

Brief Comments on the Hittite Cult Calendar: The Main
Recension of the Outline of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival,
especially Days 8-12 and 15'-22'

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1. Several reasons have prompted the choice of this subject. Firstly, the recent archaeological research with which the dedicatee of this volume has now been connected for more than three decades has indicated that the southern part of the Upper City of Hattusa contains a sacred town district (a "Tempelstadt") consisting of a large number of temples built in the 13th Century B.C.² The two large Festivals of spring and autumn, AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} and *nuntarriyašhaš*, refer in their Outline tablets to a larger number of temples in the capital which, at least in part, are likely to have been situated in this area.

Secondly, thanks to the philological efforts of two of Professor Otten's pupils and of Professor Otten himself, the problem of the continuity of religious Festivals and also of the manner in which they may or may not have been integrated in the State Cult Calendar of later times may now be approached with more confidence than heretofore.³ Thirdly, two copies of the Outline of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, KUB 51.15 (1981) and KUB 55.5 (1985) have recently been published in text-copy by Dr. H. Freydank. The most recent study on the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival (S. Košak, Lingui-

1 See the parallel contribution to the FsGüterbock 2 with the subtitle "The Outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival".

2 Cf. P. Neve, Arch. Anz. 1984, 368-9; see, too, H. G. Güterbock, CRRAI 20 (1972): 125-6 for the textual support with respect to this archaeological approach.

3 StBoT 12 (1970), 13 (1971), 25 (1980), 26 (1983), 27 (1983) and 28 (1984). See with respect to this problem already H. Otten, OLZ 50 (1955): 389-92 concerning the connection between Old Hittite *ēhi/ešā* material (see now StBoT 25 no 27 = KBo 17.15), the *purulliyaš* Festival and IBoT 3.1 (CTH 609.1) and the more recent evaluation by O. R. Gurney, Schweich, 38-9 together with the references to later literature on the subject as well as I. Singer, StBoT 27, 38, 114, 141-2 and 153 (the correspondencies noted by Singer between passages in 'Tablet Catalogues' (or: 'Shelf Lists') and 'Ration Lists' concerning the KI.LAM, the *ēhi/ešā* and the *purulliyaš* Festivals may result from the processional character of these ceremonies: incantation priests, *hapiya*-men and *zintuḫiya*-woman are typical functionaries to be associated with processions, cf. 3.1., Day 20' together with note 16 and 7.1).

stica 16, 1976, 55–64) does not investigate the full evidence of these two new copies nor the related data of CTH 568 and 629, two texts which deal with Cult provisions for the State Cult in the capital for the full calendar year, with respect the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival.

2. Listing of the Outline copies (CTH 626 I, practically in order of publication):⁴

A = KUB 9.16 I 1–26, days 1–6 (incomplete); IV x + 1–13', end of the text referring to 'His Majesty' Mursilis (II) and colophon (apparently the text constitutes a not yet 'final' copy).

B = 34/t + KBo 3.25 + KUB 10.48 I, days 1–6 (incomplete); II 1–23, days 12–16; IV x + 1–7', badly damaged remnants of four days towards the end of the Festival (É) ^DLAMMA LÍL in IV 2').

C = IBoT 2.8 III² 1–14 = B II 12–23 (days 14–16) in a different day-numbering 3'–5' which is shared by copies C and F, followed by a few traces concerning day [6']; IV² x + 1–8' = F IV 3'–10' (days 15'–17' of C's and F's second series).

D = KBo 14.76 I x + 1–16', days 7 (useless)–12 (incomplete); III x + 1–23' (badly preserved remnants belonging in the main gap of the text, cf. 7.1.); IV colophon, presumably to be restored after A's replica (accordingly also D would seem to be a non-final copy).

E = KBo 22.228 (I) x + 1–14', days [8] (different from D)–[10] (incomplete).⁵

F = KUB 55.5 (Bo 2438) I x + 1–18', days [9] (incomplete)–[1'] (incomplete); III x + 1–12' (remnants of three days also belonging in the main gap, cf. 7.1.); IV x + 1–29', days 15' (incomplete)–22' (incomplete) of an additional series starting with day 12 of B's day-numbering which would have been F's own day 13, if the 'Road of Nerik' had not been singled out as the starting-point for this additional series.

⁴ H. Ehelolf recognized the connections between Bo 2438 (= KUB 55.5) and KUB 25.27 (= CTH 629), cf. FsGüterbock 2, 1. note 4 and 2. note 15. Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961), 90–2 together with the notes 26–38 decisively treated the Outline as such, already commenting upon the 99/q = KBo 14.76 and the question of the day count (see below sub 5.1.–2.), while he returned to the question in NHF, 68–9 (67–68). Professor Otten, StBoT 15, 20 published an important passage of Bo 2438 IV which was recognized by Laroche, *Premier supplément* CTH, RHA 30 (1972), 115 (no 626 I) as a copy of the Outline. S. Košak, *Linguistica* 16 (1976), 55–64 dealt extensively with copies A–C also making some remarks on copies D–E–F (l.c. 56–7).

⁵ See, too, S. Alp, *Beiträge*, no 50: 180–1 in the larger context of nos 49–51: 187–83 where the Outline copies A–E are treated.

It is, I think, highly likely that KUB 51.15 deserves to be added to this list as copy G. Especially the Reverse (IV) ll. 7', 10', 11', 12' and 13' (each line beginning with *lu-kat-ti-ma* also to be restored for ll. 2' and 5') secure that it is an Outline Tablet. The 34th day mentions a festival for the Storm God of Aleppo which may be compared to the 17th day of the additional series of C and F, KUB 51.15 IV 2'–4' being similar to IBoT 2.8 IV 6'–8' and KUB 55.5 IV 8'–10'. As far as the initial lines 11'–13' of KUB 55.5's Day 18' are concerned, KUB 51.15 IV 5'–6' offers a good parallel, presumably dealing with the [35th] day of its series. The two consecutive days, KUB 55.5 IV 17'–20' (Day 19') and 21'–24' (Day 20') on the one hand and KUB 51.15 IV 7'–9' (Day [36]) and 10' (Day [37]) on the other, are different, but in this respect it may be added that F (= KUB 55.5) offers an indication that its Day 20' may constitute an alteration with respect to an older tradition. The two following days of both Outline copies, already less well-preserved in F IV 25'–26' and 27'–29', are again recognizable in the badly damaged lines G IV 11' and 12' in an admittedly far shorter wording. Finally, it is possible that G I 1'–6' shows a divergent description of the 4th and 5th or the 5th and 6th days of the main day-reckoning.⁶ The total number of days treated in G seems to be as high as at least fourty.

Notwithstanding the fairly large number of copies the Outline is far from complete. Approximately 10 days are almost completely missing, Days 6' to 15' of the additional series of C and F equalling the Days 17 up to presumably 26 in the 'united' reckoning to be presumed for the other copies. In his *editio princeps* of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Outline, Professor H. G. Güterbock used KUB 25.27 (CTH 629, a Cult Inventory dealing

⁶ G I x + 1 may possibly refer to Tahirpa mentioned for the 4th and the 5th days of the presumably 'younger' copies A and B. On the morning of the consecutive day the King (without the Queen?) sets out for or departs from Arinna (l. 2') and pours out a drink offering from a libation-vessel when [he reaches] the ^{G1}Šw[arḫuiznaš] of (the town of) Kuliella. The remainder of I is unintelligible. My assumption that the libation would be directed at the ^{G1}Šw[arḫuiznaš] of (the town of) Kuliella is based on the combined evidence of KBo 22.181, a fragment which mentions URUKu-lilaš [^{G1}Šw]arḫuiznaš in Rev. 10–11 (see l. 3 for the beginning of the word) and of KBo 30.54 I 18'–20' which mentions in a description of Day 7 of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival that in the autumn the King continues his journey from Mad/tiella to Arinna "as soon as he finishes libating to the ^{G1}Šw[arḫuiznaš]". See M. Popko, *AoF* 13 (1986): 176–9 for the interesting proposal to equate the towns of Kuliella and Mad/tiella as well as ^{G1}Šw[arḫuiznaš] and ^{G1}Šw[arḫuiznaš]. From the textual side it may be added that KBo 22.181 seems to describe a return to Hattusa (cf. l. 14) and that at this moment an ascription to the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival cannot yet be excluded.

according to its colophon with the manner in which, "When the King celebrates the regular Festivals", these must be performed in order to be complete) as an in part parallel text (copy S).⁷ The same can be said of II.III 6-16 on the one hand and copies C and F, on the other, in their description of the Days 15'-17' of the additional series. KUB 25.27 might receive the same symbol with respect to the *nuntarriyašhaš* Outline. Below sub 7.2. I hope to show convincingly that, in its preserved part (Rev. IV?) KBo 13.257, again actually a Cult Inventory, is in particular relevant to the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, representing the same stage in the development of this Festival as copy G. In addition to KUB 25.27 and KBo 13.257, also the Oracle Inquiry CTH 568 about the manner in which a fairly large number of yearly State Festivals should be performed in order to be complete (cf. sub 4.) contains important material on the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival.⁸ I have the distinct impression that both CTH 568 and CTH 629 (KUB 25.27) mostly deal with 'secondary Festivals' in which the King was not directly involved, are related with a 'modernization' of the early 13th Century and that the results of the 'Oracle Inquiry' have been added in part to the reversion of the Cult Calendar of that period represented by the contents of the copies A of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Outline and C and F of the *nuntarriyašhaš* replica. The 'Oracle Inquiry' would seem to be responsible for the Cult Deliveries mentioned in especially those copies of both Outlines. In general the duration of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival seems to have been shortened: while F would seem to have encompassed 34 days or even more, G's Festival lasted for at least 40 days, cf. below sub 5.; the Days 34 and [35] of G are comparable to the Days 17' and 18' of the additional series of copies C and F, equalling Days [28] and [29] in the 'united' reckoning to be presumed for the other copies, cf. below sub 3.2. and 5. In the course of time the additional information concerning 'secondary Festivals' and preparatory activities in view of later ceremonies seems to have grown: see above and below sub 3.

3.1. It is important to note that the main version of the Outline based on the copies A-F and to be dated to the time of Mursilis II or to the early reign of Muwattallis (see below sub 6.) does not allow for the inclusion of

⁷ JNES 19 (1960), 80 and passim 80-89; see, too, NHF, 62-8.

⁸ Cf. FsGüterbock 2, 2. sub b. and H. Berman, JCS 34 (1982): 123-4 (with different symbols for the numerous copies, remarks about possible 'joins' and the additional copy AAA 3 (1910) pl. 28 no 9 which could receive the symbol M in my notation (= A V 12'-20')). The question of the character of the composition treated by Berman deserves renewed consideration in which the remark in the Inhaltsübersicht of ABoT, VIII sub 14 (copy A) should also be taken into account in a new assessment.

a cultic journey to Nerik in this part of the Outline. The question has formed the subject of a controversy in the past and occasionally the possibility would still seem to be reckoned with.⁹

- 2' [The next morni]ng [he (i.e. the King) goes] to the Temple of the Storm G[od]. Copy E
 3' And [he makes a round] to a[ll the Templ]es of the Gods.
 4' Next a Great [Assembly] in the Palace.
 5' (The whole of) Hattusa takes a seat. [He] re[turns] to the Temple [of the Storm God].
 6' [Outs]ide a Great (Assembly) is called for. [Day 8].

Comments and text: The text may be restored after the colophons of the day tablets KUB 11.34 VI 46-54 = Košak, l.c., 63 = Alp, Beiträge, 61, KUB 25.12 VI 9'-22' = Košak, l.c., 64 = Alp, Beiträge, 62-3 and IBoT 2.11 x + 1-7'; especially the second is very helpful (see for the beginning of l. 6' KUB 25.12 VI 7'). In the beginning no trace of a paragraph-divider has been preserved. After a first line of which only the remnant of one sign is visible and which may have referred to the return of the King from Arinna to Hattusa in accordance with the colophons,¹⁰ the text can be restored as follows: ² [lu-uk-kat]-ti[-ma] I-NA É D[IM/U pa-iz-zi] ³ A-NA [É.M]EŠ DINGIR. MEŠ-ja hu-u-ma-an[-da-aš ú-e-eḫ-zi] ⁴ nam-ma Éha-le-entu-u-ya-aš šal-li [a-še-eš-šar] ⁵ [UR]U Ha-at-tu-ša-a-aš e-ša-ri EGIR-pa I-NA É D[IM/U pa-iz-zi] ⁶ [a-aš-k]a-za šal'-li ḫal-zi-ja [UD.8.KAM].

- 3' [The next morning the King] goe[s to the Temple of the Storm God Dupl. D
 of (the town of)] Nerik.
 4' [And he celebrates the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival]. Day [8].

Comments and text: Cf. the general remark made by Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961), 90²⁷, as far as the publication number is concerned, specified in NHF 68⁶⁷: "There is an unpublished fragment found in 1958, 99/q, whose day count seems to fit that of C better than that of A and B; since it only

⁹ Cf. G. F. del Monte, RGTC 6, 109, 193 and 412. See for the controversy Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961), 90 together with the notes 28 and 29. Güterbock's judicious formulation still holds good: "Zu anderen Zeiten mag die Reise bis Nerik geführt haben" (NHF, 69).

¹⁰ As in the case of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival (Day 9²; KBo 4.13 +²), the day of the return from Arinna to Hattusa (Day 6 or Day 7) was solemnized with a 'Great Assembly' in the Palace, cf. in addition to IBoT 2.7 also Bo 2657 (VI) = KUB 56.58 = Alp, Beiträge nos 58-59: 188-91.

covers ceremonies in the capital, it has no bearing on geography.” This remark influenced the following restoration of the text: (after paragraph-divider) ³[*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-*uš* I-NA É ^DIM/U ^{URU}] *Ne-ri-ik pa-iz-z[i]* ⁴[*nu-za* EZEN *nu-un-tar-ri-ja-aš-ḫa-aš i-ja-zi*] UD[.8].KAM.

- Copy D 5' The next morning a high-ranking *official* goes to the Temple of Hannu.
 6' [And when the appropriate time (to) sets in, his Fes[tival] (takes place). A Great (Assembly) is called for.
 7' '[.....].² But the King sends either a Prince or a member of the (royal) bodyguard to the Temple of the Storm God.
 8' [And he ce]lebrates the [*Had/t*] *auri* Festival. And in the House of the (Palace-)Intendant
 9' in the House [of the the] celebrates the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival for the Storm God of (the town of) Zippalanda
 10' and for (all of) the Gods. And a high-ranking member of the (royal) bodyguard
 11' goes [to the Temple of Ziparw]ā. Day 9.

Text and comments: Restorations based on copies E and F are placed between parentheses within the square brackets: ⁵[(*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma*)².....² *p(a-ra-a ú-ua-an-za* I-NA É)] ^D[*Ha-an-nu pa-iz-zi* ⁶[GIM-an-ma *me-ḫur ti-ḫi* a-zi^a] *nu* EZ[EN]-šU *šal-li ḫal-zi[-ja]* ⁷[.....² (I-NA É ^DIM-ma LUGAL-*uš*) *m*] a-a-an DUMU.LUGAL [(*m*)] a-a-an ^{LÚ}ME-šE-DI ⁸[(*u-i-ia-zi nu* EZEN) *ḫa-t*] a-ú-ri [(*i-ja*)]-zi I-NA É A-B[(*U-BI-TI-ja*)] ⁹[(I-NA É) (EZEN *nu-un-tar-ri-ḫi*)] a-aš-ḫa-aš A-N[(A ^DU)] ^{URU}Zi-ip-pa-la-an[*n-da*] ¹⁰[(*U* A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ *i-ja-zi*)] DUMU É.GAL-*ja* [*p*] a-ra-a ú-ua-an-za ¹¹[I-NA É ^DZi-pár-w] a-a-a *pa-iz-zi*^b] UD.9.KAM. ^a)The highly tentative and merely suggestive restoration of this clause for which copy E (which also omits the following clause *nu* EZEN-šU and the mentioning of the Great Assembly) offers no space, is based on the possible day tablet Bo 69/1260 = Alp, Beiträge no 209: 366–7 (ll. 7'–8'; the reference to the kindling of the torches may point to a Festival of the autumn series). ^b)This final event of the day is omitted in copies E and F, but its existence is vouched for by the series of colophons treated below sub 5.2. The mentioning of a 'Great Assembly' probably indicates the participation of the King. It certainly is striking and constitutes an important common trait that in both Outlines – see with respect to AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Day 16/17 = A II 40–51 – a visit to the Temple of Hannu (in the case of the Spring Festival undoubtedly undertaken by the King and the Queen) and a 'Great Assembly' in

that Temple is combined with a *ḫad/tauri* Festival in the Temple of the Storm God performed in the King's absence. The colophon of KBo 30.96: 7'–10', ⁷[DUB].2².KAM EZEN *nu-ut-tar-r[i-ja-aš-ḫa-aš ma-a-an]* ⁸[A-NA] ^DU ^{URU}Zi-ip-pa-la-a[*n-da U* A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ] ⁹[*ḫ*] *u-u-ma-an-da-aš šA* É [(GAL) ^{LÚ}A-BU-BI-TT] ¹⁰[*zé*]-e²-*na-an*[-*da-aš* EZEN-an *i-ja-zi*], indicates that this fragment and its possible duplicate KBo 24.85 (cf. Inhaltsübersicht, V) constituted the day tablets of the 3rd Festival mentioned for this day. Both in the Outline passage and in the colophon the subject needs to be restored. I believe that one should reckon with the possibility that the NIN.DINGIR may have been involved, cf. below sub 7.1. A likely text-restoration for the beginning of l. 7', if one wants to restore at all, would be [^{URU}*Ha-at-tu-ša-aš e-ša-ri*].

- 12' The next morning the King goes to the Temple of Ziparwā.
 13' And his Festival (takes place). For Zithariya they celebrate
 14' the *nuntarri*[*yašḫaš*] Festival in the Temple of the (Divine) 'Fleeces'.
 Day 10.

Text: Restorations based on copies E and F are placed between parentheses within the square brackets: ¹²[(*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-*uš*)] I-NA É ^DZi-pár-wa₊-a *pa-iz-zi* ¹³[(*nu* EZEN-šU A-NA) (^DZ)] *i-[(i)]t-ḫa-ri-ja* I-NA É ^DKUS₊*kur-ša-aš* ¹⁴[(EZEN *nu-un-tar-ri-ja-aš-ḫa-aš*] *i-ja-an-zi* UD.10.KAM. See below sub 4., 5.2. and 7.1.

- 15' The next morning the King goes [to the Temple of] Z[iparwā].
 Day 11.

Text: (based on D and F) ¹⁵[(*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-*u*)š] I-NA É ^DZ[*i-pár-wa*₊-a] *pa-iz-zi* UD.11.KAM. See below 5.2. and 6.

- 16' The next morning the [seers(?) invoke(?)] the Sun Goddess [of the Earth]
 [17'] of the *nuntarriyašḫaš* Festival. [Day 12].

Text: (see for the restorations below sub 5.2.) ¹⁶[(*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán* ^{LÚ}MEŠ²ḪAL *tág-na-aš* ^DUTU[-un] ¹⁷[(šA EZEN *nu-un-tar-ri-aš-ḫa-aš*) *mu-u-ga-a-an-zi* UD.12.KAM]. The slightly curious expression “the Sun Goddess of the Earth of the *nuntarri(y)ašḫaš* Festival” has a parallel in “the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival of the Sun Goddess of the Earth” referred to in KUB 20.8 VI 4'–5'. Such expressions may indicate that the scribes were

fully aware of the parallelism between the two seasonal Festivals., cf., too, 2. note 6.

- Copy B 1 The next morning the King descends [from Hattusa (?)]
 (II) 2 through the Gate of Zippalan[da towards HARR]anassi.
 3 And in HARRana[ssi] he celebrates [the Storm God]
 4 [of HARRanassi]. But the NIN.DINGIR proceeds from the ..[... of]
 5 [the Pal]ace(?) in order to dance in the House of the grooms (i.e. in the stable?).

Text: (based on B and F) ¹ *lu-uk-kat-ti* [(-*ma-kán* LUGAL-uš *kat-t*) a URU *Ha-at-tu-ša-az*'] ² *iš-TU* KÁ.GAL URU [(Zi-ip-pa-la-a) n-da I-NA URU *HAR-r(a-na-aš-ši)*] ³ *pa-iz-zi nu-za I-NA URU *HAR-ra-na* [-aš-ši D_{IM}/U URU *HAR-ra-na-aš-ši*]* ⁴ *i-ja-zi* «*nu*» NIN.DINGIR-*ma*^a) *iš-TU* ×[× *ē* *ha-l(i-in-du-as?)*] ⁵ *I-NA* É LÚ *iš tar-ku-ya-an-zi* [(i-ja-at-ta-ri)]. ^a) It would seem to follow from F I 12' that *nu* in l. 4 is in fact superfluous. See for the day tablet 132/r, mentioned by Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961): 90³⁰, Alp, Beiträge, no 176: 314–5.

- 6 And she makes a round (of offerings and libations to the Gods). For food drinks (lit. for eating and drinking)
 7 three large institutions (consisting) of the large institution of Ninassa, the (large) institution of T[uwanuwa]
 8 and the large institution of Hubisna stand available to her. Day 12/ [1'].

Text: (F continues without a paragraph-divider) ⁶ *nu-za ir-ḫi-iš-ki-iz-zi*^a) *a-da-an-na-ma-aš-ši a-ku-[(u)]a[(-an-na)]* ⁷ 3 É.MEŠ GAL ŠA É GAL URU *Ni-na-aš-ša* É GAL URU *T[u-ya-nu-ya]* ⁸ É GAL URU *Hu-bi-iš-na-ja ar-ta-ri* UD.12.KAM. ^a) F I 16': *ir-ḫi-eš-ki-iz-z[i]*. See below sub 5.1. and 7.1. and the earlier treatment by S. Košak, l.c., 56.

3.2. After a large gap (see above sub 2.) copy F becomes readable again at the end of the line IV 2' at approximately the same point of the Outline for which also C IV x+1 becomes available. For this part of the Outline (as far as can be determined now, Day [26*] of the 'united' reckoning at least to be presumed for copy B), CTH 629 = KUB 25.27 III 6–16 functions as parallel text (S) with respect to C and F (see sub 7.2. for the preceding part of S).

- Copy F 2' [.....]. The *tawal*-men of Hattusa
 (IV) 3' celebrate the (divine) Queen of the storehouse (of their institution).
 Day 15'.

Text: ² [.....]. SAL.LUGAL É *ši-ja-an-na-š[a-za]* ³ [LÚ.MEŠ *t*] *a-ya-la-aš* URU *HA-AT-TI i-ja-an-zi* UD.15.KAM. S III 6–8, with SOV word-order, omission of the presumably in the context redundant place-name and an enumeration of the actual contribution: ⁶ LÚ.MEŠ *ta-ya-li-ša-za* SAL.LUGAL (É) *ši-ja-an-na-aš* ⁷ *i-ja-an-zi* 3 UDU 1 *PA ZÌ.DA* ⁸ 1 DUG KA.DÙ.

- 4' The next morning Halputilis 'proceeds'.
 5' In the Temple a holy ablution (takes place).
 6' The coachmen celebrate the 'Throne' (i.e. are responsible for the expenditures concerning the 'Throne' (?))
 7' from their institution. Day 16'.

Text and comments: ⁴ *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán* ^D *Hal-pu-ti-li-iš pa-iz-zi* ⁵ *I-NA* É DINGIR-LIM-*ma šu-up-pa ya-ar-pu-u-ya-ar*^a) ⁶ LÚ.MEŠ *ša-la-aš-ḫu-uš-ma-za*^b) ^{GIŠ} *DAG-ti-in*^c) ⁷ *iš-TU É-ŠU-NU*^d) *i-ja-an-zi*^e) UD.16.KAM. ^a) S III 12 in a separate paragraph and thus counted as a separate day, *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa* ŠE+NAG-ar, cf. 5.2. ^b) S III 10: LÚ.MEŠ *ša-la-aš-ḫi(-iš)-ma-za*. ^c) S III 10: ^D *DAG*. ^d) omitted in S III 10–11 which describes the actual contribution instead: ¹¹ 1 [GUD] 4 UDU 2 *PA ZÌ.DA* 2 DUG KA.DÙ. ^e) The Cult Delivery which, through the specific occupation of the contributors, positively defines the character of the procession, also in a more general way confirmed by the Cult Inventory KUB 12.4 IV 7–10, is lacking in copy C. See for this Hattian Deity E. Laroche, NH, 248; A. Kammenhuber, HbOr, 462, 473; E. von Weiher, RLA IV: 63 and M. Popko, Kultobjekte, 131.

- 8' The next morning (the proceedings take place) in the Temple of the Storm God of Aleppo. The 'unskilled' (workers)
 9' celebrate the 'Throne'. The cult provision (in cereals) (and) 1 ox are (at the expense) of their institution.
 10' But as far as the sheep are concerned they take hold of(?) the town gate (i.e. public market?). Day 17'.

Text and comments: ⁸ *lu-uk-kat-ti I-NA* É ^D *URU HA-LA-AB* ^a) LÚ.MEŠ *kat-ta-ru-ut-ti-ša-za*^b) ⁹ ^{GIŠ} *DAG-ti-in*^c) *i-ja-an-zi*^d) *hal-ku-eš-šar* 1 GUD ŠA É-ŠU-NU^e) 10' UDU. *ḪI.A-ma*^e) KÁ.GAL ^f) *ap-pa-an-zi*^g) UD.17.KAM. ^a) While F shows the first example of an abbreviated heading (cf., too, IV 11' and 17'; see, too, AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} A III 26, remarkably enough with respect to this same Temple), C IV 6' adds *pa-iz-zi*; S III 13: URU *Ha-al-pa*. ^b) S III 14: LÚ.MEŠ *GAD. TAR-ma-za* (see below). ^c) C IV 7': ^D *DA*] *G-in*; S III 14: ^D *DAG-ti(-in)*. ^d) C IV 7': *DÙ-an-zi*. ^e) C IV 8': UDU. *ḪI.A-ma*; S III 15: *A-NA* UDU. *ḪI.A-ma*. ^f) S III 15: KÁ.GAL. *ḪI.A*. ^g) S III 16 specifies the remainder of the Cult Delivery,

the actual *halkueššar*, which it did not mention before: 3 PA ZI.DA 3 DUG KA.DÙ. The possibly older copy G which is difficult to read refers in IV 2' to a Festival A-NA DU URU Hal-pa and describes in ll. 3'-4' a preparatory ceremony for the Festival of the following day in the House of the groom(s) which entails an offering the results of which will be "deposited" on that day. It ends with its day-number, "Day 34".

The curious LÚ.MEŠ^škat-ta-ru-ut-ti-ša-za of F IV 8' probably constitutes a hearing-mistake for a dictated LÚ.MEŠ^šGAD.TAR, cf. copy S and MSL XII: 214-5 (KBo 1.30: 9'), lú gada-tar lu-ga-ad-tar = nu-'ú = dam-pu-pi-iš "uncivilized". The rendering used in the translation is meant to function as a general approximation. Usually specific functionaries are mentioned all of whom must have received a certain amount of training. The interpretation of F IV 10' is based on (CTH 568 A =) ABoT 14 + IV 7'-10', a passage which indicates that, when sheep are provided by the KÁ.GAL, a messenger is sent from the Palace. The sequel is described in the following words: nu KÁ.GAL ēppir nu 11 UDU ēppir, "They took hold of the town gate and they seized 11 sheep". This sounds as if the sheep are requisitioned on royal authority.

- 11' The next morning (the proceedings take place) in the House of the groom(s). Outside a Great (Assembly takes place).
 12' In the House of the 'treasurers', viz. in the passageways(?), the Queen
 13' celebrates the 'Festival of the Forest'. The 'treasurers' (presumably a mistake for the chief of the pages) and the chief of the 'old women'
 14' drive to (the town of) Arinna for the burning of the
 15' (The chief of) the 'treasurers' of the Queen celebrates
 16' the (divine) Queen of the storehouse at the expense of (lit. from) his institution. Day 18'.

Text and comments: (at this point copy C and S cease to be available,¹¹ while F, presumably on account of the fact that it seems to have been dictated, needs to be emended) 11' lu-uk-kat-ti-ma I-NA É LÚIŠ a-aš-ka-az šal-li 12' SAL.LUGAL-ma-za^a) I-NA É LÚ.MEŠ^šŠA.TAM Éar-ki-ú-ja-aš^b) 13' EZEN TIR

11 The remainder of KUB 25.27 shows no similarities to one of the later days of the *nuntarriyaššaš* Festival in the two recensions represented by G and F, but perhaps it should be mentioned that its subsequent Festival (III 17) concerns the Storm God of Nerik and that in its final lines IV 4'-6' it refers to the Temple of D¹LAMMA and to Zithariya in the contiguous lines 4' and 5'.

i-ja(-an)-zi^a) LÚ.MEŠ^šŠA.TAM-ma (mistake for GAL DUMU(.MEŠ) É.GAL^c) GAL SALŠU.GI-ja 14' I-NA URU TUL-na ga-an-zu-ya-aš ya-ar-nu-um-ma-an-zi 15' pé-en-na-an-zi (GAL) LÚ.MEŠ^šŠA.TAM SAL.LUGAL-ma-za^c) SAL.LUGAL 16' É šī-ja-an-na-aš IŠ-TU É-ŠU i-ja-zi UD.18.KAM. The possibly older copy G which merely deals with the 1st and the 2nd Festival of the day shows the following text: (IV) 5' [lu-kat-t]i-ma I-NA É LÚIŠ EZEN ××[×]× a-aš-ga-za [šal-li] 6' SAL.LUGAL-ma-za EZEN TIR i-ja-zi UD[.35.KAM].^a) It follows from G that SAL.LUGAL is subject and that i-ja-an-zi is a mistake for i-ja-zi. ^b) See for Éarkiu(i)-, "passageway", the treatment by I. Singer, StBoT 27, 106-11. ^c) Since it is unlikely that the GAL LÚ.MEŠ^šŠA.TAM of the Queen (whose title has been restored in IV 15' on account of the singular forms of both the possessive pronoun -šU and the predicate, a text-restoration which is confirmed by the Oracle Inquiry, cf. below sub 4.) would have travelled up and down Arinna and might still have presided over a ceremony in the capital after his return, the text-restoration (GAL) LÚ.MEŠ^šŠA.TAM-ma in IV 13' makes little sense. I venture to suggest the restoration GAL DUMU(.MEŠ) É.GAL-ma, because this title is mentioned in G IV 8' (?) and 9' in a context in which Arinna is also referred to (G IV 8'). The female title GAL SAL(MEŠ)ŠU.GI (F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, 556) occurs very rarely in Festival texts. Two of these examples, KUB 25.11 and KUB 20.77, may need to be joined, cf. Professor Otten *apud* H. Schuster, HHB, 29¹⁰³. Schuster commented on the contents of the joined text mentioning the participation of *zintuhiya*-woman, a ritual action to bring about the defeat of the enemy, and a prayer for Hittite victory in the form of a dialogue between the GAL SAL.MEŠ^šŠU.GI and the GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL. In view of the fact that the description of the two following days may constitute a 'modernization' of F with respect to G, it need not cause surprise that a 'preparatory action', i.e. the journey to Arinna, would have been mentioned in the description of the preceding day. It is also possible that the 'secondary Festival' itself would have been transferred, but F's wording does not favour this alternative.

- 17' The next morning (the proceedings take place) in the House of the cooks (i.e. the Palace kitchen). Outside a Great (Assembly takes place).
 18' The King [and] the *walhi*-men (possibly a mistake for "The King's *walhi*-men") [ce]lebrate the (divine) [Qu]een
 19' of the storehouse. But the offering materials are given from (lit. of) the large institution (or: the Palace) of the (Palace-)Intendant
 20' of the [lef]t side (i.e. the north). Day 19'.

Text and comments: ¹⁷*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma I-NA É LÚ.MEŠ MUḪALDIM a-aš-ka-az šal-li* ¹⁸[SA]L.LUGAL É *ši-ja-an-na-aš-ma-za LUGAL-uš LÚ.MEŠ ya-al-ḫi-ja-le-e-eš[-ša]* (or, alternatively, a mistake for (ša) LUGAL LÚ.MEŠ *ya-al-ḫi-ja-le-e-eš*) ¹⁹[i-ḫi]a-an-zi *ḫa-az-zi-ú-i-ma šA É GAL* (OR: É.GAL?) *A-BU-BI-TI* ²⁰[GÙB]-*la-aš pi-an-zi* UD.19.KAM. G (IV) 7'-9' refers to a ceremony in the Temple of Ninurta, a 'Great (Assembly)' in the open air and the Hattian Festival in Arinna which has been mentioned above; it seems to be called EZEN TAḪ-*za-ma-ra-ab/du*. See for the rendering of *ḫazziwi*-, "offering materials", Alp, Beiträge, 330²⁹⁶. Presumably the 1st Festival of F marked the beginning of the 'Festival of the Torches' which seems to have lasted for two days.¹² The contents of an Oracle Inquiry, which is preserved in the two damaged copies KUB 34.48 and KUB 49.86,¹³ and KUB 11.18 III and IV, for the lines III 22' - IV 20' (?) duplicated by the Obverse of KBo 8.124 + KBo 20.86, constitute the presently available sources for the first day of the 'Festival of the Torches' as performed in the capital.¹⁴ See for both Festivals below sub 4.

12 Cf., too, J. de Roos, Hettitische Geloften, 1984, 188, 328 = KUB 15.1 II 45; ibidem, 240, 378 = KUB 15.19 Obv. 11', in both cases "in the days of the 'Festival of the Torches'".

13 The two oracle texts would seem to be duplicates, cf. Professor Otten, StBoT 15, 9-10 referring to KUB 49.86 under its Bo-number and especially A. Archi, KUB XLIX, Inhaltsübersicht V: cf. KUB 34.48 right column 11'-12', comparable to KUB 49.86 right column 10'-12'. The Oracle Inquiry confirms that the Festival takes place in the 'House of the cooks', but the name and the character of the Deity concerned cannot yet be determined.

14 These Festival texts have been connected with the 'Festival of the Torches' by Archi, SMEA 14 (1971), 221, as cited by Singer, StBoT 27, 29-30. Singer twice dealt with the material in question, treating the list of AGRIG's in AnSt 34 (1984): 114-6 (List 3). He added KBo 11.41 to the listing of duplicates (StBoT 27, 29¹⁸), a fragment which is compared by E. Neu to the Old Hittite text, StBoT 25, no 80, cf. StBoT 25: 160. The better preserved parts of the Festival, whether they constitute parts of the Festival itself, as assumed by Singer, or form parts of lists of suppliers, as was earlier suggested by Professor Otten (StBoT 15, 8), describe how or prescribe that administrators of a group of storehouses in the capital present themselves with wood, torches, stew, pottery (and wicker-work) at the 'Houses' of a number of types of kitchen personnel. The choice of these items, the character of a few of the functionaries mentioned in the list of ration recipients KBo 8.124 (+ KBo 20.86) Rev. identified by Singer, ibidem, 29, and, finally, the possible existence of a specific list of rations for horses (KBo 11.41 I) among the available evidence, all suggest that transportation must have been foreseen.

21' [The next morning] he (i.e. the King; possibly a Deity) descends towards Tawiniya

22' [..... Wh]il(e) the 'Festival of the Torches' goes on,

23' [the]. celebrates the Festivals of Tawiniya.

24' [Formerl]y (it was/they were) separate. Day 20'.

Text and comments: ²¹[*lu-kat-ti-m*]a' *kat-ta URUTa-ú-i-ni-ja pa-iz-zi* ²²[..... *ku*]-it-ma(-an) EZEN *zu-up-pa-ri kar-ap-ta-ri* ²³[.....]× EZEN. *ḫi.A URUTa-ú-i-ni-ja e-eš-ša-i* ²⁴[*an-na-la-z*]a *ḫa-an-ti* UD.20.KAM. G (IV) 10' mentions a ceremony in a Temple the name of which is broken off. As in the case of its preceding day [36], its contents must have been entirely different. The phrasing of the ll. 22'-23' suggests a change of subject, while the usage of the verb *karp-* M.-P. in l. 22' would seem to establish coherence between the days 19' and 20', as far as the 'Festival of the Torches' is concerned. It is likely that the texts mentioned in note 14 imply the preparation for a cultic journey which took place on this day. If my intimation about the change of subject would be accepted, further consideration might profitably be paid to the question, whether KUB 25.51 (+) KUB 20.17 + KUB 11.32 (duplicated, as far as KUB 25-51 is concerned, by KUB 48.17) might constitute one of the day tablets in question.¹⁵ The combined evidence describes a cultic journey in which the NIN.DINGIR, accompanied by *zintuhiya*-women, incantation priests and the priest of the Hattian God Teteshabi, attends the male tutelary God of nature on a return journey from Hattusa by way of Wargatuwa to Tawiniya.¹⁶

15 See for this text H. Schuster, HHB I, 29¹⁰⁴ where it is characterized as standing apart from the other NIN.DINGIR texts and fragments. Laroche suggested the join between KUB 25.51 and the other pieces in the *Premier supplément* CTH, RHA 30 (1972), 121 (no 738.4). The numerous texts and fragments of CTH 738 (add from KBo XXV the numbers 47, 157 and 167 as well as KBo 30.172) clearly show that the NIN.DINGIR used to be the main, if not the single priest(ess), acting in the ceremonies concerning Teteshabi of Tawiniya.

16 The 'incantation priests' (cf. F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, 489 and Singer, StBoT 27, 59²) are also mentioned in the KILAM text KBo 10.23 III 10' = StBoT 28, 12 and in the passage concerning the KILAM Festival of the 'Tablet Catalogue' (or: 'Shelf List') KUB 30.68 Obv. 6' = StBoT 27, 37-8. While the Festival originally lasted for a considerable number of days (cf. KBo 21.100 Rev. 9', 10' and 14' referring to the Days 5, 6 and 7), the text referred to here reckons with a journey up and down Tawiniya of only two days. A notable detail connecting this text and KBo 10.27 (see 7.1.) is that, before highlights in the proceedings, the NIN.DINGIR enters the *tunnakešsar*, takes off her official dress and comes out again clad in red, cf. KUB 20.17 + KUB 11.34 V 18'-24' (line-count according to KUB 11.34), KBo 10.27 III 27'-30' and V 35'-38.

25' [The next mornin]g they divide (?) the *warḥuṣdu*.

26' But they pile up the [.....]. Day 21'.

Text: 25' [*lu-uk-kat-t*]i(-*ma*) ^{GIŠ}*ya-ar-ḥu-uš-du*¹⁷ *ša-ra-an-zi* 26' [.....]-*ma ḥar-pa-an-zi* UD.21.KAM. Witness *lu-kat-ti-ma* ^{GIŠ}*ya-a*[*r-ḥu-uš-du*], G (IV) 11' must have dealt with the same ceremony, presumably in a less detailed manner.

27' [The next morning] the chief of the pages in the House of the (Pa[lace-]Intendant]

28' [..... As soon as (?)] fire come[s] about [.....]

29' [..... Da]y 22'.

Text: 27' [*lu-uk-kat-ti-m*]a GAL DUMU.MEŠ É.GAL I-NA É A²[-*BU-BI-TI*']] 28' [..... GIM-an-ma]-za-kán pa-aḥ-ḥur ki-ša-r[i] 29' [..... ... U]D.22.KAM. Witness *lu-kat-ti-ma* GAL DUMU É²[.GAL], G (IV) 12' dealt with the same ceremony, while the ll. 13'-14' evidence that it continued with the description of at least one more day, its Day [40].

4. As has been argued in my parallel contribution to the FsGüterbock 2 sub 1.-3. and 7., CTH 568 and 629 are of considerable importance for the Hittite Cult Calendar. In view of that treatment which purported to place the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM^{SAR} part of the Cult Calendar in a historical perspective, my introductory remarks here on CTH 568 may be short. The first part of the Inquiry deals with the *ḥad/tauri* Festivals of spring and autumn.¹⁸ The final part and certainly more than one quarter of the text is devoted to the cultic journeys during both spring and autumn of the 'Fleece', now convincingly argued to be in fact a hunter's bag, being either the attribute or the symbol, but in some cases even the actual form or representation of male tutelary gods of nature.¹⁹ With respect to the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival the Oracle Inquiry mainly refers to Zithariya who must have accompanied the Hittite King on his military campaigns.²⁰ I should like to add to my earlier

17 Cf. J.J.S. Weitenberg, U-Stämme. Amsterdam, 1984, par. 72.

18 Cf. FsGüterbock 2, 4.

19 See Popko, AoF 2 (1975), 65-70 and Kultobjekte, 108-115 together with the notes 47-89 on 117-120. The equation with a type of hunter's bag, as represented in Hittite art, was proposed by S. Alp, Beiträge, 98. See Popko, Kultobjekte, 108-109 for the judgement: "An der Grenze zwischen den Götterattributen und den unpersönlichen Götterdarstellungen steht (^{KUŠ})*kurša*- 'Vlies', das schon in den althethitischen Festritualen als einer der beopferten Gegenstände auftritt."

20 Cf. Popko, Kultobjekte, 112 together with notes 68 and 69 on 119.

treatment that CTH 568 is not arranged on a strictly chronological basis, but, at least partly, according to subject matter. This implies that, within the shorter subsections, the identity of the parties responsible for the delivery of the goods, the food and the drinks to be used in the various, presumably often 'secondary' Festivals dealt with in the Inquiry sometimes determines the order in which specific Festivals are treated. In view of this particularity the certain and rewarding references to the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival in the Inquiry will be given in the text-order of the Outline.

Day 2: "When 'His Majesty' (re)turns from the campaign and when they release Zithariya to his Temple, with respect to the Festival which (at that time) will be performed for him, 10 bucks and the cult provisions (in cereals) will be provided from the Palace of "the Father of 'His Majesty'" and the man, who is sent from the Palace after the God, will set up (or: provide for) the beakers (i.e. will be responsible for the expenditure concerning the libations)" (A = ABoT 14 + V 12'-20').

Day 3: As has already been proposed in the FsGüterbock 2 sub 2., the translation of the Outline A I 9-11 = B I 8-9 with "Zithari[ya] sets out for Hakmara/Hakkura,²¹ but (or: while) he goes forth to Tatasuna"²² would reconcile the two descriptions of his separate journey in both sources: the long passage B = KUB 22.27 IV 4-13 refers to the following sequence of place-names, Hattusa (4), Tatasuna (5, 8), Istuhila (9, 10) and finally Hakmara/Hakkura (10). Hakmara/Hakkura would have been mentioned in the Outline as the final goal of the separate journey at which the 'Festival of the Forest' took place (12-13; see above sub 3.2. Day 18' for another example). Presumably the journey was scheduled for 3 days.²³

Day 6: "Thereafter Zithariya [joi]ns 'His Majesty' when 'His Majesty' comes back [u]p to Hat[tusa]" (B = KUB 22.27 IV 14-15).²⁴ This meet-

21 Cf. Professor Otten, RLA IV: 49.

22 See, too, Košak, Linguistica 16 (1976): 56.

23 The whole passage is translated by G. del Monte, RGTC 6: 414, who, like Güterbock, assumes that the 'Oracle Inquiry' represents a different tradition, cf. RGTC 6: 67-68. Del Monte, o.c., 414 adds a suggestion concerning a day tablet, i.e. KBo 8.97 + KBo 21.89, and distinguishes an alternative solution which would imply that the Festival itself in Hakmara/Hakkura would have lasted three days. This alternative has the advantage that one might reckon with a joint return of the King and Zithariyas on Day 9 of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival. If, against my current assumption, Bo 3117 (see below 7.1. note 45) would appear to belong to the *nuntarriyašhaš* tradition, this would not necessarily run counter to the data of the Inquiry, but it would not be consonant with copy F.

24 ¹⁴ EGIR-šū-ma ^DZi-it-ḥa-ri-ja[-aš IT-TI] ^DUTU-ši pa-iz-zi ¹⁵ DUTU-ši-kán ku-ya-pí URUḤa-at[-tu-ši ša-r]a-a ú-iz-zi. For the restoration and translation of these lines

ing is probably referred to in the broken passage of the Outline, A I 24-26 = B I 22-24.²⁵

Day 10: "But on the day on which 'His Majesty' goes t[o the Temple of Ziparw]ā, the Festival (takes place) in the Temple of the (Divine) 'Fleeces' and the hunters(?) will bring in 4 [oxen (and) ... sh]eep. Tribute of a[ll] the countries (or: of the wh[ole] country). And from the Temple of the (Divine) 'Fleeces' they will [bri]ng in 1 fattened cow (and) 3 sh[eep]. The cult provisions (in cereals) are (at the expense) of the afore-mentioned Temple of the (Divine) 'Fleeces'. And they celebrate during three days" (B = KUB 22.27 IV 16-20). The manner in which the Oracle Inquiry is formulated suggests that this Festival constituted one of the climaxes of the events in the capital. Below sub 7.1. I will argue that these Festivities which again lasted for three days encompassed processions led by the NIN.DINGIR.

Day 18' of the additional series of C and F: "The chief of the ['treasurer]s' of the Queen will celebrate the (divine) Queen of the storehouse of the House (i.e. the Palace) of the Queen: he will give 5 sh[eep] and 2 vessels of KA.DÙ from [his institution]" (A = ABoT 14 + IV 23'-27').

Day 19' of idem: "[B]ut [there]after they perform the 'Festival of the Torches' and they take 2 b[uc]ks and the cult provisions (in cereals) from the Palace and the officials enter and celebrate the Fes[ti]val" (B = KUB 22.27 IV 22-24).²⁶ The second Festival of the same day of the additional series is dealt with as follows: "The men of the large institution (or: the Palace) of the (Palace-)Intendant of the left side (i.e. the north²⁷) will

see Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961): 90. In the second part of the Oracle Inquiry consecutive references to specific days of the two large State Festivals are regularly introduced with EGIR-ŠU/EGIR-an-da. The usage does not express immediate succession.

25 Cf., too, Košak, l.c., 56.

26 The subsequent occurrence of the formula, "These afore-mentioned are the Festivals of the autumn [and of] the spring", seems to mark the beginning of the treatment of Festivals which used to be celebrated during the winter.

27 The reading of the Inquiry supports the text-restoration of the Outline. See for this functionary and the establishment which he headed Güterbock, CRRAI 19 (1971), 307^a (and 306^a), as well as Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973): 216-7 and Pecchioli Daddi, Mes-tieri, 517-520; see for the manner in which the *abu bitim* functioned in the Mari period A. Marzal, Or 41 (1972): 359-70 and especially 368. In view of the region of origin, the distinctive adjuncts, "of the right", c.q. "of the left side" are likely to mean "of the south" and "of the north" respectively. Presumably it is of significance that the Storm God of Zippalanda is venerated in the "large institution" or "Palace" of the South (AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Outline A I 30-31 and 37-39), that the King and the NIN.DINGIR leave for HAR-ranassi and later Zippalanda, Katapa and Tahrupa through

celebrate the (divine) Queen of the storehouse of the *walhi*-men. They will give the following to her: 1 ox and 1 sheep together with bread and beer (A = ABoT 14 + IV 17'-22').

The number of correspondencies is, I think, surprisingly high, while especially the manner in which the passage adduced for Day 10 confirms the text of the Outline, which itself is based on the combined evidence of three copies, will dispel, I hope, any doubt that the two texts are closely interrelated. Close affinity between copy A of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Outline and the Oracle Inquiry would seem to be warranted through the similarities between both texts with respect to the measures regarding the *had/tauri* Festivals.²⁸

5.1. The reasoning that copies C and F show a second series of day-numbers is based upon the combined evidence of C III 5 which presents the day-number 4 instead of 15, as given by B II 16, and of C IV 3' = F IV 3' where one finds the day-number 15. It stands to reason that C, supposedly a tablet with a division in three columns on both the Obverse and the Reverse, cannot have begun its third column with a description of the 3rd day of a single day-series. Moreover, the presence of the day-number 15 in l. 3' of the fourth column of copy F, which in its first column deals with more than 12 days, would be fully incomprehensible. Reckoning backwards one is bound to conclude that C and F started an additional series with a description of the day on which the King departs for HAR-ranassi, presumably the first day of the so-called 'Road of Nerik' which in B's reckoning began on the 12th day, reached its acme with the offering of a bull to the Storm God of Nerik in Katapa (for B day 14²⁹) and apparently came to an end with the return to Hattusa on B's day 16, which

the gate of Zippalanda which apparently led to the south (see, too, Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961), 92). Conversely the gate of Tawiniya is likely to have led to northern regions, witness Singer's remarks, AnSt 34 (1984), 116-7.

28 See, in addition to the earlier treatment, also A. Kammenhuber, HW², 377 a-b s.v. *aššannu*.

29 The Festival is probably alluded to in the colophon KUB 25.10 IV 1'-4' as "[The Festival of the a]utumn [of the Storm God of Ner]ik, "When the King [(and) the Queen] celebrate the Festival [of the] au[tumn] in the autumn in (the town of) Ka[ta]pa". The colophon continues in ll. 5'-6' with the apparently erased note "Hand(writing) of Hesni, son of Ananiya". See with respect to this colophon the earlier remarks made by del Monte, RGTC 6, 200 and by L. M. Mascheroni, Hethitica 5 (1983), 104 and note 46 on 109. Alternation between *zena(nt)*- and *nuntar-riyašhaš*, also of importance in regard of the notes 32-35, is vouched for by an example of variation between duplicates mentioned by Güterbock, CRRAI 17 (1969), 177⁽³⁾, cf. Košak, l.c., 55.

received the cognomen "(called that) of the Nerik Road".³⁰ Computations concerning the average contents of the various copies confirm this result. Copy B deals in its first column with 11 days and this would lead to ca. 30 days for its columns I-III to which a minimum of at least 4 days (IV) would need to be added. Copy C treats in its columns III of the Obverse and IV of the Reverse a total of 14 days and this leads, assuming that VI would have contained a colophon, but no text, to a total of ca. 35 days.

5.2. The copies of the Outline offer two additional problems with respect to the day-count. As has been shown above sub 3.1., copy F in combination with D secures that its first series consisted of 12 days, while B counts the first day of the 'Road of Nerik' as its 12th day in the 'united' reckoning characteristic for at least that copy and presumably also valid for A. Perhaps it is useful to add at this point that the reconstruction of D I 10'-[17'] not only receives support from the copies E and F but also from a series of colophons, all of which have been dealt with by Professor Otten,³¹ and from the corresponding section in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Outline. The colophon 90/d mentions a high-ranking (DUMU É.GAL(?)) (IV 3) who goes to the Temple of Ziparwā on the first day of an autumn Festival.³² KUB 20.81 VI 2' ff., as restored after Bo 6057 Rev., secures that the King himself visits the Temple on the second day of this autumn Festival.³³ VAT 7471 proves the existence of the third day of the Festival in question.³⁴ The reconstructed 12th day is based on the combined evidence of l. 7' of the colophon KBo 22.177 showing the remnants of *tagna*[š³⁵ of the traces of ^D]UTU[in D I 16', and of the preserved text of F I 8'-9', as well as on the likely parallelism with the corresponding day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Outline copy A = KBo 10.20 II 27 describing how, after two days

30 Cf. Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961), 92³⁸. The journey from Tahurpa to Hattusa, being the last stretch of the so-called 'Road of Nerik', and the subsequent 'Great Assembly' in the Palace of Hattusa are possibly referred to in 132/s = Alp, Beiträge no 177: 316-7.

31 ZA 49 (1950): 134³² (90/d; KUB 20.82 VI 2' ff.); KBo XXII, Inhaltsüb., V⁴ (VAT 7471); KBo 22.177.

32 90/d IV 1 ff. ¹DUB.1.KAM erased DUB.1.KAM QA-TI ²]X UD.KAM MAḪ-RI-I ³]pa-ra-a ú-
ya-an-za ⁴ma-a]h-ḫa-an zé-e-ni ⁵]É ^DZi-pár-ya_a-a ⁶]pa-i]z-zí.

33 KUB 20.82 VI 2', ²[DUB.]5³.KAM šA UD.2.KAM ³]šA EZEN ^DZi-pár-ya_a-a ⁴]ma-
a]-an LUGAL-uš zé-e-ni ⁵]I-NA É ^DZi-pár-ya_a-a ⁶]pa-i]z-zí.

34 VAT 7471: DUB.1.KAM šA UD.3.KAM / šA EZEN ^DZi-pár-ya_a-a NU[.TIL] / ma-a-an
LUGAL-uš zé-e-ni / I-NA É ^DZi-pár-ya_a-a / pa-iz-zí.

35 KBo 22.177, ⁺¹[DU]B.5.KAM QA-TI ²šA EZEN ^DZi-pár-ya_a-a ³zé-na-an-da[-aš]
⁴]m]a-a-an LUGAL-uš [zé-e-ni] ⁵I²-NA É ^DZi-pár-ya_a-a ⁶]p]a-iz- [zi] ⁷]lu-
kat]-ta-ma lát-na[-aš] ^DUTU(-ya)-aš ⁸]a]-ni-ú-u[r].

devoted to the cult of Ziparwā, the King turns to the Sun Goddess of the Earth. The remnants preserved for the line allow, I think, for the reading *mu-u[-ga]-a-iz-zi* of which I have made use for the corresponding section of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Outline, choosing a subject required by F I 8' (^LU rather than LU[GAL]) and the better-preserved AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} passages.³⁶

As has been mentioned above sub 3.2., CTH 629 = KUB 25.27 III 12 assigns a separate day to a holy ablution which according to F IV 5' = C IV 5' took place in the Temple of Halputilis on the previous Day 16' of the additional series. The data collected so far would seem to indicate that also in the case of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival the prevailing tendency was a gradual reduction of the number of Festival days. As far as the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Outline is concerned, the young copy KUB 25.27 might reflect a late, possibly the latest recension: it shows deviations from the schedule prescribed by the Outline copy A.³⁷ This renders the additional day of KUB 25.27 III 12 slightly problematic. If the general reduction 'rule' is to be upheld and also the contents of KUB 25.27 would need to be young, one is forced to reckon with the possibility that, for unexplained reasons, at this point KUB 25.27 still adheres to an old(er) recension of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Outline.

6. In his treatment of the Outline in 1961 (and thus not yet reckoning with the evidence of copies F and G) Güterbock adduced two important arguments in favour of a dating of the main contents of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Outline to the general period of Mursilis II: ^a) A refers to him in a broken context (IV 5'-6'); ^b) the Outline must have been recorded prior to the recapture and the rebuilding of Nerik, this in view of the facts that, witness the copies B and C, the Storm God of Nerik receives an offering at Katapa and that the "Festival of the Nerik Road" is performed immediately upon the return to the capital.³⁸ One may add, following Sh. R. Bin-Nun, THeth 5, 198, that ^c) the inclusion of Tawananna (and the absence of

36 The day in question, Day 14 in Güterbock's count, perhaps rather Day 13 (cf. FsGüterbock 2, 6.), is not recognizable so far in the preserved day tablets enumerated in the CTH, nos 610 and 611. The day tablets suggest that the ceremony was in fact combined with the 2nd day of the celebrations for Ziparwa. Are we to suppose that a similar decision was made about the 12th day of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival? This would offer a suitable solution for the difference in the day count between copies F and D versus B. See, as far as invocations are concerned, also AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} A III 24-25 and 30-31. In both cases the invocation is performed by LÚ.MEŠ_{HAL}. This influenced my choice with respect to the subject preferred for the *nuntarriyašhaš* passage.

37 Cf. FsGüterbock 2, 3. (the point as such was made by Güterbock).

38 JNES 20 (1961), 91-2.

a later Queen) in the listing of the former Queens of the day tablets (Day 5) KBo 2.15 (+?) KBo 13.229 and KUB 25.14 point to the same general period and at least preclude an earlier dating.³⁹ The data on the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival allow for a similar argumentation: KUB 10.11, one of the tablets referring to the offerings to the statues of deceased royal predecessors (CTH 660.3) and belonging to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival, mentions Suppiluliumas (I) as the last example of the listing; this phenomenon, too, points to a 'renewal' of the Cult Calendar during the reign of Mursilis II.³⁹ A very sceptical reader may remark that, strictly speaking and not reckoning with the likely implication of the added ^DUTU-ŠI, the reference to ^DUTU-ŠI ^MMur-ši-DINGIR-LIM (KUB 9.16 IV 5'), followed by the 3rd person Sg. of the Preterite *har-ni-ik-ta* in the following line gives a date *post quem* for the recension⁴⁰ and that the second indication, again very narrowly interpreted, also allows for a dating to the beginning of the reign of Muwattallis. Common sense precludes a dating after Muwattallis had transferred his residence from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa.

The single copy which markedly stands apart and may prove to represent the stage before the tentative 'modernization' seems to be G. This contention is supported by the differences between the overlapping copies G and F with respect to the Days [36]/19' and [37]/20', the higher total of days involved in the Festival as a whole, the absence in the description

39 See with respect to the appurtenance to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival, the contents of the texts enumerated under CTH 660 in general, and the date of KUB 10.11 in particular, Professor Otten, HTR, 110, Quellen, passim and 'Tabelle VI', ZA 66 (1976): 91. This text ends the listing of royal predecessors with Suppiluliumas I (IV 2 and 23), while others continue with Mursilis II. CTH 660 may be connected with Day 18, cf. É *pár-ku-ya-ja-aš* in A III 4 and *iš-tu ká É pár-ku-ya-aš* in KUB 10.11 I 11.

40 The precise character of the date *post quem* depends on the question whether ^DUTU-ŠI followed by a royal name implies that the text stems from the reign of the King concerned, cf. F. Sommer, HAB, 28-29, 71-72, A. Goetze, KI², 88 and Professor Otten, ZA 66 (1976): 91; cf., too, Sommer, AU, 33¹ for the fact that 3rd person Singular forms of the Predicate, used for a living King, are, although not very frequent, still sometimes attested. Usage of H. Gonnet's list in Hethitica 3 (1979), 31-64 shows that her two examples which might contradict the presumed rule, the nos 91 and 92, both concern Mursilis II, that no 91 actually is KUB 9.16 IV 5' (= A), which Gonnet ascribes to Tudhaliyas IV, and that no 92, KBo 1.6 Rev.7 = PD, 86-87 is indecisive since the Obv. 3-8 specifies that this Treaty promulgated by Muwattallis was an exact replica of the original Aleppo Treaty of Mursilis II which had been sent to Aleppo, but had been robbed. This means that so far there actually is no indisputable counter-example, although it should be conceded that Gonnet may be right, if she intends to express that the copy A might have been written during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV.

of G's Day [35] of a 'secondary Festival' mentioned in both F and the Oracle Inquiry (Day 18'), possibly also by the discrepancies in regard of the Days 4-5 or 5-6 of the 'united' day-count. As far as the type of script is concerned, it seems as if all the copies, even including G, might stem from the 13th Century B.C. With respect to the day-numbering and the factual contents, one may argue that the group (E), C-F-D (a non-final copy?) is likely to have preceded the remaining copies A and B of which, on account of its non-final status⁴¹, A may have preceded B. But this division does not necessarily mean that the copies would need to stem from one and the same period. If one would like to posit that the actual copies should preferably be ascribed to two different periods, this tentative divi-

41 See with respect to the technical term *EGIR-an tarummaš* used in colophons in last instance Singer, StBoT 27, 41-42 and L. M. Mascheroni, Hethitica 5 (1983): 95-109. Both dealt with the most elaborate type of this colophon in which, as Singer highly convincingly argues, the adjective *ištarniyaš* (gen.) added to *EGIR-an tarummaš* in cases in which Festival texts written on wooden tablets were transported to clay tablets written in cuneiform, suggests an added connotation of "intermediary", viz. intermediary between the wooden 'original' written in hieroglyphs and the 'final copy'. The combined list of examples of Singer and Mascheroni confirms Singer's opinion that the most elaborate form of *EGIR-an tarummaš* colophon is highly typical of Festival texts concerning the State Cult, examples concerning the State Cult in the capital being well-represented in the group. Mascheroni may very well be right in connecting the most elaborate type with the Cult Reform of Tudhaliyas IV, the King who also dealt extensively with the two large State seasonal Festivals, cf. Fs-Güterbock 2, 1. note 5 and 7. notes 34 and 35 together with references. Her explanation of the, in a number of cases added remark about the KASKAL of two different scribes, one familiar with hieroglyphic, the other versed in cuneiform script, as referring to a common journey of the scribes is, I think, unlikely in view of the character of the texts concerned. KASKAL = *ḫarrānu* also means "service unit in corvée work", "Gestellung" (i.e. reporting for duty), cf. CAD and AHW *sub voce*; if this meaning is applied, this additional remark reflects the division of tasks within the chancellery of Palace or Temple. Moreover, in one of Mascheroni's examples (KUB 51.77 Rev. 6'-7') KASKAL is followed by a single personal name. This indicates that KASKAL is not restricted to 'joint tasks'. The further occurrence of yet another scribal name in KUB 44.24 VI 12'-13' indicates, within this interpretation of the term KASKAL, that the *ištarniyaš EGIR-an tarummaš* phase between 'original' and 'final copy' might consist of more than one stage. With respect to the technical term *EGIR-an tarummaš* itself, Professor Otten translated it in HTR, 50-51 regarding KUB 39.6 III 3 with "des Überlassens", cf. E. Neu, GsKronasser, 150, according to whose treatment of the genitive of the verbal noun this usage would reflect "Verwendungszweck", i.e. the future use of the tablet in question. Actually German "überlassen" fits Singer's determination of the process in an excellent manner, since it combines the notions of "to be left behind" and "to be ceded to another and higher authority". The contents as such had not yet received the required authorization.

sion does not necessarily mark the borderline. Copy D might very well belong to a younger group.⁴²

7.1. The passage B II 4–8 offers a clear indication that the NIN.DINGIR played a role in the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival, taking part in the cultic journey of the ‘Road of Nerik’. H. Schuster has already remarked that the possibility of her role having been extended to other parts of the Festival merits further study.⁴³ It may now be added that she would also seem to be mentioned in D III 8’ and F III 3’, two hopelessly broken passages which belong in the large gap of about ten days before the resumption of the additional series in copies C and F. The two passages may be interconnected, since in both two Temples would seem to be mentioned in the very first beginning of two adjacent lines in close vicinity to the occurrence of the NIN.DINGIR (D III 4’–5’, as compared with F III 5’–6’). A closer view of the Festival texts and fragments in which the NIN.DINGIR plays an important solo role reveals that a few of them clearly depict processions either inside our outside of Hattusa which lead from one Temple to another. The texts in question mention a “coach” in which the NIN.DINGIR sits down.⁴⁴ The passages referred to above may reflect such a procession.

42 If rightly restored, D’s description of Day 8 might be thought to reflect the changed situation after Nerik had been recaptured and rebuilt and, witness KUB 21.19 + I 12–13 and IV 27’–28’ (D. Sörenhagen, *AoF* VIII (1981), 88–89 and 98–99), the Storm Gods of Nerik and of Zippalanda were to a certain extent identified with one another according to the more generally syncretistic tendencies of the period, cf. V. Haas, *KN*, 107–109. However, it seems wise to wait for more detailed studies on both the development of the script and the prosopography of the scribes who were employed in work on Festival texts before, preferably on the basis of comprehensive studies about both large seasonal Festivals, a more precise dating of the Outline copies should be attempted.

43 HHB I, 29¹⁰⁴ and 30. The NIN.DINGIR plays an important role in the texts in ‘Old Ductus’ edited by Neu in *StBoT* 25–26, cf. the Index and the numbers 31–40, 42–43 and 48 as well as 41. While the former more generally belong to CTH 649, fragments of Festival texts which mention the NIN.DINGIR, the last, no 41, constitutes a fragment belonging to CTH 738, Festivals of Teteshabi (note the *arzana*-house in I 8’), cf. 3.2., Day 20’ together with note 15.

44 Professor Otten noted the facts that, like the King and the Queen, the NIN.DINGIR uses a coach for purposes of transportation and that two AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival texts, both of which describe a ‘Great Assembly’ (KBo 19.128, Day 2(?), and KBo 4.13 +, Day 9 or 10, the day of the King’s return from Arinna, (?)), refer to a specific Zithariya of the NIN.DINGIR. It would seem that this Zithariya is different from the “Zithariya of the King” and “of the Queen” mentioned in other texts: cf. *StBoT* 13, 20⁵ and 30; see Popko, *Kultobjekte*, 112 and 119⁶⁸ for “Zithariya of the King” and “Zithariya of the Queen”. Apparently, after the adoption of Zithariya in the Hittite pantheon during the Early Empire Period, the NIN.DINGIR also served Zitha-

Two texts evidence that during a Festival the King followed a different route from the one prescribed for the NIN.DINGIR.⁴⁵ The KI.LAM processions, edited and commented upon by I. Singer in the volumes 27 and 28 of the *StBoT* series, are of considerable importance for a better understand-

riya. Typical passages which depict this form of transportation are KBo 10.27 III 3’, 6’; V 14’, 20’ and 28’ (some of them broken) and the related texts KBo 17.101 III 15’–16’ (cf. *Inhaltsüb.*, VI) and KBo 19.127: 2’ (broken). The high number of occurrences in texts and fragments of CTH 738 (in a number of cases in close vicinity to the mentioning of the *arzana*-house) results from a recurring passage which is typical for this Festival. Although some of the examples may be due duplicates, others, clearly refer to different scenes of this Festival.

45 Although the better preserved parts of KBo 10.27 actually describe activities of the NIN.DINGIR, movements of the King are referred to in III 8’–11’ and V 18’–26’. Another example is offered by the colophon of KBo 22.196 Rev. 15’–18’ (cf. Professor Otten, *KBo XVII Inhaltsübersicht*, IV⁴ where the text is quoted under its Bo-number 20/o): 14’ [DU]B.1².KAM ŠA NIN.DINGIR ŠA [EZEN] 15’ [k]u-it-ma-an LUGAL-ūš [I-NA] 16’ pa-iz-zi NIN.DINGIR-ma [LÚ.MEŠ]ha-a-pé(-e)-eš-ša 17’ [t]ar-ku-an-zi ma-a[h]ha-an-na-aš DINGIR.MEŠ 18’ [ir-h]i-iš-ki-iz-zi (text-restorations based on the preceding ll. 5’, 10’ and 11’ referring to various types of *hapiya*-men and I. 13’, *ir-ha-a-iz-zi*). A connection with the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival would seem to be possible (cf. the reference to a departure from Tahurpa in Obv. 10’); a link with KBo 10.27 might be brought about by restoring the ll. Rev. 4’–6’ in the following manner: 4’ ta NIN.DINGIR nam-ma [I-NA É LÚ.MEŠ]ha-pí-ja-aš 5’ tar-ku-zi LÚ.MEŠ]ha-a[-pé(-e)-eš-ša] 6’ QA-TAM-MA tar-ku-an-z[i]. A third similar text might consist of Bo 3117 = Alp, *Beiträge* no 83: 238–9, probably an Outline Tablet concerning one of the Large State Festivals, specifically mentioning activities of the NIN.DINGIR, cf. the usage of *tarkuwai*- in II 3’, the role of the NIN.DINGIR in the description of the 9th day (II 6’–10’), which is fully preserved, and the subsequent reference to her role in the description of a later day (III 13–18) which is also offered by Alp. I quote Alp’s transliteration of Day 9 in order to offer the reader an opportunity to compare this evidence with Day 9 of the main recension, as presented sub 3.1., and with Day 9 (or: 10) of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival: (II) 4’ lu-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL-ūš UR[U]H[a-at]-tu-šī [pa]-iz-z[i] (or rather: [ú]-iz-z[i]) 5’ nu É]ha-le-en-tu-u-aš šal-li a-še-eš-šar 6’ NIN.DINGIR-ma I-NA É D]Ka-taḫ-ha pa-iz-zi 7’ nu-za-kán GÍŠ]hu-la-li hu-la-li-ja-an-zi (according to N. Oettinger, *StBoT* 22: 66, hu-la-li-ja-az-zi) 8’ I-NA É D]LAMMA [EZ]EN ha-da-ú-ri DÙ-an-zi 9’ I-NA É A-BU-BI-TI-ma EGIR-pa ú-ya-ya-aš 10’ EZEN DÙ-an-zi UD.9.KAM. Personally I am led to believe by the context in which the ‘Oracle Inquiry’ refers to the ‘Festival of Home-coming’ that this Outline fragment should in fact be connected with the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} Festival: 40’ EGIR-šū-ma [(DUTU-šī ku-ya-pí) URU]A-ri(-in-na-za ú-iz-zi) 41’ I-NA É [(GAL A-BU-BI-TI-ma) EGIR-pa (ú-ya-ya-aš EZEN)] 42’ i-ja[(-an-zi) hal-k(u-eš-šar ŠA É GAL A-BU-BI-TI-pát)] (B = KUB 22.27 III 40’–42’, as restored after A = ABoT 14 + V 2’–6’). The preceding lines B III 30’–39’ are remarkably similar to the data of KUB 25.27 I x + 1–32’, cf. already *FsGüterbock* 2, 2. note 9 (first part). Perhaps one should refrain from pronouncing an opinion, since the full evidence of Bo 3117 is not yet available; cf., too 4. note 23.

ing of these other procession scenes.⁴⁶ Texts and fragments which in addition to the “coach” also refer to the “inn” or “guest-house” are connected with a cultic journey which has taken the NIN.DINGIR elsewhere.⁴⁷

To my mind it is not unlikely that the ‘secondary Festival’ mentioned for Day 10, the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival for Zithariya in the Temple of the (Divine) ‘Fleeces’, which, according to the Oracle Inquiry, would seem to have been an important event lasting for three days, should be connected with KBo 10.27 and KUB 20.90 (CTH 649.1–2). KBo 10.27 describes a Festival presumably lasting for three days.⁴⁸ During the second (KBo 10.27 III 10’ ff.) and again on presumably the third day of the ceremonies (ibidem V 28’ ff.), the NIN.DINGIR celebrates in the Temple of the (Divine) ‘Fleeces’. According to the passage III 39’–44’, Zithariya takes first place among the Gods venerated in the ceremony. Moreover, KBo 10.27 III 36’–38’ confirms the remark in the Oracle Inquiry about the cult provisions contributed by the Temple of the (Divine) ‘Fleeces’.⁴⁹ KBo 10.27 V 9’–10’ describes, how the NIN.DINGIR is crowned with a garland made of fruits, a most appropriate gesture with respect to a Festival to be performed in the autumn. The question of the ascription would be finally settled if it could be shown that the “House of the *hapiya*-men”, twice mentioned in KBo 10.27 as the scene of ceremonies during the first day (III 25’ and 32’), formed part of the “House of the (Palace-)Intendant”, as referred to in the description of the 3rd Festival of Day 9 of the Outline (D I 8’–10’).⁵⁰

46 See for instance his excellent remarks on the *hapiya*-men which supplement the earlier treatments in a highly useful manner: L. Jakob-Rost, AoF 5 (1977): 263–7; Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, 227–233, 233 and 521–522; Singer, StBoT 27, 28¹⁵, 52, 84²⁰, 150¹⁹ and 164–170. Singer dealt in great detail with KBo 10.27, carefully collecting the characteristics which this text shares with his subject, cf. StBoT 27, 28–29 together with the notes 14–17. See for the processions of the text III 5’–7’, 11’–17’; IV 7’–12’; V 2’–7’ and V 29’–33’.

47 Cf. the treatment of the *arzana*-house by H. A. Hoffner, FsGüterbock 1, 113–121.

48 The division of the text over the columns admits of this inference: column III (see below) twice refers back to a ceremony of the 1st day which must have been treated in columns I and II. This renders it likely that the columns V–VI have dealt with the 3rd day of the Festival.

49 Cf. KBo 10.27 III 39’ (DZ) *i[-it-ha-ri-ja]* and 44’ (*PA-NI* DZ) *i[-it-ha[-ri-ja]* and the passage “And the NIN.DINGIR a[sks for] a ‘collation’ and the afore-mentioned Temple of the (Divine) ‘Fleeces’ is res[ponsible] (lit. ta[kes the stand]) for her eating [and?] the ‘col[lation:]’ ³⁶ *nu NIN.DINGIR ya-ga-an-na ú[-e-ek-zi]* ³⁷ *nu-uš-ši a-da-an-na ya-g[a-an-na-ja]* ³⁸ *É KUŠ kur-ša-aš-pát ti-í[a-zi]*).

50 As far as can be ascertained from Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, 230, the “House of the *hapiya*-men” is only mentioned in a single other Festival passage which belongs to the KILAM Festival. The passage in question, KBo 30.8: 14’–17’ (with two additional duplicates) = StBoT 28, 27, forms part of the so-called ‘Ceremony of the AGRIG’s;

7.2. As has been mentioned above sub 2., the Cult Inventory KUB 25.27 functions as a partially parallel text to both the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} and the *nuntarriyašhaš* Outline Tablets. The problem to be dealt with in this final subsection concerns the following question. Do the passages of KUB 25.27 II–III preceding the clear correspondencies noted above sub 3.2. give information on the still lacking days of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Outline, and, if they do, is this information possibly relevant to the moot problem, in which season the KILAM Festival, if it would not have been a recurrent event within the year, was performed? I would like to contend that this in fact the case and that the new duplicate KUB 51.15 offers a valuable clue for an at least partial solution to this problem.⁵¹

It would seem to me that the two passages of CTH 568 A = ABoT 14+ III 8–19 and 20–24, both dealt with by Singer, which prescribe the contributions by the King’s and the Queen’s table-men to two presumably ‘secondary Festivals’ taking place in the Temple of Halki (= NISABA) during the first and the second day of the KILAM Festival, are in fact alluded to in KUB 25.27 II 13’–17’ and II 26’–III 2 and that the additional ceremony of the first day is also dealt with in KBo 13.257 Rev. (IV?) 9’–11’, a passage summarily treated by Singer. I cite the relevant passages of all three texts, those of KUB 25.27 and KBo 13.257 within their context, adding a related passage from the Oracle Inquiry. It is of importance to note that a curious mistake in ABoT 14+ III 9’, *«GAL» LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANŠUR-ja* with a redundant GAL instead of *LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANŠUR-ja*, strengthens the likelihood that the three texts are interrelated. This may actually indicate that the scribe, who recorded the results of the Inquiry, knew one of the other two texts, presumably KBo 13.257. It is an alluring thought indeed that KBo 13.257 may be related to, or else, be dependent on the “former tablet”, which is twice mentioned in the preserved text of the Oracle Inquiry, the second example occurring in this very same paragraph.⁵² ¹⁾ (ABoT 14+ III 8–19) “When ‘His Majesty’ celebrates the KILAM Festival, which Festival «the chief of» the King’s table-men begin to celebrate (in) the Temple of Halki, in the respective year in which⁵³ ‘His Majesty’

cf. StBoT 27, 62–63. See, too, the highly tentative and admittedly biased proposal to restore this location in KBo 22.196 Rev. 4’ (above, note 45).

51 See for this problem Singer, StBoT 27, 132–133 and note 53 below.

52 See for the “former tablet” FsGüterbock 2, 4.

53 Singer, StBoT 27, 133²⁴, noting the difficulty of the passage, translates “His Majesty performs the festivals at any given time in the year”, and, ibidem 135, (mark the dashes) “– His Majesty performs the festivals in the respective (or: at any given time in the) year –”. The CHD 3.2: 207 a uses for this passage the following translation: “However many times in a year His Majesty performs festivals, they perform that

celebrates the Festivals, they, too, will perform that Festival strictly complete, while on each occasion they will give the following: 2 oxen are given from the Palace, but 40 sheep and the cult provisions (in cereals) are (at the expense) of their afore-mentioned institution. It is done in that manner after the 'former tablet'.⁵⁴ 2) (KBo 13.257 IV 9'-15') "[The next morning] the King [eats] with (or: from) gold(en) [...]:⁵⁵ [The chief of (the King's) table-men] giv[es] [40 sheep (and) the cult provisions (in cereals)] to [NISABA i]n the Temple of NISABA [at] the expense of (lit. [fr]om) his institution. [The Pries]t performs [the 'Great' Festival] fo[r] Zithariya in the Temple of Zith[ariya] [at the expense of (lit. from) his Temple]. The [smiths celebrat]e [(the Deity) Antaliya]: 1 bull [(and) 5 slaughtered sheep from the market are given for] the Festival of KILAM."⁵⁶ 3) (KUB 25.27 II 13'-25') "The next morning the King eats wi[th] (or: fr[om] gold(en) [...]: The chief o[f] the King's table-men will perform the(ir) Festival for Telebinu and for [...]: 2 oxen of [the Palace]. 4[0 sheep] (and) the cult provisions (in cereals) are (at the expense) of his [own] institution. The Priest performs the 'Great' Festival for Zithariya at the expense of (lit. from) his Temple: 5 sheep, 12 half-measures of flour, 2 vessels of KA.DÙ. The smiths celebrate (the Deity) Antaliya: 1 bull, 5 slaughtered sheep from the market are gi[v]en. The smiths [give] 1 ox, 10 haunches(?) of beef, 2 sheep, 2 half-measures of flour (and) 2 [vessels of KA.DÙ] from the[ir] institution."⁵⁷

festival only in the proper way". My admittedly free rendering is virtually identical with Singer's first alternative of p.135 and may be replaced with it. However, it needs to be added that the uncertainties concerning this passage are enhanced by the notion that the KILAM Festival may have been performed during both seasonal Festivals, cf. note 51 and above sub 1. note 3. It is not unlikely that the full evidence of Bo 3117 (see above sub 7.1. note 45) will play a role in this discussion.

54 Cf. the transliteration in StBoT 27, 134-135.

55 Many objects made of gold are mentioned in the KILAM Festival texts, cf. StBoT 28, 198 (index); among these KBo 30.13 I 7', šA GUŠKIN NINDA ha[-a-li(-)].. (cf. StBoT 28, 81, 133 and 198), offers the best parallel available so far. Singer characterizes the fragment as "1st tablet' (of the x day?)".

56 9' [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-za-ká]n LUGAL-uš iš-TU GUŠKIN [... e-ez-za-i] 10' [UGULA LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANSUR-ma i]-NA É DNISABA A-NA [DNISABA] 11' [40 UDU hal-ku-eš-šar i]š-TU É-ŠU pa-a[-i] 12' [i-NA É DZi-it-h]a-ri-ja-ma A-N[A DZi-it-ha-ri-ja] 13' [EZEN GAL LÚSANGA iš-TU É-ŠU] i-ja-zi LÚ[MEŠ]E.DÉ.A-ma-aš-ma-aš 14' [DAn-ta-li-ja-an i-ja-a]n-zi 1 GUD.MAH 5 UDU iš-TU KILAM 15' [hu-u-kán-du-uš A-NA] EZEN KILAM [pi-an-zi]. KBo 13.257 IV 9'-11' has been restored after ABoT 14+ III 9-18 and more in particular after KUB 25.27 II 13'-17', the text of the ll. 12'-15' after KUB 25.27 II 18'-23'. See with respect to l. 10' StBoT 27, 136.

57 13' lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-za-kán LUGAL-uš iš-TU [GUŠKIN] 14' e-ez-za-i UGULA LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANSUR-ma š[A] LUGAL 15' A-NA DTe-li-bi-nu ù A-NA [D....] 16' EZE[N](-šU)-NU

It deserves to be acknowledged that the text-restoration of the very badly damaged passage of KBo 13.257 is only possible after its general similarity to KUB 25.27 II 13'-25' and the relevance of that passage for the Festivals of the first Day of the KILAM Festival have been recognized. It is, I think, noteworthy that the copy KBo 13.257 IV 9'-11' would seem to offer not enough space for the inclusion of the clause about "the two oxen of the Palace" which is fully preserved in ABoT 14+ III 16 and partly present in KUB 25.27 II 16'. This offers a valuable indication that KBo 13.257 represents an earlier stage in the development of the proceedings and that the Oracle Inquiry is reflected in KUB 25.27. Copy B of the Oracle Inquiry mentions the 'regular' variant of the Festival for Zithariya: 4) "But thereafter the Priest celebrates the God (i.e. Zithariya). 5 bucks and the cult provisions (in cereals) are (at the expense) of the Temple" (KUB 22.27 IV 21). It is significant that this passage is found between replica's which refer to the Days 10 and 19' of the Outline. This renders it likely that the Festival in question was celebrated during one of the days in the gap of the presently available Outline copies which has been indicated above sub 2.

5) (ABoT 14+ III 20-24) "On the second Day the Queen's table-men perform the Festival for NISABA in the Temple of NISABA, while they will give the following to her: 1 ox of the Palace, but 20 sheep and the cult provisions (in cereals) are (at the expense) of the[ir] institution."⁵⁸ 6) (KUB 25.27 II 26' - III 8) "The next morning the (Divine) ['Fleece'] [pro]ceeds: The table-men [of the Queen's Palace(?)] will perform [the Festival for] NISABA in the Temple of NISABA: 1 ox o[f] the Palace]. [They will give 20 sheep, ... half-measures of flour], (and) 2 vessels of KA.DÙ fr[om] their institution]. But the officials [and] the trea[surers of the] (celebrate) (the Goddess) Maliya on that day: 3 sheep, 1 half-measure of flour (and) 1 vessel of KA.DÙ. The tarwal-men celebrate the (divine) Queen of the storehouse: 3 sheep, 1 half-measure of flour (and) 1 vessel of KA.DÙ."⁵⁹

i-ja-zi 2 GUD šA [É.GAL-LIM] 17' 4[0 UDU] hal-ku-eš-šar šA É-ŠU[-pát] §18' A-NA DZi-it-ha-ri-ja EZEN GAL 19' LÚSANGA iš-TU É-ŠU i-ja-zi 20' 5 UDU 12 PA ZÌ.DA 2 DUG KA.DÙ §21' LÚ.MEŠE.DÉ.A-ma-aš-ma-aš DAn-ta-li-ja-an 22' i-ja-an-zi 1 GUD.MAH 5 UDU 23' iš-TU KILAM hu-u-kán-du-uš pi[-a]n-zi 24' 1 GUD 10 ÚR 2 UDU 2 PA ZÌ.DA 2 [DUG KA.DÙ] 25' LÚ.MEŠE.DÉ.A iš-TU É-ŠU[-NU pi-an-zi]. The text-restorations at the end of l. 14' and in the ll. 16'-17' are based on ABoT 14+ III 10 and 16-18.

58 Cf. the transliteration in StBoT 27, 136.

59 §26' lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-kán D KUŠ[gur-ša-aš] 27' [pa]-iz-zi LÚ.MEŠ GIŠBANSUR [šA É? GAL?] 28' [šA] SALLUGAL i-NA É (DNISABA) [EZEN] 29' [A-NA] DNISABA [i-ja-an-zi] III 1 GUD š[A É.GAL-LIM 20 UDU .. PA ZÌ.DA] 22 DUG KA.DÙ iš[-TU É-ŠU-NU pi-an-zi] §3 LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD-ma-aš-ma-aš L[Ú.MEŠ]šA[TAM-ja?] 4 DMa-li-ja-an a-pi-da-ni

After passage ²⁾ has been compared to the passages ¹⁾ and ³⁾ rather than to the passages ⁵⁾ and ⁶⁾, an attractive solution comes within reach. With the final Festival quoted from KUB 25.27 III the point of the *nuntarriyaš-ḥaš* Outline for which copies C and F become available again, has been reached, cf. 3.2., Day 15'. Reckoning backwards from Day [34] (G) = Day 17' (C and F), the equation Day 15' = Day 2 of KI.LAM entails that, with respect to the day-count valid for copy G, the 2nd day of KI.LAM would need to have been Day [32], the 1st day of KI.LAM Day [31] of its series. Perhaps not unexpectedly, this is precisely the day-number to be restored for KBo 13.257 IV 9'-15' because the preceding days are numbered 29 (l. 5') and 30 (l. 8'), respectively. Or, formulated differently, the likelihood that Day 15' of the additional series, witness KUB 25.27 II 26' - III 7, equals the 2nd day of the KI.LAM Festival, renders it possible to recognize in KBo 13.257 a presumably older Cult Inventory concerning the State religion, at least with respect to its Reverse (IV²) relevant to the *nuntarriyaš-ḥaš* Festival and, as far as its day-reckoning is concerned, consonant with copy G of the Outline. Consequently, KUB 51.15 (= G), belonging to the *nuntarriyaš-ḥaš* Festival, and KBo 13.257 IV, referring to it, may represent the recension of the Outline which preceded the Oracle Inquiry and the tentative 'modernization' alluded to above sub 4. and 6.; the KI.LAM Festival is likely to have been integrated in these recensions for the Days [31-33] = Days 14'-16', respectively;⁶⁰ the original duration of both State Festivals appears to have been of a comparably approximate length; in both cases a gradual shortening would seem to have been realized; the NIN.DINGIR, perhaps rather characteristically connected with male tutelary gods of nature, did indeed play an important role in the Festivals of the autumn.

UD.KAM-ti ²(i-ja-an-zi)² ⁵3 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA 1 DUG KA.DÙ ⁶LÚ.MEŠ⁶ta-ḥa-li-ša-za SAL. LUGAL (É) šī-ja-an-na-aš ⁷i-ja-an-zi 3 UDU 1 PA ZÌ.DA ⁸1 DUG KA.DÙ. See for the reading and the text-restoration at the end of II 26' Popko, Kultobjekte, 109 and 118⁴⁹ and compare for the sentence as a whole AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} A I 33. The text-restoration at the end of III 1 is based on the corresponding passage of ABoT 14 + III 23-24.

⁶⁰ The remarks by Singer about the very large gap in the preserved text-material covering more than half of the text of the better-preserved 'regular Festival' (4th to 10th tablets, cf. StBoT 27,55) render it less surprising, I think, that no mention is made of the Procession of Halputilis mentioned for Day 16' of the *nuntarriyaš-ḥaš* Festival. Even if the KI.LAM Festival would have been performed more than once in the year, it would seem to be a worthwhile endeavour to look for its position within the *nuntarriyaš-ḥaš* series. On that basis the data dealt with here might provide a partial answer.