

ADAD IS KING!
THE SARGON TEXT FROM KÜLTEPE
(with an appendix on MARV 4, 138 and 140)

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Few Kültepe texts enjoy so much interest as the one about Sargon of Akkade. It has acquired literary status because of its highly unusual contents amidst all the surrounding mercantile documents. But this status tends to obscure the crucial question regarding the purpose of the composition. The present article aims at providing an improved translation of the Sargon text and at offering a new interpretation.

Introduction

Tablet Kt j/k 97 contains a composition about Sargon of Akkade. It was discovered in 1958 in the Karum of ancient Kanesh (presently Kültepe),¹ in the ruins of a house from Level II that had been inhabited by an Assyrian merchant and which was destroyed in about 1836 BC. It would take almost forty years before this important text became known to the academic world and was published by Cahit Günbattı (1997). Several translations and studies have appeared since its initial publication, notably in Van De Mieroop 2000 and Hecker 2001. In his recently published anthology of Akkadian literature, B. Foster (2005) offered a new translation and an interpretation which differed radically from those of Günbattı and Hecker. The interpretations put forward by the various scholars will be presented first, followed by a new edition of the text, a commentary, and a discussion of its contents and possible purpose.

Previous editions and studies

The editio princeps by C. Günbattı (1997) is in Turkish with a summary in English and presents the text in transliteration, translation and photos, followed by an extensive commentary. Günbattı regarded the composition as a collection of stories about Sargon that were known at the time of the Assyrian merchants' involvement in Anatolia. He noted the presence of topics occurring in Old Akkadian royal inscriptions and later traditions about Sargon, and remarked that this text demonstrates that the Assyrian merchants transmitted such Mesopotamian lore to Anatolia, where it ultimately found its way into the Hittite traditions of Sargon and Narām-Sîn.

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¹ Two archives with about 800 tablets were found in Level II that year (*AJA* 64 [1960], 59); according to C. Günbattı the archive which contained Kt j/k 97 may have belonged to a man by the name of Aḫ-šalim, someone known from the archive of Uṣur-ša-Ištar (Kt n/k).

The idea that OA traders introduced these traditions into Anatolia and that these traditions later contributed to Hittite political thought was further developed by Marc Van De Mieroop in his 2000 article entitled 'Sargon of Agade and his successors in Anatolia'.² Following a suggestion made to him by M. Liverani, Van De Mieroop regarded the text as a parody of Sargonic royal inscriptions.

Karl Hecker (2001) provided a translation of the text in German in the supplement to the series *TUAT*. He considered the text to be a self-laudation and noted that it contains several Babylonian grammatical forms.

A radically different interpretation is given by B. Foster in the latest edition of his anthology of Akkadian literature (2005). Like Liverani and Van De Mieroop, Foster regards the text as a parody on the epic traditions of the kings of Akkade, a text rich in wordplays, which would convey a satirical or humorous message to the educated ancient audience. By giving it the title 'Sargon, lord of the lies', Foster excludes any serious meaning. Amusing as the composition reads in Foster's translation, at the same time it demonstrates the pitfalls of identifying alleged wordplays. Although the ancient Assyrians undoubtedly possessed some sense of humour and many would value a few good stories to supplement the incantations warding off menacing evil, the suggested wordplays carry little conviction.³

None of the discussions of the Sargon text published thus far offers a plausible explanation of what the purpose of this composition may have been and why it was found in Kültepe. The supposedly literary character of the text can be ignored, as this modern concept was alien to OA society. I shall return to the question of the purpose of the text after providing my translation followed by the previous translations for comparative purposes and a commentary to textual details.

Edition of the text

The composition can be divided into six sections: 'Introduction' (lines 1-11), 'The first feat: Sargon the hunter and athlete' (11-18), 'The second feat: Sargon the provider' (18-40), 'The third feat: Sargon resisting darkness' (40-50), 'The fourth feat: Sargon the conquering hero' (50-62), and 'Conclusion and praise' (63-66).

Introduction

(1) LUGAL : LUGAL-ke-en₆ : LUGAL (2) A-ki-dí-e : re-bi₄-tim : LUGAL (3) da-num : ša iš-tí : i-le-e (4) e-ta-wu-ni ^dIM : da-nu-tám (5) i-dí-šu-ma : iš-tù : ší-it (6) ša-am-ší-im : a-dí-e-ra-áb (7) ša-am-ší-im : ma-tám : aš-ba-at-ma (8) i-na u₄-mì-im : iš-té-en₆ (9) a-na 70 a-lá-né : kà-kà-am : a-dí-in (10) ru-ba-e-šu-nu : ú-ša-bi₄-it : ú-a-le-šu-nu (11) ú-ħa-li-iq

King Sargon, king of Akkade the metropolis, mighty king, who discusses with the gods. Divine Adad gave him strength and as a result I(!) took possession of the land from East to West and on one single day I did battle with seventy cities; I captured their rulers and destroyed their cities.

² For Akkad in Hittite compositions, see Pecchioli Daddi 2003.

³ See for example the treatment of the episode of the gazelle hunt in lines 13-18 (Foster 2005, 73 notes 1-4). A wordplay on 'gazelle', 'tavern keeper' and possibly also on 'to seize', *šabītum*, *sābītum* and *šabātum* respectively is assumed despite the different sibilants. The OA word *musarrum* 'belt, girdle' is taken to be *musarū* 'commemorative inscription', which is then parsed as *mū* 'water' (OA form is *mā'ū*) and the Sumerian verb *sar* 'to write' and Akkadian *sār* 'it is false', leading to the translation 'water lie'.

The first feat: Sargon the hunter and athlete

^dIM : be-el : e-mu-qí-šim (12) ù Ištar : be-lá-at : ta-ħa-zi-im (13) at-ma : ša-bi₄-tám : a-mu-ur-ma : li-bi₄-tám (14) a-na na-ri-im : a-dí-ma : i-na (15) lá-sà-mì-a : mu-sà-ri : i-bi₄-tí-iq-ma (16) ša-ar-a-am : áš-ta-kà-an-ma : al-sú-ma (17) ša-bi₄-tám : aš-ba-at : li-bi₄-tám (18) i-ma-e : ú-šé-li

I swear by divine Adad, the lord of strength, and by divine Ištar, the lady of combat! I saw a gazelle and threw a brick in the river. But while I was running, my girdle broke; I attached a snake, (ran on) and caught the gazelle. (Next) I took the brick out of the water.

The second feat: Sargon the provider

^dIM ù Ištar (19) a[t-ma] : I [l]i-im GUD.ĪLA : 6 li-me-je (20) UDU.ĪLA : ú-mì-ša-ma : lu ú-ħa-ba-aħ (21) 7 li-me-e : qá-[r]a-du-a : ša i-ra-tim (22) ú-mì-ša-ma : ma-aħ-ri-a : e-ku-lu-ni (23) 3 li-me-e : lá-sí-mu-ú-a (24) ša : ar-kà-tim : e-ku-lu-ni (25) I li-im : ša-qí-ú-a (26) u₄-mì-ša-ma : mu-ħa-am (27) ša ku^m-sí-na-tim : a-dí-i (lower edge 28) ša-ba-im : e-ku-lu-ni (29) x-DU i-iq-re-e-ma (30) 7 li-me-e : qá-ra-du-a (reverse 31) i-ra-tim : e-ku-lu : a-na (32) wa-ar-ki-im : i-ir-tum : (33) lá ik-šu-ud-ma : a-lá-áp-šu (34) ku-ša-ma-ni-a-am : ša ku-sí-i-šu (35) i-ħu-ùħ-ma : a-na wa-ar-ki-im (36) i-ir-tám : i-dí-in nu-ħi-tí-mì (37) gu₅-ur-na-am : ú-ri-ir-ma (38) a-na ar-ni-šu : I me-et GUD.ĪLA (39) 2 me-et UDU.ĪLA : i-ħu-ùħ-ma (40) ur-de₈-a : ú-ša-ki-il₅

I swear by divine Adad and divine Ištar! Every day I truly slaughter one thousand oxen and six thousand sheep. Seven thousand (are) my heroes who are daily eating brisket in my presence. Three thousand (are) my runners who are eating loins. A thousand (are) my cupbearers who are daily eating marrow from shanks until they are satisfied. ... invited (them) and my seven thousand heroes ate brisket. For the last man brisket was found lacking; he slaughtered his ox from Kušamman that belonged to his travel seat and he gave brisket to the last man. My cook let mediocre (meat) burn and as punishment he slaughtered one hundred oxen and two hundred sheep, and I fed (the meat) to my servants.

The third feat: Sargon resisting darkness

^dIM (41) ù Ištar : at-ma : MU.7.ŠÈ ITU.KAM (42) ù ša-pá-tám : i-na i-ki-il₅-tim (43) qá-du : um-mì-ni-a : lu ú-ší-ib (44) i-na wa-ša-i-a : ša NA₄.GUG (45) ù NA₄.ZA.GÌN : qá-nu-a-am (46) lu ar-ku-ús-ma : a-na ma-tim (47) lu ú-za-iz : ša-du-a-am : ĪHu-ma-nam (48) a-ší-ni-šu : am-ħa-sú-ma : ki-ma (49) sí-ki-tim : i-ba-ri-šu-nu : ša-al-īm (50) ú-ša-zi-iz

I swear by divine Adad and divine Ištar! Indeed I did stay in darkness, together with my army, for seven years, one month and two weeks. When I came out, indeed I did take a measuring rod (decorated with) carnelian and lapis lazuli, and indeed I did make a distribution for the land; I divided the ĪHumānum mountain in two parts and erected my statue between them as a (marking) stake.

The fourth feat: Sargon the conquering hero

ru-ba-am (51) ša Tù-uk-ri-iš : maš-kam : ú-lá-bi₄-iš (52) ĪHu-du-ra : bi₄-bi₄-na-tim qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu (53) áš-ku-un A-lá-ší-am : ki-ma (54) sí-ni-iš-tim : qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu (55) ak-tù-um ša A-mu-ri-e (56) ki-ma : a-pì-šu-nu : ša-ma-tim (57) i-ša-ar-šu-nu : aq-tí-i ša Ki-lá-ri-je (58) i-mar-ší-im : qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu (59) ar-ku-ús ša ni um ga ni ší (60) sú-tù-ħi-šu-nu ú-šé-er (61) ša ĪHa-tim : qá-ba-al-tí : qá-qá-da-tí-šu-nu : ú-ša-ag-li-ib Lu-ùħ-mì-e (62) tù-dí-tám : ú-dí-id : Qú-tí-tám : Lu-lu-am : ù ĪHa-ħa-am sú-ba-tí-šu-nu ú-ša-ri-īm

I dressed the ruler of Tukrish in an animal skin. As for (the men of) Hudura: I applied a slave mark to their heads. As for (the men of) Alashiya: I covered their head like a woman (would). Of the Amorites I destroyed their penis instead of cutting off their noses. I tied the heads of the Kilarites with a leather strap. I released the *sutuħhu* of the.... I shaved the scalp of (the men of) Hattum. I pinched the men of Luhme with a toggle-pin. As for as the (woman of) Qutium (and the men of) Lullu(b)um and Hahhum: I slit open their clothes.

Conclusion and praise

(63) 3 zi-qi ša-ma-e : i-qa-té-a : al-pu-ut : mi-na-am i-tup-pè (64) lu-ša-am-i-id : A-nu-um : lá i-de₈-a-ni ki-ma LUGAL a-na-ku-ni (65) ma-tám e-li-tám ù ša-áp-li-tám aš-bu-tù-ni-i (66) ša-tù-uk-ki li-ša-ar-bi₄-ú^dIM : LUGAL

I touched the three posts of heaven with my hands. Why should I increase <words> on (other) tablets? Does Anum not know me? Let them increase the regular offerings to me, because I have been king and conquered the Upper and the Lower Country. Divine Adad is king!

Previous translations

Van De Mierop 2000

¹⁻⁷King, Sargon, king of Agade of the broad squares, strong king, who negotiates with the gods. Adad gave him strength, and from east to west I seized the land. ⁸⁻¹¹In one day I fought against 70 cities; their princes I took prisoner and their cities I destroyed. ¹¹⁻¹³By Adad, the lord of strength, and Ištar, the lady of battle, I swear (to it). ¹³⁻¹⁸I saw a gazelle and I threw a brick into the river. During my running the inscription was loosened but I set up the inscription. I ran and caught the gazelle. (Then) I raised the brick from the water. ¹⁸⁻¹⁹By Adad and Ištar I swear (to it). ¹⁹⁻²⁰1000 oxen and 6000 sheep I did indeed slaughter daily. ²¹⁻²⁹7000 of my heroes who daily eat breast-meat before me, 3000 of my scouts, who eat rump-meat, 1000 of my cupbearers, who daily eat the top part of the lower leg up to the roasted part X invited. ³⁰⁻³¹7000 of my heroes ate breast-meat. ³¹⁻³⁷There was not enough breast-meat for the rear. His ox, the xxx of his throne, he slaughtered and he gave the breast-meat to the rear. My cook distributed the cuts of meat. ³⁸⁻⁴⁰As a punishment 100 oxen and 200 sheep he slaughtered, and he fed it to my servants. ⁴⁰⁻⁴¹By Adad and Ištar I swear (to it). ⁴¹⁻⁴³For 7 years, one month and 15 days I stayed with my creditors at the meal. ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁷Upon my leaving, I did indeed bind a rod of carnelian and lapis lazuli, and I did distribute it over the land. ⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰At mount Amanum, which I defeated twice, I set up a statue like a foundation peg in its middle. ⁵⁰⁻⁵¹The prince of Tukriš I dressed with a skin. ⁵²⁻⁵⁵In Hutura, I placed xxx on their heads. I covered their heads like that of a woman with an Alasian (cloth). ⁵⁵⁻⁵⁷Those of Amurru, like their fathers, their xxx of the land, I finished. ⁵⁷⁻⁵⁹Those of Kilaru I bound their heads in a bundle. ⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰Again, the people of Kaneš their xxx I let loose. ⁶¹Those of Hātu, the midst of their heads I skinned. ⁶¹⁻⁶²Of Luḫme the toggle-pin I sharpened, ... the Gutian one. ⁶²Lullum and Ḫaḫḫum, their xxx I made rich. ⁶³The 3 posts of heaven I touched with my hand. ⁶³⁻⁶⁶Why should I enlarge what is on the tablet? Anum does not know how I am king, (and) how I took the lower and the upper country. May Adad, the king, make my offering abundant.

Hecker 2001

¹König Šarrumkin, König des ²platzreichen Akkad, ³der mächtige ²König, ³der mit den Göttern ⁴spricht: Adad ⁵gab ihm ⁴Macht. ⁵So ⁷ergriff ich ⁵vom Aufgang ⁶der Sonne bis zum Untergang ⁷der Sonne das Land und ⁹legte ⁸an einem einzigen Tag ⁹an 70 Städte die Waffe. ¹⁰Ihre Fürsten ergriff ich und ihre Städte ¹¹zerstörte ich. (Bei) Adad, dem Herrn der Stärke, ¹²und Ishtar, der Herrin der Schlacht, ¹³schwor ich. Eine Gazelle sah ich und ¹⁴warf ¹³einen Ziegel ¹⁴in den Fluß. Bei ¹⁵meinem Laufen ging mein Gürtel verloren. ¹⁶Daher legte ich einen Lederpanzer an. Dann konnte ich laufen und ¹⁷die Gazelle fangen. Den Ziegel ¹⁸nahm ich aus dem Wasser heraus. (Bei) Adad und Ishtar ¹⁹[schwor] ich. 1 tausend Rinder (und) 6 tausend ²⁰Schafe pflegte ich täglich zu schlachten. ²¹Meine 7 tausend Helden, die ²²täglich ²¹die Bruststücke ²²vor mir aßen, ²³meine 3 tausend Läufer, ²⁴die die Hinterteile aßen, ²⁵meine 1 tausend Mundschenken, ²⁶<die> täglich vor mir die Vorderseite ²⁷der Knöchel bis zum ²⁸Satt-sein aßen, ²⁹(die) lud mein ... ein, und dann ³¹aßen ³⁰meine 7 tausend Helden ³¹die Bruststücke. ³²Für die letzten ³³reichte ³²das Bruststück ³³nicht aus, und so ³⁵schlachtete er ³³sein ³⁴... ³³Rind ³⁴von seinem Thron. ³⁶Das Bruststück (von diesem) gab er dann ³⁵den letzten. Mein Koch ³⁷machte den Knöchel (zu) heiß, und so ³⁹mußte er ³⁸zur Strafe 1 hundert Rinder ³⁹(und) 2 hundert Schafe schlachten und ⁴⁰meine Diener essen lassen. (Bei) Adad ⁴¹und Ishtar schwor ich. 7 Jahre, einen Monat ⁴²und 14 Tage ⁴³saß ich zusammen mit meinen Truppen ⁴²beim Essen. ⁴⁴Bei meinem Herauskommen ⁴⁶band ich ⁴⁵von Karneol und Lapislazuli ein Rohr ⁴⁷und verteilte es fürwahr ⁴⁶auf das Land. ⁴⁷Das Amanus-Gebirge ⁴⁸zerschlug

ich in zwei Teile und ⁵⁰stellte ⁴⁸als ⁴⁹Pflock zwischen ihnen meine Statue ⁵⁰auf. Den Fürsten ⁵¹von Tukriš bekleidete ich mit Fell. ⁵²(Den Leuten von) Chutura ⁵³machte ich ⁵²Schläfen <an>⁷ ihre Köpfe. (Den Leuten von) Alaschija ⁵⁵bedeckte ich ⁵³wie ⁵⁴einer Frau die Köpfe. ⁵⁵Was die Amurriter angeht, ⁵⁷so kam ich, ⁵⁶statt ihre Nase abzuschneiden, ⁵⁷bezüglich ihres Penis zum Ende. ⁵⁸Die Köpfe ⁵⁷der Kilariter ⁵⁹bandt ich ⁵⁸ans Bett. ⁵⁹Die ⁶⁰... ⁵⁹der Kaneschiter ⁶⁰ließ ich los. ⁶¹Den (Leuten) von Hattum ließ ich die Mitte ihrer Köpfe scheren. <Den> Leuten von Luchma ⁶²machte ich die Gewandnadel spitz. ..., ... und... machte ich mit ihren Gewändern reich. ⁶³Die ⁴ Pfosten des Himmels berührte ich mit meiner Hand. Warum ⁶⁴soll ich ⁶³auf der Tafel ⁶⁴viele (Worte) machen? Anum soll mich nicht verwerfen! Weil ich König war ⁶⁵(und) das obere und das untere Land packte, mögen Adad (und) ein (zukünftiger) König ⁶⁶mein Regelopfer übergroß machen.

Foster 2005

(1) Thus says King Sargon, King of Agade, city of great streets and squares, the mighty king who speaks with the gods, whose strength the Storm God gave him:

(5) I captured territory from where the sun rises to where the sun sets. In a single day, I gave weaponry to seventy cities, I captured their princes and I destroyed their cities. I swear it by Adad, lord of strength, and Ishtar, lady of battle!

(13) I saw a gazelle. I cast a brick(?) into a river, then, while I was running, my monumental inscription was formed, so I set up a falsehood for all time. Then I ran after and seized the gazelle, I raised up the brick(? handiwork?) from the water.

(19) Verily I slaughter a thousand oxen, six thousand sheep every day. ... became hostile to(?) my seven thousand warriors, who daily ate breast-meat before me, my three thousand runners, who ate rump-meat, my one thousand cupbearers, who ate the top cut of the lower leg, as far as it was roasted. My seven thousand warriors ate breast meat. There was not enough breast-meat for anyone behind. He slaughtered his ox, the ... of his throne, and gave the breast-meat to anyone behind. My cook scorched the meat, so for his punishment he slaughtered (another) one hundred oxen and two hundred sheep and fed my servants too. I swear it by Adad and Ishtar!

(41) For seven years, a month, and fifteen days verily I sat with my troops in darkness. When I came out, verily I made a package of carnelian and lapis, verily made I a distribution to the land.

(47) Indeed, I smote the Amanus mountains in two and, like a commemorative peg, I set up my statue between them. I made the prince of Tukriš wear animal hide. I made Hutura wear animals' heads, I covered the Cypriots' heads with cloth, like women. As for the Amorites, I went through them all, cutting off their penises as well as their noses. I wrapped the heads of the men of Kilaru in strapping. Once again, I released the ... of the men of Kanesh. I shaved the midline of the heads of the men of Hatti. I made a point of the Gutian togglepin of the Luḫmeans. I made the garments of Lulua and Hahhu sumptuous. So did I touch with my hand thirteen pillars of heaven!

(63) Why should I speak at length of what is on a tablet? May Anu himself not know how I am king, how I took the upper and lower lands. May Adad and king indeed make abundant my provisions of food!

Commentary

- 1) The title *šarrum* 'king' in OA usage generally denotes non-Assyrian kings. The king of the city-state is referred to as *rubā'um* 'ruler' (change the translations of ICK 1, 38 and TCL 14, 41 in CAD R, 396b). The title 'strong king' is first attested in inscriptions of Narām-Suen of Akkade.
- 2) The writing *A-ki-dí-e* with an extra *e* suggests a nisba-ending 'of the Akkadians' (thus Hecker), but the following *rebītum* requires the interpretation Akkade, here with Assyrian vowel assimilation. The word *rebītum* 'main street, square' occurs as an epithet of cities in Old Babylonian, see the references collected in CAD R, 320. It qualifies Akkade in the Prologue of the Codex Hammurabi, and Uruk in the Gilgamesh epic (for OB examples see George 2003, 172, 200, 220) and occurs with several towns in Mari texts;

- I agree with the translation 'métropole' proposed by J.-M. Durand (*NABU* 1991 no. 31; for another attestation, see D. Charpin, *NABU* 1991 no. 112, see also Stol 2004, 670-671). Moreover, *rebītum* is attested in OA letters in apposition to *kārum* 'colony': AAA 3: (27') [...] *kā-ru-um re-bi-it-ni* (28') [*li-im-li-ik-ni-a-ti*, 'let the colony, our metropolis, decide on us', and Kt c/k 443: (9)... *i-na* (10) *kā-ri-im: re-bi₄-tí-kà* 'in the colony, your metropolis'. The combination *āl rebītum* occurs in Daduša VIII 3: *a-na Qá-ba-ra-a^{ki} a-al re-bi-ti-šu*, 'to Qabarâ, his metropolis', see Khalil Ismaïl 2003, 144.
- 4) The motif of a king talking with a god is also found in Šulgi B 42: *P^dŠul-gi-me-en dalla-è-bi-a inim mu-un-da-bal-e-en*, 'I, Šulgi, when he (i.e., Utu) went forth in glory, conversed with him' (Castellino 1972, 34-35; *PSD* B, 54).
- 9) The translation of *ana 70 ālāni kakkam addin* is based on the context. The preposition *ana* before the object echoes the use of the dative suffix in Kt 90/k 178, 29: *a-dī-šī-im kà-kà-a-am* 'I hit her with a weapon'; it is likely that the verb *tadānum* is used there instead of *nadā'um*, which was suggested by the editor of the incantation (Michel 2004, 413).
- 13) *atma* is 1st sg. preterite of *tamā'um* 'to swear', but the preterite has the sense of a *Koinzidenzfall* (*GAG* §79b*) and may be translated as a present. The Old Akkadian inscriptions of Rimuš and Maništušu have a form of the verb *wamā'um* (*ú-má*). *tamā'um* is the usual verb for 'to swear' in OA, but on rare occasions *wamā'um* may also be used (e.g. in Kt 92/k 94, 30: *lu-ma* [by courtesy of K.R. Veenhof]).
- 15) *musarrum* is the OA form of *miserru* 'belt, girdle'. The form *musarrī* makes any connection with *musarū* 'inscription' unlikely in the absence of vowel assimilation.
- 16) *ša-ar-a-am* derives from *šar'um* 'snake', and is the OA form of Akkadian *šērum*; it occurs again in Kt 90/k 178, 19: *ša-ru-ú* (Michel 2004, 398). For the forms with and without alef, cf. Hecker, *GKT* §28d; see also *CAD* Š, 115b *šar'u* (lex.). Hecker assumed it was identical to *sar(j)am*, 'Lederpanzer'. *aštakan* is a Gt preterite of *šakānum*, see Streck 2003, 45 and Kouwenberg 2005, 94; the word is used when Gilgamesh attaches his axe to his side: (35) *aš-ta-ka-an-šu a-na a-ḫi-ia* (Old Babylonian version; see George 2003, 174).
- 20) The volitive particle *lū* is followed by a present tense (*uṭabbah*) in this line, but by a preterite in lines 43 (*lū ūšib*) and 46-47 (*lū arkusma... lū uza'iz*).
- 24) *arkātim* derives from the verb *arākum* 'to be long'. It is uncertain whether the same word occurs in Neo-Assyrian as 'UZU'.*ar-ka-at* in SAA 12 no. 68: 13, there translated 'a long [...]', but 'rear part' in the glossary. The initial *a-* makes derivation of the OA word from *warkatum* unlikely because *wa-* or *u-* would be expected; similarly B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel* II, T10 ad Vs 13 for the Neo-Assyrian evidence. (For *UZU.EGIR*, the rear part of animals as a cut of meat, see *AHW* 1468 1d; *CAD* A/2, 276.) The meat distributed to the servants consists of brisket (*irtum*) for the 'heroes', loins (*arkātum*) for the runners and marrow (*muḫḫum*, see Stol 2000, 628) from shanks (*kursinnātum*) for the cupbearers. G. van Driel (1993, 561) noted that the hind part of an animal mainly provides the 'socially second tier of cuts'; whether such a hierarchical order applies to our text must remain open. The cupbearers, though, represent the highest class and receive a delicacy. The cut of meat most often mentioned in OA texts is *irtum* 'breast piece' (Michel 1997a, 107).
- 27) *kur^{ur}-sī-na-tim* is a similar spelling with phonetic indicator to *kur^{ur}-sī-na-tim/TUM* in Gelb, *Athenaeum* 47 (1969), Tav. I: 4.18.

- 29) The two first signs may read *x* (*NIR?*) *du* (collation needed). They indicate the subject of the following verb and of the verbs in lines 35 and 36; the reference may be to Sargon performing another feat. As mimation is used throughout the text, *x-DU* may represent a logogram or a personal name. The shape of the first sign and the context render the reading *TIR*, which I proposed earlier (2001), problematic. The following lines demand the verbal form (3rd sg.) to be derived from *qarā'um* 'to invite' instead of *gerūm* 'to be hostile'.
- 32) *warkūm* lit. 'the last (man)'; for the translation 'lieutenant', see Durand, *ARM* 26/1, no. 324 n. e; Guichard 1997, 170 n. 12.
- 34) The ox is apparently of a fine breed and serves as a draft animal for a travelling chair (*kussūm*). The *imēr kussīm*, a donkey used for hauling such a chair, is attested in an Old Babylonian text from Susa, MDP 28 no. 473: 2 (*ANŠE.GU.ZA*) and in *MSL* 8/1, p. 51 362: *anše.giš.gu.za* = ditto (i.e., *i-mir*) *ku-us-si-i*. The toponym Kušammān is otherwise unknown. The Ur III toponym *DU₆-gu-zu-ma*, a town located between Kiš and Marad (Frayne 1992, 50), and Neo-Assyrian *KUR.gu-zu-um-ma-ni* (in the Sealand), are probably unrelated.
- 37) The first word is read *gurnam* 'mediocre (meat)' and not *ku-ur-<śi>-na-am* 'shank' because the latter is written with initial *kur^{ur}-* in line 27.
- 38 and 39) Note the form *mēt* (written *me-et*) for the usual *me'at* 'hundred'.
- 42) *ikiltum* means 'darkness' on the basis of *ina i-ki-il₅-tī ēnēšunu* in Kt n/k 520: 36 (cf. Dercksen 1996, 126 n. 399). The episode refers to an incident that recurs in the compositions *Sargon, the Conquering Hero* and *Sargon in Foreign Lands* (see Westenholz 1997, 69 ad lines 57-64 and p. 71 and 91), as well as in several omnia, one of which claims that this happened when Sargon went to Marḫaši (see below, line 47).
- 43) *umminia* must be a form of *ummānum* 'troops' with vowel assimilation; *ummiānum* 'financier, specialist' fails to make sense. Despite the reservations expressed by Kouwenberg (2004, 335 n. 2), occasional assimilation of a long vowel does occur in OA; cf. the following forms of *ašlākum*: (28) 2 *áš-lu-ku*, Kt 73/k 14; (20) (silver) *išti PN* (21) *áš-li-ki-im*, Kt 91/k 360.
- 45) The motif of a measuring rod adorned with carnelian and lapis lazuli is an extension of the cliché of the measuring rod (*gi-1-ninda*) or line (*éš-gána*) adorned with lapis lazuli known from several Sumerian compositions. A fine parallel occurs in *Inanna's Descent* 25: *gi-1-ninda éš-gána-za-gìn šu ba-ni-in-du₈*, 'das (Mess)rohr von einem nindan (Länge), die (mit) Lapislazuli (verzierte) Feld-(Mess)leine hielt sie in der Hand.' (translation Römer, *TUAT* III/3, p. 463; see also Sladek 1974, 82-83). This line is practically copied in *Lipit-Ištar Hymn* B 23: *gi-1-ninda éš-gána za-gìn*, 'The measuring rod, the gleaming surveyor's line' (Vanstiphout 1978, 36-37).
- 46) The *mātum* 'country' refers to the realm over which Sargon exercised authority; for this concept, see Steiner 1982, 638. This usage is attested in inscriptions of Sargon ('king of the land (*kalam-ma*)', *FAOS* 8, 243), as well as in Ur III and early Old Babylonian compositions.
- 47) The motif of a prolonged stay in darkness while on a military campaign is here connected with the division of territory on the mountain *Ḫumānum*. Previous editors assumed that *Ḫumānum* could be identified with Amanus, although the latter is written *A-ma-nam* and *A-ma-nim* in Sargonic inscriptions (see *FAOS* 8, 117). There exists,

- however, a Mesopotamian tradition to write the name of the Amanus with initial laryngeal (KUR *Ḥa-ma-nu* in the *Lipšur* litanies, *JNES* 15, 132, and in *Uḫ XXII* 6), and for that reason Hecker compared *Ḥumānum* with *Ḥa-ma-na-am*, *Ḥa-wa-an-nim* in Westenholz 1997, 82, 254. Evenso, the writing *Ḥu-* instead of *Ḥa-* militates against identifying it with the Amanus. At least two possible alternatives present themselves. The first is the toponym *Umānum* which occurs in Gudea Statue B (*RIME* 3/1, p. 33-34), where *Umānum*, 'the mountain range of Menua' and the source of 'big stone slabs', is written *ù-ma-núm* (VI 3), and thus differentiated from the Amanus, 'the mountain range of the cedar', which is written *ama-a-núm* (V 28). For *Umānum* see the comments by Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš* (*AnOr* 30), 52, who assumes it was situated on the Euphrates route to the west. The other alternative is the town *Ḥu-um-ma-an* attested in VS 7, 67: 5 (a text from Elam from the Old Babylonian period). According to an omen in a text from Hellenistic Uruk, darkness befell Sargon while campaigning in Marhaši in Iran (see Goetze, *JCS* 1, 255-256; for Marhaši, see Steinkeller 1982, esp. 256). However, it remains uncertain whether the otherwise unknown town *Ḥumman* was somehow related to a mountain. G. Kryszat reminded me of the fact that *Ḥumanu* occurs as the name of a deity in the OA text Prague I 474, 24: ... *Ḥu-ma-nu li-tù-ul* 'may *Ḥumanu* be a witness!'; the same deity occurs as *Ḥu-ma-na* in the Old Babylonian list of gods SLT 122 III 11, cf. W. G. Lambert, *RIA* 4, 491. This god could be the deified mountain *Ḥumānum*.
- 48) *ana x-šu mahāšum* in OA means 'to divide into x parts'. The country (*mātum*) benefitting from this division is Akkad.
- 51) Vallat (*RGTC* 11, 279f.) situates Tukriš near Tepe Yahya. Moorey (1995), on the other hand, located it 'somewhere in the northwest of present-day Iran at the western end of the northern overland route'. There were contacts between people from Tukriš and Upper Mesopotamia; Šamši-Adad claims to have received tribute from the kings of Tukriš in Assur, cf. the inscription from Assur (*RIMA* 1, p. 50): (74) *bi-la-at LUGAL.MEŠ* (75) *ša Tu-uk-ri-iš^{ki}* (76) *ù LUGAL ma-a-tim* (77) *e-li-tim* (78) *i-na qé-re-eb a-li-ia* (79) *A-šur⁴* (80) *lu am-ta-ḥa-ar*, 'I truly received the tribute of the kings of Tukriš and of the king of the Upper Land, within my city, Assur.'
- 52) For Hudura in OA texts, see *RGTC* 4, 62 (add I 488: 22; I 574: 18). For *bibinātum*, see Stol 2000, 626. Applying *bibinātum* denotes enslavement. The verb 'to shave' seems to be used in this meaning in Naram-Suen C 1: (72) *ù bí-bí-in-na-at-zu-nu(?)* (73) *u-gal-li-ib*, 'and shaved their head' (*FAOS* 7, 228 and 241); J. G. Westenholz (1997, 242 n. 19) restores [*e-ni-su*]-*nu u-na-zí-<iḥ>*, 'he gouged out their [eyes]' in the preceding line. *The Revolt against Naram-Suen* contains a reference to the shaving off of slavemarks; in the Geneva version lines 16-20 read: 'At that time my fore(father) Sargon, after he had conquered Uruk, had established the freedom of the population of Kiš(i), had shaved off their slavemarks (19: *ap-pa-ti-šu-nu ú-ga-^fal-liⁱ-i[b]*) (and) had broken their shackles.' (translation of Westenholz 1997, 240-243). The Mari version reads (7) [*ù? ap-pa-ti-š*]*u-nu ú-ša-ag-li-ib*, see Charpin 1997, 10, 12.
- 53) The name Alashiya, denoting a town on Cyprus (cf. Goren *et al.* 2003), occurs here for the first time in Akkadian; an 18th century reference occurs in a Mari letter (Charpin 1990; Charpin/Ziegler 2003, 216 n. 422).
- 57) The form *aq-tí-i* derives from the factitive G-stem 'to put an end to' of the otherwise intransitive verb *qatā'um* 'to come to an end'. For other occurrences of factitive G-stems,

- see Kouwenberg 1997, 249. Stol 2000, 629 translates 'I chopped off their penises'. Kilar occurs in OA texts, often as an original source for slaves, see *RGTC* 4, 71.
- 58) OA *maršum* means 'leather strap'; the OA word for 'bed' is *eršum* as in AKT 3, 80: (31)... *e-er-šu-šu* (32) *áš-ra-kam lu na-ad-a-at*, 'Let his bed be made there'.
- 59) The parallel expressions with Amurru, Kilar and Hattum make it likely that *ša* is followed by a toponym (perhaps Kanesh) with a nisba-ending, albeit without the usual spelling with an additional *-e* (unless perhaps the last sign is a mistake for E). The sequence NI UM GA NI ŠÍ does not suggest any known geographical name (even one beginning with Yum-). Hecker drastically changed the text by reading *ša «ni um» Kà-ni-ší*. Kanesh occurs in the early Old Babylonian list of toponyms from Tell Harmal (S. J. Levy, *Sumer* 3, p. 79 V 161).
- 60) *sú-tù-ḥi-šu-nu* may contain the obscure Old Akkadian word listed as *šuttuḥḥu* in *CAD* Š/3, 411.
- 61) The shaving of the heads of the men of Hattum cannot mean liberation from slavery, but rather the application of a slavemark; see Reiner 2004, 480.
- 62) The interpretation of the treatment of the people of Luhme (a toponym attested in an unpublished Kültepe text in Ankara) is inspired by a passage in the so-called *Cuthean Legend*: 'I pricked (*ašul*) (them) with the pin (*šillē*) and blood came out' (Westenholz 1997, 315). The verb *edādum* in the D-stem is rare in OA; *AHW* 185b translates 'drängen(?)'.
- 62) *Qú-tí-tám* is derived from Qutium (see Hallo 2005); the feminine form could refer to an otherwise unknown tradition of a queen of Qutium. For Lullu(bum) in the Zagros, see H. Klengel, *RIA* 7, 165-166. Hahhum was a strategically located town near the Euphrates, see Garelli 1998 and Günbatt 2004.
- 62) According to the photo the sign IM is written below *ri*, not below *ú-ša*, indicated by the copy. Hence the verbal form is *ušarrim*, not *ušāri* as previously thought (taking *ušāri* as the Babylonian form of OA *ušēri*).
- 63) The beginning of the line seems to be slightly damaged but the first sign appears not to be affected. The reading '10'+3 (Foster) can be excluded as it is obscure what this number would mean. (Foster explains it by adding the two halves of the Amanus to the eleven countries mentioned in lines 51-62.) The numeral 4 (Hecker), a plausible number for pillars, winds, or corners, does not appear to be written anywhere as IIII in OA, but always with the sign ZA. The numeral 7 (cf. the 'seven winds' in Šulgi A: 64) presupposes a serious ancient scribal error.⁴ This leaves 3 as the only possibility (with Van De Mierop). The following *zi ki ša ma e* could be transliterated as *zi-ki ša-ma-e*, 'the ...s of (the) heaven(s)', or, less likely, as *zi-ki ša ma-e*, 'the ...s of the water'. The first word is perhaps *ziqqum* 'post' (*AHW* 1531b), as in Van De Mierop's translation 'three posts of heaven'. Less likely alternative readings are *zīqum* 'draught, breeze' and *sikkum* 'hem, fringe'. The meaning of three 'posts' of heaven is not immediately clear. It may or may

⁴ There are several cases where '7' is written with seven vertical wedges, as in TPAK 1, 209: 7, and the text presented by Donbaz, *NABU* 1990 no. 130. KTP 39 even has the numeral 19 written with verticals following each other. Such writings are exceptional and seem to occur only in certain lists of food.

not refer to three bands in the sky formed by stars, which reminds one of the three stellar paths known from at least the Middle Babylonian period onwards and later called the Paths of Ea, Anu, and Enlil (Oelsner/Horowitz 1997-1998, 176 [reference courtesy W.H. van Soldt]; see also Horowitz 1998, 157-159).

63-64) For the sentence *mīnam i(n) tuppē lušam'id*, 'why should I increase (the words) on (more) tablets', compare OA *mīnam mādātīm lulappitakkum*, 'why should I write more to you?' (ATHE 39: 18-19).

64) The phrase *Anum lā idēanni* is a rhetorical question.

66) *lišarbiū* is the Old Babylonian form of Assyrian *lušarbiū*. For other Old Babylonian forms in OA texts, see below. The form 'my regular offering' (*šattukkī*, written with unusual double consonant) can either mean an offering established by Sargon or an offering to Sargon. The context favours the second possibility, which is further supported by evidence of a cult of Sargon at the Ekur in Nippur during the reign of Šu-Suen. For this see Ciğ-Kızılyay/Salonen, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte* 1, no. 605: (5) 1 udu-nita ^d*Na-ra-am-d*EN.ZU (6) 1 udu-nita ^d*Šar-ru-GIN*ⁱⁿ; cf. also Such-Gutiérrez (2003: I, 78; II, 72) and Hirsch 1963, 5. The *Royal Chronicle* contains a passage according to which Nabonidus discovered — apparently during restoration work in Sippar — a statue with a mutilated face of Sargon, 'the father of Narām-Suen', which he placed in the Ebabbar temple (text: W.G. Lambert, *AfO* 22 [1969], 7; Schaudig 2001, 594; interpretation: Beaulieu 1989, 133-136). This probably was the identical statue of Sargon receiving *sattukku* offerings in the Ebabbar temple from the time of Nabonidus (D. Kennedy, *RA* 63 (1969), 79; Bongenaar 1997, 178 and 230 with fn. 205). The age of this statue may well go back to the Sargonic period (with Myers 2002, 27). The different reading *ša tukkī* at the beginning of line 66 was suggested by C. Wilcke *apud* D. Schwemer (2001), resulting in the following translation of lines 64-66: 'Kennt Anum mich nicht (sowieso)? (Weiß er nicht,) daß ich der König bin, daß ich das obere und das untere Land erobert habe, auf daß der König Adad meinen Ruhm groß sein lasse?' (Schwemer 2001, 134).

Interpretation

The contents

The introduction contains two topics that recur in the final line of the text. The first is the deified status of Sargon expressed by the epithet 'who talks with the gods', which goes beyond the usual form of royal communication with a deity by means of letter or prayer and echoes a passage from Šulgi B. This is paralleled by the exhortation to increase the regular offering to him in the final line. The second topic is the god Adad as the divine power that granted military strength to Sargon; the composition ends with praise to Adad.

Whereas Sargon is the focus of attention in this composition, Adad takes second place. Schwemer places the time of the rising importance of Adad, who was an important deity in Assur after the national god Aššur, in the beginning of the Old Babylonian period (Schwemer 2001, 197). The kingship attributed to Adad in the exclamation ending this text accords with the sentiment expressed by the personal name Šarrum-Adad; this name is found in the OA and Old Babylonian onomasticon (cf. the evidence collected in Schwemer 2001), although a

comparable name with the gods Anum and Šin also occurs in OA.⁵ These names reflect popular religion and they deviate from (perhaps older) official royal OA ideology as expressed on the seal of king Šilulu and in the Erišum inscription, where divine kingship is attributed to Aššur only.⁶ The fact that Adad is mentioned in such a prominent role in a composition likely to have had cultic significance suggests OA religious practice was richer than can be gauged from these two royal expressions.

Adad is called the lord of strength (*bēl emūqim*). The only reference to a warlike aspect of Adad from the OA period (foreshadowing that of the deity during the MA period) is contained in the rare personal name *Qardum-Adad*, 'Adad is heroic'. The city-god Aššur appears not to be given such an attribute. This militant role of Adad resembles the one persuasively expressed in the victory stele of Daduša, king of Ešnunna (Khalil Ismaïl 2003). The epithet 'lady of combat' (*bēlat tāhāzim*) for Ištār is known from a late third millennium inscription from Simurrum⁷ as well as from Old Babylonian royal inscriptions; Šamši-Adad addresses her as such (*RIMA* 1, p. 51 lines 127-128), while Hammurabi amplifies the epithet to 'lady of combat and battle' (*bēlet tāhāzim u qablim*) in the Epilogue.

The four feats in the text contain story elements that derive from Old Akkadian royal inscriptions and Sumerian court compositions from the Third Dynasty of Ur. The swiftness attributed to Sargon in the First Feat — he could catch a gazelle (the symbol of swiftness par excellence) before a mudbrick could dissolve in water — is a boast in the best tradition of self-laudatory royal compositions.⁸ The classic occurrence of the theme of the royal hunter as a superhuman being is in the Sumerian text Šulgi B, where line 109 reads in the translation of Castellino (1972, 41): 'I, Šulgi, when I am on running, can overtake a gazelle'.

All feats but the last are introduced by an oath by Adad and Ištār, both of whom are connected by their epithets with war and battle. The oath as a stylistic form to convince the audience of the truth of assertions is used in inscriptions of the kings Rimuš and Maništišu as well as in hymns of Šulgi. The author ignored the fact that genuine Old Akkadian royal inscriptions have a different set of gods. Rimuš swears by Šamaš and Ilaba after stating how many enemies were slain. Sargon mentions Enlil several times. The evidence in some of the hymns of Šulgi is eloquent as in the following passage from Šulgi A:

'Truly I am not boasting! Wherever I look to, there I go; wherever my heart desires, I reach. (1 ms. adds at least 10 lines:) By the life of my father holy Lugalbanda, and Nanna the king of heaven and earth, I swear that the words written on my tablet are'
(Translation ETCSL⁹ t.2.4.2.01)

⁵ Hirsch 1972, 3 (Šarra-Adad), 20 (Šarra-Šin). The name Šarrum-Anum (LUGAL-A-nim) occurs in AKT 2, 13: 28.

⁶ *Belleten* XIV in ex. B (Kt a/k 315) reverse 1: ^dA-šūr LUGAL I-ri-šu-um PA [A-šūr], 'Aššur is king, Erišum is the ruler of [Aššur]'. Also in the inscription on the reused seal of Šilulu (Teissier 1994 no. 238), presumably identical with the Sulili in the Assyrian King List (Larsen 1976, 38) impressed on ICK 1, 29a: A-šūr, LUGAL, Ši-[lu]-lu, ENSI₂, 'Aššur is king, Šilulu is the city-ruler'. As in Assur, the city-god of Ešnunna is called king (lugal) and the ruler *iššiakkum* (ensi₂); Tišpak is even given royal titles (Wu 1994:3). Aššur as king reappears in the textual evidence in the Middle Assyrian coronation ritual KAR 216: (11) *Aš+šur* LUGAL *Aš+šur* MAN (Müller 1937, 8-9 29), after attaining political importance.

⁷ *FAOS* 7, 380 Varia 13. Adad and Ištār occur as a pair with other deities in the curse list in inscription Lullubum 1.

⁸ Similar glorifications are absent from the corpus of royal compositions at Larsa, see Brisch 2003, 111.

⁹ The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, Oxford. www-etcs.orient.ox.ac.uk/edition2/ etcsbycat.hph, accessed on 28 September 2005.

Even clearer is a section in Šulgi E:

'In the name of An, the pre-eminent king; and of Enlil, who never changes his utterances; and in the name of Suen, the brickwork of cities cursed by whom shall rise no more, and the people cursed by whom will get leprosy; and in the name of Utu, the constable of the gods: I swear no one has ever put anything mendacious about me in my hymns; no one has embellished my prayers with achievements that I have not matched; I, Šulgi, have never allowed exaggerated praise of power to be put in a song. How I glisten like fine silver, how I am musical and eloquent in wisdom; how I, the shepherd, do everything to absolute perfection: may all this be commended in my kingship. Of all the lines that there are in my songs, none of them is false — they are indeed true!¹⁰ (Šulgi E lines 39-52; translation ETCSL t.2.4.2.05)

The Second Feat elaborates on the motif of the King's Table.¹¹ This theme obviously was taken from a tradition going back to an existing inscription of Sargon of Akkade. According to Sargon C 2 (*FAOS* 7, 165), 5,400 troops daily ate bread in his presence. Added to this are two other episodes dealing with the feeding of servants.

The first half of the Third Feat incorporates the well-known motif of an eclipse by the sun while Sargon was on a campaign, with which is associated the division of land.

The various ways in which Sargon humiliated his adversaries are enumerated in the Fourth Feat, which is reminiscent of a passage in the composition called *Sargon, the Conquering Hero* (Westenholz 1997, 74-75). These lines serve to underline the king's prowess and the actions are very likely fictitious. The enumeration of the humiliations of non-Akkadian peoples, including enslavement and mutilation, may have delighted the ears of an audience. The adversaries are the kings or men of Tukrish, Hudura, Alashiya, Amurru, Kilar, Kanesh (uncertain), Hattum, Luhme, Lullu(b)um, and Hahhum. A queen of Qutium may be mentioned as well. The geographical scope stretches from Iran to Alashiya on Cyprus (the oldest mention of this town to date) and has a decidedly northern orientation, as observed by Van De Mieroop. Part of the list may be traditional — note the sequence Qutium–Kakmum–Lullu(b)um–Hahhum in *The Great Revolt against Naram-Sin*, Westenholz 1997, 248-251. Whereas some names formed part of OA geography, such as Amurru, Hahhum, Hudura, and Luhme, the treatment of Hahhum betrays little awareness of the importance of this city during the OA period.

The final section opens with an inadequately understood feat involving the sky; it may contain a reference to a division of the sky into three parts. The sky-god Anum — because he is the father of Adad¹² but perhaps even more significantly 'father of the gods' — is invoked as a witness to all of Sargon's deeds. The text continues with a call to increase the offering (*šattukku*) to Sargon because he ruled the world; this offering implies a cultic setting for the text.

The cultural matrix and the style of this composition

The text on Kt j/k 97 is Old Assyrian in language and orthography, but it is uncertain whether it is an OA creation. The motifs occurring in the text and the choice of deities are not

¹⁰ On the qualifications 'not false' and 'true', see Ludwig 1990, 54ff.

¹¹ See now Sasson 2004.

¹² Cf. the opening line of Daduša's stela: *IM qar-ra-dum DUMU An-nim* 'Adad, the hero, son of Anum'.

specific enough to determine its origin, and the text could equally have been composed in Assur as in Babylonia. The selection of geographical names, however, favours a northern, Assyrian composition. It has been demonstrated above that several motifs have their origin in Sumerian and Akkadian compositions; these texts were used as educational material in the schools of Sumer and Akkad, and presumably in Assur too. The beginning of the second millennium can be suggested as the date of its composition. If it was originally a non-Assyrian composition, it was rendered into the OA dialect without any major adaptation of its contents to local taste or preferences. The 'translation' and copying of motifs can be observed in the language of OA incantations, see below.

The Sargon composition or its component parts would not, however, have reached the Assyrian colony in Kanesh through a visiting bard from distant Akkad, but rather by the transfer of religious concepts to the city of Assur. This transfer was part of the broader cultural influence which the South (the centre of political, religious and cultural life during the preceding centuries) exercised on Assur and which it continued to exercise during the subsequent Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. The reasons for this strong influence may, however, have varied.¹³ It does show that contacts between Akkad and Assur were not exclusively of a commercial nature.

The transfer is noticeable in the incantations discovered at Kültepe by the use of motifs and formulas which are known from earlier Sumerian or Akkadian texts.¹⁴ Kt a/k 320 (Hecker 1996) is a consecration of reed with Sumerian parallels, for which see Cunningham 1997, 29. Kt 90/k 178 (Michel 2004, 396f.) contains an incantation to facilitate birth which partly employs the same phrases as the Old Babylonian text VS 17, 34;¹⁵ the second incantation on this tablet is against liver disease for which C. Michel noted a late parallel.¹⁶ Kt 91/k 502 contains an incantation of a bowl and resembles YOS 11, 57 (reference courtesy K.R. Veenhof), for which see Sallaberger 1996, 86-87. Moreover, there are two OA incantations against Lamaštu, BIN 4, 126 and Kt 94/k 821 (Michel 1997b). The formulas include the phrase *man-nam lašpur* 'whom shall I send' in Kt a/k 611 (Veenhof 1996) and Kt 90/k 178 (Michel 2004, 396), which derives from Babylonian incantations (Farber 1990), and the formula 'this is not my incantation, it is the incantation of DN' in Kt 90/k 178 (Michel 2004, 398), Kt 91/k 502 (courtesy K.R. Veenhof), and Kt 94/k 821 (Michel 1997b). These indications demonstrate that the incantations, although written in the OA dialect, were to a large extent phrased after Old Babylonian examples.¹⁷ A foreign source is further corroborated by the presence of non-Assyrian grammatical features in these compositions. Although they are written in the OA dialect there is occasional interference from the so-called hymno-epic dialect¹⁸ in the form of

¹³ Cf. Edzard 2004, 544f. It is unknown whether there existed a local tradition in Assur by which the incantations from the OA period were passed on to the Middle Assyrian period, cf. W.G. Lambert, *AS* 16, 285.

¹⁴ Bibliographical references to OA texts containing incantations can be found in Michel 2003, 137-138.

¹⁵ See Michel 2004, 404 and Michel/Wasserman 1997.

¹⁶ Michel 2004, 412.

¹⁷ See also Wasserman 2003, 90.

¹⁸ Cf. Edzard 2004, 492. There is as yet no evidence to the effect that OA and Early Old Babylonian, from which the hymno-epic dialect developed, shared these forms.

the construct state in *-u*,¹⁹ the locative suffix *-(i)šum*,²⁰ and even of the rare comparative ending *-āni*.²¹ Non-Assyrian verbal forms do not appear to occur in the OA incantations.

The evidence presented here makes it highly probable that most if not all of the incantations used during the OA period originated from the South-Mesopotamian, Sumero-Early Old Babylonian tradition. The value attached to these texts presumably results from their place of origin which will have guaranteed great effectiveness. The original text was rendered in the OA dialect, retaining some of the distinctive features of the Babylonian hymno-epic tradition. Additions to the original or the creation of new incantations cannot be excluded.²²

By contrast, the Sargon composition does not contain any trace of the hymno-epic tradition. It is characterised by a lively style and the dominant tense is the preterite with occasional present tense forms; statives and participles are rarely used. The construct state is restricted mainly to a few standard expressions (*šit šamšim*, *erab šamšim*, *bēl emūqim*, *bēlat tāhāzim*). The volitive particle *lū* is employed in sentences preceded by an oath (but not in line 13). Of some interest is the varied spelling of initial *w*, in particular, *wa-ša-i-a* (44) and *wa-ar-ki-im* (32, 35), but also *ur-de₈-a* (40).²³ Moreover, there is a non-Assyrian verbal form in line 66, where the precative *lišarbiū* is used instead of Assyrian *lušarbiū*.²⁴ By itself, this is no proof for a non-Assyrian origin of the text; a Babylonian verbal form is also known from a private letter sent to Pūšu-kēn by his son Suea, where the latter employs the Ur III Akkadian/Old Babylonian form *šūbilam* instead of Assyrian *šēbilam*.²⁵ The sporadic use of such non-Assyrian forms signals that OA scribal training at some level involved the study of Old Babylonian texts.

¹⁹ This occurs in BIN 4, 126: (5)... *bu-un-ltū* (6) *i-li-im* (7) *ma-ar-tū*: *A-ni-im*; Kt a/k 178 (Hecker, *NABU* 1996 no. 30; cf. Wasserman 2003, 81): *GI-mi G[I-mi]* (2) *GI bu-uq-ru* (3) *a-pi-im*...; and in Kt 90/k 178 (Michel 2004): (19) *ša-ru-ú ki-ra-nim*.

The enclitic particle *-mi* which marks direct speech appears not to be distinctive for OA since it occurs from Old Akkadian onwards (Hasselbach 2005, 177-178); it is attested in the opening lines of Kt a/k 320 and in the incantations in Kt 91/k 502 and Kt 94/k 520. Early Old Babylonian usage of this particle occurs in the incantation against *merḥum* from Tell Asmar (Landsberger/Jacobsen 1955) and in UET 6, 399 (Farber 1981, 70 ad 13).

²⁰ *qā-qā-ar-šum*, BIN 4, 126:13; *qā-qā-ar-šu*, Kt 90/k 178: 20.

²¹ This ending is used twice in Kt 90/k 178: *etūdāni* and *šappārāni* in Michel 2004, 396f. and 408 with reference to Wassermann 2003, 133.

²² For a possible case of addition, see Kt a/k 611, mentioning a 'scattered caravan' (*ellatam paristam*), although this phenomenon was not necessarily limited to OA society.

²³ Initial *w* and *u* occasionally occur in a single text, see, e.g., Adana 237B: *ur-ki-ti* (16), but *wa-ša-áb* (40); TC 2, 3: *ús-ma-at-ni* (44), *wa-áš-bu-ni* (28); TC 3, 90: *ús-ma-at* (32), but *wa-áš-bu-ma* (27), *wa-áš-ba-ku-ni-ma* (23), *wa-ša-áb* (36).

²⁴ The form read by the editor *li-šé-lá-ma* in Kt 90/k 178: 18 (Michel 2004, 398, 409) is a precative N-stem of *šalū* II. In view of the parallel passage in VS 17, 34: 16-18 (*šumma zikar atūdāni šumma sinnišat naptartāni limqutam qaqqaršum*), I translate lines 18-19 *liššilāmma kī šaru kirānim qaqqaršu limqutam*, 'May (the child) be ejected and fall to the ground like a snake from a vineyard'. After the possibilities that the child will be male or female follows *šumma sakpum sakip ilīšu* in line 18, which Michel rendered 'si c'est un mort-né (...) celui rejeté par son dieu'. This third possibility evidently is not the one wished for, and *sakpum* may signify a stillborn child (although the word *kūbum* would be expected) 'one rejected by his god'. The earliest attestation for the Akkadian concept of the *sakip ilim* apart from this Kültepe text is in Old Babylonian Lu A from Nippur (MSL 12, p. 169); from approximately the same period is TBP 62: 10, 18 (Böck 2000, 302-303).

²⁵ CCT 4, 6c: 8 *šu-bi-lam*, but *lu-šé-bi₄-il₅* in line 12. Southern influence can further be observed in the use of the Babylonian language of the first royal inscriptions; the first text in Old Assyrian (recognizable by the forms *ēpuš* and *huburēn*) is Erišum I 13; Ikūnum 1 still has Babylonian *īpuš* and Assyrian *uka''inma* (texts numbered after Grayson, RIMA 1). Assyrian elements already occur in Ilušumma no. 2: *e-né-en*, *ma-ú-ša*; Erišum I no. 2: *pá-e*, nos. 3, 5, 12: *e-pu-uš*.

The incantations therefore can be sharply distinguished from the Sargon composition on grammatical and stylistic criteria. The originals of several of these incantations seem to stem from a single South-Mesopotamian tradition, limited in time and space. The Sargon text, on the other hand, belongs to a different tradition, although the available evidence does not permit its identification. All of these OA texts were written before the destruction of Karum Level II, about 1836 BC. A detailed study of Akkadian compositions made between the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the mid-nineteenth century BC in Middle and South Mesopotamia to search for comparative material and to establish where the Sargon text may have originated, is beyond the scope of this article. As for the motifs, we know that the inscriptions on the statues of Old Akkadian kings in the Ekur were studied by scribes; the many copies of Šulgi B found at different places demonstrate that this text was widely used in schools during the Old Babylonian period (Wilcke 2004) and it may have directly influenced the possibly Assyrian author of the composition found in Kültepe. Of greater importance seems to be the fact that a cult of Sargon related to his royal statue is secured for Nippur and may have existed in Sippar too, implying a religious influence.

The purpose of the composition

The text celebrates the memory of Sargon of Akkade. By recounting his amazing achievements on the battlefield and elsewhere, Sargon's godlike status is confirmed. This celebration has a religious aim as appears from the final line, where future generations are asked to increase the regular offering to Sargon, who may have been represented by a statue. This points to the existence of a cult of the deified Sargon, positive evidence for which comes from Ur III Nippur and Old Babylonian Mari (see below), and may have existed in Sippar as well. The context for this composition therefore may have been an official funerary cult (*kispum*) for royal ancestors. It would then resemble the *Königshymnen* in origin, purpose, and use as described by Ludwig (1990, 54): those texts were composed in scribal schools, served to preserve the memory of the king's feats, and were used in the funerary cult of former rulers.

According to a text found in Mari statues of Sargon and Narām-Suen received *kispum* offerings.²⁶ This text was composed during the reign of Šamši-Adad as is evident from the use of the month name ŠE.KIN.KU₅. The ritual it contains does not appear to have originated in Mari, and alternative locations have been suggested, such as Šubat-Enlil or Ekallātum.²⁷ The ritual is probably connected with the ancestor cult practised by Šamši-Adad, whose forefathers are thought to have links with the city of Akkade.²⁸ Based on the assumption that the ritual was performed at Mari, J.-M. Durand considered the inclusion of Sargon and Narām-Suen to represent the ancestors of the Akkadian part of the population of Mari.²⁹ Yet, even if the ritual was performed elsewhere, the presence of these two Old Akkadian kings stresses the supposed link between the ruling royal family, in the present case that of Šamši-Adad, and the Akkadian kings. This constructed link may also perhaps temporarily have existed in Assur.

²⁶ M.12803: (5) 1 UDU *a-na la-ma-sà-at* (6) LUGAL-ki-in ù Na-ra-am-^dEN.ZU. This text was published by M. Birot (1980, 140) and reedited in Durand/Guichard 1997, 66ff.

²⁷ Fleming 1999, 161; Charpin 2004a, 374.

²⁸ Durand/Guichard 1997, 64; Charpin 2004b, 149.

²⁹ Durand 1992:119; Durand/Guichard 1997:64. See also Jacquet 2002:60.

The fact that two OA kings, Sargon and Narām-Sîn, were named after illustrious Old Akkadian rulers, probably after they had ascended to their thrones,³⁰ is clear evidence of at least these members of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty identifying themselves with the Akkadian rulers. This attitude fits the general picture of a growing self-confidence of the elite of the city-state in the wake of the successes of its trade policy. The divine determinative which precedes the names of OA Sargon and Narām-Sîn on their official cylinder seals stands in the tradition of early Old Babylonian rulers from Isin and Ešnunna, rather than imitating the example of Old Akkadian Narām-Suen.³¹ At the same time these names underline the Akkadian character of the city-state of Assur. Against this background it is conceivable that a cult of Sargon of Akkade (and perhaps of Narām-Suen too) was integrated into the official cult of Assur and its trading colonies (perhaps during the reign of the OA king Sargon), and that he was included among the royal ancestors that received offerings during a *kispum* ceremony in Assur and Kanesh.

The importance of an ancestral cult in OA society is stressed in several private letters by the occurrence of *eṭemmū* 'ancestral spirit'.³² Although direct evidence of an official *kispum* in Assur is still lacking, the name of the fifth month in the OA calendar, *ab šarrāni* 'father of the kings', may refer to an official ancestor cult (cf. Hirsch 1972, 54). Sargon, like Ilušumma, was remembered by later generations as the builder of the Ištar temple and occurs as such in royal inscriptions (e.g., of Shalmaneser I, *RIMA* 1, 195). Similarly, Shalmaneser I (*RIMA* 1, 185, 189) mentions Erišum I as a builder of the Aššur temple. There is as yet no evidence of a cult of Old Akkadian Sargon or of his OA namesake in Middle Assyrian texts, but the weapon of Erišum (^{gis}TUKUL ^mE-ri-še) was venerated during part of the MA period (see Appendix).

My conclusion is therefore that the Sargon composition discovered in Kanesh is not a parody, as argued by Liverani, Van De Mierop, and Foster. On the contrary, I believe that it may have functioned to extol Sargon of Akkade during *kispum* celebrations that were part of

³⁰ Cf. D. O. Edzard, *RIA* 9, 109 §5.1. See Veenhof 2003, 43 for the letter Kt 92/k 94, according to which the sender, whose name is written ^dLUGAL-ke-en₆, had been in Wašhania, a town in Anatolia west of Kanesh. The identity of the sender is not immediately clear. All known letters from kings of Assur, including those that deal with their own commercial affairs, name them as *waklum* and their title is put first in the address. In Kt 92/k 94, however, it is the addressees who are mentioned first, which practically excludes the possibility that the sender was king Sargon who reigned during KEL 55-94 (the number refers to an eponym in the Kültepe Eponym List, as published in Veenhof 2003). If he were still prince, as suggested by Veenhof, this letter would date to the time before his accession to the throne in KEL 54, from which period there are almost no surviving texts from Kültepe (cf. Kryszat 2004a, 6). Moreover, a pre-KEL 55 date appears to be too early for the third addressee in this letter, Enna-Sîn (who must be different from the one receiving a letter from the *waklum* [identified as Puzur-Aššur II in Kryszat 2004b] in AKT 2, 22 [Kt n/k 604]), since he is attested as a creditor in KEL 81 (Kt 92/k 180) and KEL 96 (Kt 92/k 165). As noted by Veenhof, the determinative is written MAŠ and not AN. Do we then have to read MAŠ (*tu'im*) Š., 'the twin of Sargon'? For the royal name without divine determinative, see next note.

³¹ The determinative is present on the bronze plate VA AsS 4286: 2 ^dLUGAL³-GIN (Jakob-Rost/Freydank 1981, Tf. 23; new copy in Bär 2003, Tf. 59). The legend on the seal of OA Sargon is damaged, but probably reads: ^dLUGAL-GIN, ENSI₂, ^dA-šūr, DUMU I-ku-nim, ENSI₂, ^dA-šūr (N. Özgüç 2001, pl. C2). Without determinative in unofficial context: *A-du-da* DUMU LUGAL-ke-en₆, I 677: 21; *En-um-A-šūr* DUMU LUGAL-GI¹.NA, I 662: 4'; *Ša-ru-ke-en₆*, Kt j/k 201. For Narām-Sîn, see the seal inscription on Kt 89/k 129: ^dNa-ra-lam-^dEN.ZU, ENSI₂, ^dA-šūr, DUMU Pu[zur₄]-^dA-šūr, ENSI₂, ^dA-šūr (Özkan 1993, pl. 90 2b, 3a; N. Özgüç 2001, pl. C 3).

³² Hirsch 1972, 71; Larsen 1976, 289; for the connection between spirit and funerary cult, see Durand, *ARM* 26/1, p. 450.

the official cult of Assur. The text itself may have been composed by an Assyrian author. It must remain unclear why this copy was found in the house of an Assyrian merchant in Kanesh until more texts from the same archive have been investigated; presumably this man (if identical with the owner of the tablet) held an elevated social position which involved cultic tasks. It is noteworthy, though, that one of the Kt j/k texts published thus far records how the anonymous writer of the tablet, who may be the same as the owner of the Sargon text, entrusted an amount of tin that had been sealed by Puzur-Aššur II, king of Assur, to another person; this act was witnessed by Ḫunia, son of Aššur-imitti; Dadāya, son of the priest of Sîn; and by Aduya, son of Sargon, (former) king of Assur (*Ša-ru-ke-en₆ ru-ba-im*).³³

Appendix: The Middle Assyrian texts MARV 4, 138 and 140

MARV 4, 138 and 140 were excavated in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta and appear to deal with amounts of red wool (*tabarrum*) used to wrap or decorate the weapons (*kakkum*) of Erišu, Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē (II) (1400-1391), Shalmaneser I (1273-1244), Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207), and (only in 140) of Ninurta-apil-Ekur (1191-1179) during a ritual procession. The mention of four MA kings raises the question whether Erišu refers to the third king of that name, who ruled about 1600 BC. Since practically nothing is known about this ruler or his age, it appears more likely that the name refers instead to the famous OA king Erišum I, who restored the Aššur temple. The grouping together of these kings is yet another example of a ruler regarding sometimes distant predecessors on the throne as belonging to a single, royal, lineage.³⁴ The occurrence of Ninurta-apil-Ekur in no. 140 implies that document dates from after that king,³⁵ and the frequent parallelism with no. 138 suggests this also applies to that text.

The old red wool was in the shape of *tapputu*-fabrics, a number of which were tied together to form *qimmutus*, with which each weapon was decorated. After the procession, the *tapputu*-fabrics were divided among the priests of Adad.

The texts name Adad of Libbi-āli and of Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta and their priests, the king and the Old Palace. The weapons representing former kings apparently were placed in the Adad temple, which in view of the reference to the Old Palace was the one in Assur. This may be due to the warrior aspect of Adad stressed in MA compositions (cf. Schwemer 2001, 575-577). The fact that the first text is dated to the sixteenth day of *muḫur-ilāni* suggests that the ritual may relate to a funerary cult for former kings of Assur.³⁶

³³ Kt j/k 201, published by K. Balkan, *OLZ* 60 (1965), Sp. 152. Ḫunia and Aduya (Aduda) occur as witnesses in Kt k/k 44: 24-25, dating to KEL 104 (about 1871 BC, during the reign of Narām-Sîn).

³⁴ See also Llop 2003, 405.

³⁵ With Freydank, MARV 4, p. 22, and Llop 2003, 401f.

³⁶ Compare Sallaberger, *Kalender* 1, 64-65 for the evidence from Ur III; and M. Birot, *ARM* 12, p.23, and Jacquet 2002 for that of Old Babylonian Mari (*kispum* offerings on days 1 and 16).

MARV 4, 138 (VAT 18060)

Transliteration

Obv. 1. *1 qi-i[m-mu-t]u ša ta-bar-re SUMUN*
2/3 ma-na '5 GÍN' KIL.Á ša ^{giš}TUKUL ^{mE-ri-še}

1 KI.MIN 1 ma-na [15] 'GÍN' a-na [K]IL.Á
*ša ^{md}[A]-^ršur¹-[SUM]-a-*he**

5. *1 KI.MIN 1 m[a-na (x)] KIL.Á*
[ša ^{md}šul-ma-nu]-SAG

[1] KI.MIN [1 ma-na a-n]a KIL.Á
[ša ^{m-giš}Tukul-ti]-^dNin-urta

10. *[1 qi-im-mu-tu] 5 1/2 ma-na [KI].¹Á¹*
[..... š]a ^dIM
[ša ^{uru}Li]b-bi-URU [x]

LoE. 12. *[1 qi-im-mu-t]u 1 1/2 ma-na KIL.Á (x)]*
[.....] 1 ma-na 15 GÍN KIL.Á (x)]
*[ša ^{m-giš}š^rTukul¹-ti-^dNin-urta ša *hi kam lu**

Rev. 15. *[ša] ^dIM ša ^{uru}Kar-^{m-giš}Tukul-ti-^d[Nin-urta]*

ŠU.NIGIN₂ 6 qi-im-ma-tu ša ta-bar-re [SUMUN]
[x+] 8 ma-na 15 GÍN a-na KIL.Á
[a-n]a DINGIR KASKAL-ni i-na tu-ar DINGIR
[ú-n]a-mu-šu LUGAL i-na tam-le-e

20. *'i¹-la-pa-at LÚ.SANGA.MEŠ i-na-áš-ši-ú*
'šu¹-ha-at-ta ša qi-im-ma-te
a-na É.GA[L] SUMUN ú-ta-ar-ru-ni

i-na ŠÀ qi-im-ma-te an-na-te
12 dap-pa-te LÚ.SANGA ša ^dIM

25. *ša ^{uru}Lib-bi-URU 12 dap-pa-te*
ša ^{uru}Kar-^{m-giš}Tukul-ti-^dNIN.URTA

U.E. *i-laq-qi-ú*

*ITU 'mu-*hur*'-DINGIR.MEŠ UD.16.K[ÁM]*

L.E. *li-mu ^m[...]*

30. *LÚ.AGRIG [(x)]*

Translation

- 1-2. 1 load of old red wool of 45 shekels weight of the weapon of Erišu.
 3-4. 1 ditto of 1 mina [15] shekels weight of Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē.
 5-6. 1 ditto of 1 mina [(x)] weight of Shalmaneser.
 7-8. 1 ditto of 1 mina weight of Tukulti-Ninurta.
 9-11. 1 load of 5 1/2 minas weight [...] of Adad of Libbi-āli.
 12-15. 1 load of 1 1/2 minas weight [...] 1 mina 15 shekels weight [(x)] Tukulti-Ninurta
 of Adad of Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta.
 16-22. Total: 6 loads of old red wool, x+8 minas 15 shekels weight. For the god(s) of the
 procession. At the return of the god they will set out. The king will touch (...) on
 the terrace, the priests will carry (it). They will return the *šuḫattu*-textile contain-
 ing the loads to the Old Palace.
 23-27. From these loads the priest of Adad of Libbi-āli will take 12 *tappatus*, (the priest
 of Adad) of Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta will take 12 *tappatus*.
 28-30. Month *muḫur-ilāni*, day 16, eponymy of [PN], the steward.'

Selective notes

1. The etymological meaning of the word *qimmutum* is given in the dictionaries as 'tuft' and 'Haarschopf; Wipfel'. However, since the exact form of the objects denoted by this word in this text is unclear to me, the neutral translation 'load' has been used instead.

18: The expression *ina tuār ile* occurs also in a Middle Assyrian letter excavated at Tell Fakhariyah, Güterbock 1958, p. 88/pl. 81 no. 4: (8) [*i-n*]a UD.16.KÁM (9) [*i!-n*]a tu-ar DINGIR (10) [LUG]AL it-ta-ša, 'The [ki]ng appeared (from the palace) at the return of the god on day 16.' This letter was sent by Sîn-uballit, possibly from Assur. Although the remainder of the letter is too damaged to understand most of the following lines, it appears to contain a report on a ritual performed in Assur; line 11 mentions 'day 20', and line 15 'day 21', while the letter itself is dated to day 22. This ritual may be related to the one referred to in the two texts from MARV 4.

19: *namāšu* D 'to set out, to set in motion' is used in rituals (Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 169).
 24, 25: For *tapputu* see Ur III ^{tu}g*da-ba-tum*, a low status woollen fabric at times made of old wool (Waetzoldt, *UNT*, 49, 87); also in OB Mari, see J.-R. Kupper, *ARM* 22, p. 613f.

MARV 4, 140 (VAT 18090)

Transliteration

- Obv. 1. [I qi-im]-mu-tu ša ta-bar-re SUMUN
[... m]a-na 5 GÍN a-na KILÁ
[ša^{giš}TUKUL] mE-ri-še
-
5. [I KI].MIN [x ma-n]a 15 GÍN a-na KILÁ
ša^dA-šur-SUM-a-še
-
- [I] KI.MIN 'I' m[a-n]a a-na KILÁ
ša^d[šul-ma]-nu-SAG
-
- [I] KI.MIN I [x m]a-na a-na KILÁ
ša^{mgiš}Tukul-ti-^dNin-urta
-
10. [I KI].MIN x m]a-na a-na KILÁ
[ša^m]dNin-urta-IBILA-[É].K[UR]
[...] x x [(x)]
(several lines destroyed)
- Rev.15'. [...]
[ŠU.NIGIN₂...] ta-bar-re SUMUN
[...] x x x a-na KILÁ
[...] i-na t]u-ar DINGIR
[i-na-mu-šu] LUGAL i-na tam-le-e i-la-pa-at
- 20'. [LÚ.SANGA.ME]š i-[n]a-áš-ši-ú
[šu-ħa-a]t-t[a] ša qi-im-ma-te
[a-na] 'É'.GAL-lim SUMUN ú-tar-ru-ni
-
- [i-na lib-b]i 'qi'-im-ma-'tu' an-na-te
[x dap]-pa-te 'LÚ'.SA[NGA] ša^d[IM ša] uruŠÀ-URU
- 25'. [x dap]-pa-te ša^{uru}Kar-^{giš}Tukul-'ti'-rd[Nin-urta]
[i]-laq-qi-ú
(upper edge and left edge destroyed)

A translation is unwarranted because of the fragmentary state of this text.

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