

Par conséquent, une équation Kayalıpınar = Šamuha semble plus plausible. Voir également à ce sujet l'article de G. Wilhelm dans l'ouvrage recensé ici (à la rubrique "géographie").

Archéologie:

H. Gonnet ("Un rhyton en forme de kurša hittite", p. 321-327) publie un rhyton en forme de peau animale conservé dans le musée de Sadberk Hanım à Istanbul. Elle suggère de l'identifier à un *kurša* (une gibecière(?): voir McMahon, AS 25 (1991) p. 250-254 avec bibliographie).

A. M. Jasink ("Considerazioni sull'evoluzione dei sigilli in geroglifico minoico e in geroglifico anatolico", p. 391-418) met en contraste la formation, le développement et l'utilisation des signes hiéroglyphiques sur la glyptique d'Anatolie et de Crète. L'auteur indique que les sceaux anonymes hittites du type "sceaux Labarna" (p. 413 note 85) se rapprochent des cachets minoens. Le site de Kuşaklı (Šarišša hittite) pourvoit à présent de nouveaux exemples de sceaux ne portant pas de nom propre. L'un d'entre eux porte l'inscription "roi (de) Šarišša" (A. Müller-Karpe, MDOG 127 (1995) p. 24 fig. 22), un autre celle de "sceau palatial" (A. Müller-Karpe, MDOG 131 (1999) p. 63 fig. 6a).

Selon P. Matthiae ("L'origine dell'edificio E di Büyükkale e il problema storico del hilani", p. 571-592), le bâtiment E de la citadelle de Hattuša (Büyükkale) serait inspiré des hilanis syriens (élément de l'architecture palatiale syrienne dès le XXI^e siècle av. J. -C.).

C. Mora ("Le figure e le parole (A proposito di due reperti da Ugarit e da Hattuša)", p. 603-611) compare l'iconographie d'un vase découvert à Ugarit à celle d'un sceau hittite (SBo 2.220). Dans chacune de ces deux représentations, une personne est assise face à une table couverte de mets et est associée à un oiseau et un cheval. L'auteur se demande si ces deux scènes de banquet pourraient avoir la même origine (scène religieuse ou historique) sans que cela indique pour autant que cette iconographie ait été directement transmise à Ugarit par le pays hittite.

S. Pierallini ("Luoghi di culto sulla cittadella di Hattusa", p. 627-635) suggère que Hattuša ait eu deux temples pour la déesse Soleil d'Arinna. L'un serait dans la citadelle (pour son aspect chthonien car elle y serait associée au *hešta* et au temple de Halki), l'autre serait le temple I du dieu de l'orage même qu'elle partagerait avec ce dieu. L'auteur fait en effet allusion à l'aspect "céleste" de la déesse Soleil sous la forme de la divinité Soleil du ciel (p. 631). Il faut cependant remarquer que la divinité Soleil du ciel est un dieu masculin; il doit être distingué de la déesse Soleil d'Arinna car ces deux divinités ne forment aucunement une seule et même entité. S. Pierallini indique en outre que le temple *hešta* est dédié à la déesse Lelwani (p. 631). Le fait qu'un *hešta* ait été un lieu possible de vénération pour cette déesse est en effet illustré dans les annales décennales de Muršili II (KBo 2.5+ iii 41, 44: éd. Götze, AM (1933) p. 188-191). Cela n'implique pas pour autant que tous les temples *hešta* aient été réservés au culte de Lelwani. Au contraire, le texte KBo 17.15 Ro I 9-17 édité par G. Torri (Lelwani (1999) p. 10) dresse la liste des dieux faisant l'objet d'un culte dans le *hešta*.

M. Poetto ("Nuove bullae geroglifiche di presumibile attribuzione alla regina Puduhepa", p. 637-644) publie plusieurs empreintes d'un même sceau. Sur ce cachet figure le nom de la reine Puduhepa, épouse de Hattušili III.

Paris, novembre 2003

Alice MOUTON

PERSICA

BRIANT, Pierre — Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre
Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris, 2003. (22 cm, 666).
ISBN 2-213-60901-2. € 28,-.

It is perhaps no coincidence that shortly after each other two books written by this author were published: the fifth edition of *Alexandre Le Grand* on the one hand (in 2002)¹⁾ and one year later the book under review, *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre*. The two persons studied in these books are responsible for one of the most illustrious episodes of human history, one that would have a great appeal to the minds of historians and writers alike. During the years 333-331 B.C. Alexander defeated the last king of the Achaemenid empire, Darius III, in three battles, whereupon Darius fled to Bactria, where he was killed by the satrap Bessos. This meant the end of the great Achaemenid empire, which had controlled the entire Ancient Near East for more than two centuries. It was replaced by the empire of Alexander, which would, however, quickly disintegrate after the death of its young king.

Briant has good reasons to write a book on Darius III, reasons explained by him in the introduction, "Entre mémoire et oubli" (pp. 11-23). The main focusing point of the traditional historical research was always Alexander, while Darius had to satisfy himself with a role "dans l'ombre d'Alexandre" (hence the title of the book). Such a focusing point has prevented historians also from having any attention for the connections and the interplay between Classical Antiquity and the Ancient Near East. Briant describes this attitude as "hellénocentrique et alexandromaniaque"²⁾ and precisely this attitude — unchanged until present and widespread especially among the "spécialistes d'Alexandre" — is the main reason for Briant to write his book (pp. 13-14).

Indeed a study focusing on the last Achaemenid king is desirable. Already the status of Darius III — the forgotten king — makes this clear. In a chapter entitled "Un ombre parmi les siens" (pp. 27-84) Briant points out that with regard to Darius III there is little information, certainly when compared to his predecessors. No palace, no tomb, not even his face is really known to us.

Briant points out that in the course of centuries a thick layer has covered the historical figure of Darius III. This layer was constructed by the primary emphasis of the classical authors on Alexander himself. Therefore the modern scholar should realize that undertaking a study of the history of Darius III means that he has to dig a hole through this layer in order to find some information on the historical Darius III. Of course it is normal that the classical authors who described the life and career of Alexander, in their eyes the great executioner of the Achaemenid empire, were focused on his role in history and tended to forget his adversary, Darius III. Understandably, however, this creates problems for the modern historian.

The table of contents divides the book in six parts (altogether 12 chapters). Yet the reader may discern three main themes in this study: (1) the image of Darius III in the classical literature, (2) the afterlife of Darius in the European literature from the fourteenth century onwards and (3) the

¹⁾ The first edition of this study was published in 1974.

²⁾ He thereby reacts against Arrian (I.12.5; see p. 174), who in his time wrote about Alexander because he believed the Macedonian king to be totally unknown among his contemporaries.

image of Dārā (Darius III) in the later Persian literature. The inclusion of the Iranian literature makes the book indeed very interesting and informative. These themes, except for the last one, are a thread throughout the book. Concerning the first two themes Briant makes clear that since antiquity there have been two images of Darius III:

- (1) a positive one: Darius was a courageous and honest king who had the bad luck to live in the wrong time. Alexander was simply too strong. The so-called *Vulgata* (Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, etc.) created this image, which was adopted by scholars such as J.-G. Droysen and George Rawlinson.
- (2) A negative one: Darius was a coward, who fled after each battle, an unworthy king. This image was propagated by Arrian and adopted by inter alia Grote and Gobineau.

The classical authors have turned the historical Darius into a literary motive. The stories told about him (e.g. his luxurious life, his correspondence with Alexander, etc.) are only included in order to illuminate the contrast between him and Alexander. Clearly literary mechanisms determine the conception of a historical person and consequently distort the reality around this person. This is nicely illustrated by the fact that the same stories are also told of other persons (e.g. Artaxerxes II and Cyrus the Younger).

In order to make this clear to his readers Briant has worked himself through a lot of source material, being Sasanid and Islamic inscriptions in Persepolis, the classical literature and later European and Iranian literature. He clearly shows that the historical Darius is buried under a heap of literary motives. To illustrate his results Briant uses a huge number of examples, being Greco-Roman, Iranian and later European ones. The book abounds with citations from many ancient and modern authors and scholars.

A particularly interesting part of the book is the fifth part, "Darius et Dārā", which comprises two chapters: "Dārā et Iskender" (443-486) and "Mort et transfiguration" (487-521). In the first of these Briant studies the confrontation of Darius and Alexander as it is rendered in the later Iranian literature. A comparison of the Greco-Roman literature with the later Iranian tradition on Dārā and Iskender indicates that the latter has undergone a great influence from the former, esp. from the Alexander novel, as a result of which the same image of Darius appears when studying this Iranian literature. That implies that Darius in the Iranian literature too evolved from a historical figure into a literary motive. The second chapter studies the various traditions concerning the death of Darius.

The main difference between the literature of both cultural areas is the negative image of Alexander. Alexander is portrayed as the destroyer of the religion and of the political unity of the Iranian lands.

The book ends with notes, a rich bibliography and indices.

Briant has written a book dealing with history of images and ideas, both European and Iranian. It is an interesting study for both historians and literary historians and therefore will appeal to many readers.

Finally one minor remark:

P. 218 n. 97: change Briant 2003d into Briant 2002c.

Leuven, February 2004

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SASSANIDEN

BABKA'I-KHAVARI, Manijeh — *Das Bild des Königs in der Sasanidenzeit* (Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik 13). Georg Olms Verlag GmbH, Hildesheim, 2000. (21 cm, 307). ISBN 3-487-11087-3. DM 68,-.

This publication, dealing with the image of the Sasanid kings and some aspects of their kingship, is the result of the author's doctoral research. Since the Sasanid dynasty has strongly influenced the court style and habits of both the Muslim conquerors and later Iranian dynasties, it is obvious that a research of these aspects of royalty is extremely important (pp. 11-14). By publishing this book the author meets the desires of many scholars.

The *Nachleben* of the Sasanids is also illustrated in the rich source material collected by the author in an appendix. Several of the passages cited deal with the post-Sasanid history (e.g. d.7.2 [p. 152], e.4.1 [p. 156], f.9.2.3 [p. 163], k.5.5 [p. 182]).¹⁾

Two types of sources throw light on the Sasanid kingship: literary sources and iconographical sources. The author (pp. 21-40) accurately describes both categories, after a short survey of the Sasanid political history (pp. 15-19).

The literary sources are discussed per author (e.g. Ferdowsi) and a distinction is made between Pahlavi books (preserved in later Arabic works) and Islamic sources (written in both Arabic and Persian). The Pahlavi books and the Islamic authors, as well as their importance for the study of the Sasanid king's image, are extensively discussed, but unfortunately Abka'i-Khavari does not treat a third category of literary sources, although she makes use of them later in her book (e.g. p. 48 n. 196, p. 55 n. 229, p. 63 nn. 259 and 262, p. 68 n. 284, p. 95 n. 424, p. 97 and n. 437; f.9.2.3 [p. 164], o.9.3 [p. 219], r.6.3 [p. 241], s.8.7 [p. 253]). This category encompasses the Roman and Byzantine authors, such as Ammianus Marcellinus, Johannes Chrysostomus, Procopius and Theophylactus who occasionally describe Persian habits. An additional chapter on these authors in the introduction would have been extremely useful. In addition it must be deplored that concerning this category of sources the author seems to rely on only one publication (Christensen 1936), while she cites many passages from the indigenous literary sources.

While the literary sources are more focused on the situation during the later Sasanid period, the iconographical sources reveal some information on earlier kings in the shape of rock reliefs, statues (rarely attested), metalwork, coins and seals. The included images help the reader a lot.

One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the comparison between both types of sources, duly conducted by the author. Sometimes this comparison tells us that there is a big difference between the description in the literary sources on the one hand and the iconographical sources on the other hand, e.g. in the case of the dress and the crowns of the various kings. Hamza al-Isfahānī, a tenth-century author, provides us with detailed descriptions of these features, but his record is contradicted by the iconographical remains (p. 68). One objection made here is that the author apparently forgot to compare the literary description of horses with the images

¹⁾ In some cases one may wonder whether a particular habit, which is illustrated by cited passages, already existed in the Sasanid period, since all examples given are situated in the Islamic period (e.g. f.4.13 [p. 161]).

of horses on the rock reliefs (cf. p. 71), which would have been interesting as well.

The book is divided in several sections, of which two have already been discussed: I. A survey of Sasanid political history and II. Description of the sources. The third part ("Das Bild des Königs") deals with the image of the king and is divided in six chapters: (1) the ideological background of the kings, (2) kingship as an institution and (3) the appearance of the king. The latter section deals with the external image of the king and discusses *inter alia* the dress, crown, throne, horse, etc. of the king. The fourth chapter is dedicated to the various functions of the Sasanid kings: hunter, drinker, warrior, etc. Following this a section focuses on the right behaviour before the king. Finally the last part discusses the death of the king, dealing with all its aspects (burial, will, mourning ceremonies, etc.).

The study is richly illustrated with citations from the literary sources (pp. 133-255), which points to well-conducted heuristics. Most of them are translated into German, but some of them are cited in Persian. There does not seem to be a system determining which citations were and which ones were not translated. Unfortunately the non-translated passages affect the clarity of the book for readers who do not know Persian. This is, however, only a minor point of possible grievance, for one cannot study Sasanid history without any knowledge of the historical sources and the languages they are written in.

As is to be expected, a list of abbreviations, a bibliography and a list of figures complete the book.

Some minor remarks:

P. 61: in her treatment of the dress of the Late Sasanid kings the author mentions a relief of Šapur II (309-379), which cannot, however, be situated in the Late Sasanid period.

P. 81: the *Nachleben* of the Achaemenid dynasty in the Sasanid period is also traceable in the drinking of wine. Both the Achaemenids (e.g. Cyrus the Younger, cf. Plutarchus, *Artaxerxes*, 6.4) and the Sasanids considered themselves as people who liked to drink wine and who were able to consume large quantities of it.

P. 142 (c.7.4): the *Kāzari* usage, described here, reminds one strongly of the Ancient Near Eastern institution of the substitute king.² The substitute king is named *kāqān* and being a permanent function it is much more institutionalized in comparison to the habits of the Ancient Near Eastern civilizations.

P. 244 (s.1.2.15): the expression "he died his own death" (said of Yazdgerd II) is remarkable, since it reminds one of the much-discussed passage on Cambyse's death (DB I 43). See, most recently, W. Skalmowski, "A Note on OP uvâ-maršiyu- (DB I, 43)", A.A. Sadeghi (ed.), *Tafazzoli Memorial Volume*, Teheran, 2001, 67-70.

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² For more information on the substitute king see S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, Part II: *Commentary and Appendices* (AOAT 5/2), Neukirchen — Vluyn, 1983, xxii-xxxii. More insight in the Hittite substitute kings can be gained through H. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* (StBoT 3), Wiesbaden, 1967 and P. Taracha, *Ersetzen und Entsühnen: das mittel-hethitische Ersatzritual für den Grosskönig Tuthaliya* (CTH *448.4) und verwandte Texte (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 5), Leiden, 2000.

OUDE TESTAMENT

HÜBNER, Ulrich, Ernst A. KNAUF (Hrsg.) — *Kein Land für sich allein. Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnâri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 186, Freiburg (Schweiz) — Göttingen 2002, 331 S., ISBN 3-7278-1402-0; ISBN 3-525-53043-9; ISSN 1015-1850. sFr. 98,-.

Schüler und Kollegen des zuletzt in Heidelberg tätigen Gelehrten bieten Beiträge entsprechend dessen Forschungsschwerpunkten in der Geschichte, Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Syrien-Palästinas im 2. Jt. v. Chr. bis ins 3. Jh. n. Chr., über deren beeindruckende Bandbreite und reichen Ertrag eine von H. Weippert zusammengestellte Bibliographie am Ende des Bandes Auskunft gibt (S. 309-318). Die thematisch und methodisch unterschiedlich ausgerichteten, z.T. brillant argumentierenden und mitunter recht materialreichen 19 Studien sind der historischen Chronologie der behandelten Themen nach angeordnet, wobei ein gewisser Schwerpunkt bei den Gegebenheiten der neu-assyrischen Zeit liegt.

Marti Nissinen, *Prophets and the Divine Council* (S. 4-19), zeigt anhand der ausserbiblischen Belege für die Vorstellung einer prophetischen Mittlerschaft aus einer Ratsversammlung der Götter aus Deir 'Alla (Inscr. I,1-2.5-7); Mari (ARM 26 208, 1'-26'; ARM 26 196,1'-14'), Ešnunna (FLP 1674), und aus neuassyrischen Texten (akk. puḥur ilāni, vgl. SAA 13 139; SAA 9 9:16-21; SAA 9 3.4 ii 33-36 u.a.m.), dass es sich um eine alte und weit verbreitete Konzeption handelt, an welchem das A.T. in eigener Weise partizipiert. Zwar erheben die Propheten in der Götterversammlung nicht ihre Stimme, scheinen aber im Rahmen einer zeremoniellen Begegnung als Wortmittler aufgetreten zu sein (so für die na Texte, vgl. SAA 12 69:27-31; s. a. S. Maul, FS Lambert, 389-390.397).

Zeidan A. Kafafi, *Egyptian Governors' Residencies in Jordan and Palestine: New Lights* (S. 20-30), zeigt, dass die von E.D. Oren als sog. Governors' Residencies klassifizierten rechteckigen 1-stöckigen Bauten aus dem 14./13. Jh. v. Chr., die mit einem in einem Graben angelegten Fundament versehen sind und um einen Innenhof herum mehrere Räume aufweisen (Tell el-Ḥesī, Tell el-Fāra', Tell Jemmeh, Ḥirbet el-Mšāš, Tell eš-Šarī'a, Beth-Shean, aber wohl auch in Ṭabaqāt Fahl und Tell es-Sa'īdiye) einem in Tell el-'Amārna nachgewiesenen Haustyp entsprechen, dessen Identifizierung als Verwaltungsbau ägyptischen Stils nicht vom Vorhandensein reicher einschlägiger Keramikfunde abhängig ist.

Ulrich Hübner, *Jerusalem und die Jebusiter* (S. 31-42), ruft einen ernüchternden Befund ins Bewusstsein: Abgesehen von dem Toponym *ketef ha-Yēbūsī* (Jos 15,8; 18,16), das einen lokalen Haftpunkt in der Nähe Jerusalems gehabt haben könnte, gibt es keinerlei ausserbiblische Anhaltspunkte für die Existenz einer präisraelitischen Bevölkerung dieses Namens. Vielmehr handelt es sich um ein künstliches, fiktives Eponym, das dann sekundär auch auf die Ortslage Jerusalems bezogen wurde. Ausserbiblisch wird Jerusalem stets Jerusalem und niemals *Yēbūs* genannt (Belege S. 34).

André Lemaire, *La Reine de Saba à Jérusalem: la tradition ancienne reconsidérée* (S. 43-55): In 1 Kön 10,1-10,13 liegt eine vor-dtr. Überlieferung vor, die in v. 5aß.9* dtr., in v.1b; 10a; 13aß nach-exilische Bearbeitung erfahren hat. Trotz