item 3800 'Greek inscriptions on a capital' should also at least note the unrecorded Arabic here, and likewise in 3801 more could be said about this.

Finally, in terms of my own interests, the wealth of Christian women's names in this volume will surely lead to further discussion. For example, in Ben Shemen in 2687, there is an early fourth-century (or perhaps late third century) *tabula ansata* in a tomb, with a group of men and women (Ioezer, Theoctista, Hygienon the builder and Pompylia) designated as *therapontes*, 'ministers' of Christ (p. 63). *Therapontes* is often a word associated with cultic ministry and, in Christian usage, priests (see pp. 64–5). There are nuns, anchorites or female pilgrims buried in the Choziba area, in a burial cave east of the monastery of St Georgius in the Wadi Kelt: Macaria, Eutych[ia], Iuliana, Maria Tharsicia, Lady Kor[nelia] and the deacon (*diak*[*onos*]) Anastasia (2958, 2870, 2872, 2894, 2958, 3032, 3057). Interestingly, the Bethlehem inscriptions on the tomb of Paula, written by Jerome, are provided on the basis of what he himself recorded (3263), though they have not been found in modern times. This shows a principle of the study, to record inscriptions even when they cannot now be verified by observation.

Overall, this is a very rich collection that will be of great use for years to come, and many scholars of early Christian history in Palestine will find perusal of its pages richly rewarding.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

JOAN E. TAYLOR

Representations of angelic beings in early Jewish and in Christian traditions. Edited by Amsalu Tefera and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe, 544.) Pp. xii + 247 incl. 4 figs. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021. €79. 978 3 16 159760 2

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In one essay from this very fine conference volume, Matthias Hoffmann thoughtfully juxtaposes two pious, traditional prayers, one Christian and one Jewish:

> O Holy Mary, mother mild,
> Look down on me, a little child,
> And when I sleep put near my bed
> The good Saint Joseph at my head…
> Saint Brigid give me blessings sweet,
> Saint Patrick watch beside my feet.

In the name of the Lord, the God of Israel:

> Michael is on my right,
> Gabriel is on my left,
> And Uriel is before me,
> And Raphael is behind me,
> And the presence of God is above my head.

Both prayers are ostensibly monotheistic, and yet each one invokes its own protective phalanx of, well, not 'gods' but … what? Saints in the first instance, angels in the second. In the Christian tradition, some (pre-Christian, Jewish) angels also count as

saints, blurring the boundary between the two categories. Nowhere is this latter dynamic better attested than in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which also famously preserves a number of very important ancient Jewish texts (for example, Jubilees, 1 Enoch) that are non-extant or only partially extant in other ancient languages.

Which brings us to the occasion for the volume here under review, which comprises the proceedings of a conference of the same name convened in 2017 at LMU Munich by Amsalu Tefera and Loren Stuckenbruck, who also edited this volume together. The nine main essays explore angelology in a number of ancient Jewish and Christian texts, especially but not only ones from the Ethiopic tradition. The volume does not attempt to be comprehensive, but it does highlight how extensively ancient Jewish and Christian cosmologies overlapped and how remarkably well this dynamic is preserved in the Ethiopian textual tradition, in particular.

Loreen Maseno's essay stands apart for being more theological than its counterparts. She gives an African women's theological reading of the story of Hagar in the desert in Genesis xvi, suggesting that the angel who meets Hagar is not, as the redactor says, YHWH, but rather El Roi, a different patron god of the Ishmaelites. Eshbal Ratzon explores why the heavenly abode of the luminaries (i.e., the locations of the sun, moon and stars when they are not visible to human eyes) is a prominent theme in Hellenistic-period Jewish texts but not earlier ones. She makes a strong case that many Hebrew Bible texts do in fact know this problem but suppress it due to anxieties about worship being offered to the divine luminaries. Jacques van Ruiten gives a helpful survey of the many classes and roles of angels in the Book of Jubilees. Loren Stuckenbruck analyses a fascinating verbal parallel between 11QBerakhot (11Q14) and Tobit xi.14: a prayer of benediction to all of God's holy angels. This, Stuckenbruck suggests, is a liturgical fragment from a kind of Jewish piety that directed devotion not only to God but also to the angelic host. Matthias Hoffmann turns to 'magical' texts and artefacts: spells, grimoires, bowls, amulets etc, showing what elaborate use these make of angels, both Jewish and Christian (as in the prayers cited at the beginning of this review).

Of the final four essays in the volume, each one explores angelology in a particular lesser-known Ethiopic text. Amsalu Tefera considers the figure of the archangel Uriel in the late medieval *Dərsanä Ura'el* (Homily on Uriel). Tedros Abraha does likewise for the representation of angels in the *Mäs̱ ḥafä Qəddase* (Book of Hallowing), a missal containing most of the essential Gəʿez liturgies, and in the *andəmta* (traditional commentaries) thereon. Dan Levene catalogues the many divine names used in the early modern *Dərsanä Michael* (Homily on Michael) and in a number of Gəʿez amulets that attest parts of that text. Finally, Ralph Lee considers the curious case of the Qumran Book of Giants, which is (so far) not known to be attested in Ethiopic, despite its clear links to the mythology of the Ethiopic Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36). Lee argues that the so-called Ethiopic Giant's Tale from one medieval homily (*Rətuʿa Haymanot*, The Orthodox Faith) might betray a closer connection to the Book of Giants that has hitherto been recognised.

In antiquity, Paula Fredriksen has said, even the monotheists were polytheists. Jews and Christians confessed that God is one, but they were intimately aware of a host of other godlike beings (angels, saints, spirits, giants, demons etc.) whom they hymned, blessed, petitioned, invoked, adjured, loved, feared and mythologised. Tefera and Stuckenbruck and their contributors give us ample evidence of these important forms of piety. Mika Ahuvia's new book (*On my right Michael,*

on my left Gabriel, Oakland, CA 2021) documents the Jewish evidence more thoroughly still. Ancient Jews and Christians may not have called these angelic beings 'gods', but if it walks like a duck, swims like a duck and quacks like a duck …

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH MATTHEW V. NOVENSON

Gentile Christian identity from Cornelius to Constantine. The nations, the parting of the ways and Roman imperial ideology. By Terence L. Donaldson. Pp. xvi + 560. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2020. $75. 978 0 8028 7175 6

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The broad question lingering in the background of this study is how a group that began as a small messianic movement on the fringes of the Roman Empire eventually made its way to the centre of imperial power, displacing traditional Greco-Roman piety with Christianity as the dominant religious culture of the empire. To be clear, Donaldson is not interested in formulating anything like a comprehensive explanation of this improbable development (pp. 16, 33–4). His aim, rather, is to elucidate one important aspect of it. 'Christian success in the empire', Donaldson argues, 'would not have been possible without the emergence and development of a distinctively gentile Christianity' (p. 33).

Understanding the full force of this point requires recognition of the two distinct senses in which this book uses the term 'gentile Christianity'. On one hand, it serves as a sort of analytical shorthand for the bare sociological fact of non-Jewish involvement in what Donaldson calls Christ-groups (see pp. 161–4, cf. p. 312, 'what has traditionally been called "gentile Christianity"'). His point about a distinctively Gentile Christianity, however, alludes more specifically to a particular form of self-identity that developed among some such non-Jews: 'a sense among Christians that they belonged to a distinctive new people drawn from all the nations' (p. 33). As its title suggests, the book's primary concern is this latter question of a self-consciously Gentile Christian identity. Its central focus, accordingly, is 'the term *ethnē* as it was used and understood by Gentile Christians, from the time of the earlier non-Jewish Christ-believers to the emergence of a sense among Gentile Christians that they were a community drawn from, or somehow representative of, "all the nations"' (p. 34).

This dual usage of 'Gentile Christian' reflects both the ambiguity of the Greek term *ethnē* and Donaldson's own historical thesis regarding its developing use among non-Jewish Christ-groups. While sometimes used in its generic sense of 'nations', *ethnē* of course is also frequently used in Jewish texts in a way that is more usefully translated 'Gentiles': an ethnocentric designation, broadly analogous to the Greek notion of *barbaroi*, of the collectivity of those peoples deemed 'not us' from a Jewish perspective (pp. 17–18; further ch. iii). The interesting and insightful question at the heart of this study, accordingly, is how non-Jewish Christ-groups came to actively embrace a Judeo-centric designation of 'others' as a term of self-identity. Finding a crucial shift in this direction beginning with Justin Martyr, Donaldson argues that the Christian adoption of *ethnē* as a term of self-identification was not a straightforward consequence of the Jewish origins of the Jesus movement, but a function more specifically of second-century Christian engagement with the competitive ethnography of the Greco-Roman