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THE SULTANTEPE TABLETS

(Continued)

IV. THE CUTHAEAN LEGEND OF NARAM-SIN

By O. R. GURNEY

THE PECULIAR DOCUMENT here studied is an example of what has been called the “*narû* literature”.¹ A *narû* was an engraved stele, on which a king would record the events of his reign ; the characteristic features of such an inscription are a formal self-introduction of the writer by his name and titles, a narrative in the first person, and an epilogue usually consisting of curses upon any person who might in the future deface the monument and blessings upon those who should honour it. The so-called “*narû* literature” consists of a small group of apocryphal *narû*-inscriptions, composed probably in the early second millennium B.C., but in the name of famous kings of a bygone age. A well-known example is the Legend of Sargon of Akkad.² In these works the form of the *narû* is retained, but the matter is legendary or even fictitious.

The greater part of the Legend of Naram-Sin has been known for many years, but only in the form of disconnected fragments, all from the Kuyunjik collection in the British Museum. Two of these, which were seen to be duplicates, were published in translation in 1876 by George Smith,³ who included the text among the myths of Creation and described it as an account by a mythical Chaldaean king of the condition of the world before his time ; a translation under a similar title was contributed by A. H. Sayce to Volume XI of the series *Records of the Past* (1878). Ten years later, however, H. Zimmern pointed out that, so far from being a creation myth, the text was an account by an early king of how the gods delivered his land from a horde of monsters,⁴ and it became known thereafter as the “Legend of the King of Cuthah”, on account of the passage where the writer states that he has deposited his inscription in the temple of Nergal in that city (now ll. 149-151). Zimmern also drew attention to the fact that an Old Babylonian fragment, a copy of which had just been published by V. Scheil,⁵ ran closely parallel to the Assyrian legend. A careful edition of this part of our text (in which the name of Naram-Sin does not appear) was prepared by P. Jensen in 1900 for his collection of myths and epics,⁶ and a new English translation was included by L. W. King in his book *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, vol. I, 140-55.

¹ H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, XLII, 19-21 and 62 ff.

² L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, 87-96 ; J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 119.

³ G. Smith, *The Chaldaean Account of Genesis*, 102 ff.

⁴ In *ZA*, XII (1897), 317 ff.

⁵ In *Recueil de Travaux*, XX, 65 ff. (1898).

⁶ Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI (1), 290 ff.

Meanwhile, in 1901, King had published copies of these two fragments,¹ and in the same volume he included a third fragment (in reality the upper part of another duplicate tablet) to which he gave the title "Legend of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon".² Yet another small fragment had been published by P. Haupt in facsimile in the belief that it might be part of the Epic of Gilgamesh,³ and although the close resemblance of this piece to the so-called "Legend of the King of Cuthah" was recognized by Jensen in his edition referred to above,⁴ the fact seems to have been subsequently overlooked.⁵ Thus although the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh contained at least four copies of this work, they were broken in such a way that only two of them presented the same part of the text and they were therefore regarded as belonging to two or three separate compositions.

The Hittite archives of Boğazköy provided a clue to the true nature of the text, for among them E. Forrer identified a fragment in which Naram-Sin narrated events closely resembling those described in the "Legend of the King of Cuthah" and rightly concluded that Naram-Sin was the true author of the latter also.⁶ Later H. G. Güterbock, discussing the historical traditions of the Babylonians and Hittites, pointed out that the Hittite text also had features in common with the "Legend of Naram-Sin" published by King⁷; but he was unwilling to adopt Forrer's view of the authorship of the "King of Cuthah" text because he had detected in Scheil's copy of the Old Babylonian version what appeared to be the actual name of the author, Shu-ili. He therefore proposed that the "Legend of the King of Cuthah" should be re-named the "Legend of Shu-ili".

Sultantepe has now at last produced a fairly well-preserved two-column tablet on which the texts of the four Ninevite fragments are combined and united, and which thus reveals that the "King of Cuthah" (or "Shu-ili") legend is simply part of the Legend of Naram-Sin son of Sargon. Meanwhile the Old Babylonian fragment published by Scheil has found its way to the Yale Babylonian Collection, and Dr. J. J. Finkelstein, who is now studying it, has kindly informed me that the name Shu-ili, which was read by Scheil on this tablet, is not in fact there.⁸ The last doubt as to the "authorship" of this legend is thus removed.

¹ CT, XIII, 39-41 ("B" and "C" in the present edition).

² Ibid., 44 ("A" in the present edition).

³ Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (1884-90), 78 (K.8582).

⁴ op. cit. 300 ("D" in this edition).

⁵ It is not mentioned in the translations of Ungnad and Ebeling ap. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder* (1st and 2nd ed. respectively), probably because it was regarded as too small and unimportant. It was recopied by R. Campbell Thompson in his edition of the Epic of Gilgamesh, pl. 34, though he marked it as probably not belonging to the Epic.

⁶ Forrer, *Die Boghazköitexte in Umschrift*, II, nos. 4, 5, with comments on p. 2*.

⁷ In ZA, XLII, 65-76.

⁸ The first sign is *ma* and should be taken with the preceding pronoun *a-na-ku*, as in the Assyrian text, l. 89.

The text is still incomplete and many problems remain to be solved. But we are now able to construct a text in which every one of the 175 lines of this work is at least partially represented.¹

The longest and most serious lacuna is at the beginning. In the first three lines Naram-Sin introduces himself as the son of Sargon (he was in fact his grandson). The contents of the next seven lines, of which we have only the extreme ends, can only be conjectured ; but at line 11 Naram-Sin is already consulting the prophets to ascertain the will of the gods. The oracle which he obtains is lost, and there follows an obscure passage about the Sumerian hero Enmekar, who appears to have erred in failing to make a record of his reign in the form of a *narû*-inscription, such as that which Naram-Sin is composing. At line 31 begins the narrative which forms the main subject of the document, the story of an invasion of Naram-Sin's empire by a horde of "warriors with bodies of cave-birds and faces of ravens". These strange enemies are led by seven kings, sons of Anubanini, who can hardly be separated from the historical King Annubanini of the Lulubi, known from his rock-carved inscription at Seripul in western Persia.² They are said to have first fallen upon Burushhanda, a city in Asia Minor well known from the early Assyrian and Hittite texts (here spelt Burushhandar), and other towns not otherwise known, then to have swarmed over Subartu (northern Mesopotamia), Gutium and Elam (southern Persia), finally reaching Dilmun (Bahrein), Magan (probably southern Arabia) and Meluhha (perhaps either the Indus valley or Ethiopia).³ Allied with them were 17 other kings and 90,000 troops.

At this point there occurs an incident which was hitherto known only from the Hittite fragment mentioned above, and which proves that there is a closer relation between the Hittite and Assyrian texts than was previously thought. Naram-Sin orders his officer to take two weapons and to prick the enemy with them ; if blood came out, they would be mortal men, but if no blood came out, they would be "evil spirits, spectres, ghosts and fiends, creatures of Enlil". The result of this experiment was favourable, for blood came out.

Naram-Sin therefore again consults the prophets and receives an oracle (called for some obscure reason the "lock" of the great gods) the purport of which is apparently negative, or at least ambiguous. He decides to ignore this warning and to go forth against the enemy (in the Hittite text, on the contrary, there is no oracle, but Naram-Sin decided none the less not to go forth).⁴ The result is complete disaster : in three successive

¹ On a possible lacuna at l. 115 see note *ad loc.*

² See *RLA*, s.v. Annubanini.

³ On Subartu see Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* ; on Dilmun see P. B. Cornwall in *BASOR*, 103, 3-11, and Weidner in *AfO*, XV, 169 ; on Magan and Meluhha see Weidner in *AfO*, XVI, 6-10, with references to the extensive older literature. Forrer (*Forschungen* 5, 39), equates Meluhha with the Indus Valley ; see also C. J. Gadd in *The Listener*, 3rd March, 1955, 374-6.

⁴ For the Hittite text see Güterbock, *ZA*, XLIV, 49-67.

years the Akkadian army is totally annihilated. Naram-Sin breaks out into lamentations and self-reproaches, and a succession of disasters befalls his land.

The last part of the narrative is badly preserved and the sequence of events is uncertain. The god Ea, it would seem, in his usual role of intercessor, persuades the gods to relent and to give Naram-Sin the victory. So in the fourth year Naram-Sin consults the prophets a third time, but the oracle is lost, as is the passage which follows. We must suppose that Naram-Sin goes out and defeats his enemies, taking twelve prisoners. Before dealing with these men, a final oracle is obtained; the wording of this is very obscure, but it appears that Naram-Sin is instructed to have mercy on his prisoners and to leave vengeance to the gods, who will deal with his enemies according to their deserts.

With these words the narrative ends, and the remainder of the text is occupied by an address to future rulers, corresponding to the curse and blessing formulae of the genuine *narû*. Naram-Sin advises his successors to read his inscription, which he has deposited in the temple of Nergal at Cuthah, and to adopt a policy of passive resistance. They will then bless him for his warning, and by themselves leaving a record they will obtain the blessing of future generations.

If this interpretation of our text is correct, certain conclusions drawn by Güterbock will have to be revised. In particular, there can hardly be any doubt, in view of the clear reference in line 131, that the prophecy of affliction contained in lines 133-142 applies not to the land of Akkad but to its enemies, and that the narrative has a "happy ending". Thus Naram-Sin no longer appears as the type of the "ill-fated ruler" (*Unheilsherrscher*), a role which, as Güterbock pointed out, was not consistent with the rest of the tradition about him (except perhaps in the "Weidner Chronicle"), nor is it correct to say that the moral preached by the document is simply that "all effort is in vain", in the sense that whatever one does, misfortune cannot be averted. The emphasis is on the fact that events are determined by the will of the gods rather than by the efforts of men.

It would be a misuse of this document to treat it as a historical source. The narrative belongs to the category of saga, and it is notoriously impossible to extract history from saga and myth without the help of external sources. For it is the habit of folk memory to compress and combine events of different generations, even of different centuries, and to attach them indiscriminately to one or two outstanding historical personalities. At the basis of this fabulous tale there certainly lies a recollection of wars fought by Naram-Sin and others against coalitions of kings and especially against the Lulubi, wars of which we have authentic records in the king's own inscriptions; but he certainly never had to meet an invasion of the gigantic proportions described in this text. The writer seems to have filled out his story with geographical names drawn from a traditional stock in order to heighten the effect.

A different view, however, has been taken by E. Forrer, who alone

has dared to interpret this text literally.¹ It is a fact that in line 54 the invaders are described as *Ummān-manda*, a term used elsewhere of the Medes and Cimmerians, but also of other "barbarian" folk and probably meaning little more than barbarian hordes. For Forrer, however, the term means always "the Indo-Europeans"; and he has boldly identified the invasion described in this document with the influx of Indo-European tribes who brought the horse-drawn chariot into the lands of the Middle East during the first half of the second millennium. This is indeed the only invasion known to history which could be compared in magnitude with that described in our text, especially if Meluhha is taken, with Forrer, to be the Indus Valley. But in order to identify the two, Forrer has been obliged to convert Naram-Sin "son of Sargon" into Naram-Sin of Eshnunna, since the famous kings of Akkad lived some 600 years too early for him. Anubanini and his seven sons with their outlandish names, also the fairy-tale description of their warriors, are tacitly ignored by him, although on his showing the text would be almost contemporary with the events which it describes. A more reasonable view of the text had been taken by Forrer seventeen years earlier,² that it recalls a war against the Lulubi and that "warriors with ravens' faces" is merely a fanciful way of describing the appearance of this race, who would have been of Armenoid type, with receding chins and foreheads.

The new tablet, though it has made possible for the first time a presentation of the text in its proper sequence, has not made its translation any easier. Where there are variations from the Ninevite text, they are generally for the worse, and some passages are evidently corrupt in all manuscripts. Where a meaning is doubtful or a restoration conjectural, this is indicated in the translation by italic type.

MANUSCRIPTS

Assurbanipal

81-2-4, 219	= CT, XIII, 44	A
K.5418a	= CT, XIII, 39-40	B
K.5640	= CT, XIII, 41	C
K.8582	= Thompson, <i>Epic of Gilgamesh</i> , pl. 34	D

Sultantepe

S.U. 51, 78 + 166	E
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A, B, C, and D do not join and seem to be parts of four distinct tablets.

Preference is given, where possible, to the Nineveh manuscripts, which usually present the better text.

The copy of S.U. 51, 78 + 166 will be published in a forthcoming volume with other Sultantepe tablets.

¹ Forrer, *Forschungen* 5, 21 (1947).

² In *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Dec., 1930, p. 230.

TRANSLITERATION

1. [] *nará ši-tas-si*
2. [ša a-na-ku ¹Na-ram-^aSin] mār ¹Šarru-kin
3. [aš-tu-ru-šu-ma a-na] ¹u₄-me ša-a-ti
4. [] x šadā^a e-mid
5. [] x šadā^a e-mid
6. [] mu-m]a-'-ir ma-a-ti
7. [] ūmē^{me} ^š ina nasāḫi^h
8. [] šanāti^{me} ^š ina a-la-ki
9. [^aIš-tar ú-ša-an]-ni mi-lik-šá
10. [] x -ma ir-kab
11. [a-šal-ma] ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
12. [^aIš-tar ^aBa₄(?) -ba₄] ^aZa-ba₄-ba₄ ^aA-nu-ni-tum
13. [^aNabū(?) ^aŠamaš] qu-ra-du
14. [al-si mārē^{meš} lú^bbārē^{meš}] ú-ma-'-ir
15. [7 a-na pa-an 7 ^{udu}puḫā]du [al?]-pu-tu
16. [ú-kin(-nu ?) guḫš]é(?)^{meš} ellūti^{meš}
17. [mārē^{meš} lú^bbārē^{meš}] ki-a-am iq-bu-u-ni
18. [x x x x x]x x ti riq-qu-u x x []x
19. [x x x x x] ¹la/šú[?]-ru-qu zi-i-ma
20. [x x] GIM/BAN ? [x x -m]a i-da-ši
21. [x] tul-ta[- x x x] ¹li[?] tam-¹ḫaš[?] pa-gar-ka
22. a-di[x x x ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
23. En-me-kár š[arru ? x x] di-na ¹mar[?]-ša[?] ^aŠamaš šá [i-di-nu]
24. de-en-šú purussú[-šú] ru x x x eṭimma-šú eṭimme^{meš}[
25. eṭim kimti(IM.RI.A)-šú eṭim pir'i-šú eṭim piri' pir'i-šú ^aŠamaš q[u[?]-ra-du]
26. bēl elāti^{meš} ù šaplāti^{meš} bēl ^aA-nun-na-ki bēl e-ṭim-me
27. šá mé dal-ḫu-te išattú(NAG) ù mé za-ku-te là išattú (NAG.MEŠ) B
28. šá igi-gál-la-šú ^gškakka-šú ummāna šu-a-tu ik-mu-u ik-šu-du i-na-ru
29. ina nari ul išturu ul izib-am-ma pag-ri u pu-u-ti
30. MU ul ú-še-ši-ma ul ak-ta-rab-šú
31. šābē^{meš} pag-ri iššur ḫur-ri a-me-lu-ta a-ri-bu pa-nu-šú-un
32. ib-nu-šú-nu-ti-ma ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
33. ina qaq-qar ib-nu-ú ilāni^{meš} a-lu-šú
34. ti-a-ma-tu ú-še-niq-šú-nu-ti

Variants :

7. E : ¹na-sa[?]-ḫi
15. E : al[-pu-ut]

24-5. Text from E

C : de-en-šú ; utuk pir'i-šú eṭim piri' x[

TRANSLATION

1. [.] read the stele
2. [*which I, Naram-Sin,*] son of Sargon,
3. [*have inscribed for*] future days.
4. [.] departed this life,
5. [.] departed this life.
6. [. the r]uler of the land
7. [.] as [the day]s elapsed,
8. [.] as [the year]s went by,
9. [*Ishtar* *chang*]ed her plan.
10. [.] rode.
11. [I questioned] the great gods,
12. [*Ishtar, Baba(?),*] Zababa, Anunitum,
13. [*Nabu(?)* and Shamash] the hero.
14. [I summoned the seers and] instructed them.
15. [I “to]uched” [seven and again seven lambs.]
16. [I set out] the holy reed-altars.
17. [The seers] spoke thus to me :
18. [.]
19. [.] *pale(??)* of face
20. [. . .] . . . [.]
21. [. . .] . . . [.] . . . your body
22. . . . [.] the great [god]s
23. Enmekar the *k[ing(?)]*] the severe judgment *which* Shamash
[*passed upon him*]
24. his judgment, [his] decision [*concerning*] his ghost, the ghosts [. . .
.],
25. the ghost of his family, the ghost of his offspring, the ghost of his
descendants, (*the decision of*) Shamash [the hero],
26. the lord of things above and things below, lord of the Anunnaki, lord
of the ghosts,
27. that they should drink dirty water and not drink clean water,
28. because his ‘ wise one ’, his weapon, bound, conquered and slew that
host,
29. (but) he did not inscribe or leave a record on a stele ;
30. so I did not *keep out of trouble* and did not bless him.
31. Warriors with bodies of “ cave-birds ”, a race with ravens’ faces,
32. the great gods created them, and
33. in the land whose city the gods created
34. Tiamat suckled them,

Variants :

28. ¹⁸*kakka!-šu* : C E E : *i-na-ru* caret
 29-30. C : MU caret (perhaps [MU] at end of 29)
 30. E : *ik-tar-rab-šu*

35. *ša-sur-šu-nu* ^a*Be-lit-i-li ú-ban-ni*
 36. *ina qé-reb šadīⁱ ir-ti-bu-u-ma i-te-eṭ-lu-ma ir-ta-šu-u mi-na-ti*
 37. 7 *šarrāni*^{meš} *at-ḫu-ú šu-pu-u ba-nu-tu*
 38. 360 *lim*^{am} *um-ma-na-tu-šu-nu*
 39. *Anu-ba-ni-ni abū-šu-nu šarru umma-šu-nu šar-ra-tú* ^{sal}*Me-li-li*
 (*šumša* (MU.NI))
 40. *aḫū-šu-nu rabū^a a-lik pāni-šu-nu* ¹*Me-ma-an-daḫ šumšu*
 (MU.NI)
 41. *šanū^a aḫū-šu-nu* ¹*Mi-du-du šumšu* (MU.NI)
 42. *šalšu^{su} aḫū-šu-nu* [¹*K*]u[?]-^rku[?]-^rpiš *šumšu* (MU.NI)
 43. *rebū^a aḫū-šu-nu* ¹*TAR-ta-da-da šumšu* (MU.NI)
 44. *ḫaššu^{su} aḫū-šu-nu* ¹*Bal-daḫ-daḫ šumšu* (MU.NI)
 45. *šiššu^{su} aḫū-šu-nu* ¹*A-ḫu-da[?]-na-di-iḫ šumšu* (MU.NI)
 46. *sibū^a aḫū-šu-nu* ¹*Ḫar[?]-ša[?]-ki[?]-du-u šumšu* (MU.NI)
 47. *šadāni*^{meš} *ellūti*^{meš} *ir-ka-bu-nim-ma*
 48. *re-du-u iṣ-bat-su-nu-ti-ma im-ḫa-ṣu ša-par-šu-un*
 49. *re-eš sa-na-qí-šu-nu a-na* ^{uru}*Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-dar is-sa-q[u[?]-n]i[?]*

 50. ^{uru}*Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-an-dar gi-^rmir pāt* ([ZA]G)-*su^r it-taš-lul*
 51. ^{uru}*Pu-uḫ-lu-ú it-taš-lul*
 52. ^{uru}*Pu-ra-an-šu-ú it-taš-lul*
 53. *lu-ša-a eli*(?) *na-áš ḫu ḫu uḫ ḫa ḫu* [x] x [x] ^r-ni[?]
 54. *LUL-pu-du LUL-pu-ú umman-man-da ka-ra-[as-su-nu] šu-bat*
 ^a*En[-lil]*
 55. *u qé-reb Su-bar-ti kalū-šu-nu it-[tar-du[?]]*
 56. *is-pu-ḫu-ma ti-a-ma-ti ana Gu-ti-um is-sa-an-[qu]*
 57. *is-pu-ḫu-ma Gu-ti-um ana māti Elamti*^{ki} *is-sa-an-[qu]*
 58. *is-pu-ḫu-ma māta Elamta*^{ki} *ana sa-pan-ni ik-ta[l-du]*
 59. *id-du-ku ša ni-bi-ri innadū^a a[-na a- x x]*

 60. *Dilmun*^{ki} *Má-gan-na Me-luḫ-ḫa qé-reb tam-tim ma-la ba-šu-ú*
 id[-du-ku[?]]
 61. 17 *šarrāni*^{meš} *adi 90 lim um-ma-na-[ti-šu-nu]*
 62. *it-ti-šu-nu ana re-ṣu-ti-šu-nu it-t[a[?]-ṣu-u]*
 63. [*a*]l-si *re-da-a ú-ma[?]-ir*
 64. [x x x x] *šil-la-a a-na x [. . . .]*

B C E

A

Variants :

36. CE : *ir-te(-bu)-u-ma* E : *i-te-eṭ-lu-{ta-}ma, mi-na[-a-t]e*
 37. E : *at-ḫu-u*
 38. E : *um-ma-na-tú-šu-nu*
 39-50. Text from E. C : *šu* for *šu* passim
 39. B : ^{sal}*Me-li-li* ; MU.NI caret
 40. C : *rabū^a* B : *a-lik pa-ni-šu-nu* ¹*Me-ma-an-dáḫ*
 41. B : ¹*Me-du-du* 42. B : [¹]x x^rLUL
 48. A : *re-du-ú*

35. Belit-ili blessed them in the womb,
 36. in the midst of the Mountain they grew up, came to manhood and
 acquired their stature.
 37. Seven kings, brothers, glorious and noble,
 38. their troops numbered 360,000
 39. Their father was Anubanini the king, their mother the queen, Melili
 was her name.
 40. Their eldest brother, their leader, his name was Memandakh.
41. Their second brother, his name was Midudu.
 42. Their third brother, his name was Kukupish (?).
 43. Their fourth brother, his name was Tartadada (?).
 44. Their fifth brother, his name was Baldakhdakh.
 45. Their sixth brother, his name was Ahudanadikh.
 46. Their seventh brother, his name was Harshakidû (?).
 47. They occupied the shining mountains,
 48. the officer caught them but they smote their thighs.
 49. (At) the beginning of their incursion they approached (?) Burush-
 khandar ;
 50. the whole district of Burushkhandar was plundered.
 51. The town of Puh(u)lû was plundered.
 52. The town of Puranshû was plundered.
 53.
 54. the Umman-manda, [their] camp (was)
 the dwelling of En[lil] (or : was at Shubat-Enlil)
 55. and into the midst of Subartu they all c[ame down].
 56. They devastated " the Seas " and invaded Gutium ;
 57. they devastated Gutium and invaded the land of Elam ;
 58. they devastated the land of Elam and ar[rived] at the " interior " .
 59. They killed the (people) of the crossings ; they hurled themselves
 at [.]
 60. Dilmun, Magan, Meluhha, and all the countries in the midst of the
 sea, they s[lew (?)].
 61. Seventeen kings with 90,000 troops
 62. had c[ome out] to their assistance.
 63. I summoned the officer and instructed him :
 64. " [Take] a lance ; . . [.]

Variants :

51. E : *uruPû-hu-lu-u*
 52. E : *uruPû-ra-an-šu-u*
 53. E : *eli !* (A apparently *u-ka*)
 55. E : *Su-bar-du u kalû-šû-nu*
 58. E : . .]-ri ik-ta[l-du
 59. E : *id-du-ku x* (not *šá !*) [*x? ni-*]bi-ri RU-ú ana a-[x x]
 63-4. One line in E

	A	E
65. <i>ina</i> 'lu?-de?-e?' lu-pu-ut <i>ina</i> šil-le-e [šū-ḫul]		
66. [šum]-m[a dāmē ú-šu]-'u-ni' ki na-ši-ma amēlē ^{meš} šú-nu		B
67. [šum-ma dāmē la ú-šu-u-]ni še-e-du namtaru		
68. [ú-tuk-]ku ra-bi-šu lem-nu-te ši-pir ^a En-lil šú-nu		
69. re-du-ú tē-en-šú ú-tir-ram-ma		
70. <i>ina</i> [lu?-de?-]e? al-pu-ut		
71. <i>ina</i> 'šil-le-e' áš-ḫul-ma da-me it-ta-šu-ni		
72. 'al-si' mārē ^{meš} bārē ^{meš} ú-ma-'-ir		
73. [7 ana pa-a]n 7 ^{udu} puḫādu al-pu-t[i?]		
74. [ú-kin]-nu guḫšé(?) ^{meš} ellūti ^{meš}		
75. a-šal-m[a] ilāni ^{meš} rabūti ^{meš}		
76. ^a Iš-tar ^a Ba ₄ '-ba ₄ ^a Za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ ^a A-nu-ni-tum		
77. ^a Nabū' ^a Šamaš qu-ra-du		
78. nam-'za'[-aq] ilāni ^{meš} rabūti ^{meš} ana a-la-ki-ia u za-ki-ki-ia ul i-di-na-am-ma		
79. ki-a-am aq-bi ana lib-bi-ia um-ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma		
80. a-a-ú nēšu bi-ri ib-ri		
81. a-a-ú barbaru iš-al šá-il-tu		
82. lul-lik ki-i mār ḫab-ba-ti 'ina?' me-gir lib-bi-ia		
83. ù lu-ud-di šá parzilli(?) ia-a-ti lu-uš-bat		
84. šattu(MU.AN.NA) maḫ-ri-tu ina ka-šá-di		
85. 2 šūši lim ummāni ú-še-ši-ma ina libbi-šú-nu ištēn ^{en} balṭu ùl itūra ^{ra}		
86. šanītum ^{tum} šattu ina kašādi ^{as} 60 lim ki.mina		
87. šaluštum ^{tum} šattu ina kašādi ^{as} 60 lim 7 me ki.mina		
88. es-se-ḫu en-ni-šú a-ka-la a-šú-uš uš-ta-ni-iḫ		
89. ki-a-am aq-bi ana lib-bi-ia um-ma lu-u a-na-ku-ma		
90. a-na pa-le-e mi-na-a e-zib		
91. a-na-ku šarru la mu-šal-li-mu māti-šú		
92. ù re-é-um la mu-šal-li-mu um-ma-ni-šú		
93. ki lu-uš-tak-kan-ma pag-ri u pu-ti lu-še-ši		
94. šá-lum-mat ni-ši mu-ši mu-u-tu namtaru a-ru-ur-tú		
95. na-mur-ra-tu ḫur-ba-šú ni-pil-su-u ni-ib-ri-tu		

Variants :

66-8. Text from E

66. A : k[i-i na-ši-m[a

71. E : dāmē(ÚŠ)

73. E : al-pu-ut

78. E : a-la-ki-ia u za-ki-ki-ia

79. E : lib-bi-ia ; ana-ku-ma

81. E : šá-il-tú

83. E : 'u lu-'ud-di 'šá' AN ma ia t[e? lu-]uš-bat

65. "touch (them) with the *luddû(?)*, [prick (them)] with the lance.
66. " [If blood comes out] they are men like us ;
67. " [if blood does not come out,] they are evil spirits, spectres,
68. " [ghos]ts and fiends, creatures of Enlil."
69. The officer brought back his report :
70. " I touched them with the [*luddû(?)*],
71. " I pricked them with the lance, and blood came out."
72. I summoned the seers and instructed them.
73. I "touched" [seven and again] seven lambs.
74. [I set out] the holy reed-altars.
75. I questioned the great gods,
76. Ishtar, Baba(?), Zababa, Anunitum,
77. Nabu(?) (and) Shamash the hero.
78. The "lock" of the great gods did not give (permission) for my going
and for my
79. Thus I spoke in my heart—these were my words :
80. " What lion (ever) observed oracles ?
81. " What wolf (ever) consulted a dream-priestess ?
82. " I will go like a robber according to my own inclination,
83. " and I will take for myself *luddu*-weapons of iron (?)."
84. When the first year arrived,
85. I sent out 120,000 troops, but none of them returned alive.
86. When the second year arrived, I sent out 90,000 troops, but none of
them returned alive.
87. When the third year arrived, I sent out 60,700 troops, but none of
them returned alive.
88. I was bewildered, confused, *sunk in gloom*, sorrowful, exhausted.
89. Thus I spoke in my heart—these were my words :
90. " What have I to show for my reign ?
91. " I am a king who brings no prosperity to his country,
92. " a shepherd who brings no prosperity to his people.
93. " How am I to *proceed* and *keep myself out of trouble* ? "
94. *A horror of people, night*,¹ death, pestilence, drought,
95. terror, frost, , hunger,

Variants :

84. E : *maḥ-ri-tú*
85. E : *ummāniⁿ*
86. E : *šanītu^{tu}*
87. E : *šaluštu^{tu}*
89. E : *ana lib-bi*
90. E : *me-na-a*
94. E : *šá-lum-mat ni-e-ši mu-u-tu x[*
95. E : [*na-*]"*mur-ra⁷-tú*

¹ E : A horror of lions, death (etc.). Text of B probably corrupt.

	B	E
96. [hu-ša-a]h-hu di-lib-tu ma-la ba-šu-u [ina muḥ-h]i-šú-nu it-tar-da		
97. e-le-nu-ma ina ā[li i]š-šá-kin a-bu-bu		
98. šap-la-a-nu ina [qerbēti? a-]bu-ba imuru(?) (IGI)		
99. ^d Ea(DIŠ) bēl n[aq-bi pā-šu ipuš-ma] i-qab-bi		
100. i-zak-[ka-ra] a-na [ilāni ^{meš} at-ḥi-]e(?) -šú		
101. ilāni ^{meš} rabūti ^m [^{eš}]šá		
102. taq-ba-nim-ma []ki		
103. ú šub-šu-ú šá x []pa ta-zur[]a		
104. zagmukku šá rebūti ^{ti} š[atti ina ka-šá-d]i		
105. ina te-me-qi šá ^d E-a [x x x]a šá ilāni ^{meš} [rabūti ^{me}] ^š		
106. niqé(SISKUR.SISKUR) zagmukki ellūti ^{meš} [aq-q]i		
107. te-re-e-te ellēti ^{meš} uš[-ta-bil]		
108. al-si mārē ^{meš} lú bārē ^{meš} ú[-ma-']-i]r		
109. 7 a-na pa-an 7 ^{udu} puḥādu al-p[u-u]t		
110. ú-kin guḥšē(?) ^{meš} e[llūti ^{me}] ^š		
111. a-šal-ma ilāni ^{meš} r[abūti ^{me}] ^š		
112. ^d Iš-tar [^d Ba ₄ (?) -ba ₄ ^d Za-ba ₄ -ba ₄ ^d A-nu-ni-t]um		
113. ^d Nabú [^d Šamaš qu-ra-d]u		
114. mār[^e ^{meš} lú bārē ^{meš} ki-a-am iq-bu-u-n]i		D
115. x [x x x x x x -n]a-áš-š[i?><]		
116. [x x x x x x]i? -ba-áš-š[i?><]		
117. [x x x x x a]n? tak-ta-áš-š[i?><]		
118. [x x] ú-šar-da-a qul-mu [><]		
119. [x ^{me}] ^{š?} da-me i-lu-[u?]		E
120. ina lib-bi-šú-nu 12 šābē ^{meš} ip-par-šu-in-ni [><]		
121. arki-šú-nu ar-du-ud aḥ-muṭ ur-ri-iḥ [><]		
122. šābē ^{meš} šá-šú-nu ak-šu-su-nu-t[i><]	A	
123. šābē ^{meš} šá-šú-nu ú-tir-raš-šú-[nu-ti]		
124. ki-a-am aq-bi ana libbi-ia [um-ma lu-u ana-ku-ma]		
125. ba-lu bi-ri še-re-ta 'ú?' [] ul ub-b[al?]		
126. ^{udu} puḥādu a-na muḥḥi-šú-nu 'al'-pu-[ut/tu]		
127. nam-za-aq ilāni ^{meš} rabūti ^{meš} gi-mil-šú-nu [iq-bi?]		
128. ^{mul} Dil-bat elletum ^{tum} iš-tu šamē ^e ki-a-am 'is-sa' [-kar?]		
129. a-na ¹ Na-ram- ^d Sin-mi mār ¹ Šarru-kīn		
130. e-zib zēr ḥal-ga-ti-i la tu-ḥal-'laq'		

Variants :

96. E : di-lib-tú
 100. E : izakkara^a
 111. End of this line (^{me}]^š) omitted in copy, CT, xiii, 40.
 115. The assumption that the last line of B iii coincides with the first line of D is based on the fact that the lacuna in E does not seem to amount to more than 11 lines.

96. famine and misfortune of every kind came down upon them.
 97. Above in the 'city' there was a flood ;
 98. below in [*the meadows*] *they experienced* a flood.
 99. Ea, lord of the 'deep' [opened his mouth and] said,
 100. speaking to [*the gods,*] his [*brother*]*s* :
 101. " O (?) great gods [.]
 102. " You said to me [.].
 103. " and to bring about . . [.] [.]
 104. [When] the New Year Festival of the fourth year [arrived],
 105. at the earnest entreaty of Ea [.] of the great gods [.]
 106. [I sacrificed] the holy offerings of the New Year Festival,
 107. [I obtained] the holy sacrificial omens.
 108. I summoned the seers and i[n]structed them].
 109. I " touched " seven and again seven lambs.
 110. I set out the [holy] reed-altars.
 111. I questioned the [great] gods,
 112. Ishtar, [Baba (?), Zababa, Anunitum,]
 113. Nabû [and Shamash the hero.]
 114. The s[*eers* spoke thus to me :]
 115. [.] [.]
 116. [.] there will be (?) [.]
 117. [.] [.]
 118. [.] I caused to go, an axe (?) [.]
 119. [From the]s blood came up (?).
 120. Among them 12 men flew away from me.
 121. I pursued after them, I hurried, I hastened,
 122. I overtook those men,
 123. I brought those men back.
 124. Thus I spoke in my heart, [these were my words :]
 125. " Without an inspection (of the entrails) I will not *ap[ply] a punishment.*"
 126. I " touched " a lamb on account of them.
 127. The " lock " of the great gods [ordained] mercy for them.
 128. The bright Venus from heaven thus '*declared*' :
 129. " To Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, (I speak) :
 130. " Desist ! Destroy not the *sons of perdition* !

Variants :

120. E :]*ip-par*[only
 121. E : [*ar²-du*]-*du aḥ*-[*mut*
 122. E : '*ak-šu-us-su-nu-ti*]
 126. E : *ana muḥ-ḥi-šú-nu*
 128. E : *elletu^{tu}*
 129-30. E : divides after *e-zib*
 129. E : -*mi* caret

131. *ana ár-kat u₄-me* ^a*En-líl ana lemutti*^{ti} *i-na-áš-šá re-su-un*
 132. *ana ag-gi lib-bi* ^a*En-líl ú-qa-a'-u re-e-šú*
 133a. *āl šābē šu-nu-ti in-⁷ne⁷-ru*
 133b. *i-qam-mu-ú i-lam-mu-u šubāti* (KI⁷.DÚR.MEŠ)
 134a. *ālu da-mu-šú-nu i-tab-ba-ku*
 134b. *iršitu*^{tu} *iš-pi-ki-šá* ^{giš}*gišimmaru bi-lat-sa ú-maṭ-ṭa*
 135. *āl šābē*^{meš} *šú-nu-ti i-mut-tu*
 136. *ālu itti āli bītu itti bīti i-nak-kir*
 137. *a-b[u itti a-bi aḫu] itti aḫi*
 138. *etlu⁷ itti etli*(GURUŠ) *ru'-u-a itti it-ba-ri*
 139. *it-ti a-ḫa-meš ki-na-a-ti ul i-ta-mu-u*
 140. *niše*^{meš} *la ki-na-a-ti šu-ḫu-za-ma šá-na-tim ma x x x*

A E

C

141. *ālu nak-ru šu-ú i-duk-ku*
 142. *āla šá-a-šú* *ālu⁷ nak<-ru> i-ṣab-ba-su*
 143. *a-na i?* [x x]_x UD *sútu uṭṭatu*(ŠE.BAR) *i-maḫ-ḫar*
 144. *šarru dan[-nu]* *šá?*⁷ [x]_x *-šú i⁷-šu-u i-na māti ul ib!-ši*
 145. *ilāni*^{meš} *rabūti*^{meš} *a-na bi-bil-ti ú-bil-šú-nu-ti*
 146. *qa-ti a-na da-a-ki ul⁷ ú-bil-šú-nu-ti*
 147. *at-ta man-nu [lu]* ^{lu}*iššakku [lu] rubú lu mimma šá-na-ma*
 148. *ša ilu i-nam-bu-šú šarrūta*^{ta} *ippuš*^{uš}
 149. *ṭup-šin-na e-pu-uš-ka nará áš-ṭur-ka*
 150. *ina Kutí*^{ki} *ina É-mes-lam*
 151. *i-na pa-paḫ* ^a*Nergal e-zi-bak-ka*
 152. ^{aban}*nará an-na-a a-mur-ma*
 153. *šá pi-i* ^{aban}*nará an-na-a ši-me-ma*
 154. *la te-se-iḫ-ḫu la te-en-niš-šú*
 155. *la ta-pal-laḫ la ta-tar-ru-ur*
 156. *iš-da-a-ka lu-u ki-na*
 157. *at-ta ina su-un sinništi-ka ši-pir lu teppuš*^{uš}
 158. *dūrāni*^{meš} *ka tuk-kil*
 159. *ḫi-ra-ti-ka mē*^{meš} *mul-li*
 160. *pi-sa-an-na-ti-ka še-em-ka kaspa-ka būšā-ka namkūr-ka*
 161. *a-na āl dan-nu-ti-ka šu-rib*

B

Variants :

131. E : ^a*Enlil*(BE) ; *lemuttim*^{tim}
 132. E : ^a*Enlil*(BE) ; *ú-qa-a'-u⁷*
 133a, b. Two lines in E
 133a. E : *i-qam-mu-u*
 134a, b. Two lines in E
 136. E : *iršitum*^{tum}
 137. C : *ābu*
 136–8. Text from E
 137–8. One line in C
 146. E : *ul* caret
 147. E : *lu-u* (passim) ; *man-ma*

131. " In days to come Enlil will summon them for evil :
 132. " they are waiting for the angry heart of Enlil.
 133a. " The city of those warriors will be 'massacred,'
 133b. " (its) dwellings will be burnt and besieged;
 134a. " the city (i.e. its inhabitants) will pour out their blood,
 134b. " the earth will diminish its store, the date-palm its yield ;
 135. " the city of those warriors will die.
 136. " City will fight with city, house with house,
 137. " father [with father, brother] with brother,
 138. " young man with young man, friend with companion,
 139. " they will not speak the truth one with another.
 140. " The people (will) have been taught untruths and strange things.
 141. " *That enemy city will be killed,*
 142. " that city—an enemy city will capture it ;
 143. " for one [.] will receive a measure of barley."
 144. There was no strong king in the land who had a [.]
 145. *The great gods brought them to a reckoning,*
 146. my hand did not bring them to their death.
 147. Whosoever thou art, whether governor or prince or any one else,
 148. whom the god shall call to rule over a kingdom,
 149. I have made for thee an ivory (?) tablet and inscribed a stele for thee,
 150. and in Cuthah, in E-meslam,
 151. in the shrine of Nergal I have deposited it for thee.
 152. Read this document and
 153. listen to the words thereof.
 154. Be not bewildered, be not confused,
 155. be not afraid, do not tremble,
 156. stablish thyself firmly,
 157. enjoy thyself in the bosom of thy wife,
 158. strengthen thy walls,
 159. fill thy trenches with water,
 160. thy chests, thy corn, thy money, thy goods and thy possessions
 161. bring into thy stronghold,

Variants :

148. E : *i-nam-bu-šú-ma*
 153. E : *ši-mi-šu*
 155. E : [*la ta-pal-l*]a-aḥ, C : *la ta-pal-la-aḥ*
 154. C : *la te-is-si-iḥ-ḥu*
 156. C : *iš-da-ka*
 157. E : *lu-u*
 159. E : [*hi-r*]a-tu-ka
 160. E : [*pi-*]sa-an-⟨na-⟩ti-ka še-am-ka
 160-1. E divides after *būšā-ka*

162.	^r giš ^{meš} -ka ⁷ ru-ku-us-ma tub-qa-a-ti e-mid	B	E
163.	gar-ra-du-ti-ka ú-šur pu-ut-ka šul-lim		
164.	lit-tag-giš mat-ka e tu-ši-šú		
165.	li-it-ti-di bu-la e ta-as-niq-šú		
166.	li-kul šer ri-du [\times] ^r -ti [?] -ka ⁷		
167.	li-sag-gi- ^r ip [?] li- ^r tur [?] [\times \times]		
168.	lu áš-ra-ta lu-u sa-an[-qa-ta]		
169.	an-nu-u be-lí a-pul-šu-nu-ti		
170.	ana qúl-lul-ti-šú-nu ri-ib dum-qí		
171.	ana dum-qí qí-šá-a-ti u ta-aš-ba-ti	A	
172.	ana maḥ-ri-šú-nu e te-et-ti-iq		
173.	¹⁴ tupšarrē (DUB.SAR!) en-qu-te lis-ku-ru nará-ka		
174.	šu-ut ^{abn} narê-a ta-mu-ru-ma pu-ut-ka tu-še-šu-u		
175.	šu-ut ^r ia-ši tàk-tar-ba ⁷ ar-ku-u lik-ta-rab-ka ka-a-šá		

Variants :

162. E : u[m-mid]

167-75. Text from E.

NOTES

1-9. Güterbock's conjectural reconstruction of these lines was dependent on his "pessimistic" interpretation of the whole text. Since this no longer seems valid, I have refrained from restoring more than the first three lines. The Sultantepe tablet has contributed nothing.

7. For this meaning of *nasāhu* see now *Archives royales de Mari* XV, 235.

10. This line must have introduced the story of the invasion about which Naram-Sin proceeds to consult the omens and which is described in detail beginning at line 31. In view of the reference to the *umman-manda* in l. 54, we may perhaps compare Virolleaud, Sin XXV 5 : *umman-man-da itebbi*(ZI)-*ma ana māti*(KUR) *i-ra-ka-ba-ma* ; but the coincidence may be fortuitous.

11-17. Restored from 72-77 and 108-114, q.v.

15. The phrase *puḥāda lapātu* here and in lines 73, 109, and 126 must be compared with *lāpit pūt šu'i* "he who touches the forehead of the sheep" in Klauber, *Politisch-religiöse Texte* p. xix, *ezib*-clause no. 6. This act was evidently an essential part of the sacrifice since it is used *pars pro toto* in these lines ; cf. also *VAB* IV, 238, 45, which may be restored *al-pu-ut pu-[ḥa-da !]*, as pointed out to me by Mr. W. G. Lambert. A suggestive parallel is the "laying on of hands" in the Hebrew ritual (Leviticus I 4, II 3, etc.), for which see *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, s.v. *Semikah*.

7 a-na pa-an 7. The lambs would be examined in succession, and therefore *ana pān* must mean "before" in a temporal sense, the whole expression being merely a periphrasis for "14". cf. *CT*. XV 49 iv 9 (Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* 177), 7 u 7 šā-su-ra-ti ; *Gilg.* xi 157, 7 u 7 ^{du}adaguru ; *Gilg.* vi 52, 7 u 7 šu-ut-ta-a-ti ; Nergal and Ereškigal 46, 7 u 7 a-m[i-].

16. *guḥšē*. The ideogram in line 74 is Meissner *SAI*. 1675 (= GI + Deimel *ŠL*. no. 568), the reading of which depends on *CT*. XI 47 iii 15 (see Meissner s.v.). King read *gu-uḥ-ḥ[u]* (*STC*. I 145 n. 7), but this word does not occur elsewhere, whereas *guḥšū* is attested as the reading for the similar sign Deimel no. 566 and also in the ritual *KAR*. 66, 16-17. The height of the wedge in *CT*. XI 47 iii 15 (collated) precludes the reading *gu-uḥ-š[u-u]*,

162. tie up thy weapons and put them away in corners,
 163. husband thy valour and take heed for thy person.
 164. Though he wander through thy land, go not out to him,
 165. though he *slay* thy cattle, go not nigh him,
 166. though he eat the flesh of thy
 167. though he
 168. he meek, be hum[ble],
 169. answer them (!) "Here am I, my lord",
 170. respond to their wickedness with kindness,
 171. to kindness with gifts and *exchanges*,
 172. but do not go forth before them.
 173. Let wise scribes read aloud thy stele.
 174. Thou who hast read my stele and *kept out of trouble*,
 175. thou who hast blessed me, may a future one bless thee.

Variants :

173. A : [en-q]u-ti
 173, 174, 175. Each 2 lines on A

but *gu-uh-h[u-šú-u]* would be possible. The meaning "(reed) table or altar" can be deduced from the contexts and from the definitions *šu-bá-at* or *šu-šub diqari* "stand for a pot" (references *apud* Deimel no. 568).

22. Cf. *a-di-e ma-mit ilāni^{meš} rabúti^{meš}*, Esarhaddon Prism I 50, Assurbanipal Cyl. B vi 96 ; and *a-di-e ni-iš ilāni rabúti^{meš}*, Assurbanipal Rm viii 45. But it is difficult to see any connection with what precedes or follows and other restorations would be possible.

- 23-30. A very obscure passage. In l. 23 the word-order is unnatural and in 25 Šamaš seems to be introduced without any evident grammatical construction. It would be possible to produce a more or less satisfactory text by transposing the clauses thus :

24. *de-en-šú purussú[-šú šá]* ^aŠamaš q[u-ra-di]

25. *bēl elāti^{meš} ù šaplāti^{meš} bēl* ^aA-nun-na-ki *bēl e-ṭim-me [aš-šum] eṭimmi-šú eṭimmē^{meš} [. . . .]*

26. *eṭim kimti-šú eṭim pir'i-šú eṭim piri' piri'i-šú*

27. *šá mé dal-ḥu-te* etc.

But such a drastic emendation is too speculative so long as the text is still incomplete.

Enmekar was an early king of Uruk whose deeds were the subject of several epic tales (see *RLA*, s.v. Enmekar, and Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*), but nothing is yet known of him which would throw light on the present passage.

27. As we learn from Gilg. xii 146-153, to drink pure water was the lot of a fortunate ghost in the underworld, while the spirits of those who had none to care for them were obliged to feed on scraps left over from the pot. Thus it may be that the ghosts of Enmekar and his descendants were condemned to drink dirty water because he failed to ensure the blessing of his successor by leaving a record of his reign.
- 29-30. These two lines must be interpreted in relation to the epilogue (lines 147-175). For in themselves they are capable of several interpretations : the first three verbs may be 1st or 3rd person, while the fourth is first person

in B and C but third person in E. In the epilogue Naram-Sin exhorts the future ruler to write a record of his experiences, so that posterity may bless him, just as he will have blessed Naram-Sin on reading this stele. In lines 29–30 he seems to be pointing the contrast with his predecessor, who did not write a record, with the result that he (Naram-Sin) did not bless him. I have therefore construed the first two verbs as 3rd person and the third and fourth as 1st person and taken the sign MU as ideogram for *anāku* (Deimel, *Šum. Lex.* 61, 8).

pag-ri u pu-u-ti ul ú-še-ši, literally “I did not cause my body and my forehead to go out”. The sole material for the interpretation of this expression consists of three other passages from this text :

- (a) 93 : *ki lu-uš-tak-kan-ma pag-ri u pu-ti lu-še-ši*, with the parallel lines in the Old Bab. duplicate, viz.
- (b) *ki-i lu-uš-ta-ak-kam-ma pa-ag-ri ù ra!-ma-ni lu-še-ši* ; and the newly restored line :
- (c) 174 : *pu-ut-ka tu-še-šu-u*.

It has hitherto been assumed by all editors that the sense of *pagra u pūta šūšū* is “to go forth in one’s own person”, i.e. that Naram-Sin’s offence consisted in sending out his army instead of going out himself, and risking his own neck. It must be admitted that the same verb *ušēši* is used for sending out the army in line 85. Yet it seems clear from 82–3 that Naram-Sin identified himself with the army and intended to go out with it. Moreover, the future ruler, of whom it is said *pu-ut-ka tu-še-šu-u*, is assumed to have shut himself in his fortified city and refused to go out in spite of the utmost provocation. The traditional interpretation of the phrase can only be saved by assuming that a negative has been omitted by the Sultantepe scribe in line 174 (an error which does occur in line 146) ; but there would still be an inconsistency in lines 82–3. I therefore conclude that the sense of the expression is the exact opposite of that hitherto supposed, namely “to withdraw oneself (from the struggle)” ; it has the appearance of a colloquialism, and I have translated it accordingly.

- 33. The translation given seems to be the only one possible with the text as we have it, but it makes little sense. Is this city the same as that referred to in lines 133–142 ?
- 35. *ú-ban-ni* from *banû* “to be bright, beautiful”.
šasūru “larva, embryo”, see Landsberger, *Fauna*, 128–9.
- 36. It is noteworthy that C and E have the same scribal error, and therefore the same ancestry.
- 47. *šadāni ellūti*. Cf. *Šu-ma-li-ia be-lit* KUR.MEŠ *el-lu-ti* (V R 56, 46), *šu-ut ú-kab-bi-su šadē el-lu-ti* (ZA, iv, 12, with variant *e-lu-ti* “high”, Schollmeyer, *Hymne und Gebete an Šamaš* 85 iv 2), *hur-šá-nu ellūti*^{meš} (King, *BMS* no. 22, 42) “Bright” was evidently a stock epithet for mountains, hence we must read *šadāni* (or *šadē*) rather than *mātāti* “lands”.
- šadā rakābu* is known to have been one of the expressions for “to die” (Salonen, *AOr*, xvii, 2, 316–7), but it must have acquired this meaning through the use of *šadū* for “the Underworld”, for here we have it apparently in its literal sense “to mount, climb a mountain”.
- 48. According to A. L. Oppenheim (*Orientalia* NS 17, 42), to “smite the thighs” was a gesture indicating either an insult or sorrow and despair. If the *redū* is the officer of Naram-Sin mentioned later in the text, the gesture must presumably be understood here as an act of defiance. In the *Iliad* it is a sign of any strong emotion : e.g. M 162 (despair), O 113 (anger), O 397 (distress), Π 125 (anxiety).

49. *is-sa-q[u-n]i*, if correctly read, can only be from the verb *sanāqu*. Either “*an*” has been omitted, or the “*n*” has been assimilated, contrary to the rule (von Soden, *Anal. Or.* 33, § 33g).
53. Güterbock reads: *lu-ša-a eli(?) na-áš-ri(!?) hu-uḫ-ḫa-r[i(!?)* “I will go forth and lay nets for the eagles”. The Sultantepe tablet has confirmed his reading as regards *eli* but not as regards the two signs which he would read *ri*, for they are both clearly *hu*, as they are in A (collated). Rather than adopt this reading as an emendation, I prefer to regard this line and the beginning of the next as hopelessly corrupt, for we are here in the midst of a narrative passage and the optative *lūšá* “I will go out” seems out of place.
54. It seems unlikely that the invaders’ camp would be called the “dwelling of Enlil”, even though this god is referred to later in the text (ll. 68, 131–2). Yet a reference here to the town of Šubat-Enlil, which is possibly to be identified with the site Chagar Bazar in the Habur valley (Goetze, *JCS*, vii, 58), seems even more unlikely, especially in view of the absence of the determinative URU.
55. Güterbock read *dannat* (KI.KAL) *Su-bar-ti*, translating “the troops of Subartu”, but it is doubtful whether *dannatu* can have this meaning, and in l. 60 the reading is clearly *qé-reb*.
64. *šillū* = *šukurru*, *JAOS*, 65, 232.
65. The use of the verb *šuhul* (for *suḫul*) suggests that the weapon *šillū* corresponds to the *išpatar* of the Hittite version. If the reading of the name of the first weapon is correct, it is difficult to dissociate it from the *luddu* of line 83. I do not know any other occurrence of this word.
- 66–7. The restorations are uncertain, but are based on the traces, on l. 71, and on the general sense as shown by the Hittite version.
73. According to King, *STC*, i, 145, n. 6, the last sign (on B) is *tu*, but all that can be seen is a double horizontal (collated). In line 15 *tu* is clear in A, while in 109 either *[t]u* or *[u]t* is possible. For forms like *alputu* see von Soden, *Anal. Or.* 33, §82e, where they are explained as modifications of the ventive (allative) through vowel harmony; but *alputi* would not conform with this rule. Cf. *[ar-du]-du*, 121 (E).
76. The reading of the second deity is still doubtful. The second sign is MAL, and the first seems to end in a single vertical, possibly preceded by a small oblique stroke. A comparison with the Naram-Sin text Boissier, *RAss*, 16, 157 ff., 24, suggests the reading ^aA.MAL, the special god of the Dynasty of Akkad (see Güterbock, p. 77); but ^aMAL.MAL conforms better with the traces of the first sign and is supported by Zimmern, *Šurpu* IV “41”, where this deity occurs between Ishtar and Anunitum, with Zababa two lines below. The reading ^aBa₄-ba₄ is suggested on account of the variant ^aBa-ba₆, *KAR.* 67 rev. 10 (see already Ungnad, *AOTB*₁. 78, iii, 21).
77. The tablet is damaged but seems to have only ^aPA ^aUTU *qu-ra-du*, written very large. Landsberger’s proposal (ap. Güterbock, p. 67, n. 1) to read ^aHaniš [^aSullat] is not therefore admissible.
88. *esseḫu ennišu*: N-forms from *seḫû* and *ešû* respectively. cf. l. 154.
akala: Jensen derived this from *ekêlu* “to be dark”; but Mr. Finkelstein informs me that the Old Babylonian text has clearly *a-ka-ad/t/t*, so the form *a-ka-la* may be corrupt.
90. For *palû* “term of office, reign” see *JNES*, ii, 170–1. Either the word must be used here in the sense of “successor”, or the sentence must be construed: “What have I left (to posterity) as a result of my reign”, but such a use of *ana* would be unparalleled. The translation gives the general sense.

93. See above on 29-30. There is probably an ellipse of *pāni* or *qāti* with *lu-uš-tak-kan*.
94. I do not know any other instance of *šalummātu* being used without any trace of its original connotation of "brilliance". As "terrible brilliance" it occurs, e.g. in Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, 24, 19-22.
95. For *hurbašu* "frost", hence shivering, horror, see Landsberger in *ZA*, xlii, 159. *ni-pil-su-u* is an unknown word. Jensen in his edition suggested the emendation *ni-bi!-is!-su-u*, for which we should now read *i-bi-is-su-u* "loss, damage" (Meissner, *MAOG*, i, 35). The word is only preserved on B.
98. Perhaps the reading *innamer* "appeared" should be preferred, in which case *[a-]bu-ba* would have to be taken as nominative.
105. If my interpretation of this broken passage is correct, the "earnest entreaty" of Ea was contained in the three lines 101-3. The sense of the last part of 105 will then be: the great gods were appeased; but the lacuna is short, and a satisfactory restoration has not occurred to me.
107. For the restoration see *KAR*. 105, 13: *šu-ta-bu-lu tērēti*^{meš}.
120. *ip-par-šu-in-ni*. Jensen interpreted this literally; but cf. Sennacherib, *Annals*, i, 19 and iii, 65, etc.
125. No word *šerītu* is known to me. The translation assumes that *še-re-ta* is a poetical form of *šērta* "punishment"; cf. von Soden, op. cit. § 60 b. Is there a connexion with the obscure phrase *še-ri-is-su ul ub-ba-al-šu-ma* in *KBo*, i, 12 rev.(!) 5 (*apud* Ebeling, *Orientalia* 1954, 213)?
130. *zēr ḫal-ga-ti-i*: see Güterbock, *ZA*, xlii, 73, n. 4.
131. On *rēša našū* see Oppenheim, *JAOs* 61, 252.
132. On *qu''ū rēša*, which seems to be practically equivalent to *qu''ū* alone, see Landsberger, *Afo*, x, 150, n. 46. The beginning of the line so much resembles l. 131 that one expects Enlil to be the subject here also; but the verb is ostensibly plural and the absence of the possessive pronoun after *re-e-šū* seems to indicate a different construction.
- 133 ff. In these lines *ālu* seems to be used as a collective, in the sense "the inhabitants of the city", for in each of the lines 133, 134, 135 and 141 it takes a plural verb, and in l. 134 *da-mu-šū-nu* must refer to it. Is this city the one mentioned in line 33?
- 133b. The verbs may be 3 pl. of the G-Stem used impersonally "people will burn" (von Soden, op. cit. § 71 i), or 3 pl. of the N-stem with defective spelling (for *iqqabbū*, *illammū*).
139. *ki-na-a-ti* could be the word for "comrade, colleague" (*AS*, iv, 79) and the line would then mean "comrades will not speak with one another", but *la ki-na-a-ti* in the following line can hardly mean anything but "untrue things" and the use of the homonyms in successive lines would be awkward.
140. Since the whole passage is a prophecy, the stative *šu-ḫu-za* must be used for the future perfect, for which I know no parallel. At the end of the line there are three signs on the edge of the tablet which I have not succeeded in reading.
141. If the translation is correct, *i-duk-ku* is for **iddukkū* (N pres., formed as in G-stem). "The city will kill that enemy" would require *šuātu*; "that enemy will kill the city" would be nonsense.
- 143, 144. I can suggest no interpretation for these broken lines.
145. *ú-bil-šū-nu-ti* is ostensibly singular (1st or 3rd person); but what would then be the syntax of *ilāni rabūti*? The fact that the whole inscription seems to be addressed to the future reader is against taking *ilāni rabūti* as vocative. Should we read *<ana> ilāni rabūti a-na ú-bil-ti ú-bil-šū-nu-ti* "I brought them

to the great gods as tribute ” ? The translation given is a guess based on the general sense of the inscription, but it assumes an unparalleled meaning for *bibiltu* (normally “ produce ” or “ desire ”) and an emendation to *ublū-šunūti* (the mistake could be explained by the influence of the following line).

146. The omission of the negative in E is a point to be noted in assessing the reliability of this manuscript.
149. For *tuḫ-šin-na*, the reading of which is now certain, see Jensen *ad loc.* Ungnad and Ebeling (in *AOTB*) translate “ Erztafel ”, the meaning of which is not clear to me.
- 150-1. Do these lines indicate that the document was actually composed by a priest of Nergal at Cuthah ?
154. *te-(is-)si-iḫ-ḫu*, *te-en-niš-šu*, see above on 88.
162. Cf. *KAR* 168 (Irra I), i, 15 : *i-ta-a-ma a-na kak-ki-šu um-me-da tub-qa-a-ti*. The translation “ Bind on your weapons and go into hiding ” is also possible, but the sense would be less apt.
164. On *nagāšu* see Goetze in *JAOs* 58, 277, n. 72.
171. *tašbāti*, if a *taḫrās* form from *šabātu*, should be an action noun from the reciprocal Gt-stem (von Soden, *op. cit.* § 56 k).
- 174-5. The interpretation seems certain and the lines thus prove that *šu-ut* may be singular, as maintained by Langdon in *AJSL*. XXXI, 280 (against von Soden, *ZA*. XL, 194). Other good examples are Craig, *Religious Texts*, 55, 5, *CT*. XVII 42, 13 (both quoted by Langdon), and *CT*. XV 4, 12 (quoted by von Soden).

On *pu-ut-ka tu-še-šu-u* see above, note on 29-30.

There is no colophon of any kind on E, though there is ample space for one.