Carl Holladay’s main scholarly achievement—in my eyes, at least—is his magnificent edition of the Fragmentary Jewish Writings in Greek. Of the many Jewish writings from the Second Temple Period, this collection is certainly one of the most neglected. It is therefore with considerable pleasure that I dedicate to Carl this essay making use of these writings.

One of the questions that seems to have been debated endlessly is how the Jews saw themselves under Greek rule. One might wonder why this should be—surely the question of identity would have been asked when the rulers were Persian or Babylonian or Assyrian. But the oft-unstated assumption seems to be that Greek rule was somehow different from any that had preceded it. Given this assumption, the question of Hellenism must also be included in any discussion of Jewish identity of this period. In the present study I shall consider both these questions—of (1) Jewish identity and (2) the Jews and Hellenism—in the Fragmentary Jewish Writings in Greek, with particular attention to Demetrius, Artapanus, Ezekiel the Tragedian, Eupolemus, and Aristobulus. (In the discussion that follows, the text of the writers comes mainly from Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, but also Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*.)

**Demetrius**

As probably the earliest writing of this collection, perhaps in the late third century BCE (since he calculates his chronology to the reign of Ptolemy IV: Clement of Alexandria, *Strom. 1.21.141.1–2*), Demetrius is of particular interest. Most of his work—as far as the extant remains allow us to determine it—seems to have been an attempt to sort out...
potential difficulties and apparent contradictions in the text and also to provide a chronological framework; hence, he is often referred to as “Demetrius the Chronographer.” Some of the main issues he deals with include:

- The “chronology” of the life of Jacob, including the time of birth of his various children (Praep. ev. 9.21.1–13).
- Why Benjamin received five-fold the presents of the other sons of Jacob (Praep. ev. 9.21.14–15).
- A chronology of the patriarchs from Abraham to Moses, along with a reckoning of the time from Adam to Abraham (Praep. ev. 9.21.16–19).
- The genealogies of Moses and Zipporah are synchronized, showing why Moses was the seventh from Abraham but Zipporah only the sixth (Praep. ev. 9.29.1–3).
- How Zipporah could be called an “Ethiopian woman” (Praep. ev. 9.29.3).
- How the Israelites obtained weapons, though leaving Egypt unarmed, is explained (Praep. ev. 9.29.16).
- The time between the captivities of the Northern Kingdom and Jerusalem is reckoned, and then the time from these two captivities to the reign of Ptolemy IV (Clement, Strom. 1.21.141.1–2).

Demetrius’s concern to sort out contradictions appears to demonstrate two things about Jewish identity: first, it shows a self-conscious desire to maintain the integrity of Jewish scripture against possible criticism and skepticism from outsiders and puzzlement or disillusion among fellow Jews. Second, this sort of defense makes sense only if the Jewish writing being dealt with (the book of Genesis) is conceived of as in some way authoritative or scripture. Jewish identity was already starting to include the presence of sacred writings, and the Jews were starting to become the people of a book. Also, at least some of the chronological data are derived from the biblical text, especially those relating to the births of Jacob’s children. If the dating is correct, Demetrius becomes one of the first Jewish writers outside the biblical text itself to attest the scripture consciousness that became very evident at a later time.

The reason for Demetrius’s concern about chronology can be explained in various ways. It might have been, at least in part, an intellectual exercise to better understand the text. In other words, it might have formed one of the earliest commentaries on the biblical text. But calculations of the age of the world were often associated with eschatological expectations in the late Second Temple period. Whether this was

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