

abraded letters, appears to be a distribution list. The upper part of one jar was used twice: six partially readable lines concern a scribe and men who pledge amounts of wheat; the other group of three lines is illegible. On a flat piece of clay a Phoenician seal was impressed (no. 26**). Its two lines show it belonged to a son of Yashobe'am—a name found only in Hebrew—while the father's name is less clear, the third letter being indistinct. Röllig considers *r*, *m*, *k*, or *n* possible, so the reading might be *tntnbw*, Tanitti-Nabu, a Babylonian name, "Praise of Nabu." Three impressions of a seal on a cuneiform tablet end the collection (no. 27**). The seal belonged to Nabû-killanni, written in Aramaic as *nbwglny*.

Dür-Katlimmu has provided more specimens of Aramaic writing from daily life in the seventh century BC than any other site in Mesopotamia, a further demonstration of the Assyrian-Aramaic symbiosis well attested elsewhere. The contents of the documents may not be exciting—there are no letters, no incantations, no literary texts—but Wolfgang Röllig's magisterial edition adds notably to the store of Old Aramaic documents.

ALAN MILLARD
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

The Sacrificial Economy: Assessors, Contractors, and Thieves in the Management of Sacrificial Sheep at the Eanna Temple of Uruk (ca. 625–520 B.C.). By MICHAEL KOZUH. Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations, vol. 2. Winona Lake, Ind.: EISENBRAUNS, 2014. Pp. xii + 324, CD-ROM. \$69.50.

The Sacrificial Economy by Michael Kozuh treats the internal and external workings of animal husbandry (primarily sheep and, to a lesser extent, goats) in the Eanna temple in Uruk. It covers the timespan from the Neo-Babylonian to the beginning of the Achaemenid period. Kozuh's observations are based on around 950 published and unpublished texts. The volume, the author's revised Ph.D. thesis, includes a CD-ROM with good photographs of the thirty-five unpublished texts edited in the book. It concludes with indices for texts and topics. As Kozuh states himself (p. ix), this book came into being at a time when major research was being conducted in the field of Neo-Babylonian studies, also touching on his avenue of research. This is understandably a difficult framework to work in; yet it was a deliberate decision, due to timing, not fully to include the findings of AOAT 377 (Jursa 2010, which he calls a "capstone," p. 20).

Chapter one deals with the internal and external administrative spheres of the Eanna connected to sheep herding. The author treats the basic question of whether the purpose of its herds was meat or wool production. He suggests that limitations on the herdsmen's profit in wool—which the Eanna basically took in full as its cash crop—led them to raise herds for meat production and quantity, not quality, of wool. He considers the number of animals the Eanna owned and kept on-site and devises a livestock calendar.

In chapter two, Kozuh describes his source material and gives a cursory overview of previous scholarship. He introduces a classification of textual material from the Eanna tailored to his research needs and discusses several types of assessment texts in detail. Chapter three treats the Eanna's relationship with its external herdsmen, focusing on the contract employed and its terms in theory and practice. Kozuh defines the difference between the mathematical model used in the contract and the actual number of inspected and extracted animals in audit texts as *rēhu*, which he translates as "balance" (p. 92) and discusses in detail in various contexts in chapter four.

Chapter five expands further on this, taking wool as an example and stating that the Eanna normally did not enforce these "balances," but used them as a means to keep herdsmen in check. The author also discusses advantages that these contracts had for the herdsmen, viz., in his opinion, not only possible profit but also legal protection, as well as their disadvantages. Additionally, he deliberates on the branding process.

Chapter six focuses on two offices, the *rab būli*, "herd supervisor," and the *ša muḥḥi rēhāni*, the "one over the balances" (p. 153). Since the latter position was held by the notorious Gimillu, his case

is covered here as well. In Kozuh's view, Gimillu derived power from his intermediate status between the temple and the crown, controlling the flow of information. He also remarks on *hītu*, "punishment" (p. 176) of the king or his subordinates, treating the role of the crown in the context of herding contracts.

Chapter seven deals with entrepreneurs and debt, distinguishing between debt in theory and practice. Moreover, Kozuh discusses risk for both contracting parties and the fragility of the Eanna's administration when confronted with unexpected stress, exemplified elegantly by the royal visit to Abanu. Considering the time frame, one could add that the situation was probably exacerbated by the famine that Kristin Kleber (2012) has demonstrated for the first years of Cambyses. Chapter eight treats the Eanna's internal livestock management, especially the offering shepherd and the fattening stable. The author discusses temple income in animals from various sources, including royal donations, and its internal allocations for various purposes. Chapter nine sums up the main findings of the book, partly by applying them to a case study, and concludes with a treatment of royal involvement in the Eanna's sacrificial economy.

The book is a substantial contribution to current research, and the presentation of new, previously unpublished, material as well as numerous references to additional unpublished texts is much appreciated. Nonetheless, some of Kozuh's arguments—though elegant—do not solve the issues he raises. I will mention just a few examples pertaining to his notion of *rēhu*. For instance, in his discussion of livestock inventory texts (pp. 34ff.), he presents some of the rare examples of these texts wherein the enumeration of animals is followed by an earlier *rēhu* (texts 4, 5, and 6, the latter mentioning *rēhu* for years 19–23 Nbk). He suggests, because instances of these second balances are rare, that "the Eanna regularly disregarded yearly balances," and that "the fact that each text of this sort lists the herdsman's two obligations separately, rather than folding the earlier balance into the later obligation, is an indication that balances did not regularly roll over from one year to the next" (p. 44).

The same textual evidence, though, could just as easily be understood in the light of the necessity of recording new responsibilities while at the same time mentioning older *rēhu* in such a manner that the two not be confused and considered to have been paid off by one and the same delivery, which would be the opposite of what the author states, and overall more in line with what is known of late Babylonian accounting.

Kozuh's rejection of the accumulation of *rēhu* under normal circumstances is also based on his comparison of two other texts, YOS 7, 39 and 83 (pp. 99ff.), which is not fully convincing. These are ledgers of *rēhu*, several years apart, and, in comparison, show increases and decreases, not an accumulation of *rēhu*. But the context of his first set of numbers, YOS 7, 39, is not mentioned at this point. It was drawn up for Gimillu, the *ša mūhhi rēhāni*, which could affect the accounts of the herdsmen on this tablet by transferring responsibility. Contrary to previous scholarship, Kozuh suggests that Gimillu refused this tablet in order to keep information from the crown (p. 172) instead of avoiding responsibility for the amount mentioned. This is an interesting idea, but at this point, the information has already been recorded on a tablet. By refusing to accept the tablet, Gimillu leaves this crucial piece of information in the hands of the administration, which runs counter to the author's assumption that Gimillu's power stemmed from controlling the flow of information to and from the crown.

On the other hand, Gimillu's personal responsibility for huge sums of silver is evident from, for example, the letter YOS 3, 19, which clearly states that the amount due from him is from the *rēhu* of the herdsmen, and not a fine, as Kozuh suggests (p. 171). In general, I think that the careful consideration of letters could add new layers to his discussion. He consciously (p. 23 n. 19) disregards most of the information in letters because of the uncertainties in identifying the senders and addressees and, therefore, dating, which is a valid concern. But even without filiations, thorough study of personal names can achieve a high degree of probability, bordering on certainty, in their identification. Despite his concerns, the author treats some letters in detail and some in passing, but this could certainly be expanded on and would provide additional information.

One example is the topic of the fattening stable, where the letter references he gives for its departments are by no means exhaustive. One could add YOS 3, 17, 41, and 98, YOS 21, 72, and perhaps YOS 3, 137, just for the latter half of the period treated. Though Kozuh tries to examine the internal workings of the fattening stable, which he sees as an administrative department containing sub-departments including

the *bīt immeri* and the *bīt alpi*, he does not mention the connection to the provisioning of manpower for various temple projects, which is one of the reference points for the *bīt alpi* in letters. This does not touch directly on the main topic of the book, but would add to the picture of the inner structures of the fattening stable. Kozuh's treatment of YOS 3, 56 (p. 222 n. 26, 272–73, probably based on Ebeling 1930–34: 48–49) does not necessarily require the emendation he suggests for l. 7 (*ta-áš-pur¹-ra*), since the form could be taken as written on the tablet, *ta-áš-šap-ra*, a written variant of *tašappar* instead of *tašpur* used anomalously in a positive main clause in letters, with the present tense emphasizing repeated action. I agree with the suggestion for l. 9, though I would transcribe the verbal form as *ta-ka-áš-da¹(T:GA)* instead of “-*da* (?)”. The sender is the *qīpu* of the Ebabbar of Larsa, Nādin-ahī (Beaulieu 1991: 77), the recipient probably Nādin, the temple scribe, which dates this letter to the period from 12 Nbn until before the accession of Cambyses.

Though one might not agree with all his findings, Michael Kozuh raises numerous interesting issues in his discussion of the Eanna's sacrificial economy. This book presents a number of newly published texts and many references to further material, and is likely to infuse the discussion of the complicated issue of livestock management in the Eanna with new vigor.

MARTINA SCHMIDL
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

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Ritual Employs of Birds in Ancient Syria-Palestine. By GIUSEPPE MINUNNO. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*, vol. 402. Münster: UGARIT-VERLAG, 2013. Pp. 165. €64.

This concise monograph, based on the author's doctoral dissertation defended at the University “La Sapienza” of Rome, presents an investigation of the role played by birds in the rituals conducted in Syria-Palestine over the course of two millennia, from the end of the third millennium BC to the conquest of Alexander in 332 BC.

Minunno begins the introductory chapter by outlining the geographical area he has investigated in his study. He argues that the pre-classical regions of Syria and Palestine are characterized by “substantial homogeneity and continuity of development” (p. 9). He extends his area of interest by also incorporating Punic documentation of Northern Africa because of its clear cultural connections with Phoenician culture, which flourished along the Mediterranean coast of the Levant. Furthermore, in an attempt to avoid dealing with the modern misconceptions associated with the terms “religion” and “magic,” Minunno defines “ritual use” in this work as referring to any use of birds in either cultic (in which a supernatural being is involved) or independent (such as purification rites) ritual activities.

In order to gather insight into the involvement of birds in these ceremonies, Minunno focuses his attention almost exclusively on the extant textual material, complementing his findings, whenever possible, with data from zooarchaeological analyses conducted at the relevant sites and with the representation of birds involved in rituals or shown in the company of deities on contemporary seals. Minunno rightly warns the reader that it is often impossible to establish ritual procedures accurately or to ascertain the exact role of the birds mentioned in texts because of the terse and fragmentary nature