(Ps.-Martyrius 116, p. 485b), spoke Latin fluently, took Ambrose as his model. Certainly, Chrysostom's views of the relationship of Church and state were not very different from those held by Ambrose, views to which the bishop of Milan was to give lasting publicity in the collection of letters which he selected for publication. But Ambrose had the gifts and experience of a Nectarius, as well as those of a charismatic preacher, and what is at least as important, the position of Ambrose in the society of Milan was very different from that of Chrysostom in that of Constantinople. Moreover, the progressive weakening of the imperial government in the west helped Ambrose's views of Church and state to become and stay influential. In the east the imperial government remained strong, and the Church was never in a position to claim independence of the state. There Chrysostom, appropriately, came to be venerated as a great preacher and moral teacher.

Nottingham W. LIEBESCHUETZ

JEWISH MARRIAGE

M. L. SATLOW: *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity*. Pp. xxvi + 431. Princeton and Oxford; Princeton University Press, 2001. Cased, £40.00. ISBN: 0-691-00255-X.

Satlow's vast knowledge of the rabbinic sources makes this book a work of great importance for anyone interested in Jewish social history. All available material is brought to bear—papyri and inscriptions; religious texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek; Philo and Josephus—but the Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmuds, and Midrashim will be less familiar to many readers. They reveal a moral and practical world surprisingly similar in many ways to its Graeco-Roman surroundings. However, S. is at pains to point out how little can really be known about what actually happened. Rabbis' recommendations may be very different from what really went on, and an isolated document preserved on papyrus may be unrepresentative of the countless documents which have not been preserved.

The book is divided into three parts: Thinking about Marriage; Marrying; Staying Married. Part I looks at the ideology of marriage, its use as a metaphor, and its treatment under Jewish law. A striking difference emerges between Palestinian and Babylonian rabbis: the former had views of marriage fairly close to conventional Graeco-Roman (particularly Stoic) ones, while the latter were much more interested in its significance for the individual, and worried about the potential conflict between married life and study of Torah. Jewish thinkers, like pagans, only addressed the issue from a male perspective, and simply assumed that all women would marry.

Part II deals with how marriages were arranged, who with, and what formalities were involved. A very brief chapter on 'Shreds of Real Marriage' reconstructs some marriages from the Elephantine and Babatha archives, and is regularly referred back to elsewhere in the book (the clear introduction to the documents of Babatha and her relatives is very welcome). Women were expected to marry in their teens, but there was a difference in the recommended male age for marriage in Palestine (around 30) and Babylonia (younger), the reason being that Palestinians were expected to do their Torah study first. There was a general assumption that brides should be 'checked'

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before marriage, probably by the groom's female relatives; beauty was a required asset in a bride. Pre-marital virginity was important, and there is much rabbinic discussion of the husband rejecting his wife after the wedding night if she was thought not to be a virgin. S. shows that the rabbis made this almost impossible to prove, but the interest in the state of the bride's hymen is in itself a striking difference from the Graeco-Roman sources. S. also explains how marriage as a result of 'seduction' or 'rape' might be a face-saving way of evading parental disapproval of a relationship. A system in which sexual intercourse was a valid mode of effecting betrothal was more adapted to this than the Roman legal principle of everything depending on the state of mind of the parties at any given time. Polygyny was acceptable, especially for widowed and divorced women remarrying; S. does not note that it is likely to have increased the 'average' age difference between husband and wife at first marriage.

Jews attempted to be endogamous, either within the whole Jewish nation or within a particular section (class or family group). S. does not deal fully with the ramifications of the change from the patrilineal to matrilineal principle for passing on Jewish status (on which see now S. Sorek, *Women in Judaism* 3 [2002]); if the mother's status did not pass on to her children, one important reason for religious endogamy was missing. Making a Jewish mother essential for Jewish status may have been as important for the marriageability of Jewish women as Pericles' citizenship law was for the marriageability of Athenian women.

Two epigraphic examples can be added to S.'s evidence: marriages over two generations between leading Jewish families of Venosa, Lecce, and Saranda (*JIWE* i.107), and a marriage connection between wealthy Jews of Apamea and Antioch (*CIJ* 803 and 813). In places where the Jewish communities were relatively small, the wealthy members were probably more likely to marry wealthy Jews from other cities than poor Jews from their own cities. It is also possible to go further than S. with the epigraphic evidence for age at marriage, although it confirms the picture he draws. At Rome, the earliest age at which a Jewish woman is commemorated as a wife (or mother) is 17. The latest ages at which women are commemorated as daughters (rather than wives or mothers) are 26 and 34, but after the age of 16 commemoration as a daughter seems to be exceptional. In contrast, a number of men in their 20s and 30s are commemorated as sons, whereas only men of 35 and 38 are commemorated as husbands, in addition to a man of 24 'about to marry'.

Part III deals with the economics of marriage and matrimonial ideals. The biblical *mohar*, a sort of brideprice, largely disappeared; the dowry became the most important marriage payment; the *ketubba* was established, payable to the wife at the end of a marriage. The last had no Graeco-Roman equivalent, and it was one of the few ways in which Jewish women got a better deal from marriage than their contemporaries, but S. sees it as a rabbinic 'fantasy' which never caught on. Ideologically, marriage tended to be seen as less important than blood relationships in the male line.

Some minor complaints. The Greek epiklerate is described incorrectly in Chapter 8. *Univira* has become *univera* throughout. The proof-reading does not seem to have been very effective, and minor misprints abound. Non-specialists would find the book easier to use if there was a glossary of technical terms. However, these do not detract from S.'s huge achievement in giving historians access to a complex and fascinating world which usually remains beyond the horizon.

University of Wales, Lampeter DAVID NOY

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