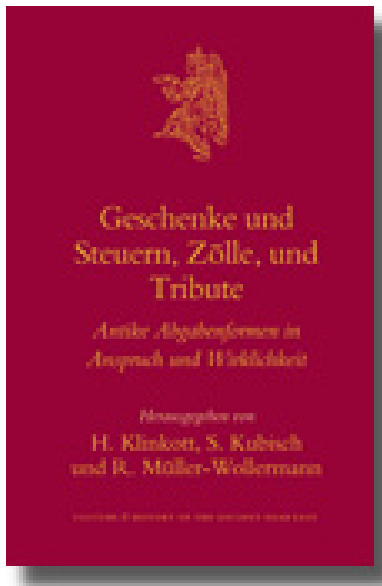


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**Klinkott, H., S. Kubisch, and R. Müller-Wollermann, eds.**

***Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute: Antike Abgabenformen in Anspruch und Wirklichkeit***

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Mark W. Hamilton  
Abilene Christian University  
Abilene, Texas

This collection of eighteen essays explores facets of redistribution of goods in multiple forms (gift-giving and gift-receiving, taxation and duties, tribute, and booty) in Egypt, Syria-Palestine, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Greece, and the Greco-Roman world. The volume thus marks a timely intervention in research on these ancient cultures, as we seek to understand the basic social mechanisms by which they operated. The careful distinctions that the authors make, and their close attention to detail, help advance the discussion beyond a reductionistic approach to the economic life of these ancient cultures toward a greater understanding of the intertwined relationships of economy and society.

The book begins and ends with essays orienting the reader to the theoretical and evidentiary issues in play here. The opening essay, by Rössler (“Von der Gabe zur Abgabe: Transaktionen im politischen Kontext” [3–37]), draws on diverse theoretical and empirical studies of the relationships between the economic and gifting spheres to work out a three-dimensional model of the exchange of goods. Transactions can be ritual gift-giving, tax collection, or market-driven exchanges, depending on the relative balance of three elements: reciprocity, redistribution, and market factors such as price and supply and demand. These types of exchange appear at different stages of social development, with the last correlating with certain types of states. Although such a short essay must perforce

engage in a high level of generalization, Rössler's heuristic helps explain many behaviors revealed in the ancient Near Eastern evidence and provides a useful antidote to both vulgar Marxian and idealist approaches, both of which frequent biblical studies.

The closing essay, by Klinkott (485–502), both summarizes the main findings of the other authors and comments on themes running through many of their studies, posing four sets of contrasts and comparisons: (1) the problem of using definitions within the sources or outside them (the emic/etic problem); (2) the relationship of textual and other archaeological evidence; (3) the contrast between political ideology and political reality; and (4) the political, economic, and social dimensions of any exchange of goods and the relationships of those dimensions. His comments on these thorny issues are valuable and should orient future studies to some extent.

The rest of the book explores dimensions of the exchange of goods in various ancient cultures. The first section considers Egypt. Here Siedlmayer ("Gaben und Abgaben im Ägypten des Alten Reiches" [31–63]) studies iconography, mortuary remains, and (limitedly) texts to show that "Die Rolle des Landes im ideologischen Horizont des Staatskultes liegt darin, daß es Abgaben bringt" (34). The state's collection of goods and services (harder to trace) figured prominently in Egyptian life under the Old Kingdom, though this emphasis shifted during the Middle Kingdom and later periods. However, as Kubisch ("Überblick über die Terminologie der Abgaben in den altägyptischen Schriftdokumenten vom Alten bis zum Neuen Reich" [65–85]) notes, the complex and varied vocabulary for the payment of duties shows both change and constancy over more than a millennium. Müller-Wollermann ("Steuern, Zölle und Tribute in der ägyptischen Spätzeit" [87–106]) also shows how flexible the vocabulary of tariffs was for the Late Period. Her study examines numerous papyri from the Twenty-Second through the Thirtieth Dynasties regarding the payment of tolls and tariffs to the Egyptian state(s) and temples during this period. Interestingly, this period also added a new category of transactions: the shipment of tribute to foreign powers.

Section 2 takes up Syria and Palestine. Pfälzner considers "Das System des 'kommerzialisierten Geschenkaustausches' im 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr. in Syrien" (109–23), noting the variety of terms for obligatory gifts in (peripheral) Akkadian and the difficulty of locating relevant objects in the archaeological record. Focusing on the Mari and Amarna correspondences and evidence from Qatna, he considers the practices of requesting a gift and gift-exchange among rulers as fundamental features of the international diplomatic network. Meanwhile, Nunn asks about "Die Levante im ersten Jahrtausend: Handelswaren, Freiwillige oder Unfreiwillige Abgaben?" (125–40). She examines reliefs and admittedly scanty archaeological evidence for the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid

periods, concluding that the evidence makes it difficult to distinguish between tribute and other forms of goods-exchange.

In two essays of more direct relevance to biblical studies, Herbert Niehr takes up the problem of “Abgaben an den Tempel in Yehud der Achaimenidenzeit” (141–57), and Stefan Schreiner of the rabbinic approach to tribute to foreign rulers (“‘... Dem Kaiser was des Kaisers ist’—Steuern, Zölle und Abgaben in der [früh]rabbinischen Literatur” [159–84]). Niehr sketches the major issues of understanding the priestly material in the Hebrew Bible, while Schreiner traces in detail the rabbinic discussions about the legitimacy of foreign rulers, from the critical view of the foreigner as *ipso facto* oppressor to a more adaptive view that “the law of the kingdom is the law.” Both essays will engage historians of Jewish political thought.

In section 3, Dercksen considers “Die altassyrischen Handelsabgaben in Nordmesopotamien und Anatolien im 19.–18. Jh. v.Chr. in Verträgen und Praxis” (187–211), Radner examines “Abgaben an den König von Assyrien aus dem In- und Ausland” (213–30), Bär expands his earlier work on “Tributdarstellung in der Kunst des Alten Orients” (231–61), and Klinkott moves the discussion chronologically with a study of “Steuern, Zölle und Tribute im Achaimenidenreich” (263–90). Each essay offers a great deal of data from which it draws preliminary conclusions. For biblical scholars, again, Radner’s conclusion that what begins as tribute ends up as taxation as the empire expands will be illuminating, as will Bär’s handy summary of the iconography of tribute as seen in both Neo-Assyrian palaces and inscriptions outside them. Klinkott’s treatment of the Achaemenid period might help ground our speculations about the extent of Persian influence on later biblical texts.

Section 4 goes further afield, with Gilan considering “Formen der Transaktion im hethitischen ‘Staatskult’—Idee und Wirklichkeit” (293–322), Kozal and Novák examining “Geschenke, Tribute und Handelswaren im Hethiterreich” (especially at Hattuša; 323–46), and Panagiotopoulos turning to “Geschenke und Abgaben in der Mykenischen Palastkultur” (347–67). All three articles show a high level of methodological sensitivity, and I found Gilan’s treatment of ritual and his interaction with Schloen’s neo-Weberian reading of ancient Western Asian cultures stimulating. The same goes for the study of import goods at Hattuša by Kozal and Novák and the suggestive, if brief, study of the Linear B texts and palace wall art by Panagiotopoulos.

Section 5 brings us to the end of Mediterranean antiquity with studies by Schuler (“Tribute und Steuern im hellenistischen Kleinasien” [371–405]), Wolters (“Vectigal, Tributum und Stipendium: Abgabenformen in römischer Republik und Kaiserzeit” [407–30]), Grüner (“Gabe und Geschenk in der römischen Staatskunst” [431–84]). In each case

the social dimensions of the movement of goods toward the ruler become clearer: in Hellenistic Anatolia with the constantly shifting balance of economic power between the cities and the monarchies; in the Roman polity of the late first millennium B.C.E. with the carefully modulated links between gift-giving and the social status of giver and recipient; and in the Roman imperial visual propaganda, in which the emperor figured at the center of all relationships marked by giving and receiving. Again, the authors have deployed large amounts of data but considered them from a wide point of view.

In surveying such a large, learned, and variegated book, one might note several things. First, despite the extensive and useful bibliographies concluding most essays, many of these studies represent an early stage of the discussion of the problems at hand for the various fields and subfields in question. Much more work awaits us. Second, part of this future research must be finding theoretical underpinnings for the empirical evidence cited here. Some contributors to this volume work multidimensionally better than others (the essays on the Hittite Empire stand out here), and of course it is better to have careful analysis of data without heavy theoretical reflection than the other way around, but this is no excuse for avoiding the next stage of work. Third, as a biblical scholar, I found that these studies caused me to think in new ways about a great many Israelite texts and, to some extent, nontextual material. A similar volume concentrating on the Israelite evidence (or, for that matter, volumes for the other cultures sketched here) would make a marked contribution to our field. Fourth, the essays included in this volume come at the problem of the signification of gift-giving in different ways. Although Klinkott's concluding "Resümee" is well done, I cannot help wishing that the volume had included a report of conversations among the authors about the problems all of them seek to solve.

Every editor, however, should hope that her or his collection leaves the reader wanting more of the same and wanting perhaps to extend the work already done. On that test, Klinkott, Kubisch, and Müller-Wollermann, as well as their authorial colleagues, have succeeded admirably. Libraries should acquire this book, and all of us should read it with some care.