

221) gives a history of the empire Mitanni ("Hanigalbat, Naharēna, Hurrian Land, Subartu"), primarily based on Hittite and Egyptians sources.

Three articles on the Hurrian language follow: M. Giorgieri on "Kasusendungen" (p. 223-256), M.L. Khacikyan on the verb (p. 257-265), and B. André-Salvini, M. Salvini on the relationship between Hurrian and Urartian (p. 267-275). M.-C. Trémouille (p. 277-291) informs us about what we now know of Hurrian religion.

The remaining articles are: E. Neu, notes on the Hurro-Hittite bilingual (p. 293-303); J. Fincke, joins in the British Museum (p. 307-311); B. Lion, "L'andurāru à l'époque médio-babylonienne, d'après les documents de Terqa, Nuzi et Arrapha", includes a discussion of *kirenzi* in Nuzi (p. 313-327); M.P. Maidman, text editions of JEN 781-789 (Chicago) (p. 329-373); M. Nakamura combines two fragments of the Hurrian Gilgamesh Epic (p. 375-378); D. Prechel, F. Blocher publish a new text summarizing loans; with seal impressions (p. 379-392); I. Röseler studies three Hurrian words (p. 393-400); H. Schneider-Ludorff writes on oil (sesame and aromatic oils) and fats (pig), their uses and containers in Nuzi (p. 401-410); G. Wilhelm on the hunter Kešše (p. 411-413) and the Hurrian word *turoni* in Qatna-Akkadian (p. 415-421). The book concludes by Nuzi Notes, 54-62, by J. Fincke, B. Lion, and the two Salvinis. A useful Lexical Index is given at the very end.

HITTITOLOGIE

KLENGEL, Horst — Geschichte des Hethitischen Reiches. (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I, 034). E.J. Brill Publishers N. V., Leiden, 1999. (24 cm, XXVI, 428, 63 ABB.). ISBN 90 04 10201 9; ISSN 0169-9423. Dfl. 258,- / \$152.00.

This volume of the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* meets admirably the long-felt need for a reliable annotated history of the Hittite kingdom.¹⁾ There are several general accounts of Hittite history and culture, such as O. R. Gurney's excellent pocket-book *The Hittites* (3rd ed., 1990), to mention but one example. However, the last undertaking towards a comprehensive history of Anatolia, provided with references to sources and bibliography, was published in the seventies in the tomes of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (3rd ed.). Not only has this important manual long been outdated by the accumulation of new data and research, it also lacked in unity of method and presentation, because the topic was divided between several scholars. After a standstill of several decades, two important manuals of Hittite history have come out almost coinstantaneously at the close of the century: Trevor Bryce's *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford 1998), and the volume under review, written by Horst Klengel in cooperation with three other leading Hittitologists - Fiorella Imparati, Volkert Haas, and Theo van den Hout.

The first major decision to be taken in such an important undertaking is to set the limits of time and space. With regard to the latter, it has long been realised that it is practically impossible to separate the history of Anatolia from that of

¹⁾ The abbreviations used in this article follow those of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary, vol. 3/1 (1980), pp. xxi-xxxi; P/3 (1997), pp. vii-xxix. Unattributed page numbers refer to the volume under review.

northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia, not only during the Hittite Empire, but also in the preceding and subsequent periods. The decision concerning the time frame is more difficult and is influenced by various considerations. The restriction of the scope of the tome to the "Hittite Kingdom" in a way circumvents the problem by limiting Hittite history to five centuries or so, from the foundations of the Old Kingdom to the fall of the Hittite Empire. In fact, a history of the Hittites should definitely deal with the periods preceding and following the "classical" Hittite age, but the fact that their principal sources are written in languages other than Hittite seems to have limited to a certain extent their integration into general accounts of Hittite history. The formative age of Hittite history, the Assyrian Colony Period, has become primarily an Assyriological discipline, and only rarely are its sources adequately exploited in Hittitological research. The same applies to the five centuries of Neo-Hittite history documented mainly by Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, which have become sufficiently understood and accessible to non-specialised scholars only in recent years. The author of the volume under review has wisely opted to cover, though sparsely, the earliest chapters of "pre-classical" Anatolian history (aptly designated "Die hethitische Frühzeit"), but to refer only in passing to the continuity of Hittite statehood in Karkamiš (pp. 318 f.). Readers who may be interested in learning more about the long epilogue of Hittite history and culture in the Iron Age may be referred to J. D. Hawkins' chapter on the Neo-Hittite kingdoms in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (vol. III/1, 2nd ed., 1982) and to the relevant sections in his *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Berlin, 2000).

The Introduction of the volume under review presents the geographical arena and the history of research into Cuneiform Hittite, which, in its first stages, largely overlaps with the exploration of Boğazköy. Only a few sentences are dedicated to the history of research into Hieroglyphic Hittite/Luwian (p. 12 f.). The fascinating beginnings of the new discipline, which were obviously dominated by German scholarship, are described in much detail, incorporating rare archival sources. Thus, for example, we learn from a postcard sent by Hugo Winckler in December 1907 that he was already aware of the fact that the main language of the Boğazköy tablets must have been Indo-European (p. 8, n. 20). Still, the credit for the first correct linguistic characterisation of the language of the Hittites should go to the rarely mentioned monograph of the Norwegian scholar J.A. Knudtzon, *Die Zwei Arzawa Briefe; Die ältesten Urkunden in Indogermanischer Sprache*, published in Leipzig in 1902. In the same year, the illustrious editor of the Tell el-Amarna letters presented to the Norwegian Academy in Kristiania his astonishing conclusion that the two Arzawa letters (EA 31-32) were written in an Indo-European language. With the assistance of two of his compatriots, the Indo-Europeanists Sophus Bugge and Alf Torp, he was able to identify some characteristic case endings, possessive pronouns, and the 3rd pers. imp. *estu*, which left no doubt that his first intuition was correct. Unfortunately, through a series of misleading coincidences (especially the personal name *Labbaya*), he came to think that the land of Arzawa was located somewhere in Canaan or Transjordan, and that it was inhabited by a group of (Biblical) Hittite settlers.

The five chapters covering the Bronze Age history of Anatolia are structured in the method developed by H. Klengel in his *Geschichte Syriens I-II* (1965, 1969), i.e. a full index-

ing of the sources relevant to each sub-chapter, divided into contemporary sources (A) and later retrospectives (B), followed by a historical synthesis. This judicious method provides not only easy access to the sources and essential bibliography, but also enables the reader to fathom at once the density of sources for each individual period. It is somewhat regrettable, however, that there are very few direct quotations from texts, a device which may give the reader, especially the non-professional one, a better notion of the character and style of Hittite texts. The sources, the historical synthesis and the bibliographical references are presented with accuracy and clarity, which in a volume covering hundreds of texts is not an easy task. At any rate, the main purpose of this review is not to detect the few errors²⁾ and inconsistencies³⁾ in the volume, but rather to discuss some basic methodological and thematic issues, and to evaluate its overall achievements.

The historical overview begins with the late third millennium B.C.E. (Kap. I.1.). The only written sources which can arguably be associated with this still illiterate period in Anatolia are the Mesopotamian literary traditions concerning the northern campaigns of the Akkadian kings Sargon⁴⁾ and Naram-Sin. That such stories circulated in Anatolia (at least) as early as the Assyrian Colony Period is shown by the recently published Kültepe text (Kt j/k 97) which recounts a campaign of Sargon the Great "from sunrise to sunset".⁵⁾ To these epic texts one may add several Hurrian omnia and magical rituals which include lists of Akkadian kings.⁶⁾ Contrary to some early reports, the geographical orbit of the Ebla tablets does not extend beyond northern Syria.⁷⁾ The author maintains that the archaeological record points towards an immigration wave at the end of the Bronze Age, perhaps caused by an arid period that affected large parts of the Near East (p. 21). As for the long-standing debate concerning the direction from which the Indo-European population groups entered Anatolia, he refers to the silver goblet from Karašamb

²⁾ E.g.: 1) The name of the mountain in KUB 19.27 obv. 8' is not Amanus (p. 138), but rather *Ammariš* (RGTC 6, p. 12 f.); 2) Msk 73.1097 does not mention Šahurunuwa (p. 175); for a full publication of this Emar text and its companion letter from the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem, see now I. Singer, in the Acts of the Venice Renc. Assyr. Intern.; 3) The sender of RS 6.198 can no longer be identified with the Assyrian official Bēlu-libūr, and is therefore irrelevant to the relations between Ugarit and Assyria in the 14th century (p. 198); see W. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991), p. 28; I. Singer in W. G. E. Watson — N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (Leiden 1999), p. 688, n. 284 and p. 689, n. 289.

³⁾ E.g.: 1) The redating of CTH 123 to Tudhaliya is accepted on p. 276 [A5], but it reappears as a text of Šuppiluliuma II (?) on p. 296; 2) The possibility that Hartapu was a son of Muršili III/Urhi-Tešub, which on p. 228, n. 409 "scheint aus chronologischen und historischen Gründen jedoch kaum möglich", becomes a definite possibility on p. 316.

⁴⁾ For a collated re-edition of the "King of Battle" text from Tell el-Amarna (EA 359), see S. Izre'el, *The Amarna Scholarly Tablets* (1997), pp. 66-75. "It exhibits some linguistic peculiarities that can be attributed directly to the Akkadian of Boğazköy, notably consonant doubling in the initial syllable" (ib., p. 71). Could it be that the story was introduced to Egypt by Hittite scribes, who considered it to be part of their own historico-cultural heritage?

⁵⁾ C. Günbatti in S. Alp - A. Süel (eds.), *Acts of the IIIrd International Congress of Hittitology* (1998), 261-279.

⁶⁾ CTH 775; see A. Kammenhuber, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 22 (1974), pp. 157-247 (see esp. pp. 157 ff., 165 ff.).

⁷⁾ See A. Archi in *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara 1981. I. Cilt. (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları IX. Dizi-Sa-9)*, Ankara, pp. 165-170. The place-name *Ga-ne-iš/šu* attested in several Ebla tablets must be located somewhere in Syria, and cannot be equated with the central Anatolian city of Kaniš; see A. Archi in *Fs Tahsin Özgüç* (1989), pp. 11-14.

in western Armenia, which exhibits some similarities with Hittite artistic traditions (p. 19).

The first real historical period in Anatolia, the richly documented Assyrian Colony Period in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.E., is somewhat cursorily covered in the volume, and leaves some central issues vaguely defined, or ignores them altogether. The arduous debate over the exploitation of Anatolian tin deposits at Kestel in the south-central Taurus Mountains is left out,⁸⁾ and neither are the putative political and economic reasons for the discontinuation of the lucrative Assyrian trade discussed. Concerning the political relations between the Assyrian merchants and the local principalities we now have two treaty tablets, unfortunately both partially preserved: an oath formula on a fragment from Tell Leilan,⁹⁾ and larger parts of the treaty stipulations and the oath ceremony on a tablet from Kültepe (Kt n/ k 794).¹⁰⁾ The geo-political situation in Anatolia, as reflected in the Anum-Hirbi and the Anitta texts, is quite vaguely defined, with references given to relevant studies, without however discussing their conclusions. The unresolved question whether Pithana and Anitta are Hattian or Hittite names (p. 27) should not obscure the accumulating evidence for a basic division of Anatolia into ethno-cultural zones, distinguishable by their onomasticon, pantheon and material culture, before Anitta's unification of the land. The confrontation between the (mainly) Hattian Halys Basin and the (mainly) Hittite (i.e. Nešite) region extending from Kaniš eastward is now further highlighted by the emphatic distinction between "Our God" (*šiu=šummi*) of Neša and "Their God" (*šiu=šmi*) of Hattuša in the Anitta text.¹¹⁾ One may of course disagree with this reconstruction of the ethno-political map of early second millennium Anatolia and present other interpretations,¹²⁾ but the issue is too important for the ensuing development of Hittite history to be simply bypassed.

The Old Kingdom has received much closer attention, with a meticulous discussion of the variety of data and their synthesis (Kap. II). The most important new sources on the period are the "cruciform seal" (p. 34), which adds strong support to the historicity of Labarna I (preceeding Labarna II = Hattušili I), and the Labarna (II) letter to Tuniya of Tiku-nani, the only epistolary document of the Old Kingdom (p. 52). This intriguing text, which must be considered in conjunction with the rest of the documents originating from the same lot and with the rich documentation from Mari and other north Mesopotamian sites, opens new vistas in the study of Hittite involvement beyond the Euphrates, which clearly

⁸⁾ See K. A. Yener, *Antiquity* 61 (1987), pp. 64-71; *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (JMA)* 5 (1992), pp. 99-103; *AJA* 97 (1993), pp. 262-264; *Geoarchaeology* 10 (1995), pp. 139-141; *The Domestication of Metals: The Rise of Complex Metal Industries in Anatolia (c. 4500-2000 B.C.)*, Leiden 2000. Cf., S. Steadman - M. Hall, *JMA* 4 (1991), pp. 217-234; J. D. Muhly, *JMA* 5 (1992), pp. 91-98.

⁹⁾ J. Eidem in D. Charpin - F. Joannès (eds.), *Fs Garelli* (1991), pp. 185-207.

¹⁰⁾ E. Bilgiç in H. Otten et al. (eds.), *Fs Alp* (1992), pp. 61-66; cf. S. Çeçen - K. Hecker in M. Dietrich - O. Loretz (eds.), *Fs von Soden* (1995), pp. 31-41 (with the refutation of the identification of the word *ebulum* with the place-name Ebla).

¹¹⁾ I. Singer in O. Carruba et al. (eds.), *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia*, Pavia 1995, pp. 343-349; see also H. A. Hoffner's new translation of the Anitta text in W. Hallo (ed.), *Context of Scripture I* (1997), p. 183, n. 22.

¹²⁾ See, e.g., the characterisation of the period in T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp. 14 ff. ("Ethnicity in the Middle Bronze Age").

went far deeper than previously suspected.¹³⁾ One also eagerly awaits the publication of the intriguing texts from Terqa on the Middle Euphrates, which mention clashes with troops of Hattu/Hattu (p. 66).¹⁴⁾

The so-called Middle Kingdom (the 15th and the first half of the 14th centuries) is still the least known period of Hittite history (Kap. III), but at least its succession of rulers has been considerably clarified in recent decades through the discovery of seals and land donation deeds, which have confirmed the existence of dubious kings (Hantili II, Zidanta II, Huzziya II) and added previously unsuspected ones (Tahurwaili, Muwatalli I). Also, the figure of Tudhaliya I as a great conqueror, perhaps the real founder of the Hittite Empire, has come into sharper focus in recent years, both through the reassignment of several treaties to him (with Kizzuwatna, Tunip and Aštata) and through the discovery of inscribed cult objects dated to his reign. To the bronze sword with an Akkadian inscription commemorating his campaign to Aššuwā (p. 104) one may perhaps add the silver fist from Boston¹⁵⁾ and a silver bowl in the Ankara Museum which carries a hieroglyphic inscription referring to a campaign of a Tudhaliya to the land of Tarwiza, presumably Taruiša/Troy.¹⁶⁾

Speaking of Tudhaliya I's campaigns to western Anatolia, a remark is in order concerning the maps included in the volume and on historical-geography in general. Needless to say, the study of history is dependent to a great extent on the reconstruction of a reliable map, which in ancient Anatolia is notoriously difficult. Obviously, the labyrinthine debates over the relative locations of hundreds of Hittite place-names cannot be dealt with in a general handbook, but at least some of the larger territorial units and the most important place-names could have been briefly discussed for the benefit of the non-initiated reader. A notable example is the location/identification of Wiluš(iy)a. Bibliographical references are given to the broadly accepted identification with Homeric Ilion (p. 203, n. 302; p. 212, n. 345), but on map 4 (p. 84) Wiluša appears south of the Gediz (and, consequently, Aššuwā appears south of the Troad), with no explanation offered in the text. The same applies to the plausible identification of Millawanda with Miletos, which is now supported by archaeological evidence.¹⁷⁾ On map 5 (p. 136) Forrer's identification with Milyas in Lycia is preferred, and again, the reader is referred to bibliography (p. 188, n. 222), but no explanation is offered for this preference, which, as in the case of Wiluša, is crucial for understanding the relations between Hatti and Ahhiyawa. It

seems that the maps of M. Forlanini and M. Marazzi in *Atlante Storico del Vicino Oriente Antico* (1986) have usually been followed,¹⁸⁾ which, at least for western Anatolia, do not represent a scholarly consensus. The recent decipherment by J. D. Hawkins¹⁹⁾ of the Karabel inscription rather confirms in broad lines the western Anatolian map drawn by J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney some forty years ago.²⁰⁾

A similar criticism may be raised with regard to chronology. In the introduction it is explained that no absolute chronology is given because it is still controversial and only approximate dates are known (p. xv). This lack is substituted by a list of direct synchronisms and a relative chronological table (pp. 388-393). I would generally agree with this viewpoint, but in some crucial cases one can hardly avoid taking a stand, or at least explaining the different options and their historical consequences. One notable example is the drastic reduction and lowering of Šuppiluliuma I's reign suggested by G. Wilhelm and J. Boese,²¹⁾ now generally accepted, by some with minor adjustments.²²⁾ According to the chronological table on p. 393 Šuppiluliuma's reign began still within the rule of Amenophis III, i.e. at least eight years before the date proposed by Wilhelm and Boese (1344 B.C.E.). If so, EA 17, in which Tušratta reports to Amenophis III about his victory over the Hittites, may indeed fall within the reign of Šuppiluliuma (as indicated on pp. 139, 155). But, if the lowered date of 1344 is accepted, the episode belongs to the reign of his father and it can indeed be associated with the rebellion of Išuwā and adjacent regions under Tudhaliya II (pp. 129 [B5], 155). One way or the other, the episode is quite important for the history of the Hittite-Mittannian conflict, and some brief explanation of the different options would have been useful for the non-specialised reader.

Naturally, half of the volume is dedicated to the Hittite Empire (Kap. IV) and its collapse (Kap. V), with excellent coverage of the manifold sources from Anatolia, Syria and elsewhere. There are of course many problematic issues which are still ardently debated among scholars, and it would be futile to elaborate on these in this context. The real test of such a comprehensive volume is, on the one hand, to lead the reader along a well-marked path without turning him into the abundance and complexity of the data, and yet, on the other hand, to caution him (possibly in footnotes) about the principal stumbling blocks of unresolved problems and scholarly disagreement. It is not an easy task, and in most cases it is skillfully managed in the volume. Even the thorny problem of the royal succession in Tarhuntašša, in which the author and two of his collaborators stand on opposite sides of the debate, is fairly dealt with.²³⁾ Both standpoints (Ulmi-

Tešub is Kurunta, or he *succeeds* him) are presented with cross-references (pp. 239 [A8]; 276 [A3a]), and the reader can make up his own mind which is the better solution. Such an option was not provided, however, in all controversies. For example, the "General's Letter" from Ugarit is dated in the volume to the years following the Battle of Qadesh (pp. 204 [A8], 216), and though the reader is referred to the monograph of S. Izre'el and I. Singer (1990), no mention is made of its (now broadly accepted²⁴⁾) conclusion, namely, that J. Nougayrol's original dating of the text to the Amarna Age was correct.

From the numerous difficult problems dealt with in the chapters on the Hittite Empire, I have merely picked out two important historical statements which are based on questionable interpretations of fragmentary sources.

Though the re-evaluation of the motives for Muwatalli's transfer of the capital to Tarhuntašša, which may have more to do with religion than with military strategy, is mentioned in the volume (p. 210), the alleged conflagration of Hattuša in this period, based on the questionable restoration of a sarcastic comment of Puduhepa in her letter to Ramses II, is still uncritically cited (pp. 222 [B7, 14], 227). Instead of *[arha wa]rnuwan*, "burnt down", referring to the "House of Hatti", I suggested to restore *[arha a]rnuwan*, "taken away", "transferred", obviously referring to the transfer of the royal residence to Tarhuntašša.²⁵⁾ Unfortunately, the generally accepted textual restoration concerning the burning down of the Hittite royal palace (usually attributed to the Kaška tribes) has already led to a reinterpretation of the archaeological evidence from Büyükkale, although no traces of a widespread fire in this period were found there.²⁶⁾

A flaw which risks to be perpetuated in future studies is the assumption that the last kings of Karkamiš had already assumed the title "Great King" before the fall of the Hittite Empire (pp. 314, 318). In fact, there is not a single unequivocal case to support this assumption,²⁷⁾ and in the rich correspondence from Ugarit the clear distinction between the "Great King" of Hatti and the "King" of Karkamiš is scrupulously maintained, notwithstanding the increasing importance of Karkamiš. In dozens of documents and seal impressions mentioning Ini-Tešub he is never designated "Great King", and as stated by J. D. Hawkins, "the powerful Ini-Tešub was close to the rank of 'Great King', but he never assumed the title, though on occasion he did take that of 'Hero'."²⁸⁾ I do not see how the fragmentary preambles of the treaty between Šuppiluliuma and Talmi-Tešub (CTH 121) can indicate a state of equality or parity between the contracting parties (pp. 301, 318), and the recently rejoined loyalty oaths of Karkamiš

to Šuppiluliuma II actually prove the opposite.²⁹⁾ Even Kuzi-Tešub, who probably survived the fall of Hattuša, calls himself on the Lidar seal simply "King of Karkamiš". Only his late descendant Runtiya designates him "Great King",³⁰⁾ and some of the Neo-Hittite kings of Karkamiš also assume this title.³¹⁾

The chapter on the fall of the Hittite Empire (Kap. V) characterises perhaps best the fundamental changes in the historical thought of the last decades. Whereas in older studies one often finds simplistic descriptions of an unsuspecting Hittite state suddenly taken by surprise by a barbaric enemy, the complex nature of the evidence, with various early symptoms of inner decline and disintegration, is today increasingly realised. Due weight is given in the reviewed volume to the disastrous effects of inner-Hittite political strife (p. 310), and the final disintegration of the empire is attributed more to economic-administrative than to military causes (p. 311). I would merely add in passing that, in my opinion, the huge expenditures in human and material resources directed in the last decades of the Hittite Empire to the erection and embellishment of new temples and other cult institutions also played a major role in the weakening of the Hittite state.

The sources on this late period are usually well covered, with the exception of the Middle Assyrian tablets from Tell Chuera (ancient Hurbe)³²⁾ and Tell Šeih Hamad (ancient Dur-Katlimmu),³³⁾ which were published shortly before the closing of the manuscript in 1997. From these texts, and from some fragmentary Boğazköy letters,³⁴⁾ we learn about an unsuspected turn in the relations between Aššur and Hatti in the last decades of the Hittite Empire. Shortly after defeating Tudhaliya's army at Niḫriya, Tukulti-Ninurta I suddenly turned his aggression towards Babylon and resumed diplomatic and economic relations with the Hittites. The sporadic references to Hittite diplomats and merchants operating in Assyrian-controlled areas east of the Euphrates are particularly valuable because they provide rare *limmu* datings.³⁵⁾

The historical overviews are followed by a useful chapter on the organisation of the Hittite state, written by Fiorella Imparati (Kap. VI). The main institutions of Hittite state and society — from the royal family, through high officials, to the main labour groups — are concisely defined, with references to further bibliography. The sub-chapter on imperial administration and international relations includes overviews on the various types of state treaties and on the international correspondence of Hatti.

The volume is rounded up with chronological tables, selected bibliographies, name indices, a reference list to CTH numbers, and a judicious choice of 63 illustrations on glossy

¹³⁾ For the localization of Tikunani in the region of Diyarbakir, see J.-M. Durand, *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari II* (1998), p. 81. A geographical-historical re-evaluation of Hattušili's eastern campaigns was undertaken by Jared Miller in his M.A. Thesis (Tel Aviv 1999). See, provisionally, his summary in the proceedings of the 4th Congress of Hittitology in Würzburg.

¹⁴⁾ O. Rouault, *SMEA* 30 (1990), 252. Note in this connection the Old Hittite stamp seal found at Terqa/Tell Ashara; M. Kelly-Buccellati - W. R. Shelby, *Terqa Preliminary Reports 4, Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 1/6 (1977), p. 38 f., fig. 18, pl. 4.16; reproduced in D. Bonatz, H. Kühne, A. Mahmoud, *Rivers and Steppes (Catalogue to the Museum of Deir ez-Zor)*, Damascus 1998, p. 100.

¹⁵⁾ H. G. Güterbock - T. Kendall in J. B. Carter - S. P. Morris (eds.), *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to E. T. Vermeule* (Austin, Texas 1995), pp. 45-59.

¹⁶⁾ J. D. Hawkins, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1996 Yılı* (Ankara 1997), pp. 7-24.

¹⁷⁾ See, recently, Niemeyer, *AA* 1997, pp. 189-248. For the equation of Hittite Millawanda with Ionian Miletos, see now A. Morpurgo Davies *apud* J. D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 48 (1998), p. 30 f., n. 207.

¹⁸⁾ See also M. Forlanini, *SMEA* 40 (1998), pp. 240 ff., reiterating the Millawanda = Milyas identification.

¹⁹⁾ J. D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 48 (1998), pp. 1-31 (see map on p. 31).
²⁰⁾ *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959), Map 1; see further O. R. Gurney in *Fs Alp* (1992), pp. 217-221 and F. Starke, *Studia Troica* 7 (1997), pp. 447-487; *Der Neue Pauly*, Band 5 (1998), map on p. 195 f.

²¹⁾ In P. Åström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology* (1987), pp. 105 ff. See further S. de Martino, *La Parola del Passato* 48 (1993), pp. 230 ff.

²²⁾ E.g., T. R. Bryce, *AnSt* 39 (1989), pp. 119-30; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76 (1990), pp. 97-105.

²³⁾ H. Klengel, *AoF* 18 (1991), pp. 224 ff. *contra* Th. P. J. van den Hout, *JCS* 41 (1989), pp. 100 ff.; *StBoT* 38 (1995) and F. Imparati - F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Eothen* 4 (1991), pp. 23 ff. For the latest update on the constantly growing bibliography on the subject, see S. de Martino, *AoF* 26 (1999), p. 291, n. 2.

²⁴⁾ See, e.g., M. Liverani, *RSO* 66 (1992), p. 221 f.; W. Röllig, *ZDMG* 143 (1993), p. 401; S. Lackenbacher, *RA* 89 (1995), p. 70; I. Márquez Rowe, *AuOr* 14 (1996), pp. 107-126; J. Freu, *Semitica* 48 (1997), p. 32.

²⁵⁾ KUB 21.38 obv. 10; I. Singer in A. Süel (ed.), *Acts of the 11th International Congress of Hittitology (Çorum, September 1996)*, Ankara 1998, p. 537 f.

²⁶⁾ See Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *BiOr* 51 (1994), p. 237, with further references.

²⁷⁾ The assumption that Ini-Tešub was designated "Great King" rests on an edict of Tudhaliya, RS 18.06 + 17.365 (PRU IV, p. 138); M. Liverani, *RSO* 35 (1960), pp. 140 ff.; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens I* (1965), p. 86. From the damaged rev. 21' only LUJGAL.MEŠ GAL I, "great kings", is preserved, and its relation to Tudhaliya and Ini-Tešub mentioned in the previous line is not clear. See also Th. van den Hout in the forthcoming proceedings of the 4th Congress of Hittitology in Würzburg.

²⁸⁾ *AnSt* 38 (1988), p. 104.

²⁹⁾ KBo 12.30 (+) KUB 26.25 (CTH 126.4 + 126.2) and KUB 26.33 (+) KBo 13.225 (CTH 125). See I. Singer in the forthcoming proceedings of the 4th Congress of Hittitology in Würzburg.

³⁰⁾ J. D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 38 (1988), p. 101.

³¹⁾ J. D. Hawkins in Th. P. J. van den Hout - J. de Roos (eds.), *Fs Houwink ten Cate* (Leiden 1995), pp. 73-85.

³²⁾ C. Kühne in W. Orthmann et al., *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuera in Nordost-Syrien. I* (Saarbrücken 1995), pp. 203-225.

³³⁾ E. C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassysischen Briefe aus Tall Šēh Hamad* (Berlin 1996).

³⁴⁾ A. Hagenbuchner, *Die Korrespondenz der Hethiter*, 2. Teil (Heidelberg 1989), pp. 245 ff., no. 189; pp. 328 ff., no. 224; J. Freu, *Semitica* 48 (1998), pp. 20 ff.

³⁵⁾ See J. Freu, *Semitica* 48 (1997; publ. 1999), pp. 18 ff.; I. Singer in W. G. E. Watson - N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (Leiden 1999), p. 690, n. 291 and in *Fs Hoffner* (forthcoming).

paper, providing a basic notion on Hittite city planning, architecture, art, script and glyptics.

The few reservations expressed above notwithstanding, this book will define the study of Hittite history for years to come, and its author(s) are congratulated for their important endeavour.

Tel Aviv University,
July 2000

I. SINGER

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BRYCE, Trevor — The Kingdom of the Hittites. Oxford University Press, 1998. (22 cm, XVI, 464). ISBN 0-19-814095-9. £ 45.00 (£ 19.99 paperback).

It has been almost thirty years since the first and until recently only comprehensive Hittite history in book form appeared: Friedrich Cornelius' *Geschichte der Hethiter* (Darmstadt 1973). However, this work never made it to the status of handbook because it was too controversial. Moreover, in the matter of the so-called *Rückdatierung* of some important historical texts from the end of the thirteenth century to the turn of the fifteenth-fourteenth century Cornelius soon found himself in the camp of the few who resisted the by then fast growing majority in favor of this theory. This made his book quickly outdated for the two periods involved. Meanwhile the hot and sometimes grim debate over the *Rückdatierung* and the related question of the proper distinction of Old, Middle and New Hittite language phases, the steady ongoing stream of new Hittite text material, the often spectacular finds like the first major tablet collection outside Hattuša (Maşat Höyük), the growing importance of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions as a source for the history of the Hittite empire, and the many astonishing finds in the Upper City of Hattuša since the mid-seventies among which the Bronze Tablet, will have made historians reluctant to enter upon a such as vast project. Yet, within the last two years two such overviews of Hittite history appeared: Trevor Bryce's, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (1998), under review, and the *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* by Horst Klengel (in cooperation with Fiorella Imparati, Volkert Haas and Theo van den Hout, Leiden 1999).

There seems to have been no specific reason for this but the urge to bring order into a mass of primary sources and secondary literature which, certainly for the beginning student, is hard to gain a comprehensive view of. Both works are primarily a balance drawn up of what is known of Hittite history up to the moment of publishing. But with the rapid and ever continuing stream of primary sources and their interpretations the authors are very much aware of the temporary status of their work: "Thus now, and probably for many years to come, we can write no more than a provisional history of this world, taking stock of what information is available to us at the time of writing, and recognizing that parts of such a history may already be in need of revision by the time it appears in print" (Bryce, Introduction pp. 2-3). The find of grain silos, for instance, on Büyükkaya and in the Upper City from the days of the end of the Empire or the extraordinary recognition of Tunip-teš-šub, king of Tikunani, during the reign of Hattušili I came

too late for Bryce.¹⁾ By no means, however, does this diminish the value of these books. On the contrary, they enable every student to quickly familiarize him- or herself with the course of Hittite history and its problems without getting lost. It is particularly welcome that both books are largely complementary in their approach. Whereas Klengel's *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* extensively lists all primary sources and their most important secondary literature for each king and period followed by an evaluation of that period, Bryce offers an ongoing and often gripping narrative from the early days of king Anitta until the fall of the Hittite empire shortly after 1200 BC. The break-up into small chronological units makes Klengel's book a more "scholarly" work, easy to consult and check whereas Bryce's book can be read from cover to cover and offers the most accessible overview. It is also to be welcomed that Bryce dispenses with the traditional periodization of Hittite history into the three phases of Old, Middle and New kingdoms. Although this has proved to be useful from a linguistic and philological point of view there is no real historical justification for it. It is even with some understandable reluctance that the author divides Hittite history into two periods, an Old and a New Kingdom in order "not to diverge too widely from a long established and generally accepted convention" (p. 6).

The first three chapters deal with the coming of Indo-Europeans to Anatolia and their split into various linguistic subgroups (1), the Hittites' first historic appearance in the records of the Old Assyrian trade colonies of the 19th and early 18th century (2) and the geo-political situation in the Ancient Near East during the days of the Hittite empire (3). The Old Kingdom is then covered in two chapters (4-5) followed by the New Kingdom in eight (6-13). The last chapter is an excursus on the historicity of the Trojan War and what the Hittite texts might contribute to it. After "A Final Comment" on the role of the Hittite empire in the history of the Ancient Near East during the second millennium and its influence on the Iron Age, there follow two useful appendices on chronology and the character of the Hittite and Hieroglyphic Luwian sources. A good bibliography and an index of mostly names conclude the book. Apart from four maps there are no illustrations.

In the following I will discuss some minor points which came up during the reading of the book but which by no means invalidate the generally very favorable impression.

In general the text passages which frequently illustrate the historical narrative are adequately translated. Sometimes one might have preferred a slightly different rendering. An interesting example is king Anitta's account of the conquest of the city of Neša/Kaneš, modern Kültepe, where he says: "He inflicted no harm on the children of Neša but treated them as mothers and fathers".²⁾ Of course, the use of DUMU.MEŠ "children, sons" followed by a geographical name as an expression for "inhabitants" is well-known and Bryce understandably follows Neu's German rendering

¹⁾ For the first see J. Seeher, AA 1996, 338-347, and the subsequent annual reports in the same journal, for Tunip-teššub see M. Salvini, *The Habiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššub of Tikunani* (Roma 1996). Abbreviations used here are those adopted by the *Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (CHD), edd. H.G. Güterbock - H.A. Hoffner (Chicago 1979ff.), L-N xv-xxviii, and P vii-xxvi.

²⁾ KBo III 22 obv. 7-9 (OH/OS), ed. E. Neu, StBoT 18, 10-11.

Z. 183^{'''}-185^{'''}: Auch hier kann die Annahme eines negierten Imperativs *lā zīqā nicht korrekt sein. Zu lesen ist in Z. 184^{'''} nach der Kopie der Prohibitiv l[a] t[e-z]i-qa-ni. Hiernach ist auch in den umliegenden Zeilen lā teziqāni zu ergänzen.

Z. 186^{'''}: Da Text D dieses Ritual in anderem Kontext als A enthält, bleibt unsicher, ob die Schlußzeile D 17' überhaupt zur Rekonstruktion von A IV 20'f. herangezogen werden darf. Wie dem auch sei, möchte ich hier im Kontext unseres Rituals jedenfalls lieber [A.MEŠ/mē] statt [nīqa] ergänzen.

Oriental Institute
University of Chicago, August 2000

W. FARBER

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LAYARD, H.A. — Les ruines de Ninive. Éditions Errance, Paris, 1999. (24 cm, 215). ISBN 92-3-203286-4; ISBN 2-87772-182-5. FF 170.

As long as the Assyrian winged bulls continue to occupy their prominent places in the British Museum, the name of Austen Henry Layard (with his Christian names in the correct order) will remain familiar to those interested in ancient Mesopotamian civilization. In 1848, he became famous by publishing his two-volume book *Nineveh and its Remains*. This privately funded book describing his excavations in Khorsabad and Nimrud, the latter of which he then thought was identical to biblical Nineveh, proved to be an instant success. Layard not only brought to the attention of the British public the impressive remains of the ancient Assyrian civilization, about to be on exhibition in London, but his book also contributed to the growing interest in the peoples of the region, Yezidis, Kurds, Shammar Arabs and "Chaldean" Christians. He took a particular interest in the latter group, many of which, including Hormuzd Rassam, participated in his excavations: "Ceux qui trouvèrent refuge à cette époque dans les hautes vallées kurdes [i.e., the "Chaldeans"] étaient les ultimes descendants des anciens Assyriens, et les derniers représentants d'une des toutes premières sectes chrétiennes" (p. 119). Layard seems as much interested in the living remains of the ancient Assyrians as in stones and statues dating to ancient times. His vivid description of two trips into Kurdistan, describing the growing tensions between Kurds and Christians, contributes to our modern understanding of nineteenth-century historical developments almost as much as his excavations to our knowledge of the Assyrian empire.

The present French translation, based on the English 1969-version edited by H.W.F. Saggs, will probably not cause such a stir as the first edition did in London, but the book certainly will provide pleasant reading hours for those who did not have a chance to get hold of one of the earlier English versions, the original 1848-edition, the abridged version of 1851, or one of the later reprints. The present translation is preceded by a brief introduction and followed by a glossary and bibliography which comprises a few of the most important publications on Layard. This bibliography perhaps should have comprised a few more items, among which certainly Sir A. Henry Layard. *Autobiography and Letters*, edited by William N. Bruce and Arthur Otway (London 1903).

Leiden, August 2000

H.L. MURRE-VAN DEN BERG

KORTE AANKONDIGINGEN

READE, J. — Mesopotamia. British Museum Press, London, 2000. (25 cm, 96, 50 colour, 40 black and white ill.). ISBN 0-7141-2181-9. £ 8.99.

This book describes "my view of the more significant factors" in the development of civilisation in Mesopotamia, from the Neolithic down to the end of the Old Babylonian period (1500 B.C.), when the South became a wasteland because in warfare the river water had been diverted, more than once". The chapters are: Towards agriculture, Towards cultural segregation (= Hassuna and other cultures), Towards civilisation (= Uruk), The emergence of city states (= after 3000 B.C.), From estate to Empire (= the Old Akkadian period, Ur), The emergence of the individual (= the OB period). The book presents the economic (trade, cities, etc.) and cultural (art, writing, world view, etc.) developments in southern and northern Mesopotamia, explaining the issues to the general public. The last chapter "Chronology" is in favour of the low chronology.

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OWEN, D.I. and G. WILHELM (eds.) — Nuzi at Seventy-Five. (Studies on the Civilization & Culture of Nuzi & the Hurrians, 10). CDL Press, Bethesda, 1999. (26 cm, XI, 451). ISBN 1-883053-50-1. \$ 60.00.

The 45th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (1998) was organised at Harvard University where the temple of Nuzi studies is located: the Harvard Semitic Museum, with its large tablet collection. Two years later, the 75th anniversary of the start of the Nuzi excavations was to be celebrated. A good occasion to summarize the main results of recent Nuzi and Hurrian studies for the benefit of outsiders, and the major part of this book, SCCNH 10, gives that *status quaestionis*. In his introduction (p. 3-11), G. Wilhelm points out some highlights, in particular the discovery of the Hurro-Hittite *kirenzi* texts. J. Fincke (p. 13-24) gives a survey of the various subgroups in the Nuzi collection at Harvard, followed by a bibliography of the HSM texts. M.P. Maidman (p. 25-34) is preparing an edition of the Nuzi texts in Chicago and reveals interesting details, particularly the dockets and the texts of the "old" second generation. B. Lion (p. 35-62) gives a survey of the private archives from Arrapha and Nuzi (with plans and findspots), each group being followed by a bibliography. P. Negri Scafa, "The scribes of Nuzi" (p. 63-80), also discusses chronology, writing, language, social position, school. The appendix offers a bibliography of Nuzi text editions. G.G.W. Müller (p. 81-91) informs us about what we know on the geography of this region: topography (roads), population (Kassites), cultivation patterns. C. Zaccagnini (p. 93-102) writes on economy and society (in particular slaves, field yields, *ilku*, models). J. Bjorkman (p. 103-122) discovered that Ishtar Temple A was not destroyed but carefully put out of order, "de-commissioned", by covering it by earth ("the burial of a dead temple"). M. Novák (p. 123-140) studies the architecture of Nuzi: town, temple, houses. D. Frayne (p. 141-201) describes the topography of the Zagros campaigns of the Ur II kings Šulgi and Amar-Sîn: cities, roads and rivers, also in the light of later texts. C. Kühne (p. 203-