

vom M587 und M597 (vgl. Plate 401. 402). Darin findet sich nämlich (unter c) folgende Passage: ΠΕΖΑΥ ΝΘΙ ΠΡΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΖΕ ΨΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΕΤΕΝΜΑΓΙΑ. ΠΕΖΑΥ ΝΘΙ ΠΨΗΡΕ ΨΗΜ ΖΕ ΨΕ ΝΑΝΟΥΤΕ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΘΩΜ ΜΠΕΞ. ΠΕΖΑΥ ΝΘΙ ΠΡΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΖΕ ΔΗ[ΙΝΕ] ΝΑΙ ΝΗΚΑ ΝΡΕΦΟΥΕΙΣΕ ΝΤΕΤΕΝΟΥΕΙΣΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΑΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ. Und diese „erinnert“ nun auf das Lebhafteste an folgenden Text im Dialekt M: [ΠΕΖ]Ε ΠΡΗΓΕ[ΜΑΝ] ΝΕΥ ΖΕ ΨΕ [ΠΠ]Τ ΟΥΝΑΣ ΤΕ [ΤΕΚ]ΜΑΓΙΑ >— [ΠΕΖ]Ε ΠΑΛΟΥ ΝΕΥ [ΖΕ] Ε ΠΑΟΥ Μ[ΠΑΝΤ] ΖΕ ΜΑΝ[Τ]ΘΑΜ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΘΑΜ [ΕΤΤ]ΑΪΔ ΜΠΑ[ΝΤ] >—] ΠΕΖΕ ΠΡΗ[ΓΕΜ]ΑΝ ΗΝΕΥ[ΘΑ]Ι ΖΕ ΔΗ[ΙΝΕ] (hier bricht das betreffende Fragment ab). Der M-Text aber gehört zu Resten des berühmterberichtigten Martyriums des Cyriacus und seiner Mutter Julitta (vgl. E. M. Husselman, *The Martyrdom of Cyriacus and Julitta in Coptic*, JARCE 4, 1965, 79–86 [besonders S. 84]; H.-M. Schenke, *Apostelgeschichte 1,1–15,3 im mittelägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Codex Glazier)*, TU 137, 1991, 245–248 [besonders S. 247]). Einerseits sind die Parallelen so eng, daß man die Ergänzung der Lücken des M-Textes nach dem S-Text verbessern kann und wohl auch muß. Andererseits heißt das alles eben, daß die Morgan Library in der Papyrusmakulatur der Einbände von M587 und M597 offenbar erhebliche Teile einer sahidischen Fassung des Cyriacus-Martyriums besitzt als einen verborgenen Schatz, der noch „gehoben“ werden muß.

An kleinen Verbesserungen wäre schließlich noch das Folgende zu nennen (aufgeführt wird hier nur das, wo ich mir sicher bin [meist infolge der Möglichkeit des Vergleichs mit den Tafeln], also unter Ausklammerung solcher Dinge, die man zunächst nur bezweifeln kann): S. 11 Z. 10 v. u.: ff. 2r. S. 13 Z. 5: „(1 column wide)“. S. 46 Nr. 33: in Apg 9,29b muß es ερ[ο]ι[τ]βεϥ und in 9,30 ε[κ]α[ι]σαρ[ι]α heißen. S. 52/53: Dittographie am Seitenumbruch. S. 74 Z. 2 v. u.: ενο σε ψβηρρρζωβ (Zäsur). S. 82 Z. 2 v. u.: αϥ|ΔΠΕΙΕ ΖΗΡΡΟ (Zäsur). S. 89 Z. 11 v. u.: „(January 5 or 6 Julian)“. S. 103 Z. 10 v. u.: ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΑΥΨΑΖΕ —]. S. 124 Z. 2: ΠΠΤ[ΑΥ]||[ΣΡΟΥ]Μ|ΜΟΥ. S. 125 Z. 6: ΝΕΨΑΖΕ (Zäsur). S. 156 Z. 1 v. u.: ειε † (Zäsur). S. 172: „your son“ als Übersetzung von ΠΕΚΣΟΝ (Z. 3). S. 194 Z. 13: fehlt Übersetzung der Phrase ΖΗ ΟΥΜΕ ΝΤΑΥΤΑΝΙΘΟΥΤΥ ΕΠΙΠΑΛΛΑΤΙΟΝ (S. 193 Z. 4f. v. u.). S. 226 Z. 6 v. u./S. 227 Z. 10: „which was built“ als Übersetzung von Π[Ε]ΝΤΑΥΚΟΤΥ. S. 227/228: fünf Wörter in Dittographie am Seitenumbruch. S. 228 Z. 10: ΤΑΝΤΡΕΨΨΜΨΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ. S. 249 Z. 7: Da beim zweiten ρΗΝΗ das sonst in solchen Fällen von Depuydt hinzugefügte „sic!“ fehlt, dürfte es ein Druckfehler sein. S. 254 Z. 23: ΝΤΚΑΠΠΑΔΩΚΙΑ. S. 255 Z. 32: Ed. Lantschoot No. 3 (E). S. 273 Z. 12 v. u.: ΠΤΕΕ[ΔΕΜΗ]. S. 276 Z. 11: „(pages 6–16)“; Z. 26 und 39: fehlt Übersetzung von ΤΑΝΤΗΝΟΣ Η. S. 283 Z. 4 v. u.: Pl. 19. S. 286 Z. 7 v. u.: ΔΑΛΑ ΔΠΝΟΥΤΕ | ΔΔΜΙΟΥ. S. 287 Z. 19: ΝΤΕΡΕΨΑΙΔΕ (Zäsur). S. 314 Z. 4 v. u.: ΔΠΜΟΥΙ.

S. 367/368: Dittographie am Seitenumbruch. S. 458 Z. 12: „See *Introduction* LXI“. S. 487 Z. 2 v. u.: „(Sahidic ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ)“.

In dem schönen Tafelband ist die „Anschauung“ ein wenig dadurch kompliziert worden, daß die Bilder nicht alle einfach in der Reihenfolge der Katalognummern erscheinen, sondern ihre Folge durch eine kunstgeschichtliche Sachordnung mehrfach unterbrochen wird. Es kommen erst die Seiten mit den Frontispieces (Pl. 10–47), dann die mit den verzierten Textanfängen („Headpieces“: P. 48–198), die mit den verzierten Textschlüssen („Tailpieces“: Pl. 199–296), sodann Beispiele von Rand-, Initialen- und Seitenzahlen-Schmuck (Pl. 297–325 bzw. 326–327 bzw. 330); und danach erst kommen Tafeln unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Schrift (Pl. 331–436 [und P. 437–446]). Am Schluß sind noch Einbände (Pl. 447–459) und „Verschiedenes“ („Varia“: Pl. 460–468) abgebildet. Merkwürdigerweise erscheinen nun die mit Abstand ältesten koptischen Stücke der Sammlung, nämlich der Codex Glazier und die alte sahidische Apostelgeschichte, erst am Schluß unter dem „Verschiedenen“. An kleinen Mißgeschicken ist hier noch auf das Folgende hinzuweisen: Plate 101 und 103 bieten zweimal dieselbe Seite; d. h. in der rechten Unterschrift von Plate 101 stimmt die Angabe „f. 2r“ nicht. Plate 108: Unterschrift rechts lies: M590, f. 51r. Plate 354b und Plate 355 stehen auf dem Kopf. Plate 358: Unterschrift rechts lies: M988v. Plate 364 Unterschrift rechts: nach dem Katalogband (S. 95 [7.b.]) müßte es M615, f. 64v heißen. Plate 369 seitenverkehrt. Plate 390: Unterschrift rechts lies: M665(10a)r,(10b)v,(10c)r. Plate 410e und Plate 443 stehen auf dem Kopf.

Keilschriftforschung

Frayne, Douglas R.: *The early dynastic list of geographical names*. New Haven: American Oriental Society 1992. XIV, 161 S. gr. 8° = American Oriental Series, editor-in-chief: E. Gerow, 74. Lw. \$ 36.00. – Bespr. von Robert Englund, Berlin.

R. Biggs noted in JCS 20 (1966) 84 that, among the many literary and lexical tablets unearthed in the extraordinary excavations of the northern Babylonian tell Abu Salabikh undertaken by the Oriental Institute during just eight weeks of work in the years 1963 and 1965, there were a number of texts containing an until then unknown list of toponyms – easily recognizable by the repeating determinative KI in most entries. A full publication of this list and its witnesses, together with short commentary, appeared in Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh* (= OIP 99 [Chicago 1974] 71–78). At the time, Biggs could not know that the missing first lines of the text did not contain entries of the ‘major Sumerian cities’ attested in the Fara text SF 23 and

the Abu Salabikh texts AbS-T 294 and 392q = OIP 99, nos. 21–22. As editor of the Early Dynastic tablets recovered during Italian excavations of the Syrian settlement Ebla, G. Pettinato in his article “L’Atlante Geografico del Vicino Oriente Antico attestato ad Ebla e ad Abū Šalābīkh (I),” Or. NS 47 (1978) 50–73 (the announced continuation of this article has to my knowledge not appeared), presented a revised partitur of the list incorporating a large and nearly complete witness from Ebla. In an appendix, Pettinato cited the discovery by P. Steinkeller that the fragment OIP 99, no. 331, belonged to the list; the entry obv. iii’ 2 of this tablet contained the toponym EN.LÍL of the city Nippur [= line 177 of the reconstructed list], with Isin [line 70] two of the middle Babylonian centers. It was thus clear that the new geographical list was not concerned with southern, Sumerian centers; Pettinato stated in Or. NS 47, pp. 50–51, and, for example, in *Ebla: un impero inciso nell’argilla* (Milan 1979) 259–260, that the list contained toponyms spanning the fertile crescent from Elam to the Levant and that it had been composed not in Mesopotamia, but rather in Ebla.

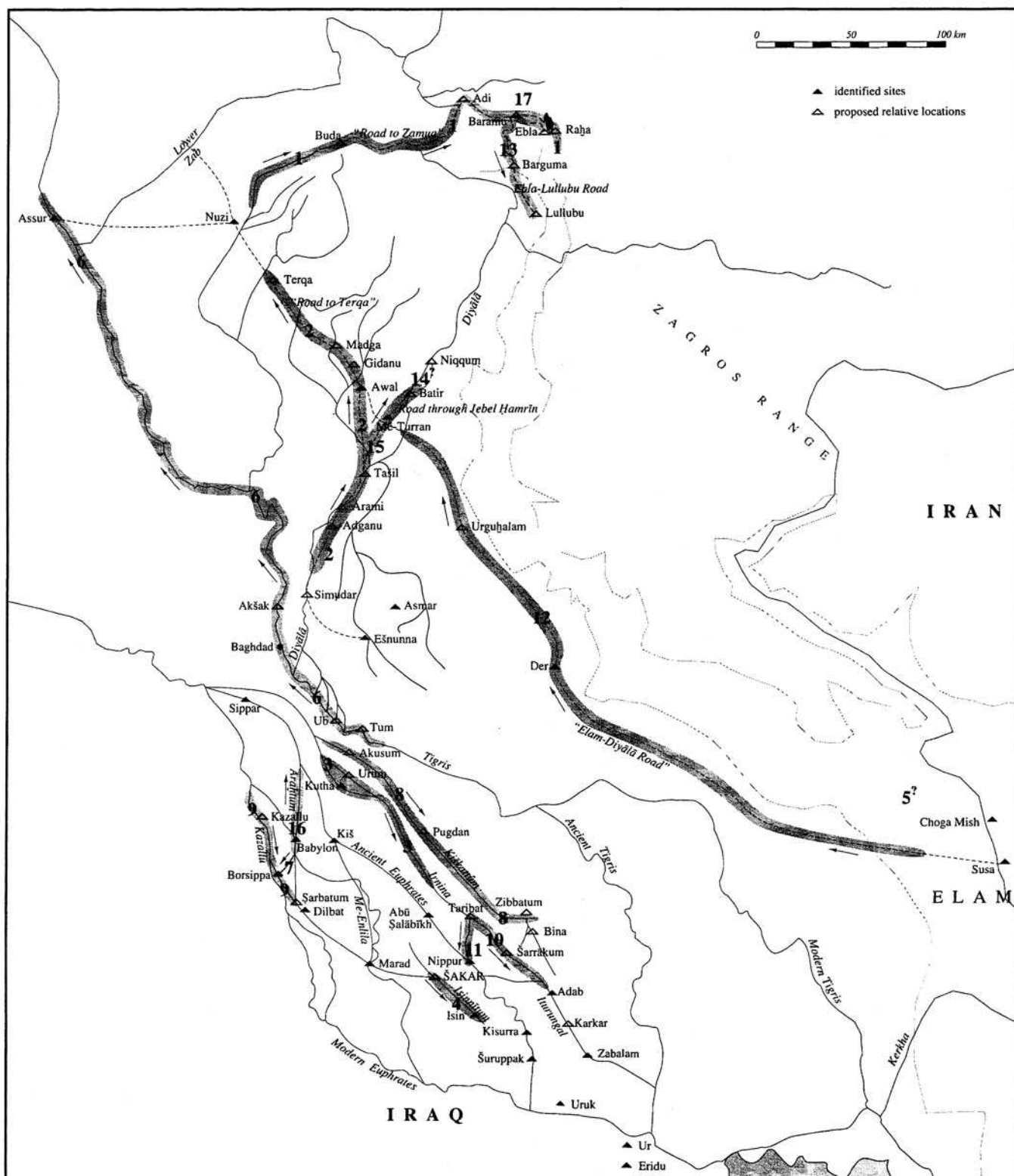
This interpretation was challenged by R. Biggs in 1980 (in: *Biblical Archeologist* 43, 84, and see his remarks in: L. Cagni, ed., *La lingua di Ebla* [Naples 1981] 131; further G. Pettinato, MEE 3 [Naples 1981] 217–241, esp. 227); above all the correct sign sequence of the phonetically written Ebla text, he stated, made it highly unlikely that the Ebla material should have preceded the non-linear, in part morphologically written Abu Salabikh list witnesses, that is, that a developed written form should have served as precursor of a less developed form. Biggs believed that in all likelihood the geographical list derived from the north Babylonian political and cultural center of the mid-third millennium, Kish, whence it was borrowed, first by scribes from Abu Salabikh situated some 60 km to the southeast, later by scribes from Ebla far to the west. P. Steinkeller in a note published in 1986 (*Vicino Oriente* 6, 31–40) offered substantial support to the Kishite view of Biggs by equating a large number of toponyms found in the ‘LGN’ (List of Geographical Names) with those known from third millennium texts to have represented settlements in northern Babylonia and in the trans-Tigridian territories of the Diyala, of the Zagros foothills and of Susiana. Some few were also equated with known cities in Sumer.

I first became aware of Douglas Frayne’s work on this list while reading his review in BiOr. 48 (1991) 378–409 of R. Kutscher’s *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa: Royal Inscriptions*; the article “The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names: Its Inner Structure,” announced there – in a discussion of the Akkadian ‘Great Revolt’ text BT 1 – to appear forthcoming in the journal JAOS, was instead published as volume 74 in the Ameri-

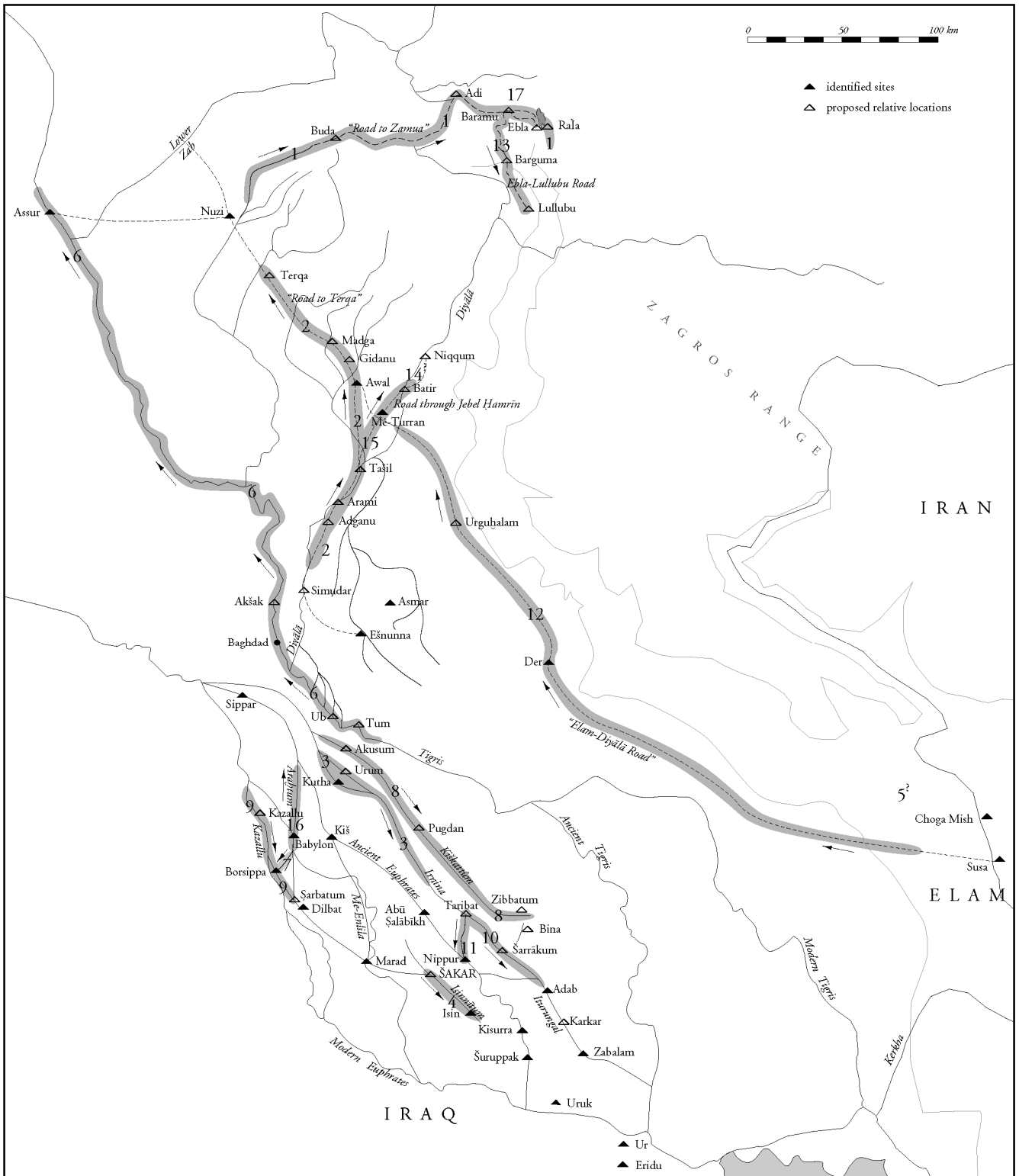
can Oriental Society monograph series. Some may fault the book entitled *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names* for in some ways giving the impression of being a large, bound article, to a certain extent lacking a developed expository composition which would have facilitated our understanding of what the author is saying; however, the high academic standards of the author evident in the work, his keen insight and apparent thoroughness make the publication a splendid addition to our knowledge of third millennium topography and of early Babylonian lexical tradition. Frayne’s meticulous treatment of the composition as a whole and his particularly successful discussions of a number of proposed identifications of toponyms with modern tells (see, for example, his treatment of the two cities Šarrākum and Edina on the Iturungal canal, pp. 32–37), deserve, in the reviewer’s opinion, unequivocal praise. This volume and his recently published *Sargonic and Gutian Periods* (= *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Early Periods* vol. 2, Toronto 1993; cf. also his dissertation *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns [2400–1900 B.C.]* [Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982]) identify the author as the leading current North American expert on late Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian historical texts.

Frayne predicates his analysis of the LGN on the assumption first that it in fact reflects the political situation around Kish in the mid-third millennium, enumerating cities either under the direct control of that center or with which it had trade relations, second that the text represents the synthesis of a number of local geographical lists, each of which described the settlements found along a discrete watercourse in northern Babylonia (his group A, pp. 3–51), as a rule in a sequence of toponyms running downstream, or along a trade route to the east or north of Mesopotamia (group B, pp. 53–85). Exploiting on the one hand the survey work of earlier excavators in Iraq and Iran, in particular of R. Adams and H. Nissen (*Land Behind Baghdad* [Chicago 1965], *The Uruk Countryside* [Chicago 1972]; see the references, p. 100, n. 16), and on the other the often rather barren textual material – royal inscriptions from the Old Akkadian through the Old Babylonian periods being the most informative, but also including references from other lexical sources and from administrative documentation –, the author offers measured analyses of the data to place sets of city names along known canal systems in the south and trade routes in the east and north. The maps resulting from Frayne’s hypothetical reconstructions should accompany any future archaeologist involved in survey work in the region, and any philologist attempting to identify geographical names in third millennium textual material.

Frayne is in fact careful to emphasize throughout the book that his is a working hypothesis, which in



Map of the locations of toponyms in the so-called Atlante geografico drawn according to the reconstructions of D. Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names*. Following this reconstruction, the shaded areas represent geographically meaningful units, in northern Babylonia stretches of major canals and settlements on their banks, to the east and north settlements along trade routes. These units are numbered according to op.cit., p. 88. Arrows indicate direction of the sequence of toponyms in the LGN postulated by the author.



its consequence allows the author to reconstruct whole geographical stretches of early Babylonia. The most important data for the Assyriologist are undoubtedly the many proposed locations of settlements along canals. Although the canals – often found in cuneiform texts with no apparent indication of their specific locations – are themselves not mentioned in the geographical list, their use as an organizing principle for many of the list's sections appears to be well founded. The trade routes presumed by the author to have been defined by sequences of toponyms, however, seem to hang on finer threads. This is a consequence both of the paucity of geographical names positively identified in the Mesopotamian periphery, and of the difficulty in imagining the overall organizing principle of the list, which according to the author's proposals jumps from one region to the next and back again, following no apparent spatial template.

The book under review does not make this fact sufficiently clear, lacking an introductory section, which I believe should have included the full partitur of the LGN and a general survey of the material available for geographical identifications (see below). An overview of the region dealt with, moreover, would have helped to make clear the inherent instability of the proposed identifications. Thus the illustrated map shown here, drawn after the author's originals, serves to make explicit the sections of Babylonia Frayne has tentatively identified in his work, and to show that according to this reconstruction the composition as a whole would be considered, at the least, disparate (the sections listed in the author's table on p. 88 are numbered to facilitate use of the map). According to the author, the scribe responsible for the canonization of the LGN began with a trade route to the far north of Kish ('Road to Zama', no. 1), continued with the Diyala-Terqa route (no. 2), to enter northern Babylonia with two canal systems, one the northern section of the Irnina canal, the other the shorter Isin canal to the south (nos. 3–4). The next section seems to contain the names of Elamite cities (no. 5), followed by a route running up the Tigris river from below the delta of the Diyala to a point north of Assur (no. 6), then skipping back and forth through Babylonia (nos. 7–11), to return to the eastern periphery (nos. 12–15). After a last Babylonian canal (no. 16), the LGN returns, according to the author's reconstruction, to the far north (no. 17). Considering the often pedantic systematization known from the lexical tradition in the south, this presumed northern disjunction could have been more forcefully underscored by the author, since it seems that the immanent difficulties in analyzing Babylonian geographical lists, for example the list of cities already attested in Uruk III witnesses from Uruk (s. R. Englund/H. Nissen, *ATU 3* [Berlin 1993] pp. 34–35 and 145–150), can only serve to a certain point to cover unusual

characteristics of hypothetical identifications. The myriad of possible associations – phonological, graphic, spatial, etc. – which can be reflected in a cuneiform scholastic text must be considered, but the working hypothesis of the present volume is that LGN contained consciously organized toponyms, so that scattering at the composition level, where one might expect redactional work, remains problematic.

A few small technical and contextual points may be made to the manuscript. The author's charts, to begin on the technical level, were apparently printed on a low resolution printer, yet seem to have been pasted as camera-ready sheets in manuscript and so stand out next to the running text as smeared print. The editors of the book should have insisted on a consistent printing, and the printers should also have guaranteed for the even placement of left-right text and pages, which seem to have been improperly cut, with the apparent result that pass marks, and thus headers and text were not held on line; text typography seems, with few exceptions of no apparent consequence, clean.

The author uses throughout the book an unusual writing for place names, for example *Ṣalābīkh* instead of the conventional *Ṣalābīkh* or simply *Salabikh*. I believe transcriptions of proper nouns need not contain lessons in Arabic grammar for specialists; when they do, they are confusing to non-specialists, and in the present case led to incorrect citations of articles, for example, in note 210 on page 116. The point of transcriptions of foreign names is to make text less, not more difficult. A final criticism of the technical apparatus of the book involves the use of text-end notes instead of footnotes. Given the current possibilities of desktop publishing, it seems an entirely unnecessary burden on the reader to require paging back and forth to follow the author's arguments. It is a common complaint that the reader even finds himself 'storing' a number of references to avoid the nuisance of leaving the text, finding the note and returning to text. This cannot be the point of using end-notes.

On the level of contents and presentation, the book seems to exhibit some weaknesses only from a subjective viewpoint. For example, the various charts in the book contain tables of place names listed chronologically from Early Dynastic on to Ur III and Old Babylonian and later. The author might have emphasized the receding reliability of these columns with greater distance from the LGN. Whereas Old Akkadian royal inscriptions may be highly relevant, scattered attestations of toponyms in Ur III administrative documents are already of very questionable value, in particular considering the inflation of matching city names in different localities. The uncertainty of proposed correspondences between toponyms in the LGN and those found in later texts is then further enhanced when

coupled with doubtful phonetic correspondences between certain elements in the names.

Since the LGN was never fully presented, nor the use of text sigla from G. Pettinato's presentation in MEE 3, 217–241, explained, it can occasionally be unnecessarily difficult to assess the reliability of the author's argumentation. For example, the reconstructions and corrections of F. Pomponio, JNES 42 (1983) 285–288, are cited without further explanation in a note on page 29 to LGN 161. Having gone to the source, one sees that Pomponio's reconstruction was in fact based on an entirely *ad hoc* reading tar-ré-gat_x(ME)^{ki} of the Abu Salabikh witness OIP 99, no. 91 vi 4, the inherent weakness of which – the reading /gad/ of the sign ME is to my knowledge not attested in any period, let alone the period of the texts in question – is further enhanced by the assumption of the loss of the initial consonant of its presumed Ebla correspondence MEE 3, no. 56, viii 2 (a-rí-ga-at^{ki}). Such textual acrobatics should be made clear in any secondary treatment of Early Dynastic texts, especially in the present case because the author uses the toponym as an anchor point for a second stretch of place names on the Išartum canal, beginning with LGN 173, tar-rí-be, read by Frayne tar-rí-bat and equated with tar-ré-gat_x (the ka, 'mouth' of the Erina canal noted p. 38, by the way, should direct water from, not to Nippur), assuming a 'g/b variation'.

The large number of consonantal variations cited in the book to cover presumed toponym correspondences should have been reviewed and judged, at least in a philological excursus, as to their phonological meaning. To say, for example, that liquids are not well defined in Sumerian orthography is not a license to exchange freely all 'l's with 'r's or vice versa, nor are the alternations [g] ~ [b] discussed by M. Civil, JNES 32, 59–61, [m] ~ [b/p] most recently discussed by P. Steinkeller, AuOr. 2, 141–142, and so on, of particular relevance in contexts which do not share the phonetic and orthographic environments expected for these phonemes. Such presumed phonetic variations in the Sumerian system of writing are on occasion strained to support toponym identifications, for example, the identification pp. 77–78 of LGN 11 ù-ba-ru₁₂ with the much discussed A.BAR.SÌLA.KI of the Ebla Treaty and with Middle Assyrian Ugār-sallu.

There can be no doubt that many of the author's specific, and some of his general identifications, will be challenged and revised in time as research on third millennium sources continues. These revisions will not, however, diminish his important, timely, and for the present reviewer very welcome contribution to this continuing discourse.

Chavalas, Mark W., and John L. Hayes [Eds.]: *New horizons in the study of ancient Syria*. Malibu: Undena Publications 1992. 232 S. gr. 8° = Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, 25. – Bespr. von Horst Klengel, Berlin.

Die epigraphischen Funde in syrischen Grabungsstätten sowie das inschriftliche Zeugnis aus anderen Zentren des Vorderen Orients haben auch das historische Interesse verstärkt auf den syrischen, d. h. hier: westeuphratischen Raum gelenkt und diesen Bereich aus einer Peripherie Mesopotamiens oder eines Umfeldes alttestamentlicher Überlieferung zu einem eignen Forschungsgebiet gemacht. Der rasche Zuwachs an textlichem oder archäologischem Material unterwarf dabei das Bild der Geschichte Syriens einem raschen Wandel, der noch andauert und noch schneller vonstatten gehen dürfte, wenn einmal im zentralsyrischen Raum die dort befindlichen großen und zahlreichen Tells einer eingehenden archäologischen Untersuchung unterzogen werden könnten. Der kürzlich erschienene Sammelband zur altsyrischen Geschichte, der veränderte Fassungen von sieben Vorträgen enthält, die 1991 in Chicago vor der American Historical Association gehalten wurden, stellt sich die Aufgabe, „to envision a synthesis of ancient Syrian history“ (S. 3). Eine solche Synthese ist inzwischen vom Rez. in handbuchartiger Form vorgelegt worden,¹ die sich allerdings ganz auf die politische Geschichte konzentriert.

Der einleitende Beitrag von M. W. Chavalas, *Ancient Syria: „A Historical Sketch“* (S. 2–21), bemüht sich zugleich um die Einbindung der Ergebnisse der nachfolgenden Aufsätze in einen größeren historischen Kontext, wobei das 1. vorchristliche Jahrtausend allerdings ausgespart bleibt. Die Einbeziehung Syriens in das neuassyrische Reich kann für diese Limitierung „Altsyriens“ wohl kaum ein tragfähiges Argument sein, da ja auch die Zeit hethitisch-ägyptischer Oberherrschaft nicht ausgegrenzt wird; so dürfte der Grund wohl vor allem im Ende einer keilschriftlichen Überlieferung aus Syrien zu suchen sein, die freilich nicht das Ende von „Altsyrien“ bedeutete, dessen schriftliche Tradition jetzt vorrangig auf anderen – und leider vergänglichen – Schriftträgern aufgezeichnet wurde. Was die geographische Ausdehnung Syriens betrifft, so wird mit Recht auf die unterschiedliche Verwendung des Begriffs „Syrien“ hingewiesen (S. 1). Man sollte hier aber klar trennen: Grabungen in „Syrien“ meinen solche auf dem Staatsgebiet

¹ Syria 3000 to 300 B.C. A Handbook of Political History, Berlin 1992. Das knapp gefaßte Übersichtswerk war nicht als Ersatz für die dreibändige „Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v. u. Z.“, Berlin 1965–1970 gedacht, das im Hinblick auf seine Materialdarbietung, aber oft auch seine historischen Ausführungen noch heute als ein wichtiges Referenzbuch zur syrischen Geschichte betrachtet wird, also insgesamt wohl kaum als „out of date“ (so Chavalas, S. 3 Anm. 14, der im übrigen selbst diese Arbeit heranzieht).