Collaboration in the publication of texts among Assyriologists is rare. S. N. Kramer’s solicitation of comments from colleagues and publication of these comments and criticisms alongside his own work are exceptional acts, especially among the senior generation of Assyriologists. One recalls the appendix of Landsberger to Schooldays, the remarks of Jacobsen at the end of Gilgamesh and Agga, and Jacobsen’s lengthy contribution to the monumental dissertation of Kramer’s student Edmund Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs. This was preceded by Kramer’s own unique experiment with Sumerian proverbs: In 1952, he presented forty-eight proverbs and their translations to the third Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Because of the difficulties proverbs present, he had circulated his transliterations in advance among twenty colleagues, soliciting their translations and comments, and his translations reflected the contributions of the eight colleagues who responded. And many of us recall being present at scholarly meetings where Prof. Kramer would present some unusual text he had recently discovered, freely admitting that there was much he didn’t understand, and offering to send his copy and transliteration to all interested (and qualified: “only the cuneiformists among you”) parties.

The present collaboration originated when Cooper and Heimpel discovered that they both had worked on the unpublished Sargon-Urzababa tablet 3N T296. Cooper had learned about it from M. Civil and Å. Sjöberg when he was preparing an edition of the Curse of Agade1 and he studied it from the casts in the University Museum, discussing it with both Civil and Sjöberg. Heimpel had copied the original during a stay in Baghdad. Civil, who has the publication rights to the tablet, had already completed his own edition of the text, but nevertheless agreed to let Cooper and Heimpel publish the text here, since other commitments have delayed the revision of his manuscript for publication. He kindly made his transliteration, translation and copy available, as well as a lexical note on gû-ne-sag-gâ. The present article was hammered out in discussions and correspondence between Cooper and Heimpel, utilizing Civil’s material. Where there is irreconcilable disagreement between the two authors, both opinions have been included. In anticipation of Civil’s more comprehensive publication, the present study has been kept brief.

The text. The existence of a Sumerian literary account of Sargon’s rise has been known since the publication by Scheil in RA 13 of a fragment from Uruk, subsequently republished as TRS 73 (AO 7673; see pl. 1), and studied by Güterbock, ZA 42, 37f. This fragment is the lower left hand corner of a two column (per side) tablet, containing the end of the first column and the beginning of the fourth column of the composition. The one-column tablet 3N T296 does not overlap TRS 73, but rather seems to be a nearly immediate continuation of TRS 73 i, as TRS 73 iv seems to pick up very close to where 3N T296 ends. The story, or this portion of it, then, is nearly complete, and a hypothetical four-column edition of the text can be reconstructed as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
    i &= TRS 73 \text{ obv.} & ii &= 3N T296 \text{ obv.} \\
    iii &= 3N T296 \text{ rev.} & iv &= TRS 73 \text{ rev.}
\end{align*}
\]

Only the first and last 15 or so lines, and perhaps some transitional lines between cols. i and ii, and iii and iv, are missing.

The story. The composition opens with a description of a prosperous Kish ruled by Urzaba. But the gods have decreed an end to the rule of Kish, and their new favorite, Sargon, is introduced. The bulk of

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1 To be published in Spring, 1983, by the Johns Hopkins Press.
the composition, contained on 3N T296, relates the events foreshadowing Sargon's displacement of Urzababa, and possible efforts by Urzababa to forestall the inevitable. The episode involving the Esikil and the chief smith is particularly obscure, but if some kind of trap for Sargon was being laid, it was certainly not successful. When Sargon reappears in Urzababa's palace, the king is horrified and writes a message about Sargon to Lugalzagesi, presumably another trap for Sargon. But we are told at tablet's end that this will backfire and lead to the death of Urzababa himself.

In TRS 73 iv, Lugalzagesi is questioning a messenger, presumably Urzababa's from Kish, about Sargon's refusal to submit to Lugalzagesi. If the composition ends with that column, there is scarcely room enough to give the messenger's response and then very summarily to relate events back in Kish and Sargon's triumph. If, however, this tablet is only the first half of the composition, the second tablet would recount the foretold death of Urzababa, the succession of Sargon and the battle in which Sargon finally defeated Lugalzagesi and established his hegemony over all of Babylonia.

The composition is full of grammatical and syntactic peculiarities that suggest a later Old Babylonian origin. This is also supported by the frequent quotations from and allusions to other Sumerian literary texts, and the fact that only one exemplar has turned up from Nippur. But, this may just be a degenerate version of a text composed in the Ur III period; only the future discovery of more literary texts from that period and from other sites will enable us to know for certain.

HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL TRADITION. The inscriptions of Sargon tell us nothing of his career before he became King of Agade. The various traditions about Sargon preserved in Sumerian and Akkadian literary, historiographic and omen literature
have been recently collected and discussed by Brian Lewis.\textsuperscript{2} Our composition agrees with the Sumerian King List\textsuperscript{3} and the Weidner Chronicle that Sargon began his career as an official of Urzababa, the King of Kish. Whether it agrees with any other traditions of Sargon's early life cannot be said because of the break in TRS 73, but that tablet gives the name of his father, La'ibum, and so contradicts the birth legend's account of his paternity.\textsuperscript{4}

Urzababa is known only from historical-literary texts. These and the Sumerian King List agree that he was Sargon's superior, whom Sargon replaced as sovereign of northern Babylonia, and thus was a contemporary of Lugalzagesi. This last is well known from his own inscriptions,\textsuperscript{5} an inscription of Uru\textsuperscript{3}inimgina of Lagash,\textsuperscript{6} inscriptions of Sargon,\textsuperscript{7} and contemporary administrative documents.\textsuperscript{8} The son of a ruler of Umma, Lugalzagesi became king of Uruk and suzerain over Sumer. By defeating Lugalzagesi, Sargon, already in control of the north, gained hegemony over all Babylonia. Thus, unlike the Curse of Agade, which flagrantly contradicts much of what we know from contemporary sources, the composition presented here is faithful to the outlines of history. But, by their very nature, the details of the composition suggest that they are invented, and the composition must be classed

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{2} The Sargon Legend, Chaps. 3–4. [See also J. Westenholz's article, below, \textit{Ed.}]
  \item \textsuperscript{3} See the contribution of P. Michalowski in this volume.
  \item \textsuperscript{4} Lewis, op.cit. 42ff., quoted here in the comm. to TRS 73 obv. 10f.
  \item \textsuperscript{5} See Cooper, Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I (forthcoming), Um 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{6} Ibid. La 9.5.
  \item \textsuperscript{7} Hirsch, \textit{AfO} 20 Sargon b 1, 6, 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{8} Powell, \textit{HUCA} 40 1ff.
\end{itemize}
Plate 2a. 3N T296 obverse.
Plate 2b. 3N T296 obverse.
Plate 3a. 3N T296 reverse.
with the *Curse of Agade*, the Sumerian city laments, the Akkadian Sargade and Naramsin romances, and other historical-literary texts. Many, if not all, of those texts have a didactic tendency, and a similar message can be detected in this text as well: destiny determined by the gods is unavoidable and not to be resisted. The reluctance of Urzababa, and probably Lugalzagesi, to acquiesce to the divinely sanctioned ascendance of Sargon is used to dramatize that ascendance, just as the opposition of Naramsin to Enlil in the *Curse of Agade* is used to dramatize Agade's fall and destruction. The text edited here can thus be seen as one of a series of literary-historical compositions that relate, within a similar ideological framework, the downfall of every major Mesopotamian hegemony prior to the Old Babylonian period: Uruk and Kish (this text), Agade (Curse of Agade) and the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur Laments).

Glosses. Lines 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 27, 35, 40, 42, 43, and 55 have minutely written Akkadian glosses (41 alone has a Sumerian pronunciation gloss). They are often legible only because we know what to expect, and they sometimes translate the Sumerian more freely than literally.

Transliteration and Translation. The transliteration of *TRS* 73 is based on Cooper's collation of the tablet. The transliteration of 3N T296 is based on Cooper's study of the cast, the copies and transliterations of Civil and Heimpel, and final careful collation of the cast by Cooper. The many lexical and grammatical difficulties of the text, and problems in reconstructing the narrative, will be discussed in the Commentary.

Transliteration

TRS 73 obv.

1' ėš má-₂gur₃-gi₄[m ]
2' gir₄ ma₃-bi x[ ]
3' id-bi a ḫul-la da-[ri ]
4' a-gār-bi ₂gį₄al-e ri-e-dē ḫgān₄[ ]
5' ē kiš₃i-a uru lil-la-gim ma₃š-ään gi₃-[gi₄-dē]
6' lugal-bi sipa ur₄₃-[f₃a₄-b₃[ ]
7' ē kiš₃i-a-ka ḫu₃₄-gim ḫm₄-e
8' nam-lugal-la-na bal-bi šu kūr-ru-dē ḫ-gal-[a₄] LAM-bi sud₃₄-r₄-[x(x)]
9' an ḫ-en-lil inim kū₃-ga-ne-ne-a zi-e₃-dē-es x[x x ]
10' ki u₄-bi šar-ru-um-ki-in uru₄-ni ur[u ]
11' ad-da-ni la-i-bu-um ama-[n,i ]
12' šar-ru-um-ki-in ša du₁₀-ga mu-[ ]
13' mu im-ta-tu-ud-da-a₄-s x[ ]

3N T296

obv.

1 u₄-ne u₄-te-en-e um-ma-te-a-ta
2 šar-ru-um-ki-in ša-du₁₁ ḫ-gal-šē im-du₄-a-ba
3 itima kū ki-tuš kū₂-ga-ni-a im-ma-da-an-nu
4 ša-ga-nišē mu-un-zu eme-na nu-gā-ga lū-da nu-mu-un-da-ab-bē
5 šar-ru-um-ki-in ša-du₁₁ ḫ-gal-šē šu ba-ab-te-a-ta
   i-na ma₃-ha-ri
6 MU₃.₉A₂UL mu-un-si-ga ₂gį₄ nú-ne-sag-gā mu-un-dab₅₄-bē
   a-na QA₃SU₂₈ × GUL ḫp-qī-du₃₄₈₄-s₄-ma

See Cooper, *Curse of Agade*, Chap. 3.

I would like to thank Mme. B. Leicknam of the Musée du Louvre for making the collation possible, and for excellent photographs of the tablet.

Thanks to Á. Sjöberg of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, Philadelphia, for making the cast available for study. The photographs of the tablet, made from field negatives in the files of the Oriental Institute, were obtained too late for use in preparing this article.
kù "inana-ke₄ da-bi-a mǔš nu-tùm-mu
8 u₄ 5-àm u₅ 10-àm ba-zal-la-ta
9 lugal "ur-"za-ba₁₄-ba₂₂ im-da-lá ki-tuš-bi-ta mi-ni-ib-hu-luḫ
10 pirig-gim ša pap-ḥal-la-na kāš biz⁽¹⁾(or biz⁽²⁾-biz) ša-ba ūš lugud ši₄₅-a-ba
11 i-kuš³ kᵤ₃ a mun lu-ga-gim zi mu-un-di-ni-ib-ir-ir
12 a-ne-eḫ-ma ṣu ki-ma mu-un-as-li
13 u₄-va MŪŠ.KA.UL (eras.) ḫ13 ेizinu-ka
14 i-na x x (x)
15 ṣar-ru-um-ki-in ü-sá-gim la-ba-nū ma-mū-dē ba-nū
16 kū "inana-ke₄ ma-mū id mud-šē mu-un-girs₂-gir₅,
17 ra-mi-im-šu
18 lugal-ra kù-ga-ni-sē im-ma-da-an-sun₁₁-ne-eš
19 ṣar-ru-um-ki-in kù "ur-"za-ba₁₄-ba₂₂-sē im-ma₁₁-da-an-sun₁₁-ne
20 MŪŠ.KA.UL (Ga) ma-mū gi₂₄-ü ([(n a x) ṣa] ṣu₁¹-mu-re-du₈
21 ṣar-ru-um-ki-in lugal-a-ni im-ma-ni-ib-gi₄₂-gi₄
22 lugal-ma ma-mū-ü umu-re-du₁₁-ga
23 ū-ke-ni ši₂-ši₄-ṣe ma-saš-dan mu₅₄-um-šu₁₁-ne-eš
24 [id] mah id mu₅-šē gā-ra mu-un-gir₁-re-dē-ën
25 [[x]] ḫ₁²₄ [du₁₁] "ur-"za-ba₁₄-ba₂₂ nundum kà bi-in-fkù₄ ni ša-"šē³ bas-gid
26 [x x] x na [n x] sukkal-a-ni ḫ₄₂ mu₅₄-na-de-e
27 [n] ṣin₅₁-e₄ mu kù "inana-ke₄
28 rev. ṣu₅₄-ba₅₄-ṣe ū-ši₄-ṣi-ib
29 [x x] x mud-šē u-mu mu-un-ku₄-re
30 [x x] ṣar-ru-um-ki-in MŪŠ.KA.UL id maḥ mu-un-girs₂-gir₅
31 be-li-iš-ti-kāl gal-simug ū ša-ga du₅₄-a-mu im šar-sar
32 inim ga-ra-ab-du₁₁ ṣi₅₁-im-mu₁ [ḥē]-dab₃
33 ra-ni-ga₁₄-mu ṣi₅₂ gal-simug-ṣa₅₁-gà a-ra- ḫ₁²₄-ab-tūm
34 ṣi₅₄-sikīl-la ḫ₁³₃ tar-ra-ka alan-gim ṣu₅₁ kū₄₅-si₅₁-si-ib
35 be-li-iš-ti-kāl inim lugal-la-na-sē sag-kēš ba-ši₄-in-ak
36 sì₅₁-sikīl la ḫ₁³₃₃ tar-ra-ka ša₅₁ mu-un-sā₂₃ uš-tu-si-ṣi-ṣi₄-ṣi
37 lugal-e "šar-ru-um-ki-in ū gû mu-na-dē-e
38 gin-na zabar-šu₅₁-gà gal-simug-še³ tūm-mu-na-ni-ib
39 "šar-ru-um-ki-in ū-"za-ba₁₄-ba₂₂ im-ma-da-ra-ab-è (from edge)
40 kù "inana-ke₄ ṣa-zA-mi₃-ni mūš nu-tūm-mu
41 sì₅₁-sikīl la ḫ₁³₃₃ tar-ra-ka ši₅₁ nindan 10 nindan nu-te-a-[n]a₁
42 kù "inana-ke₄ iges mu₅₁-n₃-ni-nin gi₅₁-ni im-da-rù₄ ṣu x x (x)
43 e-sikīl-là ḫ₁³₃₃ ga-na-nam ū mud nu-mu-un-ku₄-re
44 a-na [(?)] mu₁₄ x x (s₃₅) eš₃₅-da-mi₅₁-ù-₅₁ i -ru-ub
45 kà é nam-tar-ra-ka gal-si₅₂-mu₅₄-da-ra-ri šu bi₅₁-ub
46 zabar-šu₅₁ lugal-la-ke₄ gal-simug-šē³₄ mu-un-du-a-ta
47 "be-li-iš-ti₄₃-kāl gal-simug-im-f₅₂-la-ša₅₁ mu₅₄-da-ba₅₄-si-ga-bi
48 "šar-ru-um-ki-in u₄ 5-àm u₄ 10-àm ba-zal-la-ta

\*12 Heimpel reads é-DIN (with Civil).
That (But) Rose
Its
So
The
(traces
sar-ru-ki-in
emu-en-

because he was so born [ ].

One day, after evening had arrived,
Sargon, when the offerings had been brought to the palace—
He (Urzababa) having lain down in the holy bed-chamber, his holy residence,
He understood, but would not articulate it, nor speak about it with anyone—
Sargon, having received the offerings for the palace—
He (Urzababa) had made the cupbearer responsible (for the offerings)—he (Sargon) took charge of the drinking chest.
Holy Inana was unceasingly working behind the scenes.

After five or ten days had passed,

King Urzababa .... he was frightened in that residence,

Like a lion, he was dribbling urine, filled with blood and pus, down his legs,

He struggled like a floundering salt-water fish, he was terrified there.

That (But) Rose
Its
So
The
(traces
sar-ru-ki-in
emu-en-

because he was so born [ ].

One day, after evening had arrived,
Sargon, when the offerings had been brought to the palace—
He (Urzababa) having lain down in the holy bed-chamber, his holy residence,
He understood, but would not articulate it, nor speak about it with anyone—
Sargon, having received the offerings for the palace—
He (Urzababa) had made the cupbearer responsible (for the offerings)—he (Sargon) took charge of the drinking chest.
Holy Inana was unceasingly working behind the scenes.

After five or ten days had passed,

King Urzababa .... he was frightened in that residence,

Like a lion, he was dribbling urine, filled with blood and pus, down his legs,

He struggled like a floundering salt-water fish, he was terrified there.
At that time, the cupbearer, in the temple of Ezinu,
Sargon, lay down not to sleep, but lay down to dream.
Holy Inana, in the dream, was drowning him (Urzababa) in a river of blood.
Sargon, screaming, gnawed the ground.
When king Urzababa heard those screams,
He had them bring him (Sargon) into the king's presence.
Sargon came into the presence of Urzababa, (who said:)
"Oh cupbearer, was a dream revealed to you in the night?"
Sargon replied to his king:
"Oh my king, this is my dream which I will have told you about:
"There was a single young woman, she was high as the heavens, she was broad as the earth,
"She was firmly set as the [bas]e of a wall.
"For me, she drowned you in a great [river], a river of blood."

Urzababa chewed his lips, became seriously afraid,
He spoke to [...]. his chancellor:
"[ ] my royal sister, holy Inana,
"[ ] is going to put my finger into a . . . of blood,
"[The]n she will drown Sargon, the cupbearer, in a great river.
"Belitikal, master smith, man of my choosing, who can write tablets,
"I will give you orders, let my orders be carried out!
"Let my instructions be heeded!
"Now then, when the cupbearer has delivered my bronze cups to you,
"In the Esikil/pure temple, the temple of destinies, cast them in moulds as if for figurines!"
Belitikal paid attention to his king's orders, and
He readied moulds in the Esikil/pure temple, the temple of destinies.
The king spoke to Sargon:
"Go and deliver my bronze cups to the master smith!"
Sargon left the palace of Urzababa.
Holy Inana was uneasingly far at his right side.
When he had not come within five or ten nindan of the Esikil/pure temple, the temple of destinies,
Holy Inana turned around toward him and blocked his way, (saying:)
"Is not the Esikil/pure temple a holy temple? No one (polluted) with blood should enter it!"
At the gate of the temple of destinies, he (Sargon) met the master smith of the king.
After he delivered the king's bronze cups to the master smith—
Belitikal, the master smith, . . . , having cast them in moulds as if for figurines—
Sargon, after five or ten days had passed,
Came into the presence of Urzababa, his king,
Came right into the palace, firmly founded as a great mountain.
King Urzababa . . . , he was frightened in that residence,
He understood, but would not articulate it, nor speak about it with anyone,
In the bed-chamber, his holy residence, Urzababa was frightened,
He understood, but would not articulate it, nor speak about it with anyone,
In those days, writing on tablets certainly existed, but enveloping tablets did not exist;
King Urzababa, for Sargon, creature of the gods,
Wrote a tablet, which would cause his own death, and
He dispatched it to Lagulzagesi in Uruk.

TRS 73 rev.
1 With the wife of Lugulzagesi . . . [ ].
2 She . . . [ ] her femininity as a shield [ ].
3 Lugulzagesi would not [reply] to the envoy, (and said:)
4 "Come now! Would he step within Eana's masonry?"
5 Lugulzagesi did not understand, so he did not talk to the envoy,
6 (But) as soon as he did talk to the envoy, the eyes of the prince's son were opened.
7 The lord said “Alas!” and sat in the dirt,
8 Lugulzagesi replied to the envoy;
9 "Oh envoy, Sargon does not [reply],
10 “When he submits, Sargon . . . [Lugalzagesi].
11 “Sargon . . . [Lugalzagesi].
12 "Why does S[argon . . . ]?"
ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATION FOR 3N T296 (HEIMPEL)

When on that day evening had come, and when Sargon had brought the meal for the palace, he (Urzababa) was lying down in the pure chamber, his pure dwelling. He ‘knew it to his heart,’ did not set it on the tongue, spoke with nobody.

5 When Sargon had received the meal for the palace, and when he had put on the Mûš.Ka.UL, he took hold of the tray. Pure Inana did not move from his sides. 5 days, 10 days went by. King Urzababa withdrew. He was frightened ‘of that dwelling.’

10 ‘Like a lion’ sprinkling the inside of his legs with urine in which there was plenty of fresh blood he moaned and gasped like a struggling saltwater fish. On one of these days, the Mûš.Ka.UL, Sargon, lay down in the winehouse of Ashnan—not that he wanted to sleep, he lay down for a dream. In the dream, pure Inana ‘submerged’ into a blood river.

15 Sargon shouted “hither” in his agitation. As Urzababa heard that agitation they came hurrying before the king to his pure place. Also Sargon came hurrying to Urzababa’s place. “Mûš.Ka.UL...”

20 Sargon turned to his king: “My king, in my dream which I am telling you now there was a person, one young woman. She was high like heaven. She was broad like earth. She was set like the foundation of a wall. She submerged you for me into a mighty river, a river of blood.”

25... Urzababa bit his lip. ‘Fear reached to the heart.’ To... his vizier, he said: “...my noble sister, pure Inana into... blood she ‘entered’ my finger... Sargon, the Mûš.Ka.UL, she submerged in a mighty river.”

30 “Belishtikal, chief smith who writes down my wishes, let me tell you, heed my word, pay attention to my counsel. Now, when the Mûš.Ka.UL has brought to you the bronze of my hand, Pour it into the ingot mould like a statue in the Esikil, the house of fate.”

35 Belishtikal obeyed the word of his king. He prepared the ingot mould in the Esikil, the Esikil, the house of fate. The king said to Sargon: “Go, bring the bronze of my hand to the chief smith.”

Pure Inana did not move from his right side.

40 He had not come to within 5, 10 Nindan of the Esikil, the house of fate, when pure Inana ..., blocked his path. “Is not the Esikil a pure house? A blood (stained) person does not enter it!” He met the chief smith of the king at the gate of the house of fate. When he had handed the bronze of the hand of the king to the chief smith,

45 Belishtikal, the chief smith, withdrew and poured it like a statue into the ingot mould, etc.

53ff. [I cannot give a running translation.]

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

TR5 73 obv.

1’ff. For the similarities between this text and the first section of the Curse of Agade, see Cooper, The Curse of Agade, chapter 3.


8’. LAM = šēbu?

10’ff. Cf. lines 2–4 of the Akkadian Sargon Legend,13

ummi ūnetu abī ul īdi
abī abīja irammi šadā
āli Azupirānī ša ina abī Puratti šaknu
My mother was an īnetu-priestess, my father I did not know,
My uncle inhabits the mountains,
My city (of birth) was Azupirānu, which lies on the bank of Euphrates.

13 Lewis, The Sargon Legend, 24f.
The same line occurs in Hendursaga (AOAT 25, 148) 77 and Marriage of Martu (SRT 8), i 19, 34. Cf. Shaffer Sumerian Sources, 68:158, and S. Cohen, Emmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, 1. 98 with commentary.

Our text exhibits a clear predilection for subordinating clauses with nominalization and following ablative case marker (cf. lines 1, 5, 8, 44, 46, 55). The meaning of this subordination is in all cases temporal. Temporal subordination in the form of -a-ba occurs only in line 2 where it is obviously chosen in order to avoid repetition of -a-ta (cf. 1, 44).

3. The intrusive nature of these lines is especially awkward, but the subject must be Urzababa, for it is he who sleeps in the itimakû (1.51) and has the awful premonitions of his own downfall (4 = 50 = 52). Similar premonitions of Naramsin are expressed in the same words in the Curse of Agade, 87 and 93a. Note the play on this line in TRS 73 rev. 5.

6. Meška-ul occurs in no other text, but the gloss sila šdšul is "cupbearer" (what is the x gul which follows it?) immediately identifies Sargon's function at Urzababa's court according to the literary-historical tradition (see above).

Heimpel understands meška-ul as the direct object of mu-unsiga, and speculates that the meš is the emblem meš worn by kings and en's, and Sargon is wearing some such emblem in his function as cupbearer, and that, by extension, the wearer of the emblem (here Sargon) was called by the emblem's name (cf. Muškenid'ana, the en of Aratta).

Civil has contributed the following note on giš gû-ne-sag-gâ (see already JNES 31, 386): "The meaning 'cupboard,' or 'chest to keep the drinking utensils' for gû-ne-sag-gâ (the reading of the second sign is not completely certain and perhaps it would have been wise to transliterate gû-ne-) is based on the following evidence:

1) The curse formula in UET 1 15:3ff. (a fragment of an obsidian cup) reads: tumum-b[r] gû-ne-sag-{gâ-}ta īb[ta-an-zi-zi] é-nîg-ga-{r(a-ni) i-[f b] kû₄ ...} if he takes (this cup on which the text is inscribed) out of the g. and takes it into (his) storehouse.'

2) The g. is associated with drinking: (beer) gû-ne-sag-gâ ka a-gîn, hê-nibal-bal ID 162; gû-ne-sag-gâmu me-teaš [hê-im-mi-ib-gâl] 2:23 in the context of a drinking party (see the remarks in JNES 31, 386); during the hot summer people giš gû-ne-sag-gâ ke₄ mu-ün-kin-kin ēn-tar mu-ni-gâl 'they look constantly for the g. and take good care of it' EE 245; GG 68 mentions the g. after the banšur 'table'; two giš gû-ne-sag-gâ are mentioned in an inventory among furniture and utensils, Pinches Berens, 89 ii 18; 1 giš gû-ne-sag-gâ kaš (?) gînesiré-abî 4 sila BIN 9 451:6.

3) The g. of some gods are mentioned in Ur III texts and normally it is drinking and cooking utensils that go into them: cups (gal) for the g. of Nanna UET 3 376; 1 dára a nag-nag and one nîg-i-dé-a 'oil cruets?' in the shape of a reclining calf encrusted with lapis lazuli and gold for the same destination in UET 3 378 and 101, respectively; copper kettles for the g. of Alamuš(lal) UET 3 378; other mentions of the g., e.g., 6N-T362, do not specify the destination. A Pre-Sargonic possible mention of the g. remains doubtful: 1 gar-ne-sag-gârudu kušagan bi 1-am VAT 4856 in Or 16 39 (transliteration only).

4) The man in charge of the g., (lû) gû-ne-sag-gâ-(ak), is often mentioned in administrative texts: BM 12245:1 (CT 10 49); H 6246 (MCS 1 22); Nies UET 59.54; BM 21399:12 (CT 9 37); note that among the personnel (gil-si-ga) of the libation place ki-a-nag en-en-ne-ka in R1C 4 1 ii 5 there is at least one lû-gû-ne-sag-gâ mentioned between the doorman and the brewer, confirming once more the association of the g. with drinking.'

While the g. usually contained drinking utensils, the presents given to the g. of Nanna by the king and queen seem to be a different kind of object. UET 3 101:1f. (1 ninda-i-dé-a / amar-nú-a na-za-gin guškin garr-a) is probably "1 pastry ninda-i-dé-a ("bread with oil poured over it") with a gold set lapis lazuli figure of a reclining calf." The latter may be the ornament of the former. Also the other presents, the gold set lapis lazuli giš ku (UET 3 378:1), the "small ku of red gold" (UET 3 376:4), and the "drinking ibex" (UET 3 378) may be ornaments. UET 3 741 mentions the g. of a šabra together with bronze vessels and utensils which are also attested in connection with cupbearers (see below to 33ff.).

7. Cooper translates da as pužru (Proto-Isi II 104 [MSL 13 44]); Heimpel follows 1. 39.

Inanna was the chief goddess of Kish, as she would be of Agade (as she was also of Lugalzaggesi's Uruk), and thus on one level was the wife of the current king, Urzababa. The activity of Inanna here on Sargon's behalf means that she is preparing to change royal husbands in accord with the decision of An and Enlil in TRS 73 rob. Her disengagement from Urzababa is one of the foreboding indications of his reign's approaching end. A similar process can be observed in the Lugalbanda Epic. Emmerkar sees in the misfortune in which he finds himself before the walls of Aratta a sign that Inanna has abandoned Him:

Now and here my hili has ended... Like a child who, hating his mother, leaves the city, has my noble sister, pure Inanna, run away from me to the brickwork Kulaba... Would I (now) enter the brickwork Kulaba, my lance would be taken from me then, my...
shield would be broken by her then. (Wileke, Lugalbanda, 306–320)

Thanks to his powers gained from Anzu, Lugalbanda makes the trip from Aratta to Uruk at the speed of thought, and is well received by Inana:

As she looked at the shepherd Ama'ushumgalana, she looked at pure Lugalbanda. As she spoke to her son, the lord Shara, did she speak to pure Lugalbanda. (Wileke, Lugalbanda, 350–353)

Inana has shifted her loyalties from the reigning king, whose powers are on the wane, to the eventual successor who has impressed her as fit to be king.

8. Cf. 1. 46.
10. The verb after kās might also be su, (TAG)-be (So Civil); cf. MSL 14.413:221 su-bu TAG = sa-ta[?-x], probably to be restored satānu, "to urinate." For ūš lugud, cf. MSL 12 185:52 (OB Lu B) lū ša ūš lugud dé- dé = ša libbatu dama u šarka malā. Whereas this refers to the presence of blood and pus in the man's insides, ša in our line must be prepositional and refer to blood and pus in the urine (unless -ba is an error for -ga-na).
11. See Heimpel, Tierbilder, 79.2; for the gloss, cf. eslu "bloat(ed)."
12. Heimpel, with Civil, reads e-din 4ezinu-ka.
13. For this dream introduction, see SGL 1 75ff.: Civil, AOAT 25, 92.
14f. Because Sargon, in line 24, tells Urzbaba that "For me, she drowned you," the person being drowned in line 14 must be Urzababa, not Sargon. Sargon's frightened reaction in line 15 is not caused by fear for his own life, but by the realization of his master's downfall and his own ascendance, and the risks this will entail.
15. Cooper understands zű-ra-aḫ "to gnaw, chew"; Heimpel gū-ra-aḫ "to scream."
19. The ū- prefix here is problematic.
22f. Whereas the initial version of the dream in L. 14 identifies the protagonist as Inana, Sargon's retelling is both more poetic and more oblique, echoing the appearance of Ningirsu in Gudea Cyl. A iv 14ff.:

ša ma-mū-da-ka lū diš-ām an-gim ri-ba-ni
ki-gim ri-ba-ni
a-ne sag-gā-ni-še dingir-ra-ām

ä-nil-še anzu mušen-dam
sig-ba-ni-a-še a-ma-ru-kam

In the dream there was a single man, huge as heaven.
Huge as the earth.
He, by his head was a god,
By his wings, the Anzu-eagle,
By his lower body, the Deluge.

24. The ambiguity of the direct object is resolved here only by gā-ra "for me," since the accusative pronominal suffix -en translated "you" can also be translated "me," just as the accusative infixed ni in L. 14 could theoretically refer either to Sargon or Urzababa.
25. The traces at the beginning seem to exclude lugal. For nundun-kū, see CAD s.v. našāku. For ni ša-še ba-gid, cf. OECT 5 28f.:2 lugal-mu ni n-u-te ni nu-gid-i "My king need not fear or worry," and TIM 9 6:14f. = 32ff.:

e-ne ma-an-du-ti ša-še nu-gid
gā-e in-na-an-du-ti ba-šēš ba-gid
šī ʾiğhtammas ana libhim ula asdud
anāku aqīqīmmu iktašar
ana libhim ištadad

She spoke to me, but I didn't take it seriously;
I spoke to her, and she paid attention and took it seriously.

28f. Despite Urzababa's premonition of his downfall in 1.4 and his frightened reaction to Sargon's dream in 1.25, which shows that he well understood the dream's meaning, he publicly reinterprets the dream here to bode well for him and ill for Sargon. This intentional flouting of divine will is similar to Naramsin's reaction in the Curse of Agade to the god's decision to bring his dynasty to end. But whereas Naramsin's efforts to resist were directed against the source of the decision, Enlil's temple Ekur in Nippur, Urzababa's efforts will be directed here against the agent of the gods, Sargon. In his dream interpretation, Urzababa does not just switch victim and beneficiary, but rather splits the action of Inana in two: she will dip Urzababa's finger into blood, and will drown Sargon in a great river. The id ma-h id mud of L. 24 are separated, and another verbal clause is created, using ku₄(-r) possibly because of its partial homonymy and synonymy with the original verb gir.

31f. For the instructional formula, see Alster, Studies in Sumerian Proverbs, 29ff.
35ff. The activity to be performed by the smith is the least intelligible part of the composition. Is this a kind of Nam-
burbi to counteract the message of the dream, or a trap being laid for Sargon? Since, at the end of the activity, Urzababa is rather shocked to see Sargon again (1.49), it must be a trap, but what kind? The zabar-su which the cupbearer Sargon is to bring to the smith is probably a cup of some sort. The element zabar in this word does not necessarily mean the material bronze. According to Bauer, 

[AWL], 182 xi 11 the zabar-su could be made of "pure silver." In OIP 14 103 on the other hand, 3 zabar-su are contained in 32 zabar-hi-a. The conflicting indications can be harmonized by assuming that the object was originally and typically made of bronze, yet it acquired a ceremonial or ornamental use in which it could also be made of more precious materials. Our text demonstrates that the word contains a genitive. According to OIP 14 103, the zabar-su belonged to a set of bronze utensils which were given to a certain Me-sa-kan. The latter is a cupbearer according to OIP 14 100. His set in 103 includes 7 different kinds of objects. Only three are vaguely identifiable, i.e. ma-su-lum as "mirror" or "palette" (so CAD s.v. mušālu A; but possibly to be connected with mušālu B "esophagus" and explained as drinking tube); za-hum as a container of liquids (AHw "Schale"); Limet, TMP "aiguère" following Deimel Šl. "Kanne"); gaš-kasšu as a variety of container of liquids (Salonen HAM I s.v.; Heimpel, ZDMG 120 [1970], 186). A similar set is characterized as šu šilasī-du, in BIN 8 145, another (UET 3 741) is related to the gû-ne-sag-gá of a šabra. Comparable is also MVN 3 152 which details gifts of a governor for Anunītam, among them a copper "mirror" and a "copper of the hand" (urudu-su). The word zabar-su is found in prominent position in the forerunner to Hh XII (MSL 7 231:2) and to be expected in Gap A of the canonical version.

The association of cupbearer and the zabar-su insures that our text is indeed talking about the same zabar-su found in the texts just cited, despite the grammatical difficulty of zabar-su-gá in lines 33 and 38. If zabar-su is "bronze (vessel) of the hand," "my z." should be *zabar-su-ak-mu > zabar-su-mu, whereas zabar-su-gá means "the bronze of my hand, bronze in my possession" (*zabar-su-ak-mu-ak).

kuš-kūš is translated in lexical lists by Akk. rātu "pipe, tube, gutter, ditch," but seems, in fact, to mean rātu mainly in specifically metallurgical contexts. The lexical evidence is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kū-uš} &= \text{ū} = \text{rātum} \quad \text{(urudu) kuš-kūš} = \quad \text{Proto-Aa 231:1 (MSL 14) 98} \\
\text{rātu} &= \quad \text{Hh 10:383 and 11:423 (MSL 7 98 and 147)} \\
\text{kuš-kūš} &= \text{rāt nappāḫi} \quad \text{Erimḫuṣ 2:55 and Imgidda Erimḫuṣ A 5'} \quad \text{(CAD s.v. nappāḫu)}
\end{align*}
\]

ku-ku-uš = urudu č.ču \text{JAOS 65 225:65 (Diri 6)} = rātu

In Hh 10 and 11 it is followed by (urudu)nig-sa-sa, the furnace grate, and in Diri it is preceded by urudu-ama-ten = agarinna "crucible" (or "mould"), and followed by qurqur eri "coppersmith." The association with crucibles and furnace grates suggests something used in the melting and casting process, which fits well in our text, where the smith is pouring (sī = šapāku) the zabar-su into kūš-kūš "as if for a statue" or image of some kind. Mould fits best here and copper and bronze moulds as well as stone or clay moulds were used in antiquity for casting bronze.\(^{15}\) Despite the determinative urudu in some references, non-metallic kūš-kūš are certainly intended in Hh 10 (the metal kūš-kūš is in Hh 11), and the rātu used by a nappāḫu in the newly published piece of Gilgamesh\(^{16}\) seems to be a crucible, and hence stone or clay.

A meaning "mould" in our composition would also fit the similar passage in the Curse of Agade 127f.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-gār maḥ a-ēstuḫkū, dagal-la-gim} \\
\text{ē-kur-ra urudūgi-dim gal-gal-bi kūš-kūš-a bi-in-si-si} \\
\end{align*}
\]

As if for great tracts of land with wide-spreading carp ponds.

He cast large spades in moulds for the Ekur.

Naramsin is manufacturing spades to dig up the Ekur precinct, as if he were digging carp ponds. The same spade (urudūgi-dim) appears in the list of tools on the OB forerunner to Hh 11 immediately following urudūkūš-kūš-e-dim (MSL 7 225:117f.), which we can tentatively translate as "mould-made (tool)." Finally, in the Lamentation Over Sumer and Ur, 232, we can now restore [a][a][a]-n-gim kūš-kūš-a dé-a-me-es i-[i]-ge-de-dé-en de-en "We are spoiled out like figurines being cast in moulds."

Heimpel thinks kūš-kūš are ingot moulds (cf. Goetze, \text{JAOS} 65, 235: "the furrow in front of the crucible into which the molten metal flows, in which it hardens, and from which it is taken out in the form of ingots"), which is supported by the presence of rātu for gold, silver and copper in an Old Babylonian list of key numbers for various standardized containers and vessels (MCT, 134:22ff.). If rātu is a standardized ingot mould, its association with the standard of capacity (in the form of a vessel) hiburnu in Frankena, Tāktulu, 25 i 39 would also be explained. kūš-kūš-a si "to pour into ingot moulds," then means, more freely, "to melt down." The Curse of Agade passage cited above can be

\(^{15}\) Tylecote, \text{A History of Metallurgy}, 32f.

\(^{16}\) Von Weiner, \text{Ba Mi}, 11 93:19.
translated “That which produces (dīm, not -gim) the large arable tracts (lapped) widely by carp waters, (namely) the Ekur’s large spades, were poured into the ingot mould (i.e. melted down),” and the *Lamentation* passage can be rendered “Like statues poured into the ingot mould, we will be killed” (restoring u.g., not si).

What is the Esikil? It certainly cannot be the temple of that name dedicated to Ninazu/Tišpak in Ešnuna, and it is not known as a temple of Inana or a temple in Kish. Should we rather translate “pure temple?” The temple’s epithet “temple of destinies” may well be connected with the activity Urzababa is ordering to be done there, in an effort to alter his destiny.

41ff. Inana’s attempt to prevent Sargon from entering the temple must be in order to save him from Urzababa’s trap. Why is Sargon polluted by blood? Does it refer to the dream, or to his future as a warrior? The outcome of this encounter is that Sargon delivers the bronze cups to the smith at the entrance to the temple, but does not actually enter it.

53ff. Line 53 parodies the famous passage in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* 503ff.:17

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{en kul-aba₄[1]} & \text{-a-ke₄ im-e šu bi-in-ra inim dub-gim b[i-i]n-gub} \\
\text{u₄-bi-ta inim im-ma gub-bu nu-ub-ta-gál-la} \\
i-ne-ēs utu u₄-dē-a ur₃ \text{ h[ē-en-na]-nam-ma} \\
en \text{ kul-aba₄[1]} & \text{-a-ke₄ in[i]m dub-gim b{j-i-in-gub}
\end{align*}
\]

The translation of im si-si-ge follows a suggestion of Civil’s; cf. im-si = imšuku, si = arāmu (*CAD* svv.).

Urzababa must now be trying to anger Lugalzagesi, the overlord of southern Babylonia, against Sargon, hoping that Lugalzagesi will somehow do away with Sargon. Line 55 tells us that this plan will backfire, leading to Urzababa’s own death, because, no doubt, the tablet written by Urzababa was seen by Sargon, and since tablets in those days were not sealed in envelopes he could read the message and take appropriate countermeasures.

55. For ni-ug₄, cf. Alster *Šuruppak*, l. 32 ni-zu nam-mu-ug₄, e “Do not kill yourself.” But Urzababa is not actually committing suicide, only precipitating his own death through his treachery toward Sargon.

*TRS* 73 rev.

1. The DAM has one too many verticals.
2. The sign is LUM, as copied.
3. This line parodies lines 4,50 and 52 of 3NT 296. See the commentary to 1.4 of that tablet.
4. The last sign is SUM, as copied, not GAM₄ or SUM₃. The beginning of a second SUM is visible before the break.