

The Siege of Armanum

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The inscription of Naram-Sin commemorating his conquest of Ebla and Armanum is known from two Old Babylonian copies made either from other copies or directly from the original monument. In view of the corruptions of the text, the former seems the more likely possibility.¹ The manuscripts consist of *UET* I 275 (= U.7756), *UET* I 276 (= U.7736), and *UET* 8/2 13. The last duplicates *UET* I 275 iv 1–7 and 276 i 10–33 and ii 17–22. Important collations of 275 and 276 were given by Sollberger in *UET* 8/2, pp. 32–33.² The middle section of the inscription was discussed in detail by Kraus, but his interpretation, though in my opinion correct, has not always found adherents. The purpose of this study is to reconsider the entire inscription and to offer a new edition of it, proceeding in part from Kraus' fundamental insights.³

The first significant problem that needs to be dealt with is the extent of the original text. The thesis proposed here is that *UET* I 275 and 276 are a single copy of a single inscription, 276 being the direct continuation of 275. There are two pieces of evidence in favor of this hypothesis. In the first place, 275 lacks a concluding curse formula such as is standard in Sargonic royal inscriptions, while 276 is a curse formula without an inscription. In the second place, the texts of 275 and 276 occur together on *UET* 8/2 13, making it a

1 Cf. Kraus, *Iraq* 10 (1948), 82f. A good example of how what would seem to be a copy of a genuine inscription can be altered through literary transmission is provided by variants of the "Kurigalzu Autobiography," A = CT 36, 6–7; B = BIN 2, 33, cf. Brinkman, *Materials*, p. 209, Q.2.1.1. In A i 23 = B 5, A has *limmiya* and B *lā māgiri'a*, a variant which suggests a *Vorlage*, perhaps, ultimately, the original inscription, which used a Sumerogram such as nu-še, differently "realized" in the tradited versions. Compare also A i 29 = B 8, where A has *ul-tu* and B TA, and A reads URU GAŠAN-ia É-^dGAŠAN AMA.KAL.LA while B (collated) has URU ^dGAŠAN É.DINGIR (misunderstood AMA!) KAL*.LA*. Our Naram-Sin text may present some of the same misunderstandings if at least one copy has intervened between it and the original, not to mention a possible dictation.

2 I am grateful to Jeremy Black (Baghdad) for additional collations to both manuscripts, which, as one would expect, confirm the accuracy of Gadd's copy. These tablets are now in the Baghdad Museum.

3 F. R. Kraus, "Ein altakkadisches Festungsbild," *Iraq* 10 (1948), 81–92. Kraus' results were implicitly rejected by Sollberger, *IRSA*, 108: "Vient ensuite la description d'une fortification qui n'appartient plus à l'inscription." Hirsch, commenting on Kraus' work, *AfO* 20 (1963), 21, note 210, ventures "viel für sich hat."

one-tablet edition of the same inscription. Both 275 and 276 were found in the same tablet hoard,⁴ and, despite a slight difference in size, could well be the work of the same scribe.⁵

The content of the resulting text may be outlined as follows:

UET I 275

- i-ii 28: Survey of Naram-Sin's campaign up the Euphrates to Armanum and Ebla.
- ii 29-iii 16: Capture of the king of Armanum, dedication of a commemorative statue to Sin.
- iii 17-iv 19: Direct speech by Naram-Sin commemorating his victory, declaring that the monument must not be removed, and proclaiming the uniqueness of his achievement.
- iv 20-v 16: Caption describing a view of the successful assault of Armanum, followed by obliteration of the city.
- v 17: Scribal indication of the location of the monument, and, apparently, which side of the stone he has copied.
- vi 1-17: Caption describing a second view of the assault.
- vi 18-19: Scribal indication of which side of the monument he has copied.

UET I 276

- i-ii: Concluding curse formula.
- iii: Captions to figures of important participants in the campaign represented on the monument(?).

Sources:

- | | |
|--|---|
| { A = UET I 275
B = UET 8/2 13
* = line commented on below | { 1 = PBS 5 36 (see below)
2 = HS 1954 (see below) |
|--|---|

- | | |
|---|--|
| i
1 <i>ša iš-tum</i>
2 <i>da-ar</i>
*3 <i>si-ki-ti</i>
4 <i>ni-se₁₁¹</i>
5 <i>šar in 'šar¹-rī</i>
6 <i>ma-na-ma</i>
7 <i>Ar-ma-nam^{ki}</i>
8 <i>ù</i> | 9 <i>Eb-la^{ki}</i>
10 <i>la u-sa-al-pi₅-tu</i>
*11 <i>in GIŠ^{1?}.TUKUL^{1?}-ki^{1?}</i>
12 <i>^dNergal</i>
13 <i>pá-da-an</i>
*14 <i>^dNa-ra-am-^dSuen</i>
15 <i>da-núm</i>
16 <i>ep-te-ma</i>
17 <i>Ar-ma-nam^{ki}</i> |
|---|--|

4 The tablets 275 and 276 were part of a small private library, and formed, according to Burrows, part of a "set of ten tablets containing . . . monumental inscriptions of kings of Akkad, Ur, Isin, and Larsa," *AJ* 7 (1927), 404; cf. Woolley-Mallowan-Mitchell, *UE* VII (1976), 112f. "Set" implies that they were all from the same hand or strongly resembled each other.

5 Black writes, "As regards the identity of the scribes of 275 and 276, this could very well be the case. The size of the tablets is slightly different, but their general appearance is closely similar."

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---------|---|
| 18 | ù | (space) | |
| 19 | <i>Eb-la</i> ^{ki} | 29 | <i>i-nu</i> |
| 20 | <i>i-dì-šum</i> | 30 | ^d <i>Da-gan</i> |
| 21 | ù | 31 | DI.KU ₅ |
| 22 | <i>A-ma-nam</i> | 32 | ^d <i>Na-ra-am-^dSuen</i> |
| 23 | SA.TU | 33 | <i>da-nim</i> |
| 24 | GIŠ.EREN | | |
| 25 | ù | | iii |
| 26 | <i>ti-a-am-tám</i> | | |
| 27 | <i>a-lí-tám</i> | 1 | <i>i-dì-nu-ma</i> |
| 28 | <i>i-qí-iš-šum</i> | * 2 | <i>Ri-DA-^dAdad</i> |
| *29 | <i>-ma</i> | 3 | LUGAL |
| 30 | <i>in GIŠ.TUKUL-ki</i> | 4 | <i>Ar-ma-nim</i> ^{ki} |
| 31 | ^d <i>Da-gan</i> | 5 | <i>qá-ti-iš-su</i> |
| 32 | <i>mu-sa-ar-bí-ì</i> | 6 | <i>i-dì-nu-ma</i> |
| | | 7 | <i>su₄-ma</i> |
| | ii | * 8 | <i>qab_x (DA)-li</i> |
| 1 | <i>šar-ru₉ (for ru₄^{!?})-ti-su₄</i> | 9 | <i>na-ra-ab-ti-su</i> |
| 2 | ^d <i>Na-ra-am-^dSuen</i> | 10 | <i>i-ik-mi-ù-su₄[!]</i> |
| 3 | <i>da-núm</i> | 11 | <i>in E.SI</i> |
| 4 | <i>Ar-ma-nam</i> ^{ki} | 12 | DÛL-su |
| 5 | ù | 13 | <i>ib-ni-ma</i> |
| 6 | <i>Eb-la</i> ^{ki} | 14 | <i>a-na</i> |
| 7 | <i>en-ar</i> | 15 | ^d <i>Suen</i> |
| 8 | ù | 16 | A MU.RU |
| 9 | <i>iš-tum-ma</i> | 17 | <i>en-ma</i> |
| *10 | <i>pu-ti</i> | 18 | ^d <i>Na-ra-am-^dSuen</i> |
| 11 | UD.KIB.NUN ÍD | 19 | <i>da-núm</i> |
| 12 | <i>a-dì-ma</i> | 20 | LUGAL |
| 13 | <i>U-li-si-im</i> ^{ki} | 21 | <i>ki-ib-ra-tim</i> |
| 14 | <i>ni-se₁₁[!]</i> | 22 | <i>ar-ba-im ki</i> |
| 15 | <i>ša-at</i> | 23 | ^d <i>Da-gan</i> |
| 16 | ^d <i>Da-gan</i> | 24 | <i>Ar-ma-nam</i> |
| *17 | BÍL-iš | 25 | ù |
| 18 | <i>i-qí-su-šum</i> | 26 | <i>Eb-la</i> ^{ki} |
| 19 | <i>u-ra-iš-ma</i> | 27 | <i>i-dì-nam-ma</i> |
| *20 | GIŠ.ÍL | 28 | <i>Ri-ID-^dAdad</i> |
| 21 | ^d <i>Ilaba</i> | 29 | LUGAL |
| 22 | <i>ì-lí-su</i> | 30 | <i>Ar-ma-nim</i> ^{ki} |
| 23 | <i>na-se₁₁[!]-nim</i> | 31 | <i>ak-mi-[!]ma¹</i> |
| 24 | ù | 32 | <i>ì-nu-šu [x?]</i> |
| 25 | <i>A-ma-nam</i> | 33 | <i>tám-si-l[í]</i> |
| 26 | SA.TU | 34 | <i>ab-ni-[ma]</i> |
| 27 | GIŠ.EREN | | |
| 28 | <i>i-ig-mu-ur</i> | | |

B

iv

1 *a-[na]*

- 2 ^dSuen
 3 iš-ru-^luk¹⁶
 4 ma-na-ma
 5 MU-mi
 6 a! u-sa-sí-ik
 7 DÙL-mi
 8 ma-ḥa-ar
 9 ^dSuen
 10 li-zi-iz¹
 11 ù
 12 ša il-su
 13 i-na-id-nu-šum
 *14 li-li-^lik^{11?}-su₄
 15 si-pí-ir
 16 al-li-ku
 17 a-na
 *18 u-su₄-a-im
 19 a-ti-ir
 (space)
 20 iš-tum
 21 BÀD da-ni-im
 22 a-na
 23 BÀD.GAL
 *24 60! + 60! + 10 KÙŠ SUKUD
 25 SA.TU-im
 26 44 KÙŠ SUKUD BÀD

v

(space)

- 1 iš-tum
 * 2 BÀD kà-rí¹-im
 3 a-na
 4 BÀD da-ni-im
 * 5 180 KÙŠ SUKUD
 6 SA.TU-im
 7 30 KÙŠ SUKUD BÀD
 (space)
 8 ŠU.NÍGIN 404
 9 7 KÙŠ SUKUD
 10 iš-tum
 11 qá-qá-rí-im

- 12 a-na
 13 SAG BÀD
 14 URU^{ki}-lam
 15 Ar¹-ma-num^{ki}
 16 KI-su e-ni
 (space)
 17 ša i-di É-kisal²-am-ma
 (space)

vi

- 1 iš-tum
 2 ÍD
 3 a-na
 4 BÀD
 5 kà-rí¹-im
 6 196 KÙŠ SUKUD
 7 SA.TU-im
 8 20 KÙŠ SUKUD
 9 BÀD
 (space)
 10 iš-tum
 11 BÀD kà-rí¹-im
 12 a-na
 13 BÀD da-ni-im
 14 156 KÙŠ SUKUD
 15 SA.TU-im
 16 30 KÙŠ SUKUD
 17 BÀD
 (space)
 18 ša a-na i-di
 19 alan ^dSuen-i-ri-ba-am
 20 gu-la

276 i

- 1 ma-na-ma
 2 MU-mi
 3 Na-ra-am-^dSuen
 4 da-nim¹
 5 LUGAL
 6 ki-ib-ra-tim
 7 ar-ba-im

	8	<i>u-sa-sà-ku-ma</i>		8	<i>li-ru-ru-uš</i>
B	9	<i>al DÙL</i>		9	GIDRI
	10	<i>Na-ra-am-^dSuen</i>		10	<i>a-na ^dEn-¹lil¹</i>
	11	<i>da-nim</i>		11	<i>šar-ru-tám</i>
	12	<i>MU-su</i>		12	<i>a-na ^dINANNA</i>
	13	<i>i-sa-kà-nu-ma</i>		13	<i>a u-kí-il</i>
	14	<i>DÙL-mi-me</i>		14	<i>maḥ-rí-iš</i>
	15	<i>i-qá-bi-ù</i>		15	<i>ì-lí-su</i>
	16	<i>ù LÚ-lam⁷</i>	B	16	<i>a GUB</i>
	17	<i>na-kà-ra-am</i>		17	<i>^dNin-ḫur-sag-gá⁹</i>
	18	<i>u-kál-la-mu-ma</i>		18	<i>ù</i>
	19	<i>MU-su-me</i>		19	<i>^dNin-tu</i>
	20	<i>pí₅-si₄-it-ma</i>		20	<i>NITA ù</i>
	21	<i>MU-mi</i>		21	<i>MU</i>
	22	<i>su-ku₈-un</i>		22	<i>[a] i-dì-na-šum</i>
	23	<i>i-qá-bi-ù</i>		23	<i>^dAdad</i>
	24	<i>^dSuen</i>		24	<i>ù ^dNisaba</i>
	25	<i>be-al</i>		*25	<i>¹si¹-rí-iḫ-su</i>
(1)	26	<i>DÙL ¹su₄¹-a⁸</i>		*26	<i>a ¹ù¹-si-si-¹ra¹</i>
	27	<i>ù ^dINANNA</i>		27	<i>^dEn-ki</i>
	28	<i>An-nu-ni-tum</i>		28	<i>ÍD-sú</i>
	29	<i>An</i>		29	<i>A li-im-dú-ud</i>
	30	<i>^dEn-líl</i>		30	<i>ù GIŠ.TÚG.PI¹</i>
	31	<i>^dIlaba</i>		31	<i>a u¹-ra¹-pí-iš¹</i>
	32	<i>[^dSu]en</i>		32	<i>u-rí-¹iš¹</i>
	33	<i>[^d]UTU</i>			
				iii	
	ii			1	<i>[an-ta (x)] NE</i>
	1	<i>^dNergal</i>		2	<i>¹im¹-¹lil¹-ik</i>
	2	<i>^dU.MES</i>		3	<i>ki-[ta] GÌR.NITA</i>
	3	<i>^dNin-kar-ak</i>		4	<i>KI.EN.GI KI.URI</i>
	4	<i>DINGIR ra-bí-ù-tum</i>		5	<i>LUGAL URU.SI</i>
(2)	5	<i>in ŠU.NÍGIN-su₄²-nu</i>		iv	
	6	<i>ar¹-ra-tám</i>		traces only	
	7	<i>la-mu-tám</i>			

(i 1) Whereas, for all time since the formation of humankind there has never been a king who overthrew Armanum and Ebla, by the weapon(?) of Nergal did Naram-Sin, the mighty, open the only path and he gave him Armanum and Ebla. He bestowed upon him Amanus, the Cedar Mountain and the Upper Sea, and, by the weapon of Dagan, exalter of his kingship, did Naram-Sin, the mighty, defeat Armanum and Ebla. Then, from the very

7 A: LUGAL-lam.

8 B: šu-a.

9 B: omits gá.

mouth of the Euphrates, he smote the river(-bank) as far as Ulisum, as well as the people whom Dagan had for the first time bestowed upon him, and they bear for him the burden of Ilaba his god. The Amanus too, mount of cedars, he conquered completely.

(ii 29) When Dagan gave the verdict for Naram-Sin, the mighty, and delivered Rish²-Adad, king of Armanum, into his power, and he himself captured him in his (own) entryway, he (Naram-Sin) made a statue of himself in diorite² and dedicated it to Sin.

(iii 17) Thus says Naram-Sin, the mighty, king of the four quarters of the earth: "Dagan having given me Armanum and Ebla, and I having captured Rish²-Adad, king of Armanum and Ebla, then did I make my image. I (text: he) dedicated it to Sin: let no one do away with my monument! Let my statue stand before Sin and what² his god² shall grant² him, let that be his duty² (lit.: let him "go" it). The task² which I went is beyond comprehension.²

(iv 20) From the fortification wall to the great wall, 130 cubits is the ascent of the citadel, 44 cubits is the ascent of the wall.

(v 1) From the wall of the port² to the fortification wall, 180 cubits is the ascent of the citadel, 30 cubits is the ascent of the wall.

Total: 404 cubits ascent from the ground to the top of the fortress.

He undermined(?) the city Armanum.

"(Inscription located) on the side (of the monument facing) the Chapel of the Wild Bull Court."

(vi 1) From the river to the wall of the port²: 196 cubits is the ascent of the citadel, 20 cubits is the ascent of the wall. From the wall of the port² to the fortification wall: 156 cubits is the ascent of the citadel, 30 cubits is the ascent of the wall.

"(Inscription located) on the side (of the monument facing) the statue of Sin-Eribam, the larger one."

(276 i) Whosoever shall do away with the inscription of Naram-Sin, the mighty, king of the four quarters of the earth, and shall set his own name on the statue of Naram-Sin, saying, "It is my statue," or shows it to an outsider and says "Erase it and set my name (thereon)," may Sin, owner of this statue, and Ishtar-Annunitum, Anu, Enlil, Ilaba, Sin, Šamaš, Nergal, Umšu, Ninkarrak, all the great gods lay on him a terrible curse. May he not hold scepter for Enlil nor kingship for Ishtar. May he not come before his god. May Ninhursag and Nintu give him neither heir nor descent. May Adad and Nisaba not let his furrowing flourish. May Enki block(?) the water of his canals, and not broaden his wisdom . . . May he . . . no weapon . . .

(iii) "[Above]": PN₁?, "Below": General of Sumer and Akkad, PN(?).

Remarks:

Earlier commentaries to parts or all of the inscription include Gadd-Smith, *UET* I, 72–84; Langdon, *JRAS* 1929, 372; Jacobsen, *AJSL* 46 (1929), 70–71; Landsberger, *OLZ* 1931, 131; Kraus, *Iraq* 10 (1948), 81–92; Oppenheim, *ANET*, 268; Hirsch, *Afo* 20 (1963), 20–21, 81–82; Sollberger, *IRSA*, 108. I have not in general repeated their comments here.

UET I, 275

i 3 One generally understands *šikintu*, with hesitation; see most recently von Soden, *AHW*, 1233b and the remarks of Oppenheim, *ANET*, 268.

i 11 The first sign is written over an erased horizontal, and looks like GIŠxMA or GIŠxŠU¹. In any case, it must be a misunderstanding of the original. The second sign is E. I have suggested here that the first sign is a misunderstanding of GIŠ TUKUL, largely on the basis of parallel passages in the same text (e.g., i 30). An emendation to Á.KAL is excluded by collation; the reading of the whole complex as *RÉC* 169¹ is also problematic.

i 14 For a similar change of subject, compare Sargon b 2 17ff. (= Hirsch, *Afo* 20, 38): *Sar-ru-GI LUGAL in Tu-tu-lí^{ki} a-na^d Da-gan uš-ka-en ik-ru-ub ma-tám a-li-tám i-di-šum*. Whereas Gelb, *MAD* 3, 112, implies *da-num* is to be read in the genitive (hence logographically), in the same text, ii 33, the genitive *da-nim* occurs, so one is constrained to make Naram-Sin the subject or to emend the text. I therefore construe *pá-da-an* as absolutus “in betonter Einzahl” (*GAG* 62e): “the one (and only possible) path:” This is historically logical, insofar as there is only one practical way to get from Agade to Ebla, following the Euphrates, just as Naram-Sin states he did.

i 29 Note that *-ma* is assigned a separate case, an authentic epigraphic feature paralleled in the Bassetki inscription (= *Sumer* 32 [1976], plates following page 77 in the English section), line 52; differently *CAD*, *M/I*, 1a, which takes it as an emphasizing particle.

ii 10–13 These lines seem to give the hither and further extent of Naram-Sin’s conquest. The lowest point is the “face” (= hither end) of the Euphrates. For a parallel expression, see Sargon b 2.8f. (= Hirsch, *Afo* 20, 37): *a-di-ma pu-ti ti-a-am-tim* “right up to the (hither) edge of the sea.” This is understandable in ancient geographical terms as the Euphrates at Sippar, the “point at which the Euphrates debouched onto the lower plain from its broadly incised middle valley . . . a long-standing, traditional awareness of the alluvial plain as a distinctive zone, with Sippar the point of its beginning,” R. Mc. Adams, *Heartland of Cities* (Chicago, 1981), 3. The upper point is Ulisum (*RGTC* 1, 164), the location of which is unknown, but should perhaps be sought on the Syrian coast.

ii 20 GIŠ.ÍL is attested in a Sargonic administrative text (*HSS* 10, 209), and was evidently a wooden carrying device, perhaps used at Gasur to carry in the harvest (cf. *HSS* 10, 203?), here used metonymically for “servitude” and the obligation to render tribute.

iii 2 This name is generally read *Ri-iš* following, inter alia, Gelb, *OIP* 27,6 note 61; *SAOC* 22, 103, note 49, and *MAD* 3, 233; though the copies, as collated by Sollberger, *UET* 8/2, 33 show *Ri-da* (here) and *Ri-id* (iii 28). Note that the king of Apišal in the “Great Insurrection” against Naram-Sin (Grayson–Sollberger, *RA* 70 [1976], 102ff.) i 31 is named Riš-Adad.


iii 8 Following Jacobsen, *AJSL* 46 (1929), 70, and Gelb, *MAD* 3, 296, all translations and dictionaries read *tá-li* and render “and tied him to the door posts of his entrance” (or the like). I have not followed this for three reasons: (1) *kamû* is always used in the Sargonic royal inscriptions to mean “capture,” not “tie to;” (2) The writing *DA-li* for *qab_x-li* is a likely early misreading, if not a bonafide contemporary interchange of signs (cf. Gelb, *MAD* 2², 46; Sollberger, *IRSA*, 103, note a); and (3) Sargonic royal inscriptions often stress where the capture took place, e.g., in *RÉC* 169 ŠU DU_g.A “captured in battle,” Sargon b

1 ii 18ff. (= Hirsch, *AfO* 20, 34f.). For *qab-li* used prepositionally, compare Bassettki inscription lines 53f.: *qab-li A-ga-de^{ki} É-sú ib-ni-ù*. Jacobsen, loc. cit., proposes that "his entryway" refers to Dagan's temple, where the captured king was brought bound, but I see, rather, the defeated king making a futile last stand in the doorway of his own palace.

iv 13 Verb form incomprehensible. I read as *i-na-di'-nu-šum*.

iv 14 *alākum* governing the accusative is well attested in a range of meanings having to do with service and duty, cf. M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (Leiden, 1976), 98ff. This passage has no close parallel, so the translation is only a guess, for want of a better proposal.¹⁰ In the following line, *šipram(?) alākum* may be analogous.

iv 18 I hazard that *u-su₄-a-im* is a corruption of *wu-sú-im*.

iv 24 The tablet has three Winkelhaken, as copied, which I suggest stands for an original . Note the rather scattered placement (copy exact), which would be curious for an original of three identical signs, but understandable if the scribe hesitated over the significance of his Vorlage.

v 2 The unreadable sign resembles URU; the reading is a plausible one in context, especially in view of the presence of a river on one side of the citadel.

v 5 The tablet has three horizontals (collated), as in vi 6 and 14. Since a reading of three cubits is impossible, despite Hirsch, p. 76, in that it leaves only three cubits ascent between walls and the fortifications thereby wildly askew (see figure), one has to read 3×60 . The original copy may have had three verticals with elongated heads. One finds this identical problem in Rimuš b 7 (= Hirsch, *AfO* 20, 65) where in Hirsch's line $x + 53$ the tablet, Ni 3200 (collated by the writer) has 6×60 , rather than simply 6 as generally read hitherto.

v 16 This expression can be taken literally, the opposite of "restoring" as known in Sargonic inscriptions, e.g., Sargon b 1.31 (= Hirsch, *AfO* 20, 36), and for which the destruction and presumed relocation of Ebla would be a good parallel, but Kraus' objections to making up an explanation for this line should be kept in mind, *Iraq* 10 (1948), 88, note 1. W. G. Lambert suggests to me privately "undermines", referring to *BWL*, 320: 96 (*eni qaqqaršu*: "he is undermined"). Whatever the location of Armanum may be, one expects a large, triply circumvallated city near the Euphrates or one of its main tributaries, on a line of march between Sippar and Ebla, situated with one side near the river and with a sharp break or terminal occupation in the late third millennium B.C.E. See *RGTC* 1, 18. The proposed identification with Aleppo fails to account for the river or watercourse, even if the *kārum* is explained away as a "commercial district" and not a "port" or "quay," unless the present stream was then larger.

vi 20 Despite the proposals of Kraus, *Iraq* 10 (1948), 84 note 3 and Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1959/1960), 24, who wish to see a verb here (Edzard: *gu-la* for *gul-a* "engraved"), and the writer, who wished the signs to be *nu-til-la* (= "continued on the next tablet"), the reading

10 One would of course be glad to have the line parallel a more conventional invocation on a stele, such as CH rev xxv 6ff.: *a-na ma-ḥa-ar ṣalmi-ia šār mi-ša-ri-im li-il-li-ik-ma*, but I cannot read this into the text. As a remote parallel, one can offer the prayer of Sargon to Ištar in the OB "King of Battle Epic," *TIM* 9 48.17: *ša ta-ḥa-ḥa-bi-ni-im lu-pu-uš* "Let me perform what you order me to do."

gu-la has to be retained (collated), and taken in its usual sense. Against Edzard, there is no verb in the first scribal caption, so it is better to assume that gu-la refers to the statue of Sin-eribam, and that it was the “large” or “larger” one, to distinguish it from some other statue in the same precinct.

UET I, 276

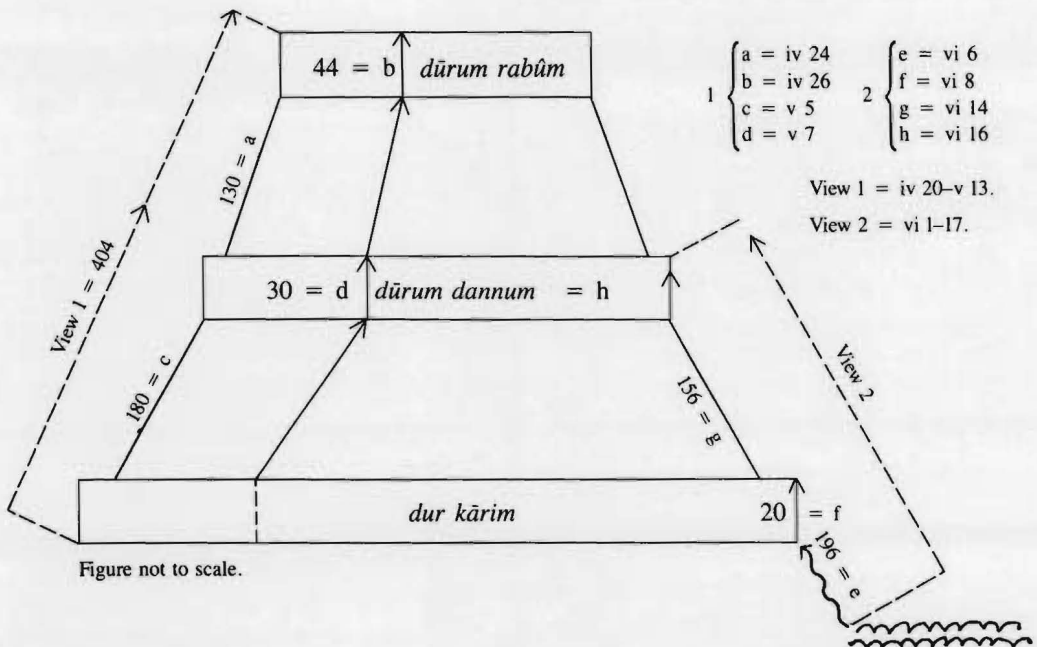
Parallels to portions of the curse formula exist from Nippur inscriptions as follows:

- 1) *PBS* 5, 36, rev iv = C i 27–ii 11. For a treatment of *PBS* 5, 36, see Poebel, *PBS* 4/1, 209–14. For further discussion of this tablet, which contains the inscription commemorating Naram-Sin’s defeat of the “great insurrection,” see, for the present, Michalowski, *JCS* 32 (1980), 233–39; tablet = N 3539 + *PBS* 5, 37 (+) *PBS* 5, 36.
- 2) HS 1954 rev iii = C ii 6–22. For a transliteration of this tablet, see Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), 19.
- 3) Compare also *VAS* 17, 42, rev. (OB Legend of Naram-Sin).

ii 25 Reading Sollberger, *UET* 8/2, 33; $\text{pi}^{21}\text{-ri-i}\dot{\text{h}}\text{-su}$ seems less likely.¹¹

iiif. Possibly the beginning of a section of captions, giving names and titles of dignitaries identified in the relief, the name above and the title below. Parallels are numerous in the Sargonic royal inscriptions, cf. Rimuš b 5 (= Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period* [Hamden: 1982], 48–49), or the Sargon stele (E. Strommenger, *Mesopotamien* [Munich, 1962], 115), in the latter case written in front of the face towards the right shoulder.

I reconstruct the citadel portrayed in the two reliefs schematically as follows:



11 Reading of our passage as *ša'ilsu* “he who asks him” is also a possibility, but has not been adopted here.

Two points should be observed. The assault shown in View 2 is measured from the bottom up, directly, whereas the assault shown in View 1 is measured from the middle up, then the bottom up. This perplexing fact may hold the key to understanding Naram-Sin's achievement. I propose that the illustration, as first reconstructed by Kraus, and modified slightly here, is not primarily of the citadel, but of how the conquest of it was effected. The initial assault (View 2) took place from the river, over the harbor wall (*kārum*) and the *dannum* wall. Therefore the ascent begins with the bottom and ascends the second, but not the last, wall. View 1, on the other hand, gives the ascent of the whole citadel from ground level, but omits the ascent of the *kārum* wall, even while including it in the total. It repeats, however, the ascent of the *dannum* wall of View 2, and includes this ascent in the total as well.

This suggests that the initial breach of the *kārum* wall was from the riverine side, and a detachment of the riverine breaching force let in the land force. The land force and the riverine force made a two-pronged assault on the *dannum* wall, and breached it in two places. With this accomplished, the (presumably larger) land force, headed by Naram-Sin himself, and perhaps joined by the riverine force, made the final assault on the citadel, where, one assumes, the capture of the king was made.

By this interpretation, the relief portrayed the action described in the text, and was not simply a static drawing of a fortress from two sides, for which no parallel can be found in early Mesopotamian art. Siege and assault scenes are, on the other hand, well known. The reason for the double portrayal must lie in the desire to show exactly how the two-pronged assault was made. The figures given are not so much measurements of the citadel as they are of the ascent the besiegers had to make, from bottom to top, against massive walls, and, no doubt, a desperate defense.