themselves—that the Israelites forfeited Yahweh's support by their faithlessness to him and their disregard of his commandments—is dismissed as being part of the very fantasy that has to be explained. The argument advanced by Morton Smith in *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament*, and more recently by Bernhard Lang and Hermann Vorländer in *Der einzige Gott*—that this whole complex of ideas was elaborated by a minority "Yahweh-alone party" and imposed by them, in post-exilic times, on a blithely polytheistic population—is not mentioned. Instead, Jacobson argues that from the beginning it was of the very nature of Yahweh, as he was imagined, both to choose and to qualify his choice. Central to the biblical writers' moral and imaginative life, and hence to the way in which they perceived the world, is a sense of a "remorseless reciprocity governing the processes of history". Indeed, it is precisely his incessant activation of inversions and ironies that show Yahweh to be truly divine.

The notion of the Covenant; the interpretation of defeat in terms of rejection; the expectation of renewal; the role and self-understanding of the prophets; the adaptation and transformation of Israelite and Jewish theology effected by the early Christians, and notably by Paul—all this, and much more, is considered in this short book. At every point Jacobson has something fresh and arresting to say. And that is much: to have dealt with these matters, at this late date, in such a thought-provoking manner is an achievement that commands respect.

London

Norman Cohn


The sub-title of this book reflects its origins in the Canadian project on normative self-definition in Judaism and Christianity, but, as will be explained below, the research aims of that enterprise can claim little responsibility for the fact that Collins's book is one of its most useful and welcome products so far.

Collins has here written much the best available introduction to the minor Jewish authors who wrote in Greek during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. He deserves both praise and thanks for his lucid, sensitive and careful treatment of much literature on which most previous discussion has been remarkable for over-generalisations and confusion. He is entirely at home in this literature and has the exceptional gift of ensuring the same for his readers. He provides coverage of almost every possible Hellenistic Jewish text apart from Philo, who is deliberately and usefully treated here only cursorily to prevent discussion of his massive output taking over the volume. Collins is if anything over-generous in including, e.g., the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs or the Books of Adam and Eve, whose Greek origins are at the least dubious. He analyses even the most complex texts with clarity, caution and rarely failing good sense, providing thorough but not oppressive coverage of alternative views in both the text and the notes. Generalisations should be less common in the field after his detailed treatment.

The excellence of Collins's craftsmanship tends to divert the reader from the doubts that can and should be expressed about the whole project of producing such a synthesis. Because he wishes to consider all these texts together, he is impelled to suggest relationships between writings even if they may have nothing in common. On
a simple level, he is admirably cautious when dating individual works but presents Demetrius as "the earliest known Hellenistic Jewish author" (p. 27) and Aristeas the exegete as following after him (p. 30) although he is aware that Aristeas may have written as early as c.250 B.C. Similar over-schematisation leads him to assert that Ps.-Phocylides wrote before Philo (p. 144) despite doubts over the date of the former author, and to assume a Jewish philosophical tradition before Philo (p. 175), or a Greek historiographical tradition in Palestine between Eupolemus and Josephus (p. 43), despite the lack of evidence. Such assumptions may be right, but it is suspicious that Collins and others are only tempted towards them by the unproven belief that the texts represent a single entity to be termed "Hellenistic Judaism". The rich variety in Jewish Hellenistic literature rightly noted by Collins (p. 17) would be less noticeable if he did not in the first place expect these fragments to have any common element other than their Jewishness.

As things are, the imposition of categories on diverse works is often either spurious or positively misleading. The texts discussed under "The Mysteries of God" have in common only the fact that they assume the importance of revelations of a higher world. It is not clear how significant this is: when Collins rightly throws doubt on the existence of any Jewish mystical ritual (p. 211), emphasises the compatibility of the mystical approach with the centrality of the Law, and allows the category to become so loose that he is reduced to describing texts as "mystical" within quotation marks (p. 203), the heading seems to have lost its usefulness. More seriously, the inclusion of some texts within the two chapters entitled "Religion and Politics" twist their interpretation in unjustified ways. Collins is naturally at home with this category because of his expertise in the Sibylline Oracles, on which he provides excellent sections marred only slightly by somewhat unbalanced polemic against Momigliano over the date of the Third Sibylline (pp. 64-69). The category is however less obviously suitable to, e.g., Artapanus. It seems unlikely that Artapanus' theology is "an offshoot of his politics" (p. 36) or that the Tobiad folktales have either a religious or a political message for their audience. Collins seeks too readily for mundane social and political explanations of literature which springs largely from fantasy and imagination. Even if a political background for such works is accepted as important, he often writes as if unaware of the existence of a Jewish diaspora outside Egypt (pp. 4, 10, 38; on p. 77, Cyrene becomes part of Egypt), so that "politics" usually means for him the tribulations of the Alexandrian Jewish community, for which he provides sporadically a potted history (e.g., pp. 117-122). Texts are dated and understood by their apparent suitability in one period or another of this history, even though the Egyptian origin of about half the texts discussed in the book is at the least uncertain if not improbable. Collins gives due recognition to the possibility of a Palestinian origin for some of this literature, though he is inclined for no strong reason to dismiss it when there is no definite evidence in its favour (p. 43), but he is less generous in considering possible origins elsewhere in the diaspora than Egypt – the book contains no mention of, for instance, Sardis. It is surely quite likely that the great Jewish communities of Asia Minor produced more literature than the scraps at present generally accredited to them; certainly the Egyptian origin of all texts needs to be argued for rather than, as here, assumed unless there is evidence to the contrary.

The impulse to sort these works into categories of a single whole would, then, be better resisted. The selection processes worth study but ignored by Collins are rather those of Alexander Polyhistor and the early Church through whom the writings were preserved. That he treats the material as he does is largely due to his self-imposed
search for the identity of the Jews in the Hellenistic diaspora and it is a pity that this aim not only warps his view of the literature but is hardly successful in itself.

Collins begins by assuming that the documents represent the "priorities and emphases of the community" (p. 167), but this assumption is unwarranted: apart from the hazards of selective transmission, the extant literature may reflect no more than the concerns of a particular author in the composition of a particular work. Context is crucial as can be seen in the varying emphasis on different aspects of Judaism in the works of Josephus; the fact that many of the fragments discussed by Collins survive out of context makes it all the more difficult to assess their significance. But even if the literature is as representative as he assumes, it is very dubious whether it is in any sense about Jewish identity. The problems encountered by Jews in the diaspora lay more often in the social and political hostility of gentile neighbours than in the theological and cultural issues aroused by assimilation of Jewish religiosity with Greek. Collins refers to Kasher's work on the separatist aspirations of the Alexandrian Jews but does not recognise its significance for his own thesis. There is no reason to suppose that the preoccupations of Philo and Paul were widely shared. The unsurprising fact that Jews equated their ethics with those found congenial in other cultures including Greek, their tendency to boast of their own pre-eminence, and their use of Greek literary forms, need not reveal the "desire to find a common cross-cultural basis" which he perceives (p. 46). Reference to other traditions is obviously useful to anyone wishing to promote the importance of his own. Whether this is done by admitting the importance of other religions and still stressing the superiority of Judaism (as by Artapanus) or by denigrating other religions to point out the difference from Judaism (as by the Wisdom of Solomon and others) is a matter of polemical tactics which may be quite unrelated to current politics or the extent of the author's Greek education.

I would argue against Collins that no Jew had any doubt about his identity and its definition through the Torah. There is no evidence that distinctive Jewish practices such as Shabbat were ever ignored in the diaspora or seen as a problem for Jews attracted to Greek culture (contra pp. 7, 191). Only the polemical propaganda of the Maccabees against their political opponents ever suggested any such problem; if the extreme allegorists mentioned by Philo existed, there is no reason to suppose that they flouted the Law, just that they considered it to be less important than symbolic interpretation. Indeed, Collins's analyses show just how possible it was for an author like Eupolemus to adopt thoroughly Hellenistic cultural forms without the slightest effect on his attitude to the Torah. Collins's preoccupation with a spurious problem produces a series of weak arguments as he tries to fit each work into a pattern of assimilation, universalism or narrow nationalism. When Ps.-Phocylides fails to mention characteristic Jewish practices, Collins takes that as evidence that the author is friendly to gentiles and is trying to persuade them towards Judaism (p. 168), although a certain vagueness is fully explained by the author wishing to preserve the pseudonymity of his work. When by contrast Demetrius stresses Jewish practices, he is taken to be ignoring gentile readers (p. 29) on the grounds that such emphasis would not attract them (cf. also p. 190, on IV Maccabees), but, again, this need not be true: we have no way of knowing how many gentiles were drawn towards Judaism precisely by the strangeness of the cult. If Jews were seen to behave and think just like Platonists and Stoics, gentiles would not have risked the odium of association with them. The deliberate strengthening of Jewish self-confidence by a sort of undercover indoctrination of the gentile public, as assumed by Collins and many others, is too subtle and quite implausible. He is right to stress the variety of
ways in which gentiles could show allegiance to Judaism (pp. 163-167, reinstating the God-fearers) but wrong to suggest that this entailed any fuzziness on the question of "who is a Jew". The social implications of keeping the Law drew clear boundaries around Jewish communities in the diaspora regardless of the cultural or theological tendencies of each individual. If Collins's main questions about Jewish identity can be tackled, it must be through a firmer grasp, based on archaeological and inscriptive evidence outside Egypt, of the distribution of the Jewish communities around the Mediterranean and the role of other minority communities in Hellenistic and Roman cities. A direct assault on the literature armed only with an agenda of preconceived problems will never persuade those who are unhappy about the preconceptions.

In the meantime, it is also fundamental for any such study to know what the literature says, when it was written and where. To such questions students will find a careful and informative guide in this book. They will also find numerous sage comments on the nature of Jewish life in the diaspora, for it is indicative of Collins's sensitivity to the problems inherent in his subject that almost every objection voiced in this review may be found presented somewhere in the author's own text in qualification of his main arguments. His revelation by careful scholarship of the complexities of the evidence and of some of the theoretical questions surrounding the topic provides an excellent introduction to an important field.

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With the appearance of part IV of the Complete Concordance to the works of Josephus, the enterprise is now complete (apart from a second supplementary volume at present in preparation). The first supplement, an excellent Namenwörterbuch by the late Professor A. Schalit of Jerusalem, appeared in 1968, and in 1973 came the first of the four Münster sections produced by K. H. Rengstorf and his changing team of collaborators. B. Justus and H. Schreckenberg have, along with Rengstorf, been associated with all four volumes. The team, and above all Rengstorf, merit our thanks for their resolute labours and our congratulations for bringing them to so prompt and effective a conclusion. They are to be praised for their remarkable accuracy; a list of Addenda and Corrigenda will appear in the forthcoming Supplement II, to put right the occasional, inevitable errors found in the four parts and in Supplement I: that is a measure of the author's punctiliousness. That Supplement is also to treat the sections of Contra Apionem (II, 51-113) which survive in Latin alone.

The Concordance is indisputably a thing of beauty and each volume is a pleasure (if also something of a weight) to handle, whether for consultation or for browsing. The latter can be a highly instructive activity due not only to the quality of the layout and the generous spacing but even more to the full range of meanings provided (in English and German) for words of any importance and to the fact that we are given not bare references but the surrounding phrase or clause, except with prepositions and particles. It is thus possible to make from this volume alone a