mentioned. Finally, in his discussion on the oracle of Hag. 2:20–23 (chapter 7) Rose urges caution in assuming that Haggai entertained royal hopes focused on Zerubbabel; he argues that none of the language used of Zerubbabel in this passage is exclusively or implicitly royal, that there is no reference to David, and that Haggai's promise to Zerubbabel is one of reassurance that Zerubbabel will retain his political position at a time of great political upheaval in the empire. However, this begs the question as to precisely what it would mean for Zerubbabel to retain his political position, and why it would seem worthwhile for this man to retain his position as the Persian-appointed governor of Judah. Rose also makes no comment on the use of Zerubbabel's patronym in 2:23; although it is not a reference to David, it could be seen as a reference to the Davidic line of which (according to 1 Chronicles 3) Zerubbabel is a part, especially as it comes at precisely the same point as the language which others have seen as royal.

Overall, then, there is some thorough and interesting discussion with thought-provoking conclusions here. There is also a tendency towards over-analysis and atomisation, as reflected in the structuring of the book and the sometimes superfluous detail. However, the ultimate evaluative criterion, especially in the face of such minute examination of texts, must surely be whether or not the resulting interpretation carries conviction when the text being examined is read as a whole; and I would say that for the most part Rose's interpretation does. It is also gratifying to see that a sensible reading of the text can be produced without recourse to complicated theories of literary additions and editions, so that exegetes such as Rose are dealing with the text as it is rather than the text as they would like it to be.

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Diaspora Judaism in the Hellenistic-Roman era provides one of the best documented, and most significant, examples of cultural entanglement from any period or region in the ancient world. From it sprang new social forms and a range of literature in which Jewish and ‘Greek’ cultural traditions mixed, mingled, intertwined and fused, creating new forms of Jewishness which were of seminal importance both for Judaism itself and for its early Roman offshoot, Christianity. John Collins has played a leading role in bringing this phenomenon to the attention of English-speaking scholars, making accessible to a wide readership both his own pioneering work on relevant texts (e.g. the Sibylline Oracles) and the latest scholarship on most of the texts, whole or fragmentary, which were composed in the Diaspora during this period. The first edition of this book, published by Crossroad in 1986, provided an entrée into this literature in far more palatable form than the equivalent portions of the new Schürer, and has thus served for many years as an authoritative guide to this terrain. Scholars and students who have benefited immensely from this work will thus be delighted to see it re-emerge in a second edition.

Since 1986 the scholarly field of the ancient Jewish Diaspora has undergone more than the usual degree of environmental change. Fresh archaeological discoveries from Diaspora sites and—more importantly—new historical and intellectual paradigms have fostered a radical reconsideration of numerous topics, including synagogues, ‘God fearers’, mission, apologetics, anti-Judaism, even Jewish identity itself. At the same time, long-familiar authors (e.g. Philo and Josephus) have attracted newly focused attention, lesser known texts (e.g. *Joseph and Aseneth*) have gained widespread
familiarity (and some revisionist readings), and the previously almost unknown fragmentary texts have been made accessible and comprehensible in new translations and critical editions. As part of this rapidly shifting landscape, two new books have offered surveys and re-readings of Diaspora Judaism which sometimes confirmed but often challenged Collins's judgements: Erich Gruen's *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998) and my *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan* (323 BCE—117 CE) (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1996). To bring his work up to date for this second edition Collins has effected a number of alterations, additions and rebuttals. The question is whether this classic text has been sufficiently adapted to the changes in intellectual climate to remain a landmark for the next generation of scholars.

Coping with the flood of new scholarship on Diaspora Judaism is in itself a major feat. On almost all the multitudinous issues here treated Collins has successfully updated his discussion. Additional notes (now, thankfully, proper footnotes), increased bibliography and the interspersing of new sentences and paragraphs signal an extensive revision process. On some relatively minor topics Collins has changed his mind, for instance that the 'Hecataeus' quoted by Josephus is definitely a Jewish pseudonymous author. On some others he has adjusted his position: there is more nuance, for instance, on the question of whether, or in what sense, some Diaspora literature was 'apologetic'. On many issues, however, Collins has remained unmoved by the fresh swirl of opinions in this field, and he is content to conduct most of his responses to Gruen and myself in additional footnotes. Two significant and valuable extensions have been added: there is closer attention now given to the political history of Jews in Egypt, while a more extensive discussion of 'proselytes' and 'God-fearers' has generated a new chapter. But the exclusion of Philo from the first edition (following a division of labour in a 1980s McMaster project) is here retained, and many will find this an unfortunate lacuna in what is otherwise an almost comprehensive survey of Diaspora Jewish literature. Josephus also gets hardly a mention, although his literary production in Rome at the end of the first century is increasingly recognised as a fine example of precisely those cultural engagements which proved so creative across the Jewish Diaspora.

In general, as a second edition, this volume is the product of minor repairs, considerable redecoration and some limited extensions, but not of significant structural renovation. Crucial questions arise, for instance, concerning the organisation of the work as a whole. Our knowledge of the Diaspora is so patchy, and our surviving literature so disparate in nature, that any survey such as this is bound to face awkward dilemmas of structure and presentation. Collins has chosen to divide his work into two parts. The first, on 'National and Political Identity', surveys Diaspora re-readings of biblical / Jewish history and explores the connections between Egyptian Jewish literature and the political conditions of Egyptian Jews during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The second, on 'Identity through Ethics and Piety', provides a repository for the rest of the Diaspora literature, subdivided into 'The Common Ethic', 'Philosophical Judaism' and 'The Mysteries of God'. The macro-division into these two parts is, however, awkward and unfortunate. Not only does it necessitate taking some literature (e.g. *The Letter of Aristeas*) twice, but also, and more importantly, this arrangement separates two aspects of Jewish identity—the social / political and the moral / religious—which it is crucial to hold together. The identity strategies of the literature which Collins discusses in part two (for instance, *The Wisdom of Solomon* and *4 Maccabees*) cannot be discussed as purely cultural phenomena without reference to the social, civic and political environment in which they were composed and read. If in many cases we cannot confidently place such texts in a political or even a geographical context, the recognition of this lack should encourage greater caution in the assess-
ment of their purposes and roles. On the whole, with the single and partial exception of Egypt, Collins is content here to survey Diaspora literature alone, and one gains little feel from this book of the varied social, economic and political conditions in which Diaspora Jews defined their identities. Fresh archaeological and historical research is opening up many questions about the relations between Diaspora Jews and their neighbours, work-mates and fellow citizens, and what scholarship most needs at this moment is the integration, not the separation, of the historical / social and the literary / ideological facets of Jewish identity-construction.

Such focus on the ideological aspects of Diaspora literature supports Collins's inclination to find different 'strands' of Judaism in the varied emphases of such texts. Since the first edition was written in the wake of E. P. Sanders's model of 'covenantal nomism', it made good sense to insist that Diaspora constructions of Jewish identity by no means always fitted this mould, and Collins teased out instead, from the varied literature, national, ethical, philosophical and mystical interpretations of Judaism. There is much here to applaud: the insistence on diversity in Jewish frameworks of thought, the resistance to Sanders's unitary model, and, equally importantly, the refusal to equate these varieties within Jewish thought to different 'Judaisms' as such. The care and balance with which Collins handles these issues is in itself a huge contribution to scholarship. Nonetheless, the separation of these different ‘strands’ is overschematic to a misleading degree, and the distinctions between ‘ethical’, ‘philosophical’ and ‘mystical’ Judaism are clearly artificial (and the third category impossibly fuzzy). If the surviving literature fits these categories at all, it usually spills across from one to another: how could we place Philo on a scheme like this?

Although Collins recognises that his texts overflow these boundaries, the isolation of different ‘strands’ helps to buttress an argument that some texts (e.g. the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides and the Jewish substratum of The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) are concerned merely with ‘ethics’. Silence on some matters (e.g. circumcision, food laws) is here taken to represent ‘a tendency to bypass the distinctive laws of Judaism and concentrate on monotheism and matters of social and sexual morality’ (p. 184). Since, even in sexual matters, some commonality can be traced between the ethical values here espoused and the high ideals of those Collins labels ‘enlightened’ (p. 157) or ‘sophisticated’ (p. 193) Greeks, he regards these texts as representative of a ‘universalistic’ impulse which ‘endeavors to find common ground between Athens and Jerusalem’ (p. 275). This is an urge specifically acclaimed in the epilogue as a ‘noble effort’ and ‘worthy goal’ (p. 275).

This interpretative strategy is well-argued and fits long-established antitheses between ‘particularism’ and ‘universalism’, but on closer inspection it appears highly problematic. In the first place, much depends here on an argument e silentio: that, because Pseudo-Phocylides does not mention sabbaths or food laws he deliberately plays down these Jewish customs. But we know, as Collins admits, precisely nothing about the original social context and function of this mysterious text, and any conclusions about its purpose are correspondingly perilous. In many texts Philo, too, is silent about these laws, but we know from elsewhere that he valued them extremely highly. Secondly, our judgements about what constituted ‘the distinctive laws of Judaism’ may not correspond to local perceptions of ethnic identity and their specific definitions of pertinent boundaries; yet these alone have the right to define what counts in this matter. Although Collins's introduction now makes reference to current debate on ethnicity, there is no discernible change in the structures of his thought on this matter. Yet ‘ethnic identity’, the very topic of this book, has become a hugely complex and controversial topic since F. Barth's seminal work, and current work on the construction of social identity is crucial to the understanding of Diaspora Judaism. Thus Collins's detection of ‘common ground’ with ‘enlightened’ Greeks (the loaded term is never jus-
tified) may say much more about our perceptions of Jews’ relations with their cultural environment than about their self-definition and self-understanding: it is possible to share almost an entire value system with one’s neighbours and still think oneself highly distinct. Thirdly, Collins’s preference for ‘universalism’ over ‘particularism’ represents an interpretative stance now rendered increasingly suspect by postmodernism, with its re-evaluation of ‘particularity’. At the very least, one would have to say that intellectual shifts over the last fifteen years should render far more complex and ironic the deployment of these categories in our analysis of Judaism or other minority traditions.

A still more fundamental issue affects the conceptual tools which Collins deploys to interpret the interaction between Jews and their Diaspora environment. Tellingly, his introduction depicts their situation as tension-laden: Gentile perceptions of Judaism are described as predominantly hostile (pp. 6–13) so that Diaspora Jewish literature is to be seen ‘in part as a response to the assessments and polemics of the Gentiles’ (p. 14). This conflictual model becomes Collins’s dominant interpretative grid. Diaspora Judaism is to be viewed in terms of a double ‘dissonance’: the dissonance between outsiders’ negative opinions and Jews’ positive self-evaluation, and the dissonance between their desire to be socially integrated and their own ‘particularist’ traditions. Thus the majority of Jews (those who did not abandon Judaism altogether) ‘sought ways to reduce the dissonance while remaining Jewish but without rejecting Hellenistic culture’ (p. 15).

It is doubtful whether this model, derived from theories of cognitive dissonance, can do justice to the complex social, political and cultural interactions between Jews and their Diaspora environments. Even as a means to analyse Diaspora literature, it places the emphasis one-sidedly on the Jews’ cultural location in the Diaspora as a problem: the authors here to be surveyed are seen as variously attempting to ‘blur differences’, ‘reduce dissonance’, ‘downplay Jewish distinctiveness’ or ‘strike a balance’ with Hellenistic culture. Collins is by no means alone in adopting this perspective, and has refined it with more detail and sophistication than his predecessors, but it suffers from two weaknesses which more recent work on the Jewish Diaspora (and diasporas in general) could help us overcome.

1. In this model, Diaspora Judaism is analysed as a cultural tradition in reactive and defensive mode, perpetually overcoming problems and surmounting ‘dissonance’. Its literature is thus analysed with repeated reference to its ‘apologetic’ tendencies—whether externally or internally directed—and its cultural dialogues are presented as the solution of historical, moral or intellectual problems. Collins notes Gruen’s full-frontal assault on this construal of Diaspora Judaism, but has not taken it with the seriousness it deserves. Although Gruen may have exaggerated elements of humour in the Diaspora literature, and may have minimised those elements of ‘apologetic’ sometimes present within it, he has placed in question the whole reactive thesis which Collins here sustains and has portrayed Diaspora literature as so confident, so unreflective on ‘problems’ with Gentiles, so creative and self-assured, that a ‘dissonance’ problematic seems entirely the wrong analytical framework. A better model, I would urge, and one much used in analyses of other ‘diaspora’ communities, is that of Jews as ‘cultural negotiators’. Here the emphasis lies on the positive strategies of Diaspora Jews who sought not just, or even primarily, to ‘overcome’ problems, but to carve out a social and cultural future for their own community, creatively using, as well as refusing, elements of their cultural environment. In this model, Jews are not victims reacting to a hegemonic Hellenistic culture, but are themselves empowered, through selective conformity to that culture, to define and sustain themselves. Recent ‘post-colonial’ theory has much light to shed on this phenomenon, illuminating those processes of ‘transculturation’ and ‘resistant adaptation’ by which minority or subordinated cultural groups employ the cultural tools of the dominant culture precisely to boost and
reconfirm the validity of their own traditions. In this light we may view Diaspora literature less as an attempt to ‘build bridges into Hellenistic culture’ or to ‘find common ground’, as the creative redeployment of Hellenistic genres, forms and motifs in the forging of a new Jewish identity, negotiated with the confidence of those who had mastered Hellenistic culture sufficiently to utilise what could best serve the interests of the Jewish community.

2. In viewing Diaspora Jews as ‘striking a balance’ between ‘the Jewish tradition’ and ‘the values of the Hellenistic world’ (pp. 273–74), Collins’s model also reclamps on our minds an essentialised distinction between ‘Judaism’ and ‘Hellenism’ which we should rather strive to overcome. ‘Essential to the self-understanding of Diaspora Judaism’, writes Collins, was ‘the attempt to discriminate between those aspects of Hellenistic culture that were acceptable to Judaism and those that were not’ (p. 157). But was there a clearly bounded cultural entity called ‘Judaism’ to which various aspects of Hellenistic culture could be added, or was ‘Judaism’ itself (and, for that matter, ‘Hellenism’) in continual cultural flux, and thus creatively adopting different forms and expressions of itself? The concept of ‘hybridity’, developed in post-colonial studies, may be of benefit here. In the mixing of indigenous and dominant cultures, we should not assess the resulting cultural cross-breeds by criteria of ‘authenticity’, but expect both cultures to be transformed in continuing, and never static, processes of self-reinvention. The crucial questions here are not genetic (what element is taken from what tradition?) but strategic: whose interests are being served and at what cost to whom? In this light it is unhelpful to speak of ‘striking balances’, as if some proportional calculus is to be applied (a bit of Judaism and a bit of Hellenism, in varying degrees). Even highly acculturated literature, which may seem to have submitted entirely to the patterns and expressions of the ‘dominant’ culture, can be subtly or overtly subversive in intent. With this perspective Collins might have been less inclined to treat, for instance, the use of the *agon* motif in 4 Maccabees as an attempt to ‘effect a rapprochement with Hellenistic culture’ (p. 208). Taking into account the strategy and stance of the work as a whole, this looks more like the usurpation of a Hellenistic motif precisely to counter the hegemonic claims of a ‘universalising’ culture. We should expect many such subtleties and ironies in literature so creatively and confidently engaged in cultural self-definition.

Collins’s mastery of the range of material treated in this book is awesome, and his close engagement with these Diaspora texts and their cultural meaning is a model for all. Minor Diaspora authors who have long been neglected, or even generally unknown, are here again brought to the attention of the scholarly world in a way that should ensure their recognition in all future debates about Second Temple Judaism. Nonetheless, since this second edition operates within the intellectual mould of the first, it may begin to look increasingly outdated as Diaspora scholarship explores new conceptual paths. Students and scholars will be immensely grateful for this guide, which will play a central role in future discussion of the Diaspora, but they should not expect here a fully rounded analysis of Jewish self-definition in the Diaspora, and they may want to look elsewhere for the conceptual tools which will enable us to perceive better what was going on in the processes of creative cultural refashioning we call ‘Hellenistic Judaism’.

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