appeared. Lines 1-2 should therefore be translated: "Šaggar-umarri, her mother, daughter of Nina'e and of Talma'e". The perfect *ittadin* ("has given") in line 7 is also in the singular.

The clauses, stipulations or warranties of both "Syrian" and "Syro-Hittite" contracts of sale are examined one by one in the following chapter (p. 116-183). This is an important part of the book, useful also for scholars dealing with other documents of the kind. There is only one "Syrian" document with a final stipulation which seems to be a warranty (p. 152). The term "warranty" has a peculiar and technical meaning in the law of sale. It denotes a stipulation which is regarded as collateral to the main purpose of the contract. A breach, therefore, does not entitle the buyer to reject the goods, but only to claim damages. The concerned Emar contract thus stipulates that if the construction called *kirṣitu* falls down, the seller must provide another house. No time limits are fixed, but one may surmise that local practice required that the collapse of the *kirṣitu* had happened within a reasonable time after delivery. The references of the Author to the documents always mention the original publication, not the page of the texts transliterated and translated in the book. The document in question, Emar 130, can be found with the help of the index, p. 451, which refers to p. 348-349, no. 103.

The redemption clause would require some additional comments. The author rightly notices that the redemption of a property for the same price as its "selling" probably concerns a mortgage in which an estate is conveyed to a creditor, who takes the rents and profits in lieu of interest and without account, the estate being redeemable at any time on payment of the principal (p. 163). However, the Author does not use the legal French term *antichrèse*, which would clarify the situation. The formulary used by professional scribes is the one of sale agreements, because the contract has the effect of giving the mortgagee a legal lien upon the property, the mortgager still having the possibility of recovering the ancestral property thanks to the redemption clause.

The last chapter examines the notion of property and the legal conditions of immovable property at Emar (p. 184-214), where one must distinguish three categories of proprietors: "Ninurta and the elders of the city", the king and the palace, the ordinary citizens. Ninurta is the chief deity of Emar and the divine proprietor of the goods belonging to the city, administered by the "elders".

Dr. Fijałkowska's conclusion deals with the question of one or two juridical systems at Emar (p. 215-218). There were at least two ways of redacting contracts of sale: a traditional one, the "Syrian", which disap-

pears before the end of Emar in the 12th century, and the "Syro-Hittite" formulary which was used by persons of a probably different origin and which lasted until the end of the city. Political changes seem to lay behind these differences, but it is difficult to reach a firm conclusion in the present state of our knowledge.

The study of the contracts of sale is followed by various synoptic tables (p. 221-246): the "Syrian" texts in chronological order (p. 221-223), the members of the royal family intervening in the "Syrian" contracts of sale (p. 224-227), the "Syro-Hittite" formularies (p. 228-233), sales of slaves (p. 234-235), tables concerning stipulations (p. 235-246). A very useful part of the book contains the transliteration and a French translation of the concerned Emar texts with all the necessary references (p. 249-435). There are 133 contracts of sale of immovables in "Syrian" style, 45 contracts of sale of immovables in "Syro-Hittite" style, 17 contracts of sale of slaves, and 7 contracts of enslaving. As mentioned above, the book always refers to the *editio princeps*, quoted in an abridged form explained on p. XIII-XIV. The way to find the concerned texts in the book itself is the recourse to the index of sources on p. 449-455.

The bibliography (437-448) is followed by several indices: the index of sources, very important for the practical use of the book (p. 449-455), an index of Akkadian and Sumerian words (p. 455-457), and an index of proper names occurring in the contracts of sale with indication of the source and of the page in the book (p. 458-502).

There is no doubt that we deal here with an important scholarly work and with a research tool that can be useful for people dealing with similar sources from other sites and periods. Dr. Fijałkowska has produced an impressive and thorough work, on international level. It will keep its value for many years to come, and it will be a research basis for further studies on the law of sale and related subjects in the Ancient Near East.

EDWARD LIPIŃSKI

S.L. HERRING, *Divine Substitution. Humanity as the Manifestation of Deity in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2013, in 8*, pp. 244. Bound. Price: € 49,99. ISBN 978-3-525-53612-4.

Stephen L. Herring is a faculty member of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies lecturing Biblical Hebrew and other courses. His current interests include the antique conceptions of the divine presence and the ancient Israelite traditions concerning the figure of Moses. The present book is one of his most recent publications in the subject.[1] As the description contained on the webpage of the publishing company states,[2] its main purpose is to elucidate the influence of the ancient Mesopotamian conceptualizations of the divine presence on the religious and cultural system of Israel as reflected in the Hebrew Bible [HB].

The book is divided into two essential parts. The first one is mostly concerned with summarizing the previous research in the subject. Accordingly, the volume opens with *Introduction: Representation and the Real* which deals with the question of manifestation and mystical participation of the deity in its image from the philosophical perspective. The chapter is short and fortunately for the less metaphysically inclined readers, neither does the author wander too far into the realms of meta-science and methodology nor relies on these issues in the further parts of the book. The next section, *Image and Presence in Mesopotamia*, revolves around the semantic nuances of the Akkadian word *tzalmu* (obviously cognate with the Heb. *tzelem*) usually taken as denoting the divine representation in its three- or two- dimensional form. This image undergoes two rituals: *mîs-pî*, the "mouth-washing" and *pit pî* "mouth-opening" as the transformative acts intended to enliven it. Moreover, the human craftsmanship is ritually nullified, thus "proving" the divine origins of the representation. In result, it becomes "alive" and is treated like a substitute for the one being represented. This means that the presence or absence of the image translates directly into the presence or absence of the said deity. This also means the direct connection between the two: any harm inflicted on the image equals to that directed against the deity itself. As such *tzalmu* is a specifically theological and ritual term originating from the priestly (*ašipu*) circles of the Mesopotamian society. This feature is of particular significance in the context of the book as it is precisely the class of the Israelite priests that is believed to be responsible for developing the idea of humanity as the *tzelem* of Yahveh/Elohim in the HB. Three other issues are directly connected to this problem, namely, (1) the idea of the king or priest as the *tzalmu* of particular deity, (2) the metaphor of father and son relationship used to describe

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[1] [Online], http://www.orinst.ox.ac.uk/staff/hjs/sherring/html, [14.V 2014].
[2] [Online], http://www.v-r.de/de/title-0-0/divine_substitution-1011043/, [14.05.2014]

the kinship between the deity and its image[3] and (3) the ritual of a substituted king intended at protecting the real one. As becomes apparent in the further part of the book, all of these are crucial to understanding of what is happening in the HB. In concluding remarks the author states that *tzalmu* is not simply a replica but "a repetition or an extension of the referent's very presence".[4] In sum, the Akkadian parallels are important for the broader understanding of the terms like *tzelem* or *dmut* in the HB. *Iconic Israel: Divine Representation, Idol Polemics, and the Awareness of the Relationship between Image and Presence in the Hebrew Bible* juxtaposes the ambivalently perceived images such as "high places" (*bamot*), "standing stones" (*matzevot*) and "asheras" (*asherot*) with the ark, being definitely positive although loaded with dangerous power. The latter is presented as working in a way similar to the ancient Near Eastern images as the capture of the ark is described in 1 Samuel 2 as the departure of Yahveh. The author also portrays the iconoclastic current present in the HB and summarizes the recent discussion on this subject. More and more evidence is collected which shows that Yahveh might have been worshipped in material form like Nehushtan or golden calf to name just two of the possibilities. In fact, the biblical sources often rely on the terminology and descriptions which explicitly refer to the personal encounter with the deity.[5] The author also lists the passages intended at the humiliation of the other deities: the mutilation of Dagon, the emphasis on the craftsmanship of the makers of the foreign gods and presenting them as inanimate objects in contrast with the God of Israel. The particularly developed example of this rhetorical strategy is present in Isaiah 44. In sum, the polemical passages ranging from rhetoric of mutilation, through the concept of the erasure and re-inscription of divine names up till the semantic deconstruction of the rituals betray the Israel's deep familiarity with the ancient concepts of *tzalmu*.

Up till this moment the author summarizes the others' research and does it basing on the impressively broad range of treatises. Then he moves on to the second and the central part of the book elaborating on *The Image of God in the Hebrew Bible*, in which he argues that the trac-

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[3] The Akkadian documents referring to the production of *tzalmu* are replete with the vocabulary suggesting the metaphors of bearing a child. At the same time, the substitutivity of son is ambivalent as it can refer to the sacrifice of the firstborn or to the new champion who would with time take the place of the father.
[4] S.L. Herring, ibidem, p. 47.
[5] Ibidem, p. 53.

es of the ancient Mesopotamian concept of humans as images of God is to be found in at least several biblical instances. This part presents the genuine research of Herring and contains the deep and thorough analyses of the selected passages which betray Babylonian influences and bear the mark of the extended priestly redaction. The first one is a short snippet of Genesis 1:26-27. The author analyzes the problematic expressions: *be-tzalmenu ke-dmutenu*[6] in the light of *be-dmuto ke-tzalmo* present in the context of the father-son relationship in Genesis 5:3 and the protective curse of Genesis 9:6. This section is very valuable partly due to the critique of the obsolete approach, eager to perceive the idea of *tzelem 'elohim* in rather immaterial or spiritual framework far from the Mesopotamian conceptual entourage of "flesh and blood".[7] In sum it is offered that the very structure of Genesis 1 resembles the building of the temple and investing it with varied contents: furniture, personnel, lesser deities and the like. The second passage is Exodus 34:29-35, containing the description of Moses descending from the Mount Sinai after the meeting with Yahveh. The patriarch is portrayed as "horned", what is interpreted in the light of the ancient Near Eastern literature and iconography as marking the divine status.[8] In fact, the whole story is put in the context which is primarily concerned with the idea of the image of God. Accordingly, the horned face of Moses parallels that of Yahveh on the one hand and substitutes the now invalid image of the golden calf on the other – the latter being fully justified divine image in the ancient Near East. Moreover, Herring presents some elements of Moses' biography which hint on his divine status. The final one is Ezekiel 36-37. The author concisely addresses the problem of its highly composite structure and moves on to the problem of the cultic imagery utilized therein. Due to the Babylonian captivity and the lack of material ritual center, the author of Ezekiel had to come up with its various substitutes. The first one is present in the heavenly vision of the prophet, replete with the cultic imagery (*dmut*, *mar'eh*, *kavod*). The second is visible in the description of the resurrection which in fact utilizes the same kind of nomenclature and aims at reconstructing the process of creating the gods. Israel is lik-

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[6] The phrase *be-tzelem* itself works as an *essentiae* and as such suggests that humans primarily function as God's cultic statues. Much space is devoted to the elucidation of the semantic nuances differentiating between the prepositions *be-* and *ke-*. Given the graphical resemblance of the two, one could wonder, whether their appearance is not the result of the scribal error.

[7] Ibidem, pp. 88-91.

[8] Ibidem, pp. 150-157.

ened to the retrieved cultic image and as such needs the ritual cleansing and reparations to put it intact again.

In sum, Herring shows Israel as placed between Scylla of iconoclasm and Charybdis of the lack of the cultic center allowing for erecting any kind of material manifestation. In this situation the ancient Mesopotamian idea of human as the divine image marking God's presence seemed to be a viable solution for the urgent problem. As the author aptly remarks: "it allowed Israel's god to manifest his presence apart from any cultic appurtenance, while maintaining the biblical prohibition against making and worshipping human-made idols. Further, such a conceptualization nowhere violates the monotheism of the later biblical authors. These humans are not, in and of themselves, divine. Instead, they provide Israel's god with a means of extending *his* divine presence".[9] Moreover, in the concluding part the author shows the echoes of the problem in regards with the concept of the garments of glory present in various literary pieces like Sirach 50, 1 Enoch 48 or Life of Adam and Eve 13-14. Here, Herring makes some excellent remarks about the consequences of his findings for the figure of Jesus in the New Testament who is often described as the high priest, second Adam or second Moses or Son of Man, with all these figures reverberating semantically with the idea of *tzelem 'elohim*.[10] Given the manifested proficiency of the author in the sphere of Christianity[11] one can hope he would take on this subject in his future publications.

Although the topic of the book is rather narrow and specific the author has put much effort in the adequate presentation of the context of his considerations. This means that each subject is preceded by a short and accurate introduction, like for instance the presentation of the ancient Near Eastern background for the Book of Genesis.[12] In addition to this each chapter and subchapter concludes with a neat and concise summary which helps to recollect the findings and conclusions. This features affect neither the size of the volume nor the fluency of reading and contribute only to the better explication of the offered theses. Consequently, given the bulk of the information contained therein these traits deserve special praise. The book is written fluently in a very accessible language and in result it can be used by the younger adepts of

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[9] Ibidem, p. 218.

[10] Ibidem, pp. 216-218.

[11] Witnessed by numerous analogies, like for example the ones on p. 94.

[12] Ibidem, pp. 96-108.

various disciplines, other than Biblical or Jewish Studies, which deal with the HB in its ancient Near Eastern literary entourage

WOJCIECH KOSIOR

Clément HUART, *La Perse antique,* Collection: Histoire des civilisations, avant-propos La civilisation iranienne par Henri Berr, (première édition à Paris 1925), éditions Decoopman 2014, pp. 292, ISBN 978-2-36965-009-6. Prix: 22 €.

Clément Huart (1854-1926) est un orientaliste français, un éditeur et un traducteur de textes persans, turcs et arabes. Diplômé d'arabe, de persan, de turc et de grec moderne à l'École des langues orientales, il poursuivit ses études à l'École pratique des hautes études, où il écrivit sa thèse, qui est une traduction du *Traité des termes relatifs à la description de la beauté* de Chéref-Eddîn Râmi. Ce diplomate et savant occupa à partir 1898 la chaire de persan à l'École des langues oriental, puis en 1908, il fut nommé Directeur d'études pour l'Islam et les religions de l'Arabie à l'EPHE. En janvier 1919, Cl. Huart fut élu à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, dont il devint président en 1926.

Ses œuvres, peu rééditées, gardent aujourd'hui leur intérêt, bien qu'elles soient en partie dépassées. Plusieurs de ses contributions ont marqué la première édition de l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (1913), considérée par les universitaires comme étant le travail de référence dans le domaine des études islamiques. Parmi ses oeuvres majeurs il faut citer: *Grammaire élémentaire de la langue persane*, 1899*; L'Iran antique. Elam et Perse, et la civilisation iranienne*, 1943 ou encore *Littérature arabe*, 1902 et *Histoire des Arabes*, 2 vols., 1912-13.

C'est pourquoi, une initiative recente des éditions Decoopman, dirigé par Jean Castanier, devrait être saluée en raison d'une réédition d'un ouvrage magistrale de Clément Huart – *La Parse antique* (1925) dans la collection *Histoire des civilisations*. Cet ouvrage, qui reste encore une référence en matière des études de la Perse antique, évoque une civilisation iranienne sous ses diverses aspects et notamment la puisance mililitaire, économique et culturelle durant plusieurs siècles de la monarchie des Achéménides au VIe s. av.J.-C. jusqu'à la fin de règne des Sasanides au VIIe s. ap.J.-C.

L'introduction (pp. 17 - 40) permet de bien cernet la grandeur de cette civilisation perse, riche par sa configuration physique, entre le plateau iranien et la chaîne de montagne Zagros, et ses routes commerciales, allant des frontières du Levant aux Indes et l'Asie centrale, qui ont facilités au cours de son histoire l'echange et la communication avec d'autres nations et cultures du Proche – Orient ancien. Par la suite Cl. Huart présente un vaste panorama d'abord des écritures perses – cunéiforme, pehlevi, zende – puis les écritures de l'Asie centrale – sogdienne et manichéenne – suivi par une brève analyse des langues et divers dialectes iraniennes. En second lieu, l'auteur dresse en trois parties chronologiques un image riche et clair de l'histoire de cette civilisation fascinante de la Perse l'une parmi les plus grandes puissances de l'Antiquité.

La première partie (pp. 41-132) – *Les Mèdes et les Achéménides* – présente au plan chronologique le cours d'histoire précose de la Perse antique depuis le règne des Iraniens sur le plateau de la Médie et de campagnes des Assyriens sous Salmanassar III (IXe s. av.J.-C.) jusqu'à la fin de l'empire des Achéménides ou la Perse fortement convoitée, est conquise par Alexandre le Grand au IVe s. av.J.-C. Nous pouvons connaître le pouvoir de ce vaste empire perse s'étirant de l'Inde jusqu'au l'Egypte et l'Asie Mineure à travers de grands rois tels que Cyrus, Darius et Cambyse, qui incarnent à eux seuls la splendeur de la dynastie Achéménides. L'auteur a souligné et mis en valeur deux domaines de la culture perse – l'art et la religion - particulièrement riches et originales sous les Achéménides et présentés au Musée du Louvre à Paris.

La seconde partie (pp. 133 – 152) – *Les Parthes Arsacides* – est un panorama chronologique de la civilisation perse sous l'influence hellénique du IVe s.av. J.-C. au IIIe s. ap.J.-C. où la religion orientale de Mithra, populaire d'abord au Proche-orient, puis concurrente au christianisme naissant au Ier siècle, se répand en Europe à la suite des campagnes orientales de Pompée. La troisième partie (pp. 153 – 256) – *Les Sâsânides* – illustre en détaille le règne des Sâsânides du IIIe au VIIe siècles jusqu'au la conquête arabe de l'Iran. L'organisation de la Perse sous les Sâsânides est ici au coeur de la recherche en présentant de diverses aspects de la société perse – la cour royale, l'armée, le clergé, l'administration, les finances, la justice, l'économie et le commerce. Par la suite, l'auteur se penche sur la présentation des religions iraniennes en fin de l'Antiquité telles que le culte zoroastre, le manichéisme, le mazdek, le bih-afrid, mais aussi de deux grandes religions étrangères en Perse, l'ancien christianisme et le bouddisme. Une présentation de l'art