

The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia

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Printed in Canada

Annual Review

of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project



VOLUME 8 / 1990

The Kudurru Fragment VA 213

BARBARA CIFOLA

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Cuneiform Texts at the University of British Columbia

CELESTE A. PETERS

DOUGLAS R. FRAYNE

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AKIO TSUKIMOTO

Obituary: Edmond Sollberger

A. KIRK GRAYSON

The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia

Greater accessibility to primary sources has long been a *desideratum* in Assyriology. It is the purpose of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project to locate, collate, edit, and publish in standard format all known royal inscriptions from ancient Mesopotamia.

Thousands of tablets preserving many kinds of literature are housed in institutions scattered around the world. The fraction of these that have been published often prove difficult to find. Of particular interest for historical studies are the inscriptions of the Mesopotamian kings. These texts commemorate the accomplishments of the ancient rulers.

The work of the RIM Project is being carried out by an international team of scholars who are pooling their expertise to produce a multi-volume work of lasting value. After two years of propaedeutic work, the Project began in earnest on 1 July 1981 with funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, with additional support provided by the University of Toronto.

The entire responsibility for articles is that of the individual author.

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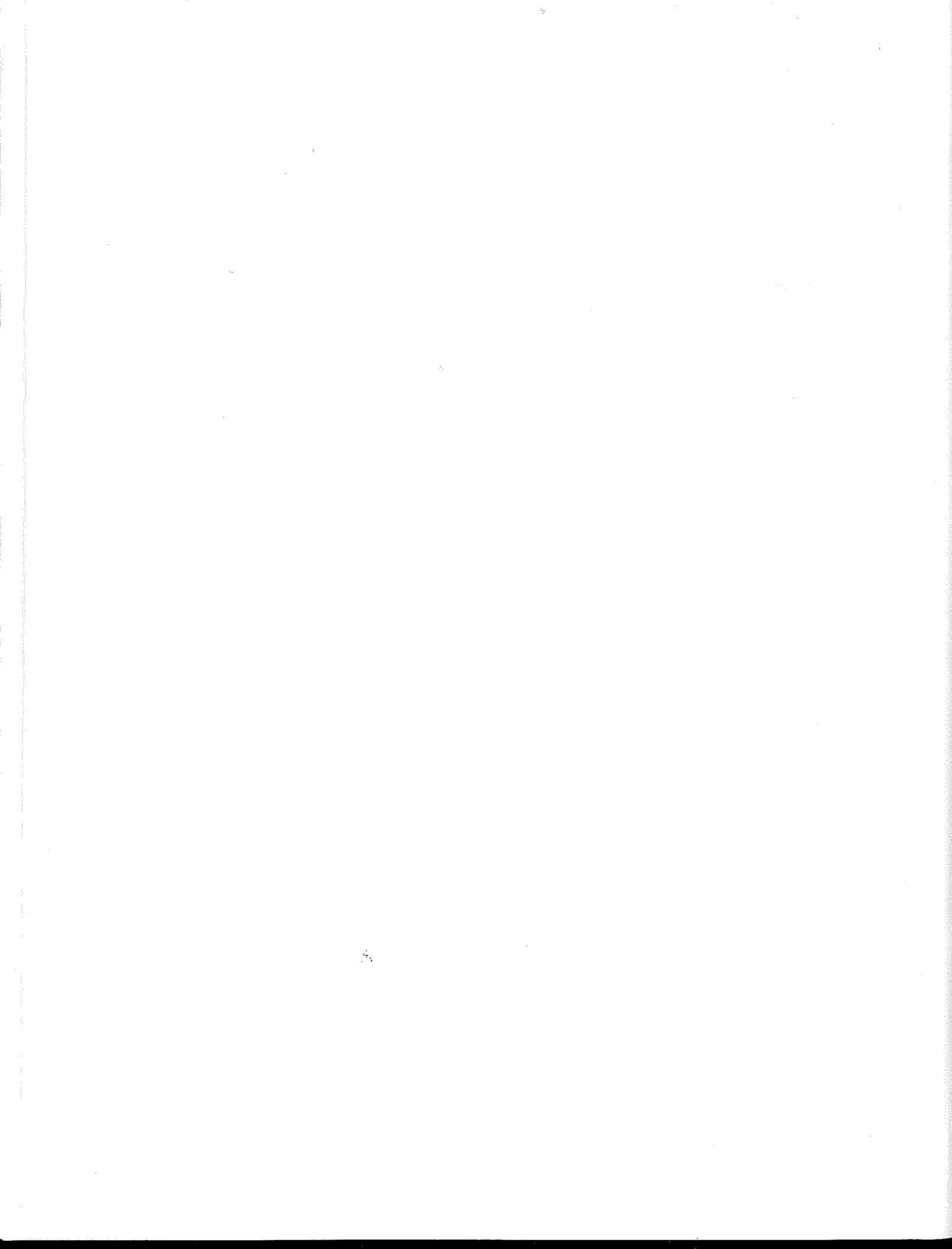
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The Kudurru Fragment VA 213*

BARBARA CIFOLA

Rome

The purpose of this brief note is an edition of the *kudurru* fragment VA 213, hitherto unedited.¹ It was found in Nippur and assigned to the period of the Second Dynasty of Isin.² The fragment is the upper part of a black boundary stone having the following dimensions: length 33 cm, width 38 cm, and thickness 20 cm. Thus only a few divine symbols and 11 lines of the inscription still remain. The latter, however, deserves some attention for in the first column the description of the field, the object of the grant, is included. As usual, the different sides are determined with reference to the adjoining properties. Moreover, the exact length of each side is added, which is rarely the case.³ The preserved lines of the second column are a part of the curses upon anyone who would damage the *kudurru*. The actual curse formulae and invocations to deities are missing.

TRANSLITERATION

Col. i

- 1) 1 UŠ 20 NINDA 5 NINDA *pūtu*(SAG.KI) *elītu*(AN.TA) *amurru*(IM.MAR.TU)
- 2) *teḥ*(DA) *bīt*(É) ^d*sîn*(30)-*ašarēd*(SAG.KAL) 1 UŠ 40 NINDA *pūtu*(SAG.KI) *šaplītu*(KI.TA)
- 3) *šadū*(IM.KUR.RA) *teḥ*(DA) *bīt*(É) ^{md}*sîn*(30)-*ašarēd*(SAG.KAL) 5 UŠ 10 NINDA
- 4) *šiddu*(UŠ) *elū*(AN.TA) *iltānu*(IM.SI.SA) *teḥ*(DA) *bīt*(É) ^{md}*sîn*(30)-*ašarēd*(SAG.KAL)
- 5) 3[†] + 2 or 3[†] UŠ 10 NINDA *šiddu*(UŠ) *šaplū*(KI.TA) *šūtu*(IM.U₁₉.LU) [†]*teḥ*(DA) [†]*bīt*(É)

* The photograph is published by the kind permission of Dr. L. Jakob-Rost, Director of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin.

¹ The text is published in copy in *VS I* 58 and *BE I/2* 150.

² Cf. F.X. Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen Kudurru (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform*, Paderborn, 1922, p. 80. Cf., however, *CAD* s.v. *akālu* 9f, where the text is labelled as Neo-Babylonian.

³ Cf. especially the following instances, all dating from the period of the Second Dynasty of Isin: *BBSr.* 30 Obv. 8-9 (Itti-Marduk-balātu); Hinke, *Kudurru* 24 ii 32 - iii 6 (Nebucodonosor I); 1 R 70 i 5-12 (Marduk-nādin-aḥḥe); *BBSr.* 26 Obv. 1-10 (Adad-apla-iddina). Earlier, we have: MDP 6, 39 i 1-7 (Marduk-apla-iddina I), and later: *VS I* 37 iii 42 - iv 1, iv 5-17, iv 22-30 (Marduk-apla-iddina II); *BBSr.* 20 1-4, 21 ii 18, and possibly 22 i 4-15 (Neo-Babylonian).

6) [...] AN [†]TA DÙ[†] [...]

Lacuna

Col ii

- 1) *uš-pe-lu*₄ *mi-iš-ra in-nu-ú ku-dur-ra*
- 2) *ú-na-ka-ru a-na nāri*(I₇) *i-na-du-ú*
- 3) *ú-pa-sa-su i-na epēri*(SAḪAR) *i-te-[me-ru]*
- 4) *išāta*(I₂₁) *ú-ša-ka-lu a-šar la a-ma-[a-ri]*
- 5) *ša-nam-ma ú-ša-ḫa*[†]*-[zu ...]*

Lacuna

TRANSLATION

Col i

- 1) 1 UŠ 25 NINDA, the upper short side towards the west
 - 2) adjoining Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd; 1 UŠ 40 NINDA, the lower short side
 - 3) towards the east, adjoining Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd; 5 UŠ 10 NINDA,
 - 4) the upper long side towards the north, adjoining Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd;
 - 5) 3 (+ 2 or 3) UŠ 10 NINDA, the lower long side towards the south, adjoining Bīt-
 - 6) ...
- Lacuna

Col ii

- 1) shall change, the boundary shall alter, the boundary stone
 - 2) shall change, shall cast (it) into the river,
 - 3) shall destroy (it), in the dust shall hide (it),
 - 4) shall allow fire to destroy (it), into a place where it cannot be seen (shall set it)
 - 5) or shall incite someone to ...
- Lacuna

COMMENTARY

i 4) The field in question appears to be surrounded, at least by three sides, by the district of Bīt-Sîn-ašarēd, for which see K. Nashef, *Rép. Géogr.* 5, Wiesbaden, 1982, p. 68. The mention of this GN might be decisive for dating the document since it is not attested otherwise in NB texts (cf. R. Zadok, *Rép. Géogr.* 8, Wiesbaden, 1985). Its localization,

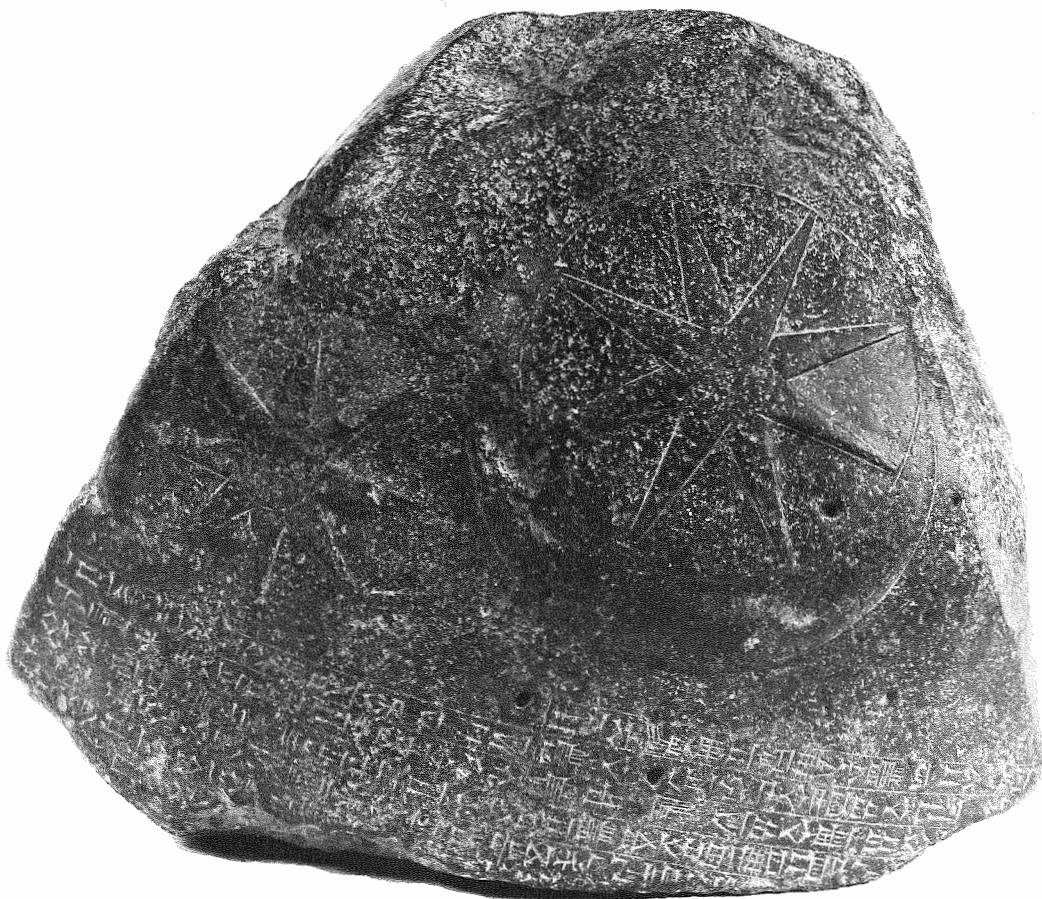
between Uruk and Larsa, is moreover interesting for only a few *kudurrus* stem from the very south of Mesopotamia as already pointed out by D. Arnaud, 'Deux Kudurru de Larsa,' *RA* 66 (1972) p. 163.

i 5) If the figure beginning this line was 5, then the long sides would be equal and the field nearly a rectangle, i.e. the usual form.

i 6) The name of the last district or estate is unfortunately missing.

ICONOGRAPHY

The symbols engraved upon the remaining part of the stone are those representing the heavenly gods, namely the solar disc of Šamaš, the crescent of Šin, and the eight-pointed star of Ištār. These are normally present on *kudurrus*, but their peculiar arrangement should be noted for on this basis U. Seidl connects the fragment with rather earlier boundary stones.⁴



VA 213

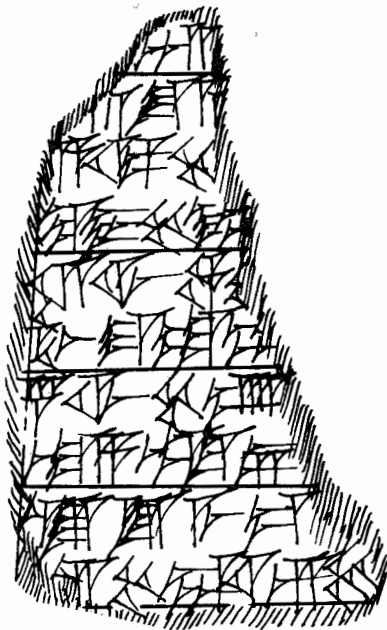
⁴ U. Seidl, 'Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs,' *Bagh. Mitt.* 4 (1968) p. 77.

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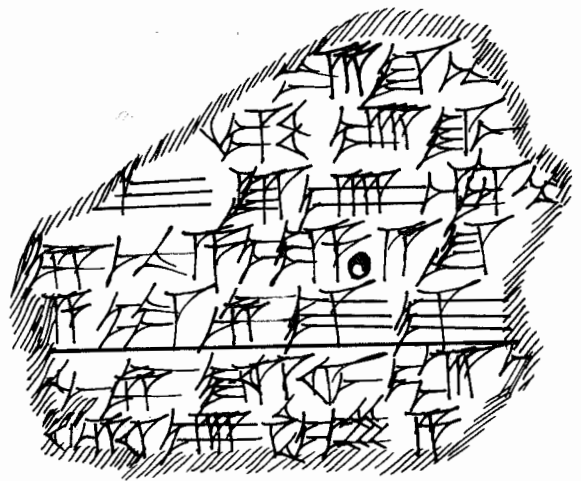
Fragments of the Annals of Tiglath-pileser I

VEYSEL DONBAZ
Istanbul/Bahçelievler

The following fragmentary inscriptions on broken clay tablets from Aššur will be edited with the texts of Tiglath-pileser I in RIMA 2.



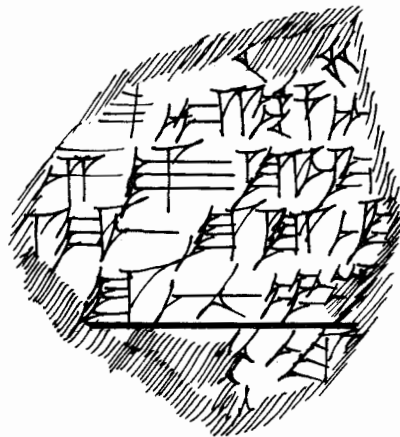
A 644 (Ass 6138) = A.0.87.4.5



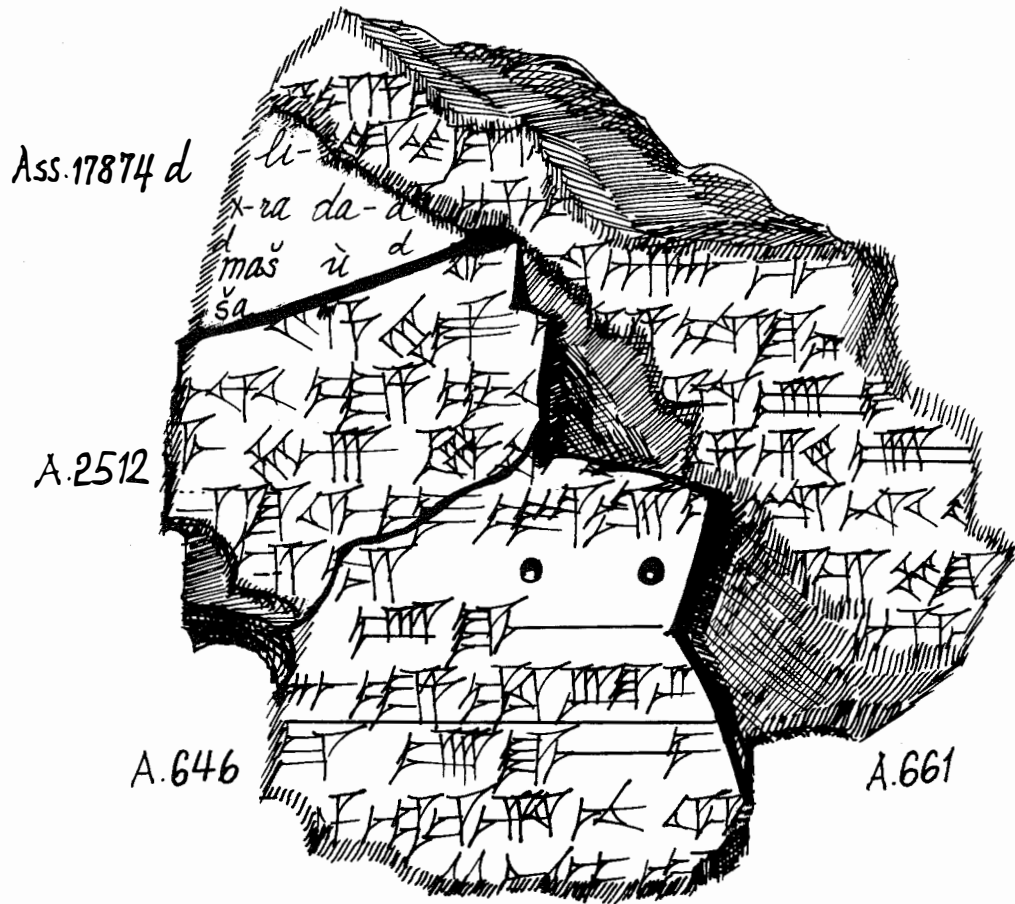
A 690 (Ass 19569) = A.0.87.4.19



A 2126 (Ass 8569) = A.0.87.4.10



A 635 (Ass 17861) = A.0.87.7



A 646 (Ass 17874b) + A 661 (Ass 17874a) + A 2512 (Ass 17874c)(+)Ass 17874d = A.0.87.8

Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae in the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş Museums

VEYSEL DONBAZ

Istanbul/Bahçelievler

The two stelae published here are on display at two different museums in the south-east region of Turkey, namely Antakya and Kahramanmaraş.¹ About 1968, when Selahattin Asim was the director of the Antakya Museum, one of the stelae was found by a peasant digging a new well near the Orontes, at an approximate depth of six metres, to the left of the road about half-way between Antakya and Samandağ (3 km). The area is a flat open valley covered with trees and orchards. Very shortly after the discovery of the stela Asim was summoned to the find-spot and acquired it for the museum.²

The Kahramanmaraş³ stela was found at the village of Kizkapanlı in the Pazarcık area (near Kahramanmaraş) close to the Gözlügöl nomad settlement, while the Pazarcık barrage⁴ was being built. Soon after its discovery, the stela was acquired for the Maraş museum.

The Antakya stela is damaged on the left side, from top to bottom,⁵ and on the top and top right corner, so that the heads of the royal figures carved in light relief have been damaged. The damage may

be the result of an intentional act of religious provocation. Examination of the two stelae and their inscriptions shows that the Antakya stela has been carefully carved and is the work of an expert, whereas the Pazarcık inscriptions (both obv. and rev.) are of inferior workmanship,⁶ insofar as the style of cuneiform script is concerned. The contents of the inscriptions tell us more about the reign of Adad-nērārī III.⁷ According to the Antakya stela, a boundary was set up between Zakur of Hamath and Ataršumki and this included an agreement for equal use of the Orontes River. The Pazarcık stela reveals that Adad-nērārī settled a border dispute with Ušpilulume, the Kummuhean king,¹⁰ and Qalparuda, the Gurgumean king, but it appears that the main alliance is with Ušpilulume since the agreement is presented to him in the form of a stela (Paz. rev. 12-13). However, Adad-nērārī seems to have established his relations with five cities: Hamath, Arpad(da), Nahlasi, Kummuh, and Gurgum through Ataršumki and Ušpilulume.

Adad-nērārī also mentions a war against Ataršumki and his eight allies in Paqirahubuna (Paz. obv. 11-13). Extensive booty from the Damascene ruler Hadyani (Paz. rev. 4-10) was brought back home as a result of a campaign to Damascus by Šamši-ilu. Four linear descendants are referred to respectively: Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC), Šamši-Adad V (823-811 BC), Adad-nērārī III (810-783 BC), and Shalmaneser IV (782-773 BC); the *tartānu*-official Šamši-ilu (Ant. lines 5 and 8; Paz. rev. 4) served under the last two kings.

The word *taḥūmu* is used in these inscriptions both with the meaning 'border, territory' (cf. von Soden, *AHW* p. 1303) and with the meaning 'boundary

¹ Before I obtained official permission to study the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş stelae, David Hawkins had seen them and made a preliminary study, assisted by some remarks from Karlheinz Deller. I thank them both for their valuable suggestions. Even though I have quoted some of their viewpoints, I carefully copied and collated the inscriptions at the two museums myself and take full responsibility for the article.

² My thanks are due to the General Directorate of Museums and Antiquities for granting me permission to study the stelae; to the Director-General, Mr. Altan Akat, and the Deputy Director, Nimet Berkok, for their permission and generous assistance; and to Veli Yenisoğancı, the Director of the Antakya Museum, for allowing me to complete my work during visits in November (1989) and January (1990). Without their help this study could not have been completed.

³ The modern name has been glorified as *Kahraman* 'hero, brave' because of its heroism in the fight for freedom against the allied troops during the war of independence.

⁴ I would also like to thank Mr. Hadi Bozkurt, the Director of the museum at Kahramanmaraş, who very generously allowed me to complete my work there.

⁵ This may have been due to the re-use of the monument; the site where the original stela was erected is unknown, but

such a heavy block, in the form of an inscribed stela, could hardly be moved very far from its original location.

⁶ In particular, the *na* signs on the Pazarcık stela are very different and look like *šu*, and the *a* signs are slightly odd. There are horizontal lines between each inscribed line on the Antakya inscription, but not on the Pazarcık inscriptions.

⁷ For the reign of Adad-nērārī III see Grayson, *CAH* 3/1 pp. 271-76.

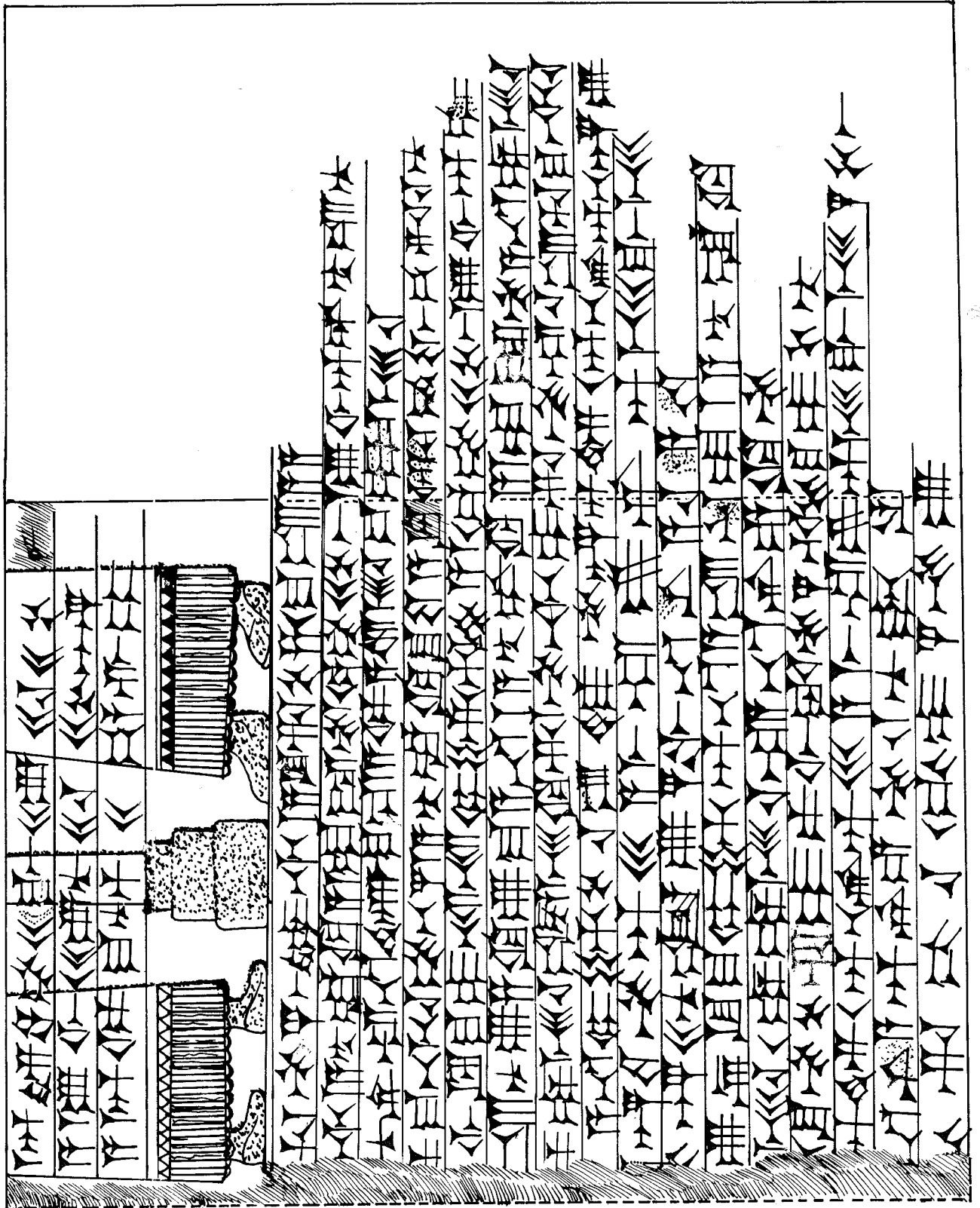


Figure 1: The Antakya Stela

stone' in reference to the stelae themselves. The word NA.RÚ.A = *narû* is also used in the Antakya stela with the same meaning.

The Antakya Stela

(Env. nr. 11832) Slightly damaged. 127 × 52 × 31 cm. Two sculptured standing human figures. The heads are mostly gone. The inscription runs over the right margin.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) ^mdⁱŠKUR.ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN GAL MAN KAL MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR ḠAŠ¹
- 2) A ^mšam-ši-10 MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR aš-«aš»-šur
- 3) A ^mdⁱšul-ma-nu-maš MAN kib-rat 4
- 4) [ta]-ḥu-mu šá ina bir-ti ^mza-ku-ri KUR ḥa-ma-ta-a-a
- 5) [(u ina) bir]-ti ^ma-tar-šúm-ki A ^mad-ra-mu ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR AŠ ^mšam-ši-DINGIR LÚ tar-ta-nu
- 6) [iš-ku]-nu-ni URU na-aḥ-la-si a-di A.ŠÀ.MEŠ-ŠÚ GIŠ.KIRI₆.MEŠ-ŠÚ
- 7) [u d]i-ma-ti-šú gab-be šá ^ma-tar-šúm-ki šu-tú ID ar-am-tú ina bi-ri-šú-nu
- 8) [ú-šam]-ši-lu-ma i-zu-zu mi-šir NAM A ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR AŠ ^mšam-ši-DINGIR ḠLÚ¹
- 9) [tar]-ta-nu ú-za-ki-ú-ma a-na ^ma-tar-šum-ki A ^mad-ra-mu a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ
- 10) [DU]MU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ EGIR.MEŠ ki ri-mu-ti i-ri-mu URU-šú ta-ḥu-ma-ti-šú
- 11) [x x] a-na mi-šir KUR-šú ú-kín MU aš-šur ^diŠKUR u ^dbe-er ^dBAD aš-šur-ú
- 12) [^dNIN.LÍ]L aš-šur-tú MU ^d30 a-šib URU.KASKAL-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 13) [šá k]UR aš-šur man-nu EGIR-ú šá pi NA.RÚ.A šú-a-tú
- 14) [ú]-šam-sa-ku-ma mi-šir an-na-a TA qa-at ^ma-tar-šúm-ki
- 15) [DUMU].MEŠ-ŠÚ u DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ ina dan-na-ni e-ki-mu
- 16) [(x)] Ḡu(?)¹ šu-mu šaṭ-ri i-pa-ši-ṭa MU šá-nam-ma i-šaṭ-ṭar
- 17) [aš-šur] ^diŠKUR u ^dbe-er ^d30 a-šib URU.KASKAL DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá KUR AŠ
- 18) [šá ina] NA.RÚ.A an-né-e MU-šú-nu zak-ru
- 19) [i]k-ri-bi-šú ul i-šá-mu-ú

TRANSLATION

- 1) Adad-nērārī, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
- 2) son of Šamši-Adad, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
- 3) son of Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters.
- 4-5) The boundary which Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamši-ilu, the commander in chief, established between Zakur of the land of Hamath and Ataršumki, son of Adramu:
- 6-8) the town of Nahlasi with all its fields, gardens, [and] settlements is (the property) of Ataršumki. They divided the Orontes River between them. *This is* the border.
- 9-11) Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamši-ilu, the commander in chief, have given it free and clear to Ataršumki, son of Adramu, to his sons, and his subsequent grandsons. His city and its territories [...] to the border of his land he made firm.
- 12-13) By the name of Aššur, Adad, and Ber, the Assyrian Illil, the Assyrian [Mulliss]u, and the name of Sin dwelling in Harran, the great gods [of] Assyria:
- 14-16) whoever afterwards speaks ill of the terms of this stela, and takes by force this frontier from the possession of Ataršumki, his sons, and his grandsons; *and* destroys the written name (and) writes another name:
- 17-19) may [Aššur], Adad, and Ber, Sin dwelling in Harran, the great gods of Assyria [whose] names are recorded on this stela, not listen to his prayers.

REMARKS

2) *Aš-šur* has one extra horizontal; the scribe probably first intended to write AŠ (as in line 1) but repeated *aš-šur*, ignoring the first AŠ, to fill the remaining space.

7) [*u d*]i-ma-ti-šú: the reading was proposed by Deller. For *diṃtu* referring to fortified villas see, in addition to the dictionaries, Al-Khalesi, *Assur* 1 (1977) pp. 81-122.

8) [ú-šam]-ši-lu-ma i-zu-zu: cf. *ušamšilūma izūzū*, Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 160 i 22'.

8) NAM A is a problem. Deller tentatively proposed NAM = *ana* (an attested value of NAM), giving *ana-a* = *annā*. Or should one regard this as an erroneous metathesis for *a-nam* : *annām*?

11) ^dBAD aš-šur-ú: cf. ^dEN.LÍL aš-šu-ru-u, Ebeling, *LKA* no. 33 obv. 5 (reference from Deller).

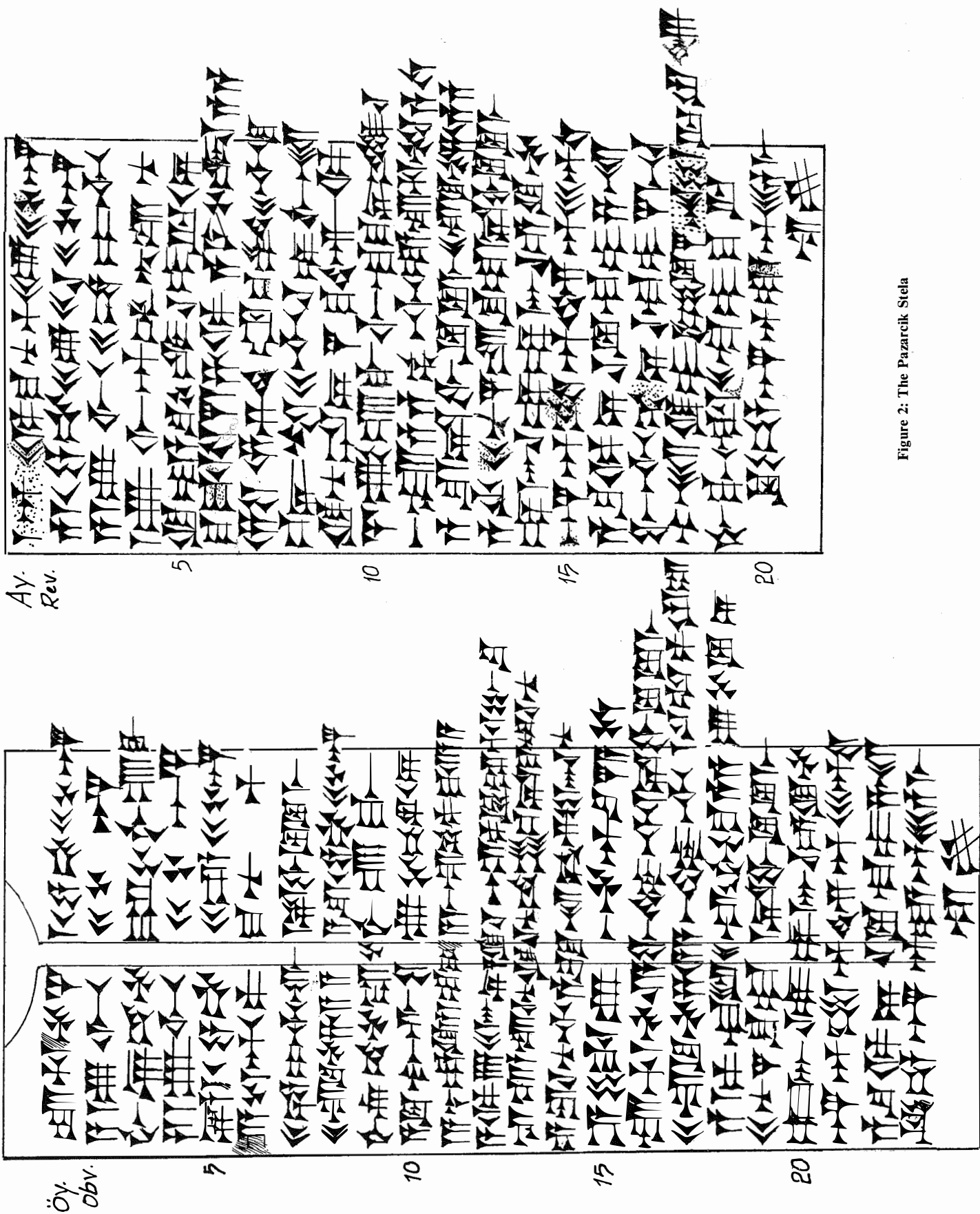


Figure 2: The Pazarcik Stela

The Pazarcik Stela

Inscribed on both obverse and reverse.
140×44×16.5 cm. No significant damage has occurred.

TRANSLITERATION

Obverse:

- 1) *ta-ḥu-mu šá* ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 2) A ^mšam-ši-10 MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 3) ^fsa-am-mu-ra-mat MUNUS.É.GAL
- 4) *šá* ^mšam-ši-10 MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 5) AMA ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KAL MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 6) *kal-lat* ^{md}šul-ma-nu-maš
- 7) MAN *kib-⟨rat⟩ 4-ti ina u₄-me* ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 8) MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a a-na* ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 9) ^fsa-am-mu-ra-mat MUNUS.É.GAL
- 10) ÍD *pu-rat-tú ú-še-bi-ru-u-ni*
- 11) ^ma-tar-šúm-ki A ^mad-ra-a-me URU *ár-pa-da-a-a*
- 12) *a-di* 8 MAN.MEŠ-ni *šá* KI-šú *ina* URU *pa-qi-ra-ḥu-bu-na*
- 13) *si-dir-ta-šú-nu* KI-šú-nu *am-daḥ-iš* *uš-ma-na(?)*-šú-nu
- 14) *e-kim(*)*-šú-nu-ti *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu
- 15) *e-li-ú* *ina* MU.AN.NA *šá-a-te*
- 16) *ta-ḥu-mu šú-a-tú* *ina bir-ti* ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 17) MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a* *ina bir-ti* ^mqa-al-pa-ru-da(?)
- 18) A ^mpa-la-lam MAN URU *gúr-gu-ma-a-a ú-še-lu-ni*
- 19) *man-nu šá* ⟨TA⟩ ŠU-at ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 20) DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú *e-ki-mu*
- 21) *aš-šur* ^dAMAR.UTU ^dISKUR ^d30 ^dUTU
- 22) *a-na di-ni-šú lu la i-za-zu*
- 23) *ik-kib aš-šur* DINGIR-ia ^d30 *a-šib*
URU.KASKAL

Reverse:

- 1) ^{md}šul-ma-nu-maš MAN KAL MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 2) A ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KAL MAN ŠU MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 3) A ^mšam-ši-10 MAN *kib-⟨rat⟩ 4-ti*
- 4) ^mšam-ši-DINGIR LÚ *tar-ta-nu*
- 5) *ki-i a-na* KUR.ANŠE-šú *i-lik-ú-ni*
- 6) *ma-da-tú šá* ^mḥa-di-a-ni KUR.ANŠE-šú-a-a
- 7) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI URUDU GIŠ.NÁ MAN-ti-šú
- 8) GIŠ *né-mat-tú* MAN-ti-šú DUMU.MUNUS-su
- 9) KI *nu-du-ni-šá ma-a-di*
- 10) NÍG.GA É.GAL-*lim la ma-ni am-ḥur-šú*
- 11) *ina ta-a-a-ár-ti-ya ta-ḥu-mu šú-a-tu*
- 12) *a-na* ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a*
- 13) *a-din man-nu šá* TA ŠU-at ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 14) DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú *e-ki-mu*
- 15) *aš-šur* ^dAMAR.UTU ^dISKUR ^d30 ^dUTU
- 16) *a-na di-ni-šú lu la i-za-zu*

- 17) *pi-ti up-ni-šú la i-šá-me-u-šú*
- 18) KUR-su *ki-i* SIG₄ *lu-šá-x-x ur-ru-uḥ*
- 19) *mim-ma ina* UGU MAN *la i-ma-lik*
- 20) *ik-kib aš-šur* DINGIR-ia ^d30 *a-šib* URU.KASKAL

TRANSLATION

Obverse:

- 1) Boundary stone of Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria,
- 2) son of Šamšī-Adad, king of Assyria,
- 3) (and of) Sammu-rāmat, the palace-woman
- 4) of Šamšī-Adad, king of Assyria,
- 5) mother of Adad-nērārī, strong king, king of Assyria,
- 6) daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser,
- 7) king of the four quarters. When Ušpilulume,
- 8-10) king of the people of Kummuh, caused Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Sammu-rāmat, the palace-woman, to cross the Euphrates;
- 11-15) I fought a pitched battle with them – with Ataršumki, son of Adramu, of the city of Arpad(da), together with eight kings who were with him at the city Paqirahubuna. I took away from them their camp. To save their lives they dispersed.
- 16-18) In this (same) year this boundary stone was set up between Ušpilulume, king of the people of Kummuh, and Qalparuda, son of Palalam, king of the people of Gurgum.
- 19-20) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the hand of Ušpilulume, his sons, his grandsons:
- 21-22) may (the gods) Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sin, (and) Šamas not stand (for him) at his lawsuit.
- 23) Abomination of Aššur, my god, (and) Sin who dwells in Harran.

Reverse:

- 1) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of Assyria,
- 2) son of Adad-nērārī, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
- 3) son of Šamšī-Adad, king of the four quarters:
- 4-5) when Šamšī-ilu, the commander in chief, marched to Damascus,
- 6-10) the tribute of Hadiyani, the man of Damascus – silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her extensive dowry, the property of his palace without number – I received from him.
- 11-13) On my return (from Damascus) I gave this boundary stone to Ušpilulume, king of the people of Kummuh.
- 13-15) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the hand of Ušpilulume, his sons, his grandsons: may Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sin, (and) Šamas
- 16) not stand (for him) at his lawsuit;

- 17) may they not listen to his prayers;
 18) and may they quickly *smash* his country like
 a brick.
 19) May he no longer give advice to the king.
 20) Abomination of Aššur, my god, (and) Sin, who
 dwells in Harran.

REMARKS

The stela omits *-rat* in *kibrāti* (obv. 7; rev. 3). It is interesting that this happens in both the obv. and rev.

Obv. 8) Deller thinks that *a-na* is *nota accusativi* here (an Aramaism, based on the use of the Aramaic preposition *l* to mark the accusative).

Obv. 14) *e-kim(*)-šú-nu-ti*: the *kim* sign lacks the initial Winkelhaken.

Obv. 17) The last sign has the anomalous form shown in the copy.

Rev. 5) *illikūni*: the subject seems to be Šamši-ilu. If it were plural, the king and Šamši-ilu, one would expect *nillikūni* 'we marched'. Use of the first person in rev. 10-20 can refer only to the king, not to the *tartānu* (especially *ikkib aššur ilīa*).

Rev. 18) *ur-ru-uḥ*: presumably for *urruḥiš*. It is either a mistake or a dialectical form.

In conclusion, all three inscriptions are of great significance because of the military allusions to Assyrian hegemony over its neighbouring countries. Treaties played an important and prominent role in

late Assyrian imperial expansion. Forming alliances of 'friendship and peace' with other states was one part of Assyrian policy.⁸ Imposing oaths of loyalty on defeated nations was of great practical benefit to Assyria, and it can be taken for granted that copies of all important treaty documents were either carefully preserved in the royal archives or written on materials which were specially selected for long life, and if possible, for eternity.

Hawkins and Postgate have shown that many kings of Tabal and the surrounding region in Anatolia paid tribute to Assyria.⁹ Even though most of the treaties are recorded on clay objects, boundary stones are also known to have been inscribed in settling border conflicts. In this context, the purpose of the present stelae seems to be to resolve border conflicts between small native Anatolian administrative centers. Alliances between kings are mentioned in both the Antakya and Pazarcik stelae. The fact that on the obverse of the Pazarcik stela Sammūrāmat, mother of Adad-nērārī, is mentioned is noteworthy. The defeat of Ataršumki, king of Arpadda, and his allies was a benefit to two parties, namely Ušpilulume, the Kummuhēan ruler, and Qalparuda, the Gurgumean ruler. A border line was established between them and it was confirmed by the erection of the stela. On the reverse of the Pazarcik stela Shalmaneser IV, son of Adad-nērārī III, appears and once again reference is made to the grant of a boundary stone to Ušpilulume. The former agreement with Gurgum was probably spoiled and Shalmaneser resettled it once more.

⁸ See Parpola and Watanabe, *SAA* 2.

⁹ Hawkins and Postgate, 'Tribute from Tabal', *SAAB* 2 (1988) pp. 31-40.



Figure 3: Antakya Stela



Figure 4: Antakya Stela



Figure 5: Antakya Stela

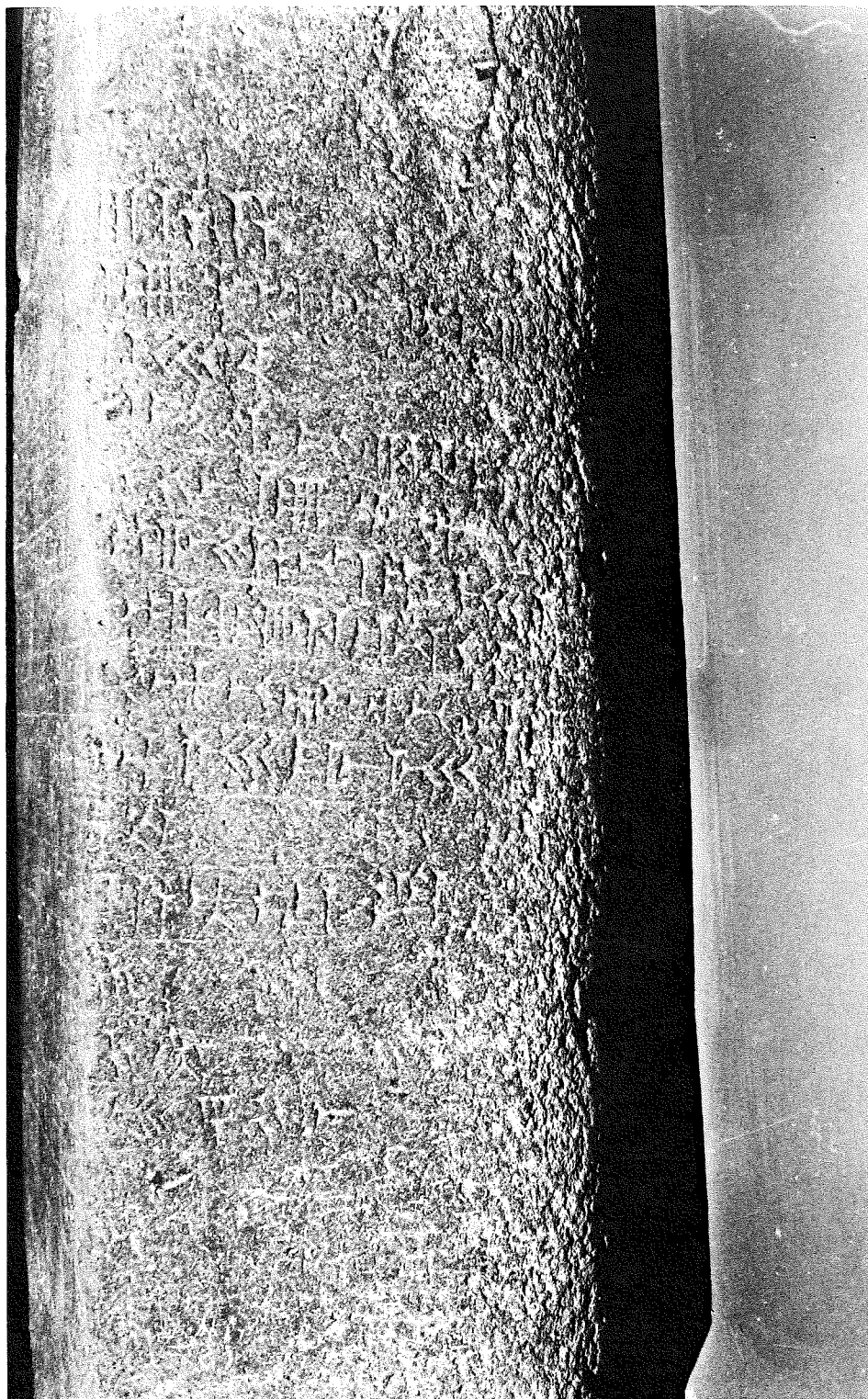


Figure 6: Antakya Stela

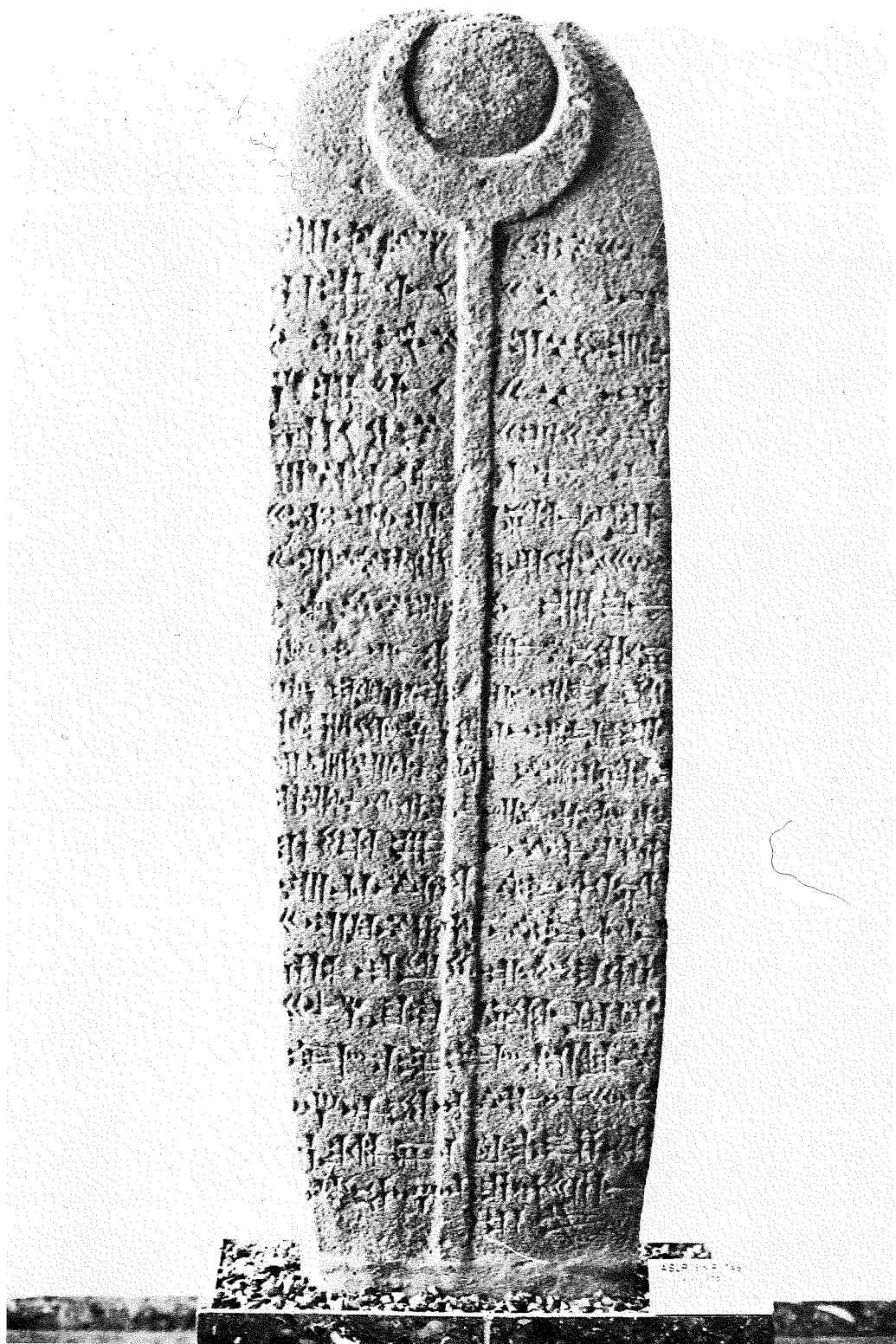


Figure 7: Pazarcik Stela, Obverse

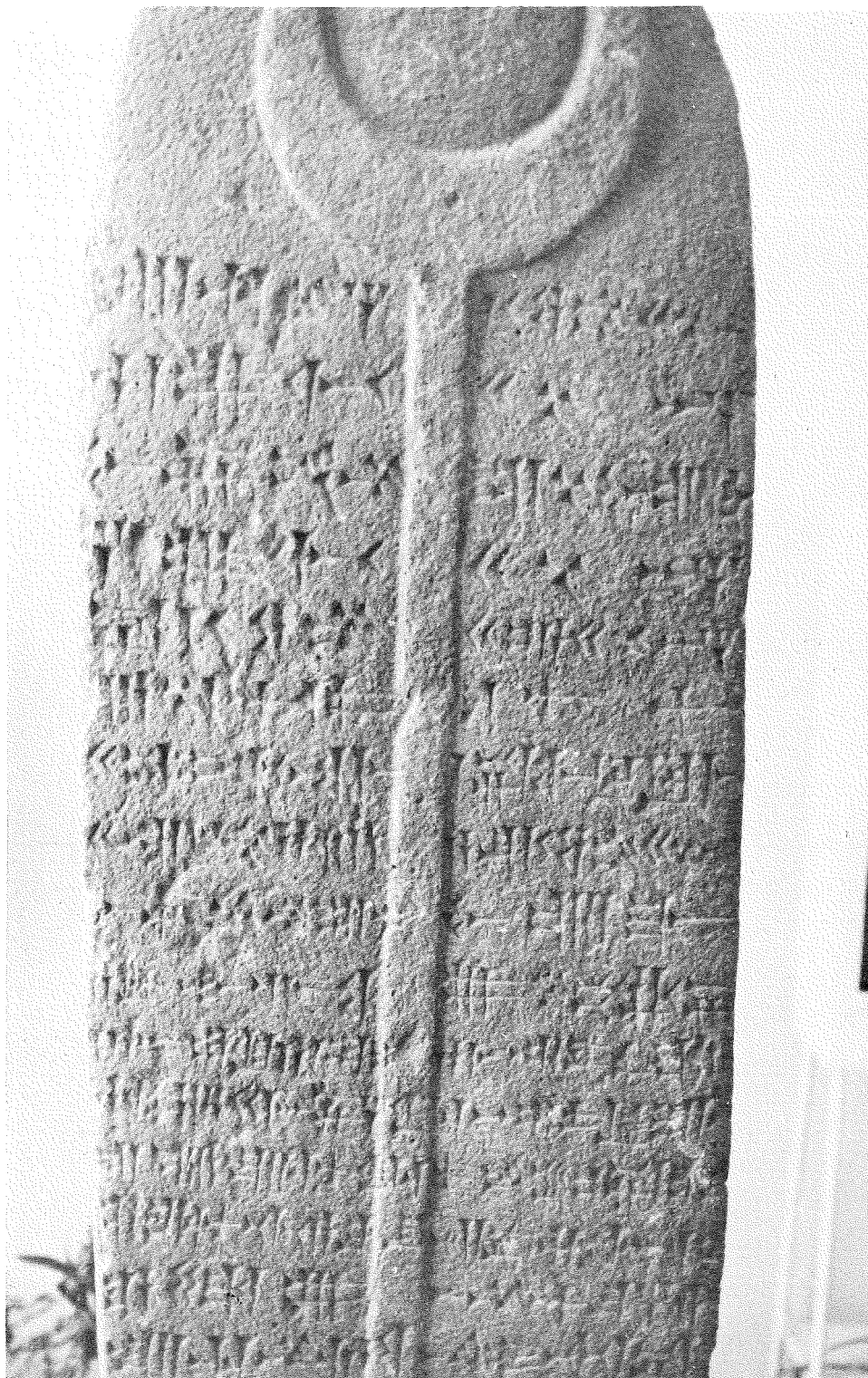


Figure 8: Pazarcik Stela, Obverse, Upper Portion



Figure 9: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse



Figure 10: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse



Figure 11: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Upper Portion

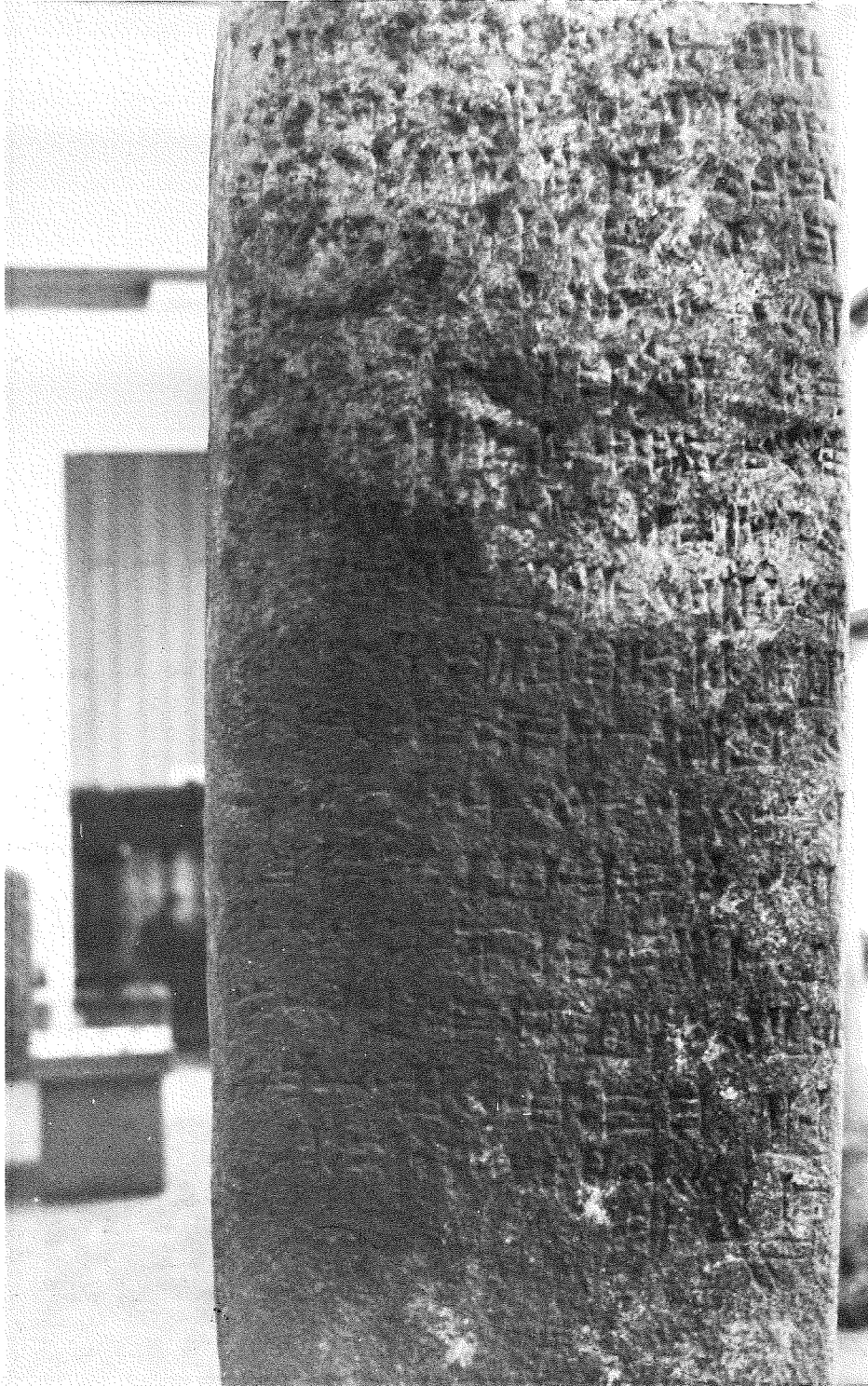


Figure 12: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Lower Portion



Figure 13: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge

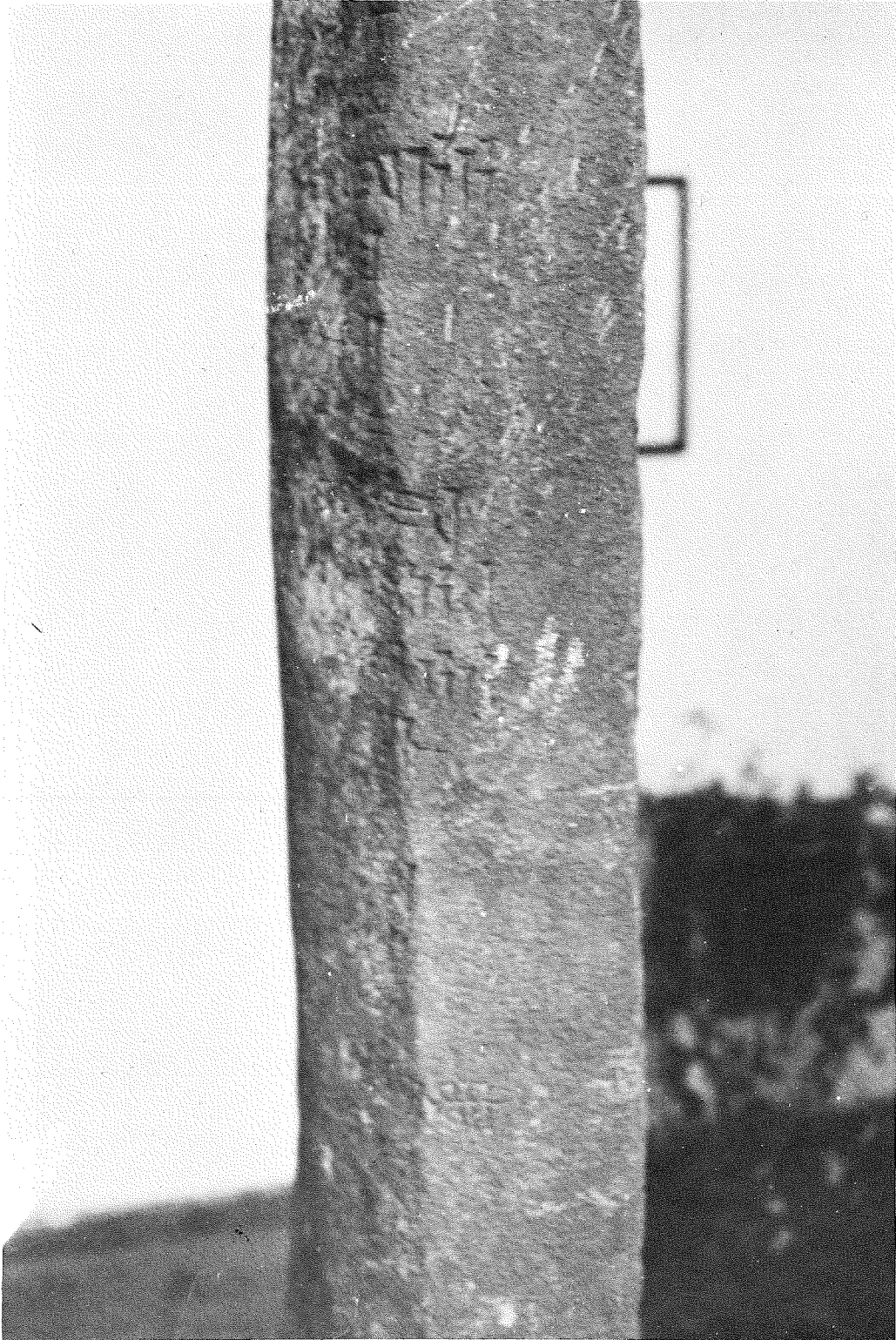


Figure 14: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge



Figure 15: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge



Figure 16: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge

Naram-Sin in Martu and Magan

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- I. The Tablet
- II. Text and Translation
- III. Interpretive Outline: Pericopes 1-12
- IV. Notes to Words and Phrases
- V. Notes to the Text
 1. Parallels and Duplicates
 2. State of the Text
- VI. *RÉC* 349 and *Apišal*
- VII. Literary Parallels

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

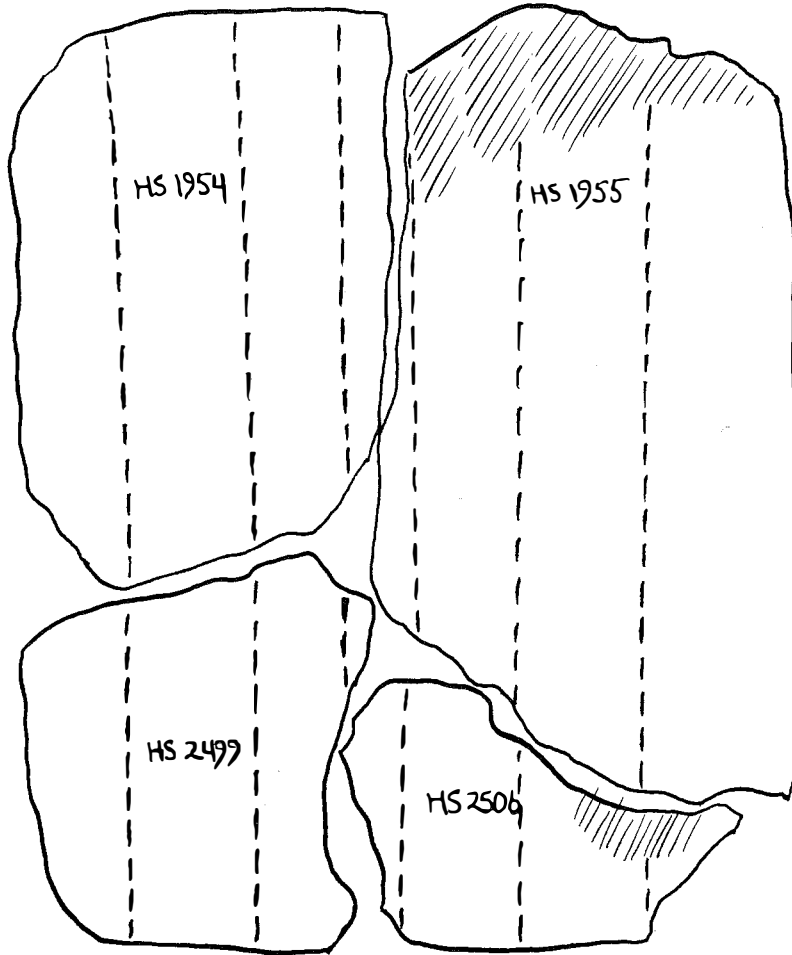


Figure 1: HS 1954 + 1955 + 2499 + 2506 Obv.

- 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) RÉC 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) RÉC 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 RÉC 169
- 20) in Ba-sa-[ar]
- 21) sa-dú-ì
- 22) MAR.TU^{ki}
- 23) RÉC 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⟩

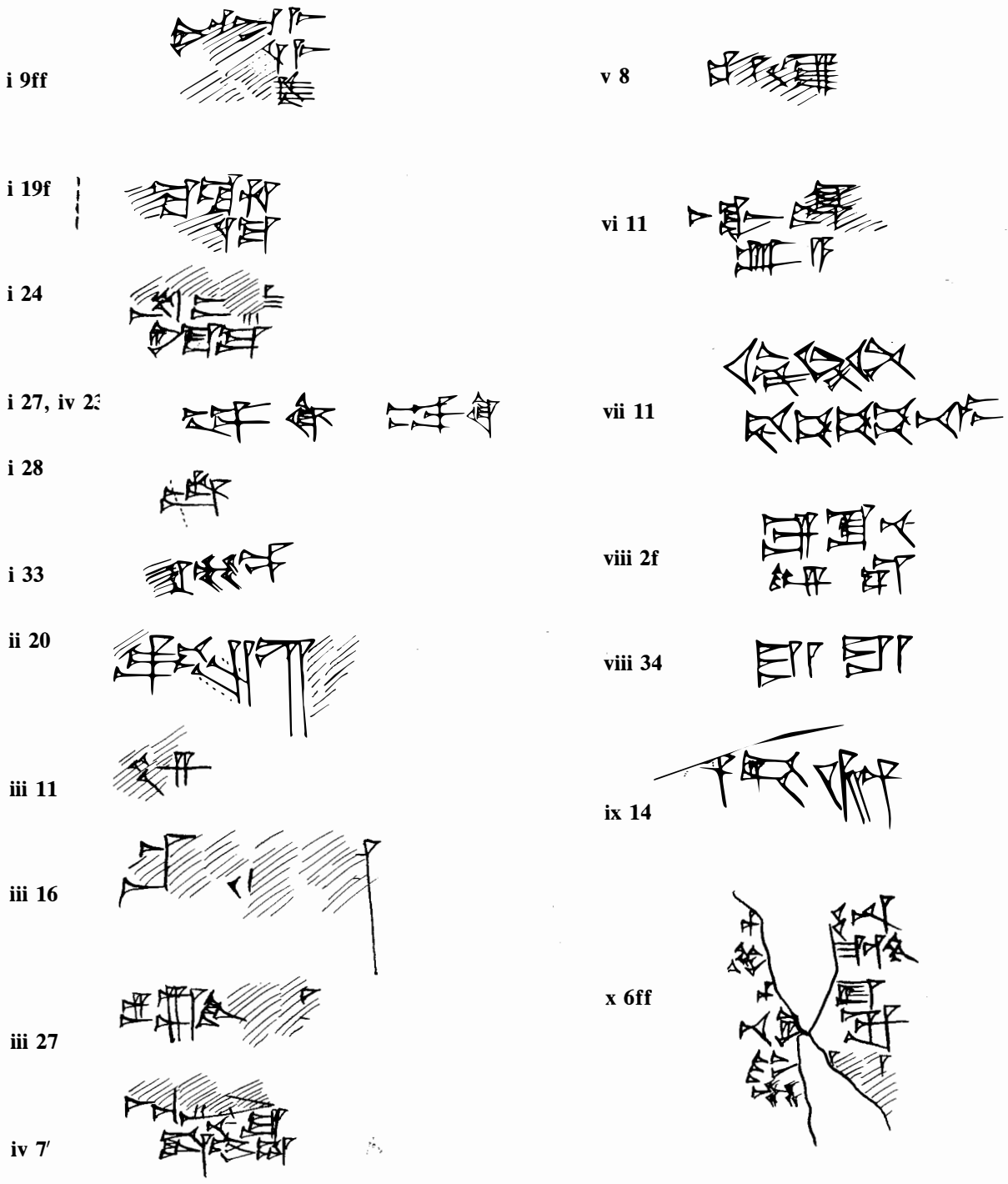
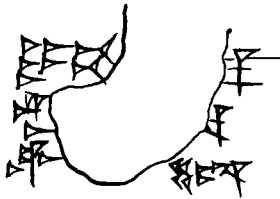


Figure 2: Collations, part 1

x 14ff



x 23ff



xi 9



xii 36



xiii 4



- 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}

Figure 2: Collations, part 2

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-𒍪-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-𒍪líl(?)
 - 8) Na-⟨ra-am-⟩-/^dEN.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-⟩-/^dEN.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) [...] 𒍪im
 - 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) SUĜUŠ.SUĜUŠ
- 3) A-kà-dè^{ki}
- 4) mu-tár-rí
- 5) dú-un-nim
- 6) a-na
- 7) kà-lí
- 8) in É
- 9) 𒀭En-𒍪líl
- 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-Γib-ra-ti/um* (?)
 29) *Γar¹-ba-[i/um]* (?)
 30) *iš-[ti]-/ni-iš*
 31) *i-kir_x (HA)-ni-su₄-ma*
 32) *[i]m-ħu-/ru-nim*

- 33) *[ΓLUGAL* (?)*]-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) [^dE]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-Γb¹-[ir-m]a*
 24) M[á-gan^k]ⁱ
 25) *Γqáb¹-li*
 26) *ti-[a]-am-tim*
 27) SAG GIŠ.RA
 28) ù
 a29) ^{giš}TUKUL^{ki}-su₄
 †30) [in] *ti-a-/am-tim*

- 31) [*sa*]-*Γpi¹-tim*
 32) ì.[LU]Ē
 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-Γat¹*
 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/-iṭ-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) *ṚKUṚ(?)_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^e 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 Asimanum.

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 *RÉC* 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 *RÉC* 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,' GİR.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-di-ma* GIŠ.TIR [GI]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 ^dAšnan *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/nū₇ā₇u*, 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, *Studies 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-šal^{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-šal^{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-šal^{5ki}/A-pi-zal/A-pi-šal^{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. *Apišalū*: 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.

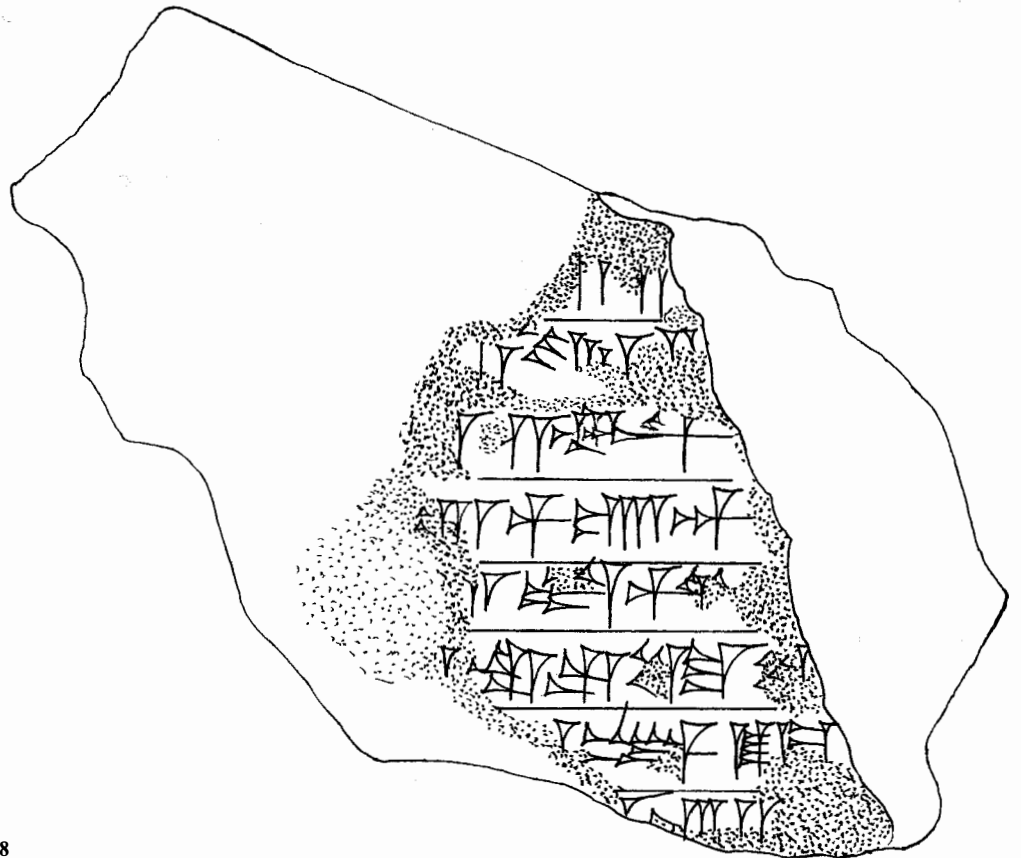
¹⁴ The so-called 'legend' discussed by Jacobsen, *AfO* 26 (1978-1979) 1ff, seems to me to be simply a Sargonic student excerpt copy of a genuine Naram-Sin inscription dealing with the Iphur-Kishi affair. For a comparable student copy, see *MAD* 1, 194 (Westenholz, *AfO* 25 [1974-1977] 103 no. 14).

Fragments of Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Possibly of Tiglath-pileser I

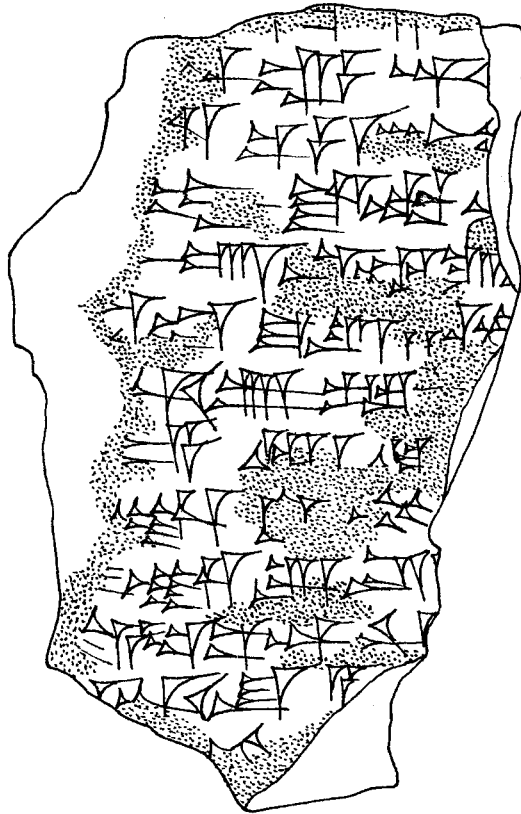
ALAN R. MILLARD
Liverpool

Two fragmentary royal inscriptions, on two pieces of clay tablets (K 4468 and BM 98572 = Th 1905-4-9,78), possible fragments of royal inscrip-

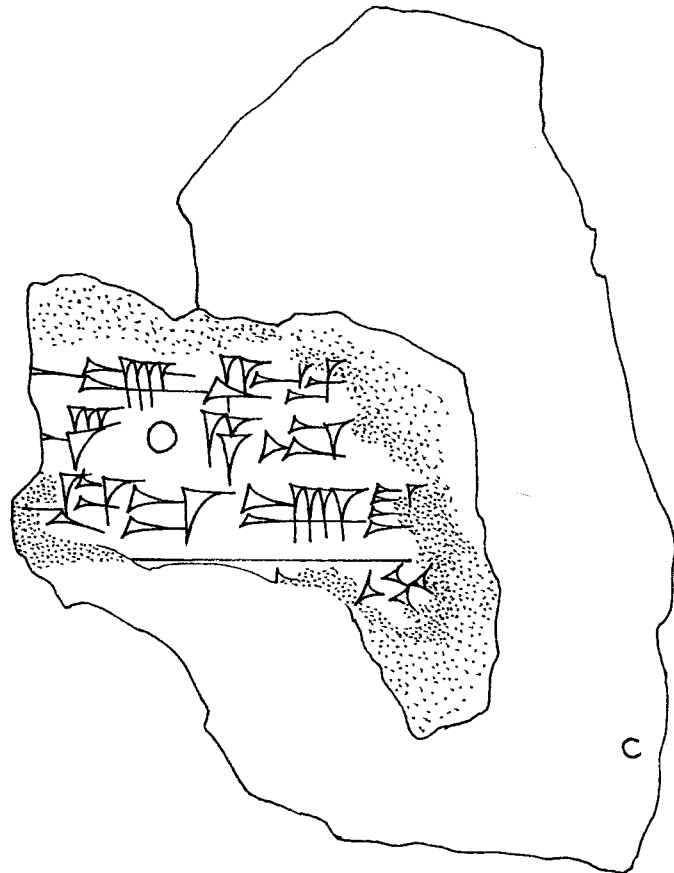
tions of Tiglath-pileser I, will be edited in RIMA 2 (A.0.8.7.1005 and 1006). K 4468 measures 3.2 × 5.5 cm, and BM 98572 measures 5 × 8 cm.



K 4468



BM 98572, Obverse



BM 98572, Reverse

Eine Inschrift Samsu-ilunas von Babylon

JOACHIM OELSNER
Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena (DDR)

Während der Ausgrabungen der University of Pennsylvania in Nippur wurde im Jahre 1900 im Schutt in der Nähe der Ostecke des Ziqurrathofs ein Tonkegel mit einer Inschrift Samsu-ilunas gefunden, die über den Bau der Mauer von Nippur berichtet. Der Text wurde von H.V. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia, 1903, S. 480–82, in einer paraphrasierenden Übersetzung mitgeteilt und analysiert,¹ der akkadische Text des heute in der Hilprecht-Sammlung Vorderasiatischer Altertümer

der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena befindlichen Exemplars ist noch unpubliziert (Inventarnummer: HS 2003, erwähnt von J. Oelsner, *WZJ* 18/5, 1969, S. 52 Nr. 31). Er wird hier in Kopie veröffentlicht, eine Bearbeitung wird in *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods* (RIME) Bd. 4 E4.3.7.2 erscheinen. HS 2003 besteht aus rötlichbraunem gebranntem Ton, die Oberfläche ist stellenweise abgeschabt, die Maße betragen: Länge 8,8 cm, Durchmesser links 5,5, rechts 4,0 cm.

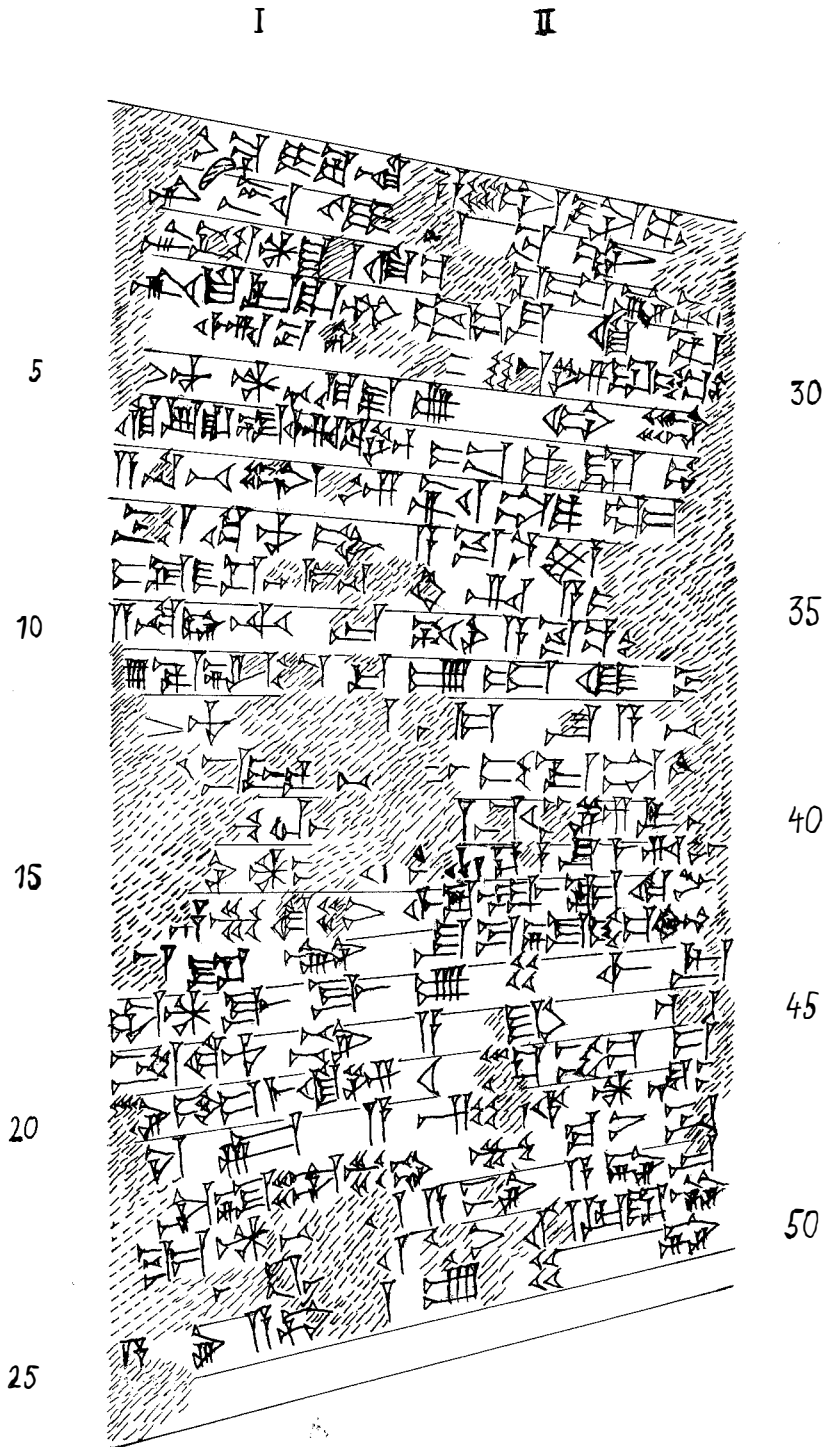
Col. i:

- 1) [sa-a]m-su-i-lu-na
- 2) [LUG]AL da-nú[m]
- 3) [LUG]AL KÁ.DINGIR.ΓRA^{ki}
- 4) [L]UGAL ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-Γim^l
- 5) Γi^l-nu^d En-líl
- 6) ki-ib-ra-at ar-ba-im
- 7) a-na be-li-[i]m
- 8) Γid^l-di-nu-Γšum^l
- 9) še-ra-Γas-si-na^l
- 10) a-na qà-ti-[š]u
- 11) ú-ma-al-Γli^l-ma
- 12) i-nu-[ú(?)-mi-š]u
- 13) [sa-a]m-[s]u-i-l[u-n]a
- 14) [SIPA m]u-Γ[i]-ib^l
- 15) [lib-b]i^dA[MAR. U]TU
- 16) [in] e-mu-qí-in
- 17) [š]i-ra-tim
- 18) ša DINGIR GAL.GAL
- 19) id-di-nu-šum
- 20) in ne-me-qí-im
- 21) Γša^l É-a
- 22) Γú^l-ša-at-li-mu-šum
- 23) [B]AD^dE[n-líl]^{ki^l}
- 24) [ša] Γ^dEN.ZU-mu-ba-li(?)-i(?)^l
- 25) a-bi a-bi-[š]u

Col. ii:

- 26) Γe^l-li ša pa-n[a]
- 27) [š]u-ba-as-[su]
- 28) Γú^l-[r]a-ap-pí-iš
- 29) BÀD-šú ki-ma
- 30) ΓSA.TU^l-im ra-bí-i[m]
- 31) ú-ul-li
- 32) ap-pa-ra-a[m]
- 33) uš-ta-ás-hir-[š]u
- 34) ⁱUD.KIB.[NUN]
- 35) ih-ri-a-a[m-ma]
- 36) GÚ ⁱUD.K[IB.NUN]
- 37) ú-um-mi-Γsu^l
- 38) ΓBÀD^l šu-a-Γtim^l
- 39) Γmar^l-kas ma-ta-t[im]
- 40) [a-n]a Γšu-m^li-im ib-b[i]
- 41) Γnī^l-še₁₁ KALAM Šu-me-ri-Γim^l
- 42) ù Ak-ka-di-im
- 43) šu-ba-at ne-eh-tim
- 44) ú-še-ši-ib
- 45) a-bur-Γri^l
- 46) u-šar-bí-iš
- 47) zi-[k]ir^dEN.Z[U]-mu-ba-lí-i^l
- 48) a-bi a-bi-šú
- 49) Γin ki^l-ib-ra-tim
- 50) ú-še-pí

¹ Vgl. auch ders., *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Study* (= *BE Res.* 5/1) Philadelphia, 1910, S. 8 Anm. 2.



HS 2003 (alt HS 46)

Tonzylinder Samsu-ilunas von der Stadtmauer von Nippur. S. Hilprecht,
Explorations 480–82 (mit paraphrasierender Übersetzung).
 Masse: Länge 8,8 cm, Durchmesser links 5,5, rechts 4,0 cm.

Cuneiform Texts at the University of British Columbia

CELESTE A. PETERS

University of Calgary

DOUGLAS R. FRAYNE

University of Toronto

The University of British Columbia possesses two sets of cuneiform documents, hitherto unpublished. One is now on display in the Museum of Anthropology, hereafter designated the MOA Collection. The other is housed in the University Library's Special Collections Division, denoted here the SCD Collection. In this article the two collections are combined and presented in chronological order. They are divided as follows: SCD Collection – texts 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10; MOA Collection – 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15. Information about the acquisition of the pieces is given under the individual items when known. Since all the pieces were donated or purchased their origin is determined by the internal evidence of the inscriptions.

Thanks are due to Anne Yandel, Head of Special Collections, and to Elizabeth Johnson, Curator of Collections at MOA, for their kind cooperation in providing access to the collections. Thanks are also due to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its support of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project which provided the facilities for this research. The assistance of G. Frame and L. Shiff in preparing the Neo-Babylonian editions is gratefully acknowledged, although any errors are the sole responsibility of the authors.

TEXT EDITIONS

1: MOA 4.19

Clay cone; length: 12 cm, dia.: 8.1 cm at head tapering to 2 cm; origin: Girsu (Telloh); gift of Mr. Charles Flick, 1934.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 𒀭nín-gír-sú
- 2) [ur-sãg]-𒀭kálá-[ga]
- 3) 𒀭en-[líl-lá]
- 4) 𒀭lugal-a-[ni]
- 5) 𒀭gù-dé-a

- 6) 𒀭énsi
- 7) 𒀭lagaš^{ki}-[ke₄]
- 8) [n]i-du₇-𒀭e pa mu-na/-è
- 9) 𒀭é-ninnu^dIM.DUGUD^{mušen}/bábbar-ra-ni
- 10) mu-na-dù
- 11) [ki-b]é 𒀭mu-[na-gi₄]

TRANSLATION

- 1) For the god Ningirsu,
- 2) mighty hero
- 3) of the god Enlil,
- 4) his lord,
- 5) Gudea,
- 6) governor
- 7) of Lagaš,
- 8) made the appropriate order appear.
- 9) The E-ninnu temple, his shining Anzu bird,
- 10) he built (and)
- 11) restored for him.

COMMENTARY

The inscription is badly worn away but is well attested from other examples (see J.-M. Aynard, 'Les clous d'argile du Musée du Louvre,' *RA* 54 [1960] p. 13). Gudea ruled c. 2150 BC.

2: MOA 4.24

Clay cone; length: 7.5 cm, dia.: 5.7 cm tapering to 3.0 cm; origin: Girsu (Telloh); gift of Mr. Charles Flick, 1934.

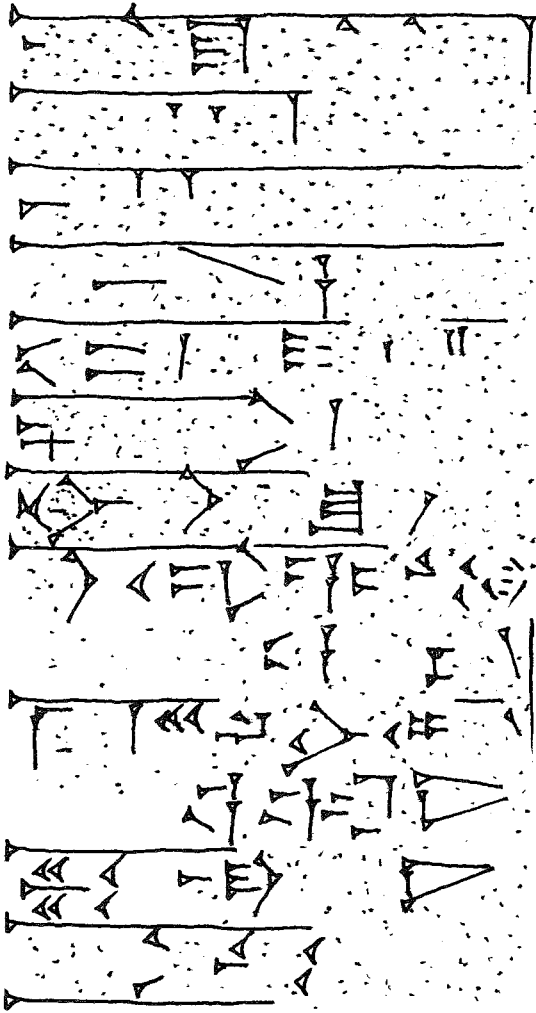
COMMENTARY

See notes to text 1: MOA 4.19. Duplicate of text 1 with the following variants: line 3 adds -ra at the end; line 4 of text 1 is omitted.

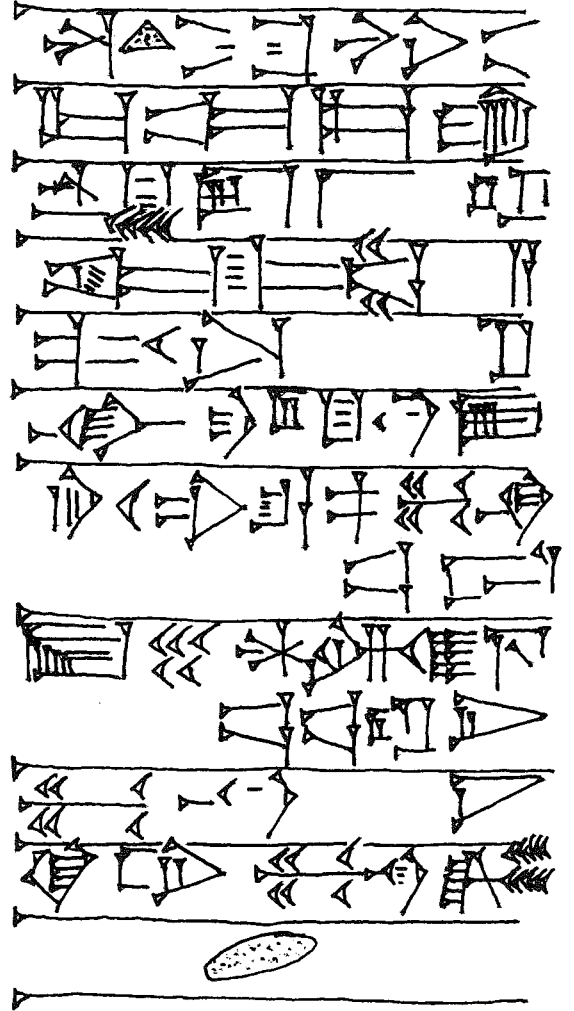
3: SCD A

Clay tablet; dimensions: 3.3×3.3×1.6 cm; origin: Umma (Djokha).

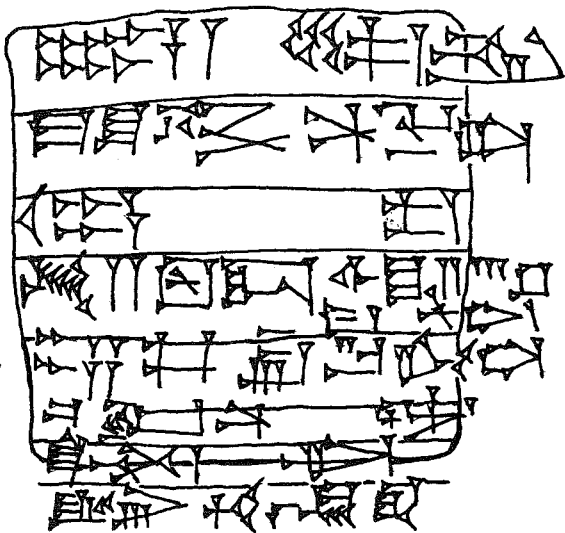
1.



2.

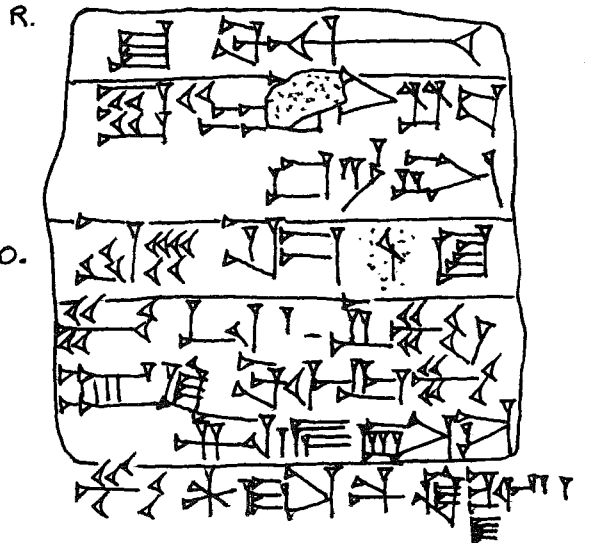


0.



5.

3.



10.

R.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 9 (gur) 3 (bán) še gur-lugal
- 2) é-šu-tum-an-dùl-ta
- 3) 14 (gur) 2 (bán) gur
- 4) kun-i₇-da ù a-^rša^{gis}/ma-nu-ta
- 5) 4 (gur) 4 (bán) gur aša₅(GÁN)-ur-gu-ta
- 6) ugula KA-^dinanna(?)
- 7) ki ir-ta!
- 8) lugal-gú-en-e/šu-ba-ti
- 9) iti sig₄-^{gis}i-šub-ba/gá-gar-ta
- 10) iti še-sag-kud-šè
- 11) mu-ús-sa si-mu-r[u]/-um^{ki} ba-^hul mu/-ús-sa-bi-ta
- 12) mu an-ša-an^{ki} ba-^hul/-šè

TRANSLATION

- 1) Nine royal *gur*, 180 (*sila*) barley,
- 2) (from) the warehouse of Andul.
- 3) 14 *gur*, 120 (*sila*)
- 4) (at) the mouth of the river and from the Manu field.
- 5) Four *gur*, 240 (*sila*) from the field of Urgu.
- 6) Foreman: KA-Inanna
- 7) from Ir.
- 8) Lugal-guene received (them).
- 9) From the month of Sig-i-šib-ba ga-gar
- 10) to the month of Še-sag-kud.
- 11) From the year after the year after the city Simurum was destroyed
- 12) to the year the city of Anšan was destroyed.

COMMENTARY

2) šu-tum is commonly written as é-šu-tùm = Akk. *šutummu* 'warehouse, depot' (see R. Labat, *Manuel d'Épigraphie akkadienne*, Fifth edition, Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1976, p. 163). Andul is attested as a *kuš*, in a text published by M. Sigris (Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum [= AUAS 4] Berrien Springs, Michigan: Andrews University Press, 1984, text 496:4).

4) For aša^{gis}manu see S.T. Kang, *Sumerian Economic Texts From the Umma Archive* (= *Sumerian and Akkadian Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of the World Heritage Museum of the University of Illinois* 2) Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1973, texts 18:6 and 48:3.

5) The field of Urgu is well attested in Umma (see Kang, *ibid.* 2:14 and 52:2, and Sigris, *op. cit.* text 475:5).

7) The PN Ir is attested in many texts including Kang (*Umma*, *op. cit.*) 88:7 from year 36 of Šulgi.

9) Second month of the Umma calendar.

10) First month of the Umma calendar. This and the second month in line nine appear to be inverted

as the transaction takes place within a single year.

11) Šulgi, year 34.

12) Šulgi, year 34(?). We have followed the ordering of Šulgi year formulae proposed by K. Sykes, 'The Year Names of the Ur III Period,' A Field Paper Submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the Humanities of the University of Chicago for the Degree of Master of Arts, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Chicago, 1973.

4: SCD B

Clay tablet; dimensions: 5.0×5.4×2.0 cm; origin: Umma (Djokha).

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) [... u₄]-21(?)-šè
- 2) x [...] a-šà lá/-maḥ
- 3) ugula ba [...]
- 4) kišib lu[gal-é-maḥ]-e
- 5) iti še-gur₁₀-ku₅
- 6) mu-ús-sa si-mu-ru-
- 7) um^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki} a-rá-
- 8) 9-kam ba-^hul

(Seal)

- 1) lugal-é-maḥ-e
- 2) dub-sar
- 3) dumu lugal-kù-ga-ni

TRANSLATION

- 1) [...] for 21 [days]
- 2) x [...] the Lamah field.
- 3) Foreman: Ba- [...].
- 4) Seal of: Lu[gal-e-maḥ]-e.
- 5) The month Še-gur-ku.
- 6) The year after Simurum
- 7) (and) Lullubu,
- 8) were destroyed for the ninth time.

(Seal)

- 1) Lugal-e-maḥ-e,
- 2) scribe,
- 3) son of Lugal-kugani.

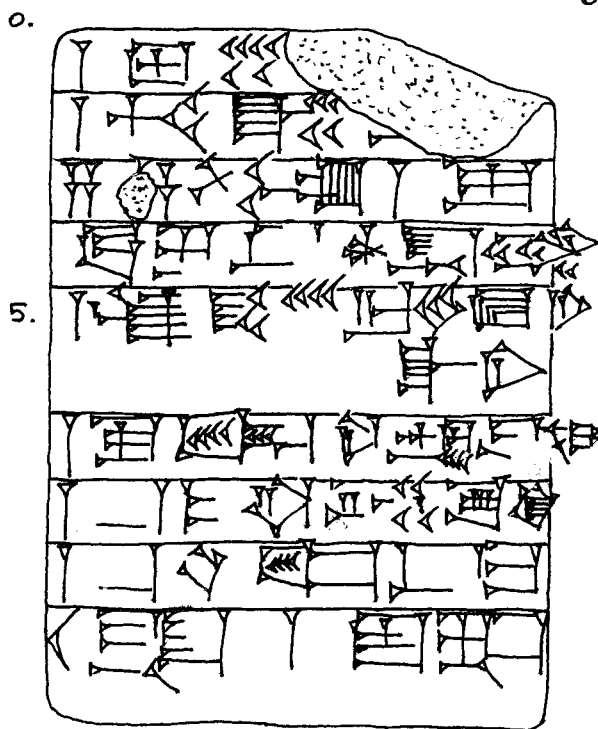
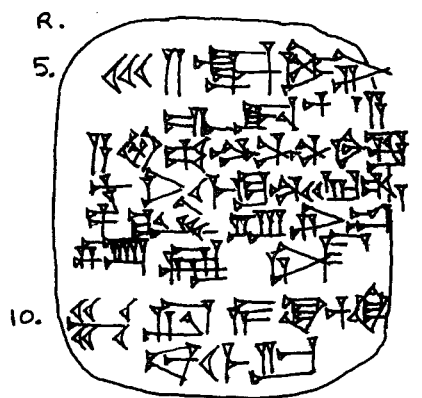
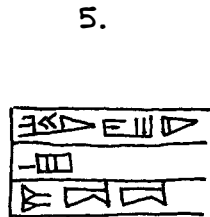
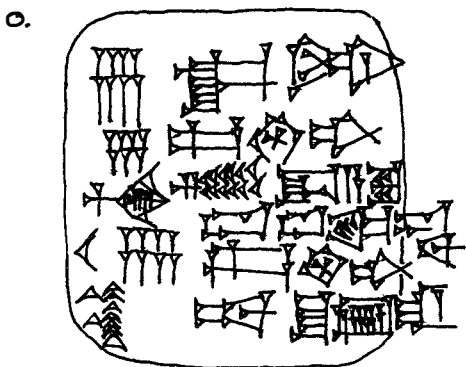
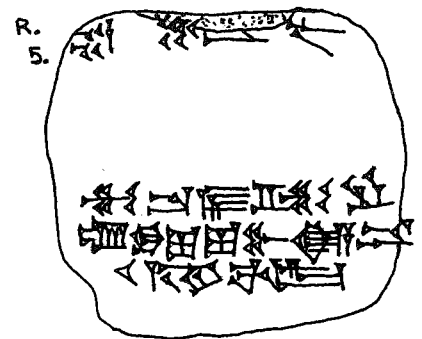
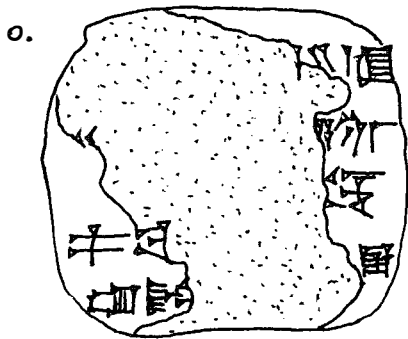
COMMENTARY

2) The Lamah field is well attested in Umma texts. See Kang (*Umma*, *op. cit.*) 38:2, 39:2, 42:2, 75:2, 82:4, 84:3, 115:6, and 158:4.

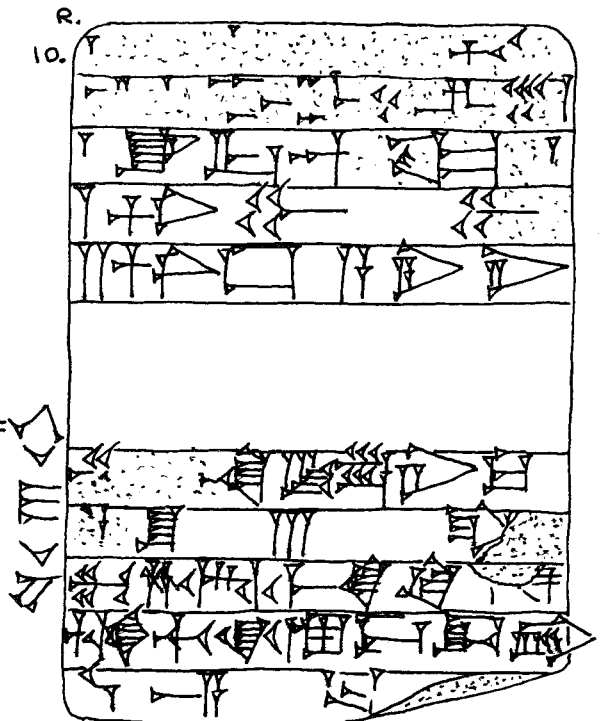
6) Month 12 at Puzriš-Dagān and Ur.

7) Šulgi, year 45.

Seal: For examples of the same seal inscription see Kang (*Umma*, *op. cit.*) text 41 and G.G. Hackman, *Temple documents of the third dynasty of Ur from Umma* (= *BIN* 5) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937, texts 28, 229, 233, 236, 262, and 265.



6.



5: SCD Duschene #38

Clay tablet; dimensions: 4.0×4.5×2.0 cm; origin: Puzriš-Dagān (Drēhem).

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 8 engar dumu-ni
- 2) 7 guruš šà-gu₄
- 3) kun-zi-da(!)-i₇/du-du-ka gub-ba
- 4) 18 guruš šà-gu₄/zàr-tab-ba šu-ùr-ra
- 5) 32 engar dumu-ni/mar-da-r[i]-a
- 6) a-šà gu₄-mul nin_x-
- 7) nu-dù ù^dšul-pa/-è!
- 8) ugula lugal-ukkin-né
- 9) kišib <lugal>-ukkin-né! x
- 10) mu-ús-sa ki-maš^{ki}/ba-ḥul

(Seal)

- 1) lugal-ukkin-né
- 2) dub-[sar]
- 3) dumu du-du

TRANSLATION

- 1) Eight young plowmen,
- 2) seven male workers, ox drivers,
- 3) at the weir (dam) of the Dudu canal mouth (are) stationed.
- 4) 18 male workers, ox drivers, (piled) grain heaps and spread (them).
- 5) 32 young plowmen equipped (with) spades
- 6) in the Gumul field, (the)
- 7) Nin-nudu (field), and the Šulpa-e (field).
- 8) Foreman: Lugal-ukkinne.
- 9) Seal of: <Lugal>-ukkinne ...
- 10) The year after Kimaš was destroyed.

(Seal)

- 1) Lugal-ukkinne,
- 2) scribe,
- 3) son of Dudu.

COMMENTARY

1) For the term dumu-ni see H. Limet, *Textes sumériens de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur* (= *Documents du Proche Orient Ancien*, épigraphie 1) [Brussels]: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, [1976], text 18:2.

2) For guruš šà-gu₄ see Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) 64:1 and 69:1.

3) For kun-zi-da see commentary to Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) 2:2 (p. 365).

4) For zàr-tab-ba šu-ùr-ra see Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) 53:2, 54:2, and 115:2.

5) For mar-da-ri-a see Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) 53:4.

6) The gu₄-mul field is attested in Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) 31:8 and 53:5. The nin_x-nu-dù field is attested in Kang (*Umma*, op.cit.) 46:5 and 34:1.

8) Lugal-ukken-né according to J.-P. Grégoire, *Archives administratives sumériennes*, Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1970, 28 II 17.

9) x is probably a profession.

10) Šulgi, year 47.

6: SCD C

Clay tablet; dimensions: 3.9×5.4×1.9 cm; origin: Puzriš-Dagān (Drēhem).

TRANSLITERATION

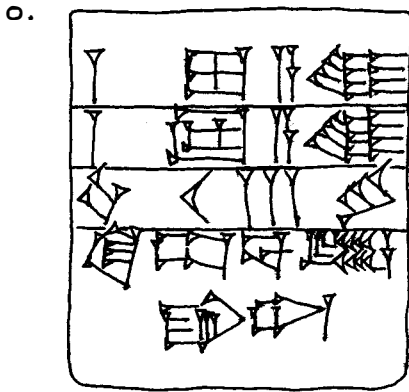
- 1) 1 udu-niga [...]
- 2) 1 máš-gal-niga [x ...]
- 3) 4 ha-bu-um 1 sila₄
- 4) še-lu-uš^d da-gan
- 5) 1 zeh-niga_x ur-nìgin-gar/santana
- 6) 1 sila₄ puzur₄-^dEN.ZU nu-bànda
- 7) 1 sila₄(?) énsi gir-su^{ki}
- 8) 1 sila₄(?) zabar-dab₅
- 9) 10 gukkal(?) 1 sila₄ gukkal
- 10) 1 [...] x [...] máš
- 11) [x x x x] na-ša₆
- 12) 1 anše ur-^dištaran
- 13) 1 mašda bu-bu
- 14) 2 mašda é-a-i(!)-lī
- 15) mu-[DU] na-ša₆ i-dab₅
- 16) iti šu-eš₅-ša
- 17) mu ha-ar-š^{ki} ki-maš^{ki}
- 18) hu-mur-ti^{ki} ù ma-da-bi
- 19) u₄-1-a ba-[ḥul]

(Side)

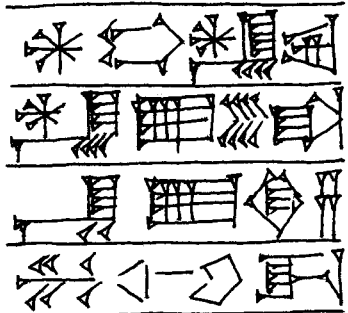
- 20) u₄-13-kam

TRANSLATION

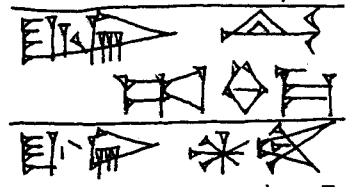
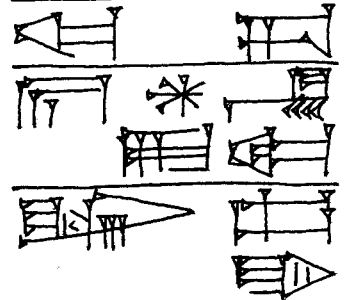
- 1) One barley-fattened sheep ...,
- 2) one barley-fattened full-grown goat,
- 3) four wild animals, one lamb,
- 4) (from) Šellus-Dagān;
- 5) one fattened kid (from) Ur-ningimar, the orchard keeper;
- 6) one lamb (from) Puzur-Sîn, the captain;
- 7) one lamb (from) the governor of the city of Girsu;
- 8) one lamb (from) Zabar-dab;
- 9) 10 fat-tailed sheep, one fat-tailed lamb,
- 10) ... goat(s),
- 11) ... (from) Naša;
- 12) one ass (from) Ur-Ištaran;
- 13) one gazelle (from) Bubu;
- 14) two gazelles (from) Ea-ilī;
- 15) delivered, Naša took hold of it.
- 16) The month Šu-eš-ša.
- 17) The year Harši, Kimaš,
- 18) Humurti, and their lands,
- 19) were destroyed for the first time.



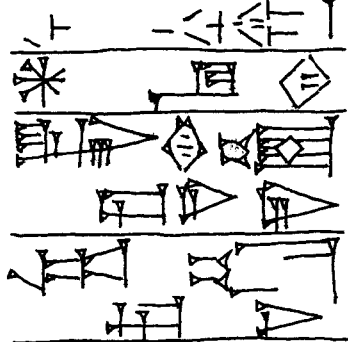
8.



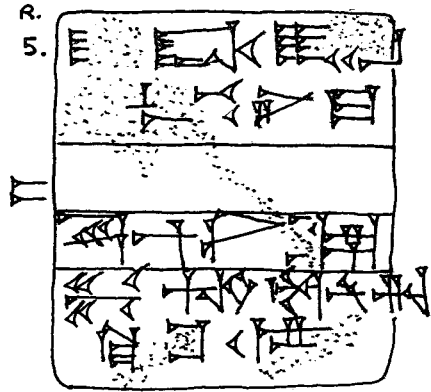
5.



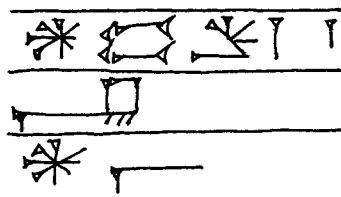
10.



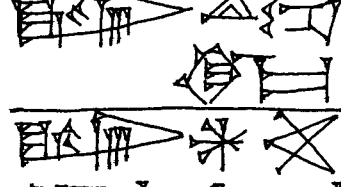
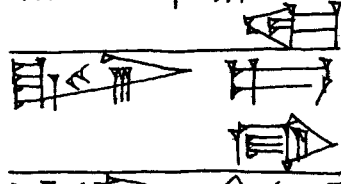
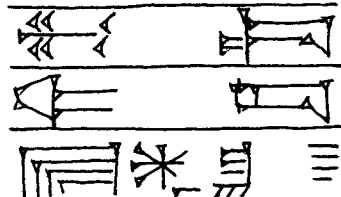
7.



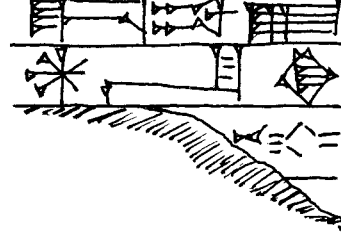
9.



5.



10.



(Side)

20) Day 13.

COMMENTARY

3) For *hu-bu-um* = 'wild animal' see M. Sigrist (op. cit.) text 433:5.

4) Šellus-Dagān is listed in C.E. Keiser, *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem* (= *BIN* 3) New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971, p. 23, as having a seal designating him *ensi* of Simurum (seal 627). Note that the lamb in line seven is also from an *ensi*.

6) For Puzur-Sîn, see Grégoire (op. cit.) 168:8.

16) Eighth month at Puzriš-Dagān.

17) Šulgi, year 48.

7: SCD E

Clay tablet; dimensions: 2.8×3.1×1.5 cm; origin: Puzriš-Dagān (Drehem).

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 1 udu-a-lum
- 2) 1 sila₄-a-lum
- 3) u₄-13-kam
- 4) ki ab-ba-ša₆/-ga-ta
- 5) x DA GIG x/x x UB(?) ì-dab₅
- 6) iti maš-dù-kú
- 7) mu *hu-u₄-ùḫ-nu-ri*^{ki} ba-ḫul

(Side)

8) Two.

TRANSLATION

- 1) One 'alum' sheep,
- 2) one 'alum' lamb,
- 3) the 13th day,
- 4) from Abba-šaga
- 5) ... took hold of it.
- 6) The month Maš-du-ku.
- 7) The year the city Ḫuḫnuri was destroyed.

(Side)

8) Two (total).

COMMENTARY

6) First month at Ur and Puzriš-Dagān.

7) Amar-Suena, year seven. Note the variant spelling with *u₄* in *hu-u₄-ùḫ-nu-ri*^{ki} is not attested by N. Schneider, *Die Zeitbestimmungen der Wirtschaftsurkunden von Ur III* (= *AnOr* 13) Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1936.

8: MOA 4.29

Stamped brick; dimensions: 26.3×26.2×6.7 cm; origin: Eridu (Abū Shahrain); donated by Mr. H.V.S. Page.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) ^damar-^dEN.ZU
- 2) ^den-líl-le
- 3) nibru^{ki}-za!
- 4) mu-pà-da
- 5) sa^g-ús
- 6) é.^den/líl-ka
- 7) lugal-kala/-ga
- 8) lugal-uris/^{ki}-ma
- 9) lugal-an-ub/-da-límmu-ba-ka
- 10) ^den-ki
- 11) lugal-ki-ág/-gá-ni-ir
- 12) abzu [ki]-ág/gá-ni
- 13) mu-na-dù

TRANSLATION

- 1) Amar-Suena,
- 2-4) (the one) chosen by the god Enlil in Nippur,
- 5) the constant (supporter)
- 6) of the temple of the god Enlil,
- 7) mighty king,
- 8) king of Ur,
- 9) king of the four quarters,
- 10) for the god Enki,
- 11) his beloved lord,
- 12-13) built his beloved Apsû (temple) for him.

COMMENTARY

This building inscription is found at both Ur and Eridu. According to the donor, Mr. H.V.S. Page, who collected both this brick and M4.30 in the Middle East during WW I, it came from Eridu. For other examples of this brick see W.W. Hallo, 'The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: A Typology,' *HUCA* 33 (1962) p. 35. For an edition, see I. Kärki, *Die Königinschriften der dritten Dynastie von Ur* (= *StOr* 58) Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society, 1986, Amar-Suena 5, p. 76.

The inscription is stamped on both the face and right edge of the brick. The stamp on the face is the better preserved of the two and is the example copied here.

1) Amar-Suena, year eight.

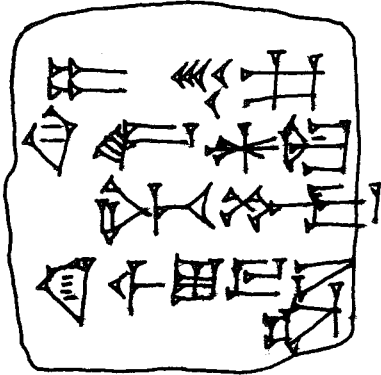
9: MOA 4.30

Stamped brick; dimensions: brick - 26.4×22 (incomplete)×7.3 cm, stamp - 5.6×16.6 cm (incomplete); origin: Eridu (Abū Shahrain); donated by Mr. H.V.S. Page.

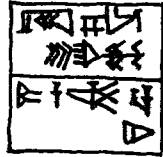
TRANSLITERATION

- 1) ^damar-^dEN.ZU
- 2) nibru^[ki-ta]
- 3) ^den-[líl/-le]

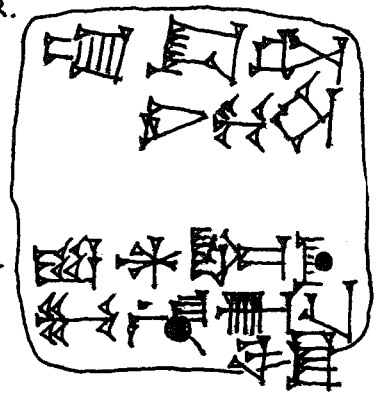
O.



10.

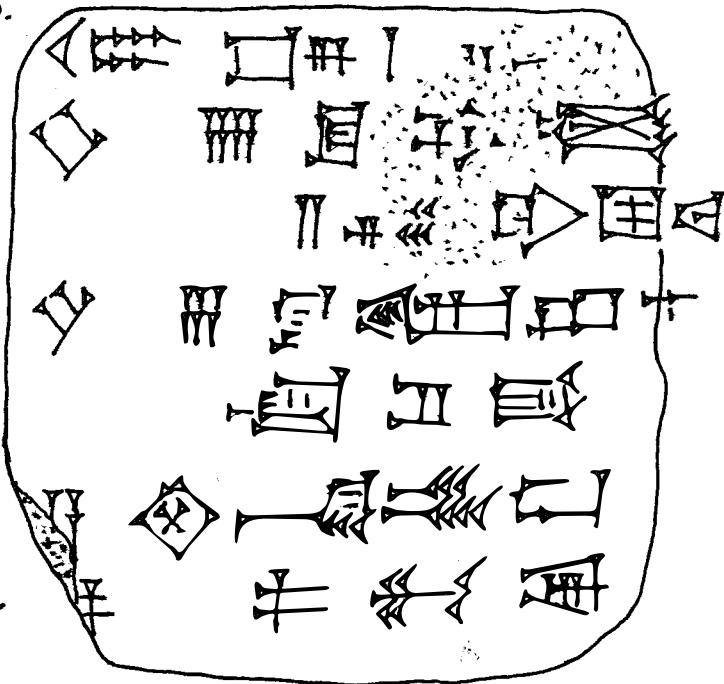


R.



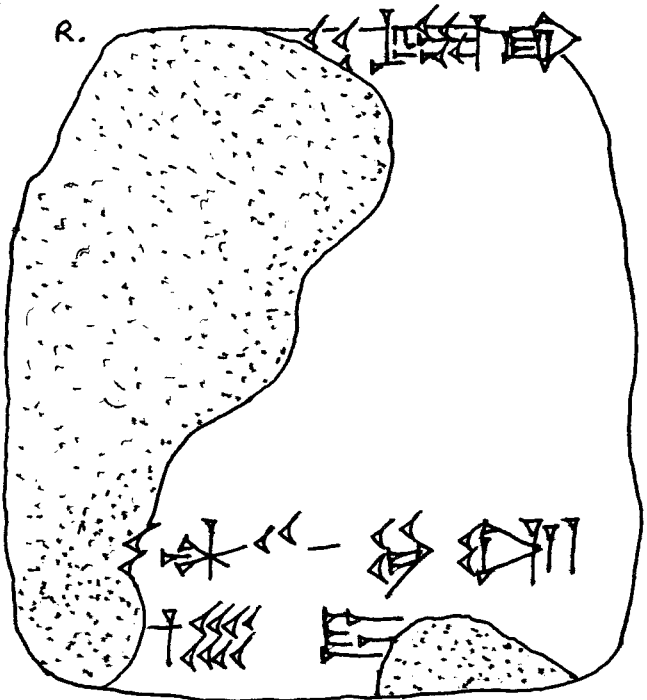
5.

O.



11.

R.



5.

- 4) mu-[pà]-da
- 5) sa^g-ús-
- 6) é-^den-^rlíl^r/^r-ka
- 7) lugal-kala/-ga
- 8) lugal-uris/^{ki}-ma
- 9) lugal-an-ub/-da-límmu-ba-ke₄
- 10) ^den-ki
- 11) [... á]g
(breaks off)

TRANSLATION

- 1) Amar-Suena,
- 2-4) (the one) chosen by the god Enlil in Nippur,
- 5) the constant (supporter)
- 6) of the temple of the god Enlil,
- 7) mighty king,
- 8) king of Ur,
- 9) king of the four quarters,
- 10) (for) the god Enki,
- 11) [his beloved] [lord],
- 12-13) [he built his beloved Apsû (temple) for him].

COMMENTARY

This inscription is another variation of the text stamped on MOA 4.29. There is a considerable amount of pitch on the back of this brick.

10: SCD D

Clay tablet; dimensions: 4.5 × 4.8 × 2.2 cm; origin: Umma (Djokha).

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 4 še-gur
- 2) ki KA-^dnin/-ildu(m)-ma
- 3) ki ù-ma-ni/-ta
- 4) kišib á-al/-lí-mu NIM
- 5) iti ^dli₉-si₄
- 6) mu en eridu^{ki}/ba-^hun

(Seal)

- 1) á-al/-li-mu
- 2) dumu x x e/-ni

TRANSLATION

- 1) Four *gur* of barley
- 2) from(?) KA-Ninildumma
- 3) from Umani.
- 4) Seal of: A'allimu, the Elamite.
- 5) The month Lisi.
- 6) The year the *en* priestess of Eridu was installed.

(Seal)

- 1) A'allimu,
- 2) son of ...-e-ni.

COMMENTARY

- 4) For NIM = 'the Elamite', see Limet (op. cit.) p. 90.

The PN A'allimu is known from a number of variant spellings. The name appears as a-al-lí (Kang, *Umma*, op. cit. 313:12 and T.B. Jones and J. Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974 [repr. of Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961] 171:3); a-al-la-mu (Keiser, op. cit. 431:3 and 576:4 and Jones and Snyder, *ibid.* 101:9; 104:26, and 104:29); a-al-lí-mu (Jones and Snyder, *ibid.* 193:7, seal dumu-mu-ni ... nin-gar); and a-al-mu (Jones and Snyder, *ibid.* 106:16). However, this appears to be the only text that begins the name with á. Note that, even within this text, there is a discrepancy in the orthography between á-al-lí-mu in line four and á-al-li-mu in the seal.

- 5) Second month, Lagaš.

- 6) Amar-Suena, year eight.

11: MOA 4.37

Clay tablet; dimensions: 4.2 × 4.4 × 1.7 cm; origin: Umma (Djokha).

TRANSLITERATION

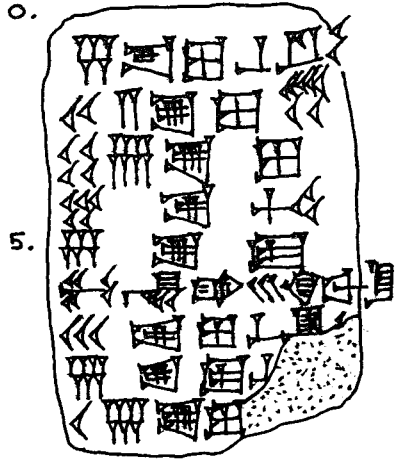
- 1) 17 un-íl
 - 2) u₄-8-šè zubi/a zi-ga dab₅-ba
 - 3) u₄-6-šè du₆ DAG (OR NAG?) ab-didli/-ne si-ga
 - 4) a-šà en-du₈-du
 - 5) [...] x ugula mu-zu
 - 6) [kišib x(?)] x ša₆-ga
- (blank)
- 7) [m]u ^dnanna kar/-zi-da

TRANSLATION

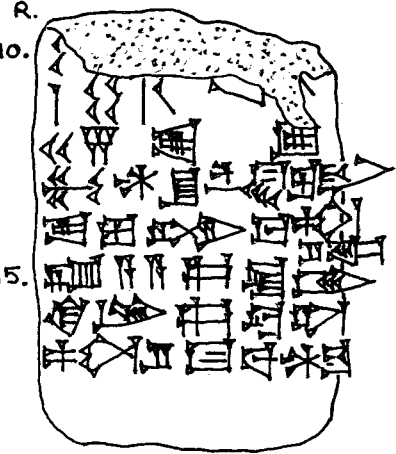
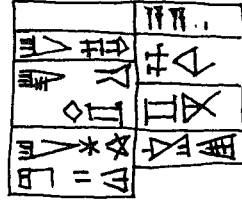
- 1) 17 porters
 - 2) for eight days removed water from water-logged soil
 - 3) (and) for six days the ... workers filled in the mound ...
 - 4) (at) the field Endudu.
 - 5) ... foreman: Muzu.
 - 6) Seal of: ...saga.
- (blank)
- 7) The year (the *en* priest of) the god Nanna of Karzida (was installed).

COMMENTARY

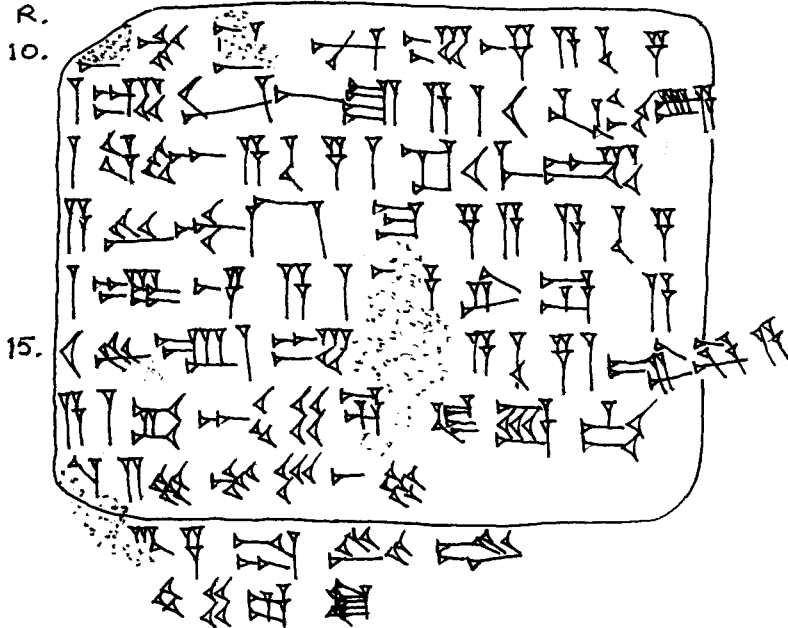
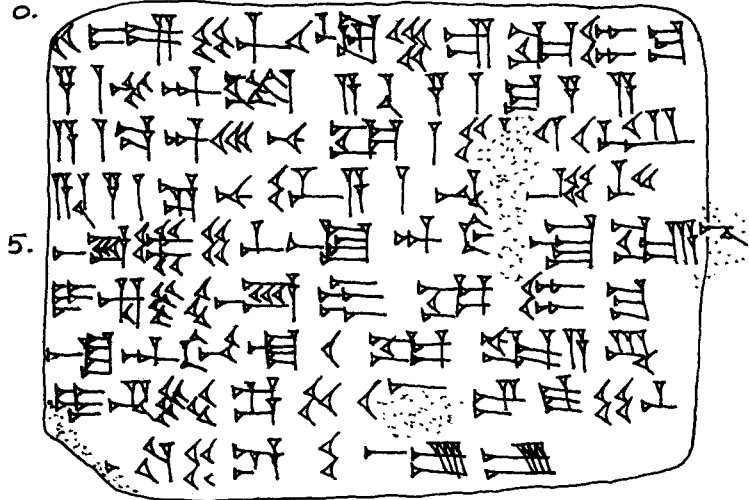
- 2) For zubi = *zā'ibu* 'water-logged soil' or *midirtum* 'rotten soil', see Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) 21:4 and commentary.



12.



13.



3) ab-didli is a type of worker listed in N.W. Forde, *Nebraska Cuneiform Texts of the Sumerian Ur III Dynasty*, N.P.: Coronado Press, 1972, p. 61.

4) The field of Endudu was located at Umma. See Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) *passim* and G. Pettinato, *Untersuchungen zur Neusumerischen Landwirtschaft 1, Die Felder, 1. Teil*, Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1967, pp. 197f.

5) Although highly unusual, could this be read with the previous line as: a-ša en-du-gub/-ba ugula mu-zu? There is precedent for abbreviating en-du-du₈ to en-du in Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) 62:3. A more likely reading for this line is: ugula pa-mu-zu; however, we are unaware of another attestation of this name.

6) kišib is normally in this position in this type of text.

7) Amar-Suena, year nine.

12: MOA 4.33A

Clay tablet; dimensions: 7.0×4.9×2.2 cm; origin: Umma (Djokha).

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 5 kuš udu-bar-gál
- 2) 22 kuš udu-niga
- 3) 48 kuš udu
- 4) 50 kuš máš
- 5) 6 kuš sila₄
- 6) mu en ga-eš^{ki} ba-ḥun
- 7) 30 kuš udu-bar-gál
- 8) 7 kuš sila₄-bar-[gál]
- 9) 17 kuš udu [...]
- 10) 40(+) [kuš udu]
- 11) 99 kuš [máš]
- 12) 25 kuš sila₄
- 13) mu ^dšu-^dEN.ZU lugal
- 14) kuš udu tag-ma énsi-ka
- 15) kišib a-a-kal-la ašgal
- 16) ki lú-kal-la-ta
- 17) énsi-ke₄ ba-an-dab₅; [or GIŠ-Uḫ-KI? (Umma)]

(Seal)

- 1) [^dšu-^dEN.ZU]
- 2) lugal-kala-ga
- 3) lugal-uri₅/^{ki}-ma
- 4) lugal-an-ub/-da-límmu-ba
- 5) a-a-[kal-la]
- 6) énsi
- 7) GIŠ.Ùḫ^[ki]
- 8) ir-zu

TRANSLATION

- 1) Five hides (of) unplucked sheep,
- 2) 22 hides (of) grain-fed sheep,

- 3) 48 hides (of) sheep,
- 4) 50 hides (of) goats,
- 5) six hides (of) lambs,
- 6) the year the *en* priestess of Gaeš was installed.
- 7) 30 hides (of) unplucked sheep,
- 8) seven hides (of) unplucked lambs,
- 9) 17 hides (of) sheep (of some sort),
- 10) 40(+) (hides of sheep),
- 11) 99 hides (of) goats,
- 12) 25 hides (of) lambs,
- 13) the year Šū-Sîn became king.
- 14) Stamped sheep hides of the governor.
- 15) Receipted by A^a-kalla, the leather worker,
- 16) from Lu-kalla.
- 17) The governor of ...(?)

(Seal)

- 1) Šū-Sîn,
- 2) mighty king,
- 3) king of Ur,
- 4) king of the four quarters,
- 5) A^a-kalla,
- 6) governor
- 7) of Umma,
- 8) (is) your servant.

COMMENTARY

1) Kang (*Drehem*, op. cit.) p. 274 translates 'unplucked sheep'.

9) udu-[niga] is to be expected from the order established in lines 1-5.

6) Amar-Suena, year nine.

10) [udu] is to be expected from the order established in lines 1-5. There appears to be another Winkelhacken in the lower position on the edge of the break suggesting the number written is at least 40.

11) [máš] is to be expected from the order established in lines 1-5.

13) Šū-Sîn, year one.

Seal: See Kang (*Umma*, op. cit.) p. 345, for the same seal.

13: MOA 4.36A

Clay tablet; dimensions: 5.1×3.9×1.6 cm; origin: Babylon; donated by D. Thom, 1950.

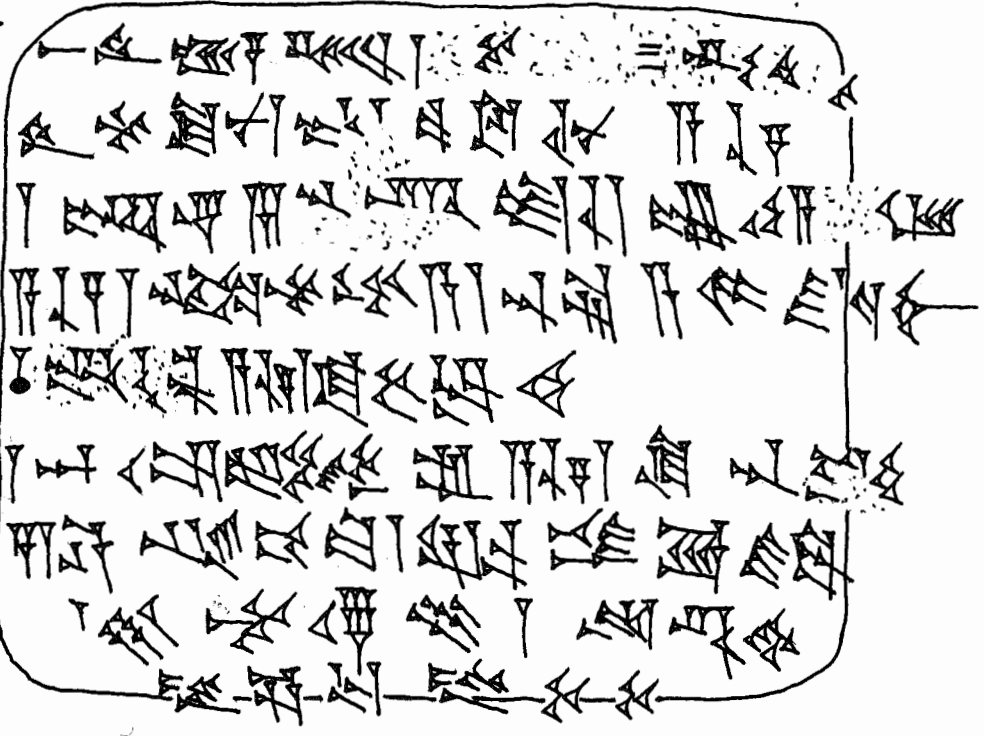
TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 22 GUR ŠE.BAR ù 50 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA
- 2) šá ^mMU-^dAMAR.UTU A-šú šá ^mBA-šá-a
- 3) A ^mZÁLAG-^d30 ina UGU ^mli^l-šⁱ-ru
- 4) A-šú šá ^me-til-pi A ^mEN-ZI^l.MEŠ
- 5) ina ITI.SIG₄ ŠE.BAR ina DU₆-^dg[u]-la ka-a-ri^l
- 6) i-nam-din ina ITI.GAN ZÚ.LUM.MA

14.

0.  This fragment contains lines 0 through 4 of a cuneiform tablet. The text is arranged in five horizontal lines of cuneiform script. The fragment is roughly rectangular with rounded corners.

10.  This fragment shows line 10 of the tablet. It consists of a single horizontal line of cuneiform script.

R.  This fragment contains lines 11 through 15 of the tablet, labeled 'R.' on the left. It consists of five horizontal lines of cuneiform script. The fragment is roughly rectangular with rounded corners.

- 7) *ina* DU₆-^d*gu-la* UGU *ka-a-ri*
 8) *i-nam-din e-lat* 12(?)¹ GUR 3 (BÁN) ŠE.BAR
 9) [x] *na(?) še e bu(?)¹ ú ú*
 10) 1 LÚ¹ *mu-k[i]n-nu* ^{md}EN-SUR A-šú šá
 11) ^{md}EN-PAP.ME-SU A ^mši-gu-ú-a
 12) ^mpir-^u A-šú šá ^msi-lim-^dEN
 13) A LÚ.GÍR.LÁ ^mBA-šá-a A-šú šá
 14) ^{md}AG-SUR A ^mdan¹-né-e-a
 15) u LÚ.SID ^{md}EN-[x (x)] A-šú šá ^mtab-né-e-a
 16) A ^mga-*hal* TIN.TIR.KI ITI.GU₄
 17) 1 U₄¹ 2.KÁM MU 41.KÁM
 18) [^{md}A]G-NÍG.DU-ÜRUGAL
 19) TIN.TIR.KI

TRANSLATION

- 1) 22 *kur* of barley and 50 *kur* of dates
 2) belonging to Iddin-Marduk, son of Iqīšā,
 3) descendant of Nūr-Sîn, are charged
 against (the account of) Līširu,
 4) son of Etil-pī, descendant of Bēl-napšāti.
 5) In the month Simānu, the barley at Til-Gula
 (on) the quay
 6) he will repay. In the month Kislīmu, the dates
 7) at Til-Gula on the quay
 8) he will repay. (This is) in addition to the debt
 of 12(?) *kur* 3 *ban* of barley
 9) ...
 10) Witnesses: Bēl-ētir, son of
 11) Bēl-aḫḫē-erība, descendant of Šigūa,
 12) Pir^u, son of Silim-Bēl,
 13) descendant of the butcher, Iqīšā, son of
 14) Nabû-ētir, descendant of Dannēa,
 15) and the scribe Bēl-..., son of Tabnēa,
 16) descendant of Gaḫal. Babylon. The month of
 Aiaru,
 17) second day, year 41 of
 18) Nebuchadnezzar, the king
 19) of Babylon.

COMMENTARY

This text is the earliest known instance of Iddin-Marduk making a loan as a single agent. He belonged to the well-known trading family of Nūr-Sîn and, to this point in time, had put together deals solely in conjunction with more experienced members of the family. See Laurence B. Shiff, 'The Nūr-Sîn Archive: Private Entrepreneurship in Babylon (603–507 B.C.),' University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. dissertation, 1987.

Date: April 10, 564 BC.

14: MOA 4.35A

Clay tablet; dimensions: 5.6 × 4.5 × 2.1 cm; origin: Šuppatu.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) ZÚ.LUM.MA ZAG.LU NUN(?) SUR BUR X X
 2) šá ^mx x x a A-šú šá 12^m [(x)] X
 3) A ^mgi-¹bi-šá ina muḫ-ḫi ^{md}AG-PAP
 4) A-šú 12^m na-di-nu A ^mba-bu-tu
 5) X X KI(?) 8 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA
 6) ^{md}U.GUR-ú-še-zib A-šú šá ^mKI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN
 7) A ^me-gi-bi ina šU.II ^{md}AG-PAP
 8) 1 ma(?)¹-ḫi(?)¹-ir(?)¹ X [(x)] X X KI(?) X GAB(?)
 9) X X GUR ITI(?).12^m KIN¹ ana MU(!?)¹-am
 10) [...] X ma-ḫi-ir X X 2 1 GUR¹
 11) ina šeš(!?).UNUG(!?). <KI> ^{md}(!)U.GUR-[ú]-še-[zib]
 12^m i-nam¹-din (x)
 12) LÚ mu-kin(!)-nu ^{md}12^m EN¹-SIPA-šú-nu A-šú šá
 13) ^{md}EN-SUR A ^m12^m EN-AD¹-šú ^mAG-KAR(!)-[Z]I.MEŠ
 14) A-šú šá ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-ÜRUGAL A ^{md}é-a-MI-ŠA-RAK
 15) ^{md}EN-KÁD A-šú šá ^mKI-^dAG-TIN
 16) ^{md}U.GUR-ú-še-zib LÚ.UMBISAG A-šú šá
^mKI-^dAMAR.UTU-TIN
 17) A ^me-gi-bi URU šup-pa-tu₄ ITI.BÁR
 18) [U₄] 1.KÁM MU 17.KÁM ^mda-ri-muš(?)
 19) LUGAL E.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR

TRANSLATION

- 1) Dates the yield ...
 2) belonging to ..., son of ...,
 3) descendant of Egibi, against the account of
 Nabû-nāšir,
 4) son of Nādinu, descendant of Babūtu
 5) ... eight *kur* of dates
 6) Nergal-ušēzib, son of Itti-Marduk-balātu,
 7) descendant of Egibi, from Nabû-nāšir
 8) received(?) ...
 9) ... *kur*, the month(?) of Ulūlu, yearly(?)
 10) ... received ... two *kur*
 11) in Ur(?), Nergal-ušēzib will pay.
 12) Witnesses: Bēl-rē^u-šunu, son of
 13) Bēl-ētir, descendant of ...-abūšu,
 Nabû-ētir-napšāti,
 14) son of Marduk-šuma-ušur, descendant of
 Ea-...,
 15) Bēl-ikšur, son of Itti-Nabû-balātu,
 16) Nergal-ušēzib, the scribe, son of
 Itti-Marduk-balātu,
 17) descendant of Egibi. The city Šuppatu.
 The month Nisannu,
 18) the first [day] of the 17th year of Darius,
 19) king of Babylon, king of the lands.

COMMENTARY

17) Šuppatu was located on the Euphrates River in the region of Babylon. See R. Zadok, *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts* (= *Rép. Géogr.* 8) Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1985, pp. 297–98.

Date: April 17, 505 BC.

15: MOA 4.34A

Clay tablet; dimensions: 5.0×4.0×1.7 cm; origin: Babylon.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) 42 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA
 - 2) *šá*^{md}EN-TIN-*iṭ* DUMU *šá*^{md}EN-TIN
 - 3) A ^m*ir-a-nu i-na qa-at*
 - 4) ^m*bul-lu-ṭa(!)-a* DUMU *šá*^{md}AG-na-din
- (space)
- (space)
- 5) A-*šú šá*^m*ba-la-ṭu*^{md}AG-it-tan(!)-*ni(!)*
 - 6) ^rA-*šú šá*^{md}AG-NUMUN-MU A ^m*ir-a-nu*
 - 7) ^r^mEN-TIN-*iṭ* DUB.SAR
 - 8) A ^m*ir-a-nu(!)* TIN.TIR.KI
 - 9) ITI.SIG₄ U₄ 12.KÁM
 - 10) MU 25.KÁM ^m*da-ri-muš*
 - 11) LUGAL TIN.TIR.KI LUGAL KUR.KUR

TRANSLATION

- 1) 42 *kur* of dates
- 2) belonging to Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Bēl-uballiṭ,
- 3) descendant of Iranu, in the hands of
- 4) Bulluṭa, son of Nabû-nādin.

(space)

(space)

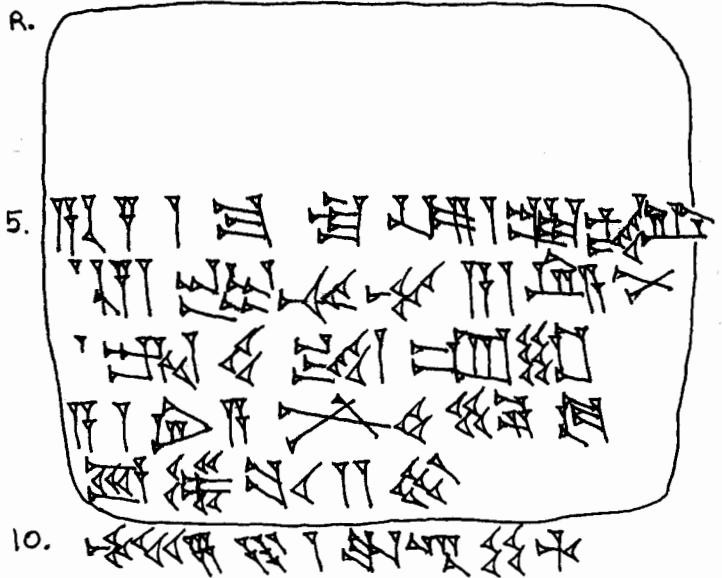
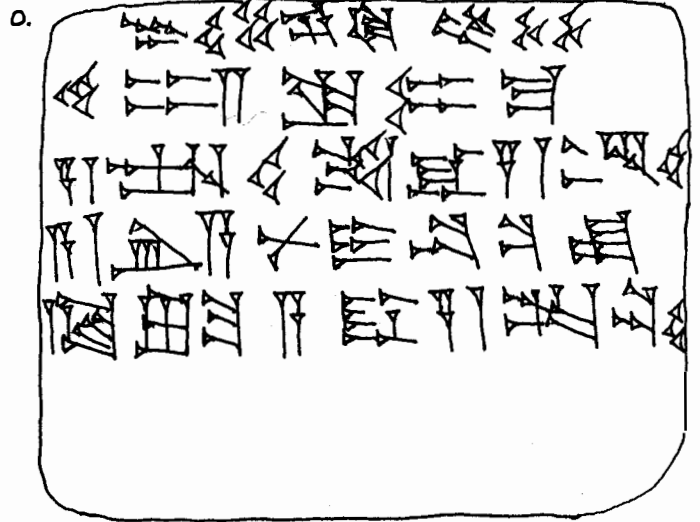
- 5) Son of Balāṭu, Nabû-ittanni,
- 6) son of Nabû-zēra-iddin, descendant of Iranu;
- 7) Bēl-uballiṭ, the scribe,
- 8) descendant of Iranu. Babylon.
- 9) The month Simānu, day 12,
- 10) year 25 of Darius,
- 11) king of Babylon, king of the lands.

COMMENTARY

This text is unusual in that the real 'meat' of the contract, if indeed it is a contract, is missing. There is no mention of the terms of the agreement, no date stipulated for the pay-back, and the 'witness' clause and name of at least one witness are missing.

Date: June 27, 497 BC.

15.



A New Esarhaddon Prism Fragment Concerning the Restoration of Babylon¹

AKIO TSUKIMOTO

Tokyo

The fragment of an octagonal prism published below belongs to the Hirayama Collection (Kamakura, Japan). This text is a part of Version *E* of Esarhaddon's Babylon Inscriptions.² Although I have not checked it with the original of BM 78225, it can be joined to BM 78225 (88–5–12,80) published in *CT* 44 6.³ Each column of the fragment continues from BM 78225 almost directly. After the model of designations of the texts by R. Borger and J.A. Brinkman, which is presupposed here,⁴ siglum E^{1a} should now be assigned to BM 78225 (previously designated E¹), and siglum E^{1b} assigned to the text of the Hirayama Collection. For permission to publish the text I am deeply indebted to Professor and Mrs. I. Hirayama.

With this fragment we can now restore Episode 15 of Version *E*:

*jāti Aššur-aḫa-iddina ardu pālih ilūtīšu
rabīti ana epēš Esagila u Babili [udd]uš
ilāni u ištarāti [šuk]lul ešrēti [m]ukī[n⁵]
[sat]tuk[ki puḫḫur ništīšu saḫḫāti⁶ ina
karš[ija] ušabš[ima] uštābila kabattī libbī
arḫuṣma epēšu aqbi*

¹ I am grateful to Prof. J.A. Brinkman, Chicago, and Prof. K. Deller, Heidelberg, for reading the manuscript and offering their helpful critiques.

² So far for Version *E* (R. Borger, *Asarh. [= Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien, AfO Beih. 9, 1956] pp. 10ff*) there are five duplicates of the text in six fragments. See J.A. Brinkman, 'Through a Glass Darkly: Esarhaddon's Retrospects on the Downfall of Babylon,' *JAOS* 103/1 (1983) p. 38. As for Version *E*, the texts which were published after R. Borger's standard edition are: AO 7736 (J. Nougayrol, *AfO* 18 [1957–58] pls. 21–22 and pp. 314ff), BM 42668 (= 81–7–1,430) (A.R. Millard, *AfO* 24, 1973, pl. 13 and p. 118), and BM 34899 (= Sp.2,411) (*CT* 51 no. 78). The three texts which R. Borger had edited were later published in *CT* 44 nos. 6–8 in copies made by Pinches. See also R. Borger, 'Zu den Asarhaddon-Texten aus Babylon,' *BiOr* 21 (1964) pp. 143–48.

³ For two earlier publications see R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 10.

⁴ See the table of texts and sigla in J.A. Brinkman, op. cit. p. 38.

⁵ *kun* or *kunnu/kunni* is expected here. But, according to the fragment of the first sign of the line which should be read /mu/ and in consideration of the often attested expression *mukīn sattukki* (see *CAD* S p. 201a), the restoration of

I, Esarhaddon, the servant who reveres his great divinity, plan[ned⁷] to build Esagila and Babylon anew, [to re]new (statues of) the gods and the goddesses, [to com]plete chapels, [to es]tab[lish the re]gular offer[ings, (and) to gather the dispersed people,] considered (this) in my mind, entrusted (it) to my heart, and commanded that it be put into action.

With the exception of several simple orthographic variants, there are, in addition to the passages cited just above, some readings of the text E^{1b} which differ from those of its duplicates:

Ep. 7, 3: [n]a-mu-tu instead of na-mu-ta in E².

Ep. 8, 1: E^{1b} offers DINGIR-šú u ^d15-šú in the singular in contrast to the plural in E² and E^{3a}.

Ep. 10, 8: E^{1b} reads ša i-ni-nu while E² has ša i-nu-nu.⁸

Ep. 35, 7–8: E^{1b} probably omits these two lines.

Ep 41, 19: E^{1b} reads [a-n]a KI(ašrī)-šu instead of E^{3b}: a-na áš-ri-šú-nu.

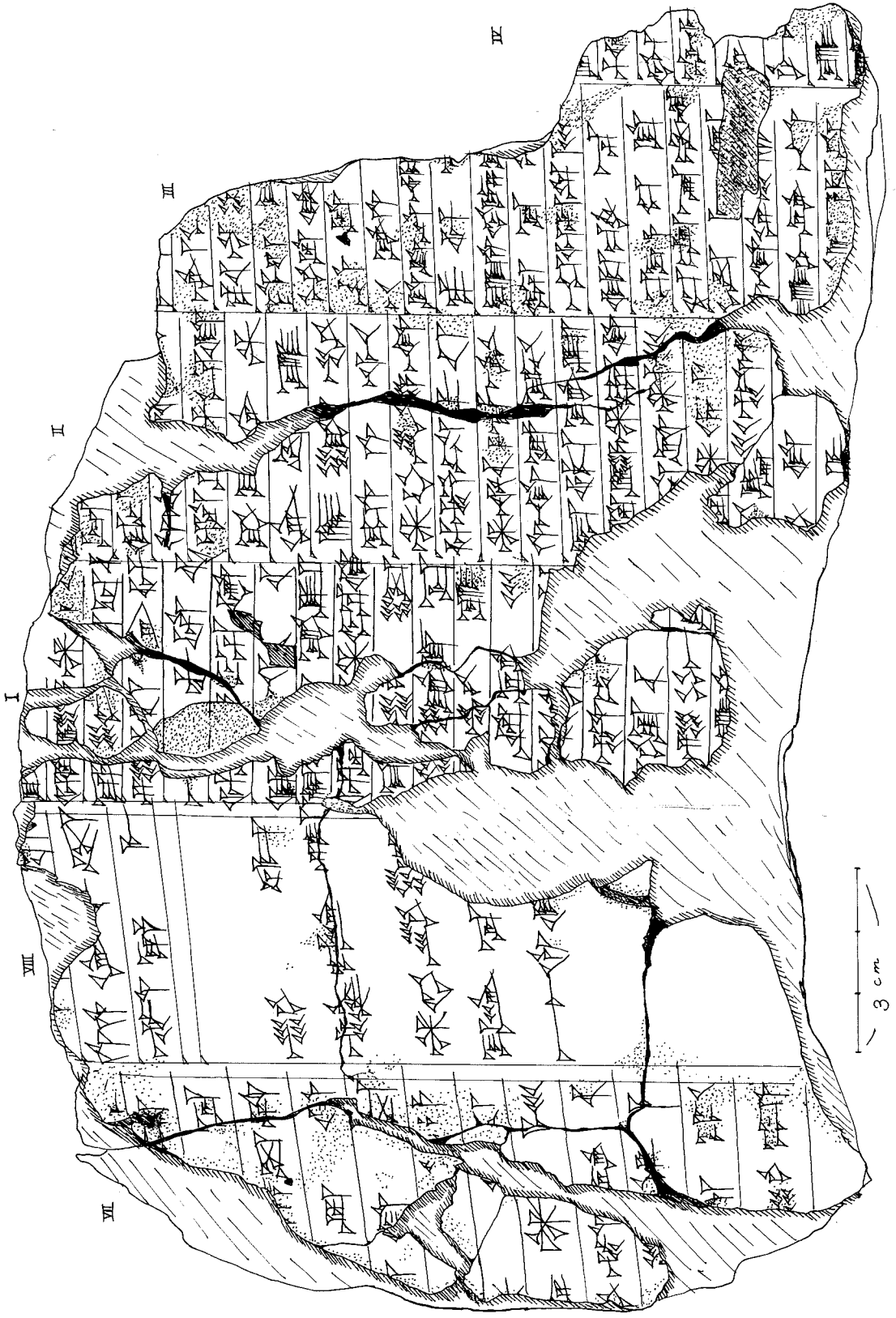
Ep. 41, 40: E^{1b} offers re-e-me instead of re-e-mu of E² and E^{3b}.

this line and the next is plausible. Then we must take into account the possibility of a mistake in changing the infinitive into the participle. A similar mistake occurs in the case of *šuklul* and *mušaktil*, in which, though, the infinitive erroneously replaces the participle (Episodes 38(b), 39: E^{3b} IV 39' // E⁴ III 21, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 147).

⁶ The restoration is based on Episode 38, 12–14 (E^{3b} IV 43'–45' // E⁴ III 25–27: mu-pa-ḫi-ir UN^{mes}-šú/šú sa-ap-ḫa-a-ti/BI^{mes}).

⁷ The phraseology: ana ... (inf.) ina karšija ušabšī 'I caused it to be in my heart, to (do) ...' is not known to me anywhere else. But its meaning ('I planned to (do) ...') is clear, especially by analogy with such an expression as: ana ... (inf.) ina uznija ibšī (Episode 15(a) 3–6, see R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 145, and further *AHW* 1448b).

⁸ *AHW* (217b) registered i-nu-nu here and e-ni-nu (Ep. 10(b), 19) separately, while R. Borger expressed doubt about the separation (*BiOr* 21 p. 144). *CAD* (E) p. 164 lists both passages s.v. enēnu B 'to punish' for which both thematic vowels i/i and u/u



Esarhaddon's Prism in the Hirayama Collection (Japan)

In the following I give transliterations of the Episodes of Version *E* in a score form which the fragment of E¹b represents.⁹ These are Episodes 5, 7, 8, 10, 15, 20, 21, 22, 35, 41, and the date, among which Episodes 20, 21, 22, and the date are entirely, and Episode 41 is partly, shared with other Versions. These Versions are referred to here in the footnotes only as far as they differ from the text of Version *E*. The line division is based on E¹.

**Version E Episodes 5, 7, 8, 10, 15,
10, 21, 22, 35, 41, and the date**

Text	Museum no.	Publication
E ¹ a =	BM 78225 (88-5-12,80)	<i>CT</i> 44 no. 6
E ¹ b =	Esarhaddon's Prism in the Hirayama Collection (Japan)	<i>ARRIM</i> 8
E ² =	BM 78248 (88-5-12,103)	<i>CT</i> 44 no. 7 ¹⁰
E ³ a =	BM 78246 (88-5-12,101)	<i>CT</i> 44 no. 8
E ³ b =	AO 7736	<i>AfO</i> 18 pls. 21-22
E ⁴ =	BM 42668 (81-7-1,430)	<i>AfO</i> 24 pl. 13
E ⁵ =	BM 34899 (Sp.2,411)	<i>CT</i> 51 no. 78

Episode 5

- 1) E¹a I 10: *ul-la-nu-ú-a*
- 2) E¹a I 11: EN GAL^dAMAR.UTU
E² I 1': [dAMAR.UTU EN GAL]-ú
- 3) E¹a I 12: *i-gu-ug*
E² I 2'a: [...-u]g
- 4) E¹a I 13: *i-ru-um-ma*
E² I 2'b: *i-ru-um-ma(!)*
- 5) E¹a I 14: [it-ti] É.SAG.GÍL
= E¹b I 1': [it-ti]-[...]
E² I 3': [it-ti] É.SAG.GÍL
- 6) E¹a I 15: [...]^{ki(!)}
= E¹b I 2': ù KÁ.DINGIR.RA[...]

are assumed. Now, we have *i-ni-nu* as a variant to *i-nu-nu*, which makes Borger's view more probable.

⁹ For the uniqueness of Version *E* in contrast to the other Versions of the Babylon Inscription see J.A. Brinkman, op. cit. pp. 39f, and for the ideology behind Version *E* see M. Cogan, 'Omens and Ideology in the Babylon Inscription of Esarhaddon' in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld, eds., *History, Historiography, and Interpretation*, Jerusalem, 1983, pp. 76ff.

¹⁰ Only E² is written in Assyrian script, while all the other texts are written in Babylonian script.

- E² I 4': ù KÁ.DINGIR.[RA]^{ki}
- 7) E¹b I 3': e-[z]i-iz [li]b-ba-šú
E² I 5': e-zi-iz [šÀ]-šú
- 8) E¹b I 4': zi-[nu]^l-te ir-ši-šú(?)
E² I 6': zi-nu-tu ir-ši
- 9) E¹b I 5': ina [ug]-gat šÀ-šú
E² I 7': ina ug-gat [šÀ]-šú
- 10) E¹b I 6': [ù]^l [š]a-ra-aḫ
E² I 8'a: ù ša-ra-aḫ
- 11) E¹b I 7': k[a-bat]-ti-šú
E² I 8'b: [ka]-bat-ti-šú

Episode 7

- 1) E¹b I 8': É.[SAG].ÍLA
E² I 9'a: É.SAG.GÍL
- 2) E¹b I 9': ù [KÁ].DINGIR.RA^{ki}
E² I 9'b: ù [KÁ].DINGIR.RA^{ki}
- 3) E¹b I 10': [n]a-mu-tu
E² I 10'a: na-mu-ta
- 4) E¹b I 11': [i]l-li-ku-ma
E² I 10'b: il-li-ku-ma
- 5) E¹b I 12': [...]-mu-ú
E² I 11'a: e-mu-ú
- 6) E¹b I 13': [...]-šub-bé-eš
E² I 11'b: qí-šub-bé-eš
E³a I 1': [...]-bé-eš

Episode 8

- 1) E¹b I 14': [DIN]GIR-šú u [d]^l[15]-[šú]^l
E² I 12': DINGIR^{meš}-šú u ^d15^{meš}-šú
E³a I 2'-3': [DINGIR]^{meš}-šú [...^d]15^{meš}-šú
- 2) E¹b I 15': [ip]-ri-du-[ma]
E² I 13'a: ip-ri-du-ma
E³a I 4': [...]-ri-du-ma
= E³b I 2': [ip]-...
- 3) E¹b I 16': [k]i-šú-šú-[nu]
E² I 13'b: ki-iš-ši-šú-nu
E³a I 5': [k]i-šú-šú-nu
= E³b I 3': k[i]-...
- 4) E¹b I 17': [...]-zi-bu-m[a]
E² I 14'a: e-zi-bu-ma
E³a I 6': [...]-zi-bu-ma
= E³b I 4': [e]^l-[...]
- 5) E¹b I 18': [...]-ú [šá]^l-[...]
E² I 14'b: e-lu-ú šá-ma-miš
E³a I 7'-8': [...]-lu-ú [...]-ma-miš
= E³b I 5': e-[...] šá-[...]

Episode 10

- 1) E¹a II 12: lîb-bi^dEN GAL-u
E² I 23'a: lîb-bi^dEN GAL-i
- 2) E¹a II 13: ^dAMAR.UTU

- E² I 23'b: ^dAMAR.UTU
 3) E¹a II 14: *i-nu-uḥ-ma*
 E² I 24'a: *i-nu-uḥ-ma*
 4) E¹a II 15: [...]-šáḥ
 = E¹b II 1': *i[p-...]*
 E² I 24'b: *ip-šáḥ*
 5) E¹a II 16: [...]-ta-šú
 = E¹b II 2': *ka-...*
 E² I 24'c: *ka-bat-ta-šú*
 6) E¹b II 3': *a-n[a É].s[AG-GÍL(?)]*
 E² I 25'a: *a-na É.SAG.GÍL*
 7) E¹b II 4': *ù K[Á.DI]NGIR.Γ_{RA}Γ^{ki}*
 E² I 25'b: *u KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}*
 8) E¹b II 5': *ša i-ni-nu*
 E² I 26'a: *ša i-nu-nu*
 9) E¹b II 6': *ir-šu-ú*
 E² I 26'b: *ir(!)-šu-ú*
 10) E¹b II 7': *sa-li-mu*
 E² I 26'c: *sa-li-mu*

Episode 15

- 1) E¹b II 8': *ia-a-ti*
 E² I 27'a: *ia-a-ti*
 2) E¹b II 9': AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-Γ_{SI}Γ_{na}
 E² I 27'b: AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-si-na
 3) E¹b II 10': *ar-du [p]a-liḥ*
 E² I 28'a: *ar-du pa-liḥ*
 4) E¹b II 11': DINGIR-ti-šú Γ_{GAL}Γ_{tì}
 E² I 28'b: DINGIR-t[i-...]-ti
 5) E¹b II 12': *a-na e-peš*
 6) E¹b II 13': É.SAG.ÍLA
 7) E¹b II 14': Γ_ùΓ_{KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki}}
 8) E¹b II 15': [ud-d]u-uš DINGIR^{meš}
 9) E¹b II 16': Γ_ùΓ_dΓ_{15^{meš}1}
 10) E¹b II 17': [šuk]-lul eš-re-ti
 11) E¹b II 18': [m]u-ki-[in]
 12) E¹b II 19': [sat]-tuk-[ki]
 [13] E¹b II 20': *puḥḥur*
 [14] E¹b II 21': UN^{meš}-šu BIR^{meš}]₁₁
 15) E¹a III 1: *ina ka[r-...]*
 E³a II 1'-2': *i-[na] kar-š[i-ia]*
 16) E¹a III 2: *ú-...*
 E³a II 3': *ú-šab-š[i-ma]*
 17) E¹a III 3: *uš-...*
 E³a II 4': *uš-ta-bi-Γ_{la}Γ*
 18) E¹a III 4: *ka-...*
 E² II 1': Γ_{ka-ba(?)}Γ_{...}
 E³a II 5': *ka-bat-ti*
 19) E¹a III 5: *lib-bi a[r-...]*
 E² II 2'a: *lib-bi ar-ḥu-u[s-ma]*
 E³a II 6'-7': *lib-bi ar-ḥu-uš-ma*

- E⁵ I' 1'-2': [...]-bi [...]-Γ_{ḥu(!)}Γ_{uš-ma}
 20) E¹a III 6: *e-pe-šú [...]*
 E² II 2'b: [...]
 E³a II 8'-9': *e-pe-šu aq-bi*
 E⁵ I' 3': [...-p]e-šú aq-bi

Episode 20¹²

- 1) E¹a III 13: *ina ì.GIŠ DU₁₀.[GA ...]*
 E² II 6'a: *ina ì DU₁₀.GA LÁL*
 E³a II 17'-19': *i-na ì DU₁₀.GA diš-pu*
 2) E¹a III 14: ì.NUN.[NA]
 E² II 6'b: ì.[NUN.NA]
 E³a II 20': ì.NUN.NA
 3) E¹a III 15: KAŠ.TIN.[NAM]
 E² II 7'a: *ku-ru-un-nu*
 E³a II 21': *ku-ru-un-nu*
 4) E¹a III 16: *mu-tin-nu¹³ [...]*
 E² II 7'b-8'a: *mu-t[in ...] ši-kar*
 E³a II 21': *mu-t[in]-nu*
 5) E¹a III 17: Γ_{KUR}Γ_e KÙ
 E² II 8'b: KUR-i KÙ
 6) E¹b III 1': Γ_{ab(?)}Γ_{...}
 E² II 8'c: *ab-lu[la¹⁴]*
 7) E¹b III 2': *ta-r[a-(aḥ)-ḥuš¹⁵]*
 E² II 8'd: [...]
 E⁴ II 1': [...-ḥ]u[š(?)]

Episode 21¹⁶

- 1) E¹b III 3': *áš-šú DINGIR-u[s-...]*
 E² II 9'a: *áš-šú DINGIR-us-su*
 E⁴ II 2': [...]-su(?!)
 2) E¹b III 4'a: Γ_{GAL-te}Γ₁₇ U[N^{meš}]
 E² II 9'b-10'a: GA[L-...] UN^{meš}
 E⁴ II 2'b-3'a: Γ_{GAL(?)}Γ_{te(?)}Γ_{...} [...]
 3) E¹b III 5': *kul-lu-mi-...*
 E² II 10'b: *kul-lu-m[i-...]*
 E⁴ II 3'b: [...]-mì-ma¹⁸
 4) E¹b III 6': Γ_{šup}Γ_{lu}-[...]
 E² II 11'a: *šup-lu-ḥi¹⁹*
 E⁴ II 4'a: [...]

¹² Episode 20 reoccurs in Versions *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D* (see R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 143). Because A³ (VA 8420 = Assur 8000), which is the main text of Episodes 20 and 21 in Borger's edition (R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 20), is published only in his transliteration, it is cited here from his book.

¹³ A³, B(a), C¹: *-ni*.

¹⁴ A³, B(a), C¹, D: *ab-lu-la*.

¹⁵ A³, C¹, D: *ta-ra-ḥuš*; B(a): *ta-ra-aḥ-ḥuš*.

¹⁶ Episode 21 reoccurs in Versions *A*, *C*, and *D* (R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 143). For A³ see n. 11.

¹⁷ C¹: *-tum*; A³: 'vielleicht *tu'* (R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 20).

¹⁸ C¹: *-mì-im-ma*.

¹⁹ C¹, C²: *-ḥu*.

¹¹ For the restoration of lines 10-14 see n. 5.

- 5) E¹b III 7': *be-lut-[...]*
E² II 11'b: *be-lu[t(!)]-...*
E⁴ II 4'b: *[...-l]ut-su*
- 6) E¹b III 8': *ku-dúr-ru ina SA[G.DU-...]*
E² II 12'a: *ku-dúr-ru ina SAG.DU-í[a]*
E⁴ II 5': *[... SA]G.DU-ia*
- 7) E¹b III 9': *áš-ši-m[a]*
E² II 12'b: *[...]*
E⁴ II 6': *[...]-ma*
- 8) E¹b III 10': *ú-šá-az-b[il]*
E² II 13'a: *ú-šá-az-bil*
E⁴ II 7': *[...-bi]-la*
- 9) E¹b III 11': *ra-ma-n[í]*
E² II 13'b: *r[a-...]*
E⁴ II 8': *[...]-ni*

Episode 22²⁰

- 1) E¹b III 12': *ina* ^{giš}ú.šUB^{meš}
E² II 14': *i-na* ^{giš}ú.š[UB^{meš}]
E⁴ II 9': *[... giš*ú.š]UB^{meš}
- 2) E¹b III 13': ZÚ AM.SI
E² II 15'a: ZÚ AM.SI
E⁴ II 10': [...].SI
- 3) E¹b III 14': ^{giš}ESI ^{giš}TÚG
E² II 15'b: ^{giš}ESI [...]
E⁴ II 11': [...] ^{giš}TÚG
- 4) E¹b III 15': ^{giš}MES.MÁ.KAN.NA
E² II 16'a: ^{giš}MES.MÁ.KAN.NA
E⁴ II 12': [...].KAN.NA
- 5) E¹b III 16': AD.ME.ΓKÁR¹
E² II 16'b: AD.[...]
E⁴ II 13'a: [...]
- 6) E¹b III 17': Γa¹-na né-Γri-šá¹
E² II 17'a: *a-na né-ri-šá*
E⁴ II 13'b: [... n]é-ri-šá
- 7) E¹b III 18': *ú-šal-bi-na*
E² II 17'b: *ú-šal-b[i-...]*
E⁴ II 14'a: [...]
- 8) E¹b III 19': [l]i-Γbit-tu-uš²¹
E² II 17'c: [...]
E⁴ II 14'b: SIG₄

Episode 35

- 1) E¹b IV 1': K[Á.DINGIR.RA^{ki} ...]
E³b IV 18'-19': [KÁ].DINGIR.RA^{ki} [...]-lum
E⁴ III 6-7: KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{Γki} a¹-lum
- 2) E¹b IV 2': *mas-n[aq-ti ...]*
E³b IV 20'-21': [...]-naq-ti [DINGIR]^{meš}
E⁴ III 8: *mas-naq-t[i]* DINGIR^{meš}

²⁰ Episode 22 reoccurs in Versions A, B, C, and D (R. Borger, *BiOr* 21 p. 143).

²¹ B(a): *li-bit-tuš*.

- 3) E¹b IV 3': *Im-[...]*
E³b IV 22'a: [Im-gu]r-^dEn-lil
E⁴ III 9: *Im-gur-^dEn-lil*
- 4) E¹b IV 4': BÀD-[...]
E³b IV 22'b: BÀD-šú
E⁴ III 10: BÀD-šú
- 5) E¹b IV 5': Né-[...]
E³b IV 23': [...]-^dEn-lil
E⁴ III 11: *Né-med-^dEn-lil*
- 6) E¹b IV 6': šal-[...]
E³b IV 24': [...]-hu-šú
E⁴ III 12: *šal-hu-šú*
- 7) E³b IV 25'-27': [...]-na [š]i-pir [^d]SIG₄
E⁴ III 13: *i-na ši-pir ^dSIG₄*
- 8) E³b IV 28': [...]-siš
E⁴ III 14: *eš-siš*
- 9) E¹b IV 7': *ú-[...]*
E³b IV 29': [...-š]e-piš-ma
E⁴ III 15: *ú-še-piš-ma*
- 10) E¹b IV 8': Γú¹-[...]
E³b IV 30': [...-z]aq-qir
E⁴ III 16a: *ú-zaq-qir*
- 11) E³b IV 31': [...]-niš
E⁴ III 16b: *hur-šá-niš*

Episode 41

- 1) E¹a VII 1: [...]^{meš}
E² V 17': [...]^{meš}
E³b VI 5'a: *a-na* EG[IR^{meš}]
E⁴ V 23a: *a-na* ΓEGIR^{1m}[^{eš}]²²
- 2) E¹a VII 2: [U₄]^{meš}
E² V 18': [...]-me²³
E³b VI 5'b: [...]
E⁴ V 23b: [...]
- 3) E¹a VII 3: [... U₄]^{meš}
E² V 19': [... u₄-me
E³b VI 6'a: *ana u₄-m[e]*
E⁴ V 24a: *ana²⁴ u₄-me*
- 4) E¹a VII 4: [ša-a]-tu(!)²⁵
E² V 20': [...]-ti
E³b VI 6'b: [...]
E⁴ V 24b: [ša-...]
- 5) E¹a VII 5: [...]^{meš}
E² V 21'-22': [i]-na [...]-ni
E³b VI 7'a: *i-na* LUGAL^{meš}-n[i]
E⁴ V 25: *i-na* LUGAL[...]
- 6) E¹a VII 6: [...]-ia²⁶
E² V 23': [...]-ia

²² A¹: Γa¹-na ár-kat, C²: ana ár-kat.

²³ A¹: u₄-me, C²: u⁴-mu.

²⁴ C²: ana.

²⁵ A¹: ša-a-ti, C²: ša-a-te.

²⁶ A¹: -ía.

- E³b VI 7'b: [...]

E⁴ V 26: DUMU^{meš}[-ia]

7) E¹a VII 7: [... D]INGIR^{meš}

E² V 24': [... DING]IR^{meš}

E³b VI 8'a: ša²⁷ LUGAL DINGIR^[meš]

E⁴ V 27a: ša LUGAL DI[NGIR^{meš}]

8) E¹a VII 8: [^dAM]AR.UTU

E² V 25': [^dAMAR].UTU

E³b VI 8'b: [...]

E⁴ V 27b: [...]

9) E¹a VII 9: [...-l]u-ut

E³b VI 9'a: a-na be-lu[t]

E⁴ V 28a: a-na be-l[ut]

10) E¹a VII 10: [... U]^{N^{meš}}

E³b VI 9'b-10': [KUR] ū²⁸ UN^[meš]

E⁴ V 28b-29: [...] ū U^[N^{meš}]

11) E¹a VII 11: [...]-ú

E³b VI 11': i-nam-bu-[...]

E⁴ V 30a: i-nam-b[u-...]

12) E¹a VII 12: [...]-šū²⁹

E³b VI 12': zi-ki[r-...]

E⁴ V 30b: [...]

13) E¹a VII 13: [...]-ú

E³b VI 13'a: mu-šar-ú

E⁴ V 31a: mu-šar-Γú¹

14) E¹b VII 1': [šī-ti-ī]r(?)³⁰

E³b VI 13'b: [...]

E⁴ V 31b: [...]

15) E¹b VII 2': [...-i]a

E³b VI 14'a: MU-ia

E⁴ V 31c: [...]

16) E¹b VII 3': [li-mur]-ma³¹

E³b VI 14'b: l[i-...]

E⁴ V 32: li-[...]

17) E¹b VII 4': [...] li[p-šū-uš

E³b VI 15': i^{meš}32 li[p-...]

E⁴ V 33: i^{meš} l[ip-...]

18) E¹b VII 5': [...] liq-qi

E³b VI 16': udu^{SIZKUR}33 l[iq-...]

E⁴ V 34a: udu^{SIZKUR} [...]

19) E¹b VII 6': [a-n]a KI-šū³⁴

E³b VI 17'a: a-na aš-ri-šū-nu

E⁴ V 34b: [...]

20) E¹b VII 7': [...]-Γtir¹

E² VI 1': [...]-tir

E³b VI 17'b: [...]
- E⁴ V 35a: lu-ti[r]

21) E¹b VII 8': [^dA][MAR.U]TU

E² VI 2': ^dAMAR.UTU

E³b VI 18'a: ^dAMAR.UTU

E⁴ V 35b: [...]

22) E¹b VII 9': [LUG]AL DINGIR^{meš}

E² VI 3': LUGAL DINGIR^{meš}

E³b VI 18'b: LUGA[L ...]

E⁴ V 35c: [...]

23) E¹b VII 10': [i]k-ri-bi-šú

E² VI 4': ik-ri-bi-šú

E³b VI 19': ik-ri-bi-[...]

E⁴ V 36a: ik-r[i-...]

24) E¹b VII 11': [...]-Γše-em¹-me

E² VI 5': i-še-em-me³⁵

E³b VI 20': i-še-em-[me]

E⁴ V 36b: [...]

25) E¹b VII 12': [...-n]ak-kir

E² VI 6': mu-nak-kir

E³b VI 21': mu-nak-[...]

E⁴ V 37a: m[u]-na[k-...]

26) E¹b VII 13': [... M]U-ia

E² VI 7': šī-ṭir³⁶ MU-ia

E³b VI 22': šī-ṭir MU-[...]

E⁴ V 37b: [...]

27) E¹a VIII 1: mu-sah-ḫu-ú³⁷

28) E¹a VIII 2: si-ma-ti-ia

29) E¹a VIII 3: pa-si-su

E² VI 8': pa-si-su

E³b VI 23'a: pa-si-su

E⁴ V 38a: pa-si-[su]

30) E¹a VIII 4: e-piš-ti

E² VI 9': e-piš-ti

E³b VI 23'b: e-piš-t[i]

E⁴ V 38b: [...]

31) E¹a VIII 5: ^dEN GAL-e

E² VI 10': ^dEN GAL-ú

E³b VI 24'a: ^dEN GAL-ú

E⁴ V 39a: ^dEN G[AL-...]

32) E¹a VIII 6: ^dAMAR.UTU

E² VI 11': ^dAMAR.UTU

E³b VI 24'b: ^dAMAR.UTU

E⁴ V 39b: [...]

33) E¹a VIII 7: i-na nap-ḫar

E² VI 12'a: i-na nap-ḫar

E³b VI 25'a: i-na nap-ḫar

E⁴ V 40a: i-na nap-[...]

34) E¹a VIII 8: ma-li-ki(!) (copy:-ku)

E² VI 12'b: ma-li-ki

E³b VI 25'b: ma-li-ki

²⁷ A¹: šá.²⁸ A¹, C²: KUR u.²⁹ A¹: -šú.³⁰ A¹: šī-ti-ir, C²: šī-ṭir.³¹ A¹: li-mur-ma, C²: li-mu[r-...].³² A¹, C²: i.GIŠ.³³ A¹: udu^{SIZKUR}.SIZKUR.³⁴ A¹: aš-ri-šū, C²: KI-š[ú].³⁵ C²: i-[še]m-mi.³⁶ A¹: šī-ṭi-ir.³⁷ E² omits lines 27-28.

- E⁴ V 40b: [...]
- 35) E¹a VIII 9: *lik-kil-mi-šu-ma*
 E² VI 13': *lik-kil-mu-šú-ma*
 E³b VI 26': *lik-kil-mu-šu-ma*
 E⁴ V 41a: *lik-ki[l-...]*
- 36) E¹a VIII 10: *šum-šu* NUMUN-šú
 E² VI 14'a: *šum-šú* NUMUN-šú
 E³b VI 27': *[š]um-šú* NUMUN-šu
 E⁴ V 41b: [...]
- 37) E¹a VIII 11: *li-ḫal-liq-ma*
 E² VI 14'b-15': *ina* KUR *lu-ḫal-liq*
 E³b VI 28': *i[na ...] lu-ḫal-liq*
 E⁴ V 42: *ina* KUR *l[i(?)]-...*
- 38) E¹a VIII 12: *ḫa-na ḫa-a-ti* ...
 = E¹b VIII 1': [...] *u₄-ḫa-me*³⁸
 E² VI 16': *a-na u₄-me ḫa-a-ti*
 E³b VI 29': *a-ḫa-na u₄-me ḫa-a-ti*
 E⁴ V 43: *a-n[a ...]*
- 39) E¹b VIII 2': *a-a ir-[š]i-šu*
 E² VI 17': *a-a ir-ši-šú*
 E³b VI 30': *a-a ir-ši-šú*
- 40) E¹b VIII 3': *re-e-me*
 E² VI 18': *re-e-mu*
 E³b VI 31': *re-e-mu*

Date³⁹

- 1) E¹b VIII 4': MU.SAG
 E³b VI 32': MU.SAG
- 2) E¹b VIII 5': NAM.LUGAL.LA
 E³b VI 33': NAM.LUGAL.LA
- 3) E¹b VIII 6': AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-SÌ-*n[a]*
 E³b VI 34': AN.ŠÁR-ŠEŠ-SÌ-*na*
- 4) E¹b VIII 7': LUGAL *ma-[at]*
 E³b VI 35'a: LUGAL KUR
- 5) E¹b VIII 8': *Aš-šur*^k[*]*
 E³b VI 35'b: *Aš-šur*^{ki}

³⁸ R. Borger's reading: *ša-ḫa-ti* [*u₄-me*] (*BiOr* 21 p. 148) is now assured.

³⁹ For a discussion of this date formula see S. Parpola *apud* D.I. Owen/K. Watanabe, *OrAnt* 22 (1983) pp. 37-38 n. 3 with addition on p. 47.

OBITUARY

EDMOND SOLLBERGER

(1920–1989)

The death of Edmond Sollberger on June 21, 1989, was a loss for the community of scholars specializing in ancient Mesopotamia, and a particular loss to The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project. Dr. Sollberger was a founding member of the RIM team and became its first Editor-in-Chief as well as Editor-in-Charge of Early Periods. In the formative years of the Project he took an active, often leading, role and because of his acute perception of what the Project should be he left a permanent stamp on its aims and infrastructure. Unfortunately the illness which plagued him in his final years prevented him from continuing in an active role and deprived the Project of the benefit of his wisdom.

Dr. Sollberger's involvement with the RIM Project, as his involvement with the Ebla Publication Committee, came at the end of a distinguished career. Born in 'Constantinople' (to use his term) he received his early education there before proceeding to study at the University of Geneva (1940–1945). Switzerland was a natural choice since he held Swiss citizenship by birth. During these years he travelled regularly on the Orient Express between Geneva and Istanbul, where his family still lived, and recalled with disgust the war-torn scenes which he witnessed.

By this time he had become seriously interested in cuneiform studies, specifically Sumerology, and on his own initiative went to the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome where he studied privately with Anton Deimel. Eventually he received the Doctorat ès Lettres at Geneva (1952) and he held various positions at the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (1949–1961). In Geneva he met and married Ariane Zender and in due course she gave birth to two daughters, Nicole and Josette. In 1962 he accepted a position at the British Museum in London and remained there, eventually becoming Keeper of Western Asiatic Antiquities, until his retirement.

By the time he moved to London, Dr. Sollberger had gained an enviable reputation as a Sumerologist, primarily through the publication of two books based on his research on the Pre-Sargonic royal inscriptions from Lagash. He continued active research thereafter and by the end of his career had

published six further monographs and over seventy articles. The most important aspect of his approach to research and publication was his fascination with new, significant, or unusual cuneiform inscriptions and this is reflected in the number of texts which he published for the first time. At the same time he recognized this characteristic in other scholars and in his official capacity at the British Museum opened up the vast collections of cuneiform inscriptions to serious-minded, qualified scholars. This liberality afforded numerous researchers the opportunity to study and publish original documents and thus make serious contributions to our knowledge of ancient Mesopotamian civilization.

Edmond Sollberger was a scholar's scholar, dedicated to his profession and to the furtherance of scholarly interests. At the same time he enjoyed company and he and his wife Ariane were hospitable in entertaining scholars in their home and in stimulating conversations on subjects ranging from Mesopotamia, the latest play, good food, to current politics. Because of his cosmopolitan background and fluency in numerous languages — French, English, Greek, Italian, Turkish, etc. — he knew much about people with various ethnic origins and had a passion for travel. He contributed much and therein has left his own memorial.

A. Kirk Grayson

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