

B. Naram-Sin of Akkad

As with Sargon of Akkad, the figure of Naram-Sin continued to capture the imaginations of many generations of Mesopotamians. While traditions far removed from his time present Sargon's reign quite positively and portray the dynasty's founder as a mythic hero, the same cannot be said of all late traditions concerning Sargon's grandson and eventual successor, Naram-Sin. There is considerable irony in the fact that Naram-Sin's inscriptions extol him extravagantly, eventually going so far as to proclaim him a god, yet in later periods he is sometimes remembered for his ineptitude. The translations below represent divergent views of Naram-Sin's reign. The Great Revolt describes in some detail the rebellion against Naram-Sin as a means of emphasizing the king's might and military prowess. The Cutha Legend offers a very different portrait of Naram-Sin, presenting him as a somewhat tragic figure whose hubris nearly brings about the downfall of his kingdom.

In fact, the reign of Naram-Sin did not end so disastrously as some late traditions suggest, and the historical Naram-Sin would become the most important monarch of the Sargonic dynasty. Two sons of Sargon, first Rimush and then Manishtusu but please see the discussion on pp. 18–19, had consolidated and governed Sargon's empire for nearly a quarter-century following their father's death. Upon the death of Manishtusu, his son Naram-Sin – grandson of Sargon of Akkad – began a lengthy reign.

Naram-Sin enlarged the sphere of Akkadian influence by campaigning to the north, south, east, and west. He erected stelae in far-off lands, boasting of the uniqueness of his accomplishments. After successfully checking a challenge to Akkadian power, likely the rebellion inspiring traditions preserved in The Great Revolt, Naram-Sin's subjects hailed him as divine. The king passed the empire on to his son and successor, Sharkalisharri, who maintained the Sargonic dynasty for another 25 years.

Clearly, late traditions ascribing the demise of the empire to Naram-Sin are in error.³⁷ It was he who presided over the Sargonic empire at its greatest, he whose subjects thought him fit for divinity. Naram-Sin expanded the realm, proving himself a worthy heir to his famous grandfather's throne. The Sargonic dynasty with its empire did not crumble on his watch: its collapse awaited the close of his successor's reign.

21. The Great Revolt

As our knowledge of Sargon's inscriptions stems from copies made by Old Babylonian scribes, so also we may gain some knowledge of Naram-Sin's reign from the activity of these ancient copyists. Scribes in the important religious center Nippur copied stelae deposited there by kings of the Sargonic dynasty, among them the stelae of Naram-Sin. Of interest here is the presence at Nippur of two fragmentary copies referencing events described in The Great Revolt.

These texts, copied from texts originating in Naram-Sin's time, provide important corroborating evidence for the content of texts produced in later periods. They reveal that in The Great Revolt we are dealing with a tradition that has historical foundation. This is not to say that the text is devoid of legendary material or that no literary license has been taken: a reading of the text will reveal both legendary and literary features. Nevertheless, the tradition preserves a genuine historical memory of an episode that served as the defining crisis of Naram-Sin's reign.

In addition to the Nippur copies, four other versions exist. From Eshnunna we have an Old Akkadian fragment of some rendering of The Great Revolt, an exercise by a student who has not yet mastered the scribal art. Two Old Babylonian tablets, one from Mari and the other of unknown provenance, offer a version closely related to the Nippur copies. The translation below reflects the text of the latter – it is an essentially complete Old Babylonian tablet³⁸ closely following the Nippur copies. An Old Babylonian version from Sippar (?) describes a confederation of 18 rulers who oppose Naram-Sin as well as a description of a battle in which the Gutian king emerges victorious. One scene in this version characterizes Naram-Sin's enemies as superhuman. Finally, one Old Babylonian tablet of unknown provenance describes a series of nine revolts, followed by a tenth decisive battle. This final version presents Naram-Sin as divine.

While the tablet translated below is in good condition and essentially complete, it does not contain a comprehensive account of the rebellion and its consequences. The contents may be described as follows: an invocation to the great god Enlil and the warrior of the gods, Ilaba³⁹ (line 1); Naram-Sin is identified by name and royal titles (lines 2–9); the rebellion is described (lines 10–15); Naram-Sin relates the previous kindness of the Sargonic dynasty toward Kish (16–20); Naram-Sin swears that Kish was, in fact his ally and not his enemy (lines 21–3); the city of Kish nonetheless rebels, making

Iphur-Kish king (lines 24–8); the tablet closes with a catalogue of 10 kings who join the revolt against Naram-Sin (29–38).

Noticeably absent from this particular text is any description of the ensuing battle(s) and the ultimate outcome. To learn more we must consult the other versions, all of which unfortunately are broken or become fragmentary at precisely this point. The traces of the text that remain legible reveal that Naram-Sin triumphs, but the details of his triumph are largely lost. Naram-Sin's victory must have been hard fought, to say the least. One tradition has him fighting 10 battles before ostensibly achieving final victory; another has him facing off against 18 kings and suffering substantial casualties before the tide turns in his favor.

That the odds seemed stacked against Naram-Sin appears certain. The king's success at thwarting the rebellion must have resembled a superhuman accomplishment, and it is likely this success that led to his deification shortly thereafter.

Two features of the text deserve brief comment: the king's titles and his declaration of innocence. Naram-Sin's titles emphasize his connection with some of the more celebrated gods of the pantheon: the fierce Enlil, the august An, the warring goddess Ishtar. The goddess Anunitum, whom the Babylonians associated with childbirth, is here coupled with Ishtar.⁴⁰ The heroic Ilaba is likely a clan god of the Sargonic rulers, a deity who all but disappears with the passing of the dynasty. Among other epithets, Naram-Sin is termed "protector of the sources of the Irrina Canal, the Tigris and Euphrates." As the divinely appointed protector of this long and important watercourse, Naram-Sin can claim divine legitimacy for controlling the Tigris/Euphrates region.

In fashion characteristic of royal tales, The Great Revolt contrasts Naram-Sin's innocence with his adversaries' guilt.⁴¹ Despite the beneficence of the Sargonic dynasty toward Kish, described in detail in lines 16–20, the city has responded treacherously – Kish has repaid evil for good. An assembly has gathered and raised to kingship Iphur-Kish, a man whose name (no doubt assumed upon elevation to the royal office) means "Kish assembled," but Kish's defiance does not represent an isolated event. Numerous others join the rebellion, and to the king it seems that all the world is in revolt against him.

*(For) Enlil, his strength, (and) Ilaba, the warrior of the gods – his clan god:
Naram-Sin, the mighty king – the king of Akkad,
the king of the four quarters of the world,
who glorifies Ishtar and Anunitum,
(5) anointed priest of Anu, military governor of Enlil,
ruler of Ilaba,
protector of the sources of the Irrina canal – that is, the Tigris and Euphrates,
who sends forth the power of . . .
against all the kings.
(10) When the four quarters of the world
together revolted against me –*

Kish, Cutha, Tiwa, Urumu,
 Kazallu, Giritab, Apiak,
 Ibrat, Dilbat, Uruk, and Sippar
 (15) together revolted against me.
 At the time when Sargon my forefather
 defeated Uruk,
 he established freedom for the people of Kish,
 shaved off the hairstyles that identified them as slaves,
 (20) (and) broke their fetters.
 O Ishtar, Ilaba, Shullat, and Hanish
 Shamash and Umshum,
 Kish was not an enemy – it was an ally to me!
 (Yet) between Tiwa and Urumu,
 (25) at Ugar-Sin between the temples Esabad and Gula,
 Kish assembled.
 Iphur-Kish, a man from Kish,
 the son of Šumirat-Ishtar the lamentation priestess,
 they installed as king.
 Puttimadal king of Simurru,
 (30) Ingi king of the land of Namar,
 Rish-Adad king of Apishal,
 Migir-Dagan king of Mari,
 Hupshumkipi king of Marhashi,
 Duhsusu king of Mardaman,
 (35) Manum king of Magan,
 Lugal-Anne king of Uruk,
 Ir-Enlila king of Umma,
 Amar-Enlila king of Nippur.

22. The Cutha Legend

We may begin by noting two important contrasts between The Great Revolt and the Cutha Legend. First, texts describing The Great Revolt offer a literary account of an event with a genuinely historical foundation. Although the versions vary in their descriptions of the rebellion and its participants, they preserve the essence of an authentic historical memory – at some point in Naram-Sin's reign he faced a widespread uprising, an uprising posing so great a threat to the survival of the kingdom that its suppression seemed a super-human act. The Cutha Legend has no such basis in fact:⁴² it is, rather, a tale told for a didactic purpose, a story with a moral.

The second contrast involves the characterization of Naram-Sin. If The Great Revolt belongs to a collection of texts that applaud Naram-Sin's prowess, the Cutha Legend belongs to a group of texts presenting a decidedly different appraisal of this king's reign. While the Cutha Legend does not go so far as The Curse of Agade, a text blaming Akkad's destruction at the hand of Gutian invaders on Naram-Sin's sacrilege, it nonetheless characterizes the king as a proud figure whose flagrant disregard for divine instruction endangers

his reign and the well-being of his kingdom. By the Cutha Legend's end, Naram-Sin has learned his lesson. The king addresses future monarchs and commends something of a compliant stance toward both the gods and enemies: Naram-Sin has become a mere shadow of his former warlike self.

Though we have already touched on the ahistorical nature of traditions attributing Akkad's demise and downfall to Naram-Sin,⁴³ we may hypothesize something of the process by which this attribution came to be made. Subsequent generations recalled the Sargonic dynasty's strength and rapid decline, as well as the names of its two principal dynasts, Sargon and Naram-Sin. Over time the period of dynastic strength became associated with the former, and (naturally) the period of dynastic decline/demise with the latter. Whatever the origin of these less flattering traditions, they do not describe the historical situation at the time of Naram-Sin.

The Cutha Legend is not an historical document; rather, it represents an example of *narû*-literature, more commonly termed in recent scholarship "pseudo-autobiography."⁴⁴ Such works generally follow a tripartite division:

1. A first-person introduction (lines 1–3)
2. A first-person narrative of events (lines 4–148)
3. A blessing/curse formula. The Cutha Legend incorporates a brief blessing formula (lines 179–80) at the close of a larger unit of instructional material (149–80).

The word *narû* is Akkadian for "stele," and the structure and content of *narû*-literature resembles that of authentic royal inscriptions etched on such stones. *Narû*-literature, however, is fictional; the terms "pseudo-autobiography" or "fictional autobiography"⁴⁵ more aptly express the character of these works.

Though an awareness of the general three-part division of the text is informative, a more detailed outline will reveal more clearly the contents of the Cutha Legend. The following sketch presents the smaller units as they are situated within the work's larger structural framework, and particular attention is given to the legend's narrative. Students less familiar with the language and content of ancient literature may find it useful to reference this outline as they work through the translation below.

- I. Introduction – Naram-Sin identifies himself and invites future generations to read his document (lines 1–3)
- II. The Narrative (lines 4–148)
 - A. The story of Enmerkar (lines 4–30)
 1. Enmerkar is identified, his fate given – he has disappeared (4–6)
 2. After a time, Enmerkar lost divine favor (7–9)
 3. Enmerkar had gathered diviners to consult the gods (10–14)
 4. The diviners spoke, their message unfavorable (?) (15–22)
 5. Shamash issued a particularly severe judgment (23–7)
 6. Naram-Sin laments that Enmerkar left no record (28–30)

- B. The creation of Naram-Sin's enemies (31–62)
 - 1. The enemies created and divinely nurtured (31–6)
 - 2. The enemies explicitly identified (37–48)
 - 3. The enemies march on in seemingly unstoppable advance (49–62)
 - C. Naram-Sin tests his enemies – human or superhuman? (63–71)
 - 1. Instructions to a soldier (63–8)
 - 2. The soldier's report – they bleed (69–71)
 - D. Naram-Sin consults the gods, then defies them (72–87)
 - 1. Naram-Sin gathers diviners to consult the gods (72–7)
 - 2. Naram-Sin told not to attack (78)
 - 3. Naram-Sin defies the oracle, attacks nonetheless (79–83)
 - 4. The armies of Akkad suffer three devastating losses (84–7)
 - E. Naram-Sin's depression, intercession by the god Ea (88–107)
 - 1. Naram-Sin declares himself a royal failure (88–96)
 - 2. The god Ea intercedes for Naram-Sin (97–103)
 - 3. Naram-Sin participates in the New Year Festival (103–7)
 - F. Naram-Sin again consults the gods (108–23)
 - 1. Naram-Sin again gathers diviners to consult the gods (108–13)
 - 2. The king receives a favorable response (114–19)
 - 3. Naram-Sin pursues and captures enemy soldiers (120–3)
 - G. Naram-Sin, the obedient king (124–48)
 - 1. The king resolves not to act without consulting the gods (124–5)
 - 2. The king is told to spare the captives (126–45)
 - 3. Naram-Sin obeys (146–8)
- III. Instruction and Blessing (149–80)
- A. A call to read the record Naram-Sin has left behind (149–55)
 - B. Counsel to future rulers (156–74)
 - C. Final blessing (175–80)

Divination is a recurring activity in the narrative: with the aid of professional diviners, both Enmerkar (lines 11ff.) and Naram-Sin (lines 72ff., 108ff.) seek to discern the will of the gods. It was believed that the gods communicated with humankind by means of omens. An unsolicited omen might simply appear, such as the birth of a two-headed animal or the appearance of a comet. A person could also seek an omen by consulting diviners – those schooled in the art of divination. The technical term for the principal form of divination referenced in this text is extispicy. A sheep was slaughtered for the purpose of examining its entrails, and specific features of the liver so observed were believed to communicate particular messages from the gods.

We find in the narrative perhaps two⁴⁶ references to other means of divination. Lines 78 and 81 refer to dreams, the former suggesting that Naram-Sin sought, but did not receive, divine sanction for a military campaign both through extispicy and through nocturnal communication. Lines 128–45 show some form of celestial divination in which Venus relays a rather lengthy

message to the Akkadian monarch. In each of these cases, the second form of divination serves to confirm instruction received through extispicy.

Before turning to the text itself, three literary themes warrant some attention: the transformation taking place within the character of Naram-Sin, the necessity of obedience to the gods, and the king's obligation to pass his acquired knowledge on to future generations.

The Cutha Legend chronicles a series of events that bring great personal transformation to the character of Naram-Sin. We learn of the king's cleverness when enemies arise, foes powerful enough to make Naram-Sin wonder if they are flesh and blood. The king devises a test to see if his opponents are mortal. Upon receiving the news that they bleed (and thus, he surmises, they may die), he immediately sets his mind on battle. Though Naram-Sin seeks an omen sanctioning his plans for military action, the king receives no such authorization from the gods. At this point Naram-Sin makes a fateful decision – relying on his own shrewdness and strength, the king resolves to act nonetheless. It is an act of sheer hubris that spells disaster for the kingdom, and the enemy annihilates three consecutive battalions dispatched by Naram-Sin. Naram-Sin enters a deep depression in which he characterizes himself as a royal failure. At the New Year festival, he resolves to amend his ways and to act only in accordance with the known will of the gods. Naram-Sin again inquires of the gods and receives permission to pursue and capture 12 fleeing enemy soldiers, but the gods prohibit him from meting out any punishment to them. This time the king carefully observes the gods' will; he has learned his lesson well. The change taking place within Naram-Sin may best be seen by contrasting lines 79–83 with lines 124–5.

The two remaining themes correspond to the twofold didactic purpose of the Cutha Legend: on the one hand, the legend warns rulers to seek the divine will and to act accordingly; on the other, it urges kings to leave behind a record for future generations. The central narrative portion of the legend clearly illustrates the hazards of transgressing the divine will. After divination, Enmerkar presumably behaves in some manner that brings down a severe judgment and a curse upon himself and his descendants. Naram-Sin too solicits an omen, only to ignore it and cause the death of 270,700 of his troops. Plainly the gods do not look kindly upon those who defy their counsel. Naram-Sin, however, receives a second chance when the god Ea intercedes for him in the heavenly realm, and the king's resolve to obey the gods prevents the kingdom's collapse.

Finally, the legend reminds rulers that they have a responsibility to pass their knowledge on to future generations. The famed Enmerkar failed to do so, possibly because the curse of the god Shamash was carried out so swiftly that Enmerkar had no occasion to record his experiences. Naram-Sin would not repeat this mistake: he entreats future readers to learn from his example and to follow his instructions.

The following is a translation of the composite text of the Cutha Legend, a compilation in which various fragmentary copies of the text are compared

and assembled to present a more complete version. The composite text includes seven Neo-Assyrian manuscripts and one Neo-Babylonian fragment.⁴⁷

(1)⁴⁸ [Open the tablet box and] read the stele
[that I, Naram-Sin,] a descendant of Sargon
[inscribed and left behind for] perpetuity.

[The king of Uruk] disappeared.

(5) [Enmerkar] disappeared.

[Enmerkar, king of Uruk, ruler of the land.⁴⁹

[Some period of time] passed.

[Some period of time] went by.

[Ishtar (?) . . . changed her decision.⁵⁰

(10) . . . and he rode.

[Enmerkar consulted] the great gods –

[Ishtar, Ilaba,] Zababa, Annunitum

[Shullat, Hanish, Shamash] the hero.⁵¹

[He summoned the diviners] and gave orders.

(15) They sacrificed⁵² the lambs, [seven (lambs) for seven (diviners).]⁵³

[He set up] the holy reed altars.

[The diviners] spoke thus:

.....

..... face.

(20) and like....

[upon] the earth . . . may your corpse lie flat.

The great gods had not [yet finished speaking]⁵⁴

Enmerkar..... Shamash brought a severe judgment.

His judgment, the decision that he ma[de], (was that) his ghost, the ghos[ts] . . .

(25) the ghost(s) of his family, the ghost(s) of his descendants,

the ghost(s) of his descendants' descendants –

(This was decreed by) Shamash the hero,

the lord above and below, the lord of the Anunnaki, the lord of the ghosts –

that they should drink contaminated water and not drink pure water.

The one whose wisdom and weapons bound, defeated, and killed those troops

did not write on a stele, he did not leave (one) behind for me, and

(30) he did not make a name for himself, and I did not pray for him.

A people with partridge bodies, raven-faced humans,
the great gods created them.

On the earth that the gods created was their⁵⁵ city.

Tiamat suckled them.

(35) Their maternal goddess, Belet-ili, beautified them.

In the midst of the mountains they grew, they reached manhood,

they acquired (their) proper size.

Seven kings, brothers, renowned for beauty,

their troops numbered 360,000.

Anubanini, the king, was their father. Their mother was queen Melili.

(40) Their eldest brother was their leader – Memanduh was his name.

Their second brother – Medudu was his name.

Their third brother – . . . tapish (?) was his name.

Their fourth brother – Tartadada was his name.

Their fifth brother – Baldahdah was his name.

(45) Their sixth brother – Ahudanadih was his name.

Their seventh brother – Hurakidu was his name.

They rode in the shining mountains, and

the soldier seized them, but they struck their thighs.⁵⁶

At the beginning of their approach, they advanced against Purushanda.

(50) Purushanda was wholly scattered.

Puhlu was wholly scattered.

Puranshu was wholly scattered.

Indeed,.....⁵⁷

The powers of Umman-manda are struck down (?), the camps of Shubat-Enlil,

(55) and in the midst of Subartu, all of them [wandered about (?)].

They scattered (those in) the seas, and they approached Gutium.

They scattered Gutium, and they approached the land of Elam.

They scattered Elam, and they reached the plains.

They killed those at the crossing, and cast (them) into . . .

(60) Dilmun, Makkan, Meluhha, in the midst of the sea, as many as they were,
they killed.

Seventeen kings, with 90,000 of [their] troops,

with them they ha[d come] to their aid.

[I] summoned a soldier and gave (him) orders.

[I handed ov]er a [dagger] and a pin.

"(65) Attack with the dagger, [prick] with the pin.

[If blood comes out,] they are human like us.

[If blood does not come out,] they are spirits, fiends from the underworld,
demons, lurking ghosts, the work of Enlil."

The soldier delivered his report:

(70) "I attacked with the dagger,

I pricked with the pin, and blood came out."

I summoned the diviners and gave orders.

I sacrificed⁵⁸ seven lambs for the seven (diviners).

I set up the holy reed altars.

(75) I inquired of the great gods –

Ishtar, [Ila]ba, Zababa, Annunitum,

Shullat, Hanish, Shamash the hero.

The key of the great gods did not permit me to go,

nor did a divine communication in my dream.⁵⁹

Thus I said to myself, thus indeed I (spoke):

(80) "What lion practiced divination?

What wolf inquired of an interpreter of dreams?

Let me go like a bandit, following the counsel of my own heart.

Let me disregard (the counsel) of the god; let me take responsibility for myself.

At the arrival of the first year,

(85) I sent out 120,000 troops, and not one from among them returned alive.

At the arrival of the second year,
I sent out 90,000 troops, and not one from among them returned alive.
At the arrival of the third year, I sent out 60,700 troops,
and not one from among them returned alive.

I was disturbed, perplexed, anxious, distressed, (and) dejected.
Thus I said to myself, thus indeed I (spoke):
(90) "What have I left behind as the legacy of my reign?
I am a king who has not looked after his land,
and a shepherd who has not looked after his people.
How can I keep proceeding? How can I save the country?⁶⁰
Dread of lions, death, fate, famine
(95) dismay, chills, losses, hunger,
[starvation, insomnia – every sort (of calamity) descended upon them.
Above, in the assembly], the flood was devised.
Below, on the [earth, the flood came.
Ea, lord [of the deep, opened his mouth] and said,
(100) speaking to [the gods], his [brothers],
"O great gods, [what have you done?
You spoke and I unleashed a flood],⁶¹
and to bring about that which . . . you . . ."
[At the arrival] of the New Year festival in the fourth year],
(105) with the earnest prayer that Ea [. . .] of the [great] gods,
[I offered] the holy New Year's sacrifices.
[I sought] the holy omens.

I summoned the diviners and gave orders.
I sacrificed⁶² seven lambs for the seven (diviners).
(110) I set up the [holy] reed altars.
I inquired of the great gods –
Ishtar, [I]laba, Zababa, Annunium,
Shullat, [Hamish, Shamash the hero].
[Thus the diviners [said] to me:
(115) "If [. . .] carries
[. . .] there is
[. . .] hangs down in it
[. . .] the battle-axe will cause [blood] to flow
[. . .] will drop(?) in blood.

(120) Twelve soldiers from among them fled from me.
I pursued after them, I hastened, I went faster.
As for those soldiers, I overtook them.
As for those soldiers, I brought them back.

Thus I said to myself, thus indeed I (spoke):
(125) "Without divination, I will not inflict punishments."
I sacrificed⁶³ a lamb concerning them.
The key of the great gods [said,] "Spare them."
Shining Venus thus approached me from heaven,

"To Naram-Sin, descendant of Sargon:
(130) Cease! You shall not destroy the accursed people!
In the future, Enlil will raise them up for evil.⁶⁴
They await the furious heart of Enlil.
The city of those soldiers will be [demolished].
They will burn and besiege the dwelling places.
(135) The city will pour out their blood.
The earth will reduce its store, the date palm its yield.
The city of those soldiers will die.
City will fight [against city], household against household,
father against son, brother against brother,
(140) [young man] against young man, friend against companion.
They will not speak truth(fully) with one another.
People will be taught falsehood and . . .
They will kill that enemy city.
As for that city, an enemy city will seize it.
(145) For one [mina of silver, (a person) will receive a seah of barley."
There was no mighty king in the land [. . .]
I brought them [to] the great [gods] as tribute,⁶⁵
I did not bring them for my hand to kill.

Whoever you are, a governor, or a prince, or any other,
(150) whom the gods shall call to carry out the office of kingship:
I made you a tablet box, I inscribed for you a stele.
In Kutha, in the Emeslam temple,
in the shrine of Nergal I left (it) behind for you.
Read this stele,
(155) and heed the message of this stele!
Do not be disturbed; do not be perplexed.
Do not fear; do not tremble.
Let your foundations be firm!
As for you, do your work in the embrace of your wife.
(160) Fortify your walls.
Fill your moats with water.
Your chests, your grain, your silver, your possessions, your goods,
gather in to your fortified city.
Bind your weapons together, and lean (them) against the corners.
(165) Curb your boldness, look out for yourself!
Should he wander throughout your land, do not go out to him.
Should he loose the livestock, do not approach him.
Should he consume the flesh of your soldiers,
should he kill, and return... –
(170) you maintain self-control, you keep yourself in check.
Answer them thus: "My lord."
For their wickedness, return good.
For (their) good, (return) gifts and more!⁶⁶
Do not approach them.
(175) Let wise scribes

read your stele.
 You who have read my stele,
 you have saved your country.⁶⁷
 You who have blessed me, may a future (king)
 (180) bless you!

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Notes

- 1 Also see Steinkeller 1993: 120–1. For arguments favoring a more literal translation of the phrase, see Westenholz 1996: 121; cf. 1999: 37–8.
- 2 The reading of the name is not certain. The divine determinative may also be read as the Akkadian word for god (*ilu*), hence the problem.
- 3 Literally "and 50 governors by the mace of Ilaba and the city he smote." See Kienast 2003: 243 n. 1.
- 4 The line is difficult. See Gelb and Kienast 1990: 162 (under 97–102) for discussion.
- 5 The type of boat is unknown.
- 6 Following the comments of Westenholz 1996: 118, 120.
- 7 One should know that several kings of Awan are mentioned in a damaged section of the Sumerian King List. More informative is a text from the Old