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Um die heilende und beruhigende Wirkung von Musik („Musiktherapie“) kreisen die Ausführungen von Antonietta Provenza („Soothing Lyres and *epodai*: Music Therapy and the Cases of Orpheus, Empedocles and David“). Anhand von drei zeitlich und räumlich weit auseinanderliegenden Beispielen wird aufgezeigt, dass durch Leierspiel und Gesang göttliche Gunst erlangt, Zorn beschwichtigt, Krankheiten geheilt und Trauer und Sorgen vorübergehend verdrängt werden können.

Roberto Melini („Sounds from under the Ashes: The Music of Cults and Mysteries in the Ancient Vesuvian Land“) skizziert das große Spektrum der in der Region rund um den Vesuv (vor allem in Pompeii und Herculaneum) archäologisch nachgewiesenen Musikinstrumente (*cornu*, *tuba*, *bucina*, *discus*, *crepitaculum*, *cymbalum*, *tintinnabulum*, *tibia* und *sistrum*). Mit der Zuordnung einzelner Instrumente zu bestimmten Kulturen weist er ein vielfältiges religiöses Leben mit der Verehrung der traditionellen Götter und der Praktizierung von Mysterienkulturen nach.

In seinem Erfahrungsbericht („Ancient Music in the Modern Classroom“) macht Yossi Maurey „methodological, historical, historiographical and institutional biases“ (S. 366) für die Schwierigkeiten verantwortlich, die Vermittlung von Wissen über antike Musikkulturen in der akademischen Lehre zu verankern: Die eurozentrische Ausrichtung der Musikwissenschaft führe dazu, die Geschichte der Musik erst im antiken Griechenland beginnen zu lassen; erschwerend komme hinzu, dass die Musikethnologie überwiegend moderne Musikkulturen zu ihrem Forschungsgegenstand mache. Zudem würden starre Fächergrenzen die Studierenden der Musikwissenschaft daran hindern, die für den Zugang zu Musikkulturen des Altertums unerlässlichen archäologischen, historischen und sprachlichen Kenntnisse zu erwerben.

Die Kritik kann kurz ausfallen: Wie bereits angemerkt, zur leichteren Identifikation vor allem der ausführlicher besprochenen und zitierten Texte wäre die Angabe der Editionsnummern wünschenswert gewesen; in dieser Hinsicht mustergültig sind die Beiträge von Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, Dahlia Shehata und Sam Mirelman. Zu bemängeln ist auch die sehr schlechte Qualität einiger Abbildungen. Das ist besonders bedauerlich bei der Inandik-Vase (S. 188) und den Fresken von Pompeii (z. B. S. 348 und 349), denn gerade diese ikonographischen Zeugnisse bieten überaus detailgenaue Wiedergaben der Instrumente, ihrer Konstruktion und ihrer Spielweise. Festzuhalten bleibt, dass der ansonsten sorgfältig edierte Band durchweg lesenswerte Beiträge präsentiert, die in ihrer Summe weiterführende Einblicke in die Musikkulturen eines großen geographischen Raumes über einen langen Zeitraum hinweg bieten.

Eichstätt.

M. Schul.

Marten Stol, *Women in the Ancient Near East* (translated into English by Helen and Mervyn Richardson), X + 696 pp., 54 Abb. Boston – Berlin, De Gruyter, 2016.€ [D] 99.95, £ 91,-, \$ 140,-. ISBN 978-1-61451-323-0.

The volume reviewed is the original work revised and translated into English.¹ It was published three years ago in Dutch;² on this occasion, it has been given a far more general and ambitious title.³

The book covers the various strands of research that Stol, a renowned Assyriologist, has carried out over decades, and of which he gave a sample almost twenty years ago, an article in which he announced that he was preparing this monograph.⁴ In addition to its printed version, the work is also available as a free download in PDF format, being published under a Creative Commons 3.0 license. Over the last few years, the publisher, Walter de Gruyter, has shown significant activity in the field of the Ancient East; the results are excellent, with carefully produced, beautifully made volumes.

The monograph is divided into 32 chapters of varying length (including one by way of conclusion), plus a brief introduction (pp. 1-4), an insufficient bibliographical list (p. 692), a table of contents and indices of theonyms, anthroponyms, and toponyms, as well as indices of Sumerian and Akkadian terms (pp. 693-696). Sadly, there are no indices of the sources quoted (which are a great many in number), neither of those of cuneiform texts nor of Biblical quotes (the Old and New Testaments), nor of classical authors. To make up for the lack of indices of quoted texts, the reader always has access to the PDF, where the required terms can easily be found.

The contents of the volume are divided into large thematic blocks: women's appearance and their physical life (§§ 1, 22), women in marriage (§§ 2-9, 14, 16), in inheritance law (§ 16), in widowhood (§ 13), in the field of criminal law (§§ 10-12) and when they lost their liberty (§ 17), in the world of work and in professional practices (§§ 18-19, 28), as prostitutes or sacred prostitutes (§§ 20-21), at court (§ 23-24), and as priestesses and in the religious world (§§ 25-27, 29-30). In addition, in an appendix a compilation of Middle Assyrian laws referring to women (§ 31) is discussed. A poorly made map that lists the toponyms included in the index (except Lahirum) is given on p. 5. However, this index does not list all the toponyms mentioned in the course of the work!

¹) The sole review of the work of which I am aware is that of I. Peled, *JNES* 76, 2017, 358-361.

²) M. Stol, *Vrouwen van Babylon: prinsessen, priesteressen, prostituees in de bakermat van de cultuur*, Utrecht 2012.

³) Something that is not to the author's taste; see M. Stol, "Women in Babylonia", *Annual Report NINO and NIT* 2015, 2016, 25a.

⁴) M. Stol, "Women in Mesopotamia", *JESHO* 38, 1995, 123-144; see p. 23, n. 1.

As is seen, some topics predominate over others. That is especially the case for matrimonial matters, which take up over a third of the volume; other aspects have been given a briefer treatment. For example, this reviewer would have wished the author to have gone deeper in more relevant chapters, such as those on “Women and work” and “Businesswomen”.

The amount of data handled by the author, and specifically the number of cuneiform sources that he quotes, is enormous; that makes the book extremely useful for anyone interested in the topic. The author’s promise is clearly and simply to provide readers with as many details as possible on the theme of women in the Ancient Near East.⁵ Accordingly, the reader must take account of the fact that, as far as possible, the work avoids going into the current big debates on the history of women and on gender studies. In that regard, and this is no surprise for anyone who follows Stol’s work, the focus of his treatise is very traditional – something that must not necessarily be seen negatively.

What are the sources? One of the volume’s strong points is the combination of various textual genres. Doubtless one of the most interesting, for being less used, is made up of literary sources in a broad sense: poems, proverbs, myths, etc. That fact adds immense value to the work, since few treatises on women in the Ancient East have truly aimed at gathering up those sources and analyzing them in the context of other types of documentation.⁶ Secondly, the solid core of the work is made up of commentaries on legal texts, whether legislative compilations (the Laws of Hammu-rapi, Middle Assyrian Laws, etc.) or, more frequently, texts of a private nature: litigations, marriage contracts, adoption contracts, property-sale contracts, etc. In addition, and in lesser measure, use is made of administrative texts of a different type: lists of workers, of staff at the court, of food rations, etc., as well as correspondence that involves women. Finally, the work is well illustrated, endowed with a suitable iconographic directory that Stol uses for establishing relevant parallels.⁷

In addition, Stol does not only deal with the cuneiform world but makes a great many references to Biblical texts drawn from both the Old and New Testaments, to the Jewish people in Antiquity, to modern law, to the Greek and Egyptian worlds, and to current-day peoples

studied by anthropologists. Those are the references that enormously enrich the book and that give additional value to the work.⁸ In fact, the book teems with original, brilliant ideas that will doubtless give rise to new studies on related themes. As an example, Stol proposes an interesting explanation for the Biblical story of Eve being created from one of Adam’s ribs (Gen. 2).⁹ It also establishes a series of parallels between modern and ancient sources regarding the person known as “the best man”, who is given the task of protecting the bride and her chastity before the wedding (pp. 96-98). Stol also proposes (or retrieves from oblivion) new interpretations of certain ancient terms, as is the case of the Akkadian verb *balāṣu*, which can be understood as “to look lasciviously” (p. 235).

The revision of the work, with respect to the Dutch version of 2012, includes an update of various titles but no real change in content. In addition, for chronological reasons, no account could be taken of a series of works that are very relevant to the topic, e.g. several collective volumes on women in Antiquity and specifically in the Ancient Near East.¹⁰ Unfortunately, it was also not possible to include other works that were in the process of being printed and that would also have been of interest to the reader of the work reviewed.¹¹

The system for quoting modern works can clearly be improved. The author (or the publishers) choose(s) the quote with indication of title and year of publication of the monographs, but after an initial mention, reference is only made to the author, which causes a certain amount of difficulty when it comes to finding the exact work. In addition, articles are only quoted by periodical, generally without any indication of its title; the same is often true of collective works, for which the series in abbreviation

⁸) See for a good example the treatment of the Emesal dialect of Sumerian on p. 57.

⁹) P. 10: “According to the book of Genesis the first woman Eve was ‘built’ from one of Adam’s ribs (Genesis 2:21ff.). Earlier Assyriologists turned to Sumerian to explain this motif. They cited a Sumerian myth in which someone had a problem with his rib (Sumerian *ti*) and was cured by a goddess Ninti (*nin.ti*), who was specially created to help. While Sumerian *nin* means ‘lady’ Sumerian *ti* is a homonym, meaning both ‘rib’ and ‘life’. Although *nin.ti* as the name of the goddess could mean ‘the lady of the rib’, it is more likely to mean ‘the lady who gives life’. We should note that in Hebrew the meaning of the name Eve is connected with the word for ‘life’, but through Sumerian it can be connected with ‘rib’ and with ‘life’.”

¹⁰) B. Lion and C. Michel (eds), *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, SANER 13, Boston – Berlin 2016; S.L. Budin and J. MacInstosh Turfa (eds), *Women in Antiquity. Real Women across the Ancient World*, London – New York 2016.

¹¹) For example, the volumes of the workshops on *Gender, Methodology and the Ancient Near East*, edited by Saana Svärd (University of Helsinki) and Agnès Garcia-Ventura (“Sapienza” Università di Roma), *Studying Gender in the Ancient Near East*, University Park 2018.

⁵) “The reader will soon discover that everything in this book aims to collect facts, which are of basic importance to feminist historical criticism no matter which of these frameworks inform their work” (p. 3).

⁶) An excellent example (which, incidentally, the author does not mention at any time) is H.J. Marsman, *Women in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East*, OTS 49, Leiden – Boston 2003.

⁷) Although an index of images as well as a reference to where they are published is lacking, there is a reference to the museum or collection that houses the pieces.

or an indication of the *Festschrift* to which it belongs is provided. As has been stated above, the final bibliography (p. 692) only includes a handful of monographs, and it does not include all the references used in the course of the book. Obviously, one can always use the PDF to carry out author searches.

As an underlying problem, the reader will sometimes find that the supply and accumulation of data does not lead to any conclusion, or at least one is not made explicit. What is more, it is sometimes difficult to follow the thread of any argument, since the author has decided to present the information in chronological rather than thematic order. Examples abound, but the following two will serve as samples:

(a) The first is, in fact, the chapter on prostitution itself (§ 20). From the outset, Stol maintains that kar-kid (Sum.) / *ḥarīmtu* (Akk.) means “prostitute” (p. 399)¹² and explains the nature of that figure, the functioning of prostitution, the implications for women and society, etc. However, only at the end of the chapter (p. 417f.) does he call attention to a well-known article by J. Assante, in which the latter proposes that the term kar-kid/*ḥarīmtu* may refer to women who were at the margin of a patriarchal society.¹³ Surprisingly, Stol ends the chapter thus: “Assante gives a good survey of the material she has selected and her argument, as far as it goes, is forceful. But her opinion needs to be reconciled with what has been said above. It would be great if she were right.” (p. 418). The purpose of the last sentence is not entirely understandable; moreover, it would have been advisable to set out the debate at the beginning rather than at the end of the chapter and, in addition, provide the reader (if possible) with a solution to the problem that was raised.

(b) The second example is found on p. 82f., where the figure of the fiancée is discussed. From the outset, Stol indicates that “[t]his title [= *kallatu*] was mostly used when she was getting married and during the first period after her marriage.” In addition, he provides other theories: the woman would have been given the title until the birth of the first son;¹⁴ or, in a given family, the title would only have been granted to the future wife of the first-born son; etc. In the end, we do not know what the appropri-

¹²) However, the author indicates on p. 613 that the term *ḥarīmtu* does not appear to have that meaning in Emar!

¹³) J. Assante, “The kar.kid/*ḥarīmtu*, Prostitute or Single Woman?”, UF 30, 1998, 5-96; see also J. Assante, “What Makes a ‘Prostitute’ a Prostitute? Modern Definitions and Ancient Meanings”, *Historiae* 4, 2007, 117-132.

¹⁴) This idea would have been applicable to Old Babylonian sources but under no circumstances to Nuzi; see a *kallatu* with children in IM 70984, from Tell al-Faḥḥār (text in F. Al-Rawi, *Studies in the Commercial Life of an Administrative Area of Eastern Assyria in the Fifteenth Century B.C., Based on Published and Unpublished Cuneiform Texts*, unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Wales, 1977, 286-292), or perhaps also RA 23, p. 152 no. 42, and Āl-ilāni (text in K. Grosz, *The Archive of the Wullu Family*, CNIP 5, Copenhagen 1988, 233f.).

ate meaning is, or, at least, which theory the author finds most convincing. It seems to be a case of accumulating data and ideas, as the author himself indicates in the introduction.¹⁵

Various points of the work could have been added to. What follows is just a selection of themes and aspects, since, given the size of the book, it would not have been possible to cover them all. Equally, the comments that follow reflect the preferences of the reviewer, who is more specialized in the legal and administrative documentation of the second millennium BCE than in other types of sources.

Pp. 8f., 66f.: New data exist on the heights of boys and girls in the Late Bronze Age.¹⁶

P. 17: On the interchangeability of the roles of women and men, see the recent work by I. Peled, with all the additional bibliography.¹⁷

P. 20: There is additional bibliography on the (legal) implications of stripping a woman.¹⁸

P. 68: The marriage-contract forms of the kingdom of Arrapḫe (*i.e.* Nuzi, 14th century BC) are rather more complex. This reviewer is preparing a re-publication of those contracts as well as a full study of their form and social implications.

Pp. 70f.: Unfortunately, the author was not able to include a fair number of the legal texts that have appeared in the last few years in relation to the Jewish populations living in Babylon.¹⁹

P. 86, n. 142: C. Michel’s article to which the author refers is not in the journal *Revue internationale des droits de l’antiquité* but in *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*.²⁰

Pp. 106-109: The author offers an interesting list of situations in which it appears that a marriage has been entered into.

¹⁵) Note the interesting etymological proposals for the term *kallatu* on p. 84.

¹⁶) See J.J. Justel, “An Unpublished Nuzi-Type Antichretic Loan Contract in the British Museum – With Some Comments on Children in the Kingdom of Arrapḫe by D. Justel”, *Iraq* 77, 2015, 137f.

¹⁷) I. Peled, *Masculinities and Third Gender. The Origins and Nature of an Institutionalized Gender Otherness in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 435, Münster 2016.

¹⁸) Presented in J.J. Justel, “‘Se irá desnuda de mi casa ...’ Las relaciones de la viuda con otros hombres y su expulsión del hogar (Norte de Mesopotamia y Siria durante el Bronce Final)”, in J.A. Belmonte and J. Oliva (eds), *Esta Toledo, aquella Babilonia. Convivencia e interacción en las sociedades del Oriente y del Mediterráneo antiguos*, *Estudios* 131, Cuenca 2011, 217-240.

¹⁹) For example, L.E. Pearce and C. Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*, CUSAS 28, Bethesda 2014; L.E. Pearce, “Continuity and Normality in Sources Relating to the Judean Exile”, *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 3, 2014, 163-184; C. Wunsch, “Glimpses on the Lives of Deportees in Rural Babylonia”, in A. Berlejung and M.P. Streck (eds), *Arameans, Chaldeans, and Arabs in Babylonia and Palestine in the First Millennium B.C.*, LAOS 3, Wiesbaden 2013, 247-260.

²⁰) This is C. Michel, “Bigamie chez les Assyriens au début du II^e millénaire avant J.-C.”, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 84, 2006, 155-176.

It will be observed that there is significant variation by region and by era.

Pp. 109f.: Note that although the author does not mention it explicitly, he refers here to the so-called “*erēbu* marriages” (cf. p. 314).

Pp. 112-146: The chapter on marriage gifts is one of the book’s longest, and would merit an extensive discussion that cannot be offered here. It will be observed that a very recent monograph deals directly with the topic,²¹ and another work of great interest could not be included²² (in general, this chapter’s bibliography is outdated; for example, cf. p. 112 n. 1). Similarly, the chapter would have benefited from being reorganized; the first subsection (§ 3.1, pp. 112-114) contains items that ought to be in § 3.2, the subsection on the marriage gift.

Pp. 116f.: No reference is made to the significant previous work by Marrassini on the various names for the marriage gift (*trḥ*) and the dowry (*terḥatu*) in Ugarit.²³

P. 119: In Nuzi, it is certain that the marriage gift might have been set at 40 shekels of silver, but there are many exceptions, e.g. 10 sh. (JEN 434), 15 sh. (HSS 19 144), 30 sh. (JEN 186, RA 23, p. 145 no. 12), 35 sh. (HSS 19 99), 45 sh. (HSS 19 84). Even in RA 23, p. 145 no. 12, reference is made to the gift of 30 sh. of silver “of a daughter of Arrapḥe”; that indication may allude to the latter amount being that of the bridewealth of free women.

Pp. 121, 127, 130: Stol mentions the Elephantine texts, which he quotes from time to time (pp. 210, 219). A recent work deals directly with the role of women in that documentation.²⁴

P. 125: Stol follows Grosz by indicating that the marriage gift received by a daughter might have served to pay the sons’ marriage gifts. However, contrary to what has been proposed, no clear case of that phenomenon currently exists in Nuzi.

Pp. 127-134: Stol goes into the topic of *Kaufehe* and, in general, he considers that marriage, at least in certain periods, would have had the nature of a sale (cf. pp. 170, 200). For that reason, the author always speaks of bride-price, although he admits that Sumerians would not have interpreted the marriage gift from the commercial point of view (e.g. p. 115).

Pp. 134-145: In my opinion, the treatment of the dowry is excellent (despite not mentioning some works, a matter that has been highlighted above). The author’s main point is that the dowry would constitute the woman’s inheritance (something that is not original), but he highlights the fact that her ability to manage her dowry is limited (p. 137).

P. 143: Stol indicates that what happens in Nuzi is contrary to what happens in the rest of the Ancient Near East, namely that the marriage gift is usually bigger than the woman’s dowry. However, that is not completely clear, and recent works highlight the immense value of some dowries.²⁵

²¹) This is R. Hillmann, *Brautpreis und Mitgift, Orientalische Religion in der Antike* 18, Tübingen 2016.

²²) For example, T.M. Lemos, *Marriage Gifts and Social Change in Ancient Palestine: 1200 BCE to 200 CE*, New York 2010.

²³) P. Marrassini, “Note sugli apporti patrimoniali in occasione del matrimonio della Siria del II millennio”, in C. Saporetto (ed.), *Il trasferimento dei beni nel matrimonio privato del Vicino Oriente Antico*, Rome 1984, 65-75; similarly, see Hillmann’s monograph, which is quoted note 21.

²⁴) H. Nutkiewicz, *Destins de femmes au V^e siècle avant notre ère*, Paris 2015.

²⁵) For example, J.J. Justel and B. Lion, “Real Estate Dowries and Counter-Dowries in the Kingdom of Arrapḥe”, in F. Joan-

Pp. 160f.: The author seems to assume that some marriages in Nuzi were initiated by the fiancé’s family and others by the fiancée’s family (cf. p. 201). In that he follows Paradise, who deduces the one or the other from the form of introduction of each contract.²⁶ However, that is not my opinion for several reasons. Firstly, the data are too scant to be able to establish clear patterns.²⁷ Secondly, in marriage contracts introduced by the formula *tuppi riksi ša PN₁ ... PN₂*, PN₁ was almost always the guardian, and it did not matter who initiated the act. That is also very clear in contracts with the introduction of the type *tuppi riksi ša PN*, where PN is always the girl’s guardian – thus, it would not necessarily mean that he had initiated the act. Finally, if Paradise’s supposition were correct, the clauses on polygyny (those that were studied by Paradise) would appear in all the documents in which the fiancée’s family appears in first place, but this is not the case in HSS 19, 83, HSS 19, 144, or JEN 440+.

P. 162: Stol indicates as an anomaly that the Emar document TBR 72 appears to attest to the phenomenon of sororate marriage. In fact, sororate marriage is documented in at least three more wills: *Emar VI*, 124: 7-9, TBR 40: 18-19 and TBR 75: 13'-14' (and cf. CRRAI 47, p. 204 no. 1: 13-14; ZA 90, p. 280 no. 7: 23-24).²⁸

Pp. 168-170: On the role of female slaves as second spouses, also see my recent article, which deals with cases in which the principal spouse provided her husband with a second spouse²⁹ (add now the text *Archibab 1*, 1 = BM 16981).³⁰

Pp. 182-188: C. Michel is preparing a republication of all Old Assyrian texts on women, with particular attention being paid to marriage contracts.³¹

P. 188: In the discussion on polygyny in Nuzi, there is no explicit indication of the absence of attested cases where a man has more than one wife (*aššatu*). However, it is attested that a man had concubines. For example, it appears that Šilwa-Teššup, the son of the king of Arrapḥe, had up to seven concubines (*esrētu*) in addition to his wife, ¹Šuššuri.³² One of them, ¹Našmun-Naya, is mentioned in another legal document (HSS 5 66: 5) as “Šilwa-Teššup’s wife” (DAM ¹š*i-il-wa-te-šup*). However, it seems that the reference may be a mistaken interpretation by the scribe.³³ There are also references to *esrētu* in about twen-

nès and F. Karahashi (eds), *Le rôle économique des femmes en Mésopotamie ancienne* (REFEMA). Report: December 31, 2011 - December 30, 2014, Tokyo 2014, 39-41 (with bibliography).

²⁶) J. Paradise, “Marriage Contracts of Free Persons at Nuzi”, *JCS* 39, 1987, esp. p. 7f.

²⁷) *Apud* N. Pfeifer, “Das Eherecht in Nuzi: Einflüsse aus altbabylonischer Zeit”, *SCCNH* 18, 2009, 373.

²⁸) In particular, see Justel, *La posición jurídica de la mujer en Siria durante el Bronce Final. Estudio de las estrategias familiares y de la mujer como sujeto y objeto de derecho*, SPOA 4, Zaragoza, 97f.

²⁹) J.J. Justel, “The Involvement of a Woman in her Husband’s Second Marriage and the Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives”, *ZAR* 18, 2012, 191-207.

³⁰) Published by L. Barberon, *Les religieuses et le culte de Marduk dans le royaume de Babylone*, *Mémoires de NABU* 14, Paris 2012, 239f.

³¹) To be published by SBL in the series *Writings from the Ancient World*.

³²) See, recently, Pfeifer, *SCCNH* 18, 2009, 413 n. 420.

³³) In accordance with M.A. Morrison, “The Family of Šilwa-Tešub *mār šarri*”, *JCS* 31, 1979, 7 n. 23.

ty administrative documents from the royal palace of Nuzi.³⁴ In addition, there is evidence of the existence of a “house of the concubines” (HSS 14 153: 26, mentioned by Stol, not in this section but on p. 519).³⁵

Pp. 211f. (and cf. pp. 86-91): Stol follows the proposals of other acknowledged authors, who feel that women could not initiate their own divorce. However, it should be made clear that the topic is open to debate, and has been for a long time.³⁶ For example, in Tell al-Faḥḥār (kingdom of Arraphē), divorce decree IM 73254 clearly indicates that it was the wife who rejected (*zēru*) her husband.³⁷ The same archive was found to contain the *tuppi tamgurti* RATK 5 which shows that the marriage that had been entered into was annulled by mutual agreement (*divortium communi consensu*).³⁸ Other possible cases of divorce on the wife’s initiative can be found in Emar (TBR 28)³⁹ or Babylon of the first millennium BCE (*BabAr* 2, 8).⁴⁰

P. 235: Worthy of being highlighted is Stol’s interesting proposal for the verb *balāšu*, “to look lasciviously”.

Pp. 265f.: Concerning the *ius primae noctis*, see Rubio’s interesting article (not mentioned by Stol).⁴¹

P. 277: On the interesting expression “She will be widow among the widows, divorcée among the divorcées” in Emar texts, there exists a recent bibliography that contains all the items of evidence (six to date) and references to a previous bibliography.⁴²

P. 281: Stol indicates some cases of widows who were forced to sell their children during times of financial need. For another

³⁴) See W. Mayer, *Nuzi-Studien I. Die Archive des Palastes und die Prosopographie der Berufe*, AOAT 205/1, Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, 111-115, and B. Lion, “Les femmes comme signe de puissance royale: la maison du roi d’Arraphā”, in G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East*, CRRAI 54, Winona Lake 2012, 531-542 (esp. pp. 538-539), with all the previous bibliography.

³⁵) See also the data on a concubine’s rights in Nuzi, in J.J. Justel, “L’ensemble documentaire JEN 666 / JEN 671 et la procédure judiciaire d’Arraphē (XIV^e s. av. J.-C.)”, *SMEA* 53, 2011, 151-170.

³⁶) For the case of Mesopotamia in the Old Babylonian era, see the bibliography recently given in B. Lion, “Mariages paléo-babyloniens typiques et atypiques”, *Anabases* 22, 2015, 24.

³⁷) Published in F.N.H. Al-Rawi, *Studies in the Commercial Life of an Administrative Area of Eastern Assyria in the Fifteenth Century B.C.*, Based on Published and Unpublished Cuneiform Texts, unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Wales 1997, 352-358.

³⁸) Published by A. Fadhil, *Rechtsurkunden und administrative Texte aus Kurruḥanni*, Magisterarbeit, Universität Heidelberg 1972, 67-71.

³⁹) See, for example, J.J. Justel, “The Marriage Contract AIT 92 (Alalah IV) in the Light of the Marriage System of Late Bronze Age Syria”, *AoF* 36, 2009, 81, 85-86.

⁴⁰) C. Wunsch, *Urkunden zum Ehe-, Vermögens- und Erbrecht aus verschiedenen neubabylonischen Archiven*, *BabAr* 2, Dresden 2003, 35-36 (with reservations).

⁴¹) G. Rubio, Gilgamesh and the *ius primae noctis*, in M. Kozuh et al. (eds), *Extraction & Control. Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, SAOC 68, Chicago 2014, 229-232.

⁴²) M. Yamada, “Widows and Divorcées as Free Women in Emar: A Study of the *almattu-azibtu* Formula”, *Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 56, 2013, 1-15.

view of the topic, see my own contribution as part of the Franco-Japanese project *The Economic Role of Women in Mesopotamia*⁴³ (and see pp. 324-326).

P. 282: On the nature and functioning of the objects called *kubbudā’ē*, see Yamada’s recent work with all the previous bibliography.⁴⁴

Pp. 282-284, 288-290: Indeed, several men’s wills favored future widows; however, it is also true that they constrained women’s movements once their husbands had died.⁴⁵

Pp. 284-287: On the phenomenon of women settled by the husband as “father and mother” (and, more generally, women with masculine legal status), a more recent bibliography exists.⁴⁶

P. 297: Although Stol places it in the section on levirate marriage, the famous case of King Ar-ḫalbu of Ugarit appears to have come under other types of phenomena.⁴⁷

Pp. 306f.: Stol deals with the topic of matrimonial adoptions, especially in Nuzi, and indicates that they would in general be a response to the search for a financial benefit. However, recent studies indicate that such was not always the case.⁴⁸

P. 317: Not mentioned is a significant work by Hofstijzer and van Soldt on the functioning of antichretic loans during the Late Bronze Age in Syria.⁴⁹

Pp. 331-338: This section on prisoners of war is especially interesting, in addition to being provided with several illustrations. Stol gives equal treatment to references in historic and administrative texts.

Pp. 339-390: The section on women and work is very extensive. Some recent bibliography can be added that works especially from the gender perspective;⁵⁰ as well as, in general, the

⁴³) J.J. Justel, “The Economic Role of Women during the Crisis in Emar, Syria”, REFEMA Blog on <http://refema.hypotheses.org/175> (2013).

⁴⁴) M. Yamada, “The *kubbudā’u*-Gift in the Emar Texts”, in B. Lion and C. Michel (eds), *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, SANER 13, Boston – Berlin 2016, 388-415.

⁴⁵) See, in particular for the case of the Late Bronze Age, Justel, “Se irá desnuda de mi casa ...” (cited here, note 18).

⁴⁶) See, for example, J.J. Justel, “Women, Gender and Law at the Dawn of History: the Evidence of the Cuneiform Sources”, in S.L. Budin and J. MacInstosh Turfa (eds), *Women in Antiquity. Real Women across the Ancient World*, Oxford – New York 2016, 91-93; M. Yamada, “How to Designate Women as Having Both Genders. A Note on the Scribal Traditions in the Land of Aštata”, in S. Yamada and D. Shibata (eds), *Cultures and Societies in the Middle Euphrates and Habur Areas in the Second Millennium BC. I. Scribal Education and Scribal Traditions*, *StCh* 5, Wiesbaden 2016, 133-143.

⁴⁷) See, in particular, J.J. Justel, “El levirato en Ugarit según el documento jurídico RS 16.144”, *Estudios Bíblicos* 65, 2007, 415-425.

⁴⁸) J. Fincke, “Adoption of Women at Nuzi”, *SCCNH* 19, 2012, 119-140.

⁴⁹) This is J. Hofstijzer and W.H. van Soldt, “Texts from Ugarit Concerning Security and Related Akkadian and West Semitic Material”, *UF* 23, 1991, 189-216.

⁵⁰) For example, A. Garcia-Ventura, “Mano de obra y relaciones de parentesco en Mesopotamia: madres trabajadoras versus hombres ‘ganadores de pan’”, *Arenal. Revista de Historia de las mujeres* 21, 2014, 297-316; A. Garcia-Ventura, “The Sex-Based Division of Work versus Intersectionality: Some Strategies for Engendering the Ur III Textile Work Force”, in B. Lion

volume edited by B. Lion and C. Michel, *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East* (SANER 13, Boston – Berlin 2016).

Pp. 353-362: No mention is made of various significant works by R. Pruzsinszky, who has been working on the topic of female (and male) musicians for a long time.⁵¹

Pp. 363-367: On female tavern-keepers, see the recent article by A.-I. Langlois.⁵²

Pp. 367-371: On female scribes, the only general work so far (in Spanish) will soon be published by B. Lion in a volume edited by A. Garcia-Ventura and this reviewer.

Pp. 387-389: The topic of the seals used by women is an aspect that still needs to be looked at. One example of possible research was recently given by B. Lion for the case of Nuzi.⁵³

Pp. 399-435: Stol prefers to divide the topic of prostitution into the sections of secular (§20) and sacred (§21) prostitution. As we well know, it is a topic that generates intense historiographic debate, and only he can provide a specific review. In both cases, Stol's vision is generally very traditional, defending its existence in several instances that are sometimes uncertain.⁵⁴ In fact, only a few works that are contrary to that vision are quoted (I have already mentioned, at the start, the treatment given by Assante's article in UF 30), and it is not understood why there are no references to very significant monographs on the subject.⁵⁵

P. 411: There is additional bibliography on the neo-Assyrian text *StAT* 3, 111 that was recently published.⁵⁶

P. 413: Stol leaves out a monograph (although one that is debatable in respect of its conclusions) on daughters who were forced to work as prostitutes.⁵⁷

Pp. 430f.: On the image of the woman/goddess leaning out of the window, which may have had a connotation of moral laxity, see the recent work by I. Winter.⁵⁸

and C. Michel (eds), *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, SANER 13, Boston – New York 2016, 174-192.

⁵¹) For example, R. Pruzsinszky, "Musicians and Monkeys: Ancient Near Eastern Clay Plaques Displaying Musicians and their Socio-Cultural Role", in A. Bellia and C. Marconi (eds), *Musicians in Coroplastic Art, Iconography, Ritual Contexts, and Functions*, Pisa – Rome 2016, 23-34.

⁵²) A.-I. Langlois, "The Female Tavern-Keeper in Mesopotamia. Some Aspects of Daily Life", in S.L. Budin and J. Mac-Instosh Turfa (eds), *Women in Antiquity. Real Women across the Ancient World*, Oxford – New York 2016, 113-125.

⁵³) B. Lion, "Ces femmes avec leurs sceaux ... Quelques mentions des sceaux et de leur usage dans les tablettes de Nuzi", in J. Patrier et al. (eds), *Mille et une empreintes. Un alsacien en Orient. Mélanges en l'honneur du 65e anniversaire de Dominique Beyer*, Subartu 36, Turnhout 2016, 215-228.

⁵⁴) Along those same lines, see, recently, J. Cooper, "The Job of Sex: The Social and Economic Role of Prostitutes in Ancient Mesopotamia", in B. Lion and C. Michel (eds), *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, SANER 13, Boston – Berlin 2016, 209-227.

⁵⁵) I refer especially to S.L. Budin, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*, New York 2008.

⁵⁶) For example, J.J. Justel, "The Rights of a Concubine's Descendants in the Ancient Near East", *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 60, 2013, 30f.

⁵⁷) This is J. Fleishman, *Father-Daughter Relations in Biblical Law*, Bethesda 2011.

⁵⁸) I.J. Winter, "The 'Woman at the Window': Iconography and Inferences of a Motif in First-Millennium B.C. Levantine

Pp. 459-471: Stol particularly emphasizes the topic of women at court (queens, princesses, harem women, etc.). A significant point is the profuse treatment of certain areas and eras that have been neglected by historiography, as is the case with Ebla.⁵⁹

Pp. 472f.: There is a recent article by Gansell on the tombs of women in the so-called Royal Cemetery of Ur.⁶⁰

Pp. 509-511: A monograph was recently published on Queen Iltani of Qattara (Old Babylonian period).⁶¹

Pp. 518f.: On the case of queens and women at court in Nuzi, see, in particular, the works by B. Lion.⁶² It is not clear that the term *tahuhlu* refers to eunuchs; see the bibliography presented in BGH⁶³ 435a.

Pp. 526-529: On the queens of Ugarit, see various works (in addition to the standard ones) recently published by W.H. van Soldt.⁶⁴

Pp. 580f.: What is noteworthy is the scarcity of studies on priestesses in Old Assyrian sources; the topic doubtless requires greater attention.

Pp. 585-604: §26 is on "Old Babylonian convents". The very term "convent" is debatable, and the nature of the seclusion of those women is subject to intense debate that is not generally reflected in the section.

Pp. 605-616: Stol gives §27 over to "Married holy women", thus dividing (perhaps artificially) the *nadītū* of Babylon, dedicated to the god Marduk, from those of Sippar, dedicated to the god Šamaš.

Pp. 620-622: On prophetesses in Mari, there was recently published a compilation of articles that may shed some light on the topic.⁶⁵

Pp. 645-661: In my opinion, the chapter on sacred marriage is one of the best, since it clearly shows the debate on the subject, those elements that, in Stol's opinion, were indeed carried out in

Ivory Carving", in J. Aruz and M. Seymour (eds), *Assyria to Iberia. Art and Culture in the Iron Age*, New York 2016, 180-193.

⁵⁹) See the unquoted work by A. Archi, "The Role of Women in the Society of Ebla", in S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East*, CRRAI 47, Helsinki 2002, 1-10; and, recently, M.G. Biga, "The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ebla Kingdom (Syria, 24th century BC)", in B. Lion and C. Michel (eds), *The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East*, SANER 13, Boston – Berlin 2016, 71-89.

⁶⁰) A.R. Gansell, "Women in Ancient Mesopotamia", in S.L. James and S. Dillon (eds), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, Malden – Oxford 2012, 11-24.

⁶¹) A.-I. Langlois, *Les archives de la princesse Iltani découvertes à Tell al-Rimah (XVIII^e siècle av. J.-C.) et l'histoire du royaume de Karana/Qattara*, Mémoires de NABU 18, Paris 2017, to which must be added S. Richardson, "Goodbye, Princess: Iltani and the DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL", JCS 69, 2017, 67-108.

⁶²) For example, B. Lion, "Les femmes comme signe de puissance royale" (article quoted in note 34).

⁶³) This is the proposed abbreviation of Th. Richter, *Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*, Wiesbaden 2013.

⁶⁴) W.H. van Soldt, "The Queen's House in Ugarit", UF 44, 2013, 445-459; W.H. van Soldt, "The Travelling Queen of Ugarit", in V. Matoian and M. Al-Maqdissi (eds), *Études Ougaritiques IV*, RSOu 24, Leuven – Paris – Bristol 2016, 109-117.

⁶⁵) This is J. Stökl and C.L. Carvalho (eds), *Prophets Male and Female. Gender and Prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Ancient Near East*, *Ancient Israel and its Literature* 15, Atlanta 2013.

the context of the ritual, and those that would not really occur. It is very interesting to ascertain (p. 654) that Stol thinks that although its purpose was to invoke fertility, the matter is open to modification, and, in any case, its tradition did not last for more than two centuries.

Pp. 683-691: The conclusions (§ 32, “The value placed on women”) are organized in a clear fashion, separating the positive from the negative opinion on women. It might perhaps have been advisable to explain, more explicitly and from the outset, why the facts adduced can be considered positive or negative. Also given is a brief comparison (p. 690f.) between women and men, which, of course, does not exhaust the topic and which would require an in-depth review of the wealth of data provided in the volume.

Those are just a few thoughts and updates (and not even all of them!) that occurred to me when reading the book, and that do not, in any case, diminish its value. As has been indicated at the outset, Stol’s intention is to provide data that will prove very useful for future research. For that reason, the academic community is fortunate, and congratulations are due to the author of the volume as well as to those responsible for publishing it.

Alcalá de Henares.

J.J. Justel.

S. Svärd and A. Garcia-Ventura (eds.), *Studying Gender in the Ancient Near East*, 520 pp., 68 Abb. University Park, PA, Eisenbrauns/The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018. \$99,95. ISBN 978-1-57506-770-4.

Le volume rassemble 19 contributions (auxquelles s’ajoutent une introduction et des remarques conclusives), données dans le cadre de différents workshops organisés par les éditrices en 2013 et 2014 (lors de la Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale de Ghent, celle de Varsovie, et un workshop au Center of Excellence in “Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions” de l’université d’Helsinki). Le volume est ainsi particulièrement varié non seulement en fonction de ses contributeurs (différents pays, différentes traditions académiques et méthodologies), mais aussi des sources et des périodes analysées. D’une façon ou d’une autre, toutes les cultures sont concernées par les problématiques développées (p. 5). Dans l’introduction, les éditrices présentent l’arrière-plan historique de la recherche en études genre et leur application pour le Proche-Orient ancien; elles insistent sur la nécessité de préciser les approches méthodologiques et théoriques, ainsi que l’emploi de certains termes.

Julia Asher-Greve interroge le lien entre sexe et genre, le premier étant «biologique», le second «social». Elle commence avec une présentation générale du développement des études genres en assyriologie, développement auquel elle a assisté et participé. Elle offre ainsi un témoignage particulièrement éclairant pour notre propre situation académique contemporaine. Elle prend comme cas d’étude les représentations iconographiques et les textes

du Dynastique Archaïque III (ED III) jusqu’à l’époque paléo-babylonienne. Elle constate que, peu importe le support des sources – représentations iconographiques ou inscriptions – les différences de genre ne sont pas évidentes. Dans une approche interdisciplinaire, elle s’inspire des travaux dans les domaines médical et musical, pour montrer que ce qu’on a longtemps traduit et considéré à tort comme des castrats (prêtre-gala, chanteur-nar par exemple) ne sont en aucune façon des eunuques et que la catégorie de «troisième genre» ne constitue pas un caractère opératoire pertinent pour les cultures de l’ancienne Mésopotamie.

Stephanie Lynn Budin interroge la perspective genre dans le conte d’Aqhat (provenant d’Ugarit/Ras Šamra). La dimension genre offre à ce conte bien connu une toute nouvelle clé de lecture, éclairant cette narration particulièrement complexe. Dans la littérature suméro-akkadienne, le partenaire masculin est responsable de la création de la vie, tandis que le partenaire féminin s’occupe de l’incubation de la semence, de la naissance, de l’alimentation et du soin du nouveau-né. Dans le conte d’Aqhat, c’est un homme, patriarche de sa famille, qui prie une divinité masculine, en vue d’obtenir une descendance. D’univers nettement séparés au début du récit, masculin et féminin finissent par converger et se superposer. Les emblèmes – comme l’arc – permettent de représenter la masculinité, et la transmission de celle-ci; cependant, tout au long de la narration, un même objet n’est pas systématiquement employé de façon symbolique. Parfois, un arc est juste un arc (p. 58) et les actions ne sont pas nécessairement motivées par le genre.

Megan Cifarelli étudie les marqueurs de richesses et les parures personnelles dans les tombes de l’âge du Fer du site de Hasanlu (Iran, Hasanlu IVb). Les habitants de ce site, bien qu’en périphérie de l’empire assyrien, participaient activement au circuit économique. Les ornements personnels jouent un rôle significatif dans les comportements et les distinctions de genre, ainsi que dans l’expression et la manifestation de l’identité. Au moment de changements sociaux ou de conflits, les enterrements et les rituels qui les accompagnent ne sont pas seulement une représentation de l’identité sociale et de genre du défunt, mais sont au contraire des occasions dynamiques de négociations identitaires plus propres à la communauté.

Érica Couto-Ferreira interroge les constructions de genre dans les textes cunéiformes médicaux. La distinction de genre a-t-elle eu une signification particulière dans le diagnostic et le traitement thérapeutique? L’accomplissement de certains rituels suppose des gestes différents entre un patient (homme) et une patiente (femme). Le traitement contre l’incapacité à avoir des enfants ne concernent que la femme, tandis que celui pour lutter contre l’impuissance de l’homme implique parfois le partenaire féminin. Pour susciter le plaisir dans l’acte sexuel, la procédure traite sur le même plan l’homme et la femme qui interagissent pour un plaisir mutuel. Pour la femme, les textes insistent surtout sur les problèmes gynécolo-