

Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

Herausgegeben im Auftrag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz,
von Elisabeth Rieken und Daniel Schwemer

Band 66

Cult, Temple, Sacred Spaces

Cult Practices and Cult Spaces
in Hittite Anatolia and Neighbouring Cultures

Edited by Susanne Görke and Charles W. Steitler

2020

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CULT, TEMPLE, SACRED SPACES

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Proceedings of the First International HFR Symposium,
Mainz, 3–5 June 2019

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAS	<i>Anatolian Archaeological Studies</i>
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABoT 1	Kemal Balkan. <i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri / Boğazköy Tablets in the Archaeological Museum of Ankara</i> . İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1948.
ABoT 2	Rukiye Akdoğan. <i>Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri II / Boğazköy Tablets in the Archaeological Museum of Ankara II</i> . CHDS 1. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2011.
ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AfOB	Archiv für Orientforschung. Beihefte
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
ANESS	Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Supplements
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
ArAn	<i>Archivum Anatolicum = Anadolu Arşivleri</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
AT	Donald J. Wiseman. <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i> . London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953.
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo</i>
AuOrS	<i>Aula Orientalis. Supplementa</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BAR IS	British Archaeological Reports – International Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BLMJ	Joan Goodnick Westenholz. <i>Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets</i> . CM 13. Groningen: Styx, 2000.
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan

BoHa	Boğazköy-Hattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen
BSIEL	Brill's Studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–2010.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	<i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980–.
CHDS	Chicago Hittite Dictionary. Supplements
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CRB	Cahiers Revue Biblique
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck, 1971 (with supplements in <i>RHA</i> 30 [1972]: 94–133 and <i>RHA</i> 33 [1973]: 68–71; now extensively expanded and revised in the online <i>Catalog der Texte der Hethiter</i> of the <i>Hethitologie-Portal Mainz</i> : Silvin Košak, Gerfrid G. W. Müller, Susanne Görke, and Charles W. Steitler (eds.). hethiter.net/CTH – last accessed 08.08.2020).
DAAM	Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DBH 46/2	Rukiye Akdoğan. <i>Hethitische Texte. Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien</i> . DBH 46/2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016.
DBS	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément</i>
DiskAB	Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
Emar	Daniel Arnaud. <i>Recherches au pays d'Aštata – Emar VI/1–4</i> . ERC 18. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985–87.
ERC	Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
FHL	Jean-Marie Durand and Emmanuel Laroche. Fragments hittites du Louvre. In: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes (ed.). <i>Mémorial Atatürk: Études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes</i> . Synthèse 10. Paris: A. D. P. F., 1982: 73–107.
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik / Handbook of Oriental Studies
HED	Jaan Puhvel. <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Trends in Linguistics. Documentation. Berlin et al.: de Gruyter, 1984–.
HEG	Johann Tischler. <i>Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1977–2016.
hethiter.net/ :	<i>CTH</i> ... :
	online text editions on the <i>Hethitologie-Portal Mainz</i>

HHCTO	Ahmet Ünal. <i>Hittite and Hurrian Tablets from Ortaköy (Çorum), Central Turkey. With Two Excursuses on the “Man of the Storm God” and a Full Edition of KBo 23.27.</i> Istanbul: Simurg, 1998.
HHT	Kaspar K. Riemschneider. <i>Hurritische und hethitische Texte.</i> München: privately published, 1974.
HW ²	<i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte.</i> Indogermanische Bibliothek, zweite Reihe: Wörterbücher. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975–.
IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden seçme metinler). İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası et al., 1944, 1947, 1954; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988.
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IM	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
JANEH	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of North-West Semitic Languages</i>
KAR	Erich Ebeling. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I–II.</i> WVDOG 28 and 34. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915–1919 and 1920–1923.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy
Konkordanz	Silvin Košak. <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln, Online-Datenbank Version, 2002–.</i> hethiter.net/: hetkonk (zitiert mit Versionsnummer).
KpT	= DAAM 1
KTU	Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places.</i> 2 nd ed. ALASP 8. Münster: Ugarit, 1995.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy
KUBABA-SA	Collection KUBABA. Série Antiquité
LANE	Languages of the Ancient Near East
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LSAWS	Linguistic studies in Ancient West Semitic
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
MTK	Materiale Textkulturen
MVAeG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
NABU	N. A. B. U. <i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NüBLA	<i>Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie</i>
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OAC	Orientis Antiqui Collectio

OAM	<i>Orientis Antiqui Miscellanea</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia. Nova Series</i>
ORA	Orientalische Religionen der Antike
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul = Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
POLO	Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale</i>
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Beihefte, Reihe B 7)
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie)</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RSOu	Ras Shamra – Ougarit
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAMR	Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SCO	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici</i>
SILO	Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum
SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
StAs	Studia Asiana
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StBoTB	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Beihefte
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StPohl	Studia Pohl
StPohl SM	Studia Pohl. Series Maior
StSem	Studi Semitici
STT	Oliver R. Gurney, Jacob J. Finkelstein, and Peter Hulin. <i>The Sultantepe Tablets I–II</i> . BIAA Occasional Monograph Series 3 and 7. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957 and 1964.
TAD	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TTKYayın	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TUAT NF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge

TVOa	Testi del Vicino Oriente antico
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek – Leipzig
VSNF	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Neue Folge
WAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WorldA	<i>World Archaeology</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

General abbreviations

ah.	althethitisch	NH	New Hittite
DN	divine name	NS	New Hittite Script
LNH	Late New Hittite	OH	Old Hittite
LNS	Late New Script	OS	Old Hittite Script
MB(A)	Middle Bronze Age	P(ap).	Papyrus
MH	Middle Hittite	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
mh.	mittelhethitisch	PN	personal name
MS	Middle Hittite Script	p(p).	page(s)

Symbols

?	reading of a sign is doubtful	+	fragments join directly; after reference to a single fragment adjoining other fragment(s) (listed elsewhere)
(?)	reading of sign string is doubtful		
!	abnormal or mistaken sign; designation of column or side of tablet varies from hand copy	(+)	fragments join indirectly
		//	duplicate/parallel text
[]	encloses lost text	/	line break (in transliteration)
[()]	encloses restorations according to duplicate text	↖	<i>Glossenkeil</i> (single)
		↗	<i>Glossenkeil</i> (double)
┌ ┐	encloses damaged but legible signs	↘	<i>Glossenkeil</i> (triple)
< >	omitted by scribal error	=	separates morphological elements within words
<< >>	sign to be omitted		
x	illegible sign (in transliteration)	≡	for division of logograms at the end of printed lines
[x x]	indicates amount of space in gaps; each x = space for one sign		
...	encloses signs over erasure		
*	reconstructed form		<i>Cursive text in translations indicates uncertain meanings or restorations.</i>

FOREWORD

The long-term research project “Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrитуale: staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien” (HFR; www.adwmainz.de/projekte/corpus-der-hethitischen-festrитуale), which has been funded by the research programme of the Union of German Academies of Sciences and Humanities since 2016, focuses on the edition and analysis of the so-called festival texts, the largest group of cuneiform texts that have come down to us from the cuneiform tablet collections of Hittite Anatolia.

These regulations are usually concisely phrased but often extensive, and describe the performance of the cult on specific and, frequently, seasonal occasions. Festival texts are attested in all periods of Hittite history and include all strands of traditions and milieus that were constitutive for the historical development of the Hittite religion. A comprehensive treatment of this group of texts, which has been preserved in a multitude of fragments, some of which are too small to be meaningful by themselves, is therefore of fundamental importance for the study of the history of ancient Anatolian religions. As a product of the state cult administration, however, the ceremonial ritual texts are also important sources for understanding the administrative and production structures of the Hittite kingdom, as well as for the transmission techniques used by the experts responsible for carrying out the cult, and for the development of Hittite cuneiform writing culture as a whole.

The research programme of HFR will reach its first major milestone in 2021 with the publication of the so-called *Basiscorpus*. The *Basiscorpus*, which will form a new element of the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz* (HPM: www.hethiter.net), comprises transliterations of all nearly 10,000 fragments of festival texts. This digital text corpus will include a lexical and morphological annotation of all Hittite text passages. For the realization of the annotation, HFR developed innovative tools in the collaboration between linguistics and information technology – tools that are now also being used by other research projects, such as the “Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis” (TLH^{dig}) (German Research Foundation), an undertaking that will start this year. The *Basiscorpus* of Hittite festival texts, the prototype of which is already being used daily by the staff of HFR and of partner projects, will form the basis for HFR’s further work: the completion of annotated critical editions of selected festival ritual complexes as well as studies on cuneiform paleography, the linguistic form of the festival texts, and – one of the final goals of the project – an overarching presentation of the history of the Hittite cult.

A longterm research project, which will be carried out over a period of 21 years, depends on regular exchange with the scholarly community of Hittitologists. This exchange takes place on an almost daily basis, not least of all through the collaboration of many Hittitologists with the Mainz department of HFR – the *Hethitologie-Archiv* at

the Academy of Sciences and Literature | Mainz – whether in the form of research stays or correspondence. In addition to the daily collaboration, the research programme of HFR provides some fixed elements that are designed to foster and renew international collaborations periodically. With regard to the support of the next generation of Hittitologists, these include the HFR PhD scholarships and the international summer schools, the first of which was held in Mainz in 2018 with great success. The International Symposia serve to bring together established scholars regularly under the auspices of HFR. Taking place every five years, these Symposia assemble colleagues from different disciplines studying ancient cultures in order to discuss various topics central to the research programme of HFR from interdisciplinary perspectives.

The organization and planning of the First International HFR Symposium, which we were able to hold at the Mainz Academy in June 2019, was the responsibility of Susanne Görke and Charles W. Steitler, who deserve our gratitude for their tireless efforts before, during, and after the symposium. Further, we would like to express our sincere thanks to all contributors as well as the two editors of the present volume for ensuring the prompt publication of the acts of the symposium in such professional fashion.

Marburg / Würzburg, August 2020

Elisabeth Rieken and Daniel Schwemer

PREFACE

The present volume is a collection of contributions that were presented by an international group of scholars during the First International HFR Symposium at the Academy of Sciences and Literature | Mainz, June 3–5, 2019. This is the first of a series of symposia that will be held in the context of the long-term project, “Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrituale: staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien” (HFR). Further symposia are planned that will be dedicated to illuminating other aspects of the Hittite cult from scribal, linguistic, economic, political, social and historical religious perspectives. The themes of the symposia correspond to the research objectives planned for the various stages of the HFR project.

The aim of this first HFR symposium was to discuss recent developments regarding the interpretation of philological and archaeological sources from Anatolia and adjacent areas in the second millennium BCE. The papers delivered at the symposium focused on questions concerning the archaeology of temples and other sacred places, the differentiation of sacred spaces according to written sources, the organization of festivals and their spatial aspects, participation in festivals, and possibilities of interpretation in light of the cult practices of Northern Syria, the Levant, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Of the twenty papers given, eighteen are presented here in written form. The papers by Mark Weeden and Kimiyoshi Matsumura (“Mass Participation in Ritual Activity in Second Millennium BC Anatolia”) and Thalia Lyssen (“A Performative Approach to the Celebration of Hittite Festivals”) are planned for publication elsewhere. The symposium speakers were joined by a number of scholars, students and other interested audience members who enriched the symposium with insightful questions and personal interaction between the sessions and during the receptions.

Special thanks are due to the primary organizers of the symposium, Elisabeth Rieken (Marburg) and Daniel Schwemer (Würzburg), who as editors of the series also gave the impetus for publishing the acts of the symposium in *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* and supplied editorial feedback on the individual contributions. The Academy of Sciences and Literature | Mainz provided a most appropriate setting for the symposium, not only as an outstanding conference venue and one of the location sites (alongside Würzburg University and Marburg University) as well as the primary organizational and financial carrier of the HFR project, but also as the long-term host of the *Hethitologie-Archiv*, which continues to make valuable philological resources available both on-site and online to scholars from the fields of Hittitology and ancient Near Eastern studies worldwide. The HFR team is grateful to the administration and staff of the Academy for their support.

A special word of thanks is also due to the contributors, many of whom were required to transform their research into formal written studies under the less than optimal conditions necessitated by worldwide restrictions, working from home and/or

with only limited access to libraries and institutional resources. This volume would not have been possible without their commitment to research even in trying circumstances. The editors are grateful to Dagmar Becker (Marburg) and especially to Paul Herdt (Marburg) for careful proof-reading and formal corrections as well as work on the typesetting of this volume. Finally, we express our thanks to the Harrassowitz Verlag for the technical support in preparing this volume for print publication.

Marburg / Mainz, August 2020

Susanne Görke and Charles W. Steitler

“HE HAS MADE THE LABARNA, THE KING, HIS ADMINISTRATOR”

The Role of the Hittite Monarch in Festival Performance

Gary Beckman
University of Michigan

Abstract

Perhaps the major duty of the Great King of the Hittites was to serve as the Chief Priest of all of the gods of the land, particularly of its preeminent deities, the Storm-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna. His centrality to the state religion and closeness to these divinities are expressed in numerous texts. Nonetheless, during the execution of most cultic rites, the ruler, while indeed the focus of attention, is led through the performance by religious professionals.

It's good to be king.
Mel Brooks, “History of the World, Part I” (1981)

One of the recurrent subjects of my research over the years has been the ideology of Hittite kingship, the body of shared beliefs, concepts, and ‘common sense’ that informed the society of Ḫatti and served to reify and maintain the domination of an absolute monarch and his extended family over a polity composed for the most part of peasants and herdsman. In my contribution here, as background for the following essays by my colleagues on more particular aspects of the performance of the state cult, I will outline the central role of the Hittite king in the religion of his land and survey briefly his activity in the compositions we call ‘festivals’ (EZEN4).

1. The Hittite king

The Hittites conceived of the world in which they lived as a closely integrated system, with no clear-cut boundaries among its several levels, which were inhabited by gods, by humans, and by the spirits of the dead and various demonic forces, respectively. Under the right circumstances, gods might have direct intercourse with humans, as is reported of the goddess Inara and the man Ḫupašiya in one of the Illuyanka myths (see Hoffner 1998: 11f.). Ghosts of the departed routinely exerted their influence over the affairs of their descendants (see del Monte 1973; 1975; Archi 1979b).

Despite its porous borders, within this universe a strict hierarchy was in force. As in ancient Mesopotamia, the unquestioned function of men and women was to serve

the gods, providing for their sustenance, pleasure, and entertainment. We get an idea of the scope of this maintenance from a prayer that King Muṣili II directed to the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna, who, with her partner, the Storm-god of Ḫatti, presided over the pantheon:

[You, oh Sun-goddess of Arinna, are an honored] goddess. [To you, my goddess], there are revered temples in Ḫatti, but in no other land are there [any] such for you. [Only in Ḫatti] do they provide for you [pure and holy] festivals and rituals, [but in no other land] do they provide any such [for you. You have lofty temples adorned] with silver and gold [only in Ḫatti, and in no other land] is there anything for you. [Cups and rhyta of silver], gold, and precious stones you have only in Ḫatti. Only in Ḫatti do they celebrate festivals for you – the festival of the month, festivals throughout the course of the year – [autumn, winter], and spring – and the festivals of the sacrificial rituals. In no other land do they perform anything for you. (CTH 376.A; KUB 24.3++ obv. I 6–20;¹ translation adapted from Singer 2002: 51)

That the mighty and immortal gods were actually dependent upon this attention from their underlings is evident from another passage in the same prayer of Muṣili, who reminds them of the consequences of a severe and persistent epidemic:

All of the land of Ḫatti is dying, so that no one prepares the sacrificial loaf and libation for you. The plowmen who used to work the fields of the gods have died, so that no one works or reaps the fields of the gods any longer. The miller-women who used to prepare the sacrificial loaves of the gods have died, so that they no longer make the sacrificial loaves. As for the corral and sheepfold from which one used to cull the offerings of sheep and cattle – the cowherds and shepherds have died, and the corral and sheepfold are empty. So it has come about that the sacrificial loaves, libations, and animal sacrifices are cut off. Yet you proceed, oh gods, to hold us at fault in this matter! (CTH 376.A; KUB 24.3 obv. II 4'–17')

In return for the support they received, the satisfied deities would, it was hoped, cause crops to thrive, domestic animals to multiply, human society to prosper, and Hittite armies to prevail in battle. These expected rewards are reflected in yet another prayer of Muṣili, in which the god Telepinu is enjoined:

Give life, health, strength, long years, and joy in the future to the king, queen, princes, and to (all) the land of Ḫatti! And give to them future thriving of grain, vines, fruit, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules [sic], asses – together with wild animals – and of human beings! (CTH 377; KUB 24.2 rev. 12'–16')

And in the (*h*)iṣuwa- Festival, the king is assured:

O king, do not be afraid! The Storm-god will always place the enemies and the enemy lands beneath the feet of you, the king, so that you may break them like empty vessels. And to you, the king, [he has given life], health, an heroic [weapon] for the future, and the eternal favor of the gods. Do not be afraid! You shall defeat [every enemy]. (CTH 628; KBo 15.52 + KUB 34.116 rev. V 14'–22')

The intervention of deities in determining human affairs was known as *para ḫand(an)-d'atar*, literally 'prior arrangement', but which we may often best render as 'providence' (see Beckman 2017: 42–44). For example, in his so-called Apology, King Ḫattušili III attributes the successful course of his career to the influence of his patron goddess, Šauška of the town of Šamuḫa. Narrating the course of his revolt against his nephew, King Urḫi-Teššup (Muṣili III), he relates:

1 I have not included transliterations of the texts adduced in this essay. These have all been well studied and those interested will find references to the various editions in the *Konkordanz* (Kořak 2002–) of the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz* (hethiter.net).

Šaušga, My Lady, supported me, and things turned out as she had promised me. Šaušga, My Lady, on that very occasion revealed her divine providence (*para handandatar*) in great measure (by bringing about the defeat of my rival). (CTH 81; edition by Otten 1981: 24f., iv 16–19)

On the other hand, a neglected or offended god or goddess could wreak havoc on an individual, a household, or all of Ḫatti. Attested manifestations of divine displeasure include epidemic, military defeat, and the illness of the king. When confronted with misfortune, it was necessary that the individual sufferer – or the royal establishment on behalf of the community as a whole – determine just which deity was angry, the cause(s) of his or her rage, and the appropriate ameliorative measures. As we will see later, this relationship of mutual dependence between gods and humans could function smoothly and to the benefit of both parties only through the use of effective means of communication between the two groups.

On the human side of this cosmic grand bargain, it was the responsibility of the Hittite monarch to supervise the activities of his fellow men and women. As in the ideologies of other cultures of the ancient Near East, Hittite society’s paramount ruler occupied the center not only of political but also of communal religious life. Accordingly, the king worked in close contact with the divine, organizing his people’s efforts on behalf of their para-human masters and seeking the blessings of the latter for his subjects. In contrast to the situation in Egypt, where the pharaoh was himself a major deity, during his earthly life the king of Ḫatti stood with his fellow humans, albeit just below the realm of gods and goddesses. His lofty, but still ultimately mortal, position is manifest in the euphemism employed for the death of a king or another member of the royal family, ‘to become a god’ (*šiuš kiš-*). That is, while living and breathing, the ruler was not yet considered divine.

A possible exception to this limitation may, however, be presented by the final attested Great Kings of Ḫatti. In the EMIRGAZI hieroglyphic text (Hawkins 1995: 88f., §34), Tudḫaliya IV requests offerings to his images on stelae. It has been suggested (van den Hout 1995: 571–73) that this desperate ruler of a fragmenting empire might have embraced pre-mortem divination as a measure to shore up his crumbling position among the elite. This view would be almost certain if the bas-relief of a Šuppiluliuma from Chamber 2 of the *Südburg* at Ḫattuša – on which the monarch sports the horns of divinity (depicted in van den Hout 1995: 550, Abb. 3) – indeed represents Tudḫaliya’s son and second successor, Šuppiluliyama II, and not his illustrious predecessor Šuppiluliuma I.

This close, but hierarchically marked, association between the king and the pantheon may be illustrated by an address by the monarch to the personified Throne that was included in an Old Hittite rite for constructing a new palace:

[Then the king] says to the Throne: “Come, let us go! [You], step behind the mountains. You shall not become my man. You shall not become my in-law. Be my equal, yes, be my fellow!

“Come, let us go to the mountain, and I, the king, will give you glassware. We will eat from the glassware and you shall protect the mountain.

“The gods, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god, have allotted me, the king, the land and my house, and I, the king, will protect my land and my house. You shall not come to my house, and I will not come to your house.

“The gods have allotted me, the king, many years. The years are without limit.

“From the sea the Throne brought rule and the (royal) cart to me, the king. The land of my mother has been opened, and I, the king, have been designated Labarna (Emperor).

“In return, I will continually praise my father, the Storm-god.” (CTH 414; KUB 29.1 obv. I 10–26)

Although some of the symbolism here remains obscure, we can observe that the king is at pains to avoid too intimate a connection with the divinized Throne – “You shall not become my man. You shall not become my in-law. Be my equal, yes, be my fellow!” he exhorts. Yet he also claims – surely metaphorically – the Storm-god as his father. We also learn that it was the leading deities themselves who had allotted the Hittite monarch his preeminent position in society.

Furthermore, the relationship of the Hittite monarch to the chief of the gods is expressed quite clearly in the following blessing to be recited periodically for him by a priest:

May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land belongs to the Storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the Storm-god alone. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire land of Ḫatti. The Labarna shall continue to administer with his hand the entire land. May the Storm-god destroy whoever should approach the person of the Labarna, [the king], and the borders (of Ḫatti)! (CTH 821; IBoT 1.30: 1–8)

Indeed, in a prayer directed to the entire pantheon through his patron deity, the Storm-god of Lightning, King Muwattalli II employs the metaphor of filiation – of similarity but inferiority – to express his position over against the chief of the gods:

Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, I was but a human, whereas my father was a priest for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and for all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of Lightning took me from my mother and reared me; he made me priest for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and for all the gods; for the land of Ḫatti he appointed me to kingship. (CTH 381; KUB 6.45 rev. III 25–31; translation adapted from Singer 1996: 21, 40)

It will have become apparent from the sum of these quotations that in Ḫatti the office of kingship was essentially equivalent to that of chief priest of the presiding deities of the pantheon, the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god (variously referred to as the Storm-god of Ḫatti, of Heaven, or of Lightning), and indeed priest of all the gods. The ruler was accordingly most frequently the nominal offerant in ceremonies of the state cult. The queen might also assist the monarch, or even preside in her own right. A prince or even a symbolic hunter’s bag (^{KUŠ}*kurša*-) might also be deputized to represent the royal house.

Among his many positions in Hittite society, the king was – to use modern terminology – head of state, commander in chief of the military forces, and the ultimate legal authority in his land (see Beckman 1995). Therefore, it was necessary for him to delegate many of his duties in each of these areas. The body of the monarch’s deputies, whose upper echelon was drawn preponderantly from the extended royal family (see Bilgin 2018: 413–23), constituted the bureaucracy that administered Ḫatti on a day-to-day basis.

Nonetheless, the symbolic role of the monarch and his immediate family as the foremost servitors of each and every deity was reinforced by a twice-yearly royal progress lasting a month or more through those towns of North-Central Anatolia constituting the original core region of Ḫatti, during which the king participated in rites in the sanctuaries of the more prominent local divinities. These onerous journeys –

dubbed the ‘Festival of the Crocus’ in early spring and the ‘Festival of Haste’ following the conclusion of the season of military campaigns in the autumn – allowed the monarch to ‘keep his hand in’ the cult of each and every significant deity worshiped within his realm (see Güterbock 1997a: 89).

Furthermore, in times of crisis such as that of the plague addressed above by Muršili II, the ruler appeared in person before the gods in order to present Ḫatti’s *arkuwar*, ‘plaidoyer’, confessing to offenses committed by himself and his people and suggesting possible remediation. The parade example of such a brief delivered to a divine authority is indeed that very prayer of Muršili.

But most everyday worship in Ḫatti was in the hands of priests and other persons whose working lives were dedicated to the care and feeding of the gods. These divine servitors included members of numerous domestic professions (palace servant, cook, baker, waiter, janitor, etc.), who were also to be found in the palace and undoubtedly in other elite households. The highest-ranking religious professionals were designated by the Sumerograms ^{LÚ}SANGA, ‘priest’, and ^{LÚ}GUDU12, ‘anointed priest’, if male, and by NIN.DINGIR, ‘lady-deity’, or ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, ‘mother of the deity’, if female. These functionaries were assisted or accompanied in ceremonies by a multitude of minor officiants whose designations in many cases elude translation. Responsibility for the poorly documented routine sacrifices in provincial temples and village shrines fell to the district governor and local officials, who often had a minor priest or two at their disposal.

It is important to keep in mind that the priests and their assistants functioned solely as representatives of the crown. They had no discernable corporate organization² and as a group do not seem to have exercised any political influence. Indeed, in addition to the princes Telepinu and Kantuzzili who carry the Sumerographic epithet ^{LÚ}SANGA (see Freu 2002), we learn the personal names of only around 25 other SANGAS from cuneiform sources.³ The term appears predominantly in festival texts, where it designates a generic ritual practitioner (for attestations, see Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 343–69, esp. 350–56).

As for the mass of the population, these men and women appear to have had little involvement with the official worship of the Thousand Gods of Ḫatti. Perhaps ordinary inhabitants of Ḫattuša might have been spectators at the parade of divine symbols through the streets of their city described in the KILAM Festival (Haas 1994: 749), or some may have witnessed the royal party as it moved from one shrine to another in the course of some other ceremony. But the (Grand) Assembly ((šalli) aššeššar, lit. ‘(great) seating’; see Archi 1979a: 205–9; CHD Š 98f.), a communal feast that was a part of many festivals, was attended by only a limited number of royal relatives and bureaucrats, in addition to the participating cult functionaries.⁴ It was definitely not an occasion for the establishment and reinforcing of the feeling of community for the people at large, although sometimes the populace was represented by a group of its elders.

2 We do encounter the title GAL.SANGA, ‘chief priest’, but there is no evidence that its bearer presided over a college of lesser fellows.

3 See Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 357. Most of these individuals are found in records concerning the administration of local cults.

4 On the question of who was entitled to receive the foodstuffs distributed in the course of programs of the state cult, see now Barsacchi 2019.

Here we must keep in mind that our knowledge of Hittite religion is largely limited to the cultic concerns and operations at the governmental level as described in the cuneiform documents in the archives, which were produced by, and maintained exclusively for, the use of the royal bureaucracy. That is, we know next to nothing of the worship practices or spiritual lives of non-elite persons in Ḫatti, although we may find some indication of this conceptual realm in the descriptions of local activities in the cult inventories (see Cammarosano 2018) and in the concepts that inform the white magic featuring in the rites Hittitologists refer to as ‘rituals’ (SISKUR).

2. Communication

Returning to a point touched upon earlier, it was of the greatest importance that the monarch and the gods of Ḫatti conduct a regular exchange of information so that any difficulties arising in the functioning of the cosmos might be rectified to their mutual benefit. Of course, the king reported directly to his divine lords through his prayers, but traffic in the other direction was necessarily more complex. Accordingly, Muršili II demands of the gods concerning the cause of the epidemic that troubled most of his reign:

Either let me see [the cause of the divine ire] in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a prophet (*šiunaš antuḫšaš*, lit. ‘man of god’) speak of it. Or all the priests shall perform an incubation rite (lit. ‘sleep purely’) concerning that which I have instructed them. (CTH 378.II; KUB 14.10 rev. IV 9’–13’ and duplicates)

We may observe here that the media of communication employed by or in relation to the gods were of two types: those of which the divinities availed themselves on their own initiative (omens; see van den Hout 2003–05: 88–90), and those whose use was initiated by humans (oracles; see Kammenhuber 1976).

Thus, a god might contact a person directly by appearing in a dream, cause a third party to utter a prophecy, or send a portent in the form of unusual human or animal behavior. The sign might also take the form of an astronomical occurrence (a solar or lunar eclipse, shooting star, and so forth), a meteorological phenomenon (for example, a lightning strike or thunderclap), or any abnormal terrestrial event, say a monstrous birth. The interpretation of these signs was the responsibility of experts, who relied in part on handbooks imported from Syria and Mesopotamia.

Alternatively, through various procedures, a specialist serving in the Hittite religious bureaucracy could pose a question to a deity and request a reply, to be delivered through a number of alternative divinatory techniques. Such practices utilized in Ḫatti included the examination of the entrails of a sacrificed animal (extispicy), the observation of the flight and other behavior of birds (augury), incubation (sleeping in a numinous location in expectation of receiving a significant dream), and the still mysterious ‘lot’ (KIN) oracle. These various methods were often employed in series as checks upon the results obtained by one another. I present an excerpt from a lengthy sequence of such questions:

In regard to the fact that you, oh Deity of Arušna, were ascertained to be angry with His Majesty (the king), is this because the queen cursed (the palace woman) Ammattalla before the Deity of Arušna? Because Ammattalla began to concern herself with the deity, yet did not go back and forth

(in service to the deity)? Because the son of Ammattalla has dressed himself in garments entrusted to his mother and was summoned to the palace? If you, oh God, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable. ... (Here are reported the technical details of the observation.) (Result:) Unfavorable. If you, oh God, are angry only about this, let the duck oracle be favorable. ... (Result:) Unfavorable. ... (CTH 566; KUB 22.70 obv. I 7–11)

3. Festivals

The records of the rites making up the regular periodic state cult are labelled with the Sumerogram EZEN⁴, which is customarily translated as *Festritual* or ‘festival’. Texts of this sort, making up by far the largest collection of religious ceremonial records from the ancient Near East prior to those of first-millennium Assyria, comprise a major portion of the recovered Hittite corpus. Here I will adduce evidence primarily from the major productions of the central state cult: the springtime *purulli*- (‘Earth’) Festival, the KILAM (‘Gatehouse’) Festival, the late (*h*)*išūwa*- (perhaps ‘Eagle’) Festival, the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM (‘Crocus’) Festival, and the *nuntarriyašḫa*- (‘Haste’) Festival.⁵ As noted earlier, these latter two labels were actually collective designations for rites performed in each instance over the course of several weeks in various locations. In regard to them, we may avail ourselves not only of programs for individual days but also of tablets outlining the travels and cultic activities of the king and queen among the towns in which they would be officiating (e.g. Güterbock 1997b).

I will pay less attention to the local cults not included in these composite ‘national’ programs (on which see Cammarosano 2018), if only because they are for the most part known solely from concise reports compiled to allow the central royal administration to assure that their basic requirements as to cultic equipment and the supply of offerings were satisfied. For these ceremonies, we do not generally possess the type of ‘scripts’ (*Rollenbücher*) or detailed descriptions of the participants and their actions available for the major rites, especially those held in the capital.

As is the case with most Hittite cuneiform tablets, the sources for the festivals were recovered in fragmentary condition, necessitating their reconstruction from numerous scattered pieces. Since their texts are often quite similar – see an example below – varying, e.g. only in the deities addressed or the quantities and types of offerings presented, sorting out and rejoining the scraps into complete tablets has proven to be a Herculean task.

The analysis of the state cult is therefore one of the least evolved areas within Hittite studies, but is accordingly attracting increasing attention among contemporary scholars, as exemplified by the project and conference documented in this volume. More rapid progress in this area is sure to result from the use of the indispensable *Konkordanz* hosted in Mainz, as well as from the introduction of new cybernetic tools under development by Gerfrid Müller for identifying individual scribal hands and for matching the contours of fragments.

As for the character of the ceremonies of the state cult, we might imagine that the attention paid to a deity or deities in the course of a festival mirrored – *mutatis mu-*

⁵ For synopses of all of these ceremonies, see Haas 1994: 696–874.

tandis – the quotidian experience of the king among his courtiers, for which we unfortunately have disappointingly little direct evidence. Through a sequence of offerings, incantations, and physical acts, festivals manipulated and cajoled the god(s) or demonic force(s) in question to accede to the needs and desires of the monarch and his society.

Beyond the provision of food and drink, Hittite cult ceremonies might feature entertainment in the form of song, dance, athletic competitions, circus-like performances, and even historical re-enactments. An amusing example of the latter appears in a festival of the Storm-god of the town of Guršamašša:

They divide up the young men and name them. They call half of them ‘the men of Ḫatti’ and the other half ‘the men of the town of Maša’. The men of Ḫatti have weapons of bronze, while the men of Maša have weapons of reed. Then they fight and the Hittites prevail. They take a prisoner and dedicate him to the deity. (CTH 526.18; KUB 17.35 rev. III 9–15)

I have already stated that the monarch or a member of his nuclear family was in theory the patron of all activities comprising the state cult. When we are informed about the source of the requisite provisions for a rite, this is most often said to be the king, his palace, or an institution belonging to the dynasty, such as the House of the Grandfathers or the House of the Labarna. The texts often attribute modifications to programs of worship to particular kings, or generically to ‘His Majesty’.

The royals might also intervene directly in the structuring of the festival calendar. Queen Puduḫepa, wife of Ḫattušili III and daughter of a ‘Priest-King’ of Kizzuwatna (classical Cilicia), introduced a novel complex of rites to Ḫattuša during the thirteenth century. This new production was the (*h*)*išuwa*-Festival, which displays many Hurrian and Luwian lexemes and practices⁶ and is devoted above all to a manifestation of a god of great importance in Puduḫepa’s home region, the Storm-god of Mount Manuzzi. The colophon of the texts describing these ceremonies reads:

When Queen Puduḫepa charged Walma-ziti, chief of scribes, to search in Ḫattuša for tablets of Kizzuwatna, then on that day he copied these tablets of the (*h*)*išuwa*-Festival. (CTH 628; KBo 15.52 VI 39’–45’)

But what was the role of the king or his lady in the actual performance of a festival? The following excerpt from the ‘Festival of Haste’ will provide an impression of the typical proceedings:

The king and the queen toast the deity Tuḫašel while seated. The *ḫalliyari*-men play the large lyres. The jesters speak. The declaimer shouts. The *kita*-man calls out. The cupbearer brings in a sour loaf from outside. He gives (it) to the king. The king breaks (it). The cupbearer holds the bread out to the king and carries it away. The pure priests bring in the *zahurti*-seats. The waiters take the *zippula(š)ni*-bread. The crouching (cupbearer) comes in.

The king and the queen toast the deity Karmahili while seated. The *ḫalliyari*-men play the large lyres. The declaimer shouts. The (crouching) cupbearer squats. Nothing is poured into the *iškaruḫ*-vessel. He sets about (libating) twice. The cupbearer brings in a sour loaf from outside. He gives (it) to the king. The king breaks (it).

The cupbearer holds (the bread) out to the king and carries it away. (The waiters) take the *šaramma*-bread of the chief of the palace servants. The crouching (cupbearer) comes in. (CTH 626; KUB 11.34 rev. V 38’ – VI 6 and duplicates)

6 See the contribution by Meltem Doğan-Alparslan to this volume.

As is evident from this and earlier excerpts, despite his central significance in the cult, the ruler himself was not a religious specialist. While a focus of attention, his participation in a rite was usually limited to such token actions as momentarily holding an offering or sanctified object and then handing it on to a professional officiant. Or he might pour a libation or crumble an offering loaf. But for the most part, he was ‘walked through’ the ceremony by the other participants and did not have to acquire and retain knowledge of the technical procedures. Of course, his other administrative, military, and judicial responsibilities would have left little time for absorbing such arcana. When animals were sacrificed, the actual slaughter and butchery were commonly left to culinary experts.

But perhaps the king took a more active role in the state cult by directly addressing his divine masters, if indeed he personally recited any of the royal prayers composed and tradited under his name.⁷ The prayer to all the gods of Muwattalli II (*CTH* 381) was delivered in connection with a long series of offerings, and since the texts of many other prayers indicate that they were accompanied by libations, it is probable that they were all spoken in the context of what we are calling festivals. What better moment to make a request of your superior than immediately after you have provided him or her with a lavish meal, flattery, and entertainment?

Finally, we should mention the attention paid to defunct rulers in festivals. The statues of divinized kings, namely Ḫattušili I, Šuppiluliuma I, Muṣili II, Ḫattušili III, and Šuppiluliyama II, receive offerings in the course of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM Festival, and lambs are offered to the Sun-goddesses of Arinna of deceased queens, including Walanni, Nikalmati, Ašmunikal, Daduḫepa, Ḫenti, and Tawananna, during the *nuntarri-yašḫa*-celebration. Some scholars believe that these latter objects of worship, which take the form of either anthropomorphic statues or sun-disks, are simply representations of the chief female deity, perhaps set up in the temple by the queens in question and inscribed with the names of their donors. However, I believe that in death, the former queens have become in some way indistinguishable from the deity, much as the Hittite king was identified closely with the male solar deity. In this connection note the almost mirror images of the king and queen of Ḫatti and of the king and queen of the Thousand Gods in the rock relief at Fraktın (see Ehringhaus 2005: 59–65).

To summarize: The Hittite monarch was the most exalted of human beings, standing near – or perhaps even among – the gods, to whom he alone was responsible for managing the affairs of the people of Ḫatti, in particular those involving the service of their divine masters. The king’s closeness to the immortals is illustrated by the depiction in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya of Tudḫaliya IV in the protective embrace of his personal god Šarrumma (Bittel 1975: Tafel 49). While the ruler’s burden was undoubtedly a heavy one, he enjoyed the support of his patron deity as well as the assistance – as we have seen – of innumerable anonymous fellow men and women in fulfilling his religious obligations.

It was indeed good to be king.

7 Note that *CTH* 377, KUB 24.1+, Muṣili’s prayer to Telepinu, is explicitly said to be read aloud daily by a scribe.

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FESTRITUALE IM ALTEN ÄGYPTEN

Ein Überblick mit dem Versuch einer Systematik

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Abstract

This contribution will focus, among the sources from Ancient Egypt, on public festival rituals. Other important rituals are briefly mentioned, such as the foundation ritual and the 'Ritual of Opening the Mouth' that served to initialize objects produced by craftsmen, including cultic statues. The daily ritual for the cultic statue as well as the daily offering ritual contain some additional scenes that were performed only on special days. For the public festivals, there exist calendars indicating their dates and – for some – monumental depictions or scripts. Some public festivals involve primarily the king, like the enthronement or the jubilee. For others, the gods or a select group of them were at the center. For those, a fixed calendar date was usually established. Some depended on the lunar cycle, but most on the Egyptian civil calendar. Larger divine festivals entailed public processions of the cultic images. Finally, as a specific case, a royal ritual transmitted on a Late Period Papyrus (Brooklyn 47.218.50) is studied in more detail.

1. Einleitung¹

Das Alte Ägypten ist zweifellos eine Kultur, in der Rituale eine große Rolle spielen. Praktisch jede Tempelwand in Stein ist von oben bis unten mit Ritualszenen dekoriert. Entsprechend groß ist das Risiko, sich darin quasi zu verlaufen und am Ende Spezialbemerkungen zu liefern, die für Fachfremde weitgehend nutzlos, da unverständlich bleiben. In der Hoffnung, dadurch am ehesten für meine Kollegen aus der Altorientalistik im Sinne des Oberthemas des Tagungsbandes anschlussfähig zu bleiben, fokussiere ich auf Festrituale im engeren Sinne,² die nicht nur die Beteiligung einiger Priester erfordern, sondern auf die aktive Partizipation größerer Teile der allgemeinen Bevölkerung ausgelegt sind, und die auch nicht nur im Inneren eines Tempels bleiben, sondern weiter in den Raum ausgreifen.

Damit sind allerdings einige bedeutsame Rituale weitgehend ausgeschlossen, für die zum Gutteil bereits im Neuen Reich, also der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jt. v. Chr., Bezeugungen vorliegen, also genau die Epoche, die chronologisch für einen Vergleich mit den hethitischen Quellen am direktesten relevant wäre. Sie sollen deshalb zumindest kurz genannt werden.

1 Für diesen Beitrag konnte Fukaya 2019 nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden.

2 Ausgeschlossen sind damit auch private Feste, zu ihnen siehe z.B. Assmann 1989.

2. Einige wichtige Rituale jenseits der Feste

Für die rituelle Gründung eines Tempels ist die zentralste Szene, in welcher der König gemeinsam mit der Göttin Seschat die Pflöcke einschlägt, bereits aus der späten zweiten Dynastie, also dem früheren 3. Jt. v. Chr., positiv belegt (Engelbach 1934), umfassendere Darstellungen der einzelnen Handlungen als Sequenzen von Tempelszenen aber erst in der griechisch-römischen Zeit (Martzolff 2011).

Das Mundöffnungsritual kann in sehr unterschiedlichem Umfang und sehr unterschiedlichen Anwendungen erscheinen.³ Als Begriff ist ‚Mundöffnung‘ bereits an der Wende zur 4. Dynastie, also noch vor der Mitte des 3. Jt. v. Chr. belegt. Eine Reihe von Sprüchen, die später nachweislich Teil dieses Rituals sind, finden sich bereits im Alten und Mittleren Reich teils als Einzelsprüche, teils (besonders in den Pyramidentexten) bereits als Sequenzen.⁴ Als zusammenhängendes Ritual unter diesem Namen ist das Mundöffnungsritual allerdings erst ab der 18. Dynastie belegt.⁵ Es ist im Kern ein Ritual zur Initialisierung handwerklich hergestellter Objekte, das diese kommunikationsfähig machen soll, wozu ihnen die verschiedenen Wahrnehmungsorgane geöffnet werden; neben dem titelgebenden Mund auch Augen, Ohren und Nase. Das Ritual kann sowohl an Statuen als auch an Särgen oder Mumien durchgeführt werden, so dass es sowohl im funerären Zusammenhang als auch im Tempelkult gebraucht wird (Quack 2015). Es wird primär im sogenannten Goldhaus (*hw.t-nbw*) vollzogen, das als Werkstatt dient; Handlungen mit verschiedenen Werkzeugen spielen den Herstellungsprozess nach. Im Hof finden eine Schlachtung sowie die Darbringung einer ausführlichen Opfermahlzeit statt. Schließlich wird die Statue in einer Kapelle untergebracht, die versiegelt wird. Im Falle einer funerären Nutzung dürfte die reale Umsetzung im offenen Vorhof des Grabs stattgefunden haben. Der Transport der Statue in einen Tempelschrein bzw. eine Kapelle innerhalb des Grabes erfolgte durch eine Gruppe von (idealerweise neun) Trägern. Gerade diese Handlung bot die Möglichkeit, die Statue öffentlichkeitswirksam zu präsentieren, und tatsächlich gibt es im Bereich des Statuentransports und des Absetzens der Statue im Schrein auch die Handlungsangabe ‚die Schönheit dieses Gottes erheben‘ (Szene 75G; vgl. Quack 2006a: 129), die ich in diesem Sinne verstehen möchte.

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- 3 Die heute gebrauchte Edition ist Otto 1960, die allerdings hinsichtlich der Abfolge der Szenen sowie mancher Lesungen insbesondere der hieratischen Textzeugen zu verbessern ist (vgl. für etliche Punkte Quack 2006a). Ein Projekt zur Neuedition läuft derzeit unter meiner Leitung in Heidelberg, siehe Altmann-Wendling 2016. Zur Frage des realen Textbestandes und der Sequenzen siehe Quack 2005.
 - 4 Für die Parallelen zu den Pyramidentexten liefert bereits Otto 1960: Bd. II zu den einzelnen Szenen umfangreiche Angaben. Erstmals im Mittleren Reich belegte Szenen sind Sargtext Spruch 857 = Mundöffnungsritual Szene 57A und 57B (Otto 1963: 197; Quack 1997), die Schlachtszene im Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus = Mundöffnungsritual Szene 23 = 43 (Otto 1950; 1960: Bd. II 76; siehe auch Geisen 2018: 69–71), CT VII 104 h–i (Sargtext Spruch 894) als Parallele zu Szene 70B und die Toilettenzene (Mundöffnungsritual Szene 63A) mit Parallele im Grab der Senet (TT 60) (Quack 2006a: 115; 2006b: 68–70).
 - 5 Die frühesten umfangreichen Textvertreter sind das Grab des Djehuti (TT 11) aus der Zeit der Hatschepsut (Serrano 2015) und das Grab des Rechmire (TT 100) aus der Zeit Thutmosis' III. – Amenhoteps II. (Davies 1943: Taf. XCVI–CVII).

Für die Durchführung des Mundöffnungsrituals gibt es keine vorgeschriebenen festen Termine. Zumindest solche Versionen, welche die vollständige Fassung in der Performanz umsetzen, müssen jedoch automatisch eine Art von Feiertag gewesen sein. Das ergibt sich schon daraus, dass es zwei Schlachtungen gibt, die jeweils ein Rind, eine Ziege und eine Gans betreffen (Szene 23 und 43), zusammen also sicher mehrere hundert Kilogramm Fleisch generieren.⁶ Ohne aktive Teilnahme einer substantiellen Gruppe von Menschen wäre es im ägyptischen Klima unmöglich, diese Menge zu verzehren, bevor sie schlecht wird.⁷

Das sogenannte ‚Tägliche Tempelritual‘, gelegentlich auch als Kultbildritual bezeichnet, ist tatsächlich speziell eine Komposition für den morgendlichen Umgang mit der Kultstatue. Zu beachten ist, dass es hiervon über eine lange Bezeugungszeit von ca. 2000 Jahren und aus verschiedenen Orten sehr unterschiedliche Fassungen auf Textträgern unterschiedlicher Materialität und Situierung gibt.⁸ Eine adäquate moderne Edition fehlt.⁹ In der ägyptologischen Praxis hat dies allzu oft dazu geführt, dass man die Fassung zweier guterhaltener Papyri der 22. Dynastie quasi als ‚Das Tägliche Tempelritual‘ *per se* angesehen hat, ohne deren durchaus partikuläre Stellung ausreichend wahrzunehmen (vgl. dazu Pries 2013: 285).

Nach den paratextuellen Angaben sollte dieses Ritual täglich von einem diensthabenden hochrangigen Priester¹⁰ durchgeführt werden. Die Handlungsangaben und Rezitation betreffen zuerst den Zugang des Priesters im Tempel unter Einschluss des Ergreifens der für die Handlungen benötigten Utensilien und des Eintritts ins Sanktuar selbst; zumindest in den späten Versionen spielt die rituelle Reinigung des Offizianten (Guerneur 2014) sowie das Durchschreiten der verschiedenen Portale eine wesentliche Rolle. Anschließend wird der Gott aufgeweckt und die Kultstatue mit Weihrauch und Wasser kultisch gereinigt. Es folgt eine Bekleidung mit Gewändern verschiedener Farbe, das Auftragen von Salben sowie Schminke. Speziell die Fassung in den Kapellen

6 Vgl. für das Problem einer Kalkulation der Fleischmenge altägyptischer Rinder Ikram 1995: 217–19.

7 Ikram 1995: 59f. gibt für Vögel an, man könne sie nach dem Schlachten im ägyptischen Klima allenfalls 6 Stunden ohne weitere Behandlung lassen, bevor sie anfangen würden zu stinken und das Risiko bakterieller Infektion hoch sei. Rinder- und Ziegenfleisch mag etwas weniger anfällig sein, mehr als einen Tag für den Verbrauch des frischen Fleisches wird man aber kaum ansetzen können.

8 Inzwischen ist zumindest ein kurzes Papyrusfragment des späten Mittleren Reiches (ca. 1800 v. Chr.) identifiziert worden, siehe Contardi 2016; für hieroglyphische Fassungen des Neuen Reiches siehe Calverley und Broom 1933; 1935; Contardi 2009. Für mehr oder weniger abgekürzte Fassungen an den Wänden von Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit siehe Hussy 2007; für hieratische Textzeugen auf Papyrus Osing und Rosati 1998: 101–28, Taf. 14–16; für graphische Umsetzungen ins Demotische Stadler 2005; 2007; 2016; 2017: 91–102.

9 Die Bearbeitung durch Moret 1902 ist sehr veraltet und in Lesungen und Übersetzungen unzuverlässig; Braun 2013 bietet eine neue Studie und Übersetzung, die aber auch keineswegs überall philologisch sattelfest ist und gelegentlich sogar eine eklatante Verschlechterung gegenüber Moret darstellt. Substantielle Auszüge sind auch in Kausen 1988 übersetzt.

10 Die Bezeichnung *wḥ* ist als Rangbezeichnung im Buch vom Tempel häufig, was Warburtons Position (2010: 207, 210) widerlegt, es gäbe keinen solchen Titel und auch die niedersten Priester wären in direkten Kontakt mit der Götterstatue gekommen.

des Sethos-Tempels in Abydos bietet auch eine Ausstattung mit Schmuck und Insignien. Letztlich ist somit dieses Ritual kaum etwas anderes als das morgendliche Erwachen und die Toilette des Königs, das in die Götterwelt transponiert worden ist.

Eine größere Menge von Sprüchen, insbesondere zu Räucherung, Reinigung, Bekleidung und Schminke, ist im Mundöffnungsritual und im Täglichen Tempelritual quasi textgleich belegt. Darin zeigt sich auch der, wenn man so will, Baukastencharakter ägyptischer Rituale, bei denen Einzelszenen mit ihren etablierten Rezitationen in verschiedene größere Zusammenhänge eingebettet werden konnten.

Es gibt einzelne Anzeichen dafür, dass das Tägliche Tempelritual an besonderen Tagen unterhalb des Ranges großer Feiertage eine Erweiterung erfuhr. So gibt es bei der Salbölpräsentation eine Notiz *irr.t n psčn.t 6n.t smšn.t n ḥ3w r p3 r' n ḥnk mč.t n imny.t* „Was am 1., 6. und 15. Tag des Mondmonates zusätzlich zum Spruch des Darbringens des Salböls des täglichen Opfers gemacht wird“ (pBerlin P 3055, 32,8–33,1) bzw. knapper formuliert [*irr.t*] *n psčn.t 6n.t 15n.t* „[Was] am 1., 6. und 15. Tag des Mondzyklus [gemacht wird]“ (pBerlin P 3014+3053, 28,2f.).¹¹

Von der Raumnutzung her bleibt dieses Ritual fest im Tempelbereich. Der Offiziant tritt von außen nach innen ein und passiert dabei verschiedene Räumlichkeiten. In den römischen Handschriften aus Soknopaiou Nesos kann man fünf verschiedene Türdurchgänge fassen, was auch mit dem archäologischen Befund des betreffenden Tempels korreliert werden kann (Stadler 2007: 297–302). In den Papyri für den Kult des Amun beschränken sich die räumlichen Angaben auf einen „segregierten Raum“ (*bw čsr*; pBerlin P 3055, 2,4) sowie das Sanktuar (*ḥm*; pBerlin P 3055, 9,6),¹² schließlich wird noch das Aufsteigen auf einer Rampe (*ḥnt.w*; pBerlin P 3055, 10,1) angesprochen – passend zur architektonischen Realität, wo das Sanktuar in Ägypten regulär um einige Treppenstufen höher lag als die vorderen Bereiche des Tempels.

Zu beachten ist, dass ganz erhebliche Teile des Täglichen Tempelrituals ohne substantielle Änderungen für verschiedene Gottheiten genutzt werden konnten (vgl. auch Warburton 2010). Nur kleine Bereiche sind spezifisch. Im Falle der beiden Papyrushandschriften der 22. Dynastie lässt sich dies am besten fassen. Die Handschrift für Amun, den männlichen Hauptgott von Karnak, enthält einen Spruch zum Darreichen der Wahrheit (sgöttin) (pBerlin P 3055, 20,2–25,6), die Handschrift für dessen Partnerin Mut einen Hymnus, der sich mit einer Festreise der Göttin beschäftigt (pBerlin P 3014+3053, 10,1–19,5; Verhoeven und Derchain 1985). Beide singulären Textpassagen zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie sprachlich jüngere Elemente aufweisen, die vom sonst strikt

11 Bei Moret 1902: 194–97 ist die betreffende Stelle falsch segmentiert und missverstanden worden. Sachlich korrekter ist Alliot 1949–54: 177, auch wenn seine Übersetzung „on fait (cela)“ für das passive Partizip *irr.t* nicht eben präzise ist. Braun 2013: 172 erkennt, Moret folgend, den Charakter der Passage als Überschrift und schafft es nicht nur, wie Moret, den bestimmten Artikel von seinem Bezugswort zu trennen, sondern auch noch, die Determinative für Feste als Logogramme misszuverstehen und dadurch einen 6. und 15. Tag des Festes zu kreieren.

12 Die direkte Parallele im Ritual für Mut, pBerlin P 3014+3053, 7,3, verwendet allerdings an dieser Stelle *bw čsr*.

klassisch-ägyptischen Charakter der Rezitationstexte¹³ des Täglichen Tempelrituals merklich abweichen.¹⁴ Dieser Befund deutet darauf hin, dass es sich um jüngere Zusätze handelt, wobei noch die Frage bleibt, ob sie reine Zusätze zu einem ohne sie an sich vollständigen Text sind, oder ob es sich um die individuellen Ausarbeitungen für eine Stelle handelt, die in der Konzeption des Rituals grundsätzlich der Platz für gottheits-spezifische individuelle Elemente lässt. Letzteres erscheint mir zumindest erwägenswert.

Dieses sogenannte Tägliche Tempelritual handelt tatsächlich von der morgendlichen Reinigung und Bekleidung. Es gibt auch ein Opferritual, das zumindest in den Textzeugen des Neuen Reiches separat überliefert ist, und in dem die Speisung der Gottheit im Zentrum steht (Tacke 2013). Da es mit einem abendlichen Gesang endet, kann man sehen, dass es andere Bereiche des Tages abdeckt als das morgendliche Kultbildritual. Wann genau am Vormittag oder spätestens Mittag es begonnen hat, lässt sich anhand der verfügbaren Quellen nicht sicher sagen.

Auch dieses Ritual ist im Kern täglich durchzuführen, also nicht an Feste gebunden. Jedoch markieren die Papyrushandschriften explizit einige Passagen, die nur an besonderen Gelegenheiten durchgeführt wurden, sogar mehr als im Täglichen Tempelritual. In den Handschriften sind sie diesmal quasi als Annex hinten zusammengefasst worden. Konkret handelt es sich einerseits um ein Fest für Amun, das im Text auch explizit als Barkenprozession (*hn.t*) bezeichnet wird (Szene 54,8). Hier gibt es ein spezielles Menü an Opferspeisen und zudem einen „Gesang der beiden Ufer“, der wohl als zweistimmiger Chor realisiert wurde (Assmann 1969: 246–62). Gerade die darin enthaltenen Passagen, die davon sprechen, die beiden Türflügel seien geöffnet, der Gott sei erschienen und die Menge jubele, zeigen deutlich, dass es um ein größeres Fest geht, bei dem der Gott in der Öffentlichkeit erscheint.

Andererseits gibt es auch eine spezielle Ritualhandlung, nämlich das Herbeibringen von Blumensträußen (Szene 58), für die explizit eine Situierung am 6. Tag des Mondzyklus angegeben wird.¹⁵ Ebenso wird für diesen Tag ein spezielles Festmenü angegeben (Szene 59 und 60). Potentiell gab es auch eine spezielle Ritualhandlung am Schwarzmomntag, also nach ägyptischer Strukturierung dem ersten Tag des Mondzyklus (Szene 61). Diese kurze Episode ist allerdings nur in einer Monumentalfassung des Rituals überliefert, nicht in den Skripten auf Papyrus. Unstrittig ist dagegen, dass es mehrere Sprüche (Szene 62–66) spezifisch für das Neujahrsfest gibt. Schließlich enthält eine

13 Nicht gleichartig der paratextuellen Angaben, in die auch sprachlich jüngere Elemente einfließen können, so der (im Ägyptischen sprachgeschichtlich jüngere) bestimmte Artikel in der oben zitierten Passage pBerlin P 3055, 33,1. Beim von Jansen-Winkeln 1994: 173 zitierten angeblich bestimmten Artikel in *n³ nsw.w* pBerlin P 3055, 3,2 dürfte es sich lediglich um ein phonetisches Phänomen handeln; strukturell gleichartige Schreibungen *n³.n³r.w* sind auch in graphisch demotischen Umsetzungen klassisch-ägyptischer Rituale normal, siehe z. B. Widmer 2015: 34 mit Anm. 149.

14 Für die sprachlich jüngeren Phänomene im Text für Mut siehe Quack 2013: 42; für diejenigen in der Präsentation der Wahrheit(sgöttin) siehe vorerst die kurzen Bemerkungen bei Jansen-Winkeln 1994: 173, eine ausführlichere Studie durch Alexandra von Lieven und mich ist in Vorbereitung.

15 Tacke 2013: Bd. 2, 234–38 will auch Szene 57 spezifisch auf den 6. Tag des Mondzyklus beziehen; nach Maßgabe der paratextuellen Angaben im Titel dürfte es sich aber eher um einen Festtags-Zusatz zum Abendlied (Szene 51) handeln, das den regulären täglichen Opferdienst abschließt.

Papyrushandschrift, die an sich im Kult des Amun situiert ist, auch noch zwei Sprüche, die explizit für dessen Gemahlin Mut bestimmt sind (Szene 67–68). Aufgrund von Lücken im erhaltenen Text ist unsicher, ob es sich dabei um einen neuen Zusammenhang handelt, der im Rahmen eines besonderen Festes für Mut verortet ist, oder ob es sich lediglich um Handlungen für Mut im Rahmen des Neujahrsfestes handelt – ich halte letzteres für etwas plausibler.

3. Festrитуale und ihre Quellen

Mit diesem Opferritual habe ich die Grenze zum Festrитуал schon etwas dezidiert überschritten; zumindest zeigt der Befund hier recht instruktiv, wie ein Alltagsritual durch einige zusätzliche Episoden zu einem richtiggehenden Festrитуал aufgewertet werden kann. Damit komme ich endgültig zu denjenigen ägyptischen Ritualen, die spezifisch für Feste konzipiert sind. Zunächst möchte ich auf die verschiedenen Quellen eingehen, die uns für deren Rekonstruktion zur Verfügung stehen.

Einerseits gibt es die Festkalender, die uns darüber informieren, welche Feste zu welchem Datum gefeiert wurden. Festkalender sind für Ägypten bereits seit dem 3. Jt. v. Chr. in mehr oder weniger fragmentarischer Form als hieroglyphische Inschriften an Tempelwänden erhalten (Grimm 1994; El-Shabban 2000); gelegentlich auch auf Stelen aus Stein (Bedier 1994; Spalinger 1996a). Die älteren, bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches (aus der vorptolemäischen Spätzeit sind derzeit keine bekannt), bieten meist sehr knappe Angaben, welche insbesondere auf die ökonomischen Aspekte (konkret die Menge der Opfergaben) fokussieren. In denjenigen der griechisch-römischen Zeit sind dagegen weitaus mehr Details der Durchführung genannt. Um diesen Punkt jedoch zu nuancieren, sei bemerkt, dass aus der Ramessidenzeit Reste eines Festkalenders auf Papyrus erhalten sind (Demichelis 2002), und hier die Detailfreudigkeit der Handlungsbeschreibungen nicht hinter derjenigen der ptolemäerzeitlichen Monumentalinschriften zurücksteht.

Auch in privatem Kontext, speziell in Funerärinschriften, ist ein Aufgreifen dieses offiziellen Festkalenders belegt (Spalinger 1996b), insbesondere im Zusammenhang des Wunsches, durch den Empfang von Opfergaben an ihnen teilhaben zu können. Da diese Quellen für den Ablauf der Handlungen keine zusätzlichen Aufschlüsse geben, werden sie hier nicht weiter berücksichtigt.

In seltenen Glücksfällen sind uns Skripte von Ritualen auf Papyrus erhalten; gerade diesen Bereich muss man sich als den zentralsten für die antiken Praktiken vorstellen.¹⁶ Die in den Tempelarchiven und -bibliotheken liegenden Handschriften dienten als Referenzwerke für die reale Durchführung. Allerdings kann man wenigstens an einem konkreten Beispiel aufzeigen, wie im Falle von Meinungsverschiedenheiten die ultimative Autorität der monumentalisierten Aufzeichnung zugewiesen wurde. In einem Brief des späten 4. Jh. v. Chr. geht es um Probleme im Zusammenhang eines Prozessionsfestes,

16 Zu den signifikant seltenen Fällen von Texterhaltung im nichtfunerären Bereich, wo allein Hoffnung auf bessere Dokumentation von Ritualskripten auf Papyrus besteht, siehe Quack im Druck.

bei dem eine Gottheit außerhalb ihres Ortes bleibt, weil die zur Aufnahme verpflichtete Seite offenbar für Details (genauer Termin?) andere Vorstellungen als die ausziehende hat. In diesem Brief wird explizit angewiesen, eine Delegation solle zum Ort Per-Gereg-Neith („Die Gründung der Neith“) gehen und dort die Stelen ansehen (pLoeb 8, 25f.).¹⁷

Gelegentlich werden Skripte für den Ablauf von Festen auch in Hieroglyphen an Tempelwänden und Säulen verewigt. Besonders intensiv ist dies in der Römerzeit im Pronaos des Tempels von Esna belegt, wo unter Einschluss eines elaborierten Systems von Verweisen auf diejenige Säule, auf der sich die Fortsetzung befindet, mehrere Festabläufe in ziemlich genauen Details festgehalten sind (Sauneron 1962).

Schließlich ist zu beachten, dass die Szenen einer ägyptischen Tempeldekoration normalerweise Ritualhandlungen darstellen. Selbst die wenigen Fälle, in denen man auf den ersten Blick die Handlungsabfolge eines Mythos zu erkennen vermeint, dürften vielmehr nicht den Mythos selbst, sondern dessen rituelle Darstellung im Fest intendieren (Rotsch 2008). Manche der dargestellten Szenen dürften spezifisch auf Feste rekurrieren, zumal solche, in denen die Prozessionsbarken der Gottheiten dargestellt sind.

Bildliche Darstellungen haben den großen Vorteil, dass man sich als Forscher daraus schöne Folien für die Präsentation montieren kann. Davon abgesehen sind sie allerdings von lediglich sekundärem Wert. Zwar kann die Detailfreude des Bildes einem z. B. das Aussehen von Barken usw. genauer vor Augen führen, als es die nüchtern-kurze Angabe „Schiffahrt“ in einem Skript täte, jedoch zeigen die Reliefs meist nur einige wenige Szenen und sind deshalb für eine Beurteilung des Gesamtablaufs keine ausreichende Grundlage. Immerhin gibt es einige Darstellungen des Neuen Reiches, wie die des Minfests¹⁸ und des Sokarfests,¹⁹ die insbesondere im Totentempel Ramses' III. recht ausführliche Beischriften zeigen. Dabei sind für die Texte des Minfests inzwischen substantielle Parallelen der Ptolemäerzeit im Tempel von Athribis zutage gekommen (Leitz und Mendel 2017: 285–323) – dies zeigt auch einmal mehr, dass eine rein chronologische Sortierung der ägyptischen Quellen nach den erhaltenen Bezeugungen nicht sonderlich zielführend ist. Ebenfalls in der Ptolemäerzeit ist das „Fest der Guten Begegnung“ in Edfu in einer Kombination aus Darstellungen und Skript verfügbar (Nagel 2014).

4. Verschiedene Arten von Festen

Grundsätzlich sehe ich bei den Festen zwei Haupttypen. Der eine sind solche, bei denen der ägyptische König im Zentrum steht (vgl. auch Gundlach 1998). Bei diesen ist das konkrete Datum oft nur bedingt planbar, insbesondere bei den besonders hervorgehobe-

17 Vgl. Spiegelberg 1931: 20, 26–28; ich bereite gemeinsam mit Andrew Monson eine Neuedition vor.

18 Vgl. dazu Gauthier 1931; Bleeker 1956.

19 Wohlgemuth 1957; Gaballa und Kitchen 1969. Vgl. auch Graindorge-Héreil 1994, wo aber das Problem besteht, dass die Autorin Angaben sicher aus dem Neuen Reich stammender Quellen mit solchen vermengt, für die nur von manchen Forschern mit mehr oder (meist) weniger guter Begründung postuliert worden ist, sie gingen auf das Neue Reich zurück. Für den Leser ist es sehr schwer, ihre Gesamtschilderung wieder auf die jeweils genutzten Quellen zurückzuführen und dadurch prüfen zu können, ob sie auf einer synchron homogenen Basis beruhen.

nen wie der Krönung und dem Regierungsjubiläum (Sed-Fest),²⁰ das meist nach 30 Jahren Regierung gefeiert und danach etwa alle 3 Jahre wiederholt wurde. Letzteres wurde von den meisten Herrschern gar nicht erreicht;²¹ ersteres ließ sich erst in dem Moment planen, wenn ein Herrscher verstarb und der nächste den Thron bestieg – was rein von der Organisation her bereits evident macht, dass der Herrschaftsantritt mit lediglich einem begrenztem Repertoire an rituellen Handlungen von der feierlichen Krönung zu differenzieren ist, die sicher einen langen logistischen Vorlauf brauchte (vgl. Barta 1980).

Beim anderen stehen die Götter bzw. meist ein bestimmter oder eine kleine Gruppe von ihnen im Zentrum.²² Derartige Feste hatten einen klaren kalendarischen Zyklus hinterlegt; gerade die großen fanden genau einmal pro Jahr statt. Die meisten Feste hingen dabei an einem konkreten Datum im ‚bürgerlichen Kalender‘,²³ für einzelne wurde der konkrete Tag anhand des Mondzyklus definiert.²⁴

Es gibt in den Texten drei Hauptkategorien für Feste, nämlich die ‚Feste des Himmels‘, die ‚Feste der Erde‘ und die ‚Feste der Kalendertermine‘ (Spalinger 1996b: 1–31). Dabei sind die ‚Feste des Himmels‘ anhand der besonders expliziten Angaben im Kalender von Medinet Habu eindeutig als solche zu erkennen, die am Mondzyklus hängen, somit etwa 12 bis 13 Mal pro Jahr eintreten. In diesem Kalender konkret angegeben sind der 29., 30., 1., 2., 4., 6., 10. und 15. Tag. Sie sind mit etwas höheren Rationen verbunden als der Alltagsdienst der Priester, aber der materielle Aufwand bleibt begrenzt. Die ‚Feste der Kalendertermine‘²⁵ sind dagegen auf einen bestimmten Termin festgelegt und mit sehr viel erheblicheren zusätzlichen Speiseversorgungen verbunden; sie finden nur einmal im Jahr statt.²⁶

Bei weitem am wenigsten klar ist, was spezifisch die Kategorie ‚Feste der Erde‘ impliziert. Auf einer ganz theoretischen Betrachtungsebene sehe ich zwei Optionen. Einerseits könnte der Ausdruck Feste bezeichnen, die durch die Erde, also den agrarischen Zyklus definiert werden. Das wäre für Ägypten wichtig, weil der dort verwendete Kalender keine Schalttage kennt und sich deshalb in einem langsamen Zyklus durch die Jahreszeiten verschiebt. Andererseits wäre es lexikalisch auch möglich, ‚Feste des Landes‘ zu verstehen, und den Begriff damit auf landesweit einheitlich gefeierte Feste zu beziehen. Das wäre insofern eine relevante eigene Kategorie, als die kalendarisch festgelegten Feste typischerweise solche sind, die im Festkalender eines bestimmten Tempels festgelegt werden, für einen anderen aber nicht unbedingt relevant sind. So eine Deutung könnte auch erklären, warum in den „offiziellen“ Festlisten diese Kategorie nie erscheint, haben wir doch bislang aus diesem Bereich überhaupt nur Festkalender

20 Hinsichtlich der reichhaltigen Literatur hierzu siehe besonders von Bissing und Kees 1923; 1928; Barta 1975: 62–73; Gohary 1992; Jiménez Serrano 2002: 42–78; Nuzzolo 2015; 2018: 131–81; Lange-Athinodorou 2019.

21 Vgl. hinsichtlich des Realitätsgehalts von Erwähnungen des Sed-Fests Hornung und Staehelin 2006.

22 Selbstverständlich sind auch diese realiter für den König und die Demonstration seiner Herrschaftsmacht wichtig, siehe z.B. Refai 1998; Roth 2006.

23 Zu ihm siehe zuletzt Quack 2018a.

24 Vgl. hierzu auch die nicht immer unproblematische Analyse von Grimm 1994: 419–41.

25 Zur Übersetzung siehe Quack 2004: 15.

26 Für die Frage des materiellen Aufwands bei Festen vgl. Sayed Mohamed 2004.

individueller Tempel erhalten. Dagegen tauchen die ‚Feste der Erde‘ bzw. ‚des Landes‘ in „privaten“ Inschriften als Termine einer gewünschten Teilhabe durchaus auf.²⁷

Große Götterfeste implizieren eine Prozession der Gottheit, die somit ihr Sanktuar verlässt.²⁸ Gemäß den landschaftlichen Gegebenheiten Ägyptens, wo der Nil die Hauptverkehrsader war, handelt es sich bei den meisten Prozessionsfesten zumindest zu substantiellen Teilen um Schifffahrten. Gerade wenn solche Prozessionen auch Kanäle nutzen oder neben der Wasserstrecke auch die Benutzung einer Prozessionsstraße implizieren, können sie in großen Achsen eine Kulturlandschaft mit religiösen Konnotationen ausmessen.²⁹

Spezieller unter den Götterfesten als klare Untergruppe fassbar sind solche, in denen sich Gottheiten verschiedener Kultzentren besuchen. Der bekannteste Fall in Ägypten ist der Besuch der Hathor von Dendara bei Horus von Edfu im Rahmen des ‚Festes der guten Begegnung‘ (Nagel 2014); es gibt aber durchaus auch andere Belege.

Zu beachten ist ein wesentlicher Effekt der Prozessionsfeste auf die Bevölkerung: Normalerweise waren die Kultbilder der Götter des staatlichen Tempelkultes in den Sanktuaren verborgen, somit den Blicken normaler Betrachter entzogen. Nur wenige Priester hatten direkten Zugang. Gerade die Prozessionsfeste boten demgegenüber eine vergleichsweise gute Möglichkeit, die Kultstatuen direkt zu Gesicht zu bekommen (vgl. van der Plas 1989; Spalinger 1998: 250) – oder zumindest deren Köpfe, denn der Rest der Statuen wurde normalerweise so mit Textil abgedeckt, dass er nicht zu sehen war. Als einen relativ wenig bekannten Text, der den Wunsch thematisiert, die Gottheit im Prozessionsfest zu sehen, möchte ich pBM EA 10059, Kol. 16–19 anführen (Leitz 1999: 82–84, Taf. 41–44). Beispielfhaft zitiert sei der erste Abschnitt:

Das Abbild des Re sehen, geschmückt³⁰ für Theben. Mögest Du den Herrscher sehen, wie er Amun zur Erscheinung bringt! Seine Stadt ist im Fest, sein Herz ist glücklich, wenn ihn der Herrscher leitet. Die Jünglinge im thebanischen Gau jauchzen vor dir, Amun-Re, oh Herrschaftlicher. Dein Herz reicht bis zu den Bergen. Du hast Süden und Norden weit gemacht. Du hast das Land unterworfen für deine Stadt, oh jugendfrischer Stier mit heftigem Gebrüll auf der Terrasse des [...]! Der Himmel hat einen Mond und die Erde eine Überschwemmung für die Protome des Amun. Amun-Re, oh Herrschaftlicher! Setze mich an die rückseitige (Mauer), auf dass du mich die Bugfigur³¹ deiner Protome sehen lässt, wenn sie erscheinen! (16, 1–4).

Gerade die grundsätzliche Relevanz der Sichtbarkeit für die Bevölkerung dürfte auch erklären, warum man es im Festkalender von Esna bei den Feierlichkeiten zur Geburt des Götterkindes im Pachons explizit als nötig empfunden hat, für einen Tag (konkret

27 Vgl. die zusammenfassende Auflistung bei Spalinger 1996b: 31.

28 Einige übergreifende Bemerkungen hierzu bietet Assmann 1991. Vgl. hinsichtlich der Einbindung der Bevölkerung Spalinger 1998; Derchain-Urtel 1998.

29 Vgl. etwa für den gut dokumentierten Fall von Theben im Neuen Reich (der damaligen Landeshauptstadt) Kemp 1989: 264–81.

30 Ich lese gegen die bisherigen Editionen *shkr*.

31 Ich verbinde das hier geschriebene *hwy* mit *hwt* als Bezeichnung einer Göttergestalt an einem Schiff, siehe Grandet 1994: 173f.

Tag 20) explizit anzugeben, dass an ihm kein Umzug durch die Stadt stattfindet,³² während er für andere Tage (besonders Tag 1 und 25) explizit vorgeschrieben wird.

Zudem können sich an offizielle große Feste auch private anhängen. Besonders deutlich ist dies im Falle des ‚Schönen Festes vom Wüstental‘.³³ Dies ist zunächst ein Prozessionsfest, bei dem Amun von Karnak über den Nil übersetzt und die Totentempel der verstorbenen Könige in Theben-West aufsucht. Es war aber auch mit privaten Feiern hochrangiger Familien in den Gräbern (bzw. deren Vorhöfen) wichtiger verstorbener Vorfahren verbunden.

Die Rezitationen der Festrитуale sind normalerweise in klassisch-ägyptischer Sprache gehalten (mutmaßlich als überkommenes Traditionsgut), was in der Praxis bedeutet, dass sie für die Masse der Zuhörer schwer verständlich waren – sofern nicht die Texte als Traditionsgut bekannt und in ihren inhaltlichen Grundzügen ausgedeutet waren.³⁴ In den Handlungsanweisungen können dagegen ohne weiteres auch sprachlich jüngere Formen auftreten.³⁵ Auch in den Festliedern³⁶ erscheinen jüngere Sprachelemente, insbesondere der bestimmte Artikel;³⁷ in den Reden der Schiffsbesatzung kann man etwa in den Beischriften zum ‚Fest der Guten Begegnung‘ in Edfu sprachlich deutlich junge (neuägyptische oder demotische) Elemente feststellen (vgl. Nagel 2014: 670).

Speziell nennen möchte ich das Minfest als seltenes Beispiel dafür, dass sprachlich eindeutig nichtägyptische Rezitationen einen Platz im ägyptischen Festgeschehen finden können. Einerseits tritt in diesem Ritual eine Person auf, die als „Nubier aus Punt“ bezeichnet wird, auch wenn seine konkrete Rede sprachlich ägyptisch ist. Daneben gibt es aber auch eine weitere Rezitation, die nur in Teilbereichen auf der Basis ägyptischer Sprache verständlich ist, während andere Teile sich bislang jeder Deutung entzogen haben (MH IV, Taf. 203, 20–39). Es muss zumindest damit gerechnet werden, dass es sich hier um eine mehr oder weniger schlecht überlieferte Wiedergabe nichtägyptischer Sprache handelt (Quack 2018b: 50f. mit Verweisen). Das wäre dann eine ägyptische Parallele zu dem in hethitischen Ritualen nicht seltenen Phänomen, dass Rezitationen in fremden Sprachen inkorporiert werden.

32 Der an sich ganz offensichtliche und sprachlich klare Text „kein Durchziehen seiner Stadt“ hat den bisherigen Bearbeitern ungeahnte Schwierigkeiten gemacht, welche die Negation mit unterschiedlichen Vorschlägen hinwegemendiert haben (Sauneron 1962: 22, 24 Anm. k „faire qu’il parcoure sa ville“; Grimm 1994: 111, 268 [zu L66, Anm. e] „Sichereignen des Umziehens seiner Stadt“). Korrekt ohne weiteren Kommentar ist die Übersetzung von Daumas 1958: 250 „on ne tourne pas autour de son domaine.“

33 Dazu besonders Schott 1953; Seyfried 2013.

34 Vgl. hierzu die explizite Ausdeutungspassage Edfou V 134,5–8, die sprachlich eindeutig jung ist.

35 Vgl. etwa im ‚Fest der Guten Begegnung‘ Edfou V 126,3–127,8 und 131,3–132,6; 132,10f.; 134,11–135,10, wo der Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels (aber kaum anderer dezidiert junger Formen) auf einen frühneuägyptischen Textzustand hindeutet. Ein extremer Fall ist die Ritualhandschrift pLouvre N 3176 (S), in der die Handlungsanweisungen sprachlich oft demotisch sind, was in der Edition durch Barguet 1962 nicht erkannt wurde (vgl. Quack 2010: 317).

36 Zu ihnen an sich vgl. z. B. Meyer 1998; Kitchen 2007.

37 Vgl. etwa in der Prozession des Opet-Festes den bestimmten Artikel (Urk. IV 2040,9; 2041,6.8.13.16; 2042,12) und das Augment bei der Relativform (Urk. IV 2039,2; 2042,11). Vgl. The Epigraphic Survey 1994: 7–10, Taf. 18.20.

Partizipation an den bedeutenden Festen verschiedener Ortschaften wird dem Nutznießer insbesondere in manchen späten funerären Kompositionen gewünscht.³⁸ Besonders intensiv wird dies im sogenannten ‚Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit‘ behandelt.³⁹ In der Langfassung davon im pLeiden T 32 erscheinen mutmaßlich weit über 100 verschiedene Feste. Da diese oft nur durch bewusst ägyptische knappe Anspielungen evoziert werden, bleibt manches an der genauen Situierung unsicher, insbesondere hinsichtlich der Frage, ob hier mehrere Jahreszyklen vorliegen⁴⁰ oder eine nicht rein chronologisch orientierte thematische Anordnung intendiert ist. Es ist rezent vorgeschlagen worden, dass diese Komposition auf ein ursprüngliches Königsritual zurückgeht (Stadler 2015: 85–88).

5. Ein königliches Ritual als Fallbeispiel

Als ein besonders instruktives und gut erhaltenes Beispiel eines Rituals spezifisch für den König möchte ich abschließend den Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.50 herausgreifen.⁴¹ Es handelt sich um eine Papyrusrolle, die mit Ausnahme geringer verlorener Bereiche besonders im untersten Teil der Kolumnen vollständig erhalten ist.⁴² Sie datiert wohl in die Saitenzeit oder allenfalls wenig später, also in das 6. oder 5. Jh. v. Chr.⁴³ Bei ihr handelt es sich insofern um einen Spezialfall, als zwar der König als Nutznießer des Rituals im Zentrum steht, aber ein terminlich regelmäßiges Ereignis vorliegt – auch wenn die kalendarische Festlegung nicht ganz trivial und m. E. in der Erstedition falsch verstanden worden ist, der bislang alle weiteren Forscher in diesem Punkt gefolgt sind. Goyon wollte den Text spezifisch im Umkreis des Jahreswechsels situieren, während ich eine weitere Anwendbarkeit sehe.

Grundsätzlich wird das Ritual im erhaltenen Titel oben auf der ersten Seite als *n.t-‘ n s.t-wr.t iri.t hft h3b.w n.w t3* „Das Ritual des großen Platzes, das gemacht wird bei den Festen der Erde“ bezeichnet (1, 1). Der Begriff ‚Feste der Erde‘ bezeichnet dabei eine der drei großen Kategorien ägyptischer Feste. Sie ist, wie ich oben schon gezeigt habe, besonders schwer zu fassen, aber sicher nicht auf den Neujahrstermin zu beschränken.

Erst ein Eintrag mitten im Textfluss *irr.t m sh n smn(t) iw‘t sk nsw htp im=f m hrw.w 5 hri.w rnp.t wpi-rnp.t 3bt 1 3h.t sw 9* „Was gemacht wird im Schrein des Fest-

38 Vgl. Assmann 2001: 307–18; späte Belege sind z. B. pBerlin P 8351 (Smith 1993) und pHarkness (Smith 2005).

39 Edition Herbin 1994; letzte Übersetzung mit weiteren Verweisen Smith 2009: 395–436. Wie ich an anderer Stelle zeigen werde, beruht die ägyptologisch übliche Ansetzung des angeblichen Titels auf der Fehlinterpretation einer Textstelle.

40 So von Herbin 1994: 332–79 angenommen, der sieben derartige Zyklen postuliert. Siehe kritisch dazu Quack 1996: 155f.; Hoffmann 1997: 653.

41 Übersetzung und Kommentar Goyon 1972; Textedition Goyon 1974. Ich bereite eine Neuedition vor.

42 Als weiteres Skript auf Papyrus mit einer derartigen Thematik ist auch der Dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus zu nennen, dessen Deutung aber weiterhin nicht ohne Kontroversen ist; vgl. zuletzt die Neuedition durch Geisen 2018, die in meinen Augen keineswegs überall einen Fortschritt gegenüber der Originaledition von Sethe 1928 darstellt.

43 Zur Datierung der Handschrift siehe Verhoeven 2001: 308–18.

setzens des Erbes, während der König in ihm ruht an den Epagomenentagen, am Neujahrstag und am 9. Thot“ (16, 7) bringt eine wirkliche kalendarische Fixierung. Ich neige dazu, sie strukturell gleichartig zu verstehen wie die oben analysierten Angaben im Täglichen Tempelritual und im Opferritual, wo es um zusätzliche Elemente geht, die nur bei bestimmten Gelegenheiten zum Basisritual hinzugefügt werden. Demnach ist lediglich ein Anhang der Handschrift besonderen Handlungen gewidmet, die nur an einigen Tagen im Umkreis des Jahreswechsels stattfanden, während der Rest auch bei anderen Festen über den Jahresverlauf hin gleichartig durchgeführt wurde.

Ein für die Gestaltung von Ritualskripten ganz interessanter Zug ist, dass in Teilbereichen, insbesondere im hinteren Bereich der Handschrift, die Rezitationstexte nicht vollständig niedergeschrieben sind, sondern man nur den Anfang angibt und anschließend mit „gemäß dem Festritual“ fortfährt. Dies spart im Papyrus selbst Platz. Damit die reale Performanz aber weiterhin möglich bleibt, muss vorausgesetzt sein, dass die Mitwirkenden die Möglichkeit hatten (und willens waren), den vollen Text an anderer Stelle nachzuschlagen, bzw. ihn ohnehin auswendig konnten.

Die Handlungen, wie sie in diesem Skript geschildert werden, beginnen mit dem morgendlichen Erwachen des Königs in seinem Palast. Dort wird eine Reinigung und wohl auch Ankleidung durchgeführt. Anschließend begibt sich der König erst zum Schrein des Amuletts, und dann weiter zum Schrein des ‚großen Platzes‘. Dort erhält er Schutzamulette sowie Insignien, die zu seinem Ornat gehören, anschließend verschiedene Salben sowie ‚Erden‘, von denen ich vermute, dass sie wie Puder in die Perücke gegeben wurden. All diese Handlungen werden von längeren Rezitationen begleitet, mit denen insbesondere ein Bezug zur Götterwelt hergestellt wird.

Nach Abschluss dieser einleitenden Ausstattung des Königs, mit der er sozusagen in Feiertagsornat gebracht wurde, findet ein Auszug des Königs statt, der mit Opfern für verschiedene Götter verbunden ist. Diese werden räumlich durchstrukturiert. Es gibt solche, die im östlichen oder im westlichen Schrein sind und solche, die in der Mitte sind, schließlich noch solche, die rechts und links auf Standarten sind. Hervorzuheben ist, dass sich unter denen, die rechts auf Standarten sind, auch vergöttlichte Objekte wie der Riegel, wohl auch ein Pfeiler und eine bestimmte Waffe (*pč-ḥ*) genannt werden. Dies zeigt Parallelen etwa zum hethitischen Kult, in dem ebenfalls solche Objekte beopfert werden (Haas 1994: 489–538).

Der König ruht dann im Schrein eines Gebäudes, das als *pr-nḥ* bezeichnet wird, was die Ägyptologen gerne, aber wohl zu Unrecht als ‚Lebenshaus‘ übersetzen;⁴⁴ dies soll sich innerhalb des ‚großen Platzes‘ befinden. Hier gibt es zuerst Opfergaben für alle Götter dieser Institution, die sich auf einer Schreibtafel befinden sollen, dann noch für solche, die sich im Hof dieses Gebäudes befinden. Schließlich zieht der König aus und ruht in einem ‚Schrein zum Festsetzen des Erbes‘. Es folgt eine Aktion, die als „Anbetung des Horus, Bestätigung des Erbes“ bezeichnet wird (16, 1; Martzolff 2014). Die Rezitationstexte sind wenigstens teilweise auch aus anderen Quellen bekannt. Mit einer speziellen Substanz (Ladanum) sowie einem Stern aus Lapislazuli erhält der König auch Zusätze im Ornat. Nach einer ersten Rezitation erhält er ein Amtssymbol

44 Zur Problematik der Übersetzung siehe Quack 2016–17: 227.

auf die Hand gemalt, das er aufleckt, und ein Amtszeichen aus Brot, das er aufisst, ohne davon jemandem abzugeben – sichtbare Symbolik für seinen unangefochtenen Herrschaftsanspruch (Kühne-Wespi 2019: 346–49).

Hiermit endet m. E. der Kernbestand, der bei jedem Fest des Landes vollzogen wurde. Es folgen weitere Handlungen, die, wie oben erläutert, nur an einigen Tagen im Umfeld des Neujahrs stattfanden. Zunächst wird ein Loch in der Erde gegraben, in dem einige Gegenstände deponiert werden, die der König selbst mit Erde abdeckt, die entweder direkt von einem Wasserlauf stammt oder sonst noch nie betreten wurde. Die Symbolik des noch nicht anderweitig in Anspruch genommenen Geländes dürfte deutlich sein.

Aus Ton werden sieben Tierfiguren hergestellt, die als Götter des *pr-ḥ* gelten und Opfer erhalten. Verschiedene Amulette zum Schutz des Jahres werden herbeigebracht. Das verschlossene Erdloch wird mit Siegeln der Göttinnen Neith und Maat versiegelt. In einer Handlung, die mich ein wenig an das bekannte althethitische Ritual für das Königspaar erinnert (Otten und Souček 1969; Haas 1994: 430), lässt man jetzt zwei Vögel fliegen, die Horus melden sollen, dass der König seinen Platz abgesichert hat und er ihm nicht genommen werden soll. Dabei scheint es auch um das Potential dieser Vögel zu gehen, Pharao bzw. Horus von seinem Platz zu verdrängen.

Nach einigen weiteren Handlungen teilweise sehr obskurer Art werden in einem Auszug des Königs Opfer für die Götter der Höhlen, welche die Höhlen anleiten, die Gefolgsleute des Horus, die Könige von Ober- und Unterägypten, dargebracht, also vorrangig chthonische Gestalten. Weitere Rituale mit sieben verschiedenen lebenden Vögeln folgen, die meist ihre Flügel über dem König ausbreiten sollen; Heilswünsche schließen sich an.

Ohne hier alle Details des komplexen Rituals würdigen zu können, möchte ich doch noch kurz auf die räumliche Strukturierung eingehen.⁴⁵ Vom Palast, in dem der König erwacht, kann man nach Maßgabe archäologisch erhaltener Vergleichsobjekte zumindest vermuten, dass er neben einem Tempel liegt (O'Connor 1995: 270–83). Inwieweit der ‚große Platz‘ spezifischer ein Tempelgebäude darstellt oder einen Bereich des Palastes (z. B. eine Thronhalle), bleibt unsicher. Hinsichtlich des *pr-ḥ* kann ich anhand der Angaben des Buches vom Tempel erschließen, dass diese Institution sowohl mit dem Tempel als auch mit dem Palast verbunden sein konnte. Der ‚Schrein zum Festsetzen des Erbes‘ bleibt ebenso unsicher. Somit bleibt offen, wie sehr dieses Ritual rein im Königspalast blieb oder zumindest teilweise im Tempel stattfand. Ich würde ersteres allerdings für durchaus denkbar halten. Die Ägyptologie weiß über Paläste deutlich weniger als über Tempel,⁴⁶ aber das darf uns nicht davon abhalten, auch den Palast als rituellen Raum zu betrachten.

45 Vgl. auch die Rekonstruktionsversuche von Goyon 1972: 33–41.

46 Eine rezente Zusammenstellung verschiedener Studien ist Gundlach und Spence 2011; siehe dazu Quack 2012.

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DIE RITUALTEXTE AUS UGARIT

Eine Einführung aufgrund der Archiv- und Bibliothekszusammenhänge

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Abstract

About 150 tablets with ritual texts hail from the Late Bronze Age royal city of Ugarit. They contain lists of divinities, sacrificial rituals, prayers, incantations, hymns, omens, oracles, and atonement rites. Most of these tablets were found in the *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* and in the *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* on the Acropolis of the city, whereas some other archives and libraries, the *Palais Royal*, the *Palais Nord* in Ras Ibn Hani and the *Maison d'Ourtenu*, have a lesser amount of ritual texts. The dominant language of the rituals is Ugaritic; Hurrian is also well attested, but there are no ritual texts in Babylonian or Hittite. A common denominator of all the ritual texts from Ugarit consists in the role of the king as the central cultic officiant, whereas priests are never mentioned because the whole cult was celebrated in the name of the king. Further research on the cultic texts from Ugarit should concentrate on the intertextual relations between rituals from all of the archives and libraries in the city.

1. Einführung

Es ist nicht leicht, einen Überblick über das inhaltlich recht disparate Material der Ritualtexte aus Ugarit zu geben. Dieses Problem zeigt erstmals der Abschnitt „Rituels“ im Artikel „Ras Shamra“ des *Supplément* zum *Dictionnaire de la Bible*. A. Caquot (1979: 1403–11) gliederte hierin die Rituale aus Ugarit nach aufsteigendem Schwierigkeitsgrad: „Listes des divinités“; „Énumérations d’offrandes à des divinités“; „Rituels circonstanciés, avec participation du roi“; „Rituels avec indications de date“; „Le rituel expiatoire antiphoné“. Ebenso lässt das Pionierwerk *Le culte à Ugarit* von J.-M. de Tarragon dieses Problem gut erkennen. De Tarragon (1980) teilte seine Diskussion der Ritualtexte aus Ugarit auf sechs Themen auf: „Le calendrier cultuel“; „Les offrandes“; „Le vocabulaire cultuel“; „Les rites“; „Le personnel du culte“; „Le panthéon cultuel“. In seiner Monographie *I testi rituali di Ugarit* machte sodann P. Xella (1981) acht unterschiedliche Gattungen

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der Ritualtexte aus: „Le liturgie mensili e le liste di offerte“; „I testi divinatori e oracolari“; „Preghiere ed incantesimi“; „Il sacrificio di espiazione“; „Liturgie per i sovrani“; „I testi votivi“; „I rituali hurriti-ugaritici“; „Le liste divine“. In der Folgezeit wurde von D. Pardee zusätzlich die Kategorie der „textes para-mythologiques“, die er nicht als Rituale betrachtete, entworfen.¹ A. Caquot und J.-M. de Tarragon nahmen in ihrer in der Reihe *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient* angesiedelten Einführung und Übersetzung eine Unterteilung von „textes religieux“ und „rituels“ vor. Diese letzteren wurden allerdings nicht nach thematischen oder anderen Kriterien differenziert vorgestellt, de Tarragon (1989) ging vielmehr nach den Publikationsnummern keilalphabetischer Texte aus Ugarit und Ras Ibn Hani (KTU und RIH) vor. D. Pardee ist dann in seiner großen Gesamtbearbeitung aller Ritualtexte für die Reihe *Ras Shamra – Ougarit* in seiner Vorgehensweise den Fundnummern der Tafeln (RS) gefolgt, ohne irgendwelche inhaltlichen Kriterien zugrunde zu legen (Pardee 2000). In der für ein größeres Publikum bestimmten Auswahl der Ritualtexte nahm D. Pardee jedoch eine inhaltliche Unterscheidung nach „The Sacrificial Cult“ und „Ritual Activity Outside the Sacrificial Cult“ vor, die dann noch weiter untergliedert wurde: „Deity Lists“; „Prescriptive Sacrificial Rituals“; „Descriptions of Sacrificial Rituals“; „Memorials of a Sacrificial Rite“; „An Ex Voto Inscription“; „Divination“; „Prayers“; „Incantations“; „Historiolae“; „Rites Including Divine Participation“; „A Myth That Explains a Ritual Practice“; „Administrative Texts“ (Pardee 2002). Sein Schüler D.M. Clemens ging in seiner Dissertation *Sources for Ugaritic Ritual and Sacrifice* wieder nach den KTU-Nummern vor, legte aber einen besonderen Schwerpunkt auf KTU 2–10, d.h. auf die nicht-religiösen Texte und auf das akkadische Material aus Ugarit (Clemens 2001a). Zuletzt hat G. del Olmo Lete in seiner Monographie *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* wieder inhaltliche Kriterien angelegt: „The Canaanite Pantheon of Ugarit“; „The Liturgy of Ugarit“; „Royalty in Myth and Cult“; „The Funerary Cult of the Palace“; „The Non-Funerary Palace Cult“; „The Royal Liturgy of the Word: Prayers and Oracles“; „The Religion of Everyday Life“.²

Angesichts all der mit diesen unterschiedlichen Zugängen verbundenen Fragen, deren Nachteile, wie z.B. unzureichende Textdefinitionen oder hermeneutische Zirkel, auf der Hand liegen, möchte ich einen anderen Weg betreten und im Folgenden nach den Fundkontexten der Ritualtexte in den diversen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Ugarit sowie im Nordpalast von Ras Ibn Hani vorgehen und nach ihrer Relevanz für das Verständnis der Ritualtexte aus Ugarit fragen.

Da diese Archive und Bibliotheken mittlerweile gut erforscht sind,³ ist es möglich, die Frage nach der Intertextualität von Ritualen aufgrund der Bibliotheksverhältnisse in Ugarit zu stellen, um zu sehen, welche bislang übersehenen Aspekte auf diesem Wege neu entdeckt werden können. Ebenso sollte es möglich sein, archiv- bzw. biblio-

1 Pardee 1988. Zur Kritik daran vgl. etwa Merlo 2006: 59 und del Olmo Lete 2014b: 157 Anm. 1.

2 Del Olmo Lete 2014a; vgl. schon ders. 1992.

3 Neben den detaillierten Grabungsberichten zu den einzelnen Fundstätten vgl. die Übersichten zu den Archiven und Bibliotheken Ugarits bei Courtois 1979: 1222–24, 1227–33, 1250–63, 1269–80; van Soldt 1991: 47–231; Pedersén 1998: 68–80; Lackenbacher 2002: 19–29; 2008; Bordreuil 2013; del Olmo Lete 2018.

theksübergreifende Zusammenhänge aufzuweisen und somit den Kult Ugarits als Gesamtphänomen besser zu verstehen. Dabei stellen die oben genannten verdienstvollen Arbeiten von A. Caquot, J.-M. de Tarragon, P. Xella, D. Pardee, D. M. Clemens und G. del Olmo Lete unverzichtbare Arbeitsgrundlagen dar, die viele epigraphische und philologische Schwierigkeiten behandeln und auch wichtige Impulse für die Religionsgeschichte Ugarits bieten.

In der Erforschung der Rituale aus Ugarit ist schon die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang von Archiven und Bibliotheken und den dort aufbewahrten religiösen Texten gestellt worden.⁴ Auch die Frage nach der Intertextualität von Texten aus Ugarit ist bereits mit überzeugenden Argumenten für die Frage nach der Abfolge der mythischen und epischen Werke des Schreibers Ilmilku beantwortet worden (vgl. etwa de Moor 1988 und Korpel 1998). Des Weiteren wurden auch die Wirtschaftstexte aus Ugarit nach Archiven sortiert und besprochen (vgl. McGeough 2011). Auf dem Hintergrund dieser Untersuchungen kann sich ein derartiger Weg ebenfalls für die Ritualliteratur als hilfreich erweisen.

Zur Datierung der Ritualtexte aus Ugarit ist anzumerken, dass sie alle in ugaritischer Sprache und in keilalphabetischer Schrift vorliegen.⁵ Letzteres gilt auch für die hurritischen Rituale aus Ugarit. Aus diesem Grund sind sie wegen der zeitlichen Ansetzung der ugaritischen Keilschrift ab der Regierungszeit des Königs Ammurapi III. (ca. 1260–1230 v. Chr.) in die Zeit zwischen ca. 1260 v. Chr. und dem Untergang Ugarits um 1185 v. Chr. zu datieren.⁶ Pardee (2002: 2f.) will die Datierung der Ritualtexte sogar ungefähr auf die Zeit zwischen 1200 und 1185 v. Chr. einschränken. Allerdings zeigt sich, dass etwa KTU 1.161 auf das Todesjahr des Königs Niqmaddu IV. (1215/1210 v. Chr.) anzusetzen ist (vgl. Niehr 2012a) und KTU 1.108 auf die Krönung seines Nachfolgers Ammurapi III. im selben Jahr (vgl. Niehr im Druck a). Ebenso ist nicht auszuschließen, dass einzelne Ritualvollzüge noch älter sind. Da es aber keine älteren Tafeln und Vorlagen zu den bis jetzt bekannten Texten gibt, lassen sich hierüber jedoch keine begründeten Aussagen treffen.

Die genaue Anzahl der Ritualtexte aus Ugarit ist nicht zu bestimmen. Geht man nach den KTU-Nummern, die unter der Leitzählung 1 die literarischen und religiösen Texte auflisten, vor, so decken die Nummern KTU 1.1 bis 1.25 das Erzählgut Ugarits in Mythen, Epen und Hymnen ab, während die Nummern KTU 1.26 bis 1.182 die Rituale und andere verwandte Texte wie Omina und Orakel aufweisen. Insofern könnte man ein Maximum von ca. 150 Ritualen in Anschlag bringen. Allerdings liegen einige Tafeln in einem derart fragmentarischen Umfang vor, dass die Zuschreibung dieser Texte als Ritual oder Mythos o. ä. nicht gelingen will und auch eine epigraphische und philo-

4 So von Pardee 1988 und Dietrich und Loretz 1990 zur *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*, von Malbran-Labat 2002 zu allen Archiven und Bibliotheken in Ugarit unter dem Aspekt der Sprachen, von Merlo 2006 zur *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* und zum *lamaštu*-Archiv oder von Hawley et al. 2013 im Hinblick auf den Schreiber Ṭab ilu und die epigraphischen Funde in der Tranche T IV.

5 Ausnahmen sind die Götterlisten; vgl. dazu Roche-Hawley 2012: 149f.

6 Zur Datierung der ugaritischen Keilalphabetschrift ab der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. vgl. etwa Dalix 1998; Bordreuil et al. 2010; Hawley et al. 2013.

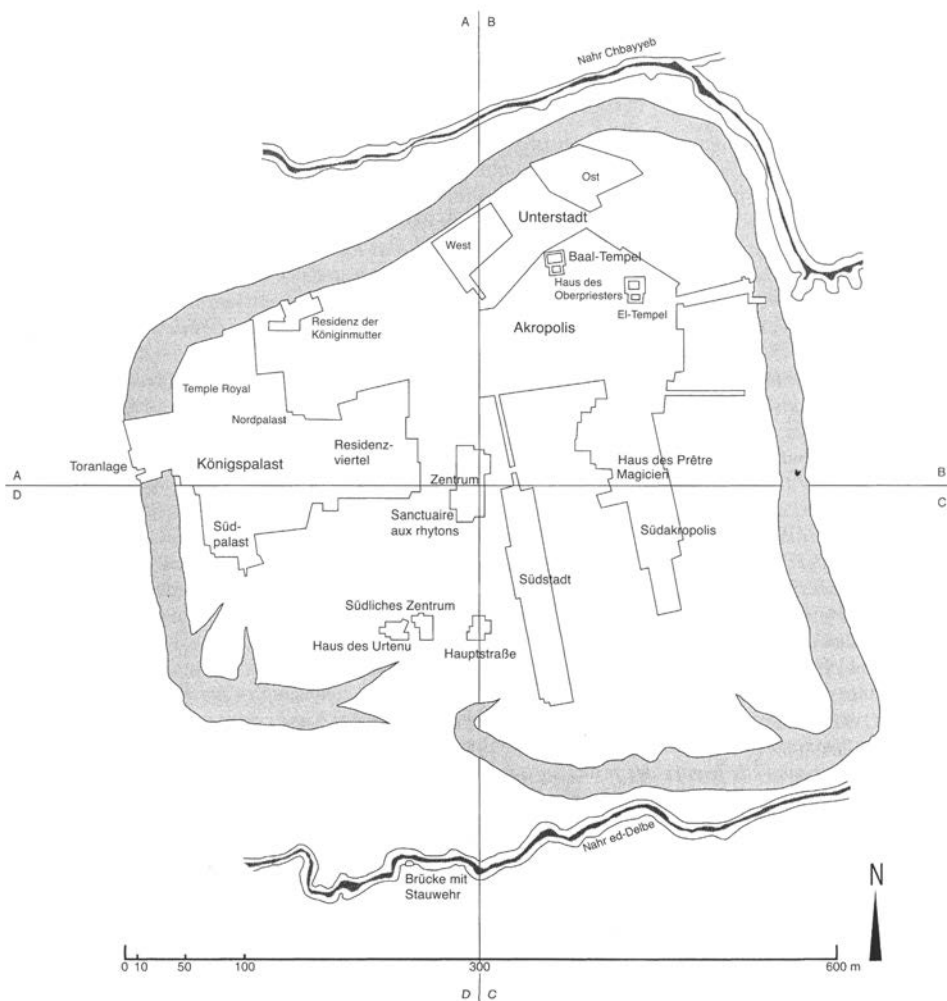


Abb. 1. Plan der Stadt Ugarit; ©Mission archéologique syro-française de Ras Shamra – Ougarit.

logische Behandlung dieser Tafeln wenig aussichtsreich ist.⁷ Zudem gibt es Duplikate einiger Ritualtexte (siehe Abschnitt 3.1 unten).

⁷ Vgl. etwa KTU 1.80; 1.81; 1.88; 1.89; 1.93; 1.94; 1.95 u.a.m. Im Hinblick auf die Rituale in ugaritischer Sprache behandelt Xella 1981 insgesamt 83 Rituale, Pardee 2000 bespricht 82 Rituale und del Olmo Lete 2014a diskutiert 63 Rituale. Die Beschwörungen in ugaritischer Sprache stellt del Olmo Lete 2014b in einer eigenen Monographie vor.

Was die Anzahl der hurritischen Rituale aus Ugarit angeht, so weisen die *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* 14 (siehe Abschnitt 2.1 unten) und die *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* 11 (siehe Abschnitt 2.3 unten) Ritualtexte in hurritischer Sprache auf.

Es ist darüber hinaus allerdings auch zu sehen, dass andere Tafeln außerhalb von KTU 1 durchaus kultisches Material aufweisen; einige dieser Texte können sogar Rituale darstellen.⁸

2. Fundkontexte und ihre Relevanz

Dank der Grabungstagebücher sind wir im Hinblick auf die Fundkontexte der Tafeln aus Ugarit in den allermeisten Fällen sehr gut und zuverlässig informiert.⁹ Was die Herkunftsorte der Ritualtexte innerhalb der Stadt Ugarit angeht, so konzentrieren sich diese auf vier Fundorte: Die *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und die *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*, die beide auf der Akropolis liegen, den *Palais Royal* im Westen und die *Maison d'Ourtenou* im Süden der Stadt (siehe Abb. 1). Dabei entfällt das Gros der Textfunde auf die beiden Archive und Bibliotheken auf der Akropolis, während der Anteil der aus den beiden letztgenannten Fundorten stammenden Tafeln deutlich geringer ist. Einen Fundort für Ritualtexte außerhalb der Stadt Ugarit bildet der *Palais Nord* in Ras Ibn Hani.

Die folgende Darstellung nimmt ihren Ausgang von der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* als dem Hauptfundort der Ritualtexte, wendet sich dann den Funden aus dem *Palais Royal* zu, da die Rituale dieser beiden Fundstätten insbesondere mit dem Kult in den Tempeln auf der Akropolis und der Rolle des Königs zu tun haben. Anschließend wird der zweite große Fundkomplex, die *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*, vorgestellt, deren Rituale vornehmlich auf die in diesem Hause ausgeübten Praktiken bezogen sind, auch wenn hier der königliche Horizont nicht zu übersehen ist. Zuletzt sollen die wenigen Funde aus der *Maison d'Ourtenou* sowie die Rituale aus dem *Palais Nord* in Ras Ibn Hani besprochen werden.

2.1 Die Ritualtexte aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre*

Bereits zu Beginn der Ausgrabungen von Ugarit wurde die *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* freigelegt und archäologisch erforscht.¹⁰ Dieses Haus erhob sich zwischen den beiden großen Tempeln auf der nördlichen Akropolis, dem Tempel des Ba'al im Westen und dem Tempel des El im Osten.¹¹

Was die Archive und Bibliotheken in der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* angeht, so ist auf eine interessante Zerteilung der Räume aufmerksam zu machen.¹² Der im Westen des

⁸ Vgl. zu dieser Frage del Olmo Lete und Sanmartín 1998 und Clemens 2001b.

⁹ Vgl. grundlegend die Übersicht bei Bordreuil und Pardee 1989 und die Einzelhinweise in Dietrich et al. 2013. Wenige Ausnahmen stellen die aus Raubgrabungen stammenden Ritualtafeln dar. Siehe Abschnitt 2.6 unten.

¹⁰ Dazu etwa Cunchillos 1984–85; 1989; van Soldt 1991: 213–20; Yon 1997: 121f.; Cornelius und Niehr 2004: 58–61.

¹¹ Zu diesen Tempeln vgl. neben Yon 1997: 116–21; Niehr 2004: 63–66; Saadé 2011: 276–82 besonders Callot 2011.

¹² Vgl. van Soldt 1991: 213–20; Pedersén 1998: 73f.; Niehr 1999: 116–18; del Olmo Lete 2018: 13–25.

Hauses gelegene Raum 1 enthielt die Ritualtexte und Beschwörungen,¹³ der im Süden gelegene Raum 7 sowie die hieran angrenzende Straße die Tafeln mit den Mythen und Epen.¹⁴

Allerdings wurden Ritualtexte nicht nur im Raum 1 der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* gefunden, sondern auch außerhalb dieses Hauses bis hinein in die Temenoi des Ba'al- und des El-Tempels.¹⁵ Diesen Texten ist jedoch für die Frage nach den Ritualen in Ugarit nur wenig abzugewinnen: Von KTU 1.74 ist nur die erste Zeile zu lesen, KTU 1.75 ist zwar besser, aber auch nur fragmentarisch erhalten, so dass sein Genre als Ritual oder Mythos nicht recht klar wird,¹⁶ und KTU 1.69 sowie KTU 1.70 stellen akkadische Beschwörungen in keilalphabetischer Schrift dar.¹⁷ KTU 1.66 und 1.68 sind hurritische Rituale, wobei KTU 1.68 zu fragmentarisch für eine Übersetzung ist.¹⁸ Bei den beiden anderen Texten, KTU 6.13 und KTU 6.14, handelt es sich um Steleninschriften, die im Temenos des El-Tempels aufgefunden wurden und nicht im eigentlichen Sinne zu den Ritualen gehören, da sie die Gabe von Totenopfern dokumentieren (dazu Niehr 2012b).

Versucht man sich einen Überblick über die in der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* aufgefundenen Ritualtexte zu verschaffen, so ergibt sich folgender Eindruck.

Die in ugaritischer Sprache und Schrift abgefassten Texte haben vor allem mit dem König und dem Palast zu tun. Im Einzelnen liegen folgende Genres und Themen vor: Opferlisten (KTU 1.39; 1.41; 1.48; 1.49; 1.50; 1.53; 1.57²; 1.76²), Götterlisten (KTU 1.47; 1.65), die kultische Reinigung des Königs (KTU 1.41; 1.43; 1.46), ein Ritual zum Zusammenleben von Ugaritern und Ausländern (KTU 1.40; vgl. auch KTU 1.84 aus dem *Palais Royal* sowie KTU 1.121 und 1.122 aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*) und ein Translokationsritual (KTU 1.43).

Darüber hinaus sind die beiden Götterlisten KTU 1.47 und KTU 1.65 zu nennen, die als Opfermemoranda zu verstehen sind, wobei der nähere rituelle Kontext auf den Tafeln nicht verzeichnet steht. Auf diesen Listen sind bedeutende Gottheiten Ugarits als Opferempfänger vermerkt, was insofern zur *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* passt, als von hier aus die beiden Haupttempel der Stadt verwaltet wurden. Götterlisten sind auch in der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* belegt.¹⁹ Die akkadischen Entsprechungen dieser Götterlisten sind hingegen in Gelehrtenbibliotheken gefunden worden, womit diese Texte

13 KTU 1.13; 1.23; 1.32; 1.33; 1.35; 1.36; 1.37; 1.38²; 1.39; 1.40; 1.41; 1.42; 1.43; 1.44; 1.45; 1.46; 1.47; 1.48; 1.49; 1.50; 1.51; 1.52; 1.53; 1.54; 1.55; 1.56; 1.57; 1.58; 1.59; 1.60; 1.61²; 1.62²; 1.63²; 1.64; 1.65; 1.76.

Die von Dietrich et al. 2013: 91, wenn auch mit Fragezeichen, vorgenommene Zuweisung der in Raum 1 gefundenen Texte KTU 1.61 und 1.62 als Mythen dürfte schon aufgrund der Fundsituation nicht haltbar sein. Allenfalls könnte man an *historiolae* als Teile von Ritualen denken. Dazu kommt der sehr fragmentarische Erhaltungszustand der Tafeln, der eine Klassifikation nicht gestattet.

14 Zu den Mythen rechnet man KTU 1.1–1.13 und zu den Epen KTU 1.14–1.22.

15 Aus dem Bereich des Ba'al-Tempels stammt KTU 1.74, aus dem Bereich des El-Tempels KTU 1.75; 6.13 und 6.14, aus dem Bereich der Tranche T IV stammen KTU 1.66; 1.67; 1.68; 1.69; 1.70 und 1.75 (unklar ob Ritualtext oder Mythos). Vgl. zur Übersicht der Tafeln auch del Olmo Lete 2018: 100–109.

16 Vgl. zum Text besonders Pardee 2000: Bd. 1, 403–6.

17 Vgl. dazu Clemens 2001a: 605–24.

18 Zu KTU 1.66 vgl. Virolleaud 1934.

19 KTU 1.118 und 1.148: 23–44.

vom Bereich des Kultes in den Bereich der Gelehrsamkeit gewechselt sind, was auch an der Art ihrer Übertragung ins Akkadische deutlich wird.²⁰

Des Weiteren liegt aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* eine Anzahl von 14 in hurritischer Sprache und keilalphabetischer Schrift abgefasster Rituale vor.²¹ Dieser Befund lässt daran denken, dass einer der letzten Oberpriester Ugarits, der zur Zeit Königs Niqmaddu IV. (ca. 1225–1215/1210 v. Chr.) in diesem Hause amtierte, ein Hurriter namens Attenu war. Dieser Attenu ist vor allem aufgrund der Kolophone des Schreibers Ilmilku als dessen Lehrer bekannt: Attenu, der Beschwörer, Oberpriester, Vorsteher der Hirten der Tempelherden.²² In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu betonen, dass das Hurritische eine wie im zeitgenössischen Alalah, Emar und Qatna auch in Ugarit gesprochene Sprache war.²³

Themen der hurritischen Rituale aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* sind gegeben mit Weihrauchbeschwörungen (KTU 1.44; 1.54)²⁴ und der Salbung von Götterfigurinen (KTU 1.42).²⁵ Sodann liegen eine Opferliste (KTU 1.60)²⁶ und eine Götterliste (KTU 1.26)²⁷ vor. Aufgrund ihres fragmentarischen Zustands können andere Texte aus dieser Gruppe der hurritischen Rituale nicht ausgewertet werden.²⁸

Es verbleibt zudem aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* eine Reihe von Tafeln in ugaritischer Sprache, die aufgrund ihres fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustands nicht mehr gelesen und inhaltlich ausgewertet werden können.²⁹

2.2 Die Ritualtexte aus dem Palais Royal

Über das Kultgeschehen im *Palais Royal* berichten einige Rituale aus den unterschiedlichen Archiven und Bibliotheken Ugarits.³⁰ Dazu treten diverse *termini technici* für Ritualorte im *Palais Royal*, wie z.B. *ʾurbt* ‚Nische‘, *gn* ‚Garten‘, *gb* ‚Kultpodest‘ oder *hmn* ‚Kapelle‘ u. a. m.³¹

Was die Funde von sich auf den Kult beziehenden Texten im *Palais Royal* angeht, so ist folgender Befund zu sehen. Der überwiegende Anteil der im *Palais Royal*³² aufgefundenen Tontafeln stammt aus den königlichen Archiven, die politische, diplomati-

20 So RS 20.24 in der *Maison de Rap'anu*, RS 92.2004 sowie RS 92.2009 in der *Maison d'Ourtenou*.

21 KTU 1.26; 1.32; 1.33; 1.35–37; 1.42; 1.44; 1.51; 1.52; 1.54; 1.59; 1.60; 1.64; 1.66; 1.68.

22 KTU 1.6 VI 54–58 und die kürzeren Versionen in KTU 1.17 VI (linker Rand; fragmentarisch) und KTU 1.179: 40 (fragmentarisch). Vgl. zu diesen Kolophonen Pardee 2014: 37–42 und zum Titel *prln* ‚Beschwörer‘ vgl. van Soldt 1989 und del Olmo Lete und Sanmartín 2015: 669f. s.v.

23 Vgl. dazu etwa Pardee 1996: 75f.; Vita 2009; Lam 2015: 267–69, 276f.

24 Vgl. dazu Dietrich und Mayer 1994: 74–85.

25 Vgl. dazu Lam 2011.

26 Vgl. dazu Virolleaud 1934: 147–54.

27 Vgl. dazu Dietrich und Loretz 1988: 300–305.

28 KTU 1.32; 1.33; 1.35–1.37; 1.51; 1.52; 1.59; 1.64; 1.68.

29 Vgl. etwa KTU 1.27; 1.48 Rs.; 1.49; 1.50; 1.53; 1.55; 1.56; 1.57; 1.58; 1.61; 1.62; 1.63; 1.76 u. a. m.

30 KTU 1.43; 1.46²; 1.104²; 1.105; 1.106; 1.109²; 1.112; 1.115; 1.126²; 1.139; 1.161; 1.165; 1.168; 1.170; 1.171; 1.173 u. a. m.

31 Vgl. zur Übersicht del Olmo Lete 2014a: 23–25.

32 Zum *Palais Royal* vgl. besonders die Übersichten bei Courtois 1979: 1217–35; Yon 1997: 46–60; Saadé 2011: 190–405.

sche, juristische und wirtschaftliche Dokumente bargen.³³ Der Fund von Ritualtexten stellt hierzu eine Ausnahme dar. Im Einzelnen wurden im *Palais Royal* 16 Tafeln mit religiösen Texten gefunden,³⁴ von denen jedoch einige keine Rituale aufweisen³⁵ und andere aufgrund ihres fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustands nicht gelesen und interpretiert werden können bzw. deren literarisches Genre aus diesen Gründen unklar ist.³⁶

Unter inhaltlichen Gesichtspunkten lassen sich für die als Rituale zu erkennenden Texte folgende Themen ersehen: Opferdarbringungen des Königs (KTU 1.87 und 1.91), Opferdarbringungen auf Landgütern des Königs (KTU 1.79 und 1.89) und das Zusammenleben von Fremden und Einheimischen in Ugarit (KTU 1.84; vgl. auch KTU 1.40 aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* sowie KTU 1.121 und 1.122 aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*). All diese Themen haben für das Königtum eine entscheidende Bedeutung, so dass man auch von Staatsritualen sprechen kann.

Darüber hinaus sind Rituale zu nennen, die den Königskult des Palastes betreffen und nicht den Staatskult. Es handelt sich dabei um ein königliches Kontemplationsritual (KTU 1.90) und ein Translokationsritual (KTU 1.91).

Der Typ der Kontemplationsrituale ist auch aufgrund eines Ritualfundes in Ras Ibn Hani bekannt (KTU 1.168).³⁷ Bei diesem Ritualtyp geht es um den Besuch des Königs bei einer Götterstatue, deren Betrachtung und anschließende Beopferung.³⁸

Der Typ der Translokationsrituale oder auch Prozessionsrituale ist auch aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* bekannt (KTU 1.43)³⁹ und verweist so auf den engen Konnex zwischen dem *Palais Royal* und diesem Haus hin. Diese Rituale handeln von der Übertragung einer Götterstatue in den Königspalast, wo diese an einem Kultort deponiert und beopfert wird.⁴⁰

In beiden Fällen, d. h. beim Kontemplationsritual und beim Translokationsritual, handelt es sich um ein typisches Palastritual, welches außerhalb der Paläste nicht belegt ist.

2.3 Die Ritualtexte aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*

Die *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*, die in der Forschung auch als die *Maison du prêtre aux modèles de foies et de poumon inscrits* bekannt ist,⁴¹ wurde archäologisch gut erforscht.⁴²

33 Zu den Archiven des *Palais Royal* vgl. Courtois 1979: 1222–44, 1227–30, 1232f.; van Soldt 1991: 49–142; Pedersén 1998: 70–73; Lackenbacher 2002: 42f.; 2008; del Olmo Lete 2018: 113–16.

34 KTU 1.79; 1.80; 1.81; 1.82; 1.83; 1.84; 1.86; 1.87; 1.88; 1.89; 1.90; 1.91; 1.92; 1.93; 1.94; 1.95.

35 So stellt KTU 1.82 eine Beschwörung dar, KTU 1.83 und 1.92 einen Mythos, während KTU 1.86 in seiner Zuweisung umstritten ist.

36 KTU 1.80; 1.81; 1.88; 1.93; 1.94; 1.95.

37 Siehe Abschnitt 2.5 unten.

38 Vgl. zu diesem Ritualtyp Pardee 2002: 72–77; del Olmo Lete 2014a: 267–72.

39 Siehe Abschnitt 2.1 oben.

40 Vgl. zu diesem Ritualtyp Pardee 2002: 69–72; del Olmo Lete 2014a: 101f., 235–43.

41 So etwa Yon 1997: 110.

42 Vgl. Schaeffer 1963a; 1963b; Courtois 1969; 1979: 1267–77; 1988; Yon 1997: 110f.; Marchegay 1999: 594–603; Saadé 2011: 285–90.

Ebenso sind ihr Archiv und ihre Bibliothek publiziert.⁴³ Bei einer Durchsicht der in der *cella aux tablettes* (Raum 10 inklusive der *fosse*) dieses Hauses gefundenen keilalphabetischen Texte in ugaritischer Sprache, bei denen es sich neben diversen Ritualen (siehe unten) und Götterlisten (KTU 1.102; 1.113 Rs.; 1.118; 1.123 Vs.; 1.148: 23–44) um Leber- und Lungenorakel,⁴⁴ Omina,⁴⁵ die Protokolle zweier nekromantischer Akte (KTU 1.108; 1.124),⁴⁶ ein Rezept gegen die Folgen der Trunkenheit (KTU 1.113)⁴⁷ und um zwei Beschwörungen (KTU 1.100; 1.107)⁴⁸ handelt,⁴⁹ fällt auf, dass sich die meisten von ihnen auf Angelegenheiten des Königshauses beziehen.⁵⁰ So geht es um die kultische Reinigung des Königs (KTU 1.105; 1.106; 1.109; 1.112; 1.115; 1.119; 1.130)⁵¹ und diverse Aspekte der Königsideologie (KTU 1.108 und 1.113).⁵² Da allerdings einige der in der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* gefundenen Tafeln nur in sehr fragmentarischem Zustand erhalten sind⁵³ und deshalb keine zuverlässigen Aussagen getroffen werden können, ist ein exakter Prozentsatz hierfür nicht zu ermitteln. Hinzu kommen die 11 keilalphabetischen Texte in hurritischer bzw. hurritisch-ugaritischer Sprache aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*,⁵⁴ von denen sich auch einige auf Angelegenheiten des Königshauses bzw. auf den Palast beziehen.⁵⁵

Die hurritischen Rituale aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* umfassen Opferrituale (KTU 1.110; 1.116; 1.132; 1.135; 1.148), einen Bescheid über ein Opfer (KTU 1.111) und ein königliches Totenritual (KTU 1.125). Dazu kommen diverse Beschwörungen (KTU 1.120; 1.128; 1.131). KTU 1.120 und 1.149 widersetzen sich bislang einer Übersetzung.⁵⁶

Für die Texte aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* ist ein hohes Ausmaß von intertextuellen Beziehungen auszumachen.

Dies gilt zunächst für die in ugaritischer Sprache und Schrift überlieferten Leber- und Lungenorakel, die hier nur genannt werden können. Es ist kein Zufall, dass sich in Ugarit derartige Orakel ausschließlich in der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* nachweisen lassen.⁵⁷

43 Zum Archiv und der Bibliothek der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* vgl. Pardee 1988; Dietrich und Loretz 1990: 1–240; Meyer 1990: 247–51; van Soldt 1991: 194–203; Pedersén 1998: 74–76; Tropper und Vita 1999: 312f.; Merlo 2006: 58f.; del Olmo Lete 2018: 27–50.

44 Vgl. dazu Dietrich und Loretz 1990: 1–86 und Meyer 1990.

45 Vgl. dazu Dietrich und Loretz 1990: 87–204.

46 Vgl. dazu Dietrich und Loretz 1990: 205–40 und Niehr 2010; im Druck a.

47 Vgl. dazu Pardee 2002: 167–70.

48 Vgl. dazu Pardee 1988: 193–256; 2002: 172–84; Caquot 1989: 79–100; Niehr 2008: 255f.; del Olmo Lete 2014a: 47f., 315–18; 2014b: 157–64, 188–204.

49 Eine Übersicht der Tafeln sowie der Leber- und der Lungenmodelle findet sich bei van Soldt 1991: 195–99.

50 Vgl. del Olmo Lete 2018: 40–42.

51 Vgl. del Olmo Lete 2018: 40f.

52 Vgl. del Olmo Lete 2018: 42f.

53 Vgl. KTU 1.147; 1.153; 1.156. Zum Problem siehe auch Tropper und Vita 1999.

54 KTU 1.110; 1.111; 1.116; 1.120; 1.125; 1.128; 1.131; 1.132; 1.135; 1.148; 1.149.

55 Vgl. KTU 1.125; 1.132; 1.135; 1.148; vgl. zu diesen Texten Laroche 1955; 1968: 497–518; Dietrich und Mayer 1996; 1997a: 79; Vita 2009: 220.

56 Vgl. dazu Laroche 1968: 516–18.

57 Siehe Anm. 44 oben.

Eine zentrale Rolle für die weiteren intertextuellen Beziehungen in der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* kommt dabei KTU 1.108 zu. Die Nennung des Dynastiegründers Yaqaru sowie die Aufführung von Musik und die Erwähnung von Musikinstrumenten findet sich neben KTU 1.108 auch in KTU 1.113. Sodann stellt die Feier eines Gelages in der Götterwelt ein verbindendes Element zwischen KTU 1.108 und KTU 1.114 dar. Die Verbindungen zwischen KTU 1.108 und KTU 1.124 sind besonders eng: Rāpi'u und Ditānu werden zu einem nekromantischen Akt zugunsten des Königshauses am Grab in der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* evoziert, es liegen in beiden Fällen Protokolle dieser Nekromantie vor und die Kommunikation erfolgt durch Boten zwischen dem Palast und der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*.⁵⁸

Weitere in der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* gefundene Texte sind unter die Wirtschaftstexte subsumiert worden,⁵⁹ was ihnen allerdings nicht immer gerecht wird. Dies zeigt sich etwa an KTU 4.728, einem Text, in dem Öluwendungen für den Kult des Wettergottes von Aleppo angesprochen werden, wobei allerdings ein Kultgeschehen im Hintergrund steht.⁶⁰ In den anderen Fällen sind Texte nur in sehr fragmentarischer Form überliefert,⁶¹ so dass genauere Festlegungen ihres Genres nicht möglich sind.

Die in all diesen ugaritischen und hurritischen Texten genannte Ritualpraxis erfolgte größtenteils im Hause des *Prêtre Hourrite*.

2.4 Die Ritualtexte aus der *Maison d'Ourtenou*

Im Bereich westlich der sogenannten *Ville Sud* wurde in den 90er Jahren ein Haus freigelegt, über dessen Zuweisung eine Diskussion entstanden ist, auf die hier nur hingewiesen werden kann. Legen die ugaritischen Texte aufgrund der für einen hochrangigen Vertreter der Oberschicht Ugarits angefertigten Beschwörung KTU 1.178 und einiger Briefe, die ihn als Urtenu ausweisen, eine Benennung als *Maison d'Ourtenou* nahe,⁶² so weisen die dort aufgefundenen akkadischen Briefe einen Adressaten namens Urteššub auf.⁶³

Die Bibliothek des Hauses⁶⁴ enthält zwei ugaritische Beschwörungen. Deren erste, KTU 1.178,⁶⁵ wendet sich gegen die Macht von Schlangen, Skorpionen und Hexerei, und deren zweite, KTU 1.179,⁶⁶ stellt eine Beschwörung gegen Krankheiten im generellen Sinne dar. Allerdings steht der sehr fragmentarische Erhaltungszustand dieser Tafel einer klaren Deutung im Wege.

58 Zu KTU 1.108 und seinen intertextuellen Bezügen vgl. Niehr im Druck a.

59 Die Texte bei McGeough 2011: 466–72.

60 Dazu Tropper und Vita 1999 und McGeough 2011: 467f.

61 Siehe Anm. 53 oben.

62 Vgl. dazu Caquot und Dalix 2001; Bordreuil et al. 2012: 8.

63 Vgl. dazu Malbran-Labat und Roche 2007.

64 Zum Archiv und der Bibliothek in der *Maison d'Ourtenou* vgl. Bordreuil 1991; Yon und Arnaud 2001: 235–422; Bordreuil et al. 2012; Lackenbacher und Malbran-Labat 2016; del Olmo Lete 2018: 61–63.

65 Dazu Niehr 2008: 256f. mit Literatur sowie del Olmo Lete 2014b: 173–87.

66 Erstveröffentlichung bei Caquot und Dalix 2001 und dazu del Olmo Lete 2014b: 99–102.

Der Ritualtext (KTU 1.161) wurde auf dem Schutthaufen neben dem Haus gefunden, so dass hier der Bibliothekszusammenhang mit der *Maison d'Ourtenou* nur vermutet, aber nicht im strengen Sinne nachgewiesen werden kann.⁶⁷

Dieses Ritual, KTU 1.161,⁶⁸ stellt vielleicht das Duplikat einer anderen, bislang nicht aufgefundenen Tafel dar. Die Tafel ist anlässlich der Bestattungsfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tode des Königs Niqmaddu IV. (1215/1210 v. Chr.) entstanden und regelt den Eingang des königlichen Totengeistes in die Unterwelt, näherhin seine Aufnahme in den Kreis der *rapi'uma*. Die Auffindung des Rituals bei der *Maison d'Ourtenou* verweist auf die engen Beziehungen zwischen diesem Haus und dem Königshaus, die auch sonst belegt sind.⁶⁹ Vor allem ist ein Zusammenhang mit der Stellung des Urtenu als *t'y* im Kult und dem in KTU 1.161: 27–30 angesetzten *t'y*-Opfer angenommen worden (so del Olmo Lete 2018: 20, 62). Aus diesem Grund könnte KTU 1.161 die Kopie einer im Königspalast aufbewahrten Tafel sein.

Ein weiterer hier nur zu nennender Hinweis auf rituelle Praktiken findet sich in den akkadischen Briefen dieses Hauses, die einen Opfervollzug durch hethitische Gesandte in Ugarit nennen.⁷⁰

2.5 Der Palais Nord von Ras Ibn Hani

In diesem außerhalb von Ugarit gelegenen Palast, der nach dem Erdbeben von 1250 v. Chr., welches Stadt und Palast von Ugarit stark in Mitleidenschaft gezogen hatte, als administratives Ausweichquartier diente,⁷¹ fand sich ein Archiv mit neun religiösen Texten, deren Zugehörigkeit zu den Ritualen aufgrund ihres fragmentarischen Textcharakters jedoch nicht immer klar ist.⁷²

Thematisch geht es in den Ritualen aus Ras Ibn Hani um Opferdarbringungen des Königs (KTU 1.164; 1.171; 1.173⁷³) und der Königin (KTU 1.170) sowie um ein Kontemplationsritual (KTU 1.168). Ein Ritual dieses Typs fand sich auch mit KTU 1.90 im *Palais Royal* der Stadt Ugarit.⁷³ Genremäßig nicht bestimmbar ist KTU 1.167 aufgrund seines fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustands.

67 Darauf hat mich P. Bordreuil zu Recht aufmerksam gemacht.

68 Erstveröffentlichung von Caquot 1975–76: 426–29. Dazu besonders Niehr 2007; 2012a: 149–51. Zu der für die Abhaltung dieses Rituals erforderlichen *effigies* des verstorbenen Königs von Ugarit vgl. Kühn 2018: 87–89 und Niehr 2019. Zur grundlegenden Relevanz der *effigies* im Rahmen der Königsideologie von den ‚zwei Körpern‘ des Königs vgl. Kantorowicz 1957: 419–37.

69 Vgl. dazu Singer 1999: 644–700 und Freu 2006: 155–57.

70 RS 92.6278; 92.2011; dazu Salvini 2001 und besonders den Artikel von Y. Cohen und E. Torrecilla in diesem Band.

71 Zum Nordpalast von Ras Ibn Hani vgl. Bounni et al. 1998 und Lagarce 2019.

72 Zum Archiv im Nordpalast von Ras Ibn Hani vgl. Bordreuil 1998; Bordreuil und Caquot 1979; 1980; del Olmo Lete 2018: 117–22; Bordreuil et al. 2019. Bei den Ritualtexten handelt es sich um KTU 1.164; 1.165²; 1.166²; 1.168; 1.170; 1.171; 1.173; 1.174². Dazu kommt eine Beschwörung (KTU 1.169); vgl. dazu zuletzt Bordreuil et al. 2019: 200–256.

73 Siehe Abschnitt 2.2 oben.

2.6 Ritualtexte unbestimmter Herkunft

Es verbleiben drei Ritualtexte aus Ras Shamra, deren genauer Fundort unbekannt ist. Dies ist der Fall bei KTU 1.162,⁷⁴ KTU 1.177 (dazu Pardee 2000: Bd. 2, 826–28) und KTU 1.182 (dazu Pardee 2013). Der erste dieser Ritualtexte verdankt sich Raubgrabungen und befindet sich heute in einer Privatsammlung (vgl. Bordreuil und Pardee 1993: 42–53). Somit lässt sich über seine mögliche Herkunft aus einem der Archive und Bibliotheken Ugarits nicht das Mindeste aussagen. Im Hinblick auf den zweiten dieser Texte wird eine Herkunft aus dem Stadtzentrum angegeben (vgl. Bordreuil und Pardee 1989: 361), was aber für seine genaue Herkunftsbestimmung auch nicht ausreicht. Über den Fundort des dritten Rituals liegen überhaupt keine Angaben vor (vgl. Bordreuil und Pardee 1989: 72).

3. Archiv- und bibliotheksübergreifende Aspekte

Angesichts der bis hierhin vorgestellten fünf Archive und Bibliotheken der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre*, des *Palais Royal*, der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* und der *Maison d'Ourtenou* aus Ugarit und des *Palais Nord* aus Ras Ibn Hani könnte man den Eindruck eines unverbundenen Nebeneinanders der Ritualpraxis gewinnen. Dass dies jedoch nicht der Fall ist, zeigt sich neben den Ortsangaben und Götternamen daran, dass es im Hinblick auf die Rituale einige archiv- und bibliotheksübergreifende Zusammenhänge gibt. Diese setzen mit der Existenz von Duplikaten ein, die sich auf unterschiedliche Fundorte verteilen, und lassen sich unter thematischen Aspekten fortführen. Im Folgenden kann nur eine kleine Auswahl getroffen werden.

3.1 Zu den Fundorten der Duplikate von Ritualen

Unter diesem Abschnitt sind einige interessante Zusammenhänge aufweisbar, da es mehrere Fälle von Duplikaten von Ritualtexten in den Archiven und Bibliotheken Ugarits gibt:

- KTU 1.40 (*Maison du Grand-Prêtre*) und KTU 1.84 (*Palais Royal*);
- KTU 1.41 (*Maison du Grand-Prêtre*) und KTU 1.87 (*Palais Royal*);
- KTU 1.43 (*Maison du Grand-Prêtre*) und KTU 1.91 (*Palais Royal*);⁷⁵
- KTU 1.39: 13–17 (*Maison du Grand-Prêtre*) und KTU 1.102: 1–14 (*Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*).

Dazu kommen noch KTU 1.121 (*Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*) und KTU 1.122 (*Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*), da es sich nicht um die gleiche Tafel handelt. Möglicherweise ist hier auch KTU 1.161 (*Maison d'Ourtenou*) als Kopie einer im Palast aufbewahrten Ritualtafel zu nennen, aber in diesem Fall ist keine Vorlage gefunden worden.

74 Dazu Bordreuil und Pardee 1993: 42–53; Pardee 2000: Bd. 2, 894–97; 2002: 84f.; Niehr 2008: 247f.; del Olmo Lete 2014a: 74–81.

75 Vgl. auch KTU 1.148: 18 aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*.

Einen Sonderfall stellt dann noch das bereits genannte Ritual KTU 1.40 dar. Es wurde in der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* gefunden und sein Duplikat KTU 1.84 im *Palais Royal*. Dazu kommen mit KTU 1.54 (*Maison du Grand-Prêtre*), KTU 1.121 (*Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*) und KTU 1.122 (*Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*) Varianten, die nicht einfach als Duplikate gelten können.⁷⁶

Anhand dieser Duplikate und Varianten wird das Kommunikationssystem zwischen der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre*, der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*, dem *Palais Royal* und der *Maison d'Ourtenou* ersichtlich. Dieses Kommunikationssystem wird über die Existenz von Duplikaten von Ritualen hinaus insbesondere aufgrund einiger thematischer Aspekte deutlich.

3.2 Thematische Aspekte

Es finden sich thematische Übereinstimmungen bei den Translokationsritualen (KTU 1.43: *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und KTU 1.91: *Palais Royal*), beim königlichen Totenkult (KTU 1.101 und 1.125: *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* und KTU 1.161: *Maison d'Ourtenou*), der kultischen Reinigung des Königs (KTU 1.119: *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* und KTU 1.41; 1.46: *Maison du Grand-Prêtre*), den Ritualen bei der Weinernte (KTU 1.41: *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und KTU 1.87: *Palais Royal*) und den Weihrauchbeschwörungen (KTU 1.44 und 1.54: *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und KTU 1.128 sowie 1.131: *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*). Ebenso bilden die Rituale zur Beförderung der Einheit der Bevölkerung eine thematische Einheit (KTU 1.40 und 1.54: *Maison du Grand-Prêtre*; KTU 1.84: *Palais Royal*; KTU 1.121 und 1.122: *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*).

Die Übereinstimmungen bei den Kontemplationsritualen (KTU 1.90: *Palais Royal* und KTU 1.168: *Palais Nord*, Ras Ibn Hani) und bei den königlichen Opfern (KTU 1.87 und 1.91: *Palais Royal* und KTU 1.164; 1.170; 1.171: *Palais Nord*, Ras Ibn Hani) erklären sich damit, dass der *Palais Nord* von Ras Ibn Hani den *Palais Royal* nach dessen Zerstörung im Erdbeben von 1250 v. Chr. für einige Zeit ersetzte.

4. Ergebnisse und Ausblicke für die weitere Forschung

(1) Ganz deutlich ist die Konzentration des Gros der Ritualtexte aus Ugarit auf die beiden Archive und Bibliotheken in der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* auf der Akropolis. Dies erklärt sich damit, dass hier die beiden eigentlichen Ritualspezialisten amtierten, die auf die Ritualtexte bzw. deren Protokolle angewiesen waren. Der Unterschied zwischen beiden Archiven und Bibliotheken liegt darin, dass die Funde aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* auf den Kult im Palast und vor allem in den beiden großen Tempeln auf der Akropolis hinweisen, während die Funde aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* sich vor allem auf den Kult in diesem Haus konzentrieren, aber trotzdem diverse Anliegen des Königtums zum Thema haben.

⁷⁶ Siehe auch del Olmo Lete 2014a: 116–27, der diese Textvielfalt mit der Relevanz des Versöhnungsthemas begründet.

(2) Alle anderen Fundorte weisen eine deutlich geringere Anzahl von Ritualtexten auf als die *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und die *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite*. Dies gilt für den *Palais Royal* in Ugarit bzw. für den *Palais Nord* in Ras Ibn Hani, der den *Palais Royal* nach dessen Zerstörung zeitweilig ersetzte. Nicht klar erkennbar ist der Grund für die Auffindung eines Ritualtextes bei der *Maison d'Ourtenou*. Vielleicht handelt es sich bei dieser Tontafel um die Abschrift eines anderweitig aufbewahrten Textes, der Urtext zu Kenntnis zugeleitet worden ist.

(3) Was die in den Ritualen verwendeten Sprachen angeht, so ist trotz aller Vielsprachigkeit in Ugarit⁷⁷ anzumerken, dass das Ugaritische dominiert und das Hurritische eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle spielt.⁷⁸ Hingegen gibt es keine Rituale in babylonischer Sprache, sondern nur gelehrte Übertragungen ins Babylonische. Darauf verweisen auch die Fundorte von babylonischen Texten in den Gelehrtenhäusern⁷⁹ und nicht in einem Tempel- bzw. Priesterkontext. Dies ist der Fall bei den akkadischen Götterlisten als Übertragungen der ugaritischen Tradition.⁸⁰

(4) Die Erforschung der Schreiberhände, die aufgrund des epigraphischen Vergleichs der Ritualtexte nachweisbar sind, steht noch am Anfang. Jedoch haben sich D. Pardee und J.-P. Vita hiermit beschäftigt und erste Resultate zu den diversen Schreibern vorgelegt (Pardee 2000 passim und Vita 2007). Nach Vita (2007: 654–56) finden sich insgesamt fünf Hände, davon drei aus Ugarit und zwei von außerhalb.

(5) Gerade bei den Ritualtexten aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und denen aus der *Maison du Prêtre Hourrite* zeigt sich jeweils eine enge thematische und situative Zusammengehörigkeit der Tafelfunde. Ebenso liegen derartige Zusammenhänge vor zwischen den Ritualen aus der *Maison du Grand-Prêtre* und dem *Palais Royal*. Auch die *Maison d'Ourtenou* war in das Kommunikationssystem zwischen diesen Häusern eingebunden.

(6) Eine gemeinsame inhaltliche Schnittmenge zwischen den Ritualen aus allen vier Archiven und Bibliotheken ist mit der Bedeutung des Königs im Kult gegeben. Dazu kommt die gelegentliche Nennung von Mitgliedern der königlichen Familie.⁸¹ Dabei geht es aber nicht um namentlich ausgewiesene Könige, sondern um die Institution des Königtums, welches den einzelnen Amtsinhaber überdauerte. Dem entspricht, dass die Priester als die bedeutendsten Kultoffizianten in den Ritualen nicht genannt, sondern deren Tätigkeit mit Passivformen bzw. mit Formen der 3. Person Plural umschrie-

77 Dazu etwa Malbran-Labat 1999; 2002; Čech 2018; Niehr im Druck b.

78 Zum Hurritischen in Gesellschaft und Kult von Ugarit vgl. Laroche 1955; 1968; Dietrich und Mayer 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1999; Salvini 1995; Pardee 1996; Dietrich 2004; Richter 2005; Vita 2009; del Olmo Lete 2014a: 63–66; Lam 2006; 2011; 2015. Siehe Anm. 23 oben.

79 So stammen RS 20.24 aus der *Maison de Rap'anu* und RS 92.2004 sowie RS 92.2009 aus der *Maison d'Ourtenou*.

80 Die ugaritischen Götterlisten KTU 1.47; 1.118; 1.148: 23–44 finden ihre akkadischen Entsprechungen in RS 20.24; 26.142 und 92.2004. Zu Synopsen der ugaritischen und der akkadischen Versionen vgl. Pardee 2002: 14f., 17f. und del Olmo Lete 2014a: 55, 109f. Zur Vorgehensweise der Übertragungen von ugaritischen Götternamen ins Akkadische vgl. Roche-Hawley 2012.

81 So in KTU 1.106 und 1.112.

ben werden.⁸² Allenfalls begegnen in den Ritualen, aber auch in weiteren Texten, die niederen Ränge des Kultpersonals wie ‚Helfer am Heiligtum‘ (*qdšm*), ‚Sänger‘ (*šrm*), ‚Zimbelspieler‘ (*mšltm*), ‚Exorzisten‘ (*mlḥšm*), ‚Reiniger‘ (*mḥllm*) und ‚Wasserholer des Heiligtums‘ (*šib mqdšt*).⁸³

(7) Die Zusammenhänge zwischen Ritualen eines Archivs bzw. einer Bibliothek sind mehrfach partiell beobachtet worden. Auch in diesem Artikel konnten nur einige Verbindungslinien aufgezeigt werden. Es bleibt jedenfalls ein wichtiges Forschungsdesiderat, diesen Zusammenhängen sowie auch den archiv- und bibliotheksübergreifenden Aspekten in weiteren Arbeiten noch detaillierter nachzugehen.

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⁸² Vgl. etwa als Beispiel KTU 1.108: 1–10 und dazu Niehr im Druck a. Del Olmo Lete 2014a: 9 charakterisiert die Rituale wie folgt: „They reflect the prevailing ‚ideology‘ with the ‚king‘ as its epicentre in his role as supreme and almost exclusive officiant.“

⁸³ Dazu de Tarragon 1980: 141–44; del Olmo Lete und Sanmartín 1998: 176–84; 2003; Merlo 2006.

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THE KING IN RITUAL ACTION

The Assyrian Royal Temple Rituals

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Abstract

Among the numerous rituals performed at the Assyrian royal court, some state rituals stand out, as they are only found in Assyria and are written in Standard Babylonian interspersed with some elements of the Assyrian language. These include in particular the rites on the spring festivities in Assur and the *tākultu* ‘banquet’ rites. They provide deep insights into the Assyrian ideology and the role of the king in the Assyrian state. This article presents these rites with a special focus on the role of the king and discusses the question whether the king participated in these rites *in persona*, or whether he was present only in parts of the often long-lasting ritual sequences, or if these rites could be performed completely without the person of the king.

The mythical concept of kingship as being divinely ordained determines the relationship between the human and the divine world, in Mesopotamia in general and in Assyria in particular. In this conception, detailed already in early texts like the Sumerian king list and elaborated on in later Assyrian texts, kingship was created in the heavens and sent down to earth, while the king himself was fashioned by the gods as a special creature, set apart physically and mentally from ordinary man.¹ The Assyrian king is called *amēlu gitmālu*, a ‘perfect man’,² who is endowed with special qualities to fulfil the role assigned to him, namely to act as the national god’s, Aššur’s, vice regent on earth. Aššur entrusted the rule of the world, which ultimately always rests with himself, to his representative, who acts on his behalf. This is vividly expressed in the famous words within Assyrian coronation hymns as “Aššur is king! Aššur is king indeed!”³ and Assurbanipal’s coronation hymn adds this clear piece of Assyrian royal ideology: “Assurbanipal is the [representative] of Assur, the creation of his hands.”⁴

The special Assyrian royal ideology is essential for understanding the importance given to the king in Assyrian state rituals. As the earthly representative and first priest of the national god Aššur, the king has a leading role in and is the main performer of the rites of the most important national festivities. In this he is distinct from his Babylonian counterpart and shows clear similarities to earlier Hittite kings, which in the context of this conference volume merits special attention. In this paper, I will there-

1 For this concept, see Mayer 1987.

2 See e.g. Grayson and Novotny 2012: 32 line 3.

3 Müller 1937: 8 I 29; Parpola 2017: 14 I 29'. Cf. Holloway 2002.

4 Livingstone 1989: 26 (no. 11) line 15.

fore focus on the king's ritual action in the most important state rituals, namely the spring festivities in the cultic capital Assur in the months Šabātu, Addaru and Nisannu, and the *tākultu* banquets, which both serve to illustrate the specific Assyrian character of royal rituals.

1. Royal rituals and Assyrian ideology

Considering the royal and cultic rituals performed at the Assyrian court and involving the Assyrian king, it is evident that there is no lack of quite time-consuming rituals: There are coronation and investiture rituals, the Ritual for the Substitute King, the cleansing rituals Bīt rimki and Bīt salā' mē, the Mouth-Washing Ritual, Ritual against Enemy Attack, Ritual against Enemy Threat, and Royal Rituals performed in the first month Nisannu.

What unites all these rituals is that they were written in the Standard Babylonian form of the Akkadian language, which was used for most scholarly texts of the first millennium. They are not specifically Assyrian but could be performed quite similarly in Babylonia, where probably the majority of these rituals developed, were written down, and only then also passed on to Assyria. However, there are also quite a few royal rituals written in Standard Babylonian interspersed with some elements of the Assyrian language, a specific form of Akkadian. Such Assyrian rituals are already attested in the Middle Assyrian period, like the rituals for the gods Adad, Ištar and Marduk, as well as the ritual for libations in the Aššur-temple and the Middle Assyrian coronation ritual.⁵ In Neo-Assyrian times there are first and foremost two different royal rituals written in Standard Babylonian interspersed with Assyrian elements: the texts for the spring festivities at the cultic centre of Assyria, the city of Assur in general and the temple of the national god Aššur in particular, and the *tākultu* ritual.

It is hardly surprising that royal rituals in the Assyrian language evolved in Middle Assyrian times. Within the Middle Assyrian period the Assyrian world-view, the ideology around the national god Aššur and, in particular, the role of the ruler changed dramatically. In Old Assyrian times Assur was a city-state without any national ambition (Larsen 1976). Long-distance trade was the key factor to wealth, and merchants ruled most of the administration of the city. The ruler had to share power with institutions like the city-assembly. Already in the Old Assyrian period, the god Aššur was *šarrum* 'king', while the ruler bore the title of *waklum* 'overseer' or *iššiak Aššur* 'steward of Aššur'.⁶ Apart from the brief intermezzo of the rule of Šamši-Adad I, who, as a foreign ruler, conquered Assur and created an upper Mesopotamian empire that collapsed shortly after his death, the city's history was unremarkable. This, however, did not prepare the Assyrians for resistance against foreign domination, which came in the form of Mittani-rule and lasted for many centuries. Many documents indicate that

5 For the Middle Assyrian coronation ritual, see Müller 1937; Kryszat 2008; Parpola 2017: LXVIII–LXXXIII, 14–18.

6 Cifola 1995; van Driel 1969: 170–75.

the Assyrians adapted quite well to foreign rulership and the city of Assur had a place within the Hurrian world (Lion 2011). However, something must have changed during this time, since Assyrian rulers seized the opportunity of the first real phase of political weakness of the Mittani kings, brought about by the Hittite presence in North-Syria, to free the city of Assur from foreign rule and establish a quite different Assyrian kingship. From this time onwards, the Assyrian ruler suffered no other power beside him, and Aššur-uballiṭ I is the first Assyrian ruler to assume the title of *šarru* ‘king’. According to the Assyrian ideology the king was the vice-regent of the national god Aššur and acted on his behalf. This entailed the duty to extend the boundaries of the country and to bring the world under the rulership of the god Aššur. It resulted in an expansive system of rulership, in which the king in yearly campaigns fought against enemies in all directions. He then used the resulting booty to boost the economy and to carry out ambitious building projects, which served the Assyrian king’s propaganda. This system, which in this short exposition is of necessity presented in a fashion both much too simple and too linear,⁷ functioned for hundreds of years: from the 14th to the 7th century BC.

For their new empire and their new role, the Assyrian kings sought to acquire the basic knowledge of rulership or, in short, *Herrschaftswissen* (Pongratz-Leisten 1999), necessary to run a state in accordance with the gods’ will. They found it in Babylonia and imported Babylonian texts and scholars, but also furthered Assyrian scholars and scholarship.⁸ At first, Assyrian scholarship probably depended substantially on Babylonian influence, but soon distinct Assyrian schools of knowledge appeared, distinct Assyrian texts were composed and the acquired Babylonian knowledge was adapted, reworked and put into a new form to serve Assyrian needs. In this context, it is not surprising that the first royal rituals in the Assyrian language appear in Middle Assyrian times. Indeed, it is exactly what we expect. We may surmise that inasmuch as Assyrian kingship differed from Babylonian rulership – and the difference was quite substantial – Assyrian royal rituals should differ too. Texts like the Middle Assyrian coronation ritual already hint at this specific Assyrian view on kingship and it is no wonder that exactly this text was found in a 1st millennium context, as it is easy to see how up-to-date this text must have appeared in the 7th century BC. However, only with the more comprehensive textual material of the 1st millennium do the specific Assyrian ideology and the role of the kings in ritual action emerge clearly.⁹

2. The king acting in the spring festivities in Assur

The fact that we can detail the Assyrian royal rituals only for the late Assyrian period, which is in essence the 7th century BC with king Sennacherib and his heirs Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, is also true for the large circle of spring festivities in the city of Assur.

7 For broader overviews of Assyrian history, see most recently the papers collected in Frahm 2017.

8 Wiggermann 2008; Heeßel 2010; 2017.

9 For the visual aspect of royal mythology, see Ataç 2010.

While there is evidence that one important festival, which forms part of this circle, was already celebrated during the time of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 BC),¹⁰ the majority of the texts is a hundred years younger.

The climax of the Assyrian cultic calendar are the comprehensive ceremonies stretching from early Šabātu well into the Near Year's month of Addaru, that is from before the 10th day of the 11th month until the 11th day of the 1st month. There are three types of texts detailing different aspects of this circle of festivities:

- 1) The biggest group contains several texts delineating the ritual actions of the king during the festivities. Most of these were found in Assur, especially in the famous house of an exorcist's family, among whom Kišir-Aššur is probably the best-known member. Some texts were also found in Nineveh, illustrating that the scholars in that capital reflected and worked on the festivities in Assur as well.
- 2) The second text type consists of cultic commentaries. These are often difficult to understand, but nevertheless illustrate how scholars interpreted the ritual actions in a mythological way.
- 3) The third type is only known through one tablet found in Nineveh. It details the actions and duties of the *kalû* singer in a calendrical way and also lists the titles of the Emesal songs to be recited.

Only when combined do the three types of texts allow us an understanding of the sequence of ritual actions, as each type focuses on different aspects. A first edition and evaluation of the textual material was presented by Gerardus van Driel in his book on the Cult of Aššur (van Driel 1969). Brigitte Menzel re-edited these texts with important new material (Menzel 1981), but it was Stefan Maul (2000) in the *Festschrift* for Wilfred Lambert, who for the first time reconstructed the sequence of events. In 2015, Beate Pongratz-Leisten contributed a detailed analysis of the ideological background of these texts.¹¹ Building on these ground-breaking works, we can detail the royal actions in the festivities, even if we have to allow for a substantial amount of uncertainty due to breaks in the texts and their different focus.

New texts show that the circle of spring activities started before the 10th day of the 11th month Šabātu with a procession of the cult image of Mulissu, Aššur's wife.¹² On the 10th day followed a procession of the cult image of Ninurta. The king only arrived in Assur on the 16th day of the month, probably together with the crown prince, in ceremonial entry. On the same day, several goddesses were brought first to the palace to greet the king and then to the *bīt Dagan*, the 'House/Temple of Dagan', a special cultic place, still not located for sure, but assumed to be in the Old Palace of Assur between the Anu-Adad-temple in the west and the Aššur-Ellil-ziququrrat in the east. Here, in the *bīt Dagan*, the king performed several sacrifices. On the next day, the king

10 See Maul 2000: 390. Pongratz-Leisten 2017: XLIV dates the introduction of the spring festivities to Asurnāširpal II.

11 Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 379–447, partly republished in the introduction to Simo Parpola's re-edition of the texts (Parpola 2017). In this paper, I will refer to the more recent version (Pongratz-Leisten 2017).

12 See Maul 2000: 391. The following description of the events follows the reconstruction of Maul 2000.

visited the god Aššur in the Ešarra, the Aššur temple, probably in his cella, and again offered sacrifices to Aššur and also to the deified crown of Aššur, the *bēl-agû*, literally ‘lord-crown’. More sacrifices followed on the next days, and on the 19th day the king led a procession of several goddesses into the Anu-Adad-temple. On the 20th day the king went to the Aššur-temple, made sacrifices to Aššur and Mulissu and let both sit on the *parak šīmāte*, the ‘cult pedestal of destinies’. Then he raised the crown of Aššur up to his head and placed it on the *parak šīmāte*, while the *kalû* singers sung Emesal songs.

The 22nd of Šabātu marked the first climax of the festivities. In the evening of the day, roasted beef was presented to Aššur, who at that time was still located in his cella within the Ešarra. Before sunrise the *kalû* singers, probably in the presence of the king, sang the *balaĝ* called “Lord, prince of heaven and of earth” together with the accompanying *eršemma* “Strong one, turn to me”. Then Aššur arose and a procession of the cultic image of Aššur to the *bīt Dagan* started, accompanied by the great gods Mulissu, Sîn, Šamaš, Anu, Adad, Nergal, the Chariots of War, Šerua, Kippat-māti, Kakka, Mandānu, the conquerors (*kāšidūti*), the deified weapon (^d*kakku*), and the deified axe (^d*kalappu*). The king also drove to the *bīt Dagan* in a chariot drawn not by horses but by men. It is not entirely clear whether the king led the procession of Aššur and the other high gods, or traversed from the Aššur temple to the *bīt Dagan* independently. What is certain, however, is that the king was now wearing on his head the deified crown *bēl-agû* ‘lord-crown’, which he had placed on the ‘cult pedestal of destinies’ only two days before. All this happened in the early morning hours of the 22nd of Šabātu. The rest of the day the king offered sacrifices for all the gods present in the *bīt Dagan* and also a *kispu* offering, probably for the dead kings of Assyria. Then the king left with his chariot, but stopped on the right side of the temple entrance and watched the sheep for the offerings pass by. The rituals of the rest of the day are unclear.

The gods remained four days in the *bīt Dagan*. Every day in the evening after sunset and in the morning before sunrise the *kalû* singers sung *balaĝ* and *eršemma* songs. After the recital of the first *balaĝ*, the gods received a sacrifice in the presence of the king who gave the *kalû* singers signs when to begin to sing and when to leave the temple. On the 23rd, the day after the arrival of the gods in the *bīt Dagan*, a KA.LUḪ.Û.DA – a rite of ‘mouth-washing’ – was performed on the king. For the same day some allusions to mythological battles are made in the texts, perhaps even to cultic re-enactments of them. Little is known concerning the 24th of Šabātu, the day “when the king wears the crown (of Aššur),” and also the following day. On the 26th of Šabātu the cult image of Aššur returns to the Aššur temple, and the cult images of the other gods accompanying Aššur return to their respective temples.

This cultic activity culminating between the 22nd and 26th of Šabātu is, of course, loaded with meaning, mythological allusions and references to beliefs forming the normative and formative foundation of the Assyrian society and empire. Focussing on the king, it becomes quite clear that in the course of these days some sort of a transformation of the king’s person or his role must have occurred. As Pongratz-Leisten (2017: LIII) assumes, the arrival of Aššur and Mulissu on the ‘cultic pedestal of destinies’ (*parak šīmāte*) probably had a transformative effect on the king, as he is allowed to put Aššur’s crown for a short time on his head, and the day after the next he wears it

openly when he drives with his chariot to the *bīt Dagan*, for all the gathered crowd to see. She suggests that the leading of several goddesses to the *bīt Dagan* was an act bringing female mediators to the royal ancestors in order to have them intercede on behalf of the king. Similarly, the leading of several goddesses to the temple of Anu on the 19th of Šabātu is interpreted as a negotiation of the king's status in the presence of the divine assembly of Anu. The female goddesses, therefore, intercede for the king first to the royal ancestors and then to the gods. With the 22nd of Šabātu, the formation of the king into what Pongratz-Leisten (2017: LIV) describes, using a medieval metaphor, as the 'body politic' is made public, and on the 23rd it is fulfilled, when on his body a 'mouth-washing' ritual is performed, normally reserved for transforming the statue of a king or a god into an agent on their behalf. Here, however, this symbolises the transformation of the king into a 'body politic' and so reaffirms his power, authority and status as the god Aššur's agent. On the same day of the 23rd, the king in this role as Aššur's agent emulates the god Ninurta, the firstborn son of Aššur, in a mythological battle and thereby stresses the aspect of power of the royal office, in particular the duty to expand the Assyrian empire, or, on a mythological level, the realm governed by the god Aššur.

Coming back to the ritual events, there was a break of several days after the 26th of Šabātu, when the gods return to their temples. The next important cycle of events started on the 1st day of Addaru, the next and final month of the year. After the usual sacrifices and *balaḡ* and *eršem* songs on the first two days, and probably without the king's presence, the cult images of Aššur, Mulissu and the 'gods of heaven' were conducted to the *bīt Dagan* on the 3rd of Addaru, just as on the 22nd of Šabātu. Equally similar to that day, the same *balaḡ* and *eršem* songs were sung. Then, the 'assembly of the gods' (*puḫur ilāni*) was held in the *bīt Dagan*. This part of the festival with the 'assembly of the gods' is mentioned in royal grants from the time of Adad-nērārī III (810–783 BC), showing that at least this part of the festivities had quite a tradition. It is not clear what difference there is between the 'assembly of the gods' on the 22nd to the 26th of Šabātu and on the 3rd of Addaru, but both events must have been important parts of the spring festivities. On the 3rd of Addaru, the king offered his sacrifices to the gods and then "took Aššur by the hand" and conducted him back to his cella. The next days are filled with prayers, sacrifices and songs by the *kalû* singers, and the king recites an *eršaḫunga*, a 'softening of the heart' prayer, on the 5th of Addaru, but it is not until the 8th of Addaru that the decisive moment of the whole ritual cycle came about. On that day, the king made offerings before Aššur and Mulissu and conducted both gods (their statues of course) to the temple of Anu. However, before doing that the king put on Aššur's crown, left the Aššur temple through the Kalkal gate into the semi-public sphere of the temple courtyard, and re-entered through the same gate. While he was in the courtyard, the exorcists recited the Sumerian prayers 'the crown's terrifying splendour' and 'the weapon'. The implications – one can hardly speak of allusions – are eminently clear: The king is the very image of the god Aššur's overwhelming splendour and power, radiating through the universe and subjecting everyone to his power. At the end of the day, the gods returned again to their temples.

On the 9th day of Addaru a ritual involving a pomegranate is performed. The further course of the festival events is difficult to reconstruct, but it is clear that there was another climax of events from the 16th to the 18th of Addaru, involving at least two processions and at the return of the gods a ‘prayer of raised hands’ (Šu’illa) performed by the king. As these events closely resemble those of the 26th day of the month of Šabātu, ending the first major part of festivities, it is generally assumed that the 18th of Addaru marks the end of the second major festivities of the cycle of spring festivities in Assyria. As mentioned before, the two festivals from the 22nd to the 26th of Šabātu and from the 3rd to the 18th of Addaru are quite similar in many respects, such as the overall structure, the same processions to the same ritual space and the same acts of the king, especially in regard to Aššur’s crown. It is not clearly recognisable why the Assyrians celebrated two very similar festivals in succession.

The third, last and probably most important part of these festivities from the time of king Sennacherib (704–681 BC) onwards, started on the second day of the New Year, the 2nd day of the month Nisannu, and ended on the 11th of Nisannu. This is the *akītu* festival, the festival of the New Year, introduced by Sennacherib in Assyria after his destruction of Babylon in 689 BC. In fact, as Sennacherib claimed, it was a re-introduction of this festival, as Šamši-Adad I had already celebrated the *akītu* festival in the city of Assur more than a thousand years ago. This is also corroborated by external evidence from the time of Šamši-Adad. To hold this festival, he carried out major building activities on the Aššur temple, built a new *akītu* festival house outside of Assur and also made changes to the ritual landscape. However, it has to be stressed that the Assyrian form of the *akītu* festival differed considerably from the Babylonian original, as the Assyrians adapted it to the ideology of their own national god and to their own specific ideas of the role of the king. To give just one example of the latter: While in the Babylonian New Year’s festival the king receives the divine blessing and power of Marduk through the mediation of the high priest of Marduk, the Assyrian king meets the god Aššur directly and acts as his chosen vice-regent and first and foremost priest: He needs no priest to crown him as he himself puts the divine crown on his head. One can well understand that for these important spring festivities in the cultic capital of Assur the Assyrian king was willing to spend almost two months away from the luxuries and amusements of his political capital Nineveh. But perhaps he returned to the political capital in the midst of this lengthy ritual, when his presence in Assur was not essential for the course of the ritual festivities.

Due to the Assyrian royal ideology, the Assyrian king as first and foremost priest and agent of the god Aššur had to act directly in the spring festivities. The Assyrian idea of kingship is epitomised in the public appearance of the king on the 8th day of Addaru in the outer courtyard of the Aššur temple. He is wearing the *bēl-agû*, the crown of Aššur that is venerated in the Aššur temple like a god itself. Here, the body of the king and the power and terrifying splendour of the Assyrian national god blend into one. According to Assyrian ideology, the power of all gods blends into the national god Aššur. In the same way, songs, prayers and rituals that originally stem from the cults of gods like Ellil, Ea, Marduk and Ninurta are performed for Aššur during the spring festivities. The merging of various aspects of different gods in the supreme god

Aššur and then the merging of Aššur's power with the body of the king can be seen as one of the most important, perhaps the most important aspect of the spring festivities. The Assyrian king is both the main protagonist of the rituals and the main beneficiary of their results. Nothing could be more indicative of Assyrian royal ideology.

3. The Assyrian king and the *tākultu* ritual

It is clear that in the important spring festivities in Assur the king acted as the main ritual protagonist, effectively acting as the main *šangû* priest of the national god Aššur. This indicates that the king could fill the role of the *šangû* priest of Aššur, and perhaps also of other important gods and goddesses, if he was present at the performance of state rituals.¹³ While his presence in the spring festivities in Assur is made unmitigatedly clear in the texts, his appearance in other regularly staged rituals is less certain. A good example for this is the *tākultu* ritual, which is performed for the well-being of city of Assur, the land Assyria and the Assyrian king.

The *tākultu* ritual is first attested in Middle Assyrian times like most of the other Assyrian state rituals.¹⁴ An alleged Old Babylonian reference to it remains doubtful.¹⁵ Several vessel inscriptions from the reigns of Adad-nērārī I and Shalmaneser I in the 13th century BC attest to the repeated performance of *tākultu* rituals during the reigns of these kings.¹⁶ Furthermore, in his edition of 1954, Rintje Frankena already suspected a Middle Assyrian origin of the important *tākultu* texts for Assurbanipal and for Aššur-eṭel-ilānī due to the syllabary used, and Stefan Jakob confirmed this assumption by identifying VAT 10630 as a Middle Assyrian fragment that duplicates parts of the

13 See Menzel 1981: 157–59, and cf. Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 202–5 for the ideological implication of the royal title *šangû*.

14 For the *tākultu* ritual text see the *editio princeps* by Frankena 1954, with additions in Frankena 1961 and the re-editions in Menzel 1981: T 113–45; Meinhold 2009: 377–425; Parpola 2017: 99–128.

15 Pongratz-Leisten 2017: XXXVf., following Charpin 1984: 49 and CAD T 90b, argues for a reference to the *tākultu* ritual in a vase inscription of Šamši-Adad I. However, the broken passage is far from clear in its reference to the performance of a *tākultu* ritual during that king's reign. Lines 12–14 read: "A twin vase for Dagan and the *šakulāt* [...] ... Aššur t[o ...] (*tu-a-mi a-na* [^d*d*]*a-gan ù ša-ku-la-at* [...] x ^d*a-šur a-n[a ...]*; after this, the text breaks completely, posing several problems, since a) the whole passage is broken, and we do not know what follows the status constructus *šakulāt*; b) the form *šakulāt* would be the only plural form of *tākultu* yet attested; and c) the text refers to *šakultu*, a by-form of *šukultu* 'banquet', and it is unclear why the dictionaries book this entry and an Old Akkadian one under *tākultu* instead of assuming earlier attestations for *šū/ākultu*. This basically has the same meaning as *tākultu* but without the ritual connection. But what is more, even if this line of the Šamši-Adad I inscription does refer to the word *tākultu*, it does not mean that in Old Babylonian times this refers to the same or a similar ritual as that from the second half of the 2nd millennium BC onwards, or even to any ritual at all. Therefore, this reference to a *tākultu* ritual similar to the later rituals cannot be assumed with any degree of certainty.

16 The inscriptions on some of the potsherds provide evidence for at least four *tākultu* performances during the reign of Adad-nērārī I and are the best evidence for the question of how often these rituals were performed; see Frankena 1954: 51f.

tākultu for Aššur-eṭel-ilānī.¹⁷ Several *tākultu* texts are preserved from the 7th century BC, from kings Sennacherib to Sin-šar-iškun, but since only one text clearly identifies itself as a *tākultu* ritual, it has been questioned whether these texts really form a distinct genre (Meinhold 2009: 377). However, as these rituals clearly follow the same textual idea and even duplicate each other substantially, they should be considered as a group. This is now further corroborated by VAT 19808, published by Maul (2020), which is also designated as *tākultu*.¹⁸

The word *tākultu* ‘meal, banquet’,¹⁹ a nominal form of *akālu* ‘to eat’, implies the feeding of the gods, yet these texts are not concerned with preparation, presentation or quantities of food like other Assyrian texts detailing the sequence of banquets. Rather, they focus on long lists of gods and goddesses, stars and shrines. All *tākultu* rituals begin by listing the divinities in the cities of Assur, Nineveh, Calah, and Arbela – the Assyrian heartland –, but after this the lists differ considerably. What unites all the texts is the characterisation of many important deities of the Assyrian heartland as having a close connection to the national god Aššur by putting Aššur’s name before the name of these gods, forming Aššur-Ellil, Aššur-Adad, Aššur-Ištar, and so on, a theological concept that Jan Assmann dubbed ‘hyphenation’ for Ancient Egyptian descriptions of gods.²⁰ Interestingly, the lists include foreign North-Syrian, Hurrian, Elamite and Urartian gods, and unusually for Assyrian rituals, they also entreat deified mountains and rivers for blessings, which has been interpreted as a Hittite-Hurrian influence (Pongratz-Leisten 2017: XLIIf.). And yet, the texts are surprisingly silent on the actual procedure of feeding the gods; only the *tākultu* for Sennacherib gives certain information, according to which the gods were offered drink and food, and salt was strewn and incense burned and in return their blessing was expected. The offering of food and drink in general, and of salt in particular entails legal implications by forming a bond between the two parties: those who offer the food, drink, and salt and those who accept it (Pongratz-Leisten 2017: XLIIf.). That this *do ut des* principle is the basic idea of the *tākultu* ritual is mentioned explicitly in the texts, e.g. in the *tākultu* for Assurbanipal:

May they accept (the offerings) and listen (to the prayers), may they bless the city of Assur, may they bless the land of Assur, may they bless the king, our lord!²¹

While it is evident that the blessings of the city of Assur, the land of Assur, and the Assyrian king is the general objective of the *tākultu* ritual, the blessing of the king, his

17 Frankena 1954: 3, 23f. For an edition of VAT 10630, see Jakob 2018: 109f. (no. 59), and for a recent edition of the *tākultu* for Aššur-eṭel-ilānī (KAR 214), see Meinhold 2009: 413–25 (no. 14). Note that Wiebke Meinhold’s important edition, as well as her edition of K. 252 and STT 88 in Meinhold 2009: 377–412 (no. 13), are ignored in Parpola 2017: 103–10 (no. 38), 111–20 (no. 40) and 121–25 (no. 42). VAT 19808, a further *tākultu* for Assurbanipal, is published in Maul 2020.

18 Further texts and fragments on Assyrian rituals are due to be published soon in Schaudig forthc.

19 For banquets in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Ermidoro 2015. The lexeme *tākultu* does not always refer to the ritual feeding of the gods but can mean ‘feeding’ without ritualistic connotation, cf. Frankena 1954: 39 ad V 7; van Driel 1969: 160; Ermidoro 2015: 144.

20 Assmann 2004: 25f. Cf. Pongratz-Leisten 2017: XLV.

21 K. 252 obv. IV 4–8 (Meinhold 2009: 387, 401; Parpola 2017: 113).

well-being and safety is its particular aim, not forgetting those who partake in the ritual meal. Again, the texts state this plainly, as in the *tākultu* for Assurbanipal:

Give the king, our lord, long days, everlasting days, a strong weapon, a long reign, extensive years of abundance, and the leadership of kings! He who gave these (offerings) to the gods – give (in return) to him at length, copiously, and widely! May he live and be well! May he exercise sovereignty, kingship, and hegemony over kings! May he attain old age, extreme old age! For the partakers of the meal, may there be corn, silver, oil, wood, and *bariku* salt²² for their food, and good oil for their lamp! Live, be rich and prosperous!²³

The *tākultu* for Sennacherib duplicating this passage even mentions the name of the reigning king Sennacherib at the beginning of the passage,²⁴ the *tākultu* for Aššur-eṭel-ilānī adds after the passage: “Bless Aššur-eṭel-ilānī, the host of this *tākultu* meal, O Aššur!”²⁵

In light of their focus on listing all important gods of the Assyrian empire, from the Assyrian heartland to the periphery and back on the one hand, and their neglect of the details of preparing, presenting and serving food on the other hand, the *tākultu* texts, like the other Assyrian state rituals, serve royal ideology. Pongratz-Leisten (2017: XXXVI–XLVII) stressed their contribution to the vision of a unified territory: The long list of gods venerated in the cities of the Assyrian heartland and the periphery of the empire serves to fortify an Assyrian identity by creating a centripetal dynamic, which rests on the invocation of the gods of the empire. It is not concerned “with fostering a common identity for the peoples represented by the divinities of the various cities” (Pongratz-Leisten 2017: XLVII). Instead, as Pongratz-Leisten notes:

The *tākultu* constructs Assyrian identity by mapping Aššur’s agency onto a mental topography of the Assyrian heartland by means of hyphenated names, in the process drawing divine agency from the conquered regions of the empire into the imperial center through the invocation of the names of their local divinities. Beyond the offerings made to the gods, the only other physical materialization of divine agency is represented in language in the form of the blessing that the gods speak in favor of the city of Assur, Assyria and the king. By replacing the god Aššur in the original trinity of god-city-land with the figure of the king, the blessing heralds the king’s function as the human agent and extended arm of the god Aššur. (Pongratz-Leisten 2017: XLVII)

Since royal ideology is at the heart of the *tākultu* ritual and the king, as in the spring festivities in Assur, is the main beneficiary of its performance, the question is whether or not he had to be present at the performance of the ritual. The *tākultu* rituals for Sennacherib and Assurbanipal are silent on this matter and this in itself is indicative, for if the king was the ritual protagonist, why not state this clearly as for example is the case in the texts on the spring festivities in Assur? Instead, the texts address the ritual agent in the second person as in common rituals. The king is mentioned as the object of the blessings and he is addressed as the “giver” or provider of the meal, but not as the person performing the offering. In the *tākultu* for Assurbanipal, the scholar Ištar-šumu-ereš adds a paragraph at the end detailing the stars before which the king makes sheep offerings. Here, the king is mentioned as the ritual agent, but it appears

22 A quality salt imported from the town Bariku in Media.

23 K. 252 rev. IV 10’(11’)-34’(35’) (Meinhold 2009: 395f., 404; Parpola 2017: 118f.), and cf. Foster 1996: 248.

24 STT 88 (+) STT 88A rev. II/VII’ 4’ (Meinhold 2009: 396, 404:h+496; Parpola 2017: 107) for Sennacherib and VAT 10126 (KAR 216).

25 VAT 10126 (KAR 216) IV 24–27 (Meinhold 2009: 419, 422; Parpola 2017: 124f.).

to be an afterthought, and it is not clear if and how the king was involved in the earlier mentioned food and drink offerings. The *tākultu* for Aššur-eṭel-ilānī is different, however. Here the blessings begin with “He who performed this *tākultu* and gave food and drink to the gods – give (in return) to him at length, copiously, and widely!”²⁶ This can be compared to the above cited parallel passage in the *tākultu* rituals for Sennacherib and Assurbanipal, “He who gave these (offerings) to the gods – give (in return) to him at length, copiously, and widely!”, which shows the additional statement concerning the actual performance of the rite by the king. This explicit mention of the performing (*epēšu*) of the *tākultu* indicates that this *tākultu* was probably performed by king Aššur-eṭel-ilānī in person, and it shows that it could – and perhaps should – be performed by the king personally. Whether or not the *tākultu* rituals for Sennacherib and Assurbanipal were also performed by these kings respectively or rather by a substitute ritual agent cannot be decided based on the information gained from the texts and, therefore, remains speculative.²⁷

Tightly connected with the problem of the king being the main ritual agent in the *tākultu* rituals is the question of whether or not the king travelled to the cultic centers mentioned in the *tākultu* texts in order to personally perform the ritual offerings described. It is clear from the texts detailing the spring festivities in Assur that the king had to be present and perform on various days of these long ritual events. Sure enough, royal inscriptions describe the Assyrian king active in cities other than Nineveh and Assur if he was not absent on the yearly military campaign, for example Assurbanipal’s stay in Arbela during the second Elamite campaign to celebrate Ištar of Arbela at her special festivity,²⁸ but we know nothing of other cultic performances during this time. Generally speaking, we have very little information about the king travelling for cultic reasons, and the ritual texts are silent on this matter. Other possibilities for the performance of the offerings to the gods mentioned in the *tākultu* texts might be local priests performing the offering rites at certain dates or the statues of the gods travelling to Assur for the occasion, but again, as we find no information in the texts for this, this remains highly speculative. However, one observation might be indicative: As stated above, while there is no evidence in the texts that the *tākultu* rituals for Sennacherib and Assurbanipal were performed by these kings personally, the phrasing of the *tākultu* for Aššur-eṭel-ilānī, however, suggests that the king performed this ritual in person. If this holds true, then it might be interesting to note that while the *tākultu* rituals for Sennacherib and Assurbanipal list many gods from different cities, the *tākultu* for Aššur-eṭel-ilānī mentions only gods from the city of Assur. It might just be that Aššur-eṭel-ilānī performed this *tākultu* in person because he could do so in the city of Assur without travelling to other locales.²⁹

26 VAT 10126 (KAR 216) IV 7–10 (Meinhold 2009: 419, 421; Parpola 2017: 124).

27 Unfortunately, the *tākultu* ritual is not mentioned in the correspondence of the scholars with the Assyrian kings (Parpola 1993), which could have yielded much welcome additional information.

28 Borger 1996: 224f. (B §33).

29 It seems implausible to regard this restriction to the gods of the city of Assur as a result of a shrinking empire, since there is no reason to assume that Aššur-eṭel-ilānī did not control the Assyrian heartland. The reasons for the exclusivity of gods from the city of Assur in this *tākultu* must be sought elsewhere.

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BABYLONIAN TEMPLE RITUALS OF THE 1ST MILLENNIUM BC

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Abstract

This article deals with Babylonian temple rituals from the 1st millennium BC. I will discuss the notion that the sanctuary had been created, together with the cult image and the pertinent rituals, at the beginning of time by the gods themselves. I will deal with the topic of the care and feeding of the gods in their temples by humans. Also the question of how human access to the divine abode was regulated will be presented. This article will also give a short overview of the rituals of the cultic calendar.

In this article I will discuss Babylonian temple rituals of the 1st millennium BC.¹ It should be noted that these rituals stand in a much older tradition reaching back to the 2nd or 3rd millennium BC, and that many aspects treated here will also be true for other parts of the ancient Near East, such as, for example, Assyria. The topic is a complex one, leaving me to choose between a rough overview or a treatment of a specific aspect in greater detail. I have decided to give an overview, which will encompass the following aspects:

- the temple and its cult image created by the gods at the beginning of time;
- the regular cult: the care and feeding of the gods;
- access to the temple by humans;
- the deity leaving and re-entering his or her temple in the course of the processions of the cultic calendar.

1. Temple and cult image created by the gods

In the so-called ‘exorcist’s manual’, a catalogue or curriculum of the rituals belonging to the craft of the exorcist (*āšipu*), the very first entry refers to a ritual series named after the Mesopotamian brick-god and divine architect, Kulla. Kulla was a son of Ea or Enki, the god of wisdom, and his wife, Damgalnunna/Damkina. Kulla represented not only the deified brick, the most important building material in Mesopotamia, but also the god supervising the building process. The Kulla entry in the ‘exorcist’s manual’ is explained by the gloss “[to lay] the foundations of the house of a god.” Thus we may assume that ‘Kulla’ was the name under which temple building rituals were compiled by Mesopotamian schol-

1 I am grateful to James Burgin for having corrected my English.

ars. This is confirmed by the fact that Kulla is directly followed in the same line by the so-called mouth-washing ritual for consecrating the cult image and then a ritual for appointing the temple's priest. In this way, it may be seen that the manual is listing off all the rituals needed for the installation of a sanctuary: rituals during the building process, rituals concerning the induction of the divine image into the temple, and finally the rituals surrounding the appointment and consecration of the priest.²

The role of the gods in rituals for building a temple but also for fashioning a cult image was an important one. This can be traced to the Mesopotamian belief that when the gods created the universe, they themselves built their temples as their divine domiciles of eternal pleasure. Likewise, the cultic images were created and the appropriate rites and cultic regulations were introduced by the gods in these primeval times. The world with its raw materials, plants and animals was shaped to meet the needs of the gods in order to serve as a source for the regular offerings and the furnishing of the temples. The gods had also organized the celestial bodies (sun, moon, stars and planets) and their motions and thus marked off the units of time (in months and years) and the correct performance of the rituals and festivals of the cultic calendar (Ambos 2004: 47–61).

Mythological stories (so-called *historiolae*) with this cosmological motive are an important part of many incantations recited while tearing down and reconstructing a temple. The following example is from a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian incantation extant on a tablet from Seleucid Uruk, recited by the lamentation-singer when the new foundations of a temple, whose wall had collapsed, were laid (Mayer 1978: 438–43 lines 1–14; see also Ambos 2004: 193–95):

When (the gods) An/Anu, Enlil and Enki/Ea created heaven and earth,
had built in the country their sanctuary for calming their heart,
had built their palaces and taken abode (in them),
had [imposed(?)] upon the blackheaded people the carrying basket,
they appointed the shepherd (i.e. the king) in the country, who provides for the sanctuaries of the gods.
The great gods entered joyfully the Ubšukkina³ a[nd]
ordained his destiny in a superb way, to make the decision they [assigned to him(?)].

The temple was the house of the god residing therein, protecting the land and the city with their inhabitants and blessing the king who properly maintained the god's cult and sanctuary. This artfully shaped cosmic order, however, could be seriously disturbed. As time went by, the old foundation plans of the temples would be forgotten, and the appropriate rites, cultic offices and divine images or symbols replaced with new ones. This was a serious threat to the good relationship between god and man and could cause the deity to leave his or her temple in anger, and the people would be bereft of divine protection. This was obviously a very dangerous situation, only to be emended by re-installing the temple, the rites and the divine image to their former, appropriate state. Rituals conducted while building or renovating a temple thus served to minimize the human contribution to the work and to stress the fact that the original sanctuary was built by the gods and only rebuilt by humans according to divine instruction.

2 On the 'exorcist's manual', see Ambos 2004: 7–13; Frahm 2018; Geller 2018. On building rituals, see Ambos 2004; 2013a; 2013b; 2014.

3 The place where the destinies are ordained.

The cult image which dwelt in the temple was likewise considered to have been created by the gods themselves (Berlejung 1998; Walker and Dick 2001). The human craftsmen, who had fashioned it, had received their knowledge from the gods, especially Enki/Ea, the god of wisdom, and had worked under their guidance. The craftsmen involved – carpenters, stone masons and carvers, lapidaries, metalworkers and goldsmiths – were conceived of in a certain way as only the human instruments of the divine patrons of their crafts, the gods Ninduluma, Ninkurra, Ninzadim, Ninagal and Kusibanda.⁴ These deities were manifestations or hypostases of Enki/Ea. In the same way that temple building rituals served to minimize the human contribution of temple building, the so-called mouth washing ritual aimed to minimize the human contribution to the fashioning of the cult image. After they had completed their work, the craftsmen's hands were symbolically cut with a knife of tamarisk wood and they declared under oath, that the statue had not been created by them but rather by the aforementioned divine patrons of their crafts, the hypostases of Enki/Ea.

2. Regular cult: Care and feeding of the gods

Manifold and various rites were performed in the daily temple cult. The cult image was clothed, taken care of and fed by the humans (Maul 2008). A ritual handbook from Hellenistic Uruk describes *en detail* the menu served to the gods residing in the main temple of the city (AO 6451; Thureau-Dangin 1921: 74–86; Linssen 2004: 172–83). As an example, I cite a passage (rev. 13–17; Thureau-Dangin 1921: 78; quoted here according to Linssen 2004: 178):

(For) the second meal of the morning (...), during the whole year: 6 fat, pure sheep, which have been fed barley for 2 years; 1 (*kalû*)-sheep for the regular offering, fattened with milk and 5 fat sheep of lesser quality, which have not been fed barley; 1 full-grown ox; 8 lambs, 5 ducks, which have been fed dough; 2 ducks of lesser quality, 3 geese, which have been fed dough(!); 4 *ušummu* mice; 30 *marratu* birds; 20 turtledoves; 3 ostrich eggs (and) 3 duck eggs.

Bon appetit, one is inclined to say! However, in order to keep the gods well-disposed towards mankind, it was not enough just to feed them. An important role in the temple cult was performed by the lamentation singer (*kalû*). Accompanied by musical instruments, he presented lamentations, composed in the Sumerian sociolect Emesal, to the deity who resided in the temple. These lamentations, describing the awesome might of the gods and the dreadful consequences of divine anger against human society, served to calm the heart of the god. They were sung by the lamentation singer prophylactically in the course of the daily cult and of course also when divine anger actually had expressed itself by bad omens and calamities (Gabbay 2014).

4 Berlejung 1998: 120–34; Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001a; 1998–2001b; 1998–2001c; 1998–2001d; Ambos 2004: 27. On the reading of Ninzadim, see the discussion in CAD Z 10 s.v. *zadimmu*; CAD S 191f. s.v. *sasinnu*; Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001d. According to Berlejung 1998: 124, Ninkurra is the gemsetter (*qurqurru*), according to Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2001c, Ninkurra is the stone cutter or carver (*purkullu/parkullu*), whereas Berlejung 1998: 126 assigns this title to Nin-zadim.

3. Access to the temple by humans

With regard to the care and feeding of the divine statue, the question arises: who among humans was permitted to enter into the presence of the deity while he or she resided in his or her cella in the temple? A sanctuary had three different levels of accessibility (the following is mostly after Waerzeggers 2008; see also Löhnert 2007):

1. the cella: persons having access to cella, this means to the presence of deity, were called *ērib bīti*, ‘temple enterer’;
2. the temple courtyard (*kisallu*);
3. and the outer zone: storerooms etc.

The access to the first two areas mentioned here, which formed the inner parts of the sanctuary, needed a special consecration. This consecration was called *gullubu*, ‘to shave’. This was granted only to candidates who fulfilled the requirements of purity in body, mind and blood. That means they were supposed to have a flawless body without defects and illness; they must show devotion and moral integrity; and they had to be of right descent, which means that a candidate had to be the son of a consecrated father. Consecrated persons were temple officials in the broadest sense of the word, thus, people we would call ‘priests’, but they also comprised catering personnel such as slaughterers, oxherds, bakers or fishermen. In short, everyone who had to fulfill a duty in the inner parts of a sanctuary close to the deity was required to undergo this consecration. All these cultic and catering activities were as a rule bound to a prebend, which was inherited from father to son.⁵

A committee of temple authorities checked the right of the candidate to undergo consecration. The father of the future temple official had to be an initiate, and the mother had to be pure, that is, a virgin, when she was married. Thus the correct paternal descent was ensured. From her parents, a virgin bride received pendants called *zibu*, which she then in turn transferred to her sons born in wedlock. A *zibu* was a conch, perhaps a symbol of the goddess Ninlil and a symbol of female purity. Thus, a son who had been given this conch by his mother could prove that he was born in wedlock. I will give an example of how the committee worked, presenting a case in which the candidate did not have the conch proving his mother’s virginity at the time of marriage. The ‘bishop’ (*šatammu*) of the Eanna temple in Uruk conducts an inquiry into the family background of mother and son. The candidate’s mother, Inqāya, is interrogated as follows (Waerzeggers 2008: 29):

“[PN], your son, is to be consecrated for service before the Lady of Uruk. Now shouldn’t there definitely be a *zibu* ornament on (his) neck? If there has been any claim of impurity raised against you, tell us so in the assembly.” Inqāya said as follows: “Ištar-nādin-apli has taken me for his wife as a virgin, but my father and my mother have not placed *zibu* ornaments on my neck.” Later, (four men), who had made enquiries regarding Inqāya, the wife of Ištar-nādin-apli, and Ilatā, the daugh-

5 Evidence for this comes from a vast array of both literary texts (such as rituals) and documents (such as reports of inquests into the cultic suitability of a candidate to the initiation rite; paylists of fees paid to the barbers by temple personnel).

ter of Pir'u of the Iddin-Papsukkal family, the first wife of Ištar-nādin-apli, swore an oath by Bēl and Nabû (and) by the Lady of Uruk and Nanāya: "Certainly nothing special has been given to her as a share, (and) we definitely have not seen, heard, come to know nor heard rumours about a query (regarding), or impurity pertaining to, Inqāya, daughter of Mušallim-Marduk, wife of Ištar-nādin-apli. She is definitely a *sallūhatu* woman⁶."

It seems that the mother, Inqāya, was from a poor family which could not afford the conch. So the absence of this token could be accounted for on purely financial, and not moral, reasons. And indeed, she had a proven impeccable moral conduct. In consequence, the important paternal descent of the son was ascertained.

After the candidate had been admitted, the consecration was performed in the bathhouse before the temple official entered the inner part of the sanctuary for the first time. The candidates were shaven, hence the designation of the consecration, and in the process their body was washed and checked for defects or signs of illness. A consecrated prebend holder had to visit the temple barbers regularly to undergo the shaving and thereby his body was examined to see whether he still met the requirements. It is interesting to note the consecration by shaving was a specific initiation for temple personnel who worked in close proximity to the deity. Diviners, who did not practice their profession in the temple, did not have to undergo this consecration, although they too, as in the case of temple personnel, had to be of right descent, pure body, and pure mind.

Prebends were normally inherited from father to son. Fathers could assign their duties to their consecrated sons. Contracts make clear that persons holding temple prebends could transfer the execution of their service in the temple to a third party when the prebend owner or his son was unable to fulfill his duties. The pertinent texts (i.e. contracts) give various reasons for this (Waerzeggers 2008: 8f.):

- "I am the son of an unmarried woman, I am not initiated (shaven), I cannot perform my service."
- "I do not have sons and I am not able to perform my service duty of all the 40 days of the oxherd prebend in Ezida, the temple of Nabû, in my possession."
- "I am disabled and I am sick and my sons are little. I cannot wash with water and I cannot perform my service duty."

In consequence, persons who did not fulfill the purity regulations or who were ill and disabled had to hire another man who would execute their service.

4. Deity's leaving and re-entering the temple during the processions

A deity would occasionally leave his or her temple to go on procession. Very important were the processions undertaken during the New Year's festivals.⁷ The year was divided into two halves by the equinoxes in spring and autumn (which occurred in the first month Nisannu respectively the seventh month Tašritu). Interestingly, many rituals and

⁶ A woman with a cultic function.

⁷ On the festivals and the structure of the cultic calendars of the ancient Near East in general, see Cohen 1993; 2015.

festivals of the second half of the year mirror those of the first half. Every half-year was introduced by a 'New Year's festival' (a2-ki-ti; *akītu*) (Ambos 2013c; Zgoll 2006). Festivals of that kind are already attested in the 3rd millennium BC. The original establishment of two New Year's festivals in the first and seventh months is attributed in the Epic of Gilgamesh to Gilgamesh himself. Before the hero departs to the Cedar Forest, he announces that after his return, the *akītu* festival shall be performed twice a year:

I will return and [perform] the *akītu* festival [twice] in the year,
the *akītu* I will perform [twice] in the year.
Let the *akītu* take place and the merriment begin,
let the drums be beaten in [the presence of Wild-Cow] Ninsun!⁸

The Babylonian ruler was required to obtain divine confirmation of his rule twice a year at these New Year's festivals at the equinoxes in spring and autumn. Royal legitimization was therefore not a unique act, but rather a constant process during the king's reign.

The sequence of events in the spring and autumn New Year's festivals mirror each other. On the 8th day of the month Nisannu in spring and on the 8th day of the month Tašritu in autumn, the most important gods of the pantheon, for example Marduk in the city of Babylon or Anu in the city of Uruk, decreed the fate of the king. Then the gods, accompanied by the king, left their temples and moved in procession to their so-called *akītu* houses outside of the city. The spring festival in particular has received much attention in the last 100 years, not only from Assyriologists but also from historians of religion. Interest in the spring festival has usually focused on a peculiar ritual sequence of status inversion: the Babylonian king entered the temple of the god Marduk and was divested of his royal insignia by the high priest. The priest slapped the king's face and made him recite a negative confession of his sins, i.e. that he had not neglected the rites and the temples of the gods or the privileges of the citizens of Babylon. Only then did the priest present the insignia to the king, again slapping his face until the tears ran. Another temporary status inversion including the removal of the king's insignia took place during the New Year's festival in autumn, during which the king was divested of his insignia and stayed for one night in a so-called prison (*bīt šibitti*) made of reeds in the steppe. In the morning, the king left the prison, was invested with his royal insignia in front of the rising sun and returned to the city to take part in the procession of the gods (cf. Ambos 2013c; Zgoll 2006).

During the New Year's festivals, the king presented lavish gifts to the gods, as we can see, for example, from an inscription of Nabonidus:

In the month Nisannu (I) on the 10th day when the king of the gods, Marduk, and the gods of heaven and earth take abode in Ê-SĪSKUR, the Chapel of prayers, the *akītu* house of Enlilship, I brought in for Bēl, Nabū and Nergal, the great gods who love my reign and protect my life, as voluntary gifts for eternal times 100 talents and 21 minas of silver and 5 talents and 17 minas of gold in excess of the presents of the whole year, which (come) from the homage, from the tribute of all lands, (and) the abundant produce of the mountains, the income of all the inhabited world, the rich gifts of the kings, the extensive property, which the prince Marduk had entrusted to me.⁹

8 Tablet II 268–71; George 2003: 568f.; see also tablet III 31–34; George 2003: 574–77.

9 Schaudig 2001: 521 and 527 col. ix 3'–30'; CAD Š/III 218. For a similar passage in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II, see Langdon 1912: 168 B col. vii 10–31; see in general Zgoll 2006: 39f.

The processions at the New Year's festivals (and, of course, processions performed during other festivals of the cultic year) were an occasion for the people to see the gods and the king. This was an important and joyful event in a person's life, as it is expressed, e.g. in a letter written by an Assyrian official to king Sargon II (721–705 BC) regarding the New Year's festival in Babylon:

[As to what the king, my lord, wrote to me: "Come [to my presence in the month of Nisannu (I)]!" (...). That the king my lord [invited me] to Babylon, that I am going to see Bēl and present a votive gift to Bēl [on behalf of the king my lord], that I am going to see the face [of the king, my lord] and kiss the ground [before the king, my lord] (...)!¹⁰

Not only the equinoxes but also the solstices structured the cultic year, and processions were performed at these dates. The winter solstice occurred in the month Ṭebētu (X) and the summer solstice in Du'ūzu (IV).¹¹ Rituals at the solstices are perhaps alluded to in a Late Babylonian ritual text, mentioning rituals that occurred at the time of the solstices:

On the 11th of Du'ūzu (IV), Šilluštāb and Katunna, daughters of the Esagil, go to the Ezida and on the 3rd of Kislimu (IX), Gazbaba and Kanisurra, daughters of the Ezida, go to the Esagil. Why do they go? In Du'ūzu (IV), when the nights have become short, the daughters of the Esagil go to the Ezida to lengthen the nights – the Ezida is the House of the Night. In Kislimu (IX), when the daytime has become short, the daughters of the Ezida go to the Esagil to lengthen the daytime – the Esagil is the house of the daytime.¹²

The goddesses mentioned in the passage are the divine hairdressers of Zarpānitu and Nanāya, the wives of Marduk and Nabū, the gods residing in Esagil and Ezida. The processions of these women between Ezida and Esagil around the time of the solstices apparently served to correct the imbalance between day- and nighttime.

To summarize, at the beginning of the article I mentioned the fact that the gods had artfully created and shaped the world according to their requirements. In the center of this cosmos were the temple and the cult image, maintained and taken care of by humans. Rituals kept this cosmic order in motion: rituals of the daily cult of feeding the gods and rituals when renovating a temple or cult image that had been created by the gods at the beginning of time. In the texts cited here, one can find again the idea of the world as a kind of artfully shaped clockwork mechanism, and again the temples and the rituals connected with them are a significant part of this cosmic order. The passages make clear, that the whole clockwork mechanism of the cosmos itself is kept moving by rituals, for example by the processions of the goddesses in the final text citation, who in this case cause the lengthening and shortening of days and nights in the course of the year.

¹⁰ Parpola 1987: No. 131 rev. 2'f. and 8'–12'.

¹¹ The dates of the solstices are given in the astronomical compendium MUL.APIN I iii 7–9, II i 16–18 and II ii 35 (Hunger and Pingree 1989: 45f., 74f. and 100); on the summer solstice see MUL.APIN I ii 42f., II i 9–13 and II ii 25 (Hunger and Pingree 1989: 41, 72f. and 97). A new edition of this text is offered by Hunger and Steele 2019.

¹² Sp. I 131 = BM 34035 obv. 1–8; autograph by Epping and Strassmaier 1891: 241; editions and translations by Unger 1931: 271; Livingstone 1986: 255; Cohen 1993: 318f. Unger and Cohen assume that instead of the month Kislimu (IX) rather Ṭebētu (X) is mentioned in the text. The months Du'ūzu and Ṭebētu are, according to MUL.APIN, the months when the solstices occurred. The autograph has, however, clearly ⁱGAN = Kislimu. According to Hunger (1996: 776), the passage does not allude to the solstices. The goddesses mentioned in the passage are the divine hairdressers of Zarpānitu and Nanāya (George 2000: 295).

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HOUSE OF THE DEITY

A Perspective from the Bronze Age Southern Levant

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Abstract

This paper assesses whether the assumption that temples functioned as houses of the deity is appropriate for southern Levantine cultic spaces of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. While this notion is based on textual traditions, very few texts have been recovered from the Bronze Age southern Levant, with no extant references to temples. In order to investigate this issue, temples will be analyzed in terms of architecture types, space syntax, and the repertoire of activities performed within them. In contrast to previous text-based studies of religion and temples in the southern Levant, this study relies solely on the archaeological data on the ground. In shifting the focus from non-indigenous textual claims to the more local artifactual data recovered in excavations, it is demonstrated that temples diverge significantly from contemporary domestic spaces in terms of architecture, space syntax, and function. This observation is all the more so compelling when compared to other regions of the ancient Near East, where the distinctions, while apparent, are much more blurred and temples were structured based on the model of the house, linguistically, architecturally, spatially and functionally.

1. Introduction

This paper presents a new approach to investigating Bronze Age cultic spaces in the southern Levant, arguing that Canaanite temples should not be conceptualized in a simplistic fashion as a house of the deity. Canaanite temples were a unique category of space in terms of their architecture, their space syntax, and the repertoire of activities that were performed within them (Susnow 2019; in press). This study will focus specifically on the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (MBA and LBA, hereafter), which range from about 2000/1950–1140 BCE (following Ilan 1995; Panitz-Cohen 2014). The geographic scope of the sites included in this discussion will be confined mainly to the region between Nahariya and Hazor in the north, and down south through the Negev, with reference to some sites further afield.¹

Undoubtedly, by the Middle Bronze Age in the region at hand, there was already a long history of referring to temples as ‘houses’ in the surrounding ancient Near East.

¹ Although not the focus here, it is important to make clear that the author does not view Canaan or Canaanites as a homogeneous group, entity or region, but rather as complex terms reflecting diversity and heterogeneity. This diversity will factor into the final discussion (cf. Susnow 2019: 10, 13–15).

This is well documented in Sumerian and Akkadian, where temples were referred to as *Ē* or *Ē.DINGIR* and *bīt ili(m)* – literally ‘house of the god’ (Roaf 1995: 425). Indeed, both in terms of architecture and function, Mesopotamian temples reflect household traditions. Architecturally, temples were structured as large households and thus temple architecture was a physical representation of the temple being the location of a divine household (Averbeck 2010: 6–8; Margueron 1997: 165–67; Roaf 1995: 426–31). In terms of function and activities, beyond their religious function as ritual centers, Mesopotamian temples were also social and economic institutions, functioning as large estates with ownership over property, land, and large surpluses of grain and livestock, with ample space and evidence for food preparation, storage and temple workshops, employing ritual personnel and craft specialists, and importantly, facilitating space for living quarters and archives (Robertson 1995).

2. Stating the problem: Previous studies of southern Levantine temples

However, I question whether or not we should be restricted to this concept with regards to southern Levantine temples, and whether models and paradigms of temples and temple institutions in the surrounding regions of the ancient Near East provide the best suitable analogs for MBA and LBA Canaan.

To briefly expand on this, the unfortunate situation in the southern Levant is that from the MBA and LBA combined, only 61 inscribed cuneiform objects or documents have been recovered, and we have yet to discover any archives in the region (Horowitz et al. 2018). None of the local inscribed texts makes any mention of a temple. Considering the extreme dearth of documentary evidence from the MBA and LBA southern Levant, one must question if in fact Canaanite temples were similarly referred to as houses of the deities. One LBA letter from the el-Amarna archives makes reference to a temple (*Ē.DINGIR^{MES}*) at Byblos (Rainey 2015: 700f.). Considering that other northwest Semitic languages, such as Ugaritic, Biblical Hebrew, Phoenician, Punic and Aramaic, do in fact refer to temples similarly as ‘houses’, it is tempting to presume that MBA and LBA Canaanites of the southern Levant did so as well (e.g. Koehler et al. 2001: vol. 1, 124; Halayqa 2008: 117f.; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015: 243, 246f.). Indeed, this has been the overwhelming scholarly opinion for over a century now.

In what follows, some of the major issues with previous scholarship on Canaanite temples will be emphasized. In order to fully comprehend the uniqueness of Canaanite temples, a brief survey of the cultic architectural traditions in the region will be presented, focusing specifically on architecture types and space syntax. This will be followed by a discussion of how these spaces were actually used. The final analysis will address new implications for the findings of this study.

For much of the history of scholarship in Canaanite religion, the primary source utilized in the discourse was of course the Hebrew Bible, a text which does not paint the Canaanites in a positive light, and regardless of this fact, it is also chronologically later than the period at hand. Since 1929, the major textual contributor to discussions on Canaan has been the corpus of texts from Ugarit and its hinterland (Albright 1968;

Driver 1956; Gray 1965; del Olmo Lete 2014; and see further M. S. Smith 2001: 13–128). Drawing a one-to-one comparison between Ugarit and practices and traditions in the southern Levant is problematic as well, namely, because Ugarit is located 400 km north of the region of investigation and because we have texts from Ugarit that confirm locals at Ugarit did not consider themselves Canaanites, and that they in fact considered Canaanites to be foreigners from the south (Rainey 1963; 1964; 1996; Tammuz 2001).

Even with the growing archaeological data, surprisingly few comprehensive archaeological studies have been conducted on Canaanite cult (cf. Nakhai 1993; Katz 2009). For nearly a century now, excavations have uncovered various structures that have been referred to as Canaanite temples, yet for all this time, no explicit methodology was ever formulated as to how to define a temple or how these spaces were in fact being used. Effort was rarely made to integrate the actual material remains from these temples into discussions of function (e.g., Albright 1940; 1960; 1968; 1969; G. E. Wright 1944; G. R. H. Wright 1971). It was rather assumed, *a priori*, that these were temples and that they functioned in a manner similar to those in the surrounding regions. Most frequently, these studies essentially superimposed mythological narratives and ritual texts from Ugarit upon the southern Levantine cultic spaces, without any consideration of the hard facts on the ground.

Without a methodology or clear formulation for how to define temples, there have been many cases in which buildings were misidentified as temples. Further, without any significant attempt to understand how temples were actually being used, it has often been superficially assumed that the same repertoire of rituals described in texts from the ancient Near East were conducted within southern Levantine temples as well (e.g., Pardee 2002). This is still the overwhelming consensus today within scholarship on Canaanite religion and cultic spaces.

I suggest Canaanite temples must be studied inductively, that is, a meticulous data-based analysis, which begins with low-level theory – the particularistic traits of the material remains – and moves up through middle and then high-level theories (Susnow 2019: 7f.). First, *where* were Canaanite cultic activities conducted? It is imperative to define the architecture, architectural units, and their relationship to the surrounding landscape. Second, *what* activities and rituals were performed within those Canaanite cultic spaces? Third, *why* were those activities conducted in those spaces. With this in mind, I now return to the question of whether or not temples in the southern Levant should be conceptualized as houses.

3. Architecture and space syntax of cultic spaces in the southern Levant

First I turn to architecture, with reference to access analysis (Hillier and Hanson 1984; and cf. Susnow in press). Societies use space as a key and necessary resource in organizing themselves. The spatial configuration of a built structure creates inherent hierarchies of accessibility or passage from one space to another (Rapoport 1982; Bafna 2003; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003: 415; Faust and Bunimovitz 2003: 28). Within a given society, one might expect a general similarity of spatial organization amongst its built-up

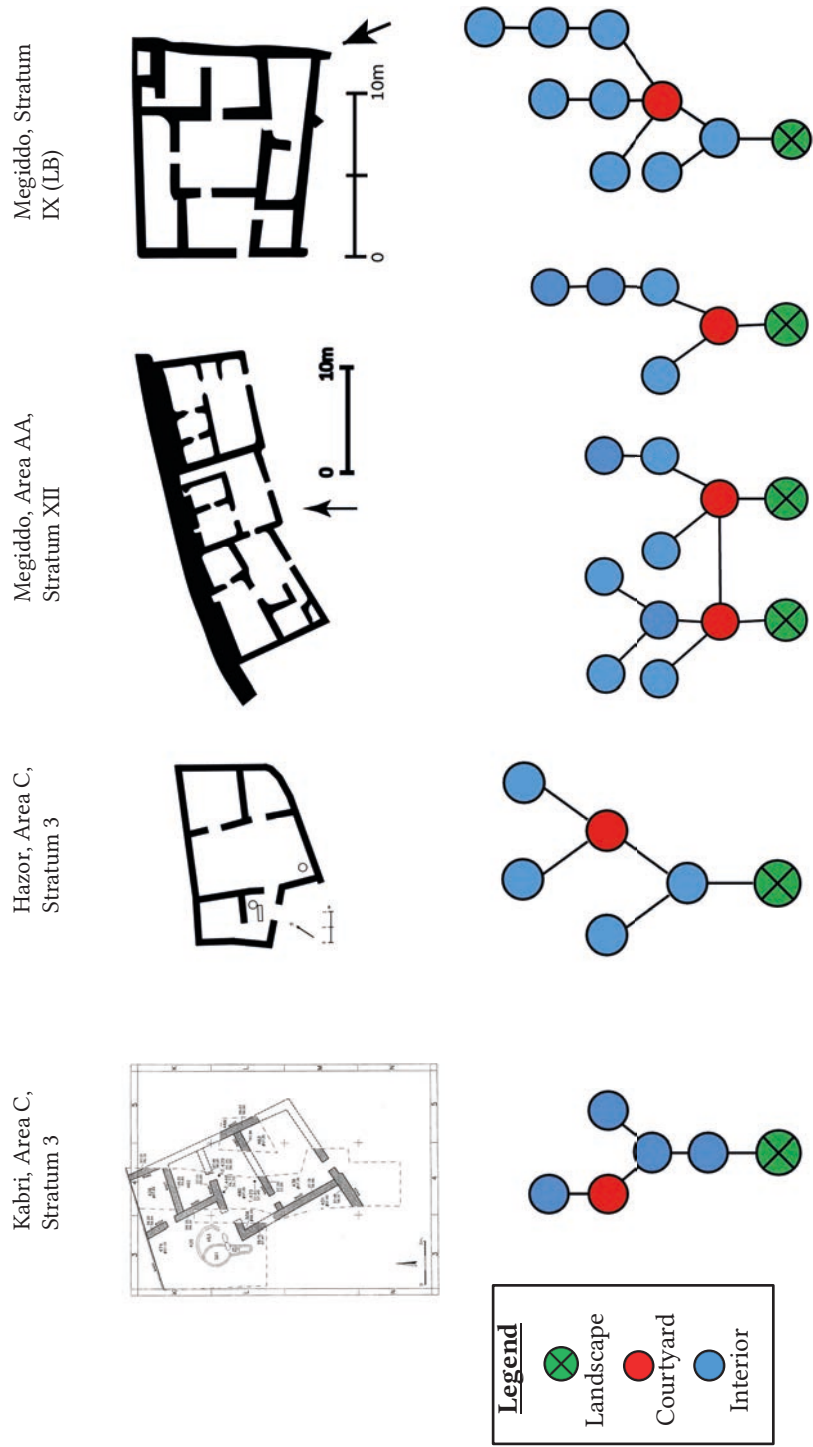


Fig. 1. Plans of select MB and LB Canaanite houses and their associated justified gamma maps: Tel Kabri (Kempinski 2002: fig. 4.31), Hazor (adapted from Yadin et al. 1960: fig. 4), Megiddo (adapted from Loud 1948: figs. 242, 378).

edifices (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 143–47). This can be shown to be true in Mesopotamia, for example, where different types of buildings such as houses, palaces and temples were configured around the same notion of access and accessibility (Roaf 1995: 426–31; Margueron 1997: 165–67; Averbeck 2010: 6–8).

However, this is not the case in the southern Levant. In no instances do Middle or Late Bronze Age temples reflect other local architectural traditions – this includes houses. MBA and LBA houses in Canaan demonstrate an overarching shared notion of how domestic spaces could be constructed and organized: they were multi-chambered structures, constructed around large open courtyards, and shared exterior walls with neighboring houses (Ben-Dov 1992: 100–104). It is evident that households were structured hierarchically, on a small scale, with a series of rooms passing from one to the next with less access as one further enters the structure's interior, and with certain rooms only accessible by passing through others. Justified gamma maps² can be used to demonstrate this as well, with each node representing a different room (Fig. 1). In fact, Canaanite palaces were similarly organized, but on a much larger and complex scale (for example, at Kabri; see plan in Waiman-Barak et al. 2018: Fig. 2a).

Temples, on the other hand, do not bear the same architectural concept nor the same space syntax. Three main types of temples have been identified in the region: open-air cultic spaces, monumental *migdal* temples, and irregular temples (Mazar 1992). The earliest attested cultic spaces of the period were open-air cultic sites, a phenomenon already established in the previous Intermediate Bronze Age. These outdoor precincts integrated local landscapes into the realm of religious experience (Susnow 2019: 47–50). I have emphasized this symbiotic relationship with horizontal equal signs in the gamma map (see in Fig. 5a). No distinct temple-types were constructed at these sites and some lacked architecture altogether. In the earliest instances, MBA open-air cultic spaces were established in either extramural settings or rural sites, and in general, these cultic settings were beyond the direct control of elites. Sites of this type appear at Nahariya, Byblos, Megiddo, Hazor, Gezer and Lachish in Area D (Loud 1948; Ben-Dor 1950; Dothan 1956; Dunand 1958; Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973; Ussishkin 2004: 283–97; Dever 2014; Ben-Tor et al. 2017b: 45–54).

By the transition into the MBA II (18th century BCE), monumental *migdal* temples of a standardized form were established in the region (Fig. 2). These temples were large imposing symmetrical edifices with exceptionally thick walls, were constructed within a temenos and often upon raised terrain, had a direct access from the entrance to the podium or niche against the back wall of the cella, and most commonly had two towers flanking either side of the entrance (Mazar 1992: 166f.). Migdal temples were both urban and rural phenomena. They were introduced into Canaan during the second half of the MBA and continued to be utilized through the LBA at a few sites. They appear

2 Justified gamma maps are graphs in which spaces/rooms are represented as nodes and the permeability between two spaces is represented by connecting lines. All spaces that are essentially the same distance from the structure's exterior are lined up horizontally, while spaces that must be passed through to go further into a structure's interior are arranged vertically. These graphs are very useful in analyzing the syntactic properties of a structure and are particularly well equipped to compare the space syntax of different types of buildings (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 147–55, Figs. 83–94).

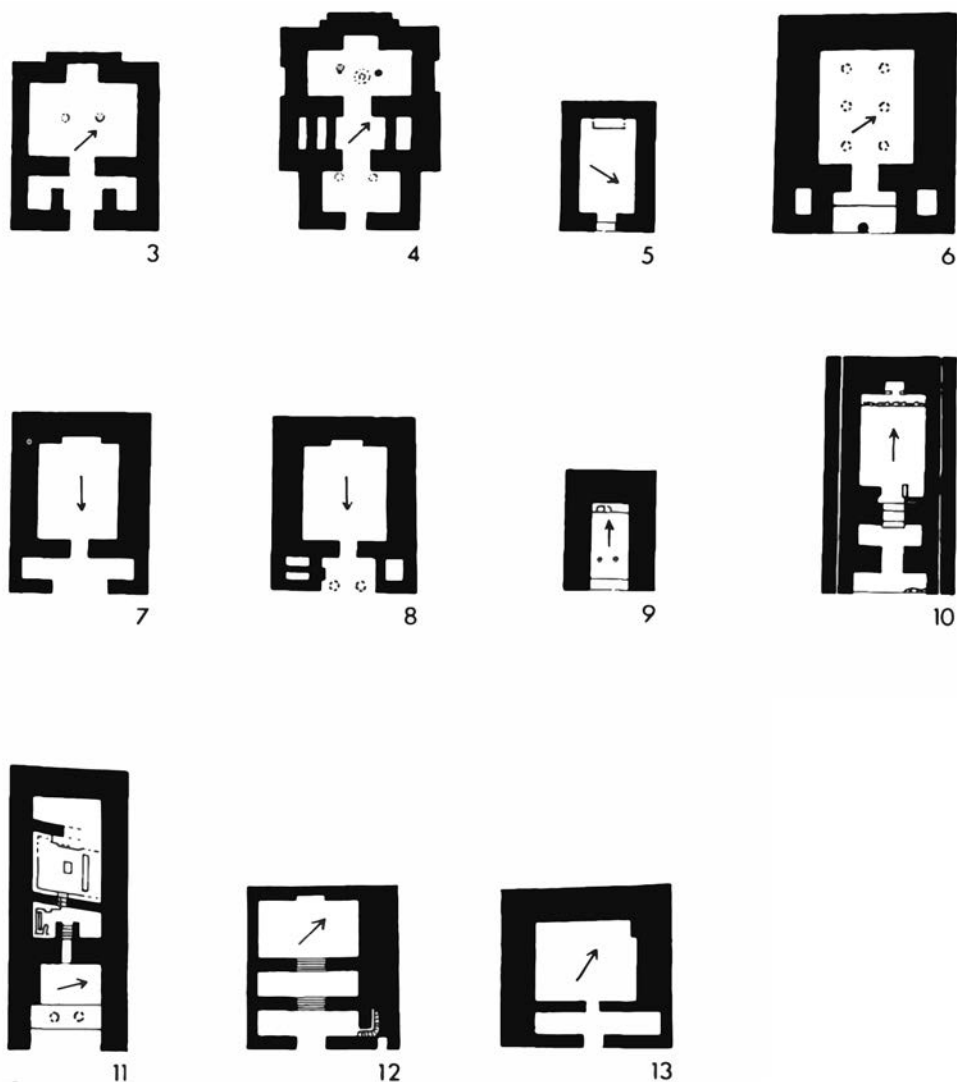


Fig. 2. Plans of various *migdal* temples (adapted from Mazar 1992: Fig. 3). Temples from the southern Levant (3–8) and parallels from the north (9–13). 3–4 are the Strata 3 and 1B Orthostat Temple from Area H at Hazor, respectively; 5 is the LB Northern Temple from Area A at Hazor; 6 is the *migdal* temple from Shechem; and 7–8 are Strata X and VIII, respectively, from Area BB at Megiddo. 9–10 are MB temples from Ebla, Temple N and Temple D, respectively; 11 is an LB temple from Tell Mumbaqat; and 12–13 are Strata IV and VII from LB and MB Alalakh, respectively.

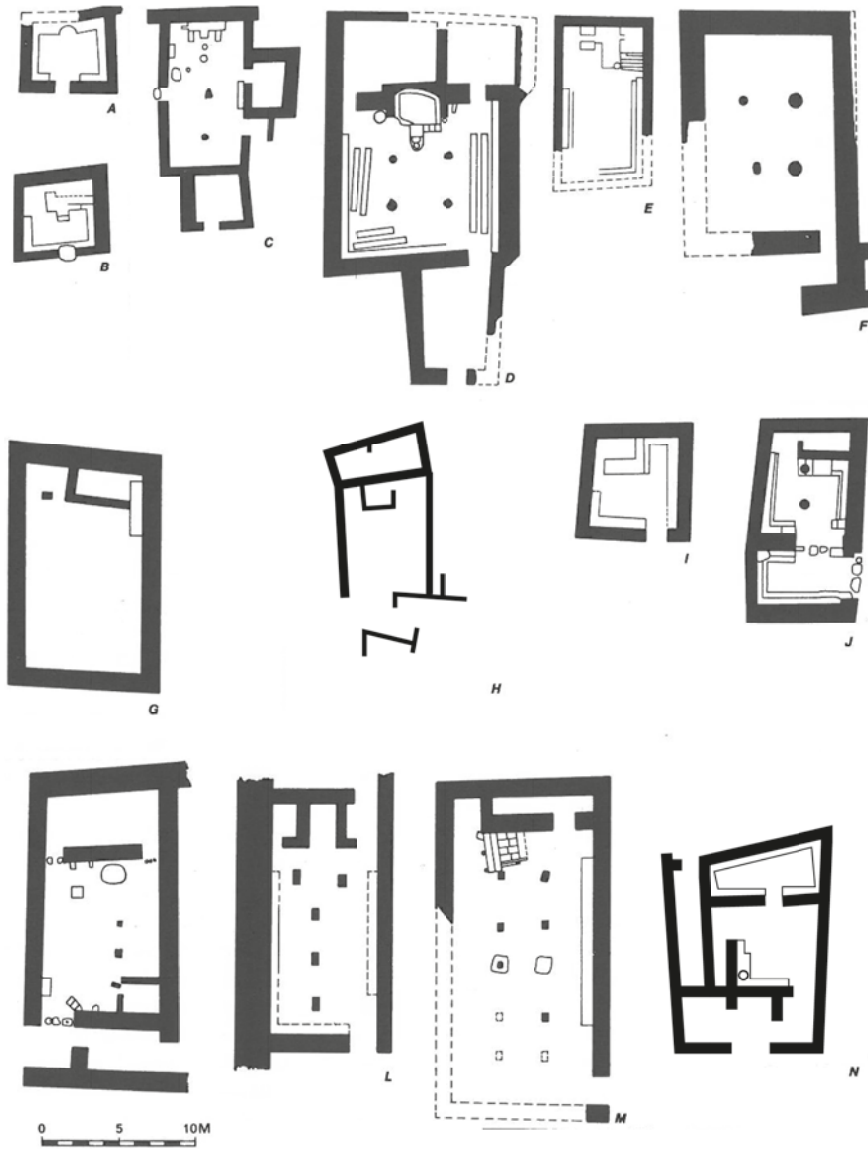
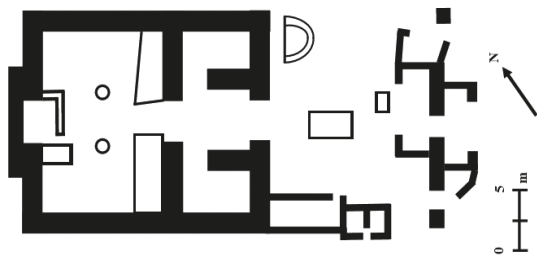


Fig. 3. LB and Iron Age temples with irregular plans from the southern Levant and Cyprus (adapted from Mazar 1980: Fig. 15; reproduced with the permission of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem). A: Hazor, Area C Stelae Temple. B: Tell Qasile, Stratum XII. C: Lachish, Fosse Temple I. D: Lachish, Fosse Temple III. E: Tel Mevorakh, Stratum XI. F: Beth Shean, Northern Temple, Level V. G: Tell Abu Hawam, Stratum IV, Temple 30. H: Tel Nami, LB Sanctuary (adapted from Salomon 2001: Fig. 10). I: Tell Qasile, Stratum XI. J: Tell Qasile, Stratum X. K–M: Temples 2, 4 and 5, respectively, at LB–Iron Kition, Cyprus. N: Beth Shean, LB I Temple 58066 of Stratum R-2 (image taken from Kamlah 2012: Fig. 2).

Canaanite Temple



Canaanite Houses

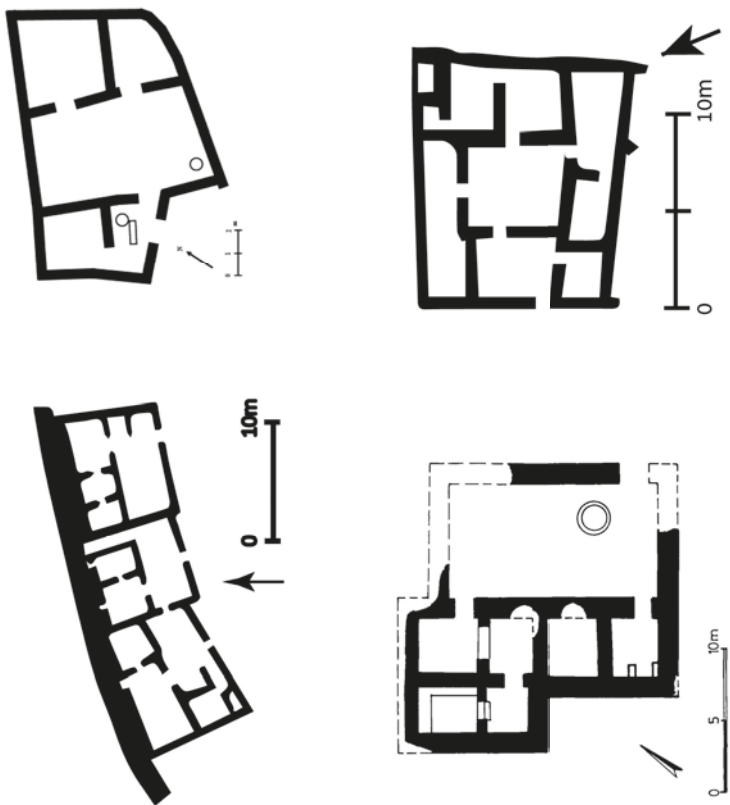


Fig. 4. Comparison of Bronze Age Canaanite houses and cultic spaces (images adapted from Ben-Tor 1989: Plan XLI; adapted from Loud 1948: figs 242, 378; Oren 1992: fig. 14; and adapted from Yadin et al. 1960: fig. 4).

limited to a few regions – the Jordan Valley, the Jezreel Valley, the central highlands, and the Negev (Susnow 2019: 60–78). The prototype of this architectural type has been shown to have derived from Syria (Susnow 2019: 78f.).

Temples with irregular plans lacked standardized layouts and were generally (although not always) asymmetrical and of comparatively small size (Fig. 3). However, certain recurring features tend to be present within these structures, including raised platforms along the wall opposite the entrance, benches along the side walls, store-rooms either attached internally or located nearby to the temple, *favissae*, and a temenos (Stern 1984: 28–39; Mazar 1992: 177–80). These temples were built exclusively in the LBA, were constructed largely outside of urban settlements or at least outside of elite-controlled spaces in urban settlements, and were configured much less hierarchically than the large urban *migdal* temples. Included in this category are temples from Lachish, Tel Mevorakh, Hazor, Tel Nami and Beth Shean (Tufnell et al. 1940; Yadin et al. 1958: 71–98; Stern 1984: 4–39; Artzy 1994; 1995; Mullins 2012).

In not a single case can it be shown that the physical concept of domestic architecture was imprinted upon temple architecture (Fig. 4). Most significantly, the space syntax of temples can be argued as the distinguishing feature that separates cultic space from profane spaces (Fig. 5; Susnow in press). In fact, while the space syntax of Canaanite palaces and houses remain the same throughout the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, this is not true of cultic spaces; rather, there is diachronic change in the space syntax of temples, the implications of which I will return to below. Thus, architecturally, Canaanite temples do not in fact resemble Canaanite houses.

4. The use of cultic spaces in the southern Levant

To address the issue of function, I have built an activity-type rubric that indicates, explicitly, the possible types of activities most likely associated with the various object types in an assemblage (Susnow 2019: 125–38). For this, I suggest an amended version of a household archaeology approach: conducting a spatial analysis of the distribution of vessels, objects and furnishings in various cultic spaces in order to identify what the most likely activities that produced the archaeological record were.³ The effort here is to connect the objects and their contexts and distribution with the activities that ritual participants conducted within cultic spaces. The following seven categories of activity types are reflected in the material remains of Bronze Age cultic spaces in the southern Levant: consumption, preparation of food or drink, storage, production, personal adornment, objects signifying prestige or status, and ritual or cultic activities (Susnow 2019: 128–30).

While most studies have predominantly focused on the cultic finds such as cultic stands, cup-and-saucers, scoops, kernoï, miniature vessels, and – the most intriguing of finds – metal figurines, these objects generally comprise a very small portion of the overall temple assemblage. In fact, besides being used for typological and chronological

3 On household archaeology, see further in Daviau 1993.

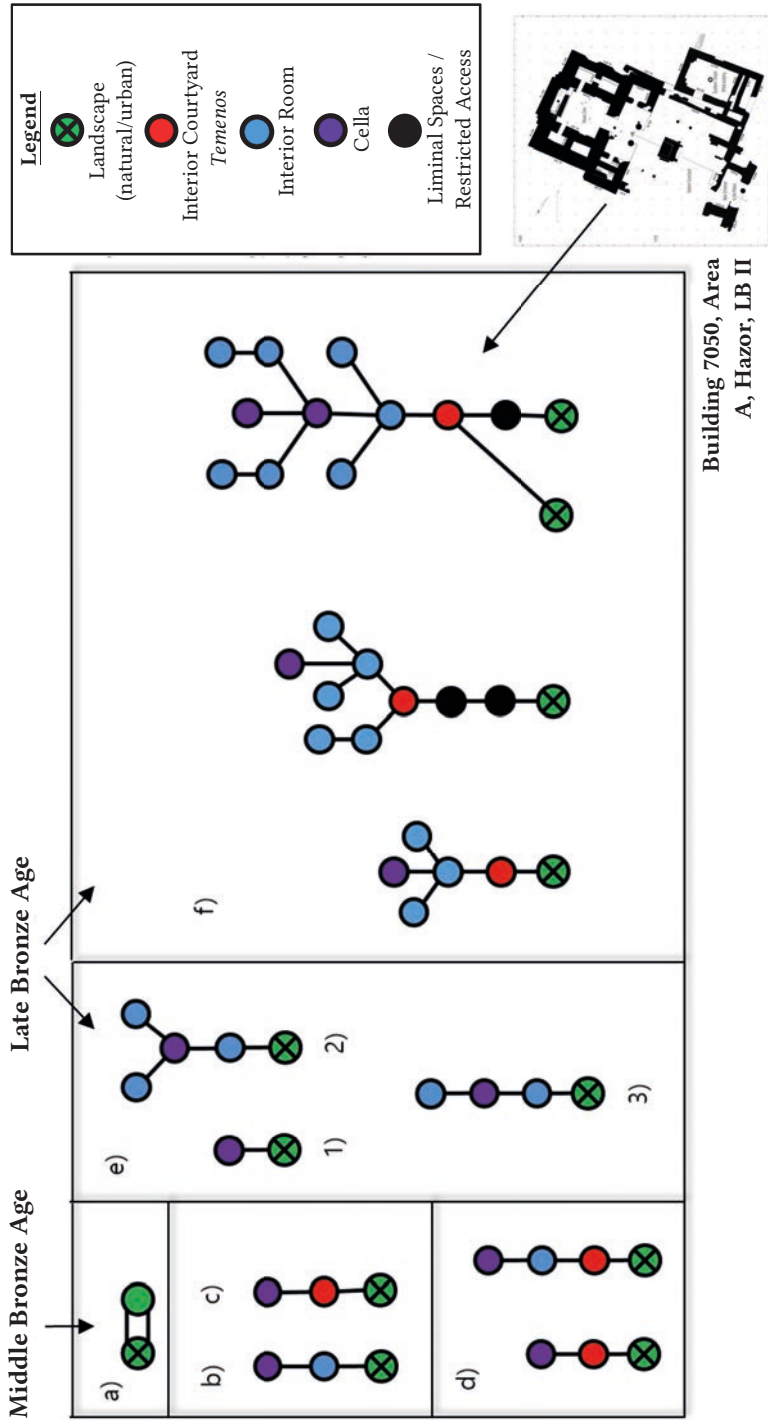


Fig. 5. Justified gamma maps for all different types of cultic spaces in MB and LB Canaan: a) open-air precincts (marked in green to indicate a lack of separation between landscape and focal point of cult); b) rural temples with no temenos (Givat Sharrett); c) rural temples with temenos (Tell el-Hayyat, Tel Kitan); d) MB *migdal* temples; e) irregular LB temples; 1) Hazor Stele Temple, 2) Lachish Fosse Temple III, Beth Shean Temple 58066; f) *migdal* temples in the LB (image from Ben-Tor et al. 2017a: Plan 4.4, courtesy of The Selz Foundation Hazor Excavations in Memory of Yigael Yadin).

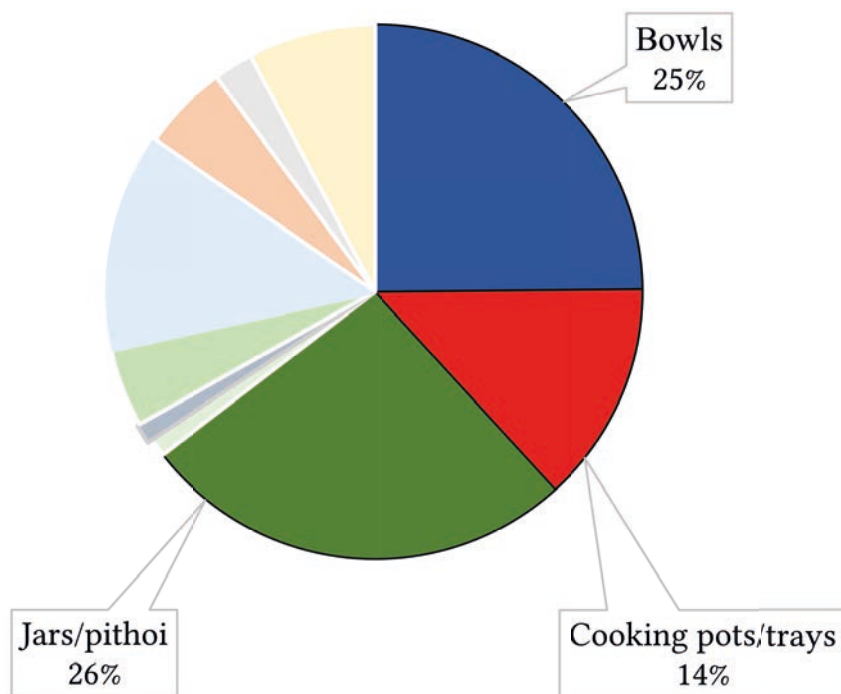


Fig. 6. Average household assemblages in the southern Levant, based on data compiled by the author from various sites in the region (Susnow 2019).

purposes, the mundane ceramic assemblages composed of bowls, kraters, jars, cooking pots, jugs, juglets, lamps, and other ceramic objects – in many cases accounting for nearly the entire temple assemblage – have largely been ignored altogether with regard to the temple's function. To address this issue, a focus will be placed on three activity types: consumption, represented by bowls; food preparation, represented by cooking pots and baking trays; and storage, represented by storage jars and pithoi.

To illustrate what the activities of Bronze Age domestic spaces look like, households generally demonstrate large amounts of storage and food preparation. Consumption, represented by bowls, is well-attested too. On the average, an overall household assemblage would be composed of 25% bowls, 14% cooking pots, and 26% storage jars and pithoi (Fig. 6).⁴ Whereas consumption was important in commensal activities for small groups of people on the family and household level, in temples consumption took on a much more significant role (see below). The focus in households on storage and food preparation indicates the reality of the daily concerns of survival and sustenance. A household survives by its members sustaining it.

4 This data is based on the author's assessment of the statistical breakdown of assemblages from a series of Middle Bronze through Iron Age houses in the southern Levant that have been excavated and published, and comparing to the results of the work of Daviau 1993.

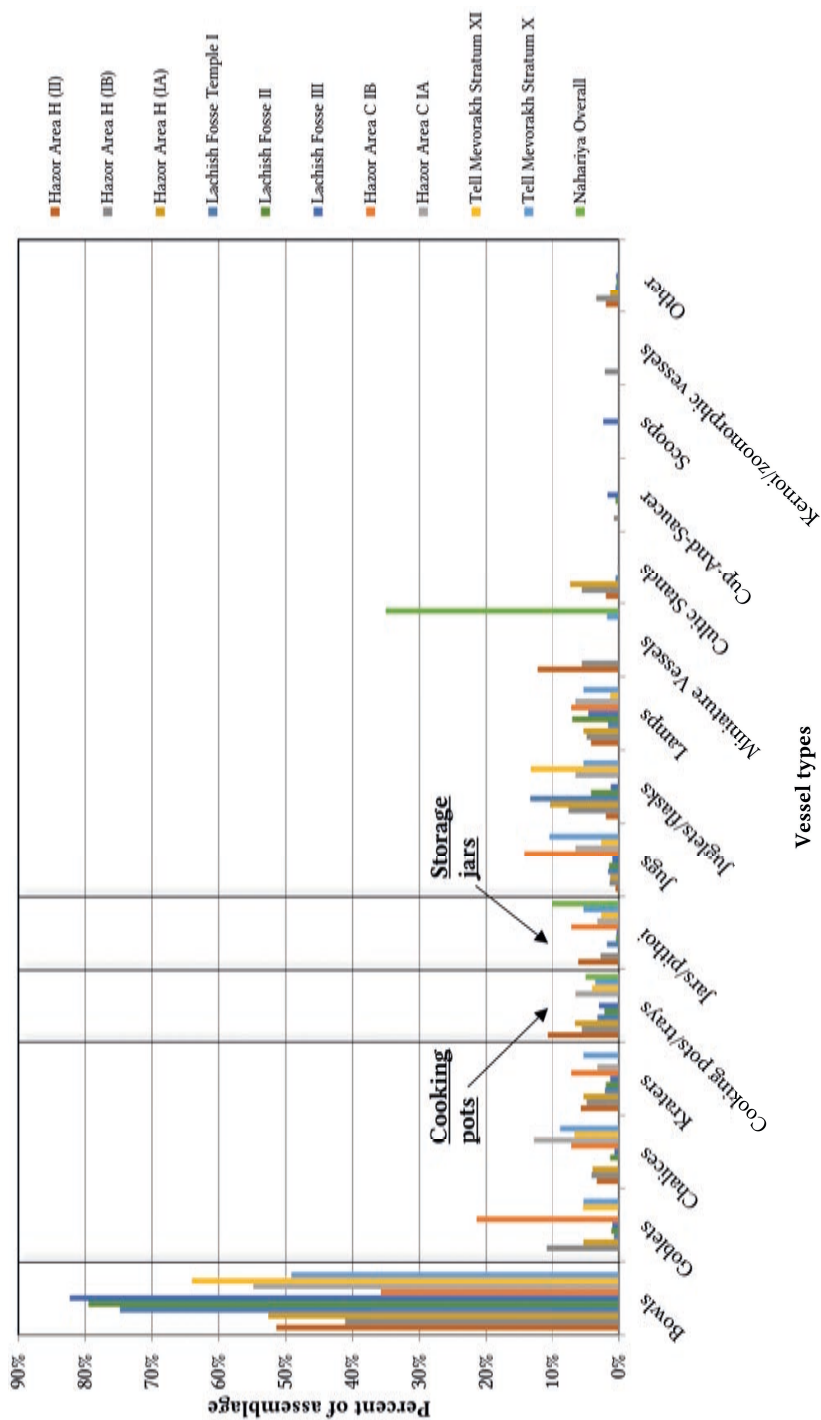


Fig. 7. A sample of MB and LB temple assemblages, demonstrating the large concentrations of bowls in temple contexts (Susnow 2019).

Temple assemblages look extremely different. The most evident activity type consistently present in temples was consumption, indicating the fundamental centrality of commensality within Canaanite cultic contexts. In most cases, this was in place of storage and food preparation (Fig. 7). This observation is most clear in LBA contexts, where bowls account for over half of nearly every assemblage and often account for two-thirds or more (Samet et al. 2017: 134, 137f.). Similarly, the lack of storage and food preparation is further emphasized in temple interiors, where the predominant activity was unquestionably consumption. Additional objects such as goblets and chalices, and serving vessels such as jugs and juglets, further emphasize the focus on consumption in these spaces. On the other hand, storage jars and cooking vessels rarely make up more than 10% of an assemblage and are sometimes absent altogether from temple assemblages (Susnow 2019: 124–250).

Besides consumption, other activities regularly attested in Canaanite temples were related to the presentation of votive offerings. During the MBA in particular, the use of special cultic vessels such as miniatures, seven-cupped bowls, and cultic stands is particularly well attested (Samet et al. 2017: 134–37). Further, a nuanced reading of the data shows that the earlier MBA temples and cultic spaces emphasized in addition to consumption, food preparation, storage and the ritual use of large amounts of miniature vessels. These trends were mainly evident in non-urban, open-air contexts such as at Nahariya and Lachish Area D, with similar trends noted later in the exterior spaces in courtyards associated with temples and their *favissae* such as at Tel Haror, Tell el-Dab'a, and Pella (Müller 2008; Nahshoni 2015; Ward 2016). On the other hand, the LBA temples most strongly emphasize consumption and the dedication of votive offerings (Samet et al. 2017: 134–37).

An average overall temple assemblage comprised over 52% bowls, while cooking pots and baking trays comprised 5% and storage jars and pithoi only 4% (Fig. 8). If we compare these averages to households and palaces, the contrast is clear. The focus of temple activities was extremely different than in households and palaces. In fact, palatial activities closely resemble those of domestic spaces, with more evidence of storage, which could have facilitated, amongst other capabilities, the ability to function as centers of redistribution. Thus, functionally, temples do not reflect household activities.

5. Discussion – contextualizing the unique nature of Canaanite temples

Thus, neither architecturally, nor functionally, were Canaanite temples reflective of their domestic counterparts. What does this mean? Temples, at their core, did not have the same set of mundane concerns of survival and sustenance that domestic households had. In what follows, I ask three essential questions: 1) How can the diversity in these cultic spaces be accounted for? 2) How were these temples used? 3) Who did these temples serve?

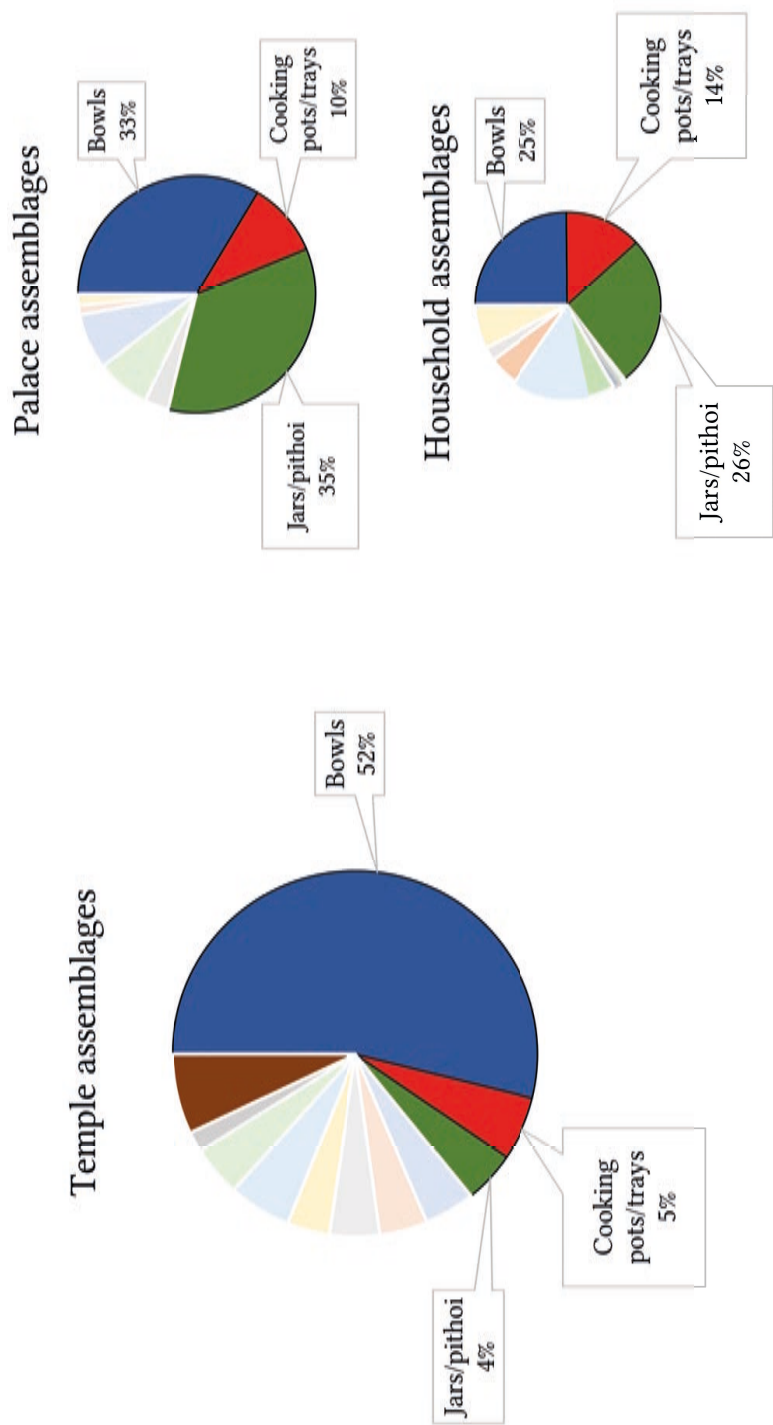


Fig. 8. Comparison of MB and LB temple, palatial and household assemblages. Temple and household averages were calculated by the author based on original research. The data on palatial assemblages was acquired from joint research with Inbal Samet, presented originally in Samet et al. 2017.

The diversity in the cultic spaces relates to the nature of Canaanite religion. Religion was remarkably responsive and adaptive and was reflective of the diversity of the various micro-regions in the southern Levant. The heterogeneity seen in Canaanite religion was a result of a multitude of factors that revolve around shifting geopolitical circumstances and various spheres of foreign interactions and influences, the agency of local rulers, kinship-based identities, and a range of socioeconomic statuses that included elites, merchants, traders, travelers and rural farmers. Essentially, southern Levantine cultic spaces were responses to different particular circumstances and situations (e.g. Susnow 2019: 1–3, 10).

While there was apparent diversity in these various iterations of cultic spaces, there was one significant and recurring constant: large amounts of consumption. An essential aspect of the Canaanite religious ethos was therefore coming together in group settings for communal consumption. Thus, Canaanite temples functioned as the venues within which social cohesion and group unity were forged, most frequently by way of two social mechanisms in particular: conspicuous consumption and gift giving (Susnow 2019: 274–76). These of course were intertwined with various notions of encountering, beseeching and gaining favor with the deities. As venues for feasts, a relationship was created between the host – the deity and those who controlled the ritual spaces – and the hosted – the populace (e.g. Dietler and Hayden 2001). While feasts reflected local customs, they could also be used to manipulate and control norms. Individuals controlling the rules and space for the feasts dictated the maintenance of social norms and the construction of new ones. While social cohesion was one outcome of feasting, hosts could utilize feasts as platforms to promote and enhance their own statuses within hierarchic social settings, and determined who was to be included, and who excluded (Susnow 2019: 270–73).

So, whom did these cultic spaces serve? Initially, the entire populace. For the first two centuries of the MBA in the southern Levant there is ample evidence of urbanization and settlement and social hierarchy, expressed in large architectural projects such as ramparts, city walls, gates, guard towers, and palaces being established in urban centers (Herzog 1997), but not temples. Surprisingly, elites seem not to have been concerned with constructed space for ritual. During these early stages of MBA urbanization, cult remained outside of elite-controlled urban centers. Rather, it was conducted in open-air cultic precincts, with no boundaries or walls separating the cult from the landscapes or inhabitants in any formal manner. In these early cultic spaces, cult was embedded in the natural landscape and accordingly, the natural landscape was a part of the cult. These highly accessible spaces with limited spatial or social restrictions aimed to forge and maintain social solidarity, communality, and shared group identities in what was otherwise an increasingly hierarchic and differentiated social and political landscape (Susnow in press).

Yet, over time, cultic landscapes became enclosed and temples became integrated into urban landscapes. The *migdal* temples transformed the cultic scene. Not only was religion integrated into the urban plan, the vast majority of the inhabitants were distanced from the cult, which became increasingly hierarchically oriented. While these temples featured similarly large amounts of consumption, these structures and their

<u>Site/Stratum</u>	<u>Temple Courtyard</u>		<u>Temple Interior</u>		<u>Courtyard and Temple Interior</u>		<u>Percent of Total Population</u>
	<u>Size (m²)</u>	<u>Total # of Individuals</u>	<u>Size (m²)</u>	<u>Total # of Individuals</u>	<u>Max # of Individuals</u>	<u>Settlement Population</u>	
Hazor Area H Stratum 2	154	154-462	163	163-489	951	18,500	5.1%
Hazor Area A, Building 7050	900	900-2,700	314	314-942	3,642	18,500	19.7%
Hazor Area C Stratum 1B	26	26-84	210	210-630	714	18,500	3.9%
Ugarit, Temple of Ba'al	156	156-468	152	152-456	924	5,000	18.5%
Megiddo Stratum X	190	190-570	110	110-330	900	2,750	32.7%
Tel Haror Stratum V	350	350-1,050	41	41-123	1,173	3,750	31.3%
Tell el-Dab'a	540	540-1,620	290	290-870	2,490	62,500	4.0%

Fig. 9. Courtyard and temple interior calculations based on the author's measurements from final reports (Yadin et al. 1960: Pl. 108; Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973: fig. 15; Ben-Tor 1989: Plan 38; Bietak 1996: figs. 30, 31; Yon 2006: fig. 62; Nahshoni 2015: fig. 2; Ben-Tor et al. 2017a: 74, 86, Plan 4.4).

courtyards, and those who controlled the spaces, significantly limited access to the cult. These standardized urban temples did not have nearly enough space to facilitate entire settlement populations.⁵ For example, Hazor's Orthostat Temple could only have accommodated about 5% of the overall settlement population in Stratum 2 (Fig. 9), and that only if the entirety of the temple's exterior and interior spaces were filled to capacity, a very unlikely scenario. This percentage would likely be closer to 1%–2% when considering that large groups of ritual participants, if granted access to the temple temenos, would have been most readily relegated to the exterior (courtyard) space. Indeed, in no settlement was there nearly enough space for an entire population to partake in ritual within the temple temenos.

Since only small portions of the populace could gain entry into the urban temple courtyards, over time these elite temples lost their wide-reaching relevance to the general population. Cut off from the cult, the Canaanite populace must have sought out religion and ritual in other contexts. It may very well be that this precipitated the appearance of two new phenomena during the LBA: the rise of new temples with irregular forms, largely outside of urban settlements and in general outside of elite-controlled spaces in urban settlements; and the first identifiable signs of domestic cult, for example, in the wide distribution of ceramic figurines in domestic spaces, amongst other contexts (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 97, 100; Panitz-Cohen 2006: 190–94; Uziel 2011; Susnow in press).

6. Conclusion

To conclude, temples in the southern Levant neither architecturally nor functionally resemble houses. Thus, if these temples were perceived as dwellings of the deities, these spaces were truly the wholly other. Perhaps rather than perceiving them as 'houses', they should be viewed as one room within a house: the dining room. In this sense, the house is not the temple, *per se*, but rather, the surrounding landscape, which, as noted in the temple assemblages, would have been required to supply the necessary storage and food preparation for the consumption that took place within the temple proper.

Through this approach to analyzing Canaanite cult, an undercurrent of a Canaanite religious ethos has been identified, one which emphasized consumption in large group settings. This was evident already in the early MBA. When new temple types were constructed, they transformed the religious landscape and were essentially superim-

5 For a much more extensive discussion on the relationship between space in temples and settlement populations, see Susnow 2019: 103–19 and Susnow in press. In short, the dimensions and total area of temples and their courtyards were calculated by the author based on publications and final reports. The number of individuals that could fit into a given space was calculated by multiplying the temple/courtyard area by a density coefficient of 1–3 individuals per square meter (Moore 1996; Inomata 2006; M. E. Smith 2007; Gilibert 2011: 103; Ossa et al. 2017). Population estimates were based on a density coefficient of 250 persons per hectare (Kramer 1979; Broshi and Gophna 1986). Thus, it can be assessed what percent of a given settlement's population could participate in ritual at a given time in a temple and its surrounding courtyard.

posed upon this earlier cultic tradition. However, there remained an underlying Canaanite religious ethos amongst the populace – the need to come together in low-barrier type contexts to encounter the divine. When elites transformed the religious landscape of the region and constructed new temple types, this created friction with the religious ethos of the rest of the Canaanite populace. Thus, there was an eventual response: new temples with irregular layouts.

Returning to the initial inquiries of this study, when considering temple structures at sites such as Hazor, Megiddo or Lachish, should it be assumed that they had anything to do with deities and mythologies as attested in texts from Syria? And even if it is acknowledged that there must be certain connections, how can it be proven that the details of those mythologies reflect local traditions of the south? And in any case, what about the actual practice of cult – the use of the temples themselves and what people did when they came together in these temples? As I have argued, the most appropriate approach to addressing these questions is by making use of the data itself – the material remains from the temples. Only then can we sift through the rich textual sources in additional efforts to interpret how these spaces were being used.

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THE GREAT TEMPLE AT ̘ATTUŠA

Some Preliminary Interpretations

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Abstract

The (re-)evaluation of a partially newly created stone-by-stone plan of the Great Temple in ̘attuša allows for a detailed architectural typological and socio-cultural interpretation of this exemplary Hittite building. Not only can the question of the existence of a second cella in the north of the building be answered positively, but it becomes clear that the edifice probably comprises a total of at least seven groups of rooms each organized around a central cult room, in which different deities were worshipped. While some of these groups take up spatial schemata of the older Bronze Age of Central Anatolia, at least three groups are found, which are without any parallels in Anatolia. Various technical, planning and design elements make it very likely that the building was already erected in the (early?) 16th century BC.

1. Introduction

Until the late 1970s, one of the focal points of work in the Hittite capital was the Lower City (Figs. 1–3). To the east of the so-called *Abschnittsmauer*, four topographically defined functional areas can be distinguished: the so-called northern and southern areas, the residential area to the west of the monumental buildings, and Kesikkaya with its surroundings. Differences in height and rocks are natural boundaries, which have been reinforced by architecture. The work in the Lower City and especially in the Great Temple and its surroundings has so far only been presented in preliminary reports and heavily reconstructed schematic plans (Neve 1969a; 1969b). Parallel to new excavations and the ongoing conservation of the Great Temple's building stones, work on the old excavations was begun. N. Strupler will present the work in the residential area (Strupler in press), while the present author is preparing a book on the monumental architecture (Schachner forthc.), the first results of which are presented here.

The Great Temple and the buildings surrounding it have always been at the center of the study of Hittite culture. Every visitor to the Hittite capital visits these buildings, which give a lasting impression of Hittite monumental architecture (Figs. 2–3). A comparison of the preserved features with the stone-by-stone plans based on the work of P. Neve shows hardly any restorations or losses due to stone robbery since 1970.¹

1 To avoid confusion, the numbering of the temple's rooms introduced by D. Krencker and O. Puchstein and used by P. Neve is retained (Fig. 7); cf. Puchstein 1912: Taf. 33; Neve 1969a: Beil. 1; 1969b: Beil. 1, 4.

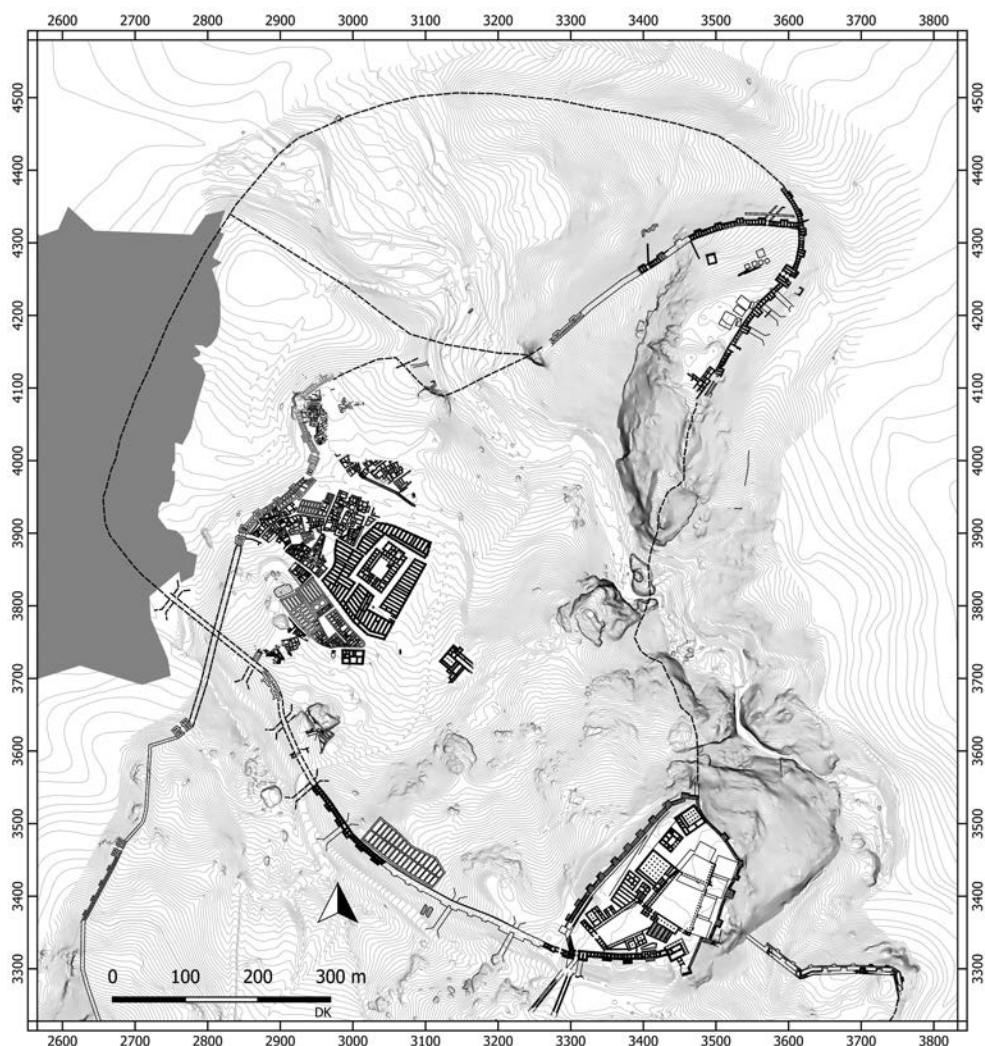


Fig. 1. General plan of the Lower City (status 10/2019; D. Krüger based on data of the Boğazköy Expedition, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

As early as 1834, when he discovered Boğazköy, Ch. Texier was aware of the importance of this building due to its size and the exceptional way in which it was constructed. He described it as a temple, located it generally correctly in his plans and depicted large parts of the ground plan relatively accurately. His thorough description (Texier 1839: 209–23) was possible because essential parts of the building were never completely covered with rubble. A long series of investigations began with the first systematic excavations in 1906. The uncovering of the central building and the eastern

magazines, in which Th. Makridi had found a large quantity of clay tablets in early summer 1907,² was one of the main objectives of the work in that year (Fig. 4). The excavations of the Great Temple were carried out by D. Krencker and L. Curtius “in den letzten Tagen des Mai und der ersten Hälfte des Juni,” although O. Puchstein emphasized that “auf seinem Terrain leider nur eine dünne Schuttschicht lag” (Puchstein 1912: 94). In view of the “Kürze der Zeit, [der] bedeutende[n] Ausdehnung der Anlage und [des] Mangel[s] an geeignetem Grabungsgerät,” the excavations concentrated on recording the ground plan by exposing only the upper edges of the walls (Fig. 3).³ Debris remained in the courtyard and in the rooms, of which most was only removed by K. Bittel and R. Naumann in 1937 and by P. Neve in 1967.⁴

Although the palace area of Büyükkale was in the core of interest when work was resumed in Boğazköy in 1931, during the 1937 campaign “[wurde] der Hof des Tempels [...] vom Schutt befreit und ein wenig unterhalb der Höhe des ehemaligen Pflasters eingeebnet [...]”; Tiefgrabungen an verschiedenen Stellen klärten den Untergrund auf.” Especially important is the evidence of a substructure constructed “aus mittelgrossen Kalksteinen,” though it is emphasized that those do not belong to an older building; rather, it served “als Unterlage für eine ziemlich mächtige und fest gestampfte Lehm-schicht [...], auf der erst das eigentliche Hofpflaster auflag. Dieses Pflaster, das aus sehr schönen grossen Kalksteinplatten bestanden hat, ist bis auf geringe Reste in der einen Ecke des Hofes geraubt.”⁵ Apparently, the courtyard was once paved in a manner similar to the streets surrounding the temple.

Besides the courtyard, further excavations concentrated on the main entrance and its southern surroundings in the southeast of the entire complex. At the same time, the street south of the temple with the “ausgezeichnet” preserved pavement⁶ was uncovered and a probe was laid in the passageway of the temple gate (room 11) (Bittel and Naumann 1938: 31). This again shows that the temple was built on a “Setzung mächtiger Kalksteine” (Bittel 1938: 22), which correspond to those that were investigated in the southern magazines during the 2011 campaign (Schachner 2011: 31–34). The results of the work in 1937 were to be published later “zusammen mit einer gründlichen Neu-aufnahme und Untersuchung des ganzen Tempels” (Bittel and Naumann 1938: 30f.), a project that could never be realized.

After completion of the work on Büyükkale, the focus shifted again to the Lower City in 1967, where the Great Temple, its magazines and the so-called southern area received their appearance, which is still valid today (Figs. 2–3).⁷ In the following period a new stone plan of the monumental architecture was drawn up, but never published

2 In general: Schachner 2017a; Eldem 2017: 169–71 Fig. 1; for the collections of cuneiform tablets, cf. Miller 2017; Curtius 1950: 311.

3 Bittel and Naumann 1938: 30; Puchstein 1912: 94.

4 Bittel and Naumann 1938: 30f.; Neve 1967b; 1968; 1995–96: 42.

5 Bittel 1937b: 2; 1938: 22.

6 Bittel 1937a: Abb. 40; 1937b: 3; 1938: 23 Abb. 12.

7 Neve 1969a; 1969b; 1973; 1975; 1987; 1995–96; 2002; Bittel 1976; 1981.



Fig. 2. Revised general plan of the monumental buildings in the Lower City of Hattusa (status 10/2019; K. Czarnitzki based on data of the Boğazköy Expedition, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

completely nor discussed in an adequate form.⁸ The most important cultural and historical finding of these years is the proposal of a second, western cella, which was reconstructed by the excavators on the basis of “nur weniger, dafür aber um so nützlicherer Spuren” in size and form parallel to the eastern one.⁹ It is noteworthy that this supposedly unambiguous architectural finding was neither documented in detail in the publications nor in the internal documents,¹⁰ nor was the interpretation justified or its cultural and historical significance particularly appreciated.¹¹ Against the background of remarks published by P. Neve before the discovery of the second cella (Neve 1967a: 82–84),

⁸ Parts of this plan have been published: Neve 1987; 1995–96: 47 Abb. 10; 2002: 83.

⁹ Bittel 1967[1968]: 41f. Abb. 1–3; Neve 1969a: 9.

¹⁰ Neve 1967b; the archive of the Boğazköy excavation did not contain any descriptions, detailed drawings or photographs of the area that would indicate that the excavators were dealing in particular with this find.

¹¹ Bittel 1967[1968]: 41f. Abb. 1–3; 1976; Neve 1995–96: 47f.; 2002: 81–83. Neve only mentions that the area in question was completely destroyed “... bis auf die Eckorthostaten und [die] nordwestliche Fundament-



Fig. 3. Aerial view of the Lower City of Hattuša with the Great Temple in its center (status 10/2019; K. Czarnitzki based on data of the Boğazköy Expedition, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

the interpretation of the sparse architectural features, which in the light of further excavations in 2014 are at best ambiguous, seems to be mentally related to the simultaneous investigations in Yazılıkaya; especially since H. Otten, on the basis of considerations based on the interpretation of the Hittite offering lists, explicitly refers to the Great Temple as a double sanctuary well before the discovery of the western cella (Otten 1966: 160).¹² Neither did the excavators provide a convincing reason for a supposed dating of the construction of the ensemble in the 13th century BC.¹³ The heavily reconstructed schematic plan (Neve 1969a: Beil. 1) was not discussed in any detail at the time and has been regularly reproduced since 1969 without any objective discussion or interpretation of the actually preserved building structures being possible on this basis.

kante ..." (1975: 75). On a different occasion he states that there was a second cella "... auf Grund nur weniger, aber aufschlußreicher Indizien ..." (Neve 1969a: 9).

12 It should be emphasized that the textual sources quoted by P. Neve and K. Bittel cannot be related beyond doubt to the Great Temple, and that other temples also had more than one cella, so that from a current point of view this line of argument can at best be regarded as weak.

13 Otten 1966: 160; Neve 1995–96: 61. In this case again the *a priori* assumption connection with Yazılıkaya probably played a role.



Fig. 4. Impressions of the excavations in the Great Temple (1907; photographer unknown, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).



Fig. 5. The Great Temple and its terrace system seen from the east (2017; M. S. Öztürk, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

After an interruption of several decades, in 2010 and 2011 excavations in the magazines 59 and 60 and in rooms 84 and 106 of the southern area aimed at finding clues to the dating of the construction of the buildings and possible predecessors.¹⁴ Together with excavations in the temple and a new survey of parts of the complex in the campaigns 2014, 2015 and 2017, these works allow interpretations, especially for the reconstruction of the western cella (Schachner 2015a: 80–83). Based on the revised stone plans and an autopsy of the architecture, significant new interpretative approaches open up, of which some are presented here with a focus on the central temple building.

Despite the steadily deepening understanding of the Hittite texts, the contemporary proper name of this building is unknown. The logogram É.DINGIR-*LIM* or the writing É^D[deity name] was generally used for naming cult buildings when a particular god was meant.¹⁵ These designations were used for buildings with religious functions, regardless of their size and structure, so that without additional sources it is still not possible to assign this central building to certain deities (Beckman 2010: 71). In the literature, the designation É-*TIM* GAL is regularly used to refer to the Great Temple, but it is not possible to assign specific gods to it.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the identification of the building as a temple of the two main gods of the Hittite pantheon – the storm god of Ḫatti and the sun goddess of Arinna – represents the *communis opinio* and is highly probable on the basis of a text from the Eastern magazines.¹⁷ Against this background, the designation ‘Great Temple’ or synonymously ‘Temple 1’ has been established since the first excavations.

2. The structural features of the temple building

2.1 The substructure

The temple and most of the surrounding magazines are built on a complex system of terraces (Figs. 2, 5).¹⁸ The difference in height between the core terrace on which the temple stands and the lowest point of the surrounding terrain reaches at least 9 m and 12 m respectively on the west and north sides; in the east and south, however, the built terrace tapers off towards the terrain that rises towards the southeast. The central temple building was thus clearly elevated and prominently visible from all directions, which is confirmed by textual references to the elevated position of the temples (Görke 2013: 43).

The artificial terraces divided the southeast to northwest slope into several levels. The Hittite builders used the differences in height to build the basement parts of the storeroom buildings on the lower levels. This procedure made it possible to build the monumental buildings in a clearly visible height without having to carry out costly

14 Schachner 2011: 31–34; 2012a: 85–88.

15 Beckman 2010: 71. In the Empire Period the term ^E*karimmi*- referred to religious buildings of various kinds (Güterbock 1975: 125).

16 Otten 1971: 22; Popko 2002: 73 n. 3, 80.

17 Cf. Güterbock 1975: 126f.; Zimmer-Vorhaus 2011: 209f.; Haas 1994: 624–26; Popko 2002: 80.

18 Neve 1967b: 30.10.; 1969a: 18f.



Fig. 6. The western wall of the court after excavations (1937; photographer unknown, Fotoarchiv des Vorderasiatischen Museums, Berlin; courtesy VAM Berlin).

excavations. A similar procedure can be observed from the late 16th century BC onwards in numerous Hittite buildings, e.g. the silo on the Büyükkale northwest slope (Seeher 2006: 75 Fig. 39), Temple 7 in the Upper City or the temples in Kuşaklı (A. Müller-Karpe 2013: 340 Fig. 6). It is significant that, in contrast to the two temples mentioned above, some older examples were built on an artificial terrace – in addition to the Great Temple also Temples 2–5 in the Upper City.

The height of the core foundation of up to ca. 12 m explains why it is surrounded by further terrace steps in the north, west and southwest (Fig. 5): A free-standing terrace of this height, built without mortar in dry construction only, would not have borne its own weight nor that of the temple standing on it. The surrounding terraces, on which the north and west magazines stand on the slope side, therefore function as brackets holding the central block together.

The massive substructure of the temple is the core of this system of terraces, which was built in three stages from large irregularly hewn limestone blocks, although in the visible outer sides the limestone blocks were roughly worked. The extent of the base was somewhat larger than the area covered by the temple, which is particularly recognizable in the north and west where the walls of the temple do not stand on the outermost edge of the substructure. For reasons of the load-bearing capacity of these edges in the north, they were gradually moved several meters inwards so that the edges of the terrace were not loaded with the weight of the temple.

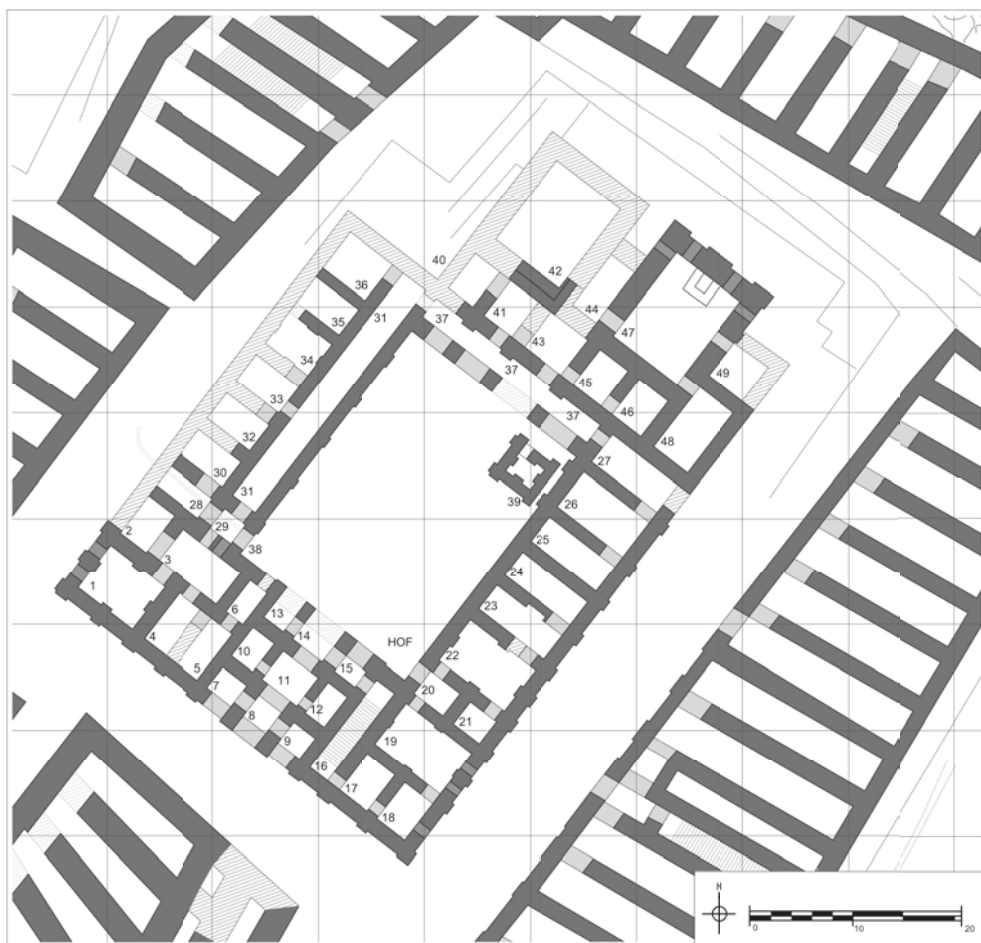


Fig. 7. Revised schematic plan of the Great Temple and its immediate surroundings (status 10/2019; K. Czarnitzki based on data of the Boğazköy Expedition, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

Particularly with the uppermost stone layer of the substructure, the builders took care to achieve a surface as horizontal as possible as a foundation for the massive stone blocks of the wall socles. The stones of this layer, however, hardly show any special smoothing or other traces of work in any places. Apparently, there was no need to create beddings for the walls standing on the terrace; any unevenness could be compensated by smaller stones pushed underneath (Fig. 6). In several places the excavations were deep enough to see that there was no physical connection or interlocking between the substructure and the blocks of the wall; the blocks of the wall socle were held in place by their own weight.

In contrast to the blocks of the wall base, which stand on the blocks of the uppermost layer of the foundation, the large sill blocks were laid before the construction of



Fig. 8. The individual room modules of the Great Temple (K. Czarnitzki based on data of the Boğazköy Expedition, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

the wall base in predetermined gaps in the uppermost block layer of the foundations at the same time as these; the blocks of the wall base rest on the sills, which are thus part of the foundation.¹⁹ This procedure shows that the plan of the building was already fully thought through at the start of construction, and that the temple was built in one go. It is also evident that there were no later alterations or extensions, as these would be recognizable by joints or a different construction method.

The Great Temple is characterized in large parts by a symmetry characteristic of Hittite monumental buildings since at least the 16th century BC (Fig. 7; Schachner 2017b: 302–5). Only in the north is this symmetry broken up in the area of the cult rooms by projecting and receding outer walls. The rectangular southern part, with a built-up area of ca. 1911 m², is about four times as large as the northern part, which occupies an area of about 481 m². This structural division of the building in a ratio of about 4:1 is reinforced by the use of different colored stones for the wall socles.²⁰ While the rectangular main part of the building is made of limestone, apart from the courtyard and the pillar bases of the northern passage hall, the northern part is made of two different types of gabbro. In view of the height of the base stones, but especially because of the amount of work involved in their processing, I think it is beyond question that these differences in color were used deliberately.

The building can be divided into clearly defined groups of rooms, from which the ground plan was assembled in a modular way (Fig. 8):²¹ the entrance gate (7–15), one room group each west (1–6) and east (16–19) of the gate, one north-south oriented room chain each west (28–36) and east (20–27) of the courtyard, the courtyard (38), a tower-like building in the northeast corner of the courtyard (39), a pillared hall (37) and the adyton wing (40–52). From the connections between the rooms, it is clear that the rooms, which form a unit in the plan, sometimes form different functional groups.²² In this way the architects succeeded in combining different functions in a symmetrical plan despite the necessary spatial separation. This approach underlines the importance of the overall, regular structure of the building for the initiators.

2.2 The entrance gate (7–15)

One entered the temple from a road running along the building in the south (Figs. 7–9). The entrance is not arranged centrally, but is shifted a few meters to the east in relation to the ideal central axis, i.e. in the direction from which most visitors approached the temple. However, the Bronze Age visitor in the narrow street most probably did not notice this. The asymmetry was intended by the planners, as the number of pilasters on the outside of the temple façade proves: three to the east versus four to the west of the gate. Probably this façade arrangement with the slightly sloping orien-

19 A similar manner of construction can be observed at the store rooms, the *Süddareal* and a building south of Kesikkaya (Schachner 2015b: 69–73; Schachner 2014: 103–12), but are not attested at any later building.

20 This feature was first described by D. Krencker and O. Puchstein (Puchstein 1912: 94).

21 To my knowledge, the modular composition of the building was first discussed by Dittmann (1975–76); cf. also Neve 1999; A. Müller-Karpe 2013.

22 E.g. rooms 28–36.



Fig. 9. Aerial view of the southern groups of the Great Temple and the entrance (2017; north is at the top; M. S. Öztürk, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

tation of the north wall of the southern magazines opposite the entrance was intended to subtly guide the visitor towards the entrance.

The entrance gate, like the main gate in the southeast of the complex, is accentuated by the particularly large stones used in its construction; in general, the largest stones were used for the southern façade of the temple. The rooms on the south side of the building had no windows to the street.²³ Only the outer façade of the entrance gate opens with deep windows on both sides of the passage to the street. Rooms 7 and 9, together with the passageway, thus had the character of a loggia open to the street. If the façade of the building is viewed as a whole, the deliberate emphasis of the entrance by means of these various structural elements in the narrow street becomes clear.

The inner façade facing the courtyard was probably designed in the same way with two loggias (13 and 15) flanking the passageway, as the preserved northern boundary of room 15 shows. It is remarkable that room 15 is connected to room 16 by a door to the east. A similar, potentially direct connection between two groups of rooms is otherwise not used in the building.²⁴

²³ Contra Neve 1969a: Beil. 1. For a discussion of the windows, cf. Schachner forthc.

²⁴ For the possible function of this room (16), which might explain this connection, see below.



Fig. 10. View of the entrance to the temple from the inside to the outside; visible is the substructure built up from massive stones (1937; photographer unknown, Fotoarchiv des Vorderasiatischen Museums, Berlin; courtesy VAM Berlin).

Rooms 8 and 11 form the passage of the door (Fig. 7). Remarkably, the floor level of the laterally adjoining rooms (10 or 12) is slightly higher than that of the passage. On the preserved outer threshold and the ashlar that border the southern room 8, there are no traces indicating doors to be closed. Hinges and traces of the door's grinding over the threshold are only found on the north side of the middle threshold between rooms 8 and 11. The gate chamber 11 forms the core of the gate building and is flanked by the slightly rectangular rooms 10 and 12. The large door socket stones on the inner side of the blocks of the central passage together with the grinding marks of the once slightly resting door leaf visible on the threshold, prove that the entrance to the temple on the southern inner side of the central gate chamber 11 could be closed by a double-wing gate opening inwards.

The edges of all thresholds and plinth stones in the area of the passageway show a rabbet worked off at the same height (Fig. 10). From the description of a “*blaugrünen Lehmestrich*” found here by O. Puchstein, one can conclude that during the excavations of 1907 the filling with *çorak*, i.e. serpentinite sand,²⁵ over the foundation of the building

²⁵ Puchstein 1912: 99; due to the typical turquoise color, it is probable that *çorak*, a material regularly used by Hittite architects (Seeher 2007: 95–99) was used here.



Fig. 11. Aerial view of the western wing of the Great Temple (2017; north is to the left; M. S. Öztürk, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

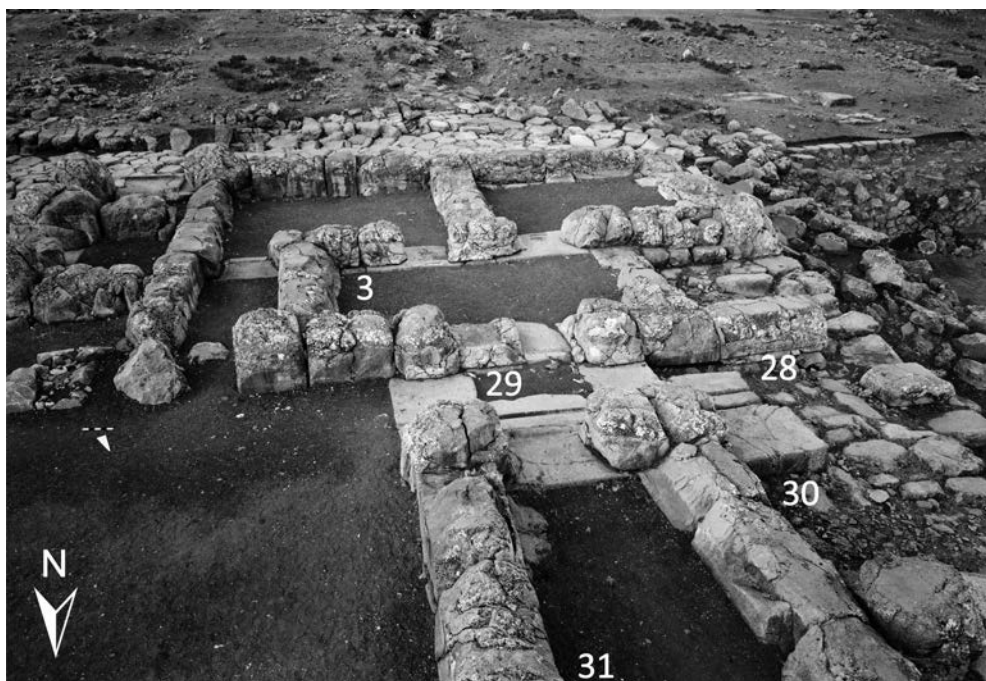


Fig. 12. The rooms 3, 28, 29, 30 and 31 (1968; photographer unknown, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

was recorded (Fig. 9). The carefully worked rabbets are an indication that a wooden floor or a screed covering on this base formed the actual floor in the passageway.

In my opinion, the gate, which is rectangular with a base area of 14.10×13.47 m, should probably be thought of as a square, since it is composed of nine room units of approximately the same size (Figs. 8–9). The slight deviation from a perfectly square plan is explained by the building process. The entire complex corresponds to the plan of various Hittite city gates with three gate chambers, with the difference of the open vestibules and only one pair of doors. Comparable entrance systems with large windows are documented in Hittite architecture only in Yazılıkaya (Bittel 1975: 106–13), at the so-called propylon of the district of the Great Temple and at the two gates of building C / Temple 2 in Kuşaklı (A. Müller-Karpe 2013: 359 Fig. 5); in these examples, however, the deep windows are only on the inside. The floor plan illustrates how the Hittite master builders were able to modify established ground plans flexibly.

2.3 The room group west of the entrance (1–6)

The rooms in the southwest corner of the building form a self-contained, rectangular group, accessible through a door from the north (Figs. 7–9, 11). From a corridor (29), which allows access from the southwest corner of the courtyard (38), one enters room 3, which serves as a distribution board. Next to the door there is a high window, whose bench – similar to the inner and outer front of the main entrance – begins just above the floor. Hinge holes in both corners prove that this window was probably closable with two shutters. This combination of a door and large window on the inside of a group of rooms is unique and was certainly deliberately installed due to the function of these rooms (Fig. 12), since the window enables communication between the areas inside and outside the room group, thus pointing to a special function.

From room 3, rooms 1, 2 and 4/5 are accessible with individual features (Figs. 7–8, 11). Room 1 is particularly emphasized by pilasters on the inside of the room. The pilasters can probably be interpreted as a sign of a cultic use, based on their importance and symbolic meaning in the architecture of Mesopotamia.²⁶ In addition, the walls show a kind of interlocking of the base stones, which can only be observed in a few rooms also decorated with pilasters: 1) at the east wall of room 34; 2) at the west wall of room 19; and 3) at the north wall of cella 47. However, the examples in rooms 1, 19 and 34 differ from cella 47 in that only the block carrying the pilaster strip extends beyond the adjacent ones. Even though the interlocking in the other cases is much less pronounced in comparison with the rear wall of cella 47, it still clearly emphasizes these areas, since the blocks of masonry of the wall base were otherwise always placed next to each other without interlocking or overlapping. This is obviously a procedure determined by the function of the rooms. Room 1 also has two windows in the west wall²⁷ that flank the central pilasters in the overlapping blocks. These windows extend to just above the floor and thus correspond to those of cella 47, whereas the soles of the other windows

26 For a discussion, cf. Neve 1973: 269 Abb. 3; Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 83f.; in Mesopotamia, pilasters decorated sanctuaries since the Ubaid period (Naumann 1971: 459 Abb. 596; Miglus 1998–2001: 587–89).

27 Contra P. Neve.



Fig. 13. Aerial view of the eastern wing of the Great Temple (2017; north is to the left; M. S. Öztürk, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).



Fig. 14. The central courtyard (38) of the Great Temple (2017; north is to the left; M. S. Öztürk, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

in the temple are always much higher above the floor. As in other rooms, the windows are flanked by pilasters, so that the conclusion that there is a functional connection between these structural elements is obvious, especially since the outer façades of room 1

are decorated with additional pilasters in the south and west, making its significance visible from the outside.

To the east, room 3 leads to rooms 4 and 5, and because of a threshold in front of the north wall and a wall shown in the plan by D. Krencker (Puchstein 1912: 102 Taf. 33), which today lies under the turf, an area which is actually about as large as room 1 is divided into two rooms 4 and 5 (Figs. 7–9, 11). These have no pilasters, but from them a small side room (6) is accessible. Although the northern wall of room 6 has been destroyed, it is certain that there were neither windows nor a passage to the courtyard, since corresponding features are missing on the courtyard side and the missing part of the wall is too narrow for a door. Since rooms 2 and 6 are both accessible only from one room – 3 and 4/5, respectively – they probably formed a functional unit with them.

Although the western outer wall of room 2 is heavily disturbed, as is the entire western façade, a remarkable stone was documented here, which remained unnoticed for a long time.²⁸ It has various recesses and drillings, which indicate that liquids were drained from the room and out onto the street to the west.

2.4 The room group east of the entrance (16–19)

In contrast to all other room groups, the one to the east of the entrance is apparently accessible from two sides (Figs. 7–9, 13). This understanding, however, depends decisively on the interpretation of room 16, which can be reached from the courtyard-side veranda (15). Either this room allows a connection to rooms 17–19, or it can be seen with O. Puchstein and R. Naumann as a staircase,²⁹ an interpretation that P. Neve neither takes up nor discusses in his notes, excavation diaries or publications.

O. Puchstein and R. Naumann do not justify their ideas in detail. R. Naumann only points out that staircases of the temples 1–5 known to him at this time were “unmittelbar neben dem Tor,” but “niemals innerhalb des Torkörpers selbst”; furthermore, they were “niemals direkt von der Torkammer aus” accessible (Naumann 1971: 454 Abb. 590–594). This situation applies to room 16, since it would have been accessible from the vestibule 15 of the gate. Irrespective of the question whether the temple had an upper floor or not, textual evidence supports the assumption of a staircase leading to the roof where ritual acts took place.³⁰ In my opinion, there are various indications to suggest that a staircase was indeed located here (Figs. 7–9):

1. Based on the ground plan of the temple, the integration of the room into the overall structure and the functions of all other rooms of the building, only room 16 is suitable as a staircase.
2. There is no room group in the entire complex that is accessible from two sides. Assuming a staircase in room 16, which was accessible from room 15, rooms 17–19

²⁸ It was only encountered in 2018 by L. Repola when working on the 3D documentation of the building.

²⁹ Puchstein 1912: 102; Naumann 1971: 452 Abb. 590. K. Bittel seemed to know this interpretation when indicating a stair in a plan he sometimes used (Bittel 1970: 56 Fig. 13; 1937: 47 Abb. 34), but this plan was only reproduced once by Zimmer-Vorhaus (2011: 200 Fig. 4) who does not further refer to this most important detail.

³⁰ Haas 1994: 278f.; see also Barsacchi's contribution to this volume.

form a self-contained group accessible only from the north (room 20). This arrangement would correspond to all other room modules.

3. All other groups of rooms, in which there are rooms decorated with pilasters,³¹ always have a room that is accessible only from the cult room; if one reconstructs a staircase ascending from north to south in room 16, a small area in the south of room 16 under the staircase would remain separately usable; otherwise the door between rooms 16 and 17 cannot be explained.

4. Doors are usually installed in passage rooms in the temple, the magazines and in the southern area in such a way that the door through which one entered the room opened into it, while that of the exit opened in the direction of the adjoining room. In contrast, both doors open into room 16, which, in my opinion, indicates that the room was entered from both sides and not used as a passageway.

5. Contrary to previous reconstructions (Neve 1969a), there is certainly no window in the southern outer wall of the long rectangular room 16, because the wall base has been preserved up to its upper edge. This is a further indication that the southern part of room 16 was intended to be a side room of room 17.

Against the existence of a staircase it may be argued that there are no indications of such on the walls of room 16. However, Hittite stairs were often built without lateral anchors or supports, but the steps rested on a foundation of earth, mud bricks or stones.³² Nothing has survived of a corresponding substructure or is mentioned in the excavation documentation. However, this is not surprising, as the state of knowledge at the time of the 1907 excavations would have interpreted such a filling as rubble and removed it.

A substructure for a staircase along the entire length of the room would be unlikely, as in this case the door to room 17 would make no sense. Probably only the beginning of the staircase in the north and in the middle of room 16 rested on such a base up to the height of the completely decayed rising brickwork of mud bricks and wooden framework, in which the wooden steps could be anchored laterally (Bittel 1970: 56 Fig. 3).

In view of the sparse findings, a conclusive decision for or against the existence of a staircase in room 16 is not possible. In my opinion, the typological arguments of O. Puchstein and especially R. Naumann should not be dismissed. At the same time, no other room can be considered as a staircase for the stairway to the roof, which according to the texts is highly probable. For the reasons given, I consider the existence of a staircase to be probable and have included it in the schematic plan (Figs. 7–8).

The possible existence of a staircase is of great importance for the reconstruction of the potential room height of this part of the building, since an approximation is possible on the basis of the length of room 16 and the assumed height and depth of the steps (Schachner 2016: 29, 90–92 Figs. 96–97, Tab. 18). The maximum length of the room (10.3 m) could not be used for the stairs, because at the beginning and end of the stairs a movement area was left after the doors were identified. This could have been

31 Cf. rooms 2–6 and 32–35 in the western part and 21–24 and 25–27 in the east.

32 Cf. in Boğazköy: Seeher 2007: 187 Abb. 165; Schachner 2016: 90–92 (Yenicekale); in Kuşaklı (temple on the northern terrace): A. Müller-Karpe 1995: 13f. Abb. 9; 2017: 114 Abb. 110.

ca. 1 m² on the side of the entrance from room 15, at the bottom of the stairs – an area that probably would not have been sufficient at the top for safe movement, especially if it led to the roof without a parapet at its edge. Therefore, I would set a minimum distance of ca. 1.5–2 m from the edge of the roof at the top of the stairs for the traffic area, resulting in a maximum stair length of 7–7.5 m. Assuming a maximum depth of the steps of ca. 30 cm, the stairs could have had between 23 and 25 steps. If the height of each step is between 20 and 30 cm, the height between the floor level of room 16 – defined by the threshold to room 15 – and the top edge of the roof would be 4.6–7.5 m. In particular, the more conservatively calculated value is similar to the height that can be calculated from the dimensions and possible proportions of the windows of the western cella. This height seems appropriate for a representative building and supports the assumption of a staircase.

Assuming a staircase in room 16, rooms 17–19 in the south-east corner of the courtyard (38) are only accessible from the north via distribution room 20, through which one enters room 19. This structure and access to the rooms would correspond to those of the group of rooms in the southwest corner of the building (1–6). While rooms 17 and 18 have no architectural peculiarities, room 19 is equipped with pilasters symmetrically arranged opposite each other in the middle of the walls, which make it a place of worship (Neve 1973). The eastern exterior façade is decorated with an additional pilaster on the outside of room 19, so that the location of the cult room is also recognizable from the outside. The western wall of room 19 corresponds to room 1 in that the block from which the pilaster strip was worked slightly overlaps the two adjacent ones, so that the base blocks are wedged.

Exactly on the inner side of the southeast corner of the temple, in the corner of room 18, there is a niche, which was created because the second block of the south wall is wider from the east than the corner block, which however has the same width as the first block of the east wall leading to the north. These differences may seem coincidental, but the foot of the first block of the east wall is clearly worked off in such a way that there is a gap at this point. It is no longer possible to decide whether this gap was due to technical reasons, or whether it indicates a more profound meaning.

Although in the schematic plan of the south façade of rooms 17 and 18, presented by P. Neve, a window is indicated in each case (Neve 1969a: Beil. 1), in my opinion these cannot be confirmed by the preserved wall blocks. In the base block of the south wall of room 18 – one of the largest building stones in the temple at all – the inner and outer edges were indeed broken off by quarrying activities in antiquity,³³ but the surface completely preserved in the middle of the block shows that there was definitely no recess for a window. The same observation can be made in the western extension of the block, which forms the outer front of room 17 and is less well preserved. However, one or two windows are visible in the eastern outer wall of rooms 18 and 19.

The room group 16–19 in the southeast corner of the temple clearly differs structurally in the number and arrangement of the rooms from the group of rooms 1–6 in

33 A large piece of the stone broken off in antiquity still remains at the foot of the block. It shows a row of dowel holes on its top so it is impossible that there was a window.

the southwest corner, so that differences in meaning or use are likely (Fig. 8). Is it conceivable that these differences could be interpreted to mean that the entrance of the temple was flanked, or even ‘guarded’, by two different deities?

2.5 The row of rooms west of the courtyard (28–29, 30, 31, 32–35, 36)

The western wing of the temple extends along the entire length of the central courtyard (38), against which it is separated by a wall decorated with pilasters on the courtyard side (Figs. 7–8, 11). Behind it, the north-south corridor 31 provides access to rooms 30–36 on the outside of the building. The outer wall has largely fallen victim to stone theft, so that the question of possible windows cannot be answered. Due to the probable functional connection between pilasters and windows, these are to be assumed at least in room 34.³⁴

The western wing of the building is accessible from the east in the two corners of the courtyard. While the northern access from hall 37 is strongly disturbed, the corridor (31) in the southwest was reached via a passage room (29), which was not separated from the courtyard by a door. In contrast, corridor 31 in the south could be closed off. The passage room 29 separates the room groups 1–6 and 31–36 with the room 28 adjoining it to the west. Rooms 28 and 29 are only divided by a slight narrowing of the passage (Figs. 7–9, 11–12). In contrast to all other rooms of the building, large stone slabs form the floor of these rooms; these were connected to the side walls by a rebate. In the middle of the slabs there is a sewage channel, which is worked deep into the stones and continues over four stones. A stone adjoining to the west has been lost, but can be reconstructed without any doubt by continuing the mentioned fold in the south wall.

The gutter drains the courtyard to the west, but due to the fact that the outer wall has been destroyed except for the substructure, its end is not preserved. The secondary interventions do not allow for a decision to be made as to whether there was a door, a (high?) window or a continuous wall in the outer wall, as added by P. Neve.³⁵ In my opinion, the difference in height on the outside between the pavement of the ramp passing by to the west, the preserved level of the substructure, and the height of the floor with the gutter indicate that there was no secondary entrance at this point. The only thing that is certain is that the gutter drained onto the road leading along the western façade of the temple. Because a “grosse verschobene Steinplatte mit eingemeißelter, nach Norden zielender (Wasser)-Rinne” (Neve 1967b: 1.9.), which was found tilted to the west on the street (Fig. 11), clearly indicates that the outflow here ran in a bend further north.

The southernmost room of the west wing (30) was only accessible from corridor 28/29; this access corresponds to that of the northernmost room (36), which was only accessible from the preceding corridor 31 in the extension of pillar hall 37 (Figs. 8, 11). Apparently, rooms 30 and 36 are to be considered functionally separate from rooms 32–35 of the western wing of the building. They form the core of this part of the building, are accessed through a corridor (31) and form a single unit. It is noticeable

³⁴ Neve 1969a: Beil. 1; 1973: 269 Abb. 3.

³⁵ Neve 1969a: Beil. 1; 1975: Taf. 19, 21.

that the eastern wall of the corridor is decorated with pilasters only on the outside facing the courtyard. First one enters room 33, from which one can go south (left) to room 32. Turning north in room 33, one enters room 34, which is marked by pilasters as a place of worship (Neve 1973: 269 Fig. 3). The block which carries the pilaster strip extends slightly over the neighboring stones, similar to rooms 1 and 19. In the outer wall of room 34, probably analogous to the other rooms decorated with pilasters (e.g. 1 and 19), two windows enclosing these and an additional pilaster strip on the outside can be reconstructed. The door to room 35 is not in the alignment of the doors between rooms 32–34, but on the west side; i.e. one has to cross it diagonally to reach the adjacent room (35).

2.6 The row of rooms east of the courtyard (20–24 and 25–27)

The east wing is divided into two groups of rooms (20–24 and 25–27), each accessible from the opposite eastern corners of the courtyard (Figs. 7, 8, 13). In contrast to the west, however, the rooms in the east take up the entire width of this wing. In terms of planning, rooms 20 and 21 in the east correspond to rooms 28 and 29 in the west; they function on both sides as separators between the side wings and the groups of rooms flanking the gate. However, in contrast to 28 and 29 in the west wing, 20 and 21 are not connected by a door, so that although the structural function of a structural separation of the respective side wing from the rooms next to the door is guaranteed, other uses for room 21 arise.

From the courtyard (38) one enters room 20, which serves as a distributor to the groups adjoining to the south and north. Similar to the potential cult rooms 1, 19 and 34, the square room 22 is decorated with symmetrically arranged pilasters on the inside of the room. The eastern outer façade has an additional pilaster at the height of room 22, so that the ritual function is also visible from the outside here. In room 22 there are windows on the right and left of the pilaster on the east side, which are clearly visible despite the heavy weathering of the stone. Room 21 is assigned to room 22.

Similar to rooms 19 and 34, 22 must be crossed diagonally to reach the rooms (23 and 24) behind this room (Figs. 7–9, 13). The systematic application of this principle is, besides the pilaster decoration, another characteristic of these rooms. The transversely arranged rooms 23 and 24 correspond in the sum of their room widths to the width of room 22, so that the symmetry of the entire building was maintained.

In room 23 there is a wide U-shaped recess in the wall to the west of the passage to room 24, which has not yet been documented. This recess is caused by the fact that the base of the wall at this point is only half the width of the wall. Due to the regular shape of this recess, it is a deliberately set installation whose function remains unclear. The adjacent room 24 has no installations or special features.

Rooms 25–27 form a second, self-contained group in the north of the east wing, which is only accessible from the northeast corner of the courtyard after passing through the courtyard (38) and the pillar hall 37 (Figs. 7–8, 13). Neither from the courtyard nor from the eastern outside of the building is this division of the east wing visible. In contrast to the square floor plans of the southern rooms of this part of the building (20, 23 and 24), the northern rooms 25–27 are transverse and long rectangular; they are

connected by doors in an alignment along the eastern outer wall. In contrast to the other groups of rooms in the temple (1–6, 32–34 and 16–19 respectively), none of the rooms has pilasters or other fixtures. Conclusions about their function are therefore difficult to draw.

The combination of three transverse rooms can possibly be compared with the rooms excavated by P. Neve in some temples of the Upper City (e.g. temples 9, 10, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 24) as central cult rooms (Neve 1999: 150–55 Figs. 73g–n). Since these rooms in the Upper City have no decoration with pilasters or the like, rooms 25–27 could possibly be such a cult room group.³⁶ In this case, room 25 would be the most important one, analogous to the examples from the Upper City.

It is noticeable that the east wall of the courtyard is decorated with pilasters only at the level of the small building 39 and the rooms 25–26. This might indicate a connection between rooms 25–27 and the small building decorated with pilasters in the northeast corner of the courtyard (39). If the structure of portico 37 is taken into account, it becomes clear that due to the position of the first pillar from the east and the deep pilaster at the eastern end of the east wall of the courtyard, its easternmost quarter and the building in the courtyard with rooms 25–27 adjoining to the east form a *de facto* unit. The access from the courtyard through the portico into the sanctum (40–47) is led past the west side of building 39 and along the aforementioned pilaster, so that a closed area was created east of this axis. The possibility of a relationship between the rooms is reinforced by the fact that the free-standing building 39 is only accessible from the north, i.e. from the easternmost quarter of the porticus, from the same place as rooms 25–27.

2.7 The courtyard (38)

In the center of the building is a large courtyard, from whose four corners the side wings of the building are accessible (Figs. 7, 14). This arrangement of the connections allows a large, freely usable area in the center of the building and at the same time ensures control over the paths within the building.

To the north, the gabbro pillars of hall 37 interlock with the adyton area adjoining to the north. At the same time, parts of the northern wall of the courtyard were built with one half each of limestone – the southern part – and gabbro in the north, with the backs of the building blocks being worked to fit exactly against each other.

The western and northern boundary walls of the courtyard are decorated with pilasters at regular intervals along their entire length, while the eastern wall has two pilasters only at the wall facing building 39. In the south of the courtyard, it is difficult to assess the original condition due to the heavy destruction of the courtyard side

³⁶ Transverse rooms are unknown in the Anatolian Bronze Age architecture. However, corresponding rooms are characteristic for temples in Babylonia (Heinrich 1982: 19–21) and Northern Syria (Naumann 1971: 467 Figs. 605–608). A profane use of these rooms seems unlikely to me due to their proximity to the main adyton and to the building 39 in the courtyard, which is designated as being used for cult purposes. Might it be conceivable that the Syro-Mesopotamian deities integrated into the Hittite pantheon were worshipped here in a structural framework adapted to their region of origin?

façade of the gate; however, at least the preserved east side of the north wall of the vestibule has a pilaster.

The entire courtyard was paved with flat stones, of which only very few were documented during the early excavations (Fig. 6). The smoothly worked ground slabs rested on a layer of clay that was brought in to compensate for the irregular surfaces of the stone foundation packing (Naumann 1971: 151f.). The foundation consists of tightly packed, large quarry stones, which were recorded in several sondages in 1937 (Naumann 1971: 60).

Based on the height of the thresholds, the original level in the northeast of the courtyard can be reconstructed at a maximum of ▼ 1004.71–73 m (in the area of the northeastern passage to rooms 43 and 27). In the western part of the portico, the height of the threshold between the courtyard (38) and the pillared hall (37) is at most ▼ 1004.42 m. The floor slabs in the passage to room 29 are at ▼ 1003.61 m, so that the diagonal gradient through the courtyard is ca. 3.3%–3.4% from northeast to southwest. This corresponds approximately to the slope of flat roofs of central and eastern Anatolian mud-brick houses and allows the drainage of water without major damage caused by material rinsing.³⁷

2.8 The building (39) in the courtyard

In the northeast corner of the courtyard there is a free-standing square building made of gabbro, like the pillared hall (37) and the rooms of the adyton (42, 44–48). Its corners protrude in risalites (Figs. 7, 13–14). The inner sides of the walls are decorated with centrally arranged pilasters facing each other, so that it was most likely used for ritual purposes. Its entrance is on the northern side facing away from the courtyard and is only accessible from the easternmost quarter of the porticus (37). This location gives rise to a possible relationship to rooms 25–27, which could be interpreted as adjoining rooms of building 39 in the courtyard, which is clearly characterized as ritualistic due to the pilaster strip decoration and the use of gabbro.

Cleanings in 2014 confirmed that the building rests on a platform of carefully worked gabbro blocks (Schachner 2015a: 82f.). They lay on the limestone foundation of the temple. On this platform the stones of the gabbro wall base are resting. Dowel holes in the fragments of the building stone blocks of the walls prove the existence of a rising brickwork in the usual combination of wooden framework and clay brick filling. The interior measures ca. $1.8 \times 3 \text{ m} = \text{ca. } 5.4 \text{ m}^2$ and thus forms the smallest room of the temple complex. Comparable buildings have been exposed in the courtyards of Temple 5 in the Upper City and in Yazılıkaya. In both cases these were also in a recognizable direct relationship with one of the sacred rooms (Neve 1967a: 78–85), especially since they were built in Temples 1 and 5 of gabbro. P. Neve reconstructs the buildings because of their wide walls and supposedly comparable clay models as “Altartürme” with a height of up to 2 floors (Neve 1967a: 89–92). Since the few archaeological findings cannot compensate for the lack of textual evidence, P. Neve’s proposal remains highly

37 Kafescioğlu 1949: 44–55; Kömürcüoğlu 1962: 99–104; Peters 1976: 54.



Fig. 15. Stone-by-stone plan of the adyton-tract of the Great Temple indicating the socle blocks made of gabbro in green (2018; K. Czarnitzki based on data of the Boğazköy Expedition, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

speculative as do several other proposals in my opinion.³⁸ The walls of building 39 seem too narrow for such a high building.

2.9 The pillared hall on the northern narrow side of the courtyard (37)

A rectangular open hall, transverse to the courtyard, forms the transition to the adyton-tract in the north (Figs. 7–8, 14–16). Three free-standing pillar bases and two antae-shaped projections, each of which was made from the northernmost corner monolith of the two courtyard walls, form a four-yoked hall. The two lateral wall pillars are made of limestone. Opposite the pier bases to the north there are pilasters.

While the free-standing bases are made of gabbro, the wall's part of the rear wall of the portico facing the courtyard decorated with pilasters is made of limestone, thus clearly defining the courtyard as a unit. In contrast the northern half of this wall was constructed of gabbro. This structure somehow creates an interlocking of the areas that are functionally separated from each other by the different types of stone.

The distances between the bases of the pillars are not uniform; rather, the passage between the second and third pillars is much wider from the east; at the same time, the

³⁸ Akurgal and Hirmer (1961: 72) suggested a function as a washing house, which can be excluded due to the lack of any water installations.



Fig. 16. Aerial view of the adyton-tract of the Great Temple (2017; top is north; M. S. Öztürk, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

passage is slightly shifted to the east in relation to the central axis of the entrance gate. This also applies to the door to the north into room 43. These slight displacements of the two axes make the central courtyard of the temple, contrary to the building's symmetry, which at first sight seems to be permeable, a place where the visitor had to redefine his direction of movement.³⁹ This direction of movement through the courtyard and the pillar hall is reinforced by the fact that between the first and second pillars from the left a block is built in, which is clearly elevated above the level of the courtyard, so that this area coming from the courtyard could not serve as a passageway into hall 37. Thus the connection between the courtyard (38), the pillar hall (37) and the space 43 was made between the second and third pillar.

2.10 The eastern adyton group (40–49)

In contrast to the regular, rectangular southern part of the building, the northern adyton-tract has a façade with deep projections and recesses (Figs. 7–8, 15–20). Only gabbro was used for the wall bases (Bittel 1964: 139). Access is from the south via the courtyard, through the pillared hall (37) and from there into room 43, which is part of a west-east row of at least four rooms (41, 43, 45–46) of equal size, connected by doors along their southern side. Room 43 had to be crossed diagonally to enter the vestibule (44) to the two adyta. At the threshold between rooms 43 and 44 there are no indications

³⁹ This function corresponds to that of various comparable courts, such as e.g. of the palace on Büyükkale (Schachner 2012b: 89f.).



Fig. 17. The eastern cella (47) after cleaning the remaining rubble (2014; A. Schachner, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

of a door, so that one can assume an open passage (Puchstein 1912: 105). Probably the closure of the entire adyton-tract was only possible at the transition from hall 37 to room 43. Therefore, rooms 41–46 can be considered an integral part of the adyton groups.

The relationship of area 40 in the far west of the space sequence to rooms 41, 43, 45 and 46 is unclear. Because of the poor state of preservation, it is not possible to clarify whether there was a connection between 40 and 41. Most likely, area 40 was a paved outdoor area in a recess of the façade.

Room 44 serves as a distributor; from here one enters the east-facing, well-preserved cella (47) in its south-western corner through an open passageway without a door.⁴⁰ The entrance in one of the corners furthest away from the front of the cella and the pedestal of the statue of the god, forces visitors to turn 90° again in order to step in front of the statue of the god at the northern end of the room. The position of the entrance corresponds to that of the other rooms defined as cultic due to their pilasters (1 and 34 on the west side and 19 and 22 on the east side). It is likely that the locations of the images of the gods can accordingly be determined in these rooms.

The rectangular cella (47) with an area of ca. 7.9 × 10.4 m is – apart from the courtyard (38) – the largest single room of the building (Figs. 15–17). In front of its northern narrow side it is equipped with a pedestal with a deep, wide rectangular recess for the

⁴⁰ Puchstein 1912: 105; Neve 1995–96: 47.



Fig. 18. The western depression beside the postament for the god's figure (2014; A. Schachner, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

mortise and tenon of a large statue. In contrast to the other rooms, which are each decorated with four pilasters, only three of these decorative elements are to be found in this room; the northern wall, i.e. the wall in front of which the cult statue stood, does not have a pilaster on the inside.

The cella was examined during the first excavations in 1907 and excavated to a level of irregular stones, which has since been regarded as underpinning the floor (Puchstein 1912: 106 Fig. 80). In 2014, small-scale excavations (Schachner 2015a: 80–83) showed that this layer was loose, incoherent rubble, which was removed down to a compact stone surface. Although the level reached is not even in the sense of a carefully laid paving, it was possible to expose it over the entire area of room 47 at approximately the same height (Fig. 17). In contrast to the removed level, this is so massive that no stone can be removed without considerable effort.

In the north of the room, to the west and east of the foundation, an intentionally left depression in the masonry subsoil was found; the western one is ca. 50 cm deep, while the eastern one is shallower (Fig. 18). The filling of both depressions with fallen stones and loamy soil is clearly visible against the rubble in the rest of the cella. Although the fillings are probably older than the rubble excavated in the area of the cella, it is not possible to say whether they – like the few finds (including fragments of cuneiform tablets) – date from the Hittite period. Even if this is assumed, there are no indications of a ritual use of the depressions, which in any case had been covered by the

actual floor of the room during the period of use of the building. Since lifting bosses on the room side of the stones are only visible in the area of these depressions, it could be that the pits were left in the upper layers of the substructure when the wall base blocks were placed. The difference in height between the upper edge of the stone substructure and the floor was probably compensated by a layer of screed, although it remains unclear whether the room had a wooden floor or a clay screed floor.

Cella 47 has two windows in its north wall and one window each in the west and east walls, which are clearly related to the statue base (Figs. 17–19). The two windows on the north side flank the postament, while those on the two long sides were installed exactly at its height. Thus, a clear connection between the windows and the base of the cult statue can be seen.⁴¹ This observation corresponds to the other rooms decorated with pilasters (1 and 34 on the west side and 19 and 22 on the east side). This reconstruction of the position of the cult statues in the middle between the windows is supported by the identical entrances to the rooms on the long side diagonally opposite the cult statue and by the position of the adjoining rooms, which are only accessible from the cult room through a door to the right of the presumed position of the cult statue.

On the northern rear wall of the cella, a walling technique unique in the Hittite cultural area can be observed, which makes the temple particularly prominent (Figs. 19–20), since, “jeder Stein wurde dort gewissermaßen individuell dem Untergrund und seinen Nachbarn angepaßt” (Neve 1995–96: 60). The stones were not only connected by a simple horizontal overlap, as in many other buildings, but they are also interlocked with each other in three dimensions. This procedure makes it clear that they must have been installed in a certain order. P. Neve identified the ashlar behind the foundation as the first to be laid in the wall, as it is the lowest and the neighboring stones are on both sides (Neve 1995–96: 60 Figs. 31a–c). However, this ashlar is wedged by the diagonally worked stones of the pedestal in such a way that these can be identified as the first stones used. It is remarkable that the pedestal for the cult image was not made of gabbro, but of limestone, possibly because it was already built together with the foundation.

The very elaborate masonry technique was only used in a U-shape for the rear wall of the cella up to the middle of the side walls. From here on, the blocks were placed against each other without interlocking in the usual form with accurately fitting joints, so that the northern area can be identified as the one where the construction of at least the cella, but probably the entire temple, was started (Neve 1995–96: 60). Obviously, only the cult statue was to be enframed with this special structure.

Since the interlocked masonry does not cover the entire cella, I do not believe that this can be a technically necessitated procedure. Rather, I interpret this procedure against the background of the ancient Near Eastern world of thought (Winter 2003) and in the sense of the so-called cost-signal-theory⁴² to the effect that this technically particularly elaborate construction method was intended to represent the abilities of the planners and builders. Their actions thereby – in the sense of the ancient Near

41 For the cultic function of the windows, cf. Haas 1994: 276–78.

42 For an application of this idea on findings in the Hittite cultural sphere, cf. Glatz and Plourde 2011; for the cost-signal-theory, cf. Neimann 1997; Quinn 2019.

Eastern way of thinking – were only made possible by the abilities of the gods in whose place the individuals acted (Winter 2003).

To the east, cella 47 is flanked by rooms 48 and 49, which are thus functionally directly connected to the adyton (Figs. 7–8). K. Bittel and R. Naumann already recognized that the core of the adyton group, e.g. rooms 45–47 (possibly with 48 and 49?), corresponds to a defined house form of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia (Bittel 1964: 139f.). Since the late 4th millennium BC, simple dwellings consisting of two small rooms and a large room in front of them have been one of the standardized house types in Central Anatolia and form the core of the development towards more complex dwellings, which are characterized by functionally conditioned extensions of additional rooms (Schachner 1999: 39–42 Fig. 14).

2.11 The reconstructed western part of the adyton-tract

The substructure preserved in three parallel steps on the northwest of the substructure and a large, centrally flattened gabbro block known since the earliest investigations (Puchstein 1912: 105; Chantre 1898) indicated that further structures were most likely to have existed west of cella 47. Investigations by P. Neve in 1967 led to the above-mentioned reconstruction proposal. This reconstruction of the western half of the adyton-tract, which had been accepted by the experts since the preliminary reports, was neither described in detail nor justified in the published reports and diaries of the excavation.⁴³ It is remarkable, especially in light of the fact that H. Otten considered the Great Temple to be a double sanctuary even before the fieldwork in 1967 (Otten 1966: 160), that P. Neve recorded the reconstruction of this area in the excavation diary on 25.07.1967, i.e. already at the very beginning of that campaign, in sketches in the form published later (Neve 1967b: 25.7.).

In contrast to the eastern part of the adyton-tract, the western part is far less well preserved (Figs. 7, 15–16). Stone robbery has not only resulted in the wall socles being almost completely removed, but also in the substructure being heavily eroded. The uppermost stone layer has hardly been preserved at any point. Beddings for the walls are therefore not verifiable, although mentioned by Neve (1995–96: 48). At first sight, one is therefore inclined to question the reconstruction of a second cella. P. Neve's entry in the excavation diary of 31.10.1967 clarifies the problems of the find situation and the uncertainty of interpretation, which he too was aware of:

... zweites Adyton nochmals geprüft. Natürlich gibt es keinen sicheren Beweis, da die Mauern größtenteils fehlen, doch die wenigen Indizien (Anschluß an Adyton Ost, Fortsetzung der Ostwand nach NO, Fundamentkante in NW, verschobene Granitblöcke) [word missing, A. S.], um hier einen Raumtrakt zu ergänzen, der in seinem NW-Teil genau der Breite und Tiefe des Ost-Adytos entspricht. Nach der Anlage zu urteilen, müßte das »Klinenzimmer« diesem Raumtrakt zugehören. Vielleicht bildete es den Verbindungsraum zwischen Adyton-Ost und West. Vielleicht war das Adyton-Ost gar nicht Standort des Wettergottes, sondern im Hinblick auf die mächtige Basis im Kultraum für die Sonnengöttin, die vielleicht nach dem Vorbild der vielen ihr verwandten Göttinnen sitzend dargestellt war. Und der Altar im Hof war wohlmöglich der Sonnengöttin zugedacht? (Neve 1967b: 31.10.)

43 Neve 1969a: Beil. 1; 1995–96: 48.

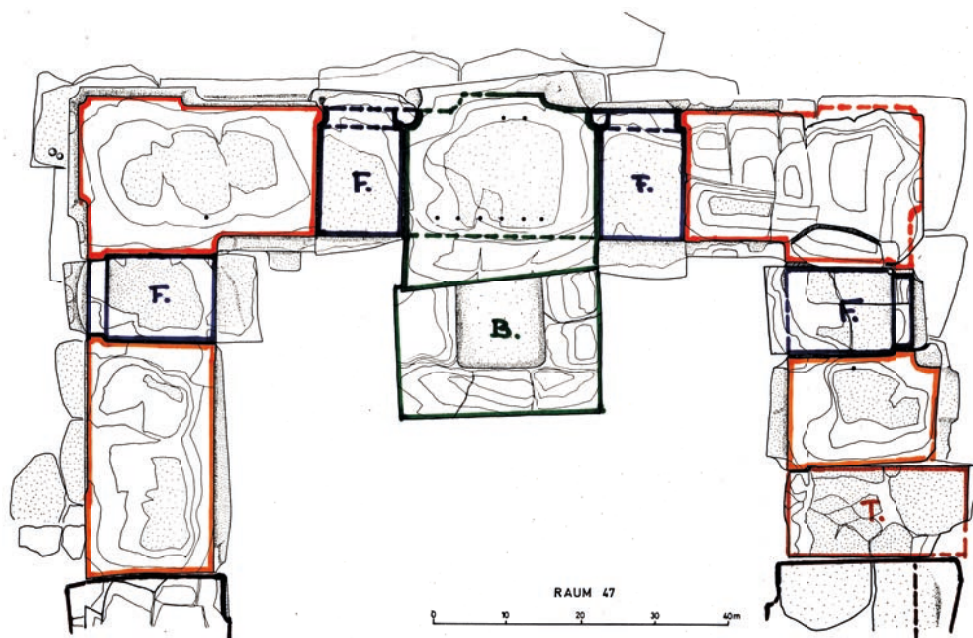


Fig. 19. Stone-by-stone plan of the northern wall of cella 47 (F indicates windows whereas B indicates the basis for the figure; T marks the door to the eastern rooms.) (P. Neve, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

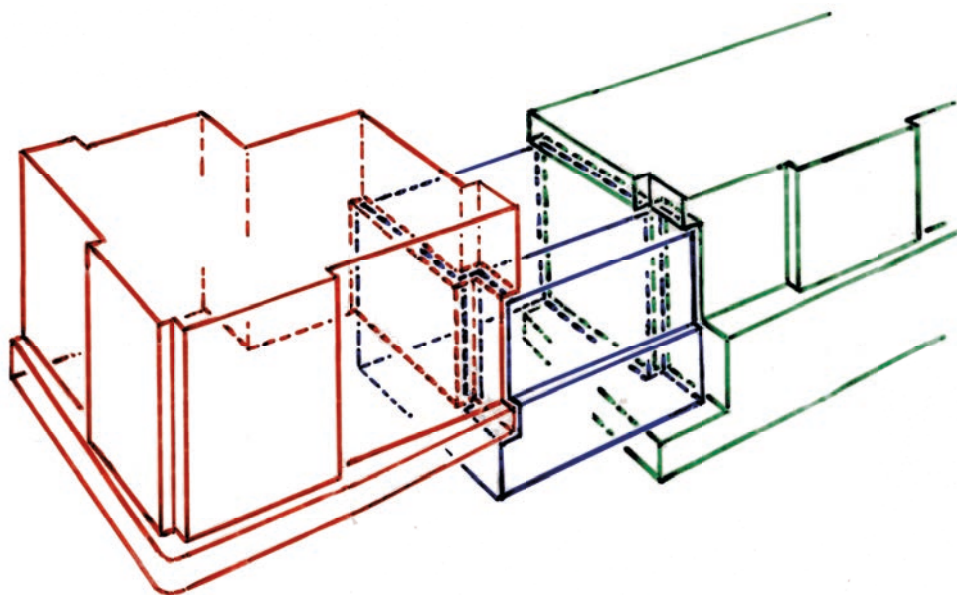


Fig. 20. Isometric drawing showing how the blocks are resting on top of each other (P. Neve, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

Excavations in this area in 2014 have shown that the situation originally left by the excavators – similar to that in the eastern cella 47 – could not be the preserved upper edge of the substructure (Schachner 2015a). The substructure on which the western cella stands is very badly damaged, especially in the north-west corner. Here several layers of the stone platform were torn out, so that a wide channel running from south-east to northwest is clearly visible, through which stones could be removed from the middle of the substructure and the wall base. This channel was filled with small, broken limestone, gabbro fragments and earth in an unstructured way when it was uncovered. It is located exactly at the point where, in the north-west of the building, there is the greatest difference in height between the upper edge of the substructure and the next lower terrace, i.e. exactly at the point that is best suited for the removal of the large blocks. During the removal of unstructured rubble and loose stones in 2014, several previously unknown fragments of processed gabbro blocks were uncovered (Fig. 15). Especially the position and tilting direction of a very large gabbro block, which P. Neve probably interpreted as the corner block of the room, can only be explained in consideration of its weight if this block was rolled to this place from the east or from the southeast; presumably it rolled over the edge of the channel and remained wedged between the blocks of the northwest corner of the terrace.

The large gabbro blocks have been relocated in the course of antique quarry activities and broken up by means of bouncing bars. On the one hand, this finding provides an approximate date of the destruction of the Hittite architecture; on the other hand, the evidence of worked gabbro blocks is of decisive importance for the plausibility of a second group of rooms. For regardless of the question to be discussed of the course of individual walls, the gabbro blocks preserved here are the strongest argument for the existence of further rooms in the west of the substructure. This is because the entire temple has wall socles made of large, carefully worked limestone or gabbro blocks. The horizontally worked upper surfaces of the blocks and the dowel holes drilled into them show that the socles of all walls were always only one layer high, regardless of the type of stone used. Since the walls of cella 47 and the rooms to the south and east of it are almost completely preserved, the numerous gabbro stones found in 2014 west of cella 47 in a secondary deposit can only originate from a part of the building that once existed here, but is now largely destroyed. Furthermore, these gabbro blocks permit the conclusion that they must have been used for ritual purposes, since this stone at the Great Temple occurs exclusively in connection with the ritual building parts in the north (Figs. 6–7, 15–16). Hence, the question of whether there was a second, western cella can be answered unequivocally: Yes!

Furthermore, the distribution of the gabbro blocks and their fragments provides clues for a general reconstruction of the extent and structure of the rooms. Mapping the gabbro blocks documented to the west of cella 47 reveals a certain regularity that is not accidental (Fig. 15). The broken blocks are grouped along two roughly parallel lines that end in the alignment of the northern outer wall of the eastern cella. This distribution can be explained by the fact that the gabbro blocks were leveled out of their beds and broken on site. The fragments that could not be removed remained near their original position.

Only in the southeast of the western cella does one block of the eastern wall still remain almost *in situ*. It has been moved only slightly to the east, but is still in the bedding in which it was once placed; exactly at the point where the substructure makes a stair-like difference in level to the north, which this block in the north-south running east wall of the cella originally compensated for. The eastern outer edge of this block lies exactly in the western alignment of the threshold between rooms 43 and 44.

The maximum possible extension of the room to the west is marked by the western edge of the uppermost step of the substructure. Parallel to the eastern group of rooms, it can be assumed that for static reasons the walls were not built directly on the outermost edge of the substructure. Therefore, the reconstruction of P. Neve, according to which the western wall of the western cella ran on the outer edge of the second level of the substructure, cannot be correct in my opinion. Rather, the western outer wall of the room must have run at a certain distance east of the uppermost edge of the substructure, similar to what is visible to the north of the eastern cella. This assumption is supported by the fact that a straight line can be seen in the substructure at this point, in the course of which no large stones were found; the large ashlar found at the northern end of this line, slightly shifted to the east, probably originally served as a corner-stone.

If, in addition to these observations, the general symmetry of the building is taken into account, it is conceivable that the western outer wall of this room ran approximately in the imaginary northern extension of the western boundary wall of the courtyard (Figs. 6–7). The distance between the outer edge of the uppermost step of the substructure and the presumed western outer edge of this wall to be reconstructed corresponds approximately to the distance between the northern wall of the eastern cella and the edge of the uppermost step of the substructure. The northern outer wall of the western cella should have been in alignment with the northern outer wall of the eastern cella for reasons of symmetry, because of the westward extending edge of the substructure and especially because of the end of the two parallel rows of gabbro fragments. This reconstruction would have made three steps of the substructure visible in the west and north of the western cella, similar to those in the east.

With this reconstruction, the western cella would be slightly shifted to the east compared to P. Neve's proposal and would be somewhat narrower than the eastern one (Figs. 6–7). I see no room for the series of small rooms west of room 44, which was additionally reconstructed by Neve (1969a). Probably one entered the western cella directly from room 44, whose northern end wall remains unclear. The "Kline", as it was called by Puchstein (1912: 105), was in my opinion part of the cella, and not an ante-room postulated by P. Neve. This is indicated by the extremely elaborate treatment of the stone, of which the only part preserved *in situ* in this area of the building is on the southern rear wall of the room. Both the location on the southern wall of the room and the form connect these so-called 'clines' with a similarly flat hollowed monolith, which was found in rooms 17 and 18/19 in complex 1 of the southern area (Schachner forthc.). This is better preserved and allows an identification as a flat basin, especially due to a preserved drain.

On the lowest level of the substructure, northwest of the reconstructed western cella, there is an area laid out with medium-sized stones. Regardless of the question whether a road actually ran north of the adyton-tract and how wide it was, one can agree with Neve's interpretation, "dass NW vom W-Adyton eine Art gepflasterter Platz [...] existierte" (1967b: 2.11.).

3. Did the temple have an upper floor?

The question of a second floor is of great importance when assessing the functionality of the building (Fig. 6). In the absence of concrete findings, an approach to this question is as difficult as clarifying its height. However, given the size of the foundations and wall bases of the Great Temple, some scholars were tempted to postulate a general second floor covering the whole building. Still, public buildings are known in the Hittite cultural area only from the second half of the 16th century BC and at least some of these have a second floor. From the corresponding cult buildings in Hattuša (Neve 1999: 34–46) or in Kuşaklı (A. Müller-Karpe 2017: 90 Abb. 77) it becomes clear that a part of the building was built on the sloping hillside in such a way that on the valley side about one third of the building could be built with a cellar (A. Müller-Karpe 2013: 340 Abb. 6). On this basement floor the ground floor rests, so that the cult rooms are regularly located on the side of the building with the basement and were thus elevated and visible from afar. In my opinion, the elevation and spacious visibility of these parts of the building were the actual aim of this planning procedure, rather than the desire to create additional useful space in the basement. There is no evidence that the ground floors of these buildings had a second floor.

In contrast to the buildings mentioned, the Great Temple is built on a massive substructure, which raised the ground-level cult rooms above their surroundings. However, this eliminates the possibility of setting up cellars. If, however, the cellae were at ground level in relation to the entrance, everything indicates that the southern parts of the building also only comprised the ground floor.

Apart from the basic problem, it is conceivable, and was also realized by Neve in his reconstructions (1969a: Fig. 4), that parts of the building were elevated and thus emphasized. Especially the gate construction and possibly also the two main cells could have been emphasized in this form.

To determine the potential height of the building, there are two starting points: 1) the possibility of a staircase in room 16 discussed above, and 2) the possible height of the windows. Architectural-typological considerations speak in favor of assuming a staircase in room 16 as a stairway to the roof (cf. Section 2.4 above). From the length of the room and the presumed depth and height of the steps, a height of at least 4.5 m to a maximum of ca. 7.5 m results.

A second starting point for determining the height of the building may be the windows. Although there are no concrete indications of their height, the clay models (Neve 2001b) show that they were probably designed in a highly rectangular shape. Based on these models, J. Seeher chose a ratio of ca. 60:120 cm, i.e. ca. 1:2, for the windows of the

city wall reconstructed in Boğazköy (Seeher 2007: 23f.). If this ratio, which blends in well with the façade of the finished building, is also applied to the temple, the windows in rooms 18 and 19 would be up to 180 cm high, those of cella 47 up to 220 cm. Since the window bottoms in the cella are considerably lower than those in rooms 18 and 19, it would be possible, despite these differences, for the building to be the same height in all parts. Substantially higher windows, e.g. those in a ratio of 1:3, seem unlikely to me, especially for aesthetic reasons, since in this case they would rather be perceived as narrow slits.

In room 18, the bottom of the window is about 100 cm above the floor. If one adds the suggested height of the window (ca. 180 cm) and a distance to the roof (ca. 100 cm) that is similar to the distance to the floor, one gets a total height of the building of at least ca. 380 to 400 cm, but probably up to 500 cm. As the distance between the floor and the window sill on the west side (room 1) at ca. 60 cm is smaller than on the east side, this estimate rather shows the upper range of the possible range of the total height of the building.

This value lies within a margin similar to that of the result obtained by calculating the staircase. Since the assumed distance between the upper edge of the window and the roof is purely hypothetical, I attribute a slightly higher load-bearing capacity to the result based on the calculation of the staircase. Therefore, I assume that the single-story building was at least 5 m high.

4. Reflections on functional and chronological aspects of the temple

The discussion of the function of individual rooms in Hittite temples has so far been conducted mainly on the basis of textual evidence and against the background of an inadequate chronological classification, which has resulted in contrasting interpretations.⁴⁴ If one looks at the groundplan of the Great Temple (Fig. 21), one could conclude that the rooms in the side wings are oriented towards the adyton-tract on the northern narrow side (Haas and Wäfler 1974: 214f., 224–26), disregarding the connections between the rooms. Since these are of decisive importance for the definition of the groups of rooms, the separate modules must serve as a starting point for an archaeologically founded interpretation of the functional structure of the temple. Due to the connections between the rooms, it is clear that in each module several rooms are organized around a room decorated with pilasters (Fig. 7–8). Puchstein (1912: 100–107) had already briefly described this division into what he called “Appartments”, which were organized around the “Staatszimmer”. Apart from variations in the size and the relationships of the rooms to each other, variations in the furnishings and the number of rooms assigned to them indicate functional differences. The following groups can be distinguished:⁴⁵ in the southwest 1–6, in the southeast 17–19, in the east wing 20–24 or

44 Börker-Klähn 1999; Alp 1983.

45 Except the western cella.

25–27 (possibly plus the building in the courtyard 39), in the west wing 32–35 as well as the adyton group 45–49.

Each room group is independent and can only be reached from one direction. The courtyard acts as a central distribution point. This individual accessibility contradicts the above-mentioned assumption of a parallel and hierarchical orientation towards the cellae in the north. Rather, the building was composed of self-contained, pre-planned, functionally defined modules, which are neither typologically nor structurally uniform. Based on the differences in design, four types of ground plan can be distinguished, whereby in all but 25–27, the room decorated with pilasters⁴⁶ on the inside is the largest and therefore doubly emphasized (Figs. 6–8):

1. Rooms 17–19, 20–24 and 45–47: two small and one large room, which can be supplemented laterally by further rooms – 23 and 24 or 48 and 49; the side rooms are only accessible through the respective cella. All examples of this type are located on the east side of the temple.
2. Rooms 1–6: this group has a unique structure.
3. Rooms 32–35: this group is formally independent but has structural similarities to group 1.
4. Rooms 25–27, which were probably designed as wide rooms.

The size of the decorated rooms reveals a hierarchy: the eastern cella 47 is by far the largest,⁴⁷ with a surface area of ca. 82.16 m²; cult rooms 19 and 22 are both the same size (ca. 37.73 m²), while room 1, with ca. 33.28 m² is only slightly smaller, but has a shape that clearly differs from rooms 19 and 22. In contrast, room 34 with an area of ca. 18.13 m² is considerably smaller, but typologically comparable with rooms 19 and 22, since it must be crossed diagonally like these in order to reach the adjoining room. With an area of only ca. 5.4 m² the tower-like installation in the courtyard (39) is considerably smaller than the other cult rooms. These differences in size were probably not accidental, but were planned and functionally determined. One possibility would be to read from this the significance of the room or group of rooms; parallel to this, one can assume differences in ritual practice and thus in the space required, which are also evident in other architectural variations of the floor plans.

The first scheme follows a house floor plan that has been frequently used since the Early Bronze Age in Central Anatolia.⁴⁸ The use of traditional Anatolian residential architecture could be an indication that ancient Anatolian deities were worshipped here, based on the textual reference to a temple as the house of the gods.

In the second group (rooms 1–6) six rooms are grouped together in a regular rectangle. At the same time, this is the only group in which a large window next to the entrance door allows communication from outside with the interior of the rooms. The regular basic form is reminiscent of the symmetrical temple ground plans of the younger

⁴⁶ Rooms 1, 19, 22, 34 and 47.

⁴⁷ The western cella is not included here.

⁴⁸ Bittel 1964; Schachner 1999: 39–42 Abb. 14.



Fig. 21. Aerial view of the Great Temple (2017; north is at the top; M. S. Öztürk, Archive of the Boğazköy Excavations, DAI Istanbul/Berlin).

buildings in the Upper City (Neve 1999). It is possible that, similar to rooms 25–27, a connection to the younger temples is indicated here.

The third group (rooms 32–35) is accessed via a long corridor and is only accessible via one room, so that they clearly form a unit. Although the floor plan of the group as a whole differs, the structure of the central room 34 corresponds to that of rooms 19, 22 and 47 in that one had to cross it diagonally to reach room 35 behind it. Another parallel between this group and those on the east side of the building is that they all consist of five rooms.

In the fourth group of rooms (25–27) no room is highlighted by pilasters. Room 26 is somewhat larger than the others and room 25 is only accessible from 26, which corresponds to the other cella groups in that one adjoining room was only accessible from the cella. For this reason, and because of the similarity with probably more recent cult buildings in the Upper City (Neve 1999), room 26 could be considered a cult room. Transverse oriented groups are unknown in Anatolian (sacred) architecture, but are well documented in Syria and especially in Mesopotamia. It is possible that this type of building reflects the worship of deities from this cultural area, which was dominated by the Hittites at the time the building was constructed.

Alternatively, one could also assume a functional connection between rooms 25–27 and the tower-like installation in the courtyard (39); for this is accessible from the north at a point immediately adjacent to the door to room 27, in a closed area of hall 37. In this case it would be possible to interpret rooms 25–27 as adjoining rooms of the tower-like installation in the courtyard (39).

Although both secular and cultic public buildings of the Hittite period are often composed of pre-planned modules, these components differ from the described groups of rooms in the Great Temple. For only in this building does a room decorated on the inside with pilasters form the core of such a group. If one follows the already discussed assumption that the wall projections on the inside of individual rooms – similar to Mesopotamia – characterize these as cult rooms, it becomes clear that the Great Temple has at least seven,⁴⁹ possibly even eight cult room groups.⁵⁰

While rooms 1, 19, 22, 39 and probably also 34 each have four pilasters facing each other in pairs, only three wall projections are found in the eastern cella 47. In front of the fourth wall there is a pedestal for the cult statue. Here an image of a god was apparently permanently installed, whereas the negative findings of corresponding installations in the other rooms could indicate the use of movable statues or altars. Although the reasons for these many differences cannot be clarified without additional finds, it is likely that they point to the worship of different deities and/or to different types of worship or cult acts.

Apart from the arrangement of the rooms around a cult room, the room groups documented by Neve at the temples in the Upper City of Ḫattuša (1999: 150f. Fig. 73) also differ in their form from the floor plans documented at the Great Temple. Since the cult rooms are clearly recognizable in the temples of the Upper City and also in

49 Rooms 1, 19, 21, 34, 39/27 and 47 as well as the western cella.

50 The number fluctuates according the interpretation of the rooms 27 und 39.

those of Kuşaklı, the room groups to the right and left of the adyton group cannot be directly cultic areas.

The modules that can be identified with high probability as cult room groups due to the decoration and the close relations of the surrounding rooms to the decorated rooms, take up the entire temple, apart from a very few rooms and passage areas. In contrast to the temples in Kuşaklı (A. Müller-Karpe 2013) and those in the Upper City (Herbordt 2019), no economic activity areas or otherwise profanely used rooms can be identified in the Great Temple. These were possibly located in the buildings surrounding the Great Temple (Figs. 2–3). However, since there are no significant finds, it remains to be seen whether, and if so where, corresponding functions could be located in the entire complex of the Great Temple.

The Great Temple thus differs in essential, structural and functional features from all other Hittite cult buildings known to date. In my opinion, the chronological classification of the building plays a decisive role in explaining this phenomenon. From the Great Temple, its storerooms and the southern area there are hardly any meaningful data available for the absolute and relative chronology. For this reason, the attempt to reconstruct the history of its use focuses on its architectural features,⁵¹ especially the question of its construction. The few finds that can be dated tend to give more clues as to the period of use.

The monumental buildings in the Lower City have special constructional features that are only found here: 1) terraces of different heights as a substructure for temples are only found in the early types 2, 3, 5 and 30 in the Upper City;⁵² 2) monolithic thresholds; 3) orthostat-like building stones as wall bases; 4) drill holes to connect the wooden framework with the wall bases, which are exceptions in the Upper City and other places; and 5) pithoi with counting and content marks in the magazines and a large building southeast of Kesikkaya. These features connect the buildings not only from a technical point of view, but, in combination with the results of the excavations of the last decade for urban development (Schachner 2015b), they provide strong indications that they were planned and erected as an ensemble in the Lower City at about the same time. Since it was possible to work out a relatively secure chronological framework for the construction of the building near Kesikkaya (Schachner 2015b), it plays a major role in the chronological evaluation of its construction due to the technical connections mentioned above.

Starting point of my considerations is the groundbreaking reconstruction of the typology and chronology of the Hittite temples by A. Müller-Karpe (2003; 2013). According to this, the stratigraphy in the Upper City suggests the development of sanctuaries with irregular outlines over those with partially regulated ground plans to completely symmetrical buildings. The finding of the temple of the storm god of Šarišša (A. Müller-Karpe 2013), which is certainly dated to the last third of the 16th century BC, led A. Müller-Karpe to the conclusion that the temples of his middle type, to which

51 Without any explanation Neve (1995–96) suggested a foundation of the temple during the 13th century BC by Ḫattušili III. This can be refuted based on the research by A. Müller-Karpe (2003).

52 Neve 1999: 153; 2001a: 21, 26f., 52–54, 77f., 85; Puchstein 1912: 163f.

also the Great Temple in Hattuša belongs, were already built in the second half of the 16th century BC (A. Müller-Karpe 2003). A. Müller-Karpe concluded that the sanctuaries with an irregular ground plan, e.g. Temples 2, 3 and 5 in the Upper City, must have been built even earlier or at least at the same time.

This reconstruction can now be further specified by the work in the surroundings of Kesikkaya. Both radiocarbon dating and its structural connection to the postern-wall suggest that the building southeast of Kesikkaya was erected in the decades at the turn of the 17th and 16th centuries BC as part of a comprehensive redesign of the capital (Schachner 2015b). This dating approach can be adopted, due to the aforementioned architectural and technical connections, at least as a general guideline for delimiting the period of construction of the Great Temple and the large buildings surrounding it in the Lower City.

Another criterion linking Temple 1 with the early Temples 2, 3 and 5 in the Upper City is its function as a visual anchor point in the urban fabric and beyond. A similar planning idea could underlie the structure of the Upper City (Dürr 2014). Since the second half of the 16th century BC, these technical and urban planning features have not been found either in Hattuša or in any other city.

Since some technical elements of architecture play a decisive role in the argumentation, I would like to briefly describe them and their roots. The high base on which the temple stands can only be compared in Anatolia, despite differences in details, with the terrace of the *kārum* period Waršama Palace in Kültepe (Özgüç 1999). Similar “Platten-gründungen” (Neve 2001a: 100) can only be found in Old Hittite times in Temples 2, 3 and 5 and building A in Ortaköy (Süel 2008). In temples of the younger forms in the Upper City of Hattuša or the temples in Kuşaklı/Şarišša, which were already built in the 2nd half of the 16th century BC (Mielke 2006), this element is not found.

However, similar platforms on which state buildings were erected are documented at sites in northern Mesopotamia: in the 3rd millennium BC, for example, in Tell Mozan or Tell Chuera, or in the early 2nd millennium BC, for example, in Oylum Höyük. These allow the conclusion that these terraces, similar to other forms of monumental architecture (Schachner 2006), probably had their origin in the high terraces of the Mesopotamian region. I assume that the Anatolian master builders were impressed by the technical features of these buildings and the creative possibilities resulting from them, but without transferring the ideological and above all religious components of meaning of the Mesopotamian high terraces.

Similar lines of development are also indicated for other elements of Anatolian monumental architecture of the early 2nd millennium BC. Due to the climate in Central Anatolia until early modern times, open courtyards as the center of a building are not part of the traditional architecture of Anatolia north of the Taurus (Schachner 1999). Corresponding courtyards integrated into exclusively representative public buildings are found in Central Anatolia only in the course of the intensive contact with the Syro-Mesopotamian civilizations in the late 3rd and especially in the early 2nd millennium BC.⁵³

53 For the impact of Syro-Mesopotamian monumental architecture on the development of public buildings in Central Anatolia, cf. Schachner 2006; 2008.

Orthostats, which appear on the Great Temple translated into the form of massive wall socles,⁵⁴ and the pilasters connected with them are further architectural features that were probably adopted from Syria at the latest in the course of the Hittite expansion to the south (Schachner 2014: 99–101). The massive high wall pedestals in the Great Temple correspond to undecorated orthostats as they were used in the Middle Bronze Age in Aleppo, Ebla, Alalakh or Tilmen Höyük for representative buildings or city gates.⁵⁵ It can be assumed that the Hittite builders wanted to achieve a similar result by adapting the procedure to the Anatolian conditions.

Pilasters have been used since the 4th millennium BC as a marking element of Mesopotamian sacred architecture (Miglus 1998–2001), whereby the so-called pillar-niche structure was almost exclusively attached to the outer façades. In contrast, in the case of the Great Temple and the southern area, this was also used on the interior. Similarly, as in the case of the court, the Hittite master builders took over this element and gave it a partially new content in the Hittite framework.

Three of the four architectural elements probably borrowed from Mesopotamia or Syria – high terraces and orthostats decorated with pilasters or oversized monolithic blocks of stone as wall bases – are no longer used in the younger Hittite era, i.e. in my opinion at the latest from the Middle Hittite period on,⁵⁶ as buildings in the Upper City of Ḫattuša, in Kuşaklı and in Ortaköy show.

In my opinion, the features of the Great Temple that have been discussed so far evolved in the course of the political development of the Central Anatolian states and their corresponding changing desires for representation in the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia BC, adapting patterns from Syria into the public architecture of Central Anatolia. All these elements are architectural features that characterize the entire building and can therefore be considered part of the overall plan. Their joint appearance and disappearance are most likely chronological phenomena that support an early dating of the Great Temple.

I would therefore like to suggest that the Great Temple and the large buildings surrounding it in the Lower City and in the area of Kesikkaya were already built in the late 17th or early 16th century BC, probably in the course of a fundamental transformation of the city after the foundation of the Hittite dynasty (Schachner 2015b), due to the lack of characteristic structural features in later buildings. A more precise chronological delimitation of this reconstruction is not possible in the absence of dating finds.

The period of use of the temple and the other monumental buildings can also only be generally limited on the basis of the finds and the documentation. Inscribed bullae and seals in the magazines and in the southern area prove that at least parts of the complex were probably used until the reign of Šuppiluliuma II. In the temple, palaeographically 'New Hittite' clay tablet fragments support the assumption of a use up to

54 Naumann 1971: 75–81; for the chronological development of the use of worked stones in Hittite architecture, cf. Schachner 2016: 94–100 Tab. 19.

55 Schachner 2014: 99–101; Aleppo: Kohlmeyer 2000: Taf. 9; Ebla: Matthiae 1980: Figs. 24, 28; Tilmen Höyük: Duru 2003: 23 Abb. 12, Taf. 24.2, 25.1–2, 27.2, 28.1; Alalakh: Woolley 1955: 92 Taf. 13c, 15b.

56 For a chronology of the use of worked buildings stones, cf. Schachner 2016: 94–97 Tab. 19. For a discussion of the pilaster, cf. Schachner forthc.

the height of the Empire Period during the 13th century BC. Remarkable and, in light of the finds available at present, hardly explainable is the apparent discrepancy compared to the duration of the finds in the area of the western Lower City terrace. For here there are many indications that this part of the city was not intensively used, at least in the later Empire Period.⁵⁷

5. The position of the Great Temple in Hittite architecture

The preceding discussion of the temple makes it clear that it is a special building for its time, which set new standards. It consists of pre-planned groups of rooms, which were assembled in a modular way (Fig. 8). In contrast to the superordinate structure of the entire building, which follows new indigenous Hittite forms, some of these components show clear relations to older, Anatolian building forms. The most common group, which consists in its core of one large and two small rooms, corresponds to a clearly defined house form (Bittel 1964: 139f.) that has been in use since the end of the 4th millennium BC (Schachner 1999: 39–42 Fig. 14). If all rooms (41, 43, 44, 48 and 49) of the eastern cella group behind the last lockable door to room 43 are taken into account, it is comparable to the complex residential buildings of the *kārum* period. In this most frequent group of rooms, the Hittite concept that the temple is the house or the earthly dwelling of the respective god becomes visible.⁵⁸ In this way, a connection to the older Anatolian religious traditions in terms of content becomes visible beyond the architectural typological derivation. Although it is not known which deities were worshipped in the individual groups of cult spaces, one can speculate that the large number of autochthonous groups of spaces points to Anatolian deities.

The origin of the spatial organization of groups 1–6, 25–27 (possibly plus 39?) and 32–35 is unclear (Fig. 8). While in my opinion no convincing comparisons can be made for groups 1–6 and 32–35, it is necessary to ask whether the parallel, staggered arrangement of rooms 25–27, which P. Neve also recognized in the younger temples of the Upper City, could possibly be borrowed from Syro-Mesopotamian temples with transverse oriented cult-rooms? However, this question cannot be answered at the present state of research.

Only two of the four schemata identified in the Great Temple were used in the cult buildings of the Upper City:⁵⁹ besides the form tying in with older Anatolian dwelling house structures, there is the schema consisting of three transversely oriented rooms (Neve 1999: 152–55 Figs. 72–73). While in Kuşaklı/Şarišša⁶⁰ and Oymaağaç/Nerik (Czichon et al. 2016: Figs. 2, 6) only cellae of the Anatolian type were found, the different schemata of cellae in the temples in the Upper City are distributed as follows (Table 1):

⁵⁷ Strupler in press; Schachner 2019; 2020.

⁵⁸ In general: Trigger 1990: 121; for the Hittite cultural sphere, cf. Beckman 2010.

⁵⁹ Neve 1999; 2001a.

⁶⁰ Neve 1999: 152–56 Abb. 72–73; A. Müller-Karpe 2013: 338 Abb. 4.

Scheme	Quantity
Anatolian	14 ⁶¹
traverse room	7 ⁶²
unique	8 ⁶³
Σ	29

Table 1. Distribution of the adyton-types in the temples in Boğazköy.

If one assumes that social practices are reflected in the archaeologically visible, material culture or architecture,⁶⁴ one can assume that the different building forms represent different religious contents and the socio-cultural practices associated with them. It would be obvious to conclude from this that the different forms of adyta represent different deities either regionally or in relation to their function, but this remains speculative, since the findings provide no further evidence.

Based on the development of Hittite temples in architectural history (A. Müller-Karpe 2003), it is striking that the Anatolian form of the cellae occurs in all phases of Hittite history. Apart from the eastern main cella (47) with its numerous side rooms (43–46, 48–49), the cult room groups of Temple 1 are more simply structured than those of the younger temples, in which regularly considerably more rooms are arranged around the sanctuaries there (Neve 1999: Fig. 73). Does this indicate a growing complexity of ritual acts over time?

Against the background of the historical development of the Hittite temples, there are also indications of a gradual increase in the number of temples with traverse cellae in the course of the Hittite era. Since these are mainly found in buildings of the younger, highly symmetrical and regulated type, further changes in the practice of the cult could possibly become apparent. It is possible that these changes were connected with the cultural and religious influence from Northern Syria, which was already clearly increasing in the 15th century BC and which is particularly visible to us in architecture.

The Great Temple in Ḫattuša may be considered by visitors and even a large number of scholars to be *the* Hittite temple *par excellence* (Fig. 21). In view of its features, however, it is clear that the Great Temple corresponds to the well-known Hittite cult buildings only at first glance. Although the traditional basic scheme of Hittite temples – consisting of a sequence of gate, courtyard, pillared hall and adyton – is adhered to,⁶⁵ the ground plan of the building differs in many, in my opinion decisive, details from the architecture of the other sanctuaries. It seems that the cults of various gods were united in one building, although these were practiced separately in later centuries. It is true that a hierarchical separation between the two cellae in the north on the one

61 Temples 2, 3, 4, 5 (2 cellae), 6, 7, 8, 12, 18, 20, 22, 26 and 30 (Neve 1999; 2001a).

62 Temples 9, 10, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 24 (Neve 1999).

63 Temples 11, 13, 14, 16, 23, 27, 28 and 29 (Neve 1999).

64 Among many others: Rapoport 1969; 1982; 1993.

65 Naumann 1971: 451–63; Schirmer 2002; Seeher 2002; Neve 1999; A. Müller-Karpe 2013: 337–39.

hand and the cult rooms in the southern part of the building on the other hand can be recognized by the choice of the different stone material and the separating function of the pillar hall 37. But the cult rooms in the central and southern part of the building were, in my opinion, of equal status, so that one gets the impression that in the Great Temple the Hittite pantheon of that time was housed together in one building. Against the chronological background, the structure of the building appears to be an attempt not only to connect the various religious phenomena with which the new state came into contact by reaching beyond the traditional boundaries of a regionally limited, Central Anatolian community in a metaphysical concept, but also to implement this visibly in the building. In the absence of our knowledge of the furnishings of the individual rooms, the allocations made above are naturally uncertain. However, the combination of building forms of different origins seems to reflect the religious heterogeneity of the newly emerging empire, which already extended from Central Anatolia to Northern Syria at the time of the construction of the building.

A further, in my view essential feature of the Great Temple is that it is visible from almost everywhere inside and outside the city and thus communicates with the surrounding area. The younger temples in the Upper City, in contrast, are located in a deep depression and have no eye contact with the surrounding landscape.⁶⁶ The temples in the Upper City (Neve 1999: 152–56) are much closer to the sanctuaries in Kuşaklı and Oymağaç than to the Great Temple in their functional and architectural structure.

Since, apart from traffic areas, practically all the rooms of the building belong to one of the cult room groups, there is no room for economic or domestic functions in Temple 1,⁶⁷ unlike most other known Hittite sanctuaries. This classification indicates that the temple itself had no economic function, but that the economic processes associated with the temple as a state institution were outsourced. This spatial separation is no longer found in the more recent temples, which only housed one or at most two deities and also economic components. Due to its ground plan design in combination with the separately arranged magazines, this temple is unique in the Hittite cultural area.

None of the monumental buildings in the Lower City shows any archaeologically recognizable changes or conversions. It can therefore be assumed that these buildings, which are elementary for the Hittite culture, were not significantly altered during their period of use. The architecture is therefore evidence of cultural, religious and economic stability and of the longevity of the institutions that were housed in these buildings.

The evident architectural-typological differences between the temples, which can be identified by their topographical location and ground plan, make the Great Temple appear to be unique. The reasons for these differences remain unclear. If one agrees with the proposed dating of the building to an early phase of the emerging empire, one can understand that numerous parameters that were trend-setting during this period were implemented here. With all due caution, a general sequence would result in Boğazköy, in which Temples 2, 3 and 5 were built at the transition from Old to Middle

66 For 3D reconstructions of the temples in the Upper City, cf. Dürr 2014.

67 For temples with economic functions, cf. Kuşaklı: A. Müller-Karpe 2013: Abb. 8; V. Müller-Karpe 2005; for the Upper City of Hattuša, cf. Herboldt 2019.

Hittite periods after the Great Temple. The temples in Nerik and Šarišša, which share the visibility with the older buildings, follow in Middle Hittite times, while the buildings of the younger form in the Upper City of Ḫattuša were built in the developed Middle Hittite or early Empire Period.

From the architectural changes outlined above, a fundamental change in use and thus in the practice of religion can be discerned, probably due to developments in the cult. In the case of this reconstruction, it would be remarkable that these recent developments in the cult were apparently not implemented in the course of the use of the Great Temple in this building, since this building shows no recognizable structural changes.

6. Some final socio-cultural remarks

Despite the lack of a textual tradition related to the Great Temple, it is possible to draw socio-political and socio-cultural conclusions from the construction of this and other monumental buildings in the Lower City (Figs. 2–3, 7, 21). The resources pooled for construction and maintenance suggest a hierarchically structured state (Trigger 1990: 119–22). Through such buildings, its elites not only demonstrate their technical abilities but also manifest their legitimacy, since they acted as representatives of the gods in the understanding of their time (Beckman 2010). All architectural features can be traced back to decisions made by the clients and are thus a materialization of their thoughts (DeMarrais et al. 1996: 16f.).

Through monumental buildings, social relationships and the socio-cultural patterns of behavior associated with them are spatially fixed in the long term.⁶⁸ The clients succeed in binding their ideas far beyond their own generation and thus exercise long-term social control (Knapp 2009: 48). This approach was successful in Ḫattuša in that the temple and thus its socio-cultural use did not undergo any archaeologically visible modification during its entire period of use.

Monumental buildings are not only the shell in which the immaterial social or religious acts took place, but they represented the ideological contents as *pars pro toto* in the city and beyond. The identity-forming impact of the building on Hittite society is thus evident. Architecture creates a space in which a common religious and socio-cultural identity is formed through the actions carried out there again and again in the same form or through participation in these.⁶⁹ The spacial visibility creates material anchor points for the development of a common identity (Knapp 2009: 49) that includes those who cannot directly participate in the events in the building. Monumental architecture is thus an important means of creating social cohesion, especially in the founding phase of a new state system.⁷⁰

68 Ganzert 2004: 328; for the aspects of longevity, cf. Trigger 1990: 126f.

69 Knapp 2009: 47; Assmann 2007a: 14–151; 2007b.

70 Comparable societal mechanisms are visible in the development of the representative arts which were used to create a common identity in a similar manner (Schachner 2012c).

It is noteworthy that in the early phase of the Hittite Empire, religion as a unifying factor apparently played an essential role.⁷¹ It was probably used to overcome the heterogeneous currents of Anatolian societies. According to some researchers, the textual tradition also shows that the Hittite dynasty began to reshape the religious topography of individual cities as well as to extend these efforts to all of Central Anatolia (Taracha 2009: 33–79). From historical tradition it is known that the Anatolian religion changed significantly during the founding phase of the Hittite state and, according to some scholars, was deliberately transformed into an imperial religion (Taracha 2009: 33–79). Is it conceivable that these efforts manifested themselves in the combination of several deities and different building traditions in the Great Temple?

On the basis of the typologically autochthonous architecture, conclusions can be drawn about the indigenous institutions located in these buildings. Their establishment forms the backbone of the Hittite state and is one of a series of technical and social innovations that enabled the development from a regional Anatolian principality to the Hittite Empire.⁷² The success of this approach is demonstrated by the fact that the building was used until the Empire Period without any noticeable alterations.

A global comparison of ancient cultures shows that efforts to erect monumental architecture are particularly strong during the period of the emergence of political systems or during phases of upheaval or renewal.⁷³ The erection of such buildings in (an early phase of) the Old Hittite period reflects the consolidation of power relations and the creation of a Hittite identity through the (re)ordering and long-term fixation of social relations. Their socio-political significance and thus the actual reason for their construction becomes comprehensible. These buildings represent the social reorganization of Anatolia at the transition from the regional principalities of the *kārum* period into an extensive Hittite state, in the center of which, despite considerable local forces, the city Hattuša, representing the local storm god, played the decisive cultural, religious and socio-political role.⁷⁴

The newly created structures overcame the traditional, geographically fostered heterogeneity of Central Anatolia. The religious ideas and, above all, the ritualized actions in the newly created, indigenous Hittite temples were of decisive importance for the cohesion of the Hittite state, the legitimation of the rulers and a common identity of the people (Gilan 2004). For through participation in the rituals and religious acts of the ‘new’ ruling dynasty, a common ‘Hittite’ identity was created beyond Hattuša, which formed the backbone of the new state. The erection of structurally identical buildings in distant regions (e.g. in Kuşaklı/Şarişsa) since the second half of the 16th century BC testifies to the efforts to extend the cultural homogenization initially

71 For the role of religion in creating a common cultural identity, cf. in general Assmann 2007a: 163–258; 2007b; for the Hittite cultural sphere, cf. Gilan 2004.

72 Cf. Schachner 2009; for the importance of institutions for the development of complex state societies, cf. Acemoglu and Robinson 2013.

73 Trigger 1990: 127; Knapp 2009: 52–55.

74 For the immaterial significance of the capital for the self-image of the Hittite state, cf. in general Doğan-Alparslan and Alparslan 2011.

achieved in Hattuša and its surroundings to the entire core of the empire in order to achieve comprehensive domination of Central Anatolia (Schachner 2017c).

At the transition from the 17th to the 16th century BC, the construction of the Great Temple and the buildings in its vicinity reflected a completely new degree of a design of an entire district and the entire city oriented towards political and ideological criteria (Schachner 2015b). Although the metaphysical core of the Hittite religion always maintained a strong connection to nature (Haas 1994), this is hardly reflected in the architecture – apart from the high windows. Rather, the massive construction method appears to be more of a demarcation from the environment. It thus becomes clear how far at least the official conception and institutionalized practice of religion manifested in the building had distanced itself from its roots and become part of the state's exercise of power in a socially urbanized environment.

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DIE ‚TIEFE QUELLE‘ VON NERIK (OYMAAĞAÇ HÖYÜK)

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Abstract

The ‘deep spring of Nerik’, which is known from the archives of the Hittite capital at Hattuša, was excavated at the site of Oymaağaç Höyük in northern Anatolia between 2009 and 2019. The spring chamber is reached by a vaulted stairway with more than 50 stone steps which starts at the south-east corner of the temple and leads eight meters under the surface. It served on the one hand as a safe water supply even in times of danger, on the other hand as a retreat for the Stormgod of Nerik. It was in use until the Early Iron Age, when the water basin was filled with torn off branches and twigs as well as different sorts of damaged wooden objects. Traces of burning corroborate the hypothesis that the memory of the ‘beloved spring of the Stormgod of Nerik’ was intended to have been destroyed by fire. The plan failed and the water basin was filled with mud. When the spring chamber was excavated it contained an unique botanical treasure, which gives insights into wooden architecture, the weaver’s craft and the style of wooden agricultural tools in the Iron Age.

Mit wachsender Größe und Komplexität einer Siedlung stellt sich die Frage nach der Trink- und Brauchwasserversorgung ihrer Bewohner, öffentlichen Einrichtungen und Werkstätten. In kleinen und mittelgroßen Siedlungen, wie etwa im 400 × 400 m großen Ekalte, dem heutigen Tall Munbaqa am mittleren Euphrat, mögen sich die Familien selbst geholfen haben, indem sie mit Krügen zum Euphratufer gingen, um sich mit frischem Euphratwasser zu versorgen und daraus u. a. Bier zu brauen, das sie in großen Tonfässern am kühlssten Platz ihrer mit massiven Steinfundamenten gebauten Wohnhäuser, d. h. unter der Treppe, aufbewahrten. Alternativ mögen sie Esel oder Maultiere benutzt haben, die, mit tönernen Wasserkrügen beladen, die Gasse nördlich des Platzes in ‚Ibrahims Garten‘ zum Fluss hinuntertrippelten.¹

Noch während der Ausgrabungen in den 80er und 90er Jahren des 20. Jh. wurde die Trink- und Duschwasserversorgung der 15-köpfigen Grabungsmannschaft durch die Kinder des Wächters Aboud alias Abu Ranem sichergestellt, die mehrmals täglich auf ihren Eseln zum Fluss hinunterritten, um die auf dem Eselsrücken beidseits befestigten Blechanister mit Wasser zu füllen (Blocher et al. 2006: 23, 25), das sie anschließend in eine rote Tonne für Warmwasser(!) und eine blaue für kaltes Wasser gossen.

Im früh- und mittelbronzezeitlichen Mari wurde nach den Untersuchungen von Jean-Claude Margueron ein Kanal vom Euphrat abgezweigt und durch die Stadt geleitet (Margueron 2009: 43). In Babylon verlief der Euphrat, anders als heute, mitten durch

1 Siehe den Stadtplan von Ekalte in Werner 1998: 2. Umschlagseite.

die Stadt (Koldewey 1925: 194 Abb. 256) und sorgte – wie in Mari – für relativ kurze Wege zum Wasser. In Assur wurde die Stadt sowohl vom Tigris als auch von einem Seitenarm des Tigris flankiert (Roaf 1996: 149).

In hethitischen Städten kreierte man eine Lösung, die die heutigen Wasserbauingenieure der staatlichen *Devlet Su İşleri* noch immer als die beste erachten. Man baute Teiche und Stauseen, z. B. in der Oberstadt von Hattuša-Boğazköy,² in der unmittelbaren Umgebung der Stadttore von Šarišša-Kuşaklı (Müller-Karpe 2017: 17 Abb. 14), in fußläufiger Entfernung der Stadtmauern von Alaca Höyük (Çınaroğlu und Genç 2004: 281f.), oder man errichtete – wie im Falle von Nerik – einen auch in Krisenzeiten sicheren Zugang zu einer stark sprudelnden Quelle.

Nerik, dessen Gleichsetzung mit dem am Nordrand des Landkreises Vezirköprü nahe des Kızılırmak gelegenen Oymaağaç Höyük (Abb. 1) inzwischen als sicher gelten darf, ist seit langem aus den Archiven von Hattuša-Boğazköy als Hauptkultort des Wettergottes Taru bekannt. Hier ist der Schauplatz des Illuyanka-Mythos (Haas 1994: 103). In Nerik endeten meist die Kultreisen, die der König und seine Entourage im Rahmen der alljährlich veranstalteten großen Feste, wie z. B. des *purulliya*-Neujahrsfestes oder des *nuntarriyašša*-Festes, durchführten. Offiziell galten sie dem Wettergott von Nerik, gleichzeitig jedoch garantierte die regelmäßige Präsenz des Königs den inneren Zusammenhalt des hethitischen Kernlandes.

Als wichtigster Kultort von Nerik wird neben dem Tempel des Wettergottes mit seinem ebenso einzigartigen wie rätselhaften *daḥanga*, das nach Aussage zweier Textfragmente vom Oymaağaç Höyük (Klinger 2016: 55) aus Holz oder Stein bestehen kann, die ‚Quelle von Nerik‘ genannt. Hier hinein zog sich der Wettergott von Nerik zurück, wenn er den Menschen zürnte und sie mit einer Dürre bestrafte. Hier kam er auch wieder heraus, um in seinen unmittelbar benachbarten Tempel zurückzukehren und die Menschen wieder mit dem lebensspendenden Regen zu versorgen,³ auf dass „Brot gedeihe“ (Haas 1994: 325).

Ganzjährig sprudelndes, frisches, kühles Quellwasser galt und gilt auf dem anatolischen Plateau als kostbares Gut, dem man in hethitischer Zeit besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkte, indem man es in Becken (z. B. Eflatunpınar), Teichen (z. B. Hattuša, Šarišša) oder Stauseen (z. B. Alaca Höyük) zu sammeln oder durch unterirdische Quellsammern (Hattuša, Nerik) zu schützen versuchte. Die Furcht vor Wassermangel war und ist nicht unbegründet, wie eine Betrachtung der Weizenernten zwischen 1928 und 1961 (Hütteroth und Höhfeld 2002: 88 Tab. 1) oder des Jahreszuwachses von Kiefern zwischen 1770 und 1930 (Hütteroth und Höhfeld 2002: 94 Abb. 43) beweist. Mittlere und mäßige Ernten überwiegen gegenüber guten und sehr guten Ernten, und katastrophale Missernten sind nicht auszuschließen. 1928 und 1945 etwa wurde Anatolien von schweren Dürreperioden heimgesucht, die große Teile des Viehbestandes vernichteten (Christiansen-Weniger 1970: 87 Abb. 37).

2 Seeher 2005: 48f. (Südteiche), 84–86 (Ostteiche).

3 Noch immer (Stand 2017) pilgern die Bauern bei ausbleibendem Frühjahrsregen auf den höchsten Berg in der Umgebung des Dorfes Oymaağaç, um dem *Yağmur Babası* zu huldigen und um Regen zu bitten.



Abb. 1. Luftbild des Oymaağaç Höyük (Foto: Türk Hava Kurumu).

Gleichzeitig ermöglichten Quellen in der Vorstellung der Hethiter den Zugang zur Unterwelt, die unterhalb des Grundwassers „tief im Erdinnern“ (Haas 1994: 127) bzw. in der „finsternen Erde“ (Haas 1994: 596) verortet wurde. „Durch eine Höhle und durch eine Quelle steigt der Wettergott von Nerik in die Unterwelt hinab ...“ (Haas 1994: 127).

In der Regenbeschwörung von Nerik ruft der Beschwörungspriester den in der Unterwelt bei seiner Mutter Ereškigal weilenden Wettergott auf, „aus der tiefen Quelle“ heraufzukommen, die in einem ähnlichen Ritual als die vom Wettergott geliebte Quelle (in) Nerik bezeichnet ist (Haas 1994: 326f.).

Nach der Lokalisierung von Nerik am Oymaağaç Höyük gelang nach nunmehr elf-jährigen Ausgrabungen die Identifizierung und Freilegung der ‚geliebten‘ bzw. ‚tiefen Quelle‘ von Nerik. Der Eingang zur unterirdischen Treppe, die an der Quellschammergeht, befindet sich nur wenige Meter südöstlich unterhalb des in der Nordostecke des Oymaağaç Höyük errichteten Wettergotttempels und konnte vom Haupteingang des Tempels in wenigen Schritten erreicht werden. In seiner ursprünglichen Form bestand der Zugang zum unterirdischen Treppengang aus bearbeiteten Steinblöcken,⁴ die eine leicht nach hinten fliehende Fassade, ähnlich des Poterneneingangs von Ras Shamra-Ugarit, gebildet haben könnten. Es ist anzunehmen, dass der Zugang durch eine Tür verschlossen wurde, in deren Konstruktion die flachrechteckigen roten Andesitsteine, die heute am östlichen Hügelabhang liegen, integriert waren. Sowohl die sorgfältig

4 Die Pickspuren der Steinhämmer sind noch deutlich zu sehen.

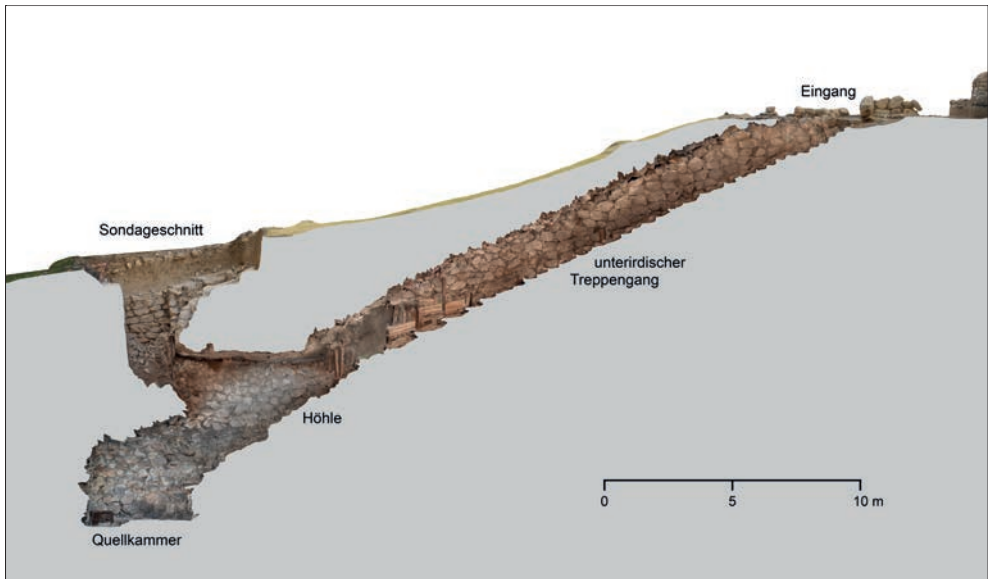


Abb. 2. Südwand der unterirdischen Treppe und des Wasserbeckens (Foto: Beuth-Hochschule für Technik Berlin, FB III, Labor für Photogrammetrie).

bearbeiteten Steine, die bislang an keinem anderen Gebäude in Nerik beobachtet werden konnten, als auch die Andesitplatten, die aus den mindestens 15 km entfernten Steinbrüchen in den Tavşanbergen südlich von Vezirköprü herangeschafft werden mussten, betonen den besonderen Status dieses außergewöhnlichen Bauwerkes, das in der hethitischen Architekturgeschichte bislang seinesgleichen sucht.

Die nach unten führende steinerne Treppe (Abb. 2) wird von einem Kraggewölbe aus 65–100 × 40–60 × 25–40 cm großen, grob zurecht geschlagenen Steinen aus feinkörnigem, unterschiedlich stark bituminösem Kalkstein⁵ überdacht, eine Bauweise, die in der Späten Bronzezeit in der altvorderasiatischen und mykenischen Welt den Stand der Bautechnik repräsentierte. Sie begegnet bei den sogenannten Poternen in Hattuša, Alaca Höyük und Ugarit ebenso wie bei der Grabkammer in Gavurkale oder an der *Perseia* in Mykene.⁶

Der ca. 1,2 m breite und 2,2 m hohe, im Querschnitt annähernd dreiecksförmige Gang, der bis 20 cm unterhalb der Decke mit lehmiger Erde verfüllt war, führt zunächst über 35 gleichmäßige, häufig aus drei Steinen bestehende, 15–25 cm hohe Stufen mit einem Neigungswinkel von 24 Grad in die Tiefe, ehe er eine ca. 6 m lange, 2,2 m hohe, im Eingangsbereich 2,7 m breite und an der Rückwand sich auf 1,6 m verjüngende Felskammer (Abb. 3) erreicht. Sie besteht aus einer natürlichen Höhlung in einem Travertinfelsen, der sich in der Umgebung einer Karstquelle gebildet hat, die sowohl dem

5 Materialbestimmung durch Dr. Volker von Seckendorff.

6 Naumann 1971: 124–31; Eerbeek 2011: 243f. Abb. 40; Bevan und Bloxam 2016: 92.



Abb. 3. Travertinhöhle mit Seitenwänden des Treppenganges (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

ab dem Chalkolithikum besiedelten Oymaağaç Höyük⁷ im Westen als auch dem überwiegend in der Frühen Bronzezeit besiedelten Şörlentepe⁸ im Osten als hauptsächliche Wasserversorgung diente.

Bis 2016 wurde davon ausgegangen, dass sich in der Felskammer ein Wasserbecken (Czichon 2013: 198), das ähnlich wie in Boğazköy durch einen Zufluss in der Rückwand der Kammer gespeist wird, befinden würde.⁹ Die Tatsache, dass sich sowohl die Seitenwände des Kraggewölbes als auch die Treppe innerhalb der Travertinkammer fortsetzten, verwunderte jedoch. Dieses Rätsel löste sich in der Grabungskampagne des Jahres 2016 (vgl. Mielke 2019).

7 Drei verbrannte Getreidekörner, die in der Asche eines fragmentarischen Ofens im Areal 7383 zutage kamen, und Holzreste an der Innenseite des Knochengriffes 7383:143:006 wurden 2019 vom TÜBİTAK Marmara Araştırma Merkezi in Gebze/Kocaeli mit mehr als 90 % Wahrscheinlichkeit in die Mitte des fünften vorchristlichen Jahrtausends datiert.

8 Der Şörlentepe befindet sich unmittelbar östlich des Oymaağaç Höyük und wird heutzutage von einem modernen Gehöft überbaut. Die Lage der Karstquelle lässt sich noch nicht eindeutig bestimmen. Sie könnte jedoch nahe der Stelle liegen, an der sich heute der Brunnen von Sefer Çobanoğlu, dem Eigentümer des Gehöftes, welches in die Ostseite des Oymaağaç Höyük einschneidet, befindet.

9 Eine ähnliche, wenngleich weit weniger monumentale, als ‚Quellgrotte‘ bezeichnete Anlage befindet sich an der Westseite des Großen Tempels in Hattuşa-Boğazköy: Seeher 2005: 9 Abb. 8 Nr. 14, 25 Abb. 23; Neve 1987: Unterstadt / Tempel 1e.



Abb. 4. Wasserbecken am Ende des Treppenganges (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

Im Frühjahr 2016 hatte sich nach einem Starkregen ein ca. 40 × 40 cm großes und 150 cm tiefes Loch am Ostrand des Oymaağaç Höyük geöffnet und zwar an einer Stelle, die nach grober Schätzung über dem Dach der Felskammer zu lokalisieren war. Auf Anraten des damaligen Leiters des Archäologischen Museums in Samsun, Necati Kodalak, dem diese Öffnung als erstes aufgefallen war, wurde im Sommer 2016 an dieser Stelle eine Sondage durchgeführt. Der anfänglich auf wenige Tage projektierte Testschnitt vergrößerte sich zusehends und erreichte nach mehreren Wochen eine Fläche von 5,5 × 5 m und eine Tiefe von beinahe 5 m. Es zeigte sich, dass die Travertinhöhle nicht hermetisch abgeschlossen war, sondern Öffnungen besaß, die die Hethiter durch Mauern inner- und außerhalb der Kammer zu schützen suchten.

Ein Indiz dafür, warum sich die Treppe auch innerhalb der Felskammer fortsetzt, lieferte ein Sonnenstrahl an einem Herbstnachmittag, der eine kleine, dreieckige Öffnung am Fuße der aus Bruchsteinen gebauten Rückwand der Felskammer beleuchtete. Sie bildete den Scheitel eines zweiten Kraggewölbes, das „ein ca. 3 m langes, 2 m breites und 1,6 m tiefes Becken“ überdeckt (Mielke und Czichon 2019: 17). Zweifellos handelt es sich um das Wasserbecken der in den hethitischen Texten mehrfach erwähnten ‚tiefen (d. h. tief unter der Erdoberfläche befindlichen) Quelle‘¹⁰ von Nerik (Abb. 4).

10 Z. B. in KUB 36.89 Vs. 28: *ħalluwa ħunħueššar* (nach HW² III H/2, 721–23 eher „Wassermasse, Gewässer, Wasserflut, Welle, Woge“); vgl. aber z. B. KUB 36.90 Rs. 32': PÜ „Quelle, Brunnen“.

Etwa 8 m unter der Erdoberfläche endet der 50 Stufen umfassende Treppengang mit zwei massiven, quaderartigen Trittsteinen, deren Oberfläche auf Grund starker Beanspruchung wie glattpoliert wirkt. Der Beckenboden besteht aus Bruchsteinen (Abb. 5), die in unregelmäßiger Art und Weise in eine wasserabdichtende Schicht aus grauem tonigen Lehm verlegt wurden, eine Technik, die die hethitischen Baumeister auch bei den Ostteichen in der Oberstadt von Hattuša (Seher 2005: 84) oder dem Damm vor dem Nordwesttor von Šarišša angewendet haben (Müller-Karpe 2017: 85 Abb. 71). Über einen dreieckigen Ausgussstein in der Rückwand der Anlage floss „heilbringendes Wasser“¹¹, dessen Kalkablagerungen sich in der zentralen Rinne des Ausgusses erhalten haben, in das Becken. Vorläufig noch nicht zu beantworten ist die Frage, wie das Wasser aus der anzunehmenden Karstquelle zum Ausgussstein geleitet wurde. Eine Leitung aus Tonröhren (Seher 2005: 86 Abb. 92) wäre ebenso denkbar wie ein Kanal aus Stein oder eine Leitung aus Holz.¹²



Abb. 5. Quellkammer mit Ausgussstein in Rückwand, gepflastertem Wasserbecken und hölzerner Abflusskonstruktion (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

- 11 Haas 1994: 127 Anm. 108. Die hervorragende Qualität des Wassers wird durch die Arbeiter, die während der Freilegung der unter dem Grundwasserspiegel liegenden Quellkammer das durch die Ritzen der Seitenwände einströmende, klare, kühle Wasser kosteten, bestätigt. In hethitischer Zeit, als die östlich von Nerik befindlichen Berge vermutlich noch bewaldet waren, dürfte die Wasserqualität sogar noch höher gewesen sein (Goldberg und Bernhofer 2005: 104).
- 12 Zur Lösung könnte eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung des modernen Brunnens von Sefer Çobanoğlu beitragen, der sich etwa 30 m östlich der Kammer befindet. Nach Angaben des Eigentümers wird der Brunnen von Wasser gespeist, das aus einem östlich des Brunnens befindlichen Travertinfelsen herausläuft. Teile dieses Felsens sind an der heutigen Geländeoberfläche sichtbar, bspw. an der Stelle, wo die Ausgräber und Besucher ihre Autos parken, und wo der Fels im Sommer bei intensiver Nutzung zu einer feinen, dicken, weißen Staubschicht zerbröselt.

Für die Herkunft des Wassers ebenfalls von Bedeutung sind zwei massive, gut gesetzte und parallel nach Osten verlaufende Steinmauern, die sich vor der Ostseite der Travertinkammer befinden. Die südliche dieser beiden Mauern könnte nach vorsichtiger Schätzung ihre Fortsetzung in der südlichen Mauer des Brunnens von Sefer Amca finden. Eine Sondage in der Flucht im Bereich des Eingangstores zum



Abb. 6. Mit Blei verstärkte Abflussöffnung (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

Sicher beantwortet werden kann indes die Frage, wie der Wasserstand im Becken reguliert wurde. Darüber geben die Befunde in der Südostecke des Beckens, die in der Grabungssaison 2019 unerwartet zutage kamen, Aufschluss. Nach der vollständigen Freilegung des Beckenbodens zeigte sich, dass das Steinpflaster im hinteren Teil des Beckens vor einer Holzinstallation endet, bzw. dass das Steinpflaster an dieser Stelle entfernt wurde, vermutlich um eine Reparatur durchzuführen. Vorstellbar wäre, dass der Abfluss, der gleichzeitig mit dem Steinpflaster errichtet worden war, seine Funktion nicht mehr erfüllte und ersetzt werden musste. Der neue Abfluss bestand aus zwei quer gerichteten, passgenau übereinander gelegten Holzblöcken, die auf dem Niveau der untersten Steinlage der Beckenwand in die Südostecke integriert wurden, und die einen längs gerichteten, oben und unten abgeflachten, mittig durchbohrten Holzbalken fest umklammern. Dieser Holzbalken konnte bis zu einer Länge von zwei Metern sicher verfolgt werden, und es ist anzunehmen, dass er einst in die Felder an der Ostseite des Oymağaç Höyük entwässerte. Um den Wasserstand des Beckens zu kontrollieren, d. h. bei Wasserüberfluss die Abflussmenge zu erhöhen und bei Wasserarmut den Abfluss

Gehöft von Sefer Amca, die knapp unter der Oberfläche auf eine massive Steinmauer stieß, könnte diese Hypothese bestätigen. Die Funktion dieser Steinmauern ist allerdings ohne eine geophysikalische Prospektion bzw. eine großflächige Freilegung des Bereiches zwischen Hügelprofil und anstehendem Travertinfels östlich des Brunnens von Sefer Amca nicht zu ermitteln.

zu verlangsamen oder zu verhindern, wurde das Ende des längs gerichteten Holzbalkens mit einer vertikalen Bohrung versehen. Zudem wurde die Oberseite des Balkenendes ein Stück weit abgearbeitet, sodass ein über die Holzoberfläche überkragender, breiter, runder Rand entstand. Hier wurde bei Bedarf ein Verschluss (Schlegel)¹³ angebracht. Da die Öffnung für den Verschluss offenbar starker Belastung ausgesetzt war und das dauerhaft im Wasser befindliche Holz vermutlich im Laufe der Zeit seine Stabilität einbüßte, hat man den Rand und die Innenseite der Öffnung mit einem Bleiüberzug (Abb. 6) verstärkt. Dieser Befund, der den ältesten Beleg für die Verwendung von Blei in Wasserleitungen darstellt, kann als Vorläufer der *fistulae aquariae* gelten, die in der römischen Kaiserzeit weit verbreitet waren (Cech 2010: 123, 128). Das Blei könnte aus der Lagerstätte Gümüşhacıköy¹⁴ stammen, die sich an der Südseite des Tavşan-Gebirges befindet und von Vezirköprü aus über die uralte Passstraße nahe Büyükkale und Küçükkale nach etwa 40 km erreicht werden konnte.

Um an die in hethitische Zeit datierende hölzerne Abflussinstallation zu gelangen, mussten zunächst ca. 4000 Hölzer geborgen werden, die sich – eingebettet in der feuchten, lehmsandigen Füllung des Wasserbeckens – 3000 Jahre lang unversehrt erhalten haben (Abb. 7). Nach den Ergebnissen zweier Radiokarbondatierungen, die im TÜBİTAK-Labor in Gebze/Kocaeli angefertigt wurden, wurden diese Hölzer im 9. Jh. v. Chr., d. h. am Übergang von der Frühen zur Mittleren Eisenzeit, in diesem Becken deponiert (Kealhofer und Grave 2011: 418–20).

Zu den Bestandteilen dieses unerwarteten und in Inneranatolien einzigartigen Hortfundes zählte eine stabile, 0,5 m breite Leiter (Abb. 8), die sich unterhalb der letzten



Abb. 7. Quellkammer mit Holzeinlage (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

13 Siehe die 17. Station des *Wasserwirtschaftlichen Lehrpfades im Fränkischen Freilandmuseum Bad Windsheim*, Wasserwirtschaftsamt Ansbach 2018.

14 Siehe die *Kuşun-Çinko Maden Haritası*, Maden Tetkik ve Arama Genel Müdürlüğü 2018: Im westlich gelegenen Merzifon sind Bleispuren in Kupferschlacke bereits in prähistorischer Zeit belegt (Fidan 2016: 54).



Abb. 8. An die letzte Treppenstufe angelehnte stabile Holzleiter (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

Stufe der Steintreppe befindet und den Einstieg in das 1,6 m tiefe Becken ermöglichte. Ihre Holme bestehen aus Kiefern- (Janka-Härte 540¹⁵), ihre Sprossen hingegen, die durch ständiges Hinauf- und Hinuntersteigen einer viel stärkeren Beanspruchung ausgesetzt waren, aus Eichenholz, dessen Janka-Härte 1200 beträgt. Vermutlich um das Becken in Längsrichtung zu überqueren, wurde ein mehr als zwei Meter langer, schmaler Steg mit Holzsprossen in unregelmäßigen Abständen parallel zur südlichen Beckenwandung auf das Holzkonglomerat gelegt (Abb. 9).

Bemerkenswert sind sieben massive Pfosten, die in den hinteren beiden Beckendritteln in unregelmäßigen Abständen entlang der Beckenwandung aufgereiht wurden (Abb. 10). Sie bestehen einerseits aus entrindeten, vermutlich extra für diesen Zweck zugerichteten Stämmen und andererseits aus Fragmenten von Architekturelementen, die sekundär in der Quellkammer verwendet wurden. Dazu gehören zwei Bauteile, deren symmetrische Aussparungen auf eine ursprüngliche Verwendung in einem Blockbau (türkisch *kütük evi*) hinweisen (Abb. 11). Die aus „horizontal übereinandergeschichteten Holzbalken oder Stämmen“¹⁶ bestehende, einsturzsichere Konstruktion, deren Ecken durch sogenannte Verkämmungen verschränkt sind, prägte nicht zuletzt

¹⁵ Janka-Härte-Test, Wikipedia 2018.

¹⁶ Der Blockbau hat eine genau definierte Konstruktion, Hausjournal 2020; von Kienlin 2009.



Abb. 9. Hölzerner Steg entlang der Südwand des Wasserbeckens (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).



Abb. 10. Holzeinlage mit senkrecht stehenden Pfosten entlang des Beckenrandes (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).



Abb. 11. Ursprünglich in der Blockhausarchitektur verwendeter Balken mit Aussparungen (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

wegen ihrer Stabilität gegen Erdbeben die Landschaft des anatolischen Schwarzmeergebietes bis in jüngste Vergangenheit. Beispielsweise konnte Verf. im August 2019 in den zum Landkreis Vezirköprü gehörenden Dörfern Altınkaya und Kabaoguz, die sich nördlich des Kızılırmak in den Bergen befinden, mehrere in Blockbauweise errichtete Getreidespeicher (Abb. 12) sowie einen ehemaligen Stall für Geflügel in Blockhausmanier beobachten.¹⁷ Insbesondere die alten, zweigeschossigen Holzhäuser in Kabaoguz Köy mit ihren hölzernen Bänken, Wandhaken, Vorratskisten, Babywiegen und geflochtenen Körben vermitteln einen Eindruck davon, wie das Leben in der schwarzmeernahen Berglandschaft über Jahrhunderte, vielleicht sogar Jahrtausende hinweg ausgesehen haben mag. Darin könnte tatsächlich der Grund für die von Jak Yakar postulierte Unsichtbarkeit der Kaşkärer im archäologischen Befund (Yakar 2000: 288) zu suchen sein, insbesondere wenn man sich die Abdrücke und Pfostenlöcher früh-eisenzeitlicher Holzarchitektur aus Boğazköy-Büyükkaya und Schicht YHSS 7 in Gordion vergegenwärtigt (Seeher 1998: 237 Abb. 21–22).

Der Raum zwischen den oben erwähnten, vertikalen Pfosten entlang der Wandung des Wasserbeckens war mit unterschiedlich großen und unterschiedlich geformten Hölzern, die wahllos übereinandergestapelt zu sein schienen, gefüllt.¹⁸ Dazu zählen hunderte von Ästen und Zweigen, die ohne Sorgfalt von Bäumen abgehackt und/oder abgerissen wurden, Bruchstücke von längs durchtrennten Ästen mit Zweigansätzen, Fragmente flacher Bretter, ein flachrechteckiges Holzstück mit eingezapftem Kantholz sowie mehrere Arbeitsgeräte, die vermutlich aufgrund von Beschädigungen ausgemustert wurden.

Besonders interessant, da in der anatolischen Archäologie bislang einzigartig, ist das zerbrochene¹⁹, 28,9 cm lange und 10,2 cm breite Blatt einer Feldhacke aus Kiefernholz

17 Erste Belege dieser Bauweise reichen bis in das Neolithikum zurück, wie die an das Ende des 6. Jt. datierenden, quadratischen Brunnen aus Erkelenz-Kückhoven und Altscherbitz belegen. Vgl. Bick 2006: 36.

18 Vgl. Czichon und Mielke 2019.

19 Der Bruch entstand im Bereich der sechseckigen Öffnung, durch die die Schnur verlief, die das Blatt mit dem Griff verband.



Abb. 12. Fundamentecke eines hölzernen Getreidespeichers aus Altınkaya Köy (Foto: Rainer Czichon).



Abb. 13. Beschädigtes Blatt einer Feldhacke (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).



Abb. 14. Webschwert (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

(*Pinus sylvestris*)²⁰, deren Schneide vermutlich durch Feuer gehärtet²¹ und mittels einer Schnur an einem gebogenen hölzernen Griff befestigt war (Abb. 13). Eine vollständig erhaltene Parallele stammt aus dem Mittleren Reich in Ägypten und wird in den National Museums Liverpool aufbewahrt. Sie wurde nach der jährlichen Überschwemmung des Nils benutzt, um den Boden für die Aussaat vorzubereiten: „A hoe was used to break up the earth. This was a tool used by the everyday people of the Nile Valley.“²² Man kann davon ausgehen, dass es auch in der Hethiterzeit und Frühen Eisenzeit ein alltägliches Werkzeug der anatolischen Landbevölkerung gewesen ist.²³

Nicht minder interessant ist ein vollständig erhaltenes, sorgfältig geschnitztes, 35 cm langes und 5 cm breites Webschwert aus *Pinus sylvestris* (7986:068:008:003), das vielleicht aus dem 50 m westlich gelegenen und nach Aussage eines 14C-Datums eben-

20 Zur Präferenz der heute kaum mehr anzutreffenden Kiefer durch die eisenzeitliche Bevölkerung des Oymaağaç Höyük vgl. Riehl und Marinova-Wolff 2011: 210.

21 Siehe dazu die interessante Versuchsreihe von Marvin Fehrenbacher, durchgeführt im Rahmen des deutschlandweiten Wettbewerbes *Jugend forscht*. Während für Eibe und Esche eine Feuerhärtung explizit nachgewiesen werden konnte, war das Ergebnis für Fichte weniger eindeutig. Für Kiefer steht eine entsprechende Untersuchung noch aus. Siehe Fehrenbacher 2007: insbesondere 9–11.

22 Item ID 1973.1.540, National Museums Liverpool 2020.

23 Eine jungsteinzeitliche Vorform kam im oben erwähnten Brunnen von Erkelenz-Kückhoven zutage, siehe *Kückhoven-Ensemble 2*, LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn 2016.



Abb. 15. Balkenfragment mit Werkzeugspuren (Foto: Nerik Datenbank).

falls in das 9. Jh. v. Chr. datierenden Webatelier im Planquadrat 7484 stammen könnte (Abb. 14). Es wurde am traditionellen Webstuhl dazu benutzt, die Knoten einer Reihe fest an die unteren Knotenreihen zu drücken.

Über die Gründe, warum diese Hölzer in der Eisenzeit im Wasserbecken deponiert oder installiert wurden, lässt sich bislang nur spekulieren. Der obenauf liegende Steg nährt die Vermutung, dass man in einer wasserarmen Zeit, als das Becken möglicherweise verschlammte, versucht hat, zum Ausgussstein zu gelangen, um das frische, saubere Wasser direkt abzapfen. Die heute wahllos herumliegenden Hölzer mögen ursprünglich Teil eines, wenngleich ziemlich nachlässig errichteten Unterbaus gewesen sein. Mehrere zwischen den größeren Ästen befindliche, sorgfältig geschichtete Haufen aus kleinen Zweigen sowie ein schwarzer Brandfleck erwecken hingegen den Eindruck, als habe man versucht, ein Feuer zu entfachen. Möglicherweise entstand der Brandfleck, als man einen derartigen Reisighaufen entzündete und das kurzzeitig auflodernde Feuer die umliegenden größeren Hölzer ankokelte. Mangels ausreichenden Sauerstoffs erlosch das Feuer jedoch wieder, bevor es den beabsichtigten Schaden anrichten konnte. Mag sein, dass jemand im Rahmen einer kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung versucht hat, der Stadt den Todesstoß zu versetzen, indem er die Lebensader der Siedlung zu zerstören suchte. Konkretere Hypothesen werden jedoch erst möglich sein, wenn wir mehr Informationen über die geschichtlichen Ereignisse in der Frühen Eisenzeit besitzen, und vor allem, wenn es eine nordanatolische Dendrokurve gibt, mit deren Hilfe sich die Hölzer im Wasserbecken datieren lassen.²⁴

Darüber hinaus gilt es, das Rätsel der zahlreichen Hack-, Schneide-, Stich- und Schnitzspuren zu lösen, die sich an fast allen Hölzern feststellen lassen (Abb. 15). Mit welchen Äxten wurden die Bäume gefällt und deren Äste abgehackt? Wie wurden die Stämme entrindet? Wie wurden die Aussparungen der Blockhausbalken geschaffen? Womit wurden die rechteckigen und sechseckigen Löcher erzeugt? Mit welchen Werkzeugen wurden die Feldhacke und die Webschwerter hergestellt? Auf welche Weise

²⁴ Zur Problematik dendrochronologischer Datierungen im anatolischen Schwarzmeergebiet siehe Mielke und Czichon 2019: 18.

wurden die Holzbretter produziert? Über das Holzhandwerk im Alten Orient ist wenig bekannt. Eine Ausnahme bilden die singulären Möbelfunde aus verschiedenen Tumuli in Gordion (Simpson 2012: Figs. 2–15) sowie Holzschnitzereien aus den skythischen Königsgräbern, die sich unter Permafrostbedingungen erhalten haben (z. B. Samašev 2007: Abb. 5–10). Nicht nur Funde, sondern auch zwei- und dreidimensionale Darstellungen von Holzhandwerkern sowie Werkzeuge liefert hingegen das Alte Ägypten. Die in die 18. Dynastie datierenden Wandmalereien im Grab des Rechmire (TT 100)²⁵ aus Schech ‘Abd-el Qurna in Theben bspw. zeigen Möbelschreiner in verschiedenen Stadien ihrer Arbeit. Einen leibhaftigen Eindruck von der Arbeit der Zimmerleute vermittelt zudem das Holzmodell aus dem Grab des Meket-Re in Deir el-Bahari (11. Dyn., 2134–1991 v. Chr.). Nach Ansicht von Zahi Hawass verwendeten die Zimmerleute des Neuen Reiches „Äxte mit Bronzeklingen und Holzschäften für das Hacken und Sägen zum Schneiden, ... Große Holzwucherungen wurden mit Breitbeilen, ebenfalls aus Bronze mit hölzernen Schäften, geglättet“ (Hawass 2009: 153). Beispiele solcher Holzwerkzeuge wurden in verschiedenen thebanischen Gräbern des Neuen Reiches gefunden und werden heute im British Museum²⁶ aufbewahrt. Man darf annehmen, dass vergleichbare Geräte auch von den nordanatolischen Zimmerleuten der Späten Bronze- und Frühen Eisenzeit verwendet wurden.²⁷ Um herauszufinden, welche Spuren von welchen Geräten stammen, müssten diese Werkzeuge originalgetreu nachgebaut und an Kiefernholz aus dem Schwarzmeerraum getestet werden. Nur so ließe sich der seltene Nassholzfund aus dem Wasserbecken der einst in weiten Teilen der spätbronzezeitlichen nahöstlichen Welt bekannten Quelle von Nerik angemessen bewerten.

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²⁷ „Most of the tools used for working wood were already known in the Bronze Age, and with the use of iron they took on the shapes that for the most part are still in use today“ (Humphrey et al. 1998: 343).

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KULTHANDLUNGEN UND KULTPERSONAL IN HETHITISCHEN PALÄSTEN

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Abstract

In Hittite Anatolia, ritual activities were not limited to temples and special sacred spaces; palaces also played an important role as a stage of the 'state cult'. For instance, the 'Great Cult Assembly' took place in the *ḫalentuwa*-, a part of the palace. The space required for such an assembly leads to the conclusion that generally the largest and most prominent room within these buildings should be considered as the *ḫalentuwa*-. In Alacahöyük, Ortaköy, Maşat and Kayalıpınar these rooms can be concretely located. Archaeological and textual evidence from Kayalıpınar enables us to reconstruct cult practices taking place in the palatial complex of Šamuḫa in the Middle Hittite period. An archive of sealed bullae recently discovered in this complex of buildings gives insight into its contents in imperial times. The seals show the personal names, titles and professions of their owners. 58 bullae, about 5% of the entire archive, belonged to priests, 'Temple Lords' and augurs.

1. Einleitung

Als Ort für die Durchführung von Kulthandlungen werden, wie selbstverständlich, Tempel angenommen, während Paläste als Wohnsitze von Herrschern gedeutet werden, in denen zudem die zivile Verwaltung eines Herrschaftsgebietes untergebracht war. Sakralgebäude für Sakrales – Profangebäude für Profanes, so die gängige Formel. Dem Alten Orient war aber die strikte Trennung von sakraler und profaner Sphäre fremd. Tempel hatten durchaus auch eine weltliche Funktion als Wirtschaftsbetriebe, und Paläste waren (nach Ausweis von Festritualen) sehr wohl auch Schauplätze von Kulthandlungen. In den Texten wird jedoch durchaus unterschieden zwischen dem, was wir mit 'Tempel' übersetzen, und dem 'Palast' (É.DINGIR = 'Gotteshaus' bzw. É.GAL = 'großes Haus'; Güterbock 1974; 1975). Die Trennlinie verlief aber allem Anschein nach nicht so scharf oder zumindest nicht an der Stelle, wo sie in unserem heutigen Wortgebrauch verläuft, nämlich zwischen sakral und profan.

Noch schwieriger ist es, die in den Texten überlieferten Bezeichnungen für bestimmte Gebäude auf den archäologischen Befund zu übertragen. Lediglich für die Hauptstadt des Hethiterreichs scheint die Situation weitgehend geklärt zu sein: Der Palast lag auf der Burg, der Büyükkale, das Hauptheiligtum, Tempel I, in der Unterstadt, die übrigen Tempel in der Oberstadt (Schachner 2011: 136–203). Doch ganz so einfach ist auch hier der Befund nicht. So widmete Maciej Popko eine Studie dem

Thema „Tempel auf Büyükkale“, in der er aufgrund der Schriftquellen sogar eine „hohe Zahl der auf Büyükkale lokalisierten Tempel“ meinte feststellen zu können.¹

Dem steht aber der Befund entgegen, dass kein einziger Sakralbau des Bauschemas, wie ihn die archäologische Bauforschung als typisch für hethitische Tempel herausgearbeitet hat, auf Büyükkale gefunden werden konnte, obwohl die Burg auf ihrer gesamten Fläche ausgegraben wurde. Dieses Bauschema ist durch eine Reihe bestimmter Charakteristika gekennzeichnet, wie sie erstmalig 1912 Otto Puchstein formuliert hat: „Um einen ... oblongen Hof ... liegen rings verschiedene Räume ...“ (Puchstein 1912: 94); hierauf aufbauend präzierte Rudolf Naumann 1971: „Immer kommen die gleichen Kompositionselemente vor: Toranlage, Treppe, Hof, Hofhalle ... Diese Elemente sind meist klar gegeneinander abgesetzt ... entweder (durch) eine Nische ... oder durch einfachen Fassadenrücksprung ...“. Explizit verweist er darauf: „Bei keinem Tempel fehlte der Hof, der immer rechteckig und in der Längsrichtung meist auf den Kultraum ausgerichtet war“ (Naumann 1971: 454). Peter Neve fand dann bei seinen Ausgrabungen in der Oberstadt eine Reihe weiterer Bauten, die genau dem Schema entsprachen, und auch außerhalb der Hauptstadt in Kuşaklı-Şarişsa sowie in Oymaağaç-Nerik konnte dieser Tempeltypus nachgewiesen werden.²

Damit wurde aber auch zunehmend deutlich, dass all dasjenige, was in den hethitischen Texten mit É.DINGIR bezeichnet wurde, sich nicht ausschließlich auf diesen Tempeltypus bezogen haben kann. Es muss einerseits weitere Formen der Sakralbauten gegeben haben, andererseits wird der Begriff É.DINGIR zum Teil wohl auch Baulichkeiten gemeint haben, die lediglich Teil einer komplexen Anlage wie eines Palastes waren, eventuell ein einzelner Raum, oder auch nur eine Kultnische. Der Begriff kann somit nicht einfach mit ‚Tempel‘ übersetzt werden, sondern bezieht sich auf verschiedengestaltige kultisch genutzte Räumlichkeiten.

Entsprechend löst sich auch das Problem um den Begriff *ḫalentuwa*-. Hier standen sich in der Forschung lange Zeit hauptsächlich zwei gegensätzliche Positionen gegenüber. Einerseits diejenigen, die hier eine Bezeichnung für einen Sakralbau bzw. für einen Raum innerhalb eines Tempels sahen, andererseits diejenigen, die eine profane Deutung im Sinne eines Rasthauses, Wohnhauses des Königs bzw. allgemein Palastes präferierten.³ In erster Linie war es Sedat Alp, der in einer sehr umfangreichen Studie den Nachweis zu erbringen suchte, dass *ḫalentuwa*- mit ‚Cella‘, dem Hauptkultraum von Tempeln, zu übersetzen sei.⁴ Doch just im Jahr 1983, als seine Monografie zu dem Thema erschien (*Beiträge zur Erforschung des hethitischen Tempels. Kultanlagen im Lichte der Keilschrifttexte*), wurde im Tempel 16 in Boğazköy die hethitisch-hurritische Bilingue entdeckt, und nur wenige Monate später präsentierte Heinrich Otten im Grabungsvorbericht entscheidende Ausschnitte des Textes: „Von Interesse angesichts der

1 Popko 2003. Bereits Güterbock (1975: 126) lokalisierte die drei von Ḫattušili I. erwähnten Tempel in „the Lower City, or even on Büyükkale.“

2 Müller-Karpe 2013; Czichon et al. 2019: 46.

3 Güterbock 1974. Eine ausführliche Übersicht zur älteren Forschungsdiskussion: Alp 1983: 1–14. Vgl. zuletzt Barsacchi 2017: 132–34 und Taracha 2017.

4 So dann auch HW² III H/1, 20, im Gegensatz zu HED 3, 15.

Diskussion um die Bauterminologie dürfte die Entsprechung $\text{Ḫalentuwaš} = [\text{ḫ}]i-i-kal-li$ sein ... ugaritisch ... *hkl*, *h[e]br[äisch] hēkal* ‚Palast‘.⁵

Damit schien Sedat Alp widerlegt, die Kontroverse beendet zu sein. Doch die zahlreichen von Alp zusammengetragenen Textstellen belegen unzweifelhaft, dass in dem *ḫalentuwa*- verschiedene Kulthandlungen stattzufinden pflegten, ja dass dieser Räumlichkeit sogar eine zentrale Funktion für bestimmte Rituale zukam. Zu betonen ist, dass diese Rituale nicht etwa nur dem Bereich der ‚persönlichen Frömmigkeit‘ des Königs-paars zuzuordnen sind, sondern oftmals unter Beteiligung zahlreicher Personen stattfanden, somit als Teil des ‚Staatskultes‘ zu verstehen sind. Die Konsequenz dieses Befundes ist, dass es einerseits zwar fraglos eigene, freistehende Sakralbauten, Tempel im engeren Sinne gegeben hat, andererseits aber ebenso innerhalb der Palastanlagen wichtige Teile dieses ‚Staatskultes‘ vollzogen wurden.

2. Hethitische Palastarchitektur

Wie aber ist die architektonische Form dieser hethitischen Palastanlagen, wie sind sie überhaupt von Tempelbauten zu trennen? Zahlreiche Studien haben sich bereits mit dem zentralen Königspalast der Hauptstadt, der Büyükkale, befasst, sodass dieser Baukomplex nicht erneut behandelt werden muss.⁶ Weniger klar jedoch ist die Situation in anderen Städten des Reichs. Für zahlreiche Orte ist die Existenz eines É.GAL durch die Texte belegt,⁷ archäologische Reste hingegen liegen nur aus vier Provinzstädten vor (Abb. 1).

An erster Stelle ist hier Alacahöyük zu nennen. Die Anlage wurde von Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay bereits 1937–1939 freigelegt. Sie stammt im Wesentlichen aus der Großreichszeit, wobei ihre Anfänge durchaus bereits in die mittelhethitische Periode zurückreichen können (Abb. 2). Der Ausgräber sprach das Gebäude zunächst als Sakralbau, als „großer Tempel“, an, da er gewisse Ähnlichkeiten mit den Tempelbauten der Hauptstadt erkannte (Koşay 1951: 7–12, 112–14). Es wurden aber auch wesentliche Abweichungen deutlich, sodass er später keine klare Entscheidung bezüglich der Funktion treffen wollte und quasi als Kompromiss von einem „Tempelpalast“ sprach.⁸ Da aber mittlerweile seit den umfangreichen Grabungen Peter Neves in der Oberstadt von Boğazköy der Bautypus des hethitischen Tempels noch klarer zu fassen ist (Neve 1992: 23–49), treten die Unterschiede des Baus in Alacahöyük gegenüber den Tempeln deutlicher hervor. In Maşat hingegen wurde der zentrale Baukomplex schon während der Freilegung als Palastanlage angesprochen (Özgüç 1978). Insbesondere der Charakter des dort entdeckten Tontafelarchivs mit der Korrespondenz eines Provinzgouverneurs erleichterte die Funktionsbestimmung des Gebäudes, das in die mittelhethitische Zeit zu datieren ist. Bei dem seit 1990 freigelegten Gebäude A in Ortaköy waren die Aus-

5 Otten in Neve 1984: 373; Neu 1996: 228f.

6 Schachner 2012 mit älterer Literatur.

7 Del Monte und Tischler 1978: 579 listen 49 Orte mit Palästen auf.

8 Koşay und Akok 1973: Taf. 85. Erstmalig erwog Bittel 1942: 95, dass man in dieser Anlage „... einen Kultbau sehen könnte ... Daneben ist auch die Deutung als Palast möglich.“

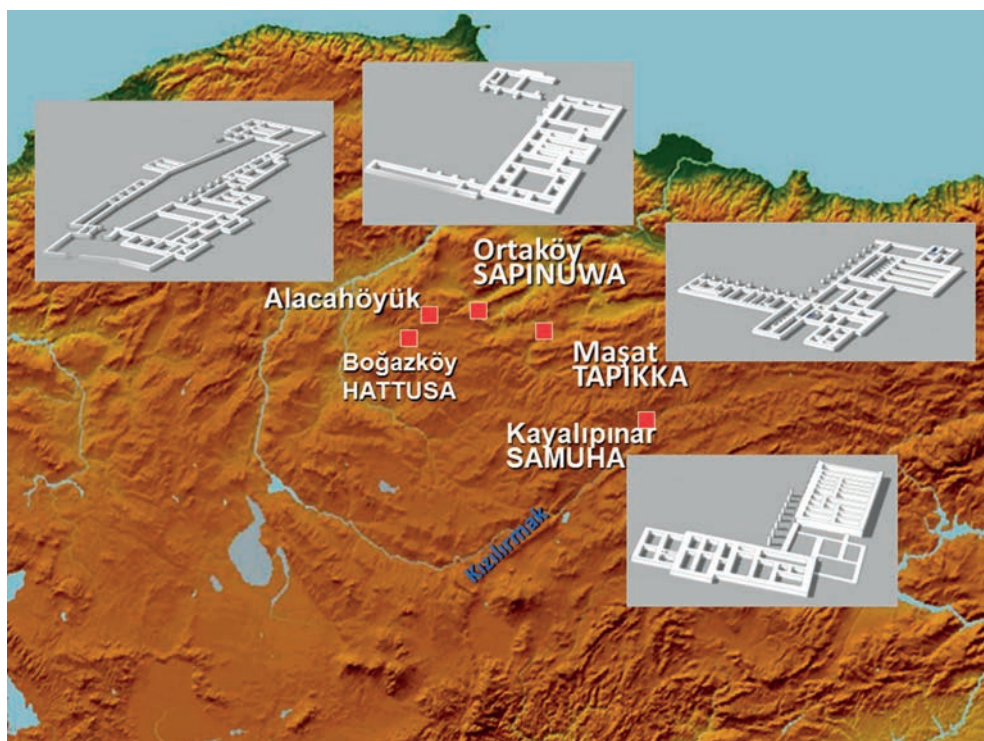


Abb. 1. Palastanlagen in hethitischen Provinzstädten (Kartengrundlage: maps-for-free.com, verwendet unter Creative Commons license CC0; isometrische Ansichten: A. Müller-Karpe).

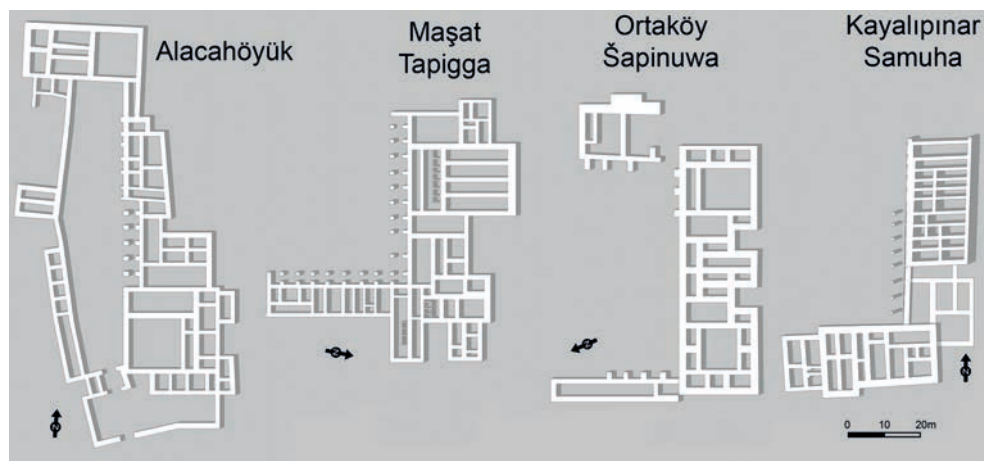


Abb. 2. Grundrisse hethitischer Palastanlagen im selben Maßstab. Einzelne Mauerzüge sind rekonstruiert (Plangraphiken: K. Bieber und A. Müller-Karpe).

gräber wiederum sehr zurückhaltend bezüglich einer Deutung und verwendeten meist nur den Begriff „monumental edifice“, obwohl hier neben Texten religiösen Inhalts durchaus auch Verwaltungskorrespondenz, ja sogar solche des Großkönigs, vorliegt.⁹ Der zuletzt ausgegrabene Baukomplex dieser Art liegt nun aus Kayalıpınar-Şamuha vor, wo die Arbeiten 2005 begannen. Wie der Palast von Maşat gehören auch die Bauten von Ortaköy (Gebäude A) und Kayalıpınar (Gebäude A–C) in die mittelhethitische Zeit und wurden um die Mitte des 14. Jhs. zerstört.¹⁰

Erst wenn man die vier genannten Anlagen vergleichend betrachtet, sind Gemeinsamkeiten wie auch individuelle Eigenheiten zu erkennen (Abb. 2). Charakteristisch für all diese Bauten ist, dass sie jeweils aus mehreren für sich konzipierten Raumgruppen modular zusammengesetzt sind. Die Orientierungslinie für diese Module stellt die gerade durchlaufende Hoffront dar, während demgegenüber die Außenfassade durch starke Vor- und Rücksprünge gekennzeichnet ist. Die einzelnen Raumgruppen waren stets vom Hof her zugänglich, nicht von der Außenfront. Lediglich bei dem Palast von Alacahöyük ist der Hof auf allen Seiten von Mauern bzw. Räumen eingefasst,¹¹ bei den übrigen Beispielen fehlen umlaufende Begrenzungen. Es ist allerdings nicht abschließend geklärt, ob ursprünglich derartige Einfassungen vorhanden waren und nur nicht erhalten oder ausgegraben wurden. Allerdings kann sowohl in Maşat als auch in Kayalıpınar aufgrund der topographischen Situation ausgeschlossen werden, dass an den jetzt offenen Hofseiten ursprünglich ganze Gebäudeflügel vorhanden waren. Allenfalls befanden sich hier Begrenzungsmauern oder schmale Raumreihen, wie an der Westseite des Alacahöyük-Palastes. Gleiches ist für das Gebäude A in Ortaköy zu erschließen. An allen vier Seiten von breiten Gebäudeflügeln eingefasste Innenhöfe, wie bei den Tempelbauten der Epoche, hat es bei den hier zur Diskussion stehenden Anlagen nicht gegeben. Stets ist ein Haupttrakt festzustellen, an den im rechten Winkel Nebentrakte angefügt wurden.

Wenn wir uns nun den architektonischen Charakteristika dieser Haupttrakte zuwenden, so ist zunächst festzustellen, dass jeweils zumindest ein Abschnitt der Hofseite eine Pfeilerhalle aufwies. Besonders große strukturelle Übereinstimmungen zeigen die Anlagen von Alacahöyük und Ortaköy. Dominant ist ein etwa quadratisches Baupmodul mit einem ebenfalls quadratischen, recht großen Saal im Zentrum, der von deutlich kleineren Räumen gerahmt wird (Abb. 3, rot). In Alacahöyük hat dieser Saal eine lichte Weite von 12 m. Naumann (1971: 403) interpretierte ihn als „Empfangssaal, dessen Decke vielleicht von einer, zwei, oder vier Stützen getragen wurde.“ Er sieht ihn als Element des offiziellen Teils des Palastes, der als Erstes nach dem Durchschreiten des Torbaus am Südende des Hofes erreicht wurde. Ein ähnliches quadratisches Baupmodul findet sich auch im Gebäude A in Ortaköy und bildet hier den Westflügel des Haupttraktes. Der Ostflügel ist eine fast gespiegelte Wiederholung.

Bei beiden Palästen finden sich in der Mitte des Haupttraktes hofparallele schmale Hallen (Abb. 3, blau), denen in Alacahöyük eine Pfeilerhalle vorgelagert war. In Ortaköy

⁹ Süel 2002: 158. Zum Palast von Şapinuwa in der textlichen Überlieferung siehe Imparati 2002: 96f.

¹⁰ Müller-Karpe und Müller-Karpe 2019: 221–23.

¹¹ Zumindest wird er so rekonstruiert.



Abb. 3. Die Palastanlagen von Alacahöyük und Ortaköy (Gebäude A) im selben Maßstab mit Farbmarkierung gleicher Baumodule (Plangraphiken: K. Bieber und A. Müller-Karpe).

dürfte der erhaltene Mauersockel der hofseitigen Außenwand ebenfalls eine Pfeilerreihe getragen haben, sodass auch diese Hallen zum Hof hin offen gewesen sein dürften. An ihrer Rückseite schloss sich ein aus schmal-rechteckigen Räumen gebildetes Baumodul an (Abb. 3, gelb), ein typisches, zweizüiges Treppenhaus. Über die Treppe war das Obergeschoss zu erreichen. Wandte man sich nun nach rechts, gelangte man über einen rechteckigen Raum zu dem quadratischen Baumodul. Hier könnten die im Erdgeschoss den Mittelsaal rahmenden kleinen Räume im Obergeschoss eine umlaufende Galerie getragen haben, die sich zu diesem Saal hin öffnete. Der Mittelsaal hätte entsprechend eine doppelte Raumhöhe aufgewiesen, d. h. er könnte sich über das Erd- und Obergeschoss erstreckt haben. Geht man davon aus, dass sich das Hauptgeschehen im Erdgeschoss abspielte, so boten derartige Galerien im Obergeschoss einer nicht geringen Anzahl weiterer Personen die Möglichkeit einer Teilnahme. Auch wenn die Einzelheiten der Ausgestaltung dieses Baukörpers unklar bleiben werden, so ist doch zu erschließen, dass hier eine den damaligen Besucher beeindruckende, monu-

mentale Architektur vorliegt, die einen prunkvollen Rahmen für Veranstaltungen bieten konnte.

Kehren wir aber wieder über das Treppenhaus und die Vorhalle zum Hof zurück und wenden uns dort nach rechts, so zeigt auffälliger Weise sowohl in Alacahöyük wie auch in Ortaköy die Hofseite der anschließenden Räume eine Pilastergliederung (Abb. 3, grün). Die Frage der Funktion dieser besonderen Gestaltung dieser Wand muss offenbleiben. Allem Anschein nach gehörte ein solches Bauelement gerade an dieser Stelle zur hethitischen Palastarchitektur. Auch der Palast von Maşat zeigt eine vergleichbare Pilastergliederung, die hier allerdings mit einer vorgelagerten Pfeilerhalle in Verbindung steht. Ebenfalls in Kayalıpınar könnten an den Gebäuden A und B ursprünglich in den entsprechenden Bereichen Pilaster vorhanden gewesen sein, aufgrund des Erhaltungszustands der hofseitigen Mauern konnten aber keine gesicherten Beobachtungen mehr gemacht werden.

Von den vier hier vergleichend betrachteten Palastanlagen ist die in Kayalıpınar wohl die Älteste (Abb. 4). Sie geht zumindest auf das 15. Jh. zurück, die Ursprünge könnten noch früher liegen. Allem Anschein nach infolge eines Erdbebens wurde die Anlage gegen Ende des 15. Jhs. zerstört und wohl in der Regierungszeit Tuthaliyas I./II. und Nikalmatis im Wesentlichen auf den alten Grundmauern wiedererrichtet. Im Grundriss wurden keine starken Veränderungen vorgenommen. Die Anlage spiegelt daher einen ‚archaischen‘ Palasttypus wider, bei dem der additive Aufbau, das sukzessive Aneinanderfügen einzelner Bauten zu einem Gesamtkomplex, deutlicher fassbar ist als bei den Palästen von Maşat oder Ortaköy, die insgesamt streng geometrisch rechtwinklig konzipiert sind.

In Kayalıpınar ist der Hauptsaal nicht quadratisch, wie in Ortaköy und Alacahöyük, sondern rechteckig (Abb. 4, rot). Mit $8,4 \times 6,8$ m erreicht er auch nicht deren Monumentalität. Übereinstimmend ist aber, dass sich der Treppenaufgang links des Saales (von der Hofseite her betrachtet) befand. Ebenfalls könnten hier im Obergeschoss an drei Seiten Galerien den Saal gerahmt und somit die Teilnehmerkapazität bei Veranstaltungen erhöht haben.

Da das Gebäude an den Hang gebaut wurde, befand sich unter dem Niveau des vom Hof her ebenerdig zu erreichenden Saales noch ein Untergeschoss. Der Bereich war hier auf zwei Räume aufgeteilt, somit stützte eine längs verlaufende Mittelwand den Fußboden des Saals.

Es stellt sich nun die Frage nach der ursprünglichen Bedeutung und Benennung dieser Säle als zentrale Elemente hethitischer Palastanlagen: Könnte das in der Forschung solange diskutierte *ḫalentuwa*- diese Räumlichkeit bezeichnen? Die oben erwähnte hethitisch-hurritische Bilingue scheint zwar zu belegen, dass *ḫalentuwa*- mit ‚Palast‘ zu übersetzen ist, dennoch darf keineswegs von einer vollkommenen Übereinstimmung der Begriffe ausgegangen werden. Zahlreiche Textstellen, in denen *ḫalentuwa*- im Kontext konkreter Abläufe von Ritualhandlungen erwähnt wird, sprechen vielmehr dafür, dass nicht ein gesamter palatialer Baukomplex, sondern lediglich ein größerer Raum gemeint ist (Alp 1983: 17–89). Gleichwohl muss dieser Raum für die Gesamtanlage von zentraler, prägender Bedeutung gewesen sein. Dass Begriffe für bestimmte

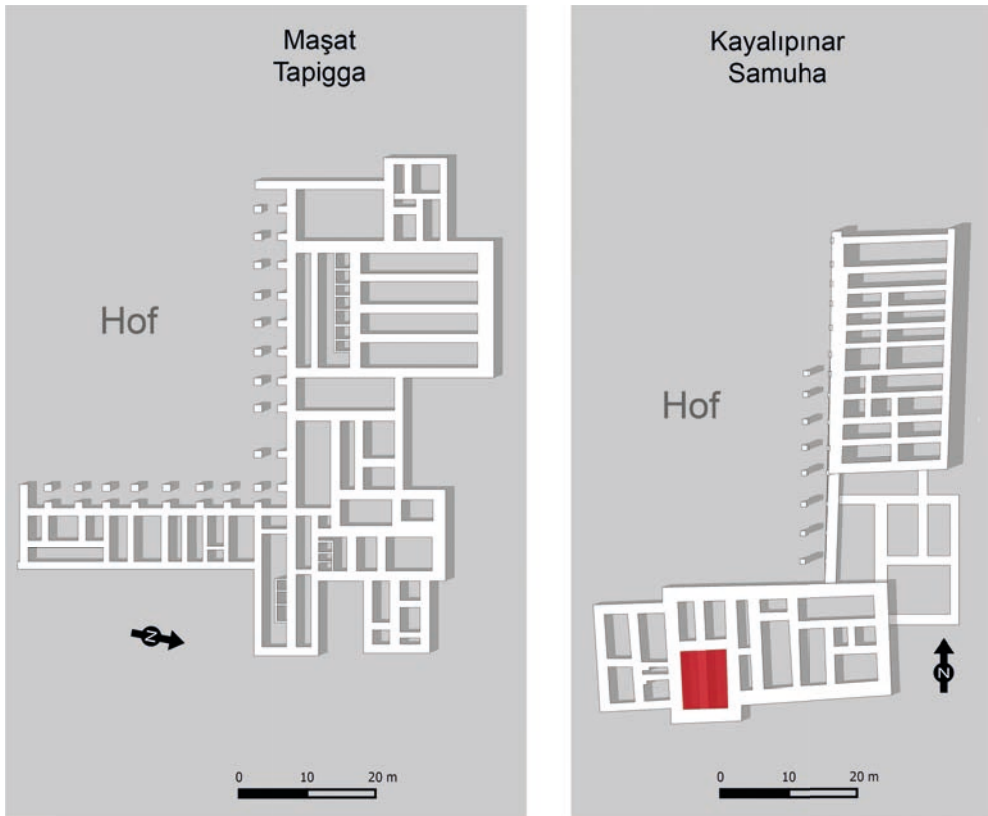


Abb. 4. Die mittelhethitischen Palastanlagen von Maşat und Kayalıpınar (Gebäude A–C) im selben Maßstab (Plangraphiken: K. Bieber und A. Müller-Karpe).

Teile von Bauten auf die jeweiligen Gebäude als Ganzes oder sogar auf die dort untergebrachte Institution übertragen werden, ist durchaus geläufig.¹²

Es muss daher kein Widerspruch sein, wenn *ḫalentuwa-* sowohl einen einzelnen Raum bezeichnete als auch das Gebäude, in dem sich dieser Raum befand. Detailliert wird in verschiedenen Texten geschildert, welche Handlungen in ihm durchgeführt wurden: Es wurden dort die Hände gewaschen, gebetet, geschlachtet, geopfert, libiert, gegessen und getrunken, musiziert und gesungen (Alp 1983: 21). Zur Bestimmung des Raumes im archäologischen Befund ist in erster Linie von Bedeutung, dass die ‚Große Kultversammlung‘ (*šalli ašeššar*) und das ‚Große Kultmahl‘ (*NAPTANU GAL*) hier stattfanden. Es werden zwar m. W. keine Gesamtzahlen der Teilnehmer genannt, doch sorgten in einem Fall alleine zehn Sängerinnen zuzüglich Harfenspielern für den musikalischen

¹² So symbolisierte im Hethiterreich das Palasttor königliche Macht und Gerichtsbarkeit (*KÁ É.GAL*; vgl. Güterbock 1974: 306; Bryce 2002: 35), wie dann auch die ‚Hohe Pforte‘ im osmanischen Reich (*Bâbiâli*); noch heute steht der ‚Hof‘ für einen Palast insgesamt, zudem alles Höfische, Palatiale, Monarchische; die Mailänder Scala steht für das gesamte Opernhaus etc.

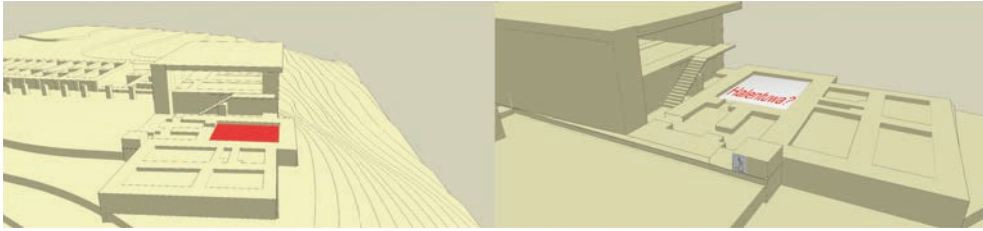


Abb. 5. Die Lage des HauptsaaIs innerhalb des Gebäudes A in Kayalipınar. Links: Blick von Westen; rechts: Blick von Nordwesten. Isometrische Teilrekonstruktion (3D-Modelle: A. Müller-Karpe).

Rahmen der Festveranstaltung (Alp 1983: 75). Zweifellos ist mit erheblichen Teilnehmerzahlen zu rechnen. Es ist auszuschließen, dass derartige Veranstaltungen in irgendeinem Nebenraum des Palastes stattfanden. Naturgemäß wird der größte, in dem Gebäude verfügbare Saal hierfür genutzt worden sein. Bei den Palastanlagen von Alacahöyük, Ortaköy und Kayalipınar lassen sich, wie oben dargelegt, diese jeweils größten Säle im Baubefund klar bestimmen. Als logische Schlussfolgerung werden diese Säle nunmehr als *halentuwa*- zu benennen sein (Abb. 3–5, jeweils rote Flächen).

Nicht nur die Treppenanlagen und Gestaltung des Grundrisses um diese Säle sprechen für die Existenz von Galerien zur Deckung des Platzbedarfs, möglicherweise gibt auch ein Abschnitt einer Festbeschreibung hierfür Hinweise: Im Zusammenhang mit der Schilderung, welche Handlungen der König vollzieht (die sogenannte ‚Tuchwurf-szene‘), werden Musikern und Priestern ihre Plätze zugewiesen. Bevor das gemeinsame Essen beginnt, heißt es: „Die Spaßmacher (^{LÜ.MES}ALAM.ZU9)¹³ gehen zum *paranalla*- hinauf.“ Der Begriff *paranalla*- ist mit GİŞ determiniert, bestand somit aus Holz (Alp 1983: 73). Hier könnte es sich um die postulierte Galerie mit hölzerner Brüstung im Obergeschoss handeln, von der aus wirkungsvoll die ‚Unterhaltungskünstler‘ die Festgesellschaft unten im Saal erheitern konnten.

3. Kulthandlungen im Palast von Šamuḫa

Zwar wird sich ein erheblicher Teil der überlieferten sogenannten Festbeschreibungen auf das Kultgeschehen in der Hauptstadt beziehen, in mehreren Fällen findet sich aber eine explizite Erwähnung, dass auch in anderen Orten etwa eine ‚Große Kultversammlung‘ durchgeführt wurde. Außer in Ḫattuša sind *halentuwa*-Räume in mindestens einem Dutzend weiterer Orte nachgewiesen (Alp 1983: 89f.). Besonders günstig ist die Überlieferungssituation in Kayalipınar. Bei den dort durchgeführten Ausgrabungen konnte nicht nur ein umfangreicher palatialer Baukomplex freigelegt werden, es gelang zudem, mehr als 100 Tontafeln (überwiegend in fragmentarischem Zustand) zu entdecken, die auf das lokale Kultgeschehen Bezug nehmen (Rieken 2019). Hinzu kommen die bereits seit längerem bekannten Texte zu Šamuḫa aus den Archiven Ḫattušas. Oğuz Soysal konnte sogar nachweisen, dass Teile einer in Kayalipınar gefundenen Fest-

13 Weeden 2011: 142–44, 437 übersetzt ^{LÜ}ALAM.ZU9 mit ‚speaker‘, wohl im Sinne von John Berrow.



Abb. 6. Luftaufnahme des Palastkomplexes in Kayalıpınar, Stand der Ausgrabungen 2019 (Foto: R. Süssenguth).

beschreibung für die kriegerische Ištar/Šawuška von Šamuḫa zu demselben Text gehören, von dem Abschriften anderer Teile aus Boğazköy vorliegen und schon 1976 von René Lebrun in seiner Monographie zu Šamuḫa bearbeitet worden waren.¹⁴ Beide Archivfunde ergänzen sich somit in willkommener Weise. Ähnlich ist die Situation bezüglich einer Festbeschreibung für die unterirdischen Gottheiten (*CTH* 645). Insbesondere in diesem Text wie auch in Kultinventaren werden konkrete Baulichkeiten erwähnt, in denen regelmäßig bestimmte Rituale durchzuführen waren. Ausdrücklich wird in diesem Zusammenhang auch ein Palast genannt, z. T. spezifiziert als É.GAL *ḫuḫḫaš* ‚Palast des Großvaters‘ bzw. ‚der Vorfahren‘ (Camarosano 2019: 98–100).

Um zu verstehen, welcher der Palastbauten in Kayalıpınar mit diesen Begriffen gemeint gewesen sein könnte, muss zunächst die archäologische Befundsituation skizziert werden: Außer dem erwähnten mittelhethitischen Palastkomplex (Schicht 3 und 4), der

14 *CTH* 712: Soysal 2019: 171–79; Lebrun 1976: 73–116.

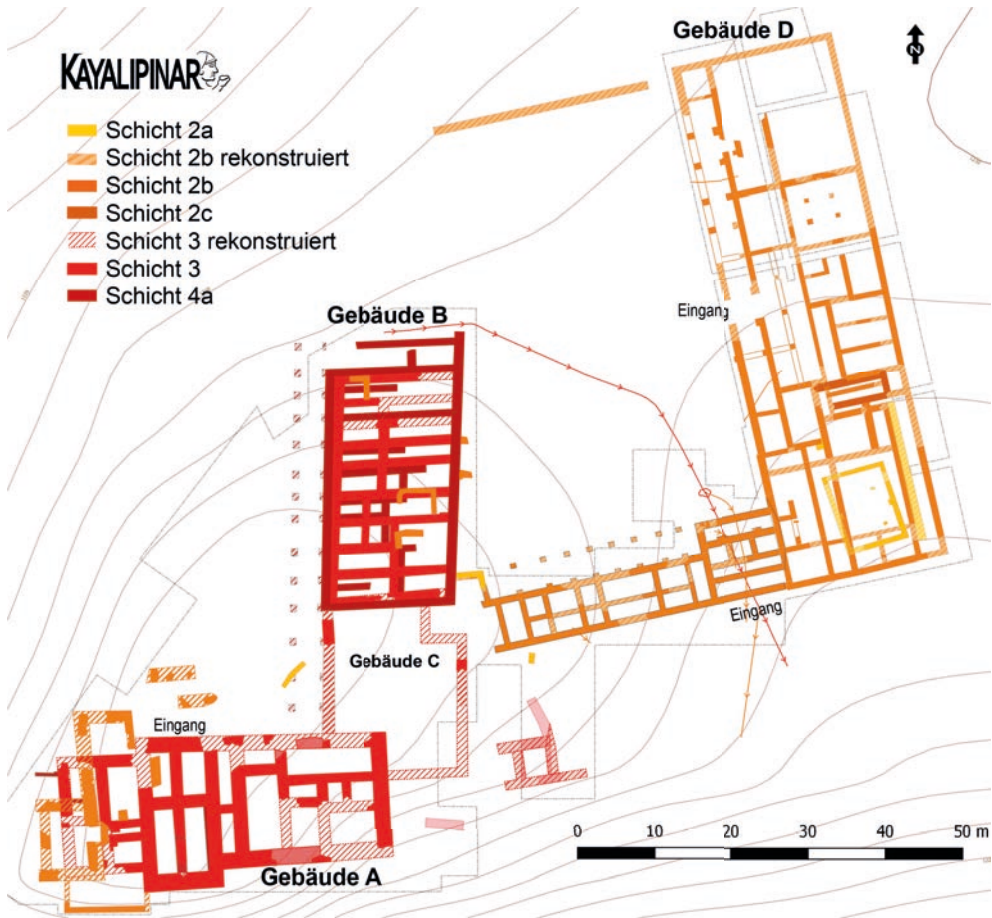


Abb. 7. Plan des hethitischen Palastkomplexes in Kayalipınar, Stand der Ausgrabungen 2019 (Plan: A. Müller-Karpe und R. Süssenguth).

aus den Gebäuden A, B und C bestand, konnten östlich anschließend Reste eines großreichszeitlichen Palastes (Gebäude D, Schicht 2) freigelegt werden, der neben einigen junghethitischen Tontafelfragmenten insbesondere ein umfangreiches Archiv mit gut 1160 gesiegelten Tonbullae enthielt (Abb. 6–7). Unter dem Gebäude D fanden sich ferner Spuren eines wohl althethitischen, ebenfalls monumentalen Vorgängerbaus (Gebäude F, Schicht 4b), dessen Mauerreste aber spätestens im Zuge der Errichtung des Gebäudes D nahezu vollständig abgetragen wurden. Hingegen standen auch noch in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. und während des 13. Jhs. im Bereich der zuvor zerstörten Gebäude A bis C wiederum ein oder mehrere größere Bauten. Vermutlich wurden hier intakt gebliebene Teile des mittelhethitischen Palastes weiter genutzt bzw. partiell auf den alten Grundmauern neue Räume errichtet und hierbei, insbesondere im Westflügel des Gebäudes A, die Anlage sogar etwas vergrößert. Es sind hier somit drei größere



Abb. 8. Plan der hethitischen Stadtruine Kayalipinar mit den bisherigen Grabungsflächen (Stand 2019), dem rekonstruierten Verlauf der Stadtmauer und der Lage der Stadttore (rote gestrichelte Linie) (Plan: A. Müller-Karpe und R. Süssenguth).

Bauperioden zu unterscheiden (zuzüglich verschiedener Phasen), die dieses Gebäude erlebte: Erstens die Schicht 4, die in einen älteren Abschnitt der mittelhethitischen Zeit fällt, zweitens die Schicht 3, der jüngere Abschnitt der mittelhethitischen Zeit, wohl mit der ‚konzentrischen Invasion‘ in der Spätphase der Herrschaftszeit Tuthaliyas II./III. endend, und drittens die Schicht 2, die mit dem Wiederaufbau, vermutlich noch in der Zeit Tuthaliyas II./III. und seines Nachfolgers Šuppiluliuma I. beginnend (als Šamuḫa temporär eine Residenz des Großkönigs war), dann die gesamte Großreichszeit umfasste. Den Haupttrakt des mittelhethitischen Palastkomplexes stellte stets der Südteil, das Gebäude A, dar. Es war an der Hangkante zum Tal des Kızılırmak hin errichtet worden, einem besonders prominenten Bauplatz in beherrschender Lage mit Fernsicht. Der Nordteil, Gebäude B, hingegen hatte eher eine untergeordnete, primär wirtschaftliche Funktion mit einer Nutzung als Depot im Untergeschoss, eventuell ein ‚Siegelhaus‘ (É^{NA4} KIŠIB).¹⁵ Unter den bislang freigelegten Bauten kommt somit als ‚Palast des Großvaters / der Vorfahren‘ in erster Linie das Gebäude A, eventuell mit seinen nördlichen Erweiterungen, infrage. Hiergegen könnte eingewendet werden, dass mögli-

¹⁵ Mühlbruch 2014: 160.

cherweise auch ein völlig anderes Gebäude in einem noch unausgegrabenen Teil der Stadt gemeint gewesen sei. Dem ist zu entgegnen, dass bereits vor Grabungsbeginn das gesamte Stadtgebiet nahezu vollständig geomagnetisch prospektiert wurde und sich in keinem anderen Bereich als dem nunmehr freigelegten Reste einer vergleichbaren monumentalen Architektur abzeichneten. Es kann somit davon ausgegangen werden, dass das administrative Zentrum der Stadt mit seinen palatialen Bauten verschiedener Epochen archäologisch bereits erfasst werden konnte.

Die erste Erwähnung des ‚Palastes des Großvaters / der Vorfahren‘ stammt aus einem in Boğazköy gefundenen ‚Ritual für Ištar/Šawuška von Taminina in Šamuḫa‘ (CTH 713: KUB 12.5). Miller (2004: 384 Anm. 600) und Klinger (2010: 167) datieren diesen Text aufgrund des Schriftdukts in die Regierungszeit Tuḫaliyas II./III. Wenn hier É ABI ABI ^DUTU-ŠI wörtlich zu verstehen ist als ‚Haus des Großvaters der Majestät‘, so wäre ein Bau Tuḫaliyas I./II. gemeint. Unabhängig von diesem Text wurde bereits aufgrund des Fundes einer Tonplombe mit dem Abdruck eines Siegels des Großkönigspaares Tuḫaliya und Nikalmati die Wiedererrichtung des Gebäudes A und seiner Erweiterungen B und C nach der Zerstörung am Ende der Schicht 4 genau jenem Herrscher zugeschrieben. Beides fügt sich somit recht gut zu einem schlüssigen Bild. In dem genannten Ritual findet sich fernerhin eine präzisierende Angabe zu der Örtlichkeit, an der die Kulthandlungen durchzuführen sind:

KUB 12.5 Rs. IV

- 17' ... *ma-a-an-za* MUNUS.LUGAL I-NA ^{URU}*ša-mu-u-ḫa*
 18' É A-BI A-BI ^DUTU-ŠI *ša-ra-a-az-zi-ia-aš-ša-an*
 19' A-NA É-TI *še-e-er* ^DIŠTAR ^{URU}*ta-mi-ni-in-ka* MU-ti¹ *me-e-ia-ṛ ni*¹
 20' *i-e-ez-zi* ...

Hierzu liegen unterschiedliche Übersetzungen besonders in Bezug auf die Verortung des Festgebäudes vor. Wegner (1981: 131): „Wenn die Königin in Šamuḫa im Haus des Großvaters der Majestät, oben im Haus, der Šawuška von Taminina das (Fest) des ‚laufenden Jahres‘ feiert.“ Waal (2015: 502): „When the Queen celebrates Ištar of Taminina in the house of the grandfather of His Majesty up in the upper building in Šamuḫa in the time of the year.“ Cammarosano (2019: 99): „Wenn die Königin die Ištar von Taminina in Šamuḫa im Hause des Großvaters (oder: der Vorfahren) der Majestät auf dem oberen Bau im Laufe des Jahres feiert.“

Bezieht man diese Textstelle nun auf den konkreten Baubefund des Gebäudes A, so ist zunächst einmal festzustellen, dass diese Anlage tatsächlich sowohl innerhalb des ‚Palastviertels‘ als auch des weiteren Stadtareals auf einem topografisch herausgehobenen Platz liegt, dem höchsten Punkt im Umkreis von gut 200 m (Abb. 8). Deutlich höher ist im Nordwesten hauptsächlich die sogenannte Kale, der aber allem Anschein nach primär eine militärische Funktion im Zusammenhang mit der Stadtbefestigung zukam (Süssenguth 2019).

Gebäude A könnte daher mit Willemijn J.I. Waal als „upper building“ verstanden worden sein, das sich gegenüber anderen, niedrigeren Teilen des Palastkomplexes durch seine höhere Lage, eventuell zudem eine größere Dachhöhe, abhob. Doch auch die Interpretation Ilse Wegners, der zufolge das Fest „oben im Haus“ gefeiert wurde, findet

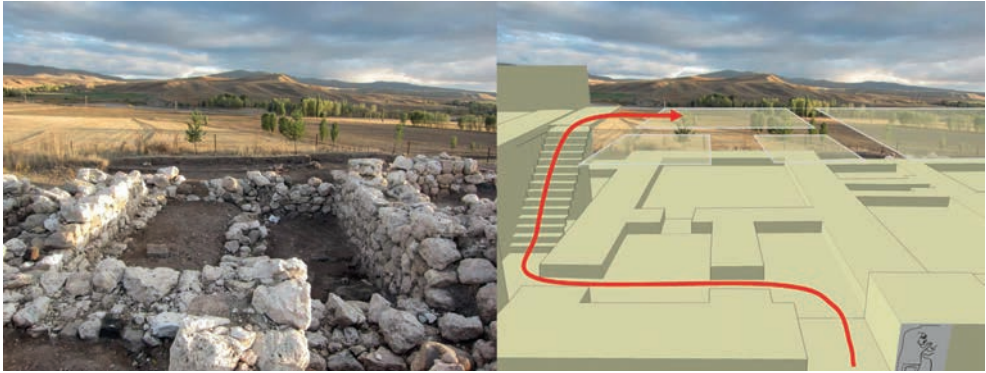


Abb. 9. Blick von Norden auf den Eingangsbereich (vorne) und den zentralen Teil des Gebäudes A von Kayalıpınar. Links: der Grabungsbefund mit erhaltenen Kalkstein-Mauersockeln, die ursprünglich Lehmziegel/Fachwerkwände trugen; rechts: dieselbe Ansicht mit Teilrekonstruktion und möglicher Wegeführung (rote Linie) zur Durchführung von Kulthandlungen im Obergeschoss des ‚Hauses des Großvaters der Majestät‘. Rechts unten ursprünglicher Ausstellungsort des in diesem Bereich umgestürzt gefundenen Göttinnenreliefs (Foto und 3D-Modell: A. Müller-Karpe).

eine Stütze durch den archäologischen Befund. Hinweise auf eine Treppenanlage liegen vor, so- dass von der Existenz eines Obergeschosses auszugehen ist (Abb. 9). Schließlich ist aus archäologischer Sicht ebenso Michele Cammarosanos Deutung keinesfalls auszuschließen, der sich philologisch korrekt dafür ausspricht, dass „auf dem oberen Bau“, somit auf der Dachfläche, gefeiert wurde. Es ist mit Sicherheit davon auszugehen, dass dieser Bau, wie auch alle übrigen der Epoche in Anatolien, ein begehbares Flachdach besaß. Rituale unter freiem Himmel auf Dachflächen sind gerade auch für Šamuḫa belegt.¹⁶

Der archäologische Befund ermöglicht somit keine eindeutige Entscheidung in Bezug auf die Interpretation der Textstelle. Es bleibt jedoch festzuhalten, dass als Ort zur Durchführung des genannten Rituals kein Tempel genannt wird, sondern ausdrücklich ein Königspalast. Indirekt als Bauherr wird zwar der Großkönig genannt, die derzeit vorliegenden Befunde sprechen für Tuḫaliya I./II., Durchführende des Rituals war aber die Großkönigin. Sie handelte hier allem Anschein nach ohne ihren Gemahl. Wenn der Text aus der Zeit des Enkels dieses älteren Tuḫaliyas stammt, so käme als Ritualherrin Taduḫepa infrage. Es konnte in der Anlage zwar kein entsprechender namentlicher Beleg gefunden werden, erwähnenswert ist allerdings, dass von hier mehrere Abdrücke sogenannter anonymer Tawananna-Siegel vorliegen.¹⁷ Auch wenn es

16 Siehe Miller 2004: 278f. mit einem Beispiel aus CTH 481: KUB 29.4 Vs. I 62f.: ⁶² ... *na-at-ša-an šu-uḫ-ḫi ti-an-zi na-at ŠA-PAL MUL^{III.A} 63 še-eš-zi* „And they set them on the roof, and they remain under the stars.“ Siehe ebenfalls den Beitrag von F. Barsacchi in diesem Band. Doch auch wenn M. Cammarosanos Übersetzung die philologisch korrekteste sein mag, so muss dies nicht bedeuten, dass die Aussage „auf dem oberen Bau“ auch tatsächlich so wörtlich zu verstehen ist. Wenn man heute beispielsweise sagt „Die Feier findet auf dem Schloss statt“, so würde dies zwar etwa in Mainz Verwunderung hervorrufen, nicht aber in Tübingen, Heidelberg oder Marburg.

17 Müller-Karpe und Müller-Karpe 2009: 190–93; Mühlenbruch 2014: 159.

sich nur um wenige Exemplare handelt, so sind innerhalb der königlichen Siegelungen diejenigen von Königinnen dominierend. Von dem oben genannten Gemeinschaftssiegel Tuthaliyas und Nikalmatis abgesehen liegt aus dem mittelhethitischen Palast keine weitere Siegelung eines Großkönigs vor, auch kein Tabarna-Siegel. Der Palast wird somit insbesondere für die (jeweilige) Großkönigin eine Bedeutung gehabt haben.

Außer dem mittelhethitischen Textbeleg für den ‚Palast des Großvaters / der Vorfahren‘ als Ort für religiöse Rituale liegt nun auch ein Kultinventar aus Kayalıpınar vor, das einen jungethitischen Schriftduktus aufweist und sicher in das 13. Jh., wohl in dessen zweite Hälfte, zu datieren ist:

KpT 1.39 Vs. II § 6'

- 19 1 'É' DINGIR-LIM D¹⁰ URU z[i-ip-la]-da Û D¹⁰ KARAŠ
 20 I-^r NA^r É ħa-le-en-^r tu^r-u-w[a-ša-at] ŠA É.GAL ħu-uh-ħa-aš
 21 EG[IR-a]n LÚ É.DINGIR-LI[M NU.GÁ]L EN^{MES} TU7-ši UL
 22 a-^rša^r-an-zi LÚ^M[É.^{ES} GA]L ku-i-e-eš^{*}
 23 'ke^r[-e-z]a GAL DUB.SAR []-eš-ta¹
 24 n[a-at^(?)] *ŠA x* [] *MEŠ te-pu-us^{d?*}

1 Heiligtum des Wettergottes von Z[ippalan]da und des Wettergottes des Heeres. [Sie sind] in dem ħalentuwa-Bau des **Palastes der Vorfahren**, hinten (stehend). Ein Temp[elbe]diensteter [ist nicht vorhand]en, das Küchenpersonal für es (d. h. für das Heiligtum) ist nicht vorhanden. Die [Pala]stbediensteten, die ... Der Chef-schreiber hat [...] Un[d sie?] ... [...] wenige² [...] (Cammarosano 2019: 70f.)

In der Zeit, als dieser Text abgefasst wurde, stellte das Gebäude D den Haupttrakt des Palastkomplexes dar (Abb. 10–11). Die darunter befindlichen Reste des deutlich älteren Gebäudes F mögen zwar einen ‚Palast der Vorfahren‘ dargestellt haben, hiervon war aber im 13. Jh. nichts mehr zu sehen. Hingegen gab es in dieser Zeit im Bereich des mittelhethitischen Palastes noch Bauten, von denen jedoch aufgrund der topographischen Situation – sie bildeten die Hügelkuppe und waren entsprechend stark von der Erosion betroffen – bei der Ausgrabung nur geringe Reste angetroffen wurden (Abb. 7 links unten, orangene Mauern). Diese Bauten dürften als ‚Palast der Vorfahren‘ bezeichnet worden sein. In erster Linie wird wiederum das Gebäude A so genannt worden sein, von dem sich womöglich originale Bauteile des 14. oder gar 15. Jhs. bis zum Ende der Großreichszeit erhalten hatten und genutzt wurden.

Der Text ist aber noch in anderer Hinsicht aufschlussreich. Es wird ausdrücklich von einem ‚ħalentuwa- des Palastes‘ gesprochen, d. h. die Begriffe sind nicht synonym. Vielmehr wird das ħalentuwa- innerhalb des Palastes gelegen haben, vermutlich war es der zentrale Saal des Gebäudes A. Fernerhin befand sich in dem ħalentuwa- ein É.DINGIR-LIM zweier Wettergötter. Es kann sich hier nicht um einen Tempel dieser Gottheiten gehandelt haben, sondern lediglich um einzelne Kultnischen in dem Saal. Entsprechend gibt es in diesem Fall auch kein eigenes Kultpersonal, wie dem Text zu entnehmen ist. Die Palastbediensteten hatten wohl die kultischen Pflichten zu übernehmen.

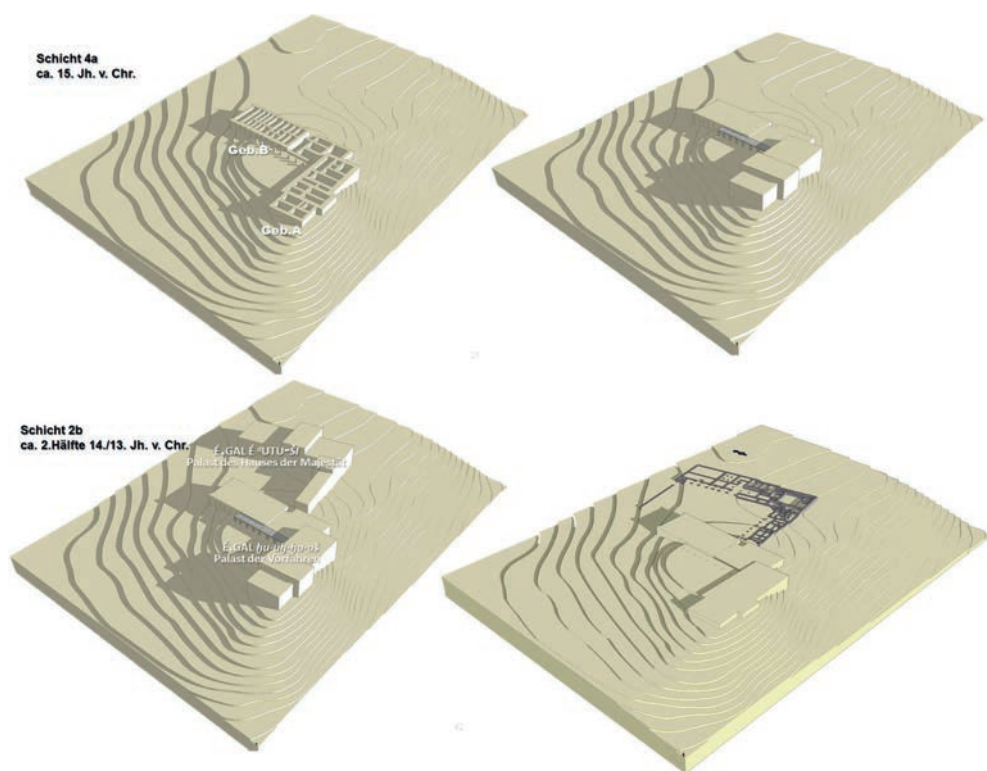


Abb. 10. Isometrische Ansichten und Rekonstruktionen des älteren (oben) und jüngeren (unten) Palastkomplexes von Kayalıpınar, Blick von Südwesten. Die Höhenstufen betragen jeweils einen Meter (isometrische Ansichten: A. Müller-Karpe).

4. Kultpersonal im Palast von Šamuḫa

Doch wie war insgesamt die Zusammensetzung der Palastbediensteten in Šamuḫa bzw. welche Personen und Berufsgruppen standen in Kontakt mit dem Palast, und welchen Anteil hatte spezielles Kultpersonal? Einen diesbezüglichen Eindruck gewährt das neu entdeckte Archiv mit gesiegelten Tonbullae aus dem Gebäude D. Sie gehörten ursprünglich zu Holztafeln, die bei einem Schadenfeuer, das zugleich das Ende des Palastes und wohl der gesamten Stadt markierte, verbrannt sind. Das Feuer härtete jedoch auch den Ton und ermöglichte hierdurch das Erhalten der Bullae.

Die Dokumentation und Auswertung des umfangreichen Fundes ist noch in vollem Gang, es können daher nur vorläufige Ergebnisse präsentiert werden. Rein ornamental gestaltete Siegel sind äußerst selten. Nahezu sämtliche Stücke bieten den Namen des Siegelinhabers in hieroglyphischer Schreibweise, selten zudem in Keilschrift. Neben dem Personennamen sind bei den meisten auch Titel und Beruf angegeben. Wie für



Abb. 11. Isometrische Ansicht des Ostflügels des großreichszeitlichen Palastes, Gebäude D, in Kaya-lipinar, Stand der Ausgrabungen 2019. Blick von Westen, von der Hofseite her (isometrische Ansicht: A. Müller-Karpe).

einen Verwaltungssitz, den Paläste ja primär darstellten, zu erwarten, haben ‚Schreiber‘ den größten Anteil unter den hier vertretenen Siegelinhabern. Verschiedene Karriere-stufen sind zu unterscheiden: Diejenigen ohne spezifischen Rang bzw. mit den Rang-bezeichnungen 2, 3, 4 oder ‚Groß‘. Dem Umstand, dass auch Prinzen den Schreibertitel trugen, dann jedoch mit dem Zusatz ‚Groß‘, ist zu entnehmen, dass dieser Personen-kreis sicher nicht nur im ‚Schreibdienst‘ tätig war, sondern es sich um allgemeine Ver-waltungsbeamte in verschiedenen Dienstgraden handelte, die sowohl in der Zivilver-waltung wie auch dem Kultbetrieb benötigt wurden.¹⁸

Kultpersonal im engeren Sinne sind Angehörige von Berufen, die auf Siegeln mit folgenden Logogrammen bzw. syllabisch geschrieben werden:

1. SACERDOS2 (L.372) = ‚Opferpriester‘;
2. *sa(n)kunni-* (L.104-423-411) = ‚Priester‘;
3. *patili-* (L.334-90-278) = ‚Priester‘;
4. DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS (L.249.390) = ‚Tempelherr‘;
5. AVIS3+MAGNUS (L.130+363) = ‚Augur‘.

Sechs Belege von vier verschiedenen Personen mit der Berufsbezeichnung SACER=DOS2 stammen aus dem Gebäude D, die hier im Folgenden vorgestellt werden sollen.

¹⁸ Siehe dazu bereits Gordin 2015: 140–43.

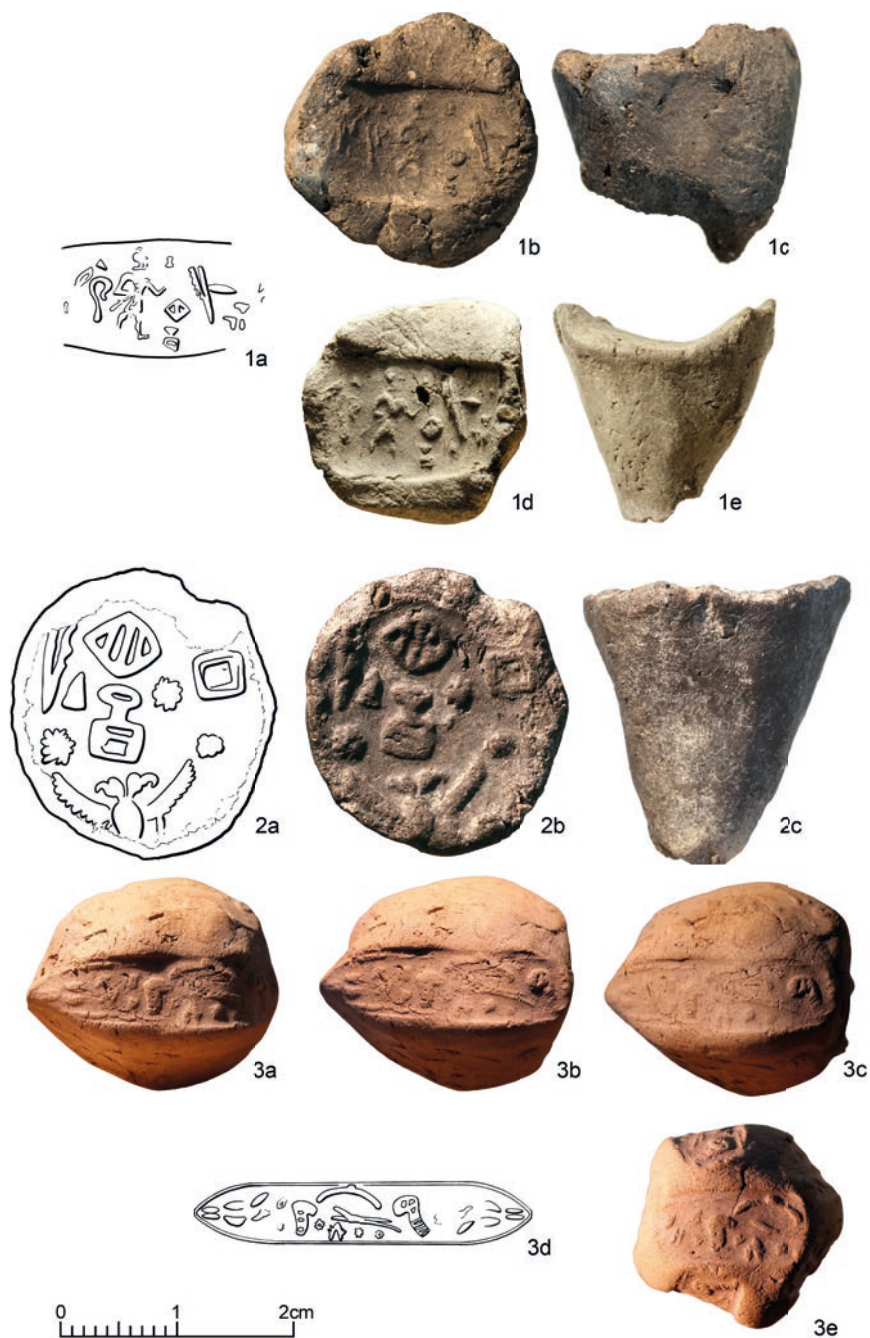


Abb. 12. Tonbullae mit Abdrücken von Priestersiegeln aus dem Gebäude D in Kayalıpınar: 1–2: Arikusa (1b–c: Kp 19/33; 1d–e: Kp 18/242; 2: Kp 18/489); 3: Armapiya (Kp 18/316) (Fotos: R. Süssenguth; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; Tafelmontage: K. Bieber).

Hinzu kommt ein weiteres, bereits publiziertes Exemplar, das im Kontext des Keilschriftarchivs 150 m östlich dieses Gebäudes gefunden wurde.¹⁹ Die ersten beiden Beispiele sind zwei Tonbullae, die jeweils Abdrücke ein und desselben Siegelrings zeigen (Abb. 12.1). In der Mitte ist eine nach rechts schreitende Person dargestellt, vor der sich (rechts) der Name des Siegelinhabers befindet: *a+ra/i-ku-sa₂* (L.450+383-423-327), hinter ihr (links) der Beruf: *BONUS2SACERDOS2* (L.370.372). Der Personenname ist außerhalb von Šamuḫa bislang noch nicht belegt.²⁰ Im selben Archiv liegen jedoch zwei weitere gesiegelte Bullae mit diesem Namen vor: Zum einen handelt es sich wiederum um den Abdruck eines Siegelrings, bei dem sich nun aber neben dem in gleicher Weise geschriebenen Namen Arikusa der Titel *DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS* = ‚Tempelherr‘ findet (Kp 19/420), zum anderen um den Abdruck eines runden, leicht gewölbten Stempelsiegels (Abb. 12.2).²¹ Vom Titel ist hier nur *DOMUS* erhalten, eine Ergänzung zu ‚Tempelherr‘ ist aber wahrscheinlich. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass alle drei Siegel von derselben Person stammen und zwei verschiedene Karrierestufen spiegeln: Vermutlich war Arikusa zunächst einfacher *SACERDOS2* und wurde dann zum *DEUS.DOMUS.=DOMINUS* befördert.²²

Eine zweite Person, die sich auf ihrem Siegel als *SACERDOS2* bezeichnet, ist *Armapiya*. Erneut handelt es sich um den Abdruck eines Siegelrings (Abb. 12.3). Eine figürliche Darstellung fehlt hier, in der Mitte steht vielmehr der Name *LUNA-pi-i(a)* (L.193-66-209), beidseitig flankiert von dem Priester-Logogramm. *Armapiya* ist ein geläufiger Personenname, der auch auf Siegeln in Boğazköy mehrfach vorkommt, allerdings stets in Kombination mit anderen Berufsbezeichnungen.²³ In Keilschrifttexten aus Boğazköy begegnet der Name mit der Schreibung ^{m.D}30.SUM ebenfalls mit verschiedenen Tätigkeiten, darunter aber nun auch als Priester. Lediglich in einem Fall aber ist gesichert, dass ein *Armapiya* im Rahmen einer Orakelanfrage die dokumentierten Vogelflug-Beobachtungen bestätigt, es sich somit um den vier Zeilen oberhalb genannten Auguren bzw. ‚Wahrsagepriester‘ (^{LÜ}IGLMUŠEN) handelt,²⁴ der jedoch von einem *SACERDOS2* zu unterscheiden ist. Es wird sich somit um verschiedene Personen gehandelt haben. Hingegen könnte die Nennung eines *Armapiya* in einem spätjunghethitischen Kultinventar einen Bezug zu der Siegelinschrift haben: Der Text nennt mehrere *SANGA-*

19 Müller-Karpe et al. 2017: 66–69. Schreibung des Namens: L.174-35-104. Peker 2018: 80 schlägt als Lesung des Priesternamens mit guten Argumenten *Šaušgašena* vor.

20 Es gibt jedoch mehrere Personennamen mit der Vorsilbe *Ari-*, z.B. *Arinnet* (Rüster und Wilhelm 2012: 184f. Nr. 40 Rs. 53, 188 Nr. 41 Rs. 10, 190f. Nr. 42 Rs. [2'], 192 Nr. 43 Rs. 5') [], *Ari-Šarruma* (Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: Nr. 633). Das zweite Namenselement, *-kusa*, ist gleichfalls auf Siegelinschriften belegt: z.B. *Pitikusa* in *Malatya* (Manuelli 2013: 269), *Ehli-Kusa* in *Emar* (Beyer 2001: 82 Nr. A59).

21 Bei dem Siegelabdruck in Abb. 12.2 (Kp 18/489) deutet sich L.383 lediglich in der Bruchkante an, die Umschrift lautet somit *A[ri]kusa*.

22 Geht man davon aus, dass *SACERDOS2* dem keilschriftlichen ^{LÜ}SANGA bzw. akkadisch *šangû* / hethitisch *šankunniš* entspricht, so ergibt sich ein gewisser Widerspruch zur Aussage Güterbocks (1975: 127): „The *šankunniš* has the highest rank among the temple personnel.“

23 *REX.FILIUS*; *BONUS2URCEUS*; *BONUS2VIR2*; *BONUS2SCRIBA*; *SCRIBA-la*; *VIR.MAUSOLEUM.DOMINUS*: Alp 1950: 47 Abb. 122f; Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: Nr. 52, 59–63; Dinçol und Dinçol 2008: Nr. 247B, 315, 316B.

24 Siegelová 1986: 230; Sakuma 2009: Bd. I 64, Bd. II 268; Bilgin 2018: 274.

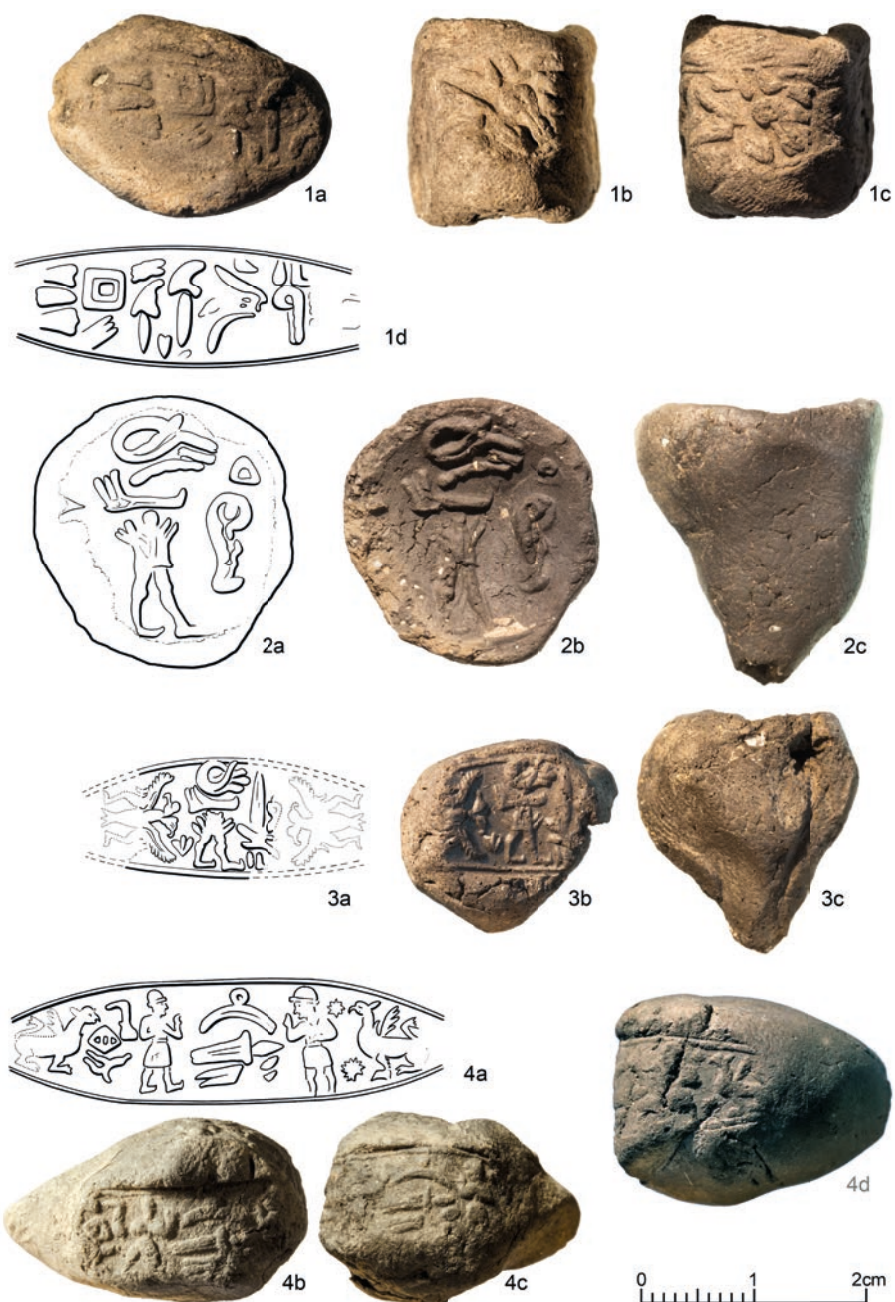


Abb. 13. Tonbullae mit Abdrücken von Priestersiegeln aus dem Gebäude D in Kayalıpınar: 1: Aza-Ta(rhun)za? (Kp 19/642); 2–3: Mati-Šarruma (2: Kp 19/383; 3: Kp 19/69); 4: Armataru-pasani (4b: Kp 18/436; 4c: Kp 18/220; 4d: Kp 18/679) (Fotos: R. Süssenguth; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; Tafelmontage: K. Bieber).

Priester namentlich, darunter auch einen ^{m.D30.SUM} = ^m*Armapiya*.²⁵ Das keilschriftliche Logogramm SANGA entspricht dem hieroglyphischen SACERDOS2, sodass in diesem Fall Personenidentität nicht unwahrscheinlich ist. Schließlich ist noch ein Inventartext mit der Auflistung diverser Textilien als Abgaben mehrerer Städte, darunter [Š]amuḫa, zu erwähnen. Hier wird ebenfalls ein Armapiya genannt, es fehlt jedoch eine Berufsangabe.²⁶

Der dritte im Kayalıpınar-Archiv nachzuweisende Priester ist wiederum mit dem SACERDOS2-Logogramm gekennzeichnet, das in diesem Fall nicht mit BONUS2, sondern mit VIR2 ‚Mann‘ kombiniert ist (Abb. 13.1). Hieraus könnte geschlossen werden, dass SACERDOS2 nicht in jedem Fall einen männlichen Priester bezeichnet haben muss, auch wenn m. W. bislang kein Beleg einer Kombination mit FEMINA vorliegt.²⁷ In den Keilschrifttexten wird für Priesterinnen durchaus das SANGA-Logogramm genutzt.²⁸ Der Personennamen links neben der Berufsbezeichnung SACERDOS2 ist von rechts nach links zu lesen: *á-za/i-tà-za/i* (L.19-376-41-376) = *Aza-Ta(rhun)za*. Es dürfte sich hier um eine Variante des sonst *a-za*-TONITRUS bzw. TONITRUS-*hu-na*-LITUUS+*á-za-sá*- oder TONITRUS-*hu-na-za-ia* geschriebenen Namens handeln, mit der Bedeutung ‚Geliebt von dem Wettergott‘.²⁹ Vergleichbare Namensformen sind mehrfach belegt, wie *Aza-Tiwata* ‚Geliebt von der Sonnengottheit‘ und *Masan-azami* ‚Von den Göttern geliebt‘ (Gerard 2004: 311). Auch im Zusammenhang mit der Titulatur hethitischer Großkönige sind ähnliche Formen geläufig.³⁰ Die Gottheit ist in unserem Fall nicht logographisch, sondern abgekürzt syllabisch geschrieben.³¹ Links an den Namen anschließend findet sich ein weiterer Titel: DOMUS.DOMINUS (L.247.390) ‚Haustrherr‘, was Suzanne Herbordt aber überzeugend als eine „verkürzte Schreibung von DEUS.=DOMUS.DOMINUS ‚Tempelherr‘“ deutet (Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 102). Die Kombination von SACERDOS2 mit DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS ist mehrfach belegt³² und wird, wie oben erwähnt, als sozialer Aufstieg eines Priesters in der Hierarchie des Kultpersonals zu verstehen sein.³³ Es ist davon auszugehen, dass alle Träger des Titels DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS zugleich auch SACERDOS2 waren, auch wenn letztere Bezeichnung nicht aufgeführt wird. Sie hatten wohl stets ihre Karriere als ‚einfacher‘ SACERDOS2 begonnen.

Der vierte durch Siegelabdrücke nachzuweisende Priester ist Mati-Šarruma in der Schreibung OVIS-*ti-SARMA* und mit der Berufsbezeichnung BONUS2SACERDOS2. Von ihm liegt der Abdruck eines runden, gewölbten Stempelsiegels vor (Abb. 13.2),

25 KUB 12.2; Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 357; Taggar-Cohen 2006: 189, 355–58.

26 Siegelová 1986: 230, 232f., 236f.

27 Im Nišantepe-Archiv der Hauptstadt weist bei den 33 Siegelungen von 22 verschiedenen Siegeln mit SACERDOS2-Logogramm nur ein Exemplar die Kombination mit VIR2 auf, keines mit FEMINA: Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 308 Nr. 589.

28 Zudem bezeichnen ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR-LIM und ^{MUNUS}*katra*- Priesterinnen: Taggar-Cohen 2013: 158.

29 Gerard 2004: 311; Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 251; Bilgin 2018: 69, 334.

30 Auf digraphischen Siegeln akkadisch geschrieben: *NARAM* ^DNN: Herbordt et al. 2011: 74 Anm. 341, 93.

31 Eine solche Abkürzung ist beispielsweise auch für Arnuwanda üblich gewesen, der auf Siegeln hieroglyphisch stets als *ara/i-nú-tá* begegnet: Herbordt et al. 2011: 116 Nr. 21–22.

32 Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 102, 308, Nr. 275, Nr. 276, Nr. 434.

33 Allgemein zur Rekonstruktion von Karrieren aufgrund des glyptischen Befundes: Boehmer und Güterbock 1987: 75 Nr. 240; Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 111.

sowie ein Siegelring-Abdruck, der zudem den Titel REX.FILIUS (L.46.1) aufweist (Abb. 13.3). Das Priester-Logogramm ist bei letzterem nur als Rest am rechten Rand erhalten. Der Personennamen ist hurritisch mit der Bedeutung ‚Weisheit des Šarruma‘ und ist bereits von einem Orakeltext aus Boğazköy bekannt.³⁴ Aus dem ‚Siegeldepot‘ in Gebäude D auf der Büyükkale stammt zudem der Abdruck eines Schreibersiegels mit dem Namen [...] *-ti-Šarruma*, vermutlich ist hier *ma-* am Anfang zu ergänzen (Güterbock 1942: Nr. 68).

Außer den SACERDOS2-Siegeln liegen Exemplare vor, bei denen die Berufsangabe syllabisch geschrieben wurde: CAPRA-*ku-ni* = *sa(n)kunni* (Abb. 13.4). In dem Archiv des Gebäudes D in Kayalıpınar wurden fünf Bullae mit Abdrücken eines Siegelrings mit dem Personennamen LUNA-AURIGA-*ni* (L.193-289-411) = *Armatarupasani* entdeckt, die eine solche Berufsbezeichnung aufweisen. In der Mitte des Siegelfeldes befindet sich der von oben nach unten geschriebene Personennamen des Siegelinhabers, der bislang außerhalb Kayalıpınars noch nicht belegt ist.³⁵ Das Namenfeld wird beidseitig flankiert von Darstellungen zweier stehender, sich zur Mitte hin wendender Personen, die eine runde Wulstrand-Kappe und einen kurzen Schurzrock tragen. Im Rücken der linken Figur findet sich die genannte Berufsbezeichnung *sa(n)kunni* (vgl. Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 257, 345). Das Siegelfeld wird an beiden Rändern von Greifendarstellungen begrenzt.

Die Erschließung der Bedeutung dieser Berufsbezeichnung ist in besonderer Weise mit Šamuḫa verbunden. Es war Albrecht Götze, der im Rahmen seiner *editio princeps* eines der wichtigsten Texte der hethitischen Literatur unter dem Titel „*Hattušiliš. Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst Paralleltexen*“ bereits 1925 feststellte, dass ^{LÚ}ša-an-ku-un-ni-iš dem Sumerogramm ^{LÚ}SANGA entspricht, somit als ‚Priester‘ zu übersetzen ist (Götze 1925: 8f.). In der häufig zitierten Textstelle heißt es:

KUB 1.1+ Vs. I

- 14 *u-i-ia-at A-NA* ^mḫa-a[t-t]u-ši-li-wa MU^{KAM.HI.A} *ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an-te-eš*
- 15 *U-UL-wa-ra-aš TI-an-n[a-aš n]u-wa-ra-an am-mu-uk pa-ra-a*
- 16 *pa-a-i nu-wa-ra-aš-mu* ^{LÚ}[*ša-a*]**n-ku-un-ni-iš e-eš-du**
- 17 *nu-wa-ra-aš TI-an-za nu-m[u A-BU]-IA DUMU-an ša-ra-a da-a-aš*
- 18 *nu-mu A-NA DINGIR-LIM ARAD-an-ni pé-eš-ta nu-za A-NA DINGIR-LIM*
- 19 ^{LÚ}**ša-an-ku-un-ni-ia-an-za** BAL-aḫ-ḫu-un

„Für Hattušili sind die Jahre (nur noch) kurz. Er ist nicht gesund. Gib ihn mir; er soll mein **Priester** sein, und er wird am Leben (bleiben).“ Und mein Vater nahm mich, den Knaben, auf und gab mich der Gottheit zum Dienst. Und der Gottheit opferte ich da, das **Priesteramt** versehend. (nach Götze 1925: 8f. und Otten 1981: 4f.)

34 KBo 22.29: 3', 5': Mascheroni 1984: 152 Anm. 7; Neu 1996: 548 (zur Bedeutung von mati). Ähnliche Namensbildungen sind z.B. auch aus Emar, z.T. in der gleichen Schreibung (OVIS-*ti*), bekannt: Madi-Dagan: Beyer 2001: 158 C13.

35 Zur Überprüfung der Belegsituation stellte Michele Cammarosano freundlicherweise seine Onomastica-Sammlung zur Verfügung.

In dem Paralleltext KBo 3.6+ Vs. I 16 steht ^{LÚ}SANGA-*an-za* statt ^{LÚ}*šankunniyanza*, sodass die Äquivalenz beider Schreibungen gesichert ist.³⁶ Hattušili wurde zur Priesterausbildung für den Kult der Ištar von Šamuha zweifellos nach Šamuha selbst geschickt, auch wenn diese Gottheit in Hattuša einen weiteren Verehrungsort gehabt haben dürfte. Da ein Großteil der Archivbestände des Gebäudes D in Šamuha der Regierungszeit Hattušilis entstammt, ist es durchaus möglich, dass er Armatarupasani begegnete oder gar bei ihm bzw. einem seiner Amtsvorgänger seine *šankunni*-Ausbildung erhielt. Nicht nur die relativ hohe Anzahl erhaltener Armatarupasani-Siegelungen spricht für eine lange Amtszeit dieses Priesters, sondern auch der Umstand, dass von ihm Siegelabdrücke überliefert sind, in denen er sich DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS nennt (Abb. 14.2), er somit, wie bereits für Arikusa angenommen, zum ‚Tempelherrn‘ aufgestiegen ist. Dieser zweite Siegelring des Armatarupasani ist dem ersten recht ähnlich. In der Mitte befindet sich die Darstellung einer Person, die in gleicher Weise gekleidet ist, nun aber einen Bogen über der Schulter trägt. Vor und hinter ihr sind jeweils die drei Zeichen des Namens übereinander angeordnet. In der linken Hälfte der Siegelfläche folgt dem Namen der Titel DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS sowie ein florales Füllmotiv. Zu den Rändern rechts und links hin wird die Siegelfläche durch horizontal abgebildete doppelköpfige Adler abgeschlossen. Nicht weniger als 30 Tonbullae, meist mit jeweils mehreren Abdrücken dieses Siegelrings, sind in Kayalıpınar gefunden worden. Hinzu kommen noch Siegelungen mit demselben Personennamen, bei denen kein Beruf bzw. Titel genannt wird oder erhalten ist, sowie solche, die das Logogramm SCRIBA aufweisen. Ein Bezug zu derselben Person erscheint hier durchaus möglich, ist doch davon auszugehen, dass ein Priester zur Ausübung seines Berufs zunächst einmal Lesen und Schreiben erlernen musste, bzw. primär Personen, die bereits als Schreiber tätig waren, eine Ausbildung zum Priester erhalten konnten. Eine 2019 geborgene Bulla mit fünf Teilabdrücken eines Siegelrings ist in diesem Kontext besonders aufschlussreich: Sie zeigt in der Mitte des Siegelfeldes den Namenszug Armatarupasani, links SCRIBA-*la* und rechts DEUS *sà-us-ga*, die Göttin Šaušga (Abb. 14.1). Während in der Keilschrift bei der Nennung von Götternamen, oder ihrer Namen als Bestandteile von Personennamen, das Gottesdeterminativ fast nie fehlt, ist es bei hieroglyphischen Siegelinschriften auffällig selten. Zwar sind theophore Namen sehr geläufig, es wird aber nahezu durchgehend auf ein Determinativ DEUS verzichtet. Daher dürfte Šaušga hier nicht als Element des Personennamens aufzufassen sein (der ja bereits den Mondgott beinhaltet), sondern eher Teil der Berufsbezeichnung: ‚Schreiber der Šaušga‘. Es deutet sich somit an, dass Armatarupasani zunächst als Schreiber im Priesterdienst tätig war, dann selbst die *šankunni*-Priesterweihe empfang, um schließlich zum ‚Tempelherrn‘ aufzusteigen. Da der Name in den beiden großen Archiven mit Tonbullae der Hauptstadt, dem Gebäude D auf der Büyükkale und dem Westbau des Nişantepe wie auch in sämtlichen Keilschrifturkunden fehlt, dürfte die Karriere des Armatarupasani wohl lokal in Šamuha verlaufen sein. Allerdings liegt von Büyükkaya der Abdruck eines Siegels vor, der den Titel MAGNUS.SACERDOS2EUNUCHUS2 aufweist und als ein erhaltenes Namensele-

36 Zur Rolle und verschiedenen Schreibweisen der *ša(n)kunni*-Priester im Kult in Šamuha siehe Miller 2004: 317.

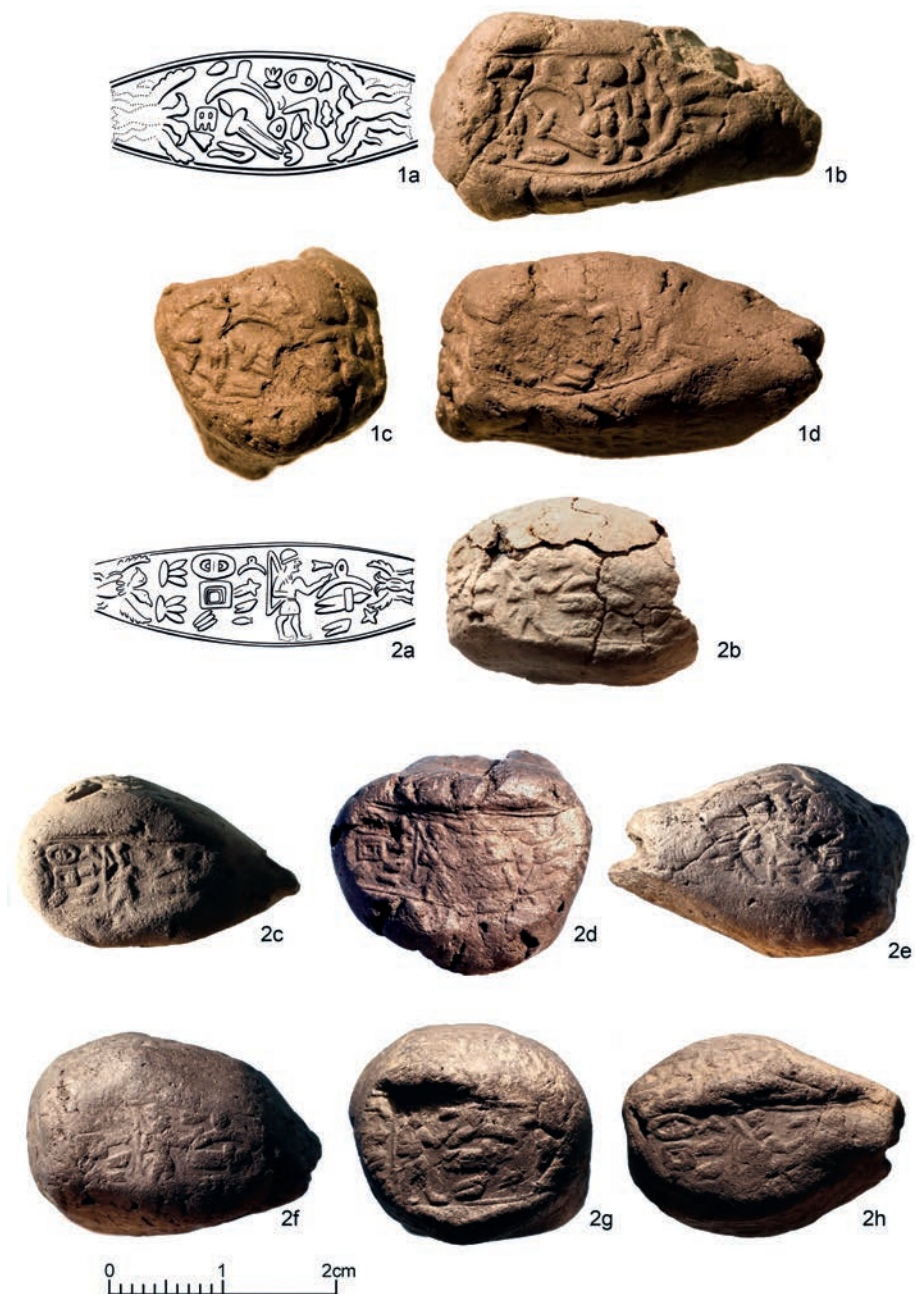


Abb. 14. Tonbullae mit Abdrücken des ‚Schreibers der Šaušga‘ bzw. des ‚Tempelherrn‘ Armatarupasani aus dem Gebäude D in Kayalıpınar (1: Kp 19/716; 2b: Kp 18/189; 2c: Kp 18/362; 2d: Kp 18/425; 2e: Kp 18/386; 2f: Kp 18/401; 2g: Kp 18/432; 2h: Kp 18/476) (Fotos: R. Süssenguth; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; Tafelmontage: K. Bieber).

ment *-tarupasani-*; *Arma-* könnte hier zu ergänzen sein (Seeher 1996: 326, 333 Abb. 8). Vielleicht wurde er in fortgeschrittenem Alter doch noch als ‚Hohepriester‘ nach Ḫattuša berufen oder sandte zumindest eine von ihm gesiegelte Urkunde dorthin.

Zu erwähnen sind schließlich noch einige Armatarupasani-Siegelungen aus dem Kayalıpınar-Archiv, die eine völlig andere Berufsbezeichnung aufweisen: AURIGA2/ESSEDARIUS. Wie Tayfun Bilgin überzeugend dargelegt hat, symbolisiert dieses Zeichen einen Schild und entspricht KUŠ7 = ‚chariot fighter‘.³⁷ Daher sollte man eine Personenidentität mit dem Priester und ‚Tempelherrn‘ ausschließen. Es ist jedoch zu bedenken, dass die Vorstellung einer strikten Trennung, ja Gegensätzlichkeit von klerikalen und militärischen Aktivitäten, die in der abendländischen Kultur der letzten beiden Jahrtausende tief verankert ist, nicht auf das zweite vorchristliche Jahrtausend übertragen werden darf. So hatte beispielsweise Kantuzzili, der in Texten oftmals nur ¹⁰SANGA ‚Priester‘ genannt wird, durchaus als militärischer Befehlshaber an einem Feldzug in Obermesopotamien teilgenommen, und ebenso führte der als Priester von Teššub, Ḫepat und Šarruma in Kizzuwatna eingesetzte Sohn Šuppiluliumas I., Telipinu, eigene Feldzüge durch.³⁸ Auch Ḫattušili begann als Prinz seine Karriere als ŠA KUŠKIR4TAB.ANŠE-za ‚Zügelhalter‘, eine militärische Funktion im Kontext der Streitwagentruppe, um dann erst eine Priesterausbildung zu beginnen.³⁹ Es ist daher durchaus nicht unmöglich, dass auch Armatarupasani zunächst eine Funktion in der Streitwagentruppe übernommen hatte, um dann als ‚Schreiber der Šaušga‘ und letztlich als Priester und ‚Tempelherr‘ tätig zu werden. Es ist ferner zu berücksichtigen, dass in dieser Epoche im Vorderen Orient Angehörige der Streitwagentruppen nicht nur eine besondere militärische Funktion ausübten, sondern einen eigenen sozialen Stand bildeten, wie dies etwa Carlo Zaccagnini für die *mariyannu* herausgestellt hat.⁴⁰ Im hethitischen Reich waren Angehörige der Streitwagentruppe etwa im diplomatischen Dienst tätig⁴¹ und entsprechend könnten aus diesem Stand auch Priester hervorgegangen sein. So vermutet Tayfun Bilgin etwa für den GAL.KUŠ7Tutḫaliya, einen der Zeugen des Aleppo-Vertrages, er könne zudem das Amt eines MAGNUS.SACERDOS2 innegehabt haben,⁴² eine mögliche Analogie zu Armatarupasani.

Der Titel DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS = ‚Tempelherr‘ ist noch auf drei weiteren Siegelabdrücken aus dem Kayalıpınar-Archiv nachzuweisen. Bei zwei Exemplaren handelt es sich um Teilabdrücke von Siegelringen mit unklaren Personennamen (Kp 18/667; 19/701), das dritte stammt von einem runden, leicht gewölbten Siegel (Abb. 15.1). Auch

37 Im Gegensatz zum ‚chariot driver‘, siehe Bilgin 2018: 191–93.

38 Freu 2002: 66: „... les ‚prêtres‘, ... jouaient aussi un rôle ‚politique‘ et militaire.“ Vgl. auch Freu 2002: 76f.

39 Weeden 2011: 255 meint allerdings aufgrund Ḫattušilis Gesundheitszustands „... he is to be removed from the sphere of war, ... and put somewhere safe.“

40 Zaccagnini 1977: 21 spricht von einer „Militäraristokratie“. Weitere historische Beispiele ließen sich anführen, so waren im Imperium Romanum die *Equites* ein vererbbarer, dem späteren Adel ähnlicher Stand, dessen Angehörige längst nicht alle selbst beritten militärisch aktiv waren, hingegen entstammte sogar ein Großteil der Priesterschaft diesem Stand.

41 Bilgin 2018: 212, 218f., 243.

42 Bilgin 2018: 208: „... we would have to assume a change of office or the simultaneous occupation of both offices.“



Abb. 15. Tonbullae mit Abdrücken von Priester- bzw. Augurensiegeln aus dem Gebäude D in Kayalıpınar (1: Kp 18/236; 2: Kp 18/492; 3: Kp 19/486; 4: Kp 18/508) (Fotos: R. Süssenguth; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; Tafelmontage: K. Bieber).

bei letzterem Exemplar ist die Lesung des Namens problematisch: *ma+ra/i-ha²-lu* (L.110+383-215-445). Versuchsweise: Marhallu/Marihalu o. ä. Anlautendes *ma-* könnte aber auch als *ama-* zu lesen sein, wie ein Beispiel aus Ugarit verdeutlicht, wo die hieroglyphische Siegellegende *ma-na-ma-su* lautet, der Keilschrifttext der Tafel, auf dem sich der Siegelabdruck befindet, aber eindeutig Amanmašu nennt.⁴³ Die Siegelung aus Kayalıpınar zeigt neben dem Titel DEUS.DOMUS.DOMINUS zudem das Zeichen SCRIBA, möglicherweise ein Hinweis darauf, dass der Posten des ‚Tempelherrn‘ primär mit der Verwaltung von Tempeln und ihren Gütern zu tun hatte und nicht unbedingt eine höhere theologische Qualifikation voraussetzte. Somit ist dieser Titel wohl inhaltlich von MAGNUS.SACERDOS² = ¹⁰SANGA GAL⁴⁴ = ‚Hohepriester‘ zu trennen.

Während die syllabische *sa(n)kunni*-Schreibung auf den Siegeln aus Boğazköy bislang nicht belegt ist, ist dort *patili-* als syllabische Form für ein bestimmtes Priesteramt bei zwei Beispielen nachzuweisen,⁴⁵ ebenso jetzt in Kayalıpınar. Es liegen vier Abdrücke eines runden, leicht gewölbten Siegels vor (Abb. 15.2; Kp 18/490, 492, 509, 703), das auf der linken Seite *pa-ti-li* (L.334-90-278) und auf der rechten *pa-la-tu-wa/i* (L.334-175-88-439) zeigt. Die *patili*-Priester kommen im Kult einer Wettergottheit vor, spielten hauptsächlich in kizzuwatnäischen Ritualen, z.B. in Kumanni, eine Rolle, und sind mehrfach im Kontext von Geburtsritualen belegt.⁴⁶ Der Personenname ist in der vorliegenden Form bislang noch nicht nachgewiesen. Vergleichbar ist allerdings *Pallatu-* und *Apalla-* auf Landschenkungsurkunden⁴⁷ sowie *Apalli-*.⁴⁸

Neben den genannten Priestern zählten Auguren zum religiösen Personal und führten Orakelanfragen im Auftrag der Priester / des Königs zum Kult durch. In Kayalıpınar zeigen sieben Siegelungen den Titel AVIS3+MAGNUS = UGULA ^{LÜ.MEŠ}IGL.MUŠEN. Sie stammen von fünf Siegeln, die zwei verschiedenen Personen zuzuordnen sind. Am häufigsten ist der Personenname Pihatarhunta vertreten. Zunächst sind zwei Tonbulae mit Teilabdrücken eines runden, gewölbten Siegels zu nennen, das in der Mitte des Siegelfeldes die Zeichen *pi-ha*-TONITRUS (L.66-215-199) zeigt, rechts und links MAGNUS.AVIS3 (Abb. 15.3; Kp 19/486, 681). Sehr ähnlich, aber durch kleine Varianten von ersterem unterschieden, ist ein weiteres Exemplar (Abb. 15.4; Kp 18/508). Hingegen handelt es sich bei einem dritten Siegel mit demselben Namenszug und Titel, von dem zwei Abdrücke vorliegen (Abb. 16.1; Kp 19/132, 563), um einen völlig anderen Typus: Die Siegelfläche ist nun rechteckig, im Übrigen entspricht die Anordnung der Hieroglyphen aber den ersten beiden Beispielen. Einen entscheidenden Unterschied stellt aber die umlaufende Keilschriftlegende dar, von der sich zumindest die rechte Hälfte erhalten hat: *[p]i-ha-^D10 UGULA ¹⁰IG[L.MUŠEN]*. Dieses digraphische Siegel zeigt, dass 1. MAGNUS nicht nur GAL, sondern ebenso UGULA entsprechen kann, und 2. AVIS3 die

43 Schaeffer 1956: 44, 49f. Abb. 67–69.

44 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 365 führt 6 Belege für ¹⁰SANGA GAL an.

45 Güterbock 1942: Nr. 149; Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 102f., 305 Nr. 279.

46 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 253 f.; Beckman 1983: 235–38: „... he carries out an extremely wide variety of ritual activities ... the ¹⁰patili- may best be described as a purificatory priest whose chief sphere of activity is that of birth ...“

47 Rüster und Wilhelm 2012: 128 Nr. 15 Rs. 38'; 144f. Nr. 22 Rs. 50.

48 KBo 43.303 Rs. 2', 4'.

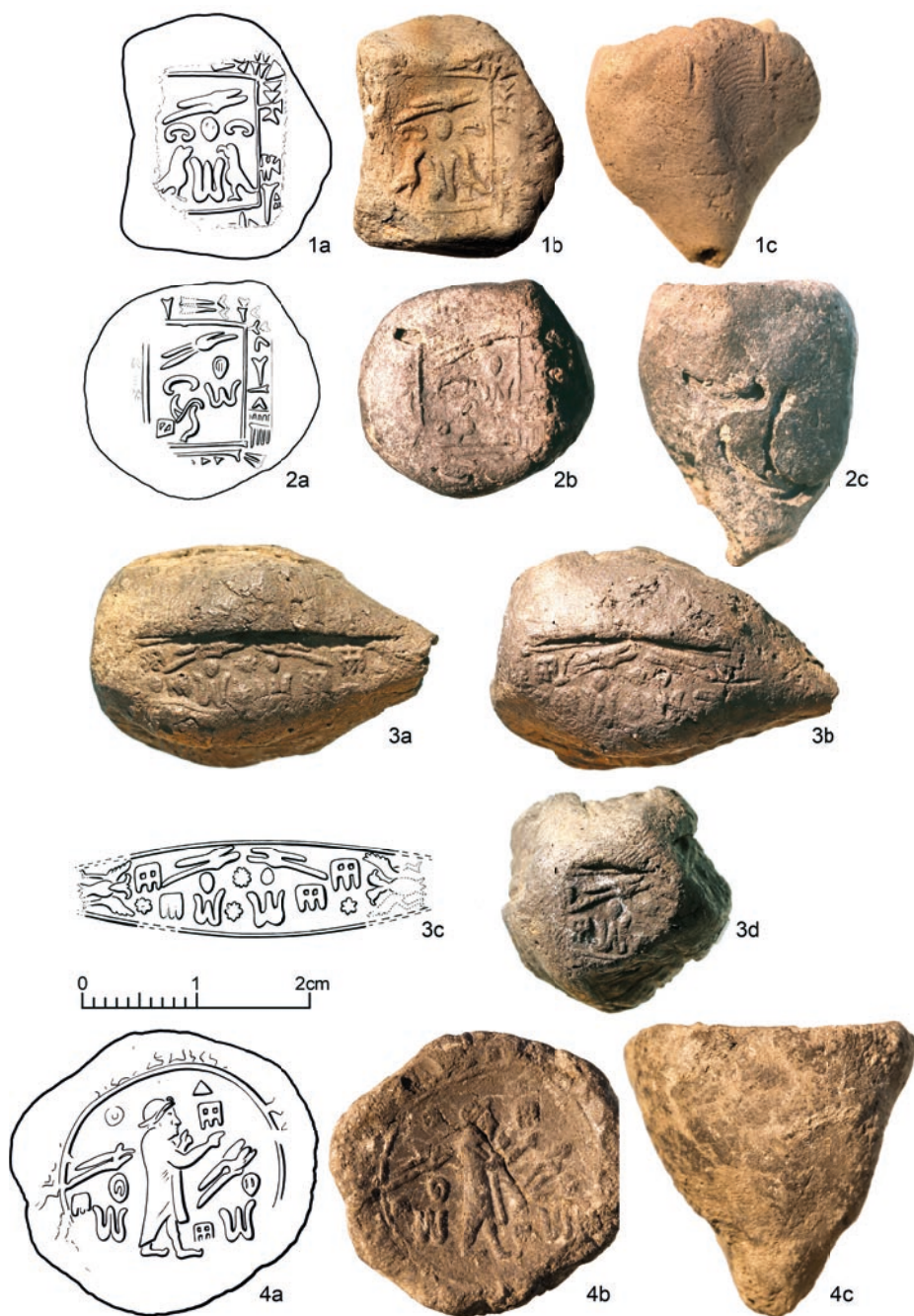


Abb. 16. Tonbullae mit Abdrücken von Siegeln des Pihatarhunta aus dem Gebäude D in Kaya-lipınar (1: Kp 19/132; 2: Kp 18/450; 3: Kp 18/415; 4: Kp 19/653) (Fotos: R. Süssenguth; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; Tafelmontage: K. Bieber).

Bedeutung von ^{LÜ}IGL.MUŠEN besitzt.⁴⁹ Zwar ist dieses keilschriftliche Logogramm nur unvollständig erhalten, die beiden Alternativen, ^{LÜ}MUŠEN.DÜ oder ^{LÜ}HAL, sind aber aufgrund der Zeichenreste auszuschließen.

Ein letztes Exemplar mit diesem Titel und Namen gehört gleichfalls zu den digraphischen Rechtecksiegeln (Abb. 16.2; Kp 18/450). Es ist dem vorhergehenden Beispiel sehr ähnlich, allerdings flankiert im Hauptfeld der Titel nicht mehr auf beiden Seiten den Personennamen, sondern findet sich nur einmal in der linken unteren Ecke der Einrahmung. Außerdem ist die Berufsbezeichnung MAGNUS.AVIS3 nun ergänzt um EUNUCHUS2 = ^{LÜ}SAG.⁵⁰ Die umlaufende Keilschriftlegende lautet: ^mr *pí-ha*¹⁻¹⁰ DUMU. = LUGA[L], zu ergänzen wäre auf der linken Seite: UGULA ^{LÜ}IGL.MUŠEN und ^{LÜ}SAG. Die fünf hier aufgeführten Siegel mit gleicher Namensnennung und Berufsangabe dürften alle zu ein und derselben Person gehört haben. Wie schon bei den vorherigen Beispielen der Priestersiegel gezeigt und auch in Boğazköy gut belegt, war bei den Hethitern die Nutzung mehrerer Siegel durch ein und dieselbe Person durchaus üblich.⁵¹ Zumindest in einigen Fällen lässt sich wahrscheinlich machen, dass sie nacheinander genutzt wurden, etwa wenn verschiedene Karrierestufen repräsentiert sind. In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu erwähnen, dass in Kayalıpınar acht weitere Siegelabdrücke mit dem Namenszug Pihatarhunta gefunden wurden, von denen fünf als SCRIBA gekennzeichnet sind (Abb. 16.3–4; 17.1) und einer die ungewöhnliche Titelkombination TUZZI.DOMINUS.EUNUCHUS2 aufweist (Abb. 17.2), somit einem ‚Truppen-Befehlshaber‘ und hohen Hofbeamten zuzuordnen ist. Auch wenn hier zunächst wiederum eine zufällige Homonymie vorzuliegen scheint, so sollte auch in diesem Fall nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass die unterschiedlichen Berufsbezeichnungen bzw. Titel zumindest bei einigen der Belege doch erneut nur Abschnitte der beruflichen Laufbahn einer Person spiegeln. Wie andere Priester mussten auch Auguren in der Regel lesen und schreiben können. Dass sie zumindest eine Zeitlang als Schreiber tätig waren, ist somit durchaus denkbar, zumal sie sich wohl erst am Ende einer längeren Ausbildung selbst Augur nennen dürften. Die Karrierestufe des ‚einfachen‘ Auguren fehlt unter den Siegelbelegen des Pihatarhunta. In keilschriftlichen Vogelomina aus Boğazköy ist aber ein ‚einfacher‘ ^{LÜ}IGL.MUŠEN dieses Namens durchaus belegt:

KBo 40.53+ Vs. II

- 2' *iš-tu*^{LÜ}IGL.MUŠEN IR-TUM QA-^rTAM²-MA²?¹-p[*át nu*] MUŠ[EN^{H.A} SI×SÁ-an-du^(?)]
 3' *ta-pa-aš-ši-^riš¹-kán pé.-an* SIG5-za na-aš 2-a[n² a]r²-h[a² pa-it]
 4' *kal¹-tar-ši-iš-ma-^rkán¹* EGIR UGU SIG5-za []
 5' *na-aš-kán pé.-an ar-^{ha} pa-it* EGIR KASKAL-NI *har-r*[*a-ni-iš-kán*]

49 Herboldt und Hawkins 2005: 97, 302, 311 vermuteten, L.135.2 sei mit ^{LÜ}IGL.MUŠEN zu identifizieren.

50 Herboldt und Hawkins 2005: 95, 303. Die lateinische Umschrift des Logogramms ist unglücklich gewählt, da es nicht nur keine sicheren Belege dafür gibt, dass diese Palastbeamten in Anatolien kastriert waren, sondern sogar eine Vaterschaft eines solchen Beamten erwähnt wird. Hierzu zuletzt ausführlich Vigo 2018: 279–88; Bilgin 2018: 340–45.

51 Mora 2016: 223: „... often the highest officials had at their disposal several seals ... more seals = more prestige?“

6' EGIR ʽUGUʽ SIG5-za na-aš-kán pé.-an ar-ḫa pa-i[t]

7' UM-MA ^mpi-ḫa-^D10 SI×SÁ-at-wa

Durch den **Auguren** die Fragestellung in g[enau] derselben Weise. [Die] Vö[gel sollen (es) bestätigen^(?)] Ein *tapašši*-Vogel (kam) vorne vom günstigen (Bereich) (geflogen) und [flog] in der Mitt[e w]e[g]. Ein *kaltarši*-Vogel aber (kam) hinten vom günstigen (Bereich) nach oben (geflogen) und flog vorne weg. Hinter dem Weg. Ein *ḫarr[ani]*-Vogel (kam) hinten vom günstigen (Bereich) nach oben (geflogen) und flo[g] vorne weg. Folgendermaßen **Piḫatarḫunta**: „Es wurde bestätigt.“ (nach Sakuma 2009: Bd. II 448f. Text 169a)

Auch der Titel UGULA ^{LÜ}IGI.MUŠEN kommt in dieser Textgruppe mehrfach vor, allerdings nie in gesichertem Kontext mit Piḫatarḫunta. Die neu gefundenen Siegelabdrücke zeigen nicht nur seinen Aufstieg zum ‚Aufseher der Auguren‘, sondern mit Kp 18/450 (Abb. 16.2) vielleicht einen weiteren Karrieresprung in die oberste Riege der Hofbeamten (EUNUCHUS2 = ^{LÜ}SAG) und überraschender Weise sogar zum DUMU.LUGAL. Er war allem Anschein nach nicht von Geburt an ‚Prinz‘, sondern hatte wohl nun in die königliche Familie eingehiratet. Schon länger wurde vermutet, dass der Titel DUMU.LUGAL bzw. REX.FILIUS nicht nur leibliche Königssöhne bezeichnete (Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 106). Dass auch durch Heirat ein solcher Titel erworben werden konnte, zeigt das Beispiel Puduḫepas. Von ihr ist bekannt, dass sie Tochter eines Priesters in der Provinz war, der Ḫattušili auf dem Rückweg von der Qadeš-Schlacht begegnete und sie heiratete. Auf einem nunmehr in Kayalıpınar gefundenen Siegelabdruck (Kp 18/125) trägt sie den Titel REX.FILIA, sie konnte sich somit nach der Hochzeit Prinzessin nennen, bevor sie später zur Großkönigin avancierte. Die Funde von Piḫatarḫunta-Siegelabdrücken aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv (Nr. 305–307) könnten daher mit dem in Kayalıpınar nachgewiesenen Auguren dieses Namens in Zusammenhang stehen. Von besonderem Interesse ist hier der leider unvollständige Abdruck eines digraphischen Siegels mit der Keilschriftlegende [^m]pi-ḫa-^D10 ^{ʽUGUʽ}SA[G], dem hieroglyphischen Namen *pi-ha*-TONITRUS, dem Titel EUNUCHUS2 sowie am rechten Rand der Rest eines Flügels wohl von dem Zeichen AVIS³² und am linken Rand der Rest des Zeichens *TUZZI* (L.283/284). Wie erwähnt, liegt auch aus Kayalıpınar der Abdruck eines Siegelrings mit Piḫatarḫunta-Namenszug und einer ähnlichen Konstellation der Titel vor, jedoch ohne AVIS-Zeichen. In der Kombination der Siegel spricht somit letztlich doch einiges dafür, dass wir hier den Karriereweg einer Person vor uns haben, der vom Schreiber zum Auguren, dann zum Aufseher der Auguren, damit auch zum hohen Hofbeamten und Prinzen und schließlich sogar zum Truppenkommandeur führte.

Aus dem Archiv des Gebäudes D in Kayalıpınar ist noch ein letztes Auguren-Siegel zu besprechen. Wiederum handelt es sich um den Abdruck eines Siegelrings (Abb.

52 Suzanne Herbordt deutet den Flügel als Teil eines doppelköpfigen Adlers (Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 168 Nr. 305), bei Siegelringen pflegt dieses Motiv an den Enden des Siegelfeldes horizontal (liegend) angebracht zu werden.

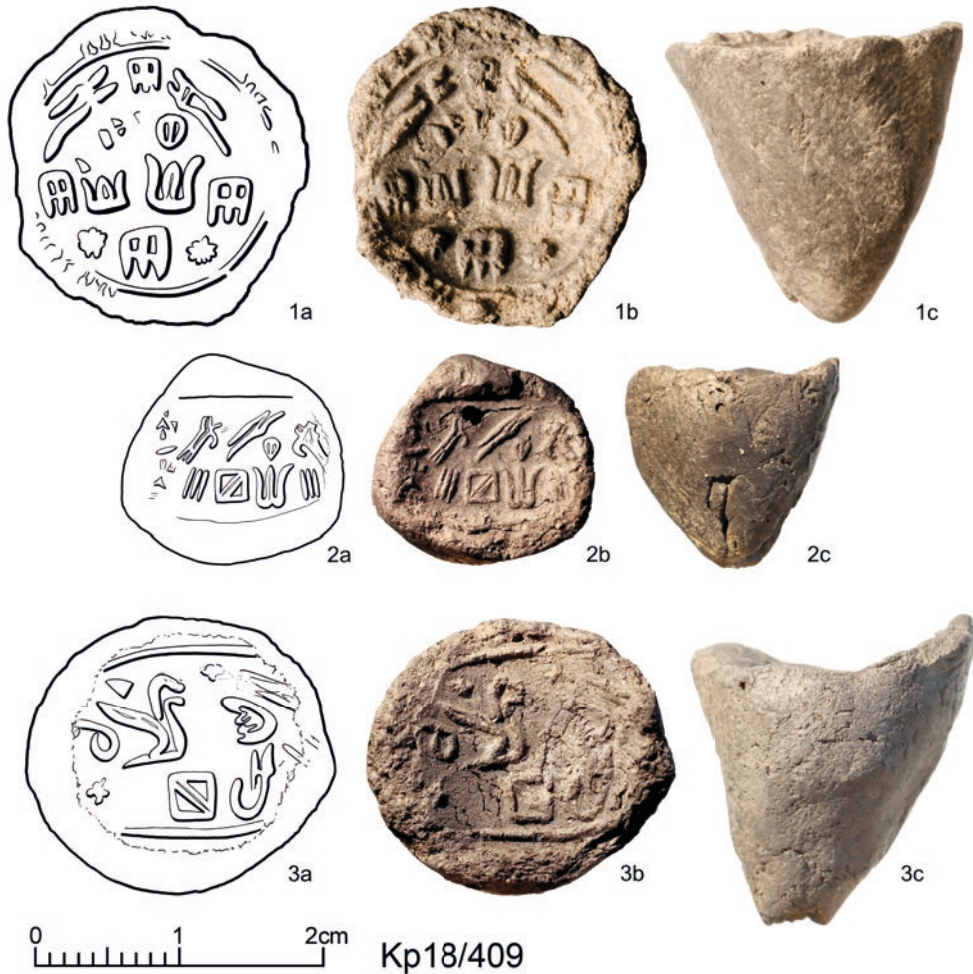


Abb. 17. Tonbullae mit Abdrücken von Siegeln des Pihatarhunta und des Auguren Tagana(?) aus dem Gebäude D in Kayalıpınar (1: Kp 18/415; 2: Kp 18/591; 3: Kp 18/409) (Fotos: R. Süssenguth; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; Tafelmontage: K. Bieber).

17.3). Der in Hieroglyphen geschriebene Namenszug lautet *tà-ka-na* (L.41-434-35),⁵³ der Titel AVIS3+MAGNUS, EUNUCHUS2. Im Gegensatz zu den meisten der hier behandelten Namen ist Takana nicht luwischen Ursprungs, sondern von dem insbesondere in Syrien verehrten Gott Dagan abzuleiten, der in Anatolien aber bereits in Kültepe-Texten zur Bildung von Personennamen herangezogen wurde und im 13. Jh. in verschiedener Variation auch in hieroglyphischer Schreibung in Emar begegnet.⁵⁴ Mög-

⁵³ Das erste Zeichen ist undeutlich abgedrückt und könnte auch als AURIGA (L.289) zu lesen sein.

⁵⁴ Laroche 1966: 169 Nr. 1206. In Emar sind nicht weniger als 85 verschiedene Personen belegt, die Dagan als ein Namenselement zeigen: Beyer 2001.



Abb 18. Tonbullae mit Siegelabdrücken des Arztes Yarriziti aus dem Gebäude D in Kayalıpınar (1: Kp 18/59; 2: Kp 18/714; 3: Kp 18/265; 4: Kp 18/527; 5: Kp 18/716) (Fotos: R. Süssenguth; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; Tafelmontage: K. Bieber).

cherweise stammte dieser Augur, der bis in den Kreis der hohen Hofbeamten aufgestiegen und zum Aufseher der Auguren ernannt worden war, ursprünglich aus Syrien.

Außer dem AVIS3-Logogramm wird noch ein weiteres Zeichen mit der Augurentätigkeit in Verbindung gebracht: Zeichen L.135(2), das bislang in der Forschung überwiegend als stilisierter Vogel, ja als mögliche Pfauendarstellung interpretiert wurde (Abb. 18–19).⁵⁵ Als südasiatischer Tropenvogel war der Pfau im bronzezeitlichen Anatolien aber unbekannt. Naheliegender ist es vielmehr, dieses Zeichen von einer Hornviper abzuleiten, die auch im ägyptischen Hieroglyphensystem (Lesung: *f*) begegnet. Erstmals erwog Hans Gustav Güterbock 1987, dass mit dem Zeichen L.135(2) als Berufsangabe auf Siegeln Ärzte gemeint gewesen sein könnten. Ausgangspunkt war ein Siegelabdruck aus der Unterstadt von Boğazköy, der neben diesem Logogramm den Personennamen Hutupi aufweist.⁵⁶ Eine Person dieses Namens ist aus Keilschriftquellen als ^{LÜ}A.ZU = ‚Arzt‘ bekannt. In Kayalıpınar ist nun ein weiterer, etwas abweichender Siegelabdruck dieses Hutupi gefunden worden, der ebenfalls diese Berufsbezeichnung zeigt (Abb. 19.1; Kp 19/616). In dem Text, auf den sich Güterbock bezog, heißt es: „... da heilten mich die Ärzte Hutupi und Akiya“ (Burde 1974: 3). Ein Akiya ist unter den Siegelabdrücken aus der Oberstadt von Boğazköy aus Tempel 26 belegt. Das Berufs-Logogramm ist hier nur fragmentarisch, könnte aber durchaus zu L.135(2) zu ergänzen sein.⁵⁷ Zwar gibt es auch Siegelbelege, die dieses Logogramm in Kombination mit Personennamen zeigen, die in Keilschriftquellen als ^{LÜ}IGI.MUŠEN oder ^{LÜ}HAL bezeichnet werden (Weeden 2011: 251), doch ist in diesen Fällen die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer zufälligen Namensgleichheit höher. Ein zentrales Argument ist hierbei die Deutung des Logogramms als Viper. Schlangen werden in medizinischem Zusammenhang in einem hethitischen und einem luwischen Text erwähnt,⁵⁸ und mit einem pharmazeutischen Einsatz von Schlangengiften kann in der Epoche durchaus bereits gerechnet werden. Die ‚Äskulap-Schlange‘ als Symbol medizinischer Berufe wird wohl keine griechische Erfindung sein, und wie auch medizinisches Wissen dem Alten Orient entlehnt wurde, so könnte ebenso das Symbol durchaus auf das hier infrage stehende Logogramm zurück zu führen sein. Dieses Zeichen sollte nun nicht mehr mit AVIS_x sondern VIPERA umschrieben werden.⁵⁹ Mit seiner keilschriftlichen Entsprechung ^{LÜ}A.ZU = ‚Arzt‘ ist es aus der Liste des engeren Kreises des Kultpersonals zu streichen, auch wenn in der Praxis wohl keine scharfe Trennung zu ‚Beschwörungspriestern‘ bzw. ‚Exorzisten‘ bestanden haben dürfte.

55 Laroche 1960: 80 Nr. 135(2): „oiseau“; Herboldt und Hawkins 2005: 302, 311f.: „crested bird“; Weeden 2011: 251: „resemble a snake ... also well resemble a peacock.“

56 Boehmer und Güterbock 1987: 66 Taf. 21 Nr. 188; Bilgin 2018: 320 zitiert zudem einen Neufund aus Karkemisch „which displays a L.135.2 drawn much more like a snake than a bird.“

57 Dinçol und Dinçol 2008: 38 Nr. 134 rekonstruieren URCEUS.

58 Beckman 1983: 211: KUB 35.88 Vs. II 13 (luwisches Ritual für ein neugeborenes Kind).

59 Dinçol und Dinçol 2008: 67f. schlugen die Umschrift MEDICUS/MAGUS(?) vor, da sie das Zeichen noch als „Schlange oder ähnliches, wahrscheinlich imaginäres Geschöpf“ betrachteten. Umschriften von Hieroglyphen haben sich sonst bisher primär an deren Form und nicht der heutigen Interpretation ihrer möglichen ursprünglichen Bedeutung orientiert, auch wenn dieses Prinzip nicht immer konsequent durchgehalten wurde. Daher ist die Benennung VIPERA zu bevorzugen.

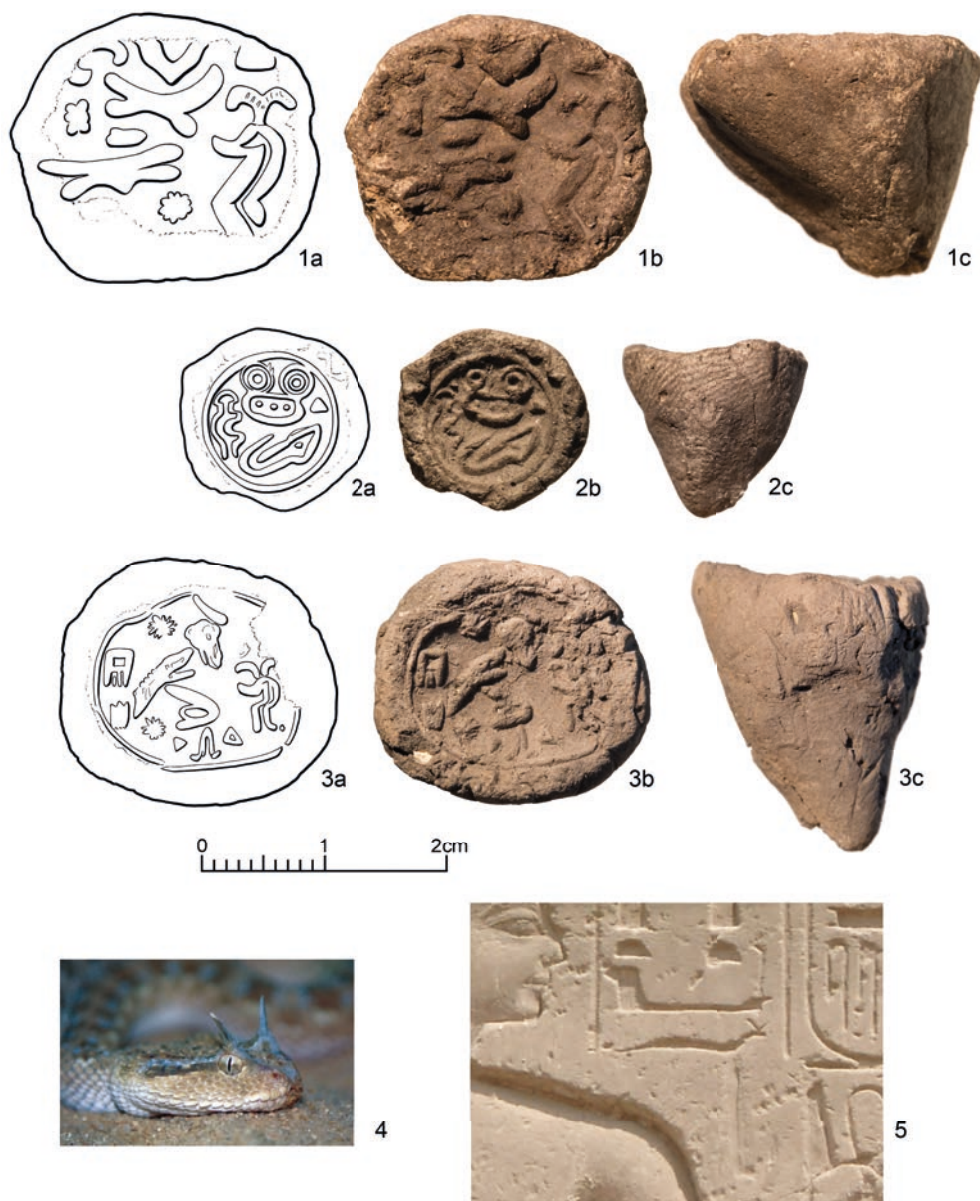


Abb 19. Tonbullae mit Siegelabdrücken der Ärzte Hutupi, Pana und Targasnataga aus dem Gebäude D in Kayalıpınar (1: Kp 19/617; 2: Kp 19/20; 3: Kp 19/29); 4: Wüsten-Hornviper *Cerastes cerastes*; 5: Karnak, Amontempel, Ramses II., in der Bildmitte Hieroglyphe f (schematisierte Hornviper) (Tafelmontage: K. Bieber; 19.1–3, 19.5: Fotos: R. Süssenguth und A. Müller-Karpe; Zeichnungen: A. Müller-Karpe; 19.4: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabische_Hornviper#/media/Datei:Cerastes_gasperetti_\(horned\).jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabische_Hornviper#/media/Datei:Cerastes_gasperetti_(horned).jpg), verwendet unter Create Commons license CCBY 3.0).

5. Vergleich Hattuša – Šamuha

In der Summe sind somit 58 gesiegelte Tonbullae aus dem Archiv des Gebäudes D in Kayalıpınar Personal mit religiösen Aufgaben im engeren Sinne, d. h. Priestern, ‚Tempelherren‘ und Auguren, zuzuordnen. Sie haben damit einen Anteil von 5 % aller Bullae dieses Fundkomplexes. Zur selben Personengruppe gehören im Nişantepe-Archiv 66 Siegelungen, was dort lediglich 1,9 % des Gesamtbestands bedeutet (bezogen auf die Prinzen- und Beamtsiegel sind es 4,8 %). In dem Archivfund des Jahres 1936 im Gebäude D auf Büyükkale sind 5 entsprechende Belege zu verzeichnen, was einen Anteil von 2,5 % darstellt. Suzanne Herbordt und Ada Taggar-Cohen fassen den Begriff der ‚Priester und Tempelbediensteten‘ weiter und rechnen aufgrund ihrer aktiven Rolle in Festritualen auch Berufe wie PASTOR = ^{L0}NA.GAD = ‚Hirte‘ und URCEUS = ^{L0}SAG.LA = ‚Mundschenk‘ mit ein, sodass sich ein Anteil von 11,1 % ergibt.⁶⁰ Die Abgrenzung ist hier sehr problematisch, da es im Grunde so gut wie keine Berufsgruppe geben dürfte, die in hethitischen Texten nicht im Zusammenhang mit irgendwelchen Kulthandlungen erwähnt wird.

Das in den Keilschrifttexten sehr ausdifferenzierte spezifische Kultpersonal – nicht weniger als 157 verschiedene Begriffe sind überliefert⁶¹ – spiegelt sich in den hieroglyphischen Siegellegenden nur sehr eingeschränkt wider. So sind unter den Siegeln etwa Köche, Sänger, Tänzer, Musiker, ‚Spaßmacher‘ etc. nicht vertreten. Erwartungsgemäß sind nur diejenigen Berufsgruppen, die etwas mit Verwaltungstätigkeiten bzw. Beurkundungen zu tun hatten, unter den Siegelungen nachzuweisen. Entsprechend dürften die gängigen Übersetzungen wie ‚Hirte‘ und ‚Mundschenk‘ zu kurz greifen: Gemeint sind wohl eher Viehverwalter und Kellermeister, die im weiteren Sinne für Speise- und Getränkeversorgung Verantwortung trugen. Gerade am Beispiel der Grundversorgung wird deutlich, dass eine Trennung von Bedarf für Kulthandlungen einerseits und profanem Leben andererseits nicht möglich ist. Gleiches gilt für ‚Schreiber‘, die für den hochgradig bürokratisierten hethitischen Kultbetrieb eine große Bedeutung hatten, aber meist von den in der sonstigen Zivilverwaltung tätigen Schreibern nicht zu trennen sind.

Die drei genannten Archive mit gesiegelten Tonbullae sind zwar sehr unterschiedlich groß, strukturell sind sie einander aber durchaus ähnlich.⁶² Zwei stammen unmittel-

60 Herbordt und Hawkins 2005: 102f.; Taggar-Cohen 2013: 163.

61 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 204–434 (‚personale templare e adetti al culto‘); die Zahl erhöht sich, zählt man noch ‚personale palatino e templare‘ (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 144–203) hinzu.

62 Da es immer wieder zu Missverständnissen bei der Interpretation des archäologischen Befundes kommt (z. B. Mora 2016: 222), muss nochmals betont werden, dass es sich nicht um Depots, sondern um Archivbefunde handelt (in diesem Sinne: van den Hout 2007: 343). Gefunden wurden nahezu ausschließlich Urkunden-Bullae, die überwiegend zu Holztafeln gehörten, nicht Plomben von Warensendungen. Gebäude D auf der Büyükkale war kein Magazin, sondern primär eine Audienzhalle bzw. ein *halentuwa*-, bei dem das Archiv in einem schmalen Seitenraum untergebracht war, die drei Räume des Westbaus auf Nişantepe waren mehr oder minder mit Urkunden angefüllt, zur Einlagerung von Gütern war dort kein nennenswerter Platz mehr verfügbar, und in Kayalıpınar schließt gleichfalls die hohe Fundkonzentration eine Funktion als Warendepot oder ‚Schatzkammer‘ aus.

telbar aus Palastbereichen, nur das Nişantepe-Archiv war räumlich separiert, gehörte aber zweifellos letztlich zur großköniglichen Verwaltung mit ihrem Zentrum in dem Palastkomplex auf der Büyükkale. Bei allen drei Archiven liegt der Anteil des Kultpersonals (im engeren Sinne) lediglich im niedrigen einstelligen Bereich, wie dies für Palastverwaltungen zu erwarten ist. Das Kayalıpınar-Archiv zeigt mit einem Wert von 5 % den höchsten Anteil. In allen drei Archiven ist ein Großteil der überlieferten Personennamen luwischen Ursprungs. Auffällig ist jedoch, dass unter den Priestern, die mit dem SACERDOS2-Logogramm gekennzeichnet sind, in Kayalıpınar 60 % einen hurritischen Namen tragen, im Nişantepe-Archiv sind es nur 15 %.

Die Funde der Abdrücke von Priestersiegeln in Palastarchiven belegen aber nicht unbedingt, dass diese ‚Geistlichen‘ als Angestellte des jeweiligen Palastes zu betrachten sind. Sie können durchaus zum Personal eines, wo auch immer zu lokalisierenden, Tempels gehört haben. Da aber zumindest manche Priester durchaus auch ‚zivile‘ Verwaltungsaufgaben ausübten, bis hin zur Verwaltung ganzer Landesteile, wie im Beispiel des Kantuzzili und Telipinu, werden diese sehr wohl in Palästen residiert haben. Da zudem essentielle Teile des ‚Staatskultes‘ in Palästen, insbesondere dem *ḫalentuwa*-Saal, stattzufinden hatten, kann damit gerechnet werden, dass spezifisches Kultpersonal zu den Palastbediensteten zählte. Es waren vermutlich sogar deutlich mehr Personen, als dies der glyptische Befund erkennen lässt. In der Fundgattung der Siegel spiegelt sich ohnehin stets nur eine gesellschaftlich gehobene Gruppe. Ein Großteil der Bevölkerung, auch der Palastangestellten, hinterließ keine Spuren in Archiven.

Zusammenfassend ist festzuhalten, dass in hethitischer Zeit längst nicht jede religiöse Aktivität unter dem Begriff ‚Tempelkult‘ subsumiert werden kann, sondern ebenso Paläste wichtige Orte zur Durchführung von Kulthandlungen waren.⁶³

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63 Den Marburger Kolleginnen Susanne Görke und Elisabeth Rieken bin ich für Hinweise und Korrekturen dieses Beitrags dankbar.

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HITTITE CULT IN SYRIA

Religious Imperialism or Religious Pluralism?

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Abstract

This paper examines the implementation and practice of Hittite imperial cult in the Syrian territories which came under Hittite control, and the interference of Hittite officials in the management of local non-Hittite cults. Our goal is to discern whether we are observing a case of religious imperialism or simply a case of religious pluralism, as termed by previous scholarly debate. Thus, we assess these two positions considering the evidence from Emar and the tantalizing new evidence from Ugarit – the recently published letters from the House of Urtenu. In addition, two intriguing terms, the *ajak inzari* and the *malḥašše* offerings, are also discussed in this contribution.

1. Introduction

The question of our paper concerns the implantation and practice of Hittite imperial cult on Syrian soil, and the interference of Hittite officials in the management of local non-Hittite cults.¹ We ask whether the evidence permits us to state that we are observing a case of religious imperialism or simply a case of religious pluralism.

Cohen (2011) previously dealt with the question in his survey of the material from Emar, reaching the conclusion that the involvement of Hittite officialdom in the administration of the local Syrian cult at Emar was major (on many levels) and furthermore, that Hittite officials were probably responsible for introducing imperial cult (rituals for the gods of imperial rule) to the city. The motive, so argued by Cohen, was not only political or ideological but also economic, because in practice Hittite control meant the allocation of temple and cult resources (food, goods, manpower, etc.) to chief Hittite functionaries in Syria (Carchemish) and even the royal house in Ḫattuša itself. Whether all this constitutes religious imperialism, however, remains an open question.

In response to Cohen's paper about Hittite involvement in Emar's religious life, Archi (2014: 141) claimed that "Hittite rule did not exercise any religious imperialism [at Emar],

¹ This paper is part of the Gerda Henkel Foundation research project, "Forging an Empire: Hittite Imperial Rule from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates", conducted by Yoram Cohen and Eduardo Torrecilla. We thank Profs. Craig Melchert, Herbert Niehr and Mark Weeden for their priceless comments. Abbreviations follow the CAD and the CHD. In addition, note the following abbreviations: AT = Wiseman 1953; BLMJ = Westenholz 2000; Emar = Arnaud 1985–87; RGTC 12/2 = Belmonte 2001; RSOu 23 = Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016.

on the contrary [...]. A reorganization of cults promoted by Tuthaliya IV was at the origin of the introduction in Emar of a liturgy for some Hittite gods. This was not a superimposition of a theological organized pantheon over the local gods, but personal gods of the king [...].” To sum up his position, interfering with the local cult and introducing the Hittite cult was part of Hittite religious mentality (open and pluralistic) and much less a case of ideological/political, or certainly religious, imposition of any sort.

The task before us is to assess these two positions in light of the evidence from Emar and the tantalizing new evidence from Ugarit. In our discussion we will also treat two new terms, whose full meaning has not been previously realized or fully investigated: the *ajak inzari* and the *malḥašše* offerings.

2. Hittite involvement in Emar

Because the evidence from Emar has already been treated in detail, it will be presented in summary form. After the Hittite conquest of Emar by Šuppiluliuma, the Hittites asserted direct control over the city by two means: first, Hittite officials and even the viceroy at Carchemish ruled over the city; second, the Zu-Bala clan, as far as we understand, rose to an extraordinary position in the city. The Zu-Balas became the *de facto* rulers of Emar and chief collaborators with Hittite rule. The interaction between these two powers – local and imperial – is recorded in numerous documentary sources (letters, memos, economic documents and so on). They reveal to us the following actions undertaken by the Zu-Balas with the Hittites. Together, they were in charge of wine deliveries for the cult of the gods (probably the imperial cult); the supply of 1000 shekels of bronze (for the cult) by/to the DUMU.LUGAL; the management of manpower for the benefit of the cult; registering cultic items; the maintenance of the cult (for the ‘gods of the land of Ḫatti’); the distribution of food, beer, and oil; the installation of cult officials, and their participation in rituals at Emar (perhaps modified after the end of the Emar local dynasties when they came to include a place for the LUGAL, who can be identified with the viceroy at Carchemish).

Additional textual sources from Emar complete the picture for us: a set of ‘Anatolian’ rituals written in Akkadian. They detail the procedures of the *paršu* of the gods of the land of Ḫatti, the Lower and Upper Cities,² and a few Hittite oracle texts found at Emar that were adapted to suit the Emar pantheon.³

The conclusion to be drawn is that the Hittites gave much concern to the celebration of the cult in Emar, presumably of an imperial nature, as its nature is not specified as local, and when designations apply (as in the Anatolian rituals and some letters), the rituals are specifically for the ‘gods of Ḫatti’. The Hittites also gave some consideration to local rituals and to the provision of local sacrifices. The nature of this behaviour can be better assessed alongside the new evidence from RSOu 23 – a volume which contains a bulk of some 100 previously unpublished letters from the *Maison d’Urtēnu* archive at Ugarit (Lackembacher and Malbran-Labat 2016). The volume brings to near-completion the publication of over 200 letters found in the archive. The total of texts from the archive is over 600 tablets.

2 Emar 471–490; BLMJ 31.

3 Salvini and Trémouille 2005; discussion in Archi 2014.

3. Hittite involvement in Ugarit

The chronological horizon of the archive spans from the closing decades of the 13th century to the first decades of the 12th century, in fact right up to the moment when Ugarit was destroyed by the ‘Sea Peoples’. A considerable batch of the letters are addressed to the king of Ugarit (kings Niqmaddu or Ammurapi) and top officials, notably the *sākinu* of Ugarit. The senders are Ugaritians, neighbouring kings, and – for our purposes – the Hittite administration in Syria, including the Hittite viceroy at Carchemish and his officials, as well as the Hittite Great King himself. Matters discussed between the Hittites and the king of Ugarit and his officials include border disputes, international trade, compensation over loss of goods (when merchants were killed *en route*), and similar matters. The newly published letters also discuss, in a manner never before revealed, the dire conditions, explicitly identified as hunger, which struck Syria (Cohen forthc.). But these matters will be left aside here, as we turn to view another exceptional façade of Hittite rule in Syria, previously hardly known: the Hittites’ involvement and participation in rituals, whose exact nature – local or superimposed – merits investigation. We will commence from the very top of Hittite rule – the Hittite king, and continue down to the Carchemish viceroy and his officials who were active throughout Syria.

In the letter RSOu 23 2, the Hittite king (who remains un-named) informs king Niqmaddu that two Hittite representatives are on their way to him.⁴ The purpose of their journey from Ḫattuša to Ugarit is specified in the body of the letter:

¹⁻³ Thus His Majesty; say to Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit: ⁴⁻⁸ “Hereby Šangabi and also Alamannu was sent from the palace (É.GAL-*li*) in order to perform the ritual/offering (*a-na SISKUR e-pé-ši*). ⁹⁻¹⁴ Therefore, provide Šangabi whatever he demands from you for the offering.”

We will inquire about the nature of ritual or offering shortly. For now, we can pose the question: What was the purpose of this ritual, which required sending Šangabi and Alamannu all the way from Ḫattuša? This is especially intriguing considering that Mr. Šangabi is probably to be identified with a high official named Šaggabi, who was connected to the Hittite royal house. We know of the official Šaggabi appearing in a MUŠ oracle report, which mentions Nerikkaili, the son of Ḫattušili III.⁵ Given the chronological link between king Niqmaddu III and Puduḫepa, wife of Ḫattušili III (Singer 1999: 693f.), the Šaggabi of the report is likely to be the same Šangabi who was sent to Ugarit.⁶

More details about the involvement of the Hittites in rituals conducted throughout their empire are provided in RSOu 23 10 – a directive from the Hittite viceroy, the king

4 The letter always refers to ‘him/he’, but ‘them/they’ is intended throughout. The second Hittite envoy, Alamannu, was added to the letter after it was fully written: his name was written as a post scriptum in smaller script between lines 4 and 5 of the tablet.

5 CTH 575.7 (= KUB 50.72 + KBo 53.107 rev. IV 4’); Lefèvre-Novaro and Mouton 2008: 33–36.

6 Laroche 1981: 37 already suggested that Šangabi (^mša-an-ga-bi) and Šaggabi (^mšak-ka-pi) are different spellings of the same name. A certain Šangabi is found in KBo 13.241 obv. 20’ (CTH 520; Laroche 1981: 37; Torri and Barsacchi 2018: 269), which details the offerings to the Queen of Katapa (Otten 1976–80: 486), a deity which incidentally is found in the treaty between Muršili II and Niqmepa’ of Ugarit (CTH 66 = RS 17.338; del Monte 1986: 102). Šaggabi is found in two texts (in addition to CTH 575.7). He is the scribe of KBo 5.11+ rev. IV (CTH 263, The Instructions for the Palace Gate Watchmen), identical with Šaggabi mentioned in KUB 40.88+ obv. III 12f. (CTH 294.1, a court deposition). See Gordin 2015: 214, n. 909; Marizza 2006: 166f.; Miller 2013: 88.

of Carchemish, to Niqmaddu. After the standard opening and salutations, the letter continues:

RSOu 23 10

- 7 ^{giš}ERIN.NA ša a-na NIN-ka ši-mi-ga
- 8 na-ak-su ana UGU-ḫi-šu
- 9 la-a ta-qà-ri-ib
- 10 ù šum-ma ta-qà-ri-ib
- 11 lu-ú ti-i-de₄
- 12 ki-i a-šap-pár
- 13 ù ÉRIN.MEŠ-ka
- 14 ki-i LÚ.KÚR
- 15 i-ḫa-bat-tu₄
- 16 ^{giš}ERIN.NA ša-a-šu
- 17 ^mSUM-^dISKUR li-iš-ši-ma
- 18 a-na ia-ak in-za-ri
- 19 lu-bi-’il’

⁷⁻⁹ Do not touch the cedar wood which was cut down for your lady Šimegi. ¹⁰⁻¹² If you touch it, you will truly learn what I will command: ¹³⁻¹⁵ that your people who will plunder (it), will be considered as an enemy force. ¹⁶⁻¹⁹ May Ari-Teššup convey this cedar wood in order that I will bring it to the shrine of (all) the gods.

Of course, ‘your lady Šimegi’ is confusing, because Hurrian Šimege is a masculine sun-god. The editors of the letter suggest that the Ugaritic sun-goddess, Šapšu, is actually meant here and bring support for their understanding from the Weidner God list, where one finds the equation between Šimege, Šamaš (written Utu) and Šapšu.⁷ The cedar wood, either as building material or incense, was to serve the *ia-ak in-za-ri*. The word *in-za-ri* previously unattested in Ugarit is Hurrian. It means ‘the gods’, so *ia-ak in-za-ri* means ‘the temple of (all) the gods’.⁸

The cedar wood itself, so it seems, was conveyed to the temple by the viceroy himself.⁹ Was he the one actually conducting the ritual? A positive answer may be provided

7 Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 32. One may consider a (near-)calque on the Ugaritic title of the goddess, called *rbt špš* and *špš rbt*; see Rahmouni 2008: 345; Ayali-Darshan forthc.

8 The word *ia-ak* is the construct state of *ajakku* ‘shrine, temple’ (CAD A/1, 224f.). The term was known in Ḫattuša: it appears in the *babili* Ritual; see Beckman 2014: 96 (index). The word *in-za-ri* (which was left untranslated in the *editio princeps*, but which certainly doesn’t have any connection to *inzarû* ‘une plante aromatique, à vertu médicinale’, as Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016 cautiously suggested) is Hurrian for *i/enzari* ‘(all) the gods’ (Richter 2012: 88). The word is well-attested in Boğazköy Hurrian texts. In the Song of Release, *e-en-za-a-ri* is equated with DINGIR^{MES} (Neu 1996: 78f.). The word is possibly attested in a Mari Hurrian text (dated to Zimri-Lim); cf. Salvini 1988: 61f., l. 7.

9 Pay attention to *lubil* ‘I will bring about’ (1st person precativ), although the form can be taken as an Assyrianism for the 3rd person (*lu-*) (but not attested in precativ G stem throughout the Ugarit corpus, including texts from Carchemish). Cf. Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 32: “Ce cèdre, que SUM-^dISKUR se charge de le porter au sanctuaire-*inzari*!”

by recourse to a Hittite letter found in Alalakh, AT 125.¹⁰ This letter was sent from the viceroy at Carchemish to his official, called Pirwannu. It deals with some birds sent from Alalakh to the viceroy but which were found to be too disgusting to eat. It also reveals the duties of the viceroy. The viceroy says that he can resume his trip(?), but now, “I have begun to perform the offerings (SISKUR^{HLA}). When I finish performing the offerings, I will ma[ke the trip].”¹¹ It appears, therefore, that the duties of the viceroy included conducting offerings, and therefore our question on who was in charge of the ritual is thus answered. But what is so special about this and how is it related to our topic? Coming back to the Ugarit letter, we see that the viceroy performs a ritual to the gods, in which an Ugaritic goddess, Šapšu, participates. It is as if the viceroy takes precedence over the king of Ugarit himself: cedar wood that passes through Ugarit, or even belongs to Ugarit, is not utilized by the king of the city for his own goddess, rather is appropriated for a procedure (of imperial proportions?) celebrated for all the gods at their temple (situated where?) by the king of Hittite Syria. In this respect, it can be argued that the Great King in Ḫattuša sent his two representatives, Šangabi and Alamanu, to Ugarit, to perform these offerings.

The name of this ritual is revealed by the next two letters, sent by Hittite officials to their counterparts in the Ugarit administration. The first letter is RSOu 23 19, sent by Taši, the DUMU.LUGAL, to Tuttu, the *sākinu* of Ugarit. The letter deals with the fate of goods belonging to merchants, now deceased, their necks having been wrung by some highway robbers. At the close of the letter, a much more pertinent subject arises – the exchange of gifts between both parties. These, says Taši, are slightly delayed, because he is busy. He writes as follows:

RSOu 23 19

- 13 *ù at-ta 'am'-mi-ni-i*
- 14 *šul-ma-na la-a*
- 15 *ti-šap-pa-ra*
- 16 *mi-dú-me-e*
- 17 *a-na-ku i-na^{kur} nu-ḫaš-ši-e*
- 18 *SISKUR.MEŠ ma-al-ḫa-ši*
- 19 *e-pé-ši aš-ba-ku*
- 20 *ù aš-šum an-ni-i*
- 21 *šul-ma-na la-a aš-pu-ra-ak-ku*
- 22 *i-na-an-na at-ta šul-ma-na*
- 23 *lu-ú ti-šap-pa-ra*

^{13–15} But you (i.e. Tuttu, the *sākinu* of Ugarit) – why will you not send me gifts?

^{20f.} The reason why I myself had not sent you any gifts ^{16–19} is because I am staying in the land of Nuḫašše in order to perform the *malḫašše* offerings. ^{22f.} Regardless, you are to send me gifts!

¹⁰ AT 125 = Hoffner 2009: 372–74, no. 125.

¹¹ AT 125, ll. 21–24: *nu-za ka-a-š[a] SISKUR^{HLA} / [e-e]š-ša-aḫ-ḫi nu-za GIM-an [x]-x / SISKUR^{HLA} i-ia-u-wa-an-zi / zi-in-na-aḫ-ḫi nu i-i[a-aḫ-ḫa-ri]*.

The second letter in which the *malḥašše* offerings appear is RSOu 23 32. In this very poorly preserved letter, a Hittite official reports to his counterpart in Ugarit that a third party (who remains unidentified) is to perform the *malḥašše* offerings.¹² The third party will arrive in the land of Mukiš and the city of Alalakh, but only in a few months' time, presumably because of his duties. It demands that this third party be a Hittite official.

The Ugaritians themselves recognized that the *malḥašše* offerings were conducted by the Hittites. The well-known Šipti-Ba'al writes a letter to the king of Ugarit (in Ugaritic) about what is happening with the viceroy at the city of Lawasanda, in Kizzuwatna.¹³ The viceroy hastened somewhere called *s-y-r*, where he is said to be sacrificing the *m-l-ḡ-ḡ-m*. As Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat correctly observed, the Ugaritic term *m-l-ḡ-ḡ-m* is probably a reflex of the SISKUR.MEŠ *malḥašše*.¹⁴ Furthermore, they stated that the term finds its articulation in both Luwian and Hittite, as *malḥašša-*, and as *malḥaššallaḥit-*.¹⁵ Both terms are rather obscure, translated as 'sacrifice' and 'performing sacrifice(s)' respectively. Nonetheless, the basic meaning of the term in the Ugarit letters is clear.

What is the origin of the term SISKUR.MEŠ *ma-al-ḥa-ši*? Although it looks Anatolian, we suggest that its origin was Syrian. It reached Anatolia probably by a Luwian-Hurrian intermediacy. Let us explain. The Ugaritic spelling of the term provides us with a solution to the origin and meaning of *malḥašše*. The spelling *m-l-ḡ-ḡ-m* in the Ugaritic letter is difficult. It may represent **malaḡūma*, a masculine plural form.¹⁶ If this articulation is accepted, it means that in the cuneiform sources (*a*)-šše is a suffix of Hurrian origin and could have been ignored in Ugaritic, without the loss of meaning. The root is, therefore, **m-l-ḡ*. The term **malaḡūma* in Ugaritic, so we suggest, probably goes back, but not directly as will be argued, to the Old Babylonian period. It refers to the *mālikū* rituals, which were well-known in Mari.¹⁷ These were somewhat similar to the *kispu* rituals, meant to commemorate the kings of old in the Amorite world. We suggest

12 RSOu 23 32; the script of the letter appears to be of the Hittite chancellery at Carchemish.

13 PRU 5 63 (= RS 18.04 = KTU 2.40; edition and translation by Bordreuil and Pardee 2009: 127, 239f., following collation, previously read as *m-l-ḡ-t*; note that *m-l-ḡ-ḡ-m* is not normalized in their version). See also Pardee 2003: 104. Reference to the source is by Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2016: 45.

14 In support of this identification, consider KTU 5.14: 16 (Dietrich et al. 1995: 493f.), where the Ugaritic sign ḡ is given its cuneiform equivalent, the sign ḥa. See Ayali-Darshan 2018: 4. In addition, compare the toponym Nuḥašše with its spelling *n-ḡ-t* in Ugaritic alphabetic script (RGTC 12/2: 213). The EMIRGAZI altar inscriptions also contain this word [¹³⁷(LIBATIO)-*ha-sa* > cuneiform Luwian *malḥašša*, altar B(+D), §§34, 36], interpreted as 'ritual'; see van den Hout 1995: 562–64; Hawkins 1995: 43, 101; Payne 2010: 171.

15 Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2007; see Melchert 1993: 131f. and CHD L–N 128.

16 The spelling is difficult, hence perhaps consider the second ḡ a scribal error? The two last signs of the line, namely ḡ and *m*, are practically broken. Consider KTU 5.14: 16 (Dietrich et al. 1995: 493f.), where the Ugaritic sign ḡ is given its cuneiform equivalent, the sign ḥa. Cf. *m-l-k-m*, included in the offering lists KTU 1.47: 33 and KTU 1.118: 32 (Dietrich et al. 1995: 83f., 132f.), also found as ^d*ma-lik*.MEŠ in Akkadian texts, such as RS 20.024: 32 (Nougayrol 1968: 45, 60; Pardee 2000: vol. 1, 292), standing for divinized kings of Ugarit, placed at a minor rank in the pantheon (del Olmo 1987: 60–62; Pardee 2000: vol. 1, 312–14). Note that the king of Ugarit held an active presence in the cult, especially in a number of specifically 'royal' rituals (del Olmo 1987: 60).

17 Birot 1980; Durand and Guichard 1997.

that this ritual or offering was appropriated by the Hurrians when Mittani came to rule over Syria. The term **malḥ-*, taken from **mālik-*, **malk-*, was given an adjectival ending *(a)-šše*, and travelled to Anatolia, via Luwian-speaking areas, where eventually it was documented in Ḫattuša in Luwian texts and as a Luwian loan word in Hittite texts. However, it survived in Syria in the post-Hurrian world. In practical terms, this was a well-known ritual or sacrifice procedure in Syria, as the Ugarit evidence demonstrates, now practiced by Hittite representatives of the crown.

However, note that the *malḥašše* offerings only appear in Hittite contexts. They are never mentioned in the ample documentation available from Ugarit, Emar and elsewhere. This may mean that the *malḥašše* offerings were practiced on a wider scale, as a sort of ‘national’ cult. Was this a remnant of a similar ritual practiced by the former rulers of Syria, the Hurrians? We are in the dark regarding this supposition. However, consider another Hurrian term which we have met in our discussion – the *ajak enzari*. It was used in a letter from the viceroy at Carchemish to the Ugarit king. We can assume that, for all the term’s novelty for us, its meaning was readily recognized because otherwise it would not have been mentioned in international correspondence. Could both terms – the *ajak enzari* and the *malḥašše* – signal a renewal or even a continuation of ritual practices common in Hurrian Syria?

4. Discussion and conclusion

In light of the materials presented here, some questions arise regarding the role of Hittite imperial reach and control over local Syrian cults. As we have demonstrated in the case of Emar, Hittite imperial officials were deeply involved in the management of the cult. Such an involvement was probably felt in other parts of the empire, too. The Hittite administration controlled the regulation and practice of particular aspects of the cult. Officials or priests – some of them closely related to the royal house, like Šangabi – were sent from Ḫattuša to Ugarit. The viceroy, as well as his adjunct, the DUMU.LUGAL Taši, travelled around Hittite Syria to fulfill their cultic duties. One is under the impression that some local responsibilities – such as the maintenance of the cult of Šimegi/Šapšu – were partly assumed by Hittite officials and incorporated into larger and more encompassing celebrations. While the Hittite empire was certainly receptive and adaptive to the religious traditions of the peoples under its political control, it also took serious care of its own rituals or offerings. This is not to suggest that the Hittites imposed their religious behavior on native traditions. It is to argue that part of the imperial presence in Syria required the maintenance of an overarching cult, perhaps imitating Mittani practice. If we accept that the *malḥašše* offerings stem from the Old Babylonian *mālikū* ritual and underwent transmutations over time, we may conclude that the cult was deeply embedded in Syrian traditions. Its exact nature is not known, but it may have been an all-inclusive ritual involving all the gods of the land of Ḫatti. As a final remark, we add that what Ḫatti is imagined to have been should be extended: the geographical realm of Ḫatti after Šuppiliuma came to include the Syrian domains (Singer 1999: 658, n. 170). Its gods, as well as Anatolian gods, were viewed as the gods

of the empire, deserving their cult. Forging an empire was not just about establishing military and political power: it also involved creating collective responsibility for the cult of the imperial pantheon, even if not precisely defined, which was worshipped by the empire's representatives – the king at Ḫattuša, his viceroy at Carchemish, and their officials dispersed throughout Syria, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates.

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THE GRAIN OF THE KING

Agricultural Landscape of the Hittite Festival and Land Management in Late Bronze Age Anatolia and the Northern Levant

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Abstract

The difficulty of retracing in detail the system of land management for Hittite Anatolia is well known, because there are almost no economic sources. The situation is even more complicated with regard to the connection between festivals and related economic activities. In order to give new information on this topic, the recently joined tablet Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57 is presented in a new light. The content of this festival celebration that took place in the town of Nerik allows us to quantify the approximate land attributed to three types of settlements (small, medium, large) as well as the amount of seed used for sowing one hectare of field. Furthermore, a comparison of this land management data with that of the Alalakh sources shows close similarities between the central Black Sea region and the northern Levant. It is also argued that, in addition to already known liturgical reasons, Hittite festival tablets were kept in several copies because they also functioned as administrative reports used by the Hittite administration as a register of products.

1. Introduction

Much has been written about the administration and economy of the provinces of the Hittite Empire, the control by the central power, the management of economic activity and the administration of the peripheral areas and minor provinces. But, due to the limited number of Hittite sites excavated and the even fewer number of text archives discovered, our knowledge on these aspects remains partial and fragmented.

Hittite Anatolia is quite rich in information regarding the techniques of working the land, the management of the fields as well as the methods of collection, storage and redistribution of products. Unfortunately, this information is scattered randomly in various textual genres. In a country like the Hittite Empire, which – as did other kingdoms of the Ancient Near East – based its economy mainly on agricultural production, it is not surprising that the Hittites used a rich technical vocabulary in the second half

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of the 2nd millennium BC.¹ What continues to be astounding is the almost total lack of economic sources that could show its structure in detail.² Furthermore, the degree of connection between festivals and economic activities is still to be evaluated. It is difficult to ascertain in which manner and to which degree the agricultural landscape around the place where a celebration was performed was involved in supporting the needs of the festival.

The festival texts show how important bread was in offering rituals to the deities, in banquets and in the redistribution of rations for personnel and participants. In fact, it is no coincidence that one of the ways to announce the beginning of the banquet was through the expression ^{NINDA}*šaramma halziya* ‘the bread allotment is announced’. This indicates just how much bread, together with beverages like wine and beer, was the most common and essential component of the meal. It is therefore not surprising that in the same festival texts different types of breads and flours – including their quantity – are often mentioned.

Concerning the banquets, the festival text KUB 10.88 reminds us of how impressive these events could be. This manuscript describes the preparation of a banquet, which took place in the holy city of Nerik: 18 tables were set up for the royal family and dignitaries and as many as 43 tables for ‘(all) the lands’, an expression which, according to de Martino (2012: 142 with references), could refer to representatives of local communities invited to the ceremony. Such a high number of tables and, consequently, the involvement of many guests required a widespread organization and the availability of a large quantity of food.

It is not by chance that, in another ritual celebration connected to Nerik, KUB 20.10, grain is exalted. A passage from the fourth column contains a short song in the Hattic language:³

KUB 20.10 rev. IV

- 9’ MUNUS^{MEŠ} URU *ne-ri-ik-ma*
 10’ ŠA GU4MAḤ^{HILA} SİR
 11’ a-wa-an ka-it(-)ga-ḫi-il-lu-u
 12’ ^Dda-a-ru le-el-li
 13’ li-ip-ḫa-ip-pi-in SİR-RU
-
- 14’ LUGAL-uš EGIR GU4MAḤ^{HILA} *i-ia-ta-ri*

Then the women of the town of Nerik sing the ‘song of the bulls’: “*The grain has arrived, sows (it) Taru ... (adj.) for his children.*”

The king walks behind the bulls.

-
- 1 Concerning cereals in Hittite Anatolia see especially the contributions of Hoffner 1974: 53–93; 2001: 199–212; del Monte 1995: 122–31. For an updated summary, see Bolatti Guzzo 2006: 67–81.
 - 2 Among the few examples are several tablets from Maşat Höyük, the land donation tablets and the field and cadastre texts.
 - 3 See Stivala 2007: 222–34 with previous literature.

2. The festival tablet Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57

To what extent was the administrative-economic radius able to sustain food production that could support the festival needs? To try to answer this and other questions, we have to consider the tablet KUB 31.57. It is a well-known document, mainly treated by Haas, Gilan, Klinger, and recently edited once again by Bozgun and Savaş.⁴ It lists rations and assets collected during a celebration officiated by the king in the city of Nerik. In addition to the studies just cited, my own work carried out on this tablet in the last decade – with new joins, restorations and interpretations – now allows for the presentation of a new transliteration and translation.⁵ Obv. I is constituted by Bo 3394⁶ (1'–12') and – after one missing line (13'') – KUB 31.57 (Bo 2714; obv. I 14''–45'' = obv. I 1'–32' as numbered in KUB 31.57).⁷ Bo 3394 is only transliterated here in part.

2.1 Transliteration and translation

Bo 3394 obv. I

-
- 3' [U]^{RU}ta-aš-ta-ri-iš-ša-aš 'U' [NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 4' [x]ka-pu-nu 10 IKU A.ŠA 'te²'-r[i²-ip-pa-an-zí^(?)]
 5' [U²] NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ 'LU'AGRIG¹ URUkaš-t[a-ma pa-a-i]
-
- 6' [URUz]i-ki-iš-'te²-ra²'-aš⁸ Û N[UMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 7' [x k]a-pu-nu [x IK]U 'A'.ŠA Q[A-TAM-MA]
 8' [URUka]š-ta-ma-aš [Û NUM]UN ŠE Z[íZ^(?)]
 9' [x k]a-pu-nu 1 IKU A.ŠA [QA-TAM-MA^(?)]
 10' [URUh]ur-ša-am-ma-aš Û [NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 11' [x ka]-'pu-nu' 20 IKU A.ŠA [QA-TAM-MA^(?)]
 12' [URU]x-a[š² NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 13'' [x ka-pu-nu x IKU A.ŠA QA-TAM-MA^(?)]

KUB 31.57 obv. I

- 14'' [UR]Uzi-'ni'⁹-i[š²-ha-pa-aš^(?) Û NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]

4 Haas 1970: 114–20; Gilan 2007: 314f.; Klinger 2009: 101; Bozgun and Savaş 2017: 82–87.

5 I already presented the results of my research on the fourth column of Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57 in 2014 at the conference “Sacred Landscapes of Hittites and Luwians” held at Firenze University as well as in a workshop on Hittite economy held in 2017 at Würzburg University. On the latter occasion I provided, among other things, the expanded text of obv. I and several restorations. I collated the main manuscript, KUB 31.57 (Bo 2714), on the original fragment housed in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. For the join, cf. Corti 2017a: 243 n. 64.

6 For Bo 3394, I consulted the filecards of the *Hethitologie-Archiv* housed at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur | Mainz. I would like to thank Daniel Schwemer for permission to use the archive.

7 For the explanation of the length of the lacuna between the two fragments, see *infra*.

8 The reading TE or KI here is uncertain; however, in KBo 20.88 I 10' URUzi-ik-ki-iš-te-ri is clearly attested.

9 The reading of this damaged sign as QA is difficult to sustain because, from the analysis of the original housed at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, there are no traces of the vertical wedge. For the previous proposals see lastly Bozgun and Savaş 2017: 82 n. 43.

- 15" ʳ8ʳ *ka-pu-nu* 11 IKU A.Š[À *te-ri-ip-pa-an-zi*^(?)]
-
- 16" [U]^{RU}*zi-in-zi-li-aš* ʳUʳ [NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 17" ʳ1ʳ *ka-pu-nu* 20 IKU A.ŠÀ [*te-ri-ip-pa-an-zi*^(?)]
 18" [U]^{RU}*ka-pa-aš-tu-uš-tu-uš* ʳUʳ [NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 19" 3 *ka-pu-nu* A.ŠÀ QA-TAM-MA ^{UR}[U*ne-ri-ik-ka-aš* Û NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 20" 14 *ka-pu-nu* 20 IKU A.ŠÀ Q[A[?]-TAM-MA]
 21" [U]^{RU}*ta-a-ap-ḫal-lu-uš* Û [NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ^(?)]
 22" 2 *ka-pu-nu* 4 IKU A.ŠÀ [QA-TAM-MA^(?)]
 23" ŠU.NIGIN ŠA URU^{DIDL.HA} AN-ʳNU-TIMʳ []
 24" 52 *ka-pu-nu* 13 IKU A.ŠÀ *te-ri-ip-pa-[an-zi]*
-
- 25" Û NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ IŠ-ʳTUʳ É.GAL-LIM
 26" LÚ^{AGRIG} URU*kaš-ta-ʳmaʳ pa-a-i*
 27" *te-ri-ip-pu-u-wa-an-zi wa-ar-šu-wa-an-zi*
 28" ÉSAG-*an-zi ḫu-ga-an-na a-ra-u-wa-aš* NU.GÁL
-
- 29" *ku-e-el* 6 GU4^{HLA}-ŠU 2 GU4^{HLA}-ŠU
 30" 4 GU4^{HLA}-ŠU 1 GU4-ŠU *tu-uš na-an-na-i*
 31" *ku-e-el-la* GU4-ŠU NU.GÁL
 32" *nu* LÚ *i-ia-at-ta a-ra-u-wa-aš* NU.GÁL
-
- 33" 1 UDU 3 NINDA.GUR4RA 18-iš
 34" 5 ^{DUG}*ḫar-ši-iš mar-nu-wa-an*
 35" LÚ^{AGRIG} URU*kaš-ta-ʳmaʳ pa-a-i*
 36" 3 DUG SA5 GEŠTIN LÚ^{ZABAR.DAB} É.GAL-LIM *pa-a-i*¹⁰
 37" *šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫu-u-wa-aš wa-a-tar*
 38" [Û-UL[?] ḫ]*a-a-na-an-zi*¹¹
 39" [] ʳÉʳʳ*ḫa-li-in-tu-u-wa-aš*
 40" []*x-an ti-ia-an-zi*
-
- 41" []x(-)ŠA KUR.KUR^{MES}
 42" []-zi
 43" []
 44" []x
 45" []
-

KUB 31.57 obv. II

- 1' x(-)x[
 2' *nu ak-[ka-a-la-an*^{(?)12}

10 For ll. 35"ff., cf. KBo 25.140: 11'f.: [...]x LÚ^{AGRIG} URU*ka-a-aš-ta-ma pa-a-i* / [...] É.GAL *pa-a-i*.

11 Cf. HW² III H/1, 134: "Wasser zum Reinigen (lit. des Reinigens) schöpfen sie [nicht?]."

12 *aggala-* could refer to a 'harrow' instead of a 'furrow' (information courtesy of C. Melchert).

- 3' *pé-en-n*[*i*²-*ia-an-zi*]^{(?)13}
 4' *a-pí-ia*(-)[

 5' ^m*hu-uz*[-*zi-ia-aš* LÚ ^DIŠKUR
 6' ^{LÚ}AGRIG [^{URU}X
 7' ^{MUNUS}SU.G[I
 8' ^{LÚ}*ha-tal-w*[*a-la-*
 9' *a-da-an-z*[*i*

 10' *ma-a-an* x[
 11' *zi-in*[-*na-an-zi*
 12' *hu-u-ma*[-*an*

 13' *ma-a-a*[*n*
 14' *i-ia-an-z*[*i*²
 15' LÚ ^{GIŠ}BANŠ[UR
 16' ^{LÚ}*pa-aš-ša-a*[*n-da-la-*
 17' ^{LÚ}*wa-al-ḫi*[-*ia-la-*
 18' ^{LÚ}*ta-pa-l*[*a*⁻¹⁴ 6 LÚ^{MES(?)}]¹⁵
 19' ^{URU}*ne-r*[*i-ik*
 20' *pa-a-an-z*[*i*
 21' *šal-l*[*i*](⁻)x[
 22' GAL^{HI}[^A
-

KUB 31.57 rev. III

- 1 *ma-a-an* x[
 2 *píd-da-an-z*[*i*
 3 2 NINDA.GUR4R[A
 4 (erasure) 40 NIN[DA
 5 1 *zi-pa-t*[*a-an-ni*
 6 1 *zi-pát-t*[*a-an-ni*
 7 A-NA NINDA[?] *še*[-*ep-pí-it-ta*]^(?)
 8 ½ *zi-pát-ta*[-*an-ni*
 9 1 DUG KAŠ.GEŠTI[N
 10 *a-da-an-z*[*i*

 11 *ma-a-an* [
 12 ^{HUR}SAG-*a*[*z*
 13 *nu-kán* 6[?] [^{LÚ}^{MES} ^{URU}*ne-ri-ik*]^(?)
 14 x x x[
-

13 Or *pé-en-n*[*a*²-*a-i*. For restoration proposals at ll. 2'f., see the contexts explained in Hoffner 1997: 215f. with literature.

14 According to Bozgun and Savaş 2017: 83 n. 49, ^{LÚ}*ta-pa-š*[*a-tal-la*; see n. 18.

15 Cf. rev. IV 31', 36'.

KUB 31.57 rev. IV

- 1 []x-ta
 2 [nu ki-i-ma^(?) mhu-uz-z]i-ia¹⁶
 3 [LÚ D¹ISKUR]x
 4 [LÚAGRIG^(?) URUza-al]-pu-u-wa
 5 [kiš-an h]a-an-da-a-an-zi
-
- 6 [1] LI-IM NINDA^{HLA} 25-iš
 7 1 ME NINDA^A wa-ge-eš-šar 10-iš
 8 1 ME NINDA^{HLA} GIŠBANŠUR-aš NINDA^A ha-a-li-iš 15-iš¹⁷
 9 1 LI-IM NINDA^{HLA} ša-ra-am-na-aš
 10 [NI]^{NDA} ha-a-li-iš 16-iš 1 LI-IM NINDA^{HLA}
 11 NINDA^A ha-a-li-iš ŠA ÉRIN^{MES} 20-iš
 12 '3^{?'} ME NINDA^A ZI.ĤAR.ĤAR-aš 20[-i]š
 13 3 ME NINDA.ÉRIN^{MES} 30-iš 3 ME NIND[A^{HI}]^A '35^{?'}-iš
 14 '4^{?'} ME NINDA^A pí-ia-an-tal-li-i[š
 15 10 PA ZÍ.DA še-ep-pí-it-[ta-aš
 16 ar-ra-an-ta-aš 10 PA ZÍ.DA[]x
 17 Ū ŠA 2 DUG ha-ni-iš-š[a-
 18 32 PA za-ar-zu-u-u[r(-)
 19 [1 š]U²-ŠI PA DIM48 PA-RI-S[I
 20 [x P]A ZÍ.DA še-ep-pí-i[t-ta-aš
 21 [k]i-i-ma LÚAGRIG^A URU^A iš^A-t[a²-ha-ra LÚ^(?)]
 22 [k]iš-an ha-an-'da-a'-[an-zi
-
- 23 ma-a-an LUGAL-uš x[
 24 ú-e-ek-z[i
 25 URU^A ne-ri[-ik(-)
 26 LÚ^{MES} x x[
 27 x x[¹⁸

(The column is continued in Bo 3394 rev. IV.)

Bo 3394 obv. I (+) KUB 31.57 obv. I

(3'-5') [Ci]ty Taštarišša: and [(for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] [n] kapunu and 10 IKU of field [they will] plo[w^(?).¹⁹ And?] naked barley seed(s) the administrator of Kašt[ama gives].

16 Haas 1970: 118:]^{MES}.ia. In the hand-copy of J. Sturm, as well as from the original, the second part of the sign ZI is clearly visible.

17 Haas 1970: 118: 14-iš. Unclear from the hand-copy.

18 After this line resumes the text of Bo 3394 rev. IV, which continues for 8 lines to the end of the column. Six men [of the town of Nerik^(?)] are possibly mentioned in ll. 31' and 36'. It is not certain how long the lacuna between the two fragments on this side of the tablet was; in obv. I only one line was missing between the texts of the two fragments.

19 Or, better, "they will lay out the furrows" as proposed by Hoffner 2001: 204.

(6'–15'') [City Z]ikištera: and [(for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] [n k]apunu [and n IKU] of field, li[kewise]. [City Ka]štama: [and (for)] na[ked] barley [se]ed(s)^(?) [n k]apunu and 1 IKU of field, [likewise^(?)]. [City H]uršamma: and [(for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] [n ka]punu and 20 IKU of field, [likewise^(?)]. City ...a: [and (for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] [n kapunu and n IKU^(?) of field, likewise^(?)]. [Cit]y Zini[šhapa^(?): and (for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] '8' kapunu and 11 IKU of fie[ld they will plow^(?)].

(16'–24'') [C]ity Zinzilia: and [(for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] 1 kapunu and 20 IKU of field [they will plow^(?)]. [C]ity Kapaštuštu: and [(for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] 3 kapunu of field, likewise. Cit[y Nerik: and (for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] 14 kapunu and 20 IKU of field, l[ikewise^(?)]. [C]ity Tāpḥallu: and [(for) naked barley seed(s)^(?)] 2 kapunu and 4 IKU of field, [likewise^(?)]. Grand total of (all) the towns: These ones [...] will plow 52 kapunu and 13 IKU of field.

(25'–28'') Naked barley seed(s) from the palace the administrator of the town of Kaštama gives. From plowing, reaping, filling grain-storage pits and gleanings^(?)/collecting (the straw)^(?) no one shall be exempt.²⁰

(29'–32'') Whoever owns 6 oxen, 2 oxen, 4 oxen or (even) one ox must drive them. Whoever has no ox, a man must go (anyway); no one is exempt.²¹

(33'–40'') 1 sheep, 3 loaves of 18 measures, 5 *harši*-vessels of^(?) *marnuwan* the administrator of the town of Kaštama gives (from the palace^(?)). 3 vessels of red wine the bronze(-bowl) holder gives (from) the palace. The water of purification they [do not^(?)] draw up. [...] to the *halentuwa*-structure [...] they place.

(41'–45'') [...] ... of^(?) (all) the countries [...] (rest fragmentary)

KUB 31.57 obv. II

(1'–4'') ... [...] and [the] fur[row^(?) ...] [they] dr[ive^(?) ...] there^(?) [...]

(5'–9'') Huz[ziya, the man of the Storm God ...] the administrator [of the town of^(?) ...] the old woman [...] the doorke[eper ...] they eat [...]

(10'–12'') When ... [...] [they] fini[sh ...] al[l^(?) ...]

(13'–22'') Whe[n ...] they make [...] The ta[ble] man, [the ... man^(?),] the *paš-ša[ndala-* man ...] the *walḥi[yala-* man, the ... man^(?),] the *tapal[a-* man^(?), ... 6 men of^(?) the town of Ner[ik ...] they go [...] grea[t^(?) ...] the cup[s ...]

KUB 31.57 rev. III

(1'–10'') When ... [...] they run [...] 2 loav[es ...] (erasure) 40 bre[ads ...] 1 *zipat[tanni ...]* 1 *zipatt[anni ...]* to the *šep[piṭ-^(?) bread^(?) [...]* ½ *zipatta[nni ...]* 1 vessel of (a kind of) win[e²² ...] they eat [...]

(11'–14'') When [...] fr[om] the mountain [...] and 6^(?) [men of the town of Nerik^(?)] ... [...]

20 So Hoffner 2001: 206 and n. 34; I thank C. Melchert for suggesting 'gleaning' as the meaning of *ḥuganna*.

21 CHD L–N 392b.

22 On the debated translation, see now Corti 2018b: 286.

KUB 31.57 rev. IV

(1–5) [...] ... [And these things 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵ziya, [the man of the Storm God ...] ... [and the administrator^(?) of the town of Zal]puwa supply [in the same way].

(6–22) 1,000 breads of 25 measures, 100 *wageššar*- breads of 10 measures, 100 breads of *ḫāli*- of the table of 15 measures, 1,000 bread allotments of *ḫāli*- bread of 16 measures, 1,000 breads of *ḫāli*- of soldiers of 20 measures, 300[?] ZI.ḪAR.ḪAR breads of 20 measures, 300 soldier breads of 30 measures,²³ 300 breads of 35[?] measures, 400[?] *piyantalli*- breads [...] 10 *PARĪSU* of *šēppit*- flour [...] washed,²⁴ 10 *PARĪSU* of flour [...] and of 2 *ḫanišša*- vessels [...] 32 *PARĪSU* of *zarzu*[r ...] [6]0[?] *PARĪSU* of malt, 8 *PARĪS*[U ...] [n *PA*]RĪSU of *šēppit*- flour [...] And these things the administrator of the town of Išt[āhara and ...^(?)] suppl[y] in the same way.

(23–31[?]) When the king ... [...] wishes [...] town of Neri[k ...] the men ... [...] ...

2.2 General remarks

The synopsis of KUB 31.57 is well known but, for the sake of convenience, it is summarized here again. Obv. I reports the area of the cultivated fields of some centers, to which the administrator of Kaštama supplied seed from the palace; the towns were obliged to work (plowing, sowing and filling the granary) and to lead some animals to Nerik as a tribute. A ritual celebration was organized, during which the administrator and the bronze(-bowl) holder distributed rations (sheep, loaves, beer, *marnuwan* beverage, wine). Rev. IV describes another distribution of rations, this time consisting mainly of bread, in large quantities and varieties, provided by the administrator. At the ceremony, at which subsequently the sovereign officiated, delegations of people participated.

Obv. I

The first part of obv. I lists the cities that are involved in working the fields; all of them are probably located in the area between Kaštama and Nerik. According to the grand total cited at the end of the list at l. 24'' – 52 *kapunu* (units) and 13 *IKU* (units) of field – about 370 ha of field were to be divided among these places.

While working on several filecards housed at the Akademie, I had a look at Bo 6250,²⁵ a tiny and very damaged fragment, but enlightening for its content. Here a tentative transliteration and translation of the most important section is presented:²⁶

23 Cf. the translation of ll. 6'–13' in CHD Š 242a, which defines the texts as a “list of allocations” and adds: “except for the first item (25), the size of the measures increases as the list continues (10, 15, 16, 20, 20, 30). Bread allotments^(?) are among the smaller items and are higher in numbers. The *wageššar* breads (crackers?) are the smallest, followed by the two *ḫāli*-s, of which that of š[araman] is one.”

24 See CHD Š 119a.

25 For Bo 6250, I consulted the filecards of the *Hethitologie-Archiv* housed at the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur | Mainz.

26 The beginning and the end of the obv. is omitted here, as well as the rev., where only a few signs are preserved. If we exclude the damaged references to the verb to plow (obv. 1', 3'), only the reference to a (no longer preserved) number of the tablet (of Nerik?) is reported (5'); for ll. 10'–13' see *infra*. In this regard, the absence of a colophon in rev. IV of Bo 3394 is noteworthy.

Bo 6250 (obv.)

-
- 6' 10 URU^{HLA} 52 *ka-pu(-nu)*²-un 13¹ [IKU A.ŠÀ]
 7' NUMUN-*ma-at* 1 LI-IM 5 ME 1² [... PA^{HLA(?)}]
 8' *te-ri-ip-pa-an-zi a-ni-i[a-at-ti^(?)]*²⁷
 9' [a]n-da ap-pa-an-z[i]
-

(6'-9') 10 towns: 52 *kapunu* and 13 [IKU of field] (for) seed(s) (in the amount of) 1,500[+n² ... PARĪSU^(?)] they will plow. [The] sow[ing seeds^(?)]²⁸ they take inward (*scil.* into custody).

The sum of fields given in l. 6' of this fragment matches perfectly with the sum of Bo 3394(+). Thanks to Bo 6250 we have now the exact number of towns involved and the approximate quantity of seed given by the administrator of the town of Kaštama. Having now the precise number of cities available – ten – it is possible to restore the tablet Bo 3394(+) with certainty; since the first part of Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57 (obv.) I shows a sequence of identical phrases for each city it can be affirmed that the two fragments that compose the tablet are separated from each other only by one missing line.

The data about the total of fields attributed to each town as well as the amount of seed – probably calculated in PARĪSU – does allow us to collect relevant information. Table 1 shows the land attributed to each of the towns cited according to the restored text.

Concerning the kind of cereals provided by the administrator of Kaštama, expressed by the sumerograms ŠE and ZIZ, the standard translation would be 'barley and bread wheat'.²⁹ However, does this interpretation really fit the context? Due to the genre of text of the first column (land management connected with a festival celebration), it seems to me unusual that the Hittite scribes did not specify the quantity of seed for each variety of cereal mentioned, reporting only the total amount. Furthermore, the absence of this data clashes with the very precise indication of the quantity of land assigned to each town. For these reasons I wonder if the second Sumerogram (ZIZ) could be interpreted as an attribution of the first. According to Hoffner, ZIZ could also have a generic meaning indicating "naked 'grains'",³⁰ and therefore ŠE ZIZ in this context could be translated 'naked barley' (*Hordeum vulgare*), which interpretation I adopted consistently in the text translation above. As rightly pointed out by Naomi Miller, "Naked barley was indeed a cultivated variety of barley by the 2nd millennium BC."³¹ We know that the seed of naked barley cannot be stored as well as other cereals, but it is also true that the bread produced is more valued for its soft texture and, probably, it

27 According to Oettinger 1979: 229, *a-ni-i[a-an-zi]*.

28 Or 'seeds for sowing'; cf. the technical meaning of *aniya-* 'to sow, to plant'; see Hoffner 2001: 204 and Melchert 2007: 254 n. 4 with previous bibliography.

29 For the identification proposal ZIZ 'bread wheat' (*Triticum vulgare*) see Hoffner 1974: 68f. This assumption was confirmed by del Monte 1995: 126f.

30 See mainly Hoffner 1974: 67 and del Monte 1995: 128.

31 Courtesy Naomi Miller (personal communication, e-mail 16.11.2019).

Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57 obv. I	town	amount of cultivated land
3'–5'	Taštarišša	[n] <i>kapunu</i> 10 IKU
6'f.	Zikištera	[n] <i>kapunu</i> [n] IKU
8'f.	Kaštama	[n] <i>kapunu</i> 1 IKU
10'f.	Ḫuršamma	[n] <i>kapunu</i> 20 IKU
12'–13"	[...]...a	[...]
14"f.	Zinišḫapa ^(?)	8 <i>kapunu</i> 11 IKU
16"f.	Zinziliya	1 <i>kapunu</i> 20 IKU
18"f.	Kapaštuštu	3 <i>kapunu</i>
19"f.	[...]	14 <i>kapunu</i> 20 IKU
21"f.	Tapḫallu	2 <i>kapunu</i> 4 IKU

Table 1. Fields attributed to towns in Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57.

was more suitable to official and religious occasions in the presence of the highest officials of the kingdom.³²

Several elements in obv. I and II already suggested that the festival was to take place in the second half of the year; in fact, the sowing of the grain pertained to the autumn season. This operation was anticipated by the preparation of the land by the farmer's plowing the field (I 3ff.) and preparing the furrows (II 1'–4'). Thanks to Bo 6250 we are able to confirm that the celebration was strictly linked with the autumn, as clearly stated in obv. 10'–12' where it is said that the 'grain' is poured in(to) the pithos.

Rev. IV

Examining rev. IV, it is clear that the last lines of the second paragraph (21f.), though fragmentary, clearly parallel the last lines of the first paragraph (2–5) and, therefore, it can be used to restore the first passage. Thus, the rich bread allotments and baked goods listed were the assets that the administrator (AGRIG) of the city of *iš-t[a²-* (probably Ištaḫara) had to supply: "And these things the administrator of the town of Išt[aḫara and ...^(?)] in the same way [they] suppl[y]." ³³ The context lists off a large amount of bread: in some cases 1,000 breads of different kinds are mentioned, in others 300 or 400 breads.³⁴ This kind of abundant production is not surprising for this region of the Hittite Empire due to the fact that Ištaḫara was an important agricultural center.³⁵

With the same line of reasoning, we would expect to find a town name also in the preceding paragraph; in fact, the remaining syllables of the fourth line lead to the almost

32 Hoffner 2001: 201 with literature; now Rössner 2019: 116.

33 The reading of the initial syllable of this town name as IŠ is, in my opinion, confirmed. The proposed restoration as Kaštama in Singer 1984: 114 n. 94 must be discarded.

34 For a commentary on the list, see Klinger 2009: 101.

35 Forlanini 2008: 167; Corti 2017a: 222f.

certain restoration of Zalpuwa ([^{LÜ}AGRIG ^{URU}za-al]-pu-u-wa): “[And these things Ḫuz]ziya, [the man of the Storm God ...] ... [and the administrator^(?) of the town of Zal]puwa supply [in the same way].”³⁶ Unfortunately, because of the gap in the third column, it is not possible to know the kind of contribution given to the festival by the Zalpuwa region.

3. The geographical scenario and the land attributed to each town

We already discussed the geographical radius of Bo 3394(+) and the involvement of different provinces of the northern sector of the Hittite Empire. Here it is important to focus on the province where the festival was performed: Nerik and its hinterland (the central Black Sea region). A general updated overview of this area was given recently,³⁷ but it seems that the discussion of the matter is incomplete due to new information from this same text. The information of Table 1 is presented again in Table 2, but here the paragraph lines are highlighted and the approximate number of total attestations of the towns in the Hittite texts are provided.

A careful evaluation of the distribution of the ten towns in the three paragraphs and the selection of these same places within them shows that the list has not been compiled randomly. There was an evident internal logic on the part of the scribe in preparing the list.³⁸ It is possible to state that this breakdown had relevance both from a geographical and an administrative point of view. In fact, it roughly recalls the tripartite administrative system (from the Old Hittite period on) mentioned – among others – by Kryszewski for the province of Ḫattina, which included Ḫattina and two satellite villages, the district of the capital city as well as its province.³⁹ Assuming the correctness of the restoration of the town of Nerik in obv. I 19', I believe that the other places cited in the third paragraph (Zinziliya, Kapaštuštu and Tapḫallu) were satellite villages of the provincial capital, located at a short distance from it. The towns mentioned in the second paragraph presumably had to fall within a larger area, with Kaštama located to the eastern border and Ḫuršamma to the north-eastern one. Taštarišša, the only town that makes up the first paragraph, had to have possessed greater autonomy and importance, but administratively, however, it still remained under the control of Nerik (Fig. 1).

It is clear that the frequency of attestations for each town in the Hittite cuneiform sources cannot be taken alone as statistical data to assess their importance and/or their geographical extent (i.e. the amount of land associated with it). In fact we do not know how many documents have come down to us in relationship to the total number of texts originally stored in the Hittite archives and in how many of those lost or damaged texts a particular city was mentioned. Furthermore, there are also centers whose im-

36 For this passage, see already Corti 2017b: 198–200, 199 in particular.

37 Corti 2017a: 224f., 228–31 with previous bibliography.

38 For the value of the paragraph dividers see now Kitazumi 2019: 417–58.

39 KUB 26.43 obv. 46f. (Land Grant of Šaḫurunuwā, CTH 225); see Kryszewski 2016: 321; also Corti 2019: 344.

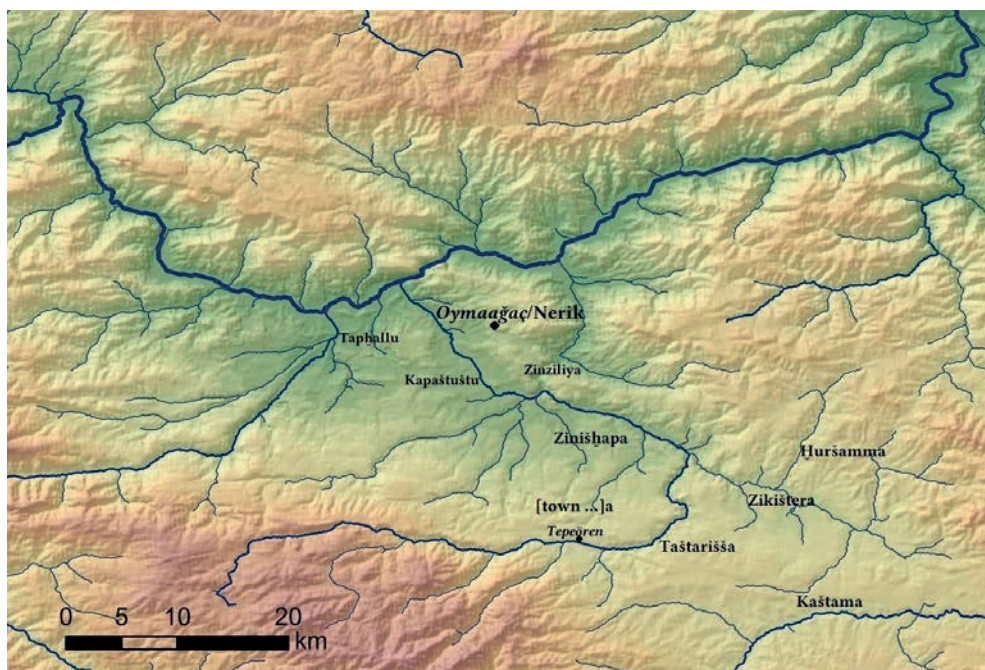


Fig. 1. Map of the province of Nerik according to Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57 (© C. Corti, M. Massa).

portance was determined not by their geographical extent but by their religious or ideological significance (see Kaštama, for example). However, it should be noted that, with the exception of the provincial capital Nerik, the cities of the third paragraph are all mentioned very seldom and, in any case, much less frequently than those cited in the other two paragraphs.

As shown in Table 2, the size of the fields attributed to the cities of the first and second paragraphs is not quantifiable with precision due to the lacuna of the document, except for Zinişhapa. This lack of information can be overcome by subtracting the known size of the fields of the towns of the last paragraph (22 *kapunu* and 4 IKU)⁴⁰ from the grand total (52 *kapunu* and 13 IKU). If the result from this calculation is distributed equally to the cities of which the cultivated land area is not always (fully) preserved, although arbitrary, this makes it possible to confirm that the cities of the first and second paragraph on average had to be provided with a greater agricultural area (ca. 5 *kapunu*) than those of the third paragraph, except Nerik (ca. 2½ *kapunu*).

Compared to the other places,⁴¹ something can be added here on Taphallu from a geographical perspective. In a letter, ABoT 1.60, Nerikkaili, a man from Taphallu, is concerned about the approaching of the Kaška enemy, who has already conquered the

⁴⁰ Zinziliya, Kapaštuštu, [Nerik] and Taphallu.

⁴¹ On Zinişhapa and its proximity to Nerik, see recently Corti 2018a: 53; to the already known reference of Kapaštuštu (KBo 19.29 obv. 17') add now KBo 34.242 rev.?' 4'.

Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57 obv. I	§	town	attestations (ca.)	amount of cultivated land
3'–5'	§ 1	Taštarišša	18	[n] <i>kapunu</i> 10 IKU
6'f.	§ 2	Zikištera	6	[n] <i>kapunu</i> [n] IKU
8'f.		Kaštama	70	[n] <i>kapunu</i> 1 IKU
10'f.		Ḫuršamma	13 ⁴²	[n] <i>kapunu</i> 20 IKU
12'–13"		[...]...a		[...]
14'f.		Zinišhapa ^(?)	9	8 <i>kapunu</i> 11 IKU
16"f.	§ 3	Zinziliya	1	1 <i>kapunu</i> 20 IKU
18"f.		Kapaštuštu	3	3 <i>kapunu</i>
19"f.		[Nerik ^(?)]	600	14 <i>kapunu</i> 20 IKU
21"f.		Taphallu	2	2 <i>kapunu</i> 4 IKU

Table 2. Fields attributed to towns in Bo 3394 (+) KUB 31.57 with numbers of attestations.

city of Tarittara.⁴³ This information allows us to locate Taphallu approximately to the west of the provincial capital because it was the closest place on the Hittite front to Tarittara and/or the place through which it was easiest to get information about the movements of the enemy in the Tarittara area (the latter to be located somewhere around present-day Durağan).

In conclusion, it is possible to say that, at least in the Old Hittite period, the province of Nerik was a relatively large administrative area, which included several districts. These districts covered an area that ran along the east-west hilly landscape from Ladik to beyond Oymaağaç.⁴⁴ This land, watered mainly by the rivers Akçay, Kuzçay, Istavroz and Tersakan, must have been very fertile so as to allow for good agricultural production and to accommodate the towns cited in Bo 3394(+). It should be noted that, from an archaeological point of view, in addition to the Oymaağaç excavation,⁴⁵ during a survey an Old Hittite site with Hittite stone foundations and pottery was identified at Tepeören along the Istavroz river and close to Köprübaşı.⁴⁶

4. Discussion

4.1 The festival tablets as economic reports

According to the restored text it is now clear that the entire tablet Bo 3394(+) was not referring to a single province, as was believed up until now, but rather was used as a

⁴² The multiple attestations in the oracle text KUB 5.1 are excluded.

⁴³ Cf. Hoffner 2009: 176–78 and Marizza 2009: 89–91.

⁴⁴ Already Corti 2017a: 225 n. 63.

⁴⁵ A general overview of the Oymaağaç Höyük excavation is given by Czichon 2013; 2015.

⁴⁶ See Winther-Jacobsen 2015: 96 n. 38, 94 (map); Bekker-Nielsen and Czichon 2015: 299 n. 15.

model for the administrative management of the North, where the provinces of Iṣtaḫara, Nerik and Zalpuwa were involved.

I firmly agree with Klinger, who pointed out that, “it is not surprising but fits very well that KUB 31.57 is indeed written in New Hittite script but shows obvious signs of Old Hittite language so that consequently the composition of the text has to be dated to the Old Hittite period.” Furthermore, he writes, “Certainly an explanation is lacking why such seemingly administrative texts were copied, but the listed quantities point out the importance of the cult of Nerik as well as the early roots of this cult in the organization of the northern Black Sea region by the Hittite kingdom of Ḫattuša” (Klinger 2009: 101).

Regarding this last point, I believe that the copying of the festival tablets by the scribal schools of the Empire period was strictly linked to reasons that were not only liturgical but also economical and administrative. It is my belief that these texts were copied because the control of the territory and the administrative management (with the AGRIG ‘administrator’) of these ‘peripheral’ areas did not undergo any fundamental changes throughout the course of the Hittite kingdom. To sum up, I would like to argue that the presence of multiple copies of festival tablets in the Hittite archives was also motivated by their economic value, as the so-called *MELQĒTU* lists seem to corroborate. The quantity of copies for this textual genre is therefore justified by the fact that the tablets also bore the function of administrative reports used by Hittite administration as a register of products. In light of this, variations in the number of offerings and/or rations in the copies can also be better justified, partly due to changing current conditions.⁴⁷

4.2 Land management in Late Bronze Age Anatolia and the northern Levant

Concerning the percentage of land allotted to cereal production in relation to other crop cultivations, the only useful source for Hittite Anatolia to my knowledge is the so-called ‘Illuyanka myth’. At the end of the second version of this composition, the institution of a sanctuary in the city of Tanipiya is described (KBo 3.7 rev. IV 22’–25’):⁴⁸

Thereafter in the town of Tanipiya a field is given by the king. 6 *kapunu* of field, 1 *kapunu* of vineyard, a house and a threshing floor, three buildings for the servants.

Since one *kapunu* equals 7.2 ha, it is possible to establish that the land dedicated to (cereal) fields amounted to 43.2 ha. However, since it deals with a religious institution, without access to further data, it is difficult to compare with the usual land management of a village or a town.

In this respect, Alalakh with its tablet collection comes into play as a valuable source of information.⁴⁹ Presenting data concerning wine production in the Amuq valley, Batiuk sums up the work of Casana in this way: “By combining the settlement data from the Amuq Valley with the Alalakh census list data, Casana (map after Casana 2003: 374) was able to estimate the amount of land that was used for both agriculture and viticulture” (Batiuk 2013: 471). According to Casana’s presumed measurements for

⁴⁷ About this latter topic see Schwemer 2016.

⁴⁸ Cf. Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani 1990: 54f.; Hoffner 1998: 14.

⁴⁹ On excavations of Late Bronze Age Tell Atchana/Alalakh, see now Yener et al. 2020.

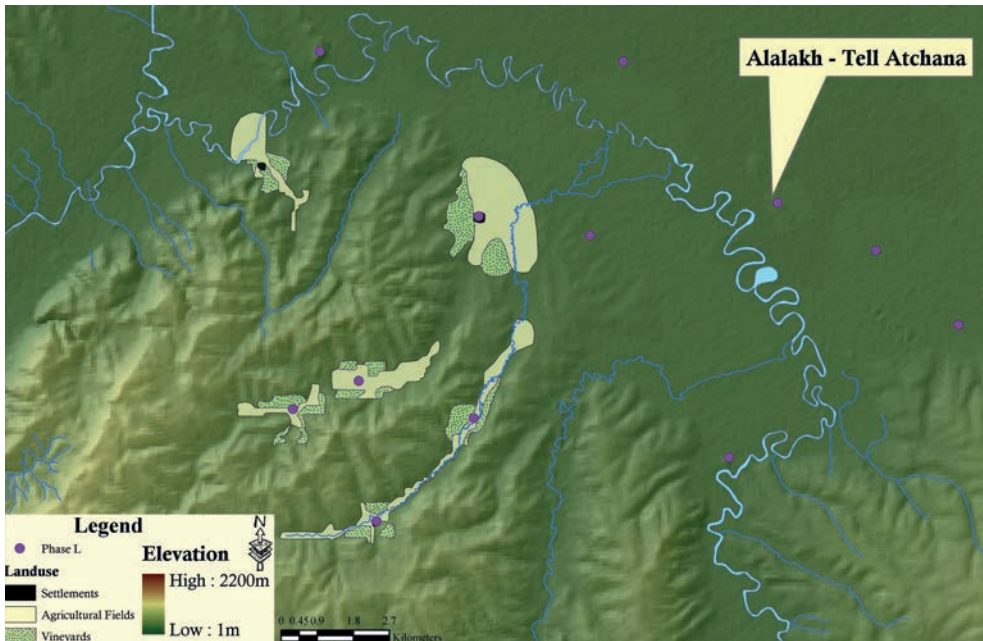


Fig. 2. Map of the agricultural landscape west of Alalakh (after Casana 2003: 374 and Batiuk 2013: 472 Fig. 16; image used with permission of Stephen Batiuk).

the total land assigned to three different types of sites (small, medium, large), it is possible to calculate the size of generic fields; this is approximately 38 ha for small sites, 62 ha for medium sites, and 190 ha for large ones.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, they are not comparable to, but indeed very different from the data of KUB 31.57.

Now, since these measures of space were used by Casana as the backbone for calculations in order to establish the percentage of land cultivated with cereals, as well as of orchards and vineyards, in the reconstruction of the agricultural landscape of Mukiš (Fig. 2),⁵¹ it is important to remember that one IKU does not correspond to 0.63 ha as Casana maintained, but with 0.36 ha as clearly indicated in Powell 1987–90: 480. For this reason, his entire reconstruction needs to be revised and the measurements must be corrected accordingly.⁵²

The result of the new calculation undeniably shows that at small sites, little more than 20 ha of fields were cultivated, in medium sites about 36 ha, and in large ones 108 ha

50 This calculation is based on his assumption that, of the total land for each settlement, 25% was devoted to vineyards, 25% to orchards and 50% to generic fields; Casana 2003: 391.

51 These calculations resulted in approximately 30, 50, and 150 households for each type of settlement, since, according to the author, each household had, on average, about one IKU of vineyards at most.

52 While this mistake was certainly due to a typo, unfortunately, it involves all the calculations. Nevertheless, this oversight does not invalidate Casana's brilliant analysis, without which the comparison with Alalakh and the northern Levant in general would not have been possible.

<i>place</i>	Tanipiya	Alalakh			Nerik		
<i>cropland</i>		small sites	medium sites	large sites	small sites	medium sites	large sites
arable land	43.2 ha	20 ha	36 ha	108 ha	17 ha	36 ha	108 ha
orchard	—	10 ha	18 ha	54 ha	—	—	—
vineyard	7.2 ha	10 ha	18 ha	54 ha	—	—	—
total	50.4 ha	40 ha	72 ha	216 ha	—	—	—

Table 3. Amount of land for cereal production in Tanipiya and the Alalakh and Nerik regions.

(as compared with previous 38, 62, 190). These are notably smaller amounts than those previously estimated.

This research has shown that in the province of Nerik, the amount of land for cereal cultivation was between 15–20 ha for small sites, about 36 ha for medium sites⁵³ and 108 ha for the large sites (one sample). Obviously, we are dealing here with land under royal domain; other fields must have belonged or were granted to officials and, probably, also to smaller landholders. The relevant information from Bo 3394(+) is listed in Table 3 alongside the (corrected) data from Alalakh and from the sanctuary of Tanipiya. The most important result emerging from this work is that the data from province of Nerik matches relatively well with the estimate discussed for Alalakh/Mukiš.

5. Conclusions

Although the geomorphological and environmental conditions of Anatolia are quite different from those of the Amuq plain, I believe that the ratio between the size of the settlement and cultivated fields attributed to several northern Anatolian areas could be – with little variation – comparable.⁵⁴ Furthermore it is no coincidence that the area of cropland of the sanctuary of Tanipiya corresponds approximately to the cropland area attributed to medium size settlements, and that Tanipiya lies in the same general area of Nerik.

As already noted, in our festival text the missing town name at Bo 3394(+) obv. I 19", to which the largest plot of land was allocated, could be tentatively restored with the geographical name Nerik:

Bo 3394(+) obv. I

19" 3 *ka-pu-nu* A.ŠÀ QA-TAM-MA ^{UR}[^U*ne-ri-ik-ka-aš* Û NUMUN ŠE ZÍZ⁽²⁾]

20" 14 *ka-pu-nu* 20 IKU A.ŠÀ Q[A²-TAM-MA]

53 For medium size settlements, the data may fluctuate considerably due to the lack of the amount of several lands attributed to individual towns; cf. the 61.56 ha of Zinišhapa.

54 This comparison holds to be true because the province of Nerik is located in the central Black Sea region, an area that has different – and more favorable – climatic conditions from those of the Anatolian plateau.

This is not the place to give the entire list of calculations,⁵⁵ but it should suffice to mention that 108 ha in the domain of the town of Nerik required more than 210 hectoliters of seed, that is over 14 tons of (naked) barley seeds for sowing. By coincidence, according to the data shown by R. Czichon during the First International HFR Symposium, the grain silos excavated until now in Oymaağaç could hold up to 18 tons.⁵⁶ If my interpretation of Bo 6250 (obv.) 8'f. is correct, the text passage specifies that “the sow[ing seeds] they (the towns) take inward (*scil.* in custody).”⁵⁷ It is important to underline the fact that – following my interpretation of ŠE ZÍZ in these texts – I used exactly the specific weight of (naked) barley to calculate the conversion factor from liter to kilogram. This comparison would be even more meaningful in case the silo was filled with wheat seeds, because it would have reached its maximum capacity (ca. 17.2 tons).

To give an idea of the agricultural landscape around Nerik, Fig. 3 shows the hypothetical reconstruction of the estimated cultivated fields according to KUB 31.57(+): cereal cultivation in yellow, orchards in green and vineyards in red.

Proper knowledge of land management systems is crucial for understanding the ancient Near Eastern agricultural economy. This study established the average percentage of land devoted to agriculture in Hittite northern Anatolia and linked it with the land management of the kingdom of Mukiš (arable land, orchard and vineyard). Furthermore, thanks to the new textual data shown, it is possible to calculate the approximate quantity of seed used for sowing: on average, 197 liters per hectare of field. This scenario opens new perspectives, not only for the position of the cultivated field within the land management system and, more broadly, the agrarian economy, but also for the study of settlement data and landscape analysis for Hittite Anatolia and the northern Levant in the Late Bronze Age.

55 Work on this topic (land management and crop production in Hittite Anatolia and the northern Levant) with a more detailed analysis is in progress and will involve data also from the so-called cadastre and field texts as well as the Maşat Höyük tablets.

56 Considerations on these silos and implications for the existence of other silos in Oymaağaç are in Hnila 2016: 14: “Westlich und nordwestlich vom ausgegrabenen Silo gibt es Hinweise auf vergleichbare massive Einschnitte, deren Verfüllungen bisher nicht ausgegraben sind. Es ist deswegen zu vermuten, dass das gefundene Silo nicht die einzige Struktur dieser Art am Hügelhang war, sondern entweder als eines von mehreren ähnlichen Einzelbauten oder als Teil von einer größeren Speicheranlage mit mehreren Kammern zu verstehen ist”; cf. also Czichon 2015: 5 (information courtesy of Pavol Hnila).

57 Remembering what is said in Bo 3394(+) obv. I 28’: “filling grain-storage pits.”

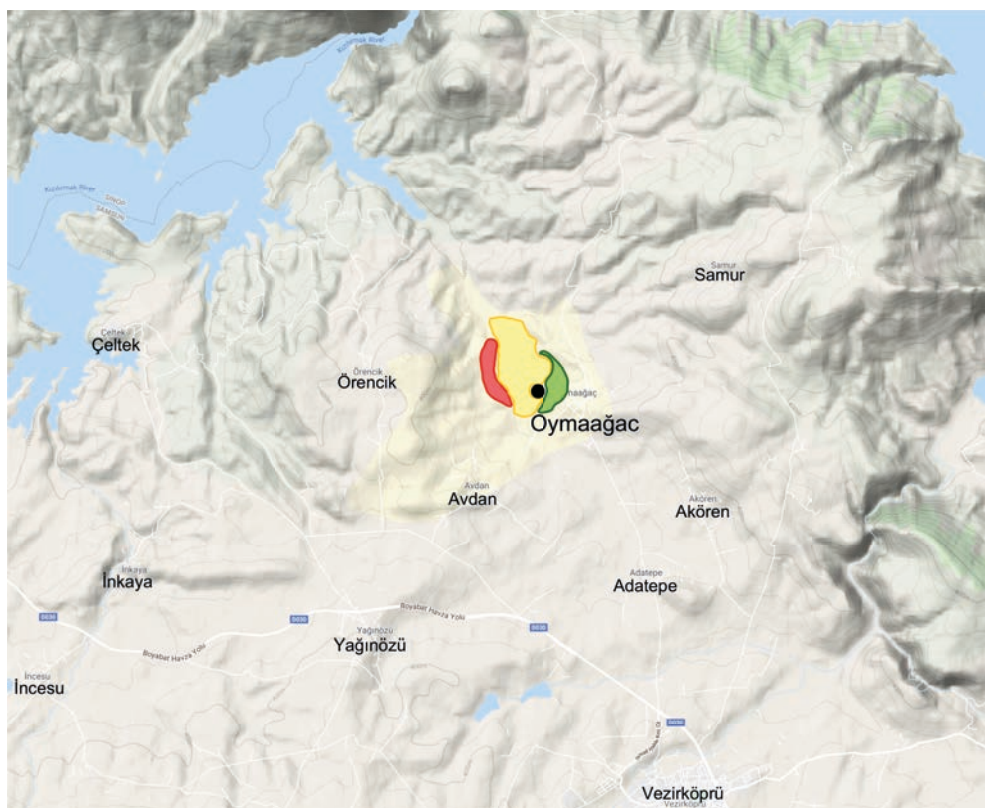


Fig. 3. Estimated cultivated land around Nerik/Oymaağaç (elaboration based on Google Maps).

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RIVERS AND RIVER CULTS IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

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Abstract

Bodies of water such as rivers, springs, lakes, or ponds are among the most distinctive natural features of the karst landscape of Central Anatolia – the area that formed the heartland of the Hittite Empire during the Late Bronze Age. As sources of water – a life-sustaining, cathartic, and unbound substance – bodies of water were deemed numinous and conceived as sacred spaces; they profoundly impacted the religious imagination, worldviews, and cult practices of Late Bronze Age Anatolian communities and played a critical role in how they perceived and interacted with their world. The present study aims to address a topic largely unexplored in the growing body of literature on the uses and meanings of water in the Hittite world: river deities and their cults. Following a brief look into Hittite perceptions and representations of rivers, and an excursus on terminology and writing conventions, the discussion will focus on the rivers Marašanta (Kızılırmak), Zuliya (Çekerek), Maliya, and Mala (Fırat/Euphrates) as case studies to illustrate how they were worshipped in Hittite Anatolia.

1. Introduction: “Wherever there is water”¹

The karst landscape of Anatolia, dotted with springs, sinkholes, caverns, rivers, and lakes where water appears and disappears, flows and collects, profoundly impacted the religious imagination and worldviews of Late Bronze Age Anatolian communities. Besides its obvious importance as a life-sustaining, cathartic agent, water in the Hittite world was “conceptualized as fluid, unbounded matter that connects different worlds and landscapes” (Harmanşah 2020: 221); its sources and movements, the courses it follows and the places it gathers thus played a critical role in how the Hittites perceived their world and interacted with it.

Recent years have seen a proliferation of studies on the uses and meanings of water in the Hittite world, focusing on a wide range of topics including the uses and significance of the element water in the Hittite cult, Hittite hydrological terminology, springs and spring sanctuaries, the Hittite state’s urban and rural hydraulic projects and their

¹ The quote comes from KUB 9.28 (CTH 442) obv. I 10f., a Hurrian ritual in which the statue of a deity is fashioned “in a pure place on a mountain, wherever there is water.” This article is one of a pair of articles on rivers in the Hittite cult, intended for two different audiences. Its counterpart is to appear in Dan et al. *forthc.*, and is more general and aimed for a wider readership. I would like to thank Charles Steitler and Susanne Görke for their comments and suggestions, and Adam Kryszewski for sharing a pre-publication version of his database of Hittite toponyms with me. All remaining errors are my own.

cultic and political significance.² These studies have highlighted the Hittite state's unparalleled investment of labor and resources in all manner of water installations for practical, cultic, and political purposes in both rural and urban settings (Harmanşah 2020: 228), and demonstrated that the Hittites attributed numinous qualities both to natural water sources such as rivers, springs, or ponds, and to man-made hydrological constructions that imitated nature.

The present study aims to explore an aspect of the meanings and uses of water in the Hittite state cult, which has remained largely unexplored: rivers, and particularly, river deities and their cults. Despite the existence of a rich and diverse body of evidence that can be brought to bear on this topic, rivers and river cults have received relatively little attention in the extant secondary literature on Hittite religion.³ The relative dearth of studies on rivers does not seem to be particular to Hittitology, but may be seen as part of a larger trend in Anatolian studies, including scholarship on Classical and Late Antique Anatolia.⁴ In Hittite studies, sacred pools, springs, and spring sanctuaries have received the lion's share of attention, possibly due to the spectacular examples of Hittite hydraulic monuments in Ḫattuša and beyond (e.g. the Südburg, Eflatun Pınar, or Yalburt monuments).⁵

This study will focus on rivers and river deities – how they were perceived, represented, and worshipped in the Hittite cult.⁶ After a brief look into Hittite perceptions and representations of rivers, and an excursus on terminology and writing conventions, the discussion will move to river deities and their cults, focusing on four case studies: the rivers Maraššanta (Kızılırmak), Zuliya (Çekerek), Maliya, and Mala (Fırat/Euphrates).

The following caveats should be mentioned at the outset: The textual evidence that forms the basis of this study is rich and diverse, comprising texts or groups of texts that have traditionally been ascribed in modern scholarship to the distinct regional or cultural milieux that are represented in the Hittite archives, named after textually attested Late Bronze Age geo-political regions (i.e. Kizzuwatna, Arzawa) or the language(s) and linguistic communities prominent in these areas (e.g. Luwian, Hattic, Hurrian, Hit-

2 Beckman 2013b: 153–73; Erbil and Mouton 2012: 53–74; Harmanşah 2015; 2019; 2020; Mouton 2018: 112–20; Murat 2012; Steitler 2019b; Wittenberg 2017.

3 See Müller-Karpe forthc. on the cultural, economic, and logistical significance of the Kızılırmak river in the Hittite period. Two recent articles briefly explore the role of rivers and river deities in Hittite religion: Oettinger 2017 explores the role of the river as a cult space, focusing on the river as a boundary between two regions, as a conduit between two regions, and as the center of a demarcated zone; Lebrun 2018 offers a brief overview of river deities in Anatolia through the Bronze and Iron Ages.

4 Dan and Lebreton (2018: 11–14) draw attention to the dearth of scholarship on the hydrography of classical Asia Minor and to the fact that the rivers of Anatolia have attracted few scholars, even as the Republic of Turkey has prioritized the exploitation of rivers to political or economic ends.

5 That rivers are generally viewed as less significant among *Naturnumina* can be inferred from their cursory treatment in some of the seminal works on Hittite religion, such as Haas 1994: 464–66; Haas and Koch 2011: 175f.; or Taracha 2009. Beckman (2013b: 156 n. 39) remarks that “to judge from the number of texts mentioning their worship, it seems that springs were more important in cult than streams.”

6 Hittite cult is defined, following Schwemer 2016: 2, as “the entirety of the rites, rituals, ceremonies and festivals performed in and outside the sanctuaries.”

tite-Luwian).⁷ Though the Hittite archives were compiled and produced by a central, elite minority, they probably represent, at least to some extent, the worldviews, perceptions, and cult practices of some of the Hittite state's subject populations and neighbors with whom they were in contact.⁸ Moreover, the available evidence is scattered across documents diverse both chronologically and in genre, with most of the evidence dating to the later phases of Hittite documentation, and hardly allows for a nuanced diachronic investigation.

2. Terminology and writing conventions

The Hittite archives have yielded a rich and complex repertoire of hydrological terminology designating both natural geographical features such as seas, rivers, lakes, and springs, as well as artificial ones like ponds, basins, dams, and canals.⁹ In this repertoire we find syllabically spelled words in various languages, which could be qualified by determinatives and/or logograms. Because many hydrological terms are used interchangeably and because a single logogram can stand for more than one word, it is often difficult to determine their precise denotation.¹⁰

In Hittite texts, the most common signifier denoting a natural stream of water was the logogram *īd* (also transliterated as *ī7*). While the logogram *īd* mostly stood for Hittite *ḫapa-* 'river', it could also represent words in other languages, such as Cuneiform Luwian *ḫapa/i-* 'river', or Hurrian *šiya-* 'river'.¹¹

The available textual evidence reveals little about how – or if – watercourses were classified based on physical characteristics such as size, source/mouth, permanence/volume of flow, or the quality of water. The logogram *īd* and Hittite *ḫapa-* were used generically, whereas the Hurrian *šiya-* could denote both rivers and springs (Kryszeń 2019: 5 n. 26, 12). There are a few terms for smaller streams, such as *aršaršur(a-)*, or Luwian *ḫapinna-*, as well as terms that indicate parts of a river or its environment, such as *ḫaršummar* 'headwaters', *aršanu-* 'flow, current', and *wappu-* '(river)bank'.¹² There

7 For a succinct and clear summary of the classification of Hittite rituals according to distinct regional/cultural milieux, see Görke 2010: 269–73.

8 "Hittite", as a term applied to cultural traits or groups of people, remains problematic. In this study I will use *Ḫatti* as a shorthand to refer to the expansive Late Bronze Age Central Anatolian polity with its center (for most of its history) in *Ḫattuša*. I will adhere to Hittitological tradition and use "Hittite" to refer to the religious beliefs and practices of the ruling family, the elite, and the culturally, linguistically, and probably ethnically diverse subject populations of *Ḫatti*.

9 See, for instance, the hydrological terms collected in Ünal 1998: 85.

10 For a treatment of hydrological terminology, see Steitler 2019b and Mouton 2018: 112–20.

11 For *ḫapa-*, see Kloekhorst 2008: 294f.; HW² III *Ḫ*/3, 197–205; Lebrun 2018: 199f. For the logogram *īd*, see Weeden 2011: 512f. Soysal 2004: 986–99 does not list any attestations of the logogram *īd* with or without phonetic complementation in Hattic compositions.

12 For *aršaršur(a-)* 'stream', see HW² I A 344f. and Kloekhorst 2008: 209. For *aršanu-* 'flow' and *ḫapāti-* 'river-land', see Kloekhorst 2008: 209, 294. For *ḫaršummar* 'headwaters', see HW² III *Ḫ*/1, 377 and HED 3, 199. For *ḫapinna/i-* 'little river, stream', see Melchert 1993: 55. The term *wappu-*, for which, see Weitenberg 1984: 52–54, mostly, though not exclusively, refers to the bank of a river (more on *wappu-* below).

is, in addition, the term *ḥapāti*- ‘river land, river valley’, which could denote both geographic regions and geo-political entities. It is reasonable to assume that there were more words hidden behind the logogram *İD* for various sizes and types of watercourse in Hittite and the other languages attested in the Hittite archives.¹³

The proper names of rivers were regularly written with the determinative *İD*.¹⁴ Though not frequent, proper names of rivers could be combined with *KUR*, *URU*, *KUR URU*, as well as the post-determinative *KI*.¹⁵ Whereas *PÜ* can be used as a determinative with other terms denoting natural or artificial hydrological features, such as *PÜṣayatti*- ‘fountain’, *İD* is used as a determinative only with the proper names of rivers. Though rivers – like mountains and springs – were venerated as deities in Hittite Anatolia, the proper names of rivers do not typically appear with the divine determinative, even in cultic contexts.¹⁶ If a conceptual differentiation existed between the physical river, the river as a numinous element of nature, or the river as a deity, it is not reflected consistently in the script.

There are a handful of attestations of *PİD*, where the logogram *İD* appears with the divine determinative; all of these concern the river ordeal.¹⁷ The expression for going through the river ordeal in Hittite is simply *ḥapa pai*- ‘to go to the river’. On account of their very restricted distribution, we may trace the attestations of *PİD* to Mesopotamian scribal practices, where the terms ‘river’ (*İD*) and ‘River-deity’/‘divine river’ (*PİD*) were both used in reference to the ordeal.¹⁸

13 Modern Turkish, for instance, has the general term *akarsu* ‘watercourse’, and from large to small, *ırmak*, *nehir* (borrowed from Arabic), *çay*, *dere*, as well as *su* and *öz*, used as compounds in the proper names of several rivers (e.g. Göksu, Karasu, Budaközü, Hamamözü).

14 For hydronyms in Hittite texts, see Kryszewski 2019: 11f. As noted in Kryszewski 2019: 11 n. 69, Weeden (2011: 512f.) understands *İD* as appositional to the toponym rather than as a determinative.

15 Kryszewski 2019: 11 n. 69, who notes that the use of *KUR* with proper names of rivers is restricted to a few rivers, and that the other combinations are relatively rare.

16 This stands in contrast with the proper names of mountains and springs, which occasionally do appear with the divine determinative, for which, see Steitler 2019b. Interestingly, *PKASKAL.KUR*, which is generally understood to refer to an underground stream or river, is typically written with the divine determinative and only exceptionally without the divine determinative (Charles Steitler, personal communication). For attestations and interpretation, see Erbil and Mouton 2012: 58–60; van Gessel 1998–2001: vol. 2, 679f.; Steitler 2019b. The river names that appear with both the divine determinative and the determinative *İD* known to me are *PZuliya/İDZuliya*, *P Maliya/İDMaliya*, and *PİDMarašanta*, which will be discussed in more detail below. *PİDMarašanta*, attested in the recently-published KpT 1.41 obv. I 2, is, to my knowledge, the only occurrence of the divine determinative together with the determinative *İD*. In CHD Š 251, we find the reading *PD Marašanti-pa-ta-at* (KBo 23.37 obv. II 34'). However, the photos available online clearly show that the sign preceding the river's name is *İD* and not *PD*. The sequence of signs at the end of this line remain difficult to read and interpret without collation (*İD ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ti-ti-x-ta-at*).

17 The Luwian form *PİD-i[n]* in KUB 35.2 obv. I 6, cited in van Gessel 1998–2001: vol. 2, 642, is very tentative; compare Starke 1985: 356, where the extant sign traces are read as *Pa-x x*.

18 See van Soldt 2003: 124f. Lebrun's (2018: 200) suggestion that there was a cult of goddess *Ḥapa-/Ḥapi*, ‘River’, is difficult to justify.

3. “They purified the land”: Perceptions and representations of rivers

Rivers and riverine environments sustained human beings, their communities, settlements, and entire ecosystems. The centrality of rivers in nourishing all life on earth is vividly illustrated by the following excerpt from *CTH* 390, an incantation to heal a child afflicted by a curse. It is a description of how a decreased river flow causes a state of paralysis in its ecosystem and the wider environment:

The great river restricted its flow. And within, it bound the fish in the *ḫantiyara*- water; it bound the high mountains; it bound the deep valleys; it bound the meadows of the Storm-god; and within, it bound the rushes; it bound the eagle with respect to his wings⁹.

It bound the stag under the *eyan*- tree; it bound the panther in a strong⁹ place; it bound the *ulipana*- in a high place; it bound the lion in the *zaman*; it bound the wild goat in the *ḫuratti*-; it bound the milk of the wild goat; it bound the throne of the KAL deity.¹⁹

Changes in a river’s course or flow could disrupt the livelihood of the human communities that depended on it, thus necessitating ritual precautions or interference. This is one of the central points in *CTH* 671, a well-known ritual and prayer to appease the Storm-god of Nerik, who has abandoned his town and brought about a lack of precipitation. The ritual aims to recruit the Maraššanta River to retrieve the Storm-god of Nerik, and refers to how the Storm-god of the sky formerly set the course of the Maraššanta River near Nerik, and how he placed the river under oath to keep to its determined course and to ensure that the Storm-god of Nerik does not go to another river or spring, taking precipitation with him:

You, [Maraš]ša[nta] River, are clo[se to] the soul of the Storm-god of Nerik. The Maraššanta River once flowed westward (*ipatarmaya*-), but the Storm-god turned it and made it flow toward the Sun-god of the gods. He made it flow near Ner[ik]. The Storm-god said to the Maraššanta River: “If someone angers the Storm-god of Nerik, and he goes forth from Nerik, from the *daḫanga*-, you, Maraššanta River, must not let him go to another river, to another spring.”

The Storm-god of the sky said to the Maraššanta River: “You shall be under oath. You shall not alter (your) flow.” And the Maraššanta River did not alter (its) flow.²⁰

Rivers are among the most distinctive features of the landscape of Anatolia and were viewed by the Hittites as one of the essential parts of the cosmos. Since there was no word in the Hittite language for ‘cosmos’, ‘universe’, or ‘world’, these concepts were expressed by reference to their perceived principal constituent parts: the words ‘heaven and earth’, along with geographical features such as rivers, mountains, springs, and the sea, were used to indicate the entirety of existence (Gerçek 2017: 41; Haas and Koch 2011: 207).

Natural and constructed features of the landscape such as rivers, mountains, roads, or cities were the primary means of geographical perception and orientation attested

19 KBo 3.8+ (*CTH* 390) rev. III 1–13, edited in Fuscagni 2017. For a recent treatment of this text, see Oettinger 2017: 89. See Section 5 for ^DKAL (transliterated in earlier scholarship as ^DLAMMA) and ^DKAL of the river.

20 KUB 36.89 (*CTH* 671) rev. 11–19. KUB 36.89 has been treated in Haas 1970: 140–74; Deighton 1982: 82f.; and partially in Görke 2013: 129–31. See also the translation in Hoffner 1990: 22–24. For the Cuneiform Luwian *ipatarmaya*- ‘westward’, see Melchert 1993: 91, followed by Görke 2013: 129f.

in the Hittite textual record (Gerçek 2017: 39–60). Rivers feature regularly in landscape descriptions as points of reference that facilitated spatial orientation and organization, as illustrated in the following example from the treaty between Muršili II of Ḫatti and Kupanta-Kurunta of Mira-Kuwaliya:

On this side, in the direction of the Aštarpā River, the land of Kuwaliya shall be your frontier. That land shall be yours, protect it! In the direction of the Aštarpā River or in the direction of the Šiyanta River you shall not found a single city!²¹

Rivers played an important role in the configuration of the world into discernible units. They could function both as axes around which communities, settlements, or larger geo-political entities were structured, and also as frontiers that demarcated and protected them from the outside world (Dan 2018: 57). As topographical markers they could serve as “convenient but arbitrary lines for separating further and nearer” or “indicate real political and social differentials” (Purcell 2012: 377), shaping administrative practices and decisions. Settlements (e.g. Maraššanta, Parmašhapa), regions (e.g. the Šiyanta River Land), and polities (e.g. the Šeḫa River Land) in Late Bronze Age Anatolia were defined by and named after their rivers.²² Rivers could define and demarcate an agricultural field or estate,²³ a bird augur’s field of observation,²⁴ or a frontier zone between two territorial polities.²⁵

Rivers were part of an animated network of sources and bodies of water that subsumed the entire cosmos – a network that included superficial and subterranean rivers, springs, lakes, the sea, rains, as well as man-made hydrological structures.²⁶ Connectivity and movement were among the essential traits of rivers. They could traverse extraordinary distances and transport people or goods to distant lands and seas, a theme

21 KBo 5.13 (CTH 68.C) obv. I 31’f.; see also Devecchi 2015: 139–51.

22 The attestation of the toponyms ^{URU}Parmašhapa and ^{ID}Parmašhapa may indicate that the element *hapa*- is to be interpreted as *hapa*- ‘river’, with Lebrun 2018: 14, but cf. Cammarosano 2018: 462. It has been suggested that the toponyms Hiššašhapa (Weeden 2011: 512), Šuranhapa, and Ḫarašhapa (Lebrun 2018: 14) incorporated the word ‘river’ as well. There are yet other toponyms that need to be taken into consideration, such as ^{URU}Inutašhapa, ^{URU}Nadašhapa, ^{URU}Dušhapa, ^{URU}Wartešhapa, ^{URU}Zin(n)išhapa/Zan(n)išhapa. Among the toponyms that incorporate the element *hapa*-, Parmašhapa is, to my knowledge, the only river name. Dan and Lebreton (2018: 14) note that numerous Greek cities founded on Mediterranean shores between the 8th and 6th century were located at the mouth of rivers and that some were named after these rivers.

23 In Hittite cadastres and land donation documents, property could be identified by its position relative to the river. A well-preserved cadastre document, KUB 8.75+ (CTH 239.1), lists ‘river fields’ (A.ŠA ŠA ID), fields located on river islands (A.ŠA anturiyaš ŠA ID or A.ŠA anturiyaš kuršawannaššiš), and fields on the riverbank (A.ŠA wappuwaš).

24 In Middle Hittite bird oracles, the river was an integral part of the field of observation, as the birds’ movements were described in relation to the river (Beal 2002: 65f.; Sakuma 2009: vol. 1, 81f.). A partially preserved schematic drawing of an augur’s observation field shows a horizontal line crosscutting the rectangular field in the middle, which may be understood as a river or road, for which, see Gerçek 2017: 54, fig. 1.

25 In KBo 1.5 (CTH 41.I.2) rev. IV 59–61, the Šunaššura Treaty, the Šamri River marked the frontier between Kizzuwatna and Ḫatti.

26 For Hittite water infrastructure and its perceived connections to the underworld, see Harmanşah 2020: 218–44.

that is best represented in the well-known account of the Queen of Kaneš (*CTH* 3.1) in which the river conveyed her thirty sons to Zalpa.²⁷ The course of a river was sometimes the only path through difficult terrain, which, in turn, was continually transformed by the river's flow.

Nevertheless, rivers were not only connected horizontally across the landscape, but were also perceived as conduits between different spheres of the cosmos. Rivers and riverbanks, along with springs, sinkholes, and caverns, were perceived as access points to the underworld – a view that fits in well with the karst topography of Central Anatolia. Rivers were linked to the underworld, which was conceived as a mirror image of the world inhabited by humans, not only through the conductive matter water, but also through their headwaters, the springs that fed them, and through their banks. Superficial rivers were believed to have subterranean counterparts and therefore provided a seamless connection to the underworld. A case in point is *CTH* 671, the aforementioned ritual and prayer for the Storm-god of Nerik, which portrays an underworld dominated by rivers and other bodies of water:

He (i.e. the Storm-god of Nerik) went down to the shores of the nine seas. [He went] down to the banks of the [Nob]le River.

Further along in the text, the Nakkiliyata River (perhaps a tributary of the Maraššanta River) is invoked to find the missing Storm-god in the watery underworld and bring him back:

Let the Nakkiliyata River evoke the Storm-god of Nerik. [Let it bring] him from down in the sea, from the [wa]ve underneath. Let it bring him down from the nine riverbanks underneath.²⁸

Of foremost importance to the significance and roles of rivers in Hittite cult, was, however, their association with purification:

When they establish[ed] heaven and earth, the gods divided (them) up among themselves. The upper-world gods took heaven for themselves, and the underworld gods took the earth (and) the underworld for themselves. Each took something for himself. But you, O river, took for yourself purification, life for the progeny, and prosperity.

(If) he says something to someone, (and if) it becomes terrible, he goes back to you, to the river, and to the GUL-š- and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses of the riverbank, who create man.²⁹

This rare cosmological narrative, which comes from a fragmentary Empire period ritual, associates rivers with purity and procreation, ascribing them a central role in the creation of mankind through their connection with the GUL-š- and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses

27 For the role of the Kızılırmak as a conduit and frontier, see Müller-Karpe forthc.

28 KUB 36.89 (*CTH* 671.1.A) rev. 21–23, for which, see Haas 1970: 140–67; Deighton 1982: 82f.; Hoffner 1990: 22–24.

29 Bo 3617 (*CTH* 434.1) obv. I 8'–17' and duplicates. In the fragmentary paragraph that follows, we read that those who suffered from the effects of sorcery, slander, or sexual offence washed themselves in the presence of the river: KBo 13.104+ (*CTH* 434.1) obv. I 13'–17'. For a recent edition, see Fuscagni 2013a. See Section 5 for the GUL-š- and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses. The genitive form 'of the riverbank' (*wappuwaš*) likely modifies both the GUL-š- and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses (DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES}); see also Weitenberg 1984: 52–54. These deities are often attested together, joined asyndetically and governed by a single genitive form (e.g. DINGIR.MAḪ^{MES} D^{GUL}-šeš šA DINGIR^{MES}), and both the GUL-š- and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses are separately attested as deities 'of the riverbank', though the DINGIR.MAḪ of the riverbank is characteristically singular. For attestations, see van Gessel 1998–2001: vol. 1, 253f., vol. 2, 728. Cf. Archi 2013: 8f.

ses of the riverbank, who seemingly created humankind out of clay from the riverbank.³⁰

From the following etiological account, which served as the introduction to the composition labelled “Ritual of the Mala River”, we can infer that purification was viewed as a principal function of rivers:

The primeval gods fastened [...]. They let all the rivers loose. [They] let [...] loose. And the rivers of the land took [...] for/towards the Mala River from [...]. They ...-ed. They purified the land and [bo]lled ...³¹

Though fragmentary, these lines may be interpreted as an account of the creation of rivers (“they let all the rivers loose”) by the primeval gods, and how they purified the land.³²

On account of their association with purification as well as their perception as points of entry into the underworld, rivers functioned as the setting for a number of cultic activities. These activities include river rituals³³ as well as other types of rituals and festivals in which rivers – among other locations – were visited to invoke deities (e.g. river deities, deities of the riverbank, or other chthonic deities), to conduct purification rites, to gather materials to be used in the rituals, or to dispose of the polluting and dangerous leftovers of the ritual. Rivers were also visited during cult festivals, some of which were linked to particular rivers.³⁴

We should note, in concluding this section, that not all associations of rivers were positive. Rivers were extraordinary, numinous forces of nature and could be perceived as challenging, uncanny, or downright dangerous places, not only on account of their physical properties such as their breadth or rapid currents, but also because of the different kinds of cult activity that took place by the river. The crossing of difficult rivers, enemies capturing or destroying bridges, or abandonment of babies by the rivers are well-known themes in historical literature and mythological compositions from the Hittite archives. More pertinent for the present discussion, however, are the potentially

30 For the creation of humankind from riverbank clay, which is not explicitly stated but implied in Hittite documentation, and the Mesopotamian origins of this theme, see Otten and Siegelová 1970: 37f.; Archi 2013: 10f.; Beckman 2013a: 90.

31 KUB 23.79 (CTH 365.A) obv. 1–6, edited by Rieken et al. 2009. About 35 fragmentary lines of this composition, labelled “Ritual of the Mala River” ([Š]A^{1b} Māla ŠISKU[R]) in the colophon, have been preserved (20 lines on the obverse and 15 on the reverse). The partially-preserved beginning of the text comprises what is argued here to be an etiological account of the creation of rivers, followed by the appointment of the “son of the Sun-god” as king among the “inhabitants of the land” (KUB 23.79 obv. 8). The context of paragraph 3 is not entirely clear: it mentions the creation of mankind (l. 14), the plague (l. 18), “4 years” (l. 19), and “this king” (l. 20) in broken context.

32 Haas (2006: 147) has interpreted the beginning of this composition as an etiology explaining the plague as the result of a flooding of the rivers. However, in light of l. 5, which refers to the rivers’ purification of the land, the beginning of the text may better be interpreted as an etiology of rivers themselves.

33 For which, see Gerçek forthc.

34 During the well-documented *hišuwa*- festival from Kizzuwatna, a procession accompanied by singers and musicians carried the cult images of numerous gods to the Alda River, located in Kizzuwatna; see Haas 1994: 862, 865, 867. During the older, Central Anatolian *purulliya*- festival in the town Kašḫa, a similar procession was led to an unnamed river of the town Kašḫa; see Haas 1994: 745.

dangerous or uncanny cultic activities that involve rivers. Since rivers, as mentioned above, regularly served as the setting for various kinds of cultic activity, particularly purification rituals during which the polluted ritual leftovers were deposited into the river, their currents could carry pollutants and pose a threat to downstream settlements and communities. For instance, in HHCTO 1 (*CTH* 209), an Ortaköy letter whose sender and recipient are unknown, the sender insists that a purification ritual is not to be performed by the river of the town Һanziwa.³⁵

A river could also serve as the setting for the performance of black magic, as seen in Allaiturahi's ritual, in which the GUL-š- deities of the riverbank are invoked to reverse the actions of a "man of sorcery, an evil person":

Eat, GUL-š- goddesses of the riverbank! If a man of sorcery, an evil person, has given this man's statue either to the riverbank or the river's current, give it back to him now!³⁶

Lastly, rivers were viewed as uncanny places through their association with the river ordeal, a judicial practice conducted to determine the guilt or innocence of the defendant. The river ordeal was certainly known in Hittite Anatolia, though likely not practiced regularly beyond the Old Kingdom. The unpleasant associations of rivers and the river ordeal can be inferred from the expression 'to go to the river', which is used as a threat, particularly in Old Kingdom documentation.³⁷

4. Rivers, river deities, and their cults

Rivers, mountains, springs, and other elements of the natural environment were venerated as deities in Hittite Anatolia. As deities, rivers received regular offerings and were invoked in prayers or as witnesses to oaths. Rivers thus featured in a diverse array of texts, including treaties, oaths, prayers, rituals, and cult festivals, as we see in the following passages from the treaty between Muwatalli II of Һatti and Alakšandu of Wiluša (a); a fragment from a religious festival (b); and Muwatalli's prayer for the assembly of gods (c):

a) Mount Һulla, Mount Zaliya[nu, Mount Taħa], the mountains, the rivers, and the springs of Һa[t-ti, the great sea], heaven and earth, the winds, the clo[uds, a]ll [the deities] of the Land of Wiluša, the Storm-god of the Army, [...]appaliuna, the male deities, the female deities, [the mountains, the rivers, the springs], and the underground watercourse⁷ of the Land of Wi[luša. I, My Majesty, Great King, be]loved of the Storm-god of Lightning, have summoned them [to assembly as witnesses].³⁸

b) These mountains, rivers, sky, (and) earth, which he calls by name: he breaks fat bread and fine bread (for them).³⁹

35 The warning "let them not bathe in the river of Һanziwa" is repeated twice in the letter (ll. 13' and 16'). As Hoffner (2009: 261) already suggested, the choice had to do with the polluting ritual leftovers and the danger they posed, possibly to the king in the nearby town of Šapinuwa. Ünal (1998: 22) has suggested that "bathing" was prohibited because the river of the town of Һanziwa was a "holy river".

36 KUB 17.27 (*CTH* 780 II.Tf01.G) obv. II 20'–22', edited in Haas and Wegner 1988: 188–95.

37 For the river ordeal in Hittite Anatolia, see Laroche 1973: 179–89; van den Hout 2003–05: 129f.; Marazzi 2010; Miller 2013: 334 n. 49. For a summary, see Gerçek forthc.

38 KUB 21.1+ (*CTH* 76.A) rev. IV 24–30; translation follows Beckman 1999: 87–93. See Devecchi 2015: 151–59.

39 KUB 10.72+ (*CTH* 669.4.A) obv. II 19'–21'.

c) Sun-god of Heaven and Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, Queen, my lady, queen o[f the La]nd of Ḫatti, Storm-god, king of Heaven, my lord, Ḫebat, Queen, my lady, Storm-god of [Ḫ]atti, king of Heaven, lord of Ḫatti, my lord, Storm-god of Ziplan[da], my lord, beloved son of the Storm-god, lord of the Land of Ḫatti, Šeri and Ḫurri, all the male deities (and) the female deities, all the mountains (and) the rivers of the Land of Ḫatti, lords.⁴⁰

In such god lists, which were intended to be comprehensive, rivers are typically paired with mountains and other natural numina. However, unlike mountains, some of which were regularly mentioned by name (as we see in the first example cited above), rivers often appear as an anonymous group in contexts such as lists of divine witnesses to oaths.⁴¹

In contrast to the examples cited above, where rivers are treated as a general, anonymous category, rivers in Ḫatti and neighboring regions could also be worshipped individually. Individual rivers such as the Maraššanta, Zuliya, or Mala were part of the Hittite state pantheon and occupied prominent roles in the cult. These rivers featured alongside the major deities of the pantheon in prayers, received offerings during state-sponsored religious ceremonies, and had cult images or rituals dedicated to them.

In several cult festivals, individual rivers associated with a particular region,⁴² belonging to a certain group of deities,⁴³ or fulfilling a certain function were invoked and provided with offerings. In *CTH* 682.3 – a festival for all the KAL deities – offerings are given to rivers and mountains, which were favored hunting grounds of the Hittite king or which were beloved by the king or another deity:

To the Šalmaku River, the beloved of Ḫuwaššana, to the Šeḫiriya River, the beloved of Tudḫaliya.⁴⁴

Moreover, a number of fragmentary texts seem to describe cult festivals in which sources of ground water such as rivers, their associated deities, springs, and canals occupied a central place.⁴⁵

Inventories of local cults show that rivers large and small were part of the local panthea of towns and regions situated in proximity to them. While most of the rivers venerated locally appear only in local panthea (e.g. river Parmašḫapa of town Parmaš-ḫapa),⁴⁶ some were supra-regional rivers such as the river Maraššanta. We also find, more surprisingly, a foreign river venerated locally. In a well-known cult inventory, we find the Baliḫ River (Luwian *baluḫašša*) among the deities worshipped in the town

40 KUB 6.45+ (*CTH* 381) obv. I 10–16, edited by Rieken et al. 2016b.

41 We find a rare exception in a treaty between the Hittite king Šuppiluliuma and Šattiwaza of Mittanni (*CTH* 51.1), where the Euphrates River is mentioned by name, possibly because it marked the frontier between the two polities: “the mountains, the rivers, the sea, the Euphrates, heaven and earth, the winds, the clouds” (KBo 1.1 + KBo 64.1 rev. 53’). For a recent treatment of this text, see Wilhelm 2016 and Devecchi 2015: 242–52.

42 For instance, the Zuliya River and the KAL deity of the river appear in the celebrations for the KAL deity of the town Tauriša, on which, see Galmarini 2015: 49–55.

43 The Šeḫiriya/Šaḫiriya River, for instance, is invoked together with the deities Maliya and Inara; see Haas 1994: 401 and Taracha 2009: 116f.

44 KBo 12.59 (*CTH* 682.3) obv. I 4’–9’, edited in McMahon 1991: 132f.

45 See, for instance, the groups of festivals (*CTH* 684) concerning rivers, KAL deities of rivers, and other sources of water, collected in McMahon 1991: 189–210.

46 KUB 38.6+ obv. I 13’–16’, edited in Cammarosano 2015: 199–244; 2018: 433–70.

Mallitta, along with deities of diverse origins – local deities, deities belonging to the state pantheon, Luwian, Assyrian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian deities.⁴⁷ These “foreign” deities are thought to have been introduced to local panthea during the Middle Bronze Age / *kārum* period – an assumption that finds support in the fact that Mallitta is attested in an Old Assyrian itinerary (Cammarosano 2015: 206–8; 2018: 436).

Cultic obligations to local rivers were overseen and maintained by the Hittite state, as seen in the following passage concerning local springs, mountains, and rivers:

And for whatever springs are behind the town, for [wh]atever spring there is an offering regimen, they must perform it regularly, and they must come [u]p to visit it regularly. And they must even come up to visit regularly any spring for which there is no offering regimen. They must never neglect it.

For whatever mountains (and) rivers there are offerings, they must regularly offer them.⁴⁸

Religious rites for (or otherwise involving) rivers often took place at the site of the river or in temples or shrines of their own (see Section 4.1). Alternately, rivers could be summoned or given offerings at other locations – by their cult images in a different town or in the temple of another deity⁴⁹ – or by the side of a different river.⁵⁰

To my knowledge no visual representations of rivers or river deities have been identified in Hittite art. We thus know little about the properties and physical attributes of the river deities worshipped in Hittite Anatolia. The inventories attest to the following cult images for river deities, and, in one instance, for the bridges of the Maraššanta River (see Section 4.1): anthropomorphic figures, stelae, stones, or bowls (see Sections 4.1–4.4). River deities received a wide range of offerings, including drinking rites, entire or partial animals, other types of bread and libation. Some rivers mentioned in the cult inventories were given autumn and spring festivals.⁵¹

While river deities have not been investigated systematically, the prevalent assumption in modern scholarship is that both river and spring deities were female.⁵² Despite the lack of visual representations of river deities from Hittite Anatolia, the

47 KUB 38.6+ obv. I 25', for which, see Cammarosano 2015: 206–8; 2018: 436f.

48 KUB 13.1+ (CTH 261.I) rev. III 13'–19' and duplicates, for which, see Miller 2013: 212–37.

49 For instance, in KUB 58.39 (CTH 678') rev. IV 10'–17', the Maraššanta River and other rivers received offerings at the temple of Zašḫapuna, and in IBoT 1.2 (CTH 684.2), the Maraššanta River and the KAL deity of the river received offerings in a temple setting; for the latter text, see McMahon 1991: 192–96, 207f.

50 Interestingly, in KBo 23.27 (CTH 776.1, for which, see Sections 4.1 and 4.3), a ritual in Hittite and Hurrian in which water is drawn from rivers in the region around Šapinuwa (Ortaköy), a distant river like the Puratti (together with the rivers Zuwaḫḫu, Zitarpu, and Upilpaeše) receives libation by the local river Šapandaliya. This can be seen as further evidence that bodies of water, particularly rivers, were seen as forming an interconnected network. Volkert Haas has suggested somewhat differently that in the group of texts known as “Teššub and the Rivers” (CTH 776, which includes KBo 23.27), numerous rivers of the land are represented by pitchers of water (Haas 1994: 465, 680; note that on p. 680 n. 38, the text number is erroneously given as CTH 767).

51 The autumn and spring festivals are what Cammarosano (2018: 434) has referred to as the “minimum standard” of care for the gods. For instance, the river Gazzarunaili, along with other ‘gods of the stelae’ (DINGIR^{MES} ŠA NA⁴ZLIKIN^{HILA}), is given autumn and spring festivals; KUB 38.12 rev. III 20'–22', edited in Cammarosano 2018: 416–32.

52 The standard reference is Haas 1994: 464–66.

available textual evidence does indeed suggest that at least some river deities were female. In cult inventories, the cult statues of the Šigašiga and the Zuliya Rivers are described as female.⁵³ It is interesting to note here that Zuliya and Maraššanta were both used as male personal names, whereas Mala is attested as a female personal name.⁵⁴ Names of springs, similarly, are attested as both male and female personal names. Though there was a general correspondence between the gender of the deity and the gender of the name-bearer, this correspondence was not obligatory.⁵⁵

We turn now, to take a closer look at four rivers as case studies – the foremost rivers venerated in Ḫatti (the rivers Maraššanta, Zuliya and Mala) and major deities of Hittite pantheon that may have been river deities (Zuliya and Maliya) – and briefly to various deities associated with rivers.

4.1 Maraššanta

As one of the most prominent features of the Central Anatolian landscape, the river Maraššanta (modern Kızılırmak) was understandably among the foremost river deities in the Hittite pantheon; its worship was part of both Central Anatolian and Hurrian cults. The Maraššanta River features in a wide array of texts, including mythological narratives as well as historical and literary compositions, and receives offerings in major state-sponsored cult festivals.⁵⁶

On the fifth day of the *nuntarriyašḫa*- festival, for instance, the Maraššanta River receives offerings along with the Sun-goddess of Arinna of Calling, the hearth, and the pure inner chamber:

A sweet bread of porridge from a *tarna*- measure, a *ḫalwatalla*- vessel of honey, and a long-necked vessel (of wine) for the Maraššanta River.⁵⁷

The Maraššanta River seems to play a central role in *CTH* 684.2, one of a group of festival fragments in which rivers and the KAL deity of the river play a prominent role.⁵⁸ In the better-preserved parts of the texts, the Maraššanta River and the KAL deity of the river receive offerings from the king, seemingly in a temple setting:⁵⁹

The king (proceeds) to treat three with offerings in sequence: the Maraššanta River, the KAL deity of the river, (and their) circle.⁶⁰

53 For Šigašiga, see KBo 2.13 (*CTH* 505.2) obv. 22; for Zuliya, see KUB 38.7 (*CTH* 521) rev. III 18'.

54 Compare the female personal name Mala with the male name Malaziti, perhaps to be understood as 'Man from Mala'. For Hittite personal names, see Laroche 1966; 1981: 3–58; see also Trémouille 2014.

55 Laroche 1946–47: 82f. and McMahon 1991: 11f.

56 The Maraššanta River features prominently in *CTH* 671, the ritual and prayer for the Storm-god of Nerik, discussed above. Although not called by its name, the Great River in *CTH* 390 (with Oettinger 2017: 89–91) and the river in *CTH* 4, the account of the Queen of Kaneš (*CTH* 3.1), are also assumed to be the Maraššanta.

57 KBo 11.43 rev. VI 8'f., edited in Nakamura 2002: 181f.

58 See McMahon's (1991: 189) introductory remarks to this group of texts.

59 As already observed by McMahon 1991: 196, the offerings for the Maraššanta River follow offerings for the various *loci numinosi* in ll. 1–9.

60 IBoT 1.2 (*CTH* 684.2) obv. III 10–13, edited in McMahon 1991: 192–96.

And further on in the same text:

He drinks *waršuli* [... the Marašša]nta River, once, and two lords opposite him drink *waršuli*. He breaks six loaves of bread. The singers of Kaneš sing.

The king, standing, drinks the KAL deity of the river, once. He breaks three loaves of bread. The singers of Kaneš sing.⁶¹

In CTH 683, festival for the renewing the divine hunting bags, the Maraššanta River receives drinking rites in the company of mountains, rivers, valleys, among other deities; this is followed by singers singing, dog-men barking, and the breaking of *takarmu*-bread, which is then placed on the hunting bag.⁶²

The river Maraššanta appears in a number of local cults such as those of the towns Šamuḫa by the Maraššanta River, and Šapinuwa, situated in the Hittite heartland. Especially the recently published cult inventory texts from Kayalıpınar (Šamuḫa) give us important new insights into the cult of the Maraššanta River.

In KpT 1.41 obv. I 1f., the “temple/shrine” of the Maraššanta River is reported as one of the sixteen “missing” temples (lit. ‘does not exist’ *UL ēšzi*). The name of the Maraššanta River is, in this context, written as ^{D,IP}*Marašanta*, that is, with both the divine determinative and the determinative for river. The inventory KpT 1.40 rev. III 10’–13’ mentions the Maraššanta River in connection with the temple of the Storm-god of Zipi. KpT 1.39 records a stela of the river Maraššanta, possibly as part of the inventory of the *arkiu*-building in the Ancestors’ Palace, and the ritual of the year performed for this deity.⁶³ Further on (rev. IV 22’f.), the same inventory mentions two stones (2 NA4) for the “bridge[s] (of) the river Maraššanta” and the ritual performed by a guard (^{LÜ}*r*EN.NU¹.[UN]), who was likely tasked with protecting the bridge.

In KBo 23.27 (ascribed to CTH 776.1), a ritual in Hittite and Hurrian in which numerous rivers and springs around Šapinuwa and further afield are summoned and receive libations, the Maraššanta river receives libations together with the Puratti River (i.e. the Euphrates, see below).⁶⁴ This document is of particular interest because of the warning issued for the ritual specialists against drawing water at the confluence of the Red River (^{ID}SA5) and the Maraššanta:

But if they do [it] on a [lon]g trip (lit. on a distant road), (and) they speak thus: “We will draw water nearby.”

They will not draw water in the place where the Red River joins the Maraššanta River. Downstream they do not draw, for the Man of the Storm-god goes forth to the Red River. They do not draw water also a second time in that place. They draw it from the Maraššanta upstream.⁶⁵

61 IBoT 1.2 rev. IV 1’–13’, edited in McMahon 1991: 192–96. The expression *waršuli eku*- can be interpreted as ‘to drink the vapor’ (Kloekhorst 2008: 975–78, with further literature), ‘to drink drop by drop’ (HEG W–Z 370), or ‘to drink to the (last) drop’ (Cammarosano 2018: 184, with further literature). The Maraššanta River is also mentioned in rev. V 4’, in broken context.

62 KUB 55.43 obv. II 30–36, rev. IV 32’–34’, and l. e. 1–3, edited in McMahon 1991: 144–57.

63 KpT 1.39 rev. IV 9’–11’, edited in Cammarosano 2018: 401–13 (there as Kp 15/7+); 2019: 66–80.

64 KBo 23.27+ (CTH 776.1) obv. II 21’–23’, edited in Ünal 1998: 83–97; Trémouille 1999: 193–211.

65 KBo 23.27+ (CTH 776.1) obv. II 25’–35’, edited in Ünal 1998: 83–97; Trémouille 1999: 193–211. The translation and interpretation here follow CHD L–N 172 and CHD Š 251, with modification.

The specialists whose duty it was to draw water from various rivers in KBo 23.27+ are warned against taking a short-cut and drawing water nearby from the confluence of the rivers Maraššanta and the Red River. We may deduce that the Red River was reserved specifically for the cult activities of the Man of the Storm-god, and was thus considered inauspicious due to the potentially polluting leftovers of riverside rituals. Indeed, we see in *CTH* 458.6, a poorly-preserved cathartic ritual, that certain undesirable elements were passed on by the Red River to the Maraššanta, and by the Maraššanta to the sea.⁶⁶

Lastly, the Maraššanta River was a preferred location for the practice of augury. According to a letter (KUB 31.101) from the Hittite ruler to his augurs, the king urges the specialists to place the oracle birds by the Maraššanta River and to observe them up the river, adding that “the river is very important!”⁶⁷

4.2 Zuliya

From the early phases of Hittite documentation, the Zuliya River (Çekerek) occupies a prominent place in the Hittite cult, possibly due to the importance of cult centers in the Zuliya River basin, and has been associated in modern scholarship with the Hattic and Luwian cult traditions in Central Anatolia (Klinger 1996: 166f.; Forlanini 2002: 260; Taracha 2010: 351–55). It seems to be generally accepted, following Laroche (1946–47: 41; 1973: 87), that the Zuliya River (^DZuliya) and the deity Zuliya (^DZuliya/^{ID}Zuliya) were one and the same.⁶⁸ The identification of ^DZuliya and ^{ID}Zuliya finds support in the fact that the deity ^DZizzaššu, typically paired with ^DZuliya, is also attested with ^{ID}Zuliya.⁶⁹

^DZuliya was venerated in major state-sponsored festivals such as KILAM or *nuntarriyašha*-, and received offerings, drinking ceremonies, and entertainment.⁷⁰ ^{ID}Zuliya, similarly, appears in major state-sponsored festivals and is, moreover, documented in a number of local panthea. The Zuliya River and the KAL deity of the river were venerated on the 32nd day of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival, during the celebrations for the KAL deity of Tauriša held in the sacred grove of Tauriša. The Zuliya River and the KAL deity of the river are part of a drinking ceremony performed by the king in a temple or sanctuary (Galmarini 2015; Steitler 2019b: 18–21). The Zuliya River also appears as part of the drinking ceremony in *CTH* 647, a festival in which the prince (DUMU.LUGAL) is involved as a participant:

66 KBo 12.94 (*CTH* 458.6) 1'–8', edited in Fuscagni 2013b.

67 KUB 31.101 (*CTH* 581) 35. For the interpretation of *nakki*- as ‘important’ rather than ‘difficult’, see CHD L–N 365.

68 See, for instance, Haas’ (1994: 684) translation of ^DZuliya in ABoT 1.5 rev. III 9' as “Flußgöttin”, or Pecchioli Daddi’s (1998: 20f.) reference to “la dea fiume Zuliya”; Klinger (1996: 166f.) adopts a more cautious approach to the characterization of ^DZuliya as river-goddess.

69 KBo 21.85 (*CTH* 630.A) obv. I 19; KBo 23.64 (*CTH* 630) rev. III 8'.

70 See, for instance, KBo 25.12 (*CTH* 627.1.h.A) rev. III 21'–24', edited in Burgin 2019: 65–77, the OH exemplar of the KILAM ‘Great Assembly’, during which the king and queen ‘drink Zuliya’, after which there is singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the great lyre. We find in KUB 25.12 (*CTH* 626.Tg06.III.2.A) rev. V 12'–25', edited in Nakamura 2002: 213, 241–45, a similar drinking ceremony followed by entertainment for the pair Zizzaššu and Zuliya, during the sixth day of the *nuntarriyašha*- festival.

Afterwards, he drinks to the Zuliya River and all rivers once, he breaks a loaf of bread. The ^{LU}NAR.GAL sings.⁷¹

The Zuliya River features in a number of local cults. For instance, it is attested multiple times in *CTH* 663, a fragmentary inventory list of local panthea, where it appears along with the spring Kunnaniya⁷² and receives offerings.⁷³ Of utmost interest is the attestation of the cult image of the Zuliya River as a female figurine.⁷⁴

Like the Maraššanta River, the Zuliya River was also a favored spot for augury, as seen in a letter to the queen from her augurs, in which the movements and behavior of birds observed in the town Ḫaitta, and the rivers Zuliya and Imralla are described.⁷⁵

4.3 Maliya

The goddess Maliya, a major deity of the Hittite pantheon and richly attested in a wide array of religious texts from all periods of Hittite textual documentation, has been characterized in secondary scholarship as a Luwian river-goddess, while the *Maliyanni*-deities, with whom the goddess Maliya usually appears, have been compared to the nymphs of the classical world.⁷⁶ Recent studies on the deity Maliya have underlined the connection between the goddess Maliya attested in the Hittite sources, the Lycian Maliya, and Greek Athena, whose Lydian name was Malis, re-emphasizing the connection of all these deities with rivers (Serangeli 2015; Payne and Sasseville 2016: 79). Steitler (2019b: 132) has further underlined the connection of Maliya to the river in his recent exploration of the role of Maliya as a patron deity of leather-workers, an occupation typically carried out by rivers.

Nevertheless, some caution is necessary in characterizing the goddess Maliya attested in the Hittite archives as a ‘river-goddess’, for the extant textual evidence for such a conclusion is meager. There are two secure attestations of the river Maliya (^{ID}Maliya):

- 1) ^{ID}ma-li-ia (KBo 2.16 obv. 4', *CTH* 527.6);
- 2) [^I]Dma-li-ia-aš (KBo 47.76 rev. 5', *CTH* 63).

Additionally, in KBo 14.88 (*CTH* 694) obv. II 12' we read in a broken context ^{ID}aš^Dma-l[i-ia], ‘Mal[iya] of the river’, which, if restored correctly, may indeed suggest a connection between the deity and the river. On the other hand, the attestation of a female cult figurine belonging to the Maliya River in KUB 38.33 (*CTH* 527.27) obv. 5', cited in

71 KBo 45.69 (*CTH* 647) 12'–16', edited in Roszkowska-Mutschler 2005: 92–97. Torri (2008: 773) has suggested that the festival is related to the cult of Zippalanda.

72 KBo 47.76 (*CTH* 663) obv. 11', 13', 15', rev. 3', 9', edited in Lebrun 2007: 457–64; see also Taracha 2010: 351–55. The following town names are attested: [Ḫanink]auwa (obv. 4'),]-marašša (obv. 9'), Katapa (rev. 7'), and Kattemarna.

73 KUB 56.37 (*CTH* 529.52) rev. IV 1–3.

74 KUB 38.7 (*CTH* 527.51) rev. III 18': ^{ID}zu-li-ia-aš ALAM MUNUS. The MUNUS sign drawn on the hand copy is not clearly visible in the photograph available online.

75 KBo 15.28 obv. 4–15, rev. 1'–4', for which, see Hoffner 2009: 84f.

76 Steitler 2019a: 132, with further references. For the deity Maliya, see Haas 1994: 410f.; Hutter 2003: 231f.; Taracha 2009: 115f.; Haas and Koch 2011: 282; Serangeli 2015; Payne and Sasseville 2016: 77–80; Steitler 2019a: 131–33.

most discussions of the goddess Maliya,⁷⁷ needs to be reexamined: both the online photo and the hand-copy show: ...]x(-)ma-li-ia-aš 1 ALAM MUNUS. However, the traces preceding -ma-li-ia do not fit well with ‘river’ (ID) or ‘deity’ (DINGIR). It is more likely that what we have here is ^{UR}]U ma-li-ia-aš or another toponym that ends in -maliya, such as ^{ID}Gurmaliya.⁷⁸

In short, we know little about the cult of the Maliya River. One cult inventory mentions a bowl for the Maliya River in the town Šuranḫapa and another cult inventory of local panthea in the Zuliya River basin mentions the Maliya River along with the mountain Talmakuwa and the spring Kunnaniya.⁷⁹

4.4 Mala River

The Mala River (the middle Euphrates), also attested in the Hittite archives as Puratta/i, Puranti, Pura/una, and BURANUN.NA, is the best-documented river in the Hittite textual record.⁸⁰ That this is a culturally and geo-politically significant river can be inferred from the numerous references to this river in various mythological and literary compositions, treaties, prayers, rituals, and festivals.⁸¹

The cultic significance of the Mala River can be easily illustrated by reference to the well-known second “Plague Prayer” of Muršili II. This royal prayer describes how this king’s oracle practitioners determined that the devastating plague in Ḫatti was in part caused by the neglect of the ritual of the Mala River, which had been performed regularly by Hittite kings until the onset of the plague in the reign of Muršili’s predecessor, Šuppiluliuma I.⁸² Later on in the prayer, the king promises to rectify the situation by going to the Mala River to perform the ritual.⁸³ The ritual mentioned can be connected to CTH 365 (discussed in Section 3), the composition labelled “Ritual of the Mala River”, which, according to the tablet’s colophon, was to be determined by oracle when a plague occurred in the land.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the ritual itself is not preserved on the

77 See, for instance, Taracha 2009: 115; Haas 1994: 414 n. 262, 502 n. 94; Hutter 2003: 231; and Serangeli 2015: 377.

78 Hutter 2003: 231 mentions a “lady Maliya” who receives offerings together with mountains and rivers in KUB 40.101 obv. 8. However, the correct reading of this name is ^{HUR.SA}]Gkam-ma-li-ia as we see in the duplicate KUB 11.40 rev. V 3’.

79 KBo 2.16 (CTH 527.6) obv. 4’ and KBo 47.76 (CTH 63) rev. 5’, respectively.

80 This assessment is based on the number of attestations collected by Adam Kryszewski as part of his project on Hittite toponyms. See also del Monte and Tischler 1978: 537, 543f.; 1992: 208; and Arkan 2007: 39–48.

81 The most significant textual attestations of the Mala River have been collected in Arkan 2007: 39–48. We may mention, among others, the Hittite version of the Gilgamesh epic (CTH 341.III.1.D, KBo 10.47g rev. III 2’), the Elkunirša myth (CTH 342.1.1, KUB 36.35 obv. I 5’), the Šattiwaza Treaty (CTH 51), the second “Plague Prayer” of Muršili II (CTH 378.2), and the myth and ritual concerning the Mala River (CTH 365), discussed above.

82 KUB 14.8 (CTH 378.2) obv. 9’–12’, Muršili II’s second “Plague Prayer” to the Storm-god of Ḫatti, see Singer 2002: 57–61 and the recent edition in Rieken et al. 2016a.

83 KUB 14.8 (CTH 378.2) rev. 4’–7’, and duplicates.

84 KUB 23.79 (CTH 365) rev. 10’–15’, edited in Rieken et al. 2009.

tablet. It is interesting to note in comparison that rivers do not seem to have played a role in extant plague rituals from Arzawa or Kizzuwatna.⁸⁵

Let us lastly turn to the cult of the Mala/Puratti River. The Mala River was revered as a favored hunting ground of the Hittite king. In *CTH* 682.2.A, a festival for mountains, rivers, and various KAL deities,⁸⁶ the Mala River, along with the Mammara and Gurmaliya Rivers, is counted among the mountains and rivers where the king “regularly hunts” (*šiy/gatalliškezzi*, CHD Š 341), and receives “one *tuḫurai*- bread and one *ḫarpi*- meat.”

The Mala/Puratti River is particularly prominent in Hurrian and Luwian cult traditions, not only from Kizzuwatna, northern Syria, but also in northern cult centers such as Šapinuwa. In KBo 23.27 (*CTH* 776.1, discussed in Section 4.1), in which numerous rivers are summoned and receive offerings, while the specialist(s) draw water from the river of the town Šapandaliya, the rivers Puratti, Zuwaḫḫu, Zitarpu, and Upilpaeše are summoned and given libations. These rivers, along with others, occur in a number of Hurrian texts in close connection with the Storm-god Teššub.⁸⁷

5. Rivers & co.

Hittite sources differentiate between the (divine) river(s) and the deities associated with rivers. The following excerpts from two different festivals illustrate not only the distinction between the river, the gods of the river, the KAL deity of the river,⁸⁸ and the gods of the riverbank, but also that these deities were perceived as forming an interconnected group centered around the river:

- a) [Nex]t he drinks,⁸⁹ [seated], the GUL-š- goddess[es and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses] of the riverbank [three times].⁹⁰
- b) [Nex]t [he drin]ks, seated, three times, the river, the KAL deity of the river, the god[s] of the river, and the [*h*]antiyašša- deities.⁹¹
- c) The king (proceeds) to treat three with offerings in sequence: the Maraššanta River, the KAL deity of the river, (and their) circle.⁹²

85 Their editions can be found online in the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz*, under “Seuchenrituale” (www.hethitologie-portal.uni-wuerzburg.de/txhet_besrit/textindex.php?g=besrit&x=xritseuch&xt=Seuchenrituale&n=).

86 KBo 11.40 (*CTH* 682.2.A) rev. VI 7’–9’, edited in McMahon 1991: 120–23, 126–31.

87 See, for instance, the compositions grouped as “Teššub und die Flüsse” in Trémouille 2005: 1–7 (numbers 1–6).

88 For the reading ^DKAL instead of the traditional ^DLAMMA and the translation of this divine name as ‘Stag-god’, see especially Weeden 2011: 263–68, with further literature. McMahon (1991: 9f., 23–33) understands ^DKAL as a ‘tutelary’ or protective deity. See also Hutter 2003: 229; Collins 2010; Cammarosano 2018: 54.

89 For the expression ‘to drink a deity’ in Hittite religious texts, see Soysal 2008: 45–66; Goedegebuure 2008: 67–73; Heffron 2014: 164–85.

90 KUB 9.21 (*CTH* 684.1.A) 6’f., for which, see McMahon 1991: 189f.

91 KUB 9.21 (*CTH* 684.1.A) 9’f., restored from its duplicate ABoT 1.3 (*CTH* 684.1.B) 2’, for which, see McMahon 1991: 189f., 213 and Archi 2004: 21.

92 IBoT 1.2 (*CTH* 684.2) obv. III 10–13, for which, see McMahon 1991: 193.

The principal deities associated with the riverbank were ‘Ḫannaḫanna of the riverbank’ (*wappuwaš* DINGIR.MAḪ), a form of the great mother-goddess Ḫannaḫanna,⁹³ and the GUL-š- and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses of the riverbank (*wappuwaš* ^DGUL-šeš DINGIR.=MAḪ^{MES}).⁹⁴ These goddesses of the riverbank were associated in mythological narratives with the creation of mankind on the riverbank, and were invoked to participate in riverside purification rituals.⁹⁵

The final group of deities associated with rivers comprises the KAL deities. In Hittite sources, we find numerous different manifestations of a deity or deities denoted by ^DKAL, associated with people, places, objects, abstract concepts, elements of nature, or other deities.⁹⁶ KAL deities were associated with both individual rivers and rivers as a general category (e.g. KAL deity of the Šehiriya River, KAL deity of the river).⁹⁷ KAL deities of rivers received offerings in numerous cult festivals, where they were often grouped with the KAL deities of mountains and springs.⁹⁸

6. Conclusions: “The river is very important!”⁹⁹

Rivers in Hittite Anatolia were celebrated for their life-giving, cathartic properties. They were venerated as deities and as such, they received offerings and entertainment during local and state-sponsored cult celebrations and could be summoned to stand as witnesses to oaths and prayers. They were viewed as an essential component of the Hittite cosmos and featured in mythological narratives that highlighted their role in the creation and sustenance of humankind. As salient features of the landscape, they gave definition to political territories, geographical regions, and sacred spaces. As sacred spaces, rivers were an integral part of Hittite cult landscapes – a topic that requires further investigation. They served as the setting for a diverse array of ritual gestures and performances; cult specialists came to the river to gather ritual ingredients, construct tents, dig pits or canals, dispose of polluted materials, or light pyres.¹⁰⁰

Closer scrutiny of the available textual evidence reveals a pattern in the role of rivers in the Hittite cult. One can distinguish between 1) rivers as an anonymous category of *Naturnumina* appearing in the comprehensive divine lists from prayers and treaties; 2) the personified rivers that were venerated during regular state and local cult celebrations, some of which were major deities of the pantheon; 3) the deities of the

93 Cf. Taracha 2010: 302–4, who argues that *wappuwaš* DINGIR.MAḪ actually referred to the Mesopotamian Mother-goddess, whose name was translated into Hittite as Ḫannaḫanna.

94 For Ḫannaḫanna, the GUL-š- and DINGIR.MAḪ goddesses of the riverbank, see Archi 2013: 1–26; Beckman 1983: 246–48; Marcuson 2016: 228, 418; Otten and Siegelová 1970: 32–38; Taracha 2010: 301–10. For the GUL-š- goddesses, see especially Waal 2019: 121–32.

95 See, for instance, Tunnawiya’s “Ritual of the River” (CTH 409.I), and Alli’s ritual against sorcery (CTH 402).

96 For different kinds of KAL deities, see McMahon 1991: 27, 44 n. 284, 112f., 201.

97 See KUB 2.1 (CTH 682.1.A) obv. I 51’ and KUB 9.21 (CTH 684.1.A) 3’.

98 E.g. KUB 2.1 (CTH 682.1.A) obv. I 42–52, rev. IV 31–37. For other attestations, see McMahon 1991: 44.

99 KUB 31.101 (CTH 581) 35.

100 For examples, see Gerçek forthc.

riverbank who play an active, central role in purification and healing rituals; and 4) rivers – often anonymous – as sacred spaces in cultic celebrations.

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REMARKS ON OLD HITTITE LOCAL CULTS

A Spring Festival Celebrated by the Crown Prince in Ḫanḫana and Vicinity (*CTH* 668)

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Abstract

Festival fragments classified under *CTH* 668 pertain to the cult tradition of Ḫanḫana that harks back to the Old Hittite period, thus preceding the Great Festival for Telipinu performed by the crown prince every nine years in Ḫanḫana and Kašḫa (*CTH* 638) starting from no later than the early years of Suppiluliuma's reign. This paper offers a provisional arrangement of the texts of *CTH* 668, most likely belonging to different versions of the agenda of one and the same spring festival celebrated by the crown prince in Ḫanḫana and other towns in its vicinity for at least four days. Remarks that follow refer to the local pantheon, cult topography of Ḫanḫana, participants of the festival, and historical geography of the Ḫanḫana region. It is the prolegomena to the full text edition of *CTH* 668 that will be presented in a monograph one or two years hence.

In autumn 2014 I identified for the first time a number of festival fragments pertaining to the cult of Ḫanḫana, the tradition of which harks back to the Old Hittite period. Following my proposal, these texts have been classified under a new *CTH* number, 668, in the *Konkordanz* (Kořak 2002–). At that time, most of them were booked provisionally under *CTH* 647/648 (festivals celebrated by the prince, DUMU.LUGAL, or the 'son', DUMU) and *CTH* 654 (fragments mentioning the city Kuruřtama), not to mention numerous, hitherto unclassified, festival fragments from *CTH* 670.

Since then my study of this group of texts has progressed steadily. In my 2017 book I published a provisional list of the texts relating to *CTH* 668 as a side note (Taracha 2017a: 120 n. 192). But, understandably, neither this list nor the relevant entries in the current version 1.993 of the *Konkordanz* comprise the entire textual evidence, not to speak of the final classification of the texts. Steitler's recent commentaries (2017: 86–90) on the festivals from the cult of Ḫanḫana classified as *CTH* 668 should be mentioned here as well. He concentrates on sequences of deities that received offerings (or drinking rites performed for them) at several points in the festival (see below).

Currently, the provisional result of my research concerning the arrangement of the texts classified under *CTH* 668 is as follows:¹

1 KUB 51.35 (LNS) is rather to be classified under *CTH* 638; it might belong to the same tablet as KBo 63.75 (LNS). Pace the *Konkordanz* (Kořak 2002–: s.v. Bo 2413) the festival fragment KUB 60.148 + Bo 7540 + DBH 43/2.15 belongs to *CTH* 678, not *CTH* 668.

I. Old Hittite three-tablet(?) versions

Tablet I

Version 1

I.1.1 KBo 25.68 + KBo 17.13 (+[?]) KBo 25.45 (+[?]) KBo 25.69 + KBo 25.23 (+) KBo 25.83 (OH/OS)

Version 2

I.1.2 HHT 73 (+) CHDS 3.18 (+) KUB 54.50 (+) DBH 46/2.157 (+) KUB 60.41 (OH/OS)

I.1.3 Bo 3926 + KUB 53.25 + Bo 4053 (+[?]) KBo 44.174 (OH/NS)

Version 3

I.1.4 KUB 43.33 (+[?]) KUB 34.115 + KBo 30.28 (OH or MH[?]/MS^{2?})

I.1.5 KBo 54.135 (OH or MH[?]/NS)

I.1.6 KBo 11.29 (OH or MH[?]/NS)

I.1.7 Bo 3673(?) (OH or MH[?]/NS)

Tablet II(?)

Version 1[?]

I.2.1 KBo 25.22 (+) KBo 25.44 (OH/OS)

Version 2

I.2.2 KBo 20.25 + KBo 20.19 (+) KBo 7.41 + KBo 20.11 + KBo 8.85 (OH/OS)

I.2.3 IBoT 3.45 (OH/NH)

Tablet III(?)

Version 1

I.3.1 KBo 13.137 (+) KBo 13.175 (OH/OS)

Version 2 or 3

I.3.2 KBo 10.11 (+) KBo 10.9 (OH/NS)

I.3.3 FHL 32 (OH/NS)

I.3.4 DBH 43/2.58 (OH/NS)

I.3.5 KBo 52.130 (OH/NS)

I.3.6 KBo 59.95 (OH/NS)

II. Late New Hittite two-tablet version (Version 4)³

Tablet I

II.1.1 KUB 58.5 + KBo 54.134 + KUB 53.17 (NH/LNS)

II.1.2 Bo 3301 (+[?]) Bo 5422⁴ (NH/LNS)

II.1.3 KBo 69.71 (NH/LNS)

II.1.4 IMJ 2004.58.13 (NH/LNS)

Tablet II

II.2.1 DBH 43/2.55 (NH/LNS)

II.2.2 Bo 3889 (NH/LNS)

II.2.3 KBo 61.123 (NH/LNS)

2 The *Konkordanz* (Kořak 2002–: s.v. Bo 2742) dates KUB 43.33 as “ah.?.mh.?”. For KBo 30.28+, see Weeden 2011: 147 n. 652: “(it) is hard to see why it shouldn’t be MS.”

3 A shortened version based on Version 2 or 3.

4 Pace the *Konkordanz* (Kořak 2002–: s.v.) Bo 4550 does not belong to this tablet.

II.2.4 IBoT 3.88 + KUB 60.152 + IBoT 4.110 (NH/LNS)

II.2.5 DBH 46/2.15 (NH/LNS⁷⁵)

II.2.6 KBo 22.243 (NH/LNS)

As one can see from the above, I have mainly focused on Old Script tablets, whereas regarding the New Hittite copies and parallel texts, as well as a separate version written in Late New Script, further studies are needed to properly arrange the relevant text fragments. The final results will be presented in a book one or two years hence (Taracha forthc.).

Of the six Old Script tablets (one of them is defined by some as possibly Middle Hittite, see n. 2), all but one (I.3.1 from the House on the Slope)⁶ were originally kept in Archive Building A on Büyükkale. I was able to find a number of new joins and differentiate between three different Old Hittite versions of the festival text, based on the paleographic and content criteria. One should note here that the two exemplars ascribed to Version 2 as Tablets 1 and 2 (I.1.2 and I.2.2 respectively) certainly did not constitute one tablet series. Thus, there were at least two different Old Hittite exemplars of this version. Although colophons are lacking, one can assume that the original Old Hittite composition, Version 1, comprised three tablets, as did probably Version 2 as well. We cannot say, however, whether Version 3 also had three tablets or was a shortened version, similar to the Late New Hittite Version 4 that seems to have had only two tablets. This latest edition is based on Version 2 or 3.

Version 3 is a rare example of a Hittite festival text whose author is known by name:

KUB 43.44 obv. I 1–8

- 1 [U]M-MA ^mnu-un-zi-di ^{LU}SANGA ^{URU}iš-ta-mi-⁷
- 2 ka-ru-ú DINGIR^{MES}-na-aš KASKAL^{HLA}-uš ar-ḥa a[n-ni-iš-ke-er⁷]
- 3 ki-nu-na-az ka-ru-i-li-in KASKAL-an [a-ap-pa-an⁷]
- 4 ša-aḥ-ta nu pa-i-wa-ni an-^rda'-za ka-ru-[i-li-in KASKAL-an⁷]
- 5 a-ap-pa-an ša-aḥ-ta zi-ik-pât-ta-ra-a[n pa-i-ši⁷]

-
- 6 DINGIR^{MES}-ša ḥa-az-zi-e-uš-še-et 2 UDU x[
 - 7 12 NINDA.GUR4RA 1 DUG GEŠTIN 1 DUG ši-i-eš-šar [
 - 8 ki-i I-NA ^{HUR.SAG}ta-kur-ki an-ni ḥ[a-an-da-a-an⁷]
-

Thus (says) Nunzidi, the SANGA priest from the city Ištami [...]: “In days of old, [one used to⁷] ce[lebrate⁷] the roads of the gods. But now, you have sought out the old road. And we will go (along this road). Since you have sought out the o[lld road⁷], you also [will go⁷] yourself (along this road⁷).

5 Cf. KBo 61.123.

6 It cannot be excluded that the OS festival fragments KBo 13.137 (+) KBo 13.175 from the House on the Slope pertain to another festival that was performed in Ḫanḫana and in several other cities in the vicinity of the sacred mountain Takurga, including Atalḫazi(ya) (KBo 13.175 rev.¹ IV 4) and Zuppara (IBoT 3.88 + KUB 60.152 + IBoT 4.110 obv. I 10'), see also below. If so, some other NH/LNS parallel texts would pertain to this festival too. Based on the content criteria, however, I would provisionally classify all the texts from the above arrangement as relating to one and the same spring festival performed in Ḫanḫana and other towns in its vicinity.

(Concerning) offerings for the gods, (namely) two sheep, [...], 12 loaves of ordinary bread, one vessel of wine, one vessel of beer, [...] this (all) is p[repared?] for that (ritual) on the Takurga mountain.

Note also KUB 43.44 obv. I 9: *UM-MA* ^{LÜ.MEŠ}SANGA “Thus (say) the SANGA priests.” Nunzidi⁷ and other local priests from the Ḫanḫana region refer here to the local cult traditions handed down from the past. Another text, KBo 25.68 + KBo 17.13 obv. I 8', states precisely that the SANGA priest from Ištami[...], served the local solar deity.

The festival was celebrated in spring for at least four days in the city of Ḫanḫana and its vicinity, involving a cult trip of the crown prince.⁸ He first presided over the ceremonies performed in the sanctuaries of gods in Ḫanḫana, in their *ḫuwaši*-precincts outside of the city, including those of Kataḫḫa, Telipinu and the Sun-goddess Urunzimu (two other divine names have not survived, KBo 20.11 + KBo 8.85 (+) KBo 7.41 obv. II 4', 10', rev. III 4, 8–10), and by a nearby river (KBo 13.137: 7'; KBo 10.11 obv. I 2f.).

Concerning the temples in the city, one of the texts mentions eight sanctuaries of deities:

KBo 13.175 obv.¹ I 6'f. (Neu 1980: 112 no. 49; Torri and Barsacchi 2018: 203; line 7' restored after KBo 52.130: 7')

6' ... *nu* A-NA É¹[^{HLA?} DINGIR-LIM²]
7' [EGIR-an² iš-ḫa-mi-i(š-kán-zi nu 8)] É-er ḫal-zi-an-zi nu a-da-an-z[i a-ku-wa-an-zi²]

They [si]ng² [behind²] the te[m]ples²] and list off eight houses (of gods). They eat [(and) drink²].

The Storm-god and the Sun-goddess seem to have shared one temple complex, as did Telipinu, Kataḫḫi, Ḫalki and possibly also the Storm-god of the Meadow:

KBo 20.25 + KBo 20.19 obv.² I 5'–8' (Neu 1980: 58f. no. 21; restorations after KBo 25.22 obv. I 5'–8')

5' [^Dta-a-ru-un² ^Dú]-ru-un-zi-mu-un e-ku-[z]i ^{LÜ}SAGI A-NA É ^DIŠKUR rD[ka-taḫ-ḫi-in²]
6' [^Dte-li-pí-nu-un²] iš-pa-an-ti A-NA É rD[t]e-li-pí-nu QA-TAM-MA iš-pa-an-[ti]
7' [DUMU.LUGAL² ^Dḫal-k]i-in ^{GIS}BANŠUR-aš pé-^re'-[r]a-an iš-pa-an-ti ú-el-lu-aš rD[IŠKUR-an]
8' [(-)]x-i-wa-az ar-ḫa i[š-pa-a]n-ti ...

(The prince²) drin[k]s [Taru² (and) U]runzimu. The cupbearer pours a libation in the temple of the Storm-god to [Kataḫḫi² (and) Telipinu²]. Likewise, he pour[s] a libation in the temple of [T]elipinu. [The prince²] pours a libation [to Ḫalki²] in front of the table (and) po[urs a liba]tion to the [Storm-god] of the Meadow from [...].

7 Noteworthy is his Luwian name. Apart from the text under scrutiny, this name is attested only once: KBo 5.7 rev. 54 (Nunziti, a high palace official in the times of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikkal), Rüster and Wilhelm 2012: 238f.

8 On the role of the prince (DUMU.LUGAL or DUMU) in the Hittite state cult, see Jasink Ticchioni 1977; Jasink 1981; Torri 2004; Taracha 2005 and 2017a: 120–25. For his identification with the crown prince, see Taracha 2017a: 122–25.

The ‘house’ of the Tutelary God (KBo 13.175 obv.¹ I 5'; KBo 52.130: 5') was probably situated in 𐎲𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 as well. We do not know whether it was a separate building or rather a part of one of the two temple complexes mentioned above. Besides, the temple of the local Storm-god at Atalḫazi(ya) (KBo 13.175 rev.¹ IV 4f.) and the temple of a local deity at Zuppāra, whose name is not mentioned (IBoT 3.88 + KUB 60.152 obv. I 20'–25'), are attested in the texts.

On the first day, the cult ceremonies took place in 𐎲𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 in the *ḫalentuwa-* (most likely in the complex of one of the temples)⁹ and in the inn (*arzana-*) where the prince spent the night. The second day he moved to the temples and *ḫuwaši-* precincts. Then, on his way to the sacred mountain Takurga, he visited several towns, among others, Atalḫazi(ya) (KBo 13.175 rev.¹ IV 4) and Zuppāra, where the lots were cast¹⁰ in order to appoint new local SANGA priests:

IBoT 3.88 + KUB 60.152 obv. I 19'–23' (Groddek 2006: 155–57)

19' [nu² pu-u-ul²] LÚ.MES URU-LIM kat-ta-¹an iš-ḫu-u-wa-a¹-an-zi

20' [pa-ra-a-ma-aš² I-NA] ¹É¹.DINGIR-LIM pa-a-an-zi nu ¹ŠA¹ LÚ.MES URU zu-up-pa-ra

21' [pu-u-li-it² LÚ.MES SANGA² i-i] a-an-zi na-aš-ta ku-e-¹e¹ pu-u-li-it

22' [LÚ.MES SANGA²A² i-ia-an-zi nu-za LÚ.MES SANGA pá-r-na ḫal-za-a-i

23' [ne I-NA É.DINGIR-LIM²] pa-a-an-zi ...

The people of the town cast [lots²].

[Then²] they go [to] the temple. The people of Zuppāra are [ap]pointing [the SANGA priests² by lots²]. (That man) by whose lots they have appointed [the SANGA priests²] will call the SANGA priests to the temple. They go [to the temple²].¹¹

The high-ranking SANGA priest, called *šuppiš* ‘sacred’ (KUB 60.41 obv. II 8'¹) or *šalliš* (GAL-iš) ‘great’ (KBo 11.29 rev. 7'), was in attendance. Assuming there was only one sacred SANGA priest in 𐎲𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶, as was the case with the SANGA of the local Storm-god in Ziḫlānda (Popko 1994: 72f.), he probably served Telipinu or the goddess Kataḫḫi/Kataḫḫa that held a dominant position in the pantheon of the city.

Kataḫḫi received offerings together with the two main deities of the Hittite state, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god, before all other gods of the city:

KBo 54.134 + KUB 53.17 obv. II 20'–25' (Groddek 2010: 97; Witt 2011: 179, 183)

20' ... DUMU-aš² D¹10 DUTU

21' ^Dḫa-at-tág-ga [TU]š-aš e-ku-zi NINDA.GUR4RA pá-r-ši-ia-na-i

22' ^{LU}GUDU12 i[š-ta-n]a-ni zi-ik-ki-zi

23' DU[MU-aš² ti²-i]a-zi 12 a-pu-u-uš-pát DINGIR^{MES}

24' [ir-ḫa-iz-zi²] NINDA.GUR4RA pá-r-ši-ia ^{LU}GUDU12

25' [iš-ta-na-ni²] da-a-i ...

9 For Hittite ^(E)*ḫalentuwa-*, see now Taracha 2017b and the contribution of A. Müller-Karpe to the present volume.

10 For the casting of lots among the Hittites, see Taggar-Cohen 2002.

11 For a different interpretation of this passage, see Taggar-Cohen 2006: 220.

The prince drinks the Storm-god, the Sun-goddess (and) Kataḥḥa while [sea]ted.
He breaks the loaf of ordinary bread. The GUDU12priest sets (it) on the p[edest]al.
The pr[ince² steps for]ward [(and) treats in sequence²] just those twelve deities.
He breaks the loaf of ordinary bread. The GUDU12priest sets (it) [on the pedestal²].

A list of the twelve deities worshiped in the local cult of Ḫanḫana already in the Old Hittite period can be restored based on the following text:

HHT 73 (+) CHDS 3.18 obv. I 18'–22' (Soysal and Yıldız Gülşen 2019: 40)

18' ... ¹⁰SAGI GAL-ri DUMU-[li pa-a-i DUMU-aš 12' ir-ḥa-ez-zi²]
19' ^DISKUR ^DUTU¹ ^Dka-^rat¹-taḥ-ḥi-in ^Dk[ap-pa-ri-ia-mu-un¹²]
20' ^Drḥa-ša-am¹-mi-lu-un ^Dte-li-pi-nu-un [^Dḥal-ki-in²]¹³
21' ^DISKUR ^{URU}a-tal-ḥa-az-zi-ia ^Dka-p[a-ḥ-šu-un¹⁴]
22' ^DZA-BA₄-BA₄ ^DKAL ^Dšu-šu-ma-aḥ-ḥi-in]

The cupbearer [gives] a cup to the prince. The prince [treats in sequence² the twelve²]: the Storm-god, the Sun-goddess, Kataḥḥi, K[appariamu], Ḫašammilu, Telipinu, [Ḫalki²], the Storm-god of Atalḫazi(ya), Kap[ahšu], the War-god, the Tutelary God (and) Šušumahḥ[i].

A corresponding list of the twelve deities in a parallel NS text, though fragmentary, seems to have omitted Kappariamu after Kataḥḥi; instead, there is enough room for one more divine name after Kapaḥšu or the War-god in line 29':

Bo 3926 + KUB 53.25 + Bo 4053 obv. I 26'–30'

26' [... DUMU-aš 12' ir-ḥa-iz-zi² ^Dta-a-ru-un]
27' ^Dú-ru-[un-zi-mu-un ^Dka-taḥ-ḥi-in ^Dḥa-ša-am-mi-lu-un]
28' ^Dte-l[i-pi-nu-un ^Dḥal-ki-in² ^DISKUR/10 ^{URU}a-tal-ḥa-az-zi-ia]
29' ^Dk[ap-a-ḥ-šu-un ... ^DZA-BA₄-BA₄]
30' ^DKAL [^Dšu-šu-ma-aḥ-ḥi-in ...

The deity Kapaḥšu is only attested in the texts under scrutiny, and thus has remained hitherto unrecognized, never being mentioned in the lists of Hittite gods published so far.

At some point during the cult ceremonies, sacrificial sheep are distributed at the city gate among the participants of the festival: fifty² sheep in Version 1 (KBo 25.69 + KBo 25.23 (+) KBo 25.83 rev. III 10', 14'–18') and 69 sheep in Versions 2 and 4 (KUB 60.41 rev. III 8'–18'; KBo 54.134 obv. II 4'–17'):

Version 1: KBo 25.69 + KBo 25.23 (+) KBo 25.83 rev. III (Neu 1980: 163 no. 83)

10' [DUMU-aš KÁ-aš ti-ez²-z]i nu ^rUDU^{HLA}1 [^ša-a]r²-^rra¹-[a]n²-[zi]

12 Cf. KUB 60.41 obv. II 5'f. Differently, Soysal and Yıldız Gülşen 2019: 40 n. 6: "One expects here the divine name ^DUruntemu/^DUrunzimu etc. as it appears in an incomplete form ^Dú-ru-[...] in the duplicate KUB 53.25 obv. 9'."

13 See, e.g. the sequence of deities that received offerings in KBo 54.134 obv. III 10'–12': ^D10 ^Dkat-taḥ-ḥa ^DU[TU] / ^Dte-li-pi-nu ^Dḥal-ki-in / ^D10 AN-E.

14 Restored after Bo 3301: 7': ^Dka-pa-aḥ-šu-[un].

- (...)
 14' [] '6' UDU A-NA MUNUS.ME.EŠ DINGIR.AMA 2[4 UDU A-NA LÚ.MEŠ SANGA]
 15' [3 UDU A-NA MUNUSŠU.GI] 'LUGAL' 2 UDU A-NA LÚ DİŠ[KUR
 16' [2 UDU A-NA LÚGU]DU122 UDU A-NA LÚSA[GI
 17' [2 UDU A-NA LÚ.MEŠ AL]AM.ZU93 UDU LÚ[.MEŠ DUB.SAR 1 UDU]
 18' [LÚZABAR.DAB ŠU.NÍGIN 50? U]DU^{HILA} ša-a-ar-r[a-an-zi]

Version 2: KUB 60.41 rev. III (Groddek 2006: 42f.; Witt 2011: 186f.; restorations after KBo 54.134 obv. II 3'–17')

- 7' [DUMU-aš-kán pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi n]a-aš-ša-an GİŠKÁ-aš ti-i-ez-zi
 8' [nu-uš-še ŠU-ŠI 9 UDU^{HILA} pé-e-r]a-an šar-ra-an -zi

- 9' [24 UDU^{HILA} 12 LÚ.MEŠ SANGA] '6' UDU^{HILA} A-NA 3 MUNUS.MEŠ DINGIR-[LIM.AMA]
 10' [3 UDU MUNUSŠU.GI LUGAL] '3' UDU^{HILA} A-NA LÚ.MEŠ h[a-a-pi-ia-aš]
 11' [2 UDU LÚMAŠKIM URU-LIM 2] UDU LÚEN.NU.UN G[İŠTIR 2 UDU]
 12' [LÚGUDU122 UDU LÚMES] 'D'İŠKUR 1 UDU É z[i-ik-mu-uḫ LÚKISAL.LUH]
 13' [1 UDU É ḫal-ki-ia-aš <LÚKISAL.LUH>? 2 U]DU^{LUNAR} URU[ḫa-an-ḫa-ni]
 14' [3 UDU A-NA LÚMES GI]S GIDRU 2 UDU LU[MES GİS BANSUR]
 15' [2 UDU LÚ.MEŠ MUḫALDIM šar-ra]-an- [zi]
 16' [1 UDU LÚḫa-a-li-ia-mi? 1 UDU LÚ]MU-RI-DI 1 U[DU LÚNINDA.DÜ.DÜ]
 17' [2 UDU LÚ.MEŠ ALAM.ZU92 UDU LÚ.MEŠ NA]R LUGAL 3 U[DU LÚ.MEŠ DUB.SAR 3? UDU]
 18' [LÚ.MEŠ DUB.SAR.GİS 1 UDU LÚZABAR.DA]B ŠU.NÍGIN ŠU-Š[İ 9 UDU^{HILA} šar-ra-an-zi]

It is worth noting that in NH Version 4, KBo 54.134 obv. II 5'–17', the real number of the sheep distributed amounts to a total of 77, contrary to the number 69 given in line 4' of the same text. The relevant passage in Version 3 is lost. There are good reasons for assuming that the twelve SANGA priests who received 24 sheep in both versions served the twelve deities mentioned above.

The GUDU12 priest, the cupbearer and the bronze bowl holder assisted the prince with his cultic actions. The cooks set up tables for a cult meal. Other participants included, among others, four SANGA priests who came as guests from Takurga and from the towns İstami[...], Tazpuriya and Takpatta bringing staffs of deities with them (to be carried then by the staff bearers, LÚMES GİSGIDRU):

KBo 25.68 + KBo 17.13 obv. I 8'–12' (Neu 1980: 143 no. 68)

- 8' 1 LÚSANGA DUTU [İ]Š-TU^{URU} iš-t[a-mi- GİSGIDRU?]
 9' [1 LÚSANGA HUR.SA[G]r ta-kur¹-ka GİSGID[RU]
 10' [1 LÚSANGA? U[R]U^r ta-az¹-pu-^rri¹-ia-a[z² GİSGIDRU?]
 11' [1 LÚSANGA? UR]U^r ta-a-ak-pa-at-ta-a[z² GİSGIDRU?]
 12' [ne² A-N]A LÚGUDU12 pi-i-e-er ...

Further, three AMA.DINGIR priestesses, two ḫapiya- men (KBo 25.69 + KBo 25.23 obv. II 6'; HHT 73 (+) CHDS 3.18 obv. I 25') and the 'elders' (LÚ.MEŠSU.GI) of the city appear at

several points in the festival. The governor (lit. ‘man’) of Ḫanḫana was responsible for the delivery of necessary goods. Another city official mentioned in the texts is the administrator (^{LÚ}AGRIG) of Ḫanḫana (e.g. HHT 73 (+) CHDS 3.18 obv. I 27’).

Noteworthy here is the writing of the city’s name with the second *n* doubled, ^{URU}Ḫanḫanna, in the texts ascribed to Versions 1 and 3, KBo 25.68 + KBo 17.13 rev. IV 4 and KUB 43.44 obv. I 12 respectively. The toponym Ḫanḫana appears almost 120 times in the Hittite sources (Kryszeń 2016: 145–47), but its rare writing with double *n* is attested only once elsewhere, namely in KUB 53.4 obv. 24’, a NH text relating to the Great Festival dedicated to Telipinu in Ḫanḫana and Kašḫa (CTH 638.2.G).

There are also other orthographic peculiarities of the texts under discussion. As per Weeden (2011: 146–48), ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR-LIM “would appear to be a clear case of a logogram invented by Hittite scribes on the basis of a Hittite word: *siunzanna-/siwanzanna-*.” Indeed, the writings that place the DINGIR before the AMA, DINGIR.AMA in Version 1 and DINGIR-LIM.AMA in Version 3 and perhaps also in Version 2, cannot be regarded as ‘errors’, but rather as original forms of the logogram based on the word order in the Hittite genitive construction. They are attested on tablets from all periods, mostly, if not exclusively, relating to CTH 668, and thus may serve as a criterion in ascribing particular fragments to this group. Recently, I have discussed another rare logographic writing, KÜ-ahḫi, of the factitive verb *šuppiaḫḫ-i* in a LNS text belonging to Version 4: KUB 58.5 obv. I 13’ (Taracha 2018; cf. also Steitler 2019). Furthermore, according to my knowledge, an imperfective form of the verb *hazziya/e-zi* ‘to play (a musical instrument)’: 3rd imperfect singular *ḫazizzik[ezzi]* in KBo 20.11 + KBo 8.85 (+) KBo 7.41 rev. III 1, is unique as well.

Ten people of Takalmuḫa (KBo 25.69 + KBo 25.23 obv. II 4’; KBo 25.68 + KBo 17.13 rev. IV 12[)], three people of Kuruštama (KBo 59.95: 7’; KBo 54.134 + KUB 53.17 obv. III 16’) and one man of Ḫarašta (KBo 10.9 obv. 9’;¹⁵ KBo 54.134 + KUB 53.17 obv. III 17’) accompanied the prince as representatives of the regions during the ceremonies in Ḫanḫana and on his cult trip. Besides, groups of young men (^{LÚ}.MEŠGURUŠ) and girls (^{MUNUS}.MEŠKI.SIKIL), a musician (^{LÚ}NAR) from Ḫanḫana and the ‘speakers/performers’ (^{LÚ}.MEŠALAM.ZU9) were involved in cheering and musical performance. During the cult ceremonies at Zuppāra the people of this town cast lots to appoint new SANGA priests (see above). The GUDU12 priest of Zuppāra appears as well (IBoT 3.88 + KUB 60.152 + IBoT 4.110 obv. I 12’).

We can learn more from the texts under scrutiny about the geography of the Ḫanḫana region. Kryszeń’s preliminary remarks (2016: 168) may be quoted as a good starting point:

[O]ne should also view the newly isolated group of text[s] collected under CTH 668 in the *Konkordanz (Texte zum Kult von Ḫanḫana)*. The texts are fragments of various festival scenarios that almost certainly took place in Ḫanḫana, which also suggests that people taking part in those celebrations came from settlements situated near Ḫanḫana. Among those settlements are Atalḫazi, Takurga, Takalmuḫa, Ḫarašta, and Kuruštama. The information on the first four cities securely point[s] to the neighbourhood of Ḫanḫana, which immediately suggests that the people of Kuruštama would not have traveled far to the celebrations. The cautious attribution of Kuruštama to the local cluster of Ḫanḫana is significant since the location of the city was elusive for scholars.

15 Cf. Bo 3889 rev. (IV?) 2: UGULA LÚ ^{URU}ḫar-aš-ta.

Indeed, in his newest article on the geography of Hittite Anatolia, Forlanini (2019: 138) still connects Kuruštama with the Arinna province. On the other hand, as Kryszeń concludes (2016: 190), “Kuruštama, which formed a border of the lands Ḫattušili III received from his brother Muwatalli II, may be tentatively located on the western or southern edge of Ḫanḫana’s region.” Accepting the second possibility, the city would have lain in the border zone between the provinces of Arinna and Ḫanḫana if we agree that Arinna can be identified with modern Alacahöyük (Erkut 1992; Taracha 2011; now also Forlanini 2019: 141, 142 n. 43) and Ḫanḫana was located in the region of modern Çorum or not much farther towards the north or (north)west.¹⁶

Mount Takurga must have been situated in the same area, that is “on the (west)southern edge of Ḫanḫana’s region.” KBo 54.134 informs us that the people of Takalmuḫa spoke a dialect characteristic for the population living in the region of this mountain:

KBo 54.134 obv. I

6' ṽLÚ^{ME}[^SURU ta-ka]l-ṽmu¹⁷-ḫa¹⁷ tág-gur-ku-um-ni-li pé-ra-an SİR<-RU>

The peopl[e of Taka]lmuḫa sing in front (of the crown prince) in the dialect of the Takurgaer.

All other settlements mentioned in the texts probably lay also at the foot of the Takurga mountain or in the direction of it, south or southwest of Ḫanḫana. Moreover, Takurga was situated some distance away, differently than, for instance, a spatial relation of the sacred mountain Daḫa to Ziplanda. The textual evidence indicates that Daḫa must have lain in close proximity to the city. In fact, the distance between Ziplanda and the sacred mountain Daḫa was less than one kilometer if we accept my identification of Ziplanda with modern Kuşsaray and Daḫa with nearby Mount Kaletepe (Taracha 2015).¹⁸

Finally, one should stress the importance of the festival fragments under scrutiny for our better understanding of Old Hittite cult practices in North-Central Anatolia in general and the Ḫanḫana region in particular. This early cult tradition was still alive throughout the Empire period until the fall of the Hittite state in the first decades of the twelfth century BCE. The spring festival under discussion, most likely performed

16 Cf. Forlanini 2019: 142 n. 43: “Per le diverse proposte di localizzazione di Ḫanḫana cf. Kryszeń 2016: 144–145. ... Precedentemente ho proposto il sito di Alaca Höyük per la sua distanza da Ḫattuša e la sua importanza monumentale, ma, identificandolo ora con Arinna, non rimane che spostare Ḫanḫana più a nord, nella parte meridionale della piana di Çorum e comunque a un giorno di viaggio da Eskiyapar.”

17 So also Corti 2017: 221 n. 23. For different readings, see García Trabazo and Groddek 2005: 14; Groddek 2010: 95; Witt 2011: 178: ṽMUNUS.MES¹[]x-pát-ḫa; Kryszeń 2016: 181: MUNUS^{MES} [URU ḫ]a¹-pát-ḫa.

18 Forlanini 2019: 143 rejects my identification of Ziplanda with Kuşsaray on the pretense of incompatibility “col resto della ricostruzione perché Zippalanda era a un giorno di viaggio da Kadaba, a sua volta vicina al corso dello Zulija, e pure a un giorno da Ankuwa, generalmente localizzata ad Alişar per la sua menzione in alcuni testi paleoassiri di questa località.” But, the inverse of that statement would be: If Ḫanikku/Ankuwa of the Hittite texts is not identical with Amkuwa (Alişar) of the Cappadocian tablets (as I have argued several times elsewhere), then the identification of Ziplanda with Kuşsaray is perfectly compatible with the reconstruction of the historical geography of North-Central Anatolia proposed by Forlanini himself (2019: 136–44). Pace Forlanini 2019: 142, 143 there are no grounds for assuming that Kuşsaray was Hittite Ḫapathā.

by the crown prince every year, was perceived as part of the official cult already in the Old Hittite period. It gained significance in the Empire period with the growing importance of Telipinu from Ḫanḫana that had been incorporated into the Hittite state pantheon no later than the early years of Šuppiluliuma's reign.¹⁹ A new edition of the festival (LNS Version 4) was composed in the second half of the thirteenth century BCE, probably as part of the larger project of re-organization of the Hittite state cults under Ḫattušili III or Tuthaliya IV.

This is not the proper place and time for a thorough discussion of similarities and differences between the regular spring festival harking back to the Old Hittite period (CTH 668) and the Great Festival dedicated to Telipinu (CTH 638) that was celebrated by the crown prince every nine years in Ḫanḫana and Kašḫa (Haas and Jakob-Rost 1984a; 1984b; Taracha 1986). The latter town, not mentioned in the OS festival fragments under scrutiny, became perhaps a new² seat of Telipinu in the region starting from the early Empire period. At this time also the Great Festival was established in connection with the new prominent position of Telipinu from Ḫanḫana in the Hittite state pantheon. A holistic study of all these issues will be presented in the full text edition of CTH 668 (Taracha forthc.).

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19 The scribal error in KBo 1.4 rev. IV 12': ^Dte-l]i-pi-nu šA ^{URU}!(text: DINGIR)ḫa-an-na-ḫa-an-n[a], might suggest that the treaty of Šuppiluliuma with Tette of Nuḫaše (CTH 53) was drawn up at the very beginning of this new role of Telipinu from Ḫanḫana.

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ḪATTI, PALA UND LUWIYA

Ausgewählte palaische und luwische Festrituale im Vergleich

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Abstract

This article discusses first the traditions of *CTH* 752, an Old Hittite festival for the Palaic pantheon. Its mythological story shows clear characteristics of the Anatolian myths of disappearing deities, whereas part of its rites, among them the use of wine for purification, point to similarities with Luwian rituals. Moreover, the Hattian names of some Palaic gods and the combination of myth and ritual connect the text with Hattian and Central Anatolian traditions, so that the text overall represents a melting of Luwian, Hattian and Anatolian features already in Old Hittite times. In its second part, the article examines KBo 25.54+, an Old Hittite text of the Luwian festival for the Storm-god and the Sun-goddess (*CTH* 665.1) that clearly shows Anatolian and Luwian influence with no hint of Hattian traditions. The article then raises questions concerning the emergence and development of the Hittite pantheon and society, which can only be addressed by further examination of Old Hittite festivals.

1. Einleitung

Im Zentrum der folgenden Ausführungen stehen Kultpraktiken, die eher dem Nordwesten bzw. Westen und dem Süden Anatoliens zuzuordnen sein dürften. Ein Beispiel der landläufig als ‚palaische Texte‘ bezeichneten Textcorpora aus Ḫattuša sowie eins der der luwischen Tradition zugeordneten Festrituale werden hinsichtlich ihrer Besonderheiten, ihrer Beziehungen untereinander sowie ihres Verhältnisses zu Festritualen vorrangig der zentralanatolischen Tradition einer ersten Untersuchung unterzogen. Beide Textgruppen werden im Rahmen des Projekts „Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrituale“ (HFR) der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur | Mainz als neue Texteditionen vorgelegt werden.

2. Zu den palaischen Texten

Neben Hethitisch und Luwisch zählt auch Palaisch zu den anatolischen Sprachen, in denen Texte verfasst wurden, die in der hethitischen Hauptstadt Ḫattuša zu Tage traten. Diese Texte werden mit dem Lande Pala in Verbindung gebracht, das vereinzelt in

* Für zahlreiche Hinweise danke ich J. Lorenz und Th. Roth.

hethitischen Quellen genannt wird. Es lässt sich nordwestlich der hethitischen Hauptstadt Hattuša lokalisieren und wird wiederholt in Bezug auf Kämpfe gegen die im Norden Anatoliens beheimateten Kaškäer erwähnt. So heißt es in einer Passage der Muršili-Annalen (15. Jahr), die die meisten Informationen zu dem Land liefert:

Das Land Tummana, das zur Zeit meines Vaters besetzt war, die Stadt Tummana und auch die befestigten Städte zerstörte und besetzte sogar der kaškäische Feind. Den Königssohn Hütupiyanza aber, Sohn des Chefs der Leibgarde (namens) Zida – des Zida, der meines Vaters Bruder war, – jenen Hütupiyanza, Sohn des Chefs der Leibgarde Zida, beorderte mein Vater in das Land Pala. Das Land Pala war überhaupt kein beschütztes Land; befestigte Städte (oder) Rückzugsorte waren keine vorhanden; das Land war am Boden. Hütupiyanza verteidigte das Land Pala, kein Heer war bei ihm; er schuf sich Ruheplätze in den Bergen. Die Leute, die er in kleiner Zahl dorthin brachte, gaben [dem Feind] von Pala nichts. (KBo 5.8 Vs. II 14–31; cf. Corti 2017: 233)

Die Anzahl palaischer Texte aus der hethitischen Hauptstadt ist überschaubar. Nach der in der Hethitologie allgemein üblichen Einteilung nach CTH-Nr. – dem „Catalogue des textes hittites“ von Laroche (1971) folgend – handelt es sich dabei um die folgenden Textgruppen (vgl. die *Konkordanz*, Košak 2002–):

- CTH 750: Festrituale für den Gott Ziparwa (59 Tafeln; 90 Fragmente);
- CTH 751: Festritual für das palaische Pantheon – Brot-, Fleisch-, Getränkeopfer auf Palaisch (5 Tafeln; 22 Fragmente);
- CTH 752: Festritual für das palaische Pantheon – Ritual für die verschwundene und wiederkehrende Gottheit (2 Tafeln; 14 Fragmente);
- CTH 753: Festritual mit palaischer Rezitation (4 Tafeln; 14 Fragmente);
- CTH 754: Palaische Fragmente (20 Tafeln; 21 Fragmente).

Daneben finden sich Beschreibungen von Verehrungen des palaischen Hauptgottes Ziparwa auch in Abschnitten des AN.DAḪ.ŠUM-Festes (CTH 610: AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}, 12.–13. Tag) sowie des *nuntarriyašḫa*-Festes (CTH 626: 8.–10. Tag von *nuntarriyašḫa*). Eine Reihe von weiteren Fragmenten mit der Nennung von Ziparwa (CTH 643: Fragmente mit Nennung des Gottes Ziparwa: 17 Tafeln; 18 Fragmente) konnte bislang keinem Fest zugeordnet werden.

Im Folgenden soll CTH 752, bislang als „Palaische Hymne und Mythos“ bezeichnet, besonders in Bezug auf die darin beschriebenen Kultrationen näher betrachtet werden.¹ Der Textgruppe sind eine althethitisch sowie eine wohl mittelhethitisch niedergeschriebene Tafel, beide nur fragmentarisch erhalten, mit partiellen Überschneidungen, zuzurechnen. In einer Synopse lässt sich der Inhalt wie folgt darstellen:² Der Text beginnt fragmentarisch auf Hethitisch; die erhaltenen Zeilenenden lassen einen Ritual-

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- 1 Erste Ergebnisse konnten bereits auf der *Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* in Innsbruck im Juli 2018 vorgestellt werden. Als besonders günstig für das Erstellen kritischer Editionen im Rahmen von HFR erwies sich die Kooperation mit D. Sasseville, der sich im Zuge seiner Tätigkeit innerhalb des eDiAna-Projekts (siehe Miller et al. 2017–) mit den palaischen Abschnitten der hier vorgestellten Texte beschäftigte und in vielen Fällen zu weiterführenden Erkenntnissen gelangen konnte. In zahlreichen Diskussionen konnten wir linguistische (D. Sasseville) und philologische (S. Görke) Perspektiven mit positivem Ergebnis zusammenbringen, so dass wir beschlossen, uns die Edition des palaischen Corpus, also der palaischen und hethitischen entsprechenden Texte, gemeinsam zur Aufgabe zu machen.
 - 2 Eine Online-Edition auf dem *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* (hethiter.net) ist in Vorbereitung.

beginn mit einem Teil einer Ritualzurüstung, darunter verschiedene Gefäße, vermuten (KBo 8.74+ Vs. I 9'f.: *nu kē ... dahhe* „und dieses ... nehme ich“). Der folgende palaische Abschnitt beschreibt eine mythische Szene, in der sich Götter trotz Essens und Trinkens nicht sättigen. Aus der stark verkürzten und nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Schilderung ist zu schließen, dass der Sonnengott in dieser Notlage einen Adler aussendet, der den verschwundenen Gott in Liḫzina findet. Aber auch das führt nicht dazu, dass die Götter gesättigt werden (vgl. unten). Der nächste verständliche Abschnitt ist auf Hethitisch in der 1. Sg., „ich (mache etwas)“, und der 1. Pl., „wir (machen etwas)“, verfasst und beschreibt rituelle Handlungen am zweiten Tag (KBo 8.74+ Vs. II 5'f.); ein späterer Abschnitt lässt darauf schließen, dass mit „wir“ zwei ^{MUNUS}SU.GI-Ritualistinnen gemeint sind. Geschildert werden Riten mit Wasser, für das sich die Bezeichnungen Sturmregen (*šarāwar*³), Gewitterregen (*ḥaršiḥarši*-) und (Dauer-)Regen (*heu*-) finden, die in verschiedene Gefäße gegossen werden. Darüber hinaus werden Wacholderholz und Steine mit Wein gelöscht, wobei auf Luwisch rezipiert wird (KUB 35.93+ Rs.⁷ 6'–9'). Dies geschieht in ähnlicher Weise erneut am 3. und eventuell am 4. Tag. Der dann dazu gesprochene palaische Spruch offenbart – soweit verständlich – dass „das Gesprochene“ von der ^{MUNUS}SU.GI-Ritualistin gelöscht wird (KBo 30.39+ Rs. 11–13). Es dürfte sich also um einen Analogieritus handeln, durch den vermutlich vorausgegangene, nicht näher beschriebene Verfluchungen vernichtet werden sollen. Direkt nach dieser Rezitation wird ein Arrangement beschrieben, bei dem die Figur des Wettergottes auf einen Wagen aus Lehm gestellt wird, der von Rindern aus Lehm gezogen wird, die mittels blutroter wollener Zügel gelenkt werden. Eine Rolle spielen dabei *ḥuḥupalli*-Klappern⁸, die sich sowohl neben dem Wettergott auf dem Wagen als auch in den Händen von Mädchen (wohl auch aus Lehm) befinden, die auf einem Dreschplatz festgesteckt sind (KBo 30.39+ Rs. 14–22). Im weiteren Verlauf stellt die Gefährtin⁴ der ^{MUNUS}SU.GI den genannten Wagen samt Wettergott sowie einen *ḥattaran*-Gegenstand um einen Altar. Dieser Gegenstand wird den verschiedenen Gottheiten des palaischen Pantheons hingestellt, von denen sich Kataḫzipuri, der Sonnengott, die [Ilaliyan]teš-Gottheiten und Ḫ[ašamili] erhalten haben (KBo 8.74+ Rs. III 3'–6'). Der überlieferte Text endet mit einem Lied über Wachstum und Gedeihen.

Besonders die Schilderung des Mythos eines verschwundenen Gottes stellt Verbindungen dieses Textes zu anderen, in der hethitischen Hauptstadt Ḫattuša gefundenen Mythen her, wie das folgende Beispiel des palaischen Textes zeigt:

Die Gäste kamen hinein. Sie essen, aber sättigen sich nicht. Sie trinken, aber löschen ihren Durst nicht.

[Der So]nnengott ruft: „Was ist das denn? Sie essen, [ab]er sättigen sich nicht. Sie trinken, aber löschen ihren Durst nicht.“ Der Adler ist weggefliegen. „Drückt ihn, [dr]ückt! Drückt ihn genau am Penis!“

[Er sucht], aber er findet ihn nicht. „Drückt ihn genau [am ...]! Drückt ihn genau am Horn!“ [Der Adler] fand ihn im Gewächs in Liḫzina.

3 CHD § 246f.: „m[ea]n[in]g unkn[own], perhaps unfavorable weather conditions such as a violent storm or a blizzard“; HEG S 882: „Nomen u[n]bekannter B[edeutung], ein Naturphänomen.“ Die hier gemeinte Passage in KBo 8.74+ Vs. II 7'f. macht evtl. eher die Bezeichnung eines Regens wahrscheinlicher.

4 So nach Goedegebuure 2014: 316.

Er drückte ihn. Er tauchte nicht auf. Und ihn [...] Er drückte ihn. „Was (sind) das genau für Hörner?“ „Geh zu ihm, geh!“ Die Gäste kamen. [Sie essen], aber sättigen sich [nicht], sie trinken, aber löschen ihren Durst nicht. (KUB 32.18 Vs.⁷ I 5'–18')

Der Abschnitt stellt den Mythos stark verkürzt dar: Der Sonnengott erzählt von der Nicht-Sättigung der Götter. Der nächste Satz beschreibt wohl den Abflug des Adlers. Dieser erhält Anweisung, wie er zu handeln habe, in direkter Rede, ohne Kennzeichnung des Urhebers derselben. Vermittelt wird der Eindruck, dass eine Kenntnis der Erzählung bei den Textadressaten vorauszusetzen ist, oder dass die Kenntnis vergleichbarer hethitischer Mythen das Verständnis erleichtert.⁵ Diese sind in ihrer Ausführlichkeit viel anschaulicher, wenn man sich an die Notzeitschilderung im Telipinu-Mythos und in anderen Mythen verschwundener Gottheiten erinnert, aus denen ein kurzer Ausschnitt des Telipinu-Mythos zitiert werden soll:

Die [Be]rge vertrockneten, das Gehölz vertrocknete, und kein Sprössling kommt mehr hervor. Die Weiden vertrockneten, die Quellen vertrocknete(n), und im Land entstand eine [H]ungersnot. Menschen und Götter sterben an Hunger. Der große Sonnengott bereitet ein Fest für sich und rief eintausend Götter (herbei). Sie aßen, und sie stillten ihren Hunger nicht. Sie tranken aber, und sie stil[l]ten ihren Durst nicht.

Und der Wettergott sorgte sich um Telipinu, seinen Sohn. „Telipinu, mein Sohn, ist nicht dabei. Geärgert hat er sich und alles Gute mit sich davongetragen.“ Die großen [Göt]ter (und) die kleinen Götter begannen, Telipinu zu suchen. Der Sonnengott sandte den flinken Adler aus: „Geh (und) durchsuche die hohen Berge!“ (KUB 17.10+ Vs. I 16'–25'; Rieken et al. 2009b: §§6'f.)

In der palaischen Version hingegen bleibt vieles ungenannt und daher (zumindest für den heutigen Leser) unklar.

Aufgrund des fragmentarischen Zustands des Textes wird gleichsam die Verbindung zu dem Ritual, das sich im weiteren Verlauf des Textes an die Schilderung des Mythos des verschwundenen Gottes anschließt und in der 1. Pl. und 1. Sg. notiert ist, nicht ganz klar. Eine Verbindung von Mythos und Ritual findet sich auch in CTH 323.1, „Vom Verschwinden und der Wiederkehr der Sonnengottheit“.⁶ In diesem schließt sich an die Schilderung des Mythos ein Ritual an, in dem eine ^{MUNUS}SU.GI-Ritualistin und ein Gottesherr (*BĒL DINGIR-LIM*) Opferungen für den Sonnengott sowie für Telipinu ausführen, notiert in der 3. Sg. und 3. Pl. Auch CTH 322, „Telipinu und die Tochter des Meeres“, lässt – allerdings nur sehr fragmentarisch – rituelle Elemente am Ende des Textes erkennen, geschildert in der 3. Sg. Ebenfalls in ein Ritual eingebettet ist der hattisch-hethitische Mythos (CTH 727) vom „Mond, der vom Himmel fiel“ (vgl. weiter unten). Diese Auflistung deutet darauf, dass eine Verbindung von Mythos und Ritual häufig auf eine zentralanatolische Textherkunft verweist.⁷

Zu bemerken bleibt, dass Schilderungen von Ritualhandlungen in der 1. Pl., wie sie in dem hier näher betrachteten palaischen Text CTH 752 auftreten, nur selten belegt sind. Als Beispiel daraus mag die folgende Passage dienen:

5 Diese Schilderung stellt ein gutes Beispiel dar, dass es keinen kanonisierten Mythentext gibt, dass Mythen vielmehr stark verändert werden können, so dass nur der Kern bleibt. Siehe dazu zuletzt Roth 2017–18: 52–55.

6 Siehe die Transliteration und Übersetzung von Rieken et al. 2009a.

7 Ebenfalls in zentralanatolischer Tradition stehen einige der hethitischen Beschwörungsrituale, die kurze mythologische Abschnitte enthalten; siehe dazu Polvani 2004 und Görke 2019.

KBo 17.25(+) Vs.?

- 6' [ma]-a-an I-NA UD 3^{KAM} a-ap-pa [p]a-i-wa-ni na-[pa]
 7' [nu] 'A'-NA DINGIR-LIM UŠ-KE-EN na-pa 'DUG' te-eš-šum-mi-ia-a[š]
 8' [š]a-ra-a tu-me-*e-ni* an-da-ma-an na-at-t[a šu-wa-ú-e-ni]

- 9' [n]a-aš-ša-an 'kat'-ta 'DUG'GİR.KIŠ-'ia' la-ḫu-e-ni

[We]nn wir am dritten Tag zurück [g]ehen, [öffnen wir (es)]. Ich verneige mich (vor) der Gottheit. Wir nehmen die Becher [h]och, [wir füllen] (sie) aber nicht.

Wir gießen sie ins GİR.KIŠ-Gefäß hinab.

Nach der Auflistung von Miller (2004: 488–92 mit Anm. 853) zeigen nur das Ritual von Anniwiyanni (CTH 393), das hethitische und luwische Elemente aufweist (Miller 2004: 444; vgl. auch Bawanypeck 2005: 299), das Ritual der Paškuwatti aus Arzawa (CTH 406) und das luwisch geprägte Ritual von Kuwatalla und Šilaluḫi (CTH 761) rituelle Anweisungen in der 1. Pl.; alle stehen einer luwischen Ritualtradition nahe.⁸

Für die Aussage des palaischen Textes KBo 30.39+ Rs. 9f. (CTH 752), *nu-uš-ša-an ḫu-wa-al-le-eš-pát* NA^{HLA}-aš-ša KAŠ.GESTIN-it *ki-iš-nu-uš-ka-u-e-ni* „Wir löschen das Wacholderholz und die Steine mit KAŠ.GESTIN-Wein“, findet sich eine nahe Parallele im Ritual der Ambazzi (CTH 391.1), das dem westanatolisch-luwischen Traditionskreis zuzuweisen ist. Dort heißt es zu Beginn des Rituals:

KUB 9.25+ Vs. I

- 1 UM-MA 'am-ba-az-zi ma-a-an 'Dza-a[r-ni-za-an 'Dtar-pa-at]-ta-aš-ši-i[n]
 2 i-ia-mi nu-uš-ša-an a-na 'DUG'DÍLM.GAL S[A5 GÍŠ]u-w[a]-r al'-li-iš
 3 iš-ḫu-wa-aḫ-ḫi še-ra-aš-ša-an ḫal-ki-in kar-aš iš-ḫu-wa-aḫ-ḫi
 4 na-at-kán ša-an-ḫu-wa-an-zi nam-ma [G]ÍŠ ḫu-wa-al-li-iš
 5 ú-i-te-ni-it ki-iš-ta-nu-mi nu m[e-m]a-aḫ-ḫi
 6 ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-kán ke-e ki-iš-ta-[nu-nu-u]n i-da-lu-ia-kán
 7 A-NA LU.MEŠ BE-LU-TIM še-er 'QA-TAM'-[MA ki-i]š-ta-ru

Folgendermaßen (spricht) Ambazzi: „Wenn ich Za[rniza und Tarpa]tašša behandle, dann schütte ich auf eine ro[te] Schale [Wa]cholder[holz?], oben darauf aber schütte ich Gerste und karš-Getreide. Und man röstet es. Dann lösche ich das Wacholderhol[z?] mit Wasser und s[pr]eche:

„Wie [ic]h dieses ausgelö[scht] habe, so soll auch eben[so] das Böse über den Herren [erlö]schen!“ (Christiansen 2017: §§1f.)

Diese Art der rituellen Behandlung, in der zunächst eine Analogie zwischen dem nicht fassbaren Unheil – im diesem Falle negative Einflüsse durch schadensstiftende Mächte

8 Weiterhin weisen auch die althethitischen Rituale für das Königspaar, CTH 416, Ritualschilderungen in der 1. Sg. und 1. Pl. auf. Diese stehen in zentralanatolischer Tradition und dürften auf eine MUNUSU-GI-Beschwörerin zurückgehen (vgl. dazu Marcuson 2016: 51–69, bes. 67–69).

– und einer konkreten Ritualmaterie hergestellt wird, die dann analog zu dem Unheil vernichtet wird, wird auch in dem palaischen Text *CTH* 752 geschildert. Besonders ist dabei das Löschen des Wacholderholzes mit Wein – und nicht, wie im Ritual der Am-bazzi, mit Wasser. Diese Art des Löschens ist ansonsten – zumindest nach meiner Kenntnis – nur in einem junghethitischen Ritual für die Gottheiten Anzili und Zukki, *CTH* 439, belegt, in dem die Beschwörerin heiße Kieselsteine über der Gottheit schwenkt, die anschließend mit Wein gelöscht und dann entsorgt werden:

KUB 17.23 Vs. II

- 12 [EGIR-*a*]n-^r *da*^r-*ma-kán* ^{MUNUS}SU.GI 2-ŠU ^r3-ŠU^r ^{NA4}*pa-aš-ši-lu-uš*
 13 *a-a*-[*an*]-^r *du-uš*^r A-NA DINGIR-LIM *še-er* ^r*ar-ḥa* 2-ŠU^r *wa-aḥ-nu-zi*
 14 *nam-ma-kán* IŠ-TU GEŠTIN *ki*-^r *iš-ta*^r-*nu-zi*
 15 ^{MUNUS}SU.GI-*ma ḥu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi*

- 16 *ma-a-an ḥu-u-uk-ma-in* z[*i-in*]-*na-i na-aš-ta* ^{NA4}*pa-aš-ši-lu-uš*
 17 *a-a-an-du-uš pa-r*[*a*]-^r *a*^r *pé-e-da*^r *i na-aš*^r *ar-ḥa iš-ḥu-wa-a-i*

[Dana]ch aber schwenkt die Beschwörerin zweimal, dreimal heiße Kieselsteine über der Gottheit zweimal hinweg. Anschließend löscht sie (sie) mit Wein. Die Beschwörerin aber beschwört.

Sobald sie die Beschwörung beendet hat, bringt sie die heißen Kieselsteine hinaus und schüttet sie weg.

Bereits Haas (2003: 197) verwies in diesem Zusammenhang auf ein Fragment des Mythos vom Verschwinden der zentralanatolischen Göttin Ḫannaḫanna, in dem ebenfalls Kieselsteine gelöscht werden, um in Analogie die Wut der Ḫannaḫanna zu löschen:

KUB 33.49 Vs. II

- 6' [*a*]-^r *a*^r-*an-du-uš* ^{NA4}*pa-aš-ši*[*i*]-*lu-uš*
 7' [*A*²/GEŠTIN²-*it ki-iš-ta*]-*nu-zi nu me-ma-i ku-u-uš-kán*
 8' [*ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* ^NA4⁴*pa-aš-ši-lu-u-uš ki-iš-t*[*a-nu-nu-un*]
 9' [DINGIR.MAḤ-*aš kar-pi*]-*iš TUKU.TUKU-az wa-aš-túl*
 10' [*ša-a-u-wa-ar QA-TAM-M*]A *ki-iš-ta-ru*

[...] löscht die heißen Kieselsteine [mit Wasser²/Wein²] und spricht: „[Wie ich] diese Kieselsteine lö[schte], [ebens]o sollen [auc]h [der Ḫannaḫanna Wu]t, Zorn, Frevel [(und) Ärger] erlöschen!“ (Rieken et al. 2009c: §8”)

Interessant sind in diesem Zusammenhang darüber hinaus die folgenden Zitate. So lautet eine Passage des einer luwischen Ritualtradition zuzuordnenden Rituals der Tunnawi, *CTH* 409:

KUB 7.53+ Vs. II

- 21 *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma zi-in-na-i* ^r*na-aš*^r *a-ra*-^r *i*^r *nu-za-kán* ^rŠU^r ^{HLA}GEŠTIN-*it*
 22 *a-ar-ri kat-ta-an-ma-aš-ši* ^{NA4}*pa-aš-ši-lu*-^r *uš a-a*^r-*an-du-uš*
 23 ^{DUG}*pa-aḥ-ḥu-na-li-az ḥar-kán-zi nu ḥu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ez-zi*

Sobald sie aber (damit) fertig ist, erhebt sie sich. Sie wäscht sich die Hände mit Wein. Unter ihr⁹ hält man heiße Kieselsteine mit dem Feuerbecken, und sie beschwört. (nach Haas 2003: 252)

Da die Beschwörung an dieser Stelle nicht zitiert wird, bleibt unklar, ob der Wein gleichzeitig dazu dienen soll, die heißen Kieselsteine zu löschen. In dem luwisch-sprachigen Ritual KUB 35.103+ heißt es Vs. II 15f.: [*a*]n-ni-iš-ku-wa-ti pâr-na-an-za ma-ad-du-ú[-wa-ti p]a-ap-pâr-ku-wa-at-ti „Die Mutter aber reinigt das Haus mit Wein.“¹⁰ Insgesamt weisen damit die Belege für Wein als Reinigungsmaterie eine sichtbare Nähe zu zentralanatolischen und luwischen Traditionen auf.

Auch für die in CTH 752 genannten *huhupalli*-Klappern[?] lässt sich feststellen, dass sie sehr häufig in luwischem Zusammenhang genannt werden, so mehrfach in den Texten mit Bezug auf İstanuwa und Lallupiya (vgl. weiter unten).

Diese Zusammenstellung zeigt, dass sich zahlreiche Verbindungen von CTH 752 zu Texten des luwischen Milieus, vor allem Beschwörungsritualen, ziehen lassen.

Aber auch zu hattischen Texten lassen sich einige Anknüpfungspunkte herstellen. Zuletzt verwies u. a. Ch. Steitler auf die hattischen Namen palaischer Götter wie Kataḫzipuri, die Gemahlin des palaischen Wettergottes Zapparwa (Steitler 2017: 143), der selbst einen Namen hattischen Ursprungs trägt (Steitler 2017: 222 mit Verweis auf weitere Literatur). Auch die Nennung der Stadt Liḫzina ist nach Steitler (2017: 224) auf hattischen Einfluss zurückzuführen. In diesem Zusammenhang sei nochmals der bereits oben genannte Mythos vom „Mond, der vom Himmel fiel“ (CTH 727) erwähnt.¹¹ Dieser ist in ein Ritual anlässlich eines Gewitters eingebettet, bei dem der ‚Mann des Wettergottes‘ (LÚ^D10) bei Beginn des Donners den Mythos auf Hattisch rezitiert, bevor er den beiden Stieren des Wettergottes, seinem Wagen und weiteren Geräten Opferungen darbringt. Auch Blitz und Donner, Wolken und Regen des Wettergottes werden beopfert.¹² Verbindungen zu dem palaischen Text CTH 752 lassen sich damit durch die Nennung des Wagens des Wettergottes und die Erwähnung von Regen ziehen.

Insgesamt dürfte CTH 752 ein Festritual für das palaische Pantheon darstellen, das ausreichenden Niederschlag garantieren soll. Darauf deuten die im Ritual ausgeführten Riten mit Wasser, das in verschiedene Gefäße gefüllt wird, die Erwähnung von Sturmregen[?] (*šarāwar*), Gewitterregen (*ḥaršiḥarši-*) und (Dauer-)Regen (*ḥeu-*), sowie das Lied über Wachstum und Gedeihen am Ende des Textes. Der geschilderte palaische Mythos dürfte dabei als mythologische Erklärung für das Ritual dienen, basierend auf den hehitischen Mythen von verschwundenen und wiederkehrenden Göttern. Es dürfte daher auch hier eine interne Verbindung von Mythos und Ritual vorliegen: Wie in dem Mythos die Wiederherstellung des ursprünglichen, richtigen Zustands gelingt, wird

9 Miller 2004: 520f. mit Anm. 961 übersetzt den Ausdruck *kattan=ma=šši* mit „next to him/her“; Haas 2003: 252: „unter ihr(en Händen?)“.

10 Starke 1990: 569; vgl. Haas 2003: 252.

11 Auf eine mögliche luwische Beeinflussung dieses hattischen Mythos verwies Steitler 2017: 201 Anm. 638.

12 Vgl. García Trabazo 2002: 258–69 für eine Transliteration des Textes; Haas 2003: 120f.

durch das Ritual auch das Erreichen des Ursprungszustands angestrebt.¹³ Interessant ist, dass bereits in der althethitischen Version eine Verschmelzung hattischer, palaischer und luwischer Elemente erkennbar ist.

3. Zu den luwischen Festritualen

Neben den luwischen oder luwisch geprägten Beschwörungsritualen¹⁴ sind einige luwische Festrituale überliefert, zu denen die Texte zum Huwašanna-Kult (CTH 690–694) und die Rituale von Ištuwa und Lallupiya (CTH 770–773) zählen. Mit letzteren setzte sich zuletzt Mouton (2016) besonders hinsichtlich der Fragen auseinander, ob und wie zwischen Fest- und Beschwörungsritualen zu differenzieren sei, und welche Aussagen hinsichtlich einer Unterscheidung von Lokal- vs. Staatskult zu treffen sein können. Wenngleich eine Unterscheidung in Bezug auf die erste Frage schwierig bleibt und zumindest das Corpus der Lallupiya- und Ištuwa-Texte keine eindeutigen Hinweise auf klare Trennungen zwischen Fest- und Beschwörungsritualen liefert, schlägt A. Mouton hinsichtlich der zweiten Frage Kriterien vor, die für eine Einordnung als Lokal- oder Staatskult helfen sollen (vgl. unten). An dieser Stelle soll aber auf eine andere Gruppe von Texten näher eingegangen werden, die bereits von Starke (1985: 270–94) identifiziert wurde, seitdem allerdings keine wesentliche Beachtung mehr fand und landläufig aufgrund der Nennung von *ašuša(tal)la*-Leuten unter CTH 665 gebucht wird. F. Starke bemerkte, dass einige der Texte „sich formal deutlich von den übrigen ‚Ištuwa-Texten‘ abheben und aufgrund ihres Inhalts unter den k[eilschrift]-luw[ischen] Festritualen eine besondere Stellung einnehmen“ (Starke 1985: 270). Darunter findet sich ein Festritual für den Wettergott und die Sonnengöttin (CTH 665.1), dessen althethitischer Vertreter KBo 25.54+ hier in aller Kürze betrachtet werden soll.¹⁵ Die Rekonstruktion des Festverlaufs gestaltet sich aufgrund des fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustands schwierig; auf der zu betrachtenden Tafel sind Ritualvorgänge des 13. bis mindestens des 18. Tages verzeichnet. Erkennbar sind Opferungen von Schaf- und Ziegenbock sowie Brotopfer an den Wettergott. Trotz des schlechten Erhaltungszustands lassen sich einige Elemente erkennen, die Aussagen in Bezug auf Ritualtradition und Stellenwert des Textes erlauben. So erwähnt ein Abschnitt das Verkneten von oder zu einem *tunik*-Gebäck (KBo 17.36+ Vs. II 8': *tu-ú-ni-ik ša-al-ak-zi*). Dieses Brot oder Gebäck findet auch im KILAM-Fest (CTH 627), im Gewitterritual (CTH 631), in den Festen von Zippalanda (CTH 635) sowie in den Fragmenten mit Nennung der NIN.DINGIR-Priesterin (CTH 649) Verwendung – Textgruppen, die vorrangig der zentralanatolischen Tradition zuzuschreiben sind. Ein anderer fragmentarischer Abschnitt erwähnt ein Horn und das *huḫupal*-Instrument, die eventuell von den *ašušala*-Leuten zum Tanz gespielt wer-

13 Vgl. dazu Ünal 1994: 802, der von „happy ends“ in Form eines latenten Analogiezaubers auf die jeweilige gegenwärtige Notlage“ spricht, und Roth 2017–18: 67f., die auf „Mythen als analogische Referenz für das Gelingen eines Rituals“ verweist.

14 Bearbeitung durch das Luwili-Projekt (siehe Mouton und Yakubovich 2018–).

15 Vgl. für eine Textaufstellung des Festrituals für den Wettergott und die Sonnengöttin Starke 1985: 271f. Eine Neubearbeitung durch S. Görke ist in Vorbereitung.

den.¹⁶ Das *huḫupal-* oder *huḫup/walli*-Instrument, hinter dem sich evtl. eine Klapper oder Trommel verbirgt,¹⁷ tritt neben dem oben genannten palaischen Text *CTH 752* auch im mittelhethitischen Ritual für die Göttin der Nacht (*CTH 481*), dem Kult des Wettergottes von Kuliwišna (*CTH 330*), den Festritualen von Lallupiya (*CTH 771*) und Ištuwa (*CTH 772*), dem 16. Tag des AN.DAḪ.ŠUM-Festes (*CTH 612*) sowie dem Winterfest (*CTH 597*) auf. Damit ist für das *huḫupal*-Instrument eine starke zentralanatolische und vor allem luwische Komponente gegeben. Ein auf das luwische Festritual *CTH 665.1* beschränkter singulärer Ausdruck befindet sich in KBo 17.36+ Vs. I 15f. (mit Ergänzungen aus KBo 17.12 Vs. II 5'): *nu-uz-kán* ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *ŠU.GI¹ a-x[k]a-lu-lu-pu-uš-mu-uš* *ḫu-ur-ta-li-an-^rzi ne^r-[kán 1-ŠU kat-ta-an a]r-ḫa wa-ḫa-an-zi* „Die ‚alten Weisen‘ ... [...] verhalten ihre Finger¹⁸ und sie drehen sich [einmal unten w]eg.“

Abschließend verdienen die *ašušala-* bzw. *ašušatalla*-Leute Erwähnung, die neben SANGA-Priestern in den luwischen Festritualen rezitieren oder die Opferplätze vorbereiten. Dies wird besonders deutlich in einer dem Beginn des Festrituals für den Wettergott und die Sonnengöttin zuzuordnenden spätjunghethitischen Tafel:

Sobald man dies alles an seinem Platz hergerichtet hat, gehen die *ašušatalla*-Leute aufs freie Feld und errichten einen Altar. Auf den Altar stellen sie den *ḫuwaši*-Stein des Wettergottes und ziehen dann ringsherum Zelttuch.

Sie stellen einen Thron hin und legen die Gewänder des Königs alle zusammen hin. Vor den Thron aber legen sie Vorhang und Decken unten hin. Darauf stellen sie Schuhe, Gewänder, Gamaschen. Einen Tisch stellen sie rechts (und) einen Tisch stellen sie links hin. Einen Tisch aber stellen sie dem *ḫuwaši*-Stein des Wettergottes gegenüber hin. (KUB 35.133+ Vs. I 13'–23')¹⁹

Neben dem Vorbereiten des Ritualplatzes werden die *ašušatalla*-Männer auch bei der Ausführung von Ritualhandlungen sowie als Musiker beschrieben. Die Nennungen dieser Männer beschränken sich fast ausschließlich auf das hier vorgestellte Textensemble luwischer Festrituale sowie die luwisch geprägten Ištuwa-Texte (vgl. dazu unten). Der hier näher betrachtete Text KBo 25.54+ (*CTH 665.1*) zeigt damit eine Verankerung in zentralanatolischer und vor allem luwischer Tradition. Hinweise auf hattische Einflüsse fanden sich bislang nicht.

4. Zusammenfassung

Von den beiden hier vorgestellten Textgruppen konnte für die althethitische palaische *CTH 752* eine Verflechtung hattischer und zahlreicher luwischer Elemente konstatiert werden. Das althethitische luwische Festritual ließ zunächst keine Verbindungen zu

16 KBo 25.54 Vs. I + KBo 20.17 Vs. + KBo 20.20 Vs.² + ^{8/8/3'} ^{LÚ.MEŠ} *a-šu-ša-lu-uš x[] 'ú^r-wa-ta-an-zi nu-uš a-ra-a[ḫ-za]* ^{9/9/4'} *pé-e-ḫu-da-an-zi 'ḫu^r-[] ša-a-ú-it-ra-an* ^{10/10/5'} *ḫu^r-ḫu-pa-al-la^r ḫar-kán-z[i nu ta]-ru-uš-kán-zi* „Die *ašušala*-Leute bringen [...] her und bringen sie rings[um] hin. [...] halten das Horn und das *huḫupal*-Instrument und [t]anzen.“

17 HW² III H/2, 640.

18 Vgl. HW² III H/2, 773.

19 Vgl. die Transliteration in Starke 1985: 278f. und Bemerkungen zu dem Text in Steitler 2017: 91–95.

hattischem Gedankengut erkennen, stand aber in der Tradition anderer zentralanatolischer und luwischer Festrитуale.

Für die anstehenden kulturhistorischen Untersuchungen stehen verschiedene Themen im Blickfeld, u. a. hinsichtlich der Frage von Staatskult vs. Lokalkult. A. Mouton schlug Kriterien zu einer Unterscheidung von Staats- und Lokalkult vor und deutete in Bezug auf die luwischen Iṣtanuwa-Texte (CTH 771–773) das Auftreten der Sänger von Kaniš als Hinweis auf einen Staatskult, während die ausschließliche Verehrung des lokalen Pantheons von Iṣtanuwa auf einen Lokalkult weise (Mouton 2016: 127). Dabei bemerkte Ch. Steitler in Bezug auf den ersten Teil des luwischen Festrитуals CTH 665, der nur in jungen Abschriften vorliegt, dass Elemente wie die Nennung von Wettergott, Sonnengöttin von Arinna oder die Rolle des Königs in den Ritualhandlungen für einen ‚lokalen Staatskult‘ (in Opposition zu einem ‚lokalen Nicht-Staatskult‘) sprächen.²⁰ In dem hier näher betrachteten Text CTH 752 findet nur das palaische Pantheon Erwähnung, auch der König wird in den erhaltenen Abschnitten nicht genannt. Dennoch könnte einiges für eine Charakterisierung als Staatskult sprechen.²¹ So findet sich eine vergleichbare Verehrung des palaischen Pantheons in anderen palaischen Texten, die allerdings den König erwähnen (vgl. das Festrитуale für das palaische Pantheon CTH 751). Die Nennung des Wettergottes ohne weiteres Attribut könnte auf eine Verbindung zu dem obersten Staatsgott der Hethiter deuten. Die Verehrung des palaischen Hauptgottes Ziparwa spielt in den späteren staatlichen Festen AN.DAḪ.SUM und *nun-tarriyaṣḫa*- eine Rolle. Inwieweit diese Punkte als Argumente für die Charakterisierung eines Staatskultes dienen können und welche weiteren Aspekte dafür in Betracht gezogen werden sollten, will die geplante kulturhistorische Untersuchung der palaischen und luwischen Festrитуale gleichfalls klären.

Dass die Traditionen weiterleben, sich verändern und dabei auch andere Räume einnehmen, zeigt das Beispiel der jungethitischen Abschrift eines Kolophons des Rituals von Palliya (CTH 475), des Königs von Kizzuwatna:

KBo 35.198+ Rs. IV 5'–10' (mit Ergänzungen aus KBo 43.119 Rs. 3'–6'; KUB 45.76 Rs. IV 13; KBo 43.321: 1'–3')

- 5' [(DUB 2^{KA})^M QA-T(i) ^mpal-li-ia-aš] ma-aḫ-ḫa-an LUGAL ^{KUR}kum-m[a]-an-ni
 6' [(PIŠKUR) ^{URU}kum-ma-an-ni EGIR]-pa da-a-an ṣa-ra-^ra'
 7' [ti(-it)-ta-nu-ut na-a]n e-eš-ḫar-nu-ma-it
 8' [ke-e-da-ni-iš-ša-an TUP]-PÍ UD 13^{KAM} zi-in-na[-a]n-te-eš
 9' [(LÜ)]a-šu-ša-tal-la-aš
 10' [(URU)hur-mi] IŠ-TUR

2. Tafel, [(Ritual) vollend]et. Wenn [Palliya], König von Kummanni, den Wettergott [von Kummanni] zum zweiten Mal [wie]der [au]f[stellt und] ihn mit Blut

20 Siehe Steitler 2017: 91f. mit Verweis auf weitere Literatur in Anm. 314.

21 Vgl. die Überlegungen von Steitler 2017: 224: „While it is possible that this myth was translated from Luwian or Hittite into Palaic, a more likely scenario would have been the incorporation of original Luwian and Palaic incantations and myths into a ritual that was performed in the context of the Hittite state cult.“

beschmiert. [Auf dieser Taf]el sind 13 Tage vollendet. [...] der *ašušatalla*-[Mann ...] aus *Ḫurma* [...] schrieb (es).²²

Gordin (2015: 227) ergänzt die letzten beiden Zeilen, [*A-WA-AT PN* (^{LÜ})] *a-šu-ša-tal-la-aš* [(^{URU}*ḫur-mi*) *PN DUB.SAR*] *IŠ-TUR* „[word of so-and-so the] *ašušatalla*- [(in *Ḫurma*). So-and-so the scribe] wrote“, auf Grundlage des Kolophons des Rituals von Papanikri (CTH 476)²³. Der Rekonstruktion von Beckman (2013: 139), [^m*PN* (^{LÜ})] *a-šu-ša-tal-la-aš* [^{LÜ}? (^{URU}*ḫur-mi*)] *IŠ-TUR* „Written by [...], the *ašušatalla*- [official], [man^(?)] of (the city of) *Ḫurma*“, ist in meinen Augen u. a. aufgrund einer besseren Berücksichtigung der Raumverhältnisse mehr Wahrscheinlichkeit zuzusprechen. Interessant ist in jedem Fall, dass ein ansonsten in der hethitischen Ritualistik nur mit luwischen Festritualen in Verbindung stehender Kultakteur in einem jungethitischen Kolophon mit dem Südosten des Landes in Verbindung gebracht wird, gegeben durch seine Verortung in *Ḫurma*²⁴ und den Ritualherren des Textes, Palliya von Kizzuwatna. Deutlich wird daraus, dass Traditionen fortleben, sich verändern und dabei auch andere Räume einnehmen konnten.

Insgesamt dürfte die Auswertung der althethitischen Festrituale neues Licht auf die Entstehung und Entwicklung der hethitischen Feste und darüber hinaus auch des hethitischen Pantheons und der hethitischen Gesellschaft werfen. So bemerkte I. Yakubovich in Bezug auf die Verwendung des Luwischen in althethitischen religiösen Texten, dass diese Texte „[r]ather than underscoring the diversity of the Hittite Pantheon, ... stress the multiethnic character of the Hittite society united by the common state cult. ... The juxtaposition of Luvian and Palaic incantations need not have been grounded in the actual religious performance observed by the scribes, but may represent a result of deliberate manipulation on their part. The compilation of rituals such as CTH 752 may have involved copying incantations found in the rituals for Palaic or Luvian deities with preference to those that were most compatible with the cult practices of Hattusa“ (Yakubovich 2010: 258). Goedegebuure (2008: 174) erklärt die Phänomene eher durch „a pre-conquest merger of proto-Hattian and proto-Luwian language communities than by an invading Luwian-Hittite language community replacing a Hattian and, for example, Palaic language community“, während Steitler (2017: 95) den Gebrauch des Luwischen als reinen Übersetzungsprozess („simple translation process“) sehen möchte. Eine dezidiertere Betrachtung der althethitischen Festrituale verspricht weitgehende

22 Vgl. hierzu Waal 2015: 347 mit einer Ergänzung [*na-an kiš-a*]n in Z. 7'.

23 KBo 5.1 Rs. IV 37–43: „1. Tafel. (Ritual) vollendet. Wenn eine Frau auf dem Gebärstuhl sitzt und die Schale des Gebärstuhls zerbricht oder ein Bein bricht. Wort des Papanikri, *patili*-Priesters des Landes Kumanni. Kupaṛapi, der Schreiber, schrieb (es).“ Siehe Waal 2015: 348.

24 Gordin 2015: 227 verweist auf die Verbindung der *ašušatalla*-Leute mit *Iṣtanuwa* und möchte sowohl *Iṣtanuwa* (Hutter 2003: 239–43 folgend) als auch *Ḫurma* im Unteren Land südlich des Tuz Gölü lokalisieren. Neuere Vorschläge lokalisieren *Iṣtanuwa* allerdings vielmehr in Zentral-West-Anatolien, im Bereich des Sakarya-Flusses (hethitisch *Ša/ehiriya*); siehe dazu de Martino 2017: 258. *Ḫurma*, das bereits in der althethitischen Palastchronik Erwähnung findet und im Šattiwaza-Vertrag genannt wird, ist in der Gegend von Tegarama und daher nicht weit von *Iṣuwa* entfernt zu erwarten; siehe dazu Alparslan 2017: 214 mit Anm. 64 mit Verweis auf Forlanini, der *Ḫurma* mit Pınarbaşı am Oberlauf des Zamanlı-Flusses in Ostanatolien lokalisieren will. Vgl. die Karte in Hawkins und Weeden 2017: 294.

Erkenntnisse besonders hinsichtlich folgender Fragestellungen: Was verstehen wir eigentlich unter einer ‚zentralanatolischen Ritualtradition‘? Welche Rolle spielen hattische, luwische, palaische und hethitische Komponenten dort? Welche Rolle spielten hattische, luwische, palaische und hethitische Bevölkerungsanteile bei der Entstehung der Kulte und des hethitischen Pantheons? Wann und wie wurden Lokalkulte in den Staatskult integriert? Die Beantwortung dieser Fragen dürfte auch für die Beurteilung der Entstehung des palaischen Textes *CTH 752* von Belang sein, um u. a. zu klären, ob evtl. die Vermischung verschiedener kultureller Elemente auf eine spätere Zusammenstellung von Mythos und Ritual im Text *CTH 752* deuten könnte.

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IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE HITTITES

Movement, Topography, and the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM Festival

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Abstract

The paper discusses some of the methodological issues regarding the reconstruction of the Hittite religious festivals with a special focus on the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. At the heart of the analysis lies the perspective paying particular attention to the movement and travel during celebrations and to how this aspect is reflected in the various types of the available sources. In this connection, the nature of and the relation between the outline (overview) tablets and the detailed tablets describing the Hittite festivals are discussed. Against these methodological remarks, three case studies are presented, all concerning sources referring to different moments in the course of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. In each of these cases, based on how movement is communicated, it is argued that the relevant sources represent a different place within the festival than previously thought.

1. Introduction

The two highlights of the Hittite cultic calendar were surely the two great travelling festivals: the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM and the *nuntarriyašḫaš*. During both the former, held in spring, and the latter, held in autumn, the king would spend over a month visiting the major cultic centers in the more or less immediate vicinity of the capital, paying due homage to the local deities.

The detailed reconstruction of both festivals constitutes one of the great challenges in the efforts to better understand the Hittite cult. While following Nakamura (2002), the work on the *nuntarriyašḫaš* festival has been largely laid to rest, the entire course of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival still holds many secrets. According to the latest version of the *Konkordanz* (v. 1.993; Košak 2002–), just over 20 of at least 38 days of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM are known from sources other than the outline tablets (see Table 1).¹

Fortunately, many other fragments from outside this ‘official’ group have been attributed to AN.DAḪ.ŠUM. Schwemer (2004) has shown that information about the second day of the festival is well preserved in texts grouped under CTH 594. Similarly, one may be fairly certain that details of celebrations at Mt. Tapala on the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM’s

1 The count of 38 days, based on the best-preserved outline tablet of the festival, KBo 10.20, is not the only possibility; see e.g. Güterbock 1960: 87f.; Houwink ten Cate 1986; 1988; and Taracha 2009: 139.

day 1	CTH 605	days 12–13	CTH 610	days 22–25	CTH 615
day 2	CTH 606	days 14–15	CTH 611	day 29	CTH 616
day 6	CTH 607	day 16	CTH 612	day 32	CTH 617
days 7–8	CTH 608	days 18–19	CTH 613	days 33–34	CTH 618
day 11	CTH 609	day 21(?)	CTH 61	day 38	CTH 619

Table 1. Days of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival with corresponding CTH numbers.

28th day can be found among at least some fragments of CTH 593, ‘a spring festival at Mt. Tapala’.²

2. Principles of reconstructing the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival

The main issue with reconstructing the entire course of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM seems to consist in the lack of clear methodological principles that would allow one to extract from the plethora of festival-related fragments those that pertain to the spring festival celebrated in the context of the centralized cult of the Hittite state. The difficulties are diverse. First, the festival changed over time and thus existed in several versions, as attested by the different outline tablets. Further, some texts that never mention the name AN.DAḪ.ŠUM can actually belong to this festival as well. Other texts could have served a dual purpose, being used both in the *nuntarriyašḥaš* and the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festivals, since the two were partially similar.³ Also, certain rites or ritual actions – for example the ‘great assembly’ – were common to various religious events, as a result of which their attribution to a specific festival is often problematic.

With no clear solution at hand, it seems that the only valid approach would simply require one to take the outline tablets as a starting point, and to choose from the many festival fragments those texts that match their descriptions. Although this may seem trivial at face value, this method would actually necessitate reconsidering the nature of the outline tablets (which preserve an abbreviated account of the course of the festival) and the ‘day tablets’ (which contain detailed descriptions of the festival’s parts), ultimately requiring an establishment of the exact relation between these two kinds of texts.

2.1 ‘Day tablets’ and ‘ritual units’

Table 1 above, which lists the identified days of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, demonstrates the current approach toward the festival, namely one that assumes that its structural units were days, and that ideally every day of the festival has a corresponding ‘day tablet’. Un-

² This was already suggested by Güterbock 1960: 88 in his edition of KBo 10.20. This attribution is highly likely despite lack of direct evidence. The texts under CTH 593 refer to a spring festival at Mt. Tapala, which would correspond to the line from the outline tablet KBo 10.20 rev. III 40: *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-az LUGAL-uš ḪUR.SAG ta-pa-la-an DÜ-zi* “On the next day the king celebrates Mt. Tapala.” Moreover, Mt. Tapala hardly appears anywhere else in the Hittite corpus.

³ This aspect of festival texts – still underexplored though already signaled, for example by Lorenz 2014 – may prove significant in reconstructing the detailed course of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM.

doubtedly, this presupposition stems, at least in part, from the fact that each of the first days of the festival indeed constitutes a separate unit. However, extrapolating this to the entirety of the festival seems ill-conceived for at least two reasons.

The first is well known, yet rarely underlined: there is no canonical version of the festival, and the different variants of the outline tablets show different day counts. Thus, an individual ‘day tablet’ devoted to a given day of the festival would, theoretically, only be available for a specific version.

The second reason is that the division of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM into days is an exclusive feature of the outline tablets. These texts seem to have used a single day of the festival only as a convenient organizing principle, not a meaningful structural unit. No day count appears on any ‘day tablet’.⁴ Nor is there any clear evidence for a new series of texts specifically produced for a particular version of the festival.⁵ The festival celebrated in the context of the centralized state cult was rather a compound event consisting of pre-existing, separate festivals celebrated subsequently as a series. It offered a new structure for the old celebrations. This is not to say that its parts were assembled arbitrarily. Although the exact procedure of organizing the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival remains elusive, some of the organizational aspects can perhaps be recognized in the ‘secondary festivals’ posited by Houwink ten Cate (1986: 99–101), which could accompany the main celebrations and “were liable to be shifted to a different day in the schedule.” Still, the numbering of days in the outline tablets is never reflected in the detailed descriptions of the festival.

In this light, the term ‘day tablets’, at least in the case of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, seems to be a misnomer. Apart from the fact that they rarely depict only one day of the festival,⁶ such texts were produced on the basis of entirely different criteria: their aim was not to describe any time frame of the celebrations, but a ‘ritual unit’, as Schwemer (2016: 9) has termed it.⁷ These units are not synonymous with the particular days of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, but rather correspond to the individual festivals that made up the great festival. Of course, a ‘ritual unit’ could occasionally be coextensive with one day, as is the case of the early days of the festival, when on each day the king would travel from one city to another.⁸ Whether such ‘ritual units’ lasted one or several days, however,

4 The sole example of the badly preserved KBo 34.157 rev. 3’f. (cf. Waal 2015: 413) is currently insufficient to prove otherwise.

5 There seems to be no common pattern in the identified colophons of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM (Waal 2015: 408–23) that would speak in favor of such series. While it is possible that such a series was in fact produced at some point, it seems difficult to accept that the repetitiveness and the use of technical terminology in VSNF 12.1 (CTH 604.G) point to a “reciprocal influence between colophons of daily outlines on the one hand and the outline tablet of the festival in question on the other,” as argued in Houwink ten Cate 2003: 206.

6 It is much more frequent for the ‘day tablets’ to depict celebrations lasting several days. See the remarks made already by Nakamura 2001 and Schwemer 2016: 9.

7 Nakamura 2001: 443f. distinguishes various kinds of *Tagestafeln*. Also, as Houwink ten Cate 1988: 173 notes, KBo 30.96 refers to only one of the three parts of the ninth day of *nuntarriyašhaš*.

8 Such single-day units are among the more convenient ones to identify, as they are similarly structured – even the outline tablets provide a similar type of information on such days: points of departure and destination, occasionally the means of transportation and the moment of entering the city, the ‘great assembly’.

was of secondary importance.⁹ This feature seems to be hinted at in the outline tablets themselves, e.g. in the passage about the festival for Ištar of Hattarina, scheduled for five consecutive days (Güterbock 1960: 87).¹⁰

2.2 KBo 13.90 – a reassessment

Another example is also provided by a small yet curious label KBo 13.90, currently attributed to CTH 607, i.e. the sixth day of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM:

KBo 13.90

- 1 DUB-*pa*^{HLA}
- 2 ^{URU}*zi-ip-pal-an-da*
- 3 ŠÁ EZEN4 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}
- 4 *ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš
- 5 ^{URU}GIDRU-za ^{URU}*zi-pa-la-an-da*
- 6 A-NA EZEN4 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}
- 7 *pa-iz-zi QA-TI*

The Zippalanda tablets of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. When the king goes from Hattuša to Zippalanda for the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. Finished.

Even a quick glance at the outline tablets makes it clear that KBo 13.90 cannot describe the sixth day of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM. The events of this day included no royal journey at all:¹¹

(6th day) Next day they announce from the palace the ... festival. The fleece arrives at the temple of Nisaba²; in the temple of Nisaba² ... to² the anointed priests they delivered bread, and they bring a lamb from Kašaya.

‘Great assembly’ in the *halentu*-. In the palace of the *ABUBĪTU* they open the storage vessel of the right side of the Storm-god of Zippalanda on that very day.¹²

A visit to Zippalanda was instead scheduled only once during AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, namely for the 36th day of the festival:

(33rd day) Next day the king spends the night in Hattai, while they carry [the ...] up to the mountain.

(34th day) Next day the king and queen go [up] to the mountain. Its festival. For sleeping, however, he goes into [Harranašši].

(35th day) Next day the king and queen celebrate the Sun-goddess of Arinna and [] in Harranašši, while the chief of the palace attendants drives [(some animals)] to Zippalanda; the priests eat them in his presence.

(36th day) Next day in Zippalanda ...¹³

9 For Burgin 2019: 14, who states that detailed tablets are largely restricted to celebrations at a single location, the change of location would mean the change of a ‘ritual unit’.

10 In KBo 10.20, days 6–8 are treated as one unit as well. Note also the remarks by Houwink ten Cate 2003: 214f., who observes that celebrations scheduled for different days in KBo 10.20 were merged into single-day events in VSNF 12.1.

11 Kašaya is a rather enigmatic city that frequently occurs without any determinative and in most cases functions as an identifier of ‘a palace’ (É.GAL *Kašaya*), which provided for various festivals of mainly local character.

12 KBo 10.20 obv. I 32–39 (Güterbock 1960: 85).

13 KBo 10.20 rev. IV 7–16 (Güterbock 1960: 87).

From texts related to the *nuntarriyašḥaš* festival it is clear that the journey between Ḫattuša and Zippalanda could last as little as two days (Kryszeń 2016: 264f.); however, during AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, the journey could stretch to three or four days, since it would include visits to and rites performed at the cities Ḫaitta and Ḫarranašši, as well as at Mt. Puškurunuwa. All these events, however, are left out of KBo 13.90. Therefore, this text is unusual not only because it conceals several independent journeys, but also because it disregards important celebrations during the festival.

It remains uncertain how to understand the organizing principle of this text, and how to fit it into the current make-up of the *CTH* regarding the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM. It seems possible to interpret KBo 13.90 tentatively as representing one separate ‘ritual unit’ – perhaps one that would begin in Ḫattuša and end with celebrations in Zippalanda? Alternatively, it could be a library label originally attached to a shelf, a box, or a basket filled with texts showing other structural features.

Nevertheless, regardless of the interpretation adopted, it is clear that KBo 13.90 should be moved from *CTH* 607 to some other *CTH* group. However, since no particular *CTH* number fits the tablet that encompasses days 32/33–36, a specific attribution proves difficult.

2.3 The overview and the detail tablets

The abbreviated structure of the outline tablets, their strict division into days, and the fact that they seem to contain the entire course of the festival, never only a part of it,¹⁴ all make it at least possible that these texts functioned as practical tools containing guidelines for a scribe or a personal secretary of the king, who would be responsible for supervising the celebrations and reporting to the ruler what is on the agenda on a given day of the festival.¹⁵ This, however, raises another issue concerning the criteria adopted by scribes to choose what should be included in the short paragraphs and what should be left out.

As recently pointed out by Burgin (2019: 15–24), the outline tablets differ quite substantially with regard to their “comprehensiveness, thoroughness, and evenness of detail,” both among themselves and “within the course of a single outline text.” Burgin notes that these texts hardly leave the impression of conveying the essential information in the sense of the most important parts of the festival and that no objective criteria seem to explain the choice of their content.

Some of this (seeming) incoherence may be explained if one adopts the practical view suggested above, namely that the outline tablets aimed to provide a user-friendly reference work that easily allowed for an overview of the course of the festival and, if need be, to quickly identify a detailed tablet. These texts may have functioned as a mnemonic

14 Since most outline tablets are preserved only fragmentarily, it is uncertain whether a ‘proper’ outline tablet (in general, not only those belonging to the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM) always described the festival from start to finish, but this seems to be the case. Until recently, tablets containing the outline of only a part of a large festival were thought to exist for the KILAM festival. Recently, however, Burgin (2019: 14–18) was able to demonstrate that these texts belong rather to the category of the detailed tablets.

15 Alternatively, one could imagine that the outline tablets were utilized by scholars in charge of consulting and/or collecting the detailed descriptions of particular parts of the festivals.

device containing keyword-like expressions, which – at a glance – would immediately trigger specific associations regarding necessary preparations and actions to be taken.

From this point of view, the outline tablets actually do seem to contain the objective selection of the most essential and characteristic actions to be performed on a given day of the festival; however, these actions were not necessarily the most important or theologically significant.

Travelling days are a good illustration of this. The journey is always the central element in the schedule for a given day in the outline tablet, and sometimes even the only one. However, the identified detailed ('day') tablets make it clear that travelling was irrelevant from a religious point of view. The scribes usually devoted a few brief sentences to it. What mattered were the celebrations at the destination. Still, it was the travelling that stood out the most, and that was included in the abbreviated description.¹⁶

This line of reasoning applies to practically all kinds of information contained in the outline tablets. Unless stated otherwise in the text, i.e. unless the scribe himself noted that a given action was optional, the outline tablets should mention only those actions that are distinctive.

Accepting the above features of the outline tablets entails embracing the conclusion that the detailed description of a given part of the festival included *all* the information from the respective fragment of the outline tablet, and that the correspondence between two texts was *perfect*.¹⁷ This brings us to the second case-study.

2.3.1 CTH 606 – testing the correspondence hypothesis

The assumed correspondence between the outline and the detail tablets can be tested by re-evaluating the texts currently belonging to CTH 606, the second day of AN.DAĤ.ŠUM. Since this question is addressed in detail elsewhere (Kryszewski 2020), what follows is only a brief overview.

The second day of the AN.DAĤ.ŠUM is the day when the royal couple returns to the capital from the initial celebrations in Tahurpa:

(2nd day) Next day the king and queen enter Ḫattuša. At Mt. Tippiwa the bodyguards and the palace attendants race. Then the king and queen bathe in the *tarnu*- house. The king drives up to Ḫattuša in a *ḫuluganni*-. In the *ḫalentu*- the 'great assembly'.¹⁸

In his edition of KBo 10.20, Güterbock (1960: 88) suggests that the detailed description of these events can be found in KUB 10.3 (currently CTH 606). This identification has been largely accepted; the only critique came forty years later from Schwemer (2004), who demonstrated that the second day is in fact preserved in CTH 594, and suggested that KUB 10.3 should be perhaps moved to the 10th day of the festival, which describes the king's return to Ḫattuša from Arinna. In the outline tablets KBo 10.20 (CTH 604.A) and VSNF 12.1 (CTH 604.G), days 2 and 10 feature the elements shown in Table 2.

16 At times, the outline tablets give surprisingly detailed information, e.g. they indicate a particular gate through which the king leaves a city. Reasons for such particularities are unclear and may be various, but it is possible that they would offer disambiguation when more than one option was available.

17 The only exception to that rule are the 'secondary festivals' mentioned above, which, if identified, should be treated separately.

18 KBo 10.20 obv. I 19–23 (Güterbock 1960: 85).

day 2	day 10
departure from Taḫurpa	departure from Arinna
travel to Ḫattuša	travel to Ḫattuša
racing contest at Mt. Tippuwa	
visit in the <i>tarnu</i> - house	
entering a city in a <i>ḫuluganni</i> -	entering a city in a <i>ḫuluganni</i> -
‘great assembly’ in the <i>ḫalentu</i> -	‘great assembly’ in the <i>ḫalentu</i> -

Table 2. Comparison of elements of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 2 and 10.

The above-mentioned KUB 10.3 is the key to the entire group currently attributed to CTH 606, insofar as all the remaining fragments are either its duplicates or parallel texts, and thus their attribution rests entirely on this manuscript. The translation of the crucial first part of the text runs as follows:

(§1) [When it dawns, they open the *ḫal*]entu- [and they draw open the draperies. The king goes to the bathhouse? ...]

(§2) [(the kin)]g ... drives up with the horse (i.e. in a chariot).

(§3) [A]s the king reaches the [city gat]e, the [comedi]an shouts *aḫā*. Further, (as) he arrives at the [gat]e of the gate house, the comedian shouts *aḫā*, and the *kīta*- man also shouts.

(§4) The king steps down from the chariot and enters the *ḫalentu*-. The ‘great (assembly)’ is called.¹⁹

Even a quick comparison makes it clear that the only features of KUB 10.3 that are in full accordance with the paragraphs of the outline tablets discussed above are entering the city and calling the ‘great assembly’ in the *ḫalentu*-. However, even the former does not actually occur since KUB 10.3 is explicit about the king using a chariot, not a *ḫuluganni*- as prescribed for both the second and the tenth days of the festival. As the outline tablets rather rarely mention specific vehicles, this detail should not be overlooked. In effect, neither the second, nor the tenth day of the festival fits to KUB 10.3.

It so happens, however, that the king’s entrance into a city during the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM in a chariot is actually mentioned only once in the outline tablets: on the first day, when he drives up to Taḫurpa. Given the above, the name of the city can be regarded as partly preserved in line 10, making it possible to restore §2 as follows: “[As? the kin]g a[rriv]es [at Taḫ]urpa, he drives with the horses (i.e. in a chariot) up [to the city?].”²⁰ In the end, the revised reading establishes a perfect correspondence between the information in the outline tablet and the account preserved in KUB 10.3 (see Table 3).

KUB 10.3	day 1
travel to Taḫurpa	travel to Taḫurpa
entering a city in a chariot	entering a city in a chariot

Table 3. Comparison of KUB 10.3 with AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 1.

¹⁹ KUB 10.3 obv. I 1–21.

²⁰ KUB 10.3 obv. I 9–11: ⁹ []x x [(LUGAL-u)]š ¹⁰ [URU^uta-ḫ]ur-pa [a-r]i ¹¹ [na-aš URU-ri(?)]. ANŠE.KUR.RA-it ša-ra-a pé-en-na-i.

Admittedly, KUB 10.3 does not provide information about the optional visit to Katapa, although it may have been briefly included in the missing lines 5–8. Even if that was not the case, the optional character of the journey justifies it not being mentioned.

If KUB 10.3 and its duplicates indeed describe the first day of the festival, they belong to *CTH* 605, not *CTH* 606. This leaves the remaining fragments of *CTH* 606 that need to be dealt with. Two are duplicates of KUB 10.3 that mention the king entering the city, and therefore should be moved to *CTH* 605 as well.²¹ Four describe only parts of the ‘great assembly’²² – an event known to take place on a number of days of the festival, which indicates that these fragments could belong to any day that included this kind of celebration. Their attribution is thus uncertain. The last fragment, KUB 25.16, mentions no journey at all, which makes it unfit to represent not only day 1 or 2 of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, but also any other travelling day of the festival.

With the revised attribution of *CTH* 606 as the second day of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, we are relieved of the problem of any discrepancies between *CTH* 594 and KUB 10.3. In fact, *CTH* 594 seems to be the only detailed description of this day of the festival.

2.3.2 Reconsidering the first day of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM

The introduction of KUB 10.3 and its duplicates into *CTH* 605 calls for an investigation of other texts already attributed to this group. Table 4 shows texts according to the *Konkordanz* (v. 1.993).

<i>CTH</i> 605.1	KUB 10.31
<i>CTH</i> 605.2	IBoT 2.16 + Bo 6227
<i>CTH</i> 605.3	IBoT 3.40 + KBo 52.112

Table 4. Texts currently in *CTH* 605.

Let us begin with the last member of this group:

IBoT 3.40 + KBo 52.112 obv. I

§2' --/2' [*ku-ez-ka₄*? UR]U-az
 1'/3' [*ta-ḥur-pí*? UR] *ú-wa-an-zi*
 2'/4' [A-NA DINGIR-L]IM *ma-a-an a-aš-šu*
 3'/5' [na-aš-ta² UR]U *ka-a-ta-pí an-da-an pa-iz-zi*
 4'/6' [EZEN4]-ma-za Ú-UL *ku-in-ki i-ia-zi*
 5'/7' [šal-l]i-ia Ú-UL *ku-it-ki ḥal-zi-ia*

§3' 6'/8' [A-NA] DINGIR-LIM Ú-UL-ma *a-aš-ṛ šu*¹
 7'/9' [na-a]š URU *ka-a-ta-pí an-da-an Ú-UL-pát*
 8'/10' [pa]-iz-zi nu an-da-an URU *ta-ḥur-pí-pát*
 9'/11' [p]a-iz-zi na-aš-ta LUGAL-uš URU *ta-ḥur-pí*
 10'/12' *ša-ra-a* GIGIR-it *pa-iz-zi*

²¹ Bo 3492; KBo 8.119.

²² KBo 38.5; KBo 49.228; KUB 20.69; and KUB 41.38.

- §4' 11'/13' *na-aš-ta ma-aḥ-ḥa-an* LUGAL-uš KÁ.GAL
 12'/-- [a]n-da a-ri ^UALAM.Z[U9]
 13'/-- [a-ḥ]a-a ḥal-z[a-i]

- §5' 14'/-- [na]m-ma-a[š[?]
 15'/-- []x [

(§2') They [(i.e. the king and queen^(?))] come to Taḥurpa [from whichever[?]] city. If it pleases [the deity, then] he goes to Katapa. However, he will celebrate no [festival] (there), and he will call no '[grea]t assembly'.

(§3') (If) it does not please the deity, [h]e will not go to Katapa, but will go directly to Taḥurpa. The king will enter Taḥurpa in a chariot.

(§4') As the king arrives to the city gate, the comedian shouts *aḥā*.

(§5') (too fragmentary for translation)

The fragment indeed offers a clear description of a journey to Taḥurpa, which even includes the dilemma of whether or not the king should go to Katapa. Although this is solved by an oracle, regardless of the will of the gods, celebrations in Katapa are forbidden. Since there is no need for information regarding what happens in Katapa, line 9' mentions the king entering Taḥurpa in a chariot, just as anticipated on the basis of the outline tablet and similarly to the discussed new item in CTH 605: KUB 10.3. In this light, the attribution to the beginning of the AN.DAḤ.SUM appears justified.

Moving on to the two remaining fragments, however, the matter becomes much more obscure. In the first fragment of this group, KUB 10.31, only a part of the colophon is preserved (untranslated; see Waal 2015: 409):

KUB 10.31 rev. VI (colophon)

- 1' DUB 2^{KAM} QA-TI [
 2' ^{URU}ka-a-ta-pa-a[z
 3' A-NA ITU ^{URU}x[
 4' ^{URU}ta-a-ḥur-pí p[a-iz-zi
 5' nu ^{URU}ta-a-ḥur-pí [
 6' [š]al-li a-še-e[š-šar
-
- 7' lu-uk-kat-ti-ia-kán [
 8' ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ^{URU}k[a-ta-pa-az[?]]
 9' kat-ta ku-it-ma-a[n
 10' A-NA GIŠ^{KIRI}6^D[
 11' an-da [
 12' A-NA GIŠ.ḤUR-kán ḥ[a-an-dan]

The colophon is extraordinarily long and describes two days of a festival, including the journey from Katapa to Taḥurpa, but with some unusual wording and parts of the lines missing.

Although KUB 10.31 provides information about the journey from Katapa to Taḥurpa and the ‘great assembly’ in the latter city, which seems to remain in accordance with the outline tablet, there are at least two problems with this text.

First, as shown by the initial line of the colophon (“second tablet, finished”), KUB 10.31 is the second part of a larger whole. Its second part (rev. VI 7’–11’) informs us that on the second day of the entire event, already after arriving at Taḥurpa, something still takes place in or near Katapa. This would contradict the evidence from the outline tablets, which clearly state that no celebrations are to be held in Katapa.²³

A more fitting interpretation would have to assume that this text describes a festival in which Katapa actually plays a significant part. Such celebrations are found in the *nuntarriyašḥaš* festival – days 4 and 15 would fit the description.

Another point has to do with the unusual wording in line 3’ where the combination of ITU ‘month’ and city name appears to make little sense. However, if one emended the passage to A-NA <EZEN4>.ITU URUx[“for the festival of the month of the city x,” the line would immediately disclose the purpose of the text, namely monthly celebrations in an unknown location.

Finally, it appears that the last fragment of CTH 605, IBoT 2.16 + Bo 6227, has been identified as belonging to the first day of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM based solely on its possible link with the discussed KUB 10.31.²⁴ While it is possible for the two texts to belong to the same composition, it seems, once again, that there is nothing to indicate that they were part of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, or at least of its first day.

3. Conclusions

In the light of the above considerations it is possible to draft a much slimmer chart of CTH 605–607. The only group of texts that became enlarged as a result of this is the one related to the first day of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. The revised CTH 605 would now have at least two versions. The scholarly account of the second day of the festival, although radically changed, would actually become clearer with only CTH 594 left in place. Finally, the removal of the only representative of CTH 607 would leave this position in the chart empty (see Table 5).

23 The unusual length of the colophon makes it tempting to see it as describing only those events that were written down on this particular tablet and not on the first one. This would of course strengthen the argument as it would mean that the departure from Katapa was preceded by some other celebrations, whereas, according to the outline tablets, the journey to Taḥurpa should be the very first event of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. However, it seems that when a colophon refers to a part of the composition that is preserved only on the tablet of that same colophon, it is appropriately noted (see e.g. the expression *kēdani tuppiya* ‘on this tablet’ in KBo 41.12+; Waal 2015: 488). Such a reference is obviously missing from KUB 10.31. I would like to thank Charles Steitler for his helpful comments on this matter.

24 The colophon of IBoT 2.16 + Bo 6227 rev. 6’f. reads: 6’ DUB 1^{KAM} 7’ URUka-[-].

day 1	CTH 605.1	IBoT 3.40 + KBo 52.112
	CTH 605.2.A	KUB 10.3
	CTH 605.2.B	Bo 3492
	CTH 605.2.C	KBo 8.119
	CTH 605.3	KUB 20.69
day 2	CTH 606	= CTH 594
day 6	CTH 607	empty

Table 5. New attributions of texts to days of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM.

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OFFERINGS TO THE *LOCI NUMINOSI*

Distinctive Features of Sacred Spaces and Cult Practices

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Abstract

Although they appear to be but trivial details of the Hittite festival descriptions, the ‘(sacred) places’ or *loci numinosi* provide valuable details about sacred spaces in the Hittite kingdom. The variations between the sequences can be explained as reflections of the specifics of the individual temples (location, deity, architecture). Thus, text fragments preserving such *loci numinosi* sequences (even partially) may be identifiable with particular (sub-)festivals. This provides a reliable criterium for assigning fragmentary texts describing the AN.DAḪ.SUM festival to particular days and/or sub-festivals with greater accuracy or certainty.

1. Introduction

Among the offerings described in the Hittite festival texts, it is possible to distinguish those presented to the deities *proper* and those presented to various locations and objects within the temple. Common examples of these include the hearth, the window, and the wooden door bolt, but many offering sequences also encompassed the altar or pedestal (*ištanana-*), the throne ^(D)*ḫalmaššuit-*/^(D)*DAG*), the hunting bag (^{KUŠ}*kurša-*) and other objects. Some historians of Hittite religion have collectively referred to these as *loci numinosi*.¹ This is a fitting designation since they were understood to possess a divine aura or were indeed deified.² In his monumental study of Hittite religion, Haas described the nature of the *loci numinosi* as follows:

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- 1 See also the discussion of the *loci numinosi* in Steitler 2019: 16–18. The term *loci numinosi* has been used first and foremost by Haas (e.g. 1994: 250, 252, 262). Earlier, Goetze 1953: 268–71; 1957: 162 referred to the ‘holy places’ / ‘*heilige Stätten*’, whereas Popko 1978: 14f.; 1993: 320, for example, simply called them ‘places’ or ‘localities’, though he did employ the term *numina* as well (Popko 1978: 15); cf. also Taracha 2009: 62 who, in addition to the ‘holy places’ also spoke of the *numina loci*. These terms are to be distinguished from the *genius loci* or *numen loci* of ancient Roman religion, which referred to a single supernatural being or spirit associated with a specific locality. The term *loci numinosi* as it applies to Hittite religion is principally collective and refers to a plurality of locations that existed in close proximity to each other, and that stood inside or near a single sanctuary or temple.
 - 2 Previous systematic studies of the *loci numinosi* (vel sim.) include Archi 1975; Popko 1978: 14–28; and Gonnet 1992. The latter proposed that the offerings to the *loci numinosi* were a re-enactment of the foundation rituals for building temples. While this theory is possible, it remains speculative; on Hittite building rituals, see most recently Torri and Görke 2013; Görke and Torri 2014.

Die das Haus erfüllenden numinosen Kräfte sind an spezifischen Stellen konzentriert, so daß jeder wichtige Teil des Hauses seinen eigenen Geist besitzt. Für diese gestaltlosen Numina ist ein seit althethitischer Zeit belegter Standard-Opferitus überliefert, der in verschiedenen Gebäuden während verschiedener Festrитуale ausgeführt wird. (Haas 1994: 262)

Haas went on to describe the *loci numinosi* within a chapter dedicated to the house cults (“*Hauskulte*”, Haas 1994: 262–82). However, he made no provision there for the mobile and non-architectural objects frequently appearing in these sequences. With regard to the festival texts, a more appropriate definition of the *loci numinosi* was put forth by M. Popko:

Die beopferten Gegenstände und Stätten werden in den Texten mit dem gemeinsamen Terminus ‘Lokalitäten’ (heth[itis]ch *peda-*) bezeichnet. Sie beziehen sich auf bestimmte Teile des Kultraumes sowie Elemente seiner Ausstattung. Bei der Aufzählung von Örtlichkeiten im Rahmen einer Textgruppe bemerkt man die Tendenz, deren ständige Reihenfolge, d.h. die ständige Opferordnung zu erhalten. Die Opferordnung scheint wenigstens teilweise von der Anordnung der ‘Lokalitäten’ im Kultraum abhängig zu sein. (Popko 1993: 320f.)

Offerings to the *loci numinosi* differ from those for the gods on several points: They are never said to be accompanied by music, nor do they ever consist of drinking rites (formulated in the festival texts as ‘drinking the deity’ [DN *eku-*]). They are often carried out by cult functionaries, whereas the drinking rite and most offerings to the gods were the exclusive prerogative of the king, the queen, or the prince. Furthermore, the abbreviated offering formulae³ and the collective reference to the *loci numinosi* as ‘places’ (*pedaš*) or ‘places of the deities’ (**šiunan pedaš*) distinguish them from the normal offering sequences that proceed from the highest-ranking deities to the more peripheral ones.

The present study focuses specifically on the *loci numinosi* sequences in texts of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival.⁴ This itinerant festival was celebrated in the spring at various locations in Central Anatolia – much of it directly in Ḫattuša.⁵ It comprises a series of sub-festivals, that had previously been independent celebrations. In the Early Empire period, these were subsumed under the rubric of a single spring festival lasting 38 days (according to some outline tablets). The sequences of *loci numinosi* reflect both the architecture and the cultic assemblages of the various temples visited in the course of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. Distinct constellations of cultic and architectonic elements

3 The repetition of offerings is usually indicated by logographic 1-ŠU following each item, whereas the offering material and the corresponding verb (such as *šipanti* or *dai*) are usually only stated once at the beginning or end of the sequence.

4 This study reflects the initial work in preparation of a full critical text edition of all the tablets/fragments of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival for online publication on the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz* (hethiter.net) as well as a comprehensive study of the origins and development of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival in relationship to other (local) spring festivals of the Hittites, including its cultural, religious and political-administrative significance in the Hittite kingdom. This endeavor is being carried out under the auspices of the long-term project *Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrитуale* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur | Mainz).

5 Numerous studies have appeared pertaining to the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival in whole or in part. What follows is a selection of the most significant of these: concerning the outline tablets, Güterbock 1960; Houwink ten Cate 1986; 2003; concerning the tablets with detailed descriptions of specific days, Yoshida 1992 (days 7–8); Haas and Wäfler 1976; 1977 (day 11); Marcuson 2011 (days 12–13); Badali et al. 1994 (day 16); Galmarini 2013; 2014 (days 22–25, 29, 33–34); Popko and Taracha 1988 (days 28–29).

can be identified by comparing the sequences with each other. In some cases, the cultic context or deity of a certain temple can explain the differences, permitting us to connect specific sequences of *loci numinosi* with a particular temple or festival event. Such features are conducive to identifying small festival fragments preserving (portions of) these sequences with a specific festival celebration.

2. *Loci numinosi* in the contexts of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM sub-festivals

Sequences of *loci numinosi* are attested in the context of at least eight different identifiable days or sub-festivals of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. These will be discussed in sequential order of the festival events as known from the outline tablets. Texts describing days with no *loci numinosi* sequences will not be discussed. Fragments of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival tablets, which have yet to be attributed to a particular day, but which do contain *loci numinosi* sequences will be treated last.

2.1 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 7–8

The first example stems from the texts of CTH 621,⁶ which according to Yoshida (1992: 122) describe a festival celebrated in the temple of the Sun-goddess on days 7–8. After leaving the *ḫalentu*-building, the king proceeds to the entry room (*arkiu*-) of the temple of the Sun-goddess, washes his hands, performs libations and bread offerings, and carries out the drinking rite for the Sun-goddess, Mezzulla and the Moon-god.⁷ Subsequent rites are performed involving bread and pithoi, after which the king enters the cella of the temple. The text breaks off at this point, but resumes with the description of a drinking rite performed for Mezzulla, after which the supervisor of the cooks lays down liver at the following locations:⁸ the hearth, the table, the throne, the window, the wooden door bolt and again beside the hearth.

Libations are performed for the same sequence in KBo 40.176 obv. 6'–8', which describes actions immediately preceding a drinking rite for the Sun-goddess (restored) and Mezzulla. The characteristic element of this sequence is the 'table', which only occurs among the *loci numinosi* in the temple of the Sun-goddess. It also appears, for example, in the context of the Winter Festival for the Sun-goddess,⁹ where it is referred

6 While the texts assigned to CTH 608 are classified as days 7–8, CTH 621 is given the somewhat misleading name "AN.DAḪ.ŠUM 'first tablet'" on account of the colophon, identifying the number of the tablet describing this portion of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival. The attribution of the texts of CTH 621 to days 7–8 is based on the colophons of KBo 21.80+ rev. IV 17f. and KBo 20.76 + KBo 24.97 + KBo 24.87+ rev. 10'–12'/rev. 1'–3'/rev. 16'–18', specifying that the festival is celebrated in the temple of the Sun-goddess, after which the king proceeds to the city Matilla (corresponding to KBo 10.20 [CTH 604.A] obv. I 44–II 2).

7 See the text edition by Yoshida 1992: 134–36.

8 According to KBo 30.101+ obv. II 6f. (CTH 621.A, MS); restored according to duplicates KBo 30.65 (CTH 621.B, MS) obv. 1–3; KBo 40.176 (CTH 621, MS) obv. 1'–3'.

9 In KUB 2.6 (CTH 598.1.A, NS) rev. IV 29; cf. also KUB 41.40 rev. IV 25' (CTH 669.32, NS) and KBo 45.19: 9' (CTH 670.771, NS), of which both festival fragments are parallel to KUB 10.23 (CTH 612.b.C, LNS), a fragment that in obv. III 3, 19 and rev. IV 6' also mentions the 'table of the deity' among the *loci numinosi* and should thus perhaps be reassigned to CTH 598 or CTH 608 (see Section 2.4 below).

to as the ‘table of the deity’.¹⁰ Other festival texts that include the table among the *loci numinosi* will be discussed below (see Section 3.2).

2.2 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 11

We now turn our attention to IBoT 3.1 (CTH 609.1.A, LNS), which describes day 11 when a symbol representing the ‘year’ was brought into the *hešta*-house.¹¹ This tablet provides a clear example of the distinct manner in which the Hittite scribes recorded the offerings to the *loci numinosi* in writing. The first preserved lines of the tablet describe drinking rites accompanied by bread offerings to the most prominent deities of the pantheon: the Sun-goddess, Mezzulla, the Storm-god, the Storm-god of Zippalanda and the Stag-god (^DKAL) (IBoT 3.1 obv. 1’–6’). At the beginning of the next day, the king leaves the *halentu*-complex and goes to the *hešta*-building (7’–16’), where bread is offered to the *loci numinosi*:

IBoT 3.1 obv.

- 17’ *ma-a-a*[*n* LUGAL-*u*š^É]*hé-eš-ta-aš a-aš-ki a-ri* LÚ^{MES} GIS^{BANŠUR}
 18’ NINDA.GUR4RA ^rHLA¹ *ap-pa-an-zi ta-an pa-a-an-zi* AŠ-*R*^{HLA} DINGIR^{MES}
 19’ *ti-an-[z]*i ...

Whe[n the king] arrives at the gate of the *hešta*-building, the table-men take loaves of bread, and they proceed to lay them at the ‘places of the deities’. ...

The ‘places of the deities’ (AŠ-*R*^{HLA} DINGIR^{MES} = **šiunan pedaš*) is the full phrase for what is in most cases elliptically referred to as the ‘places’ (AŠ-*R*^{HLA}); the referents of this collective term are listed off explicitly in the subsequent text. The king proceeds from the gate into the entry room of the temple, and from there to the inner chamber, where he performs an offering to the deity of the temple (obv. 21’–40’). The king leaves the inner chamber and steps up to the throne, where he purifies himself with *tuhḫueššar*¹² (obv. 41’–43’). After this, the chief of the cooks performs offerings at various locations within the temple:

IBoT 3.1 lower edge – rev.

- l. e. 43’ ... UGULA ^rLÚ¹ MUḪALDİM LÚ ^rÉ¹ *hé-eš-[t]a-a* [...]
 rev. 44’ ^rNINDA.GUR4¹.RA *pár-ši-ia* PA-NI^Dle-el-wa-ni ^rti²-ia²-zi
 45’ 1 NINDA.GUR4RA PA-NI^DUD-^rMI¹ 1 NINDA PA-NI^DUTU 1 NINDA PA-⟨NI⟩^D*pa-pa-i*[*a*
 46’ ^Diš-du-uš-ta-ia 1 NINDA.GUR4RA A-NA ^Dḫa-ša-mi-li
 47’ 1 NINDA.GUR4RA ^DU.GUR 1 NINDA.GUR4RA-ma *ḫar-za-zu-ta* DÜ-an-z[i
 48’ A-NA PA-NI DINGIR-LIM 1 ^Dš^ri¹-tar-šu-na 1 GIS^{AB}-ia 1 *ḫa-tal-^rwa-aš* GIS¹-i
 49’ 1 ^rD¹za-ap-pa-aš (erasure) 1 GUNNI-i 6 NINDA.GUR4RA-ma MU^{HLA}-aš *pár-ši-ia*

¹⁰ GIS^{BANŠUR} DINGIR-LIM; cf. Popko 2003: 15.

¹¹ For a discussion of the relationship of IBoT 3.1 to the texts of CTH 645.6 (e.g. KBo 17.15, OS³), see Torri 2015: 290–96, who argued that CTH 645.6 was an older festival performed in the *hešta*-house in honor of Lelwani and her circle of gods, and that it was integrated into the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival on day 11, as evidenced by IBoT 3.1.

¹² On the identification of *tuhḫueššar* as thyme, see Zeilfelder 2000.

- 50' EGIR-ŠU UGULA ^{LJ}MUḪALDIM *me-ma-ṛli-ṛit* AŠ-R^{HLA} *ir-ḫa-a-ez-zi*
 51' EGIR-ŠU TA KAŠ.GEŠTIN ^ṛ*ta-ṛwa-li-ṛit* AŠ-R^{HLA} *ir-ḫa-a-ez-zi*

... The supervisor of the cooks (and) the man of the *ḫešta*-building [...] He breaks a loaf of bread (and) steps up before Lelwani. 1 loaf of bread before the deified day, 1 bread before the solar deity, 1 bread before Papaya[a, one bread^(?) before] Išduštaya, 1 loaf of bread at Ḫašamili, 1 loaf of bread (at) Zilipuri, but 1 loaf of bread they prepare as *ḫarzazuta*. [...] before the deity.¹³ 1 (bread at) Šitaršuna, 1 (bread) at the window, 1 (bread) at the wooden door bolt, 1 (bread) at the *zappaš* (objects), 1 (bread) at the hearth, but he breaks 6 loaves of bread at the 'years'.

Thereafter, the chief of the cooks performs a round of offerings with groats to the 'places'. Thereafter he performs a round of offerings with beer-wine (and) *tawal*-beer to the 'places'.

Lelwani	primary deity revered in the <i>ḫešta</i> -building
the deified day	deities of the circle of Lelwani
the solar deity	
Papaya	
Išduštaya	
Ḫašamili	
Zilipuri	
Šitaršuna	<i>loci numinosi</i>
the window	
the wooden door bolt	
the <i>zappaš</i> objects	
the hearth	
the 'years'	

Table 1. Deities and *loci numinosi* of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 11.

That the offerings in IBoT 3.1 rev. 44'–49' are performed by the supervisor of the cooks alone is confirmed in rev. 50, where he is mentioned as the sole agent of the offerings of groats to the 'places'. The sequence begins with an offering in front of the image of Lelwani, followed by offerings at twelve other locations (see Table 1). The first six of these were deities belonging to the circle of Lelwani.¹⁴ The next six are either architec-

¹³ Cf. n. 18.

¹⁴ See Torri 1999: 10–16; 2015; the absence of the dyad Ašamatta-Tašamatta, who appear separately later in IBoT 3.1 rev. 56, may be related to the variation between the numbers 7 and 9 (the respective sums of deities, including Lelwani) as they pertain to the netherworld. On this, see Haas 1976: 201f. with n. 29 and Torri 1999: 11.

tonic features of the temple or utensils or symbols employed in the temple cult.¹⁵ Several factors suggest that only the final six items fall into the category of *loci numinosi* as it is defined in the present study.¹⁶ Just prior to these, the sequence is interrupted by a note concerning bread that is prepared as *ḥarazuta*,¹⁷ which is followed by a specification of something done before the image of Lelwani.¹⁸ The sequence of deities from Lelwani to Zilipuri is attested elsewhere without the following sequence of Šitaršuna, the window, etc.¹⁹ It is, furthermore, of interest that most of the first six items occur with the Akkadogram *PA-NI*,²⁰ while the latter six items are simply written in the dat.-loc., also implying some kind of difference in the nature of the items to which offerings were presented.

All this raises the question of whether the shorthand notations of offerings presented to the ‘places’ in IBoT 3.1 rev. 50f. and 57f. refer to the twelve (or thirteen, if Lelwani is counted as well) deities and locations just discussed, or only to the final six? The subsequent offerings of ‘fresh meat’ (*šuppa*) described in rev. 60–62 begin with Lelwani and end with Zilipuri, but are then followed by the abbreviated description of offerings to the ‘places’, consisting first of liver and then of beer-wine, *tawal*- beer and *walḫi*-beer (rev. 63–65). The latter would unlikely have been repeated for the sequence of Lelwani to Zilipuri, explicitly listed off before in rev. 60–62. The subsequent offerings instead appear to have been restricted to the six ‘places’ (i.e. beginning with Šitaršuna and ending with the ‘years’). At the same time, although Lelwani was also the recipient of a drink offering at the end of a sequence beginning with the major deities of the Hittite pantheon (Tauri, Sun-goddess, Mezulla, Storm-god, etc. in rev. 71–89), none of the deities specific to Lelwani’s circle appear in that sequence (with the exception of the deified day, in rev. 77).

It thus seems that even though the deities of Lelwani’s circle and the aforementioned *loci numinosi* were significant within Lelwani’s cult in the *ḥešta*- building, only Lelwani herself was revered in the context of the cult of the primary Hittite pantheon. The offerings presented to the images of the deities of Lelwani’s circle were immedi-

15 ^DŠitaršuna is a variant of the more frequently attested deity name ^DŠitarzuna, which, apart from similar lists of *loci numinosi* pertaining to the *ḥešta*- building, also appears in connection with the deities Taḥanpīpu, Waḥzašu and Takkiḫau in the KILAM festival (KBo 20.33 + KBo 25.19+ rev. 3’ / rev. 62 [CTH 627.3.a, OS] and restored in KBo 25.12+ rev. IV 16’f. [CTH 627.1.h.a, OS]; cf. Singer 1984: 38, 91), Šitarš/zuna is thus likely a Hattian deity represented in (an?) iconic form in the *ḥešta*- building. HEG W–Z 660f. identified ^Dzappa- as a utensil or an architectonic feature of the *ḥešta*- building (id. makes no connection with the functionary title ^{L0}zapaḫalli-). On both ^Dzappa- and Šitarš/zuna, see Archi 1986: 340f.; van Gessel 1998–2001: vol. 1, 406, 575; and Torri 1999: 22.

16 See also Haas 1994: 739, who similarly distinguished two groups within this sequence.

17 HW² III H/1, 385–87 interpreted (^{NINDA})ḫa/urzazu(n)t- as “mit Suppe voll(gesogen)es Brot.”

18 The beginning of IBoT 3.1 rev. 48 (A-NA PA-NI DINGIR-LIM) could either be connected with the preceding context of the preparation of *ḥarazuta*- bread, in which case one could understand the prepositional phrase as an ellipsis also implying a verb: “[He sets it] before the deity.” Alternatively, the phrase may specify that the subsequent bread offerings were presented to locations (Šitaršuna, the window, etc.) in the presence of the deity Lelwani.

19 E.g. in KBo 17.15 obv. I’ 9’–19’ (see Torri 1999: 10–16).

20 Except for Ḫašamili, which is preceded by A-NA.

ately followed by offerings to the *loci numinosi* in several instances in IBoT 3.1; in some cases, the transition from one group to the other was seamless. This implies that AŠ-R^{HLA} (DINGIR^{MES}) designated the set of physical objects and locations within the *hešta*-building, but not the circle of deities associated with Lelwani, despite the close connection between the two.

2.3 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 15

A more typical *loci numinosi* sequence than that of day 11 occurs in texts describing day 15 of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival, on which the king went to the *tarnu*-building, a structure connected with the wash-house,²¹ and performed offerings at a cult stela of the Storm-god. KUB 11.18+²² obv. II describes the libation at this stela, followed by offerings to the *loci numinosi*:

KUB 11.18+ obv. II

- 4' LUGAL-uš DU-^rzi^r UGULA L^UMUḪALDIM
 5' ta-wa-la-aš^{DUG}KU-KU-BU LUGAL-i p[a-a-i]
 6' DAB-zi LUGAL-uš QA-TAM da-a-^ri^r
 7' UGULA L^U.MES^{MUḪALDIM} PA-NI^{NA⁴}ZI.KIN^r3-ŠU^r
 8' BAL-an-ti UGULA L^UMUḪALDIM UGULA L^UMES^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-ia
 9' an-da šu-up-pí-ia-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi
-
- 10' ḫa-aš-ši-i iš-tar-na pé-d[i] ^r1'-ŠU
 11' ^Dzi-it-ḫa-ri-ia 1-Š[U]
 12' ^{GIŠ}DAG-ti 1-ŠU ^{GIŠ}AB-ia [1-Š]U ḫa-aš-ši-i ḫal-^rḫal^r-t[u²-ma-ri 1-ŠU]
 13' ḫa-tal-wa-(aš) ^{GIŠ}-i 1-ŠU
 14' nam-ma ḫa-aš-ši-i ta-pu-^ruš^r-z[a 1-ŠU] ^rBAL-ti^r
-
- 15' EGIR-ŠU wa-al-ḫi-it [
 16' AŠ-R^{HLA} QA-TAM-MA-pát i[r-ḫa-a-ez-zi]
-

The king steps up; the supervisor of the cooks g[ives] the king a jug of *tawal*-beer. He holds it (out), (and) the king lays (his) hand (on it). The supervisor of the cooks performs a libation three times before the cult stela. The supervisor of the cooks and the supervisor of the table-servants purify *themselves*.

In the middle of the hearth once, at Zithariya once, at the throne once, at the window once, on the cor[ners] of the hearth [once], at the wooden door bolt once, again beside the hearth [once] he performs a libation.

Afterwards with *walḫi*-beer [...] he likewise makes the r[ound of offerings] (at) the 'places'.

21 Concerning the ^E*tarnu*-, see the studies by Pierallini 2002 and Savaş 2008, as well as HEG T, D 199–201 with further literature references.

22 KUB 11.18 + KUB 20.63 (CTH 611.1.A, NS).

The text cited above describes a purification rite performed by the supervisor of the cooks and the supervisor of the table-servants prior to the *loci numinosi* offerings (8'f.). The reflexive meaning of the phrase 'they purify themselves' (*anda šuppiyahḫanzi*) was first suggested by Goetze (1969: 359) and followed by Badalı et al. (1994: 128). Regardless of whether or not this interpretation is correct, almost all occurrences of *anda šuppiyahḫ-* are found in contexts immediately preceding the *loci numinosi* offerings, where the supervisor of the cooks and the supervisor of the table-men act as subjects.²³ Thus, *anda šuppiyahḫ-* appears to have been especially connected with the *loci numinosi* offerings.

KUB 11.18+ obv. II 10'–14'
in the middle of the hearth
Zithariya
the throne
the window
the corners of the hearth
the wooden door bolt
again beside the hearth

Table 2. *loci numinosi* of AN.DAḪ.SUM day 15.

The text specifies three locations of the offering at the hearth: 'in the middle of the hearth' (10'), 'on the corners of the hearth' (12'), and 'again beside the hearth' (14') (see Table 2). The latter is very common at the end of the *loci numinosi* sequences, while the specification of an offering 'in the middle of the hearth' is less common. The offering 'on the corners of the hearth', in contrast, is quite rare: most occurrences of this can be found in festival texts of the Palaeon cult and texts describing the *ḫišuwa*-festival.²⁴ There is no apparent reason why this mode of offering should be expected here; but since the first column of KUB 11.18+ appears to describe the end of the celebration in the temple of Ziparwa (the Storm-god of the Palaeon pantheon), it could reflect a connection with the Palaeon cult.²⁵

The presence of Zithariya can be compared to the attestations of the hunting bag (^{KUŠ}*kurša-*) among the *loci numinosi*; this object was an attribute of the so-called 'protective deities' or 'Stag-gods'.²⁶ Most likely, Zithariya – who belonged to the category of 'protective deities' – should be understood in the context of the *loci numinosi* as a hunting bag representing this deity.²⁷ This is supported by a text in which Zithariya is

23 A search of the corpus of Hittite festival texts yielded 34 occurrences of *anda šuppiyahḫ-*; of these, 27 clearly occurred immediately before the offerings to the *loci numinosi* (e.g. KBo 4.9 obv. III 5 and KUB 2.6 rev. IV 26), 2 occurred immediately *after* offerings to the *loci numinosi* (Bo 3317 rev. 5' and Bo 3731: 6'), and 5 were too fragmentary to allow for a firm conclusion (e.g. ABoT 2.164: 9' and KUB 10.10: 11').

24 E.g. KBo 58.220+ rev. 9'f. (CTH 750); KBo 43.200+: 5'–13'; KUB 30.40 obv. II; and Bo 6099 (*ḫišuwa*-festival).

25 Cf. KUB 11.18+ obv. I 6'–11', restored according to the duplicate KUB 20.42 obv. I 13–16, the latter referring to the temple of Ziparwa in obv. I 13.

26 On Zithariya in general, see McMahon 1991: 19–23.

27 Cf. McMahon 1991: 20f., who notes a similar phenomenon for the deity Kappariyamu, attested among the *loci numinosi* in KUB 53.11 obv. II 7'–32'.

said to be ‘hung up’ (*ganganza*),²⁸ which implies that the proper (divine) name Zith̄ariya could be used metonymously for a hunting bag. We can thus conclude that a hunting bag as an attribute of Zith̄ariya was also present in the *tarnu*-building where the cult stela of the Storm-god was located.

2.4 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 16

Similar to the *loci numinosi* sequence of day 15 is that of day 16 of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, when the king and the queen celebrated a festival in the temple of Zababa. In this case, however, the sequence lacks the hunting bag / Zith̄ariya, but commenced with two additional items (see Table 3). Between the two main tablets of day 16 a discrepancy exists as to what these initial items were: In KBo 4.9 the sequence begins with the deified throne and Zababa followed by the hearth, the throne, the window, the wooden door bolt and finally beside the hearth.²⁹ The sequence in KBo 20.38+ is identical, except that *ḫurtaliyaš* occurs instead of the throne and Zababa. I understand *ḫurtaliyaš* as a pl. dat.-loc. of *ḫurtali*,³⁰ as the rest of the *loci numinosi* are also in the dat.-loc. Since KBo 4.9 is a LNS text whereas KBo 20.38+ is MS, it is possible that in a later version of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 16, *ḫurtaliyaš* was replaced by or specified as the throne and Zababa. As a result, the throne appears twice among the *loci numinosi* in KBo 4.9.

KBo 4.9 obv. II 37–50	KBo 20.38 + KBo 41.82 obv. I 4'–10'/2'
throne	<i>ḫurtaliyaš</i>
Zababa	
hearth	hearth
throne	throne
window	window
wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt
again beside the hearth	again beside the hearth

Table 3. *loci numinosi* of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 16.

The noun, *ḫurtali*-, meaning ‘mixture, opponent’, could stem from *hu(wa)rt-* ‘to curse’,³¹ and *ḫurtaliya-* ‘to commingle, subvert, ruin’ is likely a denominal derivation of *ḫurtali*-.³² It occurs in a few other texts and within sequences of *loci numinosi* where it is occasionally marked with the divine determinative.³³ VSNF 12.13+,³⁴ for example, describes a festival

28 Thus KBo 49.189 obv. I 12'ff. with ^DZith̄ariyaš... *ganganza*.

29 KBo 4.9 obv. III 12 also adds an offering to the statue of Ḫattušili immediately following. Similarly, IBoT 4.186 obv. 7'f. attests an offering to a statue, with the name of Ḫattušili restored afterwards, allowing this text also to be identified with day 16 of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM.

30 See Popko 1998: 857; HW² III Ḫ/2, 772f. gives no examples of *ḫurtali*- ending in *-iyaš*, but treats these elsewhere as a dative-locative singular form (e.g. HW² III Ḫ/1, 75a).

31 See HW² III Ḫ/2, 772; differently HED 3, 438.

32 See HW² III Ḫ/2, 772f. and HED 3, 438.

33 Thus in KBo 21.49+ obv. I 3', rev. III 11'; KBo 20.38+ obv. I 5'.

34 VSNF 12.13 (+) KUB 2.14 + VSNF 12.12 (CTH 647.1, NS).

also celebrated in the temple of Zababa, by the prince, however. The *loci numinosi* there correspond to those of AN.DAĤ.ŠUM day 16 (KBo 20.38+), but the tablet seems to describe a different festival in which the prince, not the king, is the celebrant. If so, this text provides evidence external to AN.DAĤ.ŠUM day 16 that the *hurtaliya*-objects were specifically connected with the temple of Zababa. The etymology of *hurtaliya*- from *hurtali*- ‘opponent’ could suggest that these objects represented or were connected with military opponents or enemies; one could thus easily imagine their association with the War-god Zababa.

The other attestations of ^(D)*hurtaliyaš* in *loci numinosi* sequences all occur in texts currently designated as CTH 660, which also describe a festival celebrated by the prince, but where the altar, Damnaššara and Šuwaliyatt precede *hurtaliyaš* in the *loci numinosi* sequence. It is unclear to which festival these texts belong: As in VSNF 12.13+, the prince is the primary agent, but in contrast, the location of the activity is unclear. The texts booked under CTH 660 are in fact heterogeneous. Some include ‘offerings for the royal statues’ (thus the title given to this CTH number) at the end of a *loci numinosi* sequence performed by the king in the temple of the Storm-god.³⁵ These may describe the celebration of the Storm-god of lightning in the ‘house of purity’ on day 18 of the AN.DAĤ.ŠUM festival. Distinct from these are the aforementioned texts of CTH 660, in which the prince is the celebrant and *hurtaliyaš* occurs in the *loci numinosi* sequence, but no offerings to the royal statues are attested. Thus, these texts do not seem to meet the primary requirement for assigning them to CTH 660. While some such texts formerly attributed to CTH 660 have now been reassigned to CTH 612,³⁶ the additional items preceding *hurtaliyaš* in the *loci numinosi* sequence as well as the prince as the celebrant both speak against their identification with day 16 of AN.DAĤ.ŠUM.

It should be noted, however, that in KBo 4.9 obv. III 11f., which certainly describes day 16, the *loci numinosi* sequence is immediately followed by one final libation to the statue of Ḫattušili (I) – paralleling the texts of CTH 660 that describe offerings to the royal statues. The *Konkordanz*’s identification (Kořak 2002–) of KUB 10.23 with day 16 apparently follows Badali et al. (1994: 9, 30f.). However, the presence of the ‘table of the deity’ in the *loci numinosi* sequence in KUB 10.23 (obv. III 3, 19 and rev. IV 6’) strongly suggests that this fragment should rather be associated with the cult of the Sun-goddess (perhaps days 7–8 of AN.DAĤ.ŠUM³⁷ or the Winter Festival for the Sun-goddess of Arinna, CTH 598), which are the only contexts in which the ‘table (of the deity)’ occurs among the *loci numinosi* (see n. 9 above).³⁸

2.5 AN.DAĤ.ŠUM day 25/26?

The texts of CTH 617 describe a celebration in the temple of the Stag-god in Tauriša, but it is not clear precisely on which day of AN.DAĤ.ŠUM this was carried out. The main outline tablet, KBo 10.20, makes no reference to such a celebration. Güterbock (1960:

35 KBo 24.89 (+) KUB 51.13 (+) KUB 10.11; KBo 39.90; KBo 30.53; KBo 39.86; KBo 39.88 (+) KBo 2.29 (+) KBo 2.30; KBo 39.89; KBo 39.91; KBo 39.92; KBo 52.132; KBo 55.262; VSNF 12.2.

36 E.g. KBo 41.82+ and KBo 20.77.

37 Described extensively by the texts of CTH 621 (edited by Yoshida 1992) and CTH 608 (see Section 2.1 above).

38 Badali et al. 1994: 30 n. 29 note that the offering to the ‘table of the deity’ in KUB 10.23 rev. IV 4’–6’ varies from the other texts of CTH 612.

89) tentatively suggested that it belongs to day 32, but there is no convincing evidence for this. Galmarini (2015: 53) proposed that the celebration for the Stag-god of Tauriša was performed at some point within the time frame of the festival for Ištar of Ḫattariša on days 22–26 of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM. He also notes that over time, both the day as well as the location of this festival may have changed; it may have been celebrated in Ḫattuša rather than in Tauriša as previously, or even came to be neglected entirely (Galmarini 2015: 54). The present discussion will nonetheless treat the festival as a celebration in Tauriša, since this seems to have been its original setting.

KUB 2.8	
deities (obv. I 19'–28')	<i>loci numinosi</i> (obv. I 33'ff., II 22ff., III 3ff.)
Stag-god of Tauriša	altar
'mother' Kalimma	hearth
Ḫašameli	throne
Aššiya(n)za	window
Storm-god of the forest	Ḫašameli
Zuliya	spring Kuwannaniya (out the window)
Stag-god of the river	wooden door bolt
šalawani- deities of the gate	again alongside the hearth
'small place'	
'righteous tongue'	
Annariš	
Tarpiš	
'passing through the doorway'	
'propitious day'	
spring (^{PÜ}) Kalimma 'at her place'	

Table 4. Deities and *loci numinosi* of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 25/26³⁹.

The detailed description of this festival in KUB 2.8 contains an especially interesting constellation of deities and *loci numinosi* (see Table 4). In the offering sequence for the deities, the Spring-goddess Kalimma is quite prominent, occurring there twice: once with her name determined by DINGIR, then at the end of the sequence determined with PÜ, identifying Kalimma as a spring. In the latter case, an offering was presented 'at her place',³⁹ which could mean that the offering was brought to the physical site of the spring (cf. Popko 1999: 103).

39 A different interpretation is implied by Houwink ten Cate 2003: 209, 213, who restored ^{PÜ}AMA k[alimma] in the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival outline tablet VSNF 12.1 rev. 8'. This he interpreted as a genitive construction, 'mother of Kalimma', thus differentiating a Spring-goddess, 'mother', from her daughter, Kalimma (thus also Galmarini 2015: 53). Haas 1994: 816, on the contrary, simply understood 'mother' in apposition to the proper name Kalimma. Haas' interpretation, followed in the present study, is supported by sequences in which the Stag-god of Tauriša is immediately followed by Kalimma without AMA (e.g. KUB 9.17: 13'f.; KBo 13.176 obv. r. col. 2'; Bo 6271 obv. r. col. 10'). Furthermore, in KUB rev. V, where the deities are honored with the drinking rite and are thus the direct objects of an implied verb *eku-*, some of the

At least one of these deities, 𒀭𒂗𒂊𒌷, recurs among the *loci numinosi*, where he is immediately followed by a spring named Kuwannaniya. Like the offering for the Spring-goddess Kalimma, the offering to Kuwannaniya also appears to have been brought to the spring itself as indicated in the text:⁴⁰

KUB 2.8 obv. II

27 ^{GIS}AB-ia-za-kán ar-ḫa

28 A-NA ^{PÜ}ku-wa-an-na-ni-ia 1-ŠU

(Offering is presented.) Away out of the window to the spring Kuwannaniya, once.

Offerings that are presented, poured or thrown out of a window are uncommon; normally, this mode of offering only applies to libations.⁴¹ A vessel would have been held out through the window in order to pour out the libation onto the ground in front of the window; it is conceivable that a receptacle was placed outside the window into which the libation was poured. One text states that a bull is offered through a window;⁴² this was probably the meat of an already-butchered animal. In KUB 2.8, various offering materials are presented at the *loci numinosi*. At least as far as the non-liquid offerings are concerned, we must assume that they were either placed or dropped from the window onto the ground, onto a table positioned at the window, or handed over to a cult functionary waiting outside the window. In the latter case, it is possible that the offering was transferred to the location of the spring Kuwannaniya. This is supported by the second offering to the Spring-goddess Kalimma in the offering sequence for the deities, which was explicitly to have been brought to Kalimma ‘at her place’:

KUB 2.8 obv. I

28¹ [1 ^{NIND}]A dan-na-aš A-NA ^{PÜ}ka-li-im-ma pé-ti-iš-^ršī

29¹ ^rpē-e-da-an-zi

[One] *dannaš*- [brea]d they bring to the spring Kalimma at her place.

It should be emphasized that in this text passage, Kalimma is determined with ^{PÜ}, the Sumerogram for spring, rather than ^{DINGIR}, which normally determines deity names. In contrast, when Kalimma is listed immediately after the Stag-god of Tauriša, her name is determined with ^{DINGIR} and she also receives the epithet ‘mother’.⁴³ The cir-

deity names appear in the accusative case, including Kalimma (14': ^Dka-[i-im-m]a-[a]n; 19': ^Dka'-li-im-ma-an), in both cases immediately preceded by AMA. If this were a genitive construction, then the deity's name should have possessed the genitive ending -aš, or at least have been written in the stem form simply as *kalimma*, as it is in other instances. Thus, both AMA and ^DKalimman must be accusatives, forcing us to interpret them either as two separate goddesses, which no one has claimed so far, or in apposition to one another, as is put forth here.

40 Popko 1999: 103 similarly concluded that the spring Kuwannaniya was located outside of the temple, since the offerings to her are presented ‘out of the window.’

41 E.g. KBo 21.85+ obv. I' 11'f.; see also CHD L-N 89b for further attestations.

42 KBo 25.155 + KBo 24.98 obv. I 7'/5': ... *ták-kán* ^{GU4}.MAḪ ^{GIS}AB-az [ar-ḫa šī-pa-an-ti(?)]] (CTH 738.I.7.A, MS; joins KUB 32.83 + KBo 21.103) “Then [he offers] a bull [out] through the window.”

43 The ^{DINGIR} determinative of the name Kalimma in this position occurs in KUB 2.8 obv. II 38 and rev. V 14'.

cumstances thus suggest that the offering to the Spring-goddess Kalimma was brought from the temple to the physical location of the spring. In any case, the offering material presented to Kuwannaniya ‘away out of the window’ did not remain within the enclosed temple building, as the Hittite phrase *luttiaz^a=kan arḫa* clearly indicates. It is quite plausible that the offering to Kuwannaniya was also brought to the site of the spring. Thus, within this *loci numinosi* sequence, the cultic activity connects the temple with a natural sanctuary.⁴⁴

We should also take note of the position of Kuwannaniya immediately following Ḫašameli among the *loci numinosi*. Ḫašameli is associated with springs in other *loci numinosi* sequences, e.g. on days 33–34 of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM (KUB 25.18), which will be discussed subsequently (see Section 2.7). For this reason, it is possible that the deity Ašši-ya(n)za (meaning ‘beloved’; see excursus below) immediately following Ḫašameli in the list of regular offerings might have been a Spring-goddess as well. Haas (1994: 816) considered Ašši-ya(n)za to have been the spouse or concubine of Ḫašamili. In a slightly variant sequence of deities in KUB 2.8 rev. V, the spring Kuwannaniya is actually inserted between Ḫašamili and Ašši-ya(n)za. If Ašši-ya(n)za stands in apposition to Kuwannaniya, then the name functions as an epithet of the goddess, ‘beloved’ (i.e. of Ḫašamili), which would have been a fitting epithet referring to Kuwannaniya as Ḫašamili’s concubine. For reasons unknown to us, the offering to Kalimma ‘at her place’ does not end this offering sequence as is the case elsewhere in KUB 2.8.

Excursus on Ašši-ya(n)za

According to Laroche (1946–47: 72; followed by HW² I A 405b; Haas 1994: 309, 446, 816; and Galmarini 2015: 53), the divine name Ašši-ya(n)za is the participle of *ašši-ya-* ‘to love’, thus meaning ‘beloved’. On the contrary, Starke (1990: 453f.) and Melchert (1993: 36) considered ^D*ašši-ya-* to be Luwian, occurring in the plural nominative (ending in *-(n)zi*) or the plural dative or accusative (ending in *-(n)za*). Starke (1990: 454 n. 1644) explicitly rejected a connection between Hittite *ašši-ya-* and the deity name Ašši-ya(n)za “aus lautlichen Gründen.” He apparently assumed that in this case the deity name would have been formed from the Luwian cognate of *ašši-ya-*: *asa-*. There are no compelling reasons supporting Starke’s identification (1990: 453) of the stem *ašši-ya-* (meaning unknown) with the stem of the deity name Ašiyat/Ašiyett/Ašit/Ašet.⁴⁵ The absence of *n* before the final *za/zi* can be explained as nasal reduction (cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008: 46f.). The various written forms of this deity name are shown in Table 5 below. In so far as the contexts are clear, Ašši-ya(n)za always occurs as the syntactical object (either accusative direct or dative indirect), usually of a verb of offering.

44 See also the discussion of the spring-deities in the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM celebration for the Stag-god of Tauriša in Steitler 2019: 18–20.

45 *aš(š)iya-* + *-a/ett-*, analogous to ^m*Kuliett-/Kuliyatta-* and ^m*Nakkiliett-/Nakiliatt-* (cf. Starke 1990: 453); Aššiyatt is attested in Old Assyrian texts as well as in a fragment of the *hišuwā-* festival, KBo 24.106+ 13’, written there as ^{1D}*a-aš-ši-ia-at-ta*.

text reference	writing	morphological case	syntactic function
Bo 5667: 4'	^D <i>a-aš-ši-ia-^rza¹</i>	?	(unclear)
KUB 2.8 obv. I 21' ¹	^D <i>a-aš-ši-ia¹-za</i>	dat.-loc.	indirect object of <i>paršiya-</i>
KUB 2.8 obv. II 2	^D <i>a¹-aš-ši-ia-an-za</i>	dat.-loc.	indirect object (verb unclear)
KUB 2.8 obv. II 40	^D <i>a-aš-ši-ia-za</i>	dat.-loc. (with A-NA)	dative in nominal sentence(?)
KUB 2.8 rev. V 22'	^D <i>a-aš-ši-ia-za</i>	acc.	object of <i>eku-</i> (implied by GUB-aš)
KBo 13.176 obv. r. col. 4'	^D <i>a-aš-ši-ia-zi</i>	acc.	object of <i>eku-</i> (implied by <i>andurza</i>)
KUB 10.81: 2	^D <i>a-a[š-ši-ia-za]</i>	acc.	object of <i>eku-</i> (stated at end of sequence)

Table 5. Written forms of the divine name *Aššiya(n)za*.

There are difficulties with both interpretive routes (Hittite participle or Luwian plural) outlined above, especially if the inflectional endings are taken at face value. If this is a Hittite participle, then most of the attestations appear to be nominative singular forms, which is unexpected for the object of a verb. This could be explained as an employment of the nominative for the uninflected stem form of the deity name, and proper names are frequently uninflected in Hittite texts. This phenomenon can also be observed with other uninflected proper names ending in *-anza(-)*, as the examples in Table 6 below illustrate. It should furthermore be noted that when personal names ending in *-anza-* appear in the nom. sg., they are written *-anzaš*,⁴⁶ clearly identifying the stem ending of the names as *-anza-* (rather than *-ant-*), which then serves as the ending of the uninflected stem form. This can be described as a lexicalized nominative; in this case, it remained mostly uninflected, but could have behaved as an *a*-stem.

If, on the other hand, the word reflects the Luwian nominal declination, the forms ending with *-a(n)za* are unproblematic, since this would be appropriate for an accusative object of implied *eku-* (KUB 2.8 obv. V 22') or the dat. indirect object of *paršiya-* (KUB 2.8 obv. I 21'). This, however, still leaves the nom. pl. ending *-(n)zi* in ^D*a-aš-ši-ia-zi* (KBo 13.176 obv. r. col. 4') unexplained; this is syntactically the direct object of the (implied) verb *eku-*. Alternatively, this could be understood to reflect the merger of nominative and accusative already attested in Empire period Luwian (on which, see Yakubovich 2010: 26–38). This still leaves us with the problem of the plurality of *Ašši-ya(n)za*, in which case one could have expected the plural determinative ^{MES} in at least one of the attestations.

46 For example, in KBo 2.5+ rev. IV 27f. [*nu-za*] ^m*hu-u-tu-pí-ia-an-za-aš* KUR ^{URU}*ka-[la-a-aš]-ma hu-u-man* / [EG]IR-*pa šA* KUR ^{URU}*HA-AT-TI* KUR-*e [i-ia]-at* “And Hütupiyanza made the entire land of Kalašma a land of the Hatti land again” (cf. Goetze 1933: 192f.).

text reference	writing	syntactical case
KUB 31.76 obv. 20'	^m LÚ- <i>an-za</i>	gen.
KBo 10.10 obv. IV 11	ŠA ^m pal- <i>la-an-za</i>	gen.
KBo 5.8 obv. II 32	A-NA ^m hu-tu-pí- <i>ia-an-za</i>	dat.-loc.
KBo 16.14 + KBo 16.8+ r. col. 3' / obv. II 18'	A-[N]A ^m hu-du-pí- <i>ia-an-za</i>	dat.-loc.
VSNF 12.129 obv. 2f.	A-NA ... ^m na-na- <i>an-za</i>	dat.-loc.

Table 6. Proper names ending in *-anza-*.

The solution proposed here combines both of these approaches. Etymologically, the simplest analysis is to consider *Aššiya(n)za* the Hittite participle of *aššiya-*, as has been traditionally accepted since Laroche. The spelling as *Aššiya(n)za* could thus easily be accepted as the stem form of the deity name, as can be demonstrated for numerous other proper names ending in *-anza-* (see Table 6). The occurrence of the ending *-ia-zi* in KBo 13.176 obv. r. col. 4' might have been the result of a Luwian-speaking scribe, who misinterpreted the ending *-a(n)za* as a Luwian nominative plural, and, due to the merger of the plural nominative and accusative case endings (see above), simply 'modernized' the ending to *-a(n)zi*. A similar case can be found in Bo 5667: 7' (also attributed to CTH 617 and containing the same sequence of deities), where the *šalawani-* deities of the gate are inflected as a Luwian nominative plural and written DINGIR^{MES} *ša-la-wa-ni-zi*.⁴⁷ This contrasts with KUB 2.8 rev. V 24' DINGIR^{MES} *ša-la-wa-ni-iš*, which is syntactically the direct object of the verb *ekuzi* (occurring in rev. V 30'). Thus, the ending *-iš* is clearly the nominative plural used instead of the accusative plural, which is precisely the same phenomenon attested for the Luwian inflection of *šalawani-* in Bo 5667: 7'. A further example is found in a sequence of offerings pertaining to the *hešta-* house in KUB 44.23, where ^D*za-ap-pa-an-za* (rev. IV 12') occurs in a position usually occupied by ^D*zappaš* (pl. dat.-loc.), as for example in IBoT 3.1 rev. 49' directly preceding the 'years'. This appears to be a further example of intrusion of a Luwian inflectional ending (in this case a pl. dat.-loc. corresponding to Hittite *zappaš*) where Hittite case endings are otherwise attested.

2.6 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 28–29

The descriptions of a festival for Mt. Tapala and a festival celebrated in the temple of Ea – both occurring on AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 28–29 (CTH 616) – seem to be differentiated by two different *loci numinosi* sequences. One contains no unusual elements, while the other includes a spring, the hunting bag and Ḫašameli. The differences between the sequences are highlighted by gray background in Table 7.

KBo 47.65 and KBo 58.111 have been variously assigned to CTH 616 or CTH 618. The latter identification is based on the supposed parallelism between this *loci numinosi* sequence and that in KUB 25.18 (CTH 618), which more likely describes days 33–34 and will be discussed in detail subsequently (see Section 2.7). However, as the comparison

47 On the *šalawani-* deities, see in general Haas 1994: 282, 473; Lombardi 1996: 63.

in Table 8 makes clear, the two sequences vary significantly (differences highlighted by gray background; the arrow pointing out the varying positions of the spring).

KUB 20.59 rev. V 17–25 (day 29)	KBo 47.65 r. col. 1'–9' (// KBo 58.111; day 28)
—	spring
middle of the hearth	hearth
—	hunting bag
throne	—
window	
hearth	
—	Ḫašameli
	—
wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt
hearth	again beside the hearth

Table 7. Comparison of *loci numinosi* in KUB 20.59 and KBo 47.65.

KBo 47.65 r. col. 1'–9' (// KBo 58.111; day 28)	KUB 25.18 obv. III 26'–37' (days 33–34)
spring	altar
hearth	hearth
hunting bag	hunting bag
—	throne
	window
	—
Ḫašameli	'wood' of Ḫašameli
—	spring
	pithos
wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt
again beside the hearth	beside the hearth

Table 8. Comparison of *loci numinosi* of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 28 and 33–34.

A certain ambiguity exists between the texts of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 28–29 (*CTH* 616) and the festival for the protective deities of the river (*CTH* 684). The presence of the hunting bag and the spring could indicate that KBo 47.65 and KBo 58.111 are related to the texts of *CTH* 684. However, the reference to the cult stela in both these texts rules out such a connection, since no cult stela is attested in the texts of *CTH* 684. While Galmarini (2013: 341 n. 22) argued that KBo 47.65 and KBo 58.111 should be identified with AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 29, I propose instead to identify them with day 28 based on their similarity to KBo 30.69, identified as day 28 by Popko and Taracha (1988: 83–85). This text refers to a cult stela in obv. III 14' and 29'. The identification with day 28 is further supported by a comparison of the *loci numinosi* sequences in KBo 47.65; KBo 58.111; and KBo 49.305. The latter text (classified as

CTH 593) – like AN.DAĤ.ŠUM day 28 – also describes a spring festival for Mt. Tapala. Similar to KBo 30.69, KBo 49.305 refers to a cult stela and includes the hunting bag among the *loci numinosi*. However, in contrast to KBo 47.65 and KBo 58.111, the window also appears in KBo 49.305 among the *loci numinosi* (see Table 9). There is at present no completely convincing solution for the problem of which days these texts should be assigned to.

KBo 47.65 r. col. 1'–9' (// KBo 58.111; day 28)	KBo 49.305 obv. r. col. 3'–6' (festival for Mt. Tapala, day ?)
spring	[...]
hearth	[...]
hunting bag	hunting bag
Ḫašameli	[...]
—	window
wooden door bolt	[...]
again beside the hearth	again [beside] the hearth

Table 9. *Loci numinosi* of AN.DAĤ.ŠUM day 28 and the festival for Mt. Tapala.

2.7 AN.DAĤ.ŠUM days 33–35

As is the case in the festival for the Stag-god of Tauriša (CTH 617, see Section 2.5 above), Ḫašameli also occurs in connection with a spring among the *loci numinosi* in texts of AN.DAĤ.ŠUM days 33 and 34 (KUB 25.18, CTH 618), where the cult of Mt. Puškuruwuwa is prominent. Table 10 below compares the *loci numinosi* sequences of these two festivals.

KUB 2.8 (CTH 617)	KUB 25.18 (CTH 618)
altar	altar
hearth	hearth
—	hunting bag
throne	throne
window	window
Ḫašameli	‘wood’ of Ḫašameli
spring Kuwannaniya (away through the window)	spring
—	pithos
wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt
again beside the hearth	again beside the hearth

Table 10. *Loci numinosi* of the festivals for the Stag-god of Tauriša and for Mt. Puškuruwuwa.

Some minor differences exist between the sequences: the celebration for the Stag-god of Tauriša does not include the hunting bag. It also simply lists Ḫašameli, where KUB 25.18 specifies the ‘wood of Ḫašameli’; the two would nevertheless correspond due to

the connection with 𒄩𒂗𒂗𒂗 and the position before a spring, identified in KUB 2.8 as Kuwannaniya. In the festival of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 33–34, however, the spring is unnamed. Its identification as Wiriyatu⁴⁸ is possible, since this spring is mentioned in KUB 25.18 obv. III 10 in a list of supplemental offerings of *dannaš*-bread established by Tutḫaliya:

KUB 25.18 obv. III

- 1 1 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš A-[NA ^{HUR.SAG}pūš-k]u-ru-nu-wa-aš
 2 ŠA ^mtu-ut-ḫ[a-li-ia]
-
- 3 1 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš ^Dšu-^rwa-li-at¹-ti
 4 1 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš ^Dki-ki pâr-ši-ia
 5 1 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš ḫa-aš-ši-i [p]âr-ši-ia
 6 1 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš A-NA ^{PO}ú-i-ri-^ria¹-tum pâr-š[i-ia]
-
- 7 2 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš-ma ^{NINDA}ḫar-za-zu-ta i-ia-^ran-zi¹
 8 ^{NINDA}dan-na-aš-ma an-na-al-la-az
 9 Ū-UL e-eš-ta ^DUTU-ŠI-at-kân
 10 ^mtu-ut-ḫa-li-ia-aš LUGAL GAL da-a-iš
-

KUB 25.18 (days 33–34)	KUB 57.99+ (day 35)
altar	altar (3× preceding <i>anda šuppiyaḫhanzi</i>)
hearth	hearth (3×)
hunting bag	—
throne	throne (1×)
window	window (1×)
‘wood’ of 𒄩𒂗𒂗𒂗	—
spring	—
pithos	—
wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt (1×)
again beside the hearth	again beside the hearth (1×)

Table 11. *Loci numinosi* of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 33–34 and 35.

Two other texts listed under CTH 618, KBo 54.147+ and KUB 57.99, have more streamlined *loci numinosi* sequences and likely do not belong to AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 33–34 (see Table 11). KUB 57.99+ rev. IV tells us that the king and queen enter the temple of the Sun-goddess, therefore this section of the tablet should describe day 35 celebrated in 𒄩𒂗𒂗𒂗 for the Sun-goddess.⁴⁹ It should be noted, however, that in contrast to other *loci*

48 On the spring Wiriyatu/Weriyadu among the *loci numinosi* and in connection with AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 33–34, see Steitler 2019: 16–18.

49 Cf. the outline tablet KBo 10.20 rev. IV 12–15. There is currently no CTH number specifically designating the texts of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 35.

KUB 25.18 (days 33–34)	KBo 54.147+ (day 15?)	KUB 11.18+ (day 15)
altar	—	—
hearth	hearth (1×, preceding <i>anda šuppiyaḥḥanzi</i>)	in the middle of the hearth
hunting bag	hunting bag	Ziḫariya
throne	throne	throne
window	window	window
“wood” of Ḫašamili	—	—
spring	—	—
pithos	—	—
—	on the place in the middle of the hearth	corners of the hearth
wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt
again beside the hearth	again beside the hearth	again beside the hearth

Table 12. *Loci numinosi* of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 33–34, KBo 54.147+ and AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 15.

numinosi sequences attested in the context of the temple of the Sun-goddess (e.g. in Ḫattuša and in Arinna; see above), the ‘table (of the deity)’ does not appear in this sequence.

The *loci numinosi* sequence of KBo 54.147+ lacks the ‘wood of Ḫašamili’ and the spring; thus, it too does not seem to belong to days 33–34. Since it includes a hunting bag and the specification of an offering in the middle of the hearth, it can be compared with the *loci numinosi* sequence of day 15 (KUB 11.18+ obv. II 10’–14’; see Table 12), which, however, begins with an offering in the middle of the hearth and specifically designates Ziḫariya instead of (or perhaps just metonymously for) the hunting bag.

2.8 AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 37–38

In the texts describing AN.DAḪ.ŠUM days 37 (the ‘great assembly in Ankuwa’) and 38 (the ‘rain festival in Ankuwa’), there are only two very fragmentary references to offerings to the *loci numinosi*. Although these contribute no significant results to the present discussion, they are summarized here for the sake of completeness. KUB 11.27, identifiable as day 37 on account of the reference to the ‘great assembly’ in Ankuwa (colophon, rev. VI 1’–7’),⁵⁰ only refers to offerings to the ‘places’ in obv. II 7’ in a very fragmentary context, but no detailed list of the *loci numinosi* sequence is preserved. The colophon of KBo 22.214 identifies this tablet as a description of the rain festival in Ankuwa, performed on AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 38.⁵¹ Apart from the colophon, the only other text preserved on this fragment is what remains of a *loci numinosi* sequence, the beginning and end of which are missing, in rev. V 1’–8’ (see Table 13).

⁵⁰ Cf. KBo 10.20 rev. IV 17f.

⁵¹ Cf. KBo 10.20 rev. IV 19.

KBo 22.214 rev. V 1'–8'
[...]
in the middle of the hearth
throne
window
in the middle [of the hearth?]
wooden door bolt
[...]

Table 13. *Loci numinosi* of KBo 22.214.

2.9 Fragments of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM (CTH 625)

I come finally to the *loci numinosi* sequences found in the fragments of tablets describing the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival, currently collected in CTH 625. The discussion below focuses on two particular tablets: KBo 19.128+ and KUB 10.82+. Both tablets are relatively well preserved 3-columned tablets containing a substantial amount of text. Haas (1994: 775–81) proposed an identification of their contents with an alleged AN.DAḪ.ŠUM ‘day 0’. Schwemer (2004: 403) convincingly rejected this proposal, arguing instead that KBo 19.128+ and KUB 10.82+ might describe the great or royal assembly in the *ḫalentu*-building on day 10 of AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, for which no other day tablets exist or have been certainly identified to date (a CTH number is not assigned for this day). Tables 14–15 below give an overview of the variations of *loci numinosi* sequences existing in these tablets. The first of these, in KBo 19.128 III 16–32, corresponds almost exactly with the sequence in KUB 11.18+ obv. II 10'–14' (CTH 611, day 15, celebration in the *tarnu*-building), except for the *ḫapidurmaḫi* Inanna-instrument at the end of the sequence.

KBo 19.128+ obv. III 16–32 CTH 625	KUB 11.18+ obv. II 10'–14' CTH 611 (day 15)
middle of the hearth	middle of the hearth
Zithariya	Zithariya
throne	throne
window	window
on the corners of the hearth	on the corners of the hearth
wooden door bolt	wooden door bolt
beside the hearth	beside the hearth
<i>ḫapidurmaḫi</i> Inanna- instrument	

Table 14. *Loci numinosi* of KBo 19.128 and AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 15.

However, the other *loci numinosi* sequences of KBo 19.128+ and KUB 10.82+ all include *tarša(n)zipa*- (see Table 15). In an extensive article treating this term, de Martino (1983)

proposed that *tarša(n)zipa-* was a kind of room divider separating the entry area from the rest of the temple sanctuary.⁵² Most occurrences of *tarša(n)zipa-* in *loci numinosi* sequences are found in the festival for the deity Ziparwa⁵³ – a distinctly Palaeon cultic context – likely connected with AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 12.⁵⁴ Still, a handful of other attestations of *tarša(n)zipa-* appear in fragments that currently cannot be identified with particular festivals.⁵⁵ None of these, however, provide an adequate point of comparison for KBo 19.128+ or KUB 10.82+, thus the association of these tablets with AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 10 still remains hypothetical.

KBo 19.128+ obv. I 25–30	KUB 10.82+ obv. III 18'–26'
before the altar	altar
	Zithariya
hearth	in the middle of the hearth
throne	throne
window	window
—	inner chamber
behind the hearth	behind the hearth
—	Inanna-instrument
<i>taršanzipa</i>	<i>tarša(n)zipi</i>
wooden door bolt	—
beside the hearth	—

Table 15. *Loci numinosi* of KBo 19.128+ and KUB 10.82+.

3. Implications for sacred spaces and festival descriptions

3.1 Temple topography

In general, the sequences of *loci numinosi* may give us some hints about the topography of the sanctuaries where parts of the Hittite festival celebrations took place. They typically begin at the hearth, which seems to have been near the altar or pedestal, on which the image of the deity of the temple stood (Popko 1978: 68). From there, the sequence proceeds toward the door bolt, which would be the position furthest from the divine image on the opposite side of the room. Finally, the sequence returns again to the start-

52 For other possible meanings, see HEG T, D 222–24.

53 DBH 46/2.168+ obv. III 16', 18' (CTH 750.1.A, NS); IBoT 2.37 rev. IV 2' (CTH 750.1.B, NS); KBo 58.220 + KUB 41.39 Rs. 12' (CTH 750.C, NS); KBo 45.261+ Rs. 11' (CTH 750, NS).

54 Note that a festival for Ziparwa was also celebrated in the fall, but this is difficult to distinguish from the spring festival for the same deity; cf. Marcuson 2011.

55 In festival fragments: KBo 46.200 obv. 5' (CTH 670.608, NS); KUB 34.130 rev. III' 15' (CTH 670.32, MS); KBo 13.165 obv. II 5' (CTH 642.?, MS); KUB 10.83 obv. I 10', 12' (CTH 656.1.A, LNS); KUB 43.30 obv. II 6' (CTH 645.7.A, OS).

ing point, ending with an offering beside the hearth. Occasionally, an additional offering to the hearth was performed at other points in the middle of the sequence. Might this have been conditioned by the fact that in these cases the movement from one *locus* to another required the functionary to cross the room in front of or near the hearth?

Some elements were (almost) always present among the *loci numinosi*; thus, we can conclude that the hearth, the window and the door bolt, for example, were architectonic essentials of almost every temple. Other features occur to varying degrees of frequency, and seem to have been contingent upon a particular deity, temple or urban setting. Thus, the particular deities worshiped in a temple may explain the presence of certain *loci numinosi*, such as the table in connection with the Sun-goddess or the *hurtaliya*-objects in the temple of Zababa. Some of the *loci numinosi* were also interconnected, as was the case with Țašamili, the spring Kuwannaniya and Aššiya(n)za. The question of such relationships deserves further investigation and would greatly benefit from an exhaustive study of *all* the *loci numinosi* sequences in the festival texts.

3.2 Text identification

The sequences of *loci numinosi* provide useful criteria for identifying even very meager text fragments with particular festivals. The texts briefly treated below can be reassigned to different days of AN.DAȚ.ŠUM or to other festivals, based on the specific *loci numinosi* sequences preserved in them.

IBoT 1.4 – previously designated as CTH 670 – should now also be identified with AN.DAȚ.ŠUM day 16 based on the presence of *hurtaliya*- (obv. III 5') and a reference to the temple of Zababa (obv. III 16') in this fragment (cf. Section 2.4). Bo 5667 – also previously CTH 670 – can now be identified as part of the festival for the Stag-god of Tauriša (CTH 617, day 25/26²; cf. Section 2.5) based on an offering sequence including Țašamili and Aššiya(n)za. The attestations of the 'wood of Țašamili' and a spring in the *loci numinosi* sequences of KUB 20.39 and KBo 11.35 (previously CTH 669) allow these fragments to be associated with AN.DAȚ.ŠUM days 33–34 (see Section 2.7). They contain the same *loci numinosi* sequence as in KUB 20.39 rev. V 2'–5'; this text and its duplicate, KBo 11.35, have already been attributed to AN.DAȚ.ŠUM days 33–34; Galmarini (2014: 286) considered them forerunners to the celebrations of Mt. Puškurunuwa.⁵⁶

The presence of the 'table (of the deity)' among the *loci numinosi* (see Section 2.1) in the text passages cited below is a helpful criterium for their (re)assignment to particular festivals: KUB 10.23 rev. IV 6', previously CTH 612.b.C (AN.DAȚ.ŠUM day 16), should now be assigned to CTH 598 (as already suggested by Popko 2003: 15), as should

56 Consider also an abbreviated offering sequence to the 'places' in Bo 6316 (previously CTH 670.2510), after which follows a sequence of nine deities also found in KUB 20.39 and KBo 11.35, but with ^DGAL.ZU in the position where Telipinu should have stood; this sequence is followed by the spring Wiriy[atu], also pointing toward an association of this text with the festival for Mt. Puškurunuwa (cf. Galmarini 2014: 286f.). Furthermore, Bo 6316 could join indirectly with KUB 25.18: Bo 6316: 1'–3' consists of an abbreviated formula for offerings to the 'places' identical with KUB 5.18 rev. IV 33f., both attest the name of the spring Wiriyatu in the same orthographic form (Bo 6316: 9' ^{PO}ú-i-ri-i[a-tum]; KUB 25.18 obv. III 6 ^{PO}ú-i-ri-^ria¹-tum), and the appearance of the signs in both fragments is identical.

also KUB 41.40 rev. IV 14'f. and 25' (previously *CTH* 669.32; parallel to KUB 10.23) and KBo 45.19: 9' (previously *CTH* 670.771, now *CTH* 598; parallel to KUB 10.23).

Finally, two texts previously assigned to AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 33–34 should now be identified with other festivals. KUB 57.99+ can be identified instead with day 35, since the text describes the entrance of the king and queen into the temple of the Sun-goddess who was celebrated on this day in the city of Ḫurranašša (see Section 2.7), whereas the *loci numinosi* sequence of KBo 54.147+ is most closely aligned with the texts describing AN.DAḪ.ŠUM day 15 (see Section 2.3).

4. Conclusion

The present study has demonstrated the value of the *loci numinosi* sequences for our understanding of the sacred spaces of the Hittites – several of the items appearing among them are dealt with in more detail by other contributions to this volume, such as springs, windows and doors. The regularities and irregularities of the *loci numinosi* sequences are also valuable tools for reconstructing the texts describing the festivals that were celebrated in those temples, as described here for numerous examples of tablets belonging to the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM (short A.D.Š.) festival (summarized in Table 16).

Text	former <i>CTH</i> no.	new identification	discussed in section/note
KUB 10.23	612.b.C	A.D.Š. 7–8 / <i>CTH</i> 608 or 598	2.4; 3.2
KUB 41.40	669.32	A.D.Š. 7–8 / <i>CTH</i> 608 or 598	n. 9; 3.2
KBo 45.19	670.771	A.D.Š. 7–8 / <i>CTH</i> 608 or 598	n. 9; 3.2
IBoT 4.186	670.1674	A.D.Š. 16 / <i>CTH</i> 612	2.4; n. 28
IBoT 1.4	670	A.D.Š. 16 / <i>CTH</i> 612	3.2
KBo 24.89 (+) KUB 51.13 (+) KUB 10.11; KBo 39.90; KBo 30.53; KBo 39.86; KBo 39.88 (+) KBo 2.29 (+) KBo 2.30; KBo 39.89; KBo 39.91; KBo 39.92; KBo 52.132; KBo 55.262; VSNF 12.2	660	A.D.Š. 18 / <i>CTH</i> 613	2.4; n. 34
Bo 5667	670	A.D.Š. 25/26 ² / <i>CTH</i> 617	3.2
KUB 20.39	669.13.A	A.D.Š. 33–34 / <i>CTH</i> 618	3.2
KBo 11.35	669.13	A.D.Š. 33–34 / <i>CTH</i> 618	3.2
KUB 57.99	618	A.D.Š. 35	2.7
KBo 41.82+	612	? (≠ <i>CTH</i> 612)	2.4
KBo 20.77	612	? (≠ <i>CTH</i> 612)	2.4
KBo 54.147+	618.1	? (≠ <i>CTH</i> 618)	2.7

Table 16. New attributions of texts to days of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival based on *loci numinosi* sequences.

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“THE KING GOES UP TO THE ROOF”

Hittite Nocturnal Rites Performed During the New Moon

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Abstract

At particular times, Hittite ritual practices could take place on the flat roof of sacred or profane buildings, perceived as the ideal setting for the performance of rites directed to celestial or astral deities. This paper aims at analyzing some examples of cult activities taking place on the roof, before focusing on a particular group of texts describing a sequence of ritual actions performed by the Hittite king during the night, in connection with the first appearance of the new moon. Many fragments of this group are currently filed under *CTH* 645. Besides providing a general description of the text corpus, the paper will address the debated issue of the possible relationship of these rites with the great state festival of the month.

1. Introduction

Hittite documentation provides a large amount of evidence for ritual procedures that could occasionally take place in a particular setting, namely the roof of certain buildings. In specific circumstances, the roof (Hittite *šuhḫa-*) assumed the character of a veritable sacred space, where religious practices had to be performed in order to be effective. As in Mesopotamia, such religious activities in Hittite Anatolia could take the form of private *ad hoc* rituals, generally taking place on the roof of the house of the person who commissioned the ritual, but they could also be included within the religious program of larger official festivals, in which case they were performed on the roof of buildings such as temples or palaces.

The present study will present a general overview of the main religious activities that are attested in Hittite sources as taking place on the roof, before focusing on a particular group of texts which seem to describe a very specific purification ritual, performed by the Hittite king during the new moon and perhaps included in the sequence of rites that represented the so-called festival of the month, the fragments of which are currently collected as *CTH* 591.

2. The roof as a sacred space

In Hittite cosmic geography, astral and celestial deities had their seat in heaven (Görke 2013: 45–47). All spaces that were perceived as being directly in contact with the sky, and therefore exposed to an unmediated influence from a higher divine sphere, e.g. mountaintops, were given a strong religious significance. In an urban context, this connotation was naturally associated with the roof of particular buildings, the only elevated setting that could allow such a direct contact with the divine. The flat roof of Hittite buildings, generally easily accessible by a staircase,¹ was therefore the ideal place to address prayers or perform rites directed to solar and astral deities such as the Sun-god, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, or the Moon-god. Unlike other sacred spaces of the house, it was not perceived as a place having a sacral character in itself, which explains why it is never mentioned in the rather standardized lists of sacred elements of the house which receive libations and offerings on many religious occasions.² The meaning of the roof as a privileged place for performing rituals was represented by its liminal position between earth and sky, from where a direct contact with the deities that were believed to inhabit the celestial part of the cosmos could be established. Such a symbolic significance seems to be reflected in a very peculiar rite described in an interesting tablet written in New Hittite script, KUB 55.28 + Bo 7740 (*CTH* 470).³ The text, which is in some respects analogous to the so-called foundation rituals,⁴ describes the rites that accompany the building of a house. A specific ceremony seems to be performed when the beams that are meant to sustain the roof are lifted into place. The architect who is in charge of the building climbs twice to the roof by means of a rope, while the singers run around the hearth of the house. Then he cuts off the loops that have been used to lift the beams, perhaps with a silver axe and a silver knife, which are also bound to one of the beams. When the ceremony ends, he is allowed to take these tools home as a form of reward. The whole rite is clearly aimed at sacralizing the building of the roof as one of the most significant parts of the house.

It is possible to divide the Hittite religious practices carried out on the roof into two main categories, depending on the temporal setting of their performance. This, in turn, often depends on the particular nature of the gods that are involved in the rites. The daily, solar, character of this cult is generally expressed in prayers and invocations directed to celestial deities. This is well exemplified in the incipit of the famous prayer of king Muwattalli II to the assembly of the gods, *CTH* 381.⁵ Here the king is described in the act of setting two wicker tables on the roof of his palace, before directly addressing the Sun-god and the Sun-goddess in his prayer. In the absence of the king, invocations to solar deities could also be recited by particular cult functionaries, as

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- 1 On the architectural features of the Hittite roof, and in particular on the building techniques applied in the roofing a house, see Ünal 1988: 1469–1503; cf. Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 85–105. On the symbolic meanings of the roof in ancient near eastern and mediterranean cultures, see also Wilburn 2019: 594–97.
 - 2 On the Hittite *loci numinosi*, see Steitler in the present volume, with further references.
 - 3 Transcribed by Groddek 2002: 46–48; cf. also Ünal 1988: 1472–85 and Beckman 2010: 87.
 - 4 See Torri and Görke 2013: 287–300, with further literature.
 - 5 The text has been edited by Singer 1996.

attested in the title of a tablet preserved in the shelf list KUB 30.43 (CTH 276; see Dardano 2006: 38–47). The document records an invocation to the Sun-goddess of Arinna performed on the roof by a ^{LÚ}NAR singer when the king is on a military campaign:

KUB 30.43 rev. III

11' [1 IM.GÍD.D]A LUGAL-*uš ku-wa-pí la-aḥ-ḫi*

12' ^{ke}?-[*e-ma*] *ud-da-a-ar* ^{LÚ}NAR-*aš*

13' A-NA ^DUTU¹ ^{URU}*a-ri-in-na*

14' *šu-uḥ-ḫi* [*še-er m*] *e-^rmī-iš-ke-ez-zi*

[One long table]t: Whenever the king (is) on a military campaign, [...]. The NAR singer recites th[ese] words for the Sun-goddess of Arinna on the roof.

A parallel passage is documented in an interesting, but unfortunately rather fragmentary tablet, KUB 57.63 (CTH 385),⁶ recording an invocation to the Sun-goddess of Arinna aimed at protecting the royal couple. At daybreak, the SANGA priest of the Sun-goddess, who is responsible for the ritual proceedings, recites the invocation. Once again, the ceremony takes place on the roof of the main temple of the deity:

KUB 57.63 rev. III

20' LUGAL-[*u*]š ^{ku-wa}¹-*p*[*i l*] *a-a*[*ḫ-ḫi*]⁷

21' *ke-e-ma ud-d*[*a*]-^r*a*¹-*ar* ^{LÚ}SANGA

22' ŠA ^DUTU ^{URU}*a*¹-[*r*] *i-in-na*

23' *šu-uḥ-ḫi-iš-^rša-an*¹ *še-er*

24' ŠA É ^DUTU *k*[*i*]-^r*iš-ša-an*¹

25' *me-mi-iš-ke-^rez*¹-*z*[*i*]

Whenever the king (is) on a mi[litary campaign], the SANGA priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, on the roof of the temple of the Sun-goddess recites these words as follows.

The same description is repeated in the colophon of the tablet. As explicitly stated in rev. III 29'f., the recitation was performed by the SANGA priest “facing the sun” (^DUTU-*i menaḥḫanda*). It has been convincingly proposed that some Hittite temples could follow an astronomical orientation.⁸ The temple 1 in Šarišša, for instance, seems to have

6 The text has been edited by Archi 1988 and treated most recently by Steitler 2017: 313f.; cf. also Singer 2002: 25–27.

7 I accept here the restoration proposed by Steitler 2017: 313, who follows Dardano 2006: 44 and Popko 2009: 44. After photo collation, the sign traces at the end of rev. III 20' would theoretically allow also a restoration: š[*u-u*][*ḫ-ḫi*], as in the online text edition by Rieken et al. 2017. This reading, however, seems implausible considering the dominant role played by the SANGA priest in the invocation. If the king had been present at the same time on the roof, it is reasonable to assume that he would have recited the invocation in person.

8 Müller-Karpe et al. 2009: 45–64; Müller-Karpe 2013: 335–54; cf. also González García and Belmonte 2011: 461–94.

- 20 *na-at iŠ-TU NINDA.GUR4RA EGIR-an* ^{GIŠ}PISAN MUL-*aš kat-ta-an da-a-i*
 21 *nu ki-iš-ša-an te-ez-zi še-e-er kat-ta-at ne-pí-ša-za* 1 *LI-IM MUL*^{HL.A}
 22 *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-kán-zi na-at* ^{D30-aš¹¹} *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ed-du*
 23 *kat-te-ra-ma-at da-an-ku-wa-az ták-na-a-az ták-na-aš* ^{DUTU-uš}
 24 *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ed-du na-at* MUL^{HL.A}-*aš kat-ta-an še-eš-zi*

... and she brings it by night on the roof.

She puts it, together with the loaf of bread, by the gutter under the stars, and speaks as follows: “Down from heaven, above, the thousand stars will conjure it, the Moon-god will conjure it, but down, from the dark earth, the Sun-goddess of the Earth will conjure it.” And it stays overnight under the stars.

After having recited the incantation, the ritual practitioner leaves the magic elements on the roof for the night. The following morning she takes the *materia magica*, breaks the *ḫaršama*-bread and recites an analogous invocation, this time directed to the Sun-god:

During the night, the thousand stars and the Moon-god have conjured it, and the Sun-goddess of the Earth has conjured it, now you, Sun-god, conjure it.¹²

Afterwards, the practitioner takes the *materia magica* down from the roof, before concluding the ritual inside the house.

The exposure of ritual material to the influence of the stars closely resembles analogous passages in Babylonian medical texts of the first millennium BCE (Reiner 1995: 48–60) and is often attested in medical tablets found in Hattuša and written in Akkadian, probably modeled after original Babylonian documents from the middle of the second millennium or earlier.¹³ In Hittite rituals of Kizzuwatnean provenance, the nocturnal consecration of cultic elements by placing them on the roof, exposed to the stars, is a well-attested practice.¹⁴ In the foundation ritual for the Goddess of Night (CTH 481),¹⁵ for example, the so-called ‘water of purity’ is brought to the roof of a temple, where it is left the whole night, before being used in the execution of the ritual activities. The same action is described in more detail in the ritual of Ammiḫatna (CTH 471).¹⁶

The meaning of the exposure of particular elements to the stars in Mesopotamian and Hittite sources has been widely discussed.¹⁷ As rightly pointed out by R. Strauß (2006: 43f.), this action has probably both a concrete and a magical explanation. In medical texts, there are certainly practical reasons for letting a substance, or a preparation, stand overnight, considering that the ingredients might need time to blend or

11 Erroneously transcribed as DINGIR^{MES} in the online edition and in HW² III H/2, 622.

12 KUB 7.1 obv. II 27–30.

13 See Reiner 1995: 48f. The idea of a direct borrowing of this ritual practice from Mesopotamia was expressed by Haas 1971: 426.

14 See Strauß 2006: 42–44 and Mouton 2008: 8f.

15 KUB 29.4 obv. II 43–47; see Miller 2004: 283, 285.

16 KBo 5.2 obv. II 28; cf. Strauß 2006: 216–52.

17 See Reiner 1985: 591–95; 1995: 48–56; Maul 1994: 44–46; Strauß 2006: 42–44.

to cool down before the resulting compound can be used.¹⁸ At the same time, however, the nocturnal exposure to the stars has certainly no practical explanation in cases like the above-mentioned ritual of Wattiti, where the ritual material laid on the roof is represented by symbolic objects. The recitation described in KUB 7.1 obv. II 21–24 gives us the clearest indication of the significance attributed by the Hittites to this ritual practice: in some circumstances the stars were believed to have the power to enhance the cathartic power of the elements left on the roof, making them more effective for the purpose of the ritual. Such an astral influx is conveyed by the Hittite verb *ḫukkišk-*, the iterative form of *ḫuek-*, ‘to conjure, to enchant’ (or German ‘beschwören’).

The double recitation performed at night to the stars and the Sun-goddess of the Earth and during the day to the Sun-god is particularly indicative of the influence that, in some circumstances, astral and celestial deities were believed to have on a ritual practice that was carried out on the roof of a particular building.

The liminal space between ‘high’ and ‘low’, between human and divine, represented by the roof, therefore, emerges from Hittite documentation as having a dual character. It allows vertical communication between man and the gods, both in the form of diurnal prayers or invocations, recited by the king or particular priests and directed towards celestial deities, and in the form of a direct divine influx, aimed at securing the desired effect of the ongoing rites or the efficacy of the ritual material exposed on the roof.

3. The Hittite rites for the new moon

Having briefly analyzed the meaning of the Hittite ritual procedures taking place on the roof, I would like now to focus on a particular group of texts, describing a nocturnal ceremony that was performed at a very specific time, namely during the new moon,¹⁹ and that marked the transition from one month to the next. Many of these rites, which at least in part took place on the roof of the *ḫalentiu-* building,²⁰ are currently listed under *CTH* 645, but other documents currently filed elsewhere should probably be added to this group. In particular, some fragments that have tentatively been assigned to *CTH* 591, among the texts describing the great festival of the month, including two tablets unearthed in Kayalıpınar/Şamuha and published by Soysal (2019: 157–70), should probably be reassigned to *CTH* 645 (see Table 1).

KBo 11.32²¹ is a well-preserved, single-column tablet written in Late New Hittite script. The document contains the descriptions of three different ritual sequences, separated by double paragraph lines. All of them are clearly connected with the night and the cult of the Moon, even though it is difficult to establish with certainty whether they are all part of the same ceremony. The first one begins with offerings to the Moon, qua-

18 The same explanation is certainly valid also for the deposition of the ‘water of purity’ in *CTH* 481 and *CTH* 471. Cf. Strauß 2006: 43; Schwemer 1998: 131.

19 On the lunar character of Hittite calendar see del Monte 1988: 51–56; cf. also Barsacchi 2019: 7–11.

20 On which see now Taracha 2017: 101–10, with further literature.

21 Duplicated in KBo 43.75, KUB 57.110 + Bo 6168 and Bo 3390.

CTH No.	text	dating
CTH 645	KBo 11.32	NS
	KBo 25.104	NS
	KBo 27.40	NS
	KBo 34.189	NS
	KBo 43.75 (dupl. KBo 11.32)	NS
	KBo 47.241	NS
	KBo 63.76 + KBo 63.78	NS
	KUB 20.24 (+) KUB 58.38	NS
	KUB 43.30 (rev. III 3'–12' dupl. KBo 43.75)	OS/MS?
	KUB 57.110 + Bo 6168 (dupl. KBo 11.32)	NS
	KUB 58.35	NS
	Bo 3302	NS
	Bo 3390 (dupl. KBo 11.32; KUB 57.110+)	NS
	Bo 3991 (dupl. KUB 43.30)	NS
	Bo 4881 (dupl. KBo 43.75)	NS
	Bo 6044 (dupl. KUB 55.39)	NS
	Gurney 12 (Gurney 1986: 63, 68, n. 12)	NS
	KpT 1.72 (+) KpT 1.73	NS
CTH 591	KBo 54.117 + KUB 55.39	NS
	Bo 3752 (dupl. KBo 25.104)	MS ²²
CTH 832	KBo 25.79	NS

Table 1

lified with the adjective GE6 ‘black’,²³ and the sacrifice of a black sheep and a black lamb. In the second section of the tablet, from obv. 10, after a short description of ritual activities performed next to the hearth, including the sacrifice of a white lamb to the GUL-šeš deities and the act of pouring oil into the fire, the text describes how a particular kind of wooden tray, called ^{GIS}wera- (here apparently in nom.-acc. neut. pl.¹; thus HEG W–Z 494–96), is/are brought from the roof to the inside of the *ḫalentiu*-building and placed by the window. Then the king takes again the *wera*- tray(s) and goes up to the roof.

The third and longest section of the tablet begins with a sequence of offerings for the male gods and Maliya, in which a particular cult functionary is involved, the LÚ.ḪUB, literally the ‘deaf man’, who seems to have played a significant role in all nocturnal rites performed by the king on the roof. The role and responsibilities of this particular functionary, who is often involved in rites of purification of the king,²⁴ are still not entirely clear:

²² Collation by H. Otten; cf. *Konkordanz* (Kořak 2002–).

²³ This could indicate that the rites begin during the phase of obscuration that precedes the first appearance of the new moon; cf. Barsacchi 2019: 12f.

²⁴ See, e.g. KBo 19.128 rev. V 32, VI 7; cf. Otten 1971: 14–17.

KBo 11.32 obv.

- 16 EGIR-ŠŪ-kán ^{GIS}ú-e-ra šu-uḫ-ḫa-za GAM pé-e-da-i
 17 ŠĀ ^Eḫa-li-tu-aš-kán ^{GIS}AB-i an-da ti-an-zi nu ^rDINGIR.LŪ^{MES} BAL-ti
 18 LUGAL-uš EGIR-ŠU šu-uḫ(<-ḫu>)-ḫi ú-ez-zi ^{GIS}rú-ra'(-) x x-Vḫ-zi²²⁵
 18a ^rEGIR-an ^{GIS}ŠEN^r da-a-i

- 19 LUGAL-uš 3 GUNNI DINGIR^{MES} LŪ-aš ^Dma-li-ia UŠ-KE-EN
 20 LŪ^U.ḪUB ^{GIS}er-ḫu-az ^{GIS}ḫu-u-wa-al-liš ME-i PA-NI ^{GIS}ŠEN (...)

Then he brings down the *wera*- tray from the roof; they place it inside the *ḫalentiu*- at the window and he makes offerings for the male gods. The king comes back to the roof and he [...] the *wera*- tray and he places (it) back by the gutter.

The king bows three (times) by the hearth to the male gods (and) Maliya. A ‘deaf man’ takes juniper wood from a basket (and) before the gutter (...)

By the gutter the ‘deaf man’ performs some kind of purification by means of the *ḫulliš*-. This substance, probably to be identified with juniper wood,²⁶ is often attested in Hittite festival descriptions, where it is generally immersed in water and used to purify the king in a clear lustrative rite (cf. Barsacchi 2017: 51). In KBo 11.32, this purification seems to take place by the gutter of the roof, written sumerographically as ^{GIS}ŠEN. After this description, a series of deities arranged in couples is called upon. This particular divine group is composed as follows: Storm-god – *annaš daganzipaš*, Sun-goddess – Mezzulla, ^DNIN.UR.TA (Šuwaliyatt) – Ḫalki, Moon-god – Išpanzašepa, ‘hearth’ – Ḫilašši, DINGIR LŪ^{MES} – Maliya, Wa-/Uškuwattašši – Kuwanšeš. This sequence can be found in many fragments listed under CTH 645 and it enables us to distinguish between fragments belonging to different text corpora within this very heterogeneous catalogue number.²⁷ Interestingly enough, the Sun-goddess of the Earth, whom one would have expected to find in a divine group comprising several other chthonic deities, is not present.

The small fragment Bo 3752, currently filed under CTH 591, describes, in the very few preserved lines, a ceremony which takes place on the roof, as clearly indicated by the sentence *šarā šuḫḫa paizzi* “he (i.e. the king) goes up to the roof” in one of the first lines of Bo 3752 obv. II. This action is followed by the sacrifice of a black lamb, recalling the offering of a black lamb to the Moon-god in KBo 11.32 obv. 2f., while the offering of a white lamb to the GUL-šeš deities in KBo 11.32 obv. 10 parallels the act of bowing to the Kuwanšeš deities performed by the king in Bo 3752 obv. II 12’.²⁸

25 HEG W-Z 495 reads the signs at the end of l. 18 as: [we²]ḫzi. The translation “he turns the tablets” (“er dreht die Tablets um”), however, does not seem to make much sense in the context. In H. Otten’s autography the signs AḪ/UḪ/IḪ and ZI are recognizable, but the passage is extremely damaged, and after photo collation the reading of the last four signs of the line remains problematic.

26 The Akkadian term *burāšu(m)*, which corresponds to Hittite *ḫulliš*-, *ḫuwalliš*- in the lexical list KUB 3.93: 3’ is now translated as ‘juniper’; cf. CAD B 369.

27 The different divine lists attested in the texts filed under CTH 645 have been recently analyzed by Steitler 2017: 76–86.

28 The Kuwanšeš deities have been identified by Waal 2014: 1025–31; 2019: 121–32 as the name behind the Hittite fate deities ^DGulšeš/^DGUL-šeš.

Another tablet written in Late New Hittite script, KUB 20.24 + KUB 58.38 obv. III, describes several libations and purifications of the king, which take place by the gutter and are performed, once again, by a functionary called ‘chief of the deaf men’. These actions alternate with offerings to the same divine group organized in pairs already mentioned. On the reverse, the tablet describes a series of bread breakings and offerings to a list of deified parts of the body: Ištanzaššaš, Šakuwaššaš, Ḫantaššaš, Ištamanaššaš and Kiššaraššaš.

A small fragment of the corpus that should also be mentioned is Bo 3302, parallel to KBo 11.32, where we find reference to the *wera*- tray, which is brought from the roof inside the *ḫalentiū*- building and placed by a window. After a broken passage, the *wera*- is brought once again onto the roof by a palace attendant. In obv. 12', the ‘chief of the deaf men’ is also mentioned, although in broken context.

All these documents seem to have an antecedent in KUB 43.30, included by E. Neu in his *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift* (Neu 1980: 76–78) and generally classified under CTH 645. Following E. Neu, the text is currently dated *ah.* in the online *Konkordanz*, but several authors now tend to consider it a MS tablet on paleographic grounds.²⁹ The tablet is certainly older than the other ones of the same group included in CTH 645. The reverse of the preserved text records a series of offerings to the same group of deities worshipped in KBo 11.32 and in the other fragments already mentioned. Among the preserved theonyms we read in rev. 5'–12': *annaš daganzipaš*, *Mezzulla*, *Ḫalki*, *Išpanzašepa*, *Ḫilašši*, *Maliya*, *Waškuwattašši* and *Kuwanšeš*.

This rite is followed by the act of pouring fine bran and *šemeḫuna*- for the UGULA LÚ.MEŠÚ.ḪÜB, the overseer of the ‘deaf men’. Then the resulting compound seems to be poured from the roof, where clearly the whole rite takes place, for the male gods:

KUB 43.30 rev.

15' [...] Ū GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL A-NA UGULA LÚ.MEŠÚ.ḪÜB *ḫu-u-u*[*p-pí-iš-ši*]

16' [*šu-uh-ḫa-a*]n-zi me-ma-al še-me-ḫu-na-an UZU^{NI}.GI[G

17' [A-NA UGULA L^U.MEŠÚ.ḪÜB *ḫu-up-pí-iš-ši* *šu-uh-ḫa-an-z*[i

18' [...-t]a *šu-u-uh-za a-ap-pa* DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}-na-aš *šu-ul*[*ḫ-ḫa-an-zi*]

[...] and the overseer of the Palace attendants [pou]r to the overseer of the ‘deaf men’ for [his m]ix, and they pour groats, *šemeḫuna*- (and) liver [... to the overseer] of the ‘deaf men’ for his mix. [...] they po[ur] again from the roof for the male gods.

All these sources seem to record the execution of the very same rite, performed by the king and other cult functionaries on the roof of the *ḫalentiū*- building. The rite includes some form of purification of the king, as seems to be indicated by the liturgical use of the *ḫulliš*- wood and the presence of the ‘deaf men’, and it is followed by offerings to at least two distinct divine groups. The first one is organized in couples, including astral

29 Popko 2007: 65; Taracha 2009: 51 n. 261; Waal 2014: 1026. The whole transition between Old and Middle Hittite script is currently a very debated issue (cf. Weeden 2011: 42–49 for a brief synthesis, with further literature), and a more accurate dating of the tablet would only be possible through a systematic analysis conducted on a broader spectrum of texts, which goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

and chthonic deities such as the Moon-god or the ‘genius of the night’, Išpanzašepa, while the second one is represented by the deified parts of the body. Some of the rites are performed by the gutter, which was certainly located on the roof, in order to allow the water and all liquid remains of the ritual to flow away.

4. The purification for the festival of the month

In order better to determine the nature and significance of this ceremony, it is now necessary to address the debated issue of the relationship of the documents mentioned so far with the festival of the month, *CTH* 591, and in particular with the text KBo 54.117 + KUB 55.39. The tablet is currently filed among the fragments of the festival of the month, but its pertinence to this corpus was already questioned by J. Klinger in his edition of the festival (Klinger 1996: 270).

The first preserved lines of the obverse describe the sacrifice of a black lamb to the Kuwanšeš deities, which takes place by the hearth. Then the action moves probably to the roof. Indeed, lines 11’f. describe how the king goes down from the roof to the *tun-nakkešsar*, the ‘inner chamber’. Then he stands in the *ḫalentiū-* building. The palace attendants bring down a *wera-* tray and a jug of wine from the roof. On the *wera-* are placed seven loaves of flat bread, *memal* and a *tipa-* object (made of) vine-wood. The tray is then placed before the window. The king bows down and a palace officer brings the ritual material up to the roof:

KBo 54.117+ obv. I

- 3’ [n]a-aš U[š-KE]-EN na-aš-ta 1 SILA4GE6^Dku-wa-aš-ša-aš ši-pa-an-ti
 4’ 1 NINDA.GUR4RA GAL me-ma-al-la GUNNI-i da-a-i
 5’ na-aš-ta SILA4 ar-ga-an-zi na-an-ša-an GUNNI-i ti-an-zi
 (...)
 11’ [...] LUGAL-uš Uš-KE-EN na-aš-kán šu-uḫ-ḫa-az GAM ú-ez-zi
 12’ na-aš^Ētu-un-na-ak-ki-iš-na pa-iz-zi
-
- 13’ LUGAL-uš-kán^ĒŠA-az ú-ez-zi ta-aš^Ēḫa-li-in-tu-u-i
 14’ ti-ia-zi DUMU^{MEŠ}.É.GAL-ma-kán šu-uḫ-ḫa-az kat-ta^{GIS}ú-e-ra-an
 15’ 1 ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN-ia ú-da-an-zi (...)

He bows down and offers one black lamb to the Kuwanšeš deities. He places one loaf of bread and groats by the hearth; they mark off the lamb and place it by the hearth. (...)

[...] The king bows down; he comes down from the roof and goes to the inner chamber.

The king comes from the inner chamber and he enters the *ḫalentiū-*. The palace attendants bring down from the roof the *wera-* tray and a jug of wine.

By night, the king goes back to the roof. The following parts of the tablet are extremely damaged, and only a partial understanding of the ritual procedure is possible. From

what is preserved of the obverse, it is possible to understand that a ritual manipulation of the *ḫulliṣ*-wood is performed by a ^{LU}Ú.ḪUB, probably by the gutter (obv. 21'ff.), and followed by a series of libations to the male gods and Maliya. On the reverse of the tablet, offerings for a list of deified parts of the body are described.

The colophon of the tablet, represented by fragment KBo 55.39, is particularly relevant:

KBo 55.39 rev. IV

27' DUB 1^{KAM} QA-TI ma-a-an ^{D30}aš ti-ia-zi

28' LUGAL-uš GIM-an A-NA E[ZEN4] ITU^{KAM}

29' šu-uḫ-ḫa pa-iz-z[i pâr-ku-i]³⁰ TUP-PU

One tablet. Complete. When the Moon appears. When the king goes to the roof for the festival of the month. [Clean] tablet.

The action of going to the roof performed by the king is explicitly related to the first appearance of the new moon. In a calendar based on the lunar phases, this moment, also called *REŠ* ITU^{KAM}, literally ‘head of the month’,³¹ clearly had a particular meaning. This signaled the beginning of the new month, and it is no surprise that it was associated with specific rites, some of which may have been included in the great state festival of the month, *CTH* 591.

In one of the outline tablets of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival,³² which describes the rites of the fourth and fifth days of the spring festival, the same purification is mentioned among the ritual activities that the Hittite king had to perform at the new moon:

KBo 10.20 obv. I³³

26 [(lu-uk-kat)-ti-ma (^{KUŠ})kur-ša-(aš ^{URU}ta-ú-i-n)]i-ia pa-iz-z[i]

27 [(LUGAL-uš-ma-za) A-N(A EZEN4ITU wa-ar)]-ap-z[(i)]

28 [(l)]u-u[(k-kat)-ti-(ma ^{KUŠ})kur-ša-aš ^{URU}t[(a-ú-i)]-ni-ia-az ú-ez-z[i]

29 na-aš [^{UR}(^Uḫi-ia-aš-na še-eš-zi) LUGAL-u(^{š34}-ma šu-uḫ-ḫa p)]a-iz-[zi]

The follow[ing] day the [*kur*]ša- bag goe[s to] Tawiniya, and the king purifies himself [fo]r the festival of the month.

The following day the *kurša*- bag come[s] from Tawiniya, it spends the night in Ḫiyašna, and [the kin]g goe[s] to the roof.

In this description the king goes to the roof only the day after the first appearance of the new moon, and the related festival of the month, but the connection between the two

30 Integration by del Monte 1988: 55.

31 Cf. KBo 9.136 obv. I 1 (*CTH* 591).

32 *CTH* 604, preserved in copies A = KBo 10.20 // B = KUB 30.39+ // C = KUB 10.94 // D = KBo 45.16(+) // E = KUB 44.39; cf. Güterbock 1997: 91–98.

33 Restorations based on KUB 30.39 + KBo 24.112 + KBo 23.80 obv. I 22–25.

34 The restoration of LUGAL-uš as subject of the verb *paizzi* in obv. 29 is now ensured by KBo 24.112 obv. I 23.

events is evident. The fact that an outline tablet, which by nature records only the most rudimentary elements of the festival organization, mentions this particular action, confirms both its importance within the sequence of rites that mark the beginning of a new month and the connection between the appearance of the new moon and the king's ascent to the roof mentioned in the colophon of KBo 55.39. How the celebration of a ceremony that is linked to a fixed date in the calendar, like the festival of the month, could be arranged within the larger organization of a seasonal festival like AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, whose beginning does not seem to have been calendrically determined, is still an open question.³⁵

That the beginning of the month envisaged some form of purification is further suggested by the monthly festival performed for the Storm-god of Nerik (CTH 672),³⁶ where KUB 56.48 obv. 11–16 describes that at the beginning of the month, the local priests and cult functionaries responsible for the ritual procedure must perform particular ablutions (expressed through the imperative form *warpandu*) before the beginning of the festival.

This passage of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM outline tablet has a parallel in an interesting document, KUB 25.27 (CTH 629), containing a list of the regular festivals (EZEN4^{MES} SAG.UŠ) that the king had to perform in the course of the year.³⁷ Here as well, the purification is referred to by means of the infinitive of the verb *warp-*:

KUB 25.27 obv. I

- 7' [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma^{KUŠ}ku]r-ša-aš^{URU}ta-u-i-ni-ia
 8' [pa-iz-zi I-NA] É.GAL-LIM-ma A-NA EZEN4ITU^{KAM}
 9' [wa-ar-ap]-pu-wa-an-zi (...)

[The following day the *ku*]rša-bag [goes] to Tawiniya, and [in] the palace the ritual cleansing for the festival of the month (takes place). (...)

I believe that the purification performed by the Hittites for the festival of the month, and expressed by the verb *warp-*, should be identified with the complex of cleansing rites that are described in the fragments collected under CTH 645 analyzed above. It is the same ceremony probably referred to in the incipit of the festival of the moon and the thunder (CTH 630), which begins thus: “When the ritual cleansing (*warpuwanzi*) for the festival of the Moon-god (takes place) [...]” (Barsacchi 2015: 44f.). The *hapax* EZEN4^{DZUEN} ‘festival of the Moon-god’ refers very likely to the festival of the month which, as in Mesopotamia, started with the first appearance of the new moon. In particular, it

35 Houwink ten Cate 1992: 96f. underlined the importance of KUB 59.1 (CTH 619), a tablet describing the festival of the rain performed in Ankuwa during one of the last days of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival (day 34 according to his calculations), which seems to duplicate a passage of the second day of the festival of the month (Archi 1979: 38–42). The combination of two beginnings of a month, the first one being signaled by the rites of the fifth day mentioned in the outline tablets, at the required distance of approximately 29–30 days, could indicate, according to Ph. Houwink ten Cate, that the festival of the month was actually performed twice during the great spring festival, at the beginning of the last month of the old year and of the first month of the new year.

36 See Haas 1970: 279–92; Součková 2010: 279–300.

37 The tablet was probably composed by the scribe by combining various sections of the outline tablets of the *nuntarriyašhaš* and the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festivals; cf. Nakamura 2002: 73–77.

could refer to this particular moment of the festival organization, the sequence of cleansing rites that the king has to perform in order to renew his status of purity at a symbolically significant time such as the transition from one month to another.

As already mentioned, J. Klinger doubts that KBo 54.117+, whose colophon explicitly connects the appearance of the new moon and the festival of the month, belongs to the great state festival whose fragments are catalogued under *CTH* 591. In his opinion, the fact that the colophon declares the tablet as finished (*QAT*), makes it very difficult to place it within the larger textual organization of the festival description (Klinger 1996: 270). A different opinion was expressed by other scholars, such as Houwink ten Cate (1992: 94) and Popko (1991: 294). Ph. Houwink ten Cate, in particular, has pointed out the similarities between KBo 54.117+ and KUB 2.13, another text certainly belonging to the state festival of the month.³⁸ This document, as indicated by the colophon, describes the ritual activities of the third (and final) day of the festival. The tablet is only fragmentarily preserved, but there are several elements that prompt us to connect it with the fragments of *CTH* 645, such as the presence of the ‘deaf man’, the ritual use of the *wera*- object, which is placed by the window, and the description of offerings to the Kuwanšeš deities:

KUB 2.13 obv. I

- 8 LÚ.ĤUB *a-ku-ta'-al-li-it* KÙ.BABBAR *wa-a-tar*
 9 *pé-e-da-i* LUGAL-uš-za *QA-TI-ŠU a-ar-ri*
 (...)

obv. II

- 24' *nu* ^{GIS}*ú-e-ra-an* Û ^{DUG}*KU-[KU-UB GEŠTIN]*
 25' *da-an-zi na-at* ^{GIS}*A[B-ia pé-ra-an ti-an-zi]*
 26' LUGAL-uš *UŠ-KE-EN* G[AL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL]
 27' LUGAL-i ^{DUG}*KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN pa-a-i]*
 28' *na-aš-ta* LUGAL-uš ^{ke-e'}*[da-aš]*
 29' DINGIR.LÚ^{MEŠ}-aš *ši-pa-an-t[i]*
 (...)
 54" *na-aš-ta* LUGAL-uš 1 UDU ^{DŠI}*-wa-at-ti*
 55" ^D*ku-wa-an-ša-ia ši-pa-an-ti*

The ‘deaf man’ brings water with a silver *akutalla*- vessel and the king washes his hands.

(...)

They take a *wera*- tray and a j[ug of wine] and [place] them [before the win]dow. The king bows and the ch[ief of the palace attendants gives] to the king the jug of wi[ne]; the king libates to th[ese] male gods.

(...)

And the king sacrifices one sheep to Šiwatt and to the Kuwanšeš deities.

38 Edited by Klinger 1996: 544–89.

Furthermore, immediately after a large gap in obv. II 18', it is possible to read: *kat-ta ú-e[z-zí]*, "he comes down", which very probably refers to the action of the king coming down from the roof, usually described immediately before the cultic operations involving the use of the *wera-* tray and the jug of wine, as in KBo 54.117+ obv. I 11'–15'. That considered, it seems reasonable to affirm that KUB 2.13 contains a description of the same sequence of cult activities that are described in many of the fragments currently filed under *CTH* 645. The complex of rites performed by the king on the roof of the *halentiu-* building on the occasion of the new moon should be analyzed as a moment of the great state festival of the month, taking also into account the fact that external sources, such as the outline tablets of the AN.DAḪ.SUM festival, clearly refer to this particular ceremony, associating it with the rites performed by the Hittite king when a new month begins.

That does not necessarily imply that the fragments describing this ceremony, which are currently catalogued under *CTH* 645, should be attributed to the corpus of the state festival of the month. In my opinion they could just as well represent the detailed description of a particular purification rite which was performed by the Hittite king on the occasion of the new moon already in the Old Hittite period, as proved by fragments in older script such as KUB 43.30, and included only later on within the larger ritual organization of the great state festival performed at the beginning of the new month.

Besides being the privileged place for the performing of prayers and invocations to celestial deities and the setting of particular rituals on which the irradiation of the stars was believed to have a large influence, the roof as a sacred space had an essential role in the course of the Hittite rites that marked the passage of the month. On this occasion, the king observed from the roof of the *halentiu-* building the first appearance of the new moon, a moment charged with a profound religious meaning. A liminal space such as the roof became at this time of transition the stage of a specific sequence of rites aimed at renewing the king's status of ritual purity for the month to come, ensuring the perpetual continuity of the cosmic order sanctioned by the gods.

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THE HITTITE *ḫiṣuwa*- FESTIVAL AND ITS TERMINOLOGY

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Abstract

The *ḫiṣuwa*- festival is a purification ritual performed for the royal couple to ensure their health and well-being. Most of the hundreds of fragments of this festival are dated to the New Hittite Period, though some can be dated Middle or Late New Hittite. The *ḫiṣuwa*- festival is characterized by phrases and terminology describing offerings to the gods and musical performances. Some aspects indicate the unique nature of this festival, such as prayers of supplication, sacrificial ceremonies, symbolism, and purification via water and fire. This paper discusses the specific terms that are only attested in the *ḫiṣuwa*- festival and distinguish it from other Hittite festivals.

In memoriam Ali M. Dinçol

The *ḫiṣuwa*- festival (CTH 628) and its special terminology constitute the subject of this article. It is part of an ongoing project devoted to the edition and reconstruction of the *ḫiṣuwa*- festival ritual, which has also given new impulses for the study of the contents of the *ḫiṣuwa*- festival. The *ḫiṣuwa*- festival is a purification ritual with a cathartic function, which originated in Kizzuwatna and was performed to purify the royal couple and ensure their health and well-being; it is also connected with the deity ^D(*ḫiṣuwa*-/*deṣuwe*-. The festival lasted for 8 days, which were described in a total of 13 tablets. Since the scribes made more than one copy of this ritual, we should speak of hundreds of tablets and fragments.¹ Regarding the tablet collections of the *ḫiṣuwa*- festival, most of its tablets and fragments come from the archives of Ḫattuša; additional fragments were found there in the 2018 excavation season.² A limited number of fragments come from Šapinuwa³ and Šamuḫa (Rieken 2009: 210f.; Groddek 2011: 112). Most fragments are dated to the New Hittite Period (*junghethitisch*) in terms of ductus/script, though there are small numbers of texts from the Middle Hittite (*mittelhethitisch*) and Late New Hittite (*spätjunghethitisch*) Periods. Numerous questions remain about the ritual,

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1 For an overview, see the texts under CTH 628 in the *Konkordanz* (Koşak 2002–).

2 KBo 71.60–62 (Schwemer 2019: 19).

3 Fragments from Šapinuwa describing the *ḫiṣuwa*- festival are being prepared for publication by Aygül Süel and myself.

such as its dating or the concrete time of its celebration, and a full edition of the Hittite text has long been a desideratum.

The descriptions of the *hišuwā*-festival contain the usual practices such as offering bread, wine, etc. to the gods and musical performances by lyre players, known, among others, from Central Anatolian festivals. However, other aspects indicate it belonged to a distinct festival tradition. Prayers of request, sacrificial ceremonies, symbolic plays, purification rituals with water and fire show its unique character (Doğan-Alparslan 2005: 245–58; Strauß 2006: 11–13, 23). There are some ritual practices in the existing tablets that are only attested in the *hišuwā*-festival, one of which is named ‘hitting the back with the gods’ scepters’ (*IŠ-TU* ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} DINGIR-LIM *iškiša 3-šU walaḥzi*), mentioned in the 13th tablet of the festival:

ABoT 1.7 + KBo 15.37 rev. V

- 1 LUGAL-uš UŠ-KE-EN ^L[^USANG]A ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} DINGIR-LIM
 - 2 *an-da hu-u-la-l[i-i]a-an-da-pát da-a-i*
 - 3 *nu* LUGAL-uš A-NA DINGIR-LIM 3-šU UŠ-KE-EN
 - 4 ^LU^USANGA-ia-an IŠ-TU ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} DINGIR-LIM
 - 5 *iš-ki-ša 3-šU wa-la-aḥ-zi*
 - 6 *nam-ma* LUGAL-uš ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} *ku-wa-aš-zi*
 - 7 *na-aš-za e-ša-ri*
-
- 8 ^LU^USANGA-*ma-kán* IŠ-TU ĞIR.GÁN KÙ.BABBAR
 - 9 ĞESTIN *ha-ni-iš-ke-ez-zi-pát*
 - 10 *na-aš-ša-an kat-ta da-me-e-da-aš*
 - 11 A-NA GAL^{HLA} *le-el-ḥu-u-wa-i*
 - 12 *nu* PA-NI LUGAL *ku-i-e-eš a-ša-an-zi*
 - 13 *nu-^ruš^r-ma-aš a-ku-wa-an-na wa-ar-šu-li*
 - 14 *p[é]-eš-ke-ez-zi IŠ-TU ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA}-ia-aš*
 - 15 *iš-ki-ša wa-al-ḥa-an-na-i*
 - 16 *nam-ma* ^{GIS}GIDRU^{HLA} *ku-wa-aš-kán-zi*⁴

(1–7) The king bows down. The [SANG]A priest takes the aforementioned wrapped scepters of the god. The king bows 3 times toward the god and the SANGA priest hits him on the back 3 times with the god’s scepters. The king kisses the scepters and sits down.

(8–16) The SANGA priest dips wine from the silver ĞIR.GÁN vessel and pours it down into other cups. To those who are sitting in front of the king he gives to drink *drop by drop*^(?) (and) hits them with the scepters on the back. Then they kiss the scepters.

Another documented specific gesture is ‘sprinkling water with the eagle’s feather’ (TI⁸MUŠEN^{-aš} *partaunit* LUGAL-*i menaḥḥanda watar papparašzi*), a cathartic purification act of successive nature, and ‘turning the torch(es)’ (^{GIS}*zupparit waḥnu-*):

4 De Martino 1998: 62; Doğan-Alparslan 2005: 246f.; 2020: 120f.

KBo 23.28 + KUB 32.65+ obv. I

- 30'/8' ... [nam-ma] ^r1 ^{sīg}kiš-ri-in BABBAR
 31'/9' [1 tar-pa-la-an ^{sīg}S]A5 1 tar-pa-la-an ^{sīg}ZA.GÌN
 32'/10' [pu-r]u-š[i-ia-la-a]n i-ia-an-zi
 33'/11' [na]-an-ša-an ^rA-NA(?)^r NINDA mu-la-ti
 34'/12' [A-NA(?)^g]B^{is}BANŠUR ŠA DINGIR še-er ti-an-zi

- 35'/13' [na]m-ma-kán A-NA ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN
 36'/14' [š]A TI8^{MUSEN} pâr-ta-u-wa-ar pa-aš-kán
 37'/15' [n]a-at-kán [A-NA p]u-ru-ši-ia-li an-da da-a-i
 38'/16' [n]a-an-za-a[n š]A ^Dli-lu-ri GAL-SÚ
 39'/17' [ha]l-zi-iš-[š]a-an-zi

- 40'/18' ^rnu ^{LÚ}S[ANGA] ^DISKUR ma-nu-zi-ia
 41'/19' [1 NINDA pâr-ši-i]a nu LUGAL-i MAŠ-AM ke-e-ez-za
 42'/20' ^rMAŠ^r-[AM ke]-^re^r-ez-za da-ga-a-an da-a-i
 43'/21' še-e[r-ra-aš-ša-a]n ka-a ka-a-i
 44'/22' hu-u-[ma-an]x da-a-i
 45'/23' nam-ma-k[án[?] ^{GIŠ}]EREN A-NA ^I.GIŠ
 46'/24' an-da šu-[ni-ez]-zi
 47'/25' na-at-ša-a[n ^{DUG}ku-u]l-li-ša-aš
 48'/26' še-er da-a-i

- 49'/27' nam-ma-kán I[š-TU ^{DUG}KU-KU-U]B GEŠTIN
 50'/28' ŠA TI8^{MUSEN} pâr-ta-a-[u-wa-ar a]r-ha da-a-i
 51'/29' na-at ^{LÚ}pal-wa-at-[tal-li p]a-a-i
 52'/30' ^{LÚ}pal-wa-at-tal-l[a-aš pal-w]a^r-ez-zi^r
 53'/31' na-aš-ta TI8^{MUSEN}-aš [pâr-ta-a-u-wa-ar GA]L A an-da da-a-i
 54'/-- ^{LÚ}SANGA ^DISKUR ma-nu-z[i-ia]

(KBo 23.28 obv. I + KUB 32.61+)

- 55'/1' ^{GIŠ}zu-up-pa-ri lu-^riš-na-an^r-[za[?]]
 56'/2' an-da-ma-at ^{sīg}a-li-it ^{sīg}SA5
 57'/3' te-pa-u-i-it iš-ḫi-ia-an
 58'/4' na-at lu-uk-ke-ez-zi
 59'/5' [n]u DINGIR^{MES} ar-ḫa wa-aḫ-nu-zi
 60'/6' [an-da-ma-k]án kiš-ša-an me-ma-a-i

(KUB 32.61+)

7'-10' (recitation)

KBo 15.48(+?) obv. II

- 1' (recitation)
 2' nam-ma a-pé-e-ez-za-pát ^{GIŠ}zu-up-pa-ri-it
 3' LUGAL-un wa-aḫ-nu-zi me-ma-i-ia a-pé-e-pát
 4' ud-da-a-ar ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma LUGAL-un wa-aḫ-nu-ma-an-zi

5' *zi-in-na-i nu* ^{LÜ}*pal-wa-at-tal-la-aš*
 6' ^{TI8}^{MUSEN}*-aš pār-ta-u-ni-it LUGAL-i me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da*
 7' *wa-a-tar 3-ŠU pa-ap-pār-aš-zi pal-wa-ez-zi-ma 1-ŠU*

8' ^{LÜ}*pal-wa-at-tal-la-aš GAL A*
 9' ^{TI8}^{MUSEN}*-aš-ša pār-ta-u-wa-ar har-zi-pát⁵*

(30'/8'–34'/12') ... [Then] they make 1 skein of white wool, [1 *tarpala-* of re]d wool (and) 1 *tarpala-* of blue wool into a [*pur*]uši⁶yala-. They place it on the god's table on top of the *mulati-* bread.

(35'/13'–39'/17') Then an eagle's feather⁷ is stuck into a pitcher of wine. They place it in the *purušiyala-*. They call it 'the cup of Liluri'.

(40'/18'–48'/26') The S[ANGA] priest of the Stormgod of Manuziya [break]s [1 bread]. On one side of the king he puts one half on the floor, on the other side the other half. On it, here and there, he puts the wh[ole ...]. Then, he dips cedarwood into the fine oil and puts it on the *kulliša-* vessel.

(49'/27'–60'/6') Then, he takes the eagle's fea[ther?] fr[om the pitch]er of wine and gives it to the *palwatt[alla- p]*riest. The *palwatall[a- priest sho]*uts and dips the eagle's [feather?] into [a cu]p of water. The SANGA priest of the Stormgod of Manuz[iya takes] a torch (with) *lueššar*⁷. It is wrapped in a little bit of red *ali-* wool. He lights it and waves it over the gods. [In doing so], he speaks as follows:

(7'–10', 1') (Hurrian recitation)

(2'–7') Then, he waves this same torch over the king and speaks those very words. As soon as he finishes waving over the king, the *palwatalla-* priest sprinkles water with the eagle's feather⁷ 3 times vis-à-vis the king and shouts once.

(8'f.) The *palwatalla-* priest holds the cup of water and the eagle's feather⁷ as before.

Another aspect of the *ḥišuwa-* festival that differs from the other rituals is the special terminology that often highlights its cathartic functions, which terms are discussed subsequently.

*anāḥi(t)-, anahitaḥit-*⁸

This term refers to a bite or sample of meat of the sacrificial animal or of a loaf of bread and is often accompanied by the *aḥrušḥi-* and *ḥuprušḥi-* vessels. The word *anāḥi-* attested in both the Hittite and Hurrian parts of the *ḥišuwa-* festival appears here again denoting a cathartic function. According to Mauro Giorgieri, two Hurrian words *anahī*

5 Dinçol 1989: 12–14.

6 Cf. CHD P 393f. that characterizes *purušiyala-* as an "item made of wool or cord, perhaps a wreath or headband"; cf. Klinger 2008: 204, who apparently misunderstood the CHD on this point.

7 The word *lueššan[za]* is preceded by the seldom-attested triple *Glossenkeil*.

8 Dinçol 1969: 37 n. 19; Wegner and Salvini 1991: 214; Bawanypeck and Görke 2007: 64; Giorgieri 2012: 144–47.

(‘delizia’) and *anaḫiti* (‘delicatezza’) merged in Hittite *anāhi(t)*- through the mediation of Luwian (Giorgieri 2012; see differently Starke 1990: 157–59). A passage from the fourth tablet of the *hišuwa*- festival attests the term *anāhi(t)*- as follows:

KUB 27.19 rev. III

- 1' ^{GIŠ}er]-*ḫu-i-ti*
 2' *i]š-ḫu-wa-an-zi*
 3'] 'UDUN-aš⁹? 1 NINDA.LÄL ^{GIŠ}ḫa-ši-ik-ka₄-aš
 4' *k]u-iš-ša pa-ra-a tar-na-az ki-it-ta-ri*
-
- 5' NINDA *la-al-la-a]m-mu-u-ri* BA.BA.ZA UP-NI *ki-it-ta-ri*
 6' *]a-na-a-ḫi-ta ku-e a-aḫ-ru-uš-ḫi-ia*
 7' *p]é-eš-ši-^{<ez>}-zi nu* EGIR-an-da ^{LÜ}SANGA
 8' *la-a-ḫa-a]n-ni* KÜ.SI22 *ši-pa-an-ti*

(1'–4') [...] into the basket [...] they pour. [...] of the oven⁹, 1 honey bread with nuts⁹, [... e]ach ration in turn lies there.

(5'–8') [... *lalla*]*muri*- bread (of) mush of a handful lies there. [...] the samples that he throws into the *aḫrušḫi*- vessel [...]. Afterwards, the SANGA priest offers [...] with a golden [*laḫa*]*nni*- vessel.

The special act of ‘throwing samples of *kangati*- into the oil in *aḫrušḫi*- and *ḫuprušḫi*- vessels’, perhaps also attested in the festival for Ištar of Šamuḫa (KUB 27.1 obv. I 37f.), is documented in the first and second tablets of the festival:

KUB 45.57 rev. III²⁹ +

- 3' [^{NINDA}*mu-l]**a-ti-in-ma-aš-ša-an* A-NA [
 4' [*d]a-a-i na-aš-ta* IŠ-TU ^{TU7}*kán-g[a-ti*
 5' *da-a-i na-at-kán* ^{DUG}*a-aḫ-ru-uš-ḫi-[*
 6' *nu me-ma-i* (recitation)
 7'f. (recitation)
-
- 9' *nam-ma-kán a-na-a-ḫi-ta a-aḫ-ru-uš-ḫi-az* [*da-a-i]*
 10' *na-at-kán hu-u-up-ru-uš-ḫi-ia pa-ra-a pé-eš-^{<zi>}]*
 11' *nu me-ma-i* (recitation)
 12' *nam-ma-kán* ^{NINDA}*mu-la-ti-in pár-ši-ia-^r an¹-t[a-an]*
 13' A-NA ^{TU7}*kán-ga-ti še-er da-a-i*

(3'–8') He puts the *mulati*- bread on [...] and takes [*a small sample*] of *kang[ati]*- pulp and [*dips*] it [into] the *aḫrušḫi*- vessel [*into the oil*] and speaks: (Hurrian recitation).

(9'–13') Then, [he takes] the sample out of the *aḫrušḫi*- vessel and throws it on the *ḫubrušḫi*- and speaks: (Hurrian recitation). Then he puts the broken *mulati*- bread on the *kangati*- pulp.

9 According to the hand copy of KUB 45; more likely part of obv. II.

Since this practice is only attested in the *hišuwā*- festival, one may surmise that this festival occupies a unique position within the entire corpus of the Hittite festivals (Groddek 2011: 112; Doğan-Alparslan 2005: 255).

*erama*¹⁰

The term *erama* is only attested in the fourth tablet of the *hišuwā*- festival where it occurs only in the phrase ‘he bows before the *erama* horse’. Haas interprets the expression ANŠE.KUR.RA *erama* as a kind of ‘divine horse’ (“die Pferdegöttheit”, Haas 1994: 411, 417). Carl Georg von Brandenstein suggests that *erama*, which is used with Hurrian gods such as Nupatik and Šauška, is undoubtedly Hurrian (von Brandenstein 1943: 58f.). The relevant passage from the fourth tablet of the *hišuwā*- festival ritual reads as follows:

Bo 5593¹¹ rev. III

- 3' I-NA É^D *ma-li-ia an-da p[a-iz-zi]*
 4' *na-aš* É^E *hi-i-li* A-NA ANŠE.KUR.RA *e-[ra-ma]*
 5' UŠ-KE-EN *nu-uš-ši* LU^S SANGA^D IŠTAR x[]
 6' 1 SA₂₀-A-TÜ ŠE^{GIS} *er-ḫu-u-i-ia-za pa-ra-a e-[ep-zi]*
 7' *nu-uš-ša-an* LUGAL-uš IŠ-TU 2 *la-a-ḫa-an-n[i]*
 8' *še-er* 1-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti nu* ŠE
 9' PA-NI ANŠE.KUR.RA *e-ra-ma iš-ḫu-u-wa-i*

He g[oes] into the temple of Malia. He bows in the courtyard to the horses *e[rama]* and to him the SANGA priest of Ištar h[olds] out 1 *SUTU* of grain from of the basket. The king libates upon it once out of 2 *laḫanni*- vessels and pours the grain in front of the horses *erama*.

Erama is also attested in another text of the fourth tablet of the festival:

KUB 27.19 rev. III

- 15'] *ú-da-an-zi*
 16' D] *nu-pa-ti-ik* D^D *ša-uš-ga*
 17' NINDA^D *i-du]-ri-uš-ma* A-NA D^D *ni-na-at-ta*
 18' A-NA D^D *ḫu-te-na* D^D *ḫu-te-el-lu]-úr-ra* 1 NINDA^D *i-du-ri-in*
 19' A-NA D^D *ku-uz-z]* é-na D^D *ku-uz-pa-zé-na*
 20']x-*li*
 21' A-NA] ANŠE.KUR.RA *e-ra-ma da-a-i*

[...] they bring. He puts [... for] Nupatik, Šaušga, [...] but [*idu*]*ri*- breads for Ninatta, [... for Ḫutena, Ḫutell]urra, 1 *iduri*- bread [... for Kuzz]ena, Kuzpazena, [...] ... [... for] the horses *erama*.

¹⁰ Haas 1994: 411, 417, 856f.

¹¹ I would like to thank İsmet Aykut and Dr. Oğuz Soysal who are preparing the publication of Bo 5593 for permission to present a partial transliteration of this fragment here.

*eribuški*¹²

eribuški- is either the Hurrian word for ‘eagle’ or designates a representation of an eagle. The passage where it is attested is found in the 13th tablet of the *ḫišuwa*- festival as follows:

KBo 15.37 obv. I

- 20 *nam-ma-kán* A-NA ^DISKUR *ma-nu-zi-ia*
 21 *ku-iš* T18^{MUSEN} KÜ.SI22 *ŠUM-ŠU e-ri-bu-uš-ki-iš*¹³
 22 *GEŠTU-ni-kán ne-ia-an-za*
 23 *na-an-ši-kán ar-ḫa da-an-zi*
 24 *na-an ar-ra-an-zi nam-ma-an IŠ-TU Ī.DU10GA*
 25 *te-pu-it iš-kán-zi*

Then, they take the golden eagle – his name is *eribuški* – that is turned to the ear of the Stormgod of Manuziya and wash it. Then they anoint it with a little bit of fine oil.

NINDA *ḫaršupanni*¹⁴

This type of bread is attested in the Kizzuwatnean rituals. It is documented in the fourth, fifth and some fragments of the seventh tablet of the *ḫišuwa*- festival in the forms below:

- NINDA *ḫar-šu-pa-ni-i-iš* (BA.BA.ZA ½ UP-NI);
- NINDA *ḫar-šu-pa-an-ni-i-iš* (BA.BA.ZA UP-NI);
- NINDA *ḫar-šu-pa-an-ni-i-iš=ša-an* (BA.BA.ZA *tar-na-aš*);
- NINDA *ḫar-šu-pa-an-ni-i-iš=ša-aš=ša-an* (BA.BA.ZA *tar-na-aš*).

The passage where it is attested in the fourth tablet of the *ḫišuwa*- festival is as follows:

Bo 5593¹⁵ obv. II

- 20' NINDA.LÄL-*ia-aš-ša-an ḫu-u-ma-an-[du-uš]*
 21' *ku-iš-ša pa-ra-a tar-na-aš*
 22' *ki-it-ta-[ri]*
 23' NINDA *ḫar-šu-pa-an-ni-iš-ša-aš-š[a-an* BA.BA.ZA *tar-na-aš]*
 24' NINDA *la-al-la-am-mu-u-ri-iš-š[a* BA.BA.ZA *UP-NI]*
 25' *ki-it-ta-[ri]*
 26' *nu-uš-ša-an* NINDA.SIG^{MES}
 27' [*pár*]-*ši-ia-an-da a-wa-[an kat-ta da-a-i]*

All the honey breads, each in turn of one ration, lie there. A *ḫaršupanni*- bread [of mush of one ration], a *lallammuri*- bread [of mush of a handful] lie there. [He puts] the broken flatbreads [down].

12 Dinçol 1989: 8; Haas 1994: 496 n. 48, 849, 872; Popko 1995: 101.

13 Volkert Haas interpreted this expression of the passage as “the golden eagle on the shoulder of the Storm God of Manuziya” (Haas 1994: 872).

14 Hoffner 1974: 157; Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2002: 100f.; Maier 2013: 37–39; HEG P 44.

15 See n. 11 above and the discussion of NINDA *lalam(p)uri*- below.

NINDA *lalam(p)uri*-¹⁸

This refers to a special type of cereal bread in the Hurrian and Luwian rituals of the Kizzuwatnean texts. NINDA *lalam(p)uri*- is attested in the fourth, fifth, seventh and eighth tablets. I would mention briefly the passage from the fourth tablet (Bo 5593 obv. II 23'–27'):¹⁹ “A *haršupanni*- bread [of mush of one ration], a *lallammuri*- bread [of mush of a handful] lie there. [He puts] the broken flatbreads [down].”

MUNUS *tapritašši*-²⁰, (GIS) *tapri(t)*-²¹

These terms are attested in Hurro-Hittite rituals and appear mostly as (GIS) *tapri(t)*- or *tapri*- (written consistently without the determinative). This latter form is attested in the *hišuwa*- festival. MUNUS *tapritašši*-, which denotes a female attendant, is encountered in the fragments, whose attribution to the *hišuwa*- tablets are uncertain:

KUB 25.49 rev. III

- 10' [] nu MUNUS.MEŠ *tap-ri-ta-aš-ši-ša ku-i-uš*
 11' [-k] *án-zi na-aš kat-ta tar-na-an-zi*
 12' [*na-aš-ša*]-an PA-NI ÍD *ti-an-zi nu* 7 NINDA.SIG
 13' [MUNUS *tap-ri-ta*]-aš-ši-iš ÍD *a-al-ta pá-r-ši-ia*
 14' [] ÍD-i *an-da pá-r-š[a-an]-zi EGIR-ŠÚ-ma*
 15' [GEŠTIN *zi*]-iz-zu-*hi-ia-az* 11²-š[U] *ši-pa-an-ti*

[...] The *tapritašši*- women that [...], they let down and put them in front of the river. 7 flatbreads [the *tarpit*] *ašši*- woman breaks to the river Alta. [...] they break into the river. Afterwards, (s)he libates [wine] out of the *zizzuhi*- vessel 11 t[imes²].

(GIS) *tapri(t)*-, which means ‘chair, seat’, is found in the fourth, seventh, eighth, tenth and twelfth tablets of the *hišuwa*- text. The passage of the tenth tablet where it is mentioned reads as follows:

KBo 30.71+ obv. III

- 4' [] x PA-NI DÍŠKUR 2 GAL
 5' [*šu-un-na-a*] *n-zi nu nam-ma* 1 *wa-ak-šur*
 6' [GEŠTIN *da-an-z*] *i na-aš A-NA PA-NI DINGIR*^{MEŠ}
 7' x[] *tap-ri-ti ú-ez-z[i]*
 8' nu [LÚ^{MEŠ} BA]LAG.DI *pé-ra-an hu-u-e-an-z[i]*
 9' n[u SÍR-R]U LÚ^{MEŠ} BALAG.DI GIS²BALAG.D[I]
 10' w[*a-al-ḫa*]-an-ni-ia-an-zi²²

[...] they fill in front of the Stormgod 2 cups and, moreover, [they take] 1 *wakšur* [of wine] and [...] in front of the gods. [...] comes to the chair. The [BA]LAG.DI

18 Hoffner 1974: 170; Hagenbuchner-Dresel 2002: 109f.; HEG L–M 23f.

19 See the transliteration and translation under the discussion of NINDA *haršupanni*- above.

20 Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 398f.; Trémouille 1991: 96.

21 Popko 1978: 80f.; Starke 1990: 218; Trémouille 1991: 77f.; Haas 1998: 245, 268; Groddek 2007: 326.

22 Groddek 2002: 100f.

players run ahead and [sin]g. The BALAG.DI players h[i]t the BALAG.D[I] instruments.

Apart from the *hišuwa*- festival, these words were also documented in a small number of specific texts from Kizzuwatna such as the festival for Teššob and Hebat of Lawa-zantiya, drink offerings for the throne of Hebat, fragments of Kizzuwatnean festivals and magical rituals, fragments of festivals for Teššob and Hebat, and in cathartic practices.

Likewise, the wide range of divine names in the festival text is worth noting. Names of some of the divinities from the *hišuwa*- festival tablets are as follows, but these only represent a small portion of the whole: Adamma, Ali, Annaliya, Attaumine, Damkina, Hatni Pišašahapni, Hutena Hutellura, Išhara/Ušhara, Kubaba, Kušurni, Kuzpazena, Maliya, Ninatta, Nupatik, Nupatik *bibithi*, Nupatik *zalmana*, Nupatik *zalmathi*, Šurinni, Šuwala, and Zalmi.

Such a high number of divine names of various ethnic origins in Hittite texts is quite extraordinary and is peculiar to the *hišuwa*- festival. While these divine names do appear elsewhere, they are nevertheless quite rare. Although most of these deities are poorly understood, their names do at least give us an idea about the functions, etymologies, and correct translations of some words.

In conclusion, the practices described in the tablets suggest that the *hišuwa*- festival was a purification ritual with a cathartic function; it was performed to purify the royal couple and ensure their health and well-being. The *hišuwa*- ritual was organized in relation to the king of the period without any adherence to the calendar.²³ The *hišuwa*- festival is obviously distinguished from other festivals by its specific terms, deity names and special gestures, which were only attested in this festival. It seems that the festival represents a religious tradition very different from Hattian-Hittite traditions but much closer to the Hurrian and Luwian cultures.

Here, I would like to comment on the interpretation of *hišuwa*- as a ‘festival’, recollecting Hans Gustav Güterbock’s opinion on this matter. According to Hans Gustav Güterbock, “[t]o start from the meaning of EZEN^[sic] as found in the Boğazköy texts, it may simply mean ‘feast’ in the sense of ‘meal’ or, to use a colloquial word, ‘a party’. Thus it occurs in the myths: *Istanuš EZEN-an iet* ‘The Sungod prepared a meal’ [citing KUB 17.10 obv. I 19] amounts to saying ‘gave a party’.”²⁴

The specific terminology of the *hišuwa*- festival is attested in part outside of this festival ritual: some of these terms are also documented in a small number of texts describing festival rituals from Kizzuwatna, such as those related to the cult of Teššob and Hebat and festival fragments describing cathartic practices. It would, theoretically, be possible to find in a Hurrian archive a tablet of a purification ritual just like the *hišuwa*- text. But this possibility must await the discovery of further archives containing such texts.

23 The *hišuwa*- festival was perhaps first observed under Tudḫaliya II, who showed an interest in Hurrian culture. Thereafter it was seen and used as a political instrument from Muṣṣili II to Tudḫaliya IV in the 13th century Hittite capital. Apart from this period we may surmise that the festival was organized when the king and his family needed spiritual purification (see Doğan-Alparslan 2020).

24 Güterbock 1970: 175; for a detailed study see Doğan-Alparslan 2020.

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