

not only to a semi-divine ruler, but to any person, which helps to account for the great popularity of the tale(s) of Gilgamesh—in the ancient Near East and in the present day.

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*Daughters of Hecate: Women & Magic in the Ancient World.* Edited by KIMBERLY B. STRATTON and DAYNA S. KALLERES. New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014. Pp. xv + 533. \$39.95 (paper).

The essays in this volume examine the ancient background of the association of women with witchcraft that has contributed to early modern witch-hunts and to a continuing presence in popular culture. It considers the links between women and magic in Roman, Jewish, and late antique culture. The essays are divided into three sections: the first treats literary presentations of magic, the second magical discourse in practice, and the third material culture. Stratton's introduction locates the volume as an intervention more in the scholarship on witchcraft than in the study of antiquity. She points out that while the association of magic with women is frequent in the early modern period, it is not found in the Middle Ages and is not universal even later. Yet, Stratton argues, the scholarship on witchcraft has been influenced by assumptions that it is inherently female.

In the first section, Babette Stanley Spaeth discusses the Greek and the Roman witch, and Kimberly Stratton treats "Magic, Abjection, and Gender in Roman Literature." Both essays are valuable, especially for non-specialists. Spaeth's paper argues that Latin poetry portrays witches as more grotesque and disgusting than Greek literature does. It is good to be reminded that the witches represented in ancient Greek literature are young and beautiful. The physical nastiness of many Latin witches is important for reception. However, if we want to understand the authors themselves, genre and accidents of preservation need to be considered—for example, if the Lydian woman who seems to be giving the speaker a magical treatment for impotence in Hipponax fr. 92 was described in the poem, she was not pretty. Also, Silver Latin generally tends to the baroque, and the extravagantly disgusting Erichtho is typical of Lucan. Stratton uses J. Kristeva's "abjection" to define the way magic in Roman literature threatens the integrity of the body and patriarchal power, and she argues that this abjectness led to the association of women with magic. Stratton's emphasis on how magic violates physical integrity is enlightening, but the abject is not a useful category, since it can cover anything and so defines nothing. Stratton tends to ignore genre, citing erotic magic in Tibullus in a discussion of the threat adultery posed to the Augustan order (p. 163)—but the speaker of elegy is the adulterer and Augustan order is not unequivocally supported.

In "Women as Witches in 1 Enoch and Rabbinic Sources," Rebecca Lesses asks if the view that "women are sorceresses" is the normative view in the rabbinic tradition and concludes it is not. She also asks if this view is connected to earlier traditions in the Bible or in the Book of Enoch. Although rabbinic sources are aware of the tradition that women are witches, Talmudic commentaries state that neither a male nor a female sorcerer shall live, indicating that witchcraft is not the exclusive domain of women. They explain however that the text in Exodus is written in the feminine to teach that "most women are sorceresses" (y. *Sanh.*, 7:19, 25d). Hillel is also quoted as saying, "the more women the more sorcery" (m. *Avot* 2.7), and R. Yosi says, "the daughters of Israel use incense for purposes of magic" (b. *Eruv* 64b). The Palestinian Talmud records a story, moreover, in which eighty witches were crucified by Shimon ben Shetah in Ashkelon in the first century BCE (y. *Sanh.* 6.8, 23c), although the Talmud may have claimed they were witches to exonerate Shimon ben Shetah of the executions. In fact, no specific actions attributed to women in the Talmud are associated with witchcraft. Condemned activities are rather associated with the "ways of the Amorites." Indeed, a medical practitioner called "Em" ("mother") is not associated with either witchcraft or the "ways of the Amorites."

In "Gendering Heavenly Secrets?" Annette Yoshiko Reed objects to the misogynistic view of the Watchers and demands that we not read the Book of Enoch through the lens of later Greek and Egyptian

translations. Not all the manuscripts assert that the fallen angels taught their wives sorcery and magic, nor even that they defiled themselves by intercourse with women. In the Qumran version, the angels taught their wives spells, magic, and sorcery, but also astronomy and medicine. They also taught their sons metal working, mining, weaponry, fashioning of silver and gold jewelry; that is, the necessities of civilization were taught to both men and women. That women as temptresses is emphasized in the Greek translations is perhaps due to the then current understanding of optics in which a viewed object was thought actively to choose physically to send its appearance into the watcher's eyes.

In the second section, Elizabeth Ann Pollard considers the accusations of magic against women that are narrated by Tacitus in the *Annals*. Indebted to Mary Douglas, she shows that these arise in "competitive and unregulated" relationships. This chapter could have been friendlier to non-specialists. Discussions of this kind depend closely on prosopography, and the complicated relationships among the actors in the episodes treated will be hard for outsiders, who will also not have followed the discussion prompted by the publication of the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* in 1996 (F. Graf gives a one-paragraph summary of the events on p. 389).

Dayna Kalleres argues against taking the warnings in patristic literature against elderly, drunken magical healers too literally. While Christians certainly employed such practitioners, and Christian men went to prostitutes who employed charms to retain them, the rhetoric of John Chrysostom and other Christian writers was aimed at turning Christians away from symposium, theater, and other non-Christian cultural practices and making the church the sole source of healing.

Ayse Tuzlak's "The Bishop, the Pope, and the Prophetess: Rival Ritual Experts in Third-Century Cappadocia" is not directly about magic at all. In 256 CE a bishop named Firmilian in a letter to Cyprian of Carthage reported how about twenty years previously, a woman claiming to be a prophet, but actually—in his view—controlled by demons, had attracted followers. She performed baptisms and celebrated the Eucharist. In the wider context, both Firmilian and Cyprian were in conflict with the Bishop of Rome over whether those baptized by heretics or schismatics should be considered baptized if they returned to the Church. Tuzlak argues that Firmilian uses the woman precisely as witches were used, as a mechanism for establishing ritual authority by denying a rival's claim to ritual expertise.

Nicola Denzey Lewis takes up the issue of "Female Theurgists in Late Antiquity," in particular the story of Sosipatra in the late fourth century, a time when the traditional forms of religiosity were being eroded. For Christians, theurgy was sorcery, but for those who were intent on saving civilization by propping up the old gods and cults, theurgy was carefully distinguished from magic. Magic involved manipulation of objects and the casting of spells. Theurgy was a state of grace, a divine gift, permitting its practitioner to perceive spontaneously and passively events at great distances and in the future. Sosipatra as a theurgist is thus presented as a bearer of ancient tradition and meaning, particularly Platonist philosophical teaching, in an era when it had by law to go underground.

Kirsti Barrett Copeland points out that in contrast to medieval tours of Hell, like Dante's *Inferno*, early Christian tours portray both men and women practicing magic, patronizing magicians as clients, and as victims of magical attacks. Thus they exhibit no preconceived association of women with magic. Jewish and early Christian texts rather concentrate on adultery, fornication, and slander, and show little interest in sorcery or magic. The earliest apocalypses, those of Peter and of Paul, are rare among such early texts in their inclusion of sorcerers and both are careful to refer to both men and women. Moreover, the sufferers are not in Hell for conducting sorcery, but for murdering by poison.

In the third section, where the contributors deal with artifacts that unquestionably show some kind of actual magical practice, David Frankfurter seeks to understand women's recourse to erotic spells. Men tended to use erotic spells to attract and extract a woman from the confines of the patriarchal household, whereas women used them to maintain an erotic relationship within marriage and to curse the threatening "other" woman. Frankfurter stresses that magic is about agency, the ability of the powerless to take action on their own behalf. A woman's spells need to be understood against a woman's precarious social position if she be barren or deserted.

Pauline Ripat looks at curse tablets aimed at slave women. She argues that their likeliest authors are wives whose husbands were conducting sexual liaisons with slaves. Since the prevailing ideology expected women to tolerate such affairs, which did not count as adultery, women turned to magic.

While this is possible, the paper dismisses too quickly the possibility that other slaves may have been responsible for these tablets (and the object of desire need not have been the master).

Yaakov Ellman asks whether women were involved in the production of magic bowls and surmises that since women did produce bowls for household use, and did operate as exorcists, and since women's issues were a prevalent concern of the bowls, that women could well have been involved in their production.

Fritz Graf considers accusations that someone who had died prematurely was killed by sorcery, especially when these charges appear on funerary monuments. He makes two significant points. First, although there are many extant records of untimely death, both epigraphic and in literary works, very few claim that the dead person was the victim of magic. Although Greco-Roman belief made such accusations readily available as a mode of explanation, mourners did not often turn to them, and they usually remained at the social margin when they did. Second, the accusations that we do know of are not strongly gendered.

In the final article in this book, AnneMarie Luijendijk discusses a fifth-century CE amulet consisting of several quotations from the Old and New Testaments. The descriptions of the girl's suffering on this amulet indicate that it was likely written to provide healing for malaria, and it included an exorcism to cast out the demon that caused it. Given the careful and trained handwriting and the precise quotations from the biblical text, Luijendijk suggests that the author of the amulet was a priest. This amulet thus presents a paradox in the church's condemning the superstitious use of amulets while at the same time providing them to the sick and desperate.

These essays are of excellent quality and should interest a variety of readers.

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*Saeculum: Gedenkschrift für Heinrich Otten anlässlich seines 100. Geburtstags.* Edited by ANDREAS MÜLLER-KARPE; ELISABETH RIEKEN; and WALTER SOMMERFELD. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, vol. 58. Wiesbaden: HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG, 2015. Pp. xi + 316, illus. €84.

The contents of this memorial volume for Heinrich Otten are varied. Alfonso Archi, in "How the Anitta Text Reached Hattusa," presents more arguments for the early writing of Hittite.

Gary Beckman edits the fragmentary KUB 20.1 and its duplicates, a festival with an interesting cast of characters. In addition to the king, there is an "Old Woman," a SANGA-priest in conjunction with a "Mother-of-the-God" priestess and elsewhere more curiously with an *ENTU*-priestess. The Storm-god *muwanu* makes an appearance. Šaušga of the Field is frequently mentioned alongside the deity *Ḫurdumana*, unique to this text. There is also Šaušga of Nineveh and Iṣhara, who may or may not be the same as Šaušga of the Field. Unusually for a Kizzuwatna-type ritual, Telipinu and his hammer are mentioned, and unusually for any Hittite ritual, the Sea-god, in the form of a wooden statue, receives offerings.

Alexandra Daues and Elisabeth Rieken, in "Das Gebet der Gaššuliyawiya: Struktur und Performanz," give a new translation of the text to show that it is carefully structured and is partway between a prayer and a substitution ritual.

Detlev Groddek adds two more small fragments to the ritual CTH 447.

Suzanne Herboldt publishes a bronze oval scraper, with a notch opposite its hafting-tang, found in Chamber 2 of the Südburg of Ḫattuša. It is the first Hittite example of the type found widely throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE. The presence of the notch probably indicates that it was used for something other than scraping hides to make leather.

Harry Hoffner writes about fish, but includes a discussion of the phrase *KU<sub>6</sub> INA ḫantiyara*, which, contra V. Haas, does not mean "turtle," and *ḫantiyaraḫḫa*.

Manfred Hutter examines all the references to the goddess *Ḫarištašši* and the *ḫarištani*-room. He notes that this goddess is often associated with the grandmother goddess *Ḫannaḫanna* and the