THE LOCATION OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF AKKADE:
REVIEW OF PAST THEORIES AND IDENTIFICATION OF ISSUES FOR
FORMULATING A SPECIFIC METHODOLOGY FOR SEARCHING AKKADE

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Abstract

Around 2300 BCE, the Dynasty of Akkad founded by King Sargon established its hegemony over ancient Mesopotamia and the city of Akkade was founded as its capital. The precise whereabouts of Akkade have been sought by many scholars for over 140 years. Despite these efforts, it has still not been found. In the very early days of Assyriology, at the end of the 19th century, a tentative theory was put forward that for the first time proposed equated the two cities of Akkade and Sippar-ša-Anunītu. In association with this theory Akkade was identified with the site of Tell ed-Dēr. However, another tentative theory was put forward, that Akkade was simply another name for Babylon. From this view, Akkade was identified with Ishan Mizyard. However, various pieces of counter-evidence have emerged that undercut these proposals. Using written sources containing a range of topographical information on Akkade, it was suggested that Akkade may have had a close geographical connection with the Tigris. Three specific regions have been proposed for the location of the ancient city of Akkade, namely, the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala and the Adheim and the region near the modern town of Samarra. However, no suitable candidate sites for the ancient site of Akkade has been found in these regions. This regrettable outcome may have been caused by the lack of proper and effective use of the topographical information contained in written sources that indicate the regional location of Akkade. This paper proposes a specialized methodology for identifying the ancient site of the ancient city of Akkade.

I.   Introduction

From approximately 2300 BCE, the Dynasty of Akkad, founded by King Sargon, had hegemony over ancient Mesopotamia. Arguably it was history's first empire, and its capital, founded by Sargon was the ancient city of Akkade according to the Sumerian King List. This list was probably composed during the following Ur III Dynasty period and thus is the source that is closest in time to the founding. The precise whereabouts of Akkade have been sought by scholars for over 140 years. Various locations have been presented as candidates, several have been definitively refuted, and others have been judged unlikely or to be supported by inconclusive evidence. As a result, Akkade's location has still not been identified, despite the efforts of many scholars. In this article, over 140 years of previous studies on the location of Akkade will be investigated, and then we will attempt to clarify with which specific regions and ancient sites, locations of the ancient city of Akkade have been deduced by previous scholars. We will also identify the nature of various written evidence that scholars used to identify the location of Akkade. We will analyze all relevant past theories one by one to identify problems in them that have led to their failure to identify the location of Akkade to this date. From this work, a new specific methodology for identifying the location of Akkade will be formulated.

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II.   Identification of Akkade with Sippar-ša-Anunītu or Tell ed-Dēr[1)]

During the very early days of Assyriology, M. J. Ménant [1875, 96; 1883, 71−72] first proposed the identification of Akkade with Sippar-ša-Anunītu and was followed by F. Delitzsch [1881, 209−212] and F. Hommel [1926, 400−410].   One factor above all seems to have led them to propose this hypothesis, namely, the presence of the Eulmaš temple in Sippar-ša-Anunītu and the description of such a temple in Akkade.   Anunītu (earlier Annunītum) was a Babylonian goddess who shared several attributes with the goddess Inanna/Ištar [Ebeling 1932, 110−111; Black and Green 1992, 34−35].   These scholars deduced that the Eulmaš temple of Anunītu at Sippar-ša-Anunītu and the Eulmaš temple of Ištar at Akkade were identical.   Sippar-ša-Anunītu was known from cuneiform sources that were already available at that time but cannot be specified today to be adjacent to Sippar-ša-Šamaš, leading to the conclusion that Akkade was another name for Sippar-ša-Anunītu and was to be found beside Sippar-ša-Šamaš.

However, as E. Unger [1932, 62] noted, in his inscriptions, Nabonidus refers separately to the Eulmaš temple of Ištar at Akkade and the Eulmaš temple of Anunītu at Sippar-ša-Anunītu [Langdon 1912, 246−247]. S. Langdon [1915−1916, 114, fn. 3] also noted that in his inscription, Nabonidus refers to Kassite King Šagaragti-Šuriaš's claim to have restored the Eulmaš temple of Anunītu at Sippar-ša-Anunītu, but his name is absent from the same inscription that gives Nabonidus's list of kings who sought the Eulmaš temple of Ištar at Akkade[2)].   If Sippar-ša-Anunītu and Akkade were identical, Šagaragti-Šuriaš should appear in this list[3)].   These two factors allow us to argue that the Eulmaš temple of Anunītu at Sippar-ša-Anunītu and the Eulmaš temple of Ištar at Akkade were separate entities.

As to why the same name was used for temples of the same goddess at the two locations of Akkade and Sippar-ša-Anunītu, Unger and Langdon indicated different views.   Unger [1932, 62] thought that Sippar-ša-Anunītu was built on the ruins of the ancient city of Akkade, and Langdon [1915−1916, 114, fn. 3] thought that the Eulmaš temple of Anunītu at Sippar-ša-Anunītu was built on a new foundation in the vicinity of Sippar-ša-Šamaš (= Abu Habbah) by the Kassite King Šagaragti-Šuriaš, replacing the lost Eulmaš temple of Ištar at Akkade.   Langdon noted that unspecified inscriptions indicate that Akkade was located near Sippar-ša-Šamaš (= Abu Habbah). Thus, he proposed that Tell ed-Dēr was Akkade because of its location beside Sippar-ša-Šamaš. Langdon [1924, 7−8, fn. 1] also observed that the impressive structures of Tell ed-Dēr and its advantageous geographical setting would suit a powerful ruler like Sargon as a place to plan a new capital.

The ancient name of Tell ed-Dēr has not yet been definitively determined, although this has been a subject of debate for a long time [Edzard 1970, 18−26; Harris 1975, 11, 14; Groneberg 1980, 208; Black 1987, 18, fn. 1][4)].   Although this paper does not pursue this identification, a crucial fact must be mentioned here.   Many excavations have been undertaken at Tell ed-Dēr, of which the first was conducted by H. Rassam and E. A. Wallis Budge [Pallis 1956, 363−364].   Later excavations undertaken by T. Baqir and M. A. Mustafa [1945, 37] produced materials from the Akkadian period, but none of these yielded any evidence that would lead us to assign Akkade's location to Tell

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1)   The locations of the ancient sites that scholars have proposed as candidates for Akkade and well-known locations of other toponyms referred to in association with these are shown on the maps given as Figs. 1−4.

2)   For the content of the relevant royal inscription of Nabonidus, see [Langdon 1912, 242−252; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 27].

3)   It is possible that Nabonidus was unaware of this or simply did not know of the inscription of Šagaragti-Šuriaš recording the restoration work at Akkade.

4)   J. A. Black identified Tell ed-Dēr with Sippar-Amnānum and disputes that it was Sippar-Yaḫrurum.   He stated that this debate would be resolved with a final discussion to be published in a subsequent volume of the journal, *Akkadica*, but this publication has not been traced.

ed-Dēr. More recent efforts to excavate Tell ed-Dēr, such as by a Belgian team headed by L. de Meyer [with Gasche and Paepe, 1971; 1978; 1980; 1984] produced the same result, namely, that no evidence was unearthed that Sargon's capital was recovered from Tell ed-Dēr.

Thus, it has not been proven either that Akkade is Sippar-ša-Anunītu or that the latter was built over Akkade. Langdon's identification of Akkade with Tell ed-Dēr has also not been proven. Even if further excavation is undertaken in this location, it seems unlikely that any new indication of Akkade will be unearthed at Tell ed-Dēr[5].

III.   Akkade is the Cover Name of Babylon

B. Landsberger [1965, 38–57] first proposed that Akkade (written [URU]Ak-kad) was Babylon, based partly on his study of the archives of Mār-Ištar, who was the ambassador of the Neo-Assyrian King Esarhaddon and partly on his study of the archives of Aqqulānu, the Assyrian high-astrologer. He argued that the references to Akkade in these archives were to be understood as references to Babylon, stemming from the scribal fantasy of Mār-Ištar and the earlier one of Aqqulānu. Therefore, he considered Akkade to be only an alternate or cover name for Babylon[6].

However, Landsberger gave no concrete reasoning or evidence to support his theory, and we cannot reconstruct its development. S. Parpola [1983, XXV, 263] concluded that Landsberger probably proposed his interpretation to account for the fact that several substitute kings were enthroned in Akkade instead of Babylon: Esarhaddon and other Neo-Assyrian kings held the kingship of Babylon, and there was a special rite that was occasioned by eclipses and that required the repetition of the enthronement of substitute kings in Nineveh for Assyria and in Babylon for Babylonia. Landsberger likely sensed a contradiction in the fact that Akkade was treated as the site of this ritual in the archives of Mār-Ištar and Aqqulānu.

Parpola considered that the repetition of the enthronement of substitute kings was in reality performed in Akkade and that it was not caused by a scribal fantasy of Mār-Ištar and Aqqulānu. He thought that Babylon had been abandoned from the time of the reign of Esarhaddon, so the repetition of the enthronement of substitute kings could not be performed there. Instead, the ancient imperial capital of the empire of Akkad was chosen as the site worthy for such rites. Additional pieces of evidence discredit Landsberger's equation of Akkade and Babylon. As Parpola [1970a, nos. 280–281; 1983, 263] indicated, Mār-Ištar frequently used the names of Akkade and Babylon together in his letters. Both names also occur together in other contemporaneous documents and in the inscriptions of Aššurbanipal. Furthermore, the name Babylon even appears side-by-side with

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5)   Although Akkade was not concretely identified with either Sippar-ša-Anunītu or Tell ed-Dēr, W. H. Lane [1923, 83–85] also presumed that Akkade was located near Sippar (= Abu Habbah). Pliny's *Natural History*, Book VI, ch. 30, records this about Mesopotamia; it mentions a very large city called Agranis present at the point where the river that the Assyrians called Narmalcha (= royal river), divides its waters. Lane assumed that Narmalcha is synonymous with the Nahr Malcha. It was known to him that the Nahr Malcha branched off at Hipparenum, which he equated with Sippar (= Abu Habbah), and then flowed eastward toward Seleucia on the Tigris. Accordingly, he assumed that Agranis would form the Greek rendering for the ancient city of Akkade. Thus, it was located at the same point as Hipparenum (= Sippar = Abu Habbah).

Furthermore, the Roman history of Ammianus Marcellinus, Book 24, ch. 2 records that the troops of the Emperor Julian advanced to the village of Macepracta, where a branch of the river known as Nahamalca (= river of kings) passed by Ctesiphon. Thus, Lane thought that Macepracta would refer to Sippar. He also argued that Macepracta could be phonetically identifiable with both Sippar and Akkade, if both names are said together as [Ma]Sippar-Akkade. Thus, he accordingly located Akkade in the vicinity of Sippar (= Abu Habbah).

However, no other evidence supports these name-based theories. Lane also proposed Qadisiyeh as a potential site of Akkade. His alternative theory is discussed in the section V. 3.

6)   J. A. Brinkman [1968, 145, fn. 874] also made cautious mention of Landsberger's theory, indicating that if his theory is correct, the Akkade referred to in two *kudurru*s of the Kassite period, BBSt. Nos. 3–4 may have been a synonym for Babylon [McEwan 1982, 12]. As noted below, later H. Weiss [1975, 434–453], partly agreeing with Landsberger's theory, developed his own conception of the location of Akkade.

that of Akkade in the letters AOAT 5/1, 280 and 281 of Mār-Ištar. Thus, it is unlikely that Akkade was considered a synonym for Babylon by Mār-Ištar and Aqqulānu.

In the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle 1, the Esarhaddon Chronicle, and the letter AOAT 5/1, 275 of Mār-Ištar, the city of Akkade was associated with the return of the Ištar of Akkade from Elam. Therefore, G. J. P. McEwan [1982, 12] and Parpola [1970a, no. 275; 1983, 262–263] argued that there would have been, obviously, no need for the writers of the Chronicles and Mār-Ištar to use an alias for Babylon in this case[7].

Furthermore, McEwan [1982, 12] and Parpola [1983, 263] indicated that a later building inscription of Nabonidus confirmed Esarhaddon's work of restoration on the Eulmaš temple in Akkade, but no temple named Eulmaš has been found in the numerous building inscriptions of Esarhaddon relating to Babylon[8].

There is evidence that the Ištar of Akkade was worshiped at Babylon in the Emašdari temple, but McEwan [1982, 15, fn. 55] asserted that this could not be taken to support the identification of Akkade as Babylon because it was not unusual for local deities to be worshiped both in the capital and in their own cult centers. This is confirmed by BRM 4, 25 (= SBH VII), which presents a schedule for the worship of various local deities in Babylon. Other texts show that Ištar of Akkade was worshiped in Aššur, Bīt-Bēlti, Bīt-Ḫabban, Mari, and Sippar [McEwan 1982, 15, fn. 56]. Therefore, this cultic connection is not an appropriate foundation for identifying Akkade with Babylon.

Parpola [1970a, no. 278; 1983, 268] advanced another reason for Landsberger's conclusion. In Mār-Ištar's letter, AOAT 5/2, 278, Akkade was mentioned in connection with two well-attested seats of astronomical schools, Borsippa and Nippur, which regularly sent astrological reports to the Sargonid kings. Both of these sites were commonly linked with third major astronomical school, that of Babylon, which is always listed first[9]. Therefore, in this context, we should expect to see Babylon on this list, not Akkade. Parpola argued that this may have been the evidence that led Landsberger to create his theory. However, nothing in this passage suggests that astronomical observations were regularly taken in Akkade, and it may be, according to Parpola, that the city was simply mentioned here because it was where Mār-Ištar himself watched the eclipse. The letters of Mār-Ištar themselves make it clear that he did not spend all of his time in Akkade but was constantly on the move, supervising all of the reconstruction work being done in Babylonia during his time in office[10].

It is clear, therefore, that the references to the city of Akkade found in the archives of Mār-Ištar during the Esarhaddon's time and in the archives of Aqqulānu were to a place quite distinct from Babylon. At this time, furthermore, a city called Akkade really did exist and was separate from the Babylon of the Neo-Assyrian period.

IV. Akkade is Ishan Mizyad

Weiss [1975, 434–453] identified Akkade with Ishan Mizyad. This conclusion was based on three fundamental considerations. The first was his disagreement regarding the identification and location of Akkade with Sippar-ša-Anunītu or Tell ed-Dēr in the vicinity of Sippar-ša-Šamaš. He disagreed with this idea because he believed that the Akkadian capital could not have been located at the

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7)   For the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle 1 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle, see [Grayson 1975, 84, 126].

8)   For the building inscription of Nabonidus, see [Langdon 1912, 246–249; George 1993, 155]. For the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, see [Leichty 2011].

9)   With the exception of the report of AOAT 5/2, 278, reports were sent from Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Dilbat, and Uruk. Pliny and Strabo also referred to Babylon, Sippar, and Uruk as the seats of astrological schools. Observatories in Babylon, Nippur, Uruk, and Borsippa, were also mentioned, see [Parpola 1983, 268, fn. 481].

10)   The archives of Mār-Ištar, see [Parpola 1970a, 218–253].

fringe of the Early Dynastic and Akkadian settlement area but must have been located in the heart of southern Mesopotamia.

The second consideration is related to Landsberger's theory of the Neo-Assyrian equation of Akkade with Babylon. He considered that Neo-Assyrian usage of the word Akkade could involve a type of symbolism, suggesting that the ruins of Akkade were near to Babylon. He seems to have believed that Akkade was no longer permanently occupied in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. He adduced several records from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian excavations that implied that Akkade was abandoned during these periods. For example, the inscriptions of Nabonidus indicate that Kurigalzu, Esarhaddon, Aššurbanipal, and Nebuchadnezzar II performed intensive excavations at Akkade as part of their fruitless search for the *temmēnnu* (= foundation document) of earlier kings regarding the Eulmaš temple. Nabonidus's inscriptions further tell that he eventually found the *temmēnnu* in a pit that was made by a heavy rain following three years of excavations along the trenches of Nebuchadnezzar II[11]. The Neo-Babylonian epigrapher-archaeologist Nabu-zer-lišir also left records of excavations at Akkade detailing the discovery of a royal inscription of Šar-kali-šarrī [Weiss 1975, 447, fn. 43]. These records make it obvious that those kings of the Kassite, Neo-Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian periods shared feelings of awe for the kings of the Dynasty of Akkad. In addition, the records also indicate that Akkade was frequently excavated by the kings of the Kassite, Neo-Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian periods. Therefore, examining these records in isolation might give the impression that Akkade was already abandoned and completely ruined at the periods in question and was located not far from the royal residence of these kings at Babylon. This may have led Weiss to conclude that the name Akkade was substituted for Babylon in these periods, in a type of figure of speech.

Finally, the third consideration of Weiss's theory was developed from examination of three further written sources: the Neo-Assyrian version of the Omen of Sargon, the Weidner Chronicle, and the Chronicle of Early Kings [Weiss 1975, 447–448][12]. All of these mention Sargon's construction of the city of Babylon near Akkade. Weiss credited the historicity of these sources, perhaps due to their composition at a time when the location of Akkade was still well known, and reference to it had symbolic and suggestive associations for the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings.

From the aforementioned three considerations of his theory, Weiss identified the ancient city of Akkade with a relatively large tell called Ishan Mizyad, located 15 km east-northeast of Babylon. However, his identification of Akkade with Ishan Mizyad cannot be supported for the following two reasons. The first reason is that, as referred to in the section III above, both the names Akkade and Babylon occur in the letters of Mār-Ištar, other contemporaneous documents, the inscriptions of Aššurbanipal, the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle 1, and the Esarhaddon Chronicle. Furthermore, in AOAT 5/1, 275 of Mār-Ištar, it is written that Esarhaddon caused Akkade to be inhabited again [Parpola 1970a, no. 275; Frame 1993, 44]. Therefore, at least from the reign of Esarhaddon onward, during the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, Akkade was not abandoned and ruined but was occupied. Thus, there would have been no need to adopt any symbolic or suggestive meaning for references to the city of Akkade standing for references to the city of Babylon in these periods.

The second reason that Weiss's identification is not supportable is that there is an obvious risk in crediting accounts of the Neo-Assyrian version of the Omen of Sargon, the Weidner Chronicle,

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11) For the inscriptions of Nabonidus, see [Langdon 1912, 246–249; 1915–1916, 114, fn. 3; Goosens 1948, 149–159; Weiershäuser and Novotny 2020, Nabonidus 27]. For the meaning of the Akkadian word *temmennu*, see [Gelb, Landsberger, and Oppenheim 2006, 337–339].

12) For the Neo-Assyrian version of the Omen of Sargon, see [King 1907, 28: 7–11], for the Weidner Chronicle, see [Grayson 1975, 149: 50–51; Glassner 2004, 266–267], and for the Chronicle of Early Kings, see [Grayson 1975, 153: 18–19; Glassner 2004, 268–271].
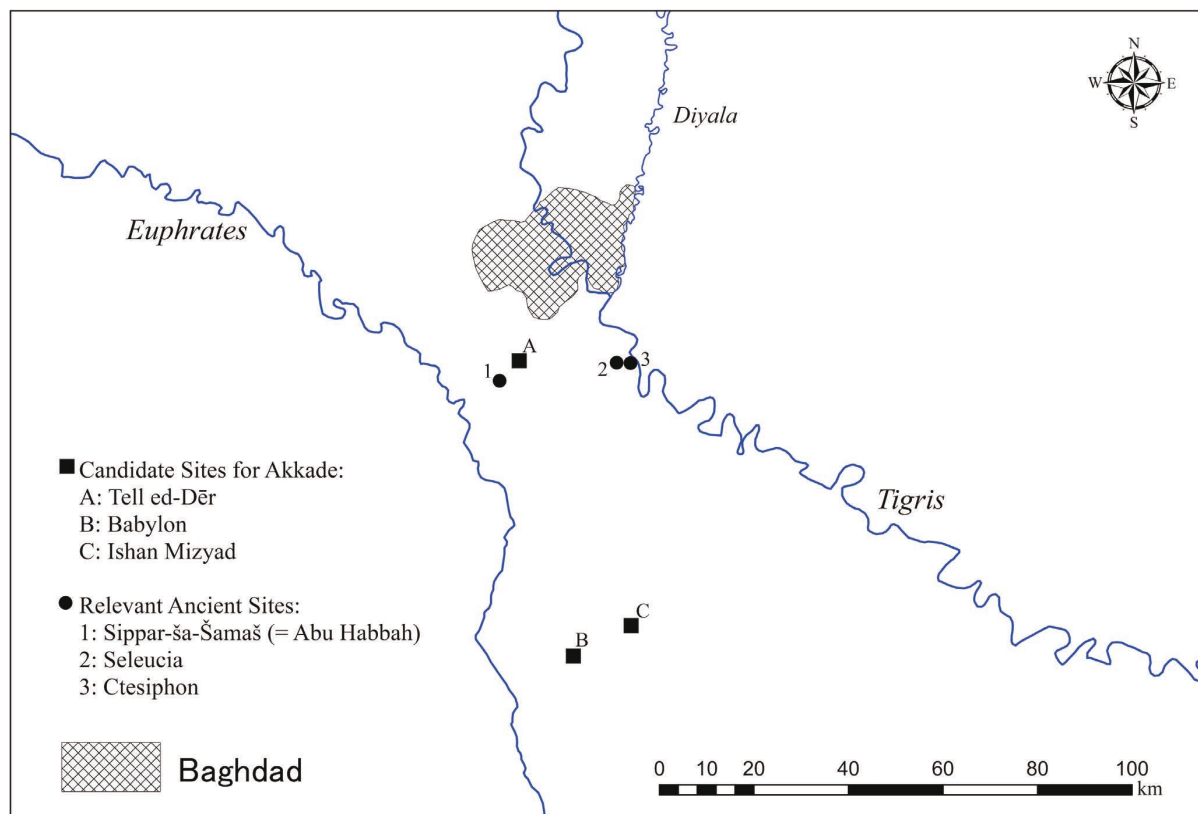
Fig. 1 – Locations of Candidate Sites for Akkade and Relevant Ancient Sites of Chs. II, III, and IV.

and the Chronicle of Early Kings regarding the construction of Babylon near Akkade. There is no evidence from the Sargonic period to indicate that Babylon was near Akkade. Therefore, later accounts alone cannot be treated as sufficiently historical to provide this location for Akkade. The Chronicle of Early Kings refers to the construction of a replica of Babylon near Akkade as sacrilege. From this, Parpola [1983, 516] argued that all three references to the construction of Babylon near Akkade ought to be understood in the same way.

According to B. R. Foster [1993, 172], the Iraqi excavations at Ishan Mizyad that were undertaken in the hope of identifying Akkade only unearthed a few modest remains and a few administrative tablets from the Ur III period. Furthermore, the epigraphic finds here did not include references to the toponym Akkade but instead to Bab-Ea. The Iraqi archaeologists decided that Ishan Mizyad could not be identified with Akkade[13].

V.   Akkade along the Banks of the Tigris in the North of Southern Mesopotamia

V. 1.   Akkade near the Confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala
McEwan [1982, 8–15] first argued that Akkade was located near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. He based his analysis on four pieces of written evidence that contained topographical information on Akkade. The first was UET 8, 14, a list of *ensi*s from either the Akkadian or Ur III periods, which indicated a close geographical relationship between Akkade and the Tigris. The second written evidence was V R 35, a clay barrel inscription by Cyrus the Great, King of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, enumerating toponyms located east of the Tigris, as seen from

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13)   For the excavation report, see [Rashid 1983, 183–214].

Babylon. The list includes Akkade. The third written evidence is 4 R 36, a list of toponyms considered to have been located along the Tigris in the Diyala region, among which is Akkade. The last evidence is the Sumerian Temple Hymns composed by Enḫeduanna, Sargon's daughter. Here, Akkade is registered with a group of toponyms that are considered to have been located near Sippar, along the course of the Tigris. From these four pieces of written evidence, McEwan concluded that Akkade was located in the region around the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala.

Parpola [1983, 515–516] expressed a similar view. In a royal inscription of the Elamite King Šutruk-Naḫḫunte, EKI 28C I, six toponyms, including Akkade, are referred to as places where the spoils and tribute were taken. The locations of three of those toponyms, namely, Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar, and Ešnunna, are known to us. All three are found within 40 km from the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. Thus, Parpola assigned Akkade in the same region.

In addition to this evidence, C. Wall-Romana [1990, 205–245] found more written evidence containing topographical information on the location of Akkade and initiated more detailed study to identify the location of Akkade. Using all available pieces of written evidence from that time containing topographical information on Akkade, he deduced a list of eight possible locations of Akkade as listed below.

The first was based on topographical information contained in following three pieces of written evidence: the aforementioned list of *ensi*s, UET 8, 14, the Curse of Akkade written either in the Ur III or Isin-Larsa periods, and a royal inscription of the King of Uruk, Utu-ḫegal, RIME 2, E2.13.6.4 [Wall-Romana 1990, 209–213, fig. 1]. This evidence shows a close geographical relationship between Akkade and the Tigris. Therefore, Wall-Romana concluded that Akkade was located somewhere on the banks of the Tigris.

Wall-Romana [1990, 213–216, fig. 2] proposed a second regional location of Akkade derived from the topographical information contained in the prologue to the Code of Ḫammurapi and two archives of Mār-Ištar, the ambassador of the Neo-Assyrian King Esarhaddon: AOAT 5, 279 (= SAA 10, 351) and 294 (= SAA 10, 361). From these, he tentatively placed Akkade somewhere on a line connecting from Ešnunna to Aššur along the Tigris. In the prologue to the Code of Ḫammurapi, the principal twenty-seven cities of the Old Babylonian period are enumerated, including Akkade. From the known locations of these cities, Akkade's regional location was deduced. AOAT 5, 279 (= SAA 10, 351) records that an itinerary took five days from Nineveh to Akkade. AOAT 294 (= SAA 10, 361) lists three post stations located on an itinerary route that linked Nineveh to Akkade. Thus, from the travel time and assumed locations of the three post stations, Wall-Roman tentatively located Akkade somewhere on a line linking Ešnunna to Aššur along the Tigris[14].

The third region identified by Wall-Roman [1990, 216–217, fig. 3] was drawn from the aforementioned clay barrel inscription of Cyrus. Similar to McEwan, he located Akkade somewhere to the east of the Tigris when seen from Babylon.

The fourth location was to the north of Sippar-ša-Šamaš (= Abu Habbah) drawing on topographical information contained in the Sumerian Temple Hymns of Enḫeduanna, which, as discussed above, McEwan used to locate Akkade to the north of Sippar along the Tigris, and an unspecified piece of written evidence noted by Unger [1932, 62] in the early days of Assyriology [Wall-Romana 1990, 219, 227–228, fig. 4]. Like McEwan, Wall-Roman considered that Akkade could be placed to the north of Sippar, based on the account of the Sumerian Temple Hymns of Enḫeduanna. According to Unger, the latter piece of written evidence contained topographical information on a canal called Nār Akkade that separated the city of Sippar-ša-Šamaš from the city

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14) L. Marti [2014, 207–209] attempted to deduce the location of Akkade only with topographical information contained in the Neo-Assyrian written sources. Marti found out that AOAT 5, 279 (= SAA 10, 351) is the only written source containing topographical information of Akkade. However, this archive only records that five days were necessary to travel from Nineveh to Akkade. Thus, Marti concluded that it was impossible to locate Akkade using this topographical information alone.

of Sippar-ša-Anunītu. It is known that a canal named Nār Sippar flowed from Sippar to the south. Accordingly, the same logic is applicable for Nār Akkade, flowing southward toward Sippar-ša-Šamaš from the north. Thus, Wall-Romana concluded that Akkade may be located somewhere north of Sippar-ša-Šamaš.

For the fifth regional location, Wall-Romana [1990, 218–221, fig. 5] used topographical information contained in three pieces of written evidence. The first is the aforementioned list of toponyms 4 R 36, which McEwan first drew attention to, as according to it, Akkade can be placed somewhere on the banks of the Tigris in the Diyala region. The second piece is played by the Sumerian Temple Hymns of Enḫeduanna again. The final piece is the aforementioned royal inscription of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte, EKI 28C I, which Parpola first drew attention to as Akkade can be placed together with Dūr-Kurigalzu, Sippar, and Ešnunna within 40 km from the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. Wall-Roman analyzed the positional relation of the order of toponyms registered in these three pieces of written evidence and concluded that the location of Akkade could be north of a line drawn between Sippar and Ešnunna.

The topographical information used by Wall-Romana [1990, 221–224, fig. 6] regarding the sixth regional location is contained in the *kudurru* of the Middle Babylonian period, MDP 2, 99–111, in which Akkade appears with a canal named Nār Šarri and two Kassite houses, called Bīt-Piri) Amurru and Bīt-Tunamissaḫ. He analyzed the locations of the canal and two houses in relation to the other topographical information contained in three other *kudurru*s, BBSt. no. 4, MDP 6, 39–41, and BBSt. no. 5, and then assumed that Akkade could be placed in a region around the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala.

The seventh regional location assigned by Wall-Romana [1990, 223–226, fig. 7] was taken from the aforementioned royal inscription of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte, EKI 28C I. The locations of three of the six toponyms are certain, and their order is as follows: Dūr-Kurigalzu (first), Sippar (second), and Ešnunna (sixth). Wall-Romana analyzed the locational relationship of these three toponyms and hypothesized that Šutruk-Naḫḫunte would have traveled among six toponyms in counterclockwise manner. Akkade is registered third, so he deduced that it was located in the region south of Dūr-Kurigalzu, east of Sippar, and west of Ešnunna.

The final, eighth, regional location deduced by Wall-Romana [1990, 228–230, fig. 8] was drawn from the topographical information contained in three pieces of written evidence: the aforementioned royal inscription of Šutruk-Naḫḫunte, EKI 28C I, a fragment of a list of cities, PBS 5, 157, and the aforementioned list of *ensi*s, UET 8, 14. In these, Akkade appears with Akšak (= Upi). In EKI 28C I, Akšak (= Upi) appears fourth after Akkade (third). If Šutruk-Naḫḫunte really visited six toponyms in counterclockwise order as discussed above, Akšak (= Upi) can be placed east of Akkade and southwest of Ešnunna. In PBS 5, 157, Adab, Akšak (= Upi), and Akkade appear in this order. In UET 8, 14, Akšak (= Upi) appears before Akkade, and with the latter the Tigris is associated. Wall-Romana deduced that the order of toponyms in PBS 5, 157 would indicate their relative locations, running from south to north, indicating the possibility that Akšak's (= Upi) close locational relation with Akkade would also imply its close geographical relation relative to the Tigris. At that time, Akšak (= Upi) was considered to be identified with one of six ancient sites by R. McC. Adams [1965, 173–174]. Those sites all are located on the eastern bank of the ancient course of the Tigris, which Adams [1965, 152, 156–157, 160, fig. 3] reconstructed as lying to the east of the present course of the Tigris, running from the north of Baghdad as far as the diverting point of the Gharrāf Canal from the present course of the Tigris. These sites, located from north to south, are site nos. 414, 558, 568, 590, 685, and 851. Thus, Wall-Roman deduced that Akkade could be placed somewhere north of the southernmost location of site no. 851, along the ancient course of the Tigris.

Eventually, Wall-Romana [1990, 232–238, figs. 9–12] superimposed the aforementioned

eight regional locations of Akkade and confirmed that the region of their overlap is confined to an area just north of the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala[15]. Using the sizes and dates of ancient sites lying in the confined regional location of Akkade, he reached the conclusion that Tell Mohammad (site no. 414) was the most plausible candidate site for the ancient city of Akkade.

Unfortunately, the identity of this ancient site has not yet been firmly established. Adams [1965, 152] observed that the Akkadian occupied area in Tell Mohammad was very small, less than 4 ha. This is obviously too small for the central city of the Dynasty of Akkad. Moreover, S. Smith [1946, 19–21] and B. Groneberg [1980, 54] earlier identified Tell Mohammad as Diniktu. Adams [1965, 152] argued that the remains of the Akkadian period were found on the remnants of its surface. The Iraqi State Antiquities Organization commenced excavations at the site in 1978, but no material from the Akkadian period was located. The earliest traces found at the site date to the Isin-Larsa period. Excavations thus revealed a substantial Old Babylonian town[16]. Clearly, these results do not harmonize with what is known of Akkade's later history [McEwan 1982, 8]. Some economic texts were discovered, but they have not been published. According to G. Frame [1993, 21–22, fn. 3], Iman Yamil Al-Ubaid studied a number of these texts for her unpublished M.A. thesis, but none mentioned Akkade, the Eulmaš temple of Akkade, or Diniktu. Wall-Romana's extensive study of the location of Akkade made a great deal of unknown pieces of written evidence on Akkade's location available for scholars and advanced the state of research on its location. However, due to the results of excavations in Tell Mohammad, we cannot support Wall-Romana's identification of it as the site of Akkade.

Following McEwan, Parpola, and Wall-Roman's theories on the location of Akkade, D. R. Frayne [2004, 103–116] proposed to locate it near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. In particular, he identified Akkade with a specific ancient site named Tell Seraij (site no. 571)[17]. Concurring with Wall-Romana's localization of Akkade in the region of the confluence of the Tigris and the Diyala, he identified the locations of toponyms that were registered before a toponym of Entry 92 from the Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names, in the same region. Regarding the registered toponym of Entry 92, he tentatively restored to read a-⌜gada(?)⌝.KI and located in the same region as well. Furthermore, he followed the suggestion of Kh. Al-Adami [1982, 122], identifying Dūr-Šarrukīn, which was registered on a Middle Babylonian *kudurru*, IM 90585 of the reign of Marduk-nādin-aḫḫē found in Tulūl Mujailiʿ (site no. 590), with Akkade. Al-Adami

15) Topographical information on the location of Akkade contained in the aforementioned written evidence was used by Wall-Romana to deduce eight possible regional locations of Akkade. In addition to these, he also drew attention to three other pieces of written evidence containing topographical information on the location of Akkade and attempted to deduce its regional locations using them [Wall-Romana 1990, 227–233]. The evidence was drawn from the Babylonian Chronicle 25, an inscription of the Etemenanki cylinder from the Neo-Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II, and an Old Akkadian tablet published in 1957 by I. J. Gelb. However, the topographical information contained in these pieces has very high circumstantiality. Therefore, Wall-Roman did not use them to support any of the eight locations discussed above.

V. Scheil [1900, 125] and Langdon [1912, 146] published the inscription of the Etemenanki cylinder. However, the name of a toponym appearing just before Akkade was unclear. Likewise, the name of a toponym following Akkade was damaged and unreadable. Later, R. Da Riva [2008, 12, 19–22] published the Eurmeiminanki cylinder, BM42667 II 10' and collated the Etemenanki cylinder with it to restore these two toponyms. Thus, it is identified that the toponym before Akkade is Dēr, and after Akkade is Dur-Šarrukīn [Pirngruber 2014, 214–215]. Wall-Romana was only able to use Scheil and Langdon's published inscription. Therefore, he wrongly developed his view for a regional location of Akkade using topographical information of this inscription.

Furthermore, Wall-Romana also incorrectly understood and interpreted certain aspects of the Old Akkadian tablet published in 1957 by Gelb. As A. Westenholz [1999, 32, fn. 76] indicated, no topographical information on the location of Akkade is contained in the tablet.

16) For reports of the excavations in Tell Mohammad, see [Wall-Romana 1990, 243–244, fn. 152; Postgate and Watson 1979, 156; Roaf and Postgate 1981, 184; Killick and Roaf 1983, 216; Al-Khayyat 1984, 146–154; Black and Killick 1985, 223; Matab *et al.* 1990, 127–159].

17) The focus of Frayne's argument was especially on pp. 112–113. For the applied site nos. here and below, see [Adams 1965, 135–136].

recalled that Dūr-Šarrukīn means fortress of Sargon, and this toponym cannot be linked to the later Neo-Assyrian capital of the same name that was founded by Sargon II as this *kudurru* predates his reign. Therefore, he argued that Dūr-Šarrukīn could be interpreted to be a later changed name of the city of Akkade and suggested that Dūr-Šarrukīn be equated with Akkade[18]. Frayne [2004, 112–113] noted the following to support this equation. In Neo-Assyrian times, this Babylonian Dūr-Šarrukīn is mentioned several times as the capital of an Assyrian province, and its name also appears alongside the province of Laḫīru, thought to be situated in the Diyala region [Brinkman 1968, 178, fn. 1093; Parpola 1970b, 112–14; 1983, 299; Zadok 1985, 208; Parpola and Porter 2001, map 10 D2, 12, Laḫīru (1); Bagg 2017, 360–362]. Moreover, a Neo-Assyrian letter that was found in Kuyunjik reports the location of Dūr-Šarrukīn as being on or near the Turnu (= Diyala) river [Fuchs and Parpola 2001, 106–107, no. 156]. Frayne considered that the name of Tell Seraij, located in the region of the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala, contained a reflection of the name Dūr-Šarrukīn. Accordingly, he identified the alias name of Dūr-Šarrukīn with Akkade and in turn with Tell Seraij.

Frayne's identification was denied by L. Marti and R. Pirngruber[19]. Marti [2014, 208] drew attention to a reference in a letter from the Neo-Assyrian period, SAA 18, 9, which was addressed from Akkade to Esarhaddon. In this letter, Akkade and a toponym written as Dûr-Šarrukku are referred to side-by-side within the very broken context of an itinerary. By itself, this testifies that the two toponyms cannot refer to the same plot. Likewise, Pirngruber [2014, 214] expressed skepticism regarding the possibility of equating Akkade with Dūr-Šarrukīn. He indicated that in the Etemenanki cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II, Akkade is registered before Dūr-Šarrukīn and along with other toponyms[20]. This is also strong evidence against Frayne's argument.

A. R. George [2007, 35] used an unpublished Old Babylonian letter, A. 3193, found in Mari, to identify the location of Akkade in a region near to the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. This text records an itinerary from Sippar to Ešnunna via Tutub. The name of another toponym is also registered between Sippar and Tuttub (= Khafajah), but the name is partially broken and not clearly readable. George argued that the broken name can be restored to Akkade ($[a\text{-}k\grave{a}]\text{-}d\grave{e}^{ki}$). Noting the well-known locations of Sippar and Tutub, he suggested that Akkade could be placed between them, near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala.

As George himself noted, D. Charpin [with Joannès, Lackenbacher, and Lafont 1988, 150, fn. 68] had restored the relevant toponym as $[\acute{u}]\text{-}pi_5^{ki}$. However, George considered that Charpin's restoration was orthographically improbable for the given period, during which the toponym Upi (= Greek Opis) was written $\acute{u}\text{-}p\acute{\iota}\text{-}(\iota)^{ki}$. Frame [2011, 133] supported George's restoration. On the other hand, Sommerfeld [2014, 154, fn. 2] and N. Ziegler [2014, 180, fn. 23] indicated that George's restoration rested on a misunderstanding of the unpublished A. 3193, and they supported Charpin's original restoration. Therefore, unfortunately, George's localization of Akkade must be considered inconclusive due to the remaining uncertainty regarding the restoration of the relevant part of the toponym in this letter.

Ziegler [2014, 179 and 185–186, fn. 45] also considered that Akkade was to be sought near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala, based on topographical information that is presented in following six pieces of written evidence from the Old Babylonian period. The first piece of this evidence is a letter from Šamši-Adad I, ARM I 36 (= LAPO 14, 447): 4–13 found in the archives

18) Al-Adami also argued that the findspot of this *kudurru*, Tulūl Mujailiʿ can be identified with Dūr-Šarrukīn (= Akkade), although without providing a clear reason.

19) W. Sommerfeld [2011, 90, fn. 17; 2014, 156–157] rejected the possibility that Entry 92 could be read as a-˹gada(?)˺.KI. He also criticized Frayne's method of equating an ancient toponym with a modern place name based on an apparent similarity of the names. He considered that if a settlement had been abandoned for a long period even before the Sassanid and Islamic periods, it was unlikely that its name would have been preserved to modern times.

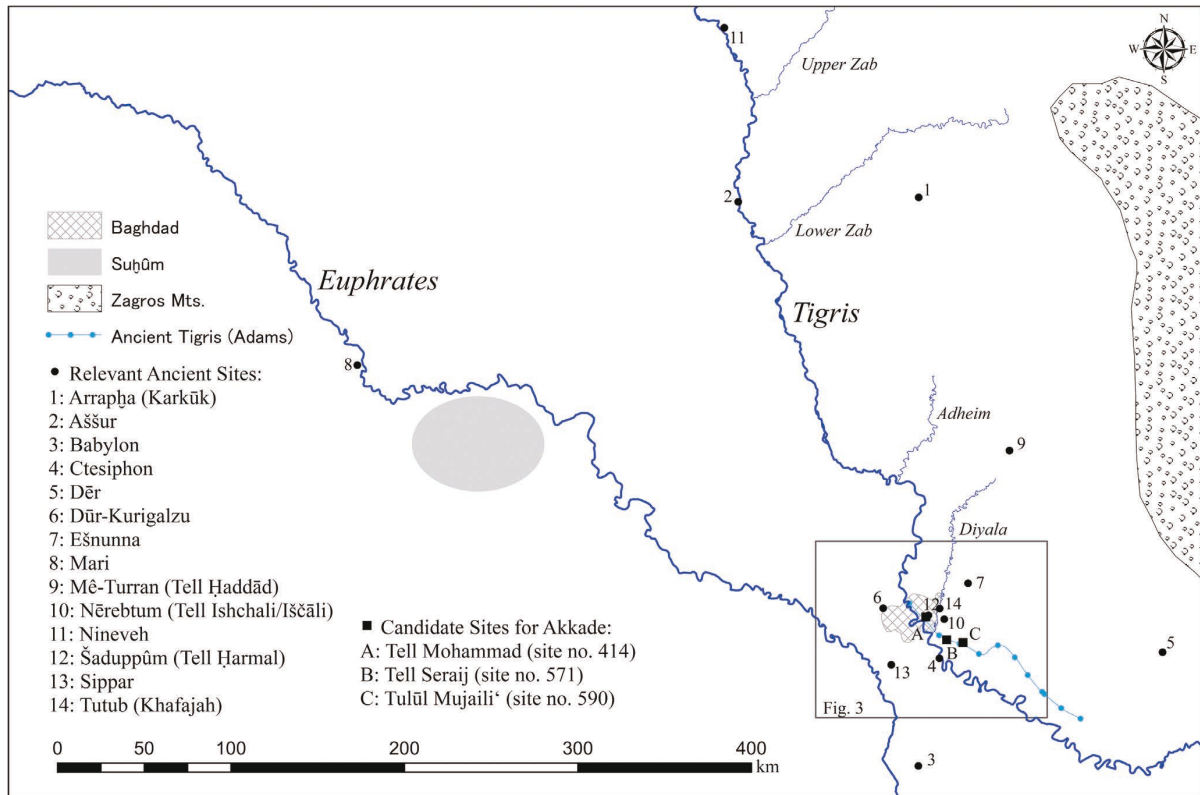20) Regarding the Etemenanki cylinder, see fn. 15 above.

Fig. 2 – Locations of Candidate Sites for Akkade and Relevant Ancient Sites of Section V. 1.

of Mari, sent to his son Yasmah-Addu, the viceroy of Mari. It describes that the planned journey of Šamši-Adad I upriver to return to Aššur from Akkade. The second and third pieces are a text, OBTI 138, found from Nērebtum (= Tell Ishchali/Iščāli), and a text found from Šaduppûm (= Tell Ḥarmal)[21]. Both sites are located near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. These texts refer to the presence of groups of Akkadian people. The fourth piece of written evidence is an archive of Mari, ARM 27, 135 that indicates that Akkade was under the political influence of both Ešnunna and Babylon. The fifth and sixth pieces are two Mari archives, A. 362 and A. 3917 (= FM IX, 71). Both indicate the location of Akkade somewhere west of and not far from Ešnunna and east of Suḫûm. Suḫûm has not been precisely located, but it is almost certainly in the Middle Euphrates region, east of Mari [Groneberg 1980, 210; Nashef 1982, 235–236; Zadok 1985, 274; Marín 2001, 242; Parpola and Porter 2001, map 9, 16, Sūḫu; Beaulieu 2011–2013, 259–260; Bagg 2017, 541–542; Ziegler and Langlois 2017, 310–312]. From topographical information contained in these six pieces of Old Babylonian written evidence, Ziegler inferred that Akkade was located approximately 20 km north of Baghdad on the banks of the ancient course of the Tigris.

Finally, Pirngruber [2014, 211–215] sought to find a clue for the location of Akkade in two written sources from Babylonia dated to the 1st millennium BCE. He reached the same conclusion as other scholars, tentatively locating Akkade near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. The first piece of evidence cited is Nebuchadnezzar II's inscription of the Etemenanki cylinder, where Akkade is referred to together with other toponyms under his rule. Dēr, which is identified with Tell ʿAqar, is listed before Akkade [Edzard and Farber 1974, 22–23, 30; Edzard, Farbar, and Sollberger 1977, 22, 30; Groneberg 1980, 50, 55; Nashef 1982, 79–80; Zadock 1985, 117–18;

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21) The text found from Tell Ḥarmal, see [Ellis 1972, 50]. Regarding the identification of Nērebtum, see [Groneberg 1980, 176–177; Miglus 1998–2001, 211–214]. As for the identification of Šaduppûm, see [Groneberg 1980, 215–216; von Koppen 2006–2008, 488–491; Miglus 2006–2008, 491–495].
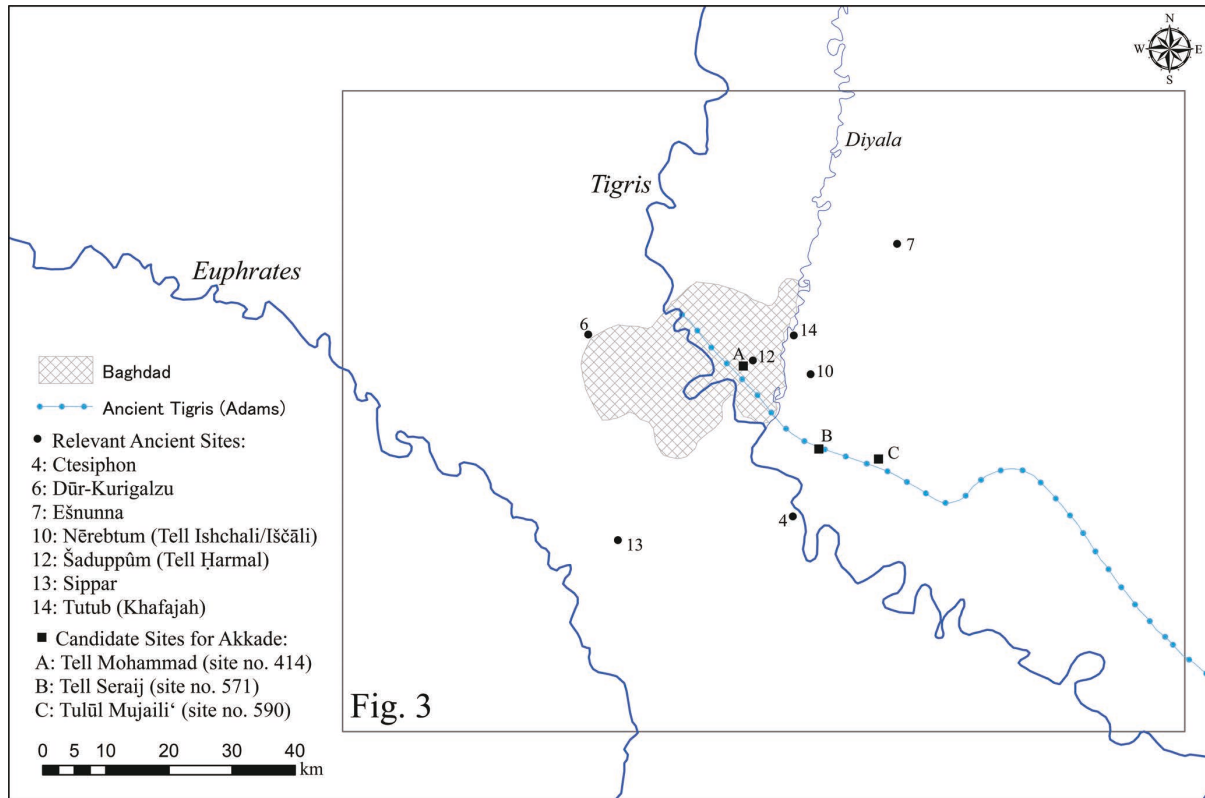
Fig. 3 – Locations of Candidate Sites for Akkade and Relevant Ancient Sites of Section V. 1 around Baghdad.

Parpola and Porter 2001, map 11 A3, 8, Dēru]. After Akkade, Dūr-Šarrukīn appears, but its location is unknown. The following toponym is the land of Arrapḫa, which has been identified with Karkūk [Edzard and Farber 1974, 16; Groneberg 1980, 21-22; Nashef 1982, 38-39; 1991, 13; Zadok 1985, 29-30; Vallat 1993, 19; Parpola and Porter 2001, map 10 D1, 6, Arrapḫa; Marín 2001, 36; Bagg 2017, 65-68]. Taking into account the known locations of Dēr and Arrapḫa, Pirngruber observed that toponyms of the Etemenanki cylinder would have run from south to north. Thus, he tentatively located Akkade near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala.

For the second piece of written evidence, like McEwan and Wall-Romana, Pirngruber drew attention to a clay barrel inscription of Cyrus the Great, King of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, V R 35. In this inscription, Akkade is mentioned together with toponyms that were certainly located east of the Tigris when seen from Babylon. In addition, Ešnunna, Zamban, and Mê-Turran are listed after Akkade. Ešnunna's location is certainly to the east of the Diyala. Zamban's location is not certain, but in general, it is located in the same region, near the foothills of the Zagros Mountains [Nashef 1982, 279–280; Zadock 1985, 332; Frayne 2009–2011, 510–511; Anonymous 2016–2018, 202]. Mê-Turran is identified with Tell Ḥaddād, also located to the east of the Diyala as well [Nashef 1982, 195; Zadock 1985, 228; Rollig, 1993–1997, 150; Parpola and Porter 2001, maps 10, D2 and 13, Mēturna]. Akkade is referred to first, before these three toponyms, so Pirngruber argued that this would indicate the location of Akkade nearest to Babylon, at the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala[22].

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22)   R. Zadok [2000, 6] suggested that a textual mention of Akkade might be found as written 'kd in the 13th century CE. The text tells that a bishop went from Ctesiphon to 'kd to celebrate a baptism there. Without giving a reason, Zadok tentatively argued that the location of Akkade can be sought in the general region of Baghdad-Ctesiphon, near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala.

V. 2.   Akkade near the Confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim

Westenholz [1999, 32, fns. 77–78; 2002, 25, fig. 1, 38, 41, fn. 56] reviewed Wall-Romana's proposal. To locate Akkade, he drew on the code of Hammurapi, which Wall-Romana first cited in the process of locating Akkade, considering it to contain the most important topographical information, as it enumerates toponyms in their geographical order and places Akkade somewhere on a line linking between Ešnunna and Aššur[23]. Thus, he suggested that Akkade may be among many large tells in the region of the confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim. In particular, he noted that the most likely region for the location of Akkade is the northwest of their present confluence[24].

S. Paulus [2014b, 199–206] attempted to deduce the location of Akkade from topographical information contained in a *kudurru* of the Middle Babylonian period, MŠ 1 (= MDP 2, 99–111), which, as shown above, Wall-Romana first drew attention to in locating Akkade[25]. She considered that the location of Akkade could be deduced in relation to the tentative localization of a canal called Nār Šarri and a Kassite house called Bīt-Piri[)] Amurru, which are referred to together with Akkade in this *kudurru*. She also used topographical information obtained from two other *kudurru*s, MŠ 2 (= BBSt. no. 4) and MAI I 5 (= MDP 6, 39–41), which Wall-Romana first drew attention to, along with two more *kudurru*s, MŠ 5 (= MDP 2, 112) and MAE 1. She analyzed the topographical information of these pieces and concluded that the location of Akkade can be deduced to be somewhere near the confluence of Nār Šarri with the ancient name of the Adheim, Radānu.

In addition to these *kudurru*s of the Middle Babylonian period, Paulus also used the topographical information contained in another *kudurru* from the same period, MAI I 9, which tells that following the victory in a battle in the upper reaches of the Lower Zab, the Kassite King, Marduk-apla-iddina I, received five hundred decapitated heads of enemy soldiers as proof of victory in Akkade. Marduk-apla-iddina I received a report about the results of the battle, not in any of royal palaces present in Nippur, Babylon, or Dūr-Kurigalz, but in Akkade. Therefore, Paulus also considered that Akkade would have been situated somewhere strategically very important for the battle, in the upper reaches of the Lower Zab. She deduced that the site must have been to the east of the Tigris[26].

Paulus did not specify any precise location of Akkade, as the location of Nār Šarri was not

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23)   S. Brumfield [2013, 28–30] particularly concurred with Westenholz's view.

24)   Westenholz's view was taken up by W. Sallaberger [2007, 424–425, fn. 43, fig. 1] and with I. Schrakamp [2015, 90, maps], although he placed Akkade to the northeast of the present confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim without stating any reason for this localization.

Westenholz did not refer to a particular ancient site as a likely candidate for the ancient site of Akkade in the region to the northwest of the present confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim. Instead, Ziegler [2014, 149] placed the ancient site of Khara'id Ghḍairife within the same area on a map that was used for a supplement to the discussion of the localization of Akkade. The site was at first reported to be from an Islamic period, but it was later claimed that a royal inscription of Maništūšu was found at the site in the 1930s. The inscription records the construction of a temple of Ninhursaga in a city whose name is written as ḪA.A. Thus, F. N. H. Al-Rawi and Black [1993, 147–148] identified Khara'id Ghḍairife with ḪA.A [Frayne 1993, 80–81]. Furthermore, in addition to this site, two other ancient sites, named Tell al-Dhuhūbe and Tell 'Uṣaimī, are lain [Directorate General of Antiquities, Republic of Iraq 1976, map 21, site nos. 2–4]. Al-Rawi and Black argued that these sites may be a part of Khara'id Ghḍairife and might form one continuous site. This may be a site that Westenholz considered to be a candidate for Akkade.

However, P. Steinkeller [1995, 275–281] later disagreed, doubting the reliability of the provenance of the royal inscription, as he considered that the ancient city of ḪA.A referred to in this inscription could not have been located in this region but could be farther south [Sommerfeld 2014, 155]. If Steinkeller is correct, there would have been no Akkadian occupation at this site.

The exact locations of Khara'id Ghḍairife (site no. 2 of map 21), Tell al-Dhuhūbe (site no. 3 of map 21), and Tell 'Uṣaimī (site no. 4 of map 21) are indicated on a map shown in Fig. 4. Ziegler placed Khara'id Ghḍairife approximately 10 km northwest from the mouth of the Adheim. However, it is in actuality located further north, approximately 17 km north from the mouth of the Adheim on the western bank, with its exact location measured using Geographical Information System. Tell al-Dhuhūbe is located 8 km west from Khara'id Ghḍairife. Tell 'Uṣaimī is located 4 km southwest from Khara'id Ghḍairife on its western bank of the Adheim. The three sites are located relatively far from each other. Therefore, by contrast to Al-Rawi and Black's beliefs, it appears that these sites are not parts of one larger, continuous site.

25)   Considering abbreviations, MŠ, MAI I, and MAE, which Paulus used, see [Paulus 2014a].

26)   W. G. Lambert [2011, 18] first published the *kudurru*, MAI I 9. However, he did not read a relevant toponym as Akkade. Therefore, it is not certain whether the relevant toponym can be read as Akkade.

known. However, Radānu has been considered as the ancient name of the Adheim. Therefore, she likely considered that Akkade could be circumstantially placed in association with the Adheim, which flows naturally to the east of the Tigris.

G. Giannelli and S. Mazzarino [1962, 469−471], and later A. Cavigneaux [2020, 84] proposed a location of Akkade in the region around the confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim. Book III, 28, of the Historia Nova of Zosimus, the Greek historian, written at the beginning of the 6th century CE, refers to an account of the retreat of Roman Emperor Julian's army as it abandoned Ctesiphon, crossed the Diyala, and ascended the eastern bank of the Tigris in 363 CE. During this, the army halted in the town Akkete. This site can be located roughly between Baghdad and Samarra and north of the town Symbra, which has been tentatively equated with Hucumbra from Ammianus Marcellinus's Roman History 25: 1, 4, and 'Ukbarā of the later Islamic period [Paschoud 1979, 48 and map 3]. Giannelli and Mazzarino, and Cavigneaux suggested the possibility of equating Akkete with Akkade. It is uncertain whether Hucumbra is the same as 'Ukbarā. The former suggested that Akkade/Akkete was located somewhere along the eastern bank of the Tigris north of Hucumbra, but the latter argued that Akkade/Akkete was located somewhere along the eastern bank of the ancient course of the Tigris, north of 'Ukbarā, in a region around the confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim.

V. 3.   Akkade near the Modern Town of Samarra

In addition to his identification of Akkade with Greek Agranis (= Roman Macepracta), Lane [1923, 78−79, 129, map 2] also proposed Qadisiyeh as a potential site, located 13 km south-southeast from the modern town of Samarra. This identification is based on the account of a clay barrel inscription from Cyrus the Great, King of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, V R 35, in which Akkade is mentioned together with Zamban. Accordingly, Lane assumed that Akkade was in fact near Zamban. However, he incorrectly identified Zamban with Samarra and then the latter with Sambana. Thus, he equated Carrhae, described as a camp site that is visited before Sambana while ascending the Tigris by Alexander the Great in Quintus Curtius Rufus's History of the Life and Reign of Alexander the Great, vol. 10, ch. 4, with Akkade and then Qadisiyeh located in the lower reaches of Samarra. Zamban (= Simurrum) is located in the Diyala region; thus, this identification is inaccurate and cannot be supported [Frayne 2009−2011, 510−511; Anonymous 2016−2018, 202].

J. Reade [2002, 262−269] also considered that the ancient site of Akkade would be found near Qadisiyeh. However, unlike other scholars, he did not rest on the use of topographical information contained in written sources to make this identification. Instead, this claim is based on the discovery of the largest statue of its kind known in Mesopotamia, bearing an Akkadian or post-Akkadian date, in Qadisiyeh. He drew the conclusion that any site that produces a 3rd millennium statue of imported stone and is the largest of this kind found so far in Iraq, merits closer inspection as a candidate for assignment as the ancient site of Akkade. However, it is not yet known whether this statue originated in situ or was brought from somewhere else for secondary use at some later period, and no topographical information has provided to suggest that Akkade had its location near Qadisiyeh. Therefore, this view must be considered circumstantial and inconclusive and cannot be supported.

Sommerfeld [2014, 151−175] identified the location of Akkade in the region around the town currently known as Samarra using written sources from the Akkadian period. Although certain names of Akkade are indeed found in these written sources, they do not contain any geographical information to specify the location of Akkade. He comprehensively analyzed the descriptions of these written sources and speculated that Tutub and Gasur were important strategic cities subordinate to the Dynasty of Akkad that had close ties to the city of Akkade [Sommerfeld 2004, 285−292; 2014, 164−170]. He likewise considered that the geographically most suitable place for governing
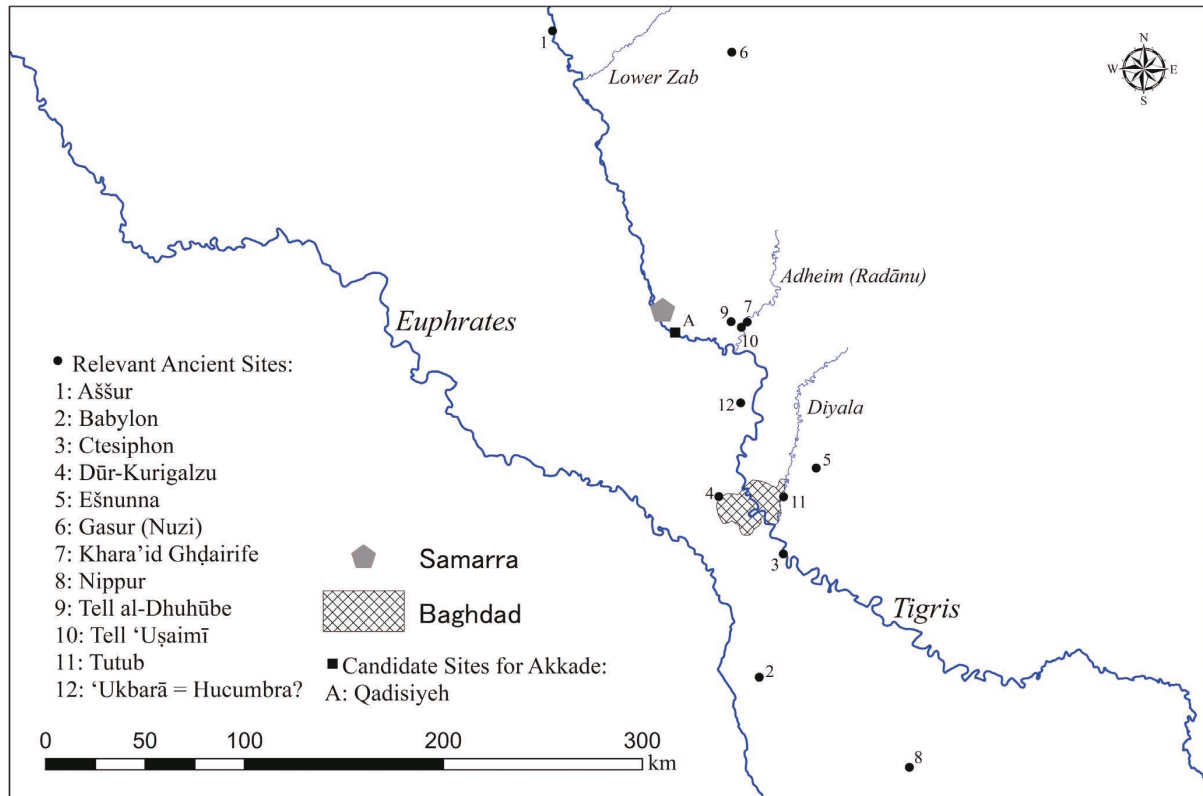
Fig. 4 – Locations of Candidate Sites for Akkade and Relevant Ancient Sites of Sections V. 2 and V. 3.

these two important cities would have been in the Samarra region because it is located halfway between them. Therefore, he deduced that Akkade must have been located in this region. This view, however, was not founded on any concrete geographical information that specifies Akkade's location. Hence, it is circumstantial and cannot easily be supported.

V. 4.   Summary

We have discussed various theories for the location of Akkade in the northern part of southern Mesopotamia. First, McEwan first indicated the possibility that Akkade could be located near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala. Then, similar views were also indicated by Parpola, Wall-Romana, Frayne, George, Ziegler, and Pirngruber. Only Wall-Romana and Frayne attempted to identify Akkade with specific ancient sites, using textual material. The former concluded that Tell Mohammad was the most plausible ancient site for Akkade. However, excavations that were undertaken before any such proposal of this identification was made did not produce any archaeological or written pieces of evidence to indicate that Tell Mohammad was indeed the ancient city of Akkade. Therefore, taking this into account, it is difficult to support this theory. The latter identified Akkade with Dūr-Šarrukīn and accordingly with Tell Seraij. However, this theory was later refuted by the presence of certain pieces of written evidence. For George's theory, locating Akkade near to the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala, a registered relevant toponym in a text is damaged. Therefore, it is not certain whether this could really be read as Akkade. For this reason, his theory should be considered inconclusive, and it cannot be supported with certainty. Other scholars only deduced a location for Akkade near the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala without proposing any identification with a specific ancient site. Ultimately, no location for the ancient city of Akkade has been identified in this region.

Other candidate regions for the location of Akkade have been proposed. Westenholz and Paulus deduced that it was located somewhere near the confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim. Both Giannelli and Mazzarino on the one hand and Cavigneaux on the other also suggested possibility of the equation of Akkete with Akkade and its location somewhere to the north of Hucumbra and ʿUkbarā, in a region somewhere south of the confluence of the Tigris with the Adheim. These scholars only deduced the region without proposing to identify any specific ancient site. Inevitably the ancient city of Akkade has not yet been located in this region.

Lane, Reade, and Sommerfeld located Akkade in a region near the modern town of Samarra. The former two, in particular, suggested that Akkade could be located in Qadisiyeh. However, Lane's identification was based on an incorrect identification of Zamban with Samarra. Therefore, we determined that his identification of Akkade is incorrect and could not be supported. Reade's argument was in fact based only on the discovery of the largest statue of its kind known in Mesopotamia with an Akkadian or post-Akkadian date but without any additional topographical information contained in written sources indicating this site as the location of Akkade. Furthermore, it is not known whether the statue was found in its original siting or had been brought from somewhere else for secondary use at a later time. Thus, it must be concluded that Reade's view is circumstantial, and it can find little support. Sommerfeld assumed the location of Akkade to be in a region near to the modern town of Samarra. However, again, his assumption was made in the absence of any topographical information contained in written sources that concretely indicated the location of Akkade in this region. Therefore, his argument is circumstantial, and it also cannot be supported.

The author of this paper likewise sought to deduce the location of Akkade [Kawakami 2004, 37–129]. The author analyzed and verified the accuracy and credibility of every available piece of topographical information to which Wall-Romana drew attention to identify the location of Akkade and then classified them into three categories. It was identified that a total of six pieces of written evidence contain the most reliable and accurate topographical information available that indicate the location of Akkade. These six pieces of written evidence are the following: the prologue to the Code of Ḫammurapi; a clay barrel inscription of Cyrus the Great, King of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, V R 35; the Sumerian Temple Hymns of Enḫeduanna; a list of ensis of either the Akkadian or Ur III periods, UET 8, 14; the Curse of Akkade; and royal inscriptions of the Elamite King, Šutruk-Naḫḫunte, EKI 22–24b and 28C I. The topographical information contained in these pieces of written evidence were interpreted by the author in an objective way to the maximum extent possible, and it was concluded that Akkade must have been located on either of the banks of the Tigris, running from the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala toward Aššur. Thus, the author considered that the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala and the Adheim and a region near the modern town of Samarra are the possible candidate regions for the location of Akkade. However, as yet, Akkade has not been identified with any specific ancient site[27].

VI. Conclusion and Formulation of the Specific Methodology for Identifying Akkade

In the early days of Assyriology, Akkade had been identified with Sippar-ša-Anunītu, Tell ed-Dēr, Greek Agranis (= Roman Macepracta), and Babylon. Later, the identification of Akkade with Ishan Mizyad in a suburb of Babylon, was proposed. However, all of these proposals have either been directly refuted or judged substantially unlikely.

An important common factor can be observed, namely, that following McEwan's proposal in

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27) In addition to the aforementioned scholars, W. Pethe [2014, 191–197] sought a clue to the location of Akkade from Middle Assyrian written sources but concluded that no informative topographical information can be found from this period to help locate Akkade.

1982, all subsequent proposals have concluded that Akkade was most likely located somewhere near the course of the Tigris, and indeed in regions around the confluence of the Tigris with the Diyala and the Adheim, as well as near the modern town of Samarra. However, specific candidate sites for Akkade have not been found by scholars in these regions. Wall-Romana, Frayne, and Lane are the only ones who have proposed specific ancient sites, namely, Tell Mohammad, Tell Seraij, and Qadisiyeh, respectively, for the location of the ancient site of Akkade. However, their proposals have been refuted, judged considerably unlikely, and/or considered inconclusive. Upon reviewing all previous attempts to identify the location of Akkade and verifying the nature of all the topographical information that is contained in the written documents used for building and supporting these tentative identifications, it has become evident that the unfortunate failure to identify the ancient site of Akkade is largely owing to two main factors.

First, with the notable exceptions of Wall-Romana, Ziegler, and Cavigneaux, every scholar to date has overlooked the significant impact of the changing course of the Tigris on locating the ancient site of Akkade; only these three researchers have attempted to locate it in relation to the ancient course of the Tigris. Second, the different types of topographical information that relate to the location of Akkade are contained in written documents that have not been appropriately and effectively utilized. The accuracy and credibility of every piece of topographical information on the location of Akkade are not consistent. Only a few pieces of topographical information give relatively accurate and reliable topographical information, although they are not absolute and do not pinpoint its precise location. Most other pieces of topographical information contain uncertain, circumstantial, and secondary elements for locating Akkade. Some scholars have attempted to develop subjective and hypothetical interpretations from both the accurate and reliable pieces and the uncertain, circumstantial, and secondary pieces of topographical information for locating Akkade. This has ultimately distorted the true nature of the topographical information on the location of Akkade. Other scholars incorporated and gave equal value to every piece of topographical information, including the accurate and reliable; the uncertain, circumstantial, and secondary; and the subjectively and hypothetically interpreted types. This method has also led to misinterpretations of the location of Akkade.

These two factors are clearly the main reasons for the failure to find the location of Akkade. Wall-Romana was the only scholar who classified every available piece of topographical information on the location of Akkade into two types, namely, definite and tentative evidence, to search its location. However, he valued both types of topographical information equally and integrated them to reach a conclusion, thus failing to find an appropriate candidate site for Akkade. To address these issues, we need to determine appropriate logical methods for searching the ancient city of Akkade. The written sources that indicate the regional location of Akkade are of varying types. To harmonize the diversity of written sources indicating different regions for Akkade and to obtain the most accurate and reliable topographical information, the written sources are classified into three types and a separate cartographic analysis is conducted for each type.

The first class of evidence consists of those items that have **Primary Topographical Information**. Such items directly indicate the location of Akkade in an objective way and are thus likely to be reliable. For example, the geographical information contained in a certain written document indicates that Akkade was located adjacent to ancient city A. Then, if ancient city A is already identified with a specific ancient site and its location is known, the regional location of Akkade can be determined with certainty as being in the vicinity or adjacent to ancient city A. We have organized and evaluated all known pieces of written evidence that scholars have hitherto relied upon to identify the location of Akkade. Broadly speaking, four kinds of topographical information deserve the label of Primary Topographical Information.

The second class is **Supportive Secondary Topographical Information**. While this does not

directly indicate the location of Akkade in an objective way and cannot stand alone as evidence for its location, in conjunction with Primary Topographical Information it can circumstantially strengthen the reliability of that information. For example, the geographical information contained in a certain written document indicates that Akkade was in an area located 5 days away from ancient city B. Even if ancient city B is identified with a specific ancient site and its location is known, this information alone is indefinite to presume the regional location of Akkade. However, from the Primary Topographical Information, it is known that Akkade was located adjacent to ancient city A, whose location is well known. Therefore, if ancient city A can be reached from ancient city B in approximately 5 days on horseback, on foot, or by boat, this Supportive Secondary Topographical Information strengthens the reliability of Akkade's location in the area adjacent to ancient city A.

Using these two types of evidence, a **Core Regional Location for Akkade** can be established from the superimposition of all locations relating to the Primary Topographical Information. In this way, every piece of Primary Topographical Information can be harmonized and given appropriate weight.

Subsequently, possible candidate sites for Akkade are investigated within the Core Regional Location for Akkade. Adams's [1972, 182–208, maps 1A-1F; 1965, maps] distribution maps for ancient sites, made in his Akkad and Land Behind Baghdad Surveys, are incorporated into the Core Regional Location for Akkade, and the ancient sites lying in this region are then assessed based on their sizes and dates to select possible candidate sites for Akkade. We believe that one of these selected ancient sites should be identified as the ancient site of Akkade.

The possible candidate sites for Akkade are further assessed in relation to a third class of evidence, namely, **Secondary Topographical Information**. This can indicate a regional location of Akkade but its analysis may lead to erroneous conclusions because such information can only be extracted in secondary, circumstantial, hypothetical, subjective, and/or indirect ways. For example, the geographical information contained in a certain written document indicates that Akkade was located adjacent to ancient city C. However, if the location of ancient city C has not yet been identified with a certain ancient site and its location is unknown, the regional location of Akkade can only be assumed after a tentative identification of the location of ancient city C. Then, the regional location of Akkade can indirectly be assumed to be in the vicinity or adjacent to the assumed location of ancient city C. Alternatively, if the assumed location of ancient city C is incorrect, the assumed location of Akkade is accordingly wrong. Most written sources containing topographical information on the regional location of Akkade should be classified as this type. It was found out that since McEwan's proposal of the location of Akkade, all subsequent proposals have reached the conclusion that Akkade was most likely located near the course of the Tigris. Three pieces of written evidence containing topographical information of this type, pertain to the relationship of Akkade with the course of the Tigris. However, as the course of the river has changed over time, written sources with topographical information on the location of Akkade relative to the Tigris have to be classified as Secondary Topographical Information. If the ancient course of the Tigris is accurately reconstructed and we identify that its ancient course used to flow in the Core Regional Location of Akkade, the location of Akkade can be identified among qualified possible candidate sites for Akkade lying in the Core Regional Location of Akkade. Therefore, the accurate reconstruction of the ancient course of the Tigris is most crucial for identifying the location of Akkade. In addition, all available pieces of Supportive Secondary Topographical Information to this date, pertaining to the relationship of Akkade with the course of the Tigris, have to be also used as they enable us to support and strengthen the reliability of the presence of the close topographical relationship between Akkade and the ancient course of the Tigris.

The author of this paper has put this method into practice in searching the location of Akkade. The author was able to reach a conclusion that was different from those of the aforementioned

previous studies [Kawakami 2022, 101–135]. In that paper, it was concluded that Tell Sinker and perhaps ʿUkbarā, located halfway between Baghdad and Samarra on the eastern bank of the ancient course of the Tigris, which used to flow west of the present course of the Tigris, are the most plausible candidate sites for the ancient city of Akkade.

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