BOOK REVIEWS

M. Brosius (ed.), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions. Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World.* Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. xvi + 362 pp. ISBN 0 19 925245 9.

This book is an excellent collection of articles on various aspects of archives in the ancient world. In 'Archival Record-Keeping at Ebla 2400-2350 BC' (17-36), A. Archi describes the archival system which operated in the largest polity in northern Syria in the third millennium BCE, showing that in Ebla at that time, as in later periods, tablets of different shapes corresponded to different types of archival documents. In 'Archival Practices at Babylonia in the Third Millennium' (37-58), P. Steinkeller analyzes archives from the Ur III period (c. 2112-2004 BCE), particularly those from the Sumerian city of Umma. The high number of documents unearthed in this site — c. 15,000 tablets, most of them from illicit excavations and about 9,000 of them published so far (40) — makes it possible for Steinkeller to identify the various bureaus that functioned in ancient Umma and to delineate the way these offices recorded the flow of goods and human labor in this major town of the empire of Ur.

The late Old Babylonian period is represented by K. van Lerberghe. In 'Private and Public: The Ur-Utu Archive at Sippar-Amnanum (tell ed-Der)' (59-77), he summarizes the findings of the Belgian excavations at the private sector of Sippar-Amnanum, where 2,000 tablets were found in a single house, the house of the chief lamentation priest of the goddess Annunitum during the reign of Ammi-Ṣaduqa (1647-1625). As the title of his article suggests, van Lerberghe focuses on the delicate difference between 'private' vs. 'public' records in an archive, and analyzes the contents of Ur-Utu's archive from chronological and archaeological points of view.

'Archives of Old Assyrian Traders' by K.R. Veenhof (78-123) is an exhaustive study of the c. 20,000 written documents left by the Assyrian merchants in Anatolia. Veenhof describes the different archives found in the trade colonies which operated during the first centuries of the second millennium BCE: the central, 'official' archive and the private archives. He goes carefully through the different types of archival texts attested in the Old Assyrian documents (letters, legal documents, notes, memos, lists, as well as the interesting topic of envelopes). The grouping of documents within the various archives, the storage of records, their protection, and their removal from the archive, are also discussed in this thorough study.

It is at this point that one is amazed not to find any study dedicated specifically to the largest and most coherent collection of official records from the Ancient Near East during second millennium BCE, namely the royal archives of Mari (modern Tell-Hariri in eastern Syria). This archive, in which some 25,000 documents were found — mainly administrative but also epistolary and even some literary texts — is unique, principally because it is, so far, the sole royal archive from the Old Babylonian period. It is regrettable that no scholar specializing on the Mari archive was invited to participate in this otherwise inclusive volume.

After the Old Assyrian period, the Middle Assyrian period is represented by J.N. Postgate. In his 'Documents in Government under the Middle Assyrian Kingdom' (124-38), Postgate delineates the Assyrian terminology for different documents, dealing, among other topics, with the evidence for wooden writing boards used in this period.

The next Mesopotamian archives discussed are the Neo-Assyrian ones. F.M. Fales, in 'Reflections on Neo-Assyrian Archives' (195-229), tackles the largest corpus of Neo-Assyrian documents, the Kuyunjik collection, stemming from the ancient capital of the Assyrian empire, Nineveh. This corpus contained '6,000 non-literary (or 'practical') documents in the Neo-Assyrian dialect' (199f.). One of the main questions posed by Fales in this study is '...which, and how many, of these "everyday" documents from Nineveh ever historically constituted an "archive"...'

(200). For — and this is an important observation — not every assemblage of texts necessarily forms an archive. A careful analysis of two reconstructed dossiers of Assyrian officials from Nineveh serves in the attempt to answer this question.

At the outset of his study, 'Aramaic Documents of the Assyrian and Achaemenid Periods' (230-40), A. Millard states that: 'archives of Aramaic documents from the ninth to the fourth centuries BC are few and ... meagre; in effect, the topic deals with what does not exist as much as with what does. ... In fact, there are no indigenous Aramaic archives' (230). A survey of the Aramaic written findings from the second half of the first millennium BCE follows. West Semitic loanwords in Aramaic, Aramaic imports brought into Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian scribal terminology, and Assyrian and Persian words which found their way into Aramaic, are also discussed (236f.).

H. Baker's paper, 'Record-Keeping Practices as Revealed by the Neo-Babylonian Private Archival Documents' (241-63), examines familial archives from Babylonia, from the late seventh to the fifth century BCE, namely from the Neo-Babylonian period down to the early Achaemenid period. The largest archive in this span of time is the archive of the Egibi family (c. 2,000 tablets). Basing herself on this material Baker outlines the formulae of Neo-Babylonian legal contracts, studies the different terms for documents used in this period, and describes the format and typical preparation of the Neo-Babylonian tablets.

In 'Reconstructing an Archive: Account and Journal Texts from Persepolis' (264-83), M. Brosius presents the Persepolis Fortification tablets, and tries to investigate whether this collection of Elamite administrative records constituted a real archive, and if so, how it was organized. The bureaucratic procedures represented by the records in this site are investigated as well.

The next stage in Mesopotamian archives, namely collections of Babylonian texts from the Hellenistic period, is treated by J. Oelsner in his 'Cuneiform Archives in Hellenistic Babylonia: Aspects of Content and Form' (284-301). This period is investigated from another point of view by A. Invernizzi in 'They Did Not Write on Clay: Non-Cuneiform Documents and Archives in Seleucid Mesopotamia' (302-22). Graeco-Roman records from Egypt are treated by W. Clarysse in '*Tomoi Synkollēsimoi*' (344-59). The focus of this study is 'pasted rolls', 'i.e. a series of separate documents that have been pasted together to form a roll'. This paper tackles the questions, '... what types of documents were collected in this particular way, who wrote them and to whom, who kept them and when, and how this kind of record-keeping started and came to an end' (345). The general problem of retrieving records in ancient archives is discussed as well.

Aegean archives are treated chronologically. A. Uchitel analyzes the Minoan sources in his 'Local Differences in Arrangements of Ration Lists on Minoan Crete' (139-52). Th. Palaima tackles Mycenaean records in '"Archives" and "Scribes" and Information Hierarchy in Mycenaean Greek Linear B Records' (153-94). Finally, J.K. Davis, in 'Greek Archives: From Record to Monument' (323-43), deals with archives in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greece. An important observation in this study is that '"Archives", as used in a classical or hellenistic Greek context, has a significantly different denotation, in respect of format, location, intention, and audience, from its use in a Near Eastern context' (323). The difference — as demonstrated amply in M. Brosius' comprehensive and very helpful introduction — is that 'the classical world tends to apply the term "archives" to collections of legal documents and decrees. By contrast, ancient Near Eastern archives were concerned with the documentation, processing, and storage of predominantly economic texts' (5).

On the whole, this volume offers some essential papers dealing with ancient archives from many angles — a real contribution to this rising field of study. This meticulously edited book (apart from the index, which does not include all the ancient terms discussed) is a fine companion to the recently published volume, edited by M. Hudson and C. Wunsch, *Creating Economic*

Order: Record-keeping, Standardization, and the Development of Accounting in the Ancient Near East, International Scholars Conference on Ancient Near Eastern Economies IV Bethesda 2004.

Nathan Wasserman The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Martin L. West (ed.), *Homeri Ilias*. Recensuit / testimonia congessit. Volumen prius, rhapsodias I-XII continens. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Bibliotheca Teubneriana, 1998. lxii + 372 pp. ISBN 3 519 01431 9.

Martin L. West (ed.), *Homeri Ilias*. Recensuit / testimonia congessit. Volumen alterum, rhapsodias XIII-XXIV continens. Munich and Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2000. viii + 396 pp. ISBN 3 598 71435 1.

Martin L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*. Munich and Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2001. 304 pp. ISBN 3 598 73005 5.

The new Teubner edition of the *Iliad* by Martin L. West, as well as the *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (henceforth, *Studies*) by which it was accompanied, have generated such a wide array of responses and counter-responses that it is difficult for a reviewer who joins the discussion at this late stage to contribute something new or original.[1] In view of this, it would perhaps be wiser to concentrate not so much on the scholarly discussion as such but rather on the point of view of the consumer, whether a scholar or a student, who is about to decide whether this is indeed the text of Homer to be taken with him/her into the 21st century.

Each page of the new Teubner *Iliad* is laid out in a triple pattern: the text, the testimonia, and the apparatus criticus; the widespread practice of starting each new book on a separate page is abandoned. These are the two most salient features distinguishing the layout of West's edition from those of its predecessors, most notably T.W. Allen's *editio maior* (1931), whose text corresponds to the universally used Oxford Classical Texts edition.[2] In the newly introduced separate middle section of testimonia West updates previous collections of Homeric quotations, particularly that by A. Ludwich (1898), and brings them down to the ninth century C.E. The collection is restricted to verbatim quotations, thus excluding, to use West's own words, 'mere allusions and general references from which nothing could be inferred about the reading in the text' (*Studies*, 166). The result is the fullest collection of the ancient quotations of Homer available.

The apparatus criticus occupies the lower section. The sources are cited in the following order: ancient scholars, papyri, quotations, medieval manuscripts. West studied 1543 papyri, no fewer than 840 of them unpublished papyri from Oxyrhynchus in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. This can only be appreciated in full when we take into account that Allen in his 1931 Oxford edition was able to make use only of 122 papyri. As the critics of the New Teubner edition emphasized, its apparatus dramatically enhances our knowledge of the textual tradition of the *Iliad*: 'This [the new material] is of paramount importance for the establishing of the numerus versuum: West's documentation throws new light on the problem of weakly-attested lines, for whose inauthenticity the papyrological evidence was proved by Bolling and confirmed by Apthorp to be the main external criterion when corroborated by internal evidence. Accordingly,

---

1 See esp. R. Janko, *CR* 50, 2000, 1-4; G. Nagy, *BMCR*, 2000.09.12; J.-F. Nardelli, *BMCR*, 2001.06.21; West's response to Nagy and Nardelli, *BMCR*, 2001.09.6; A. Rengakos, *BMCR*, 2002.11.15; G. Nagy, *Gnomon* 75, 2003, 481-501; West's response to Rengakos and Nagy, *BMCR*, 2004.04.17.

2 T.W. Allen, *Homeri Ilias*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1931; D.B. Monro and T.W. Allen, *Homeri opera*, vols. I-II, Oxford, 1908; 3rd edn. 1920.