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> ZE'EN HERZOG TEL ANN UNIVERSITY

Hintie Prayers. By Ivanear Sincore, edited by Harry A. Hoffner. Jr. Wettings from the Ancient World, vol. 11. Adiante. Society of Birlacal Luterarune, 2002. Pp. 23 + 141, 524 95 (paper).

Voici presque singi-cinq ans que je publiais un corpus des Bymnes et prières hitties avec transinteration, traduction et commentaire succinct. L'ouvrage comportait également une introduction à la eligion hittie ains gue quelques seffections concernant la terminologie et l'authropologie de la prière intitie. En un quan de siècle, grâce à la découverte de nouveaux fragments et en caison de progrès accomplis en matière de philotogie autoiteme, d'histoire du monde hittite et de la paisographie des sécents publication des Bittite Proyecs par notre émisent collègue de l'Univerant de Ele-Aux, le Projone ainsi d'un instrument de consultation digue de sonfance. Tout comme dans le cas de la célèbre too tes claime, destinés à nous présenter les enjeux de la prière hittie, son sociabulaire, les implicases seut utilitaire. Forant se don de paper les dieux à sa cause par la qualité de se arquirent. Il est de seutel de l'ouvrage est réservé aux tentes présentés en ordre cirronologique dans une excelleme un le tente de l'ouvrage est réservé aux tentes présentés en ordre cirronologique dans une excelleme une le tente de l'ouvrage est réservé aux tentes présentés en ordre cirronologique dans une excelleme une le tente de le rouvrage est réservé aux tentes présentés en ordre cirronologique dans une excelleme un-

Le pennier paragraphe (pp. 21–28) concerne trais prières pour la prospérité du roi; remontant à l'ancien royaume linitie, elles sont connues par des copies tardives, ou, éventuellement, moyen-linities, deux de l'orage contre la calonnie esconstituée partiellement grâce à de nouveaux fragments et inédites (CTH 389-2), et une prière à la décaux Suciel d'Arinna pour la protection du couple royal (CTH 385-10). Le second parentrellement, ELBS 57-69 et 57-60.

channe par deux exempnares. E.S.S. 57.45 et 57.46.
Le second paragraphe segrouse des pricess relevant de la période dénomnée par l'auteur "Articien
Empire lintine" (pp. 29-46), aoû le début du 14ème siècle. Nous trouvons une acmise en ordre biensenne de CTH 372, 373, 374, aoû des pricess adressées au dieu Soleil en vue d'apaiser la colère d'une

dvanté. Le plus ancienne de ces prières parallèles est celle de Kantuzzili, à laquelle succèdent respectivement les prières d'un roi et d'un simple mortel. Vient ensuite la prière d'Armuwanda et Asmonikal à la desses botieil d'Arinna à propos des destructions opérées par les Gasques pontiques, en particulier dars la ville de Nérik, un des hauts lieux du culte au dieu de l'orage (CTH 375); on constatera à propos de ce text l'importance des fragments inédits. Singer fait intervenir ensuite la prière hourrite de la reine Jaduhepa adressée à Tessub pour le bien-être de l'asmi-sarri = Tudhahya II (CTH 7718). Le paragraphe se conclut par la prière CTH 376 adressée à la décesse Roieil d'Arinna en use de la protection du pays Hatti contre la peste et les enuemis; il est raissonable de dater cette composition d'une époque que un entre cette composition d'une époque que un entre la peste et les enuemis; il est raissonable de dater cette composition d'une époque une que un entre la peste et les enuemis; il est raissonable de dater cette composition d'une époque et de mention du pays hourrite ou du Kizzuwatta comme des entités autonones. La copie en norte des entités autonones. La copie en norte possessaton est toutefrois tardive, tandis que la prière elle-nême a été reprise par Mursili II dans l'hymne et la prière qu'il adresse à la décesse Soieil d'Arinna (CTH 376.A.).

C'est précisément cette dernière prière qui maugure le troisième paragraphe consacré aux prières de Mursiii il contre la peste et les ennemis du Hatti (pp. 47-49). Toutes ces prières d'un intéris partieuler au point de sue historique sont relativement ben conservées. Singer voit dans CFH 379 une magnième prière contre la peste adressée à l'ensentité des dieux, on notera au passage que la prière s'ouvre par une adressée aux dieux classées par catégories et qu'elle contient aussi des informations utiles concernant les relations égypto-hittites. Toujours dans le même paragraphe, à la suite de CFH 376. A le lecteur trouvera la traduction de l'hymne-prière adressé quotidientement au som du roi par le scribe 3 Leipinu (CFH 377).

Un paragraphe spécial est ensuite réservé par l'auteur aux prières de Mursili II à caractère privé (pr. 70-79). Elles concernent la maladie de son épouse Gassatiiyawiya et le rôle obseur joué par la reine Tavannanna d'origine habylonienne; Singer se range aux côtés des hittitologues voyant dans Gassatiiyawiya l'épouse de Mursili II plutôt qu'une fille de Hattusili III. Remarquous particulièrement dans ce paragraphe que l'auteur woit dans CTH 376.F une supplique de Mursili II à la déesse Soieil d'Arinna en faveur de Gassatiiyawiya. D'autre part, sont considérés comme prières de Mursili II les textes CTH 70 et 71, soit respectivement des accusations du roi à l'encontre de Tavannanna et, par ailleurs, les fairis liés à la déposition de Tavannanna, chassée du palais royal mais non mise à mort en depit du tort causé.

Le cinquième paragraphe est consacré aux deux grandes prières de Muwanalli II, bien conservées et intéressantes à plus d'un titre (pp. 80-95). La pernière de ces prières est une plaidorte adressée par le roi au dieu de l'orage de Kummanni (CTH 382), le texte sentifie avoir été diecé directement au scribe par le roi. La prière trouverait son origine dans un décin du Kizzuwatna attribué à une irritation du dieu de l'orage dont il convenial de netrouver les causes afin d'y remédier au plus vire; les négligences cultuelles ne pouvaient être écurties. Le roi est décidé à remédier à cente àtuntion. La seconde prière, la plus longue prière hittie comme à ce jour, objet d'une étude approfondie due à Singer soici quelques années (Mouvaialli's Persor to the Assembly of Codo Through the Storm-God of Lightung (CTH 387).

[Atlantic ASOR, 1995]), est adressée par le souverain à l'ensemble des deux par l'intermédiaire du dieu de l'orage de l'éclair (CTH 381). Cette prière etait un modèle du genre, elle contient notamment la description de nombreux pantiéons locaux.

Le dernier paragruphe (pp. 96-130) regroupe les prieres de Hattusiti III et de son épouse Paduhepa, ainsi que l'une des rates prieres sermouées de Tudhaliya IV, celle à la décose Solieit d'Arimus en faveur des succès militaires (CTB 385.9). Nous disposons d'une excellente traduction pour deux grandes prieres qui soulignent la permanence de l'importance de la décose Solieit d'Arimu assimilie à l'époque à Bébait d'a sigit en premier lieu de la prière de Hattusiti par laquelle le roi essaire de souligner sa reclait de CTB 383, et en second ieu, de la termarquable prière de Puduhepa à la grande décose et à son cercle pour assaure le bien-être de son épous (CTB 384). On ajoutenc enfin les quelques fragments de prières au dieu de l'orage de Nerik pour lequel Hattusiti manifestait une dévotion particulière (CTB 385.6).

Le lisere se termine par la présentation bienvenue des sources, pour chaque prêce le lecteur trouvernla nomenclature des tatientes avec la référence mise à jour au CTFL, ainsi que la bibliographie complète la concernant. De la p. 1919 à la p. 192 est présentée une bibliographie plus générale relative à la prêce hittite. à la resligion hittite et assis à la prêcre dans d'autres civilisations orientales éEgopte, Mésopotamie). Des index assez précis cifourent ce ravail. Quelques remarques, certes minimes, peuvent encore être formulées:

- p. 78 n. 2: lire KUB 18.42, 6'.
- p. 79 n. 10: lire LUGAL-pat.
- p. 80: n'est-il pas exagéré de qualifier Muwatalli II de grand vainqueur de la bataille de Qadesh? Le qualificatif me paraît devoir être nuancé.
- p. 81: l'identification à coup sûr séduisante de Kummanni avec la classique Comana de Cappadoce semble pouvoir être mise en doute depuis les récentes recherches de notre Collègue Marie-Claude Trémouille, cf. entre autres, "Une fête du mois pour Tessub et Hebat," SMEA 37 (1996): 101ff.

Nous remercions mille fois le Professeur Singer pour cet excellent corpus des prières hittites, remarquable par le qualité des traductions et les remarques pertinentes susceptibles de toujours parfaire notre connaissance de l'Homo Hethaeus.

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Life and Society in the Hittite World. By TREVOR BRYCE. Oxford: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2002. Pp. xiv + 312, illus.

The book under review follows on the heels of Trevor Bryce's The Kingdom of the Hittites (Oxford, 1998), which was a narrative of political history. The new book completes Bryce's study of Hittite history by presenting the social and economic history of the Hittite state. In successive chapters we learn of "King, Court and Royal Officials," "The People and the Law," "The Scribe," "The Merchant," "The Warrior," "Marriage," "The Gods," "The Curers of Disease," "Death, Burial and the Afterlife," "Festivals and Rituals," "Myth," "The Capital," and "Links across the Wine-Dark Sea."

The fact that the book under review concentrates on social and economic history should not put anyone off. Hittite evidence does not lend itself to lots of graphs and charts and this book is very engagingly written. Bryce always attempts to bring Hittite society to life. Unimportant yet fascinating details, such as the private letters to their opposite numbers that scribes appended to royal letters, add immeasurably to the reader's enjoyment. Bryce is to be praised for pointing out that magic rituals were not just for the elite, as other authors have asserted, but contain clauses concerning what those of modest means may substitute for high-priced ingredients (p. 203). The discussion of how myths may have actually been performed (pp. 212f.) is fascinating,

In many places Bryce paints engaging pictures of daily life. Many are solidly based on the texts or archaeology; some are totally speculative, with no evidence one way or another (such as a description of the Hittite port of Ura), but they always ring true. As with Bryce's political history, here he deftly navigates among competing ideas on many points and generally chooses the most reasonable and presents it in a straightforward readable way (without-for better or for worse-confusing and boring us by explaining and then destroying all the losing theories).

Of course there are mistakes and places where, despite his usual surefootedness, Bryce has gone

p. xi: I suspect that Huzziya I was simply Ammuna's illegitimate son, as the text has been traditionally understood. Tahurwaili was probably not just a usurper, but represented the legitimate male line, being a son of Ammuna's brother, Zuru (as opposed to Alluwamna, the son-in-law of Ammuna's sonin-law [Beal, THeth 20, 329 n. 1257]). Zidanta II was probably a nephew of Hantili II (Beal, THeth 20,

- p. 6: On "servitude," see below to p. 78.
- p. 15: No Middle Eastern monarchy was "absolute and unaccountable." This is a Roman imperial concept. While nothing like the U.S. Constitution's clear checks and balances existed, ideology had it that all kings were simply servants of the gods, who could depose them (by causing a rebellion to be successful), should they not rule with justice. For a fine discussion of this concept, see Bryce himself

pp. 19, 140: Hattusili's favorite deity was not Ishtar, but Shaushga, a Hurrian goddess, who was,

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- however, similar to the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. p. 20. I have recently argued that Hittite kings did not have personal names and then take "throne names. Our control of the control of that the changed their names at their accession to the throne, and indeed considerable evidence to the contrary,
- pp. 27, 66f...1 think it unfortunate that Bryce has chosen to follow Imparati's suggestion that the See GsImparati (Eothen 11), 55-70. title "son of the king" was honorific. There is no evidence for someone receiving this title, and much evidence for holders of the title being either actual sons of the king or descendants of kings. That there are many "sons of the king" about is easily explained by the existence of numerous sons of the king by women other than the queen and by the hereditary nature of the title. For a modern state run almost exclusively by sons and grandsons of just one admittedly overly fecund king, note the case of Saudi
- p. 29: I'm not sure that SUHUR.LALs were a class of royal concubines, rather than just "attendant
- p. 51: "In view of the heavy demands imposed on the kingdom's manpower by constant military women. campaigns, slave labour must have become an indispensable element in the economy of the kingdom." There is little evidence for such a statement. The Hittite army had a corps of standing army troops who were paid rations. Those people (soldiers and others) supported by land grants-in-pay had "associates," not slaves, who did the farming when the grantee was on duty. Warfare was only a summertime affair and levies of the citizenry, when needed, could usually be timed to avoid planting and harvest, the only times when maximal personnel were needed in agriculture. Great secular and religious estates were certainly run by bound peasantry, but these workers were not slaves. When slaves are mentioned in texts, the references are consistent with house slaves or craftsmen rather than agricultural slaves.
- p. 58: That the difficulties of mastering cuneiform "precluded all but a specially trained minority from ever acquiring competence" is belied by the history of writing in China. It is true that generally in the ancient Near East only a small group of scribes ever became literate, but that is because these were the only ones who needed to. When wider literacy was needed, as for instance by the Old Assyrian merchants, a wider circle of people was perfectly capable of learning cunciform.
- p. 62: While Bryce refers to "prisoners-of-war recorded in the Annals of Mursili II," these were not in fact prisoners-of-war (i.e., captured soldiers—\$ABTŪTU / appantes) but rather captured civilians to be transported and resettled (NAM.RA.MEŠ / arnuwaleš).
- p. 75: It is an important point that granting fragmented estates to retainers weakened the position of that retainer in disputes with the king in particular, but on the other hand it benefited the retainer economically by diversifying his economic risk.
- p. 78: Bryce is to be commended for being one of the few in ancient Near Eastern studies to realize that civilians captured during conquest and resettled should not be called "deportees" (by definition people forcibly expelled from your country), since they are instead being forcibly brought into your country. Bryce uses the term "transportee," which he as an Australian knows is the correct English term. This word has the added advantage of being the precise literal translation of the Hittite term arnuwalas. He is surely right to point out that the influx of thousands of these transportees would have prevented any labor shortages. He is also correct to point out that they were a valuable commodity, used as much as anything else to (re)populate sparsely inhabited parts of the kingdom (p. 100). That those captured by soldiers became slaves is likely; those given to temples could not leave or marry out, but could freely bring in brides; and those captured by the king seem to have been given land, aid in setting up a farm, and a several-year tax break, and appear to have become ordinary peasants.
 - p. 96: Bryce's description of what little we know of Hittite merchants is good. Fortunately, he does not fall into the trap of parroting the theory-driven nonsense found in some other books to the effect that people hadn't evolved enough to have markets or that proto-Soviet "oriental" despots needed to control everything and therefore stamped out trade, with the result that there were no merchants, only control everything and the complain that Bryce minimizes the Hittites' role in buying agents. That said, it is perhaps churlish to complain that Bryce minimizes the Hittites' role in ouying agents. That sale, it is a fact pointed out by Bruce that Hittite merchants were angering the king of Ugarit by

acquiring too much real estate in Ugarit surely points to the important role they played in international

Why do we assume that those born on the east coast of the Mediterranean or on Cyprus and even on the coast of totally woodless Egypt were born sailors, both merchant and naval, but those born on the well-wooded southern coast of Anatolia "were passive participants" in sea trade, and when a navy was needed that it was up to Ugarit to provide it? This is particularly odd when the evidence concerning the merchants of Ura shows that Hittite seafarers were equal to or even superior to those of Ugarit. Similarly, in an earlier period, while the Assur-to-Kanish trade appears to have been pretty exclusively in the hands of Assyrians, in trade within Anatolia the Assyrian had many Anatolian colleagues and competitors. Since the Hittite laws (§5) give varying damages, depending on whether the murdered merchant was in Hatti, or Luwia (western Anatolia), or elsewhere, and since the later copy (KBo 6.3 i 10) of the laws specifically indicates that the merchant in question is a Hittite, we have evidence here too for trade in the hands of Hittites, not just those of foreigners.

p. 99: While Mursili II likes to present himself as often prevailing through kindness, whereas the Assyrian kings customarily presented themselves as blood-curdling terrors in order to frighten adversaries into non-resistance, even Mursili II was capable of the latter tactic. In his year ten, during the storming of the mountain fortress of Aripsa, its complete plundering and the carrying off of all of its people caused its neighboring fortress of Dukkama to surrender on terms. A certain amount of scorched-earth policy, particularly employed to force the Kaskaeans to give battle, can also be seen in Mursili's autobiography.

p. 103: In recent times in Anatolia (see British Admiralty, A Handbook for Anatolia, vol. 1 [1919], 230f.) most grain was planted in the autumn-September on the plateau and late November in the low country. Should this not be carried out, a secondary planting could be done the following early spring. Thus planting may not have been much disrupted by the summer campaign season. It is on harvests, particularly those on the plateau (July/August, but May/June in the lowlands) where military campaigns would have had the greatest impact.

p. 112: That horses and chariots were introduced to the Hittites by the Hurrians is far less certain than Bryce would have us believe. There are two purely Hittite horse-training manuals in Middle Script and Middle Hittite language that are as old or older than the Kikkuli text (in New Script). For the dating of these and their Hittite character, see E. Neu in Kanissuwar: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock (Chicago, 1986), 151-63, also F. Starke, Ausbildung und Training von Streitwagenpferden, StBoT 41 (Wiesbaden, 1995), 109-33. Furthermore, all of these horse-training texts are Middle Hittite, but chariotry is already mentioned in the Old Hittite and even pre-Old Hittite periods (Beal, THeth 20, 141-44; Starke, StBoT 41, 124). There were certainly Hurrians in the neighborhood in those days too, but there is no evidence one way or another that the Hittites got the idea of chariotry from them.

pp. 113, 181: The translation relies on an outdated translation by Goetze from the 1950s. Bryce should have used that of B. J. Collins, in Context of Scripture 1 (1997), 166, which would have shown that the symbols of femininity were distaff and spindle (see, already, N. Oettinger, StBoT 22, 10f. [1976]), not a mirror. Productivity and not vanity was considered the primary characteristic of Hittite

p. 135: I do not see how Hittite polytheism is a more "extreme form" than anybody else's.

p. 135: Sharruma does not stand behind both his mother and father on the Yazılıkaya reliefs, but only behind his mother, and ahead of his sister. Behind his father Tessub is the latter's brother Tashmishu, as shown by the god lists (see H. G. Güterbock in K. Bittel et al., Yazılıkaya [1976], 172).

p. 138: It seems unlikely that "Tudhaliya sought to build up as much credit as he could with the divine powers in the ever darkening final years of the empire" through massive building activity. If the situation was "ever darkening" it is unlikely that there would have been sufficient funds or available personnel for such widespread building activity. Furthermore, since it appears that the empire went on some twenty-five more years after Tudhaliya's death under Tudhaliya's younger son Suppiluliuma II. and since both of these kings had notable military successes, it seems unlikely that it occurred to and since point of these songs.

Tudhaliya that the empire might not outlive his son. Without the benefit of hindsight, it would have appeared that the empire was in pretty good shape compared to the situation in many previous reigns. appeared that the chipme was a provided by the second of t are it had to do with his less-than-stellar claim to the throne, being a younger son of a usurping younger are a nation of the extraordinary concerns surrounding his accession are detailed by Th. van den Hout, Purity son. The control of Kingship (1998). The nearly successful seizure of the kingdom by Kurunta, representing the elder line, shows that these fears were not misplaced.

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p. 139: Mesopotamian and Hittite gods, unlike those of Greece and Rome, do represent morality, especially the Sungod, god of justice (pp. 141f.), And, as Bryce himself points out later (p. 140), "any god could be invoked as a defender of justice and punisher of wrong doing."

p. 143: I do not think that the Sungoddess was bisexual. The only evidence for this view is from an older prayer to the Sungod that was transformed into a prayer to the Sungoddess in which in a few cases the adapter failed to change "my lord" to "my lady." See I. Singer, Hittite Prayers (2002), 49-50, with bibliography. On the other hand, Bryce is correct that bisexuality is a characteristic of Ishtar/ Shaushga, a characteristic appropriate to this goddess of liminality. The excellent discussion on this goddess by R. Harris, Gender and Aging (2000), 158-71, would have further informed the discussion

p. 148; The male tutelary deity Kurunta (LAMMA) is portrayed as a god standing on a stag. The on p. 147. tutelary deity of the hunting bag is, of course, another type of tutelary deity.

p. 149: I am disappointed not to find a discussion here of the grandmother goddess Hannahanna. This important deity, according to Hittite mythology, exhorts her son the Stormgod to get himself moving and search for the missing god. Then when that fails, she comes up with the idea of sending the bee on this errand, finally resulting in the finding of the missing deity (see p. 212). In another version, it is Hannahanna herself who goes missing and must be found in order to save the gods and mankind from disaster. The reality of the traditional Middle Eastern woman's role in society (which, ignorant Western comments to the contrary, continues to this day) is totally ignored. Hannahanna is also important, since many writers have ignorantly spilled much ink on Anatolian "mother goddesses." The reality is that the goddess who gives birth is not the same as the goddess who aids in childbirth. In Hittite Anatolia, the Sungoddess of Arinna / Hepat is the wife who gives birth, whereas Hannahanna, the experienced old grandmother, past childbearing herself, aids women in childbirth, a situation probably reflecting human birthgiving and midwifing practice. Bryce also neglects the Gulses, the goddesses who spin the fates.

p. 160. It is only the young male gods at Yazılıkaya who wear short tunics extending to just above the knee. The older male gods, such as Kumarbi, Ea, Kushuh, and Pishaishapi, wear tunics reaching their ankles, but slit to allow a bare striding leg.

p. 172: Kings Mursili I, Tudhaliya II, Arnuwanda II, Arnuwanda III, and probably Hantili II, all seem to have failed to produce a son of the first rank, not just Muwattalli II.

pp. 200, 213f.: The theory of "sympathetic magic" or "analogic magic" is the idea of late Greek

philosophers, taken up by medieval European magicians, wary of prowling inquisitors. Hittites and ancient Mesopotamians were attempting to communicate with spirits, whether gods or the essences of a piece of cedar, by saying and simultaneously acting out exactly what they wanted the spirit to do. p. 201: While Bryce is certainly correct that hasawa-does not literally mean "old woman," the

form of the noun (contra many previous authors) is not correct for a meaning "(she) of birth" (*has-

p. 211: For "flew into a rage," read "became sullen" (Chicago Hittite Dictionary, vol. \$ [2002], suwa-); see Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary, vol. H, 229.

13-15). Telipinu is not angrily destroying things but going missing, thus by his inaction causing disaster. Bryce's paraphrase of the myth has one other major flaw: it omits entirely the grandmother

p. 230: In FsHoffner (2003) I hope I have shown that Hattusa was not refounded by Hattusili as is goddess Hannahanna (see comment to p. 149, above).

often stated, but was already a royal seat several generations earlier.

p. 252: Bryce underestimates people's abilities to speak multiple languages when they live in close proximity to others speaking these languages. I have met people in rural parts of today's Hatay fluent in Arabic, Turkish, and Kurdish and have been addressed in heaven knows how many languages by

oppeepers in issumous a security of the capital is quite good, but there should have been a cross refshopkeepers in Istanbul's bedestan. pp. 230–33. Page 2 centre of the massive granaries recently excavated. There also should have erence to p. 77 for a description of the massive granaries recently excavated.

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been some discussion of the water basins, both large and small, and the fresh-water and drain-water systems of the city. One hopes that the second edition will include a description of a city other than the capital for parallels and contrasts, now that the excavations at the provincial capital Sarissa/Kusakl have progressed to the point that distinctive features are recognizable (reports published each year in Mitteilumgen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft).

pp. 254f.: I fail to see how Tudhaliya IV's enormous building activities at Hattusa entailed a "concentration of resources," since by all accounts Tudhaliya was also building and renovating all over the empire. Again, this shows a prosperous kingdom with considerable surplus, and only our hindsight suggests that the king would have been prudent to use these resources massively to overfund the peacetime military.

p. 256: There is considerably more time that needs to be accounted for in the chronology given here. If we guess with Bryce that Tudhaliya IV's reign ended around 1209 (p. xi), and it seems quite clear that the empire lasted until around 1180/1175, then Tudhaliya's younger son Suppiluliuma II would appear to have had a reign of twenty to twenty-five years, not the "few years" Bryce assumes. The current excavator of Boğazköy, J. Seeherr, has suggested that perhaps the reason for the relative dearth of material related to Suppiluliuma II at Hattusa (compared to that connected with Hattusili III and Tudhaliya IV) is that Suppiluliuma may have moved the capital elsewhere, leaving an active, but diminished Hattusa.

p. 227 n. 30: For "brother" read "younger son."

None of these suggestions should imply that this is anything but a fine book. They are given in the hope that the second edition will be even better. There is nothing available which is as good on Hittite history as Professor Bryce's two books. Both are highly recommended for the expert, the student, and the interested layman. We wish them both a long life, with many future editions incorporating new discoveries.

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Hattuschili und Ramses: Hethiter und Ägypter—ihr langer Weg zum Frieden. By Horst Klengel.

Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002. Pp. 199, illus. €39,80.

In this time when, on one hand, an almost century-old enmity between the United States and Russia has turned into a somewhat wary friendship, and when, on the one hand, peace between Israelis and Palestinians seems ever further away, it is interesting to look at the history of a relationship between two of the Late Bronze Age's rival superpowers, the Hittles of central Anatolia (modern Turkey) and Horse Viewal C.

Horst Klengel, Germany's leading historian of the Hitties, traces this relationship from the initial efforts by both powers to expand into Syria, through generations of hostility, a surprising offer by the widowed Egyptian queen to put a Hittite prince on the Egyptian throne (thwarted by Egyptian harving). The back of the property o

The book discusses the ancient sources and the problems of chronology and then the early temporary successes of Egyptian and Hittie campaigns into Syria. It unaccountably omits (p. 39) the conquest seizure of northern Syria from the Mittanians, who had long been rivals of the Egyptians, but who The conquest of Mirror of the Egyptians, but who

The conquest of Mittanni gave the Hittites and Egyptians a common border and so a source of constant warfare. This culminated in the showdown at Qids between Great King Muwattalli II and the young Pharaoh Ramses II. The book is tied together by a study of the peacemakers, Hittitie Great King Hatušili III and Egyptian Pharaoh Ramses II, and their treaty. Klengel details the physical settings in

which each of these kings lived. We learn of the personalities and domestic and foreign problems faced by these two rulers (particularly by the usurper Hattusiii) and how this pushed them into a peace treaty. There is a particularly fine description of treaty negotiations, the contents of the treaty, the divine witnesses, how the treaty physically looked on the tablets, and even speculation as to how one might affix a scal to a metal tablet.

Thanks to the preservation of a considerable number of tablets containing letters between the Hittite and Egyptian courts, Klengel is able to lay out the course of negotiations for a marriage alliance—or perhaps two—between the courts and the concerns and demands of the royal parents and of the royal bridegroom-to-be and his queen(!). What little we know of the subsequent fate of the Hittite princess is also mentioned. This is followed by several chapters concerning the peace, which lasted down to the destruction of the Hittites at the end of the Late Bronze Age.

The book is designed for the general reader and contains little new for the Hittite scholar. However, as would be expected of Klengel, the information is complete, accurate, up-to-date, and quite readable. It is also full of excellent photographs of geography, surviving architecture, close-ups of royal mumities. Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions, and tablets so clear they are readable. Much of the subject matter is out of the ordinary: I particularly like a photograph of the Hittite heartland covered in snow in May, reminding us how different the Hittite lands are from Egypt and the stereotypical Middle East.

There are of course a few problems. There is one typo: on p. 68 for Hattuschilis I, read Hattuschilis III.

It is odd that the presence of Qids on the Hittite side at the battle fought under its walls should be thought surprising (p. 63). Qids was, after all, a Hittite tributary state, albeit a difficult one. It had been conquered when Suppiluliuma I took Syria from the Mittannian empire; and—not too long before the battle and after the crushing of a rebellion—had had a king, Niqmaddu, installed by Muršli II. Before the campaigns of Suppiluliuma it was very likely the southermnost tributary state of the Mittannian empire (not, as stated on p. 39, the northern border state of Egypt). Thutmosis III failed to take Qids on his sixth campaign (so also Klengel, GS, 158), but captured it on his eighth campaign.

Olds is next mentioned in Thutmosis' seventeenth campaign, when the pharaoh took a number of minor towns in its vicinity from their Mittannian garrisons. Klengel (GS, 159), concludes that Qids had minor towns in its vicinity from their Mittannian garrisons. Klengel (GS, 159), concludes that Qids had remained loyal to Egypt and that therefore its capture was not mentioned, but I would guess that the remained loyal to Egypt and that therefore its capture was not mentioned, but I would guess that the remained loyal to Egypt and that Mittannians garrison in the big city held out and Thutnians returned. On the seventeenth campaign the Mittannian garrison in the big city held out and Thutnians returned. On the seventeenth campaign the Mittannian garrison in the big city held out and Thutnians was was only able to capture a few outlying garrisons. As Klengel himself points out (GS, 159), by mosis was only able to capture a few outlying garrisons. As Klengel himself points out (GS, 159), to the end of Thutmosis' reign, the prince of Qids is portrayed beside those of Hatti, Crete, and Tunip, none of whom were under Egyptian control.

When Amenhotep II in his seventh year was in the vicinity with his army, the prince of Qids came to him in submission. Klengel concludes that Qids thereafter remained in the zone of Egyptian influence. Admittedly, Egyptian lists subsequently include Qids (and English kings called themselves "King ence. Admittedly, Egyptian lists subsequently include Qids (and English kings called themselves "King ence. Admittedly, Egyptian lists subsequently include Qids (and English kings called themselves "King it actually returned to Mittannian control when the Egyptian had departed. First, the rulers of Qids in it actually returned to Mittannian control when the Egyptian had departed. First, the rulers of Qids in the Amarria age, Sutatarra and Aitagama, appear to have names indicating some connection with the Amarria age, Sutatarra and Aitagama, appear to have been loash to cross into Egyptian terri-Mittannian royal dynasty. Secondly, the Hittites seem to have been loash to cross into Egyptian terri-Mittannian royal dynasty. Secondly, the Hittites seem to have been loash to cross into Egyptians in the taking Qids (or Amurru for that matter) from Egypt. Syrian letters of Joyalty to the Egyptians in the taking Qids (or Amurru for that matter) from Egypt. Syrian letters of Joyalty to the Egyptians in the face of Suppiluliuma's (or a neighbor's) army can be seen, at best, as a way of seeking help from their face of Suppiluliuma's (or a neighbor's) army can be seen, at best, as a way of seeking help from their face of Suppiluliuma's (or a neighbor's) army can be seen, at best, as a way of seeking help from their face of Suppiluliuma's (or a neighbor's) army can be seen, at best, as a way of seeking help from their face of Suppiluliuma's (or a neighbor's) army can be seen, at best, as a way of seeking help from their face of Suppiluliuma's (or a neighbor's) army can be seen, at best, as a way of seeking help from their face of Suppiluliuma's (or a neighbor's) army can be seen, at best, as a way of seeking help from their face of

We really ought to refer to Hattusli III's personal goddess, the goddess of the city of Samuha, as We really ought to refer to Hattusli III's personal goddess, the goddess of the city of Samuha, as samilar Roman goddess Venus as Aphrodite. Similarly, Hattuslii's father-in-law was priest of Sausga similar Roman goddess Venus as Aphrodite. Similarly, Hattuslii's father-in-law was priest of Sausga (not listar—p. 102) of Lawazantiya. I seriously doubt that in southern Anatolia and northern Syria the goddess Istar was called Hebat (p. 102), thus supposedly accounting for the priest of Sausga giving his goddess Istar was called Hebat (p. 102), thus supposedly accounting for the priest of Sausga giving his goddess Istar was called Hebat (p. 102), thus supposedly accounting for the priest of Sausga giving his goddess Istar was called Hebat (p. 102), thus supposedly accounting for the priest of Sausga giving his accounting for the priest of Sausga giving his goddesses, while mythological texts show them with wildly divergent personalities and functions.

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Hebat is Tessub's wife and Sausga is his sister. Since this is a polytheistic society, there is no reason necessarily to have all children named after the same deity.

In discussing weapons of war (p. 69), it should have been mentioned that the Hittites changed from the usual two-man chariots to three-man chariots between their battle with Pharaoh Seti I and that of Qids with Ramses II, occasioning considerable surprise among the Egyptians (see Beal, THeth 20, 148f).

There are also a number of places where a useful explanatory aside is repeated in full when the subject is again mentioned, for instance that "Urchi-Teschub" was the Hurrian personal name of Muršili III (pp. 68, 73).

This is an interesting book, well recommended to that interested layman whom so many of us unfortunately ignore at the peril of the future of our field. However, even those more familiar with the material will find the presentation of such a learned author a useful refresher.

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Tell Kosak Shamali, vol. 1: The Archaeological Investigations on the Upper Euphrates, Syria: Chalcolithic Architecture and the Earlier Prehistoric Remains. Edited by Yoshihiro Nishiaki and Toshio Matsutani. UMUT Monographs, vol. 1. Tokyo: The University Museum of the University of Tokyo, 2001. Pp. 238, illus. \$60. [Distrib. in North American by David Brown Book Company, Oakville, Conn.]

The first volume in the publication of recent Japanese excavations at a Neolithic and Chalcolithic site in northern Syria emphasizes its earlier levels, belonging to the Late Neolithic period. It is in English with a brief Arabic summary.

Following a brief history of investigation and the topography, geology, and geomorphology of the site's surroundings, chapter two reports on an ethnographic study by Masayuki Akahori at the modern village of Kosak Shamali. Chapters three and four deal with the stratigraphy. They provide clear descriptions of the excavation methods and recording system, along with numerous phase plans and well-executed stratigraphic sections. Level 18 in sector A and level 8 in sector B pertain to the pre-Halaf Late Neolithic, levels 17-10 in A to the early Northern Ubaid, levels 9-4 in A to the late Northern Ubaid, levels 3-1 in A and 7 in B to the terminal Northern Ubaid, levels 6-5 in sector B to the post-and control of the prost-and the pre-state of the prost-and pre-state post-and the pre-state of the pre-s

Apart from various domestic structures, important finds include well-preserved pottery workshops of the post-Ubaid period. Each level in each excavated area is illustrated with both a "plan," showing stone features and pits, and a "reconstruction" plan, which shows reconstructed wall lines based on evidence of tauf or mud brick. However, the different authorship of these chapters has led to inconsistent organization and content, and a table correlating the levels in the two excavation sectors does not appear until chapter five. Clearer indication of the role of intrusive pits cut from later levels would have been helpful, especially given the admission in chapter seven that most of the Neolithic deposits were heavily disturbed by later activities. Otherwise, the stratigraphic and architectural discussion is clear and sufficiently detailed.

Chapter five provides great detail on the sampling and sample preparation of materials for radiocarbon dating and on presentation and analysis of the resulting radiocarbon determinations. Tables provide excellent summaries of the state of samples submitted for dates, helping us to evaluate the usefulness of submitted samples and understand some of the dating discrepancies. The discussion emphasizes high-quality samples from the burned building in level 10 of sector A, where the dates agree remarkably well and are consistent with chronotypology. Elsewhere it attributes obvious discrepancies between stratigraphic and radiocarbon evidence to plausible intrusions. However, given that radiocarbon determinations are only probability statements, some of the "discrepancies," such as reversed order, require no such special pleading, particularly given statistical errors on the order of ±150 years.

Chapter six summarizes finds of Palaeolithic artifacts that are probably residual from the Upper

Pleistocene sediments on which Tell Kosak Shamali rests. Then chapters seven through nine deal with the pottery, flaked stone, and other finds of the site's Neolithic occupation.

the pottery, makes analyzes Neolithic pottery from both undisturbed and mixed deposits together, as Chapter seven analyzes Neolithic pottery from both undisturbed and mixed deposits together, as small sample size and the ubiquity of disturbance obviated stratigraphic divisions. It provides quantitative analysis of some 1600 sherds, outlining variation in fabric, technology, surface treatment, and chemical composition. There are clear illustrations of 143 sherds and photographs of selected sherds and two whole vessels. The chapter indicates that the bulk of pottery was locally made and, within broad technological constraints, highly variable, while rare pieces include Dark-Faced Burnished Ware. The local ware is mainly plant-tempered, comparable in many respects to pottery from Tell Sabi Abyad, level 8, and possibly Amuq A/Quoeiq A. Impressed decoration is prominent, and necked jars seem a

Chapter eight documents the small assemblage of Neolithic flaked stone artifacts, with some reference to residual Neolithic tools from later levels. This is a fairly typical Late Neolithic industry, based mainly on the production of flakes from amorphous single-platform cores, and with retouched tools consisting almost entirely of sickle elements. "Exedient" tools (used, unretouched flakes) were probably also more common than indicated, as these would have been classed with the non-tool debitage except where gloss or edge nibbling was obvious. Overall, the assemblage exhibits similarity to that of Tell Halula, about fifteen kilometers to the southwest on the other side of the Euphrates.

Chapter nine briefly describes ground-stone and bone tools, and chapter ten offers some brief conclusions. It appears that the Late Neolithic settlement represented a small hamlet, providing additional evidence of the widespread shrinking of settlements in this period, and was probably quickly abandoned. Later occupation may represent a transition from Halaf to early Ubaid or culture contact between Halafian and Ubaid communities.

Although the samples are small and often from disturbed contexts, this report brings important evidence to bear on the chronology and culture of the upper Syrian Euphrates at the important time from the end of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic through the Ubaid expansion.

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The Pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian Period. By PAUL-ALAIN BEAULIEU. Cunciform Monographs, vol. 23. Leiden: BRILL-STYX, 2003. Pp. xxvi + 424. €99, \$118.

This admirably designed book represents an enormous step in the study of Babylonian religion and towards understanding the theological conceptions of the ancient world. The work is based on all relevance towards the Yale Babylonian Collection and the Princeton Theological Seminary, as well as on vant texts of the Yale Babylonian Collections. Among them, nineteen texts are published here in handlets from some other cuneiform collections. Among them, nineteen texts are published here in handlets from some other cuneiform collections, around six hundred Neo-Babylonian texts are quoted copy, transliteration, and translation. In addition, around six hundred Neo-Babylonian texts are quoted copy, transliteration, and translation or examined discussed in the volume, and most of them are given in transliteration and translation or examined discussed in the volume, and most of them are given in transliteration and translation or examined the properties of the pr

ined in extenso.

The contents of this volume are diverse and rich in detail. Treated are various aspects of cultic The contents of this volume are diverse and rich in detail. Treated are various aspects of cultic activities in the Eanna temple and its daily routine, the role of the goddess Istar and other delities, inactivities in the Eanna temple and its daily routine, there is extensively of the detities, offerings, temple cluding minor ones, cultic paraphernalia, elothing cremonies, jewelry of the detities, offerings, temple personnel, sacred meals, prebends and the functions of prebendaries. The philological discussions are personnel, sacred meals, prebends and the functions of prebendaries.

supplemented with an extensive bibliography and indexes.

The author researches the evidence from economic and administrative documents of the Eanna
The author researches the evidence from economic and administrative documents of the temple archive in Uruk for the study of religious and cultic aspects and for the investigation of the