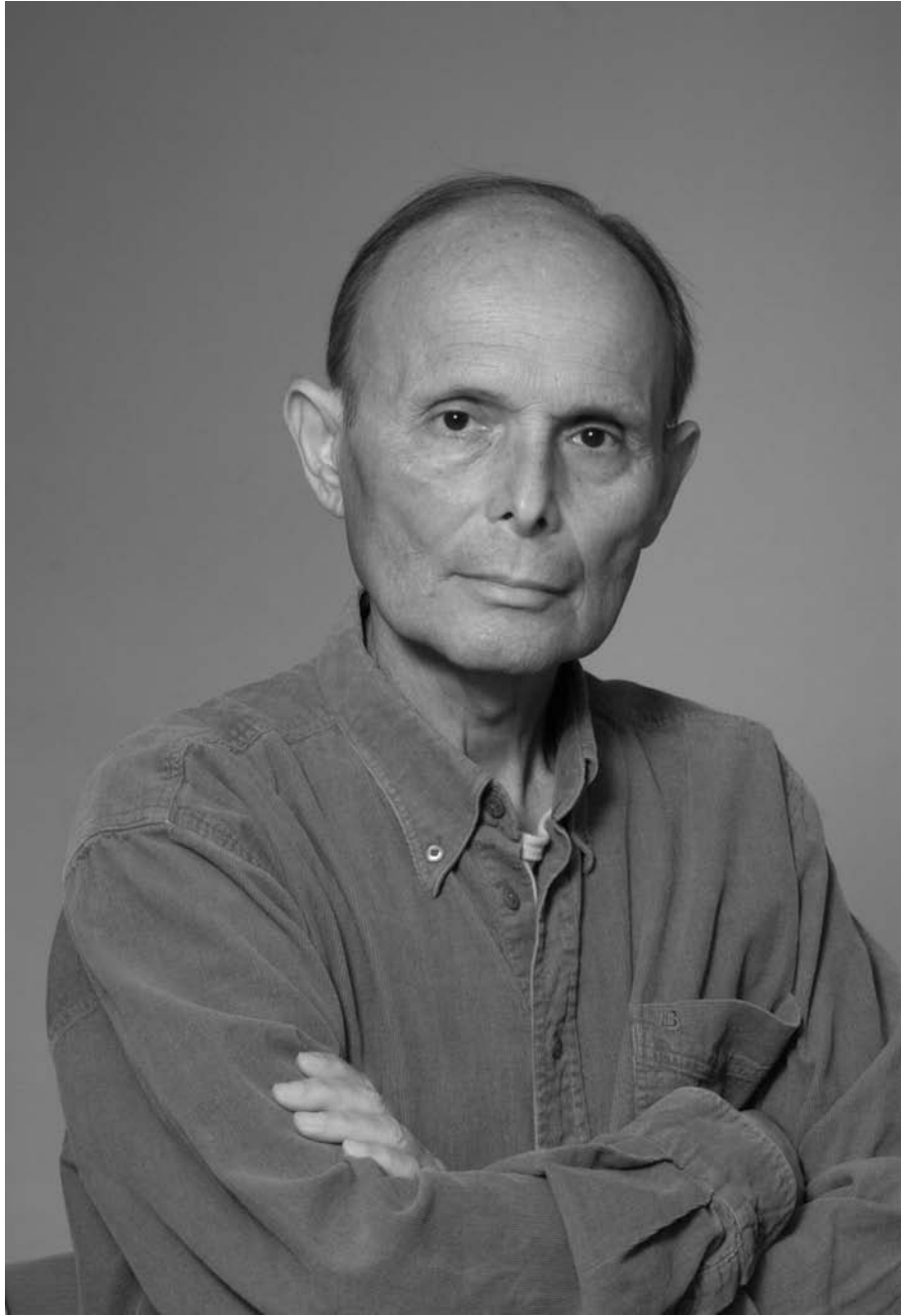


PAX HETHITICA
STUDIES ON THE HITTITES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS
IN HONOUR OF ITAMAR SINGER



Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

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Pax Hethitica

Studies on the Hittites and their Neighbours
in Honour of Itamar Singer

Edited by
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and Jared L. Miller

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List of Abbreviations

A	Tablets in the collections of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago
AbhDOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ABL	Harper, R. F. 1892–1914. <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri / Boğazköy-Tafeln im Archäologischen Museum zu Ankara. Istanbul 1948
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
AHw	von Soden, W. 1959–1981. <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
ALASPM	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Studies (formerly Abr-nahrain)
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOAT	Alter Orient und Alter Testament
AÖAW	Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOS	American Oriental Series
AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
ARET	Archivi Reali di Ebla, Testi
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari, Textes
ArOr	Archiv Orientální
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	Acta Sumerologica
Ass.	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Assur
AT	Wiseman, D. J. 1953. <i>The Alalakh Tablets</i> (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2). Liverpool
ATT	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Tel Açana (Alalakh)
AuOr	Aula Orientalis
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BaF	Baghdader Forschungen
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAM	Köcher, F. 1963–. <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen</i> . Berlin
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BASS	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
BATSH	Berichte der Ausgrabung Tell Šēḥ Ḥamad

BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, École Française d'Athènes
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan
BMSAES	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
BNF NF	Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Neue Folge
Bo	Inventory numbers of Boğazköy tablets excavated 1906–1912
BoHa	Boğazköy-Ḫattuša, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Berlin
Bog. V	Bittel K., Güterbock H.G., Neumann G., Neve P., Otten H., Seidl U. 1975. <i>Boğazköy V. Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971</i> (AbhDOG 18) Berlin: G. Mann
BSA	Annual of the British School of Athens
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCT	Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum. London
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CHLI	Hawkins, J. D. 2000. <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions</i> (Studies in Indo-European Language and Culture. New Series 8, 1–2). Berlin: de Gruyter
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRRAI	Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTH	Laroche, E. 1966. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DdA	Dialoghi di Archeologia
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
EA	Knudtson, J. A. 1915. <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> . Leipzig
Emar VI	Arnaud, D. 1985–1987. <i>Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Emar VI: Les textes sumériens et accadiens</i> . Paris: ERC
ETBLM	Westenholz, J. G. 2000. <i>Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem: The Emar Tablets</i> . Groningen: Styx
FAOS	Freiburger altorientalische Studien
FGrH	Jacoby, F. 1957. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Leiden: Brill
GAG ³	von Soden, W. 1995. <i>Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik</i> . 3 rd edition (Analecta Orientalia 33). Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
GrHL	Hoffner, H. A. & Melchert, H. C. 2008. <i>A Grammar of the Hittite Language</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns
HANE	History of the Ancient Near East

HANES	History of the Ancient Near East Studies
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HDT ²	Beckman, G. M. 1999. <i>Hittite Diplomatic Texts</i> . 2 nd edition (WAW 7). Atlanta: Scholars Press
HED	Puhvel, J. 1984–. <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin – New York: Mouton
HEG	Tischler, J. & Neumann, G. 1983–. <i>Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck
HKM	Alp, S. 1991. <i>Maşat-Höyük'te Bulunan çivi yazılı Hitit Tabletleri / Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük</i> . Ankara: TTK
HS	Historische Sprachforschung = Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (“Kuhns Zeitschrift”)
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HT	King, L. 1920. <i>Hittite Texts in Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum</i> . London. Oxford University Press
HW	Friedrich, J. 1952–1954. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg: C. Winter
HW ²	Friedrich, J. & Kammenhuber, A. 1975–. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch</i> . 2 nd edition. Heidelberg: C. Winter
HZL	Rüster, C. & Neu, E. 1989. <i>Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon: Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten</i> (StBoT Beiheft 2). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri
IBS	Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JAC	Journal of Ancient Civilizations
JANER	Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JIES	Journal of Indo-European Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum
KAR	Ebeling, E. 1919–1923. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I/II</i> (WVDOG 28; 34). Leipzig: C. Hinrichs
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
Ki	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
KlF	Sommer, F. & Ehelolf, H. eds. 1927–1930. <i>Kleinasiatische Forschungen</i>

<i>Konkordanz</i>	Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln (on-line), Silvan Košak (http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/)
Kt	Inventory numbers of Kültepe texts
KTU	Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. & Sanmartín, J. 1976. <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> (AOAT 24). Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi
KuT	Inventory numbers of Kuşaklı texts
L	Laroche, E. 1960. <i>Les hiéroglyphes hittites</i> . Paris.
LAPÖ	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LKA	Ebeling, L. 1953. <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i> . Berlin
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
Mšt	Inventory numbers of Maşat Texts
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
N	Tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
ND	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud
O	Tablets in the collections of the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
Or	Orientalia
Or.	Inventory numbers of Ortaköy texts
OrAn	Oriens Antiquus
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PAT	Hillers, D.R. & Cussini, E. 1995. <i>Palmyrene Aramaic Texts</i> . Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
PdP	La parola del passato. Rivista di studi antichi
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PNA	Radner, K. & Baker, H.D. 1998–. <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Helsinki: Helsinki University Press
PRU	Le Palais royal d'Ugarit (Mission de Ras Shamra). Paris
PSD	The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes

RHA	Revue hittite et asianique
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RIDA	Revue internationale du droit de l'antiquité
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian periods
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RS	Field numbers of tablets excavated at Ras Shamra
RSO	Ras Shamra–Ougarit
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBo	Güterbock, H. G. 1940, 1942. <i>Siegel aus Boğazköy</i> . (AfO Beiheft 5, 7). Berlin
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians
SEL	Studi epigrafici e linguistici
Sm	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
SMEA	Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici
SpTU	Hunger, H. 1976–1988. <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk</i> (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 9, 10, 12). Berlin: G. Mann
StAT	Studien zu den Assur-Texten
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StOr	Studia Orientalia
STT	Gurney, O. R. & Finkelstein, J. J. 1957–1964. <i>The Sultantepe Tablets</i> (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 3, 7). London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
T	Tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin
Ta	Tarquinius find numbers (in Rix, E. & Meiser, G. eds. 1991. <i>Etruskische Texte. Editio Minor</i> . Tübingen: Narr)
TA	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University
Th	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum
TLE	Pallottino, M. 1968. <i>Testimonia Linguae Etruscae</i> (2 nd ed.), Firenze: Nuova Italia
TPAK	Michel, C. & Garelli, P. 1991. <i>Tablettes paléo-assyriennes de Kültepe, 1 (Kt 90/k)</i> . Paris
TSBR	Arnaud, D. 1991. <i>Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze Récent</i> (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 1)
TTKY	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
TÜBA-AR	Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi / Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology

TuM	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
VAT	Tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin
VBoT	Götze, A. 1930. <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> . Marburg a.d. Lahn: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZABR	Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZVS	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen

Introduction

Itamar Singer was born on the 26th of November 1946 in Dej, Rumania. His parents, both Holocaust survivors, met in Rumania after the War. His mother Gertrude came from a German-speaking family from Tchernovitz, Bukowina, his father Zoltán from a Hungarian-speaking family from Dej, Transylvania. Itamar's upbringing in this multilingual Austro-Hungarian milieu (studying in a Rumanian school but speaking Hungarian at home) surely played a role in his knack for acquiring new languages, both ancient and modern. His penchant for history he inherited from his father, who had written a scholarly work on the history of the Jewish community of Dej and its district. When Itamar was five the family moved to Cluj/Kolozsvár, the capital of Transylvania. His father, a community leader, was repeatedly imprisoned by the communist regime for his Zionist activities, until emigration visas, after years of denial, were finally granted in 1958.

The family then embarked on their exodus to Israel with a train journey from Bucharest to Napoli. While awaiting a ship to take them to their new home, Itamar's mother took him to see the ruins of Pompeii, a visit which left an indelible impression upon him. Upon their arrival in Israel, the family settled down in Holon, a city recently founded upon sand dunes not far from Tel Aviv in order to accommodate the influx of immigrants. There Itamar attended primary and secondary school, and this is where he has made his home ever since. During one summer vacation from high school Itamar participated as a volunteer in the Arad excavations conducted by Yohanan Aharoni, his first exciting experience in field archaeology.

From 1965 to 1968 Itamar studied at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, obtaining his B.A. in the departments of Archaeology and Geography. During these and the following years he participated in excavations at Megiddo, Beersheva, Tel Malhata, Tel Masos and Hanita. From 1969 to 1973 he fulfilled his military duty as an officer in the Air Force, serving as an aerial-photograph interpreter. Simultaneously, he completed his M.A. studies at Tel Aviv University in the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures. His M.A. thesis 'Geographical Aspects of the Proto-Hattian Problem' (1973), written under the supervision of Aharon Kempinski, anticipated his future research into the ties between history, geography and theology.

From 1973 to 1975 Itamar continued his Hittite studies with Heinrich Otten in Marburg, supported by a Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst stipend. His initial goal was to conduct a historical and geographical study of the distribution system of the Hittite 'cult administrators' (AGRIG). However, it soon became evident that such an endeavour required an in-depth study of the 'Gate-house (KI.LAM) Festival', which contains most of the relevant passages. His resulting dissertation, 'The KI.LAM Festival', completed in 1978, was published in the same series in which the present volume has appeared, *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* (1983–1984). It was the first complete edition of a major Hittite festival, and it quickly became a highly influential study of Hittite religion.

Upon returning to Israel, Itamar joined the staff of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures, where he became a full professor in 1996 and where he continued teaching until his early retirement in 2006. Between 1984 and 1995 he also taught in the Department of Jewish History, and periodically also at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Bar Ilan University in Ramat-Gan, Haifa University and Ben-Gurion University in Beersheva. Teaching concurrently at several university departments and other educational institutions enabled him to pursue parallel research paths, Hittitology, in the broadest sense of the word, on the one hand and the history and cultures of Canaan and the Sea Peoples on the other.

Itamar's primary interests in the historical domain lay in the international affairs of the 13th century BC, the Golden Age of what he has termed the *pax hethitica*. Many of his studies dealt with the diplomatic relations between Hatti and the other great powers as well as with the Hittite domination of Syria, and especially the kingdoms of Amurru and Ugarit. At the same time, his continued interest in Anatolian religions led to an edition and in-depth study of Muwatalli's Prayer (1996). His ground-breaking conclusion concerning the theological reasons for Muwatalli's transfer of the Hittite capital from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa induced further investigations of the political schism in the Hittite Empire, which played a major role in its decline and final disintegration. His interest in the prayer genre culminated in his English translations of the best-preserved Hittite Prayers in the *Writings from the Ancient World* series (2002).

His latest book to date, *Ha-hittim ve tarbutam* (The Hittites and their Culture; Jerusalem 2009), is the first full-length treatment of Hittite history and culture to appear in Hebrew. Its publication was the realization of a long-standing desire to present Hebrew readers with a more accessible route to a distant culture from long ago, one that nonetheless maintains much relevance for those interested in the history of Israel and the whole region in antiquity.

During his long tenure at Tel Aviv Itamar carried almost single-handedly the banner of Hittite studies in Israel, and his classes and seminars on Hittite language and culture were regularly attended by students from numerous universities. Though specializing in Hittite studies, he insisted on offering students the broadest possible initiation into the study of the Ancient Near East, assuring that their curriculum included courses on the history of writing and on ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean religions and mythologies. In so doing he was able to convey his conviction that the archaeology and history of the Ancient Near East, and with it that of ancient Israel, should be contextualized and appreciated along the widest possible spectrum. Itamar's commitment to his research and teaching was certainly contagious, and despite the relative obscurity and humble resources of the field, he supervised over the years a large number of MA and PhD theses. His belief in and personal concern for his students led him to involve many graduate and undergraduate students in his research projects.

Itamar travelled and contributed to many conferences and lectured during sabbatical leaves at various academic institutions in Germany, England, Italy, France, Turkey, the United States, Japan, Australia and Argentina. During one of these trips he met Graciela Noemi Gestoso, an Argentine Egyptologist, who he later married. They now live in Holon, together with their dog Shuppi and countless cats. Alongside his academic duties and interests, Itamar has been involved in various philanthropic and political activities, notably the Israeli Peace Movement.

In 2008 Itamar was forced into retirement by poor health. He very reluctantly gave up teaching and active supervision of students after more than 30 years at Tel Aviv University. Nonetheless, in recent years he has carried on with his research and, as his bibliography provided in this volume testifies, his output continues to grow with each passing year.

It is upon the occasion of Itamar's retirement that we present him with this honorary volume—a collection of studies from his long-standing friends and colleagues, some of which are former students. It is presented as a tribute to and in appreciation of his scholarly achievements as well as a sign of gratitude to a dedicated teacher and mentor. We hope that this volume will find his favour and reflect his interests and broad intellectual predilections. Collected in these pages are studies concerned with Hittite history and historiography—from the earliest formative periods of the Hittite Kingdom, through its apogee and fall to the survival of the Hittite dynasties of the Iron Age as well as the history and archaeology of the Sea Peoples and Philistines—touching on Hittite mythology, prayers, rituals, religious personnel and magic. All these topics have been a focus of Itamar's attention, and over the years, as one can see in his publications, he has returned to them again and again.

The name of this honorary volume, *Pax Hethitica*, acknowledges Itamar's significant contributions to the study of the long era of Hittite diplomacy and supremacy in the Ancient Near East in the 13th century. It also echoes his belief in and steadfast commitment to the investigation of what one might call the international spirit of the period. The receptiveness of Hittite society, especially in this age, with regard to the political ideologies and religious customs of neighbouring cultures, as well as the influence of Hittite culture on the surrounding areas, are key themes which permeate Itamar's scholarly output, be it in detailed studies or general overviews.

There are not many occasions upon which students are able to repay a former mentor for the time, attention and concern he has devoted to them over the years, not only during their studies but also long after having graduated and embarked on their professional careers. We, the editors, have therefore seen the task of organizing and editing this volume as a labour of love dedicated to our teacher, a man of integrity, honesty and loyalty. We extend Itamar our wishes for many fruitful years to come and eagerly await further publications.

In our efforts to complete the volume in a timely fashion, we have benefitted from the support of the following persons, who deserve our appreciation and acknowledgements. We are indebted to Gernot Wilhelm for his assistance throughout the process of editing the volume and for accepting the manuscript for publication in the prestigious series *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, published by Harrassowitz Verlag. He felt, as we did, that it would be a fitting tribute to Itamar to have this volume published in the same venue in which his dissertation appeared almost 30 years ago. We also wish to thank Sivan Kedar and Shirley Bell for their assistance in compiling the bibliographies and the list of abbreviations, as well as Ofer Sheinberg for formatting the volume and providing us with a camera-ready manuscript. We are also grateful to Guido Kryszat and especially to Erika Fischer for their careful editing of the German manuscripts. Sincere thanks are due also to Reinhard Friedrich and Andrea Stolz of Harrassowitz Verlag, who oversaw the printing of the volume.

Yoram Cohen
Amir Gilan
Jared Miller

Tel Aviv and Munich, December 2009

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1994

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Connections between KI.LAM and the Tetešhapi Festival: The Expressions *ḫalukan tarnanzi* and *ḫeun tarnanzi**

Franca Pecchioli Daddi (Firenze)

It is to Itamar Singer¹ that we owe the first systematic study of a great state festival, and though subsequent research, new findings and the publications of further fragments have enriched the corpus of texts on the KI.LAM festival,² the work carried out by Singer is still the reference model for all researchers involved in this important aspect of Hittite culture.

Often, due to a lack of clear textual evidence, particularly when no colophons are preserved, systematic philological studies of the tablets pertaining to Hittite festivals prove very difficult, and therefore few scholars concerned themselves with critical editions dealing with these types of texts. The corpora of other text genres (including rituals) are now largely defined, while many festival texts are still to be situated within the mass of material: recognizing a festival text is simple; trying to establish where it belongs, however, is somewhat more complex and often ambiguous. Apart from some exceptions most festivals mentioned in the Hittite tablets³ have not yet been reconstructed systematically from the mass of festival tablets and fragments. Exceptions include the outline tablets of the great state festivals AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and *nuntarryašḫaš*;⁴ some festivals for specific occasions characterized by very particular and univocal ceremonies;⁵ festivals particular to the various regional cultures of Anatolia—cultures that differed from the north-central Hattic-Hittite culture—characterized by their specific vocabulary and deities.⁶

I hope that, within a reasonable period of time, I will be able to complete my planned edition of the *purulli* Festival, to which, it seems,⁷ belong the tablets of the Tetešhapi Festival (CTH 738) and a large number of tablets of the NIN.DINGIR Festival (CTH 649) of Old Hittite tradition, and part of which (in particular the celebrations in Ḫattuša) was then combined with the Spring Festival celebrated in the capital in the Imperial Period. The corpus is vast, and

* Institutional commitments have prevented me from participating in the homage that the scientific community has paid to important colleagues in the last few years, but I felt that I simply could not fail to contribute to these writings in honour of Itamar Singer, who has earned my heartfelt admiration and with whom I have enjoyed a long friendship. It is therefore a great pleasure to dedicate to him this paper, which covers themes that are dear to both of us.

For the reconstruction and cataloguing of the tablets as well as related bibliography, see *Konkordanz*.

1 Singer (1983; 1984).

2 See updates in the *Konkordanz* and in Groddek (2004: 8, no. 7).

3 E.g., the list of festivals celebrated in Ḫattuša found in CTH 264, §4 (KUB 13.4 i 39'–45').

4 For an overview of these festivals, see Haas (1994: 772–847), where the daily tablets are enumerated, and the divinities venerated and the localities of the ceremonies are summarized.

5 E.g., the Monthly Festival (CTH 591; Klinger 1996: 286–614); the Festival of the Moon and Thunder (CTH 630); and the so-called Gewitterritual (CTH 631).

6 E.g., the (*h*)*išuw*a Festival (CTH 628) and the Festival for the Goddess Ḫuwaššanna (CTH 690–694).

7 Pecchioli Daddi (1987a: 367–369; 1987b: 55–57; 1988; cf. also 1992: 100; forthcoming). See also, for this purpose, Haas (1988; 1994: 696–747); differently Popko (1995: 149).

distinctive elements are not always available. This makes it difficult for one to distinguish it from other festivals, especially the KILAM, which draws on the same Hattic-Hittite amalgam for its divinities, cult personnel and ceremonies.⁸

The distinctive elements of the *purulli* and KILAM festivals consist of:

1. their principal deity:
 - a) the Storm-god in the KILAM Festival: his statue is carried out of the temple with his four bulls; the Great Assembly takes place at the *ḫuwaši*-stone of the Storm-god; the Storm-god together with the Storm-god of Zippalanda, Wašezzili,⁹ opens the sequence of divinities who are honoured with the drinking ceremony, inaugurated by Taurit, 'the Powerful (goddess)'.
 - b) Tetešḫapi, 'the Great Goddess', in the *purulli* festival.
2. the role of the queen:
 - a) always at the side of the king in the KILAM festival.
 - b) marginal in the *purulli* festival.
3. the principal setting for the celebration:
 - a) Ḫattuša in the KILAM festival.
 - b) Tawiniya in the *purulli* festival.

As noted, the tablet recently restored by Groddek (2004) reveals that the two festivals have a greater number of elements in common than emerge from the tablets edited by Singer (1983; 1984). The similarities are not surprising, since both festivals, though probably celebrated at different times of the agricultural year, stem from the same religious milieu and represent, at least in the Old Hittite tablets, the most undiluted manifestation of religious practice in central and northern Anatolia, typical of the area that would long remain the undisputed centre of the Hittite state.

This paper will treat two similarly structured but semantically different expressions which occur only in these two festivals: *ḫalukan tarnanzi* and *ḫeun tarnanzi*. Both expressions, though included in descriptions of usual ceremonies, appear to be out of context and to relate very succinctly with the actions they denote, actions with which the scribes and celebrants were surely well acquainted, even if they elude the modern interpreter. Obviously, the scribes of Ḫattuša did not record festival and ritual descriptions in order to transmit expressions of their religious sentiments to posterity, but rather to ensure that the celebrants would respect established norms thought to be appreciated by the gods and to prevent errors or omissions, particularly concerning the sequence of the rites, the performing of gestures, the recitation of invocations and litanies, as well as the quality and quantity of offerings, as is clear from the occasional remark concerning possible alternatives;¹⁰ descriptions of these elements are very detailed and often repeated to the point of being obsessive. Only when a festival includes rather specific ceremonies are they described in detail, but such punctilious descriptions always relate

8 The association of the *purulli* and KILAM festivals is clearly demonstrated by the Old Hittite tablet reconstructed by Groddek (2004).

9 For this identification, see Haas (1994: 426, 445, 589), which finds confirmation in the hapax ^dTaḫa-wašezzu of KUB 59.22 iii 24' (CTH 627; van den Hout 1991–1992), for which see Pecchioli Daddi (1998: 25–26).

10 E.g., in KILAM, 1.a. iv 8–9, v 14'.

unusual actions marking an atypical celebration, i.e., actions which are not repeated during the festival or found in other festivals. In contrast, the expressions *halukan tarnanzi* and *heun tarnanzi* seem to constitute extremely concise ciphers for actions that recur in the course of both the *purulli* and the KILAM festivals.

Thus far the interpretation of these two expressions in oracular terms suggested by Haas,¹¹ who translates ‘(glänzende) Botschaft der Inar(a)’ and ‘Botschaft des Regens’, respectively, has found no confirmation in published texts.¹² This interpretation is based on an errant translation of the locution LUGAL-*i handaitta*: ‘(die ěntu-Priesterin oder der Priester der hapi(ya)-Leute) [haben] “für den König (das Orakel) festgestellt”’ (Haas 1994:690); it should, however, be translated ‘(she or he) is placed next to the king’. Oracles connected with the festivals are concerned with ensuring the suitability and accuracy of the procedures performed or to be performed, as well as the proper time schedule,¹³ but as a rule, oracular investigations are not included in the festival ceremonial.

halukan tarnai / tarnanzi

For *halukan tarnanzi*, an expression unique to the *purulli* festival, I have already proposed a possible interpretation,¹⁴ but, perhaps since the papers were written in Italian,¹⁵ the suggestion seems to have been misunderstood by the editors of CHD P: 85b, who write:

Pecchioli Daddi (OA 26 [1987]: 45–46, and FsCarratelli [1988]: 194–197) understands ‘the message of Inara’ to be a reciting of the Illuyanka story, however this might be an allusion to the Inara myth (KUB 33.55 and dupls.;...), where the Mother-goddess commands Inara (wr. ^dLAMMA) to take a goat’s horn and *halugan iya* ‘make a message (i.e., sound the horn),’ which she does (KUB 32.52 II 4–5), and ‘everyone went somewhere.’ It is thus conceivable that the boy and girl *palwatalleš* here are blowing horns.

11 Haas (1994: 690–691, 731 and *passim*). Cf. also Schuol (2004: 29).

12 Cf., however, Alaura (2004: 203–205).

13 Cf. Haas (1994: 689–690).

14 Note in particular Pecchioli Daddi (1988: 194–197):

‘La prima azione rituale [*halukan tarnai/tarnanzi*] è compiuta da un ragazzo e da una ragazza...e trova, a mio avviso, un chiaro riferimento nella frase del mito di Inara ^dLAMA *halukan iyat* “fece il messaggio per Inara” di KUB XXXIII 52 II 5 e KUB XXXVI 51 Vo 7 = KUB XXXIII 63 Vo 5, che allude alla ricerca, compiuta dall’ape della divinità scomparsa. Sembra quindi trattarsi dell’inserimento di un momento mitologico nel corso del rituale festivo, e la cosa non è certo nuova in ambito ittita (and n. 16: ‘Si veda per es. il mito di Illuyanka che veniva rappresentato nel corso della festa *purulli*’)...Rimane infine la possibilità che la frase...si riferisca ad una azione mimata, che riproduca in qualche modo uno dei momenti salienti del mito di Inara...Questi elementi mi inducono ad attribuire le tavolette alla grande festa di origine hattica del *purulli*...nella quale Inara svolgeva un ruolo preminente e nel cui rituale erano inserite recitazioni mitologiche (mito del dragone Illuyanka).’

Note further that in Pecchioli Daddi (1987b: 45–46), quoted by CHD P: 85b, is found only a translation of the text; the relevant comments are found in *ibid.*: 55:

‘La proposta di attribuzione di queste tavolette alla festa di origine hattica del *purulli* è fondata...soprattutto sulla lettura in chiave mitologica dell’espressione ^dInaraš *halukan tarna*...Ma Inara è anche la divinità protagonista della prima versione della lotta del dio della tempesta con il drago Illuyanka, la cui recitazione costituiva parte integrante della celebrazione della EZEN *purulliyaš* a Nerik.’

15 But see also Pecchioli Daddi (1987a: 368; in French).

My references to the myth of Illuyanka (see n. 14), however, were not intended to explain the expression ^d*Inaraš ḫalukan tarna-*, but to reinforce the hypothesis that even the ceremonies dedicated to Inara described in CTH 649 (and 738) belong to the *purulli* festival, which, as has been known for some time, included mythological representations; hence, myths, or elements of myths, in which Inara would have been the protagonist—among them surely the myth of Illuyanka and the myth of Inara—would have been recited or performed in this festival.

That this expression should be connected with the myth of Inara seems to be agreed. The meaning of the phrase ‘a boy and a girl (or a boy)... “leave the message of/for Inara”,’ however, remains open for discussion. The proposal in CHD P: 85b, according to which the children would have sounded a horn, is plausible, but certainly not the only possibility. To sound the horn is a frequent action in festive rituals. Why then was such a specific expression used? And why would an action common to many festivals be expressed with this phrase only in tablets belonging to the festival(s) for Inara?

In any case, whether the action signified by the expression was a ritual gesture or a performative act, it shows clearly that the *purulli* festival included ceremonies that reproduced mythologems in which the celebrated deities were the protagonists. The mythical elements likely varied, depending on the locality and the day on which the celebrations took place. While the myth of Illuyanka would have been recited during the *purulli* festival of Nerik, dedicated to the Storm-god of Nerik, and probably during that of Tawiniya, dedicated to the great goddess Tetešḫapi,¹⁶ in other localities—and in Ḫattuša in particular, where Inara had her own temple as the divine protector of royalty and wild fauna—it is possible that salient moments of the myth of this disappearing goddess, Inara, were performed.

ḫeun tarnanzi

The expression *ḫeun tarnanzi* (lit. ‘they let/leave the rain’,¹⁷ ‘they release the rain’) is present only in the tablets of the KI.LAM festival and in the OH⁷/MH⁷ fragment KUB 34.94 (CTH 649). Naturally, rain¹⁸ is the prerogative of the Storm-god.¹⁹ In the *mugawar* for the Storm-god of Nerik (KUB 36.89),²⁰ for example, the god is asked to ‘bring down from the sky “gentle/pleasant rains”’ for the well-being of Ḫatti and the king.²¹ His parents, the supreme couple of the pantheon, are asked to ‘let “gentle/pleasant rains” fall’ for the health and prosperity

16 In this festival one finds a ‘daughter of the poor man’: KBo 19.161 iii 5', iv 5; KBo 25.48 iii 6', 8'; KBo 21.90, 19', 23'; see Pecchioli Daddi (1987b: 56).

17 Singer (1983: 103).

18 For *ḫeun-*, see recently Zinko & Zinko (2007: 740–743), where attestations for the noun as well as related verbs and adjectives are listed.

19 Cf. Haas (1994: 325); see e.g., KBo 13.245 iv 3'–7'.

20 See Haas (1970: 140–174).

21 KUB 36.89 rev. 60–61: *e-ḫu*^{URU} *Ne-ri-qa-aš*^d *10-aš ne-pi-ša-za-kán* GAM *mi-e-uš ḫé-e-uš ú-da* / *A-NA* KUR.KUR^{HLA} *GIDRU-ti La-bar-na-ia* LUGAL-*i a-aš-šu e-eš-du*.

of humanity.²² In a section dedicated to the city of Ḫakm/piš within the cult inventory KUB 25.23(+),²³ the Storm-god (of the rain) is asked to ‘make’ rain in large amounts,²⁴ while the Storm-god of the thunderstorm is asked not to ‘make’ [(disastrous) storms^(??)].²⁵

The Storm-god similarly sends rain in the bilingual Hattic-Hittite myth known as ‘The Moon that Fell from Heaven’, where one reads: ‘after him (i.e., the Moon-god) the Storm-god let the rain fall [*tarnaš*], after him he let pelting rain fall [*tarnaš*] and after him he gave rise [*tarnaš*] to the winds’.²⁶ In this case the rain is so destructive that it gives rise to fear and anxiety.

In the ritual section that closes the first version of the myth of Illuyanka,²⁷ it is Mount Zaliyanu that guarantees the rain in the city of Nerik, from which it receives bread offerings: ‘Zaliyanu is the first among all (the gods)! After the rain will have been distributed [*hīnikta*] in the city, the herald will bring a loaf of round bread to him. Zaliyanu was asked [*wekta*] to bring the rain...’²⁸

The ritual sections of both versions of this aetiological myth for the *purulli* festival of Nerik confirm that the mountain deity²⁹ replaces the Storm-god when he is not able to fulfil his function of distributing the rain (in the first version) or the spring waters (in the second), so necessary for the prosperity of the land of Ḫatti.³⁰

It is interesting to note that the relations between divinity and rain are stressed by different verbs:³¹ *uda-*, *tarna-*, *iya-*, *hīn(i)k-* and *wek-*, among which *tarna-* is used to express ‘letting the rain (fall) from the sky’ by the great Storm-god and the Sun-goddess of Arinna and also to ‘let pelting rain (fall)’ on the part of the Storm-god. Unlike the action ^d*Inaraš ḫalukan tarna-*, which may be performed by one or two actors characterized by their youth (DUMU.NITA and/or DUMU.MUNUS) and function (*palwatalla-* or *taḫiyala-*), the act of ‘letting the rain (fall)’ in festival texts never has a subject, and the verb is always given in the third person plural, clearly an impersonal form. The only variation concerns the accusative of *ḫeu-*, which is also documented in the plural form in one case (KUB 51.10 right col. 6’).

The expression *ḫeun tarnanzi*, as mentioned, recurs mostly in the tablets of the KILAM festival. According to the NH outline tablet KBo 25.176 (CTH 627 3.b.A)³² this act takes place during the drinking ceremonies that unfold during the ‘Great Assembly’; it precedes

22 KUB 36.89 rev. 54–55: ^d10-*aš-wa-kán* ^dUTU ^{URU}PÚ-na *ne-pi-ša-za kat-ta mi-e-uš ḫé-e-uš tar-ni-eš-du / nu-wa* DUMU LÚ^{MES}-LU-UT-TI SIG₅-ru A-NA DUMU^{MES} LÚ^{MES}-LU-UT-TI-wa *ḫa-at-tu-la-tar ḫal-ki-eš-ta-ru* DÜ-ru. For ‘gentle/pleasant rains’ in connection with the Storm-god of Nerik, see also KUB 31.136 ii 5; cf. *ibid.* ii 1, for which see CHD L-N: 242 sub *mienu-* A, *minu-*; ‘gentle/pleasant rains’ for the country of Ḫatti are also mentioned in KUB 36.77 right col. 2’ and 4’–5’.

23 See Hazenbos (2003: no. 4).

24 KUB 25.23(+) iv 57’–58’:... ^d10 EN-*LA ḫé-e-ú-u[n] / me-ek-ki i-ia*...

25 KUB 25.23(+) iv 45’–46’.

26 KUB 28.4 ii 19–20 (and KUB 28.5 ii 12–13); cf. Pecchioli Daddi (1990: 109–113).

27 For a recent analysis of this myth, see Hoffner (2007) with the relevant bibliography.

28 KBo 3.7 ii 21’ff.; see Hoffner (2007: 137), who modifies his previous translation (1998: 12) in agreement with that in Pecchioli Daddi (1990: 52).

29 In the second version the deity appears with his wife Zašḫapuna and his concubine Tazzuwašši.

30 On the role of Zaliyanu, see in particular Hoffner (2007: 124, 129, 139) where various opinions are noted.

31 Cf. Zinko & Zinko (2007: 741–742), who examine the use of the transitive verbs *tarna-*, *hīnk-* and *iya-*.

32 Singer (1984: 92–95).

(obv. 12) and follows (obv. 14) drinking (to) the Storm-god and Wašezzili,³³ while in rev. 20' it accompanies the ceremony dedicated to ^dUD-AM. It is not, however, found in the OH outline tablet KBo 20.33+ (CTH 627 3.a). The expression's connection with these three deities is confirmed by the descriptive tablets of 'the regular KI.LAM festival' and 'the great KI.LAM festival'.³⁴

In the OH tablet ABoT 5++ (CTH 627 1.h.A),³⁵ the locution is found within the following sequences: (a) ii 6'-12': the king and queen drink (to) the Storm-god and Wašezzili, / *ḥalliyari*-singers sing to the sound of a large lyre, / *ḥeun tarnanzi* (ii 7'), / food and drink are presented. // Blacksmiths bring two silver heads of oxen, / and the king presents prizes to the winner of a race; (b) ii 31'-35': the king and queen drink (to) [^dUD-AM],³⁶ / the GALA-singers sing [...], / *ḥeun tarnanzi* (ii 33'), / [...] *ḤÚB.BI*-dancers perform [...].³⁷

In the NH sixth tablet of the regular KI.LAM festival, KBo 10.25 (CTH 627 1.j.A)³⁸ and KBo 27.42 (CTH 627 1.j.B),³⁹ as well as in the parallel text KBo 45.47(+)-48,⁴⁰ the action *ḥeun tarnanzi*⁴¹ is found in a similar, yet more articulated, context:⁴² the king and the queen drink the Storm-god and Wašezzili, / the king pours a libation into the *ḥuppar*, the queen does not pour. // The cupbearer lifts it up with the empty gold *išgaruḥ*; // the *ḥalliyareš*-singers sing to the sound of the large lyre; / performance of the trio. // The king breaks the bread given him by the cupbearer, // the cupbearer picks up the bread again and takes it out; // the king breaks the soft bread which the table waiter has taken from the pure table and has given him; / the table waiter puts it back on the pure table. // The queen breaks the soft bread taken from her table which the table waiter has given her; / the table waiter puts it back on the queen's table. / (B iv 6; performance of the trio); / *ḥeun tarnanzi*; // *parašnawaš=kan uizzi*. Also in B v 2 (in fragmentary context) *ḥeun tarnanzi* marks the ceremony of bread offering for the Storm-deities (cf. ll. 14-15, a libation from two silver rhyta in the shape of an ox head).

In the NH tablet KUB 51.84⁴³—which in right col. 3'ff. constitutes a parallel though expanded version of the 11th tablet of the regular KI.LAM festival,⁴⁴ as well as an abbreviated version of CTH 627 1.j.A i 15-ii 33"—*ḥeun tarnanzi* is inserted among the ritual actions accompanying the drinking (to) the Storm-deities,⁴⁵ to which the divinity ^dUTU is added.

33 Here written ^dWa_a-še-ez-za-al-li-i[n].

34 For these definitions, see Singer (1983: 33-52).

35 See Neu (1980: no. 12); Singer (1983: 69; 1984: 32-38); Groddek (2004: 44-47).

36 The restoration, as tentatively suggested by Singer (1984: 35), now finds confirmation in KBo 30.18++ ii 15 (see below).

37 In a fragmentary context.

38 Singer (1984: 46-54).

39 Singer (1984: 54-61).

40 See the transcription in Roszkowska-Mutschler (2005: 61-63).

41 A ii 3 // B iv 7 // KBo 45.47 iv 3; B v 2.

42 A i 15-ii 4 // B iii 50'-iv 8; KBo 45.47 iii x+1-iv 4 runs parallel to A i 19ff., with variants.

43 See transcription in Groddek (2004: 137-138).

44 KBo 10.26 v 19ff. (CTH 627 1.i.A).

45 The correction to van Gessel (1998: 590) proposed by Groddek (2004: 137, n. 1) does not seem necessary, since Wazizzašu and Wašezzalli/Wašezzili are simply different writings of the name of the same divinity; cf. Pecchioli Daddi (1998: 25).

In the OH tablet KBo 38.12++ of the great KILAM festival,⁴⁶ which Groddek has recently reconstructed from numerous fragments,⁴⁷ some of which had been attributed to CTH 649, *heun tarnanzi* (ii 16–17) is embedded within the following sequence (ii 15–19): the king and queen drink (to) the deified Day (^dUD-AM); / the cupbearer brings a bread loaf; / music is played and the GALA-singers sing; / [*heun tar*]nanzī; / the dancers perform; / the king breaks the bread that the cupbearer gives him; / (the cupbearer) takes it away; / the participants finish (their action) (ÉRIN^{MES}-az appai).⁴⁸ In ii 20ff. follows a dance of the HÚB.BI-men, who receive bread and drink as their fee.

Probably also belonging to the KILAM festival⁴⁹ is the NH fragment KUB 51.10,⁵⁰ currently catalogued under CTH 653, where in right col. 6' *heuš* (acc. pl.) *tar*[nanzī] follows the ceremony of drinking (to) a divinity (in lacuna) performed by the king (l. 4'), as well as the songs of the GALA-singers (l. 5').

The last attestation of *heun tarnanzi* known to me from published texts occurs in KUB 34.94, 2' and 8',⁵¹ which I previously catalogued under CTH 649.I.9. Likely references to drinking (to) the divinities are lost in a lacuna, but the new evidence supplied by the reconstruction of KBo 38.12++ now makes the attribution of KUB 34.94 to the KILAM festival very plausible; it could be an abbreviated version of the OH tablet published by Groddek (2004), as the presence of the HÚB.BI-dancers (l. 3'), the bread sorts *m[itgaimi]* (l. 3'), *wagata* (l. 4') and [*zippu*]lašni (l. 9'), and especially the phrase ÉRIN^{MES}-az ap[pai] (l. 5') seem to show.

The ritual action *heun tarnanzi* is thus seen to recur in the context of bread offerings and performances by musicians, singers and dancers that complete the rite of drinking (to) the divinities. The deities concerned are the great Storm-god (always written ideographically), the younger Storm-god of Zippalanda, Wašezili, and the deified day (^dUD-AM). Only one text mentions the Sun-goddess ^dUTU. Her presence may be due to a copying error by a scribe who had summarized detailed descriptions of KILAM ceremonies, whereby the omission of a single sign turned ^dUD-AM into ^dUTU. It is also possible that the addition is due to the interpolation of a scribe from a more recent period who felt obligated to complete the divine family of Zippalanda by adding the name of the mother (^dUTU)⁵² to the names of the father (^d10) and son (^dWazizaššu).

It is plausible that 'letting the rain (fall)' could be evocative of the primary function of the Storm-god, but it seems improbable that it should allude to a negative aspect of rain, i.e., heavy destructive rain. Such an aspect might perhaps be evoked in the complex scene⁵³ that unfolds when the king exits a tent at the end of the 'Great Assembly', during which the divinities were

46 Cf. the colophon (iv 15'–16'): [...] *ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš / [...] KILAM-ni 3-ŠU e-ša.

47 Groddek (2004).

48 Cf. also the duplicate KBo 30.47 obv. x+1–8'; for a transcription, see Groddek (2002: 58).

49 Cf. Popko (1986: 475); for this attribution, in addition to the action in question, note the mention of a ^{LÚ}HÚB.BI (l. 2'), some hunters (l. 3') and *zippulašni* bread (l. 10'), as in KBo 38.12++ *passim*.

50 For a transcription, see Groddek (2004: 16–17).

51 For a transcription, see Pecchioli Daddi (1987b: 56, n. 57).

52 Note the absence of ^{URU}Arinna.

53 KUB 2.3 ii 11–31 (Text l. k; see Singer 1983: 78–79; 1984: 64): two naked performers squat inside a pythos of *marnuwan*; two priestesses run around it three times, one holding a wooden knife, the other a staff fitted with sharp points; one of them pours an abundant quantity of *marnuwan* three times onto the backs of the performers; they then rise and play the horn three times.

drunk (to), and then proceeds to enter the *huwaši* of the Storm-god. The quantity of liquid poured, the noise caused by the tools and the sound of the horns seem here to be designed to imitate the pelting of the rain and the rumbling of thunder, typical of a storm.⁵⁴ In contrast, the expression *heun tarnanzi* seems to refer to an action that needed no complex organization or preparation, a simple action that could be easily repeated and that could be performed to coincide with other ritual actions.

I have tentatively proposed (1987b: 56, n. 57) some possible explanations for the expression *heun tarnanzi* in mythological terms, with reference to the myth of Illuyanka, as has Yoshida (1996: 340), with reference to the myth of 'The Moon that Fell from Heaven'. A complementary approach to uncovering what lies behind this 'obscure expression', as Singer⁵⁵ refers to it, might come not from the texts, which lack any useful indications, but from examining the splendid Old Hittite ritual vases discovered in the last two decades, which have substantially enriched the documentation relating to Hittite religious customs of the oldest period. Particularly noteworthy are the large ritual relief vases, found practically intact at İnandık⁵⁶ and Hüseyindede,⁵⁷ which preserve friezes showing the salient moments of the festive celebrations where they were used.⁵⁸ Consider also the vase from Eskiypar exhibited at the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations.⁵⁹ That these vases served a cult function is assured by their findspots, but, unlike the frequently mentioned rhyta, reference to their use has still not been identified in the festival descriptions. Vases of this size might, with difficulty, have been used to pour liquid, but they more probably served to collect liquids that were subsequently drawn with a ladle or similar instrument (*išgaruḥ*) or with long straws.

To elucidate the meaning of 'letting the rain (fall)', i.e., to pour liquid in such a way as to mimic the falling rain—likely not a heavy downpour, but a fine rain invoked, above all, from the Storm-god to render the soil fertile and cause seeds to germinate—it is useful to consider the wide mouth of these large vases, in which a small trough was formed. This trough is connected by two narrow channels set inside the widened rim leading to four symmetrical bulls' heads, each with a small aperture at its base.⁶⁰ This apparatus might allow liquids, when poured into the small trough, to drip out of the mouths of the bulls and fall into the large body of the vase, where, as in a sort of sound box, a sound similar to fine falling rain would be produced. Vases with rims of this type have been found at various Anatolian sites from the Old Assyrian and Hittite periods,⁶¹ but so far no specific hypothesis concerning their use in cultic context has been offered, even though the presence of the bull heads leads one to wonder about their possible connections with the cult of the Storm-god.

KI.LAM is an ancient festival, born in the same cultural context in which the large ritual vases were produced. In the KI.LAM festival the Storm-god is the principal divinity, and the number four, clearly of a symbolic value recurs: the image of the deity, when brought

54 Cf. Haas (1994: 765): 'Ein Regenzauberzeremoniell'.

55 Singer (1983: 103).

56 Özgüç (1988).

57 Sipahi (2000; 2001); Yıldırım (2006; 2008).

58 Further significant fragments come from Bitik, Eskiypar and Hattuša; cf. Yıldırım (2008: 845–850, figs. 1–6).

59 Inv. Nr. 73–1–67; cf. Özgüç (1988: 119 and pl. 73.1); Yıldırım (2006: 356, fig. f).

60 See Özgüç (1988: 84–85 and fig. 65).

61 See recently Yıldırım (2008: 838–839), with bibliographic references.

out of the temple and taken to the *huwaši*-stone, is accompanied by two pairs of bulls placed symmetrically to his right and to his left (see CTH 627 1.e.5, Bo 5005 obv. x+1–6').

Based on these considerations it seems reasonable to suppose that the 'obscure expression' *heun tarnanzi* of the KILAM festival refers to the use of vases of this type and to the way liquid pours through the mouths of the bulls placed around their upper edge. Therefore, in the KILAM festival the two kinds of rain that the Storm-god sends would have been evoked through mimetic actions: the fine rain is propitiated on several occasions by pouring a libation from the small mouths of the four bulls on a cult vase; only once, in the scene of the naked performers squatting in the pythos, is heavy, pelting rain, accompanied by the rumbling sounds of thunder, warded off.

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