

Joseph's study opens (pp. 1–32) with a judicious account of the diverse names—Nestorian, Chaldean, Syrian, Aramean, and Assyrian—assigned to or claimed by the Christian communities of northern Iraq and northwestern Iran. Although these names have been the topic of “much acrimonious debate,” Joseph skillfully delineates the historical origins and resonance of each name. He is particularly forthright and convincing on the alleged ancient Assyrian ancestry of the region's Christian population. He traces how interaction with Anglo-American missionaries and archaeologists during the late nineteenth century helped foster the conceptual link between the Nestorians and the ancient Assyrians. He also documents the critical role of the American diaspora community in augmenting the popularity of the Assyrian nomenclature between the two world wars.

Joseph's account of the early and medieval history of the church (pp. 33–63) presents a condensed, well-integrated narrative grounded in the best available secondary literature. More original and important are the chapters exploring the Anglo-American missionary activity in the Hak-kari districts of Kurdistan (pp. 64–85) and Azerbaijan (pp. 86–106), for which Joseph draws upon unpublished American missionary archives. His even-handed treatment of the complex political maneuvers between Ottoman authorities, Russian agents, and local Kurdish tribal leaders provides the backdrop for the gradually intensifying pattern of “disorder, incompetence, murder, and plunder” (p. 124) that afflicted the region in the decades leading up to the First World War. Between the Russian occupation of Azerbaijan in 1910 and the Mosul Commission of 1925, ongoing violence, famine, and dislocation further diminished the Assyrian community; their nationalist aspirations, encouraged by the British in the First World War, proved illusory in the new political realities of the post-Ottoman Middle East. Joseph's account reveals how precarious the Assyrians' position has always been within the nation state of Iraq, from its inception in 1932 down to the Gulf War of 1991. The final chapter describes the shifting strategies of Christian missionary outreach in the twentieth century and the growth of the Assyrian diaspora community in America. It also

chronicles the awful tale of scandal, schism, and even assassination that has plagued the patriarchate of the Church over the past three decades.

*The Modern Assyrians*, which appears in Brill's series *Studies in Christian Mission*, includes two maps, a 24-page bibliography, and a full index. One can only hope that the hefty price of the book does not prevent it from reaching the wide readership that it deserves.

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*Religions of Asia Minor.* By MACIEJ POPKO.

Translated by IWONA ZYCH. Warsaw: Academic Publications Dialog, 1995. Pp. 230.

This book is a translation by Iwona Zych from the Polish original. The modest size of this book belies its value. Its author, Maciej Popko, is an accomplished Hittitologist. A festschrift in his honor has recently been published.<sup>1</sup>

As may be seen from the publications listed in his festschrift, Popko's research has had as its major focus the reconstruction and interpretation of Hittite religious texts. This principal interest has also led him into productive secondary contributions, such as the localization of major Hittite cult centers such as Zippalanda. In this latter attempt, he has not always convinced, but his reasoning is always careful and his publications eminently worth reading.

Systematic treatments of the religions of Anatolia during the Hittite era are few and far between. The initial studies were made by Albrecht Goetze.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, important surveys were made by Heinrich Otten and H. G. Güterbock.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Taracha, ed., *Silva Anatolica: Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Warsaw, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (Munich, 1957).

<sup>3</sup> H. Otten, “The Religion of the Hittites,” in C. Jouco Bleeker and G. Widengren, *Historia Religionum: Handbook for the History of Religions* (Leiden, 1969), pp. 318–22; H. G. Güterbock, “Religion and Kultus der Hethiter,” in G. Walser, *Neuere Hethiterforschung* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 54–75.

O. R. Gurney's Schweich Lecture was a significant step forward.<sup>4</sup> In the years that followed, articles and books on Hittite magic were contributed by Volkert Haas. R. Lebrun focused on Kizzuwatnean religion and on the royal prayers.<sup>5</sup> Popko himself contributed an important monograph on the cult furniture.<sup>6</sup> The reading of Yazılıkaya's hieroglyphic legends and the resulting contribution to the composition of the Hurro-Hittite pantheon was debated by E. Masson and H. G. Güterbock.<sup>7</sup> The subject of Hittite temples was explored by K. Bittel and S. Alp.<sup>8</sup> The Hittite cult calendar was treated by Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate.<sup>9</sup> In 1990 two collections of Hittite mythological texts in translation appeared.<sup>10</sup> Brief surveys of the entire scope of Hittite religion have appeared during the past fifteen years.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (London, 1977).

<sup>5</sup> R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980); "Problèmes de religion anatolienne," *Hethitica* 8 (1987): 241–62.

<sup>6</sup> M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen)* (Warsaw, 1978).

<sup>7</sup> E. Masson, *Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya: Nouvelles lectures* (Paris, 1981); H. G. Güterbock, *Les hiéroglyphes de Yazılıkaya: A propos d'un travail récent* (Paris, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> K. Bittel, "Hittite Temples and High Places in Anatolia and North Syria" in Avraham Biran, *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times* (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 63–72; S. Alp, *Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels: Kultanlagen im Lichte der Keilschrifttexte, Neue Deutungen* (Ankara, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> "Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar," in H. A. Hoffner, Jr. and G. M. Beckman, eds., *Kaniššuar: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 95–110; "Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar: The Main Recension of the Outline of the *nuntariyashas* Festival, especially Days 8–12 and 15'–22'," in E. Neu and C. Rüster, *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (Wiesbaden, 1988), pp. 167–94.

<sup>10</sup> F. Pecchioli Daddi, and A. M. Polvani, *La mitologia itita* (Brescia, 1990), and H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, 1990).

<sup>11</sup> H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Religions of the Biblical World: Asia Minor," in G. W. Bromiley et al., *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979–88), pp. 79–85; G. M. Beckman, "The Religion of the Hittites," *Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989): 98–108; H. A. Hoffner, Jr., "Hittite

The year 1994 was a milestone in the study of Hittite religion. In that year Volkert Haas's *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, 15. Band (Leiden) was published. This book represented the first attempt in several decades to treat Hittite religion exhaustively and systematically, taking into account the textual and archaeological evidence and making judicious use of comparative observations from what is known of the religious practices and concepts of contemporary neighboring cultures (Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the Aegean). Haas's book was eagerly awaited, since he had been a primary contributor to the discussion of Hittite religion through his many books and articles and since, as editor of the *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler*, he could add insights from unilingual Hurrian religious texts found at Boğazköy.

Ironically, although Popko's book is much smaller in size than Haas's, it attempts (and I believe rather successfully) to cover an even wider field (the religions of Hattians, Old Assyrian Colonists, Hittites, and Hurrians) and over a longer time period. And although in Haas's title the word *Geschichte* claims for the book a historical point of view, it is rather Popko's *Religions of Asia Minor* that alone truly delivers on the promise of giving a historical overview. Pp. 1–35 of Haas's introductory chapter are all that he devotes to a diachronic approach. In the rest of his massive book, he develops subjects in a much less diachronic manner.

Among the merits of Popko's book is its readability. One would never guess that it was originally composed in Polish and translated into English, so smooth and elegant is the English. The credit for the English goes, of course, to Iwona Zych, but no mere translator could have

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Religion," in R. Seltzer, *Religions of Antiquity* (New York, 1989), pp. 69–79; H. Gonnert, "Hittite Religion," in D. N. Freedman et al., eds., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, 1992), pp. 225–28; F. Pecchioli Daddi and A. M. Polvani, "Le religioni anatoliche," in G. Filoramo, *Storia delle religioni 1: Le religioni antiche* (Bari, 1994), pp. 177–217.

created such lucid discussion from a Polish original not equally lucid. The book is modest, restrained, and cautious. There is no bombast or overstatement. The clarity of exposition is certainly aided by the restrained use of footnoting. Not every statement or claim is documented. But it is my judgment that the undocumented statements do not require it and that those requiring documentation receive it.

Popko is not afraid to describe clearly problem areas and leave them provisionally unsolved. This is a sign of intellectual honesty and maturity. A less self-assured scholar would be unable to leave a problem without proposing his own solution, no matter how implausible. The author states in his preface: "The tendency to generalize has been avoided with respect to historical religions; attention is focused rather on distinguishing and describing their elements and the efforts made in antiquity to join them into homogeneous systems." Although Popko is not himself an archaeologist, his coverage of the secondary literature of archaeology is impressive. His 23-page bibliography contains about 650 well-chosen publications, most of them quite recent. And his use of archaeological artifacts is judicious. In order to establish the use of the bull icon for the Stormgod already in Old Hittite (OH), he cites the İnandiktepe relief vase (p. 69).

On the whole, Popko is unconvinced by attempts to isolate the Indo-European elements in the earliest attested Hittite religious material. He says: "It would seem that the Hittites remained under the influence or other cultures so long that the elements inherited from the common Indo-European tradition disappeared without a trace" (p. 67).

Some statements are so intriguing that they cry out for more immediate discussion than is sometimes given, for example, the claim on p. 68 that there was no Mesopotamian or Syrian religious influence during the Old Hittite period. The "nota bene" on that page (that the deities whose statues Hattusili I brought from Syria to Hatti are not mentioned in OH religious texts as having a cult) stretches our belief. What does Popko think Hattusili intended to do with these statues if not venerate them? The argument from silence is not strong.

P. 68: the placating and acquiring of foreign gods during the OH period has been well discussed by Singer.<sup>12</sup> The article was not cited by Popko because it appeared in 1995, one year after the revisions of this book (which bears the publication date 1995) were completed.

P. 69: Popko correctly notes that the typology of the deities is dependent upon Mesopotamian cuneiform writing, in which a given type of deity had a definite logogram (sun-god, storm-god, tutelary-god, IŠTAR-type god, etc). Subclassification of the major types was usually on the basis of the city that was the primary cult center. Hence, <sup>DIM</sup>URU<sup>URU</sup>Nerik "the storm-god of Nerik." The native names of deities are usually concealed behind these typological graphs, and only rarely can we penetrate the cover to discover the native name.

P. 69: the statement "in some local pantheons the place of the stormgod was taken by a mountain-god" has no documentation and needs it. We know that this happened in the New Hittite period, as reflected in the cult inventories. But can we establish this for Old Hittite? How? No deified mountain occurs in the list of divine names occurring in ritual texts in the Old Hittite script.<sup>13</sup>

P. 70: Popko writes: "In the Old Hittite sources the [Storm]-god's name occurs without the epithet 'of Heaven'. Later, in empire times, he was named the Storm-god of Hattusa, in contradistinction to the Hurrian Tešub becoming officially the chief god of the state; however, the concept of the Storm-god of Heaven survived . . . in the local pantheons of Zippalanda and Nerik." This is a strong statement. It seems to claim that "Stormgod of Heaven" only occurred after the OH period. Yet in the OS "original" of the Anitta text we clearly read of *nepišaš* <sup>DIM</sup> (lines 20, 51, 56). And the same *nepišaš* <sup>DIM</sup> occurs in the Illuyanka Tale (KBo 3.7 i 2), which clearly continues an OH tradition, although the copies are NH. Although it is certainly the case that the "Storm-god of Heaven" as a designation is much more common in the later periods (MH and NH), it is strictly not so that it fails to occur in OH.

On p. 70 Popko seems to claim that the solar deities in OH texts were all female, in accord with the established gender of the solar deities in the Hattian pantheon, and that the Hattian sun-goddess was the consort of the Hattian storm-god as the principal couple

<sup>12</sup> I. Singer, "'Our God' and 'Their God' in the Anitta Text," in O. Carruba, M. Giorgieri, and C. Mora, *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia* (Pavia, 1995), pp. 343–50.

<sup>13</sup> E. Neu, *Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 337 ff.

in the OH pantheon. This too seems to me an overstatement in view of the OH text of law 169, in which either storm-god or sun-god can be appealed to for justice. The male sun-god of heaven is clearly the god of justice in all periods of Hittite history and is paired here with the storm-god as the head of the pantheon. The female sun-goddess is never, to my knowledge, the deity of justice. Furthermore, in the Telipinu Myth, which gives a fairly full picture of the OH pantheon, the storm-god stands at the head of the pantheon and the goddesses Hannahanna (<sup>D</sup>NIN.TU) and Kamrusepa play prominent roles, but the sun-goddess of Arinna (the female solar deity) is nowhere in evidence. Her mention in the Annals of Hattusili I (CTH 4: KBo 10.2 and dupls.) could be considered an addition by the NH scribe (see Popko's resort to this kind of argument in p. 70, n. 153). But I think it unlikely that her manifold role in the text would have been entirely fabricated by a copyist. According to this text, booty was dedicated to her temple in Hattusa, and it accommodated seven deities (i 37–39). The male sun-god of heaven, a son of the Great Storm-god, also figures in CTH 322 and 323, myths that reflect the OH pantheon, although their copies are NH.

P. 71: although his discussion of the goddess Hal-massuit is judicious, it is not clear why such significance is attributed to the fact that she was “never depicted in human form.” After all, this is true of the vast majority of deities whose names occur in Hittite texts! Why should only this deity be considered “simply a personified cult throne”? Many ancient deities were represented only by animals or objects and not by anthropomorphic figures.

The cult inventory texts (for example, KBo 2.1) inform us of many cases where older representation was in the form of stelae (*ḫuwaši*) later replaced by statues.

The cautious presentation of the evidence for the goddess Inar is admirable. Yet I think one can be more confident in the use of the Illuyanka myths, where she is the daughter of the Great Storm-god and is a goddess of the steppe (*gimras*).

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*The Kingdom of the Hittites.* By TREVOR BRYCE. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. Pp. xvii + 464. \$60.

For years there has been a crying need for a reliable summary of what is known of the his-

tory of the Hittite Kingdom. Until the appearance of this book, teachers of history made use of chapters in the *Cambridge Ancient History* by O. R. Gurney, Albrecht Goetze, and others. But those essays were composed in the 1960s, and in a discipline developing as rapidly as Hittitology they were in need of major revision.

Trevor Bryce is well known to Hittitologists as the author of many perceptive essays on aspects of Hittite history. He is well qualified to write an overview such as the present one.

One year after the publication of the present volume, a volume by the German Assyriologist and Hittitologist, Horst Klengel, appeared, which treats the same subject but with an entirely different style of presentation. Klengel's presentation is oriented to the specialist who controls the original sources, while Bryce's book, although certainly as respectable in its scholarship and thorough research, is presented in a form more “friendly” to a general reader.

Bryce's book contains a list of Hittite kings, up-to-date as of the publication of the book in 1998 but now in need of slight revision (a seal impression published by H. Otten, in *Archäologische Anzeiger* [2000]: 375–76, shows that Tudhaliya I/II, the “founder” of the so-called New Kingdom was the son of a Kantuzili known to have been the Overseer of Elite Chariot Fighters, who with Himuili, Chief of the Palace Servants, murdered Muwattalli I, who in turn had become king by murdering King Huzziya II). Three pages of convenient and accurate line-drawn maps show the Assyrian merchant trade routes, the modern cities and archaeological sites on Anatolia and North Syria, and the world of the Hittites and the ancient Near East in the Late Bronze Age. Fourteen chapters survey the phases of Hittite history in chronological order. The author judiciously combines archaeological and textual evidence, but his strength is in the textual data.

Two useful appendixes cover (1) the subject of Hittite chronology, a very difficult subject, and (2) an overview of the sources for Hittite history. Bibliography and indexes round out the book.

This book can be confidently used as a textbook in universities and graduate schools. Graduate students, who should be able to read European languages (German, French, Italian, etc.) should