startingly, no such information is provided. If a text-book like this wishes to encourage readings of primary sources, it is odd that it points so little beyond itself to the original texts and their authoritative editions.

Careful teachers will be able to make some use of this volume if they ignore the section headings and use the indices of authors and topics to find the sources they want. But they will also need to give their students a far more sophisticated historiographical framework, or risk finding this material cited back to them naively as 'evidence' for the editors' themes. Here was a golden opportunity to introduce students both to primary texts and to the necessary rudiments of critical historiography. It was missed.

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Many of the best-known passages from ancient pagan literature which discuss the Jews do so in a fiercely anti-Semitic tone: Tacitus, Juvenal, the hostile writers refuted by Josephus in Contra Apionem. Some of the best-documented events in the history of the Diaspora Jews concern moments when anti-Semitism led to outbreaks of violence. Pagan sources praising the Jews, and historical periods of good Jewish–gentile relations, are less memorable if not necessarily less numerous.

Schäfer begins by surveying previous studies of anti-Semitism in the ancient world, dividing the interpretations into the 'substantialist', which treat it as inevitable, and the 'functionalist', which see it as a consequence of particular circumstances. These circumstances tend to be linked with the success of the Maccabean revolt in the second century B.C E., establishing an independent Jewish state for the first time in four centuries (and the last such state until modern Israel). Schäfer rejects both approaches, while admitting that 'they hardly exist in their pure form' (p. 7), and argues that underlying hostility and short-term political factors were together responsible for the worst occurrences of Judeophobia. He traces the roots of the hostility back to pre-Ptolemaic Egypt.

Egypt is the focus of much of the book, and in ch 1 Schäfer discusses the theme of the 'expulsion from Egypt' in pagan authors. He attributes to the earliest writers known to deal with the topic, Hecataeus and Manetho (preserved, it should be stressed, only in quotations by later sources), a belief in Jewish impurity and misanthropy which surfaces in writers of the Roman period too, most influentially in Tacitus. Schafer's approach is sometimes the exact opposite of Louis Feldman's in Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World (Princeton University Press, 1993), where Feldman looks for sympathy in writers usually regarded as anti-Jewish, Schäfer looks for hostility in writers usually regarded as sympathetic, such as Strabo. Feldman's overall picture may be a somewhat optimistic one; Schäfer says that Feldman's book 'being overly apologetic, however, grossly overshoots its mark' (p. 6). Schafer's is correspondingly pessimistic. However, he believes that the Alexandrian writers Chaeremon and Apion expressed their hostility less forcefully than some others who dealt with the Exodus, and he exonerates Antiochus IV from anti-Semitic feelings.

The following chapters deal with the other main themes of Judeophobic literature: the Jewish god, abstinence from pork, the sabbath, circumcision and proselytism. In all these areas, strands of sympathy (or at least neutral acceptance) as well as hostility can be traced through pagan writings. The areas were not always separated in Judeophobic minds: not eating pork might be interpreted as worshipping pigs. Circumcision might be mocked or disapproved of, but Schäfer claims (p. 103) that 'we have not found any
pagan author who explicitly criticizes it as a custom which itself is to be discriminated against and detested', with the possible exception of Hadrian. He does not rule out the possibility that Hadrian objected, not on moral grounds, but because of 'the ancient Greek ideal of beauty and perfection' (p. 105), there seems some inconsistency with the doubt he previously casts on whether Hadrian seriously discouraged circumcision at all. On proselytism, he carefully distinguishes between pagan hostility to proselytes and the lack of any reference to active Jewish proselytizing before the third century C.E. (p. 117).

In Part II, Schäfer discusses in detail two episodes which he regards as particularly significant in the development of overt Judeophobia: the destruction of the temple at Elephantine in the late 5th century B.C.E., and the anti-Jewish violence at Alexandria in 38 C.E. His selection of events in Egypt, natural enough given the lack of detailed evidence about similar episodes elsewhere, fits his thesis of Egypt as the home of such occurrences. Egyptians and Egyptian Greeks tended, justifiably, to identify the Jews with the ruling Persians and Romans. At Elephantine, he believes that this was exacerbated by the hostility of Egyptian priests to the Jewish use of animal sacrifice, leading to an attempted compromise where the Jewish temple could be re-established but without the right to make burnt-offerings.

At Alexandria, Schäfer sees the Egyptians rather than the Greeks as the Jews' main enemies, and the pogrom as principally the Egyptians' work, even if they were manipulated by the Greek leaders who regarded them as reliably anti-Jewish. Philo makes no clear statement about the nationality of the people holding the pogrom, it is Josephus who specifically blames the Egyptians. In *Legatio*, Philo generally seems to use 'Alexandrians' (as a label for those involved) in the sense of Alexandrian citizens, although he does not say that only these were to blame. At *Flaccus* 78, 'Alexandrines' and 'Egyptians' are clearly two different groups, whereas at *Legatio* 162, as Schäfer points out, the 'Alexandrines' who worship wild beasts are presumably Egyptians. Schäfer's argument thus depends on the assumption that Philo has, deliberately or otherwise, obfuscated the ethnic background of the Judeophobes. The Jews' aspiration for Alexandrian citizenship was a threat to the privileges of the Greek citizens, not of the Egyptian non-citizens. Schäfer rejects attempts to explain Judeophobia at Alexandria entirely in political terms; hostility had a long history there independent of any threat the Jews offered to the *status quo* by the time of Caligula and Claudius.

Despite the disdain which the Alexandrian Jews, like the Alexandrian Greeks, apparently felt for the Egyptians, there is some reason to think that communal relations were better in the area of Leontopolis, perhaps because the question of citizenship was not an issue there. The epitaphs from Demerdash near Helopolis of 'Sebethos son of Psonsneus' and 'Joseph son of Phomouns' show a remarkable mixture of Egyptian and Hebrew onomastics, surely an indication that Egyptian–Jewish relations were not invariably hostile, although it may be significant that there are no examples of parents giving Hebrew names having children with Egyptian names.

Part III looks at 'centers of conflict': Egypt, Syria/Palestine and Rome. For Rome, Schäfer concentrates on the anti-Jewish statements of Cicero, Juvenal and Tacitus, and sees the apparent growth of conversion to Judaism as the rationale behind them. 'The Romans disliked the Jews because they were afraid of them, and they were afraid of them because of their growing appeal to Roman society' (pp. 192–93). This is a rather selective view of Roman history, while Tiberius and Claudius singled out the Jews of Rome for particularly heavy-handed treatment, Augustus gave them a number of privileges, and second- and third-century emperors clearly allowed them to flourish. Roman emperors did not always feel hostility or fear. The Jews of the Roman Empire, in the time of Augustus and again in the late second and third centuries C.E., were in many respects a privileged group under Roman law.
A concluding section entitled 'Anti-Semitism' discusses Langmuir's theory of anti-Semitism and finds it inadequate for the ancient world. Schäfer has already shown that Judeophobia is a much more satisfactory term, because of the emphasis he sees on fear of the Jews. Jewish 'separateness' (or misanthropy, from the Graeco-Roman perspective) was not the real reason for anti-Semitism, and neither a functionalist nor a substantalist explanation is satisfactory. Exactly what explanation Schäfer does endorse is not particularly clear at this point, although he has earlier indicated his support for a middle way between the two '-isms'.

The evidence used by Schäfer has already been studied very thoroughly by others. He is able to offer new interpretations at times, but more often provides a synthesis of previous views. The recurrent theme of Egypt as the fons et origo of Judeophobia is interesting if not entirely convincing, largely leaving out as it does the strong anti-Egyptian bias of much elite Greek and Roman thought; elite comments about Egyptians are probably no more to be taken at face value than elite comments about Jews. The book tends to present a rather bleak picture of the situation of the Jews in the Diaspora, one which is certainly justified for the Jews of Elephantine and of Roman Alexandria, but perhaps less so for the Jews of, for example, imperial Rome or Asia Minor. Judeophobic literature was widely produced, but how widely it was taken seriously is a much harder question to answer.

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Bohak has two significant new theories to advance in this book. The first is that Joseph and Aseneth is the product of a very specific, identifiable environment: the temple founded by Onias IV in Egypt in the mid-second century B.C.E. The second, implicit in the title, is that the temple was not situated at Tell el-Yehoudieh in the southern Nile Delta, as has been supposed since the nineteenth-century excavations there, but at Heliopolis. The second theory is essential for the first, since it is only by locating the temple at Heliopolis that Bohak can connect Joseph and Aseneth to it.

Bohak argues (p. 26) that Onias IV and his followers did not just settle in one village but across a number of sites in the Heliopolite nome. The Jewish tombstones from Tell el-Yehoudieh show the existence of one settlement; those from Demerdash near Heliopolis show another. Many Jewish tombstones not found in situ have been assumed to originate from Tell el-Yehoudieh, but in Bohak's reconstruction of a whole area of Jewish communities, the stones might come from any of them. This helps to explain how Abramos in JIGRE 39 = CPJ ii 1530a (a stone of unknown provenance) could be 'honoured by holding a city magistracy in two places'.

The assumption that the temple was at Tell el-Yehoudieh depends, apart from the tombstones, on the excavations of Flinders Petrie and the words of Josephus; other sources only use terms like 'Temple of Onias' and 'Land of Onias', without geographical details. Bohak is rightly dismissive (p. 28) of Petrie's claims to have found the remains of the temple there. Josephus 'quotes' correspondence between Onias and Ptolemy VI in Ant. 13 where the site of the temple is said to be Leontopolis in the Heliopolite nome, elsewhere, he only refers to it as being in the Heliopolite nome. Bohak dismisses the correspondence as 'obvious forgeries, aimed at undermining the legitimacy of Onias' temple by portraying it as inherently impure' (p. 27) because it was built on the site of an abandoned pagan temple. However, Josephus makes Onias promise Ptolemy VI that he will build the new temple 'on behalf of (δι'ευθυνήσας) yourself