Jubilees and Jewishness in Hasmonean Judea: Linking Text and Context in the Study of Jewish Identity with the Help of Ethnic Studies

Introduction

What made one a Jew[1] in antiquity and what did it mean to be one? This question has received much attention and numerous answers in recent years: Jewishness[2] is variously labeled as an ethnicity,[3] a religion,[4] an ethno-religion,[5] and a national identity.[6] Changes in the meaning and function of Jewishness have also been identified: Shaye Cohen argues that there was a shift from ethnicity to ethno-religion toward the end of the second century BCE due to Hasmonean mimicry of Greekness, a label that had itself morphed from an ethnic category to a cultural designation;[7] Daniel Boyarin argues for the beginning of a religious definition in the fourth

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[1] The object of investigation is not the meaning of the *proper name* "Jew" (יהודי, Ἰουδαῖος, *Iudaeus*), but a people group who used multiple proper names, including "Israel" (ישראל, Ἰσραήλ) and "Hebrew" (עברי, Ἑβραῖος) with sometimes different meanings and cultivated a *sense of solidarity* through shared *historical memories,* a like to a *common homeland*, and one or more elements of *common culture* including language, religion and customs. These six common elements of ethnic groups are outlined by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, "Introduction," in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). The choice of the English "Jew" here is primarily pragmatic.

[2] The use of the intentionally vague Jewishness, rather than Judaism, is meant to disassociate the study from modern connotations of "Judaism," which is sometimes understood in too strictly "religious" terms. Here I follow Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 7–8.

My interest is in the way that ancient Jews defined themselves, but I use modern categories heuristically. The model outlined below adopts a broad definition of ethnicity into which the ancient Jews fit nicely: "a subjectively felt belonging to a group that is distinguished by a shared culture and by common ancestry." The model understands designations like racial, ethno-religious, national, ethnosomatic, ethnoregional and ethnolinguistic groups as subcategories of ethnicity. Andreas Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 7–8.

[3] E.g. Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 457–512.

[4] E.g. Shaye J. D. Cohen's early work. "Religion, Ethnicity, and 'Hellenism' in the Emergence of Jewish Identity in Maccabean Palestine," in *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom*, ed. Per Bilde (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), 204–223.

[5] E.g. Shaye J. D. Cohen's later work. *Beginnings of Jewishness*, 109–39.

[6] E.g. David M. Goodblatt, *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[7] Cohen, *Beginnings of Jewishness*, 109–39. Cohen follows Jonathan Hall in his understanding of Greekness. Jonathan M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Jonathan M. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002);

century CE during the Christianization of the Roman empire.[8] Criticisms of the enterprise have noted that scholars too often work in binaries (e.g., *either* a religion *or* an ethnic group), emphasizing that the reality is more complex.[9] As the theses of Cohen and Boyarin illustrate, perceived changes in Jewishness are often attributed to macro-level political causes. However, studies of Jewishness currently have no mechanism for linking macro-level political developments to changes in how Jews understood their Jewishness. This paper introduces such a mechanism, which I believe can usefully be applied to the study of Jewishness in antiquity. After outlining a few salient parts of the model, the model's usefulness is illustrated by using the book of Jubilees as a case study.

The Ethnic Boundary Making Paradigm

Anthropologist-turned-sociologist Andreas Wimmer, in his 2013 book, *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Powers, Networks*, developed the first comparative analytic that explains changes in the form and function of ethnicity by "a cycle of reproduction and transformation composed of various stabilizing and transformative feedbacks."[10] The model is part of a focus in the last twenty years among sociologists of ethnicity on the mechanisms influencing ethnic identity construction, a tradition which traces its roots to Fredrick Barth's oft-cited 1969 volume, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*.[11] Wimmer's model addresses the stated need for more systemization of boundary processes[12] and, as the only

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[8] Daniel Boyarin, *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

[9] Seth Schwartz, "How Many Judaisms Were There?: A Critique of Neusner and Smith on Definition and Mason and Boyarin on Categorization," *JAJ* 2 (2011): 208–38, esp. 231.

[10] Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 111.

[11] Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrik Barth (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), 9–38.

[12] Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences," *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (2002): 167–95, esp. 175.

attempt at "systematically explaining the varying character and consequences of ethnic boundaries,"[13] it represents a unique resource for developing a more nuanced definition of Jewishness.

The full model is depicted in figure 1. The left side of the model represents macro-level factors influencing ethnic construction, especially political structures and boundary characteristics, while the right side represents micro-level factors influencing ethnic construction, especially how individual persons engage in the struggle over the meaning, location and relevance of ethnic groups and boundaries in a contested social field.
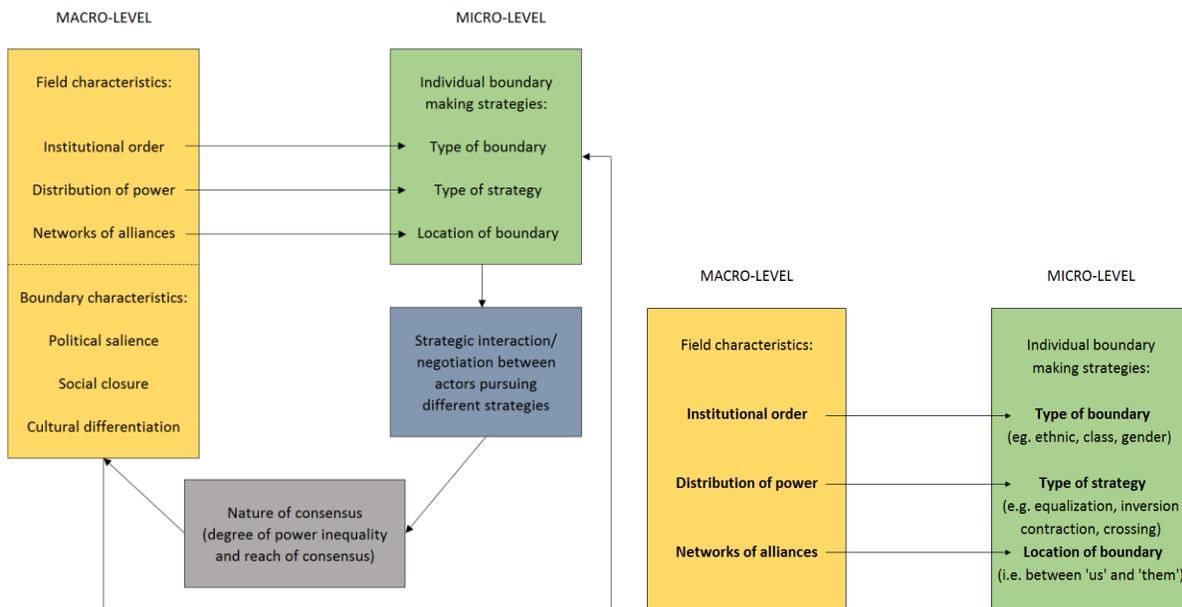

figure 1   figure 2

While the entire model is useful for defining Jewishness in antiquity, this paper will focus on three macro-level field characteristics (figure 2) which influence how individuals construct their identity: the institutional order, distribution of power, and networks of alliances. First, the institutional order influences whether persons will draw and emphasize ethnic boundaries rather

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[13] Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 80.

than other types of boundaries, such as class or gender.[14] That is, the formal policies and the informal conventions of the ruling power provide incentives for persons to make and to emphasize certain types of boundaries. For example, if a ruling power aligns itself with a national ethnic group, it provides incentives for persons to emphasize their ethnic identity in order to be included among the national ethnicity. In the same way groups excluded from the majority ethnic group are also encouraged to organize along ethnic lines and gain recognition as a minority ethnic group. The institutional order, then, primarily influences *whether* ethnicity matters. For our purposes, the institutional order does not directly influence who was Jewish and what it meant to be Jewish, but it does provide a partial explanation for the salience of Jewishness and its long-term durability.

Second, the distribution of power between members of different ethnic groups influences the types of strategies that persons attempt in the competition over the meaning, relevance and location of ethnic boundaries.[15] A person's place in the hierarchy of boundaries influences their choice in two ways: First, persons will tend to interact in ways that allow them to claim an advantageous position in relation to individuals of other ethnic groups. Second, one's place in the ranked boundary system determines which resources are available to make one's preferred vision of the ethnic landscape relevant for others.[16] Most obviously, those in control of the institutional power have a clear advantage in making their ethnic vision relevant for others, while those excluded may resort to counter discourses, whether through text production, or placing emphasis

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[14] Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 90–93.
[15] Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 93–95. Wimmer's model also develops an exhaustive typology of strategic *modes* of boundary making that ethnic actors may attempt, which can also be found in Andreas Wimmer, "Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary Making," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (2008): 1025–55.
[16] Wimmer's model also outlines a typology of strategic *means* of boundary making which distinguishes between types of resources deployed to make one's preferred vision of the ethnic landscape relevant for others. *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 63–72.

on a higher or lower level of ethnic identity, such as Jewish rather than Galilean, or vice versa.[17]

For example, members of the white middle class may emphasize professional competence and

achievement as criteria of moral and social superiority,[18] while some African Americans, in order

to counter exclusion or stigmatization and invert the hierarchical black/white boundary, may

emphasize the "hipness" of black culture.[19] The dynamics of power, then, primarily influence

which strategies persons will pursue. The various strategies are pursued by emphasizing or

reworking some aspect of ethnicity and potentially modifying what it means to be Jewish. This

will be illustrated below with the book of Jubilees.

Third, the extent to which the networks of personal relationships of state elites extend

into various segments of the population will determine the location of the boundary between a

national majority and the various ethnic minorities.[20] To use examples from the more recent past,

when slavery was abolished in Brazil, Brazil's elite relied on ties that stretched into a middle

class of mixed ethnic origins, and state elites attempted to integrate and mix these peoples. In

contrast, when slavery was abolished in the United States, the middle class was nearly

exclusively white, leading to an image of the nation as white.[21] In this way, then, the network of

personal relationships of state elites influences the location of ethnic boundaries between a

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[17] The model acknowledges that persons may possess multiple ethnic identities and that these are arranged in a "hierarchy of nested segments" so that one's identity as a Galilean, or Idumean, does not exclude one from also identifying as a Jew. Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 23–25, also 139–173. This insight goes back to Michael Moerman, "Ethnic Identification in a Complex Civilization: Who Are the Lue?," *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965): 1215–30. It was developed by the situationalist school. See especially Judith Nagata, "What Is a Malay? Situational Selection of Ethnic Identity in a Plural Society," *American Ethnologist* 1 (1974): 331–50; Jonathan Okamura, "Situational Ethnicity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1981): 452–65.

[18] Michèle Lamont and Crystal Fleming, "Everyday Antiracism: Competence and Religion in the Cultural Repertoire of the African American Elite, *Du Bois Review* 2 (2005): 29–43.

[19] Michèle Lamont and Virág Molnár, "How Blacks use Consumption to Shape Their Collective Identity: Evidence from African-Ameircan Marketing Specialist," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 1 (2001): 31–45.

[20] Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 95–97.

[21] Anthony W. Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of the United States, South Africa, and Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

national majority and marginalized minority groups. These networks of personal relationships then, can alter who is, and who is not identified as Jewish.

Case Study: Jubilees and Jewishness in Hasmonean Judea

The second part of this paper uses Jubilees as a case study to illustrate the usefulness of the Ethnic Boundary Making Paradigm for defining Jewishness. While people have proposed a number of different dates for Jubilees, I am convinced by Martha Himmelfarb who argues that the writer's interests in intermarriage, conversion, and especially the status of the descendants of Esau fit best with a date during the high priesthood of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 BCE).[22] This section will first outline the relevant field characteristics of Hasmonean Judea at the time of John Hyrcanus I and then examine how the writer of Jubilees engages in the strategic renegotiation of ethnic boundaries.

My understanding of the field characteristics of Hasmonean Judea at the end of the second century BCE are summarized in figure 3 and discussed below.
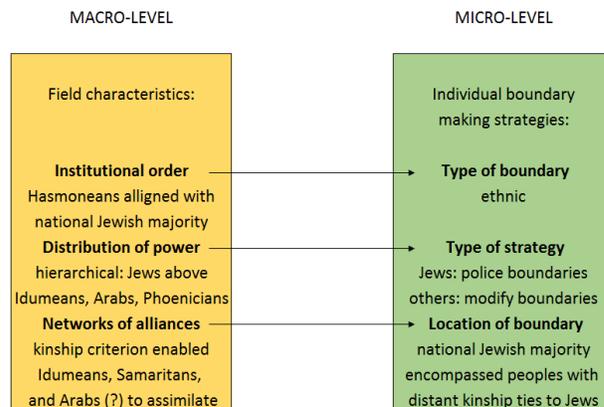

Figure 3

[22] Martha Himmelfarb, *A Kingdom of Priests: Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*, Jewish culture and contexts (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 55, 72, 75. See also Eyal Regev, "Jubilees, Qumran, and the Essenes," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 426–41, esp. 435–440; Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Boston: Brill, 2007), 332. Isaac Oliver finds a date during the John Hyrcanus attractive as well. "Forming Jewish Identity by Formulating Legislation for Gentiles," *JAJ* 4 (2013): 105–32, esp. 119.

First, according to the Ethnic Boundary Making Paradigm, the institutional frameworks influence whether ethnic categorization matters. In the case of Hasmonean Judea, the Hasmonean rulers aligned themselves with the Jewish ethnos. This can be demonstrated from both archaeological and textual sources. First, the legends on all coins issued by John Hyrcanus I (as well as coins of all subsequent Hasmonean rulers) combine the name of the Hasmonean high priest with a reference to the Jews as a people group (חבר היהדים).[23] The Hasmonean choice of this joint designation communicates that they ruled "*for* and *with* the Jewish people."[24] Second, 1 Maccabees, a Hasmonean propagandist narrative, aligns the Hasmoneans with the Jews by presenting the Hasmoneans as saviors and legitimate leaders of the Jewish people.[25] Therefore, in Hasmonean Judea, including during the time of John Hyrcanus, the institutional frameworks provide incentives for persons to emphasize their Jewishness rather than other non-ethnic ways of grouping persons and the importance of Jewishness, and ethnic identity more generally, is elevated in and around Hasmonean Judea.

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[23] John Hyrcanus I's coins explicitly associate him with the Jewish ἔθνος: יהוחנן כהן גדל וחבר היהדים. Some also describe him as the "head" (ראש) of the Jewish people. יהוחנן כהן גדל ראש חבר היהדים. George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine (Galilee, Samaria, and Judaea)*, A Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum 1 (Bologna: A. Forni, 1965), 188–196; Eyal Regev, *The Hasmoneans: Ideology, Archaeology, Identity*, JAJ 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 188–89, 193–196.

Some have suggested חבר referred to a council that ruled jointly with John Hyrcanus I. E.g., Daniel Sperber, "A Note on Hasmonean Coin-Legends: Heber and Roš Heber," *PEQ* 97 (1965): 85–93; Baruch Kanael, "Ancient Jewish Coins and Their Historical Importance," *BA* 26. (1963): 38–62, esp. 43–44; Shmuel Safrai, "Jewish Self-Governance," in *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical, Geographical, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, ed. Menahem Stern and Shmuel Safrai, CRINT 1.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974), 377–419, esp. 389. However, parallels with coins from Greek, Roman, and Phoenician cities, which often refer to citizens but never a ruling council, suggest that חבר refers to the Jewish people collectively and not a specific council or delegation. In addition, חבר more often refers to a general association rather than a council of delegates. Eyal Regev, *The Hasmoneans: Ideology, Archaeology, Identity*, JAJ 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 188–89, 193–196. Benedikt Eckhardt, *Ethnos Und Herrschaft: Politische Figurationen Judäischer Identität von Antiochos III. Bis Herodes I.*, SJ 72 (Berlin; Boston: de Gruyter, 2013), 62–63.

[24] Regev, *The Hasmoneans*, 199.

[25] Stephanie von Dobbeler, *Die Bücher 1–2 Makkabäer*, NSKAT 11 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1997), 46; John R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 33.

Second, according to the Ethnic Boundary Making Paradigm, the distribution of power provides incentives for persons to attempt certain types of strategies, and also restricts the types of strategies a person can pursue. The Jews, aligned with the ruling Hasmoneans, formed a privileged majority at the top of the ranked boundary system in and around Hasmonean Judea. In addition, the available sources suggest that at least through the high priesthood of Hyrcanus, the Hasmoneans sought to expel non-Jews from their expanding territory and to create a mono-ethnic, homogenous national majority.[26] Therefore, the distribution of power provided Jews incentives to police the Jew/non-Jew boundary and prevent non-Jews from crossing the boundary into the Jewish ethnos. Among members of the Jewish ethnos, only the elite Jews close to the Hasmonean rulers had access to official means of boundary making.

Third, the networks of personal alliances established by state elites determine the location of the boundary between the national privileged majority and the marginalized "other". In the case of the Hasmonean state there is insufficient data to relate the networks of alliances with the various people groups of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to the boundaries of the national Jewish ethnos.[27] However, the attempt by John Hyrcanus I to include Idumeans and Samaritans, but not

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[26] However, unlike his predecessors, John Hyrcanus seems to have allowed some non-Jewish inhabitants of conquered areas to cross the boundary into the national Jewish *ethnos* (discussed below).

John Hyrcanus's policy of forced expulsion represents a strategic *means* of *discrimination* It is also in continuity with the policies of Jonathan and Simon. According to 1 Maccabees Simon expelled the non-Jewish inhabitants of Joppa and Gezer and resettled them with Jews (1 Macc 13:11, 47–48). At Gezer, a destruction layer in the archaeological remains confirms Simon's conquest and the presence of Miqva'oth in the resettlement layer corroborates 1 Maccabees' claim that the new inhabitants were Jews. Ronny Reich, "Archaeological Evidence of the Jewish Population at Hasmonean Gezer," *IEJ* 31 (1981): 48–52, esp. 49–51. Further confirmation is provided by thirteen boundary stones, demarcating Gezer's agricultural land (written in Hebrew) from those of the surrounding areas (written in Greek). Ben-Zion Rosenfeld, "The 'Boundary of Gezer' Inscriptions and the History of Gezer at the End of the Second Temple Period," *IEJ* 38 (1988): 235–45. That under Jonathan and Simon the repopulation of Gezer was part of a wider policy of expelling non-Jews from Hasmonean territory and resettling them with Jews is confirmed by the destruction and abandonment of non-Jewish settlements within the province of Judea (Berlin, "Large Forces," 28), the settlement of new sites, (Shim'on Dar, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria (800 BCE–636 CE)*, 2 vols., BARIS 308 (Oxford: B. A. R., 1986); NEAEHL, "Judea," 2.816); and the disappearance of pottery produced outside of Judea (Berlin, "Large Forces," 29).

[27] Eyal Regev nicely summarizes the state of our sources when he writes "a detailed history of the Hasmoneans' internal affairs, namely, their political institutions and their relationships with the people, cannot be written; the sources are too scarce, and are highly biased either for or against the Hasmoneans." *Hasmoneans*, 12.

Greeks, in the Jewish ethnos fits with the approach of the Ethnic Boundary Making Paradigm: The selection of Idumeans, identified as descendants of Esau, and Samaritans, claiming descent from Jacob,[28] suggests that the Hasmoneans employed a criterion of kinship through Abraham in their selection of those people groups who were included, or forced, to integrate into the national Jewish ethnos,[29] while the exclusion of Greeks is likely due to their alignment with the Seleucid Greek empire, against which the Hasmoneans defined themselves.[30]

It has often been noted that Hyrcanus's incorporation of Idumeans into the Jewish ethnos may have been based on kinship ties.[31] In addition, there is good reason to believe that

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[28] Two honorary inscriptions at Delos, dated to the second century BCE, nicely illustrate Samaritan ancestral claims. Each identifies the originator as an "Israelite" (ΙΣΡΑΕΛΕΙΤΑΙ/ΙΣΡΑΗΛΙΤΑΙ) who is distinguished from other Israelites by sending the temple tax to Mount Gerizim (ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΕΙΝ). Philippe Bruneau, "'Les Israélites de Délos' et La Juiverie Délienne," *BCH* 106 (1982): 465–504, esp. 484; Magnar Kartveit, "Samaritan Self-Consciousness in the First Half of the Second Century BCE in Light of the Inscriptions from Mount Gerizim and Delos," *JSJPHRP* 45 (2014): 449–70, esp. 466–468.

[29] According to the Ethnic Boundary Making Paradigm's typology of strategic *means*, Hyrcanus I's conversion/expulsion alternative represents a strategic *means* of *coercion and violence* by *forced assimilation*. Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 70–72.

[30] The Hasmonean self-definition over and against Greekness is seen most clearly in the Judea-Rome dichotomy in 1 Maccabees. Kevin Lee Osterloh, "Judea, Rome and the Hellenistic Oikoumenê: Emulation and the Reinvention of Communal Identity," in *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*, ed. Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin, TSAJ 119 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 168–206, 185.

[31] Josephus notes that John Hyrcanus I pursued this strategic *mode* of *boundary expansion* through *nation-building* in relation to the Idumeans, who were permitted to remain in their land as long as they were circumcised and observed the customs of the Jews: "Hyrcanus also captured the Idumaean cities of Adora and Marisa, and after subduing all the Idumeans, permitted them to remain in their country so long as they had themselves circumcised and were willing to observe the laws of the Jews" (*Ant.* 13.9.1). Strabo, writing earlier (c. 27 CE), states that the Idumeans joined the Jews by choice (*Geo.* 15.2, 34) but this is inconsistent with the destruction at Maresha.

The archaeological record suggests that some Idumeans remained, but many left. Continued occupation is attested at the Idumean sites of Tel Ḥalif and Tel ʿIra. Seger, "Tel Ḥalif," NEAEHL 2.553–560, esp. 559; Beith-Arieh, "Tel ʿIra," NEAEHL 2.642–646, esp. 645; Berlin, "Large Forces," 31. New settlements are attested at Tel Seraʿ and Horvat Rimmon in Idumea which were quite possibly settled by Jews. Eliezer Oren, "Ziglag: A Biblical City on the Edge of the Negev," *BA* 45 (1982): 155–66, esp. 158; Kloner, "Ḥorvat Rimmon," NEAEHL 4.1284–1285.

Many other sites show widespread destruction and abandonment. A destruction layer at Maresha around 112 BCE and the abandonment of its lower city indicate that at least some of the inhabitants left. Kloner, "Mareshah (Marisa)," NEAEHL 3.948–57, esp. 953. Tel Beer-Sheva was abandoned soon after John Hyrcanus I's campaign. Dan Barag, "New Evidence on the Foreign Policy of John Hyrcanus I," *INJ* 12 (1992): 1–12, esp. 6. Numerous other sites show evidence of destruction and abandonment. These include Khirbet er-Rasm, Tel Arad, Khirbet ʿUza, and possibly Lachish. Avraham Faust, Oren Ackerman, and Adi Erlich, *The Excavations of Khirbet Er-Rasm, Israel: The Changing Faces of the Countryside*, BARIS 2187 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011), 208, 252; Moshe` Fisher and Oren Tal, "The Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in *Horvat ʾUza and Horvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev*, ed. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series 25 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2007), 335–49, esp. 335. Evidence for an increased Idumean presence in Egypt suggests some immigrated to Egypt.

Hyrcanus's destruction of the temple on Mt. Gerizim was meant to reorient the Samaritans to the Jerusalem temple, and not expel them from their land:[32] In contrast to the Greek cities of Samaria and Scythopolis whose inhabitants Josephus expelled, and whose hinterlands show a significant population decrease,[33] regional surveys around Mt. Gerizim and Shechem show no population decline,[34] indicating that Hyrcanus did not expel the Samaritans, a people group who claimed ancestry from Jacob. In contrast, there is no evidence that Hyrcanus enabled the Phoenician inhabitants of the conquered coastal cities to assimilate to the national Jewish ethnos.[35] Further confirmation might be found in Josephus's note that Aristobulus incorporated the Itureans into the Jewish ethnos. The Itureans were likely an Arab tribe, and at least some Jewish texts from the time period (e.g. Jubilees) understand the Arab tribes as descendants of Ishmael and the other sons of Abraham.

Uriel Rappaport, "Jewish Religious Propaganda and Proselytism in the Period of the Second Commonwealth" (Hebrew) (PhD dissertation, 1965), 79–80, 82.

[32] Jonathan Bourgel, "The Destruction of the Samaritan Temple by John Hyrcanus: A Reconsideration," *JBL* 135 (2016): 505–23.

[33] Josephus reports that Hyrcanus completely destroyed the πολίς of Samaria and enslaved its inhabitants (*Ant.* 13.10.3). The destruction of the recently-constructed fort wall confirms this destruction. John Winter Crowfoot, Kathleen M. Kenyon, and Eleazar L. Sukenik, *Samaria-Sebaste: Reports of the Work of the Joint Expedition in 1931-1933 and of the British Expedition in 1935*, vol. 1 of *The Buildings at Samaria*, (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1942), 30. Regional surveys show a significant decline in population around the Greek cities where only seven of the twenty-six Hellenistic sites in the surrounding area continued into the Roman period. Adam Zertal, *The Manasseh Hill Country Survey: Volume 1 The Shechem Syncline*, CHANE 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. 63;

[34] Regional surveys of the valley surrounding Shechem, southern Samaria, and the areas of the Shechem Syncline, indicate no decline in population. Shechem: Edward F. Campbell, *Shechem II: Portrait of a Hill Country Vale: The Shechem Regional Survey*, ed. Karen I. Summers, ASORAR 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991). Southern Samaria: Israel L. Finkelstein et al., *Highlands of Many Cultures: The Southern Samaria Survey: The Sites*, 2 vols., Monograph Series 14 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University Publications Section, 1997), 2.907–19, 953–54. Shechem Syncline: Adam Zertal, *The Shechem Syncline*, 63.

[35] Among the coastal cities there is evidence for the removal of some inhabitants, and for Jewish reoccupation. After the destruction of Azotus, it was immediately reoccupied and during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus it is listed among the cities of his possession (Jos., *Ant.* 13.15.4), making it at least likely that these new inhabitants were Jews. Berlin, "Large Forces," 30–31. The predominance of Phoenician pottery not found at known Jewish sites indicates that the earlier inhabitants of Shiqmona were almost certainly non-Jews, and after the town's destruction it was not immediately reoccupied. Joseph Elgavish, "Pottery from the Hellenistic Stratum at Shiqmona," *IEJ* 26 (1976): 65–76, esp. 65.

In summary, then, during the high priesthood of John Hyrcanus, the field characteristics influenced the ethnic boundary system in the following ways: The independence of the Hasmonean state created an autonomous political entity that aligned itself with the Jewish ethnos, thereby elevating the significance of drawing ethnic boundaries and privileging Jews over members of other ethnic groups. While previous Hasmonean rulers expelled non-Jews from the expanding Hasmonean territory, John Hyrcanus sought to expand the location of the Jewish boundary by enabling members of ethnic groups with putative kinship ties to the Jews through Abraham to cross the boundary and become Jews.

In the social field of Hasmonean Judea with the above field characteristics, Jubilees represents one particular Jewish vision of the ideal boundary system of Judea (fig. 4). Anti-Hasmonean elements suggest that the writer is not aligned with the Hasmonean rulers.[36] Therefore, the writer lacks access to official means to make his ideal vision relevant for others, and instead employs a *discursive* means of boundary making through rewriting the historical memories of the Jewish ethnos. As a member of the Jewish ethnos without access to official means of boundary making, the writer has an incentive to police the Jew/non-Jew boundaries against boundary crossing by non-Jews in order to maintain privileged status. This policing of ethnic boundaries contrasts with Hasmonean boundary expansion.
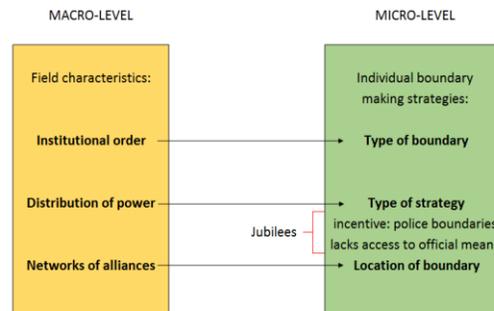
Figure 4

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[36] Most prominently, much of Jubilees is aimed against the Calendar used by the Hasmoneans. Himmelfarb, *Kingdom of Priests*, 76–77.

Discursive *means* of boundary making use categorization and identification to present an

ideal vision of the ethnic boundaries.[37] While the Jew/Greek boundary is only implicit in

Jubilees, the writer directly addresses the Jew/Idumean and Jew/Arab boundaries. The writer

associates the descendants of Esau with the present-day Idumeans,[38] and the descendants of

Ishmael and Abraham's other sons with Arab people groups,[39] and has a special interest in

each.[40]

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[37] Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making*, 64–65.

[38] "The Edomites have not extricated themselves from the yoke of servitude which Jacob's sons imposed on them until today" (Jub 38:14, cf. 38:12). English translations are from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, CSCO 511 (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1989).

[39] "Ishmael, his sons, Keturah's sons, and their sons went together and settled from Paran as far as the entrance of Babylon – in all the land toward the east opposite the desert. They mixed with one another and were called Arabs and Ishmaelites" (20:12–13). Latin includes "until the present" (*usque in diem hanc*) to the end. James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, CSCO 510. (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1989), 276.

[40] The writer of Jubilees deliberately enhances their profile of Abraham's other sons and associates them more closely with the promises made to their father Abraham. This connection is made by the addition of a final testament of Abraham that is addressed to Ishmael, Isaac, and the sons of Keturah (in that order) and commands them to worship the Lord, keep his commandments, circumcise their sons, and avoid exogamy (20:2–10). In other words, Abraham commands all his sons to be observant Jews. Doron Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature: Recourse to History in Second Century B.C. Claims to the Holy Land*, TSAJ 15 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1987), 149. Further, in Genesis, Ishmael's reward for being Abraham's son is to become a great nation, but not a *blessing* to all nations which is reserved for Isaac and then Jacob (Gen 12:2–3; 17:19–20; 21:13; 26:4; 28:14.). However, in Jubilees, all Abraham's descendants become a blessing to the nations. Abraham addresses all his sons when he states "You will become a blessing on the earth, and all the nations of the earth will be delighted with you. They will bless your sons in my name so that they may be blessed as I am" (Jub 20:10). At the end of Abraham's life he celebrates the festival of weeks with both Ishmael and Isaac (Jub 22:1–9).

Whereas the profile of Ishmael and his descendants is enhanced, the writer of Jubilees reworks the biblical stories that involve Esau to create a precedent and divine approval of Jacob's dominance over his brother Esau. Roger Syrén, "Ishmael and Esau in the Book of Jubilees and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and Martin J. McNamara, JSOTSup 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 310–15, esp. 312–13. From the moment of the twins' birth, Jacob is called "perfect and upright" while Esau was "a harsh, rustic, and hairy man" (Jub 19:13; cf. Gen. 25:24–26). Jacob is not chosen arbitrarily, but because of his obedience and because of Esau's disobedience: The writer solves Isaac's inconvenient preference for Esau (Gen 25:28) by narrating how Abraham came to prefer Jacob after seeing Esau's behavior (Jub 19:16) and then commended Rebecca's preference for Jacob (Jub 19:19). By the end of Isaac's life, he, like Rebecca and Abraham, has seen Esau's evil behavior and has come to love Jacob more (Jub 35:13). When Jacob tricks Isaac and steals Esau's blessing, divine aid serves to guarantee the rightness of Jacob's deception (Jub 26:18). In addition, the curse that Esau receives in place of a blessing guarantees not only his descendants' servitude to Israel (Gen 27:39–40), but also promises destruction as a consequence for attempting to gain independence (Jub 26:33–34). Finally, Esau himself acknowledges the rightness of Jacob's favored position (Jub 36:14) and agrees to live at peace with Jacob after Isaac's death (Jub 37:4). However, Esau breaks this promise when his sons convince him to rebel against Jacob (Jub 37:13). The ensuing conflict culminates with Jacob killing Esau (Jub 38:2), symbolizing Jacob's superiority over his brother and Esau's inability to keep the oath (Jub 37:17). This demonstrates that Esau, like the nations (Jub 35:31), has an evil inclination (Jub 35:9) and is unworthy of divine election. The narrative concludes by noting "So they (Jacob's sons) made peace with them (Esau's sons) and placed the yoke of

Most interesting for our purpose, the writer used eighth-day circumcision to identify members of the Jewish ethnos and exclude Idumeans and Arabs from Jewishness.

> "Anyone who is born, the flesh of whose private parts has not been circumcised by the eighth day does not belong to the people of the pact which the Lord made with Abraham but to the people (meant for) destruction. … Now you command the Israelites to keep this sign of this covenant. … For the Lord did not draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau. He did not choose them (simply) because they were among Abraham's children, for he knew them. But he chose Israel to be his people" (15:26–30).

The writer of Jubilees also attempts to counteract boundary crossing by promoting the Holy Seed ideology of the book of Ezra[41] and prohibiting exogamy.[42] The writer reinforces the Jew/non-Jew boundary by claiming that God has caused all non-Jews to be governed by spirits which lead them astray.[43]

The evidence from Jubilees can be compared with the strategies of the Hasmonean rulers and depicted something like figure 5.
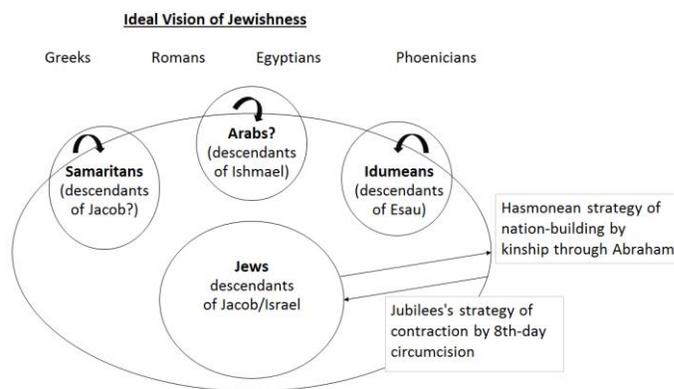

Figure 5

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servitude on them so that they should pay tribute to Jacob and his sons for all time. … The Edomites have not extricated themselves from the yoke of servitude which Jacob's sons imposed on them until today" (Jub 38:12–14).

[41] See especially Ezra 9:2. This point is argued in most detail by Christine E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73–81.

[42] Whereas in Exodus, Israel is prohibited from intermarrying only with the Canaanites (Exod. 34:11–16), Jubilees extends this to all non-Jews: "Now you, Moses, order the Israelites and testify to them that they are not to give any of their daughters to foreigners and that they are not to marry any foreign women because it is despicable before the Lord" (30:11). See especially Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 73–81; Cana Werman, "Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage," *HTR* 90 (1997): 1–22.

[43] "For there are many nations and many peoples and all belong to him. He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him" (15:31).

This can be filled out with other texts from the time period for a more complex understanding of types of boundary making strategies. Further, the types of strategies reflect back on the type of boundary consensus and boundary characteristics. Even without incorporating other evidence for the time of John Hyrcanus, the evidence of Jubilees suggests a couple things about the Jew/non-Jew boundaries.[44] First, while the writer of Jubilees and the Hasmonean rulers agree on the *relevance* of the Jew/non-Jew boundary (i.e., the category "Jew" matters), they disagree about who is a Jew (i.e. the *location* of the Jew/non-Jew boundary). This means that the boundary consensus is not *encompassing*, but only *partial*. The lack of an *encompassing* consensus reflects on boundary characteristics and suggests, for example, that the accretion of additional cultural diacritics that marked Jews from others may have developed less smoothly.

Second, the writer of Jubilees and the Hasmonean rulers also disagree about what it means to be Jewish (i.e. the *meaning* of Jewishness). The Jewishness of the Hasmonean rulers, as far as they identify the Hasmonean state as a Jewish state, can be designated "nationalism." The writer of Jubilees, who defines Jewishness in strictly genealogical terms, adopts a definition of the Jewish ethnos that can be subcategorized (in modern parlance) as a "race."

Conclusion

What then, was Jewishness at the end of the second century BCE? It depends who you ask. For the Hasmonean rulers, who attempted to expand the boundaries, it functions as a national identity. The writer of Jubilees, quite possibly in response to Hasmonean nation-building, attempted to contract boundaries. These contrasting strategies of boundary making also influenced the ideal ethnic-configuration of Jewish. In the case of Jubilees and the Hasmonean

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[44] Here I go beyond the aspects of Andreas Wimmer's model that I outlined above in order to illustrate the usefulness of the model.

rulers, this is seen most clearly in different appropriations of genealogical descent and the sign of

circumcision.