅을 톨레미, 셀류시드, 그리고 로마의 통치자들 사이의 전투장의 배경으로 그리고 있다. 유대에서 헬라화를 해야 한다는 주요 논리는 문화적 동화를 촉진하던 유대 대제사장들 사이의 내부적인 경쟁에서 나왔음을 보여준다. 그러나 이집트에서의 경우는 두 문화의 유지를 배제하였을 가능성을 시사한다. 결과적으로 유대에서는 제국의 압박으로 여러 분파들과 당파적 교리들이 만들어지게 되었다. 이리하여 어떤 이들은 하스모니아 왕조가 시작한 저항과 독립 운동에 가담하였고(예로, 마카비 1-2서, 에녹 1서 85-90 [짐승의 묵시록]), 어떤 이들은 예루살렘 중심의 통치에 대하여 회의를 품고 다양한 비폭력적 묵시적 이데올로기를 갖게 되었다(예로, 다니엘 7-12; 쿨란 텍스트, 날들의 묵시록 [에녹 1서 93:1-10; 91:11-17]). 제 2성전 시대 역사의 이와 같은 내적이고 외적인 역동성은 한국의 현대사와 비교 연구하는데 값진 모델(template)이 될 것으로 여겨진다. 한국의 현대사도 서로 경쟁하는 세력들 사이의 내적인 갈등으로 가득하였으며, 이웃 강대국들의 외적인 압력 속에서 어떻게 응전하여야 하는지 보여주고 있기 때문이다.

(Prof. JWK translation)

<Abstract>

**Diversity, Resistance, and Survival in Second Temple  
Judaism: Jewish Identity Under Greco-Roman Rule and Its  
Implications for the Korean Peninsula**

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This study considers two discrete moments: the Greco-Roman period in the history of Israel; and the pertinent period in Korean history beginning with the end of the Japanese occupation. The historical background of the Greco-Roman period depicts the land of Israel as the battlefield for the rulers of Ptolemy, Seleucid, and Rome. One prominent theory for the Hellenization in Judea points to the internal rivalry within the Judean high priesthood which accelerated cultural assimilation. But, cases in Egypt display the likelihood of expropriation of maintaining both cultures. Subsequently, the imperial pressures led to the outgrowth of diverse sects and sectarian beliefs. While some joined the resistance and independence movement inspired by the Hasmonean dynasty (e.g., 1-2 Maccabees and Animal Apocalypse [1 Enoch 85–90]), others became skeptical of the Jerusalem-centered governance and turned to various non-violent apocalyptic ideologies (e.g., Daniel 7–12; Qumran texts; Apocalypse of Weeks [1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17]). These internal and external dynamics of the Second Temple history can provide valuable templates for the comparative study of Korea's modern-contemporary history, saturated with the internal tension among the competing parties as well as the challenges as to how to maneuver amid the external pressures of the neighboring superpowers.