

Hattušili III. and the Cult Management of the Holy City of Nerik (II)

CARLO CORTI¹
University of Florence

I already had the occasion to speak about the fragments KBo 22.73 and KUB 21.11 (CTH 90: Edict of Hattušili III. on the restoration of Nerik) - which I have linked together - a few years ago at the Second Congress of Egyptologists and Orientalists in Milan and Pavia; and documentation of such has recently been published².

However, in this work, I intend to further develop the religious and cultural issues implied in this document and analyse the connections with other texts relating to the cult in the sacred city of Nerik.

There is a new fragment, Bo 69/727, which I believe is part of the same document³, that reports the end of the obverse and the beginning of the reverse of the tablet:

obv.

1' x[

?

2' nam²[-ma (?)

3' AŠ-RI^U ir-ḫa-a-iz-zi (?)

?

4' ^{UZU}šu[-up-pa(-) (?)

5' I NINDA.GUR₄.R[A

6' nu IŠ-TU

7' nam-ma x[

8' AŠ-RI^U ir²-ḫa-a-iz-zi (?)

rev.

1 BI-IB-R^U[-

2 IŠ-TU GEŠTIN ḪÁ[D².DU.A (?)

3 ti-an-zi [

¹ I wish to thank Prof. G. Wilhelm for permitting me to publish the fragments Bo 69/727 and 1054/u and for checking and photographing certain texts. I am grateful to Dr. R. Akdoğan for the collation of some fragments conserved at the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara. A special thanks goes to my teacher, Prof. F. Pecchioli Daddi, for her precious suggestions and for reading the manuscript.

² C. Corti, "Hattušili III e la gestione del culto nella città santa di Nerik (I)", in: C. Mora – P. Piacentini (eds.), *L'ufficio e il documento. I luoghi, i modi, gli strumenti dell'amministrazione in Egitto e nel Vicino Oriente antico*, QA 83 (Milano 2006), 313-329. For the transcription see recently also D. Groddek, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription* KBo 22, DBH 24 (Wiesbaden 2008), 73-75, who proposes a comparison with KBo 22.27.

³ I checked the original fragments conserved at the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara.

- 4 I NINDA KU₇ [
 5 nu-kán x[
 6 na-an [
 7 nu x[
 8 n[u[?]

Albeit fragmentary, the context ties in well with the first two paragraphs of the final part of the reverse of KBo 22.73 (+) KUB 21.11, which reports liturgical phases from a celebration, which, as yet, has not been identified.

- 3' ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-m[a
 4' AŠ-R^{BLA}-y[a
 5' nam-ma QA-TAM-M[A
 6' QA-TAM-MA ir-ḥa-^fa[-iz-zi
 7' nu AŠ-R^{BLA} ir-ḥa[-a-iz-zi
 8' n[a-a]n^{UZU} šu-u[p-pa(-)
 9' AŠ-R^{BLA}-ya i[r-ḥa-a-iz-zi
 10' nu A-NA PA-NI^D[U^{URU} Ne-ri-ik(?)
 11' BI-IB-R^{BLA}-kán[]x[]x X[NINDA(?) B]rA.BA¹.ZA
 12' ŠA I UP-NI pá-r-ši-a[n-zi]^{URU}Ne-ri-ik tar-na-i

Line 12' shows that the festival was indeed celebrated in Nerik (^{URU}Ne-ri-ik tar-na-i, "and leaves the city of Nerik") and the use of the third person singular of the verb, in my opinion, testifies a direct involvement of Hattušili, or a high functionary, who, at the end of the liturgies, probably went back to Hakmiš, the administrative capital of the northern region.

As for the coronation of Hattušili, as king of Hakmiš, our text anticipates and confirms (KBo 22.73 (+) obv. 7-8; rev. 15'-16') what is reported in the Autobiography of the same: his first investiture (II 62-63), which most likely occurred before the campaign to Egypt, and then a second one with his spouse Puduhepa (III 12-13)⁴.

One paragraph later is dedicated to the festivals in Nerik revived by the royal couple, but I am going to speak about this later. First I would like to present the following passage (obv. 17'-19'):

- 17' nu A-NA^DU^{URU} N[e-ri-ik ku-i-e-eš EZEN^{MEŠ}]e-šir EZEN^{GIŠ} zu-up-pa-ru-pát-ši
 18' SixSÁ/DÜ? e-eš-ta nu-uš-š[i^m ḥa-a-tu-ši-li-iš LUGAL^U]ḥa-ak-ki-me-iš
 19' [P]u-du-ḥi-pa-aš-š[a MUNUS.LUGAL] e¹-[eš-š]u-e-en

⁴ For this hypothesis, see H. Otten – H.M. Krummel, "Die Apologie Hattusilis III", in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, Band U5 (Gütersloh 1985), 487.

"and for the Storm God of Ne[rik those who] were [the festivals], notably the festival of the torch for him was established/maked and for hi[m, Hattušili, king of the] city of Hakmiš and Puduhepa, [the queen,] we have [celebra]ted it".

Haas has already suggested there might be a connection between the torch festival and the enthronement of Hattušili as sovereign⁵, even though he was unable to probe the matter further due to the lacunae in the text; however, in the stride made by the reconstruction, it can be affirmed that:

-the festival "was established/maked", that is, introduced for the first time in the cult of "Nerik" by Hattušili in order to celebrate the Storm God of the city, who had consecrated him sovereign of the northern territories;

-and, to highlight the exclusivity of the festival of the torch, Hattušili expressly says that it was chosen from among many and, for the first time, it was Hattušili and his spouse Puduhepa to officiate it.

This brings to mind a passage from KUB 48.119 (CTH 590), a fragment edited by Del Monte⁶, which makes reference to the restoration of the cults in the region of Nerik (Utruna) and must be dated to the period of Hattušili III (obv.⁷ 3'-4'),

[ma-a-an]-na-mu DINGIR^{LUM} ki-i Ú-UL še-ik-kán GIG SIG₅-aḥ-ti
 [] A-NA DINGIR^{LUM} EZEN₄ dam-me-li-in ku-in-ki te-eḥ-ḥi

["If], Oh god, you will cure me from this sudden illness,
 I will set up [for you], Oh god, some festival not yet created"

where the divinity invoked has to be identified with the Storm God of Nerik, in that it is cited many times in the continuation of the text. In this case Hattušili is already king of Hatti and the reason for the creation of a new festival is tied to his ill health.

Going back to our document, the fact that it refers to an extraordinary event - in the sense of it being 'unique' - is confirmed by the entire closing paragraph that is dedicated to this occasion, and precedes the colophon.

In lines 13' and 14' of the reverse, as indicated, the festivals are listed for the liturgical calendar of the holy city, which were reintroduced and celebrated by Hattušili and Puduhepa:

LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL e-ša[-an-ta] EZEN₄ mu-un-tar-aš ku-i-e-eš aš-ša-nu-uš-
 kán-zi
 EZEN₄ BURU₁₄-ya-kán E[ZEN₄ (?)]x EZEN₄ zé-na-an-za GIM-an^{UZU} šu-up-
 pa-ya-aš UD-aš⁷

The king and queen are se[ated]] who take care of the festival nuntara

⁵ V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (Rom 1970), 61-62.

⁶ G. F. Del Monte, "Utruna e la festa del Purulli", *OA* 17 (1978), 179-192.

⁷ Thus correctly reads D. Groddek, *DBH* 24, 75 and note 231.

harvest festival, fest[ival ...] autumn festival; when (it is) the day of the meat.

To this list must surely be added the festival of spring – here in lacuna – in that we find it in the colophon. Lists of this type, connected to the region of Hakmiš and Nerik, may be singled out, for example in KUB 27.68⁸ a cult inventory text related to the deities of Nerik; in obv. I the festivals are dedicated to the Storm God of Zahalukka (1-2),

[A-N]A^D[U^{URU}Za-h]a-lu-qa XII EZEN₄ ITU.KAM II EZ[EN₄ I EZEN₄ DI₁₂-ŠI]
I EZEN₄ zé-e-ni I EZEN₄ BURU₁₄ ki-nu-un^{LU} SANGA ta-[ni-ni-zi]

and in KUB KBo 26.181 (+)⁹ 42.100⁹, where we find lists of celebrations in the city of Utruna dedicated to various divinities of the pantheon in Nerik, as in the case of the Storm God of Heaven (rev. III 13'-14'):

A-NA^DU AN^E XII EZEN₄ ITU.KAM I EZEN₄ Ú.B[AR₈ I EZEN₄ zé-e-ni]
ki-nu-un^{LU} SANGA IŠ-TU É-ŠÚ e-eš-ša-r[]

However, despite the fact that many tablets on festivals celebrated in Nerik have been found, such as the festival of the Purulli, the Mugawar for the Storm God of Nerik, the festival of the Month in the city of Nerik, the celebrations connected to the *hesta* house and (several) descriptions reported in the Nuntariyašhaš, the fragments we have on the “different festivals” are sparse and cannot be always reconstructed with any certainty as to the season the individual liturgies refer to.

Such fragments are catalogued mainly under CTH 524-525 (cult inventories) and CTH 678 “Cult of Nerik. Fragments of different festivals”. In the latter CTH there is a small group of fragments linked to the reorganization of the cult in Nerik, the *stemma* of such was presented in reviews many times, which were mostly published between 1986 and 1991¹⁰:

A KUB LV 60¹¹
B Bo 3315¹²

⁸ See V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 300. For other similar passages, in which the harvest festival is cited, see KUB 53.21 rev., *Id.*, 61 notes 3-6.

⁹ For the possible join and for the treatment of the text see recently J. Hazenbos, *The Organization of the Anatolian Local Cults During the Thirteenth Century B.C.* (Leiden 2003), 14ss; cfr. also G.F. Del Monte, *OA* 17, 181ss.

¹⁰ S. Košak, “Rez. zu KUB 55”, *ZA* 76 (1986), 133; *Id.*, “Rez. zu KUB 56”, *ZA* 78/1 (1988), 148-149; G.F. del Monte, “Rec. a KUB 58”, *OA* 28 (1989), 164; V. Haas, “Rez. zu KUB 59”, *OLZ* 85 (1990), 547; T. van den Hout, “Rez. zu KUB 58”, *BiOr* 48 3/4 (1991), 581-582; M. Popko, “Rez. zu KUB 59” *Or NS* 60/2 (1991), 126. Recently J.L. Miller, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* 53 (Berlin 2005), VIII (Nr. 212).

¹¹ A recent transcription by D. Groddek, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription KUB 55*, DBH 4 (Dresden 2002), 111-113.

¹² Transcription by V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 277 a)-277 b); now also F. Fuscagni, *Hethitische unveröffentlichte Texte aus den Jahren 1906-1912 in der Sekundärliteratur*, HPMM 6 (Wiesbaden

C KUB LVIII 31¹³
D KUB LVI 54¹⁴
E KUB LIX 32¹⁵
F KBo LIII 212¹⁶

I hold that KUB 9.24 - a new duplicate - be added to this list, which, by completing the last lines of KUB 59.32 and those at the beginning of Bo 3315 obv. allows us to hypothesize a direct join of these last two fragments.

Additionally concerning CTH 678.3, according to the testimonies KUB 56.54 and KBo 53.212, it is found that KUB 58.31 and Bo 3315 add to the completion of each, in that they most likely belong to the same tablet.

It is thanks to Prof. G. Wilhelm and Dr. R. Akdoğan, who checked the original tablets, that I am able to confirm the joins; I can also add that the large unpublished fragment Bo 3332 is also directly linked to the same tablet of KUB 59.32 +* Bo 3315 +* KUB 58.31, thereby adding a text of more than twenty five lines in the second column that, up to now, was not known, and therefore an integral reconstruction of the third column of this testimony is achieved.

According to my reasoning, I believe that, at this time, three main tablets can be retraced (two duplicates and a parallel one); theoretically, even KUB 9.24 could be placed in the second half of the third column of KUB 55.60¹⁷, and KBo 53.212 at the beginning of the fourth column¹⁸, but there are no sure elements to confirm this, given that the two fragments are conserved in two separate places.

To ‘complete’ the reconstruction of the document we also add that KUB 25.25 and 1054/u joins directly with KUB 55.60. In this way we can update the *stemma* of the “Local Festivals in Nerik” (CTH 678.3)¹⁹:

A Bo 3332* +* KUB LIX 32 +* Bo 3315 +* KUB LVIII 31
B KUB LV 60 +* KUB XXV 25* +* 1054/u* (+)²⁰* KBo LIII 212 (+)²⁰* KUB IX 24*
C KUB LVI 54
D KBo 54.150*

2007), 24-25.

¹³ Recently, J.V. García Trabazo - D. Groddek, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription KUB 58*, DBH 18 (Wiesbaden 2005), 111-113.

¹⁴ On this text, other than the indications of the Inhalt., see S. Košak, *ZA* 78/1, 148-149, who attributed it to CTH 678.

¹⁵ Transcription by V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 313 and D. Groddek, *Hethitische Texte in Transkription KUB 59*, DBH 14 (Dresden 2004), 57, with bibliography.

¹⁶ Transcription by V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 311-312.

¹⁷ According to my reckoning, and more precisely, the fragment should cut off three or four lines from the end of the third column.

¹⁸ The length of the lacuna between the two fragments is worthy of four lines.

¹⁹ Thanks to this remarkable progress, I plan to prepare a monograph that will be published in one of the next volumes of *Studia Asiana* in which the critical edition will appear with transcription, translation and comment of the documents. At the end of the article there are sketches of the reverse of sources A and B.

E KBo 52.199* (=928/u)

Despite the fact that there are only two, out of the four, original columns conserved in CTH 678.3, we can affirm that reference is made to the celebrations for an entire year; in the preserved parts there is mention of both the spring and summer seasons. It should not be excluded however that, following the outline of the cult inventory documents, the first part, although not conserved, may report the description of the autumn celebrations²⁰.

As to the first column, attested only in KUB 55.60, just a few signs remain unfortunately; however, the text becomes legible 3 or 4 lines from the beginning of the second column (following source A), with offerings of bread to deities that fall within the circle of the pantheon in Nerik, among whom are Za(š)h(a)puna, Mezzulla, DAMKINA and the river Maraššanta²¹; then, in a fragmentary context, liturgical actions and celebrations unfold late into the night.

At first, we are led to believe that there is a change either of the season or festival in the description; even if the context is damaged, it is possible to make out the expression in obv. II 26':

ki-š]a-ri nu A-NA ITU^{KAM}[

The text is then cut off for about twenty lines and is picked up half-way down the second column with Bo 3315, which corresponds to the reverse III of KUB 55.60, and describes the festivals that are celebrated in springtime - as was rightly pointed out by Haas²² - for all the gods.

In fact the first line of the paragraph may be completed in the following way (A obv. II 53'; B rev. III 1'-2'):

GIM-a[n-ma ha-me-aš-ha-an ki-ša-ri A-NA] DINGIR^{MES} da-pi-aš EZEN₄ du-hu-u-ru-un [DÜ-an-zi

Wh[en spring comes, to] all the gods the festival *duhuru* they celebrate.

The reference made to the spring season is also inferred by the well-known expression (EZEN₄)^{DUG} har]-ši ge-e-nu-wa-aš "(Festival) of the opening of the pythos", as Archi pointed out²³, that may be integrated several lines later.

The subsequent paragraph introduces the spring festival in honour of Za(š)h(a)puna: the

²⁰ See recently J. Hazenbos, *The Organization*, 168-169, and footnotes with bibliographical references.

²¹ Compare, for example, the deities cited in KUB 58.39 rev. VI; for this text see now P. Taracha, "Rev. to J.V. García Trabazo - D. Groddek, DBH 18", *BiOr* 64 (2007), 190, with references.

²² In fact, the fragment Bo 3315 obv. II according to Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 277a, describes the spring festival for the Stormgod of Nerik.

²³ Alternative phrase to (EZEN₄)^{DUG} har]i hešuwāš; see A. Archi, "Fetes de printemps et d'automne et réintégration rituelle d'images de culte dans l'Anatolie hittite", *UF* 5 (1973), 7-27, in particular 14.

statue is washed and oiled, then carried in procession and, finally, led back into the temple and set on the altar; ritual activities, with offerings, probably follow that must have continued until the end of the column, approximately 18 to 20 lines after the fracture.

The reverse (testimony A) begins with offerings to the gods of the pantheon of Nerik, such as ZA[BABA(?)]²⁴ and LAMMA LUGAL; in line 7 we see the priest of the goddess Za(š)h(a)puna and the priest of the Storm God of Nerik who both carry out the deed of the washing of the hands. Subsequently, it is seen in the passage that the verb forms change from the third person plural to the third person singular. The first person to begin the deeds is the priest of the goddess Za(š)h(a)puna (lines 14 to 18) and only when he leaves the temple or chapel(?) does the priest of the Storm God come onto the scene to repeat the same deeds, including doing the round of offering to the gods (lines 18 to 21).

Hence, in the subsequent paragraph, various priests are involved in a celebration, among whom are reported the servants of the gods, the courtyard cleaners and the men of the Stormgod, and concludes with an interesting action, already analysed and interpreted by Del Monte²⁵ (A rev. III 41/E rev. IV 5'),

nu l-aš l-an iš-hu-na-u-wa mi-ya-ni-eš-ši ku-wa-aš-zi

"and they kiss each other, arms and face"

that finds partial parallels among the examples related by S. de Martino in his studies in honour of G. Pugliese Carratelli²⁶.

Another interesting passage precedes the ritual meal that closes the section dedicated to the springtime celebrations. After the priest makes offerings of bread and beer from his house - "The next morning is the day of the liver. Three bread rolls and a pot of beer the priest gives from his house", is thus specified:

nu KAŠ hu-ul-hu-ul an-da tar-na-an-zi / na-at A-NA^{LÚ.MES} NAR GİR^{MES}-aš GAM-an
la-hu-u-wa-an-zi / na-at-kán šar-ku-wa-an-te-eš an-da i-ya-ni-an-zi

"and beer *hulhul* they leave inside (at his house) / and they pour it at the feet (of) the singers²⁷ / and they enter, with shoes on."

The double line of the paragraph, in my opinion, marks the passing on to the subsequent season, indicated explicitly by the term BURU₁₄. The entry of such is seen by the use of the same phrase as in the spring festival:

²⁴ See H. Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual (KBo XIX 128)*, StBoT 13 (Wiesbaden 1971), 31; cfr. D. Groddek, DBH 14, 57 (Za[-ah-pu-na]).

²⁵ Thus G. F. Del Monte, *OA* 17, 164; interpreted differently by D. Groddek, DBH 4, 111.

²⁶ S. de Martino, "L'atto del baciare nel culto e nella vita quotidiana degli Ittiti", in: F. Imparati (ed.), *Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicati a Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli*, Eothen 1 (Firenze 1988), 57-65.

²⁷ The passage is cited in CHD P, 232.

GIM-an-ma BURU₁₄ ki-ša-ri A-NA DINGIR^{MES} []x[

Unfortunately, even though KUB 55.60 continues for over twenty lines, we are only able to recognize just a few signs, therefore it is impossible to define the liturgical deeds and divinities involved in the celebrations.

However, after analysing some inventory documents connected to the cult of Nerik, in which are cited the Storm God of Nerik and the goddess Za(š)h(a)puna, it emerges that fragment KUB 25.25 has a direct join with the fourth column of KUB 55.60 and the duplicate Bo 3332 is connected directly with KUB 58.31+ rev. III (source A), as I said before. At this point we can complete almost all the beginning:

GIM-an-ma BURU₁₄ ki-ša-ri A-NA DINGIR^{MES} [URU^{URU} Ha-a]k-miš-ša [EZEN₄ (?)]
EZEN₄^{HLA} zi-ku-ni-ya [DÜ-an-zi]

“And when summer comes, to the gods[of the town of Ha]kmiš [the festival(?)] and the festivals *zikuni* (?) they celebrate”

As a result of this reconstruction we learn that in summer they celebrated the gods of Hakmiš, and a festival for threshing or the scythe “for the Land” was celebrated in honour of the Storm God of Hakmiš, and yet another festival was actually dedicated to Za(š)h(a)puna.

The salient moments of such celebrations may be summed up as follows:

- the statues of the Storm God of Nerik and of Za(š)h(a)puna were carried together (*pé hark-*) along a slope (literally, “down”, *kát-ta pé-tan_x-zi*), each under a drape, while the women *hazgara* sang.

- the statues were placed in front of the divine *stele* (*huwaši*)²⁸ and attendants arranged the altar; a sheep was donated by the “Lord of the Land” and sacrificed, and preparations were made for the offerings on the altar; and among them stands out a pot of beer, granted by the palace.

- it is to the song of the *hazgara* that the rites of the ritual meal are officiated.

- at the end of the liturgy of the *huwaši*, the statues of the divinities are taken back “up in the city of Nerik” ([A-NA^{URU} N]e-ri-ik-qa URU-ri UGU *pé-tan_x-zi*), arranged on the altar of the temple(?), the place where the celebrations must have been carried out.

The reference to the city is of particular interest in that it confirms, from my point of view, that the whole tablet was dedicated to the liturgical calendar of the sacred city of Nerik.

²⁸ On this divine symbol and on the presence, at the same time, of the statue, see recently B.J. Collins, “A Statue for the Deity: Cult Images in Hittite Anatolia” in: N.H. Walls (ed.), *Cult Image and Divine Representation in the Ancient Near East* (Boston 2005), 26-29 with references. I wish to thank the scholar for kindly sending me her article; see also M. Nakamura, “Weitere Überlegungen zum bethitischen Stelenkult”, *Orient* 32 (1997), 9-16. For the hattic origin of the term, see recently O. Soysal, “Rev. to J. Hazenbos, *The Organization*”, *JNES* 67/2 (2008), 119.

It should be added that, the indications supplied in the paragraph on the route to reach the divine *stele* - the “pleasant” place, out of the city - are an unexpected comparison in the topography of the site of Oymağaç (and of the surrounding territory); note that the north-western parts, from the summit of the hill, decline markedly at the foot and open onto a valley that proceeds to the river Kızılırmak²⁹.

The festivals described in the tablet show the strict bond between the Storm God of Nerik and Za(š)h(a)puna; this divine couple seems to have formed specifically in the Hittite Imperial period at the time that Nerik was restored and the celebrations were revived from cults that were celebrated in other areas of the north. The involvement of the statues of the two divinities in the same liturgical deeds of the “summer” festivals finds, in my opinion, a clear confirmation over the course of the “Festival of the Month”, and especially when, at the end of the list of offerings in honour of Za(š)h(a)puna - inside the *sacrarium* (*dahanga*), it is said that (KUB 56.48 rev. III, 24'-25')³⁰:

ki-i ki-iš-ša-an^{GIŠ} ZAG.GAR<RA>-ni / ŠA^{DU} URU^{URU} N[e-r]i-ik A-NA^D Za-aḥ-pu-na ti-an-zi

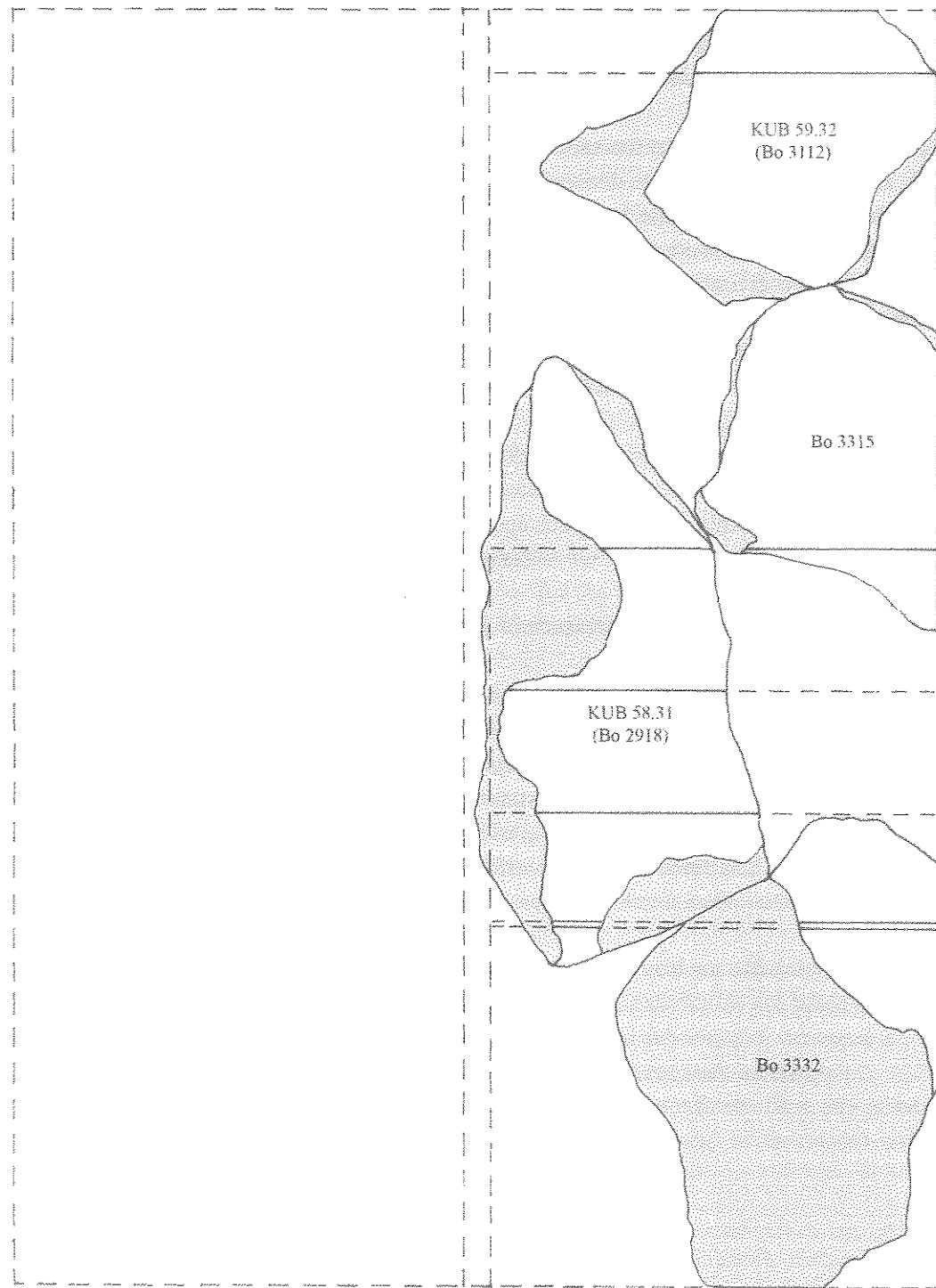
“these (things) in this way they place upon the altar of the Storm God of N[er]ik for Zahpuna”

This phrase demonstrates the presence of the two statues on the same altar.

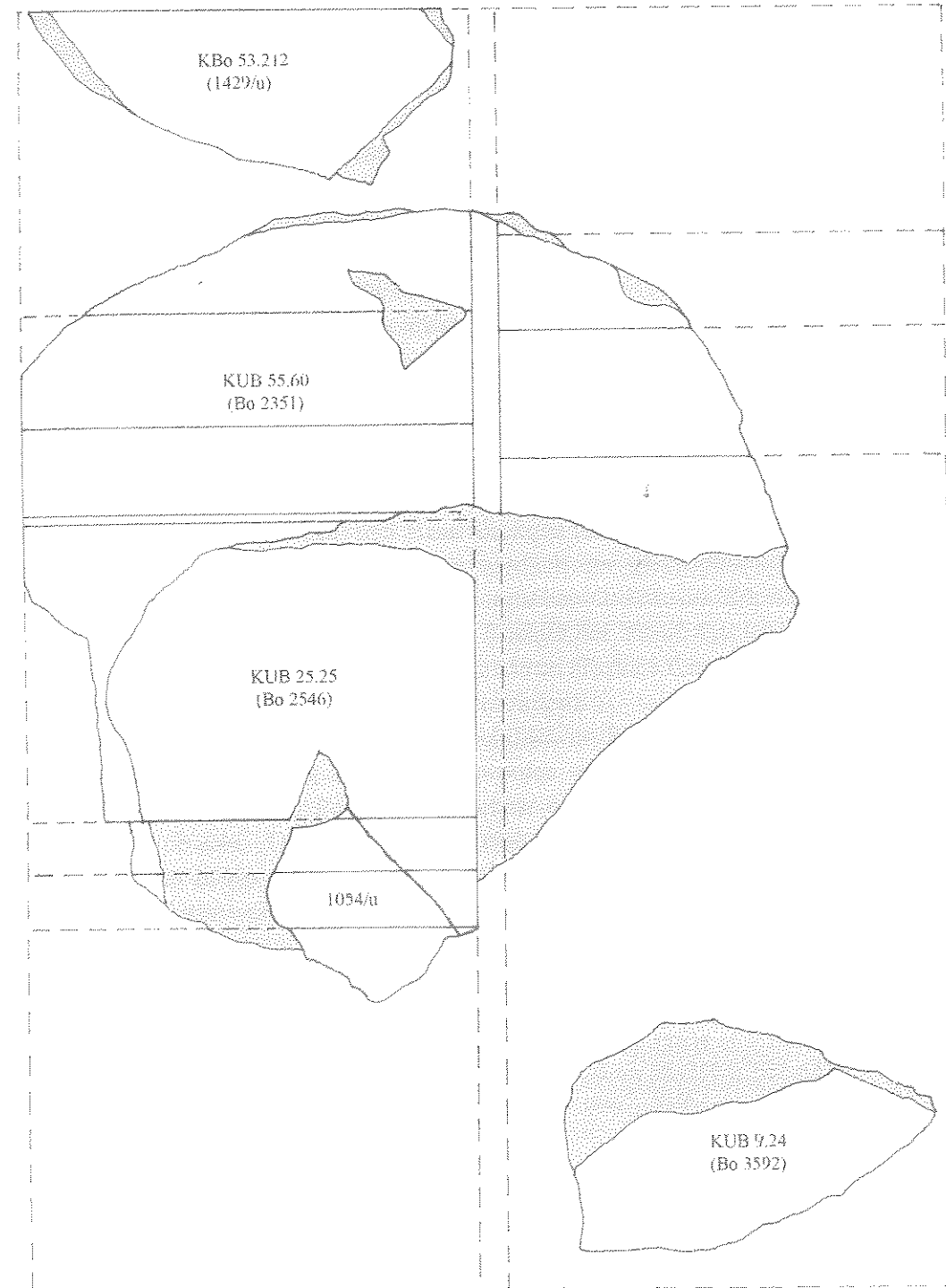
I am convinced that the foundations that brought about the main restoring of the cults in the northern territories, and particularly in Nerik, were put in place by Hattušili III; as the results show from the analysis of the new edict KBo 22.73 (+) KUB 21.11 (+) Bo 69/727, already in the phase preceding his enthronement as king of Hatti, Hattušili reorganized, and in some cases, created *ex novo*, important festivals of the liturgical calendar for the holy city of Nerik. The festival tablet described here is, in my opinion, significant proof of his efforts.

²⁹ On the archaeological site of Oymağaç and on the sources related to the city of Nerik, see now the contributions of R.M. Czichon and J. Klinger published in this book.

³⁰ See V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik*, 84 note 2.



Sketch of Testimony A, reverse III



Sketch of Testimony B, reverse III-IV