

A Late Old Babylonian Proto-Kagal / Nigga Text and the Nature of the Acrographic Lexical Series

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The Old Babylonian scribal curriculum included several so-called acrographic lexical lists. The defining characteristic of an acrographic list is that the entries are ordered by their first or main sign. Proto-Izi, Proto-Kagal, and Nigga have been edited by M. Civil in *MSL* 13. A fourth example, Proto-Sag, was edited by the same author in *MSL* SS1.

In this paper I will present a late Old Babylonian acrographic list with Akkadian glosses (§1). The evidence from this new source will be used for an analysis of the function of these lists compared to other lexical compositions (§2), and discussion of the uses of glosses and Akkadian translations in the Old Babylonian lexical tradition (§3), followed by a short conclusion (§4). This paper ends with a discussion of the textual history of Nigga (Appendix).

1. BM 54712¹: Late Old Babylonian Proto-Kagal and Nigga

BM 54712 (82–5–22, 1039) is the upper right corner of a tablet, measuring ca. 6 by 6 cms. The text is late Old Babylonian and most probably comes either from Sippar or from Babylon (see Reade 1986, xxxii–xxxiii).

Obv.		Nigga (<i>MSL</i> 13, 91ff.)	Izi Bogh A (<i>MSL</i> 13, 132ff.)
I	traces		
II			
1	[gú]-TAR-[438–442	
2	[gú] ^{ša-ab-sú} -ki-x-[150?
3	[gú]-ki-[
4	[gú] ^{ša-ab-sú} -šub- ^{ba}	465	151

1. The tablet is published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I wish to thank the curators, Dr. I. Finkel and Mr. C.B.F. Walker for their hospitality and help. Dr. Eleanor Robson was so kind to collate a few questionable passages for me, for which I owe her my sincere thanks. My stay in London, spring 1997, was made possible financially by a fellowship at the Warburg Institute of London University. It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge their support. Prof. E. Leichty (University of Pennsylvania) was so kind to correct my English. Needless to say, none of the persons mentioned above can be held responsible for errors that remain.

5	gú ^{e-ru-tum} -bal		
6	gú-bal	481	146
7	gú ^{pi-ir-sum} -gìr		147
8	「gú」-zal	434	96-99
9	[gú]-me-ri ^{ek-sum} -NI		
10	[gú] ^{[x]-la-du} -zil		
11	[gú]-me-er-me-ri ^{ba-na-bu}	443	168 Kagal I 363
12	[gú-m]e ^{ba-ni-nu} -zé	426	
13	[gú-z]i-ga	477	
14	[gú-l]á-a	444	
15	[]-a		
16	[]-「a」?		

III

Proto-Kagal (MSL 13, 63ff.)

1'	a-[
2'	a-DU-[
3'	a-sig-[ga]	377	
4'	a-kar-「ra」		
5'	a-kar-「ra」?		
6'	a-kar-ra-gál-la		
7'	a-gub-ba	340 [?]	
8'	a-gub-ba ^{ni-hu-tum}		
9'	a-dé-a	[455]	
10'	a-dé-a ^{bi-il me-e}		
11'	a-dé	310	
12'	[a]-nu-dé		
13'	[a]-dug ₄ -ga ^{ši-qi-tum}		
14'	[]「x」 ^{šu-ni-qù}		
15'	traces		

Rev.

I			
1'	lost		
2'	traces		
3'	a-pa ₅ [?] -lá		
4'	a-sur-ra-gal	cf. 372 and ZA 79, 75 III 11'	
5'	a-sur-ra-sig		
6'	a-ba [!] šu [!] -TU-TU ^{sà-pí-ru-tum}	505	

7'	a-sud-rá ^{ru-qi-tum}	422	
8'	a-sud-rá ^{ne!-su-tum}		
9'	a-bad-rá		
10'	a-an-zag-nu-zu		
11'	a- ^d utu-nu-zu		
			Nigga (MSL 13, 91ff.)
12'	níg-gur ₁₁	1	
13'	níg-lugal		
14'	níg-gur ₁₁ -lugal	2	
15'	níg-gur ₁₁ -lugal	3	
16'	níg-gur ₁₁ -lugal	4	
17'	níg-erim ₂	5	
18'	níg-á-[z]i	6	
19'	níg-á-[
20'	níg-á-x [
21'	níg-[
22'	níg-[
	(end of column)		

II

1'	[] x		
2'	[]-la		
3'	[]-DU ₈		
4'	[níg-d]iri	51	
5'	[níg]-diri-gù-di ^{hi-še-eh-tum}		
6'	[níg]-hibis-hibis		
7'	[níg]-šeg ₆ -gá	37	
8'	[níg]-nu-šeg ₆ -gá		
9'	[n]íg-gú-gar-ra		
10'	[n]íg-gaba-gar-ra		
11'	níg-dugud		
12'	níg-gal-gal	(Nigga Bil. B 21)	
13'	níg-gu-la	94-95	
14'	níg-zal-la	92-93	
15'	níg-gàr-「GÁ×X」		
16'	níg-tuku	96	
17'	níg-nu-tuku	97	
18'	[níg]-tuku-tuku	98	

- 19' [níg^ú]-kúl-tum -gu₇ 41
 20' []-gu₇
- Obv. II 5 gú^{e-ru-tum}-bal: *erūtum* (back). The item is known from UR₅-ra 15 52 (*MSL* 9, 8).
- II 9 [gú]-me-ri^{ek-sum}-NI. Me-ri may be a spelling for mer (storm; anger; see Ludwig 1990, 79–82); gú is possibly syllabic for gù. (Compare Šulgi D 28: gù mi-rí-a ra-ra-me-en: you hurl angry words; Klein 1981, 72–73 and commentary on p. 92). The Akkadian gloss *ekšum* (dangerous) probably translates NI, though this equation is not otherwise known to me.
- II 10 The gloss is probably to be derived from *salātu* / *šalātu* (to split; to cut). This verb is frequently identified with Sumerian *zil* (see *CAD* sv *salātu*, lexical section).
- III 4' This item has no parallel in the main text of Proto-Kagal, but does appear in a variant recension (*MSL* 13, 79 Q Rev. 5').
- III 9'–13' For a-dé (flooding with water from the spring flood) and a-dug₄ (irrigation with canal water later in the year) see Civil 1994, 68–69. The gloss in line 10' provides an alternative analysis of the Sumerian: a dé-a^{bi-il me-e}: carry water! The equation dé = *w/babālum* is valid only in a few restricted contexts. One of these is 'to carry water' said of a river or canal (see references in *AHw* sv *w/babālum* G II 1d and Gtn I 3). In the Uruk version of Proto-Kagal the entry a-ta dé-a was emended a-ta è¹-a by Cavigneaux (Cavigneaux 1996, 82 no.167 iii 9'). This emendation is unnecessary because dé may also be used for 'to wash away' (by a flood), a meaning closely related to a-dé-a = flood. A-ta dé-a may thus be understood as 'washed away by the water.' For this use of dé = *w/babālu* see *CAD* sv *abālu* A 4a 1'. These references demonstrate that the reconstruction of the entry da-a DÉ = *ba-ba-lu* [šá bi-ib-li] (*MSL* 14, 362 178 and 382 160'; based on the well-known equation níg-dé-a = *biblum*) is possible, but by no means necessary.
- III 14' I suspect *šu-ni-qù* derives from *enēqu* Š, though the morphology is not clear. The Sumerian side may have had a form with KA×GA (sub), which, following the entry a-dug₄-ga, fits the context well.
- Rev. I 6' The tablet has a-ZU BA-TU-TU, but the parallel line Proto-Kagal 505 justifies the reading a-ba¹ šu¹ TU-TU ^{sâ-pi-ru-tum}. For the verb *šu* TU-TU see Sjöberg ZA 65, 242; Jacobsen in Gordon *SP*, 450–451; *MSL* 13, 103 256; 114 12, and probably 120 217. The verb has a wide range of meanings: to take away, to reach, to interfere. All these may be understood as extensions of the basic meaning: to touch. The closest parallel to our entry is Lugal-e I 43: á-sàg-a me-lám-ba a-ba šu mi-ni-ib-TU-TU (OB version). In the first millennium version this is rendered *a-sak-ku me-lam-mi-šú man-nu i-mah-ḥar-šú*. The Asakku, who can withstand his radiance? I understand the Akkadian gloss to our item as a writing of *šāpirūtum*: command; apparently this

- is a free rendering of the Sumerian rhetorical question: who can touch (him)? or: who can withstand him? The reading of TU-TU remains uncertain.
- I 8' The first sign of the gloss is clearly AM, but context requires this to be understood as a cramped (or erratic) NE.
- I 10' For a-an-zag-nu-zu as a word for deep waters, perhaps the abzu, see Horowitz 1998, 310–313.
- II 5' [Níg]-diri-gù-di is glossed *hišeḫtum* (need). The Sumerian is apparently related to the administrative term níg-gù-dé (object called for; need; supplies), which appears in texts from the Ur III and early Old Babylonian periods (see Neumann 1987 43¹³¹ for Ur III and Ferwerda 1985, 6 for early Isin; both with previous literature). As far as I know níg-diri-gù-di or níg-diri-gù-dé is not attested elsewhere.² The gloss is written over the lower part of the line.
- II 6' Sumerian *ḫibis* (TUR.DIŠ) has various Akkadian renderings; among them are *muqqu* (to be weakened) and *ukkudu* (disabled person; see *MSL* 14, 438 105–110). The alternative reading *genna* (child) for TUR.DIŠ is less likely in the present context.

2. The Nature of the Acrographic Series

In order to understand the nature and uses of the acrographic series we must locate them in the Old Babylonian curriculum. For Nippur the curricular order of the exercises may be reconstructed by using the evidence from so-called type II exercise tablets.³ Type II tablets combine two different extracts: a new exercise and a repetition. The new exercise is found on the obverse. It is a short extract from one of the educational series, inscribed by the teacher on the left side of the tablet. This model was copied several times by a pupil on the right-hand side. The pupil then used the reverse to repeat something studied earlier. More than 2,000 type II tablets from Nippur are known by now. This tablet type was used in the elementary phase of the scribal education. All kinds of lexical compositions have been inscribed on type II tablets. Literary texts, which belong to the advanced stage of education, are with few exceptions written on other tablet types. The relation between the obverse and the reverse allows for a reconstruction of the order in which elementary exercises were treated. It appears that this order is far from random. It may be summarised as follows (including the major exercises only):

2. See, however, níg-diri níg-gù-dé in Durand *EPHE* no. 43 3f. (Ur III).

3. For the typology of exercise tablets see Civil in *MSL* 14, 5 with references to older literature; Civil 1995, 2308; and Veldhuis 1997, 28–39. For type II tablets see further Oelsner and Veldhuis 1997.

Syllable Alphabet B

TU-TA-TI

Name Lists

Proto-Ur₅-ra

Proto-Ea

Proto-Lú

Acrographic Lists

Proto-Diri

Mathematical Tables

Model Contracts and Proverbs

The very first exercise, Syllable Alphabet B, is an exercise in the correct execution of a number of important and frequent signs. Most entries have no meaning. The exercise is usually copied in oversized writing, so that every detail may be given due attention. At the other end of the elementary phase of their education the students copied Model Contracts and Proverbs. Here for the first time pupils studied Sumerian sentences, rather than isolated signs or words. The Proverbs, in literary Sumerian, provided a suitable transition to literary education.

Between Syllable Alphabet B and the Models and Proverbs a variety of lexical texts were copied. Each of these exercises has its own characteristics, corresponding to a specific educational end. TU-TA-TI deals with the syllabic values. The Name Lists for the first time introduce meaningful items. Proto-Ur₅-ra is a thematic list of Sumerian words, comprising several thousands of words and aiming at building a Sumerian vocabulary. Proto-Ea deals with polyvalency. For each cuneiform sign the possible Sumerian readings are listed. Proto-Diri provides sign values and Akkadian translations for compound signs. Finally in the Mathematical Tables the pupils learned multiplication and division. By the same token they were made familiar with number writing.

How can we understand the position of the acrographic lists in this sequence? The sign lists Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri both isolate one aspect of cuneiform writing that was hardly wholly new for a pupil who started copying them. In Proto-Ur₅-ra the pupils had encountered numerous examples of polyvalent and compound signs. Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri systematize these two important aspects of the writing system. By systematically listing polyvalent and compound signs these two aspects are treated on a more abstract level. While the pupils learned to use polyvalent and compound signs in Proto-Ur₅-ra and similar exercises, they were now taught the abstract concepts of polyvalency and compoundness through Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri. The acrographic lists do something similar. They treat the incongruity between Sumerian and Akkadian, or rather, the incongruity between Sumerian *writing* and Akkadian. Again, incongruity is something that is omnipresent, and must have been familiar to a pupil who reached this stage of his education.

He (or she)⁴ knew that the sign A corresponds to the Akkadian word *mû* in many circumstances, but that it may as well be part of the word a-ba, to be translated *mannu*. The incongruity between a sign and its Akkadian translation has many sources. It is partly due to the polyvalency of the Sumerian writing system, but as well to the asymmetrical relation between the Sumerian and the Akkadian lexicons. Without trying to be exhaustive we may distinguish between five types of incongruity. All examples are taken from the text edited above.

a. Polyvalency

a-an-zag-nu-zu

Water that knows no horizon (probably: endless water).

a-^dutu-nu-zu

Water that Utu does not know.

The sign AN is used in two different ways.

b. Syllabic vs. Logographic Usea-ba šu-TU-TU^{sà-pi-ru-tum}

command

a-sud-rá^{ru-qi-tum}

far away (waters)

The sign A corresponds to *mû* (not represented in the gloss) in the second line, but is used for its syllabic value in a-ba in the preceding line.

c. Asymmetry between Sumerian and Akkadian Lexiconsa-sud-rá^{ru-qi-tum}

far away (waters)

a-sud-rá^{ne!-su-tum}

far away (waters)

One Sumerian term corresponds to two synonymous but etymologically unrelated Akkadian words.

d. Alternative Parsing of Sumerian Grammar

a-dé-a

flooding

a-dé-a^{bi-il me-e}

carry water!

The Sumerian a-dé-a means flooding (Akkadian *edû*). In the second line dé-a is taken as the imperative of a verb dé.

e. Compound Words: Idiomatic Expressions

The section GÚ has a number of compound words which do not correspond to equivalent composita in Akkadian. An example is *gú^{pi-ir-sum}-gír*. The Akkadian rendering has nothing to do with the common Akkadian renderings for Sumerian *gú* or *gír*. For words like these the relation between Sumerian and Akkadian is isomorph with the relation between a Sumerian compound sign and its pronunciation. The pronunciation of a Diri-compositum

4. Female pupils and scribes are known for Northern Babylonian sites including Mari, Sippar, and Tell Hadad.

cannot be deduced from the pronunciation of the signs involved. In idiomatic expressions the correct Akkadian rendering may not be deduced from the rendering of the individual words.⁵

None of the 5 types of incongruity distinguished above may have been absolutely new to the pupils copying the acrographic series. The concept of incongruity was made conscious by isolating it from the complex system of cuneiform and treating it extensively. In this the acrographic series are fully comparable to Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri, in which other aspects of the same system were isolated and exercised. Thus the pupils not only learned how to use the writing system in practice, but also how to understand its mechanics on an abstract level.

3. Glosses and Independent Learning

The primary characteristic of acrographic lists is the organization of their entries by the first or main sign.⁶ Another feature, prominently present in our new text, has received less attention. This is the way in which the Akkadian translations of the Sumerian words are represented. In Old Babylonian lexical lists Akkadian renderings appear in different ways. Proto-Ur₅-ra, the series of thematic lists, is unilingual in its written form. Akkadian translations were added orally by the teacher. That this is the case may be concluded from sequences of two or three times the same Sumerian entry. Such sequences make sense because they correspond to different Akkadian translations of the same word.⁷ Other lexical compositions, such as Proto-Diri, have a separate column for the Akkadian. A few texts, such as Ugu-mu (*MSL* 9, 51–73), exist in both unilingual and bilingual format. This is also the case for the acrographic series. Bilingual acrographic texts are relatively rare. In the bilingual examples the Akkadian is found in a separate column, as is the case in other bilingual lexical texts. In the unilingual examples, however, we find an alternative way to represent the Akkadian. As demonstrated in the text edited above, the Sumerian entries may be selectively translated in the form of glosses. The use of glosses is exceptional in the Old Babylonian lexical tradition.⁸ A rare example is text G of Proto-Ur₅-ra 23–24, section 7.2 (*MSL* 11, 121–122) which provides glosses for various Sumerian readings of the sign ŠIM (lines 1–5). Both Akkadian glosses and pronunciation aids for rare Sumerian signs are found in *SLT* 37 +

5. This is probably equivalent to what Civil has labelled 'Izi-compounds' (where the pronunciation of the compound may be derived from the common sign values), in contrast with 'Diri compounds' where this is not the case. See Civil 1995, 2310.

6. The organization of Proto-Izi is discussed in some detail in *MSL* 13, 7–10 by M. Civil. Proto-Kagal and Nigga are strictly acrographic, whereas Proto-Izi allows for an admixture of thematic principles.

7. For the bilingual character of Old Babylonian unilingual exercises see M. Civil *MSL* 14, 85; Veldhuis 1997, 46–47.

8. It should be noted that our evidence for the Old Babylonian lexical tradition is almost entirely Nippurian in origin. Our impression, therefore, may be lop-sided.

SLT 46⁹ (Proto-Ur₅-ra 13–15). This particular tablet is the only example of Akkadian glosses in Nippur Proto-Ur₅-ra I know of. In the unilingual acrographic series, however, glosses are frequent. These glosses include both pronunciation aids for the Sumerian word and Akkadian translations. Glosses are applied selectively, and the sources do not agree as to which entry is glossed and which is not. The inclusion of these selective Akkadian glosses may be directly related to the function of the acrographic exercises. Since they deal with the incongruity between Sumerian writing and Akkadian translation, the Akkadian translation is an inherent part of what is being exercised. In Proto-Ur₅-ra, where Akkadian translations were provided orally, the focus is on writing Sumerian correctly. Though translations are necessary in Proto-Ur₅-ra to make the exercise intelligible, these translations do not belong to the core of the exercise.

In addition to the acrographic series there is one other lexical text which is frequently glossed. This is Old Babylonian Proto-Lú. This agreement in format is matched by the frequent association of Old Babylonian Proto-Lú and Proto-Izi. In Nippur the two series are sometimes treated as if they belong together as one unit. Of the four tablets which preserve the end of Old Babylonian Proto-Lú there is only one which has the subscript ^dnisaba-zà-mí (text E'': Nippur). In text M'' (of unknown provenance) Old Babylonian Proto-Lú is immediately followed by an abbreviated version of Proto-Izi (*MSL* 12, 31). Text A (Nippur) ends with the catch-line to Proto-Izi. Text C, finally, also from Nippur, has neither catch-line nor subscript (collated).¹⁰ The same connection is now attested for Emar (see Civil 1989, 24). Moreover, outside Nippur there is a recurrent relation between Proto-Lú D and Proto-Sag (see *MSL* SS1, 3). This confirms that in the native classification of the lexical corpus the acrographic type and the Lú type were closely associated. In the Nippur curriculum we may understand this association as a kind of transition between the thematic type (Proto-Ur₅-ra) and the purely acrographic type (Proto-Kagal and Nigga). Both Old Babylonian Proto-Lú and Proto-Izi may be understood as somewhere in-between, with a stronger representation of the thematic in the former and of the acrographic element in the latter.

The presence of glosses in Old Babylonian Proto-Lú and in the acrographic lists may be related to a gradual increase in independence in the way the pupils did their exercises. There were various ways in which the curriculum differentiated between more and less intervention by a teacher. The more a pupil had mastered, the more the teacher receded to the background. This may be seen, for instance, in the type II tablets. The obverse of these tablets contains a model, which was

9. The full description of this tablet is now: CBS 2178 + N 5491 (*MSL* 8/1 82 V36) (+) CBS 2258 (*SLT* 37) + CBS 9802 (*SLT* 46) + N 1866 + N 4131 (*MSL* 9 41 V19) + N 5280. Sumerian glosses (not graphically distinguished from the main entry) only appear in the expression ga-sub^{sub}-ba ('milk-suckling') in the sections sila₄ and amar (*MSL* 8/1, 86 166 and 87 229). A few Akkadian glosses in tiny script appear in the wild animals section. The text and glosses will be treated in the forthcoming edition of Proto-Ur₅-ra 14 by the present writer.

10. In the literary letter edited by van Dijk 1989 the teacher promises to teach Izi and Lú=ša (452 26). Here the order is reversed!

to be copied by a pupil. On the reverse he copied all on his own another exercise. The reverse contained an exercise which he had learned previously by copying teacher's models. Now he was considered to know this material and to be able to copy it by himself. Advanced exercises, the literary extracts, have no model at all. Whether pupils copied the literary texts from dictation or from a standard text is not known. Anyway, they had to do without the handy and handsomely written teacher's model. Similar patterns may be found in the two known formats of Proto-Ea and Proto-Diri. Both sign lists are found with and without a separate pronunciation column. The copies without pronunciation column were written by more advanced pupils. This makes sense. The pupil must learn to do without reading aids, because he will have to do without in the practice of copying literary tablets and in his later career as scribe. In the absence of glosses the pupil was no longer taken by the hand to interpret his sign list. In a similar way we may understand the various ways in which Akkadian translations were present in the exercises:

Proto-Ur ₅ -ra	oral explanation
Old Bab. Proto-Lú & acrographic lists	glosses
Proto-Diri	bilingual

For Proto-Ur₅-ra the presence of a teacher was indispensable, because the entries make no sense whatsoever as long as the Akkadian translation is unknown. Proto-Diri, however, may be copied and understood independently by a pupil who has a reasonable skill in reading cuneiform. The glossed lexical texts may stand somewhere in-between. In copying a glossed teacher's model a pupil may have understood most of it. Apart from the glossed entries there were a number of words he already knew. For other words he would still rely on explanation.

4. Conclusion

In our understanding of Old Babylonian lexical texts it is necessary to realize that these are exercises, meant for the instruction of pupils at the scribal school. As exercises they fill a slot in the curriculum, in which each individual lexical composition has a specific function. In the structure of this curriculum we may note two important didactic principles. First the order of the exercises, and the format of the respective exercise tablets, allow for a gradual withdrawal of the teacher. The more advanced a pupil is, the more he is supposed to work on his own. Second, in copying a variety of lexical lists the pupils studied the writing system from a variety of perspectives. The object of their studies was always the same: the writing system. It is, therefore, no surprise that we find quite some overlap between the lexical series. The perspective chosen, however, differs, and this allowed the pupil to gain an understanding of various abstract principles behind the *system* of cuneiform writing: polyvalency, compounding, incongruity.

Appendix: the Textual History of Nigga

Our picture of the Old Babylonian lexical tradition is necessarily influenced by the disproportionate share of Nippur tablets in our source material. There are reasons to believe that the Nippur corpus is not representative for the Old Babylonian tradition at large. The Nippur lexical tradition may have been a conservative one; some of the developments we tend to associate with the post-Old Babylonian period may be older. A comparison between the Proto-Ur₅-ra versions of Nippur and Isin, for instance, shows that the Nippur version is in most cases shorter, and that the Isin text already includes a number of items known from later (Middle Babylonian) sources.¹¹ The lexical tablets from these two neighbouring cities are contemporaneous. Other evidence shows that S^a and Ur₅-ra 1 and 2, both unknown in Old Babylonian Nippur, were known in other Old Babylonian centres. It should be added, though that the extant tablets may be considerably later than the Nippur material.¹² The existence of an Old Babylonian bilingual version of Proto-Ur₅-ra 11–12 (in a very idiosyncratic fashion) confirms that the Old Babylonian lexical tradition may have been much more variegated than we will ever know.¹³ The earliest bilingual versions of Ur₅-ra that were known so far are from Ugarit and Emar.

Our new source for Proto-Kagal/Nigga may be used to evaluate what we know about the history of the acrographic lists in the Old Babylonian period. The present text has Nigga integrated into Proto-Kagal. Two of the sections that belong to Nigga in the Nippur tradition are attested here, but they are not even adjacent. Nigga is fully merged with Proto-Kagal and is not recognizable as a separate chapter. On closer scrutiny, however, it may appear that Nippur is the only place where Nigga is an independent composition. An unpublished lexical prism from Isin was described by Wilcke as containing a local version of Proto-Kagal followed by the catch-line to Nigga (IB 813; Wilcke 1987, 93). The number of lexical texts from Isin is too small for a fruitful investigation of the local use of catch-lines. In Nippur, however, catch-lines are used to connect consecutive parts of a single lexical composition. Nippur Proto-Ur₅-ra is divided in six chapters (or 'tablets'). Each of these chapters ends with the doxology ^dnisaba zà-mí: Nisaba be praised! The doxology is never followed by a catch-line to connect one chapter to the next. Catch-lines are used occasionally to connect sections of one tablet. *SLT* 179 has the list of stones. In the Nippur tradition this is the first section of chapter 4 of the series. The chapter continued with plants, fish, birds, and clothing. Accordingly, this tablet does not contain the ^dnisaba zà-mí formula, but ends with the catch-line to the section plants (ú).¹⁴ Similar evidence exists for Proto-Izi. In the

11. Prof. Dr. C. Wilcke generously allowed me to utilize his copies of the Isin texts, which are to appear in a forthcoming volume of *TIM*. It is a pleasure to express my gratitude here.

12. For S^a see Tanret 1982. A few unilingual Old Babylonian exemplars of Ur₅-ra 1 and 2 were integrated into the edition in *MSL* 5. Some additional copies remain unpublished.

13. BM 85983. This text will be edited by the present writer.

14. More examples may be found in Veldhuis 1997, 49–50.

edition in *MSL* 13 Proto-Izi is divided into Proto-Izi I and Proto-Izi II. The doxology is found only at the end of Proto-Izi II, whereas tablets containing Proto-Izi I invariably end with the catch-line to Proto-Izi II. A few prisms contain both Proto-Izi I and II, confirming the conclusion that in Nippur Proto-Izi was considered to be a single composition. The Nippur convention, therefore, is unequivocal: a doxology signals the end of an independent unit; a catch-line is used to connect two sections of one unit. The evidence suggests that the catch-line which connects the Isin version of Proto-Kagal with Nigga implies that Proto-Kagal and Nigga were seen as a single composition.

The Middle Babylonian peripheral versions of the acrographic series in Ugarit, Emar, and Hattuša¹⁵ are incompletely reconstructed, and the evidence appears to be confused. The section GÚ, which in Nippur belongs to Nigga, is found in Izi Boghazkoy A (*MSL* 13, 132ff.), as well as in Kagal Boghazkoy II (Wilhelm 1989). A few pieces with the section NÍG have been identified: *Emar* 6/4 nos. 573 and 574 and the Ugarit tablet 20.221 (unpublished; see *RSO* V/1, 258; and van Soldt 1995, Appendix I). That these pieces represent fragments of an independent Nigga series, however, is doubtful. I would rather suggest that they belong to some version of Kagal. The Hattuša version of Kagal has been shown to include the following sections (Wilhelm 1989):

Tablet I: KÁ-GAL; KISAL; KÁ; É []

Tablet II: []; GÚ; A; []

This order of sections is compatible with the text edited as Kagal I (*MSL* 13, 227ff). According to its editor the tablet is late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian. It partly preserves the sections KÁ-GAL, KISAL, KÁ, É, [], GIŠ, GÌR, DÙG, and GÚ. This may be compared with the organization of the extant Sippar/Babylon pieces. The Khabaza version of Proto-Kagal (*MSL* 13, 66: O₁),¹⁶ which may well come from Sippar, includes the sections KÁ and É. Our new text has the sections GÚ and A; and continues with the section NÍG. We may surmise that this was the case as well in the Middle Babylonian peripheral tradition, and that the extant Middle Babylonian Nigga pieces in fact belong to Kagal II.

In his discussion of the history of the acrographic series in *MSL* 13 (125) Civil maintained that the incorporation of materials from Nigga into Kagal took place in the late Old Babylonian or early Middle Babylonian period. The evidence from Isin now demonstrates that this may have been the case in much earlier times. Two reconstructions of the textual history may be envisioned.

15. After the completion of *MSL* 13 a number of additional Middle Babylonian pieces have been published. See Wilhelm 1989 (Boghazkoy Kagal II); *Emar* 6/4 (for the acrographic pieces see Civil 1989, 20–21); Herrero-Glassner 1996 nos. 280, 281, 284, and 288. Most of the evidence from Ugarit remains unpublished.

16. The text is partly published. A full publication is planned by the present writer.

First, Nigga may be an invention of the Nippur scribes, who isolated sections from Proto-Kagal to form an independent lexical composition. Second, Nigga may be an old lexical series which gradually disappeared to merge with (Proto-)Kagal. Bearing in mind the conservatism of the Nippur lexical tradition, I have a slight preference for the latter solution. The history of Nigga may go back as far as the Ebla corpus. The so-called Ešbarkin-list (see most recently Picchioni 1997) begins with a long NÍG section. So far, however, a historical connection between this list and Nippur Nigga cannot be established.

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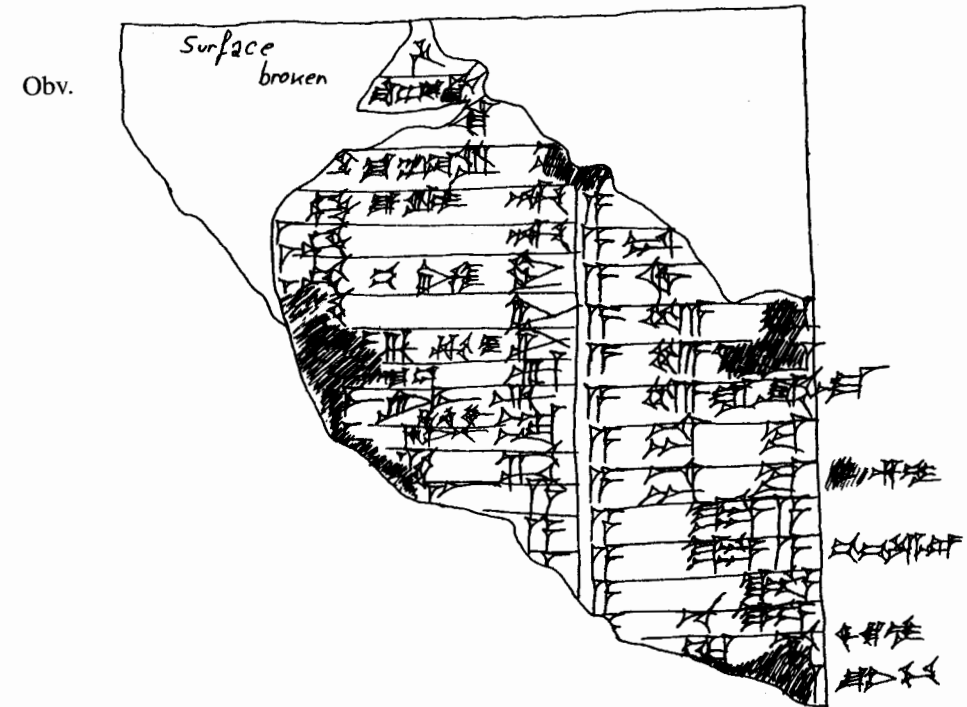
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Rev.



The Conquest of Til-barsip by Shalmaneser III: History and Historiography*

Shigeo YAMADA — Tokyo

In the ninth century B.C., during the successive reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, Assyria extended its western boundary and came to claim suzerainty over the North-Syrian countries situated to the west of the Euphrates river. Shalmaneser III's conquest of Til-barsip on the east bank of the Euphrates, the main residence of Ahuni, the leader of Bit-Adini, was a crucial step in this historical process. He subsequently reorganized the area along both banks of the river into an Assyrian province, and placed its administrative center at Til-barsip, which he converted into an Assyrian city with the new name *Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēdu* "Port Shalmaneser." This province served as the lasting western boundary of Assyria and was a cornerstone of Assyrian imperial policy in the west until the renewal of territorial expansion by Tiglath-pileser III in the second half of the eighth century B.C.¹

The recently discovered archaeological and epigraphic (Luwian, Aramaic and Akkadian) evidence from Tell Ahmar (ancient Til-barsip) will undoubtedly stimulate scholarly discussions on the complex cultural heritage and political history of this site.² The purpose of the present study, however, is not to discuss these new materials originating in Til-barsip, but to re-examine the Assyrian annals in order to scrutinize the historical details of Shalmaneser III's conquest of the city and discuss the related historiographical problems.

Shalmaneser's battles with Ahuni are narrated in several versions of his annals, as well as other historical texts.³ The Kurkh Monolith Inscription, composed in the king's sixth regnal year

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1. On the relations between Assyria and the west during this period, see H. Tadmor, "Assyria and the West: the Ninth Century and its Aftermath," in: H. Goedicke and J.J.M. Roberts (eds.), *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, Baltimore - London, 1975, pp. 36-48, esp. pp. 38f.

2. For the recent excavations at Tell Ahmar by Melbourne University, see G. Bunnens, "Til Barsip under Assyrian Domination: A Brief Account of the Melbourne University Excavations at Tell Ahmar," in: S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project Helsinki, September 7-11, 1995*, Helsinki, 1997, pp. 17-27. For the texts recently uncovered from Tell Ahmar, see G. Bunnens (Archaeological context), S.M. Dalley (Neo-Assyrian tablets), P. Bordreuil, F. Briquel-Chatonnet (Aramaic documents) and J.D. Hawkins (Luwian inscription of Hamiyatas) in *Abr-Nahrain* 34 (1996/7), pp. 61-117.

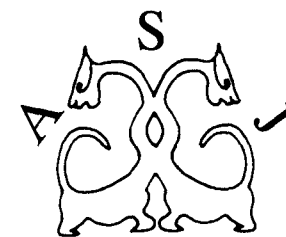
3. The primary versions of Shalmaneser's Annals are: the One Year Annals: M. Mahmud and J. Black, *Sumer* 44 (1985/6), pp. 135-155, Text no. 1 = RIMA 3, A.O.102.3; the Two Year Annals: RIMA 3, A.O.102.1; the Kurkh

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	i
 ARTICLES	
Antoine Cavigneaux und Bahija Khalil Ismail, Eine zweisprachige Hymne aus dem Haus des Beschwörungspriesters	1
Wolfgang Heimpel, A Circumambulation Rite	13
Michael Heltzer, The Head (Commandant) of the City (<i>šar hā'ir</i>) in Ancient Israel and Judah (Compared with Neo-Assyrian Functionaries)	17
Jun Ikeda, The Akkadian Language of Carchemish: Evidence from Emar and its Vicinities	23
Kazuya Maekawa, Ur III Girsu Records of Labor Forces in the British Museum (1)	63
Eiko Matsushima, On the <i>Lubuštu</i> -Ceremony of Bēl in the Seventh Century B.C.	111
Kazuo Muroi, Expressions of a Unit in Babylonian Mathematics	121
Francesco Pomponio, The Exchange Ratio between Silver and Gold in the Administrative Texts of Ebla	127
Gebhard J. Selz, Die Etana-Erzählung. Ursprung und Tradition eines der ältesten epischen Texte in einer semitischen Sprache	135
Michael P. Streck, The Tense Systems in the Sumerian-Akkadian Linguistic Area	181
Niek Veldhuis, A Late Old Babylonian Proto-Kagal/Nigga Text and the Nature of the Acrographic Lexical Series	201
Shigeo Yamada, The Conquest of Til-barsip by Shalmaneser III: History and Historiography	217

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