

SARGON OF AGADE AND HIS SUCCESSORS IN ANATOLIA*

by MARC VAN DE MIEROOP

The fame of the kings of Agade, especially of Sargon and his grandson Naram-Sin, haunts the Mesopotamian historian as these figures straddle the boundary between myth and history. We are certain that they really existed, unlike some other famous Mesopotamian literary figures, such as Gilgameš. Their names can be found in texts written during their reigns, or in what seem to be reliable Old Babylonian copies of inscriptions carved on the statues they set up¹. But the feats ascribed to them by later Mesopotamians can equal those of the mythical Gilgameš: by the first millennium Sargon is said to have reached the ends of the earth and to have joined the sole survivor of the flood, Utnapištim². The language used to describe his travels resembles that used for Gilgameš³. Naram-Sin is reported to have been confronted by enemies suckled by Tiamat⁴, as if he emulated Marduk's feats in the Creation myth. The Sargonic kings were not just remembered at home in southern Mesopotamia, the region that formed the center of their rule⁵, but their fame travelled. Sargon's and Naram-Sin's names pop up in the Babylonian periphery, the Diyala region⁶ and Mari⁷, and the Assyrians

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¹ See D. R. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Period (2334-2113 BC)* (RIME 2; Toronto/Buffalo/London 1993).

² W. Horowitz, "The Babylonian Map of the World", *Iraq* 50 (1988) 148 line 10'.

³ J.-J. Glassner, *La chute d'Akkadé. L'événement et sa mémoire* (Berlin 1986) 56.

⁴ J. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* (Winona Lake 1997) text 22. For simplicity's sake, I will refer to the majority of literary texts regarding Sargon and Naram-Sin with the designations given in this book.

⁵ See Glassner, *Chute* (cf. note 3) 55-60 for later Mesopotamian references to Sargon.

⁶ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 7.

⁷ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 16; M. Birot, "Fragment de rituel de Mari relatif au *kispum*", in B. Alster, *Death in Mesopotamia* (Copenhagen 1980) 139-150.

referred to Sargon throughout their history⁸. This we may easily understand as an aspect of the cultural tradition that unified Mesopotamia, which enabled a king of Assyria in the seventh century, Sargon II, to portray himself to his subjects as a worthy namesake of an ancient ruler.

But even beyond the traditional boundaries of Mesopotamia the Old Akkadian rulers were remembered. Throughout their history, from the eighteenth to the thirteenth centuries, the Hittites of Central Anatolia preserved the memory of these kings. The contexts in which they appear are varied, from historical texts to rituals, and the characteristics associated with them are wide-ranging as well. Their names are found in texts written in Hittite, Akkadian, and Hurrian, in copies or translations of Mesopotamian texts and in what seem to be local compositions. While this variety has been known ever since Güterbock's fundamental study on the historical tradition of the Babylonians and Hittites sixty years ago⁹, and no entirely new material has appeared since then, our knowledge of the background of some of these texts has improved, and it might be useful to restudy them keeping in mind such issues as their historical setting and cultural interaction. Moreover, a recently published text about Sargon provides important new evidence on the transmission of his tradition from Mesopotamia to Anatolia. Throughout this article I will work with the assumption that these texts had a meaning to the Hittites who wrote or copied them, one that could be very different from what the Sargonic kings meant in the Mesopotamian tradition itself.

That Sargon was not just a distant, alien king, but one whose fame was preserved, is most explicit in one of the major documents of Old Hittite history, the "Annals of Ḫattušili I", a king who ruled sometime in the eighteenth century. This long text, known both in a Hittite and an Akkadian version, describes the campaigns of the founder of the Hittite state, extending his kingdom southward into northern Syria. His final conquest

⁸ M. Van De Mieroop, *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History* (London 1999) 59-76; "Literature and Political Discourse in Ancient Mesopotamia: Sargon II of Assyria and Sargon of Agade", in B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and T. Richter, *Munuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger* (Münster 1999) 327-339.

⁹ H. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200. II. Teil", *ZA* 44 (1938) 45-145. Very recently Joan Goodnick Westenholz's contribution to the 1987 *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* appeared discussing many of the texts studied here ("Relations between Mesopotamia and Anatolia in the age of the Sargonic kings", in *XXXIV. Uluslararası Assirioloji Kongresi* (Ankara 1998) 5-22). Her approach is very different from mine in that she uses the literary material to argue for an actual presence of these kings in Anatolia. The focus here is on how and why these traditions were present amongst the Hittites, not in trying to show their historical accuracy.

was the city Ḫaḫḫa, called Ḫaḫḫum in the Akkadian version. Although we are not certain of the city's exact location, it was clearly situated on the banks of the Euphrates in the southern part of the Taurus mountains, just before the river enters the northern Syrian plain¹⁰. The text emphasizes the importance of Ḫattušili's crossing of the Euphrates by comparing this deed to Sargon's: "No one had crossed the Euphrates river. The Great King Tabarna crossed it on foot and behind him his troops crossed it on foot. (Only) Sargon had crossed it (before) and the troops of Ḫaḫḫum [he led] away. He did not do anything against Ḫaḫḫum, did not set it on fire, and did not let the Stormgod see the smoke"¹¹. The comparison with Sargon comes at the very end of the text, almost as an afterthought. Ḫattušili's sack of Ḫaḫḫum was already described, and only then the crossing of the river is mentioned. Sargon was the sole king who had done so before, but even he had not destroyed Ḫaḫḫum, a feat Ḫattušili can now boast of at the very end of his Annals. The Euphrates river is presented as a border between two distinct areas, and Ḫaḫḫum as a key place, whose conquest was crucial for the crossing of this border. One aspect of the comparison is illogical: Sargon must have crossed the border from east to west, while Ḫattušili did so from west to east. The actions are thus not comparable at all, unless one accepts that Ḫattušili sees himself as coming from outside the territory he controls into his own land.

The importance of Ḫaḫḫum's capture by Ḫattušili is reconfirmed by a newly published text, sadly of unknown provenance as it was acquired on the antiquities' market. It is a letter, written in Akkadian, by Ḫattušili to his vassal Tunija of Tikunani¹². It has been dated to the Old Hittite period on paleographic grounds, placing it thus closer to Ḫattušili than the preserved copies of his Annals, which all date to the thirteenth century¹³. In the letter Ḫattušili requests Tunija's help in the attack on Ḫaḫḫum, suggesting a two-pronged advance: "I from here, you from there" (lines 14-15). As reward Tunija will be allowed to keep the booty he captures. Although it is far from certain to me that this is an actual letter sent by Ḫattušili and not a later fictional text, it does demonstrate that in the Hittite world Ḫaḫḫum was

¹⁰ M. Liverani, "The fire of Ḫaḫḫum", *OA* 27 (1998) 165-172; M. Salvini, *The Ḫabiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani*, D.A. III (Rome 1996) 15.

¹¹ Akkadian version, rev. lines 18-22; F. Imparati and C. Saporetti, "L'autobiografia di Ḫattušili I", *Studi Classici e orientali* 14 (1965) 40-85.

¹² M. Salvini, "Una lettera di Ḫattušili I relativa alla spedizione contro Ḫaḫḫum", *SMEA* 34 (1994) 61-80; *Ḫabiru Prism* (cf. note 10) 107-116.

¹³ T. R. Bryce, *The Major Historical Texts of Early Hittite History* (Brisbane 1983) 50.

considered to be a crucial place for access to northern Syria. Its conquest was a major accomplishment because the city controlled an important border crossing.

The significance of this feat was then underscored by Ḫattušili through the comparison with Sargon's activities. To the audience of the Annals, whoever that may have been, the analogy made sense. Somehow these people knew who Sargon was and that he was supposed to have been a great conqueror, even if he had lived some 600 years earlier. What seems to be crucial is the fact that he travelled so far that he had to cross the Euphrates. Perhaps this was not a demonstration of great military might, but of being able to travel great distances. It has been stated that the Sargon referred to here was not the Old Akkadian king, but his namesake, Sargon I of Assyria, who ruled in the nineteenth century¹⁴. This seems highly unlikely, as there is barely evidence of Old Assyrian military campaigning, except for Šamši-Adad I, and as later Hittite traditions clearly show that Sargon of Agade was well-known there. The Old Assyrian kings were indeed crucial in the transmission of the Sargonic tradition into Anatolia, and a conflation of personalities did take place, but the ultimate hero was Sargon of Agade, not his later namesake. The distance Sargon travelled to reach Ḫaḫḫum was what had made his act a great feat. Sargon had been a great adventurer, something for which he was remembered among the Hittites of the Old Kingdom.

A major problem in the study of Hittite culture lies in the fact that almost all the manuscripts known to us are from the last centuries of the state's history. Even if these are exact copies of earlier texts, we are often unable to date the originals with a high degree of certainty. The Annals of Ḫattušili I are also only known to us from later copies, but we may assume that their original composition dates back to the Old Hittite period, hence relatively close to the Sargonic kings. The other material must be regarded then as evidence of fourteenth and thirteenth centuries' Hittite culture, even if we can conjecture that some of it is older. The textual tradition regarding Sargonic kings includes two types of texts: more or less accurate retellings or translations of Mesopotamian tales about Sargon and Naram-Sin, and ritual texts without known Mesopotamian parallels.

Sargon's image was preserved in the literature of the Hittites in the composition we call *šar tamḫāri*, "King of Battle"¹⁵, known in Ḫattuša from a

¹⁴ A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis, Träumen und Vorzeichenschau bei den Hethitern*, THeth. 7 (Heidelberg 1976) 93.

¹⁵ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 9.

Hittite language paraphrase preserved in several very fragmentary copies¹⁶. The composition is better known from an Akkadian version found at El Amarna in Egypt, thus contemporary to the Hittite retellings, and probably imported into Egypt via Ḫattuša¹⁷. It survived into the first millennium where we find one manuscript each in Nineveh and Assur. The story is simple: Sargon of Agade, against the advice of his men, sets out to liberate the merchants of Puruṣḫanda in central Anatolia, who feel oppressed by the local ruler, identified as Nūr-daggal. The latter submits almost immediately to Sargon, who resides in the region for three years before he returns home. As I suggested elsewhere¹⁸ the appeal of this story to the Hittites can only be understood if they saw themselves as heirs to Sargon, not to Nūr-daggal. Did they see Sargon's travels through the region as a parallel to their own? Sargon's adventurous qualities¹⁹ are depicted here as his most important asset.

The idea that the Hittites identified here with the Akkadians, and saw the local Anatolians as the "other" is strengthened by the name of the local ruler, Nūr-daggal. That name and its history within the Sargon tradition, presents an interesting problem. Nūr-daggal contains the Akkadian element "light" (*nūr*), and the Sumerian element, written syllabically here, "broad" (*dagal*). I take it to be a deliberately fanciful name²⁰, a play on the name Uta-rapaštim, Sargon's opponent in an Old

¹⁶ P. Meriggi, "Die hethitischen Fragmente vom *šar tamhâri*", in M. Mayrhofer, *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde. Gedenkschrift für Wilhelm Brandenstein* (Innsbruck 1968) 259-267; "Zu einigen Stellen hethitischer historischer Texte", in *Fs. Otten*, 199-202; H. G. Güterbock, "Ein neues Bruchstück der Sargon-Erzählung «König der Schlacht»", *MDOG* 101 (1969) 14-26.

¹⁷ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) 105.

¹⁸ *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History* (cf. note 8) 68-69.

¹⁹ M. Liverani, "Model and Actualization. The Kings of Akkad in the Historical Tradition", in M. Liverani, *Akkad. The First World Empire* (Padova 1993) 41-67.

²⁰ The name appears in various forms in the different versions of the text. The El Amarna recension (Westenholz, *Legends* [cf. note 4] text 9B) has: *Nu-ur-dag-gal*. The Hittite versions from Ḫattuša have different spellings: KBo 13.46 line 8, reads *Nu-ur-da-ga-[]*, which could be restored either as *dagal* or as *dagan*. Another manuscript has *Nu-ur-da-ḫi-iš* and *Nūr-da-aḫ-ḫi* (H. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101 (1969) [cf. note 16] 19-20). In the first millennium, the name is rendered as *Nūr-Dagan* (Westenholz, *Legends* [cf. note 4] text 9D; Horowitz, *Iraq* 50 [cf. note 2] 148 line 10'), a perfectly normal Akkadian construct. These variants have been explained in different ways. E. F. Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasien* (Bogazköi-Studien 6; Leipzig 1922) 77 note 1, thought that a simple substitution of the two liquidae, n and l, not unusual in the Hittite texts, had taken place. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis* (cf. note 14) 93, saw *dagal* as a mistake, corrected in the first millennium, and took the spelling *da-(aḫ)-ḫi* as a rewriting to make the name more acceptable to Hittite speakers.

Babylonian text²¹. The Sumerian term UD can refer to the sun and light, and appears as an ideogram for the Akkadian word *nūr*, while the Akkadian adjective *rapaštum* means “broad”, thus Sumerian dagal. Uta-rapaštim is a meaningless name, but resembles very much the name of the survivor of the flood in the Epic of Gilgameš, Uta-napištim, “Seeker of life”. That a confusion, intended or not, between the two names existed is clear from the Late Babylonian “Map of the World”²², where we find Sargon’s name next to those of Uta-napištim and Nūr-Dagan. In first millennium traditions both Nūr-daggal and Uta-rapaštim seem to have been corrected. Nūr-daggal is replaced by the good Akkadian name Nūr-Dagan “light of the god Dagan”, found in the neo-Assyrian version of the “King of Battle” story and in the text accompanying the Map of the World, where he is identified as “king of Puruṣḥanda”. The latter text has thus Uta-napištim, Sargon and Nūr-Dagan side by side. Uta-napištim is there because he lives at the edge of the world according to tradition. He has nothing to do with Sargon, however, and the only connection I can see is through a misunderstanding of the name Uta-rapaštim. The names Uta-rapaštim or Nūr-daggal were thus not mistakes. They seem to have been invented on purpose, similar to good Akkadian ones, but slightly skewed. This would underscore the foreignness of the people Sargon came in touch with when campaigning. And that foreignness also existed in the eyes of the Hittites.

The purely Anatolian locale of Sargon’s “Kings of Battle” tale is absent in the Hittite traditions regarding his grandson, Naram-Sin. The latter is found there in two similar, yet distinct, texts relating how he faced numerous enemies. One is only known in Hittite in the Ḫattuša corpus, the other both in Akkadian and Hittite. The Hittite text (KBo 3.13 = CTH 311²³) is very similar to the Old Babylonian composition, entitled “Gula-AN and the seventeen kings against Naram-Sin” by Joan Westenholz, known from one manuscript, possibly from Sippar²⁴. In both the Hittite and the Old Babylonian compositions Naram-Sin is confronted by numerous enemies, the names of which only partly overlap. I list here only their places of origin as the kings’ names are entirely unknown from other sources:

²¹ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 6.

²² Horowitz, *Iraq* 50 (cf. note 2) 147-165.

²³ Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (cf. note 9) 66-80.

²⁴ *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 17.

KBo 3.13	Gula-AN and the seventeen kings:
GÚ.ŠÚ.A ²⁵	Gut(i)um
Pakki[]	Kakmum
Lullu'i	Lullum
[]	Ḫaḫḫum
Ḫatti	Turukkum
Kaneš	Kaneš
[]	Amurru
Amurru	Dēr
Paraši	Arrarites
[]	Kassites
Armanu	Meluḫḫa
Cedar Mountains	Aratta
[]	Marḫaši
Larak	Elam
Nikki[]	Apum(?)
Turki	Land of the fifty
Kuršaura	Armanu
	Ḫana
in total seventeen kings.	

Although there is thus an overlap of at least five names²⁶ between the two texts, the regional extent of the two lists seems to be very different²⁷. All but a few places in KBo 3.13 seem to be located in the northern Mesopotamian and Syrian area, or in the greater Anatolian region²⁸. The list of places in the Old Babylonian tradition is much-wider ranging, including distant regions in the east, such as Marḫaši, Aratta and Meluḫḫa. Although we should not take these names as referring to exact geographical locations, it seems probable that the audience had some conception of where they were in general, such as that Aratta was in the east. The world-view reflected is thus different in these two texts: the one from Ḫattuša referring to a more

²⁵ Güterbock suggested that this may be a rendering of Cutha (ZA 44 [cf. note 9] 69 note 18), but an equation with Gutium seems equally possible.

²⁶ If Lullu'i = Lullum and Turki = Turukkum, which seems very likely.

²⁷ Pace Westenholz, "Relations" (cf. note 9) 14-18 who sees a great deal of parallelism between the two texts. She fails to explain, however, the insertion of eastern regions in the Old Babylonian text, which are well-known in the Mesopotamian tradition but do not appear in KBo 3.13.

²⁸ Obviously, unidentifiable places might have been anywhere. If GÚ.ŠÚ.A is Cutha, it would be in southern Mesopotamia, if it is Gutium, it is located in the North. There is a Larak in the south, but is that place referred to here?

limited world in the northern part of western Asia, the Babylonian text providing a more global vision. There is thus a more Anatolian makeup to the Naram-Sin text found at Ḫattuša. Unfortunately, the rest of KBo 3.13 is so damaged that we cannot say anything more about its contents.

The second Naram-Sin tale, the so-called Cuthean legend, is found in Akkadian and Hittite versions at Ḫattuša²⁹, both on fragmentary tablets. Only one manuscript in Akkadian is identifiable with certainty (KBo 19.98)³⁰, at least four in Hittite. As all of these are extremely fragmentary, we have to rely on the later neo-Assyrian version to get some idea of the contents of the composition. It depicts Naram-Sin as engaged in an almost cosmic battle against enemies created by the gods, and the idea of a global upheaval, already present in "Gula-AN and the seventeen kings", is even stronger here. An Anatolian connection is clear, however. *Purušhanda*, the merchant colony that also featured in Sargon's "King of Battle", appears in the Cuthean legend as the first place sacked by Naram-Sin's enemies. The focus of all Naram-Sin texts from Ḫattuša is thus on his military accomplishments and difficulties. The enemies include Anatolian rulers, those of Ḫatti and Kaneš, and again it would seem that the Hittites did not identify with those, but saw them as native rulers they replaced.

All these texts are of a literary character and their function and audience are unknown to us. They demonstrate sufficient interest in the Old Akkadian rulers for scribes to translate tales into the Hittite language. The names of Old Akkadian rulers were also preserved in an entirely different setting, namely that of a Hurrian ritual (KUB 27.38 = *CTH* 775)³¹. Unfortunately this text is very difficult to understand, but it involves the fashioning of dolls from wool: "and while I sing this song I hold red wool, blue wool (and) white wool, and I make dolls (of it). The dolls I make like this: the red wool and the white wool I braid together. On top I wrap blue wool (for) their heads and in this way I make dolls; and one calls them substitute figurines of kings

²⁹ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) texts 21A and 21B.

³⁰ This is a 6-sided prism (not a 5-sided as stated by Westenholz, cf. the introduction to KBo 19). The other possible manuscript is KBo 19.99, a 4-sided prism, which basically only contains a colophon, cf. G. Beckman, "Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian Learning at Ḫattuša", *JCS* 35 (1983) 103. Note that KBo 27.1 may also be related to these two manuscripts.

³¹ For a recent study of this text, see S. de Martino, "KUB XXVII 38: Ein Beispiel kultureller und linguistischer Überlagerung in einem Text aus dem Archiv von Boğazköy", *SMEA* 31 (1993) 121-134. I am grateful to Mirjo Salvini for his elucidation of some of the Hurrian elements in this text.

(*šarrena*)³²". The dolls listed in the text include a variety of figures: gods, deified kings, and mortal rulers. Four Old Akkadian kings are included: Naram-Sin (written ^a*Na-ra-am-zu-un*) is the last of the deified rulers mentioned. He is immediately followed by Sargon (written LUGAL.GI-*en-ne*) who is not deified. After a set of other rulers, to be discussed presently, we find Maništušu (written ^m*Ma-an-na-mi-iš-du-un*), who is identified as the oldest son of Sargon, and Šar-kali-šarri (written ^m*Šar-ka[p]-šar-re-en*). The other rulers are important in the Hittite tradition regarding the Sargonic kings, as will become clear later. They include kings of Elam (Audalumma), Lullu (Immašku) and Tukriš (Kiglipadalli). Finally, the unnamed kings of Illaya and Ḫatti are mentioned.

The redactional history of this text is certainly complex. It combines a list of names of Old Akkadian rulers and of some rulers associated with them in later traditions with a Hurrian ritual regarding substitute figurines. That was then associated with a Hurrian ritual concerning the gods Teššub and Šarruma, while a Hittite ritual ties the whole together³³. Annelies Kammenhuber thought that this text contained an unadulterated Old Akkadian king list, which became part of the Hurrian tradition during the third millennium and was introduced into Anatolia in the latter part of the second millennium³⁴, de Martino also saw at its core a Mesopotamian text, either from Old Akkadian or Old Babylonian times, which became part of the Anatolian traditions regarding the Sargonic kings³⁵. The names of the non-Mesopotamian kings are important in this respect. One comes from Tukriš, which appears in the so-called Sargon Geography³⁶ as a place Sargon conquered. Perhaps it can be identified with Turukku³⁷, which appears amongst the enemies of Naram-Sin in "Gula-AN and the seventeen kings", and as Turki in KBo 3.13. Elam and Lullu also feature among Naram-Sin's enemies in both texts. Tukriš and Lullu appear among Sargon's conquests in the Kültepe text discussed below. These place the contents of this ritual

³² V. Haas and I. Wegner, *Die Rituale der Beschwörerinnen* ^{SAL}ŠU.GI. Teil I: *Die Texte*, ChS I/5 (Rome 1988) 384-390.

³³ de Martino, "KUB XXVII 38" (cf. note 31) 132.

³⁴ *Orakelpraxis* (cf. note 14) 89; "Historisch-geographische Nachrichten aus der althurrischen Überlieferung, dem altelamischen und den Inschriften der Könige von Akkad für die Zeit vor dem Einfall der Gutäer (ca. 2200/2136)", in J. Harmatta – G. Komoróczy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Alten Vorderasien* (Budapest 1976) 160; "Neue Ergebnisse zur hurrischen und altmesopotamische Überlieferung in Bogazköy", *Or* 45 (1976) 139.

³⁵ de Martino, "KUB XXVII 38" (cf. note 31) 133-134.

³⁶ A. K. Grayson, "The Empire of Sargon of Akkad", *AfO* 25 (1974-77) 60 line 34.

³⁷ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) 251.

firmly in the later traditions regarding the Old Akkadian kings, and it is best to see the appearance of this text at Hattuša within that context.

A final Hittite text of Hurrian origin with Old Akkadian references in it, is the myth of Gurparanzaḫ (CTH 362)³⁸. This poorly preserved story relates how a fictive ruler of Ailunuwa marches to Agade with 60 kings and 70 heroes, where he challenges a man called Impakru, perhaps the king, to an archery competition. The gathering is not antagonistic, however, but the men eat and drink before they engage in the contest. Whoever wrote this either did not want to refer to a known king of Agade, or did not know any suitable name. Interesting is the reference to 60 kings and 70 heroes, which reminds us of the coalition of enemies against Naram-Sin.

In these last two texts the focus is not on the military might of the Old Akkadian kings. The Hurrian ritual seems to imply that the representations of the Akkadian rulers, amongst others, had apotropaic strengths. The Gurparanzaḫ myth focuses on feasting and peaceful competition. Later on I hope to demonstrate how these aspects were already present in the Anatolian tradition regarding Sargon much earlier in the second millennium. The characteristics of the Anatolian traditions regarding Sargon and Naram-Sin can thus be summed up as follows:

- the merchant colony of Puruṣḫanda is a focal point;
- the world they inhabit is limited to the greater Anatolian area;
- the local Anatolian rulers are the alien enemies, while the Hittites identify with the Sargonic kings;
- the Sargonic rulers feature in rituals;
- they participate in banquets.

How did the Hittites know about these kings, and why did they preserve their memory over their entire history? There is little doubt that the traditions regarding the Sargonic kings were developed in southern Mesopotamia in the second millennium, and that the Hittite versions were reworkings or further developments of these originals. There was thus a chain of transmission of the originals from southern Mesopotamia to the north, which scholars have described in various ways. Some have suggested that the tales regarding Old Akkadian rulers entered Anatolia as a result of their actual presence in the region³⁹. Kaneš has even been described as a “vassal state of the Akkadian Empire”⁴⁰. One must assume then that a fully-

³⁸ A. Ünal, “Hethitische Mythen und Epen”, in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*. Band III. Lieferung 4 (Gütersloh 1994) 852-853.

³⁹ Westenholz, “Relations” (cf. note 9).

⁴⁰ Bryce, *The Major Historical Texts of Early Hittite History* (cf. note 13) 11. Westenholz’s

developed literature (oral or written) about these rulers was introduced into Anatolia in the mid-third millennium, and lingered there for more than 700 years until the Hittites picked it up, notwithstanding the political changes that took place. This while Sargon's inscriptions themselves, in the extensive Old Babylonian copies known to us, do not mention any military campaigns into Anatolia.

Others have seen a transmission of Mesopotamian ideas regarding the Sargonic kings in various periods of Hittite history and through different channels. In a series of articles Annelies Kammenhuber contrasted two ways in which the Hittites learned about these rulers: via the Hurrians and via the Old Assyrian kings⁴¹. Since her main interest was the Hurrians, she was most explicit about their role. In her opinion they had picked up ideas about the Sargonic rulers during the Old Akkadian period, when Hurrians were present in southern Mesopotamia. Those ideas were preserved intact by the Hurrians of northern Syria, who passed them on to the Hittites in the mid-second millennium⁴². The Hurrians presented a barrier between Mesopotamia and the Hittites, until the kingdom of Mitanni was removed as a major regional power by Suppiluliuma in the mid-fourteenth century. This intact preservation of a tradition by the Hurrians was contrasted by Kammenhuber to the way in which the Old Assyrian kings remembered the Sargonic ones. Although she did not argue this point in detail, she claimed that the Old Assyrian rulers changed those traditions in order to suit their own purposes. Hence, she stated, Sargon I of Assur merged his personality with that of Sargon of Agade⁴³.

More recently, a study on Mesopotamian influences on the Hittites by Gary Beckman⁴⁴ described the traditions regarding the Sargonic kings entering Anatolia during the Old and Middle Hittite kingdoms. Although he is not explicit about the channels through which this took place, it seems that direct Babylonian – Hittite contact was at least partly responsible for the later influence in his opinion. And indeed, the many references to diplomatic and other exchanges between the two courts in the second half of the second millennium make this a very likely reconstruction.

I want to explore here the role the Old Assyrians of the early second millennium played in this process of transmission. It is well-known that the

equation ("Relations" [cf. note 9] 11) of karum Kaneš with the name *kà-kà-ni-šum*⁴¹ in Old Akkadian administrative documents is unconvincing.

⁴¹ *Orakelpraxis* (cf. note 14), "Historisch-geographische Nachrichten", and *Or* 45 (cf. note 34).

⁴² These ideas are also found in Westenholz, "Relations" (cf. note 9).

⁴³ E.g., *Orakelpraxis* (cf. note 14) 91.

⁴⁴ *JCS* 35 97-114 (cf. note 30).

rulers in Assur fancied themselves in the image of the Old Akkadian kings, and the close contacts of Old Assyrian merchants with Anatolia in the first centuries of the second millennium are evident. The citizens of Assur at this time were thus in an ideal position to pass on ideas from Mesopotamia to Anatolia, and I will argue that they were crucial in the formulation of the traditions regarding the Old Akkadian kings in later Hittite history.

The evidence that rulers of Assur in the Old Assyrian period were inspired by the Old Akkadian dynasty may seem slim, but it is tangible. Firstly, there is the fact that one of them took Sargon's name. It has been often pointed out that the name Sargon itself, in Akkadian *Šarru-kīn* meaning "the king is legitimate", is a thronename. It suggests that the new king was an usurper, who needed to strengthen his claim to the throne by using a name stressing his legitimacy⁴⁵. Why would Sargon of Assyria of the early second millennium have been different? Although he states explicitly in his own seal-inscription⁴⁶ that he was the son of his predecessor, Ikunu, he may not have been in line for the throne. In his choice of name he hearkened back to the great ruler of the past, and as I have argued elsewhere the adoption of a name was a very meaningful act that indicated the desire the express identity⁴⁷.

Sargon I was not alone in imitating Old Akkadian rulers: his second successor, possibly a king of Ešnunna who seized power in Assur⁴⁸, was named Naram-Sin after Sargon of Agade's grandson. Šamši-Adad I, another usurper, left the most evidence of his affinity with Old Akkadian rulers⁴⁹. He called himself "king of Agade"⁵⁰, a title which was seemingly used by subjects to address him in some letters⁵¹, and took special care to indicate when he restored the Ištar temple at Nineveh that it had been built originally by "Maništušu, son of Sargon, King of Agade"⁵². He was the first Assyrian ruler to revive the royal title *šar kiššatim* "king of the universe", which had

⁴⁵ W. W. Hallo and W. Simpson, *The Ancient Near East: A History* (Fort Worth 1998) 52 + note 78.

⁴⁶ A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC* (RIMA 1; Toronto/Buffalo/London 1987) 45-46.

⁴⁷ Van De Mieroop, "Literature and Political Discourse" (cf. note 8) 329.

⁴⁸ B. Landsberger, "Assyrische Königsliste und «dunkles Zeitalter»", *JCS* 8 (1954) 35 note 24.

⁴⁹ W. Von Soden, *Herrscher im Alten Orient* (Berlin 1954) 26; P. Michalowski, "Memory and Deed: the Historiography of the political expansion of the Akkad state", in M. Liverani, *Akkad, The First World Empire* (Padua 1993) 86-87.

⁵⁰ Grayson, *RIMA* 1 (cf. note 46) 58.

⁵¹ D. Charpin, "Inscriptions votives d'époque assyrienne", *MARI* 3 (1984) 49-50.

⁵² Grayson, *RIMA* 1 (cf. note 46) 53.

been popular with the Old Akkadian kings⁵³, although the somewhat earlier Ešnunna ruler, Ipiq-Adad, also saw fit to give himself that title⁵⁴. The Harmal manuscript of a Sargon text⁵⁵, as well as the Mari manuscript of "The Great Revolt against Naram-Sin"⁵⁶, demonstrate that the world with which the Old Assyrian kings were in contact had a literary tradition regarding the Old Akkadian dynasty. At Mari was also found a copy of a Naram-Sin inscription⁵⁷.

On the other hand the Old Assyrian contacts with Central Anatolia are extremely clear: the system of Assyrian merchant colonies is well-known and well-studied. Although the merchants were not there as political representatives of their kings in Assur, some of these rulers' names are attested at Kaneš, the main Assyrian colony. The royal seals of Silulu⁵⁸ and Sargon I⁵⁹ were found on tablets excavated at Kaneš, as well as letters written by Sargon I and Puzur-Assur II⁶⁰. These document that the kings had direct contacts with the trade colony, even if these were of a commercial nature only. The find, in a private house, of two tablets containing what seem to be copies of two inscriptions of king Irišum I, set up in the Assur temple at Assur⁶¹, shows that court writings made their way into the colony, whatever the function of these tablets may have been.

The most telling demonstration that the Old Assyrian merchants brought their royals' ideas about the Old Akkadian predecessors to Anatolia is provided by a recently published text excavated in a merchant's house at Kaneš in 1958. The text represents the sole example of a literary work found at that site, and it contains a story regarding Sargon of Agade mixing the language of royal inscriptions with that of the literary traditions regarding the Old Akkadian kings. It is written in Old Assyrian cuneiform, using the syllabary of the Kaneš letters, and the tablet on which it is written resembles an Old Assyrian letter. All formal aspects of the text indicate thus that it was an Old Assyrian composition. It was published in an excellent edition by

⁵³ M.-J. Seux, "Les titres royaux «šar kiššati» et «šar kibrāt arba'i»", *RA* 59 (1965) 1-18; Charpin, *MARI* 3 (cf. note 51) 50-52.

⁵⁴ D. R. Frayne, *The Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)* (*RIME* 4; Toronto/Buffalo/London 1990) 547-549.

⁵⁵ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 7.

⁵⁶ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 16A.

⁵⁷ Charpin, *MARI* 3 (cf. note 51) 65-66.

⁵⁸ Grayson, *RIMA* 1 (cf. note 46) 12-13.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 45-46.

⁶⁰ M. T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and Its Colonies* (Copenhagen 1976) 81.

⁶¹ B. Landsberger and K. Balkan, "Die Inschrift des assyrischen Königs Irišum gefunden in Kültepe 1948", *Belleten* 14 (1950) 219-268; Grayson, *RIMA* 1 (cf. note 46) 19-21.

Cahit Günbatti⁶² with a copy, photographs, transliteration, Turkish translation and comments⁶³. Because of its unique character it poses a great deal of difficulties in interpretation, from the basic understanding of individual sentences to that of the entire text, and a new transliteration and translation are presented here in the hope that these can be further elucidated.

Transliteration

Translation

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1) LUGAL/LUGAL.KI.IN/LUGAL | King, Sargon, king |
| 2) A-ki-dí-e / re-be-tim / LUGAL | of Agade of the broad squares, |
| 3) da-num / ša iš-te / i-li-e | strong king, who negotiates with the |
| 4) e-ta-wa-ni / ⁴ IM / da-nu-tám | gods. Adad gave him strength, and |
| 5) i-dí-šu-ma / iš-tù / ší-it | from east to west |
| 6) ša-am-ší-im / a-dí e-ra-áb | |
| 7) ša-am-ší-im / ma-tám / aš-ba-at-ma | I seized the land. |
| 8) i-na u ₄ -mì-im / iš-té-in | In one day I fought against |
| 9) a-na 70 a-lá-ni / kà-kà-am / a-di-in | 70 cities; |
| 10) ru-ba-e-šu-nu / ú-ša-bi ₄ -it / ù a-li-
šu-nu | their princes I took prisoner and |
| 11) ú-ḫa-li-iq / ⁴ IM / be-el / e-mu-qí-im | their cities I destroyed. By Adad, |
| | the lord of |
| 12) ù Ištar / be-lá-at / ta-ḫa-zi-im | strength, and Ištar, the lady of |
| | battle, |
| 13) at-ma / ša-bi ₄ -tám / a-mu-ur-ma
/ li-bi ₄ -tám | I swear (to it). I saw a gazelle and |
| 14) a-na na-ri-im / a-dí-ma / i-na | I threw a brick |
| 15) lá-sà-mì-a / mu-sà-ri / i-pì-tí-iq-ma | into the river. During |
| | my running the inscription was |
| | loosened but |
| 16) <mu->sà-ar-a-am / áš-ta-kà-an-
ma / al-su-ma | I set up the inscription. I ran and |
| 17) ša-bi ₄ -tám / aš-ba-at / li-bi ₄ -tám | caught the gazelle. (Then) I raised |
| 18) i-ma-e / ú-šé-li / ⁴ IM ù Ištar | the brick from the water. By Adad |
| | and Ištar |
| 19) at-[ma] / 1 [l]i-im GU ₄ .HI.A / 6 li-
me-e | I swear (to it). 1000 oxen and 6000 |

⁶² "Kültepe'den Akadli Sargon'a Âit Bir Tablet", *Archivum Anatolicum (Emin Bilgiç Ani Kitabı)* 3 (1997) 131-155.

⁶³ I am grateful to K. R. Veenhof for mentioning this text and its place of publication to me during the RAI in 1998 and to Sümer Atasoy for sending me a copy of the journal in which it appeared.

- 20) UDU.ĤI.A / *ú-me-ša-ma* / *lu ú-ṭa-ba-aḥ* sheep I did indeed slaughter daily.
- 21) 7 *li-me-e* / *qá-[r]a-du-a* / *ša i-ra-tim* 7000 of my heroes who daily eat
- 22) *ú-me-ša-ma* / *ma-aḥ-ri-a* / *e-ku-lu-ni* breast-meat before me,
- 23) 3 *li-me-e* / *lá-sí-mu-ú-a* 3000 of my scouts,
- 24) *ša* / *ar-kà-tim* / *e-ku-lu-ni* who eat rump-meat,
- 25) 1 *li-im* / *ša-qí-ú-a* <*ša*> 1000 of my cupbearers, who
- 26) *u₄-me-ša-ma* / *mu-ḥa-am* daily eat the top part of the lower leg
- 27) *ša kur^m-sí-na-tim* / *a-dí-i* up to the roasted part
- 28) *ša-ma-im* / *e-ku-lu-ni*
- 29) DUB.DU *i-iq-ri-e-ma* X invited.
- 30) 7 *li-me-e* / *qá-ra-du-a* 7000 of my heroes
- 31) *i-ra-tim* / *e-ku-lu* / *a-na* ate breast-meat.
- 32) *wa-ar-ki-im* / *i-ir-tum* There was not enough breast-meat
- 33) *lá ik-šu-ud-ma* / *a-lá-áp-šu* for the rear. His ox,
- 34) *ku-ša-ku-ni-a-am* / *ša ku-sí-i-šu* the xxx of his throne,
- 35) *iṭ-bu-ùḥ-ma* / *a-na wa-ar-ki-im* he slaughtered and he gave the breast-meat
- 36) *i-ir-tám* / *i-dí-in* / *nu-ḥi-tí-mí* to the rear. My cook
- 37) *ku-ur<-sí>-na-am* / *ú<-pa>-ri-ir-ma* distributed the cuts of meat.
- 38) *a-na ar-ni-šu* / 1 *me-et* GU₄.ĤI.A As a punishment 100 oxen
- 39) 2 *me-et* UDU.ĤI.A / *iṭ-bu-ùḥ-ma* and 200 sheep he slaughtered,
- 40) *ur-dí-a* / *ú-ša-ki-il₅* / ^oIM and he fed it to my servants. By Adad
- 41) *ù Ištar* / *at-ma* / MU.7.ŠÈ ITI.KAM and Ištar I swear (to it). For 7
- 42) *ù ša-pá-tám* / *i-na i-ki-il₅-tim* years, one month and 15 days I stayed with my creditors at the
- 43) *qá-du* / *um-me-ni-a* / *lu ú-ší-ib* meal.
- 44) *i-na wa-ša-i-a* / *ša* NA₄.GUG Upon my leaving, I did indeed bind
- 45) *ù* NA₄.ZA.GÌN / *qá-nu-a-am* a rod of carnelian and lapis lazuli, and
- 46) *lu ar-ku-ús-ma* / *a-na ma-tim* I did distribute it
- 47) *lu ú-za-iz* / *ša-du-a-am* / *Ḥu-ma-nam* over the land. At mount Amanum, which
- 48) *a-ší-ni-šu* / *am-ḥa-šu-ma* / *ki-ma* I defeated twice, I set up a statue
- 49) *sí-ki-tim* / *i-ba-ri-šu-nu* / *ša-al-me* like a foundation peg in its middle.
- 50) *ú-ša-zi-iz* / *ru-ba-am* The prince

- 51) *ša Tù-uk-ri-iš / maš-kam / ú-lá-bi₄-iš* of Tukriš I dressed with a skin.
- 52) *Ḫu-tù-ra / be-be-na-tim qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu* In Ḫutura, I placed xxx on their heads.
- 53) *áš-ku-un / A-lá-si-am / ki-ma* I covered their heads like
- 54) *sí-ni-iš-tim / qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu* that of a woman with an Alasian (cloth).
- 55) *ak-tù-um / ša A-mu-ri-e* Those of Amurru, like their fathers,
- 56) *ki-ma / a-be-šu-nu / ša ma-tim* their xxx of the land,
- 57) *i-ša-ar-šu-nu / aq-tí-i / ša Ki-lá-ri-e* I finished. Those of Kilaru
- 58) *i-mar-ší-im / qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu* I bound their heads
- 59) *ar-ku-ús ša-ni-um Kà-ni-ší<-e>* in a bundle. Again, the people of Kaneš
- 60) *sú-tù-ḫi-šu-nu ú-še-er* their xxx I let loose.
- 61) *ša Ḫa-tim / qá-ba-al-tí / qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu / ú-sá-aq-li-ip / Lu-ùḫ-me-e* Those of Ḫatu, the midst of their heads I skinned. Of Luḫme
- 62) *tù-di-tám / ú-dt-id / Qú-tí-tám / Lu-lu-am / ù Ḫa-ḫa-am sú-tù-ḫi'-šu-nu ú-ša-ri* the toggle-pin I sharpened, the Gutian one. Lullum and Ḫaḫḫum, their xxx I made rich.
- 63) *3' zi-qí ša-ma-e / i-qá-tí-a / al-pu-ut / mì-na-am i-tup-pi-im* The 3 posts of heaven I touched with my hand. Why should I enlarge
- 64) *lu-ša-am-i-id / A-nu-um / lá i-dt-a-ni / ki-ma LUGAL a-na-ku-ni* what is on the tablet? Anum does not know
- 65) *ma-tám e-li-tám ù ša-áp-li-tám* how I am king, (and) how I took the lower and the upper country.
- aṣ-bu-tù-ni-i IM / LUGAL* May Adad, the king, make
- 66) *ša-tù-uk-ki li-ša-ar-bi₄-ú* my offering abundant.

The author of this text was extremely skillful and produced a piece of literature that contains numerous puns and wordplays. It presents many difficulties, both grammatical and lexicographical, and much of its contents remains obscure. It can be analyzed on several levels, and I will approach the text here in various ways, in the hope to generate the further discussion it deserves.

The first analysis of the text can be a traditional close reading, focusing on the comprehension of the text by itself⁶⁴. In its overall structure it shows

⁶⁴ I had the good fortune to be able to discuss the philological problems of this text

six parts: royal epithets and an oath frame the main body of the text, which contains four sections separated by the statement: "By Adad, the lord of strength, and Ištar, the lady of battle, I swear (to it)", once (lines 11-13) given in full, the two other times (lines 18-19, 40-41) in abbreviated form. The epithet for Ištar, "lady of battle", is something we find in Šamši-Adad's inscriptions⁶⁵. The focus on the Stormgod Adad in this expression and at the end of this text, is not usual for a Sargonic inscription. It fits well, however, with the locale of the text in Anatolia, where the Stormgod was very prominent.

(I) The initial set of epithets (lines 1-5) for Sargon is straightforward, yet unparalleled. His city is called "Agade of the broad squares", as in the prologue of the Code of Hammurabi (Col. IV: 51-2). Sargon is called the strong king, LUGAL *dannum*, which is an anachronistic title for the Old Akkadian period⁶⁶, but normal for the early second millennium. The fourfold repetition of the sign LUGAL, three times in the first line, is probably not accidental. The idea of kingship is also stressed at the end of this text, where both "I", i.e. Sargon, and Adad are referred to as kings. These six occurrences are the only times the term LUGAL appears, and they seem to frame the entire text. The issue of kingship is problematic, however, as Sargon seems to state that Anum does not recognize him as such. If properly understood here, the passage would seem to indicate a frustration that Sargon is not acknowledged as a great ruler and conqueror by Anum. This is certainly strange, as he is called "anointed priest of Anum" (PA₄.ŠEŠ An) in his own inscriptions⁶⁷.

(II) The third person remarks about Sargon are replaced by a first person account, starting with a summary of his conquests: the entire world from east to west and 70 cities whose princes were taken prisoner and which were destroyed. The use of the term *rubā'um* fits the usual Old Assyrian designation for a human ruler⁶⁸. It is also the title used by the local ruler of Kaneš, Anitta, in the dagger inscription found in the upper town⁶⁹. The number 70 does not appear in Sargon's own inscriptions, where he repeatedly states that he defeated 50 governors, seemingly from southern

with Father W. Mayer, who made several suggestions included here. Also a proposal by Father A. Gianto has been incorporated. I am very thankful to them both.

⁶⁵ Grayson, *RIMA* 1 (cf. note 46) 51.

⁶⁶ P. Michalowski, "New Sources concerning the reign of Naram-Sin", *JCS* 32 (1980) 235.

⁶⁷ E.g., Frayne, *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 13.

⁶⁸ M. T. Larsen, *Old Assyrian City-State* (cf. note 60) 121-129.

⁶⁹ K. Balkan, *Observations on the Chronological Problems of the Kārum Kaniš* (Ankara 1955) 78-79.

Babylonia⁷⁰. The idea that he defeated them in a single day is an exaggerated statement in the same vein as Naram-Sin's boast that he fought nine battles in one year⁷¹. The image of the conquest of the entire world as from the place of sunrise to that of sunset is not found in Old Akkadian or Old Assyrian inscriptions. To my knowledge it first appears in the royal inscriptions of the reign of Assurnasirpal⁷², although the concept from sunrise to sunset is found earlier in other types of texts⁷³. In Old Akkadian inscriptions the large extent of a king's conquests is expressed by the statement "from the lower to the upper sea", something we find here in line 65. The statement "from east to west" makes more sense in Anatolia where the lower (Persian Gulf) and upper seas (Mediterranean) would have no relevance as boundaries.

(III) The third section of the text (lines 13-18) discusses a set of actions that seem to demonstrate Sargon's ability to run very fast. They involve a gazelle (*ṣabītum*), a brick (*libittum*), and an inscription (*musarûm*), all three of which appear twice in the passage. Sargon seems to have thrown a brick in the water. When he saw the gazelle, he chased and caught it, and lifted the brick out of the water⁷⁴, all before the brick's inscription had been fully dissolved. The catching of a gazelle as a demonstration of royal greatness is, to my knowledge, not attested in Sargonic texts, but is found in the Ur III hymns of king Šulgi. In Hymn B he boasts: "I, Šulgi, when I am running can overtake a gazelle"⁷⁵. It seems that the connection made between the gazelle and the brick is based on the similarity in Akkadian terms *ṣabītum* and *libittum*. Line 17, *ṣabītam ašbat libittam*, seems to be a deliberate poetic construction, paralleled in line 62, *tudittam udid qutītam*.

(IV) The fourth section of the text (lines 19-40) is not easy to understand in detail, but the general outlines seem clear. The passage seems to describe a lack of meat at a banquet. First, Sargon states that he slaughtered 7000 animals daily to feed his troops. This statement reminds us of the declaration in his own inscription that "daily 5,400 men ate at his presence"⁷⁶. Three groups of men and three cuts of meat

⁷⁰ E.g., Frayne *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 13.

⁷¹ E.g., Frayne, *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 113.

⁷² A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I* (*RIMA* 2; Toronto/ Buffalo/London 1991) 113.

⁷³ E.g., G. Dossin, "Une tablette inédite de Mari", in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy ... Th. H. Robinson* (Edinburgh 1950) 104.

⁷⁴ For *ina* as "out of" see K. Hecker, *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte* (Rome 1968) 178 § 103 c 3.

⁷⁵ G. R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns (BC)* (*Studi Semitici* 42; Rome 1972) 40-41.

⁷⁶ Frayne, *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 29.

are involved: the “heroes” who eat breast-meat⁷⁷, the scouts who eat rump-meat, and the cup-bearers who seem to eat the top part of the lower leg up to the roasted part⁷⁸. All these men, 11,000 in total, were invited, but we do not know by whom. The first two signs of line 29 seem to render the name or title of the host, but neither the copy nor the photograph are clear to me. Whoever it may be, he had not foreseen what was needed for the guests. After the “heroes” had eaten, there was no more breast-meat. For those in the rear (*ana warkim*) there was not enough. Hence someone, the host most likely, slaughtered an ox, described in terms related to the throne. The representations of thrones carried by oxen come to mind here. Because of this mistake, oxen and sheep were slaughtered and given to eat to Sargon’s servants, seemingly different from those men who had been mentioned before.

(V) The resting and eating lasted for seven years, one month and fifteen days, after which Sargon became active. This period of rest reminds us of the statement in the Hittite version of *šar tamḫāri* that Sargon stayed in Puruṣḫanda for three years and five months⁷⁹. The text states that Sargon stayed with his “creditors”, the common Old Assyrian term *ummiānu*⁸⁰, not with his “troops”, *ummānu*. Before he left, Sargon bound a rod of carnelian and lapis lazuli together and distributed it over the land, a symbolic act for which I cannot find a parallel. Then he describes his feats, but again in highly unusual language. He is not really involved in battle, but in a set of acts that indicate his control over people of various regions. Some of the places he mentions appear in other texts regarding the Sargonic kings as well, others are known from Anatolian sources of the second millennium. These include:

1) Mount Amanum: this chain of mountains figures in a Naram-Sin inscription in an Old Babylonian copy⁸¹, and in a legend regarding Sargon⁸², where the same spelling as here, Ḫamanum, is used. It is located at the very north-western corner of Syria on the southern edge of Anatolia. In the Naram-Sin inscription it is closely associated with Armanum, whose king appears amongst Naram-Sin’s enemies in later legends⁸³.

⁷⁷ Numbering 7000, exactly the same number as the animals slaughtered.

⁷⁸ For different cuts of meat in an Old Assyrian text, see V. Donbaz, *NABU* 1990 no. 130, where we find breast-meat (*irtum*) and that of the shoulder (*kišadum*). I owe this reference to L. Milano.

⁷⁹ H. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101 (1969) (cf. note 16) 21 Col. IV 8'-9'.

⁸⁰ The form *ummēnu* found here is attested at Mari.

⁸¹ Frayne, *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 133.

⁸² Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) text 7 line 11'.

⁸³ Cf. above, the discussion of KBo 3.13.

2) Tukriš: this region appears in Mesopotamian texts of the third and second millennia as a source of precious goods. In the Sargon tradition it occurs in the so-called Sargon Geography⁸⁴ as a place he conquered, and its king appears next to the Old Akkadian ones in the Hurrian ritual KUB 27.38. Possibly it can be identified with Turukku and Turki⁸⁵ which appear amongst the enemies of Naram-Sin in the later tradition⁸⁶. The location of Tukriš is usually thought to be somewhere in north-west Iran⁸⁷, hence entirely on the opposite side of Anatolia from Amanum. The same geographical opposition is found in Šamši-Adad I's claim that he received tribute from the kings of Tukriš and that he set up an inscription at the Mediterranean coast⁸⁸.

3) Ḫutura seems to be a place near Puruṣḫanda attested in Old Assyrian texts⁸⁹. The people's heads seem to be covered with something, a cloth perhaps, that derives from Alasia. That name is usually thought to refer to Cyprus, and first appears in the cuneiform record with the Mari texts⁹⁰, thus slightly later than the Old Assyrian text at hand. The Sargon tradition may make a connection between the king and Cyprus in the Sargon Geography, where the term Anaku is used⁹¹.

4) Amurru: this designation appears in Old Assyrian texts⁹², but whether it refers to a general "Amorite" area or to the region of Amurru in north-west Syria well-known in the second half of the second millennium is unclear. A king of Amurru is amongst Naram-Sin's enemies in the later traditions⁹³.

5) Kilarium is known from Old Assyrian tablets⁹⁴, but of unknown location.

⁸⁴ Grayson, *A/O* 25 (cf. note 36) 60 line 34.

⁸⁵ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) 251.

⁸⁶ Cf. above.

⁸⁷ P. R. S. Moorey, "The Eastern Land of Tukrish", in U. Finkbeiner *et. al.*, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer* (Mainz 1995) 439-447.

⁸⁸ Grayson, *RIMA* 1 (cf. note 46) 50.

⁸⁹ K. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der altassyrischen Zeit* (RGTC 4; Wiesbaden 1991) 62.

⁹⁰ G. Dossin, "Les archives économiques du palais de Mari", *Syria* 20 (1939) 111.

⁹¹ Grayson, *A/O* 25 (cf. note 36) 60 line 4; for the identification with Cyprus, see A. Malamat, "Campaigns to the Mediterranean by Iahdunlim and other early Mesopotamian rulers", in H. Güterbock – T. Jacobsen, *Studies in honor of Benno Landsberger* (AS 16; Chicago 1965) 365-373.

⁹² Nashef, *RGTC* 4 (cf. note 89) 10-11.

⁹³ Cf. above.

⁹⁴ Nashef, *RGTC* 4 (cf. note 89) 71.

6) Kaneš is the well-known Anatolian city where this text was found. It features in the later traditions as one of the enemies of Naram-Sin⁹⁵.

7) Ḫatum is a term found in Old Assyrian texts⁹⁶ obviously reminding us of the designation Ḫatti used for the later Hittite state. Where exactly the region is located is disputed, but a central Anatolian location seems certain. In the Hurrian ritual, KUB 27.38 the king of Ḫatti is listed among the apotropaic dolls.

8) Luḫmum is a place of unknown location, attested perhaps in the Hittite texts⁹⁷. The action of Sargon there may involve a Gutian object.

9) Lullum and Ḫaḫḫum are mentioned together. The last place is the Ḫaḫḫum mentioned in Ḫattušili I's annals and was discussed above. It appears together with Lullum in the list of Naram-Sin's enemies in the Old Babylonian tradition⁹⁸. Lullum is a well-attested, yet unidentified, region east of the Tigris that may have a long history in the ancient Near Eastern record⁹⁹, if the equation with Lullubum is correct. Against this equation is the fact that Lullum and Ḫaḫḫum were geographically near one another. A letter to king Zimri-Lim of Mari places Ḫaḫḫum and the men of Lullum together in the Upper country, i.e. northern Syria¹⁰⁰. The king of Lullu appears in the Hurrian ritual KUB 27.38 besides the Old Akkadian rulers.

The places mentioned here are thus all located in the greater Anatolian area, as far as we know. Several are on the fringes of the region: Amanum, Tukriš, and Amurru. Others are central: Ḫutura, Kaneš, and Ḫatum, while Ḫaḫḫum and probably Lullum are on the border with northern Syria. The later Sargonic tradition preserves many of these names: Amurru, Kaneš, Lullum, and Ḫaḫḫum feature among Naram-Sin's enemies, where Armanum and Turukku may refer to the Amanum and the Tukriš found here. The late second millennium Hurrian ritual, KUB 27.38, places the kings of Ḫatti, Lullu and Tukriš, next to those of Agade, while the first millennium Sargon Geography mentions Tukriš and Amurru amongst the regions controlled by the Old Akkadian king. The world dominated by Sargon in the Kültepe text remains thus associated with the Sargonic kings in the later traditions: in those from Mesopotamia this world is just one of the many regions of the

⁹⁵ Cf. above.

⁹⁶ Nashef, *RGTC* 4 (cf. note 89) 57.

⁹⁷ G. F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte* (*RGTC* 6; Wiesbaden 1978) 249.

⁹⁸ Westenholz, *Legends* (cf. note 4) 250 lines 4'-5'.

⁹⁹ H. Klengel, "Lullu(bum)", *RIA* 7 (1987-90) 164-168.

¹⁰⁰ J.-R. Kupper, *Lettres royales du temps de Zimri-Lim* (*ARM XXVIII*; Paris 1998) text 60 lines 26-30.

earth that are in contact with the Sargonic kings, while in the later Hittite traditions greater Anatolia remains the focus of attention.

The acts performed by Sargon to express his control over these regions are almost all strange, to say the least. They include:

- the setting up of a statue “like a foundation peg”¹⁰¹. The erection of a stela or a representation of the king is a common symbol of military victory.
- dressing the ruler with a skin. While grammatically this statement is clear, the meaning of this act escapes me.
- several acts over or on the heads of people. Sargon places something¹⁰² on the heads of the inhabitants, he covers their heads like a woman¹⁰³, he binds the heads in a bundle, and he skins the middle of heads. These acts seem to indicate public humiliation or worse, but what they exactly mean is unclear. The verbs used may have been chosen on purpose resembling one another: *aškun*, *aktum*, *aqtî*.
- various acts that involve Akkadian words with roots containing the consonants š and r, but which make little sense grammatically or lexicographically:
 - *i-ša-ar-šu-nu*: their penis?
 - *ú-še-er*: I let loose, from the verb *wašāru*
 - *ú-ša-ri*: I made rich, perhaps from the verb *šarû*.

The two verbs have as object the noun *sú-tú-ḫi-šu-nu* (lines 60 and 62), which is perhaps related to the Old Akkadian *šutuḫḫātum*¹⁰⁴, but that in itself is incomprehensible. The verb *qatû* (line 57) is intransitive, so its relationship to the rest of the sentence is unclear to me. It seems once more that the author is engaged in an elaborate play on words, which makes understanding the passage difficult.

– the expression *tú-di-tám ú-dí-id Qú-tí-tám* in line 62 also seems to be a play on words, similar to what we see in line 17. If we take *edēdu* D-stem as “to sharpen”, a logical connection with the toggle-pin can be imagined.

Finally Sargon states that he touched the three posts¹⁰⁵ of heaven with his hand, again seemingly a symbolic act.

(VI) The end of the text has a set of statements regarding Sargon’s kingship, as pointed out above. It concludes with a wish, a request to Adad

¹⁰¹ I take *sikkitum* as a variant of *sikkatum* as in the Šamši-Adad I inscription, Grayson *RIMA* 1 (cf. note 46) 56.

¹⁰² *Bebenātim*, unclear to me, may be a mistake for *binātim*, the plural of *binītum*, “creation”, but that still remains mysterious.

¹⁰³ The singular *šinništum* does not agree with the plural *qaqqadāti*.

¹⁰⁴ I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (Chicago 1957) 290.

¹⁰⁵ The numeral as copied and in Günbatti’s transliteration is 13!. That seems to be meaningless, however.

that he make Sargon's offering abundant. As copied, the verb is in the plural, which is grammatically incorrect.

The text is thus difficult to understand, but this seems to me to be the result of the author's ability to work with the Akkadian language. Similarities between words are used to string together a set of actions or to construct phrases.

On a second level of analysis we can look at this text within the written traditions regarding Sargon, an intertextual analysis then. Because of our ability to date it, we can do so with confidence in two directions: towards the earlier Sargonic inscriptions and towards the later Hittite traditions. My intent is not to demonstrate that the Old Assyrian author of this text had available to him a collection of Old Akkadian royal inscriptions, or that his text was preserved in the archives of Ḫattuša, where it would have inspired Hittite authors of the Sargon tradition. Elements of the tradition were known to the Old Assyrian community, which could react to it. Likewise, the ideas they included in the Sargon tradition remained known to the later Hittites who wrote about the Sargonic kings.

The Kültepe text seems to contain a parody of the inscriptions left by the Sargonic kings¹⁰⁶. It looks like a straightforward royal inscription, but it certainly is not. If we take the beginning and the end to frame the work by focusing on Sargon's kingship, it seems that his greatness was not acknowledged by Anum. While Sargon states that he seized the land from east to west (lines 5-6), Anum does not know that he seized the upper and the lower country (line 65).

The second part of the text seems like a simple summary of the king's conquests, something we find sometimes in Sargon's own inscriptions when he claims that he captured 50 governors¹⁰⁷. But when we look at it in more detail, the level of exaggerations is so great that the statement becomes almost ridiculous: 70 cities destroyed in one day only! And hyperbole is the trademark of all of Sargon's declarations here. Yet Sargon swears by the gods Adad and Ištar that it is the truth. Such oaths are found in Sargonic royal inscriptions, albeit not Sargon's. Rimuš and Maništušu repeatedly used the expression, "by the gods Šamaš and Ilaba, I swear that (these) are not falsehoods, (that) they are indeed true"¹⁰⁸. Naram-Sin may have stated the same invoking the god Enlil, but the passage is very fragmentary¹⁰⁹. It

¹⁰⁶ I owe this idea to M. Liverani, whose comments forced me to restudy the text in this new light.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., Frayne *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 16.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., Frayne *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 54 and 76.

¹⁰⁹ Frayne *RIME* 2 (cf. note 1) 94.

seems as if the author is mocking these statements by making Sargon utter them while he describes impossible acts.

The third part portrays the king as a superfast runner. When an inscribed brick fell in the water, thus to be dissolved in a short period of time, Sargon was able to run after a gazelle and seize the animal, return, and recover the inscribed brick¹¹⁰. An incredible feat of speed then, similar in vein to what Šulgi was supposed to have done in Hymn B, but even more extravagant.

Part four shows the same attitude. What was a boast in Sargon's own time, the daily feeding of 5,400 men, becomes now a long passage where the number of men involved is more than doubled and where the food involved is defined in detail. Even if the details of the problems which arose when they were all invited remain obscure, it is clear that the situation is not normal and involves confusion.

When Sargon sets out on his adventures in part five, these are also not what one would expect in a regular royal inscription. First, there is a strange statement that he had spent his time with his creditors, a common Old Assyrian term which can easily be confused with the term for troops or soldiers. To an Old Assyrian audience, used to deal with these people in their business practices, this may have had a special resonance. In his description of Sargon's acts the author plays around with words, mentioning feats that are almost senseless, but that are strung together through the usage of similar Akkadian roots. Real places are involved, but for the rest the passage is a parody of a royal military account.

The text's author acted thus as if he was inspired by regular Sargonic royal accounts, as he refers to such elements as conquest, feeding of troops, and physical strength, which are praised in these inscriptions. But he turns these elements into something very different: the actions become exaggerated or they are strange in character.

If the Kültepe text is so strange, can we still use it to study links with the later Anatolian traditions regarding Sargon? Those are certainly not parodies, but present a heroic picture of the king and his grandson. Yet, the parody emulates what it mocks, it uses elements that are recognizable to the audience. In this case, we can see within the Kültepe text, and the Old Assyrian tradition that it represents to us, many of the specific characteristics that the later Hittite stories about Sargon and his successors perpetuate. These include:

- 1) a vision of a world centered in the north of western Asia, in greater

¹¹⁰ Again, I owe this idea to M. Liverani.

Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia. In contrast to “Gula-AN and the seventeen kings”, a Babylonian composition, both this text and KBo 3.13 locate the enemies of the Sargonic kings in that area, rather than in the entire world. There is no mention of distant places such as Aratta or Marḥaši in Iran, only of regions that are located in Anatolia or border it directly.

2) the local Anatolian rulers, including those of Kaneš and Ḫatti, are the enemies of the Sargonic kings, the heroes of these texts. The Anatolian rulers are the “other”¹¹¹. This makes sense in the Kültepe text, which is a product of Mesopotamian settlers in Anatolia, but for the later Hittites it shows a particular attitude towards the original inhabitants of the region they controlled. I will discuss this aspect somewhat later in more detail.

3) Sargon’s acts in the Kültepe text are of such strange nature that they can be regarded perhaps as ritual in character. If they were perceived as such, this might explain the use of representations of the Sargonic kings in later rituals. Admittedly, the link between the two is tenuous and the Hurrian ritual from Ḫattuša is certainly very different from what is found in the Kültepe text. Yet, we can say that an aura of magic surrounded Sargon and such enemies as Tukriš, Lullum, and Ḫatti in that text.

4) the description of a banquet takes up a large part of the Kültepe text, something that seems to be paralleled in the Hittite tradition about the Sargonic kings.

It is impossible to regard the entire Sargonic tradition as attested in the texts from Ḫattuša as derivative from this Kültepe text. Yet, its contents demonstrates that many aspects of that tradition were present amongst the Old Assyrian merchants. The ideological context that informed this text was thus somehow passed on to the Anatolians and preserved by the Hittites. This is not unique in the Hittite corpus. A direct connection between Kaneš and the Hittites is provided by the figure of Anitta. This ruler, whose inscribed dagger was found on the citadel of Kaneš and who is known from Old Assyrian tablets from Alishar¹¹², is one of the first historical figures in the later Hittite tradition. The famous Anitta-text¹¹³, preserved in three manuscripts including one from the Old Hittite period, is alleged to be a copy of an inscription set up at the gate of the royal city. It narrates military conquests by Anitta, son of Piḫana, which took place while the Assyrian

¹¹¹ For an in-depth discussion of later second millennium concepts of identity and difference from other peoples, see M. Liverani, *Prestige and Interest* (Padua 1990).

¹¹² A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (Munich 1957) 84.

¹¹³ E. Neu, *Der Anitta-Text* (StBot 18; Wiesbaden 1974). See the recent discussions by H. Klengel, *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches* (Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999) 27-31 and T. Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, (Oxford 1998) 37-42.

merchant colonies in Anatolia flourished. It used to be thought that the original text was written in Old Assyrian and later translated into Hittite¹¹⁴, but now it is considered to be more likely that a local Anatolian language was at the basis of the text known to us¹¹⁵. Important for the consideration of the Kültepe text regarding Sargon is the fact that the Anitta text shows a similar preservation and translation of a tradition by the later Hittites.

One should not regard the Old Assyrian world as an isolated or privileged channel for cultural contacts between Mesopotamia and Anatolia in the early second millennium, however. I certainly do not want to replace the idea of a privileged Hurrian intermediary with an Old Assyrian one. The northern Mesopotamian and northern Syrian area in the early second millennium was exposed to an enormous variety of cultural and political influences from multiple sources. We know that the region was inhabited by people with various linguistic backgrounds: Amorite, Hurrian, Babylonian, and Assyrian. It was exposed to military invasion from the Diyala region, Elam, and Babylonia. That the Assyrian colonies in Anatolia were part of this world is shown by that fact that also Hurrians from western Syria lived and traded there, maintaining a scribal tradition distinct from the Old Assyrian one¹¹⁶. Throughout the region Babylonian cultural influence was great, but surely other elements were very important as well, and Babylonian culture was adapted to local interests. The Sargonic kings were part of this tradition. Tales surrounding them were modified or created to appeal to the local populations. These were in contact with people from Anatolia, not only in colonies like Kaneš, but probably also in such border places as Ḫaḫḫum. The Hittites who came to dominate the central Anatolian region in the seventeenth century were heirs to this tradition. They probably received a lot more influence from Babylonia in their later history, but the seeds for their own traditions on Sargon were laid at this time, and further developed by them for their own reasons.

We can take the analysis of this tradition to a final level, by asking what it tells us about the Hittites' attitude toward their own land. If we accept that the Hittites saw in the Sargonic kings a paradigm of rule, then we need to conclude that they saw themselves as outsiders in the land they occupied.

¹¹⁴ H. Güterbock, "A View of Hittite Literature", *JAOS* 84 (1964) 109.

¹¹⁵ Bryce, *Kingdom of the Hittites* 37.

¹¹⁶ K. Hecker, "Zur Herkunft der hethitischen Keilschrift", in D. Owen – G. Wilhelm, *Richard F. S. Starr Memorial Volume* (SCCNH 8; Bethesda 1996) 291-303. See G. Wilhelm, "The Hurrians in the Western Parts of the Ancient Near East", in M. Malul, *Mutual Influences of Peoples and Cultures in the Ancient Near East* (Michmanim 9; Haifa 1996) 17.

The world the Sargonic kings inhabit in the Hittite traditions is that of the Hittites, namely greater Anatolia. That area is, however, portrayed as one to which the Sargonic rulers were alien: they fought against the local rulers of places such as Kaneš and Ḫattuša. The Hittites associated themselves with the non-Anatolian Akkadians, not with Anatolian rulers like Nūh-daggal. There is certainly no indication at all of a primordial connection between the Hittite people and the land they inhabit. We find a similar approach in the Anitta text: he and his father are portrayed as acting against the local rulers, they are the newcomers. And Anitta became like the ancestor of the Hittite royal house. If the Hittite rulers continued to maintain an association with the foreign Sargonic rulers throughout their history, this seems to indicate a persistent refusal to identify with their surroundings. Their self-identification was thus very different from that of other people, such as the Judeans, Athenians, and many others, to whom the connection to the soil they inhabited was of supreme importance.

Marc Van De Mieroop
603 Kent Hall
Columbia University
New York, NY 10027 USA