Walther Sallaberger examines Sumerian and Old Babylonian oath formulae from a lexical and cultural-historical perspective. In particular, he discusses the question of whether the oaths sworn by deities are due to a different perception of the world than those sworn, e.g., by the king. Sallaberger emphasizes that in all oaths not the religious element, but the affirmation of the statement is at the center. Developments from the religious to the secular can therefore not be deduced directly from the formula types.

Guido Pfeifer deals with clauses to forswear litigation (*Klageverzichtsklauseln*) in Old Babylonian treaties and court records. He points out that the function of the clauses can be only partially understood. As various sources show, the formulas did not automatically lead to a final settlement. Rather, a trial could be resumed despite such a clause. However, since the plaintiff in this case was subject to a penalty, the clauses did have a general preventive function.

Susanne Paulus explores in her second contribution the reasons for the decline of oaths in court trials in favor of ordeals in the Middle Babylonian period. She argues that in contrast to the declaratory oath, the ordeal was always bilateral and thus fairer. While in the case of the oath the judge made a preliminary decision by determining who had to perform it, this was not the case with the ordeal. Through this procedure not only the innocence of the accused but also the guilt of the prosecutor could be established. The elaborate ordeal procedure also had a deterrent effect and led to an increase in extrajudicial settlements.

Elena Devecchi traces the role of the oath in Hittite procedural law. She states that in Hittite court trials both the parties and witnesses could be obliged to swear an oath. However, due to the sketchy situation of the sources, it is not possible to say exactly when the oath was taken during the trial or what consequences it had for its outcome.

Overall, the contributions offer a good overview of the role of the oath and procedural law in the respective cultures and periods. Some articles also present new sources and findings. Particularly notable are the contributions by Kleber and Paulus, which contain editions of previously unpublished texts.

All articles are written by experts in the respective cultures and their legal traditions.

They are distinguished by high academic quality, clear structure, and readability. The combination of general information and new research results allows both specialists and non-specialists to benefit from the volume.

Many non-native speakers may find it a disadvantage that the contributions are written exclusively in German. Summaries in English would certainly have facilitated access and opened up the volume to a broader public. Furthermore, a résumé at the end of the volume, reviewing the major results achieved in the contributions from the perspective of the key questions raised by Heinz Barta in his introductory article would have enriched the volume. Nevertheless, it is a very informative book, for the publication of which the editors are to be thanked.

> BIRGIT CHRISTIANSEN LMU MÜNCHEN

*Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*. Edited by STEPHANIE LYNN BUDIN and JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA. Rewriting Antiquity. London: ROUTLEDGE, 2016. Pp. xxxvi + 1074, illus. \$240.

This volume sets out to correct two biases in recent scholarship about women in antiquity. First, its subject is real women, rather than ideology or the representations of women; thus, it is not about god-desses or male perceptions. Second, it avoids making Greece (especially Athens) and Rome the center of interest. "Antiquity" in the title extends chronologically from the third millennium BCE through late antiquity, with occasional references back to Neolithic and forward to the early Middle Ages. The book is organized ethno-geographically, mostly moving from east to west, with a final segment on the periphery, with sections entitled Mesopotamia (eleven chapters), Egypt (nine chapters, one on Nubia),

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Hittites (three chapters), Cyprus (five chapters), the Levant and Carthage (nine chapters), the Aegean, Bronze Age, and historical (fourteen chapters, seven wholly or mostly on prehistory, six on archaic and classical, one Hellenistic), Etruria and the Italian archipelago (one on Sardinia, eight on Etruria, one on Daunians, and one on Faliscans), seven on Rome, four on the periphery (Iberia, Britain, Scandinavia, and the warrior-women of Scythia and Sarmatia). A coda, by Kathy Gaca, compares ancient and modern martial rape. A helpful index completes the volume.

Each section has its own introduction, with a succinct historical survey, and is then organized by a mixture of chronology, while putting physical evidence (osteological analysis, for example) before more abstract topics like economics. There are very helpful maps, and most of the many illustrations are very valuable, though a few are not sharp enough to enable the reader to judge the relevant issue. While there are cross-references, there is no sustained effort at comparative analysis. Most of the contributions, whether by senior or junior scholars, are of excellent scholarly quality, and the bibliographies are very good.

The range is wide, but Nabateans and Numidians are never mentioned (inevitably, collections like this must depend on who can be recruited). A discussion of women in Punic religion with no mention of the debate about infant sacrifice seems odd. The worst omission is probably Greco-Roman Egypt, since the papyri offer so much more evidence about the lives of non-elite woman than we have for most other places and periods. There are five contributions on the prehistoric Aegean, and only one on the Hellenistic period—and Gillian Ramsey on "Hellenistic Women and Law" is mostly about Hellenistic women's guardianship or independence. Women in Iron Age Israel get two chapters (both by Carol Meyers), and they feature in a chapter on mass deportation, but there is nothing about women in the Second Temple period. The impact of Christianity on women's religious lives is not addressed at all.

The editors want the book to be useful, but they may not have considered its intended audience enough. The print volume weighs almost three kilos. It is too big and too expensive, even as an e-book, to use in teaching. The section on Rome offers an interesting and provocative interpretation of two Roman festivals, but no broader treatment of the religious lives of Roman women, although admittedly it is not hard to find such treatments elsewhere. Instructors in classes on women in antiquity will scan some chapters for their students or assign a few where the library can provide electronic access, and the editors seem to have assumed that the volume will be used this way. This will be a good thing for most users, since they are unlikely to read the whole book. This permits the same material to be covered in more than one chapter—for example, Gurob, the textile workers of the Pylos tablets, the "Story of Wenuman" for Cyprus.

The ideal audience for most of the book would be at least advanced undergraduates, more often graduate students or more experienced scholars, who are already familiar with the general chronology of the ancient world and with the basic methods of interpreting the remains of material culture. Also, while most of the contributions are careful to mark controversial questions and to identify the evidence for their claims, not all do, so instructors will have to be cautious.

As examples of the offerings that might particularly interest the readers of *JAOS*, we discuss a few articles in more detail:

In "Female Sexuality in Mesopotamia," Budin explores Gwendolyn Leick's interesting suggestion that the royal love songs, written in EME.SAL, a particularly "feminine" dialect of Sumerian, may have been written by harem women competing for the king's attention. Other love songs express a woman's desire, but it is unclear whether they represent a true female voice or that of a man projecting onto a woman his own desire.

In "Being Mothers or Acting (Like) Mothers," M. Erica Couto-Ferreira laments that Assyriological studies assume that the goal of a woman's life in antiquity was to bear children, without elaborating further on what motherhood consisted of. The texts themselves present mothers nurturing, loving, and counseling their offspring, even after their child has reached adulthood. This devotion into adulthood is also seen attached to a wet-nurse, indicating that motherhood was not considered to be strictly physiological.

Claudia Suter examines the "Images of Queens, High Priestesses, and Other Elite Women," and concludes that while some women did wield power, it was always in deference to the interests of a man.

The narrative contexts in which royal women appear are episodes of cult festivals or court ceremonies, wherein women display authority only within the established male hierarchy.

In a study of women from a less archaic period, Maria Brosius discusses women in the Neo-Elamite and Persian periods, concentrating on the time between 1000–500 BCE. Artifacts from the period include royal Elamite women in audience scenes with female petitioners and with female servants standing behind with flywhisks. The fact that a woman has a seal and is shown giving an audience (although always to other women) suggests actual authority and control over large amounts of wealth. Female ownership of seals and the concomitant economic power continues into the Achaemenid period. Persepolis Fortification Tablets reveal the huge estates and the wealth that these implied, owned and controlled by royal women.

According to Carol Meyers, Israelite women participated in all aspects of daily life in Iron Age Israel. The family consisted of a senior couple, adult sons and their wives and children, and unmarried daughters, with the occasional non-related person. As the household was largely self-sufficient, the role of each member was vital. Men grew and harvested the crops, women and children tied the grain into sheaves. Women processed the foods into edible commodities. This consisted primarily of grinding the grain into flour. In addition to flour, lentils, chickpeas, and other beans were also dried and ground. Besides food preparation, women washed and spun wool into thread, wove this into cloth, and sewed that into garments. Women also made pots from clay and wove straw into baskets. Outside of the household, archaeology reveals seals and scarabs with women's names, attesting to women in business and legal transactions. Women also seem to have served as professional mourners at funerals and as midwives, perfumists, physicians, and, of course, prostitutes. The major cause of a woman's death, as in all premodern societies, was childbirth, and this was also the case in Iron Age Israel.

Carol Meyers also attempts to discuss women's religious life in Iron Age Israel, but unfortunately must rely solely on the biblical text to do so. She notes that Samson's mother offers a sacrifice (Judges 13:2–24) and that Hannah prays and offers a sacrifice at a central shrine (1 Sam. 1). Both of these texts indicate the importance of sacrifice, and this was likely the case for Iron Age Israel. In addition, festivals were celebrated around the various spring, summer, and autumnal harvests. Religious acts mentioned in the Bible may have applied to later Judeans, rather than those in the Iron Age, however. Circumcision was performed at puberty in Egypt, but when it became a birth rite in Israel is not known. Although they are not mentioned in the biblical text, of course, the archaeology of Iron Age Israel reveals small figurines depicting the Egyptian god Bes, the guardian of new mothers and children, in numerous Israelite households.

Each of the articles in this huge volume presents a distillation of work done on the role and status of women in a particular time and place in antiquity. Particularly welcome given the huge contemporary interest in Women's Studies and in view of the current "Me-Too" movement, the book provides a rich compendium of studies on the history of women and their roles. It will provide a useful resource to those engaging with the issue.

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Rage like an Egyptian: Möglichkeiten eines kognitiv-semantischen Zugangs zum altägyptischen Wortschatz am Beispiel des Wortfelds [Wut]. By INES KÖHLER. Beihefte zur Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur, vol. 18. Hamburg: BUSKE, 2016. Pp. xi + 442. €178.

Die Rezension wertet kritisch die überarbeitete Fassung der Doktorarbeit der Autorin aus, die 2011 an der Freien Universität Berlin angenommen wurde. Die Thematik des Werkes ist der Untersuchung des altägyptischen Wortfeldes "Wut" gewidmet. Das Buch zielt auf einen dezidiert interdisziplinären Ansatz ab, was sich an der Einbeziehung von philosophischen, psycholinguistischen