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# Naram-Sin's War against Armanum and Ebla in a Newly-Discovered Inscription from Tulul al-Baqarat

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## Introduction

“As to the fact that from immemorial time, since the creation of mankind, no king among kings had plundered Armanum and Ebla—with the axes of Nergal, he (= Dagan) opened the path of Naram-Sin the mighty

\* This paper stems from a combined effort of the two authors: Nashat Alkhafaji wrote a first draft consisting of an introduction and a preliminary transliteration and translation of IM 221139; Gianni Marchesi revised the manuscript and added the Commentary and the Appendix. We would like to thank the authorities of the Iraqi Museum and of the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage (SBAH) for permission to publish this important new text of Naram-Sin from the Iraqi excavations at Tulul al-Baqarat and providing us with the relevant pictures. Moreover, we are extremely grateful to Basima Almamori (University of Baghdad) for her support, as well as to a number of colleagues and friends who helped in various ways during the various stages of preparation of this work, notably Benjamin R. Foster, Carlo Lippolis, Nicolò Marchetti, Ingo Schrakamp, Piotr Steinkeller, Aage Westenholz, and Carlo Zaccagnini, who all provided useful information and feedback; and to Federica Proni, who skillfully processed the images. An anonymous reviewer who pointed out some important bibliographic references (especially, in Russian works) also deserves our gratitude. The abbreviations used in this article are those of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago, 1956–2010) or the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* (Berlin, 1932–2019).

and gave him Armanum and Ebla.”<sup>1</sup> Thus begins the famous account of the conquest of Armanum and Ebla by Naram-Sin,<sup>2</sup> an event that no doubt represents one of

<sup>1</sup> UET 1, 275 i 1–20 (see Appendix below). The transcription “Naram-Sin” is conventional, and the same is true of “Naram-Suen,” the other normalized form of this name that is generally encountered in the literature. In fact, in Old Akkadian, the name in question should rather be reconstructed as Naram-Suyin (more precisely, /narām-‘suyin/) or Naram-Su’in (/narām-‘su’in/). In this respect, note the Pre-Sargonic syllabic spelling *sú-i-nu* (MEE 4, 289, VE 799a–b; cf. G. Conti, *Il sillabario della quarta fonte della lista lessicale bilingue eblaïta*, QuadSem 17 [Firenze, 1990], 191–92; also in the “Kishite” PNs *ir-am<sub>6</sub>-sú-i-nu* and *zu-bi-sú-i-nu*, quoted by A. Archi, “More on Ebla and Kish,” in *Eblaïtica: Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaïte Language*, vol. 1, ed. C. H. Gordon, G. A. Rendsburg, and N. H. Winter [Winona Lake, IN, 1987], 138–39, *sub.* 8 and 16), which provides us with the original form /‘suyin/ of the name of the moon-god Sin; and see R. Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian: A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 89, for the possible shift /y/ > /‘/ of the palatal glide in intervocalic position in Sargonic Akkadian. For the sake of simplicity, however, the conventional transcription “Naram-Sin” has been kept here. For the same reason, diacritics and special characters are avoided in the transcriptions of proper nouns.

<sup>2</sup> This passage is often quoted in scholarly literature, especially after the identification of Ebla with Tell Mardikh, in northwestern Syria, and the discovery there of palace archives dating approximately to the twenty-fourth century B.C., which revealed the very important role that the city played in the Syrian arena before the period of Akkad.

the major military achievements of the king of Akkad,<sup>3</sup> as Naram-Sin's epithet "conqueror of Armanum and Ebla" also attests.<sup>4</sup>

The feat was also celebrated in one of Naram-Sin's year-names—"The year in which Naram-Sin conquered Armanum and tore d[own its] walls"<sup>5</sup>—where Ebla is significantly absent. This fact comes as no surprise, however. In the time of Naram-Sin, Ebla appears to have been just the mere shadow of its former self; in fact, in his inscriptions, Naram-Sin only mentions the king of Armanum as his opponent. Clearly, the as-yet unidentified city of Armanum had at that time replaced Ebla as the hegemonic power of the Syrian region.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On the figure of Naram-Sin and the events of his reign, see, among others, D. R. Frayne, "Narām-Sin. A," *RLA* 9/3-4 (1999): 169-74; A. Westenholz, "The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture," in *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, ed. P. Attinger and M. Wäfler, OBO 160/3 (Freiburg, 1999), 46-55, and "Assyriologists, Ancient and Modern, on Naram-Sin and Sharkalisharri," in *Assyriologica et Semitica: Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, ed. J. Marzahn and H. Neumann, AOAT 252 (Münster, 2000), 552-56; M. Liverani, *The Ancient Near East: History, Society and Economy* (London, 2014), 135-37; B. R. Foster, *The Age of Agade: Inventing Empire in Ancient Mesopotamia* (London, 2016), 10-22; I. Schrakamp, "Akkadian Empire," in *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, ed. J. M. MacKenzie (Chichester, 2016), 5-8; and P. Steinkeller, *History, Texts and Art in Early Babylonia: Three Essays*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 15 (Boston, 2017), 123-24, 129-32, and 135-41.

<sup>4</sup> See RIME 2, 136, Narām-Sin 27: 6-9. A similar epithet—"conqueror of Armanum and Ebla and Elam"—occurs in Narām-Sin 2005: 8-13 (*ibid.*, 167), which, however, is probably a fake inscription; see I. J. Gelb and B. Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, FAOS 7 (Stuttgart, 1990), 110, comm. to Narām-Sin B 7 (Karšum); and E. A. Braun-Holzinger, *Mesopotamische Weihgaben der frühdynastischen bis altbabylonischen Zeit*, HSAO 3 (Heidelberg, 1991), 27, n. 118 (on K 31), and 48, comm. to K 31. In this connection, also note that Naram-Sin never states to have conquered Elam or even to have campaigned there (*pace* P. Steinkeller, "The Birth of Elam in History," in *The Elamite World*, ed. J. Álvarez-Mon, G. P. Basello, and Y. Wicks [London, 2018], 188; with this, of course, we do not deny that Naram-Sin also controlled Elam: he inherited it from his predecessors and did not need to reconquer it).

<sup>5</sup> See E. Salgues, "Naram-Sin's Conquests of Subartu and Armanum," in *Akkade Is King: A Collection of Papers by Friends and Colleagues Presented to Aage Westenholz on the Occasion of His 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday 15<sup>th</sup> of May 2009*, ed. G. Barjamovic et al., PIHANS 118 (Leiden, 2011), 268, RBC 2664 rev. 4-9: *in* 1 mu / na-ra-am-<sup>4</sup>EN.ZU / ar-ma-nam<sup>3</sup> / SAG.ḠEŠ.RA<sup>7</sup> / BĀD-[su] / u-na-[qí/qè-ru] (transliteration modified; cf. Salgues, *ibid.*, 254-55). A further reference to Armanum is found in another year-name of Naram-Sin; see Appendix, below, comm. to iv 20ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S. Brumfield, *Imperial Methods: Using Text Mining and Social Network Analysis to Detect Regional Strategies in the Akkadian*

Until now, the only source of information on this Syrian campaign of Naram-Sin was an Old Babylonian tablet from Ur (UET 1, 275), which contains a brief account of the events and a description of the triply circumvallated city of Armanum: a formidable fortified town built on top of a hill, which Naram-Sin besieged and managed to take by undermining its walls.<sup>7</sup> However, it is now clear that the tablet in question tells us only part of the story, it being just an excerpt from a longer inscription, presumably copied by an apprentice scribe as an exercise. This is revealed by a recently-found inscription of Naram-Sin that partially overlaps with the previously-known text on the tablet from Ur.

This new source comes from the Iraqi excavations at Tulul al-Baqarat, probably ancient Kesh, the religious center consecrated to the cult of the Mesopotamian

*Empire* (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2013), 7-9; and G. Marchesi, "History and Philology," in *Middle Euphrates*, ed. U. Finkbeiner et al., ARCANÉ 4 (Turnhout, 2016), 423-24. As far as the location of Armanum is concerned, two recent proposals to identify it with the Banat-Bazi complex on the Middle Euphrates (A. Otto, "Archeological Perspectives on the Localization of Naram-Sin's Armanum," *JCS* 58 [2006]: 1-26; see also A. Otto and M. G. Biga, "Thoughts about the Identification of Tall Bazi with Armi of the Ebla Texts," in *Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East: May, 5<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> 2008, "Sapienza" - Università di Roma*, vol. 1, ed. P. Matthiae et al. [Wiesbaden, 2010], 481-94) or to place it more northward at Samsat (A. Archi, "In Search of Armi," *JCS* 63 [2011]: 5-34) do not convince us; see G. Marchesi, "The Matter of Armanum" (forthcoming), where a case is presented for identifying Armanum with Halab/Aleppo, as has already been suggested by S. Smith, UET 1, pp. 79-81. For a completely different view (unlikely, in our opinion), see also E. L. Danielyan, "On the Genetic Identity of Armanum with Armenia," *Fundamental Armenology* 2017/1: 7-17 ([http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/issues/12/ISSUE-1-\(5\)-2017.html](http://www.fundamentalarmenology.am/issues/12/ISSUE-1-(5)-2017.html); reference courtesy P. Steinkeller).

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix below. This episode is possibly reflected in the later tradition concerning the conquest of Apishal by Naram-Sin; see J.-J. Glassner, *Le devin historien en Mésopotamie* (Leiden, 2019), 331-35 and 454-64; and A. Winitzer, "History as Scholarship in the Early Babylonian Divination Literature (Part I)," *Kaskal* 16 (2019; in press). In a literary tale dating to the late Old Babylonian period, which is also known from a Hittite source, a king of Armanum named Madag/kina occurs in a group of eighteen foreign rulers who rebelled against Naram-Sin (J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, MesCiv 7 [Winona Lake, IN, 1997], 252-53; H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200. Zweiter Teil: Hethiter," *ZA* 44 [1938]: 68-69; cf. M. Haul, *Stele und Legende: Untersuchungen zu den keilschriftlichen Erzählwerken über die Könige von Akkade*, GBAO 4 [Göttingen, 2009], 84, n. 82), but both his name and the story appear to be fictitious.

mother goddess Ninhursaga.<sup>8</sup> Tulul al-Baqarat, “Tells of Cows,” is the modern name of a fairly large archaeological area situated about 25 km southwest of Kut, in the Wasit province, which includes several mounds scattered along a line of about 3 km in the vicinity of the village of Umm al-Kheir.<sup>9</sup>

One of these mounds, the main tell TB1 (= Tell Baqarat 1),<sup>10</sup> was extensively excavated for three seasons (2008–2010) by an expedition of the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, directed by Eyad Maher.<sup>11</sup> Since 2013, the site has been investigated by an Italian expedition of the Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino, under the direction of Carlo Lippolis. The excavations brought to light the remains of a large religious complex whose structures date to different periods (from the third to the first millennium BC) and which provided inscriptions of several important kings such as Ur-Namma, Shulgi, Shu-Sin, Nabopolassar, and Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>12</sup>

During the second season of the Iraqi excavations, an inscribed fragment of a dark green stone (Fig. 1; width: 22 cm; height: 19 cm; thickness: 22 cm), identified by the excavators as diorite, was found in the southern sector of the tell, in an open area at the foot of the staircase of the temple terrace (Fig. 2).<sup>13</sup> The piece, now in the

Iraq Museum with the inventory number IM 221139, belonged to a monument (stele?), the rest of which remains lost.<sup>14</sup> On the existing fragment is what remains of a long inscription in a coarse Old Akkadian script that recounts Naram-Sin's campaign against Armanum and Ebla. The new text is particularly remarkable in that it dates from the time of Naram-Sin himself, and, therefore, is contemporary with the narrated events. Even more importantly, this inscription makes clear that the Armanum affair was not only the conquest of a single fortified city, but a long military campaign against a powerful western kingdom and its allies, with more battles and a massive deployment of forces on both fronts—judging from the impressive number of 80,508 prisoners claimed by Naram-Sin, which is absolutely without parallel.<sup>15</sup> To some extent, we can speak of an Iraq-Syrian war of antiquity. By defeating Armanum, the king of Akkad gained control over the entire Syrian region up to the Amanus range and the Mediterranean Sea. No wonder, then, that after that unprecedented triumph Naram-Sin added the epithet of “conqueror of Armanum and Ebla” to his royal titulary.<sup>16</sup>

### The Text: IM 221139 (Figs. 1, 3–7)

row i'

- 1' [ . . . ]  
 2' [ i-l ] i- [ i ] k-ma  
 3' [ KASKAL.ŠU ] DUN-am  
 4' [ i<sub>11</sub>-ni ]-r a<sup>1</sup>-ma  
 5' [ is-ku<sub>8</sub>-na-m ] a  
 6' [ i-tá-ab-za-ma (?) ]  
 (rest of column broken)

<sup>8</sup> See C. Lippolis and M. Viano, “It is indeed a city, it is indeed a city! Who knows its interior?” The Historical and Geographical Setting of Tūlul al-Baqarat. Some Preliminary Remarks,” *Mesopotamia* 51 (2016): 143–46. Cf. M. Viano, “Royal Inscriptions from Tūlul al-Baqarat,” *Mesopotamia* 51 (2016): 127–33. In this connection, also note the reference to Kesh and its deity Ninhursaga in the so-called “Bassetki Inscription” of Naram-Sin (Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 82, Narāmsin I: 34–36).

<sup>9</sup> See C. Lippolis, “Preliminary Report of the Italian Expedition (MAITaB) at Tūlul al-Baqarat (Wasit Province): Seasons 2013–2016,” *Mesopotamia* 51 (2016): 67–99. Note *ibid.*: 67, n. 4: “It appears that almost all of the tells immediately south and southeast of the modern village of Umm el Kheir are collectively known as Tell Baqarat.”

<sup>10</sup> See Lippolis, “Preliminary Report”: figs. 3–5.

<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, no report of the Iraqi excavations at Tulul al-Baqarat has been published yet.

<sup>12</sup> See Lippolis, “Preliminary Report”: 73–87.

<sup>13</sup> For the lower area to the south of the terrace, see provisionally Lippolis, “Preliminary report”: figs. 7 (court) and 11. In the report for the museum by the Iraqi expedition, the findspot is given as “grid 40 on the floor of the first level,” but it is not clear whether it is the first level from below that is meant (as is perhaps more likely), or from above. We must await the publication of the Iraqi expedition report to get more precise and detailed information on this find. However, “grid 40” of the Iraqi report should be situated almost entirely within the area of Sounding 3 (C. Lippolis, personal communication) that was subsequently opened by the Italian expedition, for which see *ibid.*: 82–

84 and fig. 25 (despite the caption, it is Sounding 3 that is seen in the foreground). Here, under the level reached by the Iraqi excavators, was an additional level with bricks and pottery that can be dated only generically between the Early Dynastic and the Old Akkadian periods. This means that the plane of the currently-exposed surface probably dates back to the Old Akkadian period. Finally, note that broken pieces of Akkadian monuments were found scattered in the entire area of the court at the foot of the staircase.

<sup>14</sup> Note that the inscribed surface of the fragment is slightly curved. The opposite side is not preserved: the back of the fragment shows a fractured surface resulting from the smashing of the monument.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the number of 95,340 men in the grand total of the “Great Revolt” (W. Sommerfeld, “Große Zahlen in den altakkadischen Königsinschriften,” *AoF* 35 [2008]: 232), which, however, includes both killed enemies and prisoners of war.

<sup>16</sup> See above, p. 2 n. 4. Note that this epithet represents the only reference to military conquests in Naram-Sin's royal titulary; see S. Franke, *Königsinschriften und Königsideologie: Die Könige von Akkade zwischen Tradition und Neuerung* (Münster, 1995), 160–64.



Figure 1—IM 221139 (courtesy Iraq Museum)

(1'–2') [he (= Naram-Sin) we]nt [to . . . ] and (3'–6') [they did bat]tle [agai]n [a]nd [*fought with each other, and (7'ff.) . . .*]

row ii'

1'. [ . . . ]  
 2'. [iš<sub>11</sub>-a]r  
 3'. ṛuṛ  
 4'. [ . . . ]-KAL  
 5'. [DUMU] DUMU ri-da-<sup>ṛ<sup>h</sup></sup>iškUR  
 6'. 3 TAB.BA-e-su  
 7'. 1 ABA<sub>x</sub>(= AB×ÁŠ) URU<sup>ki</sup>  
 8'. 6 NU.BÁNDA  
 9'. 60×6 LÁ 10×2 + 8 (= 332) GURUŠ  
 10'. in qer-bi na-ra-ab-tim

11'. [u-s]a-am-[qí]-it  
 12'. [ . . . ](-)ṛxṛ  
 (rest of column broken)

(1'–2') [he (= Naram-Sin) wo]n [ . . . ] (3'–11') and [sl]ew [ . . . ]-KAL, [gran]dson of Rida-Hadda, 3 *members of his entourage*, 1 city-elder, 6 lieutenants, (and) 332 men in the midst of (*their*) *flight*. (12'ff.) [ . . . ]

row iii'

1'. [ŠU.NÍGIN . . . ]ṛGURUŠṛ  
 2'. [in KASKAL.ŠU]DUN  
 3'. [u-sa]-ṛam<sup>ṛ</sup>-[qí]-it  
 4'. [ŠU.NÍGIN] 1 LUGAL

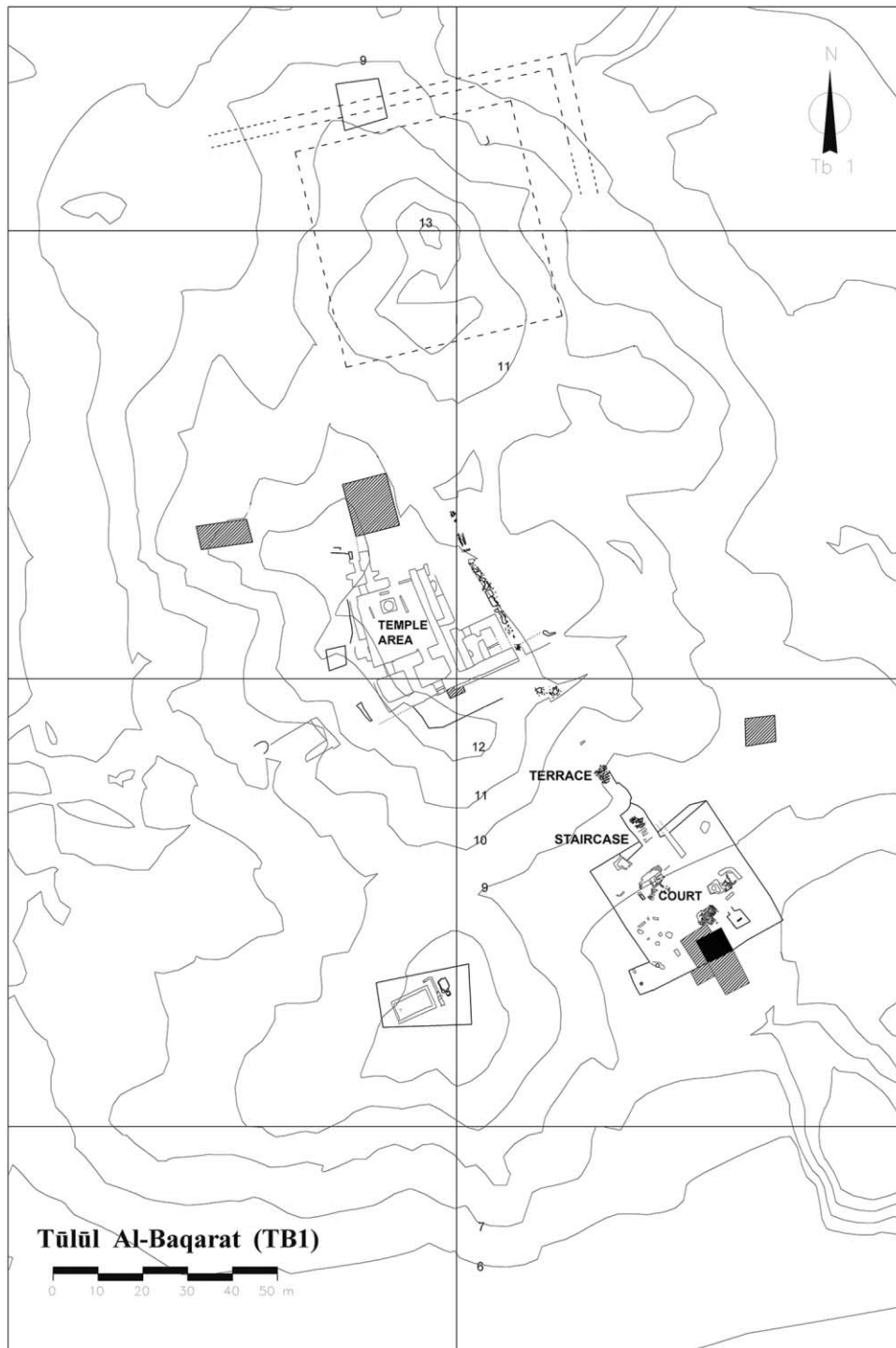


Figure 2—Topographical map of Tell Baqarat 1 with tentative reconstruction of the findspot of IM 221139 (= black square; adapted from Lippolis, “Preliminary Report”: fig. 7)



Figure 3—IM 221139, detail 1: left (courtesy Iraq Museum)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 5'. $\text{r}\check{\text{S}}\text{U}^{\text{T}}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } 60 \times 2 + 10 \times 3 + 2 (= 152)$<br>DUMU LUGAL <i>ar-ma-nim</i> <sup>ki</sup>           | 14'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } 10 \text{ L}\check{\text{A}} 1 \text{ TAB.BA-}\check{\text{U}}$  |
| 6'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } 2 \text{ EN}$  | 15'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } \text{r}6,000 \times 2^{\text{T}} + 600 \times 4 + 60 \times 5 + 3$<br>(= 14,703) $\check{\text{S}}\text{AGA}$ |
| 7'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } 10 \times 3 (= 30) \text{ ÉNSI}$   | 16'. <i>i-ik-mi-ma</i>  |
| 8'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } 10 + 4 (= 14) \text{ K}\check{\text{I}}\check{\text{S}}.\text{NITA}$   | 17'. [ <i>a</i> ]- <i>na</i>  |
| 9'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } 10 \times 5 + 4 (= 54) \text{ ra-bi-a-nu}$   | 18'. [...]  |
| 10'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } 10 + 5 (= 15) \text{ NU.B}\check{\text{A}}\text{NDA}$   | (rest of column broken)   |
| 11'. $\check{\text{S}}\text{U}.\text{N}\check{\text{I}}\text{GIN } \check{\text{S}}\check{\text{A}}\text{R} + 6,000 + 600 \times 8 + 5 (= 70,805)$<br>$\check{\text{S}}\text{AGA}$ | (1'–3') [total: <i>n me</i> ]n—[he (= Naram-Sin) sl]ew [in<br>bat]tle. (4'–13') [Total:] 1 king; total: 152 princes of<br>Armanum; total: 2 rulers; total: 30 governors; total:   |
| 12'. <i>in</i> KASKAL.ŠUDUN  |   |
| 13'. <i>i-ik-mi</i>  |   |



Figure 4—IM 221139, detail 2: top (courtesy Iraq Museum)

14 generals; total: 54 (additional) dignitaries; total:  
15 lieutenants; total: 70,805 prisoners—he captured in  
battle. (14'ff.) Total: 9 *courtiers*; total: 14,703 prison-  
ers — he captured and [. . . t]o [. . .]

row iv'

1'. [ma]  
2'. in<sup>ges</sup>TUKUL-ki  
3'. <sup>d</sup>da-gan  
4'. mu-sa-ar-[b]i-i  
5'. sar-<sup>r</sup>ru<sup>14</sup>-ti-su

6'. <sup>d</sup>na-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
7'. da-núm  
8'. ar-ma-nam<sup>ki</sup>  
9'. ù  
10'. eb-la<sup>ki</sup>  
11'. en-ar  
12'. ù  
13'. is-tum-ma  
14'. pu-TI  
15'. UD.KIB.NU[N]<sup>[d]</sup>  
16'. a-di-ma





Figure 5—IM 221139, detail 3: center, left (courtesy Iraq Museum)

17'. *ú-li-s[i]-im<sup>k[i]</sup>*  
 18'. *ni-se<sub>1</sub>1*  
 19'. *[ša-at]*  
 20'. *[<sup>d</sup>da-gan]*  
 21'. *[GIBIL-ís]*  
 22'. *[i-qi-su-sum<sub>6</sub>]*  
 23'. *[u-ra-ís-ma]*  
 24'. *[<sup>ges</sup>DUBSIG<sub>x</sub>]*  
 25'. *[DINGIR-a-ba<sub>4</sub>]*  
 26'. *[i-lí-su]*

27'. *[na-se<sub>11</sub>-nim]*  
 28'. *[ù]*  
 29'. *[a-ma-nam]*  
 30'. *[sa-dú]*  
 31'. *[<sup>ges</sup>EREN]*  
 32'. *[i-ig-mu-ur]*

(1'–11') [Indeed,] with the weapon of Dagan, the one who magnifies his kingship, Naram-Sin the mighty conquered Armanum and Ebla. (12'–23') Moreover,



Figure 6—IM 221139, detail 4: center, right (courtesy Iraq Museum)

from the edge of the Euphrates as far as Ulišum, [he smote the peoples whom Dagan had newly bestowed upon him—(24'–27') so that they (now) carry the (work) basket of Il'aba, his god—(28'–32') and took full control of the Amanus, the cedar mountain.]

#### Commentary

i' 3'–6': Restored after RIME 2, 106, Narām-Sîn 6 iii 22'–25'. Cf. *ibid.*, 17, Sargon 3: 23–26; and W. Sommer-

feld, “Narām-Sîn, die ‘Große Revolte’ und MAR.TU<sup>ki</sup>,” in *Assyriologica et Semitica*, ed. Marzahn and Neumann, 424, col. iii 10–13. For the reading and meaning of KASKAL.ŠUDUN, see W. Sommerfeld, *Die Texte der Akkade-Zeit 1. Das Dijala-Gebiet: Tutub*, Imgula 3/1 (Münster, 1999), 125–28; and cf. W. Sallaberger, review of Sommerfeld, *Die Texte*, *BiOr* 57 (2000): 118.

ii' 5': The occurrence of DUMU DUMU = \**mara'* *mar'im* (?), “son of the son, grandson,” is without parallels in Old Akkadian royal inscriptions. The name



Figure 7—IM 221139, detail 5: right (courtesy Iraq Museum)

of the personage that is referred to is lost, but his grandfather, *ri-da*-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR, is known from UET 1, 275 to have been the king of Armanum who was defeated and captured by Naram-Sin (see Appendix below). The name is written both *ri-da*-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR (here and in UET 1, 275 iii 2) and *ri-id*-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR (ibid. iii 28).<sup>17</sup> Our text shows that the name in question is not to be emended as *ri-iš*-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR, as has been assumed by various scholars in

<sup>17</sup> See the collation by E. Sollberger in UET 8, p. 32, no. 34.

the past.<sup>18</sup> Even so, this particular name remains difficult to interpret. In fact, the spelling *ri-da*-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR allows several different readings and interpretations:

<sup>18</sup> See, among others, I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, SAOC 22 (Chicago, 1944), 103, n. 49, and *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, MAD 3 (Chicago, 1957), 233; E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes* (Paris, 1971), 108 with n. b, and p. 332; B. R. Foster, “The Siege of Armanum,” *JANES* 14 (1982): 33, ad iii 2; Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 257; H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.: A Handbook of Political History* (Berlin, 1992), 32; etc.

1) Rida-Hadda, “Accompany (him), O Hadda,”<sup>19</sup> interpreting *ri-da* as an imperative of *radā'um/redūm*; cf. J. M. Pagan, *A Morphological and Lexical Study of Personal Names in the Ebla Texts*, ARES 3 (Roma, 1998), 162–63.

2) Rida-Hadda, “Come down to me, O Hadda,” analyzing *ri-da* as an imperative of *warādum* followed by the ventive/dative suffix.<sup>20</sup>

3) Rid-Adda, “Descend, O Adda,” with *ri-da*-<sup>d</sup>īškur thus representing an example of sandhi writing; cf. Schwemer, *Wettergottgestalten*, 37, n. 186.<sup>21</sup>

We opt for the second of these interpretations on the basis of the comparison with the Eblaite personal name *ri-dam*-MA.LIK (see the index of personal names in ARET 1, 3, 4, and 12), which we are inclined to interpret as Ridam-malkum,<sup>22</sup> “Come down to me, O King.”<sup>23</sup>

ii' 6': See below, comm. to iii' 14'.

ii' 7': For the value *aba<sub>x</sub>* (and not *ábba*) of *AB×ÁŠ*, see G. Marchesi and N. Marchetti, *Royal Statuary of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia*, MesCiv 14 (Winona Lake, IN, 2011), 156, n. 7.<sup>24</sup> For *ABA<sub>x</sub> URU<sup>ki</sup>* = *sēb 'ālim* (OB *šib ālim*), “elder of the city,” see I. J. Gelb, “*šībūt kušur-*

<sup>19</sup> For Hadda as the original form of the name of the storm god in Syria, see D. Schwemer, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen: Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen* (Wiesbaden, 2001), 46.

<sup>20</sup> For the lack of the final /m/ in the ventive suffix, cf. Tura(m)-Dagan (/tura(m)-dagān/), “Come back to me, O Dagan,” name of a *šakkanakkum* of Mari, which is written both *tu-ra-a-da-gan* and *tu-ra-am-a-da-gan* (see Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 358). This absence looks more like a morphological phenomenon than a matter of orthography (that is, explainable by assuming different scribal habits in the treatment of syllable-final consonants in writing); see I. J. Gelb, “Mari and the Kish Civilization,” in *Mari in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies*, ed. G. D. Young (Winona Lake, IN, 1992), 163.

<sup>21</sup> Note, however, that the form Adda, without initial /h/, of the name of the storm god is not attested with certainty prior to the Ur III period; see Schwemer, *Wettergottgestalten*, 38 and 46.

<sup>22</sup> For MA.LIK as an Akkadogram (i.e., a Semitic logogram consisting of a fossilized syllabic spelling) for *malkum* at Ebla, see M. V. Tonietti, “Le cas de *mekum*: continuité ou innovation dans la tradition éblaïte entre III<sup>e</sup> et II<sup>e</sup> millénaires?” *MARI* 8 (1997): 238–39.

<sup>23</sup> While names with the verb in the imperative are quite rare in the Old Akkadian documentation from southern Mesopotamia, they are conversely well-attested at Ebla; see Pagan, *Personal Names in the Ebla Texts*, 16–17. By analyzing *ri-dam* as the imperative of *warādum* with the ventive/dative suffix, we implicitly deny any connection with the element *ir-da*- that occurs in Eblaite PNs such as *ir-da-ar*, *ir-da-is-lu/ru*<sub>12</sub>, *ir-da*-MA.LIK (ibid., 338). The latter is possibly related to Arabic *rada'a* (root RD), “to take care, assist, support.”

<sup>24</sup> Note that the syllabic spelling *ab-ba* (*PSD* A/2, 129–33, s.v. *ab-ba* A) also stands more likely for /aba/ rather than /abba/. Su-

*rā'im*, ‘Witnesses of the Indemnity’,” *JNES* 43 (1984): 264–74; and A. Westenholz, “Have you been near Prof. Larsen too long?” in *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogen Trolle Larsen*, ed. J. G. Dercksen, PIHANS 100 (Leiden, 2004), 600–601.

ii' 10': Cf. UET 1, 275 iii 7–10: *su<sub>4</sub>-ma qāb-le na-ra-ab-ti-su i-ik-mi-ù-su<sub>4</sub>*(sr), “(When . . . and) he himself (= Naram-Sin) captured him (= Rida-Hadda) in the midst of his *flight*.” We follow L. Kogan in assuming that the spelling *na-ra-ab-ti-su* (and, accordingly, *na-ra-ab-tim* in our text) does not represent a form of *na'rabtum*, “entrance, entryway,”<sup>25</sup> but rather *nabrab-tum*,<sup>26</sup> to be interpreted as an equivalent of later Akkadian *nērubtu(m)*, “flight;” see L. Kogan, “On Some Orthographic Oppositions in the Old Babylonian Copies of the Sargonic Royal Inscriptions,” *BiOr* 68 (2011): 41, n. 41.<sup>27</sup>

iii' 4': The king in question is of course Rida-Hadda, king of Armanum; see above, comm. to ii' 10'. Here note that in Old Akkadian royal inscriptions, non-Babylonian independent rulers were customarily styled *malkum*(EN) and not *sarrum*(LUGAL) (see below, comm. to iii' 6'), the latter title being reserved for Babylonian sovereigns or foreign “great kings” such as the king of Elam or that of Parakhshum; see B. Kienast and W. Sommerfeld, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, FAOS 8 (Stuttgart, 1994), 290–93, s.v. *šarrum*.

iii' 5': DUMU LUGAL (= \**mara' sarrim* [?]; OB *mār šarrim*) means “king’s son;” even assuming that the tally includes not only the sons of Rida-Hadda but also his brothers (they too were sons of a king of Armanum, though of the previous king), the number of “152 princes of Armanum” is astonishing and without parallels in the ancient Near East.

merian *aba<sub>x</sub>/ab-ba*, “father, elder,” is almost certainly a loanword from Akkadian *abum*, “father.”

<sup>25</sup> A translation “in the middle of his entrance” would be somehow odd. One does not say “his (of someone) entrance,” but rather “its (of a building, city, etc.) entrance.”

<sup>26</sup> Cf. A. Westenholz, review of RIME 2, *BiOr* 53 (1996): 118, *ad* p. 76, 26–27; *ibid.*: 120 with n. 3.

<sup>27</sup> Note, however, that Kogan differently translates *qāb-le na-ra-ab-ti-su* as “among (or: in the midst of\*) his fugitive troops” (“On Some Orthographic Oppositions”: 41; and L. Kogan, “*Waw sargonicum*. On Parataxis in Sargonic Royal Inscriptions,” *ZA* 104 [2014]: 51\*)—a translation that is more difficult both grammatically (*nabrab-tum* is singular) and semantically (it is unlikely that “fugitive troops” is rendered by a single word). For the use of *qablum* and *qerbum* with *nomina actionis*, see *CAD* Q, 10 and 225, respectively.

iii' 6': The logogram EN in Old Akkadian texts probably stands not for *ba'lum* (= OB *bēlum*, “lord”) but rather for *malkum* (“ruler”); cf. Marchesi and Marchetti, *Royal Statuary*, 104–105 with n. 70.<sup>28</sup> In this connection, also note the occurrence of ITI EN-kà-né-en as a variant of ITI ma-al-kà-né-en in the so-called *šakkanakku*-texts from Mari; see J.-M. Durand, “La conscience du temps et sa commémoration en Mésopotamie: l'exemple de la documentation mariote,” *Akkadica* 124 (2003): 4. As regards the glosses *ša-ša-hu-lum* and *šu-šu-hu-lum* to the sign EN in the so-called “Vocabulary of Ebla” (more precisely, a lexical list of logograms with their Semitic readings), see Marchesi and Marchetti, *Royal Statuary*, 105. Finally, note that the use of EN for *bēlum*, “lord,” is attested with certainty only from the Old Babylonian period; see B. B. Sullivan, *Sumerian and Akkadian Sentence Structure in Old Babylonian Literary Bilingual Texts* (PhD diss., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH, 1979), 244, s.vv. en = *bēlu*, nam-en = *bēlu*, and nam-en = *bēlūtu*. At any rate, whatever the reading of EN in Old Akkadian, the corresponding term seems to have been used to denote independent petty kings of foreign countries in contrast to vassal city-rulers,<sup>29</sup> who were termed \**'issi'akkum* (ÉNSI), “governor,” instead.<sup>30</sup> For different views, see B. R. Foster, “Naram-Sin in Martu and Magan,” *ARRIM* 8 (1990): 34; and Liverani, *Ancient Near East*, 135 and 137.

iii' 7': See above, comm. to iii' 6'.

iii' 8': On KIŠ.NITA/“ŠAGINA”<sup>31</sup> = *šakkanakkum*, “army commander, general,” see, most recently, Ph. Abrahami, “L'armée d'Akkad,” in *Les armées du Proche-Orient ancien: III<sup>er</sup>–I<sup>er</sup> mill. av. J.-C. Actes du colloque international organisé à Lyon les 1<sup>er</sup> et 2 décembre 2006, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée*, ed. Ph. Abrahami and

L. Battini, *BAR IntSer 1855* (Oxford, 2008), 5–7; and I. Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien: Organisation und Bewaffnung des Militärs in früh-dynastischer und sargonischer Zeit*, Marburg (2010), 199–208.<sup>32</sup> See also J. Keetman, “KIŠ.ARAD sumerisch *šakkanakkum* und *šakkanak* zu lesen,” *NABU* 2019/6.

iii' 9': *rabi'ānum*, which in later periods denotes either the mayor of a city or an Amorite sheik,<sup>33</sup> seems to be used in the more general sense of “dignitary (of various rank)” in the Old Akkadian texts; see Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 229, ll. 116–30; *ibid.*, 230–31, ll. 168–96; C. Wilcke, “Amar-girids Revolte gegen Narām-Su'en,” *ZA* 87 (1997): 23, J iii 27 – iv 16 (translation on pp. 26–27; cf. Sommerfeld, “Narām-Sin,” 426); *ibid.*: 23–24, J. vi 22 – vii 20 (translation on p. 27); and CUSAS 27, 212.<sup>34</sup> Cf. Wilcke, “Amar-girids Revolte”: 20–21; and Abrahami, “L'armée d'Akkad,” 5, n. 43. In the present text, *rabi'ānū* should be understood in the sense of “other dignitaries,” since their number does not correspond to the sum of the previously-listed high-ranking personages that were taken prisoner. Moreover, we may note that the *laputtā'ū* (NU.BANDA), “lieutenants,” are not included among the *rabi'ānū*, which differs from the account of the “Great Revolt” (see the passages quoted above from Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, and from Wilcke, “Amar-girids Revolte”).

iii' 11': For the value “60,000” of ŠAR in the Sargonic royal inscriptions, see Sommerfeld, “Große Zahlen”: 220–37.

iii' 14': Here *tappā'um* (OB *tappūm*) cannot have the usual meaning “companion, colleague, (business) partner.” For the tentative translation “courtier,”<sup>35</sup> cf. the use of the term *ūšur*, “neighbor,” to denote courtiers

<sup>28</sup> L. Kogan, *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses* (Boston, 2015), 91–92, is inclined to consider *malkum* a West Semitic loanword in Akkadian. If so, then the word must have been borrowed very early: leaving aside the difficult *la ma-al-ku[m]* in MAD 1, 172: 9 (cf. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade*, 226–27; Kogan, *Genealogical Classification*, 91, n. 277), note the PN *aš<sub>1</sub>-tār-ma-al-kà-at*, “Ishtar is queen” (MAD 1, 163+ 165 iii 25), which attests to the existence of *malkatum*, the feminine counterpart of *malkum*, in Old Akkadian.

<sup>29</sup> See W. Heimpel, review of *Ebla: Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, by G. Pettinato, *JAOS* 109 (1989): 123; and Westenholz, “Old Akkadian Period,” 47 with nn. 150–51.

<sup>30</sup> Note, among other things, the expression ÉNSI.ÉNSI-su, “his governors” (of the king [LUGAL] of Ur), in RIME 2, 48, Rimuš 4: 22.

<sup>31</sup> The Sumerian reading of this compound logogram is still uncertain. The frequently-found transliteration of KIŠ.NITA/(NITÁ) as *šagina* should be regarded as conventional.

<sup>32</sup> Downloadable at <https://archiv.ub.uni-marburg.de/diss/z2010/0486>.

<sup>33</sup> See M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, PIHANS 40 (Leiden, 1976), 73–88; A. Seri, *Local Power in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia* (London, 2005), 75–79; and D. Charpin, “Chroniques bibliographiques 10. Économie, société et institutions paléo-babylonienne: nouvelles sources, nouvelles approches,” *RA* 101 (2007): 170–72.

<sup>34</sup> Especially, note rev. 2'–4': [ra]- rbi' a-nu / [g]ū- rti- e / a-na maš.gān<sup>ki</sup>-ni-DINGIR-a-kā-dē<sup>ki</sup> / è-li-ku-[nim], “[Dig]nitaries of [the G]uteans: they came to Maskan-Ili'akkade.” This group of dignitaries also includes a governor of Gutium and a son of his, further qualified as PA4.SES, “*paššum* priest” (*ibid.*, obv. 1–4).

<sup>35</sup> P. Steinkeller (personal communication) suggested the alternative translation “ally” for *tappā'um* in this context. However, we think that the allies of the king of Armanum among the prisoners were rather the two EN and the thirty ÉNSI in iii' 6'–7'; see above, comm. to iii' 6', with nn. 29–30.

in Pre-Sargonic Lagash.<sup>36</sup> Be that as it may, the small number of *tappā'ū* in the list of prisoners seems to indicate a rather exclusive circle of people.

iii' 16'ff.: Cf. RIME 2, 107, Narām-Sîn 6 iv 24'–28': *i-ik-mi ù a-na* [U]D.KIB.NUN<sup>rid1</sup> *u-ma-li-su-ṛnu*, “(n enemies) he captured and handed over them to the [E]uphrates.”<sup>37</sup> Note, however, that the restoration of the name of the Euphrates river in iii' 17' appears difficult, if not impossible.<sup>38</sup> As an alternative, we may consider restoring: *a-[na GA-ra-si-im is-kù]*, “(. . . and) [assigned (them)] t[o *deportation*],” although this expression is hitherto attested only in inscriptions of Rimush.<sup>39</sup>

iv' 1: Restored after UET 1, 275 i 29 (cf. below, comm. to iv' 2'–18'). See comm. *ad loc.* in the Appendix.

iv' 2'–18': The text of this column is an exact duplicate of UET 1, 275 i 30 – ii 14 (see Appendix below).<sup>40</sup> The portions of text immediately before and after this section are restored in accordance with the latter text (apart from some evident errors that have been corrected).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See, most recently, R. Prentice, *The Exchange of Goods and Services in Pre-Sargonic Lagash*, AOAT 368 (Münster, 2010), 177–78.

<sup>37</sup> Presumably, to drown them in the river. For the rendering of *mullûm + ana* not as “to fill” (as in the RIME 2 translation of the above quoted passage) but rather as “to hand over (someone/something) to,” note the following remark by R. Kutscher, *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa: Royal Inscriptions* (Haifa, 1989), 34: “*mullû* usually occurs with two accusatives, namely both of the object filled and the object that fills it, except for the idiomatic expression *X ana qātī* (sic!) *PN mullû*, ‘to hand over persons/enemies/rule to someone’.” Cf. CAD M/1, 187.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the preserved anepigraphic space of case iii' 17' with the arrangement of the signs UB, KIB, and NUN in iv' 15'.

<sup>39</sup> See Kienast and Sommerfeld, *Glossar*, 228, s.v. *karāšum*. For the meaning of the expression in question, see, most recently, L. E. Kogan and E. V. Markina, “Akkadskie istočniki sargonovskoy (staroakkadskoy) dinastii. II. Nadpisi Rimuša” [Akkadian Sources of the Sargonic (Old Akkadian) Dynasty. II. The Inscriptions of Rimuš], *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* 74 (2014): 219–21. Cf. I. J. Gelb, “Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia,” *JNES* 32 (1973): 73–74; B. R. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period* (Hamden, CT, 1982), 49–50; and P. Steinkeller, review of Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, *WZKM* 77 (1987): 188–89.

<sup>40</sup> Incidentally, this fact supports the view that UET 1, 275 is not the copy of a complete inscription but just of a portion of text, as its very unusual beginning leads one to think.

<sup>41</sup> UET 1, 275 clearly contains several gross errors, probably due to the incompetence of the ancient Babylonian scribe (presumably, an apprentice) who transliterated the original Old Akkadian text into Old Babylonian script as an exercise; see S. Smith, UET 1, p. 77; and R. Kraus, “Ein altakkadisches Festungsbild,” *Iraq* 10 (1948): 90–91. The original tablet (U 7756 = IM 85461) went lost: it was housed in the provincial museum of Amara, which was completely destroyed and plundered in 1991 during the postwar turmoil (W. Sommerfeld,

iv' 5': Note the clear  $\text{ṛnu}_{14}$  (URU×ṚA<sup>1</sup>), and NOT URU as in UET 1, 275 ii 1. Cf. R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, AOAT 305 (Münster, 2003), 261–62, *ad* 71, 77, and 81.

iv' 11': For the meaning “to conquer” of *nahārum* (OB *nērum*), see, e.g., RIME 2, 227, Erridu-pizir 3 xi 4–7: *mu-ma-am<sup>kur</sup> / na-ra-ba-at / ur-bi-lum<sup>ki</sup>* SAG.GEŠ.RA, “He (= Erridu-pizir) conquered Mount Muma/um, the mountain pass of Urbilum.” Cf. L. E. Kogan and E. V. Markina, “Akkadskie istočniki sargonovskoy (staroakkadskoy) dinastii. I. Nadpisi Sargona” [Akkadian Sources of the Sargonic (Old Akkadian) Dynasty. I. The Inscriptions of Sargon], *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* 74 (2014): 265–66.

iv' 14': BU.TI has variously been interpreted as a form of *pātu(m)*, “forehead, front (side),” or *būdu(m)*, “shoulder,”<sup>42</sup> but its meaning and the contexts in which it occurs in Old Akkadian texts are different from those of the latter two terms.<sup>43</sup> In fact, the Akkadian translation *a-di-ma* BU.TI *ti-a-am-tim* of Sumerian *zag a-ab-ba-ka-šè*, “as far as the edge of the sea,” in a bilingual inscription of Sargon (RIME 2, 28, Sargon 11, Sum. 8 = Akk. 8–10) provides the meaning “edge, border” for BU.TI in connection with a geographical name. This meaning and usage of BU.TI recall the identical meaning and usage of *pātu(m)* (which, incidentally, is written logographically with the ZAG sign).<sup>44</sup> As *pātu(m)* does not seem to occur in Old Akkadian texts, it is tempting to read BU.TI as *pu-ti* and interpret it as the status constructus genitive of the Old Akkadian equivalent of later Akkadian *pātu(m)*, “edge, border,” to be reconstructed, accordingly, as \**puṭum*. For a different view, see A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, vol. II (Oxford, 2003), 791; and, most recently, Kogan and Markina, “Akkadskie istočniki . . . I”: 278, who follow George in reading BU.TI as *pu-ti* and assuming that *pātu(m)* also means “bank (of a river), shore (of the

“Hasselbach, Rebecca: *Sargonic Akkadian. A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts*. Ein Rezensionartikel,” *WZKM* 102 [2012]: 200), and no photo of it seems to exist. Thus, only the copy made by Smith and published in UET 1, pl. LVI, is available for this text. Subsequent collations by E. Sollberger (see UET 8, p. 32, no. 34, and pl. XXVI) and J. Black (see Fig. 8; cf. Foster, “Siege of Armanum”: 27, n. 2) only brought slight improvements to Smith's copy.

<sup>42</sup> See, most recently, Wilcke, “Amar-girids Revolte”: 29, *ad* ii 13. Also cf. Foster, “Siege of Armanum”: 33, *ad* ii 10–13.

<sup>43</sup> See CAD B, 333–35, s.v. *būdu* A; and P, 547–53, s.v. *pātu*.

<sup>44</sup> See CAD P, 305–10, s.v. *pātu*.

sea).” However, we should note an additional Old Akkadian attestation of BU.TI in a year-name of *Shar-kali-sharri*—in 1 MU *sar-kà-lí-LUGAL-rí* KASKAL.ŠUDUN ELAM<sup>ki</sup> *ù za-ḥa-ra<sup>ki</sup> in BU.TI UD.KÚŠU<sup>rki</sup> ù SAG.LI ís-ku-[nu]* *iš<sub>11</sub>-a-[ru]* (ITT 1, 1097 rev. ii’; RTC 130 rev. i’ 3’–8’)—in which a translation as “bank/shore” cannot be applied (translate: “In the year [in which] Shar-kali-sharri did battle with Elam and Zahara at the border of Akshak and . . . [and] was victorious”).

iv’ 17’: *ú-li-si-im<sup>ki</sup>* is usually normalized as Ulišum or Ulišum on the assumption that this toponym is a Semitic name in the genitive, but the reconstructions Ulišum, Ullis(s)um, Ul(I)is(s)im, and Ul(I)is are also possible.<sup>45</sup> Ulišum has variously been identified with four possible places: the Ullaza of the Amarna texts, on the Phoenician coast;<sup>46</sup> the Uluzila in the “Autobiography of Idrimi of Alalakh,” possibly to be located at Kinet Höyük, in Cilicia;<sup>47</sup> Oylum Höyük, in the Kilis plain;<sup>48</sup> and Urs(a’)u(m)/Urshu(m), modern Gaziantep.<sup>49</sup> However, all such identifications, mostly based

<sup>45</sup> In Old Akkadian texts, foreign geographical names were sometimes Akkadianized by adding Akkadian case endings; see, for instance, *ma-ri-an<sup>ki</sup>* and *ia-ar-mu-ti-a-an<sup>ki</sup>* (both in the accusative), in RIME 2, 28–29, Sargon 11: 27–28 (Akkadian version), corresponding to *ma-ri<sup>ki</sup>* and *ia-ar-mu-ti<sup>ki</sup>* in the Sumerian version of the same inscription (ibid., ll. 22–23). Additional examples could be Armanum (Rép. géogr. 1, 18), Asimanum (Frayne, “Narām-Sin,” 170, § 4.3), Azukhinnum (ibid., 172, § 4.9.1), B/Parakhshum (Rép. géogr. 1, 24–25), G/Quitum (ibid., 65–66), Lullubum (ibid., 111), Simurum (ibid., 143–44; cf. *si-mu-ur<sub>4</sub>*, loc. cit.), Shabbunum (ibid., 149), She/irikhum (ibid., 151), and Talkhad/tum (ibid., 156; cf. Ta/elkhad/t in Old Assyrian texts, for which see, most recently, C. Michel, “Talḥayum, Talḥat,” *RLA* 13/5–6 [2012]: 420–21).

<sup>46</sup> See Smith, UET 1, p. 80. Cf. RGTC 12/2, 320–21, s.v. Ullaza.

<sup>47</sup> See M. C. Astour, “Ḥaššu and Ḥasuwan: A Contribution to North Syrian History and Geography,” *UF* 29 (1997): 22–23. Cf. RGTC 12/2, 322, s.v. Uluzila.

<sup>48</sup> See A. Engin, “Oylum Höyük İçin Bir Lokalizasyon Önerisi: Ulišum / Ullis / İllis,” in *Armizzi. Engin Özgen’e Armağan / Studies in Honor of Engin Özgen*, ed. A. Engin, B. Helwing, and B. Uysal (Ankara, 2014), 129–49.

<sup>49</sup> See A. Archi, *Ebla and Its Archives: Texts, History, and Society*, SANER 7 (Boston, 2015), 4, and 472–73; A. Archi, “Egypt or Iran in the Ebla Texts?,” *Or* 85 (2016): 29–30; A. Archi, “How Ebla Has Changed Our Perception of the Ancient Near East in the Third Millennium BC,” *Ash-sharq* 1 (2017): 189; and R. D. Winters, *Negotiating Exchanges: Ebla and the International System of the Early Bronze Age* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2018), 122 and 287–88. On Urs(a’)u(m)/Urshu(m) and its location, see also, most recently, G. Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, CNIP 38 (Copenhagen, 2011), 195–203; C. Michel, “Uršu(m). A. In mesopotamischen Quellen,” *RLA* 14/5–6 (2015): 440–42; J. Miller, “Uršu(m). B. Bei den Hethitern,”

on vague resemblances among pairs of toponyms, are to be regarded as very doubtful, if not unlikely.<sup>50</sup> As it represents the most westernmost point reached by Naram-Sin during his campaign from the Euphrates toward the west, Ulišum should be sought in the region of the Amanus or further west.

iv’ 24’: See Appendix below, comm. to ii 20.

iv’ 27’: See Appendix below, comm. to ii 23.

#### Appendix: UET 1, 275 (see Fig. 8)

As the edition of UET 1, 275 in RIME 2 contains several errors and/or inaccuracies,<sup>51</sup> we think it is convenient to offer a new edition of this remarkable text, which, as we have seen, is closely related to the newly-found Tulul al-Baqarat inscription of Naram-Sin. Unfortunately, this Ur tablet is missing and no photo of it is known;<sup>52</sup> therefore, we cannot but rely on those who had access to the original text, not having the possibility to collate it or to check Smith’s copy of it against photographs.

For the relevant literature, see RIME 2, 136; supplemented by Franke, *Königsinschriften und Königsideologie*, 185–88 (study); B. Kienast, “Old Akkadian Inscriptions,” in *The Context of Scripture*, vol. II: *Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, ed. W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger (Leiden, 2003), 244–46 (translation with notes); Abrahams, “L’armée d’Akkad,” 16–17 (study); Otto, “Archeological Perspectives”: 1–6 (study); Archi, “In Search of Armi”: 27–30 (study); S. Rey, *Poliórcétique au Proche-Orient à l’âge du Bronze*, BAH 197 (Beyrouth, 2012), 15, 19, and 98–99 (study); Foster, *Age of Agade* (2016), 325–26, no. 26 (translation).

ibid.: 442–43; N. Ziegler and A.-I. Langlois, *Les toponymes paléo-babyloniens de la Haute-Mésopotamie*, Matériaux pour l’étude de la Toponymie et de la Topographie I/1 (Paris, 2016), 387–89, s.v. Ursum; Winters, *Negotiating Exchanges*, 287–91; and M. Forlanini, “Alcune considerazioni sulla posizione di Uršum e Ḥaššum/Ḥaššuwa,” in *Over the Mountains and Far Away: Studies in Near Eastern History and Archaeology Presented to Mirjo Salvini on the Occasion of His 80<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. P. S. Avetisyan, R. Dan, and Y. Grekhan (Oxford, 2019), 214–17.

<sup>50</sup> As is almost certainly the case with the latter two hypotheses. For alternative (and more likely) proposals concerning the ancient name of Oylum Höyük, see A. Ünal, “A Hittite Treaty Tablet from Oylum Höyük and the Location of Ḥaššu(wa),” *AnSt* 65 (2015): 19–34; and Forlanini, “Alcune considerazioni,” 216. As regards the identification of Ulišum with Urs(a’)u(m)/Urshu(m), we may note, among other things, that these two toponyms are too different to be seriously considered one and the same geographical name.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Westenholz’s review of RIME 2: 119, *ad* 133–34.

<sup>52</sup> See n. 41 above.



**OBVERSE.**

Col. I.	Col. II.	Col. III.
5	5	5
10	10	10
15	15	15
20	20	20
25	25	25
30	30	30

(1) sic. Read *si*.

**REVERSE.**

Col. VI.	Col. V.	Col. IV.
5	5	5
10	10	10
15	15	15
20	20	20
25	25	25

Col. vi 18

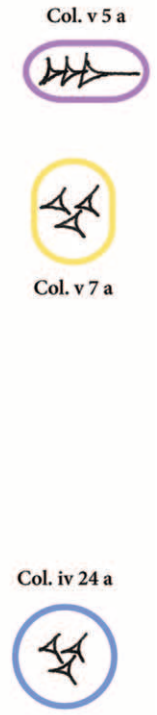


Figure 8—UET 1, 275 (adapted from UET 1, pl. LVI) with collations by Jeremy Black (courtesy B. R. Foster)



The Text: UET 1, 275

col. i	1.	<i>ša is-tum</i>	8.	<i>ù</i>
	2.	<i>da-ar</i>	9.	<i>is-tum-ma</i>
	3.	<i>si-<sup>r</sup>ki<sup>l</sup>-ti</i>	10.	<i>pu-TI</i>
	4.	<i>ni-se<sub>11</sub><sup>l</sup>(ÁB)</i>	11.	UD.KIB.NUN <sup>id</sup>
	5.	<i>sar in<sup>r</sup> sar<sup>r</sup>-ré</i>	12.	<i>a-di-ma</i>
	6.	<i>ma-na-ma</i>	13.	<i>ú-li-si-im<sup>ki</sup></i>
	7.	<i>ar-ma-nam<sup>ki</sup></i>	14.	<i>ni-se<sub>11</sub><sup>l</sup>(ÁB)</i>
	8.	<i>ù</i>	15.	<i>ša-at</i>
	9.	<i>eb-la<sup>ki</sup></i>	16.	<sup>d</sup> <i>da-gan</i>
	10.	<i>la u-sa-al-pi<sub>5</sub>-tu</i>	17.	GIBIL- <i>ís</i>
	11.	<i>in GÍN<sup>l</sup>-e</i>	18.	<i>i-qi-su-sum<sub>6</sub></i>
	12.	<sup>d</sup> KIŠ.UNUG.GAL	19.	<i>u-ra-is-ma</i>
	13.	<i>pá-da-an</i>	20.	<sup>geš</sup> DUBSIG <sub>x</sub>
	14.	<sup>d</sup> <i>na-ra-am<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU</i>	21.	DINGIR- <i>a-ba<sub>4</sub></i>
	15.	<i>da-nim<sup>l</sup>(NÚM)</i>	22.	<i>ì-lí-su</i>
	16.	<i>ip-te-ma</i>	23.	<i>na-se<sub>11</sub><sup>l</sup>(ÁB)-nim</i>
	17.	<i>ar-ma-nam<sup>ki</sup></i>	24.	<i>ù</i>
	18.	<i>ù</i>	25.	<i>a-ma-nam</i>
	19.	<i>eb-la<sup>ki</sup></i>	26.	<i>sa-dú</i>
	20.	<i>i-di-sum<sub>6</sub></i>	27.	<sup>geš</sup> EREN
	21.	<i>ù</i>	28.	<i>i-ig-mu-ur</i>
	22.	<i>a-ma-nam</i>		(space)
	23.	<i>sa-dú</i>		
	24.	<sup>geš</sup> EREN		
	25.	<i>ù</i>		
	26.	<i>ti-a-am-tám</i>		
	27.	<i>a-lí-tám</i>		
	28.	<i>i-qi-ís-sum<sub>6</sub></i>		

i 1–28) As to the fact that from immemorial time, since the creation of mankind, no king among kings had plundered Armanum and Ebla—with the axes of Nergal, he (= Dagan) opened the path of Naram-Sin the mighty and gave him Armanum and Ebla. In addition, he donated to him the Amanus, the cedar mountain, and the Upper Sea (= the Mediterranean).

	29.	<i>ma</i>	29.	<i>ì-nu</i>
	30.	<i>in<sup>geš</sup>TUKUL-ki</i>	30.	<sup>d</sup> <i>da-gan</i>
	31.	<sup>d</sup> <i>da-gan</i>	31.	DI.KU <sub>5</sub>
	32.	<i>mu-sa-ar-bí-ì</i>	32.	<sup>d</sup> <i>na-ra-am<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU</i>
col. ii	1.	<i>sar-ru<sub>14</sub><sup>l</sup>(URU)-ti-su</i>	33.	<i>da-nim</i>
	2.	<sup>d</sup> <i>na-ra-am<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU</i>	col. iii	1.
	3.	<i>da-núm</i>		2.
	4.	<i>ar-ma-nam<sup>ki</sup></i>		3.
	5.	<i>ù</i>		4.
	6.	<i>eb-la<sup>ki</sup></i>		5.
	7.	<i>en-ar</i>		6.
				7.
				8.
				9.
				10.
				11.
				12.
				13.

i 29 – ii 28) Indeed, with the weapon of Dagan, the one who magnifies his kingship, Naram-Sin the mighty conquered Armanum and Ebla. Moreover, from the edge of the Euphrates as far as Ulisum, he smote the peoples whom Dagan had newly bestowed upon him—so that they (now) carry the (work) basket of Il'aba, his god—and took full control of the Amanus, the cedar mountain.

14. *a-na*  
 15. <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
 16. A.MU.RU

ii 29 – iii 16) When Dagan rendered the verdict of Naram-Sin the mighty and gave Rida-Hadda, king of Armanum, into his hand(s), and he himself (= Naram-Sin) captured him (= Rida-Hadda) in the midst of his *flight*, he made an image of himself (made) of diorite and presented it to Sin.

17. *en-ma*  
 18. <sup>d</sup>na-ra-am-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
 19. *da-núm*  
 20. LUGAL  
 21. *ki-ib-ra-tim*  
 22. *ar-ba-im* {KI}  
 23. <sup>d</sup>da-gan  
 24. *ar-ma-nam*<sup><ki></sup>  
 25. ù  
 26. *eb-la*<sup>ki</sup>  
 27. *i-di-nam-ma*  
 28. *ri-da*<sup>1</sup>(ID)-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
 29. LUGAL  
 30. *ar-ma-nim*<sup>k[i]</sup>  
 31. *ak-mi-m[a]*  
 32. *ì-nu* ŠU [X (X)]  
 33. *tám-si*<sup>1</sup>(E)-*l[í]*  
 34. *ab-ni-[ma]*  
 col. iv 1. *a-n[a]*  
 2. <sup>d</sup>EN.Z[U]  
 3. *ás*<sup>1</sup>(IS)-*ru-u*[k]  
 4. *ma-na-ma*  
 5. MU-*mi*  
 6. *a u-sa-sí-ik*  
 7. DÙL-*mi*  
 8. *ma-ḡa-ar*  
 9. <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU  
 10. *li-zi-iz*<sup>1</sup>(ID)  
 11. ù  
 12. *ša il-su*  
 13. *i-na-da*<sup>1</sup>(ID)-*nu-sum*<sub>6</sub>  
 14. *li-li*-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-*su*<sub>4</sub> <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> (erased sign?)  
 15. *si-pí-ir*  
 16. *al-li-ku*  
 17. *a-na*  
 18. {U} *su*<sub>4</sub>-*a-im*  
 19. *a <u->te*<sub>9</sub>-*er*  
 (space)

iii 17 – iv 19) Thus (spoke) Naram-Sin the mighty, king of the four edges (of the world): “Dagan gave me Armanum and Ebla and I captured Rida-Hadda, king of Armanum, and [then,] at the time of . . . , I made a sculpted image [of myself and] I present[ed] it t[o] Si[n]. May no one remove my name; may my statue stand in front of Sin. Moreover, what his god will give to him—may he . . . The work I performed—*may he not attribute it to himself.*”

20. *is-tum*  
 21. BÀD *da-ni-im*  
 22. *a-na*  
 23. BÀD GAL  
 24. 30 KÙŠ SUKUD  
 25. *sa-dú-im*  
 26. 44 KÙŠ SUKUD BÀD

iv 20–26) From the mighty wall to the big wall: 30 cubits is the height of the hill; 44 cubits is the height of the wall.

- col. v (space)  
 1. *is-tum*  
 2. BÀD *kà-wi*<sup>1</sup>-*im*  
 3. *a-na*  
 4. BÀD *da-ni-im*  
 5. 180 KÙŠ SUKUD  
 6. *sa-dú-im*  
 7. 30 KÙŠ SUKUD BÀD  
 (space)

v 1–7) From the outer wall to the mighty wall: 180 cubits is the height of the hill; 30 cubits is the height of the wall.

8. ŠU.NÍGIN 404  
 9. <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> (erased sign?) KÙŠ SUKUD  
 10. *is-tum*  
 11. *qá-qá-ri-im*  
 12. *a-na*  
 13. SAG BÀD  
 14. URU<sup>ki</sup>-*lum*<sup>1</sup>(LAM)  
 15. *ar*<sup>1</sup>(SI.KU)-*ma*<sup>1</sup>-*núm*<sup>ki</sup>  
 16. KI-*su e-ni*  
 (space)

v 8–16) Total: 404 cubits in height from ground (level) to the top of the wall. I/He (= Naram-Sin) *un-dermined* the city of Armanum.

17. *ša i-di* x x x x x x  
(space)

v 17) (Inscription) of the side of the . . .

col. vi 1. *ís-tum*  
2. *íd*  
3. *a-na*  
4. BÀD  
5. *kà-wi'-im*  
6. 196 KÙŠ SUKUD  
7. *sa-dú-im*  
8. 20 KÙŠ SUKUD  
9. BÀD  
(space)

vi 1–9) From the river to the outer wall: 196 cubits is the height of the hill, 20 cubits is the height of the wall.

10. *ís-tum*  
11. BÀD *kà-wi'-im*  
12. *a-na*  
13. BÀD *da-ni-im*  
14. 156 KÙŠ SUKUD  
15. *sa-dú-im*  
16. 30 KÙŠ SUKUD  
17. BÀD  
(space)

vi 10–17) From the outer wall to the mighty wall: 156 cubits is the height of the hill, 30 cubits is the height of the wall.

18. *ša a-na i-di* ALAN <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-*i-ri-ba-am*  
GU.LA

vi 18) That (= the inscription) which is toward the side of the big statue of Sin-eribam.

### Commentary

i 1: For the initial *ša*, see L. Kogan, “Accusative as *casus pendens*? A Hitherto Unrecognized Emphatic Construction in Early Akkadian Royal Inscriptions,” *RA* 102 (2008): 17–26. Note, however, that Kogan here translates this passage differently (*ibid.*: 20, n. 11), although he correctly observes that “this accusative must have a meaningful syntactic function, and topicalization (‘as to the fact that . . .’) seems to be the most suitable one.”

Cf. Kogan, “On Some Orthographic Oppositions”: 34, sub 9.

i 10: Cf. Sollberger’s collation in UET 8, p. 32, no. 34.

i 11: This line has always been a *crux*. The text is usually emended to read “*in* <sup>GEŠ</sup>TUKUL<sup>1</sup>-*ki*’,” but the last sign as copied by Smith is not KI but E (as the collation by J. Black also confirms; see Fig. 8), and the hitherto unidentified penultimate sign, which looks like GEŠXŠU (see the drawings of it by Sollberger, UET 8, pl. XXVI, and Black, Fig. 8), is probably ĀGA/GÍN, though its form is perhaps not properly orthodox.<sup>53</sup> The spelling GÍN-*e* could represent either *pa’sē*,<sup>54</sup> the genitive plural of *pa’sum* (OB *pāšum*), “ax,”<sup>55</sup> or ‘*aka’ē*, the genitive plural of \*‘*aka’um*, a possible loanword from Sumerian *āga* with the same meaning.<sup>56</sup> In this connection, it should be noted that in the oldest figurative representations of Nergal, on Ur III seals, the god brandishes a fenestrated ax, which will later develop into the characteristic sicklesword or scimitar of Nergal; see F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Nergal. B. Archäologisch,” *RLA* 9/4–5 (1999): 224, fig. 1: 1–3.

i 11–28: For Dagan (and not Nergal) being the subject of the verbs *yiptēh̄ma/yiptēma* (l. 16), *yiddiṣsum* (l. 20), and *yiqiṣsum* (l. 28), cf. the subsequent passage i 29 – ii 28.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Ch. Fossey, *Manuel d’assyriologie*, II: *Évolution des cunéiformes* (Paris, 1926), 1049–1051, nos. 34311ff. (cf., especially, no. 34386).

<sup>54</sup> CV(C) signs are generally preferred to write phonetic complements to logograms, but with stems ending with a sibilant, V(C) signs are also found; see, ex.g., GIBIL-*is* for (*h*)*eššis*, “newly” (here, col. ii 17) and KASKAL.SUDUN-*e* for *ta’ḥāzē* (?), “battles” (RIME 2, 160, Narām-Sîn 1001: 8’).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. MEE 4, 285, VE 759: GÍN<sup>uruda</sup> = *pā-sum*<sub>6</sub>, “ax” (cf. M. Krebernik, “Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 2 (Glossar),” *ZA* 73 [1983]: 29).

<sup>56</sup> Cf. 1) MEE 4, 253, VE 477: <sup>GEŠ</sup>ĀGA = *qur-du-mu(-um)/qur-du[m]-mu*, “ax” (M. Krebernik, “Zu Syllabar und Orthographie der lexikalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 1,” *ZA* 72 [1982]: 231; Conti, *Syllabario*, 138; Å. W. Sjöberg, “Notes on Selected Entries from the Ebla Vocabulary eš<sub>2</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> (IV),” in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, ed. W. Sallaberger, K. Volk, and A. Zgoll, *Orientalia Biblica et Christiana* 14 [Wiesbaden, 2003], 255); 2) 𐎶𐎶 Emar V–VII 545: a-*ga* || *aga* = *a-gu-ú* = *qur-di[mu]*, “ax” (Sjöberg, loc. cit.; Y. Cohen, “The ‘Second Glosses’ in the Lexical Lists from Emar: West Semitic or Akkadian?,” in *Language in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 53<sup>rd</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, vol. 1/2, ed. L. Kogan et al., Babel und Bibel 4/2 [Winona Lake, IN, 2010], 818); 3) Ebla Sign List 41: *āga*(GÍN) = *a-kā-um* (sign name) (A. Archi, “The ‘Sign List’ from Ebla,” in *Eblaïtica*, ed. Gordon, Rendsburg, and Winter, 94).

i 29: Cf. CAD M/1, 1–2, s.v. *mā*, meaning 2. This freestanding *mā* is also found in the inscription of the “Bassetki Statue” (Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 81ff., Narāmsīn 1; copy and photo in CDLI, no. P216558), in the often-quoted passage dealing with the deification of Naram-Sin—a passage which has not yet been correctly understood grammatically, however; read *ibid.* ii 24 – iii 7 as follows: *ì-lí-ís URU<sup>ki</sup>-su-nu / a-kà-dè<sup>ki</sup> / ì-tár-su-ni-ís<-su<sub>4</sub>> / ma / qáb-le / a-kà-dè<sup>ki</sup> / é-sú / ib-ni-ù*, “(The citizens of his city . . .) have requested him as the (patron) god of their city, Akkade. Indeed, they built his temple in the midst of Akkade.” In this connection, also note that the usual interpretation of *ma* in iii 3 as the enclitic *-ma* (despite its being written in a separate case) would also produce the very difficult case of a perfect (*ì-tár-su-ni-ís<-su<sub>4</sub>>-ma*) coordinated with a following preterite (*ib-ni-ù*), which is in contrast with the rules of the *consecutio temporum* in Akkadian (cf. von Soden, *GAG*, §§ 80d and 156c).

i 30: Cf. Kogan, “On Some Orthographic Oppositions”: 37–38.

ii 1: See above, p. 13, comm. to iv' 5'. Cf. L. Kogan, “Old Babylonian Copies of Sargonic Royal Inscriptions as Linguistic Evidence,” in *Akkade Is King*, ed. Barjamovic et al., 175–76.

ii 7: See above, p. 13, comm. to iv' 11'.

ii 10: See above, pp. 13–14, comm. to iv' 14'.

ii 13: See above, p. 14, comm. to iv' 17'.

ii 20: For *dubsig<sub>x</sub>(il) = tupšikkum*, “(work) basket, corvée,” see P. Steinkeller, “The Employment of Labor on National Building Projects in the Ur III Period,” in *Labor in the Ancient World*, ed. P. Steinkeller and M. Hudson (Dresden, 2015), 139–40.<sup>57</sup> Also note the unique spelling <sup>ges.dub</sup>DUBSIG<sub>x</sub> in MCT 135 Ud 45 (quoted in CAD T, 477).

ii 23: For *na-se<sub>11</sub>-nim* in the place of expected *\*na-se<sub>11</sub>-ù-nim*, see Sommerfeld, “Hasselbach, Rebecca: *Sargonic Akkadian*”: 240–41.

iii 2: See above, pp. 9–11, comm. to ii' 5'.

iii 8–9: See above, p. 11, comm. to ii' 10' with nn. 25–27.

iii 28: See above, pp. 9–11, comm. to ii' 5'.

iii 31: Cf. Sollberger's collation in UET 8, p. 32, no. 34.

iii 32: The occurrence of the sign šu (instead of su) and the arrangement of the signs in the case, which implies the original presence of one or two additional signs in the break, speak against the usual reading of this line as *ì-nu-šú*, “at that time, then.” For a similar sentence with *inu* governing a noun in the genitive, see RIME 2, 49, Rīmuš 4: 79–82.

iii 33: Cf. Sollberger's collation in UET 8, p. 32, no. 34, and pl. XXVI.

iv 1: Cf. Sollberger's collation, *ibid.*

iv 6: Cf. Sollberger's collation, *ibid.*

iv 15–19: Cf. CAD A/1, 314.

iv 20ff.: Here begins a series of captions that were supposedly attached, in origin, to some visual representation (presumably, a relief) of the city of Armanum. In this connection, note that another such representation of Armanum was dedicated by Naram-Sin to Ellil at Nippur. This event is all the more significant in that one of the year-names of Naram-Sin was named after it; see OIP 97, 82, no. 9 rev.: [mu <sup>(d)</sup>na-ra-am-<sup>(d)</sup>EN.ZU / é <sup>(d)</sup>elli]l-lá-šè / dùl ar<sup>(R)</sup>-ma-núm<sup>ki</sup> / a im-mi-ru-a, “[Year in which Naram-Sin] dedicated a sculpted image of Armanum to [the temple] of [Ellil]” (reference courtesy of A. Westenholz).<sup>58</sup>

iv 24: The collation by J. Black (Fig. 8) confirms the accuracy of Smith's copy as regards the number (3 *Winkelbaken* = 30) in this line. Foster (“Siege of Armanum”: 34, *ad loc.*) suggested that the original had 60×2+10 = 130, noting “the rather scattered placement of the three *Winkelbaken*, which would be curious for an original of three identical signs, but understandable if the scribe hesitated over the significance of his Vorlage” (*italics mine*). However, the placement of the three *Winkelbaken* here is exactly the same as in v 7, where 30 is certainly meant. More recently, M. Roaf (*apud* Otto, “Archeological Perspectives”: 4 with n. 5) has proposed to emend the figure in iv 24 to 60×3 = 180, in order to match the total of 404 cubits that is given in v 8. As attractive as this proposal may appear, such an emendation is actually unnecessary, since the sum of the measures given in iv 20–v 7 does not need to correspond to the 404 cubits of v 8. Indeed, two different segments may be involved: the segment from the lowest wall (= “the outer wall”) to the uppermost wall (= “the big wall”) (iv 20–v 7) and the segment from

<sup>57</sup> In view of the OB syllabic spelling *zub-sig*, in “Enki and Ninmah” ll. 30 and 37 (see, now, M. Ceccarelli, *Enki und Ninmah: Eine mythische Erzählung im sumerischer Sprache* [Tübingen, 2016], 102 and 104), we prefer the reading /*dubsig*/ to Steinkeller's /*dubšig*/.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. [mu <sup>(d)</sup>na-r]a-am-[<sup>(d)</sup>EN].ZU-e / [dù]l bād zur-zur<sup>ki</sup> / [é <sup>(d)</sup>ell]il-šè / [a im-mi]-ru-a, “[Year] in which [Nar]am-[Si]n [dedicat]ed a [sculpted ima]ge of the wall/fortress of Zurzur to the [temple of Ell]il” (UM 29-13-35 rev.; courtesy A. Westenholz).

the latter to ground level (v 8–13) (see the reconstruction by Kraus, “Festungsbild”: 85, fig. 7); nowhere is it said that the lowest wall was built at ground level. Having said that, we cannot exclude that the figures reported in UET 1, 275 are either corrupted or incomplete. Nor do they seem completely reliable to us; for instance, the given height of 44 cubits (= 22 m) for the uppermost wall in iv 26 seems hardly credible.

v 2: The mysterious second sign in *GA-X-im* shows three different forms here, in vi 5, and in vi 11; see Sollberger’s collations in UET 8, pl. XXVI. We follow K. R. Veenhof’s ingenious reading *BAD ka-wi'-im*, “outer wall” (*apud* Gelb and Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 264), rather than the alternative suggestion by Foster (“Siege of Armanum”: 30 and 32) to read *BAD ka-ri'-im*, “wall of the port’.” Admittedly, the sign

in question is neither *PI(= wi)* nor *URU(= ri)*, but it is definitely much more similar to the former. Moreover, Foster’s interpretation seems to be excluded by the context. In fact, the text says that the height of the hill from the river to the *BAD GA-X-im*, which was the lowest wall, is 196 cubits, that is, about 98 meters. This means that the lowest wall was not built on the river bank or at the foot of the hill, but in the middle of the slope; accordingly, *BAD GA-X-im* cannot be a “quay wall.”

v 15: Cf. Sollberger’s collation in UET 8, pl. XXVI.

v 16: For the expression *KI-su e-ni*, see W. G. Lambert *apud* Foster, “Siege of Armanum”: 34, *ad loc.*; cf. Kogan, “On Some Orthographic Oppositions”: 51 with n. 80.

vi 5: See above, comm. to v 2.

vi 11: See above, comm. to v 2.