from Jerusalem until their victorious return to the holy city. In my view, this statement buries once and for all the rendering of meholelot as dancing girls. The fact that in IQM 12:15 and 19:7 we encounter women shouting with joy does not diminish the strength of the refutation because these ‘daughters of my people’ are supposed to perform their singing in Jerusalem itself and not on the battlefield.

Simultaneously with Zimmermann’s volume the same publishing house issued a collection of twelve essays on messianism edited by Charlesworth and his colleagues. Three of these lectures were first presented at the seminars of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas (SNTS) held in 1995 and 1996. Four more are revised versions of earlier published articles and the rest are fresh publications. These essays clothe Zimmermann’s texts with interpretative apparel. There are eight general surveys, three of them by Charlesworth and one each by Lichtenberger, Oegema, Ferdinand Dexinger and John J. Collins, and M. G. Abegg with C. A. Evans. Three articles discuss special documents (4Q369 by Evans, 4Q252 by Oegema and 4Q246 by J. Zimmermann). A bibliography of Qumran messianism compiled by Abegg, Evans and Oegema is also appended to the volume.

The three collections of lectures delivered at learned congresses which have been listed above all contain significant contributions to the study of the Scrolls mostly by well known experts. To review each of them would take up more space than a journal can afford. Suffice it to state that Qumran between the Old and New Testament in- cludes the papers read at a Scandinavian conference on the Scrolls at Schaeffergarden in Denmark in 1995. All but one of the essays which make up Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls originated in a conference at Trinity West University in British Columbia in Canada in 1999. As for The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery, it is a monumental compendium containing papers from everybody who is somebody in Qumran research. They deal with the biblical and non-biblical Qumran texts, Qumran history, archaeology and language, texts from neighbouring sites, dating, restoration and preservation of the manuscripts, varying perspectives, and finally the papers read at the final session on the illuminated plateau of Qumran with the thermometer indicating 40 degrees Celsius at night. The music specially composed for the occasion was loud enough to wake up the dead.

GEZA VERMES


This collection of articles by Tessa Rajak will be welcomed by scholars in the field of Hellenistic history and classical studies, and not just by scholars who deal with ancient Judaism. The collection contains four parts embracing many fields of scholarship. Here I will mention some of the articles in this rich collection. Part One deals with the ‘Greeks and Jews’ and has important contributions on Hasmonean kingship and the martyr’s portrait in Jewish-Greek literature, as well as Judaism and Hellenism revisited; the latter has not been previously published. Part Two is devoted entirely to Josephus and complements Rajak’s book on Josephus (Josephus: The Historian and his Society). In this section she deals with Agrippa II’s speech, ethnic identities in Josephus (new article), Josephus and Justus of Tiberias, Josephus and the Essenes, etc. Part Three deals with the Jewish diaspora and Jewish epigraphy. Here too Rajak introduces an article not published before: ‘Jews, Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Sardis: Models of Interaction’. Part Four is an epilogue that deals inter alia with Jews
and Greeks, examining the invention and exploitation of polarities in the nineteenth century.

Rajak is at present one of the leading scholars in the field of Hellenistic Judaism and related subjects. Although we have here a collection of articles that were written over a period of twenty years, there are common links in the book and a remarkable coherence throughout. Rajak is interested in the cultural history of the Jews and shows in different ways how an interaction existed between them and their fellow gentiles all over the empire. Her formulation of the leading theme in the book is important and should be quoted here: ‘there is a thematic progression which may have its own interest, from historiographical and cultural concerns to more sociologically based questions about group behaviour, and from a preoccupation with the impact on the Jews of Greek, or rather of Greco-Roman, thought’ (preface, p. viii). Rajak deals with this problem with great care, and throughout this book is not tempted to jump to hasty conclusions.

It is significant that she opens this collection with a new article which is also an introduction to the whole volume (namely, the problem of Judaism and hellenism), and that she completes the volume with a fairly new article from 1999 concerning the polarity of Judaism and hellenism in nineteenth-century thought.

The great merit of Rajak’s assembled articles is that she deals with central problems that interest historians in general. For instance, the issue of cultural syncretism, which receives great attention in some of the articles, is dealt with in a balanced manner. She is not the least biased concerning the difficult issue of syncretism of hellenism and Judaism, and very wisely says in the opening article: ‘And so, if the debate about the Hellenization of the Jews has seemed inconclusive, this, I would further suggest, is because both sides are right in their own terms’ (p. 5). The problem of the hellenization of Judaism is intertwined in many of the articles. For instance in chapter 4, when she deals with the Hasmonean rulers and the uses of hellenism, she claims: ‘It will be clear enough from our review that, during a century of Hasmonean activity, the leaders’ relation to Hellenism did not remain constant; nor, of course, did the forms of Greek culture around them. But for our purposes, the development matters less than the pattern, and that is present already in the careers of the early leaders’ (p. 79). Rajak examines every pattern and situation, but her problem remains, as for all of us, that the literary sources are scarce and biased and there is very little chance to cross-examine them with the help of external ‘objective’ sources.

Another consideration of Rajak’s which reappears in many of her articles is that of historiography. In particular, in her article ‘Sense of History’ (chapter 2) she sets the Jewish sense of the past in the intertestamental period in the right proportions. She says correctly that one should discern different branches of history such as the one which rewrites the canon; an interesting phenomenon in itself since we are dealing with a religious canon, but there is nevertheless a tremendous effort already in antiquity to embellish it. Another branch which she elaborates upon is Greco-hellenistic Jewish historiography. She is right to argue that in spite of the fact that our evidence is fragmentary, one can show that there existed a school that produced this kind of literature (against the skepticism of Martin Goodman) (chapter 2). And there is Josephus to whom she devoted some articles in Part Two. Rajak has the ability to tackle problems in Josephus which shed light on so many other fields of knowledge concerning this particular period. A case in point is her (new) article on ethnic identities in Josephus, which should be consulted by historians of antiquity for the simple reason that the relatively abundant information of Josephus is indispensable, and he knew much about this question since he lived in the region. Rajak attempts to define ethnic groups that appear in Josephus’ writings and comes to interesting conclusions such as: ‘while Greeks were often opponents, the Jewish society of Palestine in the late second Temple
period was less disturbed by the lure of Greek culture than it had been at the dawn of Hellenism. One reason for this may lie precisely in the poor relations between Greeks and Jews in the surrounding cities: those so-called Greeks . . . may have put Hellenism itself in bad odour for Jews’ (p. 145). Another article concerning Josephus deals with the Essenes in Josephus (written originally in 1994). She makes the point that the excursus about the Essenes in the Jewish War was ‘substantially the authors’ own, rather than a predecessor’s’ (p. 238). But she also argues that the description of the Essenes is ‘quite sophisticated, conceived in terms of certain categories taken from Greek political thought into ethnographic analysis’ (p. 238). Her article is well argued and enriches W. Bauer’s famous article in RE of 1924. But she tends, I believe, to overlook the situation on the ground, corroborated by the archaeological and literary evidence from Qumran itself. The description of Josephus in Jewish War concerning the Essenes (and I would imagine that she agrees with most scholars that this description refers to the Essenes who lived in Qumran and not to a different entity), reflects the real life of this unique group. This means that Josephus’ description is not just a collection of Greek philosophical topos, but reflects some sort of reality. For instance, for the influence of the hellenistic utopian way of living and the Essenes one can consult Harvard Theological Review 72 (1979), pp. 207–22.

Rajak, unlike some other scholars in the field of Second Temple Judaism, is well aware of an extremely important problem for historians who wish to see every piece of written information coming from antiquity as genuine, namely the problem of transmission. This comes to the fore in some of her articles, to mention here only two. First, when dealing with Jewish-Hellenistic literature, Rajak mentions the problem of its transmission through Christian authors, who write much later than the dates of the original compositions. But her observations are perhaps too optimistic (as were my own in the past) concerning the cautious use of fragments of Jewish Hellenistic authors. One has to say bluntly that the Church Fathers, even when they ‘quote’ classical sources, cannot always free themselves from a heavy agenda. Even their random selection from the sources is in some instances quite problematic for people who want to read the original hellenistic literature (see the cases of Eupolemus, Ezekiel, Artapanus, etc.). A second example is that of Photius and Justus. It should be said clearly that Photius should not be trusted at all since his summaries are very sloppy and have a very specific purpose (cf. Byzantion 56 (1986), pp. 196–206). Rajak’s articles on Justus are extremely useful for scholars who are interested in a ‘rationalistic’ form of historiography and Josephus’ use of sources.

Another aspect that Rajak tackles quite elaborately is Jewish hellenistic political thought. It is obvious to the reader that she is at home in the classics and that she deals with this issue against the backdrop of Classical political thinkers such as Plato and Aristotle. Here I will mention in particular two of her articles—one on martyrs and the other on Jewish thought emerging from the Contra Apionem of Josephus.

Chapter 6 deals with Jewish martyrs. Here Rajak covers a fashionable topic that sheds light on Jewish thought (not just ancient) in general. She comes to the conclusion that ‘in the Judaism of the Greco-Roman period, representations of martyrs and martyrdom served to encapsulate statements about national identity, to define the nation’s relation to outsiders and to explore potential crises’ (pp. 129–30). Rajak is right, and especially her use of ‘encapsulate’ justifies the scarce use of martyrdom in Judaism of the Second Temple Period. As she herself shows convincingly, the stories to be found in Jewish sources are amazingly few within a long span of time. Hence this device of martyrdom (both real and as told in the literature) did not take up too much room in the folklore of Jews. Rajak is absolutely right in her claim that in Christianity martyrdom had a much more important place serving as a faith-propagation device (p. 130), and, I would add, also as a real manifestation in the public sphere of
the existence of a Christian network. She herself says on page 101: ‘to contribute to
enquiry into the connection between Judaism and Christianity is not my immediate
purpose here.’ It is to be hoped that she will pursue this topic in the future since we
are interested in hearing her views on this intriguing topic.

Her article (chapter 11) on political thought in Josephus’ Contra Apionem comple-
ments her contribution on Jewish political thought in the Cambridge History of Polit-
ical Thought which appeared in 2000. Rajak, as I argued in the beginning, shows again
that she tackles the most central and interesting issues in the field. Her discussions
on liberty, politeia, theocracy, law, the masses versus aristocrats, and the omnipotence
of God, are important for scholars interested in ancient political thought and related
fields. The fact that Jews at that time were aware of such issues can be seen as a result
of the direct influence of the Hellenistic way of thought.

In this collection of papers Rajak has done a masterful job. Her work should be
consulted not only by ancient historians, but also by scholars interested in the histori-
cal dimensions of the upcoming field of cultural studies.

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GERARD P. LUTTIKHUIZEN (ed.), The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of
the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions (Themes in Biblical Narrative,
pp. $67.00. ISBN 9-00411671-0.

The seminal creation narratives of Genesis 1–3 were the subject of the 1999 Con-
ference of the Jewish and Christian Traditions Group of the Faculty of Theology and
Religious Studies in the University of Groningen. The papers given then are pub-
lished here. The topics naturally range widely according to the contributors’ areas of
expertise (with some overlap); as is becoming common (and welcome), the spectrum
includes ‘interdisciplinary’ contributions from outside theology and religious studies
narrowly defined.

The first two papers examine the biblical stories in relation to other ancient creation
traditions, both Ancient Near Eastern and Greek (Ed Noort and J. M. Bremmer). Early
Jewish interpretations in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (especially Tobit,
Jubilees, 2 Enoch and the Sibylline Oracles) and in Philo are explored by J. van Ruiten
and A. van den Hoek respectively. Rabbinic use of the material is traced by G. Teugels
(‘The Creation of the Human in Rabbinic Interpretation’), and by W. J. van Bekkum
(‘Eve and the Matriarchs: Aspects of Woman Typology’). Christian tradition is repre-
sented by two papers: L. J. Litaert Peerbolte discusses the crux in 1 Corinthians 11:2–
16 (‘because of the angels’ is linked with stories about the Fall of the Watchers and
with Gen. 6:2); and H. S. Benjamins discusses various ways in which patristic authors
tackle the tensions between a positive attitude to marriage in Gen. 1:27–28 and 2:23–
24 and their preference for ascetic celibacy (‘Keeping Marriage out of Paradise’, a very
interesting discussion, though there is a misunderstanding on p. 98 of Theophilus of
Antioch II, 28, who does not say that Eve was created only after the expulsion from
Eden). G. P. Luttikhuizen concludes the coverage of the early traditions with a paper
on the transformation of the biblical story in the early Gnostic Apocryphon of John.

The book ends with a ‘fast forward’ to three very different but equally stimulat-
ating contemporary explorations of the theme. H. Wilcox has an illuminating, sen-
tive and beautifully written appreciation of the Adam and Eve material in Milton’s
‘Paradise Lost’. She demonstrates Milton’s ability to empathise with the waking con-
sciousness of Adam and especially (and surprisingly) of Eve. P. E. Jongsma-Tieleman