simplification. He has often omitted to indicate by typographical means letters missing from the manuscripts, or words introduced conjecturally by the earlier editors. His own square brackets, when they appear at all, can designate either type of reconstruction. As a result, the reader is bound to remain uncertain whether the text facing him is that of the papyri, or one that the present editor thinks the manuscripts must have contained. For example in En. 98: 5 Bonner’s transcription of the Chester Beatty papyrus reads (The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek, 1937, p. 36; see also F. G. Kenyon, The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyrus VIII, 1941, f. 8r): αλ [ . . . ] εργα. His reconstructed text is as follows: δλ[λα δι-]α τα εργα. Professor Black, as though nothing were missing, substitutes (p. 38): δλλα δια τα εργα.

The material edited by A.-M. Denis is disparate to the extreme. Besides brief patristic quotations from the Assumption of Moses, Martyrdom of Isaiah, Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Ezra, etc., it contains also a substantial section of the Greek Jubilees (pp. 70–102), the treatment of which, however, has been shown by J. T. Milik to leave much to be desired (cf. Revue Biblique 78 (1971), pp. 545–57). The Jewishness of some of the further texts is doubtful. In connection with the 7th Epistle of Heraclitus, J. Strugnell and H. Attridge have remarked on the absence of any reference by Denis to a second century A.D. papyrus (published in 1959), the editor of which argues that the letter, far from being one of the Pseudepigrapha, is in fact a Cynic diatribe (cf. Harvard Theological Review 64 (1971), pp. 411–13). The final drawback of this paper-bound volume intended, no doubt, as a text-book, is that its price (cca £12) puts it beyond the reach of most students, and even a fair number of teachers.

G. VERMES


Professor Yigael Yadin has repeated, with striking success, the felicitous combination he made in “Masada”: he interweaves the story of an archaeological treasure-hunt with an account of the historical background, and a vigorous, precise but never excessively technical explanation of the significance of the finds and the state of research on them. The book is neither to be spurned by scholars, nor feared by amateurs. Perhaps the title is a misnomer: this is the story not of the man, Bar-Kokhba, but of a group of discoveries made in the Judean Desert caves (mainly in Nahal Ḥever), by teams of Israeli archaeologists during 1960 and 1961. The caves had clearly been a refuge and a stronghold in different times of trouble, but the most remarkable collection of finds is the property of men and women who were involved in the Second Jewish War.

The historical preamble about the revolt is a helpful survey of the literary evidence, but tends to make our ignorance before the recent finds look even greater than it really was. The sources are left to speak for themselves, but, had Yadin been prepared to make a few judgements, the picture would not have appeared quite so hopeless. Thus, the Midrashic story that Hadrian had at one time been going to rebuild the Jewish Temple surely reflects nothing more than Jewish hopes and expectations. Yadin does not concern himself with investigation at this point, but he should not, at any rate, have said that Cassius Dio’s cause for the revolt is “contra-dicted” by other historians. And, while the relevant parts of Dio do, as he states, survive only in Xiphilinus’ Epitome, it is probable that Xiphilinus did not
abbreviate Dio's account of the Jewish revolt, but gave it in full, since it was of interest to Christians: the account is quite long enough as it stands, in relation to the scope of Dio's work. And Dio's is a good account; it could have been made clearer how much more valuable it is than the highly suspect *Historia Augusta*, which embodies the life of Hadrian by "Spartianus".

The rest of the book is entirely captivating. The narrative follows, in general, the order of discovery, interspersing the account (often hair-raising) of how different groups of finds were made, with description and analysis of those finds. For the objects other than documents, there is a close dependence on the major publication of 1963; many excellent illustrations are selected from there. The second volume, to contain the documents, has not yet appeared; but in general Yadin follows the preliminary reports in *Israel Exploration Journal* 1961 and 1962 for his three chapters on the documents. However, he gives us tantalising glimpses of what is yet to be revealed. The documents about which there is new information are all Greek legal texts from Babata's archive. There is a fuller version of the arrangement suggested by this Jewish woman to the two guardians of her son: the security offered by her, the interest she was to pay (1½ Denarii in a hundred—presumably per month) and the quaint concluding hope: (in Yadin's translation) "in order that thereby my son may be brilliantly saved, thanks to the most happy times of Julius Julianus the governor". We learn that the document of December 2, 127 C.E. is a census return which Babata made to the "district commander", categorising her property in detail and concluding with an oath by the Tyche of Caesar: from other documents it appears that her return was not complete! We discover that, as well as the Aramaic Ketubah, there is a marriage contract in Greek, belonging to Babata's second husband's daughter, made "according to Greek law", compare the re-marriage contract in de Vaux, Milik, Benoît, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II* (1961), no. 115, p. 243. We hear also of a series of summonses and counter-summonses on behalf of litigants, issued by the clerk and demanding appearance before the Roman governor, Haterius Nepos.

It is perhaps not too early to ask how Yadin's discoveries are affecting our understanding of the development and nature of the Hadrianic revolt. The general impression derived from Dio, that much of the rebellion was a guerrilla war, is confirmed. Even more exact is, curiously, Jerome's remark (*On Isaiah II*, 15): "and the citizens of Judaea came to such distress that they, together with their wives, their children, their gold and their silver, in which they trusted, remained in underground tunnels and deepest caves". The case of Babata is one example of how this came about. She lived in the *provinciac Arabiæ*, and seems to have been litigating from there until 131 C.E. Then she went to live in En-Gedi, where she had property and connections. A likely hypothesis is that it was dangerous for Jews to remain in foreign territory once the revolt was in progress. En-Gedi taken, she would, along with others, and with her treasured possessions and well-ordered papers, have fled to the caves. A Roman camp is to be seen immediately above the "Cave of the Letters", as above the "Cave of Horrors". In the "Cave of Horrors" orderly graves suggest that the besieged were simply left to die gradually of starvation. From Bar-Kosiba's urgent missives it is clear that securing supplies was, from early on, a major problem for the Jews (see also Dio).

An interesting, but perhaps unanswerable, question, is to what extent Babata and her associates were "revolutionaries" rather than simply refugees. In the Bar-Kosiba letters, we find evidence both of co-operation with the rebel authorities and of recalcitrance on the part of wealthy Jews. What is entirely clear, is that, although
land was controlled by Bar Kosiba’s administration and had to be leased from his representatives, there were still frequent cases of immediate sub-letting and other profit-making transactions. This is a surprising feature in a revolt in which the participants referred to one another as “brothers”. Perhaps Bar-Kosiba had learnt the lesson of the First Jewish War that the people must on no account be divided. There would, in fact, be more cause for the wealthy to revolt with the rest of the people in 131: (1) the extreme measures planned by Hadrian; (2) all would have suffered from the harsh taxation to which Judaea appears to have been subjected after 70 (cf. Appian, *Syriaca* 50).

The participation of non-Jews in the revolt is asserted by Dio, but there is no particular need to think, as Yadin does, that the man whose name was “So . . . 10s” (?) and who wrote a Greek letter for Bar-Kosiba, saying that there was nobody about who knew Hebrew (or Aramaic), was a Gentile (pp. 131–2).

The character of the revolt is still far from clear. In some respects, we could not wish for better sources than those found in the desert of Judaea. But it is, of course, the fate of one region only which is exposed. For our understanding of Bar-Kosiba’s administration, this may not be so serious: what happened at and around En-Gedi can be assumed to have been typical. But our picture of the events of the war will still contain many obscurities. What happened in Jerusalem? Why were Roman losses so heavy?

It should not be forgotten that many specific branches of scholarship have been and will continue to be served by the documents. Of the striking contributions to Talmudic studies, a few may be mentioned: the Aramaic deed (document no. 6 in *Isr. Expl. Journ.*, 1962), our only surviving Mishnaic deed of gift; Babata’s Ketubah, which seems on the whole to conform to the Jerusalem type (*m*Ket. 4: 11–2); the elucidation of the term Qesharim (*m*Shab. 6:9 and *b*Shab. 66b) through the discovery of a small child’s tunic with parts of it tied up into small bags of herbs spices etc.; the finding of wool dyed with indigo, illustrates the difficulty, implied in *b*Men. 42 b, in distinguishing between genuine and fake *t*khelath (Tyrian purple, the colour of the zizith).

*Bar-Kokhba* is written in a spirit of fervent and confessed nationalism. This is no more than a turning of the tables; for the Hadrianic revolt has rarely been treated dispassionately or even fairly, and the reaction by the new Israeli historiography is easy to understand.

Tessa Rajak

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The golden lampstand which stood in the sanctuary in Jerusalem has given rise to a considerable literature in recent years. Its origin, its design and, more especially, its ultimate fate, have been the object of a good deal of discussion, as has its popularity as a Jewish symbol. *The Tree of Life* reviews all these topics. The text is brief (some 45 pages), but the copious notes include references to most of the relevant literature, and there are over 230 photographic illustrations. Yarden explores successively the history of the menorah, its form and style, its “descendants” (principally the symbolic representations), its antecedents, and a wide range of symbolic interpretations. His treatment throughout is descriptive rather than critical, with a