

corpus”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, Oxford, 2011, 577–96). Ceccarelli interestingly suggests that the theomorphic creation of man in Genesis was influenced by Mesopotamian models much more than is usually acknowledged (pp. 24–5). However, this assumption does not rest on an adequate discussion of the circulation and reception of this mythological narrative in the Mesopotamian cultural setting, given that, as the author notes, *Enki and Ninmah* is the only account of the creation of man as the image of god. How such motifs, attested in a composition preserved in only five or six manuscripts, could have reached a vast audience and influenced other literatures, is overlooked. Indeed, *Enki and Ninmah* presents several peculiarities such as the role of Namma as creator or her epithets (pp. 35–6) as well as lexical singularities and rare words. The same criticism applies to Ceccarelli’s comment on the ironic and sarcastic tone of *Enki and Ninmah*, when he assumes that “Der Leser kann nämlich die Logik der Entscheidungen Enkis nachvollziehen und somit befindet er sich in einer privilegierten Stellung gegenüber der Muttergöttin” (p. 59). But, who is the reader? Due to its scarce popularity, it is likely that *Enki and Ninmah* never passed beyond the boundaries of scribal circles and its audience was limited to the scribes themselves. One may see the abnormal humans as a scribal and elitist mockery of the other professions. Not by chance is this mockery featured by Enki the god of wisdom which, as is well known, included the scribal art.

Among the Mesopotamian creation myths, the author quotes *KAR 4-Erzählung* (aka *The Creation of Mankind*, listed in ETCSL full catalogue as No. 1.7.5, see Lambert *Babylonian Creation Myths*, MC 16, Winona Lake, 2013, 350–60) affirming that the composition “ist zuerst aus der mittelassyrischen Zeit überliefert” (p. 7). However, the text is preserved in an Old Babylonian manuscript from Isin published by Lambert (2013), the latter mentioned among the studies on creation myths (p. 15). As with *Enki and Ninmah*, *The Creation of Mankind* is also known from the library of Assurbanipal. The omission of the OB source of *The Creation of Mankind* prevented the author from offering a parallel to *Enki and Ninmah* of a creation myth in Sumerian language transmitted from the Old Babylonian period up to the first millennium. This would have perhaps strengthened the author’s suggestion (p. 87) that the interest aroused by narratives on the creation of mankind was behind the preservation of such compositions.

Overall Ceccarelli’s work is a valuable edition offering the scholarly community a rich commentary that will be useful for future research in the field of Sumerology.

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CHARLES W. STEITLER:

*The Solar Deities of Bronze Age Anatolia. Studies in Texts of the Early Hittite Kingdom.*

(Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, 62.) xx, 605 pp. Wiesbaden:

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Among the approximately 3,000 references to Solar deities in Hittite texts, 100 belong to Old Hittite (= OH) and 400 to Middle Hittite (= MH) sources (p. 8). Steitler arranges his study using a strictly chronological approach: OH (chs 4–6)

and MH (chs 8–10) sources on the Sun goddess (of Arinna), the male Sun god and the Sun goddess of the earth, also taking into account local solar deities (ch. 7) and concluding with a section on kingship and solar deities (ch. 11). He thus substantially increases our knowledge compared to earlier studies by Daisuke Yoshida and Ulrike Lorenz-Link.

One strength of the book is the precise description of different solar deities according to their historical development, resulting from the re-arrangement and new edition of a number of texts (CTH 339.1; 339.2; 339.3; 634.3; 736; 764.1; 820.4; 820.5) and also including some new philological insights. The following are worthy of mention: the element *-šemu* of the Hattian divine name *Wurunšemu* (pp. 59–64) is neither related to a word for “mother” nor to Hittite “*šepa*” (“genius”), but the goddess’s name must be analysed as “the earth (*wur = un*), its (*še-*) *mu*” with unknown semantics of *mu*. The Hittite word *šiu-* (and *šiw(a)-* in Old Assyrian names as well as other related lexemes) only means “god” in general and not “Sun god”, thus ruling out the interpretation of “Šiu” in the Anitta text as “Sun god” (pp. 184–90). The title “My Sun” (and variants) as an epithet of the Hittite king shows with different phonetic complements (pp. 436–44): <sup>d</sup>UTU-*mi/e-* “my Sun” is only used by the king himself in the 1st person or when somebody addresses the king directly in the 2nd person. <sup>d</sup>UTU-*šummi/a-* “our Sun” is only mentioned in contexts referring to the king in the 3rd person, while the last phonetic complement <sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>SL</sup>-*i-* can be used in all three cases. All these precise philological observations contribute to a better understanding of many texts.

Regarding the position of Solar deities in the history of religions in Anatolia, the first result is the proof of the important position of Eštan (Ištanu) as female solar deity in the Hattian milieu. Sequences of divine names in festival texts (pp. 47 sqq.) mention Ištanu (or Ištanu-Tappinu) in the primary function, followed by the Storm god. For the ideology of kingship, the female Sun goddess, the Storm god, and Inar are the main gods who legitimize the king (pp. 167 sqq.) – from the OH period onwards. While it is beyond doubt that both a Palaeon and Luwian Sun god are attested during the OH period (in Palaeon of a more minor rank than the storm god Zaparwa, pp. 221–3; in Luwian as head of the pantheon, pp. 202sq.), there is no evidence for a Hattian (or Old Hittite) male solar deity. When a Sun god (occasionally) occurs in the Old Hittite period, he is neither a Hattian nor a Hittite but a Luwian deity. The third solar deity in OH sources is the Sun goddess of the earth, who is best attested during the early period in the prayer CTH 371 which belongs to the Luwian milieu. In conclusion, next to some local cults (pp. 247 sqq.) we find the following solar deities in the OH period: in the “Hittite state pantheon” the main position is held by the (Hattian) Sun goddess Eštan as wife of the Storm god. A male solar deity – in different positions – is known only among the Palaeon and Luwian milieu from whence both Sun gods are introduced to the Hittite state cult, but not as focal points for early Hittite kingship as the king’s authority depends on his relation to the Sun goddess and the Storm god only.

This OH situation radically changes in the MH sources when the former marginal male Sun god reaches his new status (pp. 329 sqq.), prominent now in festival texts and magical rituals. The most significant change and “exaltation” of the Sun god can be seen in prayers (CTH 3723–374) which are “very close adaptations or mere translations of Mesopotamian literature within the genre of Hittite prayer” (p. 371). In this way since MH times the Sun god can be seen as the righteous judge with his pre-eminence both in the pantheon and the entire cosmos. Despite the fact that these prayers ultimately go back to Mesopotamian traditions, he is no longer a

Mesopotamian, but the Hittite god. Contrary to the Hittite Sun god, the Hurrian Sun god Šimige does not gain an important position in the Hittite state (pp. 407 sq.) despite his spouse Aya(-Ekalte) occasionally being identified with the Sun goddess of Arinna (pp. 310–2). The Sun goddess of Arinna continues the “Hattian” Sun goddess from OH times, changing only the name but not the functions of the Hattian goddess. In Arinna local festivals (CTH 634; 666) are celebrated for her, and together with the Storm god she is the main goddess in the festivals of the state cult. Contrary to the Sun goddess of the earth (pp. 419 sqq.), there are only very limited references to her in magical rituals (p. 281). The last section of the book discusses the connection between solar deities and Hittite kingship. This topic is mentioned mainly in juridical and administrative texts and magical-juridical rituals but rarely in festival texts where the close connection of the king with the Sun goddess continues. Steitler also discusses aspects of the royal iconographic tradition (pp. 444 sqq. compare to this topic most recently M. Hutter and S. Hutter-Braunsar, “König und Gott. Die ikonographische Repräsentation der hethitischen Könige”, in J. Gießauf (ed.), *Zwischen Karawane und Orientexpress*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2017, 155–74). A very short outlook on solar deities in the Empire period refers to the necessity of further research into the ongoing chronological development of the Solar deities, concluding this ground-breaking study of aspects of Hittite religion.

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SILVIA BALATTI:

*Mountain Peoples in the Ancient Near East: The Case of the Zagros in the First Millennium BCE.*

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The Zagros Mountains have long been an integral part of Near Eastern history. The present volume is a corrected and “slightly revised” (p. xxiii) version of Balatti’s 2014 doctoral dissertation from the University of Kiel, addressing the social organization, the “life-ways” and the adaptive socio-political and economic strategies of the Zagros peoples in relation to their mountainous environment and the surrounding states. Chapter 1 briefly surveys Zagros’ history and archaeology from prehistory until the late second millennium BC. The genres of the texts studied are then introduced, followed by descriptions of the pertinent archaeological and palynological records. The period covered by the texts is reportedly from the first Assyrian campaigns into the Zagros c. 1100 BC up to Seleucid domination of the entire Zagros Mountains until c. 150 BC. However, the earliest such Assyrian campaigns can be taken back to the periods of Adad-nirari I (1307–1275 BC) and Shalmaneser I (1274–1245 BC) (A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115)* (Toronto, Buffalo and London, 1987), 131, 179, 206, 207). A review of the secondary literature (which should include more of the work of I.N. Medvedskaya) concerning the Zagros concludes chapter 1. Chapter 2 elucidates the concepts of pastoralism, pastoral nomadism, transhumance, tribalism and post-nomadism with the difficulties applying them in ancient history