

Naram-Sin in Martu and Magan

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I. The Tablet

The tablet edited herewith is rejoined of four fragments: HS 1954+1955 (join Kramer)+2499 (join Oelsner, 1970)+2506 (join Wilcke, 1969). The relationship of the fragments is shown in **Figure 1**. The tablet was excavated at Nippur by the University of Pennsylvania between 1890 and 1900 and bequeathed to the University of Jena by Hilprecht in 1925. Its overall dimensions are 10.5×12.1×1.4 cm. The tablet suffered considerably in the course of excavation. The reverse was struck repeatedly with the point of a pick, causing substantial loss of text and presumably the shattering of the tablet into four (or more) pieces.

The script is small, fairly neat, and of the 'archaizing' type known from other OB Nippur copies of Sargonic royal inscriptions. It is not so expertly written as *PBS* 5, 34: some signs seem to be misformed (see, for example, i 29); others, like *su* and *su*₄, can be difficult to tell apart. Disjunctions, abbreviations, scribal notes, and insert marks all suggest that this tablet was not a finished product but some sort of draft.

HS 1954 and 1955, treated separately, were first edited by Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963) 19-20, using photos and information provided by Bernhardt. While this publication brought the tablet to the attention of researchers, it gave little idea of its actual contents. The tablet was referred to again by Oelsner in *WZJ* 18 (1969) 52 and Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 244-48. Under the auspices of the RIM Project (Toronto), the present writer was able to study the document in Jena, with the gracious permission of the authorities of the Friedrich-Schiller Universität and with the whole-hearted cooperation of Joachim Oelsner,

Curator of the Hilprecht-Sammlung. Oelsner also generously made available to the writer his notes and studies on the text made over many years. A collaborative effort originally planned with him was prevented by unforeseen circumstances; the writer wishes to express his warmest thanks to Oelsner for his assistance in making this enterprise possible. A hand copy of the tablet is to appear in a forthcoming *TuMH* volume. I have also had the benefit of excellent photographs kindly provided by the Jena University authorities for study purposes. For various reasons, it was impossible to publish photos here, for which omission I ask the understanding of my colleagues. Drawings of some problematic signs and passages are given in **Figure 2**; these are keyed to the transliteration with asterisks. Further collation of this tablet would be desirable.

My thanks go to A. Kirk Grayson, Director of the RIM Project, for his support, and to Douglas Frayne (Toronto) for discussing many of the problems of this text with me. I am particularly grateful to Thorkild Jacobsen, who read a draft of this study and sent me numerous corrections, suggestions, and improvements, not all of which have been used here, but even when not have been instrumental in clarifying my reading and interpretation of this text.

II. Text and Translation

Col. i:

- 1) [a]-na
- 2) [EN].EN
- 3) [a]-lí-a-tim
- 4) ù
- 5) PA.TE.SI PA.TE.SI
- 6) ŠUBUR^{ki}
- 7) iš-tap-pá-/ar-ma
- 8) u-še-li-ma
- * 9) [ni-a]l-me
- 10) [x x]-me
- 11) [x x] x
- 12) EN.EN
- 13) [a]-lí-a-tim
- 14) ù
- 15) PA.TE.SI PA.TE.SI

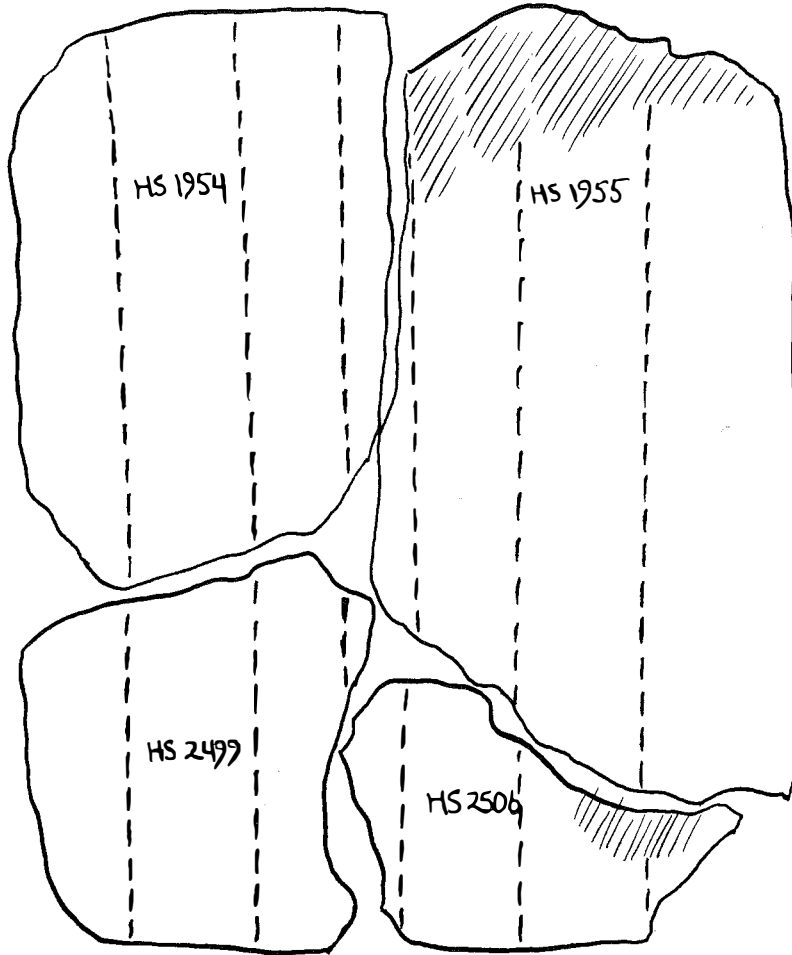


Figure 1: HS 1954 + 1955 + 2499 + 2506 Obv.

- 16) šUBUR^{ki}
- 17) *ki-ma*
- 18) [d]En-líl
- *19) [i]-pá-la-ḫu
- *20) [...] x-ma
- 21) [...] x
- 22) [...]
- 23) [...]
- *24) ʾit-ma¹-ù-/ni-su₄-ma
- 25) ^mLugal-AB
- 26) LUGAL
- *27) RĒC 349^{ki}
- *28) á(?) -ru-ur-/ma
- 29) lu-li-ik-/ma-me
- 30) [x]-ma
- 31) [...] -ir
- 32) ʾù¹-lu
- *33) á-mu-ut

Col. ii:

- 1) ù-lu
- 2) u-na-áš
- 3) iš-tum
- 4) A-si-ma-núm^{ki}
- 5) a-na
- 6) Si-si-ì^{ki}
- 7) in Si-si-ì^{ki}
- 8) IDIGNA^{id}
- 9) i-bi-ir-ma
- 10) iš-tum
- 11) Si-si-ì^{ki}
- 12) a-na
- 13) pu-ti UD.KIB./NUN^{id}
- 14) UD.KIB.NUN^{id}-/tám
- 15) i-bi-ir-ma
- 16) a-na
- 17) Ba-sa-ar
- 18) sa-dú-ì
- 19) MAR.TU^{ki}
- *20) šu-bi igi(?) 1(?) -àm(?)
- 21) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^d⟨EN.ZU⟩
- 22) ma-núm
- 23) iš-ti-su₄-ma
- 24) u-lá-«Aš»-nu-i-e
- 25) A-kà-dè^{ki}
- 26) ŠU.DU₈.A-ma
- 27) a-na
- 28) pá-ni-ʾsu₄¹
- 29) ip-du
- 30) i-gu-uš-/ma
- 31) Ha-ab-ša-at^{ki}

Col. iii:

- 1) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^dEN.[Z]U
- 2) iš-t[um]
- 3) UD.KIB.NUN/^{id}
- 4) a-na
- 5) Ba-sa-ar
- 6) sa-dú-ì
- 7) MAR.TU^{ki}
- 8) ik-su₄-ud
- 9) su₄-ma
- 10) RĒC 169
- *11) iš-im(?) -ma
- 12) iš-ku₈-/na-ma
- 13) i-ta-aḫ-/z/ša-ma
- 14) in DI.[KU₅]
- 15) ^dINANNA
- *16) šu-[bi] ʾigi¹ [...] -àm(?)
(space)
- 17) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^d⟨EN.ZU⟩
- 18) da-⟨núm⟩
- 19) in RĒC 169
- 20) in Ba-sa-[ar]
- 21) sa-dú-ì
- 22) MAR.TU^{ki}
- 23) RĒC 349^{ki}
- 24) iš₁₁-ar
- 25) ù
- 26) ^dEn-líl-zi
- *27) DUB ʾḫi¹(?) -[pi(?)]
(space)
- 28) ^mDu-[...]
- 29) PA.[TE.SI]
- 30) ^mA-[...]
- 31) PA.[TE.SI]

Col. iv:

(approx. 5 lines lost)

- 6') [...]
- * 7') ^mLugal-//nu-zu(?)//-/šA.GAN.DU
- 8') NU.BÀNDA
- 9) GIŠ.Ûḫ^{ki}
- 10') ^mA-ba-^dEn-líl
- 11') NU.BÀNDA
- 12) UD.NUN^{ki}
- 13') ŠU.NÍGIN 10 LAL 1 GURUŠ
- 14') ra-bí-a-ni
- 15') ù
- 16') (7 × 600) + (2 × 60) + 5/GURUŠ.GURUŠ
- 17') in KASKAL
- 18') u-sa-am-⟨qí/qi₄-it⟩
- 19) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^d⟨EN.ZU⟩

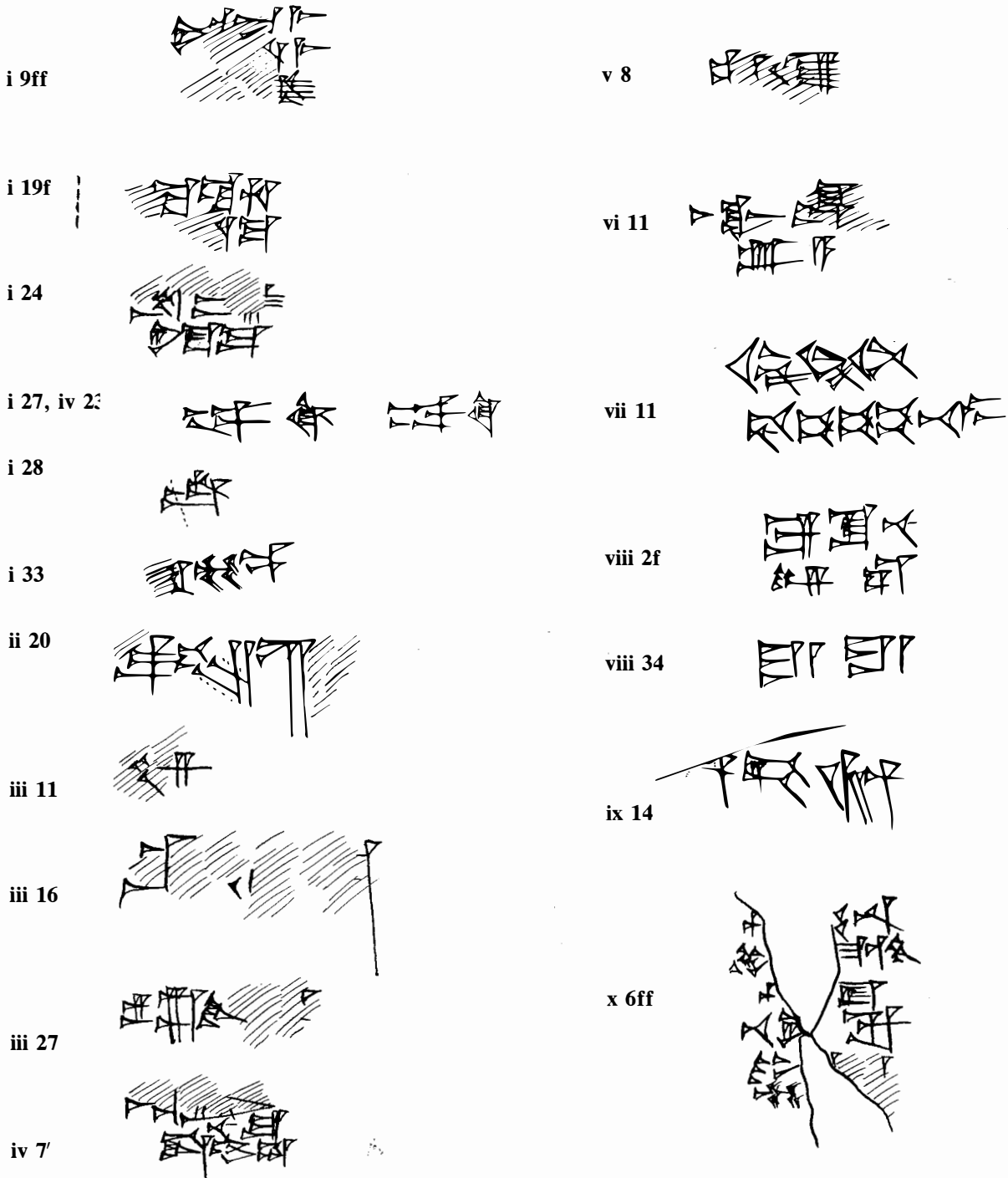
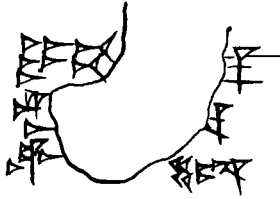


Figure 2: Collations, part 1

x 14ff



x 23ff



xi 9



xii 36



xiii 4



Figure 2: Collations, part 2

- 20) *da*-⟨*núm*⟩
 21) [...] ʾLÚ × GÁNA^{tenû}ʾ(?)
 22) [ù LUGA]L(?)
 *23) *RĒC* 349^{ki}
 24) *in* KASKAL
 25) *i-ik-mi*
 26) ^mÉ-e
 27) GĪR.NITA
 28) ^mEn-líl GAL.SUKKAL
 29) ÁBBA URU^{ki}
 30) *RĒC* 349^{ki}
 31) ^mLugal-TE + UNU(?)
 32) GAL.SUKKAL
 33) ^{md}UTU-*mu-da*
 34) PA.AL É

Col. v:

- 1) ^mʾUrʾ[...]
 2) ^mʾUrʾ^d [...]
 3) ^mNigin(?)
 4) EN.LÍL^{ki}-/ù
 5) ^{md}En-líl-le
 6) ^mMIR.SI
 7) ^mŠeš-lú
 *8) ^mx-x
 9) ^mSipa-dè
 10) ^mUr-^dIdigna
 11) ^mUru-ki
 12) ^mUr-ki
 13) ^mUr-gidri
 14) UNUG^{ki}-ù
 15) *I-bí-ru-um*
 16) ŠEŠ.AB^{ki}
 17) ^mKu-in
 18) ŠĪR.BUR.LA^{ki}
 19) ^mAd-da-tur
 20) ^mSAG.SIG
 21) ^mLugal-du₁₁-ga-ni-zi
 22) ^mÉ-zi
 23) GIŠ.ùĪ^{ki}-ù
 24) ^mDa-da
 25) ^m[Ur]-gidri
 26) x [...] ^{ki}-ù
 27) Šu-^d [...]
 28) NU.[BÀNDA]
 29) ʾKARʾ(?) [...]
 30) ^mNI [...]
 31) NU.[BÀNDA]
 32) *RĒC* 349^{ki}
 33) ^mUr-[...]/x [...]
 34) NU.BÀ[NDA]
 35) ŠĪR.BUR.LA^{ki}

Col. vi:

- 1-3) [...]
- 4) 𒍪𒍪.𒀭𒀭
- 5) UD.NUN^{ki}
- 6) 𒌦Lugal-/šà-uru
- 7) NU.𒀭𒀭
- 8) EN.LÍL^{ki}
- 9) NU.𒀭𒀭-ù
- 10) 𒌦Be-lí-lí
- *11) 𒌦KIN-u₈(?)-/ú-a
- 12) MAR.TU MAR.TU
- 13) ra-bu
- 14) ù
- 15) ra-bí-a-ni
- 16) ù
- 17) 3600(?) + (3 × 600) + (3 × 60)/LÚ × GÁNA^{tená}(?)
- 18) in KASKAL
- 19) i-ik-mi
- 20) ŠU.NÍGIN 6 ĞÌR.NITA ĞÌR.NITA
- 21) ŠU.NÍGIN 20 LAL 3/PA.TE.SI PA.TE.SI
- 22) ŠU.NÍGIN 60 + 20 LAL 2/ra-bí-a-ni
- 23) ŠU.NÍGIN x + (3 × 600?) + 60 + 10 N[U.𒀭𒀭]

Col. vii = Rev. i:

- 1-3) [...]
 - 4) x [...]
 - 5) ŠU.NÍGIN [...]
 - 6) [...]
 - 7) LUGAL
 - 8) ŠU.NÍGIN 13/ĞÌR.NITA ĞÌR.NITA
 - 9) ŠU.NÍGIN 23/PA.TE.SI PA.TE.SI
 - 10) ŠU.NÍGIN (2 × 600) + 10 + 2 ra-bí-a-ni
 - *11) ŠU.NÍGIN ŠU.NÍGIN (2 × 60,000?) + 36,000(?) + ?
+ (7 × 600?) LAL 60(?)/GURUŠ.GURUŠ
 - 12) 𒀭𒍪-líl
 - 13) u-kà-lim
 - 14) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^dEN.ZU
 - 15) da-núm
 - 16) in KASKAL
 - 17) ma-lá-su₄-nu
 - 18) u-sa-/am-⟨qí/qi₄-it⟩
 - 19) ù
 - 20) i-ik-mi
 - 21) ù
 - 22) šu-un-ni-su₄-nu
 - 23) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^dEN.ZU
 - 24) da-núm
 - 25) in KÁ
 - 26) ì-li-ma
 - 27) u-sa-am-ni
 - 28) 𒀭𒍪-^dEN-^l-[líl(?)]
 - 29) [ú-mā]
- (break)

Col. viii = Rev. ii:

- 1) lu kí-ni-/iš-ma
 - * 2) su-su₄-nu
 - 3) im-rí
 - 4) 𒀭INANNA
 - 5) An-nu-ni-tum
 - 6) ù
 - 7) 𒀭EN-^llíl(?)
 - 8) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^d⟨EN.ZU⟩
 - 9) da-núm
 - 10) in šITA_x
 - 11) ìl-a-ba₄
 - 12) be-lí-su
 - 13) lu i-ik-mi-/su₄-nu-ma
 - 14) lu u-sa-rí-/bu-su₄-nu
 - 15) in GI-nim
 - 16) Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/^d⟨EN.ZU⟩
 - 17) da-núm
 - 18) in ší-ip-rí
 - 19) 𒀭INANNA
 - 20) il-su₄
- (large wedge)
- 21) LUGAL
 - 22) A-kà-dè^{ki}
 - 23) ù
 - 24) LUGAL
- (space)
- 25-26) [...] x
 - 27) [...] ìim
 - 28) [...] x
 - 29) PA.[T]E.SI
 - 30) 𒀭EN-líl
 - 31) ĞÌR.NITA
 - 32) ìl-a-ba₄
 - 33) MAŠKIM.GI₄
 - *34) ŠU.NÍGIN(!?) ŠU.NÍGIN(!?)
 - 35) ì-lí [...]

Col. ix = Rev. iii:

- 1) mu-kí-in
- 2) SUĤUŠ.SUĤUŠ
- 3) A-kà-dè^{ki}
- 4) mu-tár-rí
- 5) dú-un-nim
- 6) a-na
- 7) kà-lí
- 8) in É
- 9) 𒀭EN-^llíl
- 10-11) [...]
- 12) [...] ^{ki}
- 13) [...] -na
- *14) šu-bi igi(?) 2(?)-àm(?)
- 15) ì-nu
- 16) ki-ib-⟨ra-tum⟩

- 17) *ar-⟨ba-um⟩*
 a18) *iš-ti-/ni-iš*
 19) *šar in šar-ri*
 20) *mā-na-ma*
 21) *la i-mu-ru*
 22) *ì-nu*
 23) *Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/ᵈ⟨EN.ZU⟩*
 24) *da-núm*
 25) *in ší-ip-ri*
 26) ᵈINANNA
 27) *ka-lu₅-/ma*
 28) *ki-ᵀib-ra-ti/umᵀ(?)*
 29) *ᵀarᵀ-ba-[i/um](?)*
 30) *iš-[ti]-/ni-iš*
 31) *i-kir_x (ᵀA)-ni-su₄-ma*
 32) *[i]m-ḫu-/ru-nim*

- 33) *[ᵀLUGALᵀ(?)]-am(?)*
 34) [...]
 35) [...]-ù
 36) [... D]AM(?)

Col. x = Rev. iv:

- 1) [...]-*iš-ti*
 2) [...]-*tim*
 3) *[in] DI.KU₅*
 4) ᵈEn-líl
 5) [...] NE
 * 6) [x x] x
 7) *ih(?) -ma(?) -zi(?)*
 8) ᵈ[E]n-l[í]l
 9) *be-lí-su*
 10) *in [x (x)]*
 11) MU [1.KAM]
 12-13) [...]
 *14) [...] ŠI x [...]
 15) [...] ŠILA
 16) [...] ù
 17) [...] x
 18) [...] UD(?)
 19) ù
 20) *ti-[a-am-ti]m*
 21) *i-in(?) -[x ((x))]*
 22) *iš-[x]-/[x (x)]*
 *23) *i-ᵀbiᵀ-[ir-m]a*
 24) M[á-gan^k]ᵀ
 25) *ᵀqábᵀ-li*
 26) *ti-[a]-am-tim*
 27) SAG GIŠ.RA
 28) ù
 a29) ᵀiᵀTUKUL^{ki}-su₄
 30) *[in] ti-a-/am-tim*

- 31) *[sa]-ᵀpiᵀ-tim*
 32) ì.[LU]ᵀ
 33) *Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/ᵈ⟨EN.ZU⟩*
 34) *d[a-núm]*
 35) *in š[í-ip-ri]*
 36) ᵈ[INANNA]
 37) *[ì-nu]*
 38) ᵈEn-líl
 39) D[I.KU₅-su(!)]
 40) *[i-dì-nu-ma]*
 41) [ù]

Col. xi = Rev. v:

- 1) *ší-ra-ᵀatᵀ*
 2) *ni-ši*
 3) *qá-ti-iš-su*
 4) *i-dì-nu*
 5) ù
 6) *na-e*
 7) *e-er-tim*
 8) *la i-dì-nu-šum*
 * 9) DUG(?) KUR.KU.DÙ.[NI]
 10) *[IGI(?) ᵈEn-líl]*
 11-14) [...]
 15) [A] MU.RU
 16) *ma-na-ma*
 17) MU
 18) *Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/ᵈ⟨EN.ZU⟩*
 19) LUGAL
 20) *A-kà-dè^{ki}*
 21) GÌR.NITA/DÙ
 22) *Ìl-a-ba₄*
 23) *u-sa-sà-ku-ni(!)*
 24) *al DUG(?) KUR./KU.DÙ.NI*
 25) *Na-⟨ra-am⟩-/ᵈ⟨EN.ZU⟩*
 26) MU-su₄
 27) *i-sa-ka-/nu-ma*
 28) DUG(?) KUR.KU.DÙ./NI-me
 29) *i-qá-bì-ù*
 30) ù
 31) LÚ.KAS₄
 32) LÚ-lam
 33) *ša-ni-am*
 34) *u-kàl-la-mu/-ma*

Col. xii = Rev. vi:

- 1) MU-su₄-me
 a 2) *pi-ší/-iᵀ-ma*
 3) MU-mi-me
 4) *su-ku₈-un*
 5) *i-qá-bì-ù*
 6) ᵈINANNA
 7) *An-nu-ni-tum*
 8) AN

- 9) ^dEn-líl
- 10) *íl-a-ba₄*
- 11) ^dEN.ZU
- 12) ^dUTU
- 13) [^dNergal]
- 14) [^dU₄-um]
- 15) [^dNin-kar]
- 16) [*ì-lu*]
- 17) [*ra-bí-/ù-tum*]
- 18) [*in šU.NÍGIN-su-nu*]
- 19) [*ar-ra-tám*]
- 20) [*la-m*]u-tám
- 21) *li-ru-ru-uš*
- 22) GIDRI a-na
- 23) ^dEn-líl
- ±24) *e u-kí-il*
- 25) *šar-ru_x(URU)-tám*
- 26) a-na
- 27) ^dINANNA
- 28) *e iš-/ba-at*
- 29) ^dNin-ḥur-sag
- 30) *ù*
- 31) ^dNin-tu
- 32) UŠ
- 33) *ù*
- 34) MU
- 35) *a i-dì-/na-šum*
- *36) ra-x
- 37) *šar-ru_x(URU)-su₄*

Col. xiii = Rev. vii:

- 1) ^d[IM]
- 2) *ù*
- 3) ^dNisaba
- * 4) *ΓKU?_x-ru_x(URU)-ul(?)_x-su₄*
- 5) *e u-su-ší-ra*
- 6) ^dEN.KI
- 7) *íd-su₄*
- 8) *sà-ki-kà-am*
- 9) *li-im-dú-ud*

Translation

[Pericope 1 = i 1 - ii 19]

He kept sending messages to the lords of the Upper Lands and to the city rulers of Subartu, he opened hostilities, (saying) 'we are allied ...'

The lords of the Upper Lands and the city rulers of Subartu, since they feared Enlil, [...] ... [...] which they had sworn him.

I(?) curse Lugal-AB, king of *RÉC* 349, I shall go, ... whether I live or die!

From Asimānum to Sisil, at Sisil he crossed the Tigris. From Sisil to the 'face' (= hither side?) of the Euphrates River, he crossed the Euphrates River to Basar, mountain of the land of the Amorites. (Its ditto ...).

[Pericope 2 = ii 21-31]

Naram-Sin: Whoever held captive with him those of Akkad (abroad), released (them) before him. He marched against Habšat.

[Pericope 3 = iii 1-15]

Naram-Sin conquered from the 'face' (= hither side?) of the Euphrates River to Basar, mountain of the land of the Amorites. He himself declared(?) battle. They drew up for battle and fought. By verdict of Ishtar (Its ditto ...).

[Pericope 4 = iii 17-26]

Naram-Sin the mighty defeated *RÉC* 349 in the campaign in Basar, mountain of the land of the Amorites, and Enlil-zi (Inscription bro[ken?]).

[Pericope 5 = iii 28 - viii 15]

D, city ruler of ..., A, city ruler of ... (gap). L (don't understand), captain of Umma, Aba-Enlil, captain of Adab,

Total: 9 important men and 4325 (fighting) men he slew in the campaign.

Naram-Sin the mighty captured [x pri]soners [and the kin]g of *RÉC* 349 in the campaign.

E^{pe} the general, Enlil the chief courier, city elder of *RÉC* 349, L the chief courier, UTUMUDA the major domo ...; U, U, N, Nippurians; Enlille, M, Šeš-lu, ..., Sipade, Ur-Idigna, Uruki, Urki, Ur-gidri, Urukians; Ibirum, an Urite; K, a Lagashite; Addatur, S, Lugal-duganizi, Ezi, Ummaites; Dada, Ur-gidri, ...ites; S, captain, a Kar-[...]ian; N, captain, (a man of) *RÉC* 349; U, captain, a Lagashite; (gap) ..., captain, an Adabite; Lugal-ša-uru, captain, a Nippurian; (the) captains; Belili, Amorites, sheikh(?) and headmen, and 5580(?) (fighting) men he captured in the campaign.

Total: 6 generals; Total: 17 city rulers; Total: 78 headmen; Total: x captains; (gap) ... Total: ...

Grand total: 13 generals; Grand total: 23 city rulers; Grand total: 1212 headmen; Grand total: 137,400(?) fighting men, as Enlil commanded, did Naram-Sin the mighty, as many as there were, slay or capture.

And Naram-Sin the mighty gave an accounting of them in the gate of the gods, 'I swear] by En[lil], it is true.' He ... their ... By Ishtar, Annunitum, and

Enlil, Naram-Sin the mighty did indeed capture them, did indeed bring them in, with the mace of Ilaba his lord, ...

[Pericope 6 = viii 16-20]

Naram-Sin the mighty, on a mission of Ishtar his goddess

[Pericope 7 = viii 21 - ix 13]

King of Agade and king of [...], city ruler(?) for Enlil, general for Ilaba, executor for all(?) the gods(?), who made firm the foundations of Agade, commander of the stronghold for all in the house of Enlil, [...] (Its ditto ...).

[Pericope 8 = ix 15-18]

When the four world regions together

[Pericope 9 = ix 19-32]

No king among kings experienced the like: when, as (he was) on a mission of Ishtar, all four world regions warred together upon Naram-Sin the mighty, they received [...]

[Pericope 10 = x 1-32]

[B]y the verdict of Enlil ...

He crossed the sea ... and smote Magan in the midst of the sea and washed his weapons in the Lower Sea.

[Pericope 11 = x 33 - xi 15]

Naram-Sin the mighty, on a mission of Ishtar, [when Enlil gave his verdict and] gave the leadrope of the peoples into his hand and gave him no one to defeat him, [...] he dedicated (this) vessel [before?] Enlil ...

[Pericope 12 = xi 16 - end]

Whosoever shall do away with the inscription of Naram-Sin, king of Agade, general ... for Ilaba, and shall set his name on the vessel of Naram-Sin, saying, 'it is my vessel,' or shall show it to an outsider or to another man, saying, 'Erase his name, set (on it) my name,' may Ishtar, Annunitum, Anu, Enlil, Ilaba, Sin, Shamash, Nergal, Um(um), Ninkarak, the great gods in their totality, lay upon him a great curse. May he hold no scepter for Enlil, may he seize no kingship for Ishtar. May Ninhursag and Nintu give him no offspring or descent ... his kingship. May Adad and Nisaba make no sheaf(?) of his straight. May Enki measure out (only) mud for his watercourses.

III. Interpretive Outline: Pericopes 1-12

Pericope 1

(Begins in the middle of an inscription and ends in the middle of a sentence. Closes with šu-bi igi(?) 1(?)-àm.)

(i 1-25) Naram-Sin is denouncing Lugal-AB, king of the city *RÉC* 349. He charges him with initiating hostilities and with sending messages to the lords of the Upper Lands and to the city rulers of Subartu, apparently referring to an alliance with him. It seems that they fear Enlil, that is, Naram-Sin, so they do not support Lugal-AB. For further discussion of this interpretation, see below, Part IV, to i 7.

(i 26 - ii 2) Naram-Sin curses his enemy, saying that he will defeat him, live or die.

(ii 3-19) March from Asimānum to Sisil, across the Tigris, to Sippar, across the Euphrates, and to Mount Basar, the mountain of the Amorites. This suggests that Naram-Sin was campaigning there and that Lugal-AB mounted an attack while he was at Asimānum.

Pericope 2

(Ends in middle of a sentence.)

(ii 21-31) Captured Akkadians are released to Naram-Sin; he moves against a place called Ḫabšat.

Pericope 3

(Ends in the middle of sentence, concludes with šu-[bi] 'igi' [...] -àm(?), with partial duplication of Pericope 1.)

(iii 1-15) Naram-Sin marches from Sippar to Mount Basar. A battle is fought; Ishtar gives the verdict in favor of -

Pericope 4

(Preceded and followed by empty space in tablet; may end with line broken in the original. Possibly continuation of Pericope 1, but not of 3.)

(iii 17-26) Naram-Sin is victorious in the campaign at Basar and [captures(?)] a certain Enlil-zi.

Pericope 5

(Unity of iii 28 - viii 15 shown by its pattern: list of men killed, captured, and grand totals of killed and captured. After viii 7-12 is parallel to *PBS* 5, 36 rev.)

(iii 28 - iv 18') List of nine men summarized as *rabiānu* who were killed and 4325 fighting men slain. The *rabiānu* are evidently in charge of contingents of troops from different Sumerian cities (Umma and

Adab are the only ones preserved in the text), and hold the military rank of NU.BÀNDA, here translated 'captain.'

(iv 19' - vi 19) Naram-Sin captures the king of RĒC 349, together with his principal officers and allies. The allies include men from Ur, Lagash, Umma, Adab, Nippur, and the Amorites.

(vi 20 - vii ?) Sub-totals of men captured(?), arranged in descending order of importance.

(vii 8-27) Grand totals of men captured and killed, statement that Naram-Sin made a reckoning of them in the gate of the gods.

(vii 28 - viii 15) Assertion of the truth of the narrative and accuracy of the numbers recorded.

Pericope 6

(Separated by line at end.)

(viii 16-20) Beginning of a sentence about Naram-Sin, perhaps a variant of Pericope 11?

Pericope 7

(Separated by line at beginning and by šu-bi igi 2(?)-àm(?) at end.)

(viii 21 - ix 13) Titles and epithets of Naram-Sin.

Pericope 8

(Ends in middle of sentence, variant of Pericope 9.)

(ix 15-18) Beginning of narrative referring to an attack against Naram-Sin, the lines given in abbreviated form.

Pericope 9

(Begins in middle of sentence; parallels PBS 5, 36 rev.)

(ix 19-32) Expansion of Pericope 8.

(ix 33-34 and 35-36 are separated by rulings, but are too fragmentary for interpretation. They may be captions to pictures of defeated enemies.)

Pericope 10

(Continuation of Pericope 9.)

(x 1(?) - 32) After a gap in the text, Naram-Sin is crossing the sea to the land of Magan, which he defeats in battle at sea. He washes his weapons in the Lower Sea.

Pericope 11

(Continuation of Pericope 10?)

(x 33 - xi 15) Naram-Sin dedicates the vessel with this inscription.

Pericope 12

(Continuation of Pericope 11.)

(xi 16 - end) Curse formula.

IV. Notes to Words and Phrases

(i 1) [a]-na: Restoration of Naram-Sin's name here (as proposed by Hirsch) is impossible. The abbreviated form of the name, as generally used in this text, always has the NA to the left; here it is to the right.

(i 2) [EN].EN: The distinction made here and in UET 1, 274 between the rulers of the Upper Lands and the rulers of Subartu is difficult to interpret. The translation proposed is based on the assumption that EN is here used as in Sargonic Mesopotamia (EN = *bēlu*) rather than EN = *māliku*, as known from Ebla (see, e.g., Grégoire in L. Cagni, ed., *La Lingua di Ebla* [Napoli: 1981] 383). This is because the OB copy of Naram-Sin's campaign against Armānum and Ebla refers to the king of Ebla as LUGAL (iii 3) and not EN (see JANES 14 [1982] 29). LUGAL is also used in this text for the king of RĒC 349 and for Naram-Sin.

'Upper Lands' presumably refers to lands near the 'Upper Sea' (Mediterranean).

ÉNSI is here understood as rulers, independent or not, of individual cities. This text seems to rank captured dignitaries in descending order of importance (compare vi 20-23, vii 7-11): LUGAL 'king,' GĪR.NITA 'general,' ÉNSI 'city ruler,' *rabû* 'great one,' *rabīānu* 'headman,' NU.BÀNDA 'captain,' GURUŠ.GURUŠ '(fighting) men.' For NU.BÀNDA as a military rank in Sargonic sources, compare BIN 8, 144 iv 10, where a NU.BÀNDA is in charge of soldiers and holds a large parcel of 180 *iku* of land.

SUBIR/Subartu is here considered to lie between Mesopotamia and the 'cedar forest' (as in UET 1, 274: KALAM SUBIR^{ki} *Su-bar-tim a-dī-ma* GĪŠ.TIR [GĪ]Š.EREN), hence in the Jezirah, though perhaps both east and west of the Khabur (so *Rép. Géogr.* 1, 147: 'Das Gebiet am oberen Habur'). For further discussion, see Michalowski in H. Weiss, ed., *The Origin of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Guilford, CT: 1986), 136ff.

(i 7) Choice of TAB yields an unambiguous writing for the Gtn preterite; the *tan*-stem of *špr* is well attested in OAKk (*MAD* 3, 281).

The major interpretive problem with this passage is to decide who is the subject of the verb. By one interpretation (a), Naram-Sin sends the messages and entreats (see below, to i 8) the lords of the Upper

Lands and the city rulers of Subartu to hold to an alliance with him; they do so, out of their fear for Enlil, or at least do not intervene. By a second interpretation (b), Lugal-AB sends the messages, entreats the lords of the Upper Lands and the city rulers of Subartu to hold to their alliance with him, but, because of their (greater?) fear of Enlil, they do not support him against Naram-Sin. By a third interpretation (c), Lugal-AB sends the messages, hoping to initiate hostilities against Naram-Sin (see to i 8) by stirring up the lords of the Upper Lands and the city rulers of Subartu against him, but because of their fear of Enlil (that is, Naram-Sin), they do not support Lugal-AB (despite an alliance with him?). Interpretation (c) is preferred here because a charge that the enemy initiated hostilities is characteristic of the 'great insurrection' group of texts about Naram-Sin (discussed below), because 'plead' does not seem to be a likely verb for Naram-Sin to use of himself, and because Lugal-AB's strategy seems to have been for the Amorites and the rulers of Subartu and the Upper Lands to join in a coalition against Naram-Sin while he was at Asimānum ('on a mission of Ish-tar' = on campaign). Thus it seems to me most likely that Lugal-AB sent repeated messages in the hope of persuading the others to join him. They did not, and do not seem to be mentioned subsequently in the text. Enlil here may be an honorific term for Naram-Sin, as in the *Apišal* epic (see below, Part VI.c.11).

(i 8) *AHw* distinguishes *šālu/šēlu* and *šelū* (all D-stems entered here) for a pair of verbs with roughly the same semantic range: 'strife, contest; use of abusive language', the former attested for Oakk and OB (references s.v. *šālu/šēlu*). The sense chosen here is 'streiten, Streit beginnen,' Naram-Sin's charge being that the enemy king began the hostilities. For a literary parallel, see below, Part VII. Another possible derivation is *šullū* 'plead' (so Jacobsen). As read here, Lugal-AB is subject to the verb and Naram-Sin is the narrator (see also to i 7, interpretation [c]).

(i 9) Reading *a'ālu* 'bind by agreement.' According to the interpretation here (c), Lugal-AB refers to or seeks 'an alliance with the Upper Lands and Subartu. The difficulty with this is the present-future, rather than a precative; a question, 'shall we ally?' seems unlikely. If in fact it is Naram-Sin who is sending the messages and pleading with the Upper Lands and Subartu, then the reference may be to an existing alliance which they honor (i 24).

(i 10) For the last trace, see **Figure 2**. This excludes the expected reading [*i-qá-b*]i (as in xii 5).

(i 24) *it(?)* and *ma(?)* are the most likely readings of the traces; the sign read *ma(?)* is too long to be *KU*. See **Figure 2**.

(i 26) For the name of the king, see **Figure 2**. Perhaps the name is to be read as Lugal-ēš, but see to i 27.

(i 27) *RĒC* 349. The sign is clear and occurs three times in the tablet (also iv 23, v 32). It is distinguished from Uruk in this ms. (v 14). Naram-Sin commemorates his defeat of this city as a major triumph; yet the toponym occurs outside this text only once (see below). Note that the king's name, like those of the city elder, the chief courier, and the general appear to be Sumerian (see iv 28'ff, assuming that 31'-34' still refer to *RĒC* 349). The Sumerian names favor a localization of *RĒC* 349 in Sumer (see Foster, *Or NS* 51 [1982] 304). Since the battle was fought far from the city, this could explain why there is no reference to destroying its walls after the defeat (see iii 24), as is customary in Sargonic royal inscriptions. The allies are Sumerian cities. *RĒC* 349 is then a Sumerian city formidable enough to pose a threat to Naram-Sin, but which is not attested in this writing in any inscription, administrative document, or later historical text so far as is known.

The sign *RĒC* 349 is drawn from an Ur III 'school tablet,'¹ said to come from Umma, published in photo by Hilprecht, *BE* 1/1, pl. VIII no. 19 line 6. There the sign looks like an *AB* with an inscribed *U*; the sign here is similar, save that the bottom of the inscribed sign is extended, as if it were *AŠ*, so as to intersect the right-hand vertical. The Hilprecht text is obscure, but the relevant lines read Lugal-TUN.AB/LUGAL *RĒC* 349^{ki}. This raises the possibility that the Umma school text refers to the same person as does this inscription, but under a variant spelling which remains unexplained.

Deimel, *LAK* 542, proposed that *RĒC* 349 was the same sign as that written *AB × ŠUŠ* in the Fara (and now Abu Salabikh) *zà-mì* hymns (*SF* p. 24 text 23 iv 18; *OIP* 99 p. 49 line 102): *AB × ŠUŠ LAK* 31 GAL.GAL/KÙ^d *Ašnan zà-mì*. This is evidently a praise, spoken by Enlil, of the city *AB × ŠUŠ* and its deity *Ašnan*. The next place mentioned is Umma, and then the text moves to Lagash and Girsu. Whereas Biggs, *OIP* 99, 45 points out that the sequence of toponyms in the *zà-mì* texts need not be strictly geographical (see also Green, *JNES* 36 [1977] 294), one is still justified in assuming that *AB × ŠUŠ* lay some-

¹ The tablet has a brick-like shape and calligraphic style paralleled by *JCS* 31 (1979) p. 241 no. 15, a tablet of the same type mentioning Shulgi (see p. 233).

where in Sumer and somewhere in the Umma-Lagash region. Another occurrence of the sign, *SF* p. 50 text 55 vi 4, is obscure. The sign is attested as a toponym in geographical lists from archaic Uruk; see *ZATU* 10 (written *AB* × *ZATU* 659). As Green points out to me (personal communication), use of *AB* as the enclosing sign might (though need not) imply a pronunciation of the sign with an initial /*ab*/ or /*ap*/.

Therefore, it is tempting to identify *RÉC* 349 and *LAK* 31 as writings of the city *Apišal*, known to have been situated near Umma (though elsewhere in Sargonic and Ur III sources presumably written *Api₄-šal*). Indeed, Naram-Sin's defeat of a place called *Apišal* is well attested in later omen and chronicle traditions (see Part VI), though no commemorative inscription has so far been identified as referring to this event. This solution to the identification of *RÉC* 349, first suggested to me by Frayne, raises many problems of its own. These are discussed further below, Part VI.

(i 28) The sign read here as *Á* is imperfectly formed (see **Figure 2**), but no other reading seems possible (for example, it does not resemble *LI* as written elsewhere in the tablet). The preterite is taken as 'Koinzidenzeinfall,' for which see most recently Mayer, *Studia Pohl Series Maior* 5 (1976) 183ff. If *li*(!) is preferred, the subject is presumably *Enlil*, for on the basis of other curse formulae one expects a god to be subject of this verb rather than a king.

(i 30–31) One possible restoration is [*su₄*]-*ma* [*i-ki*]-*ir* 'he it is made war.'

(ii 4) *Asimānum* is a variant of *Simānum*; *Rép. Géogr.* 2, 166 localizes it 'im Gebirge nördl. von Mardin.' *Si-si-il* is presumably the same as Ur III *Šišil* (see *Rép. Géogr.* 2, 183). *Rép. Géogr.* locates *Šišil* just north of Elam, but this is hard to square with an expedition leaving 'north of Mardin,' crossing the Tigris 'north of Elam' and ending up at Mount Basar. It is clear that present knowledge of northern Mesopotamian geography is still defective and incomplete.

(ii 13) For *pūtu* *UD.KIB.NUN* 'face of the Euphrates,' perhaps meaning the point at which the river enters the northern end of the alluvium at Sippar, see Foster, *JANES* 14 (1982) to ii 10–13.

(ii 20) This enigmatic line (see **Figure 2**) is written in larger, more cursive script than the inscription, so is not part of the inscription but a note by the scribe. Similar notes are found in iii 16 and ix 4 (see **Figure 2**). One may compare *áš-bala-bi šu-bi-ma-nam*, literally, 'its curse's ditto is two' (that is, 'its curse is

a duplicate?'), a scribal notation substituted for copying a curse formula in an OB Nippur copy of a Nippur inscription (see Foster, *Umma* 48f) and *šu-bi gin₇-nam* ('it is like its ditto,' that is 'duplicate?') in a text containing abbreviated copies of Ur III inscriptions (Civil, *Or NS* 54 [1985] 42). For further documentation, see Deimel, *ŠL* 334.227; Reiner, *JNES* 33 (1974) 222; and the instances collected by Jastrow, *ZA* 23 (1909) 376f (mostly referring to repetition of preceding lines of text, as, for example, in parallel omens). The signs after the group read here as *šu-bi* are unclear. They may be read as *IGI* plus a numeral, for which Jacobsen suggests 'its ditto of the obverse is ...' (+ numeral), meaning, perhaps, by the interpretation used here, '(this) is the nth duplicate of (the passage on) the obverse (of the original)?' In each instance the notation occurs at what appears to be a disjunction in the text; here omission of the verb is unexpected on the basis of the parallel passage iii 8. This may refer to the passage immediately above it, but whether that passage itself is the duplicate in question, or whether the passage from which it was copied was followed in the source by material that duplicated something that the scribe had already copied is not clear to me. In addition, what appear to be scribal insert marks, in the form of heavy lines entering the text from the left, are found in iii 21 (one) and 28 (two). For interpretations of the subscriptions and marks, see below, Part V. For general discussion of the use of insert marks in cuneiform texts, see Hallo, *Studies Finkelstein* 101ff.

(ii 22–29) I owe my understanding of these lines to Jacobsen.

(ii 24) The text has *U.LÁ.AŠ nu-i-e*. Deriving *nu₇i-e* from *na₇ā₇um* (*AHw* *nēu*, *CAD* *nēu*) may be considered (rather than *nū₇u/nū₇u*, a pejorative term ['yokel' or the like?]), but, following a suggestion of Jacobsen, I read *u-lá-«AŠ»-nu-i-e* for *ullānū₇* 'those (Akkadians) there (abroad)' (3rd masculine plural oblique). Perhaps the Nippur scribe misread the first three signs as '10 minus 1' because of the frequent occurrence of 'nine campaigns' and of the figure 9 in inscriptions of Naram-Sin (and compare here iv 13', likewise written 10 *LAL AŠ*).

(ii 30) *gāšu* (*AHw* 283b; *CAD* G 58a) is here preferred over *akāšu*.

(ii 31) *Ha-ab-ša-at* seems to be attested here for the first time.

(iii 1) Note that this is the only place in the text Naram-Sin's name is written out in full, but that the epithets and titles are omitted.

(iii 6) For *sa-dú* + genitive, compare LUGAL *sa-dú-i* in the OB inscription edited by Edzard, *Sumer* 15 (1959) 26 (plural genitive); for the spelling with *i* in the genitive compare *ašbassu kī ma-i* (Owen, *NATN* 917). See also the material collected by Gelb, *MAD* 3, 263f.

(iii 11) Derived, with hesitation, from *šīamum*, assuming an 'abnormal' broken writing (see Gelb, *MAD* 2, 42); see **Figure 2**; not, for example, *iš-i-a-ma* or *iš-ten-ma* (unlikely in Oakk).

(iii 16) See above to ii 20. Although 17ff seem to follow grammatically, the scribal note and the space following suggest a disjunction in the text.

(iii 27) Reading doubtful (see **Figure 2**); one hardly expects an Akkadian scribal notation in this context. There does not seem to be enough room for nine names and titles between this point and the total in iii 14; hence a gap in the *Vorlage* may be assumed. This may have been indicated by the scribe with the double ruling in 28.

(iv 7) The doubtful NU.ZU(?) is inserted between the lines and is taken here, with hesitation, to be a scribal note 'don't understand.' This may refer to the sign group šA.GAN.DU, which I do not understand either.

(iv 14) This is a further Oakk occurrence of *rabiānu* (see Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* [Leiden, 1976] 73ff), to add to Kutscher, *BT* 1, iii 8', iv 20', with note p. 33. The Oakk instances are useful both for the question of orthography (Stol p. 75) and for use of the *-ānu* suffix in Oakk (Stol p. 79). Note also the pair *rabû u rabiānû* (vi 13ff).

(vi 11) See **Figure 2**. While GAL-*u₈-ú-a* would be an attractive reading, KIN better fits the sign as written.

(vii 11) For the numerals, see **Figure 2**. The numerals in the Nippur copies of the Sargonic royal inscriptions have not always been successfully deciphered and calculated, as a perusal of the various treatments of them will show. If the third figure in the first group is 3600, it is hard to see why the scribe would use it along with 6 (10×60) signs. The first sign in the second part of the line seems to be distinguished from the (10×60) sign. If the third figure in the first group is 36,000, then the first two are presumably 60,000 and the first sign in the second part of the line could be 3600 (with the same objection already raised), or preferably some higher number. I have not been able to solve this problem in a satisfactory manner.

(vii 12–13) The Škš bilingual HS 195 (Oelsner, *Studies Sjöberg*, 405) gives the Sumerian equivalent to Enlil *ukallim* as Enlil *bí-dug₄*.

(vii 27) Taken as D of *šanû* III 'narrate.' See also to viii 2/3. This may refer to composing an inscription or to giving a formal report to the gods, as in the later Assyrian royal letters to Ashur.

(viii 2/3) I have no explanation for this puzzling expression. One may compare it and vii 27ff to an obscure line in the Erridu-Pizir inscription (= *BT* 2+3 i 17'–ii 10) DUB *pá-ni-su* ... in KÁ DINGIR *Guti-im im-su₄ il-pu-ut-ma* 'he "touched" (= made a record of?) the tablet (= inscription showing?) his face in the gate of the god of Gutium.' Jacobsen tentatively suggests 'one-sixth of them Annunitum and Enlil (took) (as) offerings.'

(viii 4–7) Perhaps 'O Ishtar, Annunitum, and Enlil!'

(viii 20) A large insert line here seems to indicate a disjunction in connection with this passage, perhaps that it is to be inserted elsewhere. Hence one is not to understand that he was king of Agade on a mission of Ishtar.

(viii 29) For use of the title ÉNSI at Sargonic Nippur, see, for example, Westenholz, *OSP* 2, 28; and Foster, *BiOr* (in press).

(viii 33) For recent discussion of this title, known at Ebla as an official emissary of a ruler, see Sollberger, *SEb* 3, 142; Archi, *SEb* 4, 191 line 142 and *ARET* 7, 373; *RLA* 7, 450ff and 456. Compare also Maništusu Obelisk A xiv 6. However, the OB 'General Insurrection Text,' Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70 (1976) 111 Ms G, 4 has a difficult passage that may be parallel to viii 29ff of the Jena text:

Jena Text: PA.[T]E.SI ^dEn-líl
GÌR.NITA ^dÌl-aba
MAŠKIM.GI₄
ŠU.NÍGIN(!?) ŠU.NÍGIN(!?)
ì-lí(?)

General Insurrection: GÌR.NITA ^dEn-líl
PA.TE.SI Ìl-aba
ra-bi-iš
bu-ra-at
íd Ir-ni-na

The reading ŠU.NÍGIN is not certain (see **Figure 2**); at least, the signs do not closely resemble the other ŠU.NÍGIN signs in the same text. Nor is *ì-lí* the expected spelling of the genitive plural (compare vii 26). I am unable to offer any other proposal. The *burāt* of the OB text might represent a reading of a similar (but not this) *Vorlage* as PÙ.PÙ. While the

digging of wells is elsewhere attested as heroic activity (Gilgamesh vii 46; Meissner Tablet [= *MVAeG* 7 (1902), 14 i 3ff]), the passage remains doubtful in both mss. In *AfO* 26 (1978–1979) 13 note 50, Jacobsen explains the ‘General Insurrection’ passage as ‘deputy for the sources of the Canal of Irnina ...’

(ix 4ff) One may compare *mu-še-ši du-un-ni* GIŠ.ZU (for DINGIR-su?) *a-na ka-la šar-ri* of the ‘General Insurrection’ text, Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70 (1976), Ms G, 8f ‘who shows forth the might of his god(?) to all kings(?)’. Is the OB line a corruption of the same epithet?

(ix 15–19) The abbreviated words are written in larger, more irregular script; 20ff are written in smaller, more careful script than the preceding.

(ix 22ff) This grammatical crux has been often discussed, with the usual interpretation being that *īnu* should mean ‘at the time of’ (first proposed by Poebel, *PBS* 4/1, 212 note 2, followed by Gelb, *BiOr* 12 [1955] 111; *MAD* 3, 144; *CAD* I/J, 153b; *AHw* 382b s.v. *īnu* 1 A). Against *PBS* 4/1, 212 and all later transliterations, Poebel’s copy of the parallel, *PBS* 5, 36 rev. 2 6’ff, shows *ki-ib-ra-t[im] ar-ba-u[m]* (! not collated). The Jena ms. is not well enough preserved here. The writer prefers to take *īnu* in its usual sense of ‘when,’ as ‘at the time of RN’ makes no sense in this context. The simplest solution is to take Naram-Sin as the subject of an unexpressed verb: ‘when Naram-Sin (was) on a mission of Ishtar’ (that is, away on campaign). This fits the circumstances of this text well, as it seems that Naram-Sin was on campaign in Asimānum when the attack against him was made.

(ix 33) The duplicate *PBS* 5, 36 (CBS 2344) rev. ii is broken in the same places. There is not enough to see what preceded ŠAR in *šar-ri* there; there is a trace of only one sign at the bottom after *im-ḫu-ru-nim* that appears to be LU[GAL], but this is no help in reconstructing line 34 of the Jena text.

(x 25) *qabli* here refers not to the location of the land of Magan but, as usual in Oakk inscriptions, to where the battle took place; compare, for example, P34L xxii 48 (and parallels): *u GN u GN in qabli Paraḫsi ipḫurūnimma*. Thus this line should not be cited as evidence for the specific location of Magan.

(xi 9) For the first sign of the logogram, see Figure 2. It looks like DUG with an extra vertical. This names the object on which the inscription was originally engraved. That such a lengthy historical text should have been written on a vessel or pot is surprising, but the ‘Frontier of Šara,’ written on a

baked clay vessel (see Sollberger, *Or* NS 28 [1959] 336ff), as well as the Lugalzagesi vases (*BE* 1, 87) offer adequate parallels. The parallel text (ā) has DUG KUR.KU.DU (note DU for DÙ). Information on this word has been assembled by A. Salonen, *Gefässe* 173f; note also Gelb, *MAD* 3, 150 and Å. Sjöberg, *AS* 16, 70. On the basis of *TCL* 2, 5530.1 (cited by Salonen), the capacity of such a vessel could be about 110 *silā* (Salonen: 90), therefore of ample proportions (5 DUG KUR.KU.DU *ī-nun ī-nun-bi* 1.2.2.5 ½ *silā gur*).

(xii 14) For the deified day, see J.J.M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972) 55.

(xiii 4) The reading *šī-ri-ih-su* was proposed by Sollberger, *UET* 8 (collation p. 33) for the parallel *UET* 1, 276 ii 25. Jacobsen suggests *ma-ri-te-su*. Neither of these fits well here (see Figure 2). I was unable to solve this problem satisfactorily.

V. Notes to the Text

1. Parallels and Duplicates

- (a) The Nippur tablet *PBS* 5, 36 = CBS 2344(+)N 3539 + *PBS* 5, 37, partly edited by Poebel, *PBS* 4/1, 209–15 (CBS 2344, *PBS* 5, 37), and partly by Michalowski, *JCS* 34 (1980) 233–37 (N 3539 + *PBS* 5, 37); see Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 226–43. The reverse of CBS 2344 duplicates ix 19–33, x 30 – xi 10, and xii 3–24, unfortunately adding only six lines not preserved in the Jena tablet. It is not clear how many inscriptions were copied in this source.
- (b) The curse formula is duplicated, with minor variants, by *UET* 1, 276, which the writer has argued, *JANES* 14 (1982) 27ff, is the continuation of *UET* 1, 275, the narrative of Naram-Sin’s successful siege of Armānum.
- (c) The tablet Kutscher, BC 1. This is a fragment of a large tablet that contained a copy of an inscription commemorating Naram-Sin’s defeat of a coalition against him, in the first instance a northern group of cities led by Kish (cols. i–iv), and in the second a group of Sumerian cities led by Uruk (col. v). At that point the text breaks off.

Text (a) above seems to duplicate (c), at least as far as preserved. Since (a) also seems to duplicate the end of the account found in the Jena text of the campaign against Magan, plus the introductory allusion to the four world regions making war upon Naram-Sin, this raises the possibility that the Jena text gives material that was in the missing sections of (c). Assuming that (c) had the full inscription on the

obverse, (a) would duplicate the beginning and end on its obverse and reverse, while the Jena text would then be an abbreviated version of the same inscription. This cannot yet be demonstrated, owing to overlapping breaks in the mss.

2. State of the Text

An obvious problem in interpreting this document is to what extent it presents a text that is complete and in sequence, and how certain one can be that the material in it represents one original text rather than pieces or conflation of more than one. In favor of assuming a unified text is the presence of one curse formula and one titulary (though with a notation that seems to mean that it existed in two copies). The curse formula comes at its expected position at the end of the text (cols. xi 16 - end). On the other hand, the titulary occurs in Pericope 6. On the basis of other inscriptions of Naram-Sin, one would expect the titulary at the beginning or very near it; in any case, in connection with the first mention of Naram-Sin's name.

Here the titulary is followed by a 'when' clause, known elsewhere, with variants, as introducing, rather than concluding, inscriptions of Naram-Sin (see above, to ix 27, situation in parallel text unclear). Therefore, one might admit the possibility that viii 21(?)ff is an integral inscription separate from what precedes it, but this leaves the preceding text without logical beginning or end. In the face of this, the writer prefers the alternative that this inscription has not necessarily been copied in its original sequence and that some of its passages have been abbreviated. Moreover, the scribe was apparently copying more than one copy of the same inscription, perhaps with a view to reconstructing a composite text elsewhere. This imposes two problems on this reader: to recognize the abbreviations and to guess what pericopes represent which and how many originals.

With respect to the abbreviations, one may assume that the scribe did not copy in full passages that he considered repetitious or predictable. Therefore, some of the marks and notations in the text were to guide him if he wished to reconstruct elsewhere an unabbreviated version of the composition. This hypothesis is supported by the frequent use of abbreviated writings for repetitive or easily predictable words, such as the name of Naram-Sin, written in full only once (iii 1); *dannum* 'mighty,' written in full five times (vii 15, 24; viii 9, 17; ix 24) and abbreviated twice (iii 18, iv 20'); *uṣamqit* 'he slew,' never written in full (e.g., iv 18'); *RĒC* 169 'campaign; battle'² abbreviated as *KASKAL* (iv 17', 24'; vii 16); a

whole clause written first in abbreviated form then immediately in full form (ix 19ff). All in all, the Jena tablet looks like rough notes for compiling a finished tablet like P34L. Another abbreviated text of this type has recently been edited by Civil, *Or NS* 54 (1985) 40-45, with discussion of abbreviated texts, including royal inscriptions, p. 37.

The problem of the *Vorlage* is more complex. One possibility is a damaged monument or tablet(s), in which case the scribal notations refer to fragments of the original. If the original was a large vessel (see above to xi 25) shattered into fragments, this could account for disjunctions, but not for doublets, nor is it clear why the scribe would copy the narrative portions first, then the titulary and curse. Furthermore, the *šu-bi* formulae imply more than one version of the text before the scribe. Assuming therefore duplicating copies before the scribe, Pericopes 1 + 4 and 3 represent the two sources, with variants, so also Pericopes 8 and 9. The totals, titulary, dedication, and curse formula had no variants or existed in only one of the two sources before the scribe, so were copied only once.

If the pericopes with *šu-bi igi* belong together, then (3, 7) are one source ('B'). If the *šu-bi* pericope (1) and its continuation (4) belong together as one source ('A'), it is separate from B because of overlaps. If pericopes parallel to *PBS* 5, 36 all belong to one source, then 9-12 could belong to A or B. In favor of B is the insertion of Pericope 8 before 9 and an assumption that the scribe began each parallel section with the same source. In favor of A is an assumption that it had a better text, to judge from Pericopes 1 + 4 versus Pericope 3. Assignment of this material to Source A, as here, places Pericope 8 in Source B. Pericope 5 is assigned to A because it shares with Pericopes 2, 3, (6), and 11 the abbreviated royal name, whereas Pericope 3, with the full form of the royal name, is assigned to B. Pericope 6 is unplaced. Rearranging the material in hypothetical sequence yields a scheme like **Figure 3**. Other schemes are also possible.

Pericopes 7 (titulary), 8/9 (attack on Naram-Sin), and 12 (curse formula) could be considered standard blocks of text (I, V), with which one or more campaigns could be commemorated. The Brockmon tablet may have listed nine campaigns; the Jena tablet only two. The nine campaigns are to be compared to the 'nine levies/call-ups' (9 *šú-ub-bi-im*) by Naram-Sin in Agade (differently Jacobsen, *AfO* 26 [1978-1979] 11 with note 44; I follow R. Kutscher,

BT 31; Lambert, *Studios Sachs* 254f.

² For the translation 'campaign' or 'battle' for *RĒC* 169 see Pomponio, *ArOr* 51 (1983) 376f; for the sign, see also Kutscher,

	SOURCE A*	SOURCE B#
		#Pericope 7 (titulary)
I	*Pericope 9 (attack)	#Pericope 8 (attack)
II	*Pericope 1+4 (march to Basar)	#Pericope 3 (march to Basar)
		*Pericope 5 (totals of killed and captured)
III	*Pericope 10 (Magan campaign)	
IV	*Pericope 11 (dedication)	
V	*Pericope 12 (curse formula)	

Figure 3: Sources for the Jena tablet

BT p. 31 in understanding *šubbû* as 'form an army'.³ When different monuments were commissioned, the scribe used the standard frame (I, V) and then chose one or more campaigns of the group of nine that was to be used (here II and III). The dedication was composed for the object (IV). In the case of the Jena tablet, the Old Babylonian scholar copied the campaigns with variants (II, III), then the framing material with variants (I), and last the framing material without variants (IV, V). The complicated form of this tablet seems to be the result.

VI. *RÉC* 349 and *Apišal*

In the comments about i 27 the possibility was considered that *RÉC* 349 was the city *Apišal*, well known in Mesopotamian historical and omen tradition from an attack upon it by Naram-Sin, and sometimes mentioned together with an attack upon Magan, but the location of which is unknown. This possibility is discussed in more detail here.

³ P34L vi 55f = Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 168: *in* 9 *ki-ší-ri* A-kà-dè^{ki} '(Sargon) with the nine detachments(?) of Agade' (defeated Lugalzagesi).

A town or city written A.KA-šal_{4/5} is attested in Sargonic administrative texts from Umma and Girsu, plus one text from Susa that should be assigned to the 'Ummaite' group.⁴ (see *Rép. Géogr.* 1, 16). The same place is attested in Ur III administrative documents from Umma, Girsu, and Drehem (for references, see *Rép. Géogr.* 2, 13-15). There is general agreement that this town lay somewhere near Umma, and was reckoned as belonging to the territory of Umma. There is nothing to indicate that this place was anything more than a village in the Sargonic or Ur III periods.

The reading *A-pi₄-šal_{4/5}* was proposed by Gelb, *AJSL* 55 (1938) 70-72. Although Gelb adduced evidence for the reading of the last sign, he offered none for reading KA as *pi₄* and stressed the hypothetical nature of his suggestion. However, this reading has been generally adopted since.

A city *A-p/bi-šal* is attested in second and first-millennium historiographical and literary sources

⁴ This refers to a group of business documents pertaining to the affairs of Ummaite families residing at Susa, apparently in the time of Naram-Sin; see B.R. Foster, 'International Trade at Sargonic Susa', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (in press).

concerning Naram-Sin. This material has been studied recently by Glassner, *RA* 77 (1983) 3–10 (see also Cooper, *CRRAI* 26 [1979] 99–105); however, for the convenience of the reader, the relevant passages are here excerpted:

A. Omens:

Old Babylonian Period

1. *amūt Narām-Sîn ša A-pi-ša-al ilqā'a* (Mari liver model, Rutten, *RA* 35 [1938] no. 3).
2. *amūt A-pi-ša-al-[li-im] ša Narām-Sîn ina pilšim idūkū[šu]* (OB collection of liver omina, Goetze, *YOS* 10, 11 iii 31ff).
3. *amūt [A-pi-ša-li-im] ša Narām-Sîn ikmū[šu]* (ibid., 22 4).
4. *amūt A-[pi-š]a-li-im ša Narām-Sîn ina pilšim ikmūšu* (ibid., 24 9).
5. *amūt A-pi-ša-li-im ša Nar[ām]-Sîn ikšudūšu* (ibid., 56 ii 6ff).

First Millennium

6. [*amūt Narām-Sîn*] *ša A-pi-ša^{ki} ina pilši ikšudu* (Ebeling, *KAR* 453, 9ff).
7. *amūt A-pi-šal* (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 6, 1 rev. 3 [and duplicates]).
8. *amūt Narām-Sîn šá^{ki} A-pi-šal ina pilši* (GUR-šī) *iplušu* (GUR-«šī»-šū) (Clay, *BRM* 4, 13 18).

B. Chronographic Tradition:

9. *amūt Narām-Sîn [šá ina šī]ri annī ana^{uru} A-pi-šal illikūma [pilš]u iplušu^m Rīš-^dAdad šarri^{uru} A-pi-šal [u SUKKA]L^{uru} A-pi-šal qassu ikšudu* (King, *CCEBK* p. 135 xii and duplicates; see also Starr, *BiOr* 42 [1986] 635).
10. *Narām-Sîn mār Šarru-kīn ana^{uru} A-pi-šal [illik] pilšu iplušma Rīš-Ad[ad] šar^{uru} A-pi-šal [u SUK-KAL A-pi-šal^{ki} qassu ikš[ud] ana Maganna illikma Mannu-dannu šar Magan qassu ikšud* (Grayson, *ABC* 20, A 24–26).

C. Epics and Legends:

11. Apišal epic: Obv. i speech referring to the glamor of life on campaign. Obv. ii march of Naram-Sin and his army. Rev. ii = vii speech of praise of Naram-Sin's valor, apparently a message sent by the king of Apišal. Naram-Sin is appeased by it, and asks his courier (SUKKAL) his view. Rev. iii' = viii omitted in copy. (OB literary fragment published by Güterbock, *A/O* 13 [1939–1941] 46–49, using partial copy by Pinches; new edition by I. Finkel expected, to whom my thanks).

12. General Insurrection: List of opponents of Naram-Sin (G:31), *Ri-iš-Adad šar A-pi-ša^{ki}* (in context Simurrum, Namar, Apišal, Marhaši, Mardaman, Magan, Uruk, Umma, Nippur). Longer list of opponents in ms. L. (Three closely related OB literary texts dealing with revolt and attack upon Naram-Sin: see Grayson and Sollberger, *RA* 70 [1976] 103–29).

D. References to Apišal outside of Naram-Sin Tradition:

13. *A-pi-ša⁵ki/A-pi-zal/A-pi-ša^{ki}//A-kà-dè^{ki}* (Schroeder, *KAV* 90 rev. 13ff, geographical list).
14. List of wedding gifts on the occasion of the marriage of a princess of Alalakh to the ruler of *A-pi-šal* (Alalakh VII, Wiseman, *AT* 409.45). The passage could not be collated as the tablet is now in the Hatay Museum, Antakya (information courtesy of Christopher Walker).
15. *Apišalû*: a word occurring in omens and medical texts suggesting a specific physical deformity (see Leichty, *AS* 16 [1965] 327) and perhaps a general term for medicaments (Von Soden, *OLZ* 67 [1972] 348).
16. *ša A-pi-ša-li* (*UET* 5, 259.2), dwelling of Ea and Damkina; reading suggested by Nashef, *Rép. Géogr.* 5, 32, very doubtful.

From 12 and 14 above, it appears that in the Old Babylonian period there was a city Apišal somewhere in northern Mesopotamia, perhaps on the Upper Euphrates (so Wiseman), or beyond the Tigris (so Gelb, *AJSL* 55 [1938] 71; Goetze, *JCS* 1 [1943] 258). Yet this city does not appear in the Mari (courtesy Durand) or Rimah archives, nor at Kanesh, so far as the writer can determine. In the Sargonic and Ur III periods there was a town or city in Sumer, near Umma to the east on the Tigris Canal, that could have been called Apišal. In second and first millennium BC Mesopotamia, historical recollections of a victory (usually by siege) over a king of Apišal by Naram-Sin were preserved in omen, epic, and chronographic tradition. This victory is sometimes paired in later tradition with a victory over Magan (as in 9, 10), as is the victory over *RĒC* 349 here.

The text edited herewith is a genuine inscription of Naram-Sin that commemorates his defeat of a Sumerian(?) city in a campaign in the land of Martu, together with its Sumerian and Martu allies. This was followed by a victory over Magan. The Sumerian city defeated by Naram-Sin is otherwise scarcely known, though it may be compared to a place written in Presargonic sources in a similar way that was located near Umma or Lagash but which is

not heard of thereafter (see above, Section IV, to i 27).

A possible explanation for this mass of data is to propose that Naram-Sin's victory was over the Sumerian Apišal, but, as shown in the inscription, was fought to the north in the region of Jebel Bishri. After that, the Sumerian Apišal was a place of little importance that disappeared after the Ur III period. During the Old Babylonian period, when stories and historiographical data were in circulation concerning Naram-Sin's victory over Apišal, the place was confused with another Apišal located in the north both because of the similarity of the names and because the battle was remembered to have been fought in the north, not in Sumer. Thereby the victory over the by then extinct Sumerian Apišal became a victory over the northern one.

Confusion was compounded by other historical events remembered in the Old Babylonian period and later: the 'general insurrection' against Naram-Sin. To judge from later Mesopotamian tradition, non-Mesopotamian lands joined in an attack upon Naram-Sin. Among these enemies of Naram-Sin was the northern(?) Apišal. While it is not clear if the campaigns in the Jena text against *RÉC* 349 and Magan are to be considered part of the 'general insurrection,' it is striking that the Apišal and Magan campaigns should be remembered (together!) in the chronographic tradition, but not the general insurrection, which survived only in the form of the 'Cuthaeen Legend.'

While the overlaps in the manuscripts noted above, Part V, could be used to argue in favor of seeing all the campaigns commemorated here as part of the 'general insurrection,' for now the writer would separate campaigns commemorated in the Jena text from the 'general insurrection.' This raises the question as to whether any other Sargonic inscriptions exist that might refer to these campaigns, but which have not been recognized as such.

(a) The introductory formula preserved in col. ix 19ff: *šar in šarrī manāma lā īmuru/i īnu Narām-Sīn dannum in šipri Ištār kalūma kibrāti/um(?) arbāpi/um(?) iš[ī]niš ikkirū(ā?)nišū-ma imḥurūnim* occurs in a shorter form in the Bassetki inscription (see Farber, *Or NS* 52 [1983] 68f): *inu kibrātum arbāum išīniš ikkir(ā?)nišū*. The OB 'general insurrection' has *inūma kibrāt arba išīniš ibbalkitūninni* 'when the four world regions rebelled together against me,' which of course is similar. However, 'making war upon' is not the same as the 'rebell'ing' of the OB text and one may consider the possibility that the phraseol-

ogy of the Jena and Bassetki texts refers in the first instance to the *RÉC* 349 and Magan campaigns. Note that the action begins in the east, continues to the north and west, and ends in the south, appropriately for a war involving the 'four world regions.' Indeed, the remote location of the Bassetki statue may be because it was placed at some point on the line of march. It is only by hindsight that the phraseology seems to us more apt for the general insurrection than it does for the Apišal-Magan campaign. If the insurrection had not yet occurred when this (and the Bassetki text?) were drawn up, the language is understandable in view of the dramatic nature of the events narrated.

- (b) If, as was suggested above, there was a group of nine battles, one or more of which could be commemorated in different inscriptions with much the same introductory phraseology, this group of nine battles as a whole could be the origin of the Old Babylonian tradition of a 'general insurrection.' By hindsight or telescoping, events of different years could have been compressed, heroically, into one. This would mean that the Bassetki and Marad texts could deal with separate events that later became part of the 'general insurrection,' or, that in the Bassetki text the introductory formula of the *RÉC* 349-Magan campaign was reused for events that occurred in the 'general insurrection.' In any case, it is noteworthy that the Marad and Bassetki texts share with the Jena text the peculiarity that they do not use the divine determinative for the royal name. Whether this has chronological significance is unknown. If it implies a date early in the reign, the Jena, Marad, and Bassetki texts belong earlier in the reign than do the texts which use the divine determinative. Jacobsen cautiously places the general insurrection 'at a given point' in Naram-Sin's reign (see *Afo* 26 [1978-1979] 13); Westenholz suggests 'late in his reign' (*OSP* 2, 28). When more evidence becomes available, the bundle of traditions known as the 'general insurrection' may have to be broken into different episodes that were commemorated with similar terminology and so have been telescoped already by the Old Babylonian period.
- (c) The later tradition of breaching the wall of Apišal, which cannot fit the Jena text so far as preserved, could have its origin in a play on words,⁵ as well as a confusion with the siege of

⁵ See, e.g., Glassner, *RA* 77 (1983) 7; Grayson, *ABC* 154;

Armānum, the king of which has the same name in a genuine Naram-Sin text as the king of (northern!) Apišal in the OB 'general insurrection' (see Grayson, *ABC* 234). The proposal of Cooper, that *pilšu* may be the original word, and Apišal the play, seems less likely (see *CRRAI* 26 [1979] 102), though this could be offered as a reason for the confusion of the Armānum and Apišal campaigns.

- (d) The weaknesses and complications of a proposal that *RĒC* 349 is Apišal must be stressed: a connection between *RĒC* 349 and Apišal is hypothetical, the reading of the Sumerian Apišal is hypothetical. Furthermore, in Ur III and Sargonic sources Ašnan is not among the various deities associated with Apišal, though in the *zà-mi* hymns *RĒC* 349 is her city. Therefore, I conclude that while an identification of *RĒC* 349 with Apišal is not excluded, it cannot on the present evidence be put forward as more than a possibility. The connection of the events narrated here with those of parallel texts (a) and (b), as well as with those of the 'general insurrection,' are still not clear. Lugal-AB is clearly the leading opponent here and not, for example, Iphur-Kishi or Lugal-anne; nor does Lugal-AB or his city seem to occur in the later material about the 'general insurrection.'

VII. Literary Parallels

In addition to its importance for the history of Naram-Sin's reign, the Jena text is of interest in that it shows certain motifs and literary devices that occur later in Akkadian literature.

There has been debate over the historical value and reliability of the group of Akkadian texts known variously as 'narû-literature,' 'fictional royal autobiographies,' or 'historical-literary texts.'⁶ The Jena inscription allows comparison with one such text, the 'general insurrection,' in some passages, and with the later Naram-Sin tradition as a whole in terms of its structure, tone, and content. While the later texts contain reinterpretations and misunderstandings of the older material, the more Sargonic evidence that becomes available, the more the Old Babylonian historical-literary texts appear to be based or modelled on Sargonic originals. Later reworkings, such as the 'Cuthaeen Legend,'⁷ seem to be based on

the Old Babylonian or later texts and are as different from them as the Old Babylonian versions are from their Sargonic sources.

Certain specific motifs may be alluded to briefly here. One is what may be called 'heroic direct speech.' The early Sargonic royal inscriptions were generally cast in the third person; use of the first person prior to the reign of Naram-Sin is rare and in brief, formulaic assertions of truth.⁸ In the inscriptions of Naram-Sin more extensive first-person speeches occur, such as become commonplace in the epic or historical-literary texts, many of which were cast in the first person. The only previously attested instance in a genuine Naram-Sin inscription, the siege of Armānum iii 19ff: 'Thus says Naram-Sin ...' is obscure because of corruptions in transmission of the text; it seems to be a challenge in the form of an apostrophe to future kings. The new example found here, unfortunately damaged, may be read as denunciation of the perfidious enemy to Enlil, in which, as interpreted here, Naram-Sin stresses that the enemy began the war (recalling *ikkirānišu* of the commemorative inscriptions). This formal aspect of warfare, well known in later periods, is here attested for the first time in Sargonic sources. Tukulti-Ninurta I's extended denunciation of Kastiliaš to Šamaš⁹ is a parallel, though there is no evidence in the Jena text for the existence of a treaty that had been violated, as was the case in the Assyrian epic. Note, however, that in the OB Apišal epic (no. 11 above) the Apišalian, after fulsome praise of Naram-Sin, offers to swear an oath (of allegiance?) to him (vii 14); did he later treacherously violate it and hence the attack upon him known in the chronographic tradition?

A second feature of the Jena text that is unusual in Sargonic royal inscriptions is focus on the enemy, describing his actions and quoting direct speech as if from the point of view of an omniscient narrator (col. i, as interpreted here; see comments to i 8, 9). While focusing on the enemy is well known in later Assyrian tradition, there the intent is usually to illustrate the enemy's fear and despair.¹⁰ In the enemy king's message to the rulers of the Upper Lands

versions, see Gurney, *AnSt* 5 (1955) 93-106 and *OECT* 11, 103; Walker, *JCS* 33 (1981) 191-95.

⁸ For example, Rimuš C1 (Kienast, *FAOS* 7 [1990] 193 line 17).

⁹ Text: Ms. 'A' (= Campbell Thompson, *Archaeologia* 79 [1929] pls. XLVII-LII, *AAA* 20 [1933] CI-CIV; W.G. Lambert, *AfO* 20 [1957-1958] pls. I-III obv. ii 13'ff; edition: P. Machinist, dissertation, Yale University: 1978).

¹⁰ For this topic, see Zaccagnini, *CRRAI* 25 (1978) 409-24; Fales, *CRRAI* 25 (1978) 425-36; Oppenheim in H.D. Lasswell, D. Lerner, H. Speier, eds., *Propaganda and Communication in World History I: The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times* (Honolulu: 1979) 126ff.

Bottéro in P. Vernant, ed., *Divination et Rationalité* (Paris: 1974) 187; Cooper, *CRRAI* 26 (1979) 101.

⁶ Grayson, *BHLT* 4-9; Cooper, *Curse of Agade* 15-19.

⁷ Texts: Finkelstein, *JCS* 11 (1957) 84-85, edited pp. 83-88 (OB); Otten, *KBo* 19, 98 (MB); for the Neo-Assyrian

(i 9ff), the Jena text offers a plausible literary antecedent for such material as the speech of Nurdaggal to the merchants in the King of Battle: '[So where is Zababa], the campaigner who makes straight the way and spies out the paths of the earth? [So where is the lord of a]ll daises, who [...] from sunrise to sunset?''¹¹

The 'victory or death' of Naram-Sin's speech presages the fiery speeches of the OB Sargon legends and the Apīšal epic (perhaps themselves the model for the speech of the Sibitti in the *Erra Epic* I.46ff); at least, such speeches need not be considered now a post-Sargonic development in historical-literary texts and a sign of their historical spuriousness. Two examples may suffice: (Sargon says) '[I am] the king of battle! The city Burushhanda which arose, let us(?) see its troops in campaign! [What is] its direction? Which is its mountain? What is the road? Which one is it that goes there?''¹² (Naram-Sin says) 'Be off! Let the paths of the mountains be open to me ... [I will show] you going to battles, bread baked on coals, [...], drinking from waterskins.'¹³ One may now propose that the OB Sargon epic(s) were modelled on the bombastic literary style that seems to have developed during the reign of Naram-Sin, extending the tradition backwards to the time of Sargon.

Comparing the Jena text and the siege of Armānum to the earlier Sargonic inscriptions, one is justified in seeing in the reign of Naram-Sin a period of experimentation with and expansion of hitherto rather formulaic royal inscriptions into full-blown heroic narratives, with drama, suspense, direct speech, and change of person and viewpoint. Sentences grow longer, extra-narrative and rhetorical effects begin to appear. The results are artistically as different from what preceded as the Susa stele or the Bassetki statue of Naram-Sin are different from the stele of Sargon or the statues of Maništusu. The Naram-Sin inscriptions were copied, adapted, and imitated in the Old Babylonian period. In their turn, the Old Babylonian compositions became the models for later Akkadian texts in somewhat the same style but with important changes: a challenge to the future becomes a blessing or curse, the narrative takes on a tone of sorrowful wisdom gained through adversity, the king suffers unimaginable losses and supernatural

threats. Such 'historical-literary' texts may already have been in circulation in the Sargonic period, though so far none has been discovered.¹⁴ The frequent later cachet of the royal inscription as the pseudonymous source of a later text leads one to suspect that even existing inscriptions may be a sufficient explanation for the later literary-historical texts. Of these genuine inscriptions the Jena text is a prime example.

*ABBREVIATIONS NOT IN *HKL*

BT = R. Kutscher, *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa, Royal Inscriptions* (Haifa: 1989) tablet siglum B(rockmon) C(ollection) 1.

P34L = Poebel, *PBS* 5, 34+ Legrain, *PBS* 15, 41 (with thanks to F.R. Kraus).

Armānum Inscription = Foster, *JANES* 14 (1982) 27-39.

Bassetki Inscription = al-Fouadi, *Sumer* 32 (1976) 63-75; see also Farber, *Or* 52 (1983) 67-72; Hirsch, *AfO* 29/30 (1983-1984) 58-61; Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 81-83.

Marad Inscription = Clay, *YOS* 1, 10; see Kienast, *FAOS* 7 (1990) 102-103.

¹¹ Text: Schroeder, *VAS* 12, 193; edition: Weidner, *BoghSt* 6 (1922) 62ff; see also Rainey, *AOAT* 8 (1976) 6ff, and the treatment by Albright, *JSOR* 7 (1923) 7ff.

¹² See note 11.

¹³ See no. 11 above, Part VI.c. For discussion of the motif, see Reiner, *Studies Presented to George V. Bobrinsky* (Chicago: 1967) 116-20.

¹⁴ The so-called 'legend' discussed by Jacobsen, *AfO* 26 (1978-1979) 1ff, seems to me to be simply a Sargonic student excerpt copy of a genuine Naram-Sin inscription dealing with the Iphur-Kishi affair. For a comparable student copy, see *MAD* 1, 194 (Westenholz, *AfO* 25 [1974-1977] 103 no. 14).