

MARGINAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE HITTITE KILAM FESTIVAL

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I. KILAM₇ at Ebla

Recently numerous doubts regarding the existence in the Eblaite language of a Semitic preposition *iš₁₁-ki* have been expressed.¹ The latest study is G. Conti's recognition that the translation of the Eblaite term *iš₁₁-ki* as a Semitic preposition (attested, moreover, only in Eblaite) with a final value "in favour of", is not in line with the mass of attestations.² Examining the glosses of the various Eblaite vocabularies, Conti suggests the reading KILAM₇, probably a variant of the better-known "ganba" "market" attested in the archaic Sumerian texts and widely employed as a Sumerogram. He concludes that the KILAM₇ of the Ebla texts must be taken to mean "market" in the sense of a physical place where such a market is held.

It has not, instead, been shown whether, like KILAM in the Sumerian texts, the KILAM₇ of Ebla is also to be understood as "commercial activity", "payment", "countervalue", "market price".³ Conti has already noted that KILAM₇ at Ebla precedes a divine name or

* With great pleasure I began this paper in honor of Fiorella Imparati (to whom I am deeply indebted) when she was still alive and working. It is now with deep sadness that I dedicate it to her memory regretting that I did not have the opportunity to discuss this topic with her.

¹ F. Pomponio, "Peculiarità della grafia dei termini semitici nei testi amministrativi eblaïti", in L. Cagni (ed.), *Bilinguismo a Ebla*, Napoli 1984, 311; but F. Pomponio-P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla*, Münster 1997 translate *iš₁₁-ki* as a preposition "destinés à", cf. for example p. 70 ex. 22; A. Catagnoli, "The Suffix *-iš* in the Ebla Texts", *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica* 6 (1995), 161 n. 8; M. Bonechi, Review of M. Baldacci, *Partially Published Eblaite Texts*, Napoli 1992, RA 91 (1997), 178; M.V. Tonietti, "Il sistema preposizionale nei tre testi del rituale di ARET XI: analogie e divergenze", *Mis. Eb.* 4 (1997), 75 n. 6.

² G. Conti, "Carri ed equipaggi nei testi di Ebla", *Mis. Eb.* 4 (1997), 59-60 and n. 139. See the lengthy note, by Conti on the pattern of quotations and contexts of KILAM₇ and his examination of all the glosses in which the term appears.

³ The transcription KILAM₇ and the translation "market price" has been proposed also by F. D'Agostino, *MEE* 7 (1996), 70, "mercato"; in other texts (for example TM.75.G.1705 (= *MEE* 7, 29) rev. II 10, D'Agostino translates "(prezzo del mercato" and sometimes (cf. p. 257) "(prezzo del mercato (del tempio) di ND e NL".

place name explicitly or implicitly related to the cult,⁴ or else precedes the names of officials connected with the cult.

The new reading and the interpretation of the Eblaite term KILAM₇ as “market” has enabled the writer, after studying especially the attestations of the term KILAM₇ followed by the name of a god, to ascertain that KILAM₇ + Deity Name was always documented in the month of that god's festival according to the local Ebla calendar if the deity was one of the deities attested in the calendar.⁵ An interpretation was therefore proposed of this term as “festival in honour of a divinity during which a fair was held”.⁶ Some fairs are related also to other important deities of the pantheon. When KILAM₇ is followed by Geographical Name or Function Name (always šeš-II-ib) it could be interpreted as a fair on the occasion of the festival for the deity of the town or for a god honored by šeš-II-ib.

The logogram KILAM₇ would thus indicate at Ebla a physical site and the occasion of a market held in honour of a god and does not have the meaning, well-documented from the Paleo-Babylonian period onwards, of “market price”.

Given the religious value of the KILAM₇ at Ebla, it is possible to presume that, during the KILAM₇ at Ebla, a ritual was celebrated; it is not recorded in the Ebla texts where few rituals were written on clay tablets. And this ritual, like other Eblaite rituals, could then have survived in the Syrian religion.

The presence of KILAM₇ at Ebla opens up perhaps new roads for research.

⁴ P. Mander proposed a relation with the cult and a translation of the term as act of worship; cf. P. Mander, “Los Dioses y el culto de Ebla”, *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo* II/1, Barcelona 1995, 59-60; cf. also P. Mander, “The gú-li-lum (Bracelets) in the Economic Texts from Ebla”, *OAM* 2 (1995), 59 and n. 42 (*iš₁₁-ki-ceremony*).

⁵ The Eblaite local calendar is documented in the texts of Archive L.2712, cf. L. Milano, *ARET IX*, 353-354; the texts of the great archive L.2769 document the general Semitic calendar used in 3rd millennium in many cities of Syria and Mesopotamia cf. M.E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, Bethesda, 1993, 23-33.

⁶ Cf. M.G. Biga, “Feste e fiere a Ebla”, *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale “Mercanti e politica nel mondo antico”*, Roma 23-24 marzo 2000, 1-19, in press. For a wide collection of the attestations of KILAM₇ in the Ebla texts cf. M. G. Biga, “Les foires d'après les archives d'Ebla”, *Actes des Journées d'études franco-syriennes sur les archives de Mari 2001*, Paris, Collège de France, 13-14 giugno 2001, in press.

II. KILAM at Emar

In the texts of the Syrian city of Emar, a thousand years later than those of Ebla but recognised as bearing witness to a Syrian cultural and religious tradition stretching from the 3rd to the 2nd millennium,⁷ there are some mentions of the god “Nergal (written always ^dNÈ.IRI₁₁.GAL) ša KILAM” “Nergal of the market” and “Nergal EN KILAM” “Nergal Lord of the market”. The meaning “market” as a physical place for KILAM at Emar is assured by the reading of the text *Emar VI*. 3, 17 l. 16: *a-na ki-l[am]* and l. 18: *iš-tu k[i-lam]* by J.-M. Durand, *RA* 83 (1989), 175-176.⁸

⁷ Ebla's rituals are the first written testimony for traditions and cults that were likely transmitted orally in Syria. They did not disappear with the fall of the city, but were kept alive in Syrian religion, to be documented next in the Emar archives. Many recent studies have pointed out this cultural and religious continuity: W. Sallaberger's review of D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*, Atlanta 1992, *ZA* 86 (1996), 140-47; F. D'Agostino-S. Seminara, “Sulla continuità del mondo culturale della Siria settentrionale: la <<maš'artum>> ad Ebla ed Emar”, *RA* 91 (1997), 1-20; D. E. Fleming, “The Rituals from Emar: Evolution of an Indigenous Tradition in Second-Millennium Syria”, in M. W. Chavalas-J. L. Hayes (eds), *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 25 (1992), 51-61; D. E. Fleming, “The Emar Festivals: City Unity and Syrian Identity under Hittite Hegemony”, in M.W. Chavalas (ed.), *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age*, Bethesda 1996, 57-79; D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, Winona Lake 2000, particularly 222-231 (with preceding bibliography) where the author examines the different cultural and religious influences (Mesopotamian, Hittites) on Late Bronze Emar and concludes that “both the festivals and the remaining rituals, the rites defined by calendar and those not, are built around practice evidently native and long-established”.

⁸ D. Arnaud, *Recherches au Pays d'Aštata. Emar VI.3*, Paris 1986, for example texts nn. 17: 16, 18; 274: 5; 378: 10; 379: 2; 380: 9; 381: 8. I am indebted to C. Zaccagnini who gave to me the complete list of references to KILAM in the Emar texts. M. Sigrist, “Seven Emar Tablets”, *kinattutu ša dārātī, R. Kutscher Memorial Volume*, «Tel Aviv» 1993, 165-187, particularly tablet 6 21-22: é ^dNè-iri₁₁-gal ša ki-lam “the temple of Nergal (the one) of the market”, i.e. epithet of Nergal because there was usually a market/fair in his honour? Ki.lam is produced with the writing lam, the most recently documented for the term from the Paleo-Babylonian period on. I thank S. Seminara who pointed this occurrence out to me.

For the epithets of Nergal cf. also J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets*, Cuneiform Monographs 13, Groningen 2000, text 29: 14 and 73 with quotation of the different epithets of Nergal; it is interesting to note that in text 31 a baetyl is erected to the god Nergal; cf. also D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*, cit., 75 and 244; D.E. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, cit., 24 n. 33: Nergal of Trade. J.-M. Durand, *RA* 83 (1989), 175-176 translates the two occurrences: “sur la place du marché” and “hors de la place du marché”.

Nergal is not the most frequently documented god at Emar and, moreover, no month for the festival of Nergal appears to be recorded in the Emar calendar which is not, however, fully defined.⁹ What is interesting is that KILAM is associated also here with a Deity name. It is possible to propose for Emar too the existence of an ancient festival/fair (during which a ritual with the same name was celebrated), dedicated to Nergal which has left its signs in the epithet of the god. The epithet, which is otherwise inexplicable, could be better explained as "Nergal of the festival KILAM".

It would be an ancient Syrian fair on the occasion of the festival of this god, such as those documented in the Ebla texts and KILAM would indicate at Emar too a physical site and an occasion of a market.

III. The Hittite Festival KILAM

The existence among the Hittites of a KILAM festival must be considered. The Hittite festival KILAM¹⁰ was celebrated in Hattuša and lasted three days. The program of each of these three days was basically the same. Its absence from the list of festivals celebrated in the capital and found in the instructions for temple officials is to be noted.

It is impossible to know in which period of the year it was celebrated and in which season. But it was not a seasonal festival; as noted by I. Singer, its celebration was not conditioned by some meteorological phenomenon or by agricultural activity.

The festival has two central ceremonies; in the first one the king moves from one gate of the palace to the next and several objects are carried along in procession while he is waiting at the gate. In another central ceremony the king and the queen mount their chariots, then they reach the temple of the Grain-goddess. They take part in a ceremony during which the administrators stand near a heap of produce brought from their respective "houses" (storehouses) and are presented by a herald to the king by the names of their cities. It is difficult to translate

⁹ Cf. M.E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, cit., 343-361; D. E. Fleming, *Time at Emar*, cit., chapter 5, 196-231.

¹⁰ Cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals", CRRA 17, Ham-sur-Heure 1970, 175-180; H. G. Güterbock, RIA 4 (1972-1975), 404-405 s.v. *hīlammār*; I. Singer, RIA 5 (1976-1980), 590-591 s.v. KILAM-Fest; I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival*, Part One (StBoT 27), Wiesbaden 1983, Part Two (StBoT 28), Wiesbaden 1984; Ö. Soysal, "A Forgotten Hittite Fragment of the KILAM Festival", JCS 50 (1998), 59-65.

and to interpret the name of the festival and also to understand the occasion of this festival. But of clear importance, however, are its title and the events described in the texts, which have much to do with gate-houses. The administrators of the royal storehouses of various towns of the kingdom figure predominantly in the description of the festival events.

I. Singer, first in his article in ZA and then in his two books, quoted all the different interpretations of the name of the festival.¹¹

It is not the aim here to discuss the equation KILAM=*hīlammār*. But it is possible to propose also for the Hittite KILAM a meaning of the ritual as one held on the occasion of a fair in honour of a god as, the Eblaite KILAM₇.

The Hittite KILAM ritual would, therefore, be evidence of the survival of a ritual celebrated in Syria since the time of Ebla on the occasion of markets held for festivals in honour of certain gods.

IV. Different possible levels of comparison

The Hittite KILAM festival offers different degrees of comparison with the Eblaite rituals.

1) In the first place, a comparison may be made on a general level regarding the meaning of the Hittite KILAM festival. Many studies have clearly demonstrated, moreover, how the Hittites absorbed much of the Syrian culture of the 2nd millennium and more recently, after the

¹¹ I. Singer, "Hittite *hīlammār* and Hieroglyphic Luwian **hīlana*", ZA 65 (1975), 69-103; I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival* II, cit., p. 46 and 115; H. G. Güterbock, CRRA 17, cit., particularly at pp. 178-179, remarks upon the strange name of EZEN KILAM; H. G. Güterbock, RIA 4 (1972-1975), 404-405 concluded that KILAM in EZEN KILAM refers to the building *hīlammār*; the term may indicate a place as well as the name of a festival. In the first edition of Laroche's catalogue the festival was still entitled "fête du 'marché'"; A. Goetze, commenting for the first time the name of the festival, suggested the equation KILAM = (É) *hīlammār* but did not take a stand on the question of whether the name of the festival related to this building or to the original meaning of KILAM, viz. "market". The equation KILAM=*hīlammār* is discussed by I. Singer, ZA 65, cit., 91-92 evidencing that it is more than probable and is generally accepted, but definitive proof is still lacking. Despite the numerous occurrences the two terms never alternate in duplicate; KILAM does not have a determinative. Most occurrences of KILAM in the Hittite texts point to a locality for its meaning. I. Singer concludes: "Now the Hittites possessed a word phonetically resembling the logogram KILAM and meaning 'gate-house'. One may perhaps assume that the twofold resemblance, phonetic and semantic, created the equation KILAM=*hīlammār*". J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, vol. 3, Berlin-New York 1991, s.v. *hīlammār*, 308-311.

discoveries of Ebla, together with this, also that of the 3rd millennium. The Hittite ritual also could follow in the tracks of a Syrian cultural and religious tradition transmitted then to the Greeks.¹²

The originality of the Western Semitic world which, however, experienced undeniable influences by the Sumerian world with which it had continuous links and communications, would thus be stressed.

The case of the KILAM ritual transmitted by Ebla to Emar and adopted also by the Hittites and then, perhaps, through these latter, found also in the great festivals with fairs of the Greeks and Romans¹³ is only one example of the Syrian culture and traditions being passed on from the 3rd to the 2nd millennium and beyond.

Recently the Western Semitic origins of many religious phenomena belonging to the earliest Syrian tradition have been recognized. The most striking example is that of the cult of the baetyls which characterised the Western Semitic world more than the Mesopotamian world, and which is attested at Mari in the 3rd and 2nd millennia, at Ebla in texts of the 3rd millennium and in the temples of the 2nd millennium, at Emar in the 2nd millennium, at Ugarit and also in the Hittite texts.¹⁴ The phenomenon of prophetism, first attested only in the Bible, is now documented in the texts of Mari, which made it possible to propose a Western Semitic origin for this phenomenon.¹⁵ Further there are the

¹² For example B. Janowski-K. Koch-G. Wilhelm (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament*, Göttingen 1993; H. Otten, "Zur Kontinuität eines altanatolischen Kultes", *ZA* 53 (1959), 174-184; V. Haas, "Leopard und Beine im Kulte 'Hethitischer'" Göttingen: Betrachtungen zu Kontinuität und Verbreitung altkleinasiatischer und nordsyrischer religiöser Vorstellungen", *UF* 13 (1981), 101-116; M.-C. Trémouille, "Kizzuwatna, terre de frontière", in E. Jean, A.M. Dinçol, S. Durugönül (eds.), *La Cilicie: Espaces et pouvoirs locaux (2e millénaire av. J.-C. - 4e s. ap. J.-C.)*, *Varia Anatolica* XIII, Istanbul-Paris 2001, 57-78; M. Giorgieri, "Aspetti magico-religiosi del giuramento preso gli Ittiti e i Greci", in S. Ribichini-M. Rocchi-P. Xella (eds.), *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca*, Roma 2001, 421-440 where the author examines the frequent parallels between the Greek world and Near Eastern traditions (cf. especially p. 421 with bibliography at n. 1).

¹³ J. M. Frayn, *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy. Their Social and Economic Importance from the Second Century B.C. to the Third Century A.D.*, Oxford 1993.

¹⁴ Cf. J.-M. Durand, "Le culte des bétyles en Syrie", in J.-M. Durand-J.-R. Kupper, eds., *Miscellanea Babylonica: mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris 1985, 79-84; cf. also D.E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baa's High Priestess at Emar*, cit., 75-79; J.-M. Durand, *LAPO* III, Paris 2000, 141-150.

¹⁵ Cf. J.-M. Durand, *ARM* XXVI/1, Paris 1988, 407-412 with preceding bibliography.

techniques of divination by birds documented now also at Mari¹⁶ and greatly practiced by the Hittites.

2) On a more detailed level, Singer recognises¹⁷ that the texts document the existence of two degrees of the festival KILAM: "EZEN GAL" "the great festival of the KILAM" and "the regular KILAM festival".

This is by no means peculiar to the KILAM festival.

At Ebla too it is possible to observe different degrees of the festivals. The Ebla scribes use the word "nída" "offering" to indicate the festival¹⁸ and some festivals are defined as being large (mah), other regular, other small (tur).¹⁹

3) Lastly, the Hittite festival of KILAM documents and confirms a particular cultual usage attested by the administrative texts of Ebla. As it has been noted,²⁰ the Ebla rituals are few, but in the administrative texts there are many references to the numerous rituals which characterised the religious life of the city. Considering the textual documentation - above all the great annual accounts of metals - and the archaeological documentation from Ebla, it was proposed that the horns of bulls and oxen carried for sacrifices to the main Ebla divinities during the most important festivals were covered with metal points made from a thin sheet of silver.²¹ During the Hittite KILAM ritual the royal couple drives in chariots to the temple of the Grain-Goddess. There is a detailed description of the ornamented oxen harnessed to the carts: the horns and the yokes are mounted in gold. Also the sacred bulls made of silver

¹⁶ Cf. J.-M. Durand, "La divination par les oiseaux", *M.A.R.I.* 8 (1997), 273-282.

¹⁷ I. Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival* II, cit., 45-48.

¹⁸ It is clear from the names of the months it nída ^dGa-mi-iš, it nída ^dAš-da-bīl, it nída ^dÀ-da etc.

¹⁹ In *ARET* I 3 rev. X 3-5: in ud nída-tur ^dEn-ki; *ARET* IV 5 obv. III 10-13: in ud nída ^dEn <ki> tur; *MEE* 10 3 obv. V 8-10: in ud nída ^dEn-ki. See F. Pomponio-P. Xella, *Les dieux d'Ebla*, Münster 1997, pp. 164-167. *TM.75.G.2372* obv. IV 9-11: in ud nída ^dEn-<ki>, V 19-21: nída ^dEn-ki mah; *ARET* X 48 (*TM.75.G.456*) obv. II 2-3: lú ^dŠARA-iš mah; rev. II 3-III 1: lú ^dŠARA-iš tur (where nída is omitted) The translation of the entire text is in B. Kienast-H. Waetzoldt, "Zwölf Jahre Ebla: Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme", «*Eblaitica*» 2 (1990), 53, but note: "Wertgegenstände der Išhara und der 'kleinen Išhara'".

²⁰ M. G. Biga, "Rituali reali eblaitici e loro riflessi nei testi amministrativi", *ISIMU* 1 (1998), 213-224.

²¹ F. Pinnock, "Toujours à propos de cornes: les cornes éblaites. Archéologie", *NABU* 1997/ 146; M.G. Biga, "Toujours à propos de cornes: les cornes éblaites. Philologie", *NABU* 1998/42.

used in the rites have horns mounted in gold.²² Moreover, the habit of adorning the horns of sacrificial bulls with gold sheeting is well-documented down to our own days in certain great religious ceremonies in Greece.²³ This is, therefore, another custom which the Syrian world passed on to the Hittites and which, crossing Asia Minor, arrived in the Greek world.

V. Conclusions

The writer proposes seeing in the Eblaite KILLAM, fairs dedicated to a god, the earliest attestation of a Syrian tradition which is found documented later also in Syria itself (Emar) and by the Hittites and finally in the Western Mediterranean world (Greeks and Romans).

GÖTTERKÄMPFE ? HISTORIE !

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„Alt-hethitischer Götterkampf“

Drei disparate Reliefbruchstücke (RB 1-3) aus Boğazköy-Hattusa erwiesen sich als Reste desselben pfeilerartig vorkragenden Orthostaten.¹ Das Material und seine Behandlung räumen ihm einen über das Übliche hinausgehenden Rang ein. Es handelt sich um dunkelgrünen Gabbro, dessen Oberfläche vermittelt Hochglanzpolitur marmorartiger Charakter verliehen worden war. In einem zweiten Stadium wurde darin ein vielfiguriges Relief gleichmäßiger Tiefe eingeschnitten (Abb. 1), als habe man die negativen Formen, farblich kontrastierend wie Silhouetten,² ausfüllen wollen. Ihre noch groben Umriss erweisen allerdings den Zweitzustand als unvollendet. Vorgesehen war eine Kampfdarstellung.

Die Fundumstände der Orthostatentrümmer sind von bescheidener Aussagekraft für die Ermittlung des ursprünglichen Standortes. So hatten Dörfler das 1977 in einem Privathaus verbaut gefundene Fragment RB 3 im Grabungsschutt der 30er Jahre aufgelesen, womit ein vager Hinweis auf Bau K auf Büyükkale (Abb. 4) gewonnen war. Daß dieses Gebäude den Hauptzugang zur Burg bildete und an einem Zwinger kontrollierte, ist allerdings in kaum eines Bearbeiters Bewußtsein gedrungen³ und folglich nicht in die Überlegungen zur Bedeutung der Bruchstücke eingeflossen. Der Aufweg zum Tor neben K verlief auf einer der Südmauer vorgelagerten Felsschwelle und war der einzige von Wagen benutzbare Ein- und Ausgang der Burg, während allein Fußgänger und

¹ Vorläufig abschließend: P. Neve, in: ed. K. Bittel, *Boğazköy VI. Funde aus den Grabungen bis 1979* (Berlin 1984) 91 ff., unter Bezugnahme auf J. Vorys Canby. Vorzüglich farbig abgebildet (F. Saylan) bei A. Muhibbe Darga, *Hittit Sanatı. Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Kitapları* LVI (Istanbul 1992) 129 Abb. 131 (128 Abb. 130: beschnittenes Detail).

² Vgl. die goldgefaßten Lapseinlagen aus Kargamis bei U. Seidl, *IstMitt* 22 (1972) 15 ff. Sie müssen zu entsprechenden Klein-Tabloux gehört haben.

³ Der Sachverhalt findet sich angedeutet bei K. Bittel, *Hattuscha - Hauptstadt der Hethiter* (Köln 1983) 104 mit zugehörigem Plan p. 101 Abb. 61, entnommen bei P. Neve, *Büyükkale - Die Bauwerke*. Bo-Ha XII (Berlin 1982) Beil. 36. Dort finden Aufweg, (verschwundenes) Tor und Zwinger an Bau K keine auf die Gesamtheit der Burg bezogene Bewertung. Auch ist der interpretative Plan bei K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (München 1976) 121 Abb. 114 gegenüber dem von 1982 nicht in jedem Punkte überholt. Die topographische Neuaufnahme des Stadtgebiets (H.P. Birk, Stand 1998) schafft erste Abhilfe (Beilage zu J. Seeher, *AA* 1999, 317 ff.).

²² I. Singer, *The Hittite KILLAM Festival* II, cit., 59 and 61. For the yokes at Ebla cf. G. Conti, *MisEb* 4, cit., 40-42.

²³ S. Georgoudi, „Rite et sacrifice animal dans la Grèce moderne“, in M. Detienne-J.-P. Vernant (eds), *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979, 183-202.