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The Hittite KI.LAM Festival

Part One

by Itamar Singer

1983

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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PART TWO (StBoT 28)

TRANSLITERATION

GLOSSARY

PREFACE

This study is a revised version of my doctoral dissertation submitted to the Senate of Tel-Aviv University in May 1978. Since then a considerable number of new KILAM fragments have been discovered and incorporated into the present study. The constant increase in the scope of the source text is largely due to the generosity of senior colleagues who brought the relevant unpublished material to my attention and put it at my disposal to be used here.

Professors Heinrich Otten and Erich Neu generously provided me with most of the new material. During their annual working sessions in the Ankara museum and the subsequent processing of the material for the Boğazköy-Archiv, they discovered and promptly sent on to me copies of new fragments. Their continuous effort in updating my source-material cannot be overly emphasized.

Professor Hans G. Güterbock, during his visit to Israel in the spring of 1979, showed me his transliterations of a group of fragments designated here as the "Izmir tablets". These fragments, originating from Boğazköy, were transliterated by him in Ankara in 1934 and were later removed for display to the Izmir museum. Professor Sedat Alp provided the fragments with museum numbers. When, however, Professor Güterbock later attempted to collate the fragments at the museum they could not be located. Three of these fragments, Izmir 1270+1271+1272, 1274 and 1275 (the first of which contains a preserved text of substantial size) have been identified as KILAM fragments. With Professor Alp's kind approval, Professor Güterbock has put his transliterations at my disposal to be published here. He also gave me permission to make use of a further fragment from a private collection in Buenos-Aires which touches indirectly upon the subject.

Professor Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. has identified Bo 297, located at the Istanbul museum, and has kindly put at my disposal a copy made by Mustafa Eren, due to be published in the forthcoming volume IBoT IV.

Professor Horst Klengel has most kindly collated unpublished tablets at the Staatliche Museen, East Berlin.

Since less than half of the KILAM text has been recovered thus far, including numerous duplicates, it is obvious that the discovery of new tablets will continue for a long time as the processing of unpublished material in the museums progresses, and perhaps even the excavation of Boğazköy itself may unearth additional fragments. [The latest field numbers of KILAM texts

come from the seasons of 1973–1975.] Also, it is quite possible that KILAM fragments are still hidden within the volumes of published texts. Though the material added in the last three years has substantially contributed to the reconstruction of the text and to its contents, it has not brought about essential modifications in our basic understanding of the festival. Rather, it has mostly supplied welcome confirmations of earlier restorations and assumptions. This reinforces the belief expressed in my dissertation, that despite the large gaps in the text, the evaluation of existing material does provide a relatively firm basis for our understanding of the festival text. Thus, the incorporation of the new material within the earlier draft did not necessitate major changes in the general layout. I merely rearranged some of the chapters and took out the excursus on “The AGRIG in the Hittite Texts”, which will be published separately. The considerations which led me to choose a detailed synopsis as my method of presentation rather than a word-for-word translation have been set forth in the Introduction. They have met with the approval of most of the scholars who commented upon the dissertation. The synopsis refers to the transliteration which will appear as the next volume of this series (StBoT 28) together with a complete glossary. The full philological value of this study therefore hinges on the publication of the transliteration volume.

With regard to primary sources, an attempt has been made to be as up-to-date as possible by including all the new fragments discovered through Spring 1981 and by providing the latest copy numbers of texts (including KBo XXVII). However, in the case of secondary literature, updating was not feasible to such an extent.

It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge all those who offered their help in making this book possible.

First and foremost, I want to express my deepest gratitude to Professor Otten who followed my work through many years. During my studies in Marburg in 1973–75, he provided me with the scientific grounding and inspiration which equipped me for my future work. As the main instructor for my doctoral thesis and in his extensive involvement in the preparation of this book, he gave me the inestimable encouragement and assistance without which it could not have appeared. I am most grateful to him for making available to me the resources of his Boğazköy-Archiv and for generously putting unpublished material at my disposal.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Professor Neu who gave me much invaluable assistance in the preparation of my dissertation, but whose part in its publication in the form of this book was even more crucial. He accepted the painstaking task of preparing the manuscript for publication and gave unstintingly of his time and of his able advice with respect to both content and layout.

I wish also to thank Mrs. Christel Rüster for her help in collating texts in the museums of Turkey and for other important assistance.

I have greatly profited from the encouragement and criticisms of the many colleagues who commented upon my dissertation. I would especially like to thank Professors Hans G. Güterbock, Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate and Annelies Kammenhuber.

I fondly remember the long and helpful conversations with my colleagues and friends Frank Starke and Norbert Oettinger.

Special thanks are due to Mr. George Moore for readily giving of his time to the revision of the English manuscript. In light of our common interest in festival texts, I also thank him for his valuable suggestions with respect to the content. Mrs. Judith Dekel was of great help in drawing the join-sketches.

I gratefully acknowledge the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for granting me a two-year scholarship in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, for undertaking the publication of this book.

Tel-Aviv, May 1981

Itamar Singer

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

/a,/b...	Unpublished tablets from Boğazköy in the Hittite Museum at Ankara found during the campaigns in the years 1931–39, 1952 ff.
AAA	Annals of Archeology and Anthropology (Liverpool, 1908 ff.)
ABoT	Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri (Istanbul, 1948)
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin/Graz, 1926 ff.)
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (Wiesbaden, 1959–1981)
AJA	American Journal of Archeology (Baltimore, 1885 ff.)
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago, 1898 ff.)
Alp, Beamtenn.	S. Alp, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtennamen im hethitischen Festzeremoniell (Leipzig, 1940)
AM	see Goetze, AM
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (Princeton, 2nd ed., 1955)
AnSt	Anatolian Studies (London, 1951 ff.)
AO	Alter Orient (Leipzig, 1900 ff.)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Neukirchen, 1969 ff.)
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen (Berlin, 1974 ff.)
ARMT	Archives royales de Mari (Paris, 1950 ff.)
ArOr	Archiv Orientální (Prague, 1929 ff.)
AT	D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (London, 1953)
BaghMitt	Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1960 ff.)
Balkan, Inandik	K. Balkan, Eine Schenkungsurkunde aus der althethitischen Zeit, gefunden in Inandik 1966 (Ankara, 1973)
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (New Haven, 1920 ff.)
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu. Belleten (Ankara, 1937 ff.)
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden, 1943 ff.)
Bo	Unpublished texts from Boğazköy recovered during the campaigns in the years 1907–1912
Bo 68/...ff.	Unpublished tablets from Boğazköy in the Hittite Museum at Ankara found during the campaigns in the years 1968 ff.
BoSt	Boghazköi-Studien (Leipzig, 1916 ff.)

BoTU	E.Forrer, Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift (Leipzig, 1922 ff.)
von Brandenstein, Bildbeschreibungen	C.G. von Brandenstein, Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten (MVAeG 46, 2; Leipzig, 1943)
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris (Paris, 1871 ff.)
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago, 1956 ff.)
CAH ²	The Cambridge Ancient History. Revised edition of Vol. I & II.
CHM	Cahiers d'histoire mondiale = Journal of World History (Paris)
Cor.lingu.	Corolla linguistica; Festschrift F.Sommer (Wiesbaden, 1955)
CTH	E.Laroche, Catalogue des Textes Hittites (Paris, 1971)
Del Monte, Répertoire	G.F. del Monte-J. Tischler, Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes, Band 6: Die Orts- u. Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte (Wiesbaden, 1978)
DTCFY	Ankara Üniversitesi. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları
Festschrift Friedrich	Festschrift J. Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet (Heidelberg, 1959)
Festschrift Güterbock	Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday (Istanbul, 1974)
Festschrift Otten	Festschrift Heinrich Otten. 27. Dezember 1973. (Wiesbaden, 1973)
Festschrift Sommer	See Cor.lingu.
FHG	E.Laroche, "Fragments hittites de Genève" in RA 45 (1951), 131-138, 184-194; RA 46 (1952), 42-50.
Friedrich, HE I-II	J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Elementarbuch. I. Teil: Kurzgefaßte Grammatik. Zweite, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage (Heidelberg, 1960). II. Teil: Lesestücke in Transkription. Zweite, verbesserte Auflage (Heidelberg, 1967)
Friedrich, HG	J. Friedrich, Die hethitischen Gesetze (Leiden, 1959)
Friedrich, Staatsverträge	J. Friedrich, Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 2 Bände (MVAeG 31/1 and 34/1). Leipzig, 1926 and 1930.
Furlani, Religione	G. Furlani, La Religione degli Hittiti (Bologna, 1936)
GAG	W. von Soden, Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik (Rome, 1952)
Garelli, Les Assyriens	P. Garelli, Les Assyriens en Cappadoce (Paris, 1963)
Garstang-Gurney, The Geography	J. Garstang-O.R. Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire (London, 1959)

Goetze, AM	A. Götze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš (MVAeG 38; Leipzig, 1933)
Goetze, Hatt.	A. Götze, Hattušiliš (MVAeG 29/3; Leipzig, 1925)
Goetze, Kizzuwatna	A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography (New Haven, 1940)
Goetze, Kleinasien	A. Goetze, Kleinasien (Müllers Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Abt. III, T. 1, Bd. 3, Abschn. 3, Lfg. 1; 2. Aufl., München, 1957)
Goetze, Madd.	A. Götze, Madduwattaš (MVAeG 32/1; Leipzig, 1928)
Goetze, NBr	A. Götze, Neue Bruchstücke zum großen Text des Hattušiliš und den Paralleltexten (MVAeG 34/2; Leipzig, 1930)
Goetze, Tunnawi	A. Goetze, The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi (New Haven, 1938)
Gurney, Some Aspects	O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion (Oxford, 1977)
Haas, Nerik	V. Haas, Der Kult von Nerik (Roma, 1970)
HAB	See Sommer-Falkenstein, HAB
HdO	See Kammenhuber, HdO
HE I-II	See Friedrich, HE I-II
Hoffner, Alimenta	H. A. Hoffner, Alimenta Hethaeorum, Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor (New Haven, 1974)
Hoffner, Glossary	H. A. Hoffner, An English-Hittite Glossary (RHA XXVI 80, 1967)
Houwink ten Cate, The Records	Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, The Records of the Early Hittite Empire (Istanbul, 1970)
HT	Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum (London, 1920)
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual (Cincinnati, 1924 ff.)
HW	J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1952)
HW Erg. 1, 2, 3	Ergänzungshefte zum HW (Heidelberg, 1957, 1961, 1966)
HW ²	J. Friedrich-A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage (Heidelberg, 1975 ff.)
IBoT	Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri, I-III (Istanbul, 1944, 1947, 1954)
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen (Leipzig/Berlin, 1892 ff.)
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen (Istanbul, 1933 ff.)
Izmir	Boğazköy tablets transferred from Ankara to the Izmir Museum. According to the transliteration of H. G. Güterbock (see p. IX)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven, 1851 ff.)
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven, 1947 ff.)

JKF	Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung (Heidelberg, 1950ff.)
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago, 1942ff.)
Kammenhuber, Arier	A. Kammenhuber, Die Arier im Vorderen Orient (Heidelberg, 1968)
Kammenhuber, HdO	A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisch, Palaisch, Luwisch und Hieroglyphenluwisch (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I. Abteilung, II. Band, 1. u. 2. Abschnitt, Lieferung 2, 119–357; Leiden/Köln, 1969)
Kammenhuber, Hipp. Heth.	A. Kammenhuber, Hippologia Hethitica (Wiesbaden, 1961)
Kammenhuber, HW ²	J. Friedrich–A. Kammenhuber, Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage (Heidelberg, 1975ff.)
Kammenhuber, Mat.Heth.Thes.	A. Kammenhuber, Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus (Heidelberg, 1976ff.)
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Leipzig/Berlin, 1916ff.)
KIF	Kleinasiatische Forschungen (Band 1, Weimar, 1930)
Kronasser, EHS	H. Kronasser, Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache (Wiesbaden, 1962ff.)
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1926ff.)
KZ	Kuhns Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (Göttingen, 1877ff.)
Laroche, CTH	E. Laroche, Catalogue des Textes Hittites (Paris, 1971)
Laroche, Dieux	E. Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites", RHA VII/46, (1946–47), 7–133 (also separately in book form)
Laroche, DLL	E. Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue louvite (Paris, 1959)
Laroche, Noms	E. Laroche, Les noms des Hittites (Paris, 1966)
Laroche, Hiér. Hitt.	E. Laroche, Les hiéroglyphes hittites (I: Paris, 1960)
Lebrun, Samuha	R. Lebrun, Samuha – Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976)
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig, 1925ff.)
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1898ff.)
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin, 1953ff.)
MSS	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft (München, 1952ff.)
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (Berlin/Leipzig, 1922ff.)
NHF	G. Walser (ed.), Neuere Hethiterforschung (Historia, Einzelschriften 7; Wiesbaden, 1964)

OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig, 1898ff.)
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus (Roma, 1962ff.)
OrNS	Orientalia, Nova Series (Roma, 1932ff.)
Otten, HTR	H. Otten, Hethitische Totenrituale (Berlin, 1958)
Popko, Kultobjekte	M. Popko, Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen) (Warszawa, 1978)
PRU	Palais Royal d'Ugarit
RA	Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1886ff.)
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique internationale
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique (Paris, 1930ff.)
RIA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Berlin, 1932ff.)
RPO	Les religions du proche orient (Paris, 1970)
RS	Ras Shamra tablets cited according to field numbers
SBo	H. G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Boğazköy I–II (Berlin, 1940–1942)
Schuster, Hatt.-Heth.Bil.	H. S. Schuster, Die Hattisch-Hethitischen Bilinguen I (Leiden, 1974)
SMEA	Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma, 1966ff.)
Sommer, AU	F. Sommer, Die Ahhiyavā-Urkunden (München, 1932)
Sommer–Falkenstein, HAB	F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Hattušili I (München, 1938)
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden, 1965ff.)
Sturtevant, Glossary	E. H. Sturtevant, Hittite Glossary (Baltimore, 1931)
Symb. Koschaker	Symbolae ad iura Orientis Antiqui pertinentes P. Koschaker dedicatae (Leiden, 1939)
TdH	Texte der Hethiter (Heidelberg, 1971ff.)
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen (Neukirchen, 1969ff.)
VAT	Unpublished tablets from Boğazköy in the Berlin Museum
VBoT	Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte (Marburg, 1930)
WdO	Die Welt des Orients (Göttingen, 1964ff.)
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig/Berlin, 1900ff.)
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien, 1887ff.)
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig/Berlin, 1887ff.)
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig/Wiesbaden, 1847ff.)

INTRODUCTION

The festival texts ("Festrituale" or more precisely "Festbeschreibungen") constitute the largest group of tablets found in Boğazköy-Hattuša, the Hittite capital. The proportion of festival texts is on the rise as more and more texts are published. One need merely skim the table of contents in the KBo and KUB publications of recent years to observe this increase. In the coming years, we may anticipate the publication of a large number of small fragments from festival tablets, very few of which lend themselves easily to classification.

In striking contrast to the increase in the quantity of these texts is the extent to which they have been processed.¹ True, information of great value to various fields of study has been derived from them and has been dealt with separately. This applies, for instance, to the offering lists for the royal ancestors as a source of historical information of the utmost importance,² listings of place-names as a basis for the historical geography of north-central Anatolia³ and, of course, different topics pertaining to the study of Hittite religion, such as the pantheon, the Hittite cult functionaries, religious objects and so forth. However, studies dealing with the festival texts in their entirety or examining the subject in its broader sense⁴ are very few, even when compared with other groups of religious texts (prayers, magical rituals, divination, mythology), not to mention those categories which have been treated much more thoroughly (historical, administrative or legal texts).

This is of course due primarily to the special circumstances surrounding these texts. By and large, they consist of set stereotyped descriptions of rituals which recur with only the slightest variations in all of the festivals. Without a fairly long textual continuum, one cannot extract a meaningful sequence of events, arrive at a deeper understanding of the essence of any given festival or identify the characteristics which set it apart from all other festivals. Yet, the

1 Cf. E. Laroche, RHA XVI/60 (1957), 65.

2 H. Otten, *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (1968), 103 ff., 122 ff.

3 A. Goetze, RHA I (1930), 20 ff.; J. Garstang—O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959), 5 ff.; H. G. Güterbock, JNES 20 (1961), 86 ff.

4 For comprehensive studies on Mesopotamian and Egyptian festivals cf. B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer I* (Leipziger Semitische Studien VI 1–2, 1915); C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (Studies in the History of Religions XIII), 1967.

reconstruction of major portions of the text is a complicated task. Admittedly they are no more fragmentary than other Boğazköy tablets, but their reconstitution is further impeded by additional factors. First among these is the stereotyped wording. While it facilitates the completion of lines, it also poses difficulties in the classification and reconstitution of the fragments. In the case of two identical or very similar fragments, it is difficult to ascertain whether one is dealing with duplicates or parallel sections of different texts. In the course of this study, there have been numerous instances in which a newly discovered fragment "taken over" as belonging to the KILAM festival was eventually found to be a duplicate of some other text. In such instances, the only means of resolving the issue of ascription is by joining the fragment to a larger text. It appears, however, that even in the case of painstakingly rejoined tablets it is most difficult to ascribe a tablet to any given festival unless it includes the colophon or some other mark of identification.

Secondly, the descriptions of the festivals are most probably the longest works in Hittite literature. The *purulli* festival spans 32 tablets. The AN.TAH.ŠUM festival, which lasted 38 days, seems to have comprised many more tablets. But even festivals of "medium size" text, such as the (*h*)išuwaš or the KILAM festivals, cover more than a dozen tablets.⁵ Needless to say, no reliable picture of the contents of the text can be formed without the identification and reconstruction of a significant portion of the text. The discovery of outline tablets is of course instrumental in the process of identifying the detailed texts and in providing basic information concerning the festival. The combination of these two factors—the stereotyped wording and the length of the text (the second being in no small part a corollary of the first)—render the seemingly endless reconstitution of the text a most crucial phase.

There is in fact no complete reconstruction of a Hittite festival. Several important beginnings have been made, however, as is apparent in the following brief survey of the literature. A characteristic festival tablet was translated and analyzed by J. Friedrich in the 1920's.⁶ The tablet (KBo IV 9), which is preserved almost in its entirety,⁷ covers some of the events of the sixteenth day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival performed in the temple of the god Zababa. This text served as the standard model for the description of the typical sequence of a Hittite festival in A. Goetze's *Kulturgeschichte Kleinasiens* (1st ed. 1933, 155; 2nd ed., 1957, 161) and in other summaries on Hittite festi-

5 The (*h*)išuwaš festival comprises thirteen tablets (H.G. Güterbock, XVII RAI, 1969, 179). We estimate at fifteen the tablets of the KILAM festival, not counting the ration, the liturgy and the outline tablets.

6 AO XXV/2 (1925), 5 ff.; ZA 37 (1927), 177 ff.

7 A photograph of the obverse is reproduced in Evelyn-H. Klengel, *Die Hethiter* (1970), pl. 20.

vals.⁸ Goetze also presented an English translation in ANET (1955), pp. 358–361.

Books and articles dealing with Hittite religion, by Goetze,⁹ Furlani,¹⁰ Alp,¹¹ Güterbock,¹² Gurney,¹³ Otten,¹⁴ and others, also include summaries, of varying scope, on the subject of Hittite festivals. Laroche's catalog of Hittite texts is particularly useful by virtue of its summation of previous work and its many additions to the initial classification of the broad array of material.¹⁵

The most comprehensive studies of Hittite festivals were prepared by H.G. Güterbock in a series of articles which appeared in the 1960's. In two of these he presented the program of the festival events, based on outline tablets, and a general characterization of the two main festivals: the AN.TAH.ŠUM or Spring Festival¹⁶ and the *nuntariyašhaš* or Fall Festival.¹⁷ A summary of different aspects of the Hittite festivals and a concise review of the main ones is included in an article on Hittite religion in NHF¹⁸ and in a lecture delivered at the 17th Assyriological Congress.¹⁹ These papers must serve as a starting point for any additional research in this area.

A collection of festival names occurring in Hittite texts (comprising 80 names) was compiled by H.A. Hoffner in his English-Hittite Glossary.²⁰

8 G. Furlani, *La religione degli Hittiti* (1936), 250 ff.; idem, *RIA III* (1957), 45 ff.; H.G. Güterbock, apud V. Ferm, *Forgotten Religions* (1949), 96; O.R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (1952), 153 ff.; M. Vieyra, *Les religions du proche orient* (1970), 514.

9 *Kleinasien*² (1957), 165 f.

10 *Religione* (1936), Ch. XV ("Le feste religiose"), 243–258; *RIA III* (1957–1971), 43–47 s.v. "Fest bei den Hettitern".

11 *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtennamen im hethitischen Festzeremoniell* (1940).

12 In V. Ferm, *Forgotten Religions* (1949), 95 f.

13 *The Hittites* (1952), 151–156; see now also *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977), Ch. II passim.

14 In *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, VIII/1 Lfg. I (1964), 110 f.

15 1st ed. in *RHA XV/60* (1957), nos. 473 ff.; 2nd ed. = *Catalogue des textes Hittites* (1971), nos. 591 ff.

16 "An Outline of the Hittite AN.TAH.ŠUM Festival", *JNES* 19 (1960), 80–89. See also F. Cornelius, "Das hethitische AN.TAH.ŠUM (SAR)-Fest" in *XVII RAI* (1969), 171–174.

17 "The North-Central Area of Hittite Anatolia", *JNES* 20 (1961), 90 ff. (The "Festival List"). An overview of the festivals of the town *Hupišna* appeared in *Oriens* 15 (1962), 345–351. A further depiction by Güterbock of a festival tablet (CTH 633) appeared in D. Sinor (ed.), *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch, Semi-Centennial Volume* (1969), 99–103, ("An Initiation Rite for a Hittite Prince").

18 G. Walser (ed.), *Neuere Hethiterforschung*, *Historia*, Einzelschriften 7 (1964), 62–73.

19 "Some Aspects of Hittite Festivals" in *XVII RAI* (1969), 175–180.

20 *RHA XXV/80* (1967), 39–41.

Full philological treatments of individual festival tablets first appeared in the series *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, H. 12 by E. Neu, *Ein althethitisches Gewitterritual* (1970)²¹ and H. 13 by H. Otten, *Ein hethitisches Festritual* (KBo XIX 128) (1971). In addition to their extensive commentaries on terms and themes typical of these texts, the above studies also examine questions relating to the dating and the tradition of festival texts.

More articles have included important comments on the festivals than can be mentioned in the present limited framework. References to these papers can be found in Laroche's catalog and in the articles by Güterbock mentioned above.²² It is worth mentioning the works which deal with local cult centers and contain data which have contributed to the reconstruction of the festival calendars of areas outside the capital.²³

Let us proceed from this brief review of the history of research into Hittite festivals in general to the KI.LAM festival in particular. The first text to be identified as belonging to this festival was KUB X 1, the colophon of which was translated by Goetze in a remark dealing with SAG.UŠ.²⁴ However, it was only after the excavation of Building K on Büyükkale in 1957²⁵ that a significant number of tablets with colophons identifying them as pertaining to this festival were discovered. These tablets were copied by H. G. Güterbock in KBo X (1960). In the "Inhaltsübersicht" to that volume, he identified additional KI.LAM festival texts and suggested an initial classification of the

21 See further E. Neu-Christel Rüster, *Festschrift Heinrich Otten* (1973), 235 ff.

22 Listed below are several more papers touching upon the subject of the festivals. In a series of articles A. Kammenhuber examines questions related to the dating of festival texts and their classification by different ethnic layers: OrNS 39 (1970), 562 ff.; SMEA 14 (1971), 143 ff.; OrNS 41 (1972), 295 ff.; ZA 66 (1976), 69 ff.; – A. Archi, *Mat.heth.Thes. Lfg. 4–6* (1975–6), *eku-/aku-* 2.–3. Teil. H. A. Hoffner in *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1974), 19 f., 49 f. refers to the seasonal pattern of certain Hittite festivals. V. Souček–Jana Siegelová, *ArOr* 42 (1974), 39–52 examine the cult of the Storm-god of Halap in Hatti with specific reference to the offering-lists of the festival. The distribution pattern of agricultural produce in festivals and some aspects of seasonal festivals are discussed by A. Archi in *OrAnt* 12 (1973), 217 ff. and *UF* 5 (1973), 7 ff., respectively. A recently published monograph (1978) brings together an extensive collection of Hittite cult objects mentioned mainly in festival texts: M. Popko, *Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion* (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen).

23 E.g. H. G. Güterbock, *Rituale für die Göttin Huwaššanna*, *Oriens* 15 (1962), 345–351 (on the cult of the town Hupišna); V. Haas, *Der Kult von Nerik* (1970), 41–50; for the festivals of Karahna see the literature cited in CTH 681; R. Lebrun, *Samuha–Foyer religieux de l'empire hittite* (1976), 44 f. For an overview of local festivals see C. W. Carter, *Hittite Cult-Inventories* (Doct. diss. 1962), esp. Ch. II and p. 9 ff. for a basic differentiation between cult-inventories and festival texts.

24 *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* (MVAeG 38, 1933), 204.

25 MDOG 91 (1958), 57 ff., 73 ff.; KBo X (1960) Vorwort.

material. In their reviews of KBo X, Goetze²⁶ and Laroche²⁷ offered several important comments with regard to the KI.LAM texts. The second edition of Laroche's catalog (CTH) features the festival as no. 627 with the addition of new fragments. The supplement to the catalog, which appeared in RHA 30 (1972), includes more new texts. The only discussion of the essence of this festival appeared in Güterbock's articles mentioned above.²⁸ In these, he points out the elements which single out this particular festival. There are few references to the KI.LAM festival elsewhere in the literature,²⁹ nor have many textual excerpts been translated in other contexts.³⁰ In a monograph on the *hīlammar* in Hittite texts³¹ the author included several of the conclusions which will be elaborated upon in the present work.

The choice of the KI.LAM festival as the subject of my dissertation, of which the present volume is an adaptation, was in fact influenced by circumstantial factors. The original topic, proposed by Professor Otten in view of my interest in questions of a geographical-historical nature, was to have been the AGRIG in the Hittite texts and the so-called *MELQĒT*-lists. Shortly after I began to collect and classify the abundant material on these subjects, I discovered a join between KBo X 30—a ration list of the KI.LAM—and KBo XVI 77 which appears in CTH under no. 523 (*Réserves [melqētu] pour des fêtes locales*). This soon led to the discovery that the major portion of the *MELQĒT*-lists (most of which have been published in KBo XVI) belong to the series of ration tablets for the KI.LAM festival. The AGRIG's—i.e. the administrators of the royal storehouses—also figure prominently in the description of the festival events. In the second and third tablets, they take part in a ceremony in which they are presented to the king by the names of their cities. Since much of the material pertaining to the AGRIG was discovered to belong to the KI.LAM festival, I felt it would be best to treat it in its original context. The study of the text led to further topics of interest, upon which I chose to focus my research. These include the procession of cult images in the first tablet and the contribution of the text to the clarification of several architectural terms.

26 JCS 16 (1962), 29.

27 OLZ 57 (1962), 29 f.

28 JNES 20 (1961), 89; XVII RAI (1969), 178 f.; RIA IV (1972–1975), 404.

29 H. A. Hoffner, *Alimenta* (1974), 20 and n. 72, the misprinted note should read (Hoffner): "This festival is described by H. G. Güterbock in KBo X (1960), p. III. Compare also his remarks in *Actes de la XVII^e Renc. Assyr. Inter.*, 178–9". In OrNS 39 (1970), 561 ff. A. Kammenhuber discusses the so-called *MELQĒT*-lists in KBo XVI, now identified as belonging to the KI.LAM; see also A. Archi, SMEA 14 (1971), 220 f.

30 References are given within the text.

31 ZA 65 (1975), 92 f. and notes 105–110; see also RIA V (1980), 590 f.

The following are the main objectives which I set for the present study:

1. The discovery of as many tablets and fragments as possible which may be ascribed with certainty to the text; the classification and reconstitution of these.
2. The study of the internal structure of the festival text—its components and their relationship to each other.
3. The reconstruction, as fully as possible, of the chain of events and the elucidation of fundamental questions pertaining to the nature of the festival.

Needless to say, these objectives are inter-dependent and I have therefore dealt with all three simultaneously in the course of my research.

1. The number of fragments identified with certainty as belonging to the festival has more than doubled in comparison with the CTH. Approximately half of the new texts were unpublished. Seventeen new joins were found, ranging from the addition of minute fragments to the joining of an almost complete tablet (join sketch 2; p.68) and half of another (join sketch 3; p.69). To be sure, statistical data illustrate only part of the results. More meaningful is the nature of the new items. The most important are: a) the discovery of a hitherto unknown series of tablets with the outline of the festival description (two tablets without colophons and duplicates); b) the discovery and reconstruction of the only extant original Old Hittite exemplar in the series thus far (join sketch 3)³²; c) the identification and reconstruction of a significant number of tablets and fragments in the series of ration tablets of the festival, the *MELQËT*-lists. Less abundant was the crop of additions to the series containing the ordinary description of events. Apart from the Old Hittite tablet (ABoT 5+), KBo XXVII 42 and Izmir 1270+, only small fragments were found; however, the number of new duplicates in this series is considerable.

2. The structural analysis of the text has revealed its basic division into the following separate series: two series containing the detailed description of the events (one enumerated by tablets, the other enumerated by festival days), a series of outline tablets, a series of the Hattic liturgy of the festival and a series of ration tablets. Obviously, the preservation of the text varies considerably from series to series. A substantial portion of the festival description and of the ration tablets is available, whereas only a few fragments of the liturgy have been identified to date.

32 This is not to be confused with the Old Hittite tablet, the fragments of which were cited in CTH 627.20. It was learned that this tablet does not belong to the KILAM festival (Ch. I.D; join sketch 1 on p.24). A further small fragment written in Old Hittite ductus (KBo XXV 17) was discovered by E.Neu in 1978 and is included in StBoT 25 as no.17.

3. As for the contents of the festival, less than 40% of the original text describing the festival events has been identified and reconstructed (six incomplete tablets out of an estimated fifteen). Despite the fact that most of the text is still missing, one can nonetheless obtain a basic picture of the sequence of events and resolve some of the fundamental questions, such as the name of the festival, its duration, the time-table, etc.

A wealth of highly varied information touching upon different areas of study can be derived from the plentiful material which has been gathered. Of course, only part of the available data have been processed and there is still a store of "raw material", which will be presented in full for future research. One conspicuous example is the important field of study which delineates the different phases in the development of the Hittite language ("Sprachstufen") and the relationship among them. This branch of study has seen a surge of development in recent years. The material which we have collected may constitute a basis for further research, touched upon only superficially in the present framework. The documentation of the text actually spans all of recorded Hittite history, since exemplars have been ascribed to each of the different periods: Old Hittite, Middle Hittite and, of course, most of the material, the period of the Empire. Further research may lead to the identification of the more detailed chronological stratification of the different exemplars, some of which even run parallel (see e.g. pp.74 ff.).

Considerable deliberation preceded our decision concerning the mode of presentation. It soon became clear that the broad scope of the material would rule out the possibility of a full philological analysis and translation of the entire text. Yet, the treatment of any given part, such as one or two tablets, would leave us short of our primary objective; namely, the complete study of the festival in its entirety including its structure and essential characteristics. In consultation with Professor Otten, I eventually chose the following method which seemed to me the most reasonable way of achieving such an overall view.

A full transliteration of the text with a complete apparatus of duplicates and parallel fragments is presented in Part Two.³³ To provide a clear picture of the festival events, a summary of the entire text will be presented instead of a translation. The detailed synopsis (Ch. III) with reference to the transliteration (both to edition numbers and to numbers according to the classification in Ch. I.A) is provided with extensive commentary in the annotations and in

33 Most of the tablets were examined through the use of photographs available at the Boğazköy-Archiv in Marburg. Some of the material, especially unpublished fragments, were collated by Professor Otten, Professor Neu and Mrs. Rüster at the museums of Ankara and Istanbul. Unpublished fragments located in the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin were collated by Professor Klengel. The so-called "Izmir texts" which are here included follow the transliteration of Professor Güterbock (see Preface).

the separate commentaries (Ch. IV). The ration tablets series, which does not lend itself readily to this mode of presentation, is discussed in a separate chapter (Ch. VI). The adopted format of transliteration and synopsis provides a feasible and convenient method of presenting the broad scope of material necessary for the study of the festival as a whole. It also has the advantage of reducing the repetitious descriptions of stereotyped formulas, and provides the reader with a more fluent sequence of events.

The study of the Hittite festivals is as yet far removed from the reconstitution of the Hittite Cultic Calendar in a manner comparable to Landsberger's momentous study on the Mesopotamian Cultic Calendar. I can only hope that the present study will constitute another step, along the course begun by others before me, towards realizing this objective.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I
THE TEXT MATERIAL

A. Classification of the Text Material

According to Tablet Series

1. The Series Enumerated by Tablets
2. The Series Enumerated by Festival Days
3. The Outline Series
4. Fragments with Hattic Recitations (The Liturgy)
5. The Ration Series

1. The Series Enumerated by Tablets

	Tablet Description	Synopsis and Commentaries
a) ["1st tablet"]	56	58 ff., 89 ff., 106, 109, 112, 116 f., 128
A. KBo X 23(+) 22 + KBo XI 67		
B. KBo X 51 = A I 15-33		
C. Bo 6127 is par. to A III 16''-20''		
b) "2nd tablet"	56 f.	60 ff., 90 f., 94 f., 109, 112, 115 f., 128, 133, 135
A. KBo X 24		
B. Bo 5977 r. col. = A II 22'-26'		
C. Bo 5341 obv. = A III 11'-29'		
D. 462/t = A III 11'-14'		
E. KUB XX 91 = A III 28'-IV 2		
F. IBoT II 100 r. col. = A IV 7-15		
G. KUB II 10a r. col. = A IV 19-33 f.		
H. 1366/u = A IV 11-18		
c) "3rd tablet"	57	33, 63 f., 104, 128
A. KUB X 1		
B. KBo XX 99 + KBo XXI 52 I = A I		
C. 1/t = A V		
D. KUB X 9 = C 1'-9'		
E. Bo 297 I = A I 9'-18'; II = B II 2'-18'		
d) Frgs. belonging to 2nd or 3rd tablet	57	63
A. 922/z		
B. Bo 5423 = A 3'-17' f.		
C. KBo X 21 = A 11'-17'		

	Tablet Description	Synopsis and Commentaries
c) Frgs. parallel to 2nd and 3rd tablet	57	62 f.
1. KBo XVI 82		
2. KBo XXIII 91		
3. 496/u		
4. KUB X 84		
5. Bo 5005		
f) "5th tablet"	64	64
2002/u		
g) "8th tablet"	64	64
1225/u		
h) Old Hittite tablet ABoT 5 +	67 ff.	72, 75 ff., 95 ff.,
A. ABoT 5 + KBo XVII 9 + KBo XVII 20		99 ff., 103, 129 f.,
+ KBo XX 5 + KBo XXV 12		171
B. KBo XXII 195 (+) 224		
obv ¹ II = A II 5'-25';		
rev ¹ III = A III 6'-17'		
C. KBo XXI 68 obv. is parallel to A II		
13'-25'		
D. 487/w VI is par. to A IV 1'-13'		
E. Izmir 1270 + 1271 + 1272 IV is par. to		
A II 27'-III 7'		
i) "11th tablet"	65 f., 171	70 ff., 98 f., 107
A. KBo X 26		
B. Izmir 1270 + 1271 + 1272 III 19-37		
= A I 1-38		
C. 1834/c obv. is par. to A I 28 ff.		
j) ["12th?" tablet]	66, 171	70, 73, 74 ff.,
A. KBo X 25		89 ff., 100 ff., 130
B. KBo XXVII 42 III 42' ff. = A I 6 ff.		
C. Bo 3687 = B II 9'-25'		
D. IBoT I 13 = A II 35''-41'' ff.		
E. KBo XI 42 left col. = (?) A V 2'-7'		
F. Bo 5840 = A VI 6'-19'		
G. IBoT III 66 is par. to A VI 30'-35'		
H. KBo XI 38 I = B I 15-32;		
V = B II 45-50; VI = B III 11-27		
k) ["15th?" tablet]	66	70 f., 77 ff., 100 ff.,
A. KUB II 3		114
B. KUB X 86 = A I 21-28		

	Tablet Description	Synopsis and Commentaries
C. KBo XXIII 74 II is parallel to A I 43-II		
D. Bo 3370 obv. ² = A II 8-23		
E. Bo 2505 II = A II 28-46; III = A III		
34-51; IV = A IV 9'-14' f.; V = A V		
6'-16'		
F. KBo XXV 66 I = A III 18-49		
G. Izmir 1275 is par. to A II 34-III 7		
H. Izmir 1270 + 71 + 72 II y + 1 ff. is par. to		
A II 46 ff.		
l) ["x tablet"]	33	41 ff.
1. 1768/c		
2. Izmir 1274		
2. The Series Enumerated by Festival Days		
a) ["1st? tablet] on the first day"	81	32, 44 ff., 82 f.,
1. KUB XX 4		113, 126, 128 f.
2. KBo XII 131 r. col. is par. to KUB XX 4		
II		
b) "1st tablet" (of the x day?)	81	46 f., 83
1834/c		
c) ["x tablet] of the 2nd day"	82	83 f., 130
KBo XX 83		
d) ["y tablet] of the 2nd day"	82	44, 84 f., 124, 130
1. Bo 3568		
2. KBo X 28 + 33 V is par. to Bo 3568 rev.		
e) "1st tablet of the 3rd day"	82	85, 114, 131
A. KBo XXV 17		
B. KBo XXV 18 = A I 2 ff.		
3. The Outline Series		
a) KBo XX 33 + KBo XVII 46 + 21	50, 66 f.	70, 74 ff., 95 f.,
+ KBo XXV 19		98 ff.
b) A. KBo XXV 176	50, 67	74 f., 98 ff., 103 ff.
B. KUB X 13 obv. III = A rev. 6'-17'; IV		
1'-15' is par. to A rev. 23'-24' - lower		
edge; IV 23' ff. is par. to A left edge		

	Tablet Description	Synopsis and Commentaries
C. KUB XLVIII 9 III = A rev. 9'-12'		92
D. KBo XXV 180 obv. [?] is par. to C obv. II 10'ff.; rev. [?] is par. to KBo X 23 IV-V		
E. KUB XXVIII 106 is par. to C II 14'ff.		
4. Fragments with Hattic Recitations (The Liturgy)		48 f.
1. 444/s		
2. IBoT II 29		
3. 88/d		
4. KUB XLVIII 7 par. to 3		
5. KUB XLVIII 22 par. to 3		
5. The Ration Series		
a) "4th tablet of rations"	143 ff.	44, 126, 143 ff., 150 f., 158 f., 163
1. A. KBo X 31		
B. 38/c = A IV 28'-34'ff. (see also e) 1.)		
2. KBo X 32 par. to A IV 24', 26'		
b) KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77	143 ff.	146, 154 f.
c) A. KBo XVI 68 (+) 79 (+) KUB XXXIV 86	143 ff.	44, 131, 146, 153 f., 163 ff.
B. KBo XVI 70 = A III ¹ 11'-19'		
C. 284/a rev. = A III ¹ 24'-29'; obv. is par. to A obv.!		
d) 354/c (+?) KBo XVI 80 + 523/c + 1620/c parallel to c)	143 ff.	163 ff.
e) Isolated fragments	146	
1. 38/c could join either KBo XVI 68 (+) IV! or KBo XVI 80 + IV (see also a) 1.b.)		
2. KBo XX 66 could be a join or a dupl. to KBo XVI 68 (+) obv.!		
3. KBo XVI 75 same as above		
4. KBo XVI 76 could be dupl. to KBo XVI 68(+)		

B. Concordance

Tablet	Series ¹	Find Site ²
KUB II 3	1.k).A.	—
KUB II 10 a	1.b).G.	—
KUB X 1	1.c).A.	—
KUB X 9	1.c).D.	—
KUB X 13	3.b).B.	—
KUB X 84	1.e).4.	—
KUB X 86	1.k).B.	—
KUB XX 4	2.a).1.	—
KUB XX 91	1.b).E.	—
KUB XXVIII 106	3.b).E.	—
KUB XXXIV 86(+)	5.c).A.	A 4
KUB XLVIII 7	4.4	—
KUB XLVIII 9	3.b).C.	—
KUB XLVIII 22	4.5	—
KBo X 21	1.d).C.	K
KBo X 22(+)	1.a).A.	K
KBo X 23+	1.a).A.	K
KBo X 24	1.b).A.	K
KBo X 25	1.j).A.	K
KBo X 26	1.i)	K
KBo X 28 +	2.c).2.	K
KBo X 30 +	5.b)	K

- 1 1. The Series Enumerated by Tablets.
 2. The Series Enumerated by Festival Days.
 3. The Outline Series.
 4. Fragments with Hattic Recitations.
 5. The Ration Series.

2 Unless otherwise stated the squares and the buildings (A, K) refer to Büyükkale.

Tablet	Series ¹	Find Site ²
KBo X 31	5.a).1.A.	K
KBo X 32	5.a).2.	K
KBo X 33+	2.c).2.	K
KBo X 51	1.a).B.	—
KBo XI 38	1.j).H.	K
KBo XI 42	1.j).E.	K
KBo XI 67+	1.a).A.	K
KBo XII 131	2.a).2.	near House on the Slope
KBo XVI 68(+)	5.c).A.	A 4–6
KBo XVI 70	5.c).B.	House on the Slope
KBo XVI 75	5.e).3.	A 5
KBo XVI 76	5.e).4.	A 5
KBo XVI 77+	5.b)	Dump of K
KBo XVI 79(+)	5.c).A.	A 5
KBo XVI 80+	5.d)	A 5
KBo XVI 82	1.e).1.	A 5
KBo XVII 9+	1.h).A.	r-s/9–10, t/5–6 (surface)
KBo XVII 20+	1.h).A.	w/21 (above southern wall)
KBo XVII 21+	3.a)	A 4
KBo XVII 46+	3.a)	A 4
KBo XX 5+	1.h).A.	A 5
KBo XX 33+	3.a)	A 5
KBo XX 55+		
(= KUB XXXIV 86)		
KBo XX 66	5.e).2.	A 5/6
KBo XX 83	2.b)	A N. to 4
KBo XX 99+	1.c).B.	A 5
KBo XXI 52+	1.c).B.	A 5
KBo XXI 68	1.h).C.	A 5
KBo XXII 195(+)	1.h).B.	Temple I Mg. 10
KBo XXII 224(+)	1.h).B.	Temple I east to Mg. 7–9
KBo XXIII 74	1.k).C.	A N. to 2/3
KBo XXIII 91	1.e).2.	A 6

Tablet	Series ¹	Find Site ²
KBo XXV 12+	1.h).A.	
= 1689/c	”	A 5
+ 1983/c	”	A 5
+ 2322/c	”	A 5
+ 220/f	”	r/15
+ 131/r	”	A
KBo XXV 17	2.e).A.	v/12
KBo XXV 18	2.e).B.	q/15
KBo XXV 19	3.a)	A 4
KBo XXV 66	1.k).F.	House on the slope
KBo XXV 176	3.b).A.	Temple I east mag.
KBo XXV 180	3.b).D.	Temple I east mag.
KBo XXVII 42	1.j).B.	NW to Temple I
ABoT 5+	1.h).A.	—
IBoT I 13	1.j).D.	—
IBoT II 29	4.2	—
IBoT II 100	1.b).F.	—
IBoT III 66	1.j).G.	—
Bo 297	1.c).E.	—
Bo 2505	1.k).E.	—
Bo 3370	1.k).D.	—
Bo 3568	2.c).1.	—
Bo 3687	1.j).C.	—
Bo 5005	1.e).5.	—
Bo 5341	1.b).C.	—
Bo 5423	1.d).B.	—
Bo 5840	1.j).F.	—
Bo 5977	1.b).B.	—
Bo 6127	1.a).C.	—
284/a	5.c).C.	A 4
38/c	5.a).1.B.	—
354/c(+)	5.d)	A 5
523/c+	5.d)	A 5

Tablet	Series ¹	Find Site ²
1620/c +	5.d)	A 5
1768/c	1.l)1.	A 5
1834/c	1.i).C.	A 5
88/d	4.3	s/14
444/s	4.1	House on the Slope
1/t	1.c).C.	—
462/t	1.b).D.	House on the Slope
496/u	1.e).3.	Temple I east Mg.
1225/u	1.g)	Temple I east Mg.
1366/u	1.b).H.	Temple I east Mg.
2002/u	1.f)	House on the Slope
487/w	1.h).D.	p-q/10–11
922/z	1.d).A.	Temple I east Mg.
Izmir 1270 + 1271 + 1272	1.h).E.; i).B.; k).H.	—
Izmir 1274	1.l)2	—
Izmir 1275	1.k).G.	—

C. The Find Sites of the Tablets³

98 tablets and fragments have been ascribed to the KILAM festival so far. The provenance of 33 tablets and fragments unearthed in Winckler's excavations cannot be established. The remaining 65 items were found in all three locations which have yielded tablets up to the present: 51 in the royal citadel on the Büyükkale, 6 in the "House on the slope" and 8 in the area of the Great Temple in the Lower City (seven in the eastern storehouses and one fragment in the area to the northwest of the temple).

The material from the Büyükkale was found in Archive A and its vicinity (30 items) and in Building K (15 items). A number of fragments were found dispersed over a wide area extending as far as the western wall of the citadel. Some of them were joined to the Old Hittite tablet ABoT 5+, the other fragments of which were found in Archive A and its vicinity (see further p.70). The dislocation of these fragments is consonant with previous observations that documents from the royal archives were dispersed, probably after the destruction of the Hittite citadel.⁴

I have tried to examine the question of whether some relation between the sub-division of the text into different series and the find spots can be established. The result is inconclusive; a clear distribution pattern cannot be established. The fragments belonging to each of the five series were found in more than one location. However, there is one notable exception: the items of the Ration series come almost entirely from one spot. Except for one fragment found in the "House on the slope" (KBo XVI 70), all the material (16 items) was found on the Büyükkale divided between archives A and K. The division between the two archives is of chronological significance: It is demonstrated in the chapter dealing with the ration tablets (Ch.VI.c) that the texts found in Archive A exhibit an older (probably Middle Hittite) ductus, while those found in Building K are New Hittite. This observation is all the more significant when related to the assumption put forward by K.Bittel in the preliminary report on the excavation of Building K, that the material was moved over to it from Archive A.⁵ This reorganization of the library probably took place under Tudhaliya IV.⁶ It seems then, that the latest copies of the ration

³ See Concordance (Ch.I.B.).

⁴ H.Otten, *Das Altertum* 1 (1953), 73; idem – V.Souček, *StBoT* 8 (1969), 3 and n.3.

⁵ MDOG 91 (1958), 60f.

⁶ K.Bittel, *Hattusha* (1970), 85, 89.

series were deposited in Building K, whereas the older copies were left in Archive A, thus, corroborating the excavator's observation. Some of the main tablets of the "regular" series (those published in KBo X), all written in New Hittite ductus, were also found in Building K.

It seems that the text of the KI.LAM festival had more than one original depository, however, the system of distribution among them remains obscure.

D. Texts Excluded from CTH 627

In CTH 627 a number of texts were included which, as will be demonstrated below, do not belong to the KI.LAM festival. Following this demonstration items of doubtful ascription will be dealt with (Ch.IE).

CTH 627.15, 17, 18, 20⁷

In CTH and in the supplement published in RHA 30 (1972) a number of Old Hittite fragments, most of which were published in KBo XX, are cited under nos. 627.17 and 627.20; of these only KBo XX 83 actually belongs to the KI.LAM festival. H.Otten and E.Neu have recognized some of these as belonging to the same tablet (KBo XVII 46 + KBo XX 4 already given in RHA 30) and joined them in Ankara with two additional fragments (KBo XVI 71 and KBo XXV 13). While working on the joined text I found that KBo XX 3 could join indirectly to cols. II and III. This was confirmed by Professor Otten in Ankara during the summer of 1974. The resulting text, portrayed in join sketch 1 (p.24) consists of the lower part of a large two-column tablet written in "typisch altem Duktus".

A. The Old Hittite exemplar with two duplicates and a parallel fragment in New Hittite ductus:

B. KBo II 12 (cited as CTH 627.15): a three-column tablet with the second and the fifth columns almost complete and the sixth column partly preserved. The fragment KBo XX 30 which is noted in CTH 627.18 as a parallel to KBo II 12 is actually an indirect join to it (the beginning of obv. III) as I was able to recognize with the help of the Old Hittite exemplar.⁸

C. Bo 2816: the upper left portion of a two(?) -column tablet.

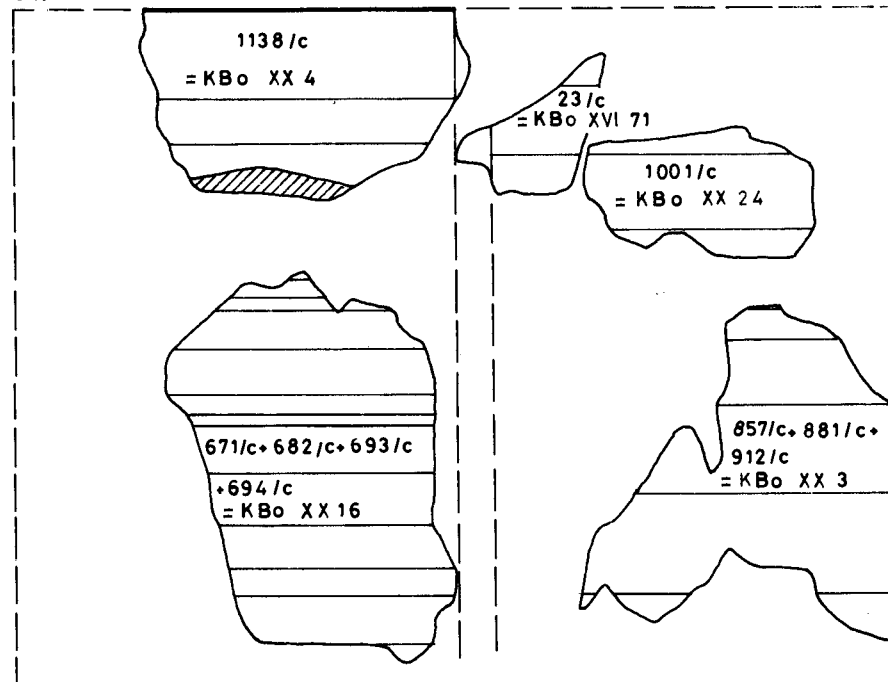
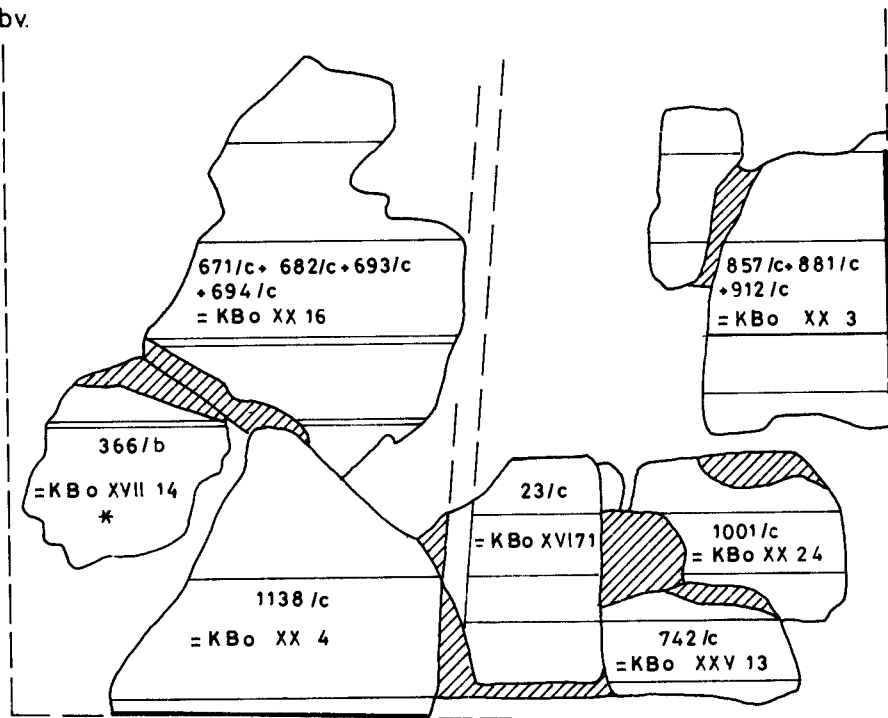
D. Bo 3695: a small fragment parallel to col. IV.

Following is a provisional organization of the text:

- A. Obv. I: KBo XX 16 ("Rs.?") + KBo XVII 14 + KBo XX 4 ("IV")
 Obv. II: KBo XX 3 (Vs.) (+) KBo XVI 71 (Vs.?) + KBo XX 24 ("III?")
 + KBo XXV 13
 Rev. III: KBo XVI 71 (Rs.?) + KBo XX 24 (II?) (+) KBo XX 3 (Rs.)
 Rev. IV: KBo XX 4 ("I") + KBo XX 16 ("Vs.?")
- B. KBo II 12 (+) KBo XX 30 II 16–III 8 = A I x + 1–18'
 V 30 – VI = A II 4'–15'
- C. Bo 2816 I = A III y + 1–8''
- D. Bo 3695 parallel to A IV y + 1 ff.

⁷ E.Neu, StBoT 25 (1980), no. 13 (+) 14.

⁸ Old Hittite exemplar obv. I 13' equals KBo II 12 II 42 – KBo XX 30 III 1: 1 ÚR GUD.MAH *hantezzian* I ^(G1S) *zahurti* LÚ-nili ...



Join sketch1: KBo XX 16+

The text consists of ration lists of a festival which may have been the reason for its ascription to the KILAM in CTH. Some of the sections of col. II are introduced by *MELQËT* which is reminiscent of the *MELQËT*-lists of the KILAM festival (see Ch. VI.E.; the *MELQËT*-lists of this tablet are included in our discussion of the ration texts). However, the following circumstances rule out its ascription to the KILAM festival.

In the New Hittite duplicate KBo II 12 the last traces of the colophon are still preserved. In the edition only the lower sign (on the level of line 37 in col. V) is legible (PU/GÍD; to be read [IM.]GÍD ??), whereas the upper sign (on the level of V 33) looks like an unusual combination of five “Winkelhaken”. The original in Istanbul was collated by Professor Otten and Mrs. Rüster in the summer of 1974. The sign in question turned out to be an AZ, preceded by a vertical wedge.⁹ In the extant colophons of the KILAM festival (see Ch. II.A) there is not a single occurrence of the sign PU/GÍD, and the sign AZ occurs only in the phrase LUGAL-uš KI/hi-lam-na-az ka-at-ta[in the elaborate colophons of KUB XX 4 and 1834/c. Therefore it is inconceivable that the colophon of KBo II 12 belongs to the KILAM. In fact, there may even be some evidence in the text to restore the ablative form in the colophon; the town Ziplanda appears several times in the Old Hittite exemplar (II 12”, IV 2, 3, 11’). The duplicate Bo 2816 is more instructive in this respect:

I (1) [ma-a-a]n-kán LUGAL-uš URU Z[i²-ip-la-an-t]a-az (?) (2) [ú-i]z-zi (3) URU Zi-[ip]-la-an-ta^{K1} (4) ha-li-e-ha-ri-e i-e-i[z-z]i “When the king comes from Z[iplant]a In Ziplanta he performs the *halehare*(?)”. Finally in KBo II 12 + II 6f. we read: (6’) ma-a-an URU Ha-at-t[u-ša-az?] (7’) URU Zi-ip-la-ta [. All this evidence suggests that the tablets belong to a festival celebrated, at least in part, in Ziplanta.¹⁰ A connection with the KILAM festival which was celebrated in the capital (see Ch. V.A) can thus be ruled out.¹¹

⁹ Following are some additional points which were corrected by the collation; exclamation mark (!) indicates corrections of the copy: obv. I, on the level of II 23 -pá]r²-ra-an²; obv. II, two lines are missing before × + 1; 1.7’ URU Zi-ip-la¹-ta; 9’ ...ú-iz¹[-; 16’ ...5 ŠA-A-LA¹-AŠ-T[U; 19’ ...10 GÍŠ¹la-h[u-; 24’ URU Ša-lam-pu-; 33’ ku-i¹-uš; 42’ ha-an-te-i[z-; Rev. VI 3’, 7’ ú-ba¹-ti-ya; 14’ mar-nu¹-an.

¹⁰ Text Bo 2816 contains important information with regard to the topography of the town Zip(pa)landa: I 5, IV² 7’ še-ir D¹IM-aš É-ri “above, in the temple of the Storm-god”; I 11 kat-ta-an I-NA É¹ha-li-en-tu-u “down, in the palace”. Thus, the topographical conditions of Zip(pa)landa are the opposite of those of Hattuša, where the palace is above on the Büyükkale and the temple of the Storm-god in the Lower Town. Information of this kind may prove quite indicative in future archaeological and geographical-historical research.

¹¹ Zip(pa)landa appears in the KILAM text only in connection with its cultic personnel (see Ch.IV.B.5) or with its Storm-god (KBo XX 33+ rev. 57 [3.a]; KBo XXIII 91 I 7’ [1.e.2]).

CTH 627.4 (?) KUB XXIII 15

In the foreword to KBo X, ad no. 23, H. G. Güterbock suggested that KUB XXIII 15, a small fragment consisting of an introduction to a festival text, could be the beginning of a text parallel to KBo X 23, the “first tablet” of the “regular” series. After the preamble with the genealogy of Tudḫaliya IV there follows (l. 6) *I-NA URU Zi-pa-l[a-an-da]* (7) *SAG.UŠ* [. There is no basis for the restoration EZEN KI.LAM suggested by Güterbock; a more plausible restoration is suggested by the colophon of KBo XXIII 103: (IV 14'–15') *mān LUGAL-uš ukturiya EZEN-ni URU Zi-planti uizzi*. The ideogram *SAG.UŠ* equals *ukturi* “regular” (see Ch. II.C.1). Thus, KUB XXIII 15 probably belongs also to a festival celebrated in Zip(pa)landa, and in fact, it could be related to the group of texts discussed in the previous entry.

CTH 627.9 ABoT 11

This is a small fragment containing a fragmentary list of the king's ceremonial dress in ll. 6'ff. One would hardly relate such a stereotyped passage to the KI.LAM festival, were it not for the rare occurrence of the “raw cloth” (l. 8' *wa-a[r-hu-i]* TUG-an). Apart from the KI.LAM festival (KBo X 23 I 10' [1.a]; KUB XX 4 I 9' [2.a]) this garment is found (as part of the king's wardrobe) only in 689/v¹² and Bo 88.¹³ However, this is hardly sufficient to ascribe the fragment to the KI.LAM festival.

CTH 627.16(?) KBo XI 36

This is a ration tablet which incorporates a list of sacrifices for the deceased kings (III 9'ff.; cf. H. Otten, HTR 111). I can see no points of contact with the KI.LAM festival except perhaps for the Men of ^D*Hištā* (IV 8) appearing in both texts (in the KI.LAM: KBo X 31 III 25' [5.a.1]; KUB XX 4 V 12'ff. [2.a.1]). This hardly constitutes conclusive evidence. A relation to CTH 241.19, cult inventories of the *heštā*-house, is quite possible (cf. LÚ^{MEŠ} E.DÉ.A URU *Arinna* in V 16 and in KUB XXX 32 I 6).

CTH 627.20 KBo XX 21

There is no evidence for ascribing the fragment to the KI.LAM text.

12 689/v (1)] × ^{MEŠ}*wa-ar-hu* × [(2) TUG^{MEŠ} SIG *wa-aš-ši*[-.

13 Bo 88 I 6' LUGAL-uš-za a-ni-ya-at-ta da-a-i[

7' *har-ga-uš* ^{KUŠ}E.SIR-uš ki-iš- × [

8' *šar-ku-iz-zi wa-ar-hu-in* TUG-a[n

9' *wa-ar-hu-wa-ya* TUG.GÜ.È.A [

10' *wa-aš-ši-iz-zi* LUGAL-uš-ta[

11' ^È*ma-az-ki-ya-az ú-iz-zi*

For ^È*mazkiya*- see p. 114 with n. 78.

KBo XXII 257 (E. Laroche, RHA 33, 1975, 71)

The fragment has probably been assigned to CTH 627 on the basis of *tarnattan* “ration” in ll. 5', 7'. The toponym ^{URU}*Zikkiš[teri/tera]* (see KBo XXII p. VI) does not figure in the KI.LAM festival. The ascription of the fragment to the KI.LAM is unlikely.

KUB XLIV 28 rev. IV (H. A. Hoffner, JCS 28, 1976, 248)

The similarity to ABoT 5+ [1.b] is only superficial (“Drinking” of ^DZA-BABA). There is no evidence for ascription to the KI.LAM festival.

E. Texts of Doubtful Ascription

KBo X 27

In the Inhaltsübersicht to KBo X, H.G.Güterbock writes about No.27: “weist Berührungen mit dem KILAM-Fest auf, gehört aber—schon nach dem Äußeren der Tafel—nicht dazu.” However, in his article on the Hittite Temple in XX RAI (1975), 126 n.8 he cites KBo X 27 among the texts belonging to the KILAM.¹⁴ In CTH the text is cited as 649.1 (“Fragments nommant la NIN.DINGIR”) and reference is given to the catalog label KUB VIII 69 III 5–9 (see below). KBo X 27 is a three-column tablet, with the third, fourth and fifth columns relatively well-preserved. The text describes a procession of cult functionaries passing through the *ašuša*-gate (III 4', IV 28'), in which “fleeces” (^{KUS}*kurša*-) are carried along and various ceremonies are performed in the “house of the fleece” (III 10', 18', 38' V 28', 34'), in the “house of the *hapiya*-men” (III 25', 32'), in the temple of Halki (IV 15') and in the temple of the Sun-goddess (V 19', 25'). Among the participating personnel, the *hapiya*-men, the *zintubi*-women, the NIN.DINGIR, and the Men of Anunuwa play a dominant role. In IV 18'ff. there is a list of the gods worshipped (H.Otten, ZA 53, 178ff.), of whom only a few also appear in the long list of gods in the KILAM festival (see Ch.IV.B.2).

The reference to one of the entries in the shelf list KUB VIII 69, given by Laroche in CTH, is based on two of the acting groups, the *hapiya*-men and the *zintubi*-women. III 5–9 (CTH p.186): “1 tablet. How the *hapiya*-men put on their adornments and how they fix the provisions in the *purulli* festival; and how the *zintubi*-women sing the great song.” If the connection is valid, the text KBo X 27 belongs to the *purulli* festival.

However, the points of similarity with the KILAM text, referred to by Güterbock, are quite numerous and some of them are rather significant:

(a) The NIN.DINGIR who plays a dominant role in KBo X 27 appears several times in the KILAM festival. Especially noteworthy is her close association with the *hapiya*-men in both texts.¹⁵

14 Cf. also M.Popko, AoF 2 (1975), 69 n.28.

15 In the KILAM ration tablet KBo X 31 III 5' [5.a.1]: 5 UDU^{III.A} NIN.DINGIR-*aš* LÚ^{MEŠ} *ha-pi-eš*. In KBo X 27 III (24') ×[-×] NIN.DINGIR LÚ^{MEŠ} *ha-a-pi-aš-ša* [GI]M²-*an* (25') [IGI-zi(? cf. 1.33')] UD^{KAM-ti} I-NA É LÚ^{MEŠ} *ha-a-pi-aš* (26') [] × *ki-nu-un-na QA-TAM-MA[-pát?]*. Also noteworthy is the appearance of the NIN.DINGIR in both texts in close proximity to a garland: KBo X 27 V 9'; for the KILAM see p.79 n.61.

(b) The “fleece” of ^D*Kantipuitti* is attested only in these two texts.¹⁶ (The deity is also attested in IBoT I 8 VI 4').

(c) The Men of (the town) Anunuwa who recite in Hattic are attested in the KILAM (KBo X 23 VI 2 [1.a]; KBo X 25 VI 12–14 [1.j]), but appear in other texts as well.¹⁷

(d) The temple of Halki appears in both texts as one of the main scenes of activity (for the KILAM see p.136). The same applies to the temple of the Sun-goddess (see p.99).

(e) KBo X 27 V 13' has]×-*ti-ya-aš* ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA-*aš*. There is a slight possibility that the broken first word belongs to an expanded *-iya* form of *nanankaltaš* ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA which is found only in KILAM texts (see p.59 n.24).

(f) V 21' has]×-*ta-pu-uz-zi*. Here again, there is a possibility that this is a variant form of the ^E*katapuzna*- in the KILAM texts (see Ch.IV.C.7).

Further points of resemblance may be found, but are of a more general nature. The above indications, or some of them at least, are too significant to be overlooked; however, final proof to establish a firm link with the KILAM festival is still lacking.

KBo VIII 124 + KBo XX 86

This ration tablet is cited in CTH as no. 662.1.B (“Offrandes de villes pour des cultes locaux”). The reverse² of KBo VIII 124 shows very close affinities with the ration tablets of the KILAM festival. It consists of a list of sheep and oxen distributed to various cult functionaries. The order of the list is in part the same in KBo X 31 III 5'ff. [5.a.1]. Even some of the quantities seem to correspond (five sheep to the *zintubi*-men, six sheep to the Men of Tiššaru-liya). The metalsmiths of lines 11'–12' also appear in the MELQĒT-lists of KBo XVI 68 + II' 15'ff. [5.c]: the goldsmiths, the ironsmiths, the silver-smiths and the coppersmiths (note the order!).

The obverse (with the duplicate KUB XI 28¹⁸) describes a ceremony in which the AGRIG's of various towns go to the houses of various functionaries belonging to the kitchen personnel. They hold wood, torch(es), food and dishes (cf. H.Otten, StBoT 15,8). Nothing in this part of the text relates directly to the KILAM, except perhaps for the fact that these two are the

16 KBo X 27 III 11' ^D*Kán-ti-pu-it-ti-ya-aš* ^{KUS}*kur-ša-aš*; KBo XXV 176 rev. 16 [3.b] ŠA LÚ¹ *kán-te-pu-it-ti* ^{KUS}*kur-ša-an*; dupl. KUB X 13 III 19' [3.b.B] has ^D*Kán-ti-pu-u-it-ti*.

17 KUB XI 34 IV 11; KBo X 18,7 (with dupl. Bo 3699 III 5'). These texts belong to the *nuntariyaš* festival. The context of KBo XVII 101 III 19' is similar to KBo X 27 III 14f.

18 A third duplicate is KBo XI 41 (see “Inhaltsübersicht” to KBo XI). Col. II = KUB XI 28 III; Col. I contains a list of rations for horses (1.9' ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *tarnattaš*). The traces in the colophon identify the text as the “first tablet” (of rations?).

only texts in which the AGRIG not only delivers products but also takes an active part in the actual ceremonies. It is worthy of note that none of the AGRIG's found in this text appears in the KILAM festival. It seems that all the places are located in the northeastern part of the Halys Basin. A. Archi, SMEA 14 (1971), 221 relates this text to the "festival of the torch(es)".¹⁹

To sum up the evidence, while the reverse of KBo VIII 124 suggests an ascription to the KILAM, the other parts of the text appear to speak against it. More evidence is needed in order to reach a final conclusion.

KBo XXIII 92

In the "Inhaltsübersicht" to KBo XXIII the possibility is considered that this fragment belongs, despite the difference in the color of the clay, to the same tablet as KBo XXIII 91. The latter is a parallel fragment (no. 3) to the "second tablet" of the KILAM. Both 91 and 92 mention the LÚ^{MEŠ} *ka-a-la-he-eš*. There are no conclusive points of contact which require the ascription of KBo XXIII 92 to the KILAM festival.

Bo 2898

Available in the transliteration of von Brandenstein; large fragment containing a list of cult objects on the obverse and several religious functionaries on the reverse (1.7' 15 LÚ^{MEŠ} UR.BAR.RA 15 SAL^{MEŠ} KAR.KID). Obv. 11 has]3-ŠU *e-ša*. This may or may not belong to the festival title *mān* LUGAL-uš KILAM-ni 3-ŠU *eša*.

KBo XVI 67, 69, KUB XLIII 24

Ration tablets of the "festival of the *heštā*-house". For the relation between these tablets and the ration tablets of the KILAM festival see Ch. VI.A.

51/u²⁰

A small fragment running parallel to KBo X 26 I 19ff. The context—placing of the golden spear, the ^{GIŠ}*kalmuš* and the silver *zau* of the holy priest of Ziplanda near the king's throne—recurs in many festival texts. The ascription of small fragments with stereotyped context to one text or another is problematic.

19 EZEN *zuparu*; on this festival cf. V. Haas, Nerik (1970), 61; H. Otten, StBoT 15 (1971), 9f.; F. Cornil-R. Lebrun, Hethitica 1 (1972), 28.

20 × + 1 Š]A^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR GUŠKIN *an-da*[

2' ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR GUŠKIN GAD-*ya har-zi* [

3'] GAD LUGAL-*i pa-a-i* ^{GIŠ}*kal-mu-uš*[

4' EG]IR-*pa ú-iz-zi* ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR GUŠ[KIN

5'] *ti-i-ya-zi nu ka-a*(-)

6' [GAL ME-ŠE-DI] *za-a-u* KUBABBAR ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ}SANGA [

7' [ŠA^{URU}Zi-i] *p-lā-an-da pi-e-da-i* [

8' [EGIR-*an-še-it*] LÚ^{GIŠ}PA^{NINDA} *har-ši-i*[n

9' [GAL ME-ŠE-DI *za-a*] *q-u* KUBABBAR LUGAL-*i* ZAG-*az*

CHAPTER II THE COMPOSITION OF THE TEXT

A. The Colophons of the KI.LAM Festival

The first step towards the reconstruction of the text was a search for additional unpublished colophons of the KI.LAM festival in the card-index of the Marburg Thesaurus. Eight new colophons were added to the seven previously known. Five of them (1768/c, 1834/c, 1225/u, 2002/u, Izmir 1274) consist of little or nothing more than the colophon itself and could not be joined as yet to their respective tablets.

Only three colophons of the KI.LAM festival, out of fifteen known colophons, contain the signatures of the scribe. All of these occur on tablets written in a late ductus of the 13th century.¹ One further tablet, KUB X 1 [1.c], was first signed by the scribe, but his signature was later almost completely erased. The traces left are:

ŠU ^m [“Hand (of) [
^{LU} DUB.SAR ?	the [scribe ?
IŠ-[TUR ?	wr[ote (it) ?

Two colophons, 1768/c and Izmir 1274 [1.1.1, 2] have the signatures of both a “scribe” (DUB.SAR) and a “scribe-on-wood” (DUB.SAR GIŠ). The colophons are apparently related to each other. The “scribe-on-wood” in 1768/c is Piḥa-UR.MAḤ.² We may safely restore his name also in Izmir 1274 on the evidence of KUB XLI 26 + KUB XX 29 VI 30–31 which has the same pair of scribes: Piḥa-UR.MAḤ DUB.SAR GIŠ and Palluwara-LÚ DUB.SAR. I strongly suspect that the DUB.SAR’s in 1768/c and in Izmir 1274 are identical as well, [Pal]luwa(ṣa)-ZA and [Palluw]ara-LÚ being only variants of one and the same name. There are several tablets,³ construed by the same pair of a “scribe” and a “scribe-on-wood” who apparently worked as a team on festival tablets. These circumstances are probably related in some way to the fact that all these colophons have the notations ANA GIŠ.ḤUR-*kan ḥandan* and *ištarniyaš* EGIR-*an tarṣummaš*, for which see discussion Ch.II.C.1.

The third signed colophon belongs to KUB XX 4, a late copy of a Middle Hittite text (see p. 44 f.). The name of the scribe is unfortunately broken off. It is followed by ^{LU}DUB.SAR TUR IN.SAR, “the junior scribe wrote (it)”. This is the only attestation in Hittite texts of a “junior scribe”, or “novice scribe” (H. G. Güterbock apud HW 268). For the *tuṣšarru ṣeḫru* in the Baby-

1 Cf. E. Laroche, ArOr 17/2 (1949), 11; E. Neu-Ch. Rüster, StBoT 21 (1975), 7.

2 This Piḥa-UR.MAḤ may well be the owner of the seal impressed on SBo II 94–95.

3 Also KUB XLIV 24 VI 9’ f., 431/s rev. 7’ f. and (probably) KUB II 8 V 8’ f.

Ionian and Assyrian material, cf. H. Hunger, AOAT 2 (1968), 9. Whether the appearance of this title justifies considering this to be an exercise tablet (Hunger, op. cit.) is questionable.

Following are the fifteen extant colophons of the KI.LAM festival:

The Colophons of the KI.LAM Festival

(/ end of line; // division line)

- 1 KBo X 24 VI 1'–3' [1.b] DUB-II'-KAM Ú-U[L QA-TI]/ŠA
EZEN KI.LAM S[AG.UŠ^{NIM}] // A-NA
GIŠ.HUR-kán ha-an-da-a-an
- 2 KUB X 1 VI 3'–6' [1.c] DUB-III-KAM ŠA EZEN KI.LAM/
SAG.UŠ^{NIM} NU.TIL // A-NA
GIŠ.HUR-kán/ha-an-da-a-an //
- 3 2002/u, 4'–5' [1.f] [DUB]-V-KAM Ú-UL Q[A-TI]/[ŠA
EZ]EN KI.LAM S[AG.UŠ^{NIM}] // [
- 4 1225/u rev. 1'–3' [1.g] [DU]B-VIII-KAM N[U.T]IL/[ŠA]
EZEN KI.LAM SAG.U[Š]^{NIM} // [A-]
NA GIŠ.HUR-k[án]
- 5 KBo X 26 VI 1–4 [1.i] DUB-XI-KAM NU.TIL/[ŠA] EZEN
KI.LAM SAG.UŠ^{NIM} // A-NA
GIŠ.[HUR]-kán ha-an-da-a-an //
- 6 KBo X 25 VI 37'–40' [1.j] DU[B-?-KAM ŠA EZEN KI.LA]M/
SAG. [UŠ^{NIM} NU.TIL ?] / A-NA GIŠ.
HUR-kán/ha-an-da-a-an
- 7 1768/c, 1'–7' [1.l.1] [DUB-?-K]AM NU.TIL/[ŠA EZEN
K]I.LAM SAG.UŠ / [iš-ta]r-ni-ya-
aš/[EGIR-a]n tar-nu-um-ma-aš // [A-
NA]GIŠ.HUR-kán ha-a-da-a[n] // ^mPi-]
ha-UR.MAH DUB.SAR GIŠ/[^mPal]-
lu-wa(-ra)-ZA DUB.SAR //
- 8 Izmir 1274, 1'–7' [1.l.2] [DUB-?-KAM NU.TIL ? ŠA EZEN
KI.LAM S]AG.UŠ /
[] A-NA ^{DU} KI.LAM/[
]x-zi / [iš-tar-ni-ya-aš ?]
EGIR-an tar-nu-um-ma-aš /
[A-NA GIŠ.HUR-ká]n ha-an-da-a-an //
^mPi-ha-UR.MAH ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR GIŠ/
[^mPal-lu-w]a-ra-LÚ ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR

- 9 1834/c rev. 8'–12' [2.b] DUB-I-KAM ma-a-an LUGA[L-uš
KI.LAM-ni]
3-ŠU e-ša te[-
LUGAL-uš KI.LAM-na-a[z ka-at-ta ?
[na-a]š(?) ^{PUTU}-aš É-r[i
]Ú-UL QA[-TI
Broken
- 10 KUB XX 4 VI 1'–6' [2.a] [DUB-I'-KAM ha-an]-te-iz-zi-ya ši-i-
wa-at
[] GAL-in ši-i-ya-ma-na-
an
[ma-a-an LUGAL-uš] KI.LAM-ni 3-ŠU
e-ša
[ma-a-an-kán ?] LUGAL-uš hi-lam-na-
az ka-at-ta
[^{DU}-aš ? ^{NA4}hu-u-wa-š]i-ya(?) a-a-ri Ú-
UL QA-TI
^{LÚ}DUB.SAR TUR IN.SAR
- 11 Bo 3568 VI 8'–11' [2.d.1] [DUB-?-KAM ŠA UD-II-KAM/[ma-a-
a]n LUGAL-uš / [KI.LAM]-ni 3-ŠU e-
ša/[Ú-UL Q]A-TI
- 12 KBo XX 83 IV 8'–13' [2.c] [DUB-?-KAM ŠA UD-II-KAM/[ma-a-
an] LUGAL-uš KI.LAM-n[i/3-ŠU] e-
ša/[Ú-UL] QA-[TI]
- 13 KBo XXV 18 rev. 12'–13' [2.e.B] DUB-I-KAM ŠA UD-III-KAM ma-a-
an LU[GAL-uš KI.LAM-ni]/3-ŠU e-ša
Ú-UL Q[A-TI
- 14 KBo X 31 V 3'–5' [5.a.1] DUB-IV-KAM tar-na-at-ta-aš NU.
TIL/[m]a-a-an LUGAL-uš KI.LAM-
ni/3-[š]U e-ša
- 15 1620/c+ IV [5.d]] KI.LAM-ni[

There are three distinct types of colophons in the table above, although the word order may vary slightly within any one category:

Nos. 1–8 belong to a series enumerated by the successive order of tablets:

“xth tablet of the regular KI.LAM festival. (Not complete.)

// True to the (original script on a) wooden tablet” (see Ch.II.C.1).

Nos. 10–13 are enumerated according to the days of the festival:

“xth tablet of the yth day. ‘When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house.’ (Not complete)” (see Ch.II.C.2).

[No. 9 is exceptional and will be discussed separately.]

Nos. 14, [15] belong to a separate series of ration tablets:

“xth tablet of the rations. ‘When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house.’ (Not complete).”

The second and the third types share a common structure: both include the title sentence of the festival. Before we discuss the wording and the significance of each type, it will be fruitful to adduce the additional evidence supplied by the tablet KUB XXX 68.

B. The Shelf List⁴ KUB XXX 68 obv.

A most valuable aid in understanding the composition of the text is provided by the shelf list KUB XXX 68 obverse. It was first noted by Laroche in OLZ 57 (1962), 29. A transliteration is given in CTH p.173. The KI.LAM festival is one of the few texts for which we possess the original inventory label of the Hittite librarians.⁵ The text was found in the vicinity of Archive A (in square u/11) from which the majority of the KI.LAM festival tablets originate. Unfortunately, the beginnings and the ends of the lines are broken. The transliteration below varies in some minor points from CTH:

x + 1	^{URU} Z]i-ip-la-an-da ^{URU} A? ^a [-
2'] × ^a)-an-ti pa-a-an- z[i]
3'	[DUB- × -KAM ^{HI.A b}) EZEN.GA]L ^c) ŠA KI.LAM ma-a-an LUGAL-uš KI.UD(sic)-m ^d) [3-ŠU e]-š ^e)
4'	[DUB- × -KAM ^{HI.A b}) EZEN] KI.LAM KA-YA-MA- NIM []
5'	[DUB- × -KAM ^{HI.A f}) ma-a-an (?) SAL ^{MEŠ}]zi-in-tu- ^{hi} -eš ŠA KI.LAM ŠIR ^{HI.A} []
6'	-] × -eš-ša LÚ ^{MEŠ} ud-da-na-aš iš- ^{hi} -e-eš ku-iš []
7'	me]-mi-iš-ki-iz- zi
8'	[DUB- × -KAM ^{HI.A b})] × EZEN.GAL ^E hi-iš-ta-a ma-a-an LUGAL-[uš
9'	[DUB- × -KAM ^{HI.A b})] × EZEN KA-YA-MA-NIM ^E hi-i[š-ta-a
10'] ha-[^g)

End of obv.

- a) Laroche transliterates -n]a²-an-ti. However, both the copy and the photograph show a horizontal wedge which cannot belong to a na (perhaps -w]a).
- b) The suggested restoration supplies the total number of tablets in each series. Compare KUB XXX 42 I 5 f. DUB-32-KAM^{HI.A} ŠA EZEN pu-u-ru-li-ya-aš ^{URU}Ne-ri-ig-ga QA-TI “32 tablets of the *purulli* festival of Nerik. Complete.” The notation “complete” or “not complete” is missing in l. 3' (see note e).
- c) Compare l. 8'. The entries in ll. 3'–4' are parallel to those in ll. 8'–9'. Compare also rev. 2: EZEN.GAL pu-u-r[u-li-ya-aš.
- d) KI.UD (KISLAH) instead of KI.LAM is obviously a scribal error.

⁴ Designation suggested by H. A. Hoffner.

⁵ Only about thirty titles found in the inventory labels can be identified among the modern titles of CTH (Laroche, CTH, p. 192).

- e)]-ša on the edge of the tablet is clearly visible in the photograph.
- f) Another possible restoration would follow KUB VIII 69 III 8f. (CTH p.186):
SAL^{MEŠ} *zi-in-tu-u-bi-i-e-eš-ša ma-aḥ-ḥa-an SĪR GAL SĪR^{RU}*.
- g) Laroche suggests the restoration *ḥa-[ša-an-zi ??]*, “they open”; V. Haas–M. Wäfler, UF 8 (1976), 78 restore *ḥa-[me-eš-bi]* “in the spring”.

From the seven titles on the obverse, only the second, the third, and the fourth are explicitly attributed to the KI.LAM festival. The first title, which apparently belongs to a festival connected with Ziḫlāda and an additional town (Laroche suggests Arinna⁷), was also attributed by Laroche (CTH p.174) to the KI.LAM festival. This was apparently due to the alleged attribution of KUB XXIII 15 to the KI.LAM, suggested by Güterbock (KBo X Inhaltsübersicht ad no.23) and accepted in CTH (627.4 with a question-mark). As noted on p.26 KUB XXIII 15 does not belong to the KI.LAM festival and consequently, there are no grounds for connecting the first title in KUB XXX 68 obv. with the KI.LAM.

The fifth and the sixth titles belong to the festival of the *ḥeštā*-house. A number of factors indicate a close relationship between this festival and the KI.LAM. The parallelism between the titles of the KI.LAM festival in ll.3'–4' and those of the festival of the *ḥeštā*-house in ll.8'–10' is one of these (cf. further pp.114, 142).

A comparison between the shelf list and the colophons listed in the table on p.34f. immediately reveals two titles which are common to both:

- a) The title in l.4' corresponds to colophons 1–8 which belong to a series arranged according to the serial numbers of the tablets and defined as the “regular (SAG.UŠ^{NIM} = KAYAMĀNIM) KI.LAM festival”.
- b) The title in l.3' corresponds to colophons 9–13 which belong to a series arranged according to the days of the festival. These colophons always have the festival title “When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house” (*mān LUGAL-uš KI.LAM-ni 3-ŠU eša*).

The question of the relation between the two series will be dealt with after the separate discussion of each series. The joint appearance of the two colophon types on the same catalog tablet shows that the tablets of both series were kept by the librarians of Ḫattuša at the same place. Thus, we must assume that the two series were used contemporaneously, and did not, as one might have thought on the basis of the colophons alone, belong to different editions of the text, the one replacing the other. This does not negate the possibility that one of the series was originally older than the other.

The third entry in the catalog tablet, that of the “songs of the KI.LAM”, does not have corresponding colophons in the extant material.

The combined evidence from the shelf list KUB XXX 68 obv. and from the colophons of the festival enables us to reconstruct the original division of the text into several series:

1. A series enumerated by tablets.
2. A series enumerated by festival days.
3. A series containing the (Hattic) liturgy of the festival (“songs of the KI.LAM”).
4. The ration series.
5. The outline series. This series is not represented either in the shelf list or in the preserved colophons. Its discovery is described in section C.6 below.

C. The Tablet Series

1. THE SERIES ENUMERATED BY TABLETS (EZEN SAG.UŠ^{NIM} "the regular festival")

The eight extant colophons in this series (p.34, nos.1–8) belong to the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 8th, 11th and [12th ?], and two more unidentified tablets. We may add KBo X 23 [1.a] which has been identified with certainty as the 1st tablet, although its colophon is broken off. The beginning of l.4' in the shelf list KUB XXX 68 obv. probably contained the total number of tablets belonging to this series.

Assuming an even chance of preservation of the colophons, it may be estimated that a total of 13 to 15 tablets belonged to this series (cf. further, p.70). If so, more than a half of the colophons of this series are known at present. (The colophons do not necessarily coincide with the better preserved tablets).

The colophons of this series are characterized by two elements that are absent in the colophons of the other series:

a) The attribute SAG.UŠ^{NIM} "regular, fixed, steady" always modifies the title EZEN KILAM. In the shelf list KUB XXX 68 it is spelled KA-YA-MA-NIM. The Hittite equivalent is *ukturi*.⁶ For the significance of this attribute see below.

b) The notation ANA GIŠ.HUR-kan *bandan*. (Two of the colophons also have the notation *ištarniyaš* EGIR-an *tarnummaš* for which see below.) Much has been written about this expression.⁷ The main points may be summarized as follows:

It is generally agreed that GIŠ.HUR (Akkadian *išurtu/ušurtu*⁸) has in Hittite texts the meaning of a wooden tablet covered with wax.⁹ E.Laroche, OLZ 58 (1963), 246 indicated the possible Hittite reading. There is no evidence to support the theory according to which these wooden tablets were

inscribed with hieroglyphic characters.¹⁰ The discovery in Kalakh-Nimrud of a wax-covered wooden tablet with traces of cuneiform characters still preserved upon it¹¹ corroborates the assumption that the Hittite wooden tablets were inscribed with the same script as the clay tablets.¹²

The notation ANA GIŠ.HUR-kan *bandan*¹³ is found only in festival tablets.¹⁴ It is usually rendered "true to the original script",¹⁵ or more explicitly, taking into account the concrete meaning of GIŠ.HUR, "true to the (original script on a) wooden tablet." This sense is supported by the notation *ki parkui tuppi* "this is a final (literally: genuine) copy" occasionally preceding it.¹⁶ The opposite expression could be EGIR-an *tarnummaš* which also appears exclusively on tablets related to the state cult.¹⁷ EGIR-an *tarnummaš* means literally "of leaving behind/out" or "to be left behind/out". It occurs either after the number of the tablet or after its title; hence it must be related to the procedure involved in the writing of the tablet and not to its contents.¹⁸ More plausible are the meanings suggested by C.W.Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories (1962), 196f. "to be re-edited" (lit. "of re-editing"), and by H.G.Güterbock, JNES 26 (1967), 79 n.7 "(a tablet) of leaving out" i.e. "abridged or excerpted version".

10 The theory was first suggested by B.Landsberger, Sam'al (1948), 109 n.258 and was elaborated on by H.Th.Bossert, BiOr 9 (1952), 172f.; idem, Minoica (Festschrift J.Sundwall, 1958), 67ff.

11 D.J.Wiseman, Iraq 17 (1955), 3–13; M.E.L.Mallowan, Nimrud and its Remains, Vol.I (1966), 149–163.

12 H.Otten, Das Altertum 1 (1955), 80f.; ibid. in H.Schmökel, Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients (1961), 412. Cf. further n.14.

13 P.Meriggi, Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico II/3 (1975), 297 identifies the notation *bandan* (+ the numeral 3), written in hieroglyphic characters (*ba-tà 3*) on the edge of KUB VII 1, a "Sammeltafel" with five rituals (CTH 390). (Cf. also KBo XXII 214 colophon.)

14 H.T.Bossert, BiOr 9 (1952), 173. For a list of the respective texts see H.Otten, StBoT 13 (1971), 51 n.3. Is it merely coincidental that all these festivals belong to the northern, Proto-Hittite cult layer? If not, this would cast doubt upon the hieroglyphic theory (see above, n.12).

15 A.Goetze, ArOr 5 (1933), 2; JCS 2 (1948), 231; H.G.Güterbock, Symb.Koschaker (1939), 34; H.Otten, StBoT 13 (1971), 48.

16 E.Forrer, ZDMG 1 (1922), 178; A.Goetze, JCS 2 (1948), 231; H.Otten, op. cit.

17 KUB II 8 VI 2 and VBoT 95 rev. (AN.TAH.ŠUM); KUB IX 16 IV 11 (*nuntariya-šhaš*); KUB XLI 26 + KUB XX 29 VI 28 (Festival of ^PZiparwa); KUB XXVII 68 IV 1 (Festival of the Storm-god of Zaḫalukka); KUB XXXIV 126 rev. 6 (Festival of Ziplanda); KUB XLIV 24 VI 7' (Festival of ^PKAL); KBo II 7 left edge 2 (Cult-inventory); 1768/c, 3'–4' and Izmir 1274,4' (KILAM); 431/s rev. 5'.

18 Thus in opposition to V.Haas, Nerik (1970), 303: "Tafel des Verzeihens"; E.Laroche, CTH (1971), 120 (sub 673) "tablette de la 'révision' (?) des dieux de la ville"; id., RHA 33 (1975), 63 (sub no.18): "tablette de 'rations'".

6 HW 290; Erg. 3, 42; E.Laroche, RA 41 (1947), 71 "officiel". Cf. e.g. KBo XXIII 103 14'–15' (colophon): *mān LUGAL-uš ukturiya EZEN-ni* ^{URU}Ziplanti uizzi "when the king comes to Ziplanta for the regular festival".

7 For bibliography see HW 274; Erg. 1, 26. Further references in the following discussion.

8 AHW Lfg. 5 (1963), 391b.

9 See CAD Vol.7, 252 s.v. *iškuru*. A "wax-tablet" (*tuppum ša iškuri*) is already attested in a text from Ugarit (RS 19.53 l.23; see PRU VI 20). Cf. further H.Hunger in RIA IV, 458f. s.v. "Holztafel".

Several occurrences,¹⁹ of which two belong to the KI.LAM text, have the more elaborate expression *ištarniyaš EGIR-an tarnummaš*. They all have in common the fact that they occur in colophons which contain the notation ANA GIŠ.HUR-*kan handan* and the signatures of both a scribe and a “scribe-on-wood” (possibly the same persons in all of the tablets; see above p.33). This gives further support to the assumption that the expression has to do with the process of writing, perhaps the copying of the text from a wooden to a clay tablet. *ištarniya-* means middle; the genitive form *ištarniyaš EGIR-an tarnummaš* can only be related to DUB preceding it. The colophon 1768/c for example, may perhaps be rendered as following: “xth tablet—not complete—of the regular KI.LAM festival, belonging to the middle ‘re-editing’; true to the (original script on a) wooden tablet.” The order of the components in this formula differs from tablet to tablet, but the basic structure is the same. What is the meaning of “middle re-editing” in this context? Could it refer to one of the formulations of the text, e.g., the “first draft” being the original formulation on a wooden tablet, the “middle re-editing” its copying out on a clay tablet, and the “pure tablet” (*parkui tuppi*) the last phase in the process? All this remains conjectural until more conclusive evidence can be produced.

The following two passages are particularly illustrative of the process involved in the preparation of a “draft, original script” of a festival text and its copying, until a “final copy” was produced: (a) KUB X 45 III 12–14²⁰: LUGAL-*uš-ma-kán ma-aḥ-ḥa-an UD-ti-li ši-pa-an-za-ki-iz-zi nu GIŠ.HUR LU^{MES}DUB.SAR GIŠ ḥar-kán-zi* “As the king daily pours out a libation, the scribes-on-wood hold a wooden tablet.” (b) The wax-covered wooden tablets, which according to the quotation above were prepared by the scribes-on-wood, could easily be damaged or falsified. According to KUB XXXII 133 I 4ff.²¹ Muršili II commanded that the cultic instructions of the temple of DINGIR.MI in Šamuḥa be copied out on clay tablets in order to avoid their falsification by the scribes-on-wood and the temple personnel. The “final copies” on clay tablets were kept as library exemplars.²² It is quite possible that during the annual celebrations copies on wooden tablets were used, thus minimizing the wear upon the library exemplars.

19 KUB II 8 VI 2; KUB XLI 26 + KUB XX 29 VI 28; KUB XLIV 24 VI 7'; VBoT 95 (= JCS 21, 94) rev. 2'; 431/s rev. 5'; 1768/c, 3'-4'; Izmir 1274,4'. The last two occurrences belong to the KI.LAM text.

20 CTH 659 H.G. Güterbock, Symb.Koschaker (1939), 34; H.Th. Bossert, BiOr 9 (1952), 173; H.M. Kümmel, StBoT 3 (1967), 46 ff.

21 CTH 482 A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna (1940), 24; H. Kronasser, Die Umsiedelung der schwarzen Gottheit (1963), 58; E. von Schuler, Die Kaššäer (1965), 165 f.; A. Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 216 n.43.

22 Already suggested by E. Forrer, ZDMG 1 (1922), 178.

All the extant tablets of the KI.LAM festival on which the notation “true to the (original script on a) wooden tablet” appears are written in a New Hittite ductus.²³ This raises several questions. Having shown that the New Hittite tablets were copied from older originals, does this mean that the notation figured in the Old Hittite tablets as well and was copied down together with the rest of the text? And if not, must it be assumed that old copies of wooden tablets were also kept in the archives for long periods as were the clay tablets? There is no explanation, either, of the fact that this notation is found exclusively in the “regular” series, but not in the tablets of the “great KI.LAM festival”. One is almost tempted to establish a connection between the two features characterizing the colophons of this series, i.e. the attribute “regular, fixed” and the notation “true to the original script”, and to relate both to the type of the tablet. However, this assumption is contradicted by occurrences in which the adjective “regular” is clearly related to the festival: e.g. KUB XXV 27 IV 8f. *ma-a-an LUGAL-uš EZEN^{MES} SAG.UŠ i-ya-zi* “when the king performs the regular festivals.”²⁴ Whether these two possibilities can be reconciled remains to be seen.

2. THE SERIES ENUMERATED BY FESTIVAL DAYS (EZEN GAL “the great festival”)

We are in possession of five colophons from this series (p.35, nos.9–13), which belong to the first (10), the second (11–12) and the third (13) days of the festival. (On the significance of these colophons for determining the duration of the festival cf. Ch. V.B). The ascription of no.9 to this series will be discussed separately (p.46f.). Only the second of these colophons belongs to a relatively well-preserved tablet, the other four are small fragments containing no substantial text. This means that for the time being only a very small portion of the text of this series is in our possession. The state of preservation is considerably better in the parallel series.

Colophons 11–13 have the same wording: the tablet number and the day of the festival are followed by the title sentence of the festival. Colophon 9 and 10 are more elaborate and will be discussed separately. The meaning and significance of the festival title *mān LUGAL-uš KI.LAM-ni 3-ŠU eša* “when the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house”, is discussed in Ch. V.A.

The festival title sentence also figures in the colophons of the ration series tablets (nos. 14, [15]). This groups the two series together in the same general category. In addition to the colophons of these two series of tablets, the festival title occurs within the text of two ration tablets:

23 Professor Kammenhuber tentatively suggests (written communication) that all the colophons containing this notation belong to the 13th cent.

24 H.G. Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960), 80; cf. further KBo XXIII 103 IV 14'–15' (p.40 n.6).

a) KBo X 31 III 14'–16' [5.a.1]

14' *ma-a-an* [LUGAL]-uš I-NA KILAM

15' 3-Š[U] e-ša ka-a-ša

16' *tar*-[na-a]z-še-mi-iš

“When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house. This is their ration.”

The title occurs in the middle of a listing of livestock rations.

b) KBo XVI 68 + KUB XXXIV 86 + III' 23' [5.c]

ma-a-[an LUGAL-uš KILAM-ni/I-NA KILAM 3-Š]U e-ša

After several sections of stereotyped ration lists the festival title introduces here a new subject. Ritual loaves of bread are given to the priest of Kampiwuit and are taken to the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god.

Three more titles which have a somewhat different wording may also be included here.

c) KBo X 23 I 1' [1.a]

[*ma-a-an-kán* LUGAL-uš]

[I-NA] EZEN KILAM pa-iz-[zi]

This is the introductory title of the first tablet of the festival. It is restored on the basis of the next title (d).

d) 444/s rev. ? 5'–8' [4.1]

5' *ma-a-an-kán* LUGAL-uš I-NA EZEN KILAM p[a-iz-zi ?6' *nu*-za-kán ta-×-×-× ya-aš har-ša-na-al[-li (-)7' SAL^{MEŠ}KAR.KID-ya IT-TI NIN.DINGIR A-NA [8' *nu* SAL^{MEŠ}zi-in-tu-u-*hi*-e-eš ki-iš-ša-an [SIR^{RU}

The title is preceded and followed by Hattic recitations.

e) KBo X 28 + 33 IV 6–10 [2.d.2]

6 *ma-a-an-kán* kat-ta-an [*hi-lam-na-az* ?

7 I-NA EZEN KILAM [

8 LUGAL-uš DUB-aš^{NA4}[*hu-u-wa-ši-ya*9 *ú*-iz- zi[10 *nu* LUGAL-uš A-NA ×[

This last formula can best be compared with the elaborate colophons of KUB XX 4 and 1834/c which will be discussed below. On the basis of this parallelism KBo X 28 + 33 may be attributed to the series enumerated by festival days.

The elaborate colophon of KUB XX 4 [2.a.1] is an exception to the usual scheme of the KILAM festival colophons. The tablet is written in a New Hittite ductus, but numerous orthographical and morphological features

point to a Middle Hittite composition (p.81). Within the colophon itself one may note the phonetic spellings *šiwat* “day”, *šiyamanan* “festival(?)” (see below), the spelling *ka-at-ta* and the plene writing *a-a-ri*. The transliteration of the colophon is given below for easy reference:

1 [DUB-I-KAM (?) *ha-an*]-te-iz-zi-ya *ši-i-wa-at*2] GAL-in *ši-i-ya-ma-na-an*3 [*ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš] KILAM-ni 3-ŠU e-ša4 [*ma-a-an-kán* (?)] LUGAL-uš *hi-lam-na-az ka-at-ta*5 [DUB-aš (?) ^{NA4}*hu-u-wa-ši*]-i-ya(?) *a-a-ri* Ú-UL QA-TI6]^UDUB.SAR.TUR IN.SAR

1 [First tablet (?)] on the [fi]rst day

2] the great festival(?) (acc.)

3 [When the king] takes his seat three times in the gate-house;

4 [When (?)] the king proceeds from the gate-house

5 to the [*huwaš*]-i-(?) [of the Storm-god (?).] Not complete.

6] the junior scribe wrote it.

1.1 “On the first day” (*šiwat* in an endless dat.-loc.)²⁵ is opposed to the usual genitive compound DUB-x-KAM ŠA UD-y-KAM “xth tablet of the yth day”.

1.2 *ši-i-ya-ma-na-an* is a hapax legomenon. The adjective GAL-in shows that it is an acc.sing. common gender of a stem **šiyamana*-. Its meaning may be inferred from the corresponding entry in the shelf list KUB XXX 68 (p.37), obv. 3':

[DUB-x-KAM^{H1.A} EZEN GA]L ŠA KILAM *ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš
KILAM¹-ni [3-ŠU e-]ša

The restoration EZEN.GAL is suggested by the parallelism with l.8', EZEN.GAL ^E*hi-iš-ta-a ma-a-an* LUGAL-uš; and with rev. 2, EZEN.GAL *pu-u-r*[u-li-. The juxtaposition of EZEN.GAL with GAL **šiyamana*- seems to indicate the Hittite reading of EZEN, “festival”. The phonetic complements nom. -aš, acc. -an and dat.-loc. -ni (not EZEN^{NI}; see H.-S.Schuster, Hatt.-Heth.Bil., 1974, 20 n.56) are consonant with this equation.²⁶

11.3–5 The restoration is based on the similar title in KBo X 28 + 33 IV 6–10 (title e) above). Although the components of the title occupy different

25 See E. Neu, Studien zum endungslosen “Lokativ” des Hethitischen (1980), 15f.

26 Another Hittite equivalent for EZEN has been suggested based upon the Akkadian-Hittite bilingual text KUB IV 3 obv. 13 (see E.Laroche, Ugaritica V, 1968, 783 and H.M.Kümmel, UF 1, 1969, 164). The Akkadian column has *i-na i*[-se]-*en-ni*, the Hittite column the adverb *gal-liš-tar-wa-ni-li*. Related words are ^{LU}*kallištawana*- and ^E*kallištawana*[- (HW 95). The derived noun **kallištawana*- is of course consonant with the complemented forms as well. However, note the reservations expressed by H.Otten apud H.M.Kümmel op. cit. concerning this equation (cf. also O.R.Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 58).

positions in the two passages, the close parallelism enables us to restore the point of departure and the destination as *hīlammaz* and (^DU-aš) ^{NA4}*huwašiya* respectively (see p. 124).

A new KILAM colophon was discovered in the Ankara Museum in the summer of 1978. This important fragment, 1834/c (no. 9 in the table on p. 35), came rather as a surprise since it deviates from the well-established classification of the KILAM festival colophons. At first sight it appears to be a "hybrid" form of the two series, the one enumerated by tablets and the other by days of the festival. The colophon of 1834/c is reproduced and discussed below:

8' DUB-I-KAM *ma-a-an* LUGA[L-uš KILAM-ni]
 9' 3-ŠU *e-ša te[-*
 10' LUGAL-uš KILAM-na-a[z *katta*
 11' [na-a]š(?) ^DUTU-aš É-r[i
 12']Ú-UL QA[-TI

This colophon is clearly related to the elaborate colophon of KUB XX 4 [2.a.1]. Whether it also contained the scribe's signature and title as does KUB XX 4 cannot be established since the fragment is broken immediately below line 12'.

The spelling KILAM-na-a[z in l. 10', juxtaposed with *hī-lam-na-az* in KUB XX 4 IV 4, provides the long sought-after proof of the equation KILAM = *hīlammaz* (see I. Singer, ZA 65, 1975, p. 91), since the two passages may be regarded as quasi-duplicates.

The question marks in the restoration of the colophon of KUB XX 4 (based on the comparison with KBo X 28 + 33 IV 6–10; see p. 84) cannot be removed, despite the parallel composition of the newly discovered colophon which is unfortunately broken at certain crucial points. Both colophons contain the sub-title "[When] the kings down from the gate-house...". His destination in 1834/c is the temple of the Sun-goddess. If our restoration [na-a]š at the beginning of l. 11' is correct then the sub-title must have contained two clauses: "When the king [comes?] down from the gate-house and [goes?/arrives?/celebrates?] to/in the temple of the Sun-goddess."

The restoration [^DU-aš(?) ^{NA4}*hu-u-wa-š*]i-ya in KUB XX 4 IV 5 must be maintained since traces rule out restoration as [^DUTU-aš É-r]i-ya. This difference, however, does not raise any difficulties since we know from the festival description that the temple of the Sun-goddess is a main station in the king's procession from the gate-house (of the palace) to the *huwaši* of the Weather-god outside the city. Accordingly, 1834/c can be expected to contain the description of the first part of the festival; this is confirmed by the small preserved part of the tablet itself.

I cannot suggest any plausible restoration to the word beginning with *te[-* in l. 9'. *te[riyanna šiwat ??]* "the th[ird day]?" would certainly solve the problem of the missing indication of the day (see below), but it would appear

in an unusual place. *TE-[ŠI* "spring" is very improbable for the same reason and for reasons discussed in Ch. V.D.

Finally, the problem of the classification of this colophon must be considered. There are two types of KILAM colophons, each belonging to a separate series of tablets. One type is enumerated by tablets only, the other by tablets and days; the latter always contains the festival title *mān* LUGAL-uš KILAM-ni 3-ŠU *eša*. 1834/c is attributed to the second type by the occurrence of the festival title, however, no indication of the festival day is to be found in the preserved section of the colophon.

To be sure, the indication of the day would be expected immediately after the tablet number, as in the other colophons of this series. Unless simply omitted by mistake, it must be assumed that for some unknown reason it was located elsewhere in the colophon. A plausible place would be at the beginning of l. 12' before the notation "not complete". Otherwise one is forced to admit the existence of a third type of colophon.

3. THE RELATION BETWEEN SERIES 1 AND 2

The equation of EZEN.GAL in the entries of the shelf list KUB XXX 68 with GAL **šiyamana-* in the colophon of KUB XX 4, makes it apparent that the second series, which is enumerated by festival days, was known by the heading "the great festival of the KILAM". Although the heading EZEN.GAL is missing in the colophons 11–13 (p. 35), they undoubtedly belong to the same series, as can be seen from the other common features, such as the numeration system and the title sentence of the festival.

The heading "the great festival of the KILAM" of series 2 must obviously be contrasted with the heading "the regular KILAM festival" (EZEN KILAM SAG.UŠ^{NIM}) found in the colophons of the first series. The existence of two degrees of the same festival, a "great" and a "regular" one, is noteworthy and has not been evaluated before. It is by no means peculiar to the KILAM festival. In the same shelf list KUB XXX 68, one encounters "the great festival of the *heštā*-house" (obv. 8'), alongside the "regular festival of the *heš[tā]*-house" (obv. 9'). Probably a similar pair should also be restored in the rev., "the great festival of the *purulli*" (l. 2)²⁷ and the "[regular] festival of Nerik" (l. 3). There are also several separate occurrences of one type or the other, either the "great festival"²⁸ or the "regular festival"²⁹.

27 Cf. KBo II 5 III 14, 17 (A. Goetze, AM 188), EZEN *puruliyas kuit* GAL-in EZEN-an.

28 E.g. KUB XXX 64 r.col. 10 (CTH p. 192); KUB XXVII 49 IV 22' H.G. Güterbock, Oriens 15, 1964, 346.

29 A. Goetze, AM 204f.; G. Furlani, Religione (1936), 245. Note especially KUB XXX 27 IV 8 f. *mān* LUGAL-uš EZEN^{MEŠ} SAG.UŠ *iyazi*, "when the king performs the regular festivals". The text is, in part, a parallel to the outline tablets of the

With regard to the designations “great festival” and “regular festival”, one is reminded of the “festivals of the sixth year” celebrated in Hattuša by Muršili II (AM 138, IV 41: EZEN^{HI.A} ŠA MU-6-KAM). These festivals are referred to in another passage of the annals as “the great festivals of the sixth year” (AM 162, IV 22: EZEN^{MEŠ} GAŁ^{MEŠ} ŠA MU-6-KAM). It would follow that the “great festivals” are celebrated once in six years³⁰; the “regular festivals”, one would assume, were celebrated annually. However, in order to substantiate this possibility and to define the contextual differences between the two degrees of the festival, a thorough investigation of comparative material from other festivals is needed and this is beyond the scope of this work³¹. The evidence from the KI.LAM festival is insufficient; a contextual comparison between the two parallel series of the KI.LAM festival is hardly possible in view of the differences in the patterns of preservation.

Finally, to repeat the formal differences between the colophons of the two series:

The “great festival”	The “regular festival”
– Enumeration by festival days	– Enumeration by tablets
– Festival title “when the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house”	– Notation ANA GIŠ.HUR-kan han-dan “true to the (original script on a) wooden tablet”

4. THE LITURGY SERIES (FRAGMENTS WITH HATTIC RECITATIONS)

The third title of the KI.LAM festival in the shelf list KUB XXX 68 obv. 5'–7' (see p.37 above) is related to the “songs of the KI.LAM” (ŠA KI.LAM ŠIR^{HI.A}). The context is unfortunately mutilated, but one may safely attribute this title to a separate series of tablets containing the Hattic liturgy of the festival. Two groups of reciters are mentioned in the title, the *zintuḫi*-[women] (l. 5') and the “masters of the words” (LÚ^{MEŠ} uddanaš išheš l. 6'). The *zintuḫi*-women are well-known as reciters of Hattic liturgies³²; the “masters of the words” occur as conjuring priests³³. In the KI.LAM festival they figure in the first tablet (KBo X 23 III 10'' [1.a]).

AN.TAḪ.ŠUM (H.G.Güterbock, JNES 19, 1960, 80; NHF, 1964, 63). Cf. also p.40 n.6.

30 G.Furlani, *Religione* (1936), 255 n.24; RIA 3 (1957), 44, s.v. “Fest”. Furlani suggests that the celebrations were held on the occasion of the successful termination of six years of reign, by analogy with a similar practice in Egypt.

31 The existence of “regular” and “special” festivals in the cult of the Storm-god of Halap in Hatti is indicated by V.Souček–Jana Siegelová, *ArOr* 42 (1974), 39 ff. (see especially p.43 f.).

32 H.-S.Schuster, *Hatt.-Heth.Bil.* (1974), 28 (with n. 100), 44.

33 H. Otten, KBo XI Inhaltsübersicht ad no. 14.

No colophon of this series has been discovered so far³⁴; however, there are a number of fragments with Hattic recitations of the KI.LAM festival which can be attributed to this series. The most indicative of these is 444/s [4.1]. Within passages of Hattic responsories³⁵, there is an elaborate form of the festival title, which proves the attribution of the passage to the KI.LAM festival (p.44). This is followed by the introductory sentence (l.8'), *nu SAL^{MEŠ} zi-in-tu-u-ḫi-e-eš ki-iš-ša-an* [ŠIR^{RU}] “the *zintuḫi*-women [sing] as follows”. The same sentence is found in the other fragments, which are attributed to the KI.LAM festival on the basis of circumstantial evidence—IBoT II 29 obv. 5' [4.2] 88/d right col. 13' [4.3]; KUB XLVIII 22, 3' [4.5] (cf. C. Kühne, *ZA* 70, 1980, p.99).

The two parallel fragments 88/d and KUB XLVIII 7 are Hittite-Hattic bilinguals. Little can be said about their contents from the small fragments preserved. Note the occurrence of the “bee” (NIM.LĀL-aš; KUB XLVIII 7 III 1) and the “mother-bee” (*annaš* NIM.LĀL-aš; 88/d right col. 7'). Is it possible that the Hattic recitations of the KI.LAM festival contained mythological passages³⁶ as did other festivals?³⁷

Short passages with Hattic recitations are also scattered throughout the text: KBo X 23 VI 4–7 [1.a]; KBo XII 131 right col. 16' [2.a.2]; ABoT 5 + III 8' [1.b]; KBo XXI 68 IV 1–3 [1.b.C].

5. THE RATION SERIES

From the ration series of the festival there is one complete colophon (KBo X 31 V 3'–5'; table on p.35, no.14): “Fourth tablet of the rations. Not complete. When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house.” Thus, the ration series contained at least five tablets. There is only one further colophon known, on which only the word *KI.LAM-ni* remains (1620/c+; no.15). Two further tablets of this series have the colophon broken off: KBo XVI 68+ [5.c] and KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 [5.b]. In addition to these, there is a large number of smaller duplicates and parallel fragments.

It has been noted already that the festival title (“When the king ...”) in the colophon, places this series in the same general category with series 2 which is enumerated by festival days. The ration series is not represented in the shelf

34 KBo XXIII 103 is an example of a colophon belonging to a liturgy tablet. The liturgy is recited in the “regular festival” of the town Ziḫanta or in the first day of the *purulli* festival.

35 H.-S.Schuster, *Hatt.-Heth.Bil.* (1974), 18 f.

36 For mythological texts featuring the bee cf. E.Laroche, *RHA* 23/77 (1965), 147 ff., 158 f.

37 E.g. the Myth of Illuyanka recited in the *purulli* festival, or the myth of the “Moon that fell from heaven” (in a bilingual tradition) recited during a ritual against storm, see E. Neu, *StBoT* 12 (1970), 44.

list KUB XXX 68 together with the other series of the festival. This could mean that the ration tablets were kept by the Hittite librarians in a different place for some practical reasons. Such is also the case with the tablets of the *purulli*-festival: the 32 regular tablets figure in the shelf list KUB XXX 42 I 5–7 (CTH p.162), whereas the tablet containing the rations of food and adornments can be found in the tablet KUB VIII 69 III 5–7 (CTH p.186). The ration tablets of the KI.LAM are discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

6. THE OUTLINE SERIES

The colophons of the KI.LAM tablets and the shelf list KUB XXX 68 proved the existence of four separate series of tablets belonging to the festival text, which were discussed in the previous sections. The existence of a fifth series was conjectured by analogy with other festivals, such as the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and the *nuntariyašḫaš*, which have, in addition to the regular detailed tablets, a separate outline text.³⁸ However, neither the shelf list, nor the colophons and the tablets of the festival contained anything to support this conjecture. Nevertheless, I sought to find the outline series by trying to identify passages containing a shortened version of the events described in the detailed tablets of the festival. My efforts were indeed rewarded by the discovery of two outline tablets, partially parallel to each other, and additional duplicates and parallel fragments (description of the tablets in Ch. III.C.1.b).

- a) KBo XX 33 + KBo XVII 46 + KBo XVII 21 + KBo XXV 19 (see join sketch 2; p.68).
- b) KBo XXV 176 with the duplicates KUB X 13 and Bo 2697 and the parallel fragments KBo XXV 180 and KUB XXVIII 106 (cf. H.-S.Schuster, *Hatt.-Heth. Bil.*, 1974, 32f.; C.Kühne, *ZA* 70, 1980, p.99).

The two tablets are very similar in form: both are one-column tablets³⁹ inscribed all around the edges. For unknown reasons neither of the two tablets contained a colophon, so that their identification rests entirely on contextual evidence. As to the contents, the outline tablets cover only the last part of the main text (the eleventh and the following tablets), so that we may hope to discover in the future additional outline tablets which cover the beginning of the text.

³⁸ For the outline tablets of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival see H.G. Güterbock, *JNES* 19 (1960), 80ff.; NHF (1964), 62ff. For the *nuntariyašḫaš* festival see idem., *JNES* 20 (1961), 90 and n.30. Cf. also the outline tablets of the “Ritual for the deceased”, *šalliš waštaiš* (CTH 450); H. Otten, *HTR* (1958), 48 ff.

³⁹ One of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM outline tablets (KUB XXX 39) is also a one-column tablet. The other outline tablets of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and the *nuntariyašḫaš* festivals are two-columned. The better preserved tablets have a colophon.

The outline tablets offer great aid to the reconstruction of the text. They supply final proof for the identification of tablets whose ascription to the KI.LAM festival was only conjectural, permit the reconstruction of the order of tablets without a colophon, and fill in gaps in the text. Furthermore, the outline tablets suggest to us what the authors considered essential or secondary in the text.

D. Summary

Hittite festival texts were designed for practical purposes. They served as a detailed manual for the celebrations.⁴⁰ For the instructions to be complete and performable they had to contain three components:

1. A detailed step by step description of all the rites and ceremonies pertaining to the festival.
2. The text of the liturgy recited by the cult functionaries. As is known, in the festivals which have Hattic origins, such as the KILAM, the recitations are in Hattic.
3. Prescriptions for the logistic aspects of the festival, i.e. the sorts and the quantities of the provisions, the suppliers, and the recipients.

In the reconstruction of the text of the KILAM festival, parts of each of the three components were identified:

1. Although five separate series of tablets were distinguished, three of them are actually different forms of descriptions of the festival, two series with a full description and an outline series. The exact nature of the difference between the two parallel detailed series could not be determined for lack of sufficient comparative evidence. However, there are some formal differences between the colophons of the two series which were discussed above.
2. From the Hattic liturgy of the festival only several small fragments have been discovered, but no colophons.
3. On the other hand, a substantial part of the ration tablets of the festival (Chapter VI) has been discovered and examined.

Although I lack enough comparative material to demonstrate the same three-fold composition in the texts of other festivals, it is doubtless extant. I will confine myself to one example, the *purulli* festival of Nerik. The evidence is provided by catalog tablets: KUB XXX 42 obv. 5–7 (CTH p.162) mentions 32 tablets of the festival; KUB XXX 68 (CTH p.173; see above p.37) has four titles of the *purulli*-, the festival description in rev. 2–3, and the liturgy in rev. 4–5. KUB VIII 69 III 5–9 (CTH p.186) is also a tablet of the *purulli*: “1 tablet—How the *hapi*-men take their adornments and how they fix the provisions in the *purulli* festival; and how the *zintuhi*-women sing the great song.” If the same festival is meant here as in the previous texts⁴¹, this tablet contains the rations⁴² as well as the liturgies of the festival.

40 H.G. Güterbock, XVII RAI (1969), 175.

41 The *purulli* festival is in most cases connected with Nerik, however, *purulli* festivals of other towns are also attested (V. Haas, Nerik, 1970, 43, 44 n.1).

42 Fragments belonging to ration tablets of this festival are cited under CTH 677 (cf. also KBo XVI 72–74, 81).

CHAPTER III SYNOPSIS OF THE FESTIVAL EVENTS

A. Method of Presentation

In the chapter dealing with the composition of the text, the existence of two parallel series containing the detailed description of the festival has been discussed at length. One is designated the “regular KI.LAM festival” (EZEN KI.LAM SAG.UŠ^{NIM}) and is numerated in a serial order of tablets; the other is designated the “great festival” (EZEN.GAL) and the day of the festival appears in its colophons. The exact nature of the relation between the two series remains to be defined.

From the latter series we possess as yet only seven fragments with no successive text. Except for the beginning of the “first day” (KUB XX 4 I) which is parallel to the beginning of the “first tablet” (KBo X 23), it is difficult to work out the correlation between the two series. Therefore, the synopsis of the two series will be presented separately and occasional points of contact or resemblance will be noted.

The text of the “regular festival” is in a far better state of preservation. There are about eight relatively well-preserved tablets (KBo X 23, 24, 25, 26, KBo XXVII 42, Izmir 1270+, KUB X 1, KUB II 3), ranging from three preserved columns to almost complete tablets (KBo X 23). These are augmented by a large number of duplicates and parallel fragments. The material is divided into two groups: one covering the beginning of the text (1st to 3rd tablets), the other its end (11th tablet onwards). Between these two “blocks” there is a very large gap covering more than half of the text (4th to 10th tablets). Although we have the colophons of the 5th and the 8th tablets, almost nothing of their text has survived. Accordingly, the synopsis of this series is presented in two separate parts, “the beginning” and “the end of the festival text”.

The end of the text benefits from the fortunate circumstance that besides the New Hittite tablets there also exists an original Old Hittite exemplar (ABoT 5+ [1.b]) and two outline tablets which run parallel to the detailed text (KBo XX 33+ [3.a] and KBo XXV 176 [3.b]). The combination of all these sources provides a nearly complete sequence of the “great assembly” described in this part of the text.

The reconstruction and the description of the material is dealt with at the beginning of each chapter. Observations on the relative age of the various duplicates are also given there. Separate commentaries on the main subjects in the text will be given in Chapter IV. In addition to these treatments, various points will be commented on in the notes within the synopsis.

B. The Beginning of the Festival Text (1st to 3rd Tablets of the "Regular Festival")

1. THE MATERIAL

The sequence of the first three tablets is interrupted by a number of gaps of varying length. Besides the three main tablets and their duplicates, there are a number of isolated fragments which cannot be incorporated into the text (the duplicates 922/z, Bo 5423, KBo X 21 [1.d]) and also five fragments which according to their contents (description of the AGRIG ceremony) belong here, but contain different versions of the text (KBo XVI 82, KBo XXIII 91, 496/u, KUB X 84, Bo 5005 [1.e]).

With regard to the ductus of these texts, most of the material, including the three main tablets, is in New Hittite script. Some smaller fragments have a somewhat older ductus, perhaps dating from the early 14th century (1366/u [1.b.H], KBo XXIII 91 [1.e.2]). The text itself exhibits numerous linguistic features which testify to an Old Hittite original.

The "first tablet" (KBo X 23 [1.a]): The identification of KBo X 23, the colophon of which is broken off, as the "first tablet" is the result of a special circumstance. The last section in col. VI is repeated as the first section of KBo X 24 [1.b], identified by its colophon as the "second tablet". It is thus very likely that the two tablets were copied down by the same scribe. KBo X 23 is a three-column tablet, nearly complete, except for the missing introduction and a number of gaps (especially the upper portion of cols. II and III). KBo XI 67 is a direct join to col. IV; KBo X 22 is (probably) an indirect join to col. V.

The first column is paralleled by the first column of KUB XX 4 [2.a.1], the tablet of the "first day" in the parallel series. The list of "the animals of the gods" in cols. V–VI is partly paralleled by KBo X 25 VI [1.j] and by KBo XXV 180 rev. [3.b.D] (see Ch. IV.A.3). The tablet is written in a New Hittite ductus. Some spellings seem to be copied from an older original.¹ The duplicate KBo X 51 [1.a.B] may belong to a somewhat later copy.²

The "second tablet" (KBo X 24 [1.b]): The preserved section consists of two large fragments—the upper left and the lower right corners—of a three-co-

lumn tablet, with no direct join. The relative position of the fragments to each other can be established by the contents of column IV (one section, with the AGRIG of Nenašša, is missing).

The ductus is New Hittite. There are a number of rare words in the text which also appear in the *MEŠEDI* Instruction (IBoT I 36), a text which has been ascribed to the early 14th century³—*kašgaštīpa*- (Ch. IV.C.6), *LÚ^{MEŠ} LIM ŠĒRI*,⁴ *iškittab*-⁵.

No less than seven duplicates have been found, belonging to at least three different exemplars. Duplicate H (1366/u) has an older ductus which may date from the early 14th century.⁶

The "third tablet" (KUB X 1 [1.c]): This is a three-column tablet with parts of the first, second and fifth columns preserved. In the colophon the name of the scribe was first inscribed and then erased (see p.33). Duplicate B (KBo XX 99 + KBo XXI 52) is a large fragment, only the obverse of which is preserved. The second column continues into the gap in the main text. There are also three⁷ small duplicates.

Among the fragments parallel to the second and third tablets KBo XXIII 91 [1.e.2] exhibits an older, probably Middle Hittite, ductus.⁸

3 H. Otten apud H. G. Güterbock, XIX RAI (1974), 311; H. A. Hoffner, JNES 31 (1972), 33.

4 *LÚ^{MEŠ} LIM ŠĒRI*, the "thousand of the battlefield (?)" (AHw 1095 s.v. *šēru*) are also attested in two texts ascribed to the Old Kingdom—the Treaty with the Hittite (KBo IX 73 (+) obv. 10, H. Otten, ZA 52, 1975, 220, 222) and the Telipinu Decree (KBo III 1 II 71 GAL *LÚ^{MEŠ} UGULA LIM ŠĒRI*)—and in the catalog tablet KUB XXX 56 III 19 (CTH p. 181). This military office may be related to the *rabi šerim* in the Cappadocian tablets (B. Kienast, Die altassyrischen Texte des orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg ... (1960), 95 "Feldmeister"; for other interpretations cf. E. Bilgiç, Die einheimischen Appellativa ..., 1954, 41, n. 98). See further p. 61 n. 28.

5 With the spelling *iš-ki-ta^{ab}-bi*. IBoT I 36 has *iš-ki-da-a-ab-bi*. For the value *kit*, of the sign *kat* see E. Laroche, RA 46 (1951), 161 n. 2.

6 Note the signs *ḪAR* (l. 2') and *URU* (l. 8'). Note also the orthography *PU-UR* (instead of *PUR* in the main tablet) in *NINDA^a purpura*.

7 Duplicate E (Bo 297) was identified by Prof. H. A. Hoffner who kindly brought it to my attention. It is to be published in the forthcoming publication IBoT IV.

8 Note also the Old Hittite spelling *ḫa-ik-ta* (rev. 6'); see E. Neu, StBoT 5 (1968), 55 n. 1.

1 I 21 *ti-i-e-zi*; II 24 *ti-i-iz-zi* (cf. E. Neu, StBoT 12, 1970, 52). On the other hand, *wa-aš-ši-ya-zi* (l. 11') is late.

2 *ti-i-ya-zi* (l. 7'; cf. note above).

2. SYNOPSIS

[“First tablet”]

- KBo X 23+ [1.a] Introduction. Broken off except for: [“when the king goes to the KI.LAM festival.”]
 I x + 1
 (cf. KUB XX 4 I [2.a.1]) The king makes his toilet.
 2’–5’ The palace⁹ is opened. *The curtain is drawn up.*¹⁰
 6’–17’ The king enters the inner-room and dresses himself. He puts on a white shirt (according to) *Subarian* (fashion)¹¹, a raw cloth¹², a *šepahi*-shirt¹³, a golden earring and black shoes.
 18’–21’ The king leaves the *bathroom*¹⁴ and takes his seat on the palace throne.
 I 22’–34’ Ceremony of the iron spear. The foreman of the smiths¹⁵ presents the *ceremonial* (?)¹⁶ iron spear¹⁷ to the king.

9 For ^Ébalentuwa- see Ch. IV.C.2.

10 For ^{KUŠ}NIG.BAR see the literature cited in HW 288 and Erg. 2, 31. See also A. Salonen, Die Türen (1961), 70 (“Fell mit dem die Tür bedeckt wurde”); R. Werner, OLZ 57 (1962), 384 (“Fell, Teppich, Decke”); H.-S. Schuster, Hatt.-Heth. Bil. (1974), 115 (“Polster” oder “Kissen”).

11 A. Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), 29, reads SU^{QI} and translates “a white shirt for street (-wear)”; H. Otten (oral communication) prefers URU^{KI} “a white shirt of the town”. I now think (originally I suggested KUŠ^{KI}=*maški* “leather”) that SU^{KI} is the well-known abbreviation of Subartu or Subarian (I. J. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, 1944, 23 ff.); the resultant “white shirt (according to) Subarian (fashion)” corresponds with the more frequently attested TUG.GÜ.Ē.A Hurri “shirt (according to) Hurrian (fashion)” (A. Goetze, Cor. lingu., 1955, 53 f.). This may be compared to an Alalakh IV text (AT 416) where, in a list of garments, both TUG.GÜ.Ē.A Hurri (ll. 5, 30) and TUG.GÜ.Ē.A SU.BIR₄ (l. 7) appear (Goetze, Cor. lingu., 54, n. 56). Compare also the Mari occurrence of GÜ.Ē.A SU^{HIA} in ARMT I 75 (listed in A. Finet, ARMT XV, 73 s. v. SU “leather”, but cf. A. L. Oppenheim, JNES 11, 1952, 134). As far as I know, the abbreviated form SU^{KI} has no parallels in Boğazköy (for KUR Šubartu see Del Monte, Répert. Géogr., 1978, 367) or in contemporary archives (Gelb, op. cit., 25).

12 For TUG war^hui- see p. 26 with notes 12 f.

13 TUG^šepahin=za with P. Meriggi, WZKM 58, 107 (not a Luwian plural, A. Goetze, JCS 16, 29). Cf. VAT 7474 II 10’ TUG^šse-pa-*hi*-in ŠA LUSIPAD.UDU.

14 For É.DU₁₀.ÜSSA see Ch. IV.C.8.

15 According to the parallel passage in KUB XX 4 I 20’, 21’ [2.a.1] the Hittite word for LUE.DÉ.A is an *i*-stem (nom. E.DÉ.A-iš; acc. E.DÉ.A-in). Perhaps it is identical with the Hattic designation ureš (HW Erg. 3, 47).

16 For šakuwannaš (gen. of *šakuwatar) see A. Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), 29. See further p. 91.

17 The parallel text KUB XX 4 I 22’ has šakuwannaš turi. The equation ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR = (^{GIŠ})turi (HW 295) is certain (contra Y. Coşkun, DTCFY 239, 1974, 437 ff.).

The king proceeds from the palace to the ^Ékatapuzna-.¹⁸

35’–40’

Completely mutilated. Scene moves to the courtyard (l. 40’).

II 1’–4’

Beginning of column lost. First lines destroyed.

5’–27’

Bodyguards and palace attendants take their places at the *passageway*¹⁹ of the palace gate. *Comedians*²⁰ greet the king at the gate of the “house of the queen’s treasurer”.

28’–35’

III x + 1–8’

Beginning of column lost. First lines fragmentary.

Mention is made of ^Éhu-u-la-ri (hapax).

Lacuna of about 5 lines.

y + 1–6’

[*Comedians* ?] dance “in the manner of a leopard”.²¹

Procession of the “animals of the gods” viewed by the king at the ^Ékatapuzna- (see Ch. IV.A).

III 7’–11’

While the king sits in the ^Ékatapuzna- the “animals of the gods” and the “masters of the words”²² pass in review.²³

12’–15’

Comedians dance, clap hands and play music.

16’–20’

At the gate-house the *sacred* (?)²⁴ carts are set ready.

(cf. Bo 6127 [1.a.C])

IV 1–6

Description of the ornamented oxen harnessed to the carts: the horns and the yokes are mounted in gold. Golden lunulae²⁵ are affixed to their foreheads.²⁶

(cf. Bo 5005 obv. 3’f.

[1.e.5])

who suggests ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR = (^{GIŠ})zau-.). All the occurrences of *turi*- in the KI.LAM text are in the neuter which is the original gender of this word (cf. E. Neu, StBoT 18, 29). For “spears” as cult objects cf. further Ch. IV.A.1.

18 See discussion in Ch. IV.C.7.

19 For ^Éarkiu- see Ch. IV.C.1.

20 For the LUMEŠALAM.KAxUD see p. 95 n. 22.

21 H. G. Güterbock suggests (written communication) a connexion between *paršanili* and the part of the body from which the verb *parš(a)nai*- “to squat down” must be derived—i.e. “hips”, “haunches”, or the like. Thus “to dance *paršanili*” could mean “to dance in squatting manner” (as e.g. the Russian folk-dance “kasatchok”).

22 For *uddanaš* BELUMEŠ see H. Otten, KBo XI Inhaltsübersicht ad no. 14 (“Beschwörungspriester”).

23 For *šameyanzi* see n. 21 on p. 95.

24 *nana(n)kalta*-. Conjectured meaning suggested by E. Laroche, OLZ 57 (1962), 29.

25 *ar-ma-an-ni-iš* sg. nom. (cf. however A. Kammenhuber, HW² 325 b).

26 This may be compared to the frequent representation of decorated oxen foreheads in Anatolian clay figurines (examples in Boğazköy, Alaca and Alişar).

7–14	Ten or more dancers, one of them naked, follow the cart.
15–10''	At the “gate-house of the gods” the priest of ^D KAL, the “holy priest” of ^D KAL and a <i>psalmodist</i> ²⁷ are standing (at the head of the procession). The priest of ^D KAL holds a silver vessel filled with wine. Remainder (about 20 lines) lost. First section in col. V (about 4 lines) lost.
V 5'–10'	The above mentioned cult-functionaries come out through the gate.
11'–13'	The “spears” follow (<i>standing on mountains</i>). (See discussion in Ch. IV.A.1)
14'–15'	10 or [20] “copper fleeces” follow (see discussion in Ch. IV.A.2).
16'–28'	The “animals of the gods” follow (see discussion in Ch. IV.A.3)
(cf. KBo X 25 VI 4' ff. [1.7])	a silver panther/leopard, a silver wolf, a golden lion, [a silver boar], a lapis lazuli [boar], a silver [bear]. The rest is badly damaged. Remainder of col. V (about 20 lines) lost. [In the parallel description in KBo X 25 VI 12'–18' the “dog-men” follow here.]
VI 1–12	The [singer of ^D KAL] and the men of Anunuwa play music and sing in Hattic.
13–29	(The stag figures follow, see discussion on p. 93 f.) Golden stag; drawn by the men of the “great-house”. Silver stag with antlers; drawn from the palace by the “shepherds of the right- and the left-side”. Silver stag with golden antlers; drawn by the men of Hariyaša. Silver stag without antlers; drawn by the <i>Zizzi-mara</i> -men. They hold their torches in front. End of tablet. Colophon missing.
“Second tablet”	
(KBo X 24 [1.b])	
I 1–5	Repetition of last section of the previous tablet.
6–9	The <i>aliyazenuš karkidanduš</i> (see p. 94) are carried by the LÚ ^{MEŠ} LIM ŠĒRI (see p. 57 n. 4).

27 DUMU.NITA *palwatallaš* “a psalmodist boy” instead of the usual LÚ *p.*, is attested only in the KILAM text.

10–13	Procession of “animals” leaves through the “upper gate” (For ^É <i>kašgaštīpa</i> - see Ch. IV.C.6). Remainder (about 25–30 lines) lost. [In the parallel description in KBo X 25 VI 19'–35' the continuation is also in bad condition. Apparently the description of the procession continues. Mention is made of the foreman of the “dog-men”, the <i>comedians</i> , the table-men and the foreman of the <i>herald(s) of the troops</i> (VI 34' UGULA NIMGIR ERÍN ^{MEŠ} ²⁸). The objects carried along include something made of ivory and something connected with birds. Thereafter KBo X 25 ends.]
II 2–9	The “holy priest” of the Storm-god, a <i>comedian</i> and the priest of ^D KAL proceed. The latter holds a silver vessel. Lacuna and mutilated text of about 20 lines. (Probably the procession continues)
II 17'–21''	Damaged section. Subjects are the sacred bulls [Šeri(?) and] <i>Hurri</i> , made of silver. Their horns are mounted in gold.
22'–28''	<i>Comedians</i> play music and sing in front of the <i>sacred(?)</i> cart. Beginning of col. III (about 10 lines) lost.
III 1'–14'	Obscure passage. ²⁹
15'–17'	The <i>zinhuri</i> -men follow.

28 For this reading (not MÚRUB+ERÍN) see H. G. Güterbock, *Festschrift Heinrich Otten* (1973), 74. The *heralds of the troops* are also attested in the Telipinu Decree, in CTH 221 (LSU 19) and in the *MEŠEDI* Instruction (for references see Güterbock op. cit.). Thus, as in the case of the LIM ŠĒRI (p. 57 n. 4), it occurs only in texts dating from before the Empire period. GAL LÚ^{MEŠ} NIMGIR in the Palace Chronicle (KBo III 34 II 31) may be compared to GAL *'na-gi-ri* in a Kültepe tablet (TCL XXI 214 B, 3; P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, 1963, 69).

29 Cf. E. Neu, *StBoT* 5 (1968), 102, 174, 182; for ll. 6'–10' see V. G. Ardzinba, *Vestnik drevney istorii* 141 (1977), 118 ff. Lines 1'–5' are badly damaged; lines 6'–14' may be rendered as follows: “On a thread(?)^a of *ippiya*- plant^b) (there are) good lips; *kalwešna*- plants^b) are laid on them; it rests for an hour and then it *rises*^c) gradually (or: it *rises* to the right^d). / As the *tiešteš* (and) *larieš* of the sea (or: in the seas) gasped, in the sky above, the *divines*^e) are sent away.”

a) Perhaps *kapnueššar* is related to *kapina*- “thread” (HW 99), rather than to *kappueššar* “counting, examination” (HW Erg. 1, 9); Ardzinba relates it to *GIŠka-panu*- in KUB XLIII 62 III 3 and suggests the translation “lower part (of a tree)”, perhaps “roots”. [For the KILAM festival see now also V. G. Ardzinba's book, *Ritualy i mify drevnej Anatolii*, Moskva 1982, 245 s. v.].

	Ceremony of presenting the iron axe to the king.
18'–20'	The king's chariot is brought near the ^é <i>katapuz-na</i> .
21'–22'	The king leaves the ^é <i>katapuz-na</i> .
23'–33'	Palace attendants take the <i>ceremonial</i> (iron) spear from the king and present him with the iron axe.
IV 1–4	Description of the iron axe; decorated with an image of the Storm-god. ³⁰
IV 5–20	The royal couple drives in chariots to the temple of the Grain-goddess (^D<i>Halki</i>).
5–6	The king mounts his chariot.
7–12	The queen's chariot is brought in front of the palace gate. The queen mounts the chariot and drives after the king.
13–18	Musicians accompany king's chariot while playing music.
19–20	The royal pair arrives in front of the gate of (the temple of) the Grain-goddess.
IV 21–V; KUB X 1 I [1.c] Parallel texts [1.e]	Ceremony of the AGRIG's. (The "administrators" of royal storehouses of various towns of the kingdom stand near a heap of produce brought from their respective "houses". The herald introduces them to the king with the Hattic gentilic name of their respective towns. A libation is performed).
IV 21–30 (cf. KBo XVI 82 I 7–10)	AGRIG of Ankuwa ³¹ ; beside the <i>passageway</i> of the entrance to <i>Halki</i> 's temple (In KBo XVI 82:

b) (^{GIŠ/Ú})*ippiya-* (HW 341; Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories, 192) and *kalwiš-na-* (^{SAR}) (HW Erg. 1, 9; H. Otten IF 77, 1972, 186) are edible plants (after being stewed or boiled).

c) E. Neu, StBoT 5, 102; or perhaps "schaukeln" with Jana Siegelová, StBoT 14 (1971), 11.

d) If *kunni kunkiškitta* are taken separately.

e) E. Laroche, JCS 21 (1967), 176 "être divin".

The gist of the whole passage remains obscure. Ardzinba suggests that it could be a mythological tale incorporated in the festival, like the Illuyanka myth which is read in the *purulli*-festival. He also quotes Ivanov who believes that the passage is written in metric verse.

30 H. G. Güterbock, XVII RAI (1969), 179. For such a decorated axehead see K. Bit-tel, Die Hethiter (1976), 299 Fig. 341.

31 Introduced as *Ha-ni-ik-ku-i-il*. The Hattic name of the town Ankuwa (E. Laroche, OLZ 1962, 29; RHA 31, 1973, 89) also appears in the KL.LAM text in the outline tablet KBo XX 33+ obv. 36' [3.a] *Ha-ni-ik-ku-un* ^DK[*atahhi*] (see further p. 102).

[1.e.1]; Bo 5005 rev. 5–7 [1.e.5]; 496/u III [1.e.3]) 31–33 ff. V 1–8 9–18 19–25 ff.	behind the temple of <i>Hula</i> , at the gate of his "house"). AGRIG of Nenašša; near the previous location. AGRIG of Tuwanuwa; (location not preserved) AGRIG of Hupišna; at the "long [<i>batal</i>] <i>keš-šar</i> (?)". AGRIG of [-y]a; at the <i>haniya</i> -gate. Remainder of tablet lost. The lacuna until the "third tablet" could be filled with any of the isolated or parallel fragments. AGRIG of Karaḥna.
922/z, 6'–13' [1.d] (with dupls.) KBo XVI 82 obv. 4'–6' [1.e.1] KBo XXIII 91 rev. 5–7 [1.e.2] 10–13 14–16 17–	AGRIG of Šugziya (followed by the AGRIG of Ankuwa!) At the gate of the queen's palace [] the queen pays homage. AGRIG of Zallara; at the gate of his "house". AGRIG of Kašt[uwara]; at the gate of his "house". [] ; at the gate of the house of the ^{LÚ} <i>urianni</i> . Remainder lost.
"Third tablet" KUB X 1 [1.c] I 1'–4' 5'–8'	AGRIG of Kattila The <i>ummiyani</i> -men pay homage to the king at the temple of Šura.
9'–10' 11'–12' 13'–21'	The royal couple proceeds to the <i>huwaši</i>- of the Storm-god. The royal couple leaves through the <i>ašuša</i> -gate. The runners race (see discussion in Ch. IV.B.3). The GUDŪ-priest and the SANGA-priest of Arinna and of Zippalanda (cf. Ch. IV.B.5) and the UBĀRU-men greet the king.
22'–27'	Ritual offerings at the <i>huwaši</i>- of the Storm-god. Before the king's entry to the <i>huwaši</i> - of the Storm-god, the priest of ^D KAL leads the "holy-priest" of [^D KAL ?] (to the <i>huwaši</i> -?). Remainder lost (both in the main copy and in duplicate B.) A II appears to come before B II judging by the probable amount lost. Fragmentary. The scene is probably still at the <i>huwaši</i> - of the Storm-god. Rituals with the partic-
A. (KUB X 1) II	

- ipation of the chief of the bodyguards and the priest of the Storm-god³². King purifies his lips with *tuhhuesšar* (some substance).
Remainder lost. Perhaps B II continues exactly where A II breaks off.
- B. (KBo XX 99 + KBo XXI 52) II [1.c.B]
Bread and cheese offerings placed in front of the "holy places"³³: the *huwaši*-, the *Dammaššara*-deities, a libation vessel (*išpanduzi*-), *arša*-³⁴ the wall (*ku*tt-), the wooden door-bolt, the hearth.
Remainder lost.
- A. (KUB X 1) V
Libations in front of the *huwaši*-.
Remainder lost.
- "Fifth tablet"
2002/u [1.f]
In addition to the colophon there are only three verbal forms preserved: "they dance" (l.2'), "they run" (l.3') and "they leave" (l.4').
- "Eighth tablet"
1225/u [1.g]
There are six fragmentary lines on the obverse. SANGA-priest(s) and a "throne" (G¹⁵DAG) appear in l.4'. The reverse contains only the colophon.

32 Note the dative LÚ^DU-li (l. 18'; nom. LÚ^DU-aš). The Hittite name of the "Man of the Storm-god" is probably an -*alla*- noun comparable to LÚ/SAL¹⁵ *huwaššannalla/i*-, *išharralli*- (Otten, HTR, 94f.). Perhaps *LÚ¹⁵ *tarhunalla*- ? (cf. also KUB VII 57 + KUB XXXV 148 IV 26': LÚ^DU-ni-li).

33 Cf. M. Popko, Kultobjekte (1978), 14ff.

34 Perhaps same as G¹⁵ *arša*- "interior door(?)"; cf. Popko, op. cit. 41f.

C. The End of the Festival Text (11th and Consecutive Tablets)

1. THE MATERIAL

After the "3rd tablet" there is a large gap in the text, interrupted only by the colophons of the 5th and the 8th tablets. Then follows a series of consecutive tablets comprising the end of the festival text. Only one of these, the "11th tablet", has a preserved colophon, a fact which creates some difficulty in establishing the sequence of the material.

The body of material belonging to the end of the text has grown considerably in the course of the work, more so than any other part of the festival text. Besides the usual yield of new duplicates and parallel texts, a previously unknown Old Hittite exemplar and two outline tablets (one in Middle Hittite ductus) were discovered and rejoined. This has provided a rare opportunity to compare text copies belonging to three different "Sprachstufen". The full evaluation of this important material merits separate investigation.

a. The New Hittite Tablets

The end of the text deals mainly with offerings to various deities and other ritual ceremonies performed in the framework of the "great assembly" (*šalli ašeššar*). This is a typical pattern recurring in many festival texts. Therefore, it is difficult to ascribe smaller fragments to one or another text. Only fragments with a substantial amount of text were identified as certain duplicates, whereas items of doubtful ascription or mere similarity are referred to in the notes.

The relative order of the following tablets was established on the basis of their correlation to the outline tablet KBo XX 33 + [3.a] and to other considerations. These are discussed in paragraph d. where a tentative numeration of the tablets is also suggested.

Izmir 1270 + 1271 + 1272 [1.k.H]. Upper part of three-column tablet. A small portion of col. II and large portions of cols. III–IV are preserved. Obv. III 19ff. runs parallel to KBo X 26 I [1.i]; rev. IV is parallel to ABoT 5 + II 26'–III 7 [1.h]. Obv. II 1'–6' is paralleled by the small fragment Izmir 1275 [1.k.G].

KBo X 26 [1.i] (CTH 627 10). Left half of a three-column tablet. Col. I is almost completely preserved; cols. II and V have only the beginnings of lines (restorable from parallel passages). The colophon appears in the center of the uninscribed col. VI; it identifies the tablet as the "11th tablet of the regular

KI.LAM festival". Col. I is paralleled by Izmir 1270+ III 19ff. and by 1834/c obv. [2.b].³⁵

KBo XXVII 42 [1.j.B].³⁶ Large three-column tablet written in a dense script; well-preserved obverse, except for two gaps, of about twenty lines each, in columns I and III; the reverse contains about 20 preserved lines in each column. KBo XI 38 [1.j.H] and Bo 3687 [1.j.C] are duplicate fragments. Columns I, II, III 1–26 provide new text; from III 42' on, duplicate to KBo X 25 [1.j].

KBo X 25 [1.j] (CTH 627.11). Three-column tablet with the larger portion of cols. I and VI and a small portion of cols. II and V preserved. The fragmentary colophon ascribes the tablet to the "regular KI.LAM festival" but the tablet number is missing. There are four duplicates (in addition to KBo XXVII 42 above), two of which (KBo XI 42 and IBoT III 66) are not certain.

KUB II 3 [1.k] (CTH 627.12). Three-column tablet; the obverse is almost entirely preserved, but most of the reverse is obliterated. The ascription to the KI.LAM (in CTH it is derived from the parallel to KBo X 25) has now been ascertained also by the end of the outline tablet KBo XX 33+ [3.b], which is a brief outline of KUB II 3 I. There are five duplicates, one of which, KBo XXIII 74 [1.k.C], is in a Middle Hittite ductus of the 15th or early 14th century.³⁷ Izmir 1275 and Izmir 1270+ II 1'ff. are parallel texts.

b. The Outline Tablets

The reconstruction of this part of the festival text was facilitated to a great extent by the discovery of two outline tablets (see Ch. II.C.5). As mentioned in Ch. II, an important contribution of these tablets to the context is to bring into focus essential points and indicate those of secondary importance by omitting them. In these tablets, for example, the sequence of the worshipped deities and other important ceremonies is given, usually in one-line entries, whereas the detailed description of the offering rituals is omitted. The two tablets are parallel to each other only in part. They belong, according to their contents, to different versions of the text.

KBo XX 33 + KBo XVII 46 + 21 + KBo XXV 19 [3.a] (Abbreviated KBo XX 33+; Join sketch 2 on p. 68). One-column tablet in a Middle

³⁵ 51/u, a small fragment with 9 preserved lines, is partly parallel to obv. I 19ff. (see further p. 30 with transliteration). The evidence is insufficient to assign this item to our text.

³⁶ See further p. 70 n. 41 a.

³⁷ It has a relatively large number of variants from the main text. Particularly noteworthy are the following variants which may indicate that it was copied from an Old Hittite original: Use of the so-called "accusative of direction": II 10'f. ... *marnuandaš lulin* [3-ŠU *huyan*]zi (the main text has loc. *luliya*); dat. sing. of enclitic pers. pron. 3rd person -še (II 12') (main text has -ši).

Hittite ductus of the 15th or early 14th century.³⁸ The beginning of the obverse of KBo XX 33 is an outline of KBo X 25 [1.j]; the last entries of the reverse, of KUB II 3 I [1.k]. Between these two passages, there were additional new entries as yet unparalleled by regular detailed tablets. In searching for these I discovered the Old Hittite exemplar ABoT 5+ [1.h] (see below), the better preserved part of which begins exactly where KBo X 25 ends. From this point on, the reconstruction of ABoT 5+ and of KBo XX 33 was reciprocally facilitated. KBo XX 33 has been joined with KBo XVII 46 and the small fragment KBo XVII 21 which connects them. The result was an almost complete tablet with some sixty individual entries. In the summer of 1977, E. Neu managed to discover in Ankara an additional join, KBo XXV 19. Neither this nor the other outline tablet, have a colophon. This tablet has a blank space of some 6 lines after the last line of the reverse.

KBo XXV 176 [3.b]. Upper part of one-column tablet in New Hittite ductus. The upper and left edges are also inscribed. The tablet probably had no colophon. Its text has a rather peculiar composition. The obverse has the usual one-line entries (except for lines 7–11); on the other hand, the reverse contains detailed descriptions—a list of ceremonial garments given to various priests and the ceremony of the *kalti*-vessel—which is quite unusual for an outline tablet. This text is parallel to the other outline tablet only for the first seven entries. Thereafter the texts of the two outlines diverge. As anticipated, the New Hittite regular tablet KBo X 25 [1.j] is closer to the New Hittite outline than to the Middle Hittite one.³⁹ There are three large fragments—KUB X 13, KUB XLVIII 9, KBo XXV 180—which partly duplicate and partly run parallel to the main tablet [3.b.B, C, D].

c. The Old Hittite Exemplar

ABoT 5 + KBo XVII 9 + KBo XVII 20 + KBo XX 5 + KBo XXV 12 (Abbreviated ABoT 5+; Join sketch 3 on p. 69)

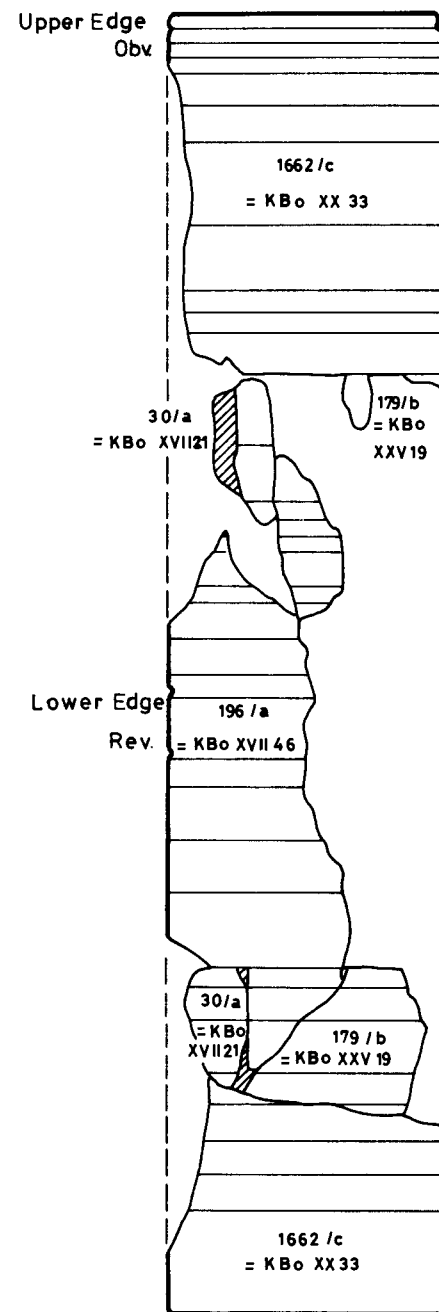
The ascription of this tablet to the KI.LAM resulted from its parallelism to the outline tablet KBo XX 33+ (see above). This is the only large original Old Hittite tablet of the KI.LAM festival discovered as yet and is an important asset to the growing corpus of Old Hittite festival tablets.⁴⁰

The large fragment ABoT 5 + KBo XVII 9 was the first to be identified as belonging to the KI.LAM. It was later joined with KBo XX 5 and other small-

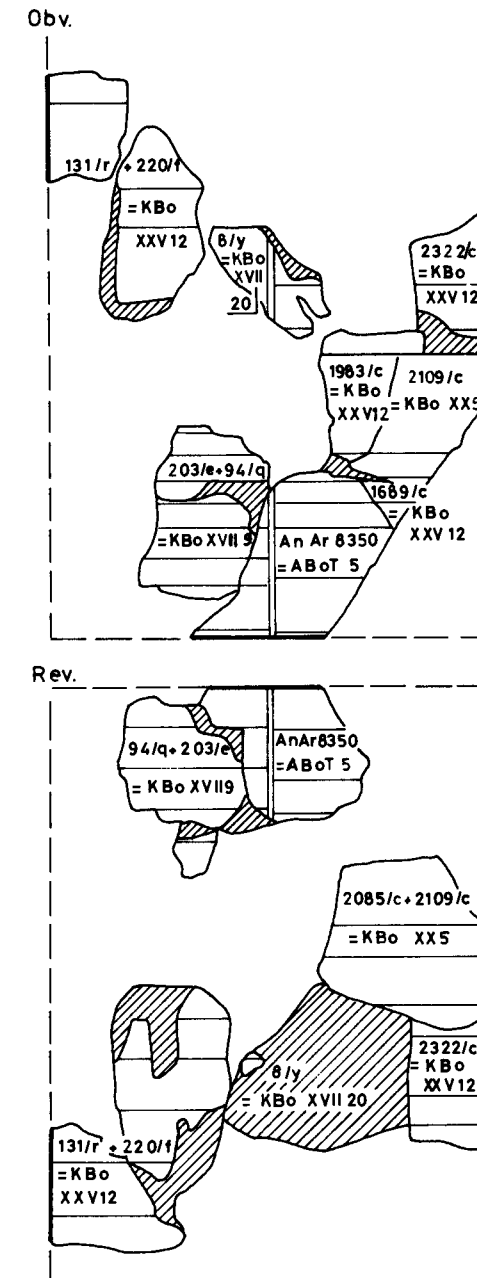
³⁸ KBo XX 33 Inhaltsübersicht: "ältlicher Duktus"; KBo XVII 46: "ähnlich altem Duktus". In E. Neu, StBoT 25 (1980), Nr. 19, the tablet is assigned to the Old Hittite group (although to the last phases). A more exact definition of the transition between the Old and Middle Hittite ductus has yet to be worked out.

³⁹ IBoT I 13 (dupl. D to KBo X 25) V² 14'–18' is almost identical to KBo XXV 176 obv. 7–8.

⁴⁰ KBo XXV 17 [2.e.A] is a further small KI.LAM fragment in Old Hittite ductus. For other festival tablets in OH ductus see E. Neu, StBoT 25 (1980).



Join sketch 2: KBo XX 33 +



Join sketch 3: ABoT 5 +

ler fragments. The joins 131/r + 220/f and 1983/c were added in Ankara by E.Neu in the summer of 1977. For some of the fragments, the side indications given in the copies must be interchanged. The recovered text is a large two-column tablet, with about half of the text preserved. There is a fair chance that more joins will turn up in the future. It is worth noting that the fragments composing this tablet were found dispersed over a large area (see also Ch. I.C). Most fragments originate from Archive A Room 5; 203/e and 94/q (KBo XVII 9) were found in the surface level in squares r-s/9-10 and t/5-6 (respectively) in the Middle Court of Büyükkale; 220/f was found in square r/15 (fill of Building C); 8/y (KBo XVII 20) comes from square w/21 (fill over the western wall of the citadel).

There is one New Hittite duplicate, KBo XXII 195(+) 224 [1.h.B], which is remarkably faithful to the Old Hittite original and exhibits only a few spelling variants. This is consonant with E.Neu's observation in StBoT 12 (1970), 63. KBo XXI 68, 487/w and Izmir 1270+ IV are parallel texts [1.h.C, 1.h.D, 1.k.H]. (For the Middle Hittite character of KBo XXII 195(+) 224 s. E.Neu, StBoT 25 S.29).

d. The Correlation between the Texts

The outline tablet KBo XX 33+ may serve as the point of departure in the correlation of the different exemplars.⁴¹ This tablet is a complete contextual unit, covering the events of the "great assembly" from beginning to end. The Old Hittite exemplar ABoT 5+ parallels about two thirds of it with a number of small gaps.

The New Hittite exemplars contain a very large gap between KBo X 25 and KUB II 3. The former, with its duplicates, covers the first six entries of the outline (or perhaps a little more if the "animals" in lines 15-16 of the outline correspond with the animal procession in KBo X 25 VI; see further p.75). KUB II 3 I-II 6 is parallel to the last entries on the reverse of the outline. The resulting lacuna would consist of at least one, and more likely two tablets which are unknown at present. The New Hittite tablets may be tentatively numbered as follows.^{41a} After KBo X 26 [1.i], known to be the 11th tablet, KBo X 25 [1.j] appears to follow directly making it the 12th tablet. Allowing two tablets for the gap between KBo X 26 and KUB II 3 [1.k], one may designate the latter as the 15th tablet.⁴² In KUB II 3 the

⁴¹ The fragments of the parallel series (enumerated by festival days), as has been stated, cannot be convincingly correlated to this group; occasional points of resemblance are noted in the synopsis.

^{41a} KBo XXVII 42, found in the area of the Great Temple, has a more densely written text and seems to belong to a different edition.

⁴² In the colophon of 428/s, dupl. F of KUB II 3, only the last traces of three vertical wedges are still visible. If these belong to the number of the tablet they could be part of any number equal to or larger than "13".

KBo 25 60

"great assembly" comes to an end and the events following it, until the king's return to the city, are described. This may well be then the last tablet of the "regular KILAM festival".

The synopsis of this part of the text is divided into three units: a) events preceding the "great assembly" b) the "great assembly" and c) events following it. For the "great assembly" there is a nearly complete sequence of events as a result of overlapping exemplars. This central ceremony will be more fully discussed in the next chapter. The events following the "great assembly" are described in KUB II 3. The situation is less clear with regard to the material preceding the "great assembly". The relevant passages are Izmir 1270+ II-III [1.k.H], KBo X 26 I-II [1.i] and ABoT 5+ I [1.h] (Old Hittite). The relation between these passages is discussed in the commentary (Ch. IV.B.1).

2. SYNOPSIS

a. Events Preceding the "Great Assembly"

Izmir 1270+ [1.k.H] Ceremonies at the entrances of various temples.

II 1-5	Fragmentary context. The king arrives at a gate. Gap of about 20 lines.
II 1'-6'	Ceremony of putting on garlands (cf. p. 79) with the participation of the overseer of the harlots.
7'-9'	The king arrives at the gate of ^D GİR (= Miyatanzipa). He worships ^D Telipinu and ^D Halki(?). Rest of column lost.
III 1-5	The king descends the chariot and goes up somewhere; he worships ^D ZABABA and two other deities (broken).
6-8	The king worships a further deity (broken).
9-18	Fragmentary passage. The ZI[TTI ?]-men and the comedians are acting.
19-23 (= KBo X 26 I 1-4 [1.i]; cf. also KBo XXV 17 I 6-8 [2.e]; KBo XXV 176 obv. 17 [3.b])	The "barbers" ⁴³ throw a torch into the hearth of ^D Kutarma. Then they extinguish it with water.
24-26 (= KBo X 26 I 5-9)	The king worships ^D KAL and ^D Hapantali. (Continuation better preserved in KBo X 26)
KBo X 26 [1.i] I 10-16	Ceremony in the temple of the Sun-goddess. The king arrives at the temple of the Sun-Goddess.

⁴³ For ^{LÚ}ŠU.I (= ^{LÚ}tabiyali-) cf. A.Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), 83 n.12; The Laws of Ešnuna (1956), 128 n.10.

(cf. Izmir 1270 + III 27 ff.)	At the entrance he “drinks to” the Sun-goddess and ^D Mezzulla.
17–18	The king enters the temple.
19–23	The ^{GIŠ} <i>kalmuš-</i> is placed on the throne.
24–27	Water for hand washing is brought.
28–35	The chief of the bodyguards places the silver <i>zau-</i> of the “holy priest” of Zippalanda by the wall, to the king’s right.
(cf. 1834/c obv. 1’–5’ [2.b])	The three holy SANGA-priests of Arinna and their cup-bearers, the SANGA-priest of Zippalanda, the <i>tazzelli-</i> , and their cup-bearers hold their cups and take their seats in front of the king (see Ch. IV.B.5).
I 36–42	The king and queen wash their hands.
(cf. KBo XXVII 42 II 38–42 [1.j.B]; 1834/c obv. 6’ ff.)	Only beginnings of lines preserved (restorations following analogous passages).
I 43–II 4 5–44	Bread offerings; the chief of the bodyguards places the spear by the wall to the king’s left. Remainder of Col. II completely mutilated. Cols. III–IV missing. Col. V is parallel to KBo X 25 I (see p. 74).
ABoT 5 + I [1.h]	Stations on the procession to the <i>huwaši-</i> of the Stormgod.
	The column is in very fragmentary condition. It consists of two fragments KBo XXV 12 + KBo XVII 20 and KBo XVII 9 with a gap of about 10–12 lines between them.
4’–9’	The king is mentioned in connection with the temple of the Sun-deity. Worshipping of 14 deities: Storm-god, ^D Wašezzili, ^D Inar, ... ^D NIN.É.-GAL, ^D ZABABA, ^D Ta[hampiwu(?)], ^D Wahzašu, ^D Katahhi, [...] ^D Hašammiu, ^D Haratši.
(cf. KBo X 26 I 10 ff. [1.i])	The “silver wood”(?) ⁴⁴ and the <i>huwaši-</i> of the Storm-god are mentioned. (Probably the king sets out, or arrives there).
10’–12’	[The king ?] descends from []....
13’ ff.	List of deities: ^D Telipinu, ^D Tahpillanu, ^D [Tapalh]una, ^D Katahhi, ^D Zuliya, ^D NIN.É.GAL
y + 1–14’’	Gap of about 10–12 lines. “Drinking to” various deities (names not preserved) in different locations.

44 KUBABBAR-*aš* GIŠ-*ru*(-)*x*[cf. KUB XXVI 9 I 14 (HAZANNU Instruction) INA GIŠ^{U1.A} KUBABBAR; KUB XLIII 29 II 8 KUBABBAR-*aš* GIŠ^{U1.A}-*aš*.

KBo XXVII 42 [1.j.B] Preparations for the “Great Assembly”

	(Stereotyped ceremonies recurring more or less in the same order e.g. in KBo IV 9 III 26 ff., the 16th day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival celebrated in the temple of ^D ZABABA)
I 1–3	The king and queen arrive at the “ceremonial tent” and take their seats.
(cf. 487/w I 8 [1.h.D])	Various insignia are brought in and set in place. A palace-attendant places the <i>kalmuš-</i> on the throne. He keeps holding the golden spear and utters a Hattic exclamation. Chief of the bodyguards puts the silver <i>zau-</i> of the holy priest of Zippalanda upon a loaf of bread at the entrance of the inner-room.
4–25	Ceremony of hand-washing. Gap of about 25 lines.
26–42	Fragmentary. Offering table is brought in. Three bodyguards take their places near the king. They hold golden spears and staves. Table-men pass by.
II 1–4	Bread offering to ^D KAL of the spear.
5–20	Cup-bearers prepare pot-stands.
21–28	Chief of the palace-attendants, chief of the bodyguards and royal princes take their seats.
29–32	The holy priests of Arinna and Zippalanda and their cup-bearers take their seats. They hold their cups.
33–37	Cooks distribute some sort of meat. ⁴⁵
38–42	The holy priests of Hatti, the Lord of Hatti and the priestess of Halki take their seats.
43–47	Musicians, comedians and psalmodists take their seats.
48–51	Various dignitaries take their seats (<i>zahurtius išhuš</i> and LÚ ^{MEŠ} DUGUD).
52–63	Cooks distribute food and beverages.
64–67	The king throws away his linen cloth either to the bodyguards or to the palace-attendants.
68–III 11	Sweeper sweeps the floors.
III 12–23	Gap of about 15 lines. Where the text resumes it is dupl. to KBo X 25 I.
24–26	

45 A comparison of KBo XXVII 42 II 47 with KBo IV 9 V 47 suggests that ^{UZU}*kuz-zaniyant*-could be the Hittite reading of ^{UZU} “fat”.

b. The "Great Assembly" (*šalli ašeššar*)

For the relation between the parallel texts covering the "great assembly" see Ch. III.C.1.d. For the sake of brevity the different exemplars are designated here by letters in the column which indicates the text references. These are:

- A = ABoT 5+ (Old Hit.; restorations from New Hit. duplicates)
 B = KBo XX 33+ (Middle Hit. outline)
 C = KBo XXV 176 (New Hit. outline)
 D = KBo X 25 (New Hit. with duplicates)
 E = KUB II 3 (New Hit. with duplicates)
 F = KBo XXVII 42 (New Hit. with duplicates)

The different exemplars augment each other so that a nearly complete sequence of events is obtained. The main exemplar, which provides the backbone of the text of the "great assembly", is B. As a rule the regular texts (A, D, E) give more detailed descriptions than the outlines (B and C). Main text divergences are indicated in the synopsis. In view of the important comparison between exemplars belonging to different "Sprachstufen", significant spelling variants are also indicated. An attempt has been made to cover all significant points in the synopsis. Repetitive notations have been omitted (e.g. the *hali-riya*-men playing the "Ištar instruments" which occurs in almost every entry; on the other hand musicians who are restricted to one or two sections of the ritual are indicated).

1. C obv. 1 The [grea]t (assembly) is called.
2. B, 1 = C obv. 2 "Drinking to" Tauri(t) B: *Ta-ú-ri-e-it*
 = D I 6 C: *ᵀTa-ú-ri*
 = F III 42'
3. B, 2 = C obv. 3 "Drinking to" Storm-god and *ᵀWašezzi/ali*; standing
 = D I 16 and bowing. (D II 3 and F IV 7 add: "They let the
 = F III 51' rain(?)")⁴⁶
 B: *ᵀIM ᵀᵀWa-a-še-iz-zi-li*
 C, D: *ᵀU ᵀᵀWa-a-še-iz-za-al-li-in*
 F: *ᵀU ᵀᵀWa-a-še-iz-zi-li-in-na*
4. B, 3 = C obv. 4 "Drinking to" Sun-goddess and *ᵀMezzulla*; standing,
 = D II 6 without bowing. (D and F: with bowing)
 = F IV 10
5. B, 4 = C obv. 5 B: Three *NINDA* *kištu*- are presented to the king by the
 = D II 34 cooks.
 C, [D]: Three stands⁴⁷ (*ᵀᵀkišdu*-) are brought from
 "the house of the gods".

⁴⁶ *heun tarnanzi* see p. 103.

⁴⁷ HW Erg. 3, 20: *ᵀᵀkištu* = [*ᵀᵀGAN*]NUM "Gestell".

6. B, 5 = C obv. 6 *taḥ(a)tumar(a)*⁴⁸ is brought from the "stone-house".
 = D II 38 B: *ᵀᵀ^{1.A}NA₄; ta-ḥa-at-tu-ma-a-ar*
 C: *ᵀᵀNA₄ DINGIR^{LIM}; taḥ-tu-u-m[a-*
 D: *ᵀᵀMEŠNA₄ DIN[GIR^{LIM}; (taḥ-tu-u-ma-ra-a)*
7. A II 5', 10'-12' Race of 10 runners (In A, B this comes after § 10).
 = B, 6, 12 = C A, B: The winner receives one mina of silver and
 obv. 7-12 = D two *wagada*-loaves from the king's hand (A:
 (dupl. D 14' ff.) ceremony omitted on 2nd day).
 C, D: The runners who came in first and second
 receive "tunics" (*TÚG ERÍN^{MEŠ}*), *šarama*- bread
 and wine.
 See commentary in Ch. IV.B.3.
8. A II 6'-7' "Drinking to" Storm-god and *Wašezzi/ali*; standing.
 = B, 7-8 = C "They let the rain(?)" (Spelling variants same as
 obv. 13 in 3; A = B).
- 9.⁴⁹ A II 8'-9' The table-men *ša-ak-na-a-aš ti-an-zi*;⁵⁰ the meadmen
 = B, 8-9 distribute mead⁵¹ (*KAŠ.LĀL*) from a silver vessel.
 = F V 3 A and F: A table-man takes a *tuniptu*-loaf. B: A
 table-man prepares a *zipulašne*-loaf on a *ᵀᵀ¹arim-*
 pa-⁵².
10. A II 10'-12' The smiths bring two (silver) bulls' heads (B) and fill
 = B, 9-12 them from two red vessels of wine. A table-man
 = F V 14 ff. removes the *zipulašne*-loaf. A: E.DÉ.A (late dupl.:
 E.DÉ); B: E.DÉ
11. A, B: foot-race (see 7.)
12. A II 13'-14' "Drinking to" Inar and *Ḥabandali*; sitting.
 = B, 13-14 (= C A: *ᵀᵀI-na-ar [ᵀᵀḤa-ba-an-d]a-li*
 obv. 18) B: *ᵀᵀI-na-ar ᵀᵀḤa-ba-an-da-li*
 = F V 25 C: *ᵀᵀKAL ᵀᵀḤa-pa-an-ta-li*
 F: *ᵀᵀḤa-pa-an-da-li-an-na*
13. A II 15'-18' From the temple of Inar the (A) *šuppištuwareš*/ (B) the
 = B, 13-16 silver animals are brought. (B only:) a *ḥupar* of
 (= D VI 4'-8'?) wine for each is poured into/for the panther and
 the boar. The animals and the *peri*- are carried
 along. (A only:) Ceremony omitted on 2nd day.
 ... The gods come from the "house of the *kurša*".
 A: *ú-en-zi*; B: *ú-an-zi*
 (see commentary Ch. IV.A.3)

⁴⁸ An aromatic substance. E.Neu, StBoT 12 (1970), 69 f.

⁴⁹ From this paragraph on C diverges.

⁵⁰ See E.Neu, StBoT 26 sub *šakkar*.

⁵¹ G. Steiner, RIA 3 (1966), 306.

⁵² Cf. M. Popko, Kultobjekte (1978), 130.

14. A II 19'–20'
(= D VI 9')
omitted in B!
A: The king is asked to give a present to the foremen of the “dog-men”. Omitted on the 2nd day. The table-men set out fruit.
D: Foremen of the “dog-men” are given festive garments (^{TUG}*adupli*-). They bow to the king.
15. A II 21'–22'
= B, 17
“Drinking to” Moon-god (^DEN.ZU) and ^DKuzanišu; sitting.
(A only:) The men of Kaniš play the large “Ištar instrument”.
16. A II 23'–24'
= B, 18
= F VI 6'
“Drinking to” ^DHulla; sitting. (A only:) The pipes are played. Ten loaves of bread and two *hupar* of “beer-wine”[.
A: ^DHu-ul-la-a-a[n B: ^DHu-ul-la-an
17. A II 25'–26'
= B, 18
“Drinking to” ^DTelipinu; sitting.
18. A II 27'–29'
= B, 19–20
“Drinking to” ^DZABABA; sitting. (A:) ^HUB.BI-men.
19. A II 29'–30'
= B, 19–20
(= C rev. 26?)
Runners bring the silver *galdi* (see Ch. IV.B.4).
(A:) Omitted on 2nd day. (B:) The GIDIM are set up (C: *kal-ti* GUŠKIN).
20. [A II 31'–III 3]
= [B, 21–24]
(= C rev. 20 ?)
“Drinking to” [^DUD^{AM} “the (deified) day”; standing, bowing]; “they let the rain(?)”
Rest fragmentary (^HUB.BI-men)
21. [A III 4–7]
= B, 25–27
“Drinking to” ^DGAL.ZU; [standing,] bowing.
Rest fragmentary (various types of bread).
22. [A III 8]
= B, 28
“Drinking to” ^DTuḥašail; sitting.
23. [A III 10ff.]
= [B, 29]
“Drinking to” [^DZizzašu?]
24. A III 1'–8'
= [B, 30]
Fragmentary. [Cooks?] of *Da-a-ú-ni-ya* give liver to the king. Meal is taken. Singer (^{LUNAR}) omitted on 2nd day. Cups are presented to the king and the NIN.DINGIR. *zintuḥi*- women recite in Hattic.
25. A III 9'–12'
= B, 31–32
“Drinking to” ^DZuliya; sitting. *zinḥuri*- men and Men of Lumanḫila dance.
26. A III 13'–15'
= B, 33
“Drinking to” ^DSušumittu; sitting. []
dance. A: [^DŠu-šu-m] *i-it-tu*₄
B: ^DŠu-šu-me-*i[t-tu]*
27. A III 16'–19'
= B, 34–35
“Drinking to” ^DNIN.É.GAL; sitting. Fragmentary.
ḫapiya- men of Ališa and “wolf-men” of Ankuwa.
(Cf. p. 150 n. 19)
28. [A III 20'–21']
= B, 36–37
“Drinking to” ^DK[ataḫḫi] of Ankuwa; sitting.
(B:) *Ḫa-ni-ik-ku-un* ^DK[a-; damaged line: “one man with(?) his foot, one man with(?) his hand []”.

29. [A III 22'–23']
= B, 38
“Drinking to” ^DZilipuru; sitting.
30. [A III missing
end of column]
= B, 39
“Drinking to” ^DKatimu; sitting.
31. [A IV 1–3]
= B, 40–42
“Drinking to” ^DḪalki; sitting. Fragmentary.
Men of Kilišra.
32. A IV 4–6
= B, 43
“Drinking to” ^DZilipuru; sitting. Broken.
A: Two harlots take earrings.
33. A IV 7–9
= B, 44
(= D V 2'–3')
“Drinking to” ^DWaḫiši; sitting. A: ^DWa_a-*ḫi-ši-i-in*
B: [^DWa_a-] *ḫi-ši-in*. Broken. A: The ZITTI-men. D: The Hurrian singer sings.
^DḪašammili. Broken.
34. B, 45–46
35. B, 47–49
The goldsmiths come; “Drinking to” []; sitting. The gold-smiths sing.
36. B, 50–53
The ironsmiths and the silversmiths [bring?] 20 small-balls(?) of iron and of silver (respectively); the coppersmiths and the [] carry along something.
37. B, 54
“Drinking to” ^DḪašammili. Broken. The men of the town[
38. B, 55
“Drinking to” ^DTetešḫapi of Ḫattuš. Broken. (^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-uš* ^DTe-te-eš-*ḫa-pi-in*).
39. [A IV 1'–2']
= B, 56
“Drinking to” ^DPuškuruna and ^DTapalḫuna. Broken.
40. A IV 3'–5'
= B, 57
“Drinking to” the Storm-god of Ziḫlanda and ^DKataḫ-ḫi[; sitting and bowing.
41. A IV 6'–8'
= B, 58
“Drinking to” ^DUlza, ^DUliwašu and ^DKatarzašu; sitting.
42. A IV 9'–11'
= B, 59
“Drinking to” ^DSušumaḫi and ^DŠimmišu. The last? dignitaries (^{LUMES} DUGUD EGIR^T) leave.
43. A IV 12'–14'
= B, 60
“Drinking to” ^DHaratši; sitting. The “dignitaries of the meal” (^{LUMES} DUGU) D NAPTANIM leave.
44. A IV 14'–15'
= B, 61
The *kištu*-loaves and the *zipulašne*-loaves of(?) the princes and of the priests are taken away.
45. A IV 16'–18'
= B, 62–63
“Drinking to” [^DŠita]rzuna, ^DTaḫam/npw/pu, ^DWaḫ-zašu and ^DTakkiḫau; sitting.
A: ^DTa-ḫa-am-pi-wu_a-un B: ^DTa-ḫa-an-pi-pu-un
46. B, 63
47. B, 64
= E I 2–14
The princes and the princesses leave.
48. B, 65
= E I 26
“Drinking to” [^D -]natašu, ^DKuzanišu, ^DTaḫpillanu
B: ^DKu-za-ni-šu-un ^DTaḫ-pi-il-la-nu-un
E: ^DKu-uz-za-ni-šu-ú-un ^DTaḫ-pi-il-ta-nu-ú
“Drinking to” Storm-god and ^DWašezzili; standing and bowing. (E only:) The table-men carry away

- the table of the king. The chief bodyguard takes away the silver *zau-*.
49. B, 65 The SANGA-priests leave. B: SANGA^{MEŠ}; E: LÚ^{MEŠ}
= E I 44–46 SANGA; (E: The “great assembly” is finished).
50. B, 66 A palace attendant takes away the (iron) spear.
= E I 51f.
(cf. Bo 3568 obv.)
51. B, 67 The king leaves the “tent”.
= E II 1

c. Events Following the “Great Assembly”

- KUB II 3 II 1–2⁵³ The king leaves the “tent”. He holds the ^{GIŠ}*kal-*
[1.k] *muš-*.
- 3–8 He is followed by two palace attendants—one holding an iron spear, the other holding an iron ^{GIŠ}*mari-*, a ^{GIŠ}*kalmuš-*, a “whip” (^{GIŠ}*IŠTUHHA*), and a “sistrum(?)”⁵⁴ (^{GIŠ}*mukar-*)⁵⁵—and by one bodyguard holding his spear.
- 11–12 **Ceremony of ritual bath**
After leaving the tent, the king views a ritual bath.
- II 13–31⁵⁶ “Near the hearth, in a basin⁵⁷ of *marnuwan*⁵⁸ there are two naked comedians. They are squatting inside in the basin. // The “mother-of-god”-priestess of ^D*Titiutti* and the overseer of the harlots run three times around /to the basin of *marnuwan*. // The overseer of the harlots holds a wooden dagger. In front of her walks the SANGA-priest(ess)⁵⁹ of ^D*Titiutti*. The SANGA-priest-

53 Duplicate C (KBo XXIII 74) rev. is not paralleled by the main text. It describes a ritual in which the royal couple and the NIN.DINGIR participate (cf. ABoT 5 + III 7').

54 O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects* (1977), 35.

55 Cf. IBoT I 36 II 11 ... ŠA ^{GIŠ}*SUKUR-ma* DUMU.É.GAL [^{GIŠ}*kal-mu-uš*] (12) ^{GIŠ}*IŠ-TU-UH-HA* ^{GIŠ}*hu-lu-ga-an-na-aš-ša* ^{GIŠ}*mu-u-kar har-zi* ...

56 For this passage cf. A. Goetze, NBr (1930), 65 n.1; S. Alp, *Beamten*. (1940), 68 n.4; H. Otten, ZA 53 (1959), 182; H. G. Güterbock, RHA 22/74 (1964), 96; E. von Schuler, AOAT 1 (1969), 319; I. Wegner, UF 10 (1978), 405 ff.

57 For *luli-* see Goetze, op. cit.; A. Kammenhuber, OrNS 39 (1970), 559.

58 An inferior sort of beer; G. Steiner, RIA 3 (1966), 306.

59 Despite the determinative LÚ, ^{LÚ}SANGA ^D*Titiutti* in l. 21 and ^{SAL}AMA.DINGIR ^{LIM}*Titiutti* in l. 17 are, in all probability one and the same person. Cf. also ^{SAL}SANGA-ša ŠA ^D*Titiwati* in KUB VII 19 I 12. That ^{LÚ}SANGA may also refer to a priestess is shown by KBo X 35 obv.² 7'–8': 2 LÚ^{MEŠ}SANGA *arantari* ŠA.BA 1

t(ess) holds a scepter and in the front *šiparteš*⁶⁰ are tied to her/it. // She pours *marnuan* on the back of the comedians three times. // The comedians emerge from the basin and blow the horn three times. Thereafter they leave.”

Rituals at the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god

- II 32–35 The king enters the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god. He pays homage to the *huwaši-*. (See p. 101 n.40).
- 36–43 At the *passageway* he “drinks to” 4 gods: the Storm-god, ^D*Wašizzili*, ^DU.GUR, ^D*Wahiši*.
- 44–50 Some sort of a “garland”⁶¹ is put on the royal princes.
(cf. Izmir 1275 [1.k.G]
Izmir 1270 + [1.k.H]
II 1'ff.)
- 51–52 Other “garlands” are put on the palace attendants and the bodyguards.
- III 1–11 **The king returns from the *huwaši-* of the Stormgod to the city.**
Fragmentary passage. Mention is made of “two heads”, the *sacred(?)* cart (see p.59 n.24) and the chariot. Probably the king and his train prepare to leave the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god.
- 12–18 Fragmentary. “Drinking to” the Storm-god[
- 19–21 The “augurs” (^{LÚ}^{MEŠ}MUŠEN.DÙ^U^{1.A}) lower loaves of bread into the basin; the dancers catch them.
- 22–24 The king (arrives) at the “*haya-haya(ya)* stones”⁶² and stops⁶³ the chariot.

DUMU.NITA 1 DUMUSAL^{TUM} “two SANGA-priests are standing: one male (and) one female”.

60 The Middle Hittite duplicate C (KBo XXIII 74) II 13' has *ša-ap-pár-e-eš*. (cf. KBo XII 96 I 18'; KBo XVII 100 I 10–12).

61 *a-nu-wa-aš haršanalli*. The parallel fragment Izmir 1275 [1.k.G] l. 6' has GILIM ^U*a-nu[-wa-aš]* (For GILIM = *haršanalli* see HW Erg. 1, 5). This indicates that ^(U)*anu-* (HW² 124a), of which a garland is made, belongs to the category of “herbs, greenery”. A “garland (made) of fruit” (GILIM GURUN-aš) is attested in KBo X 27 V 9' (see p.28 n.15). 444/s [4.l] rev. 6' has *ta-x-x-x-ya-aš haršanalli* (the genitive depending on *haršanalli* is obliterated on the tablet).

62 L. 22 ANA NA^U^{1.A} *ha-ya ha-ya-ya kattan*. Dupl. F I 2' has *ha-i-ya ha-i-ya*. This enigmatic place seems to be attested only here and perhaps in another KILAM fragment, 487/w [1.b.D] I 10' NA⁴ *ha-a-ya-aš* NA⁴ *ha-a-ya-ya* (the fragment is obliterated).

63 *a-ri-en-zi* is probably a corrupt form for *arai-* pres. sg. 3 “to stop (a horse)” (HW 338, Erg. 1, 2). Dupl. F 15' has here *e-ip-zi* “holds”.

- 25–32 The *Damnaššara*- deities (E.Laroche, Dieux, 67) are turned so that their eyes are directed towards the king. Wherever the king turns, the *Damnaššara*- deities turn in the same direction.
- III 33–39 The king ascends to the basin; he “drinks to” ^D*Zuliya*.
- 40–46 The king arrives at the gate of the “house of the bow” (KÁ É ^{G1S}BAN); he honors ^D*Hašamili*.
- 47–51 The king enters the “*ašūša*- gate”; he “drinks to” the *Šalawana*-deities of the gate.
End of Col. III
The reverse is almost completely obliterated. Only two sections of col. IV and about six sections of col. V (with duplicate E) can be partly restored. Nothing is left of col. VI which probably contained the end of the festival.
- IV 4'–8' The king arrives at the *back[side ?]* of the [*mak-zi*]ya- house (?); he “drinks to” [^D -]a
- 9'–13' The king arrives at the gate of the *makziya*- house (see p.114); he “drinks to” ^D*Tahantiu* and ^D*Kapariyamu*.
- 14' ff. The king arrives at the gate of the [*hešt*]ā- house (see Ch. IV.C.3); he “drinks to” ^D*Tahi*[.....]u.
Remainder lost.
- V x + 1–3' The king “drinks to” ^D*Telipinu* and [...]
- 4'–5' The king drives up to the p[alace ?] (^E*ha*[*lentuwa* ?])
- 6'–8' The *comedians* call out “*ahā*” when they arrive at the gate.
- 9'–12' When the royal couple arrives at the *turiya*- gate, [] is in the chariot.

D. The Tablets Belonging to the “Great Festival”

1. THE MATERIAL

The tablets belonging to this series are characterized by the fact that the day of the festival is recorded in their colophons. In the chapter dealing with the composition of the festival text, evidence has been presented to the effect that this series is designated the “great festival” (EZEN.GAL) as opposed to the parallel series called the “regular KI.LAM festival” (Ch. II.C.2).

The series of the “great festival” is in a very poor state of preservation. At present there are only five isolated pieces (plus two parallel texts) with no consecutive text. The text runs parallel to the “regular” series only in the first column of KUB XX 4 (“first day”) and in the obv. of 1834/c. In the remaining fragments one may distinguish points of resemblance, but a genuine “fusing” of the two parallel series is as yet impossible. For the same reasons it is not possible to obtain a clear idea with regard to the contextual differences between the two parallel series.

With regard to the dating of this series, one fragment (KBo XXV 17) is written in Old Hittite ductus and two tablets (KBo XX 83, KBo XXV 18) exhibit a Middle Hittite ductus of the 15th or the early 14th centuries. A further tablet, KUB XX 4, is a late copy from a Middle Hittite exemplar. As far as one can tell from the scanty material, there is a higher percentage of older texts in this series than in the parallel series belonging to the “regular” festival.

“[First tablet ?] on the first day” (KUB XX 4 [2.a])

Three-column tablet in New Hittite ductus. The better preserved part of the first column can be restored following KBo X 23 I [1.a]. In the second and fifth columns only the beginnings of lines are preserved. For the elaborate colophon of this tablet (Col. VI) see p.44f.

The text contains numerous features of Middle Hittite orthography and morphology: the verbal forms *i-en-zi*, *ti-e-iz-zi*, *ú-e-iz-zi*, *šar-ku-e-iz-zi*; phonetic writings: *tu-u-ri*, *ha-aš-ša-an(-kán)*, *ši-i-wa-at*; spellings: *ha-le-en-ti-u-i* (see H. Otten, StBoT 13, 20), *ka-at-ta*, *a-a-ri*.

Col. II is parallel to KBo XII 131 [2.a.2] right col., a two- or three-column tablet in New Hittite ductus. Only one side of this tablet is preserved with part of one column and ends of lines of another. The verbal forms are later than those of KUB XX 4 (*i-ya-an-zi*, *ú-iz-zi*).

“First tablet” (of the xth day?) (1834/c [2.b])

Fragment of two-column(?) tablet in New Hittite ductus. Only a small part of the first and the fourth(?) column, including a partial colophon is preserved.

The obverse is parallel to KBo X 26 I 36 ff. [1.i]. No parallel has yet been found to the small part of the reverse preserved. The colophon is discussed on pp. 46f.

“[xth tablet] of the 2nd day” (KBo XX 83 [2.c])

Fragment of two-column tablet in Middle Hittite ductus (“Ältlicher Duktus”). Only a small portion of the first, second and fourth (with colophon) columns is preserved.

“[yth tablet] of the 2nd day” (Bo 3568 [2.d])

Small fragment of two- or three-column tablet. I have no details on the ductus (transliteration of von Brandenstein, collated by H. Klengel). The reverse is parallel to KBo X 28 + 33 V [2.d.2]. The latter is the lower portion of a three-column tablet in New Hittite ductus.

“1st tablet of the 3rd day” (KBo XXV 17, 18 [2.e])

KBo XXV 17 (145/q) is the beginning of a tablet written in Old Hittite ductus (see E. Neu, StBoT 25, 1980, Nr. 17).

KBo XXV 18 (31/f) is a duplicate written in Middle Hittite ductus. It is the upper left part of a two(?)-column tablet. Its colophon identifies it as the “1st tablet of the 3rd day”.

2. SYNOPSIS

“First day”

KUB XX 4 [2.a.1]

Obv. I

Parallel to KBo X 23 I (“first tablet”). (see p. 58) Description of king’s toilet and of the ceremony of the *ceremonial*(?) iron spear. This description contains an additional section dealing with the deity Hurianzipa (11’–18’) ⁶⁴ which is omitted in KBo X 23. For the significance of the sequence “for the first”, “for the second” and “for the [thi]rd time” in ll. 15’–18’, see p. 126.

II

Parallel to KBo XII 131 right col. Both deal with a ceremony involving the participation of the Men of the town Lumnaḫila ⁶⁵ and the *buphuppa*-

⁶⁴ Further attested in KUB V 7 obv. 17; 877/z. Probably the same as Hurariyanzipa. The latter is attested in KBo XX 101, 14’; KUB XLIV 2 + 3, 3’; 13 IV²3’; IBoT II 19, 1’; 30, 7’; Bo 858 Rev. 10’ (^{URU}Samuḫaš ^{DH}); cf. R. Lebrun, Samuha (1976), 34f. KUB 31.79 obv.

⁶⁵ This group appears only in KILAM texts. The reading SIG₄-an/naḫila is also possible. Cf. A. Goetze, JCS 18 (1964) 92; O. Carruba, StBoT 2 (1966), 8 n.2; H. Hoffner, JAOS 88 (1968), 533.

man. ⁶⁶ KBo XII 131 has the better preserved text:

KBo XII 131 [2.a.2]

Right col.

1’–4’

Fragmentary. The female singers sing in Hattic(?) (l. 4’ ^{URU}Ha-at-t[u’-]).

5’–11’

One pair ⁶⁷ of Lumnaḫila-men enters; they pay homage to the king and to the *buphuppa*-man and then proceed to their places. Another pair enters and does the same.

KBo XII 131

Right col. 12’–16’

Bread offerings in front of the hearth.

Hattic recitations

Broken. Man of Lumnaḫila is acting.

Bread offerings.

Remainder lost.

KUB XX 4 V

3’–8’

Rituals at the *hešta*-house

The king [descends from/ascends (?)] the chariot. He “drinks to” 3 deities: [], ⁶⁸ Teteš[ḫa-pi] of Hattuša(?) (^{URU}PA-aš ^DTe-te-e[š-⁶⁹ and Miyatanzipa.

9’–11’

At the *turi*(ya)-[gate] (see p. 75) the king “drinks to” the St[orm-god ?]

12’–20’

Fragmentary. Ceremony taking place at the g[ate ?] of ^DHeštā (i.e. of the *hešta*-house; see p. 113) with participation of the GUDÚ-priest of ^DHeštā, a SANGA-priest and the Men of the house of ^DHe[štā].

Colophon (see pp. 44 ff.)

Rev. VI

1834/c [2.b]

Obv.

Parallel to KBo X 26 I 36 ff. (p. 72)

Rev.

Fragmentary. For colophon see pp. 46 ff.

“2nd day”

KBo XX 83 [2.c]

Obv. I 3’–8’

Fragmentary. Shows some similarities with KBo XII 131 II 5’ ff. (*i-ú-kán* see p. 83 n. 67).

⁶⁶ Attested only in these two texts. The forms without determinative in KUB XX 4 II 7’ (*bū-up-bū-u-u[p]*) and II 19’ (*bū-up-b[u]*) must belong to a related verbal form.

⁶⁷ 1 *i-ú-kán* (l. 5’, 10’). Conjectured meaning; literally “one yoke”. Cf. KBo XX 83 I 1’ [2.c] 3 *i-ú-kán*.

⁶⁸ The obscure Akkadian(?) *U-ŠA-AB-BA-L[A(-)]* in l. 5’ appears to be something modifying the first deity.

⁶⁹ See p. 102.

- II 1'-5'
6'ff. Fragmentary. King ["drinks to"] ^DGAL.ZU.
Bread offerings.
Remainder lost.
- Rev. IV Fragmentary. Scene in front of the "ceremonial tent" (see pp.100f.). Compare Bo 3568 I (below) which also belongs to the 2nd day (note ^{GIŠ}zaburti).
- Bo 3568 [2.d.1]
Obv. Parallel to KUB II 3 I 51-II 1 (p.98f.): Description of the end of the "great assembly".
Rev. Parallel to KBo X 28 + 33 V (see below).
- KBo X 28 + 33 [2.d.2]
Obv. I 3'-7' The "wolf-men" leave(?) the war(a)šhuwar.⁷⁰
Upper portion of Col. II lost.
- II 5'-17' The king and queen "drink to" ^DZuliya. Bread offerings. Offering tables are brought.
Upper portion of col. III lost.
- III 3-4 The king enters the inner-room (É.ŠÀ). (Location unknown.)
- 5-6 At the gate the king prostrates himself.
- 7-8 The king goes to the holy bed.
- 9-12 The queen "drinks to" ^DHali[-
- 13-15 The queen goes to the holy [bed?].
- 16-18 Fragmentary. The royal couple moves further on.
- IV 1'-5' Upper portion of column lost. Only line beginnings remain. Some [gate ?] is being closed.
Double dividing line (beginning of new day ?)
- 6'-10' Ceremonies at the huwaši- of the Storm-god
"When in the KILAM festival the king proceeds [from the gate-house ?] to the huwaši- of the Storm-god" (see discussion on p.46).
- 11'-12' Three tables are brought. (cf. KBo X 25 II 31'ff. [1.i])
Remainder lost.
- V 1-7 Various food and beverages are prepared for the SANGA-priests of Arinna. The golden spear is brought. (cf. Bo 3568 rev. p.91).
- 8-17 Three "stands" (^{GIŠ}kišdu-; see p.118 n.93) are prepared for the SANGA-priest and the tazel of Zippalanda. On one of them various sorts of bread are prepared.

70 Unknown meaning. Attested in a similar context in Bo 69/396 obv. (2')]-zi LÚ^{MEŠ} UR.BAR.RA (3') K]AxUD wa-ar-aš-hu-ar (4')]-zi ta pâr-aš-na-a-an-zi. (Apparently related to the verb war(a)šh- KUB X 66 VI 4 GİR^{MEŠ}.ŠU-NU ú-ar-aš-ha-an-zi).

- (Cf. KBo XXVII 42 II 38-42 [1.i.B] and KBo X 26 I 36-42 [1.i]; p.72).
Remainder lost.
Fragmentary. Various sorts of bread listed.
- VI
"3rd day"
- A. KBo XXV 17
[2.e.A]
- B. KBo XXV 18
[2.e.B]
A 1-5 = B I 1'-8'
- A 6-8 = B I 9'-12'
- B I 13'ff.
Rev. 1'-7'
- 8'-12'
- Colophon
- Beginning of the third day.⁷¹ The king puts on festive garments in the inner-room of the ^Émakziya- (see p.114) [and goes to(?)] the temple in the ^{hi}/eštā- house. [Then he sets out(?)] to the road at the entrance of the ^Émakziya-.
- Ceremony with participation of "barbers" and the "torch of the god" (cf. KBo X 26 I 1ff. [1.i]). Completely damaged, then broken off.
- Very fragmentary. Mention is made of the ^{he}štā- house and of taking something to a grove (^{GIŠ}TIR-ni).
- Fragmentary. Mention is made of the cooks of the town Dawiniya, the Men of the ^{he}štā- house, and the zikmuha-house (see p.114).

71 According to the colophon of B (KBo XXV 18). The first line of the Old Hittite text A (KBo XXV 17) has -y]a šiwat. The suggested completion [^hantezziy]a šiwat "firs]t day" (E.Neu, StBoT 25, no.17) is contradicted by the colophon of text B; on the other hand, the anticipated completion [teriyann]a is ruled out by the traces of the sign in question. The question must be left open.

CHAPTER IV
SELECTED COMMENTARIES

A. The Ceremonial Procession

The focal point of the ceremonies opening the festival is a procession of various cult symbols reviewed by the king. As indicated in Ch. V.C, the procession was apparently repeated, perhaps with some minor variations, on each of the three days of the festival. The scene is set in the *halentuwa*-house, that is, in the royal acropolis of Hattuša on the Büyükkale. Some of the architectural terms which appear in this part of the text will be discussed separately.

Another point of interest in the procession lies in the domain of the Hittite religion. At the center of the procession stand the “animals of the gods”, figures made of precious metals. They are carried along together with the other cult symbols, the “spears” and the “fleeces”.

Below on page 90 a concise representation of the order of the procession is presented, based on the description in the 1st and the 2nd tablets. Restorations (in brackets) are from KBo X 25 VI. Architectural elements appear in a schematic form.

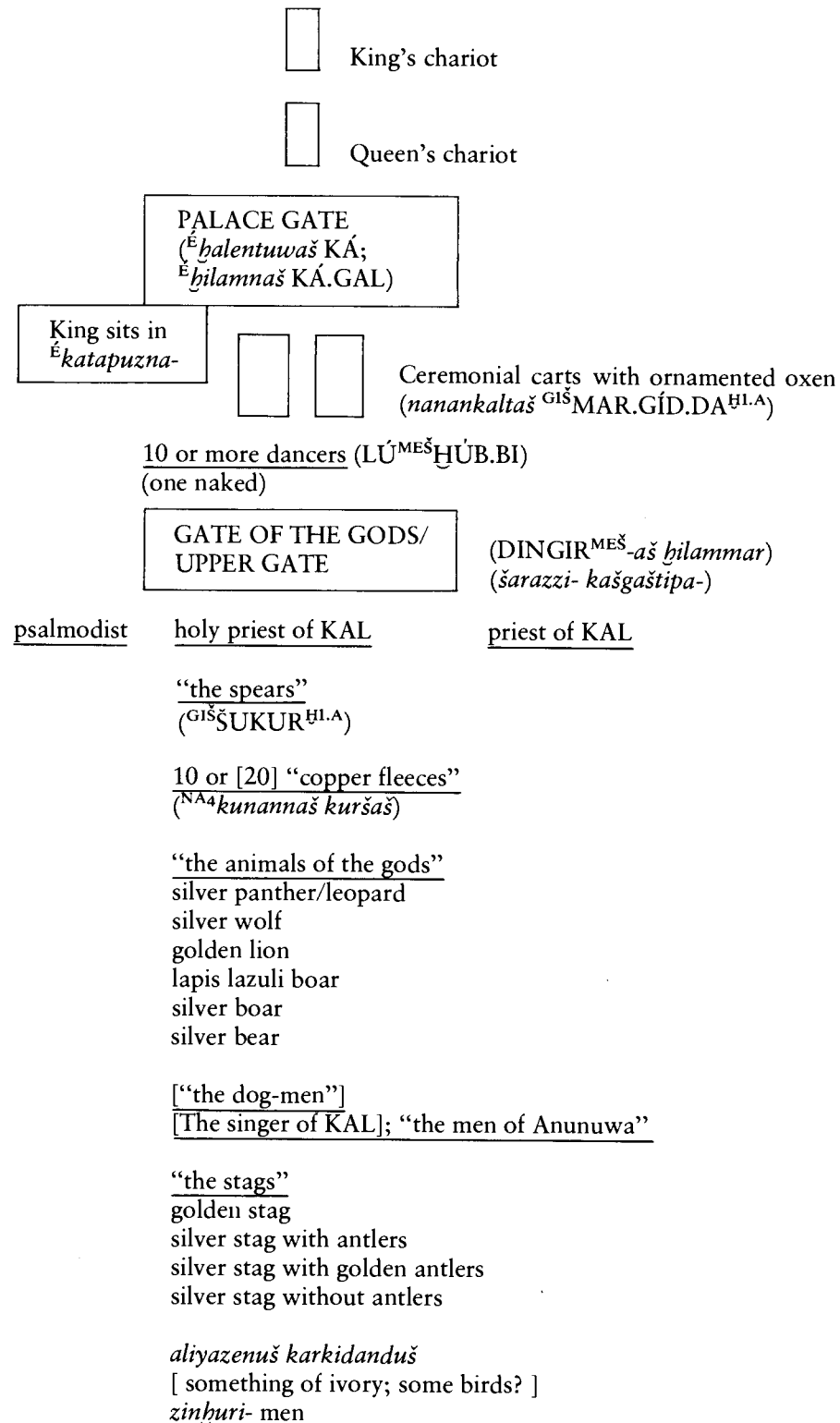
1. THE “SPEARS”

KBo X 23 V 11'–13' [1.a] EGIR-ŠU=ma ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR^{H1.A} HUR.SAG^{H1.A} = *šan kuwapi š[e]r arantari*. “Thereafter (follow) the “spears”; they stand somewhere on the mountains”.

This translation differs from that given by E.Neu in StBoT 5 (1968), 10: “dann aber werden die Speere irgendwohin in die Berge hinaufgebracht.” There is no evidence here for rendering *šer ar-* as “hinaufgebracht werden”, and in any case, this translation would not fit in this context. The spears, together with other cult symbols, are carried along to the gate of the palace and therefore cannot be brought up to the mountains.¹ I would rather think of some figures standing on mountains, like the well-known Hittite mountain gods. One may compare in this connection the representation of the Storm-god of the Rain in KUB XXV 23 left edge, left half, l. 1, who “stands on a rock” (*piššui šer artari*; C.W.Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories, 1962, 163, 173). To be sure, this interpretation suggests a more general meaning for ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR in this context than simply “spears”.

That ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR (= ^(GIŠ)turi-; see p.58 n.17) may be used as a cult object in contexts of a religious character has already been noted by A.Deimel,

¹ The parallel description in KBo X 25 VI [1.j] is unfortunately damaged, at this point: 1' ŠUKU]R^{H1.A}; 2']×-ma-kān wa-at-ku[-. The latter could belong to one of the verbs *watku-* “to leap, to jump”, or to *watkunu-* “to drive off”. The second seems more likely in this context.



Šumerisches Lexikon II (1928–1933), p.865: “wohl ‘Fahne’ (da es ein Symbol ist)”; see further F.Sommer, ZA 46 (1940), 24f. This is obvious in expressions like ANA ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR ^DKAL (KBo IV 9 V 14), ANA ^DKAL ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR (KUB X 21 II 5). Paragraph 23 in the second tablet of the Hittite Laws, in which the stealing of a bronze spear at the palace gate is punished by death, can only be explained if the spear in question has some special religious significance.

^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR as a sacred symbol is also attested in an Alalah text of Level VII, No. 1, l. 3 (D.J.Wiseman, The Alalah Tablets, 1953, 26 n.3: “(divine ?) weapon”; cf. also L.Oppenheim, JNES 14, 1955, 197 n.2). What such a ceremonial spear could look like is suggested by a bronze spearhead decorated with lion figures (reminiscent of the “Dagger God” at Yazılıkaya) found in the Level I B temple at Alalah (L. Woolley, A Forgotten Kingdom, 1953, Pl. 17 a).

In our text, the *ceremonial*(?) iron spear is presented to the king in a special ceremony on the morning of the first day (KBo X 23 I 22’ff. [1.a]). It is replaced by an iron axe when the king sets out for the temple of the Grain-goddess (KBo X 24 III 23’ff. [1.b]). The spear is again encountered when it is taken away from the king at the end of the “great assembly” (KUB II 3 I 51f. [1.k]). It seems that the iron spear and the iron axe accompany the king throughout the entire festival as a symbol of regency. Perhaps the meaning of *šakuwatar (see p.58 n.16) lies in this direction.

2. THE “FLEECES”

KBo X 23 V 14’–15’ [1.a] EGIR-ŠU=ma mān 10 mā[n 2]0 (?) kunnanaš kuršaš p[ān]zi

KBo X 25 VI 3’–4’ [1.j]] × ^{NA4}kunnanaš [kurš]eš pānz[i]

KBo XXV 180 rev.[?] 13’ [3.b.D]] ^{KUŠ}kuršeš pānz[i]

For (^{KUŠ})kurša- “fleece”, a cult symbol made of animal hide, see M.Popko, AoF 2 (1975), 65–70; Kultobjekte (1978), 108 ff. Somewhat disturbing is the association here with (^{NA4})kunnana- “copper” or “blue glass-paste”.² If the above meaning of (^{KUŠ})kurša- is valid,³ this can only mean that the fleeces had some additional fittings made of copper or of blue paste.⁴

Other occurrences of (^{KUŠ})kurša- in the KILAM festival are: (a) in the outline tablet KBo XXV 176 (with dupl. KUB X 13) rev. 14’, 16’ [3.b]: the “man of the hešta- house” who holds up the fleece receives a “rough-garment”; (b) the “house of the fleece”⁵ appears in the Old Hittite exemplar ABoT 5 + II 18’ [1.b]: kur-ša-aš É-ir-za DINGIR^{MEŠ} ú-en-zi “the gods come from the ‘house of the fleece’”.

2 See J.D.Muhly, Copper and Tin (1973), 176.

3 The meaning “shield”, suggested by F.Sommer, AU (1932), 181f. is rejected in Popko’s article.

4 For other adorned fleeces see Popko, op. cit. 66 with n.7–8.

5 Cf. H.G.Güterbock, NHF (1964), 68 n.63.

3. THE "ANIMALS OF THE GODS"

The most distinctive element in the ceremonial procession are the "animals of the gods" (DINGIR^{MES}-*naš huitar*), or simply the "animals",⁶ cult symbols made of precious metals. The whole procession is named for the "animals" (KBo X 23 III 9" [1.a]; KBo X 24 I 10f. [1.b]), although other types of symbols, the "spears" and the "fleeces" are also included. This "animal" procession, which distinguishes the KILAM from the large body of Hittite festivals, is no doubt of much interest from the standpoint of the Hittite religion.

There are three parallel lists of the "animals":

- (a) The most comprehensive is in KBo X 23 V 16'–VI [1.a]. Unfortunately some parts of it are badly damaged (the lower portion of col. V).
 (b) KBo X 25 VI 4'–8' [1.j] is a more concise list which is fully preserved.
 (c) KBo XXV 180 rev.⁷ 3'–4' [3.b.D] is actually a list of animal hides (KUŠ), but it has the same order as (b), and therefore probably belongs here.⁷

Besides these lists there are additional brief references to the "animals" which will be dealt with later. The following are the three lists, juxtaposed:

(a) KBo X 23 V [1.a]	(b) KBo X 25 [1.j]	(c) KBo XXV 180 [3.b.D]
16' UG.TUR KUBABBAR	UG.TUR KUBABBAR	KUŠ UG.TUR
17' UR.BAR.RA KUBABBAR		
18' UR.MAH GUŠKIN	UR.MAH GUŠKIN	KUŠ UR.MAH
19' [ŠAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]	ŠAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR	KUŠ ŠAH.GIŠ.GI
20' [ŠAH.GIŠ.GI ^{NA4} ZA.GIN	ŠAH.GIŠ.GI ^{NA4} ZA.GIN	[]
21' [A]Z [K]UBABBAR	AZ KUBABBAR	[]
22' ŠAH.GIŠ ?]GI KUBABBAR		
23' <i>zu-pa-a-ri</i>		
24' AZ KU[BABBAR] AZ KUBABBAR		
25' ŠAH.GI[Š.GI 4 × DÀRA.MAŠ (see below)	DÀRA ^{HLA}	DÀRA.MAŠ

⁶ *huitar* has the collective meaning "Tierwelt, Getier" (HW 72). The following spelling variants are attested in the KILAM text: Old Hit. ABoT 5 + II 16', 17' *hu-i-ta-a-ar*; (the New Hit. dupl. KBo XXII 224 + obv. 3' has *hu-i-da-a-[ar]*; Middle Hit. KBo XX 33 + obv. 14, 15 *hu-]i-ta-ar*; New Hit. KBo X 23 III 9", KBo X 24 I 11, KBo XXI 68 I 3' *hu-u-i-ta-a-ar*; KBo X 25 VI 5' *]i-tar*; KBo XXV 180 rev.⁷ 10' *hu-u-it-na-aš* (Gen.).

⁷ The listing of the metal figures begins in l. 14' UR.MA]H GUŠKIN ŠAH.GIŠ.GI, but breaks off immediately. There must be some relation between the metal animals and the hides of the same animals appearing in this listing only, but the fragmentary condition does not allow for its definition.

The composition of the main list in (a) is not quite clear due to its fragmentary nature. The exact place of the indirect join KBo X 22 can not be ascertained and the suggested position may be mistaken by one, or at the most two lines. Apparently, after the one-line entries introduced by EGIR-ŠU-ma, the entire list of animals is repeated (for some unknown reason) in sequence. For JPA A RI at the end of l. 23' (= KBo X 22,3') I can only suggest the restoration ^(GIŠ)*zu-(up)]-pa-a-ri* "torch" as in VI 28.⁸

The items in the shorter list (b) are a silver panther,⁹ a golden lion, a silver boar, a lapis lazuli boar, a silver bear. The stags appear as a separate group in all of the lists. KBo X 23 (a) adds (at least) one item, a silver wolf. The double appearance of the boar, in two different materials, is exceptional.

A. Goetze in his review of KBo X (JCS 16, 1962, 29) called attention to the similarity between these lists and the animal lists in the Anitta text and in KBo III 8 + III. The latter, a conjuration text, contains a number of Hittite phonetic spellings which Goetze attempted to equate with Sumerograms in the other lists.¹⁰ The three lists have in common their inclusion of wild beasts, apparently the most impressive ones in Anatolian fauna. The close resemblance between the Anitta list and the shorter lists of KILAM (both exclude the wolf¹¹) deserves special attention. In the various treatments of the Anitta text, this list of animals has been interpreted either as the account of a hunting expedition¹² or of a game reserve founded by Anitta in Neša for the use of the royal household and for cultic purposes.¹³ It may be suggested as a further possibility, that the list does not refer to actual animals but to cult symbols similar to those in the KILAM text. The proximity of this passage to the passage in which the erection of temples in Neša is described could corroborate this possibility, although there is no evidence in the text that those animals were made of metal.

The figures of the "stags" (DÀRA.MAŠ = Akkad. *ayālu*¹⁴) are listed separately and occupy a prominent position in the list. The shorter version in KBo X 25 VI has only DÀRA^{HLA}, "ibexes", instead of DÀRA.MAŠ. This

⁸ For this spelling see H. Otten, StBoT 15 (1971), 6 (typical for Old Hit.).

⁹ A. Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), 29 translates UG.TUR "small bear" (by presuming an interchange of the signs UG and AZ).

¹⁰ For UR.BAR.RA = *ulippa-na* see also F. Starke, ZA 69 (1979), 89 n.89.

¹¹ A. Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), 29 has UR.BAR (with question mark) in his reproduction of the Anitta list. However, both exemplars B and C clearly have UR.MAH (see Neu, StBoT 18, 1974, 14).

¹² A. Kammenhuber, Saeculum 9 (1958), 148f. (following Forrer's suggestion); H. A. Hoffner, BASOR 226 (1977), 78.

¹³ E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 33.

¹⁴ For the readings DÀRA and DÀRA.MAŠ (instead of ŠEG₉ and ŠEG₉.BAR) see H. G. Güterbock, Festschrift Heinrich Otten (1974), 82f.; E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 32.

could simply be an omission or the two words could be interchangeable to a certain extent.¹⁵ KBo X 23 VI 13ff. specifies four figures of stags, each of them carried by a different group of functionaries: a golden stag, a silver stag with antlers, a silver stag with antlers (mounted in) gold, a silver stag without antlers. What did these metal animal figures look like? One can hardly refrain from thinking of the "standards" of Alaca Hüyük. As far as one can tell, these metal figures, fastened to the tops of poles, fulfilled the same function, i.e., cult symbols carried along in religious processions. The prevalence of the stag in Alaca only encourages speculation. Their modelling shows a curious contrast between the over-simplified body and limbs and the realistic representation of the antlers, plated (together with the head) in gold and silver.¹⁶ The textual description in the KILAM festival which lends prominence to the antlers is very reminiscent of this modelling. Of course, there is a considerable lapse of time between the standards from Alaca and the present text. On the other hand, one need only recall the marked continuity of cultic practices in Anatolia. Confronted with the scarcity of Hittite cultic objects, especially of metal, found in excavations, one is justified, in my opinion, in drawing a comparison between the third millennium material culture of northern Anatolia and a Hittite festival of Hattian origin.

The last group of cult symbols carried along in the procession has the enigmatic name *a-li-ya-zé-nu-uš kar-ki/(di?)-da-an-du-uš* (acc. plural). These could be two asyndetic substantives or, more likely, an attribute depending on the substantive *aliyazenuš*. The word *karkidanduš* is not attested elsewhere.

aliya(n)zena-¹⁷ is attested in two parallel tablets of CTH 401 (Ritual of the bird-breeder [(-)]*banippi*).¹⁸

KUB XXX 33 I 17' [×-×]-*ya-an-kán a-l[i-ya-a]n-zi-na-an* (sg. acc.) *a-pí-e-el me-ya-aš ku-[en-zi*

KUB XXX 36 II 11f. (with dupl. KBo XIII 131 obv. 6'): ...*a-li-ya-na-an-kán* (12) *a-li-ya-an-zi-na-aš* (pl. acc.) *a-pí-e-el-pát mi-i-ya-aš ku-en-zi*

The meaning of the passage is obscure, but the beginning of the first citation can be restored (by calculating the free space) only as [*a-lī*]-*ya-an-kán*. This is important because it shows that *aliyana*- is only a variant of *al(l)iya*-, a bird occurring in oracles. Other occurrences of *aliyana*- do not shed more light on the meaning: KBo XII 96 I 11' ... *nu a-li-ya-ni EGIR-an-da li-e ku-iš-ki pal-wa-a-iz-zi* "behind an *a*. nobody claps (his hands)."; KUB XXXVI 83 I 32]*ta a-li-ya-na-aš GI*; Bo 6091 rev. V 1]×-*ki I-aš a-li-ya-nu-uš*. Thus it seems that *al(l)iya*- and *aliyana*- are merely variants related to an original *n*-

15 KBo XXV 180 rev.² 4' (list c) has DÀ]RA.MAŠ.

16 H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1970), 211.

17 Cf. A. Kammenhuber, HW², 58 (unknown meaning).

18 A further occurrence in mutilated context is in KBo XXIV 11 obv.² 8':]*a-li-ya-an-zi-na-×*].

stem (**aliyan*-).¹⁹ *aliya(n)zena*- is apparently an extension of *aliya(na)*- (cf. N. Oettinger, KZ 94, 1980, 56). The evidence surveyed above is far from conclusive. The most we can say at the present is that *aliyazena*- may be connected somehow to the bird *aliya(na)*-. In our context the *a*. figures are held up (*karp*-) in contrast to the stag figures which are "pulled" or "dragged" (*šallanai*-).

In addition to the detailed descriptions of the "animals of the gods", there are several brief references to them in other parts of the text. The relevant passages appear within the list of gods celebrated during the "great assembly" near the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god (see Ch. IV.B.2). Since these allusions may contain some evidence for the elucidation of certain cultic terms, it is worth reproducing and discussing the relevant passages.

(a) Middle Hit. outline tablet KBo XX 33 + obv. 13-16 [3.a]:

(13) [They drink, sitting (?),]^DInar and ^DHabandali; from the temple of ^DInar,

(14) they bring the silver [ani]mals. They pour one *hupar* wine for the panther/leopard and one *hupar* for the (male-)boar.²⁰

(15) They carry along(?)²¹ the [an]imals; they carry along(?) the *peri*-.

(16) The [co]medians(?)²² carry along(?). The gods come from the "house of the fleece".

(b) Old Hittite tablet ABoT 5+ II 13'-18' [1.h]. The beginnings of the lines are restored from the New Hittite duplicate KBo XXII 195(+) 224 II'10'-15'.

19 For occurrences in Luwian contexts see B. Rosenkranz, OrNS 33 (1964), 246; E. Laroche, DLL (1959), 26.

20 For lines 13-14 see also p. 163 (in connection with *hupar*).

21 For the verb *šamen*-, causative *šamenu*-, see HW 180; A. Goetze, JCS 20 (1966), 131; N. Oettinger, MSS 35 (1976), 97ff. The current translations—"disappear, withdraw, withhold, do without" (for the special meaning "burn incense" see E. Neu, StBoT 12, 69f.)—are not satisfactory in this context, in which animal figures are carried along in a procession. Cf. also KBo X 23 III 7'-11' [1.a]: "While the king is at the ^E*katapuzna* all the animals and the 'masters of words' *ša-me-ya-an-zi* before the king" (For the shift *šamnanzi* > *šameyanzi* see Oettinger op. cit.). These contexts seem to require a meaning "pass in review, parade" or the like for *šamen*- and "carry along" for *šamenu*-. The "withdrawal" or "disappearance" is merely the consequence of the whole action.

22 [LÚ ?]^{MEŠ} ALAN.ZU. Note the exceptional spelling with ZU instead of the usual ALAM.KAxUD = ALAN.ZÚ. Unless the restoration LÚ is mistaken, this spelling corresponds with the usual ideogram for Akkadian *aluzimnu* which is *alan.zu*, cf. H. G. Güterbock, RHA 22/74 (1964), 95ff.; XIX RAI (1974), 313 n.27; W. M. Ph. Römer, Persica 7 (1975-78), 43-68; cf. also A. Kammenhuber, SMEA 14 (1971), 157, n.45. Another unusual writing is ALAM.KAxA in KBo XXIII 74 II 9' [1.k.C]. It is worth noting that both texts exhibit a Middle Hittite ductus.

- 13' [(The king and queen)] "drink to" two (deities) sitting: ^DInar
 14' [and ^DHaband]ali. The large "Ištar instrument" is played by the *haliri*-men.
 15' [From the temple of] ^DInar, the *šuppištuwareš*
 16' [(come); the anim]als *march along*; the *peri*- comes.
 17' [(On the second day)] there are no *peri*- and animals. The foreman of the com[(edians)]
 18' sits [in?] the ^{GIŠ}*marau*-. The gods come from the "house of the fleece".

The comparison between the parallel passages (a) and (b) indicates that *šuppištuwareš* (nom. pl.) in (b) corresponds to the two animals made of silver in (a). This correspondance points one in the direction of Laroche's interpretation of *šuppištuwara*- as a zoomorphic vessel (RHA 9/49, 1948-49, 23 n.6). With the help of the exhaustive material assembled by E.Neu in StBoT 12 (1970), 69 we may attempt to proceed a step further in the interpretation of this term.²³ It seems that *š.* usually appears, as in this case, in connection with metals. Where metal is not explicitly mentioned, the context usually favors, or at least does not contradict this connection. A rendering which seems to cover all the contexts where *š.* appears is "something covered/mounted/sheathed in (ornamented) metal", or "vessel made of (ornamented) metal plate". Such an interpretation embraces all the previous interpretations which have been suggested for *š.*- Goetze's "ornamented" (Cor. lingu., 1955, 48 n.2), Laroche's "zoomorphic vessel" (op. cit.) and Neu's "shiny, lustrous" (op. cit.). Also it easily accounts for the variation of the word between substantive and adjective usage. One can mention a number of vessels from Neu's compilation to demonstrate the agreement of this interpretation: GAL *š.* of the Storm-god in StBoT 12 passim, may well be an ornamented metal cup; KAXUD AM.SI *š.* (KBo XVIII 152) could be an elephant tusk mounted in metal; a golden *š.* is inlaid with (precious) stone in KUB XLII 69; ^{TUGŠA}.GA.(AN.)DÜ MAŠ-LU *š.* could be a "waist-band" trimmed with some decorated metal; BIBRA GUD GUŠKIN *š.* is a bull rhyton made of ornamented gold, like the fine specimen of silver from the Schimmel collection (K.Bittel, Die Hethiter, 165). That BIBRU "rhyton" may be included within the range of meaning of *š.* is shown not only by the KI.LAM context but also by the juxtaposition of two parallel passages cited by Neu: 99/r II 2 *šuppištuwarit kurupšini* and KUB X 89 I 38 *IŠTU BIBRI kurupšini* (a rhyton made of low quality gold).

Returning now to the KI.LAM text, in the passage preceding the libation into the *šuppištuwareš*, two bull's heads made of silver are brought by the chief smith (ABoT 5 + II 10' [1.h]). These are apparently associated with the Storm-god and Wašezzili in the previous passage (II 6'). The association of

23 Cf. further A.Kammenhuber, SMEA 14 (1971), 151; Mat. heth. Thes., Lfg. 7 (1976), 328f.

the ox or bull with the Storm-god is well-known.²⁴ More unusual is the association of the panther/leopard (UG.TUR) and the male boar (ŠAH.NITÁ) with Inar and Habandali respectively (in passage (a) cited above). The better-known sacred animal of Inar is the stag.²⁵ However, this would not be the only instance in which one deity is associated with more than one animal.²⁶ The fact should also be recalled that the text in question is written in a Middle Hittite ductus.²⁷

A third passage may now be added to the discussion:

(c) KBo XXI 68 I 3'-4' [1.h.C]; this text is parallel to the Old Hit. tablet ABoT 5 + (passage (a) above). The relevant lines are badly mutilated:

3' *hu-i-ta-a-ar še-me-en-zi ŠA LÚ^{ME}[š*
 4'] *ták-ku MUŠEN-in me-e-ik-kán ú-×[*

It is not possible to obtain any clear meaning for these lines. However, the "bird" mentioned after the "animals" who *pass in review* is noteworthy. In passages (a) and (b) the "animals" were followed by the obscure word *peri*-. Could one then derive a clue here for the Hittite reading of MUŠEN "bird" (*i-stem*)?²⁸ The detailed description of the animal procession may lend some support, however minor, to this interpretation. The animals and the stags are followed by the enigmatic *aliyazenuš karkidanduš*; the first word is, as shown above p.94, probably related to *aliya(na)*- (a bird occurring in oracles), in which case it could correspond with *peri*-. The other occurrences of *peri*-²⁹ do not help any further with the interpretation. In KBo XVII 43 IV 5' *pi-e-ri-iš ú-iz-zi* (cf. passage (b) above), appears in a broken passage which is somewhat reminiscent of the passages treated above; note MUŠEN^{HI.A} in I.9'. KUB XLII 69 obv. 10' *a-r]a-am-ni-iš pi-e-ri-iš XII ZI-IH-PU GUŠKIN an-da*. Here again *peri*- appears next to the name of a bird (for *aramni*- see HW Erg. 2, 8).

24 A.Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), 89; O.Carruba, Kadmos 6 (1967), 96.

25 Carruba, op. cit. 97; H.Otten, StBoT 13 (1971), 42.

26 Carruba, op. cit. 96.

27 For the goddess Inar throughout the various stages of the Hittite cult see A.Kammenhuber, ZA 66 (1976), 68-88.

28 Cf. Church Slavonic *pŕati* "to fly"; *pero* "feather" J.Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 817 (N.Oettinger). Cf., however, HW 286 for an alternative suggestion.

29 Sg.nom. *pi-e-ri-eš* ABoT 5 + II' 16' [1.h].

pi-e-ri-iš KBo XVII 43 IV 5'; KUB XLII 69 obv. 10'

Sg.acc. *pi-e-ri-in* KBo XX 33 + obv. 15. [3.a].

The word *pera*-^{MUŠEN} given in HW 167 (KUB XXXIII 121 III 5; see J.Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 236f. 254: *pi-e-ra-×^{MUŠEN}*) does not exist. See E.Neu, Kratylus 12 (1967), 163.

B. The “Great Assembly” (*šalli ašeššar*)

1. THE LOCATION

The fullest sequence of the events of the “great assembly” is provided by the Middle Hittite outline tablet KBo XX 33+ [3.a]. This tablet, which has been almost entirely rejoined, is a complete contextual unit which covers exactly the “great assembly”, starting with the first worshipped deity, ^DTauri, and ending with the king’s leaving the “tent” (see below). After this, the scribe left an empty space on the tablet proving that the restriction to this unit was intentional. Although the term *šalli ašeššar* itself does not figure in the tablet, it may very well serve as its heading. (The tablet does not have a colophon; see p.50). This statement is based on KUB II 3 I 50 [1.k]: [*šal*]li *ašeššar appāi* “the great assembly is finished”. This sentence appears in a passage, the résumé of which is found in the last lines of KBo XX 33+. Accordingly the restoration [*šal-l*]i *hal-zi-ya* is suggested in the first line of the other outline tablet, KBo XXV 176 [3.b]. KBo XX 33+ consists of about fifty separate entries, each representing an individual ceremony performed in the assembly. Only a few entries have been completely destroyed but most of them are damaged to a certain degree. Most of the entries are concerned with the worship of about forty different deities; the rest are special ceremonies, such as the burning of the *tahtumar(a)*- incense, a race of ten runners, a ceremony in which the king pours wine into the hands of the main officials of the kingdom, and so on.

The evidence concerning the events preceding the “great assembly” is not entirely conclusive. There are three passages which must be placed before the assembly, but the exact correlation between them cannot be established with certainty. These are Izmir 1270+ II–III, KBo X 26 I–II and the fragmentary first column of the Old Hittite exemplar ABoT 5+ (see synopsis on p.71ff.).

(a) Izmir 1270 + 1271 + 1272 II–III [1.k.H] has the longest sequence of events preceding the “great assembly”. From III 27 on, the scene is the temple of the Sun-goddess. The site of the events preceding the arrival of the royal pair to the temple can only be conjectured. In II 7’ the king arrives at the gate of ^DGIR (= Miyatanzipa), where he worships the gods ^DTelipinu and ^DHalki(?). This could well happen in the temple of ^DHalki which appears several times in the text (p.135), since all three are vegetation and fertility deities. The rest of col. II is missing. At the beginning of col. III the king descends from the chariot and goes up to some place where he worships ^DZABABA (l.5) and other gods. This is followed, apparently with no change

of location, by several ceremonies, including the lighting and extinguishing of a torch. Then ^DKAL and ^DHapantali³⁰ are worshipped (l.26) after which the king arrives at the temple of the Sun-goddess.

(b) KBo X 26 (“11th tablet”) I–II [1.i] is parallel to (a) III 19ff. In the temple of the Sun-goddess (I 10, 18) the silver *zau* (I 33) and the [iron spear?] (II 26) are placed on both sides of the king.³¹ This is accompanied by various ceremonies. After a gap of two entire columns, the scene in col. V is the “great assembly” (almost identical with KBo X 25 I [1.j]).

(c) The evidence in ABoT 5+ I [1.h] is more diversified but at the same time more fragmentary. Its future recovery may answer a number of questions concerning the events preceding the “great assembly”. The first preserved entry in the second column (l.5’) is the same as the sixth entry in the outline tablets. The first five entries were covered in all probability by the missing upper portion of the column (about 20 lines). This leaves the entire first column for events immediately preceding the “great assembly”. The first preserved section is connected with the temple of the Sun-deity (4’ ^DUTU-*wa-aš* É[-]). The Hittite phonetic complement with the case ending is broken off; since the scene changes in the next section, it could be an ablative. Then follows a list of worshipped gods. In the next section an enigmatic “silver tree” (see p.72 n.44) and the *huwaši*- are mentioned (11’ *hu-wa-ši-aš* ^DIM[.]).

In the following section [the king ?] descends from somewhere. The relevant word is damaged (13’ *-u-iz-na-az*).³² This is again followed by a list of deities. After a gap of some 10–12 lines come several short sections with “drinking to” various gods. Unfortunately, both the names of the deities and the indication of the places are broken off.³³ If *huwaši*- in the second section of the column indicates the king’s destination, one may assume that the next locations are stations on his journey.

If we try to draw together these fragmentary data, it seems that before the “great assembly” in the “tent”, several ceremonies took place in temples inside the city. The temple of the Sun-deity is explicitly mentioned in all three passages³⁴; the temples of some vegetation deity (^DMiyatanzipa, ^DTelipinu, or ^DHalki; see p.98) and of ^DZABABA (possibly also of ^DKAL) may be conjectured from passage (a). Thereafter, judging from passage (c), the

30 The same sequence, the “barbers” (^LU^{MEŠ}ŠU.I = ^LU^{MEŠ}*tabiyaleš*, see p.71 n.43) and the “drinking” of ^DKAL and ^DHapantaliya, is found in lines 17–18 in the outline tablet KBo XXV 176 [3.b]. However, the previous entries differ, so that the parallel does not necessarily imply that these are parallel passages.

31 The same objects are removed at the end of the “great assembly” (KUB II 3 I 42ff. [1.k]).

32 E. Neu, StBoT 25 no. 12: [LUGAL-]*u-iz-na-az*.

33 Line 2: “In the [...]-gate[...], or “In the gate of [...]; 4”, 10” “[The king] arrives at [...]; 12” “Beside/Below the (–)*aššura*” (see p.100 n.35).

34 Cf. also the colophon of 1834/c [2.b] (see pp.46f.).

procession headed by the king proceeds to the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god. On its way it stops at various stations and gods are worshipped. Curiously enough, this is exactly the course described in the first column of the “third tablet” (KUB X 1 [1.c]; see p.63). The king leaves through the *ašuša-* gate and arrives at the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god.³⁵ Then various bread offerings and libations are performed at the *huwaši-*. If the two descriptions relate to the same occasion one begins to wonder what the subject of the seven missing tablets between the “3rd” and the “11th tablet” could be. Or perhaps there is after all a division into days in this series also?

The preparations in the “ceremonial tent” (see below) preceeding the opening of the “great assembly” can be followed in KBo XXVII 42 [1.j.B] I–III 26, whereas both outline tablets [3.a, b] and KBo X 25 [1.j] start directly with the first worshipped deity, ^DTauri(t).³⁶ These include the disposition of various insignia—*kalmuš-*, *zau-*, spears and staves—the introduction of the high-ranking guests, apparently in order of importance—royal princes, holy priests of Arinna, Zippalanda and Hattuša, various dignitaries (see further p.105); seating of the entertainers—musicians, comedians and psalmists; light meals, etc. The ceremonies and their order are almost identical to similar descriptions in other festival texts (p.73).

The ceremonies of the “great assembly” take place in a “ceremonial tent”, ^{GI5}ZA.LAM.GAR.³⁷ This location is clearly indicated both at the beginning of the ceremonies—in KBo XXVII 42 I 2, where the king sets out from the palace to the tent—and at their end in KUB II 3 II 1 [1.k], when he leaves this place. After coming out of the tent, the king moves over to a basin (*luli-*) which is situated near a hearth; here a ritual bath takes place after which the king enters the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god. No vehicle is mentioned in the whole passage and the impression is that the tent is found in the immediate vicinity of the *huwaši-*. That the ^{GI5}ZA.LAM.GAR must be more than an ordinary tent (see H.A.Hoffner, JAOS 88, 1968, 533; cf. also A.Goetze, Tunnawi, 1938, 98 n.2) in order to accommodate such a “great assembly” is quite obvious. It has an inner-room (*tunnakeššar* I 19) just as in the temples. It is possible that although made of light materials such as wood or reeds, the ^{GI5}ZA.LAM.GAR was built after the model of a temple with more than one room.³⁸

35 Is there any possibility that the obscure]-aš(-)šu-u-ra-aš in ABoT 5+ I 12” (see above n.33) is somehow connected with the temple of ^DŠura in KUB X 1 I 6’?

36 For ^(D)Tauri(t) see H. M. Kümmel, Festschrift H. Otten, 1973, 170ff.; E. Laroche, RHA 31 (1973), 119.

37 The “great assembly” usually took place in the palace (JNES 19, 1960, 80ff. passim) or in a temple (KBo IV 9). Cf. also M. Popko, Rocznik Orientalistyczny XL1/2 (Festschrift R. Rąkoszek), 1980, 101–104.

38 A further text in which a tent is associated with a *huwaši-* is KUB XX 85(+) XX 48 (CTH 593) I. The scene is at Mount Tapala.

One cannot refrain from conjecture concerning the location of this ceremonial tent housing the “great assembly”. I strongly suspect that the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god near this tent, which is situated outside the city and is the terminus of the royal procession, is the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya or some part of it.³⁹ A close examination of this question merits a separate investigation, but there is one point concerning the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god in the KI.LAM text which should be mentioned in passing. According to two passages⁴⁰ it can be entered. Therefore it must have been, at least in these contexts, more than a stele or a hieroglyphic monument (cf. Carter, op. cit., 41ff.). The comparison to Yazılıkaya, a rock monument incorporated in an architectural complex, is striking. The identification of Yazılıkaya as a *huwaši-* was already tentatively suggested by Güterbock⁴¹; the above suggestion may provide a more exact identification.

2. THE LIST OF GODS

The nearly complete list of gods worshipped during the “great assembly” consists of more than forty different deities. Some of the names are repeated in the list: The Storm-god and Wašezzili appear three times (2, 4, 33), Kuza-nišu (6, 32), Zilipuru (18, 21) and apparently also Kataḫḫi (17, 27) twice. Reproduced below is the list of gods in the order they appear in the text. All the other ceremonies which are interspersed between the “drinking to” the gods have been omitted. Gods who appear together in the text (i.e. in the formula: “drinking to ^Dx, ^Dy, etc.”) appear together in the list. The names are reproduced with the case endings as they appear in the text. Most of them are in accusative as objects of *ekuzi/akuwanzi*; in the first entries (taken from KBo XX 33+), in which the verb “to drink” is absent, the names appear with no case endings (Wašezzili, Mezzulla, Habandali).

39 For a compilation of the material on *huwaši-* see C. W. Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories (1962), 26–50; M. Darga, RHA 27 (1969), 5ff. with further bibliography. See also K. Bittel, Yazılıkaya (1975), 254–256.

40 KUB II 3 II 32–33 [1.k]: LUGAL-uš=šan ^DU-aš ^{NA4}huwašiya anda paizzi; KUB XX 1 I 22’–24’ [1.c]: *kuitman*=ma LUGAL-uš ^DU-aš ^{NA4}huwašiya anda *nayī* paizzi. O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion (1977), 40f., commenting on an observation made by Carter, op. cit., 40 with n.2, pleads against the translation “the king goes into the *huwaši-* of the Storm-god” (in the first passage) and prefers the rendering “goes in to the *h.*”. I do not think that the simple translation should be avoided here or in the second passage (not cited by Carter or Gurney). Carter pointed out rightly that there is no mention of any other place into which the king might enter in this context. I can see no real objection to the conclusion that the meaning range of *huwaši-* can be as large as to include a major religious complex such as Yazılıkaya, the kernel of which is a rock monument.

41 MDOG 86 (1953), 76 n.2.

1 Tauri(t)	13 [Zizzašu]	24 Hašamili
2 IM, Wašezzili	14 Zuliyan	25 Hattuš Tetešhapi
3 UTU, Mezzulla	15 Šušumittu	26 Puškurunan, Tapalḫunan
4 IM, Wašezzili	16 NIN.É.GAL-un	27 IM ^{URU} Ziplanda, Kataḫḫi[n]
5 Inar, Habandali	17 Hanikkun	28 Ulzan, Uliwašun, Katarzašun
6 EN.ZU, Kuzanišun	K[ataḫḫi]	29 Šušumaḫin, Šimmišun
7 Hullan	18 Zilipurun	30 Haratšin
8 Telipinun	19 Katimun	31 [Šita]rzunan, Taḫam/npiw/ pun, Waḫzašun, Takkiḫaun
9 ZABABA	20 Halkin	32 Jnatašun, Kuzanišun,
10 [UD ^{AM}]	21 Zilipurun	Taḫpillanu
11 GAL.ZU	22 Waḫišin	33 IM, Wašezzili
12 Tuḫšaail	23 []	

The list must be studied thoroughly in comparison with similar pseudo-canonical lists like those treated by H. Otten, *Anatolia* 4 (1959), 34; *StBoT* 13 (1971), 29 ff., H. G. Güterbock, *RHA* 19/68 (1961), 12 and E. Laroche, *RHA* 31 (1973), 83 ff. I confine myself here to several general observations.

The overall character of the list is unmistakably Hattic although there are exceptions (e.g. *Halki*, *Ulzan*⁴²). One can also note the use of Kanišian and Hurrian singers in the cult of Hattic deities—*Kuzanišu* and *Waḫiši*⁴³ respectively. Two deities appear in conjunction with the Hattic names of their towns: *Hanikkun* ^D*Ka[tahḫi]* and ^{URU}*Hattuš* ^D*Tetešhapi*.

The list discussed by Laroche in *RHA* 31, which belongs to a festival of Hattic origin (the “mixed” festival of “the thunder and the moon”, *CTH* 630), has many names in common with our list. From no. 24 (in Laroche’s list) on, the sequence is almost identical. The forms in the *KI.LAM* list correspond with Laroche’s list B (*KBo* XX 70 + *KBo* XXI 88 V 1 ff.). From this parallel we may infer that ^{URU}*Hattuš* ^D*Tetešhapi*⁴⁴ who follows *Hašamili*⁴⁵ in the *KI.LAM* list must correspond to ^D*Hattušantewašḫab* = ^{URU}*Hattušaš* *DINGIR*^{MEŠ} in Laroche’s list.⁴⁶

In the list of the festival of “the thunder and the moon” Laroche discloses artificial archaisms, with defective translations from Hittite to Hattic, fabricated by Hittite theologians during the religious reform of Tudḫaliya IV. With

42 See Laroche, *RHA* 31, 86.

43 See Güterbock, *CHM* 1954, 390; Laroche, *Dieux* 36; *RHA* 31, 89.

44 Cf. also the suggested restoration of *KUB* XX 4 V 6’ [2.a]: ^{URU}*PA-aš* ^D*Te-te-e*[š’-*ḫa-pi-in*].

45 Once again the equation *Hašmaiu* = *Hašammiun* = *Hašamili* (see Laroche, no. 26) is confirmed.

46 *Tetišhapi* is analysed by A. Kammenhuber, *HdO*, 497 as a combination of two nouns of which the first is in the stem form (with unknown meaning): *tetti-šhapi* = “*tetti* + God”. However, in view of the comparison with *Hattušan tep/wašḫab* (literally: “of *Hattuša*, its gods”) one is inclined to analyze *tete-* as the possessive prefix *te-*, and an unexplained additional *te*.

regard to the *KI.LAM* list however, it must be emphasized that it is based on much older material, an original Old Hittite tablet (*ABoT* 5+) and a Middle Hittite outline tablet (*KBo* XX 33+) which probably dates from the 15th century (see p. 65).

The outline tablets contain only the names of the gods and the notation *GUB-aš* “standing”, or *TUŠ-aš* “sitting” (cf. H. Otten, *StBoT* 13, 44). All the gods are worshipped “sitting” except for the Storm-god (and *Wašezzili*), the Sun-goddess (and *Mezzulla*), and the deified “Day” (^D*UD*^{AM}). The king bows (*UŠKEN*) for the Storm-god, he does not bow for the Sun-goddess (*UL UŠKEN*). The obscure expression *ḫeun tarnanzi*, literally “they let the rain”,⁴⁷ apparently occurs with these same deities only.

The detailed tablets supply additional information pertaining to musical accompaniment,⁴⁸ recitations in Hattic, dancing, etc. The bread and wine offerings following the ritual “drinking to”⁴⁹ the gods are described in detail (omitted in the outline).

3. THE RACE OF THE RUNNERS

One of the ceremonies included in the “great assembly” is a foot race in which ten runners participate. It follows immediately upon the burning of the incense *taḫ(a)tumar(a)-* which is brought from the “stone-house” (see Ch. IV.C.9). The race has often been discussed in the past.⁵⁰ The basis for the discussion was the passage *IBoT* I 13 V² 14–18 [1.j.D], which has now been extended by the closely parallel passage *KBo* XXV 176 obv. 7–11 [3.b]: “Ten runners come next; to the one who wins and to the one who is in the second place they give two “tunics” (*TUG ERÍN*^{MEŠ}). ... They pay homage and they [take their places ?]. One [gives] them *šarama-* bread [], and one [gives] them wine to drink [.”

A second passage dealing with the same subject is found in the Middle Hittite outline *KBo* XX 33+ obv. 12 [3.a] with the parallel text *KUB* XLVII 9 II 20 ff. [3.b.C] and in the Old Hittite exemplar *ABoT* 5+ II 10’–12’ [1.h] which has the longer version: “The runner who wins takes from the hand of the king two *wagada*-breads and one mina of silver.” Quite an impressive prize for the winner! It seems that we may distinguish here between two versions in the granting of the prizes: an older version according to which the winner only is afforded the large prize of one mina of silver, and a later ver-

47 Cf. *KBo* XVII (1969), *Inhaltsübersicht*, p. IV n. 2; J. Weitenberg, *Hethitica* I (1972), 33 f., 57 f.

48 Usually the *ḫaliyari*-men play the large or the small “Ištar-instruments”. For *Hula* the pipers (*LÜ*^{MEŠ} *GI.GID*) play.

49 For the ritual “drinking to” gods see A. Kammenhuber, *SMEA* 14 (1971), 143 ff.; idem—A. Archi, *Mat.heth.Thes.* Lfg. 4–7 (1975–6), 118 ff.

50 See H. G. Güterbock, *NHF* (1964), 63 n. 49 with previous literature; O. R. Gurney, *Some Aspects* (1977), 36 ff.

sion in which both the first and the second place receive prizes, but this time only a tunic.⁵¹ Might this not have value to scholars of the history of sports? According to both versions they receive bread and wine in addition to the prizes.

A foot-race also appears in the "3rd tablet", KUB X 1 I 12' [1.c] *nu* LÚ^{MEŠ} KAŠ₄.E *pít-ti-an-zi*. Whether the same race is referred to or not is not evident. In the "third tablet" the race is performed after the royal couple has left the *ašusa*-gate (I 9'). The location in the above passages is at the ceremonial tent in the vicinity of the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god where the "great assembly" is celebrated (see Ch. IV.B.1).

4. THE CEREMONY OF THE *kalti*-VESSEL

The focal point of this event is a ceremony in which the king pours wine into the hands of the main officiators of the kingdom. There are two, slightly different, descriptions: in KUB X 13 IV 10'ff. [3.b.B] and in KUB XLVIII 9 III 10ff. [3.b.C]. From the Old Hittite exemplar ABoT 5+ II 30' [1.b] it can be learned that the ceremony was omitted on the second day. The combined evidence may be summarized as follows: The runners (LÚ^{MEŠ}KAŠ₄.E) bring in a large silver or gold vessel called *kalti*,⁵² and place it by the throne. The vessel is filled by the wine-suppliers (LÚ^{MEŠ} ZABAR.DIB) with (sweet-) wine. Then a *comedian* takes some wine from it and pronounces a Hattic recitation. Thereafter the libation vessel is handed over to the king. The king pours wine into the hands of the lords (BĒLU^{MEŠ}.TIM). The following list of officials is of interest since it is very similar to the list in § 33 of the Telipinu Decree⁵³: "the foreman of the bodyguards" (GAL MEŠEDI), "the foreman of the palace attendants" (GAL DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL), "the householder" (LÚABUBITUM), "the great of the wine" (GAL GEŠTIN), "the foreman of the grooms"

51 Note that the prices of garments according to the Hittite Laws are from 3 shekels to 30 shekels at the most (J. Friedrich, HG, p. 80). The TÚG ERÍN^{MEŠ} (literally: "troop-garments") do not seem to belong to the most expensive category; see Ch. IV.B.5.

52 In the Old Hittite (ABoT 5+ II 30' [1.b]) and in the Middle Hittite (KBo XX 33+ obv. 19 [3.a]) exemplars the spelling is *gal-di*, in the New Hittite exemplars *kal-ti*. None of the occurrences in the KILAM tablets has a determinative. The *kalti* in our context, made of silver or gold, must be different from the ^{DUG}*kalti* to which the bodyguard goes down to urinate in IBoT I 36 I 36. A third occurrence is KBo XXI 37 rev.⁷ 18' ^{GIŠ}*kaltius*. It seems that the basic meaning of *kalti* is a general one, a large container, with no bearing on the function. When made of clay it may serve as a "toilet" (HW 96). In rituals of libation it may be made of precious metal or wood. Attested forms: sg. nom.-acc. n. *kalti*; dat.-loc. ^{DUG}*kaltiya* (IBoT I 36 I 36); abl. *kaltiaz* (KUB XLVIII 9 II 14); acc.pl.c. ^{GIŠ}*kaltius* (KBo XXI 37 rev.⁷ 18').

53 Cf. A. Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 216 n. 50.

(GAL LÚ^{MEŠ} IŠ), "the dignitaries" (LÚ^{MEŠ} DUGUD) and the "men of the spear" (LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{GIŠ}ŠUKUR). We can conclude from this list that all these important persons, viz. the entire command of Hittite administration, were present at the celebrations of the "great assembly". In this connection it is also useful to note the order of entry (see p. 100) and the order of departure from the ceremony as indicated in the last entries of the outline KBo XX 33+ [3.a] LÚ^{MEŠ} DUGUD EGIR⁷¹ "the last(?) dignitaries" (or: "the dignitaries of low rank"; E. Neu, StBoT 26) (l. 59); LÚ^{MEŠ} (DUGU)D' NAPTĀNIM "the dignitaries of the meal" (l. 60); the princes and the princesses (l. 63); the SANGA-priests (l. 65). Last to leave is the king himself (l. 67).

5. THE CEREMONIAL GARMENTS OF THE PRIESTS

On the reverse of the outline tablet KBo XXV 176 (with the dupl. KUB X 13 III 4–8 [3.b]) is a list of garments given to various cult functionaries. This list (cf. H. G. Güterbock, XX RAI, 1975, 130), is not paralleled on the other outline tablet (KBo XX 33+) or in the regular tablets. Its interest lies in the fact that it establishes an inner hierarchy among the personnel of two religious centers, Arinna and Zippalanda.⁵⁴ Following is a tabulation of the list:

The cult personnel of Arinna (lines 4'–7')

3 SANGA-priests	3 garments of the first quality (3 TÚG <i>hantezzin</i>)
2 GUDÚ-priests	2 garments of the second quality (2 TÚG <i>dān pedan</i>)
1 cupbearer	1 "troop-garment" (TÚG ERÍN ^{MEŠ})
1 singer	1 "troop-garment"

The cult personnel of Zippalanda (8'–12')

1 SANGA-priest	1 garment of the first quality
1 <i>tazzelli</i> -priest	1 garment of the second quality
1 <i>hamina</i> -priest	1 garment of the second quality
1 cupbearer	1 "troop-garment"
1 singer	1 "troop-garment"

Other cult functionaries (13'–17')

The <i>zilipuriyatalla</i> -men (13')	4 "rough garments" ⁵⁵
The man of the <i>heštā</i> -house who holds the "fleece" (14'f.)	1 "rough garment"
The man who holds the "fleece" of ^D <i>Kantepuitti</i> (16'f.)	1 "rough garment"

54 Cf. also KBo X 26 I 36ff. [1.i] (= KBo XXVII 42 II 38–42 [1.j.B]): "3 holy SANGA-priests of Arinna and their cupbearers, the SANGA-priest of Zippalanda, the *tazelli*- and their cupbearers".

55 For TÚG.BĀR see H. G. Güterbock, Festschrift H. Otten (1973), 71.

C. Architectural Terms

1. (É) *arkiu(i)*- “passageway”

This word was first interpreted as referring to a cult building: E. Laroche, RA 47 (1953), 40 “partie d’un temple(?)” (also HW 338); L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 11 (1965), 210 “Kapelle”, “Gebetsnische”. The first to abandon this interpretation was H. G. Güterbock, XIX RAI (1974), 312 and n.26, who concluded that the *a*. “is an open structure, often near a gate, perhaps only an awning or canopy.” In ZA 65 (1975), 86 n.82 I suggested the translation “entrance”. The argumentation follows.

As already noted by Jakob-Rost and by Güterbock, the *a*. is found in various buildings:

The palace (É *halentuwa*-): IBoT I 36 I 70; KBo IX 136 I 4; KBo X 23 II 13’ [1.*a*].

The house of the queen’s treasurer: KBo X 23 II 30 [1.*a*]; KUB XXXII 108 obv. 4’.

The temple of ^D*Halki*: KBo X 26 I 10 [1.*i*].

The temple of the Sun-goddess: KBo X 26 I 10 [1.*i*].

The *heštā*-house: IBoT III 1 obv. 21.

The *hūwaši*- of the Storm-god: KUB II 3 II 36 [1.*k*].

Whereas the last items in the list are buildings of religious character, this is not the case with the first two. One can conclude thus with reasonable certainty that the *a*. is a regular element of (public) buildings.

A closer examination of the occurrences in order to establish the location more exactly reveals that where the context is sufficiently explicit, the *a*. is always related to the entrance of those buildings. A number of examples are given in the following (further examples appear later on in the discussion):

KBo X 23 II [1.*a*] (28’) LÚ^{MEŠ} ALAM.KAxUD-*ma-kán* (29’) I-NA KÁ É LÚŠA.TAM (30’) ŠA SAL.LUGAL É^{ar-ki-ú-i} *kat-ta-an* (31’) LUGAL-*i-kán me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-da* (32’) *a-ra-an-ta*

“The comedians stand in the gate of the house of the queen’s treasurer, beside the *arkiu*-, facing the king.”

KUB XXV 18 II (3) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma* LUGAL-uš É^{ḥi-lam-na-aš} (4) GÍŠKÁ.-GAL-aš *pí-ra-an a-ri* 50 NINDA.KUR₄.RA^{BI.A} GAL PA-RI-SI’ (5) É^{ar-ki-ú-i} *kat-ta-an ḥar-pa-an-za*

“When the king arrives in front of the gate of the gate-house, 50 large ‘thickloaves’ of a *parisu*-(measure) are heaped beside the *arkiu*-. ”

Perhaps the most explicit example is the alternation between “gate” (KÁ.GAL) and *arkiu*- in two parallel passages of the KI.LAM text:

Izmir 1270+ III 27 [1.*k.H*]: LUGAL-uš KÁ É^DUTU *a-ri* (28) 2-*e ir-ḥa-a-iz-zi* (29) ^DUTU ^DMi-iz-zu-ul-la

KBo X 26 I 10 [1.*i*]: LUGAL-uš ^DUTU-aš *pár-na pa-iz-zi ta* É^{ar-ki-ú-i} (11) *ti-ya-zi* (12) ^DUTU ^DMe-iz-zu-ul-la (13) *e-ku-zi*

The most indicative passage for the interpretation of *a*., which served as the starting point in Jakob-Rost’s and Güterbock’s treatments, is found in the *Mešedi* Instruction IBoT I 36. After the king’s departure from the palace, the metal-bolt of the “Main gate” (É^{kaškaštipa}- = GAL KÁ.GAL see below Ch. IV.C.6) is removed, the doors are opened (I 66–69), and the chariot is turned (toward the gate). Thereafter, the text continues as follows:⁵⁶

(69) ...LÚ^{MEŠ} ME-Š[E-D]I-*ma* (70) É^{ar-ki-ú-i} *ta-pu-uš-za* ZAG-*za ti-en-zi ma-a-an ku-e-da-ni-ma* URU-r[i ZA]G-*az ti-ya-u-an-zi* (71) Ú-UL *tar?-ḥa?-an na-at* GÜB-*la-za ti-[e]n-zi uk-tu-u-ri-ma-aš-ma-aš ti-ya-a-u-wa-a[r]-pát* [É^{ar-ki-ú-i}] (72) *ta-pu-uš-za*

“The bodyguards take their stand next to the *arkiu*-, on the right side. But if in some town it is not possible(?) to stand on the right side, they take a stand on the left side. The unchanging (rule) for them (is) to take a stand on the side of the *arkiu*-. ”

Afterwards it is stated that one of the bodyguards is responsible for preventing anybody from entering or leaving (through the gate). Then follows the description of the royal procession.

It can be deduced from the above passage that the *a*. is situated within the gate-house and that it is a single unit (unlike doors, door-jambs or the like) since one can stand to its left or to its right. The same action—someone taking a stand next to the *a*.-is frequently attested in the festival texts; occasionally it is specified, as above, whether to the left or to the right side (e.g. KBo X 23 II 23’–27’ [1.*a*]). This is very reminiscent of the contexts in which someone takes a stand on the left or right side of the gate (H. Otten, StBoT 13, 1971, 23).

What could be the significance of this emphatic instruction for the bodyguards? I fail to see the point if the *a*. is an “awning” or a “canopy”. Besides, why should it be customary to step to different sides of the *a*. in different towns?

I think the regulation is explicable if the *a*. is the *passageway of the gate* (the gate chamber). The bodyguards move to its left or to its right in order to

⁵⁶ I would like to thank Professor Güterbock whose transliteration (collated on the original in Istanbul) is reproduced here. The text was read in a seminar held by Prof. Güterbock in Jerusalem in the Spring of 1979. Cf. also idem, XIX RAI, 311.

enable the royal procession to pass through the gate. Finally, they stand in the open space always found in front of gates, which is usually designated as the gate court. It is accessible by a large ramp ascending the slope parallel to the city walls, usually only on one side of the gate-house. The other side may be protected by a tower. The plan of the Royal Gate in Hattuša (see K. Bittel, Hattusha, 1970, 52, fig. 12) provides a good illustration of these architectural elements; the system is all but universal. The difference in the customary way of stepping to the side of the *passageway* is now clear, since the direction of the access to the gate is dictated in each town by the local topographical factors. It is logical to assume that the customary case refers to the capital.

A further passage which may support the suggested interpretation is IBoT III 1 obv. 17'ff., already evaluated by Güterbock (XIX RAI, 1974, 312 n.26). Here the *a.* is associated with the *heštā*- house (see Ch. IV.C.3). The stations on the king's entry into the inner-room are the *aška*- (l. 17'), the *arkiu*- (l. 21'), and the gate (KÁ; l. 24'). *aška*- has an adverbial meaning, "outside the gate" (ZA 65, 1975, 87 n.89). It is used in referring to the gate area in general. KÁ in this context refers to the gate-doors. This leaves for the *arkiu*- precisely the *passageway* between the two gate-wings.

The passage KBo X 23 II 23'-35' [1.a] is of illustrative value. Here the location of two *passageways* in relation to each other is given: "As the king emerges from the gate (of the palace), the palace attendants and the bodyguards remain in their positions beside the *passageway*, on the left side. The comedians stand in the gate of the house of the queen's treasurer, beside the *passageway*, facing the king. When they see the king opposite (them) they call out 'ahā'." Thus, visual communication exists between the palace gate and the gate of the house of the queen's treasurer. Such pieces of information may prove useful when the ancient topography of the royal acropolis in Hattuša will be better known.

The difference between Güterbock's interpretation and the one suggested above (slightly modifying the translation given in ZA 65) derives, in the first place, from the rendering of the phrase *arkiu(ya) kattan*. *kattan* has two meanings in New Hittite (HW 105): (a) "down(wards), under, underneath" (b) "(together) with, on the side, beside, by."⁵⁷ The preference for one or the other translation rests on interpretation of the context. Güterbock translates "under the canopy", which has the connotation of a roofed or at least a covered structure. In my opinion, the second meaning of *kattan* is more appropriate in this context. The juxtaposition of the following two sentences may demonstrate this:

- (a) IBoT I 36 I 69f. LÚ^{MEŠ}ME-Š[E-D]I-ma ^Éar-ki-ú-i ta-pu-uš-za ZAG-za ti-en-zi

⁵⁷ For this adverb in Old Hittite see F. Starke, StBoT 23 (1977), 185ff.

- (b) KBo X 23 II 25'ff. [1.a] DUMU^{MEŠ}É.GAL-ma-az LÚ^{MEŠ}ME-ŠE-DI ^Éar-ki-ú-i kat-ta-an GÜB-la-az A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU *har-kán-zi*
 (a) "The bodyguards take a stand *next* to the *a.*, on the right."
 (b) "The palace attendants and the bodyguards remain in their positions *kattan* the *a.*, on the left."

It seems that the same action is described in both sentences, hence, *kattan* in this instance has a meaning similar to *tapuša*. Here and in similar contexts, I suggest that *arkiu(ya) kattan* be rendered "beside the passageway".

Another context which requires the above rendering is found in the description of the AGRIG ceremony in the "second tablet" of the KILAM (ll. 33-34 restored after dupl. G):

KBo X 24 [1.b] IV (19) LUGAL SAL.LUGAL i-ya-an-ta-ri (20) ^DHal-ki-aš a-aš-ki kat-ti-ir-ra-az (21) a-ri nu ^Éar-ki-ú-i kat-ta-an / (22) IŠ-TU É^{URU}An-ku-wa (23) *har-pa-an* DUG KAŠ-ya ar-ta / / (31) ma-a-an kat-te-ir-ri-ma (32) ^Éar-ki-ú-i a-ri (33) nu-uš-[ša-an IŠ-TU É^{URU}N(e-na-aš-ša)] (34) [*har-pa-an* DUG KAŠ-ya (ar-ta)]

"The king and queen proceed. It (i.e. the royal couple) arrives in the vicinity (*kattiraz*) of the gate of Halki's temple). Beside (*kattan*) the *passageway* stands a heap and a vessel of beer from the House of Ankuwa. When they draw *closer* (*katterri*) to the *passageway*, a heap and a vessel of beer from the House of Nenašša stands (there)."

In addition to *kattan*, two forms of the adjective *kattera*- appear in the passage. *kattera*- is usually rendered "lower, inferior" (HE I §95). Yet, if *kattan* has a second meaning "beside, by, etc.", we may expect a second meaning also for the comparative *kattera*-, namely "closer to". I think this is exactly the meaning required by the context. After arriving at the area of the gate of Halki's temple, the royal couple advances in the direction of the *passageway* where the AGRIG's of different towns are lined up. The first AGRIG (of Ankuwa) stands ^Éarkiu *kattan* (21), the second (of Nenašša) *katterri* ^Éarkiu (31). "Under the *a.*" and "to the lower *a.*" does not make any sense here. (An "upper" and a "lower *arkiu*" are nowhere attested). On the other hand, the king's advance is clearly described if *kattan* means "beside, near" and *katterri* means "closer" to the *arkiu*-, i.e. to the *passageway*. Whether the next AGRIG (of Tuwanuwa) is also situated near the *passageway* is not known since the text is broken off at this point.

With regard to the ablative *kattiraz* I suggest an adverbial meaning in this context: "close by, in the vicinity of". This is comparable to *hantezziaz* which can have the adverbial meaning "in front of".⁵⁸

⁵⁸ H. Otten, StBoT 13 (1971), 23f. For a general discussion on the ablative in adverbial usage see E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 62f.

The *passageway* of the gate-house is often the place where deities are worshipped,⁵⁹ and offering ceremonies are performed.⁶⁰ As a matter of fact, these occurrences can be added to a long list of contexts in which ritual activities are performed in the gate-house and its various parts.⁶¹ In KUB XXX 41 left edge 4 “120 sheep and 10 oxen [stand] already in the *passageway*”.⁶² In KUB XX 87 I 1–3 the king is sitting in the *passageway*.

One may now proceed to examine the evidence concerning ^É*arkiu(i)*.⁶³ from the standpoint of word formation. The following phenomena may be noted:

(a) Along with the more frequent *u*-stem (*arkiu-*) there is also an extended form attested, *arkiu-*.

<i>u</i> -stem (<i>arkiu-</i>)	<i>i</i> -stem (<i>arkiu-</i>)
Sg.loc. <i>ar-ki-ú-i</i> (KBo IX 136 I 4; IBoT III 1 obv. 21')	Sg. gen.(?) <i>ar-ki-ú-ya-aš</i> (Bo 2438 IV 12') ⁶⁴
<i>ar-ki-ú-wi₅</i> (KUB XLIV 47 II 7')	Sg. loc. <i>ar-ki-ú-i-ya</i> (KUB XX 87 I 2; KBo X 20 III 44)
Abl. <i>ar-ki-ú-az</i> (KBo XIII 227 I 2')	<i>ar-ki-wi₅-ya(-)</i> (Bo 6151,3')
<i>ar-ki-i-ú-az</i> (KBo XX 8 obv. 9'; Old Hit.)	Abl. <i>ar-kā-u-[-ya]-a[z]</i> ? (KBo XI 47 I 4')
<i>ar-ki-ú-wa-az</i> (KBo XX 8 obv. 7'; Old Hit.)	

The alternation between *u*- and *i*-stems is related by H.Kronasser, EHS (1966), 39ff. (§ 31) to a Hurrian origin. There is at least one occurrence with a *-ta* suffix: KUB XXXIX 97 obv. 2⁶⁵ ^É*ar-ki-ú-i-ta*. As was demonstrated by J.Friedrich, RHA VIII/47 (1947–48), 16, words which can add the suffix *-ta/-ti* are Hurrian loanwords (cf. the doublets *āpi/āpita*, *kišhi/kišhita*, *hazzi-wi/hazziwita*). This suffix goes back to the Hurrian directive, *-ta*. These phenomena strongly suggest a Hurrian origin for the word ^É*arkiu(i)*.⁶⁶

59 KUB XLIV 47 II 7'f. (to ^DU NIR.GÁL); KBo X 20 III 44–45 (to ^DMAH and ^DU URU Huršannašši).

60 KUB XXV 18 II 3–5; KUB XXXIX 97 obv. 2f.

61 See I.Singer, ZA 65 (1975), 83.

62 ... 1 ME XX UDU X GUD-ya *ar-ga-u-i ka-ru-ú* [(Such a large number of cattle could hardly stand under a “canopy”).

63 The determinative ^É is present in about two thirds of the occurrences.

64 (12') SAL.LUGAL-ma-za I-NA ^ÉLUM^É ŠA.TAM ^É*ar-ki-ú-ya-aš* (13') EZEN TIR *i-ya-an-zi*.

65 Cf. also Bo 6827, 6' (based on the transliteration of Ehelolf): ^É*ar-ga-i-ú-ta*[-].

66 Other Hurrian loanwords in the architectural domain: ^É*hamri-* (sort of sanctuary) (HW Erg. 1, 4); ^É*karupahi-* “granary” (HW Erg. 2, 15); ^É*šinapši-* “gate-house of the temple” (HW Erg. 3, 193).

A third variant of the word is *argau(i)*-. sg.loc. *ar-ga-u-i* KUB XXX 41 left edge 4; ^É*ar-ga-wi₅* KBo XXVII 42 II 54 [1.j.B]; abl. ^É*ar-kā-u-[-ya]-a[z]*? KBo XI 47 I 4'. This rare variant is helpful in the attempt to arrive at the possible etymology of the word.⁶⁷ The Akkadian dictionaries list a word *arkabinnu/i*, probably of Hurrian origin.⁶⁸ The occurrences are compiled in A.Salonen, Die Türen des Alten Mesopotamien (1961), 46. In a synonym list (CT XVIII 3 Col. V 22; ZA 43, 240 line 172) *a*. is rendered *da-al-tum la qa-ti-tum*, “an incomplete door”. The word also appears in the expression *dalat arkabinni* “the door of the *a*.”. A further instructive occurrence is in Gilg. VI 34 (CAD): “(you, Ištar, are) an *a*-door which does not keep out wind or draft.”⁶⁹ With regard to the meaning of the word Salonen loc. cit. writes: “Was ist aber ‘eine unvollendete Tür’? M.E. könnte es sich entweder nur um die Türöffnung mit Türpfosten und Schwelle oder dann um das Türgerüst ohne Türgriff, Türschloß usw. handeln.” Although the exact meaning of *arkabinnu* remains obscure, it certainly falls into the same general category as Hittite ^É*arka/iu(i)*- “passageway”. The double resemblance, phonetic⁷⁰ and semantic, may suggest a common etymology for the two words.

2. ^É*halentiu-/É**halentuwa-* “palace complex”

For the definition of this term⁷¹ and its identification with the palace complex on Büyükkale see the literature cited in ZA 65 (1975), 84 n.76. Add H.Otten, Ist Mitt 26 (1976), 13–17 (critical review of V.Haas–M.Wäfler, Ist Mitt 23/24, 1973/74, 1ff.).

In his treatment of the term in XIX RAI (1974), H.G.Güterbock has referred to the existence of more than one *h*. in the capital (p.311). This observation is based on the passage KUB VII 25 I 1–15. If so, one would expect in this passage, as well as in the other wealth of material on the *h*., to find some sort of differentiation between the various “*h*.’s” by means of special designations (as in the case of the various temples, gates, etc.). To the best of my knowledge, such a differentiation does not exist in the texts and I

67 Although, admittedly, it is found in later texts, whereas the older texts have the usual form with *-i*. (The etymology with the verb *arkuwai-* “to plead a case” (HW Erg. 3, 11) suggested by Jakob-Rost is unacceptable.)

68 AHW 69; CAD A₂ 272 (there is also a month in Nuzi named *a*).

69 Perhaps the obscure occurrence cited in RIA IV, 37 (s.v. “Hacke”), line 88 also belongs here: *giš-giri-ka* ^É*ar-ki-àm* “Am Fußholz (= Fußfessel?) ist sie ein ...”.

70 For the *w/b* interchange in Hurrian see E.A.Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (1941), 42 (cf. e.g. *Kumarbi/Kumarwi*). The *-nu* is in all probability an Akkadianized ending (of the Hurrian article *-ne?*).

71 In the KILAM text both the older form *halentiu-* (KUB XX 4 I 19' [2.a]; see H.Otten, StBoT 13, 1971, 20) and the later form *halentu(wa)-* (KBo X 23 I 3', 20 II 13' [1.a]; KBo X 24 IV 8 [1.b]; KUB II 3 V 25', 42' [1.k]) are attested.

have some doubt as to whether a multiplicity of *halentuwa*'s in the capital really existed. It must be admitted that the plain meaning of the above mentioned passage implies the existence of two *h.*'s. Nevertheless, I would prefer to interpret the evidence as two voyages of the king from the same *h.* to the *luwaši*- of Anzili (lines 1–7 first trip; 8–11 entry to the *h.* after return; 12–15 second trip); *namma* in I.12 would then mean “again”.

With regard to the contribution of the KI.LAM text to the knowledge of the layout of the *h.*, the following points may be noted:

- (a) In the palace proper there is an inner-room (*tunnakkešsar*) which contains a “bathroom” (É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA see below) in which the king performs his toilet. From there he proceeds to the “throne of the *h.*” (KBo X 23 + I 20'f. [1.a]) which is probably located in a special hall.
- (b) The possibility of the existence of an upper and a lower gate of the palace referred to in the *Mešedi* Instruction IBoT I 36 IV 14–17 is confirmed in this text, as already alluded to in ZA 65 (1975), 87 n.85. In the KI.LAM text, there can be no doubt that the text refers to the capital city. Moreover, there is no chronological objection to comparing the textual evidence to the layout of the acropolis dating from the end of the 13th century. The upper gate, which is the point of departure for the procession of the “animals of the gods”, is referred to as the “upper *kašgaštīpa*” (KBo X 24 I 11f. [1.b], see below Ch. IV.C.6). The same place is also known in all probability as the “gate-house of the gods” (DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš hīlammār* KBo X 23 IV 15 [1.a]). A “lower gate” is not explicitly mentioned, but this must be the main entrance to the palace complex where the king and queen ascend their chariots (KBo X 24 IV 8 [1.b]).
- (c) To the list of structures located in the palace complex (see H.G. Güterbock, XIX RAI, 312) one may add, on the basis of the KI.LAM text, the *katapuzna*-, some sort of *tribune*(?) located at the main entrance (see below Ch. IV.C.7), and the “house of the queen's treasurer” (É^{LÚŠA}.TAM ŠA SAL-LUGAL KBo X 23 II 29'f. [1.a]).

3. *ḫeštā*-

The *h.*-house⁷² is one of the places visited by the king in the course of the KI.LAM festival. Unfortunately, all instances of the *h.*-house in the KI.LAM text appear in more or less fragmentary contexts ruling out the possibility of determining its exact place within the sequence of events. In the following

72 See H. Otten, RIA IV (1975), 369 s.v. *ḫesti*; V. Haas–M. Wäfler, UF 8 (1976), 65ff.; UF 9 (1977), 87ff. with further literature. The occurrences of *h.* in the KI.LAM text all have, with one exception, the later spelling *ḫeštā*-, the Old Hittite fragment KBo XXV 17 has the original spelling *ḫištā*-. For an Indo-European etymology see F. O. Lindeman, Einführung in die Laryngaltheorie (1970), 36; E. Neu, KZ 86 (1972), 294; K. Hoffmann apud H. Eichner, MSS 31 (1972), 72.

discussion I cannot dwell upon the complex problems encountered in the attempt to identify this structure. I will merely compile all of its occurrences within the KI.LAM text and evaluate the information they contain. Nevertheless, I will briefly state that the theory which relates the *h.*-house to the funeral temple in the side chamber of Yazılıkaya⁷³ is, in my opinion, very plausible.

(a) In KUB XX 4 [2.a], “[the first tablet ?] on the first day” the *h.*-house appears in col. V in the following context (see p. 83):

- Lines 3'–8': the king mounts or alights from his chariot. He “drinks to” three gods.
- Lines 9'–11': the king arrives at (or is in) the *turiya*- [gate]. He “drinks to” one god.
- Lines 12'–20': the king arrives at the entrance (*a-a[š-ki ?]*) of *ḫeštā*.⁷⁴ The GUDÚ-priest of *ḫeštā*, a SANGA-priest and “men of the house of *ḫe[š-tā]*” are acting in the following lines. The king “drinks to” one god.

The remainder of the column is lost. One can deduce from this context a proximity between the *h.*-house and the *turiya*- gate. The context in KUB XXX 32 I 14–17 (with the duplicate KBo XVIII 190 obv. 9'–12'; CTH 241.19) points in the same direction:

- (14) *wa-at-ta-ru ku-it ḫé-eš-ta-a-aš a-aš-ki na-at EG[(IR-pa ne-w)a-aḫ-ḫa-an-zi]*
- (15) *na-aš-ta wa-a-tar an-da ar-aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi [*
- (16) *ḫa-ni-ya-aš KÁ.GAL-ma tu-u-ri-ya-aš KÁ.GAL^{GIŠIG^{HI}.A} [(EGIR-pa) ḫaššanzi ?]*
- (17) *na-at ḫa-at-ga-aš-kán-zi EGIR-pa-ya-at ḫa-aš-kán-[(zi)]*
- (14) The spring which is at the gate of the *ḫeštā*- house, they renov[ate] it,
- (15) and they let the water flow in [
- (16) They re[open ?] the doors of the *ḫaniya*- gate and the *turiya*- gate
- (17) and they close them. (Again) they open them.

According to this passage the *ḫaniya*- gate and the *turiya*- gate⁷⁵ must be connected somehow with the renovation of the spring at the gate of the *ḫeštā*-

73 H. G. Güterbock, MDOG 86 (1953), 74–76; NHF (1964), 73; H. Otten, OLZ 50 (1955), 389ff.; K. Bittel, Yazılıkaya (1975), 256.

74 The deified *h.*-house is also attested in KBo XI 36 IV 8 (LÚ^{MEŠ} *ḫi-iš-ta-a*).

75 In addition to the two texts cited above, the *turiya*- gate is attested in KUB II 3 V 31 [1.k], again a KI.LAM text. Here with the designation *turiyaš hīlammār*, “the *turiya*- gate-house” (see ZA 65, 90). The context before and after this is damaged. The restoration *ḫa[lentuwa]* in I.25' is not certain, therefore its relation to the *t.*-gate in the following is questionable. As for the etymology of the name, Friedrich, HW 229 considers the word to be a gen. of *turi*- “spear”. A relation to *turiya*- “to harness” is less likely.

house. If one may deduce from this a geographical proximity between these localities,⁷⁶ it is worth observing the connection between this spring and the *haniya*-gate, perhaps the “gate of the (water) drawing?” (related to the verb *han-* “to draw”?). Whether the etymology is popular (A.Kammenhuber, OrNS 41, 1972, 298) or real is irrelevant in this case. It must have had some real meaning for a resident of Hattuša.

(b) The context in which the *h*.-house appears in KBo XXV 18 [2.e.B] “1st tablet of the 3rd day”, is very fragmentary. In rev. l.5' it is followed by a “grove” (l.6' ^{GI}TIR). In l.9' the “men of the *h*.-house” are connected with the ^E*zikmuha*-.⁷⁷ On the obverse, the *h*.-house appears in association with the *makzi(ya)*-house (see below).

(c) The third context in which the *h*.-house appears is in KUB II 3 IV 4'ff. [1.k], again in association with the *makzi(ya)*-house. The two structures are adjacent stations on the king's route.⁷⁸

(d) The “men of the *h*.-house” are mentioned, in addition to passage (a), in KBo XXV 176 (rev. 14' with dupl. KUB X 13 III 16' [3.b]) and in the ration tablet KBo X 31 III 25' [5.a].

The KILAM festival occurrences associate the *heštā*-house with other structures, but they add no substantial information which could provide an identification or reveal its relation to the “stone-house” (see below Ch. IV.C.9).

In the chapter dealing with the ration tablets of the festival, the question of the relation between the KILAM festival and the festival of the *heštā*-house, mentioned in the formulas of the MELQĒT tablets KBo XVI 67, 69, has been raised (Ch. VI.A). Some of the ration formulas in these tablets are identical to those of the KILAM festival, giving rise to the suspicion that the two festivals were intimately connected and may both belong to a larger complex.

A close relation between the two festivals is also suggested by the shelf list KUB XXX 68 obv. (see Ch. II.B), where similar entries of the two festivals follow one after the other. According to this catalog, both festivals include a “great festival” (EZEN.GAL) and a “regular festival” (EZEN KAYAMĀ-NIM).

The fragmentary contexts in which the *heštā*-house appears in the KILAM text do not bring us any closer to the solution. Perhaps the descriptions relating to the *heštā*- are contained within the large missing parts of the text. There

76 Cf. also KUB XXXIV 69 + 70 I 26']še-ir LÚGUDÚ IV LÚMEŠ ^Ehe-ēš-ta-a[27']ha-a-ni-ya-aš KĀ-aš a-ri.

77 Also attested in Bo 2701 II 9':]^Ezi-ik-mu-uh LÚKISAL.LUH.

78 The *makzi(ya)*-house is further attested in KBo VII 40 obv. 8' [; KBo XVII 15 obv. 19'; KUB XXXIV 71 I 4', 6'; 256/f, 5'; 145/q, 3,5; 879/z II 8'; Bo 5478 rev.

5. In practically all occurrences, the *m*.-house is associated with the *heštā*-house. In all probability the ^E*mazki(ya)*- in Bo 88 (see p.26 n.13) I 2', 11', where the *m*.-house serves for the king's toilet is the same thing (with metathesis).

250/4: 11.5.2.4.4
142/9: 18.6.2.5.17
879/2: 18.6.2.2.136
Bo 5478 is transliterated
as 11.5.2.4.4
and 142/9 as
18.6.2.5.17.

are a great number of festival texts which are related in some way to the *heštā*-house.⁷⁹ In different festivals, such as the AN.TAH.ŠUM and the *purulli*, rituals performed at the *heštā*-house are included. It seems plausible that the KILAM festival too included special ceremonies performed in this structure, but only the recovery of further tablets relating to the subject may reveal their exact nature.

4. ^E*hīlammar* = KILAM “gate-house”

For *h*, one may consult the separate article in ZA 65 (1975), 69ff.⁸⁰ The main contribution of the KILAM festival to the subject is obviously its title and its relevance to the events described in the text, which have much to do with gate-houses. See further Ch. V.A.; for the equation KILAM = *hīlammar* see now p.46.

5. ^{NA4}*huwaši*- of the Storm-god

For the “great assembly” held in the vicinity of this site and its suggested identification with the main chamber at Yazılıkaya see Ch. IV.B.1.

6. ^E*kašgaštīpa*- “the main gate”

Besides the single occurrence in our text (KBo X 24 I 12 [1.b]), this rare word appears only in the *Mešedi* Instruction (IBoT I 36). E.Laroche, OLZ 57 (1962), 30 has demonstrated that it is a reduplicated form of Hattic *kaštip* “gate”. I have attempted to show in ZA 65, 85f. that *k*. is identical with

79 For a tentative classification of the material see A.Kammenhuber, OrNS 41 (1972), 297f.

80 In ZA 65, 89f. I suggested that the city-gates be included in the definition of *hīlammar* as a “gate-house”, although I was unable to provide definite proof. Shortly afterwards P. Neve published a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription discovered on the left doorpost of the Lion Gate in Boğazköy, in which the sign L 237/8, illustrating a gate-house, is clearly visible (IstMitt 26, 1976, 9–11 and pls. 1–2). Since the reading of this sign is probably **hīlana*, as I attempted, following Borsert, to show in the same article (pp.96ff.), and since this word must be related to *hīlammar*, its appearance on the monumental Lion Gate lends support to the above suggestion. This is the third clear instance in which the sign L 237/8 is inscribed on the very structure it designates, a gate-house, but it is the first example ascribed to the Hittite Empire (the sign on the Lion Gate is similar to those from Karatepe and especially to no.10 on the drawing on p.98 in ZA 65). Also to the second millenium belong the similar signs (L 239) appearing on the Karahüyük-Elbistan and the Emirgazi inscriptions. See now Emilia Masson, Florilegium Anatolicum (Mélanges offerts à E.Laroche), 1979, 231 and Journal des Savants (1979), 17 n.32.

GAL KÁ.GAL “the great gate” or “the main gate” figuring in the same text. The “main gate” is opposed to the *luštani-* “the side entrance” (probably “postern”), both forming part of a gate-house (*ḫilammar*). In the KILAM text, there appears the “upper *k*.” that is, the upper gate of the palace, which is elsewhere referred to as the “upper *ḫilammar*” (ZA 65, 87 n.85). See further the discussion on *ḫalentuwa*.

7. *Ḫatapuza*-⁸¹

This is the place from which the king reviews the procession of the “animals of the gods” (KBo X 23 III 7’–11’ [1.a]). This procession emerges from the gate designated the “gate-house of the gods” (KBo X 23 IV 15) or the “upper *kaškaštipa*” (KBo X 24 I 10–13 [1.b]) and works its way to the “gate of the palace” (KBo X 24 IV 8) where the sacred(?) carts are standing (KBo X 23 III 18’–20’). Thus, the *k*. must be situated in the near vicinity of the main exit of the palace, presumably at a high point permitting a good view. It could even be some sort of porch or balcony incorporated into the gate-house itself. In KUB XLIV 39 obv. 6’ the *k*. has the determinative for wood (GIŠ). This is consonant with the above interpretation. At the end of the procession the chariot of the king is brought near the *k*. (KBo X 24 III 18’–20’) and the king ascends it. The queen ascends her chariot at the “gate of the palace” (KBo X 24 IV 7–12) and both set out in the direction of the temple of Halki. Here again a close association between the *k*. and the palace gate is implied.

Other attestations of *k*. do not add any substantial information. The contexts are very similar to the one described above. In KUB X 28 II 15 the royal couple descends from the *k*. and sits in the chariot. In KBo XXII 189 II 2 the king descends from the *k*.⁸² and sets out to the temple of Inar.

The context of KUB XLIV 39 II 7’⁸³ (GIŠ*k*.) seems to imply that a *k*. is also found at the temple of the Sun-goddess (I.4’); however, the passage is too damaged to be relied upon.

A sg.gen. may be attested in KBo XXIII 103 I 17.⁸⁴

From the standpoint of word formation, *katapuza*- resembles GIŠ*kattaluz-zi*- “threshold”. Perhaps, as in numerous other words from the architectural domain, the origin is Hattic (with the “Ortskennzeichen” *ka*- ? Cf. A.Kammenhuber, HdO 491).

81 See I. Singer, ZA 65 (1975), 81 n.62.

82 The duplicate IBoT III 69+ (E.Laroche, OLZ 72 (1977), 33) has the unusual form *ka-t]a’-pu-uz-ni-az*.

83 The fragment belongs to the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival. Rev. 3’ff. is parallel to the 20th–21st days in the outline tablet of the festival; cf. H. G. Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960), 83, 86.

84 Another doubtful occurrence is KBo X 27 V 24’ *k]a-ta-pu-uz-zi* (cf. p.29).

8. *É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA* “bathroom”

É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA is attested in the KILAM text only in KBo X 23 I 18 [1.a]. The term was translated by H. Ehelolf, KIF (1930), 154 “Haus der (kultischen) Waschungen”. I cannot dwell here upon the complicated question of the Akkadian and Hittite equivalents of the term.⁸⁵ At the beginning of the festival the king enters the inner-room (*tunnakkeššar* I 6) and performs his toilet. After completing this activity he leaves the *É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA* (I 18). This might at first sight create a case of mistaken identity between the two terms. However, *tunnakkeššar* is firmly equated with *É.ŠA* (H. Ehelolf, ZA 43, 1936, 186–190). Both the inner-room and the “washing-house” are often attested as the place where the king makes his toilet.⁸⁶ The explanation of the apparent inconsistency in the text is quite simple. One of the units is contained within the other. The *É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA* is not an independent structure, but a functional unit which can be found in various buildings, the palace, the *tarnu*-house⁸⁷ and others.

In modern terms, the best rendering of *É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA* would be “bathroom”. Thus, the inner-room of the palace contained, among other rooms, a “bathroom”.⁸⁸

9. *É.NA₄(DINGIR^{LIM})* “mausoleum”

The “(royal) mausoleum”,⁸⁹ lit.: “the stone-house (of the god)”, is attested in the KILAM text in connection with the substance *tah(a)tumar(a)*-⁹⁰ brought from it. The burning of this incense(?)⁹¹ is performed during the “great assembly” (see p.98) at the *ḫuwaši*- of the Storm-god. Three trays⁹²

85 J. Friedrich, ZA 37 (1927), 178; HW 270 equates it with Akkadian *bīt rimki*. S. Alp, JCS 1 (1947), 172f. n.24 suggested the equation with Hittite *Ḫtarnu*-. (See n.87 below).

86 *tunnakkeššar* = *É.ŠA*: KBo XVI 101 III 11–12; IBoT III 1 obv. 7; etc. *É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA*: KUB II 13 I 3f.; KUB XXV 16 I 4f.; KBo XI 43 I 14f.

87 Therefore the equation of *É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA* with *Ḫtarnu*-, which is an independent structure outside the city, cannot be valid (M. Darga, RHA 27, 1969, 13 n.14; H. Otten, IstMitt 26, 1976, 13 n.1).

88 Cf. IBoT I 29 rev. (23) ...*nu-kán šu-up-pa* (24) *I-NA É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA É.ŠA-na an-da pi-e-da-an-zi* “They take the meat into the bathroom (which is) in the inner-room” (Syntactically the following translation is also possible: “... into the inner-room to the bathroom”).

89 See H. Otten, OLZ 50 (1955), 391; ZA 46 (1940), 220f., 223f.; H. G. Güterbock, MDOG 86 (1953), 75; Oriens 10 (1957), 360 (“royal mausoleum”).

90 See E. Neu, StBoT 12 (1970), 69f. with previous literature.

91 *šamenu*- see Neu, op.cit.; cf. also p.95 n.21.

92 For GIŠ*zal(u)wani*- (restored in KBo X 25 II 31) see E. Neu, StBoT 12 (1970), 73f.

and three stands⁹³ are brought from an unspecified temple, bread offerings are performed and then the *t.* is burned before the king.

The name of the building appears in the text in several variants (most of them in the plural!):

É^{H1.A}NA₄ (Middle Hittite KBo XX 33+ obv. 5 [3.a])

É.NA₄ DINGIR^{LIM} (KBo XXV 176 obv. 6 [3.b])

É^{MES}NA₄ DIN[GIR^{LIM} (KBo X 25 II 38'' [1.j])

É^{MES}NA₄^{H1.A} (IBoT I 13 V²6; dupl. of the former [1.j.D])

(LÚ^{MES})É.NA₄ (KBo X 25 II 41'' [1.j])

As for the difficult problem of the relation of the “stone-house” to the “bone-house” (É^{heštiā-})⁹⁴, the KI.LAM text provides no new evidence.

CHAPTER V

THE CHARACTER OF THE KI.LAM FESTIVAL

93 For ^{GIŠ}*kištu-* see H. Otten apud HW Erg. 3, 20 (The Middle Hittite outline tablet KBo XX 33+ obv. 4 has ^{NINDA}*kištun*).

94 See H.G. Güterbock, *Oriens* 10 (1957), 360; A. Goetze, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 189; *AJA* 64 (1960), 378.

A. The Name and the Title Sentence of the Festival

In a short note relating to the colophon of KUB X 1, A. Goetze commented for the first time on the name of the KI.LAM festival.¹ He suggested the equation KI.LAM = ^(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 KI.LAM, viz. “market”.

In the edition of the KI.LAM tablets found in Building K, H.G. Güterbock concluded that KI.LAM in the name of the festival equals *hīlammār*.² He based his position on the elaborate colophon of KUB XX 4 (see p.45), where the two terms appear in proximity (see now p.46). The fact that all extant occurrences of the festival name use the logographic writing is hardly surprising in a frozen expression of this kind.

With regard to the translation of the festival name, we must briefly mention the existence of two theories concerning the meaning of *hīlammār*, which were discussed in detail in ZA 65 (1975), 69 ff.

1. The theory put forward by R. Naumann (WVDOG 61, 45 ff., see now also Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları IX Dizi-Sa. 8, I Cilt, Ankara 1979, pp.227–232) and followed by H.G. Güterbock, (RIA IV, 404) according to which *hīlammār* is a “(pillared) hall” or “portico”.

2. The definition first given by J. Friedrich (ZA 37, 179 f.) viz. “gate-house”. In the article in ZA 65 I attempted to adduce evidence in support of the second definition. One of the main aspects of the KI.LAM festival, to be discussed below, further substantiates this view. Accordingly, I translate the name of the festival as the “Festival of the gate-house”.³

The first, and in fact the only, discussion of the character of the KI.LAM festival was contributed by Güterbock in a paper read at the 17^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (XVII RAI, 1969, 178 f.):

“Another festival, which became known relatively recently, has the strange name EZEN KI.LAM. It describes in detail the ‘sortie’ of the king, how he moves from one gate of the palace to the next, and how several objects are carried along in procession while he is waiting at the gate. Among these objects are animal figures made of precious metal, which remind us of the *bibrû*

1 AM (MVAeG 38, 1933), 204 n.1; cf. I. Singer, ZA 65 (1975), 92.

2 KBo X (1960) Inhaltsübersicht ad no.23. Cf. also E. Laroche, OLZ 57 (1962), 29. (In the first edition of Laroche’s catalog the festival was still titled “fête du ‘marché’”, RHA XV/60, 1957, 71 no.408.1); A. Archi, SMEA 14 (1971), 221.

3 See also HW Erg. 2,30; H.A. Hoffner, Glossary (RHA XXV/80, 1967), 40.

after which a festival is named in the list contained in the Instruction for Temple Officials. And of special interest for archaeology is the mention of an iron hammer or adze decorated with an image of the Storm-god! Finally the king and queen mount their chariots. Afterward, when the royal couple reaches the temple of the Grain-goddess, the *abarakkū* of various towns present them with the produce that was brought from the storehouses belonging to their respective towns, storehouses which were no doubt located in the capital. Each *abaraku* is introduced by the herald with the Hattic gentilic name of his town, e.g. *Karaḥnail* "the one from Karaḥna", etc. The rest of the ritual follows the pattern of other festivals with the usual offering ceremonies."

Güterbock's premise that the festival was celebrated in Hattuša hardly needs further corroboration. The bulk of the evidence is negative. No other places are mentioned in the extant text, except in connection with various cult functionaries and AGRIG's of various towns, who are gathered in the capital. The storehouses of those AGRIG's are located, as demonstrated by Güterbock, in the capital. To be sure, Hattuša is not explicitly mentioned in the text, but one may reasonably presume that the scene in this type of text, unless otherwise stated, is Hattuša.⁴ The occurrence in the text of terms like *ḥeštā*- (see Ch. IV.C.3) and *ḤAZANNU* (KBo XVI 68 + IV¹27 [5.c]) which are presently attested only in connection with Hattuša⁵ may serve as additional proof.

Two central aspects of the festival pointed out by Güterbock in his summary—the procession of the cult images and the ceremony in which the AGRIG's participated—are discussed in other chapters of this study (Ch. IV.A. and p.62f. respectively). I shall dwell here on another essential aspect, namely, the frequent occurrence of various gates in the text. One may conclude at once, that this general observation in itself already lends strong support to the translation of EZEN KILAM as the "Festival of the gate-house". There is nothing in the festival events to connect it with a "hall" or a "portico".⁶

The point of departure from which we can arrive at a more precise understanding of the meaning of the festival name should be the title sentence, where KILAM appears in a more specific context: *mān LUGAL-uš KILAM-ni 3-ŠU eša*, "When the king takes his seat⁷ three times in the gate-house."

In the next section evidence will be presented which, in my opinion, indicates that the "three times" in the title sentence are to be construed as refer-

4 Cf. further p.134 n.27; cf. also ZA 65, 84 (on IBoT I 36).

5 For *ḥeštā*- see H. Otten, OLZ 50 (1955), 390; for *ḤAZANNU* see idem, Bagh² Mitt 3 (1964), 91 ff.

6 Cf. also H. G. Güterbock, RIA IV (1975), 404.

7 For the Old Hittite meaning of the verb *eš-* (without *-za*), "to take one's seat" ("sich setzen"), see E. Neu, StBoT 5 (1968), 29.

ring to the duration of the festival, viz. three days. What then is the gate-house in which the king sits during each day of the festival? In order to answer this, one must briefly survey the various gates mentioned in the festival description:

The king, after preparing himself in the palace, leaves through the palace gate (p.59). The "comedians" greet him at the gate of the house of the queen's treasurer (p.59). He then takes his seat in the *ḥkatapuzna*- (p.59; see below) where he views the procession of the "animals of the gods" which passes in review from the gate-house of the gods or the upper *kašgaštipa*- (p.60f.) to the palace gate (p.62). Thereafter, the royal couple drives in chariots to the gate of the temple of the Grain-goddess. The ceremony of the AGRIG's takes place in vicinity (p.62). Two of the parallel fragments specify that the AGRIG's of the different towns are standing at the gate of their (respective) houses, i.e. at the gate of their storehouses (p.63). The location of one of the AGRIG's is at the *ḥaniya*- gate (p.63). One of the above mentioned parallel fragments (KBo XXIII 91; p.63), which unfortunately cannot be fitted exactly into the sequence of events, indicates that the royal procession calls at other houses as well. The representatives of these houses stand at the gate and pay homage to the king. Only the gate of the queen's palace and the gate of the house of the *Ḥurianni*- (p.63) are preserved in the fragment. According to several passages which belong to the second part of the text (pp.71 ff.) but whose exact arrangement is difficult to establish, a number of temples within the town are visited before the procession sets out to the *ḥuwaši*- of the Storm-god (cf. p.72). Here again certain rituals are performed at the gates. The gate of *ḌGIR* (= *ḌMiyatanzipa*) and the gate of the temple of the Sun-goddess are preserved on the tablet (p.71f.). The last station of the procession before leaving town, is at the temple of *Šura* (p.63) where the king is greeted by the *ummiyanni*-men, who stand "in front of" the building (at the gate?).

The royal couple leaves through the *ašuša*- gate (p.63) and arrives at the *ḥuwaši*- of the Storm-god, where various offering ceremonies take place. Thereafter follows a very large lacuna in the text (see p.65). The sequence of events at the end of the text is not sufficiently restorable: however, it revolves around a "great assembly" taking place at the *ḥuwaši*- of the Storm-god. We encounter gates again in the description of the king's return to the town: the gate of the house of the bow (KÁ É *ḠiṣBAN*; p.80), the *ašuša*-gate again (p.80), and, after a lacuna, the gate of the *makziya*- house (p.80) and the gate of the *[ḥeštā]*- house. After another lacuna, the royal couple arrives at the *turiya*- gate (p.80) and finally returns to the palace and enters through the palace gate (p.80). Large portions of the text, which may have contained additional references to gates, are missing.

Some of the occurrences of gates are simply circumstantial and are mentioned in connection with leaving or entering the town, the palace or other buildings. However, those instances in which the procession stops at various

buildings in the town, the representatives of which are standing in the entrance and paying homage to the king, no doubt constitute a special feature of this festival. This ceremony may symbolize the relationship between the king and the officials in charge of the various public establishments in Hattuša, or perhaps in a broader sense, between the king and the entire citizenry of the capital city. The centrality of gates in the festival may easily account for its name, the “Festival of the gate-house”. It is on this general level that I formerly understood the name of the festival, i.e. as referring collectively to all gates which the king passes in the festival. This is also the view I expressed in ZA 65 (1975), 93.

There are circumstances, however, which may indicate that KI.LAM in the festival name and title sentence refers to a specific gate-house. First, the title sentence always has KI.LAM-*ni* (or INA KI.LAM) in the singular,⁸ and second, the verb *eš-* “to take one’s seat”, must have a concrete meaning in this context which is hardly consonant with a procession. There is, it seems, sufficient evidence to suggest an identification of the gate-house where the “king takes his seat three times.” For this I may refer to the commentary on *katapuzna-* in Ch. IV.C.7. This is the structure in which the king sits and from which he views the procession of the “animals of the gods”, i.e. the sacred cult images. As demonstrated in the commentary, it is located in the immediate vicinity of the main palace gate and is most probably incorporated in the gate-house itself, perhaps as some sort of porch or balcony. If this assumption is correct, KI.LAM in the title sentence is the gate-house of the palace.⁹ Nevertheless, it is still possible that the festival name also alludes to the other gates which play such a prominent role in this festival.

Finally, one should refer to the sub-title of the festival attested in the elaborate colophon of KUB XX 4 (p.44f.). A very similar phrasing is found in KBo X 28 + 33 IV 6–10 (p.44)¹⁰ which suggests the restoration: [*mān*=*kan*(?)] LUGAL-*uš* *hīlamnaz katta* [^DU-*aš*(?) ^{NA4}*huwaš*]*iya* (?) *ari* “[When(?)] the king proceeds from the gate-house to the [*huwaš*]*i*(?) [of the Storm-god (?)].” In all probability, the same gate-house is referred to as in the main title, i.e. the gate-house of the palace. The *huwaš*- of the Storm-god, which is situated outside the city, is the terminus of the royal procession and the scene of the “great assembly” (see p.100). While the main title of the festival refers to one of its focal events—the procession of the sacred cult images viewed by the king—the sub-title refers to the festival events in a more comprehensive manner, by fixing the point of departure and the point of arrival of the royal procession.

8 A plural form of KI.LAM/*hīlammar* is not attested (cf. ZA 65, 76), however, one would expect KI.LAM-*naš* if a plural locative were intended.

9 For the gate-house of the palace cf. ZA 65 (1975), 84ff.

10 Cf. also the colophon of 1834/c, pp.46f.

B. The Duration of the Festival

The duration of some Hittite festivals was remarkably long. From the outline tablets of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, celebrated in the spring, it is known that it lasted 38 days.¹¹ The *nuntariyašhaš* festival celebrated in the harvest season lasted at least 21 days.¹² These two were the main annual festivals in the central part of the kingdom.¹³ Also, the duration of the *purulli* festival celebrated in Nerik must have been quite long, to judge from the 32 tablets which describe it (KUB XXX 42 I 5f.; CTH p.162). In addition to these main festivals there were also shorter ones, such as the “Festival of the Month”, the celebration of which lasted three days (CTH 591: KUB II 13 VI 32) or the Festival of the Great House (of the Spring) which lasted two days only (KBo XIX 128 VI 32’ff.; cf. H. Otten, StBoT 13, 1971, 18f.).

The two newly discovered outline tablets of the KI.LAM, disappointingly enough, do not supply any evidence pertaining to the duration of the festival. Neither tablet has a colophon (see pp.50f.). Thus, no immediate information is available concerning the duration of the festival. Before the meaning of the title sentence of the festival was discovered, I conjectured a relatively long duration, by analogy with the main festivals. A somewhat misleading hint in this respect was given by the fragment KBo XIII 257 which mentions the KI.LAM festival in l.15’ and the 29th and the 30th days in the previous sections (see p.136). Both this “clue” (see p.126) and the original conjecture, however, were eventually found to be erroneous.

Following, all the information bearing upon the subject of duration will be presented. Thereafter, an attempt will be made to establish the day-by-day timetable of the festival.

Primary information is found in the colophons of the tablets enumerated according to the days of the festival: “xth tablet of the yth day” (see p.36). There are four colophons belonging to this series in which days are mentioned: KUB XX 4 VI 1’ to the first day (*han*]*tezziya šiwat*), KBo XX 83 IV 8’ and Bo 3568 VI 8’ to the 2nd day and KBo XXV 18 rev. 12’ to the 3rd day.

Other occasional occurrences of day numbers are found within the text:

(1) KBo X 25 V 38’ [*i*] is probably to be restored “And to him(?), as [on] the first [day ...]”¹⁴, since the following passage (Col. VI) contains a descrip-

11 H. G. Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960), 81f.

12 Idem, NHF (1964), 69; O. R. Gurney, Some Aspects (1977), 31 and n.4.

13 H. G. Güterbock, XVII RAI (1969), 178.

14 *nu-uš-š[i?]* *ma-aḫ-ha-an ha-an-te-iz-zi*(-)*ya?* UD^{KAM}-*ti* ? Cf. KBo X 27 III 33’,]25’: IGI-*zi* UD^{KAM}-*ti*.

tion of the procession of the “animals of the gods” which runs parallel to the first tablet.

(2) In the Old Hittite tablet ABoT 5+ [1.*b*] there are several occurrences of the notation “on the **second day** (some event) does not take place” (INA UD II^{KAM}NU.GÁL)¹⁵. The actual events omitted during the second day will be discussed later.

(3) Not in the festival text itself but in the oracle text ABoT 14, in a passage referring to the KI.LAM festival (see pp.134f.) the **second day** of the festival is mentioned as the day on which a festival of the Grain-goddess is celebrated.

(4) The **third day** of the festival appears in IBoT II 29,1' [4.2], a fragment with Hattic recitations.

(5) The **third day** occurs twice in the ration tablet KBo XVI 68 + KUB XXXIV 86+ [5.*c*] III'27', 29' in connection with bread provided by the AGRIG of Hattuša. Some of these are sent to the *ḫuwaši-* of the Storm-god (I.26').

(6) The most important reference pertaining to the days of the festival is found in the ration tablet KBo X 31 III 21'–24' [5.*a*]:

“On the **1st day** the SANGA-priest of Inar takes 4 sheep;
on the **2nd day** he does not take (any);
on the **3rd day** he takes again”.

In a ration tablet of this kind, which summarizes the provisions for the entire duration of the festival (otherwise a reference would be given in the colophon or elsewhere to specify the days covered by the tablet), this passage would be meaningless if the festival had a “4th day”, a “5th day” and so on. At this point one may already state that the above passage strongly suggests a duration of three days for the KI.LAM festival.

(7) Finally, a formulation similar to the one mentioned in (6) can be restored in KUB XX 4 I 15'–18' [2.*a*], a tablet, which according to its colophon, belongs to the “first day”:

(15')] ... When for the **first time** (*mān* 1 -ŠU)
(16')] and to ^D*Hurianzipa*
(17')] they perform; for the **second (time)** (*tān*) they perform in the same way;
(18')] [for the **thir**d (time) (*teriya*)*nna*) they perform in the same way.

To sum up the evidence: there are more than a dozen references to day numbers in the text of the KI.LAM festival, all of them referring to the **first**, **second** or **third day**. Not a single reference is found for a later day of the

15 II 30'; III 6'; restored in II 5'; II 17'; also in dupl. B (KBo XXII 195(+) II' 16').

festival.¹⁶ This can hardly be the result of mere chance of preservation. Combined with the evidence from KBo X 31 II 21'–24' (no.6 above), where the three days are mentioned in sequence, one inevitably arrives at the conclusion that the duration of the KI.LAM festival was **three days**.¹⁷

It does not require much imagination to comprehend now what is meant by the “**three times**” in the festival title “When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house”. The days of the festival are referred to as the **first**, **second** and **third time** in the passage KUB XX 3 I 15'–18' (passage (7) above) as well.

16 In KBo XIII 257, the 29th and 30th days figuring in sections preceding the mention of the KI.LAM festival probably have no connection with it (see discussion on p.136).

KBo XX 24+, a fragment previously thought to belong to the KI.LAM (CTH 627.20), mentions four days in rev. III' 2'. This fragment belongs to the Old Hittite tablet which, as demonstrated on pp.23 ff., does not belong to the KI.LAM festival.

17 As already noted in ZA 65 (1975), 93 n.110.

C. The Time-table of the Festival

After establishing the duration of the festival, i.e. three days, we may now proceed to an examination of the events of each of the days. The evidence in this respect is both very fragmentary and complex.

A clear time-table of the festival could have been provided by the series of tablets in which the day of the festival is given in the colophon. However, there are only a few fragments of this series and they do not provide a sufficiently clear idea of the contents.

In the parallel series enumerated by tablets, which is in a better state of preservation, there are no data pertaining to an inner division into days. The expression *lukkatti=ma*, "the next day," which in festival texts usually introduces the individual days, is not attested, except in the introduction of the first tablet (KBo X 23 I 2' [1.a]).¹⁸ Thus, the investigation must be based on circumstantial evidence.

The events of the first day may be reconstructed with relative ease. There is an almost complete sequence of the first three tablets and since nothing in them points to a transition from one day to another, one can attribute all the events described in them to the first day. In terms of main headings (as given in the synopsis), this includes the following events: (a) the king prepares for the festival; (b) the procession of the "animals of the gods" viewed by the king at the *katapuzna*-; (c) the ceremony with the participation of the AGRIG's of various towns; (d) the king and his retinue proceed to the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god and ritual offerings are performed there. At this point the text breaks off. It resumes only after a huge gap of about seven tablets. The question of whether the "great assembly" at the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god, described in the last tablets of the festival, was also included in the program of the first day is not directly answered. However, various indications make this quite likely.

Additional information on the first day is provided by KUB XX 4 [2.a] "[the xth tablet ?] on the first day". Obv. I is parallel to KBo X 23 I [1.a] with

18 A transition from one day to another is found in all probability in KBo X 28 + 33 IV 5'f. [2.d.2]. (The tablet probably belongs to the series enumerated according to the days of the festival.) The transition is marked by a double rule. The preceding section closes with the sentence "and they close [...]". The new section opens with the festival title "When the king, etc." It is possible that the transition is from the first to the second day, since rev. IV is parallel to Bo 3568 rev. [2.d.1], which is identified by its colophon as belonging to the second day.

the description of the king's toilet; col. II is too fragmentary to provide a clear picture. After a large gap, col. V contains certain rituals performed in the temple of *Heštā*, that is in the *heštā*- house. Finally, the elaborate colophon of the tablet contains the sentence "[When(?)] the king proceeds from the gate-house to the [*huwaši*](?)" Thus, there is good reason to believe that the first day of the festival included the "great assembly" at the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god.

The group of tablets belonging to the end of the festival text (see Ch. IV.C), deals mainly with the "great assembly". There are no grounds for ascribing the text to a particular day. The only allusion in this respect is found in KBo X 25 V 38' [1.j], which we restore "... as on the first [day..]" (see p. 125). This is followed by a description of the "animals of the gods". If the restoration is correct, this means that one of the central ceremonies of the festival was repeated on at least one additional day of the festival, probably the third.

The above observation can be further developed on the basis of the Old Hittite exemplar ABoT 5+ [1.b]. As already mentioned above p. 126, this tablet includes several instances of the notation "on the second day (some event) does not take place." I can see only two possible explanations which can account for this notation. (a) The tablet describes the events of the second day only. But then, what need is there for the constant repetition of this notation. (b) The more logical conclusion is that the tablet deals with events which are common to all three days of the festival, noting only the exceptions to the rule; that is, events omitted only on the second day. This, of course, has important consequences with regard to the timetable of the festival.

Unfortunately, in most instances of the notation "on the second day...", the context immediately preceding it is missing. In one instance, however, it is restorable on the basis of later duplicates and it evidently supports the second of the two explanations offered above: ABoT 5+ II 15'ff. (see synopsis on p. 75): "[From the temple of] *Inar*, the *šuppištuwareš* come; [the anim]als march along; the *peri*- comes. On the second day there are no *peri*- and animals." From this passage one may draw several inferences regarding the other occurrences as well. First comes a description of some event and this is followed by the notation that all or part of it is omitted on the second day. This means that the schedule of the first and the third days was identical, whereas that of the second day differed in a few details, but was basically the same. Perhaps one can even suggest an explanation for the somewhat different character of the second day. In the oracle text ABoT 14 there is a section dealing with, in all probability, the KILAM festival, according to which a festival for the Grain-goddess (NISABA = *Halki*-) is incorporated on the second day (see pp. 135f.). It is possible that the additional events of this celebration required a shortening of other celebrations. This will remain, of course, hypothetical until substantiated by additional evidence.

The events which, according to the Old Hittite tablet ABoT 5+, were omitted from the time-table of the second day are the following (restorations after the New Hittite duplicate):

- Obv. II 5' *I-NA UD II^{KAM} LÚ^{MEŠ} KAŠ₄.E NU.GÁL* “On the second day] there are no runners”.

This refers to the ritual race of 10 runners, the winners receiving various prizes (see Ch. IV.B.3).

- Obv. II 17' [(*I-NA UD II^{KAM} p*)]-*e-ri-eš hu-i-ta-a-ar-ra* NU.GÁL “On the second day there are no *peri*- and animals”.

This probably refers to the procession of the “animals of the gods” or part of it (see Ch. IV.A.3).

- Obv. II (19') [(*ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ} UR.GI₇ DUGUD*)] NÍG.BA-*ŠU LUGAL-un pu-ú-nu-uš-ša-an-zi*
(20') [(*I-NA UD II^{KAM} NÍG.BA*)] NU.GÁL
“They ask the king about the present for the dignified dog-men (or: the present for the most dignified among the dog-men). On the second day there is no present”.

This ceremony is encountered in KBo X 25 VI 9'–11' [1.]. The present given there to the “dog-men” is a “ceremonial dress” (^{TUG}*a-du-up-li*). There too this follows immediately upon the procession of the “animals of the gods”.

- Obv. II 30' *I-NA UD II^{KAM} gal-di* NU.GÁL “On the second day there is no *galdi*- vessel”.

This refers to the ceremony of the *galdi/kalti* vessel at the height of which the king pours wine into the hands of the main state functionaries (see Ch. IV.B.4).

- Obv. III 6' *I-NA UD II^{KAM} LÚ^{MEŠ} NAR¹-aš* NU.GÁL “On the second day there is no singer”.

A large portion of this tablet is missing and there may be additional events omitted on the second day. Those listed above include some of the most significant ceremonies performed in the framework of the “great assembly”. It seems that the time-table of the second day retained mainly the celebrations for the long list of gods, whereas events of more “secular” character (such as the race and the ceremony of the *kalti*- vessel) were omitted.

There are two texts which, according to their colophons, belong to the second day: Bo 3568 [2.d.1] and KBo XX 83 [2.c]. The obverse of the former and the reverse of the latter contain the description of the end of the “great assembly” in the ceremonial tent.

Concerning the third day there is not much direct information to add to what was already concluded on the basis of ABoT 5+, i.e., that it had the

same program as the first day. That rituals at the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god were part of the program of the third day is also confirmed by the ration tablet KBo XVI 68 (+) KUB XXXIV 86 (+) III' 26'f. [5.c]. Sacrificial loaves are sent to the *huwaši*- by the AGRIG of Hattuša.

The fragment KBo XXV 18 [2.e.B] which, according to its colophon, belongs to the third day is unfortunately very fragmentary (see p.85 n.71). The scene is at the *heštā*- house (obv. 6'; rev. 5') and two other architectural sites: *makziya*- (obv. 4', 7') and *zikmuha*- (rev. 10'). A “grove” (^{GIŠ}TIR rev. 6') is also mentioned. The *heštā*- house also appears in KUB XX 4 V 12'ff. [2.a], which belongs to the first day. This is further proof that the time-table of the first and third days were basically the same. The exact nature of the ceremonies performed in the *heštā*- house cannot be deduced from the fragmentary contexts in which it appears (see Ch. IV.C.3).

In conclusion, all of the evidence presented above points to the interpretation that the program of each of the three days of the festival was basically the same. Only on the second day were a number of items omitted. This conclusion in turn provides the explanation for the festival title “When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house,” which clearly expresses an action repeated three times. One may now relate the repetition to the time-table of the festival and the “three times” to its duration.

There remains, however, one intriguing question. If indeed the program was essentially the same on all three days, how can the series of tablets arranged according to festival days be explained? One can hardly suppose that the same description would be repeated three times, separately for each day. However, in this respect one should recall that there is no evidence whatsoever that the two series of the festival text, designated as the “regular KILAM festival” and the “great festival”, have an identical program (see p.48). It is quite possible that special ceremonies were incorporated into the “great festival” and were not found in the “regular festival”. Hence the need for a separate day-by-day description.

D. The Season of the Festival

In some festival texts the season of celebration is explicitly stated in the colophon, in the introduction, or within the text. In the colophons of the KI.LAM festival, including the elaborate colophon of KUB XX 4, there is no allusion to season, nor does the text itself contain any direct reference in this respect. The introduction of the first tablet (KBo X 23), which may have contained more basic data on the festival, is unfortunately broken off.

One may endeavor to infer the season in which the KI.LAM festival was celebrated on the basis of indirect evidence. To be sure, the fact that the text, although incomplete, is not more explicit in this respect, may find its explanation in the character of the festival. As demonstrated by its name, the “festival of the gate-house”, it was not a seasonal festival in the regular sense of the word; that is to say, its celebration was not conditioned by some meteorological phenomenon¹⁹ or by an agricultural activity.²⁰

One of the focal points of the festival was a ceremonial procession which worked its way from the city to the *huwaši*- of the Storm-god in the vicinity of which a “great assembly” was held. C.W.Carter, in his collection and treatment of the material pertaining to the *huwaši*- in the Hittite texts (Hittite Cult-Inventories, 1962, Ch. II pp.26–50), has demonstrated a close relationship between processions to *huwaši*-’s outside the town and seasonal festivals, especially in the spring (ibid. pp.33f.) but also in the autumn (ibid. 34ff.). One may quite safely adopt this observation for the KI.LAM, particularly if one considers the fact that most Hittite festivals fall, in any case, in the spring or in the autumn. It is, however, more difficult to produce evidence for either of the two alternatives.²¹

Some indication of the season may be derived from the central role played by the temple of the “Grain-goddess” *Halki* in the celebrations. According to the oracle tablet ABoT 14 a special festival for the Grain-goddess (^DNISA-BA), on the second day of the KI.LAM festival, was celebrated in her temple (see p.136). It is logical to assume that a festival of a Grain-goddess would be

celebrated either in the harvest season or in the sowing season, i.e., in summer or in autumn.²²

The ceremony in which the AGRIG’s participated also takes place in the vicinity of *Halki*’s temple (KBo X 24 IV [1.b]). The king inspects produce provided by the storehouses of various towns. Such a procedure would also be well-timed in the harvest season, when certain amounts of agricultural produce could be sent to the depots of the capital from various parts of the kingdom. However, the temple of the Grain-goddess is also visited during the sixth day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival,²³ which is celebrated in the spring.

There may be some points of departure in the above observations but, as far as I can see, the evidence is insufficient to draw any definite conclusion regarding the season of year in which the KI.LAM festival was celebrated.²⁴

19 E.g. the “festival of the rain”, the “festival of the thunder”, not to mention the festivals designated simply by the name of the season (See H.A.Hoffner, RHA XXV/80, 1967, 39–41; H.G.Güterbock, XIX RAI 176, n.5).

20 E.g. “festival of the sickle”, “festival of the cutting of grapes”, “festival of the grain pile”.

21 The attribution of the KI.LAM festival to the spring in H.A.Hoffner, *Alimenta* (1974), 20 and O.R.Gurney, *Some Aspects* (1977), 31 was made on the basis of misidentified fragments (written communications).

22 For the agricultural year and the approximate dates of the seasons in Anatolia see Hoffner, op. cit. 24 ff. (harvest season), 41 ff. (sowing season).

23 H.G.Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960), 81, 85 (I 32 ff.); NHF (1964), 64.

24 In the passage referring to the KI.LAM festival in the aforementioned oracle text ABoT 14, there might be some evidence to the effect that the festival was not connected to any special season of the year, particularly if the following translation of III 12f. proves to be correct (see p.135): “His Majesty performs the festivals at any given time (*mašiyanki*) in the year.” However, the exact meaning of the whole passage is difficult to fathom, and it is perhaps advisable not to draw any definite conclusions from it.

E. External References to the KILAM Festival

The references to the KILAM festival outside the text itself are remarkably few: a well-preserved passage in the oracle account ABoT 14 and two occurrences in small fragments with no substantial context. For other festivals, there are occasional references in historical or other texts besides the basic data supplied by the colophons and introductions (which are also lacking in the KILAM festival); for instance the passages pertaining to various festivals in the annals of Muršili II,²⁵ or the oracle text concerning the renovation of the *purulli*-festival of Nerik immediately after Hattušili III's recapture of the town.²⁶ No indirect information of this type is available for the KILAM festival, and what is even more intriguing is its absence from the list of festivals celebrated in the capital found in the Instructions for the Temple Officials. We shall return to this list later, after the presentation of ABoT 14 and the other external occurrences.

ABoT 14 III 8–19

The group of texts cited under CTH 568 contains oracle accounts concerning different festivals, along with instructions and inventories of the products supplied. The section pertaining to the KILAM festival²⁷ deals only with the latter subject. Whether the preceding oracle account (lines 1–7) also has some bearing on the KILAM cannot be established.

The passage referring to the KILAM has two small duplicates: 2001/f (to lines 5–19) and the tiny fragment Bo 69/101 (to lines 7–10).

- 8 ^DUTU^{ŠI}-za ku-wa-pí EZEN KILAM
 9 i-ya-zi <<GAL>> LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ^{BANŠUR}-ya
 10 ŠA LUGAL ku-in EZEN É ^DHal-ki-ya-aš
 11 e-eš-šu-u-wa-an ti-ya-an-zi
 12 nu-za ^DUTU^{ŠI} EZEN^{MEŠ a} ma-ši-ya-an-ki
 13 MU^{KAM}-ti i-ya-zi a-pu-u-un-ma^b
 14 EZEN ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-pát
 15 e-eš-ša-an-zi pí-eš-kán-zi-ma ki-i

25 AM 20, 60, 104, 108, 138, 162, 170, 188, 190.

26 V. Haas, Nerik (1970), 44 n. 3.

27 ABoT 14 rev. IV–V 6 deals with a festival celebrated partly in Arinna. The passage IV 11–13 is noteworthy: “One (sheep) in Arinna to ^DArunitti they have driven, but 10 sheep they gave here.” “Here” must refer to Hattuša, an ample demonstration of the fact that, if not otherwise stated, the scene of such texts is always the capital (cf. further p. 122).

- 16 2 GUD IŠ-TU É.GAL^{LIM} pí-an-zi
 17 40 UDU^{HI.A}-ma hal-ku^c-eš-šar-ra
 18 ŠA É^{MEŠ}-ŠU-NU-pát an-na-la-az
 19 tup-pí-an-za QA-TAM-MA i-ya-an

- a) 2001/f, l. 5' EZEN^{HI.A} b) ll. 6', 7' om. -ma c) l. 8' add. -e-

“When His Majesty performs the KILAM festival, which festival <<the foreman of>> the king's table-men begin to perform in the temple of Hal-ki—His Majesty performs the festivals in the respective (or: at any given time in the) year—they also (should) celebrate that festival accurate(ly). And one provides this: two oxen are provided from the palace, but the 40 sheep and the cult provisions²⁸ (are) from their own houses; so it is made according to the former tablet.”²⁹

What can be learned about the KILAM festival from this passage? Our understanding of it could be facilitated if it were compared to similar data on other festivals in this important group of texts. However, this would require a separate study. The passage gives the impression that there are several festivals or “sub-festivals” involved and they are all incorporated under the general designation “the KILAM festival”. The details remain to be elucidated. The statement that the festival has to be made *šakuwaššaran* (with double accusative), i.e., “accurate, correct, exact” (HW 178) could have the character of a general instruction or warning, but could also have some specific meaning. The sense of this adjective when applied to festivals must be more thoroughly investigated. The appearance of the temple of Halki as one of the main sites during the celebrations is consonant with the description found in the “second tablet” of the “regular” series (KBo X 24 IV 20 [1.b]). The ceremony in which the AGRIG's of various towns participate, takes place in the vicinity of Halki's temple. It would seem that the expression “their own houses” in ABoT 14 III 18, from which the 40 sheep and the provisions come, actually refers to the “houses” of the AGRIG's, i.e. their storehouses. The quantities given in the passage are relatively small (as in the other passages in the tablet). However there is no information as to what they are intended for (perhaps for cultic purposes only, whereas the large quantities required for the consumption are given separately). The notation that the provisions are laid down as in the “former tablet” is of interest. It probably indicates that a more detailed listing of the exact quantities of the rations is given in another tablet. This may perhaps refer to the ration tablets of the KILAM festival.³⁰

28 For *halkueššar* see pp. 147 f.

29 For ll. 13–19 cf. translation of E. Laroche, RHA XI/52 (1950), 40.

30 A similar notation is found in KUB XLII 103 III? 13' f. (V. Souček–Jana Siegelová, ArOr 42, 1974, 40 f.). Here the “former document” was written on a wooden tablet: ...an-na-la-za-at-kán GIŠ.HUR gul-za-da-na-za ar-ḫa gul-ša-an[.

Although there is no absolute proof, it seems that the following section in col. III of ABoT 14 (ll.20–24) is also related to the KILAM festival (otherwise it is not clear what “on the second day” in l.20 refers to):

20 I-NA UD II^{KAM}-ma LU^{MEŠ} GIŠBANŠUR ŠA SAL.LUGAL

21 I-NA É^DNISABA A-NA^DNISABA

22 EZEN-an i-ya-an-zi pī-ya-an-zi-ma-aš-ši

23 ki-i 1 GUD ŠA É.GAL^{LIM}

24 [2]0⁷UDU^{HI.A}-ma ḫal-ku-eš-šar-ra ŠA É^{MEŠ}-š[U-N]U

(the remainder of the column is lost except for] × ŠA EZEN [in l.25)

“On the second day the queen’s table-men perform a festival for ^DNISABA in the temple of ^DNISABA. And they provide this for it: one ox of the palace (is provided), but the 20⁷ sheep and the cult provisions (are) from their own houses”.

^DNISABA is the logographic writing for ^DḪalki (E.Laroche, Dieux, 103). It follows from this passage that a festival for the Grain-goddess is incorporated into the second day of the KILAM festival (see further pp.129f.). While the preparation of the KILAM festival proper is the responsibility of the king’s table-men, the festival of the Grain-goddess is prepared, in her temple, by the queen’s table-men. In the preserved portion of the KILAM festival text, there is no direct reference to this festival. However, it is possible that the festival of Ḫalki was recorded on separate tablets.

KBo XIII 257

The fragment KBo XIII 257 belongs to the same group of texts as ABoT 14+, or perhaps to a so-called cultic calendar (cf. A.Goetze, Kleinasien², 165 n.1). The section beginning with line 9’ deals with the KILAM festival, which appears in l.15’. No context can be obtained from the broken lines, except for l.10’ which is the same as ABoT 14 III 21: “[...] in the temple of ^DNISABA for [^DNISABA...]”. In the two previous sections of the fragment, mention is made of the 29th day (l.5’) and the 30th day (l.8’) but there is no evidence to connect these with the KILAM festival (H.Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 299).

Bo 69/429

This small fragment only contains the following: (1) B]I-IB-R]I^{HI.A} [(2)] × ^{HI.A} pal-ḫi^{HI.A} i- × [(3)] × EZEN KILAM [. The occurrence of rhyta (BIBRI^{HI.A}) in connection with the KILAM festival is noteworthy and it recalls the procession of the various cult symbols (see Ch. IV.A.3). The word BIBRU does not occur in the text itself.

The Festivals of Ḫattuša according to the Instructions for Temple Officials (CTH 264).

The KILAM festival was celebrated in Ḫattuša, within the town proper and in the cult places in its vicinity. Therefore, the absence of the KILAM festival

from the list of festivals of the capital in the Instructions for Temple Officials³¹ is quite startling. This list includes eighteen names, only some of which are known from other sources. There is no information as to the relative importance of the KILAM festival in comparison with other festivals, but there are numerous indications that it was not of secondary importance. It is difficult to accept the omission of the KILAM festival from this list as merely accidental. It is more logical to assume that the KILAM festival is concealed under another name in the list. Although there is no direct evidence that the festival had an additional name, there are three names in the list which could have some relation to the KILAM:

(a) EZEN BIBRI, “the festival of the rhyton”.

This has already been suggested by H.G.Güterbock, XVII RAI (1969), 179, as a result of a comparison with the animal figures and other cult symbols carried along in the procession of the KILAM festival. The parallel is obvious. However, the usual sense of *bibrû* is “rhyton”, i.e., a hollow zoomorphic vessel for liquid offerings³², whereas in my opinion the metal animals carried in the procession had a different character (see p.94). In addition, the term BIBRU (Hittite *ḫalwani*-) does not appear in the description of the procession.³³

(b) EZEN AYĀLI, “festival of the stag”.

Remaining in the context of the procession of the “animals of the gods”, one may point to the prevalence of the stag figures in it (see discussion on p.94). Similar contexts of stag figures of metal carried along in a procession are not found in other texts.³⁴ It may then be regarded as a peculiarity of the KILAM festival and could very well serve as another designation for it.

(c) EZEN^{MEŠ} šuppayaš LU^{MEŠ} SANGA-aš, “festivals of the holy priest”.

The KILAM festival may be considered as one of these festivals, since it frequently features “holy priests” in a prominent position. The “holy priest of ^DKAL” led by the priest of ^DKAL is at the head of the procession of the “animals of the gods” (KBo X 23 IV 15f. [1.a]; cf. also KUB X 1 I 26’ [1.c]). In other parts of the text we encounter the “holy priest of the Storm-god” (KBo

31 For the list of festivals (KUB XIII 4 I 39–45) see H.G.Güterbock, XVII RAI (1969), 177f.

32 C.G. von Brandenstein, Bildbeschreibungen (1943), 24; O.Carruba, Kadmos 6 (1967), 89; A.Kammenhuber, SMEA 14 (1971), 156 n.42; cf. also pp.95ff. (on *šuppištuwareš*).

33 The only occurrence of BIBRU in connection with the KILAM festival is in the small fragment Bo 69/429 (see above p.136).

34 For compilations of occurrences of the stag (DĀRA.MAŠ = *ayālu*) see H.G.Güterbock, Festschrift Otten (1973), 82f.; E.Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 32. For EZEN AYĀLI cf. also O.R.Gurney, AAA 27 (1940), 59f.

X 24 II 2 [1.b]) and the “holy priests” of Hatti (KBo XXVII 42 II 49f. [1.j.B]), Zippalanda (KBo X 26 I 29f. [1.i]) and Arinna (KBo X 26 I 36f. [1.i]).

From the three suggested possibilities for the identification of the KI.LAM in the list of festivals of Hattuša, the “festival of the stag” seems to me the most likely. However, all these possibilities remain conjectural until substantiated by other evidence. Also, one cannot dismiss the possibility that the KI.LAM was indeed omitted from the list for some unknown reason.

CHAPTER VI

THE RATION TABLETS OF THE KI.LAM FESTIVAL AND COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

A. Introduction

The lists of expenditures for the various groups of cult functionaries during the festival constitute an integral part of the festival text together with the tablets containing the description of the rituals and those containing the liturgies.

Unlike regular administrative texts, which usually consist of lists of goods collected or supplied ad hoc for specific occasions, the logistic directives for the festival were formulated together with other components of the text and were carried out annually during the celebrations. Thus, the rations of the festival were never assigned ad personam as one may find in a regular administrative text, but to groups or individual functionaries.¹ Together with the other components of the festival text, the ration lists underwent various alterations during the long tradition of the festival. However, there is no indication that the ration lists were subject to more frequent or more basic changes than the other components of the festival text.

The large quantities of food and beverages given in the ration tablets were used to feed the participants and not, or at least not only, for cultic purposes.² Obviously, the consumption of the food rations may have been preceded or accompanied by various cultic rituals. In addition, specific comestibles or animal parts were appropriated for cultic purposes.³ However, on the whole, these rations were intended to fill the needs of the numerous cult functionaries assembled in the capital for the celebrations.

The attempts to restore and classify the ration tablets has produced some significant results. There is now a relatively large corpus of ration lists belonging to one festival, which makes possible a systematic study of the composition and contents of this type of text. Its importance for the elucidation of the logistic aspects of a Hittite festival is obvious. I intend to deal in a separate article with one of these aspects, namely the role of the AGRIG, the main food supplier, as based upon the entire Hittite documentation.

In order to obtain a larger basis for comparison, two further *MELQËT*-lists which do not belong to the KILAM festival were included in the discussion:

1) The duplicates KBo XVI 67, 69 and KUB XLIII 24, which according to the recurring formula belong to the festival of the *heštā*-house. These frag-

1 A.Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 218.

2 As maintained by A.Archi, op. cit.

3 E.g. appropriation of the livers of the slaughtered animals for the king (cf. p.153).

ments show a remarkable similarity to the *MELQËT*-lists of the KILAM festival both in composition and in content. This and other indications seem to suggest that the two festivals are connected with each other in some way, perhaps both forming part of a larger complex (see also pp. 38, 114, 153).

2) The Old Hittite ration tablet KBo XX 16+. For this tablet, which was originally considered as belonging to the KILAM, see Ch. I.D. The *MELQËT*-lists of this tablet (which probably belongs to a festival celebrated at Zip(pa)landa) provide a valuable opportunity to compare our material to an original Old Hittite ration list.

B. Reconstruction of the Text Material

The colophon of KBo X 31 [5.a] ("4th tablet of rations") disclosed the existence of a separate series of ration tablets belonging to the KILAM festival.⁴ Before the reconstruction of this text, only two further small fragments of these series were known, KBo X 30 and 32 which are parallel to KBo X 31 (CTH 627.13). The ration tablets cited under CTH 627.15–17 were later found not to belong to the KILAM festival (see Ch. I.D).

The joining of KBo X 30 with KBo XVI 77 [5.b] was particularly rewarding for the reconstruction of the text. The rejoined column III of the tablet is a close parallel to KBo XVI 68+ [5.c], a large four-column tablet with a number of smaller duplicates and parallel fragments. As a consequence, the larger part of the so-called *MELQËT*-lists cited under CTH 523 (*Réserves pour des fêtes locales*) and published mainly in KBo XVI, as well as a number of unpublished fragments, were reassigned to the KILAM festival. An additional confirmation of the identification of KBo XVI 68+ (the colophon of which is broken off) was provided by the parallel fragment 1620/c + 523/c + KBo XVI 80 (+?) 354/c [5.d] which still has]KILAM-*ni*[preserved in its colophon.

The material of the ration series consists of three main tablets, with smaller duplicates and parallel fragments:

- a) KBo X 31 [5.a] According to its colophon this is the "fourth tablet of rations". It consists of a summarized list of provisions for the festival.
- b) KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 [5.b] A ration list of food provisions, the obverse of which is parallel to text a) and the reverse to text c).
- c) KBo XVI 68+ [5.c] A ration list of food (cols. I–III') and ornaments (IV') with a number of duplicates and parallel fragments.

4 H. G. Güterbock, KBo X (1960) Inhaltsübersicht ad no. 31.

C. The Dating of the Ration Series

The language of the ration series, like that of the main text of the festival, exhibits a strong dependence on an Old Hittite original.⁵ This is all the more to be anticipated in view of the highly stereotyped language of these ration lists which usually reproduce the original text exactly. Only occasionally does one find linguistic clues which reveal that the text is a later copy. Such clues are usually in the more freely formulated parts of the text rather than in the stereotyped lists. The orthographic and morphological features indicating the Old Hittite origin, examples of which appear below, predominate in all the tablets and fragments of the ration lists. The following selection is taken from all the available material. References to the examples recurring most frequently are omitted.

Orthography

Disuse of glides *i* and *u*: *mar-nu-an* (without exception!); *a-ku-an-zi* (with one exception: KBo XVI 70, 6': *a-ku-wa-an[-zi]*).

Phonetic spellings: *appanda* (KBo XVI 68 + IV¹ 27'); *natta* (KBo X 31 III 23').

Typical spelling: ^{URU}*Da-a-ū[-ni-ya]* (KBo XVI 67 I 5). Cf. H. Otten, StBoT 17 (1973), 39.

Morphology

Gen.pl. *-an* for a collective group: *humandan* LÚ^{MEŠ} *hapiyan* (KBo X 31 IV 29–31).

Lexical

Frequent use of possessive pronoun: *šiuni=šmi* (passim); *tarnaz=šemiš* (KBo X 31 III 16'); *šuppa=šmit* (ib. III 31'); ^{UZU}*muḫharauš=šmuš* (ib. III 33'); *unuwa-šhuš=šmuš* (ib. IV 31'); *hulpa(n)zeneš=šeš/šmiš* (KBo XVI 68 + IV¹ 9; 1620/c +, 6'); *É-az-mi-it* > **parnaz=šmit* (1620/c + 3').

Particles: *ta-aš-ša-an* < *ta=an=šan*

In order to obtain a reliable date and classification of the material it is necessary to rely on paleographic criteria. Examination of the ductus shows that the material can be divided roughly into two groups:

1) The tablets KBo X 31 [5.a] and KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 [5.b] which exhibit a New Hittite ductus.

⁵ Cf. A. Kammenhuber, OrNS 39 (1970), 561ff.; ZA 66 (1976), 80; A. Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 218.

2) The tablet KBo XVI 68 + [5.c] with its duplicates and parallel fragments, which can be characterized as Middle Hittite.

This grouping of the material, based on paleographic considerations, finds an unexpected confirmation in the archaeological data on the find sites (see also p. 21f.). The first group comes from Building K on the Büyükkale (the fragment KBo XVI 77 from the dump of K); the second group comes from Archive A Rooms 4–6 (mainly 5). Only one small fragment of the ration series, KBo XVI 70, was found outside Büyükkale in the old dump of Winckler's excavation in the House on the Slope (square L/18). It, too, is written in New Hittite ductus.⁶

For the first group the most significant feature is the exclusive use of the late LI (cf. StBoT 20, no. 274 col. X) in KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 (7 occurrences) and its prominent use in KBo X 31 (8 against 3).⁷ This establishes the late 14th century as the earliest date of the copy, but a 13th-century date seems more appropriate. Other indicative signs are AZ and UK (with the small ZA or UT written under the sign; KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 13') and AG (KBo X 31 IV 3').

The majority of the fragments belonging to the second group were published in KBo XVI (Nos. 68, 75, 76, 79, 80; nos. 67, 69 belong to the festival of the *heštā*-house; see p. 114). This group of MELQĒT-lists was discussed by A. Kammenhuber in OrNS 39 (1970), 561ff., where the ductus characterizations given in the publication⁸ were brought into question. Contrary to Kammenhuber's supposition (ibid. p. 562), not all the fragments belong to one festival⁹, whereas those belonging to the KILAM show a relatively uniform ductus. The main tablet KBo XVI 68 + is characterized as "etwas alt" which is quite consonant with a Middle Hittite date.¹⁰ Only two small fragments of the KILAM were characterized as having a "typisch alter Duktus": KBo XVI 76 and 80 (according to their narrow column divider). However, it

⁶ Cf. the signs ŠAR (l. 4'), URU (5', 7') and note the spelling *a-ku-wa-an[-zi]* in l. 6' compared with the usual *a-ku-an-zi*.

⁷ Note that KBo X 31 IV 10 shows an old LI with a small erasure after it. From the traces it seems that the scribe automatically added the second vertical wedge of the late LI and then erased it.

⁸ Nos. 71–73, 76, 80, 84: "typisch alter Duktus"; nos. 67–70: "etwas alt"; no. 74 and also KBo XX 66: "älterer Duktus". For the ductus see also E. Neu, StBoT 25, 1980, 146 n. 493.

⁹ KBo XVI 71 is joined with the Old Hittite festival tablet KBo XX 5+ which belongs to a festival of Zip(pa)landa (for this tablet see pp. 23ff.). KBo XVI 72 + 73 ("typisch alter Duktus") belongs to the cult of Nerik (for 73 cf. V. Haas, Der Kult von Nerik, 64 with n. 3; 72 l. 4' mentions the AGRIG of Nerik); StBoT 25 Nr. 10.

¹⁰ For the terminology employed in the KBo series to characterize the script see E. Neu–Ch. Rüster, StBoT 21 (1975), 1, n. 1.

should be remembered that the smaller the fragment, the fewer and less certain the criteria for dating. Therefore, the impressions obtained from small fragments should not be allowed to interfere with the more reliable information provided by the large tablets. One of the two fragments, KBo XVI 80, has now been joined to 1620/c + 523/c [5.d] which exhibits, like the rest of this group, a Middle Hittite ductus. It is possible that the same applies to KBo XVI 76 as well.¹¹

For the dating of the main tablet KBo XVI 68 (+) 79 (+) KUB XXXIV 86 the following signs are indicative: the old LI is used exclusively (6 occurrences); UK and AZ (without the distinguishing element; KBo XVI 68 III' 8'; KUB XXXIV 86 rev. 6', 8'); Ü (KBo XVI 68 IV' 22); ŠAR (ib. III' 10', 12'); URU (ib. III' 7', 8', 9', etc.). The closest parallels in StBoT 20 are in col. V. Some date within the 15th century seems to be consistent with these elements.

The parallel text 1620/c + 523/c + KBo XVI 80 could be somewhat later than KBo XVI 68 +,¹² to judge from the late AZ (with ZA written under it; 1620/c, 2'). Signs which point to a Middle Hittite ductus are URU (1620/c, 10') and KÜ (ib. 8').

The smaller duplicates and parallel fragments, as well as the duplicates KBo XVI 67 and 69 belonging to the festival of the *heštā*-house show the same ductus as the larger tablets.

To sum up the evidence, none of the ration tablets or fragments of the KILAM are written in typical Old Hittite ductus. The extant material can be divided into two main groups: a Middle Hittite group (found in Archive A) and a New Hittite group (found in Building K). In both groups, there are abundant features of spelling, morphology and lexical usage which go back to Old Hittite originals. Spelling variants between the two exemplars are few. The following is a list of variants between two passages which run parallel for about eighteen lines:

KBo XVI 68 + III' 4'-22' [5.c] (Middle Hittite)	KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III [5.b] (New Hittite)
20 NINDA ^{HLA} 20-iš (4', 14')	20 NINDA ^{HLA} ha-a-li-iš 20-iš (7')
URU U-wa-at-tar-wa (9')	URU Wa-at-ta-ru-wa (4', 34')
URU Ni-i-na-aš-ša (13') ¹³	URU Ne-na-aš-ša (20')
LÚ ^{MEŠ} URU Zi-in-ḫu-ri- (15') ¹⁴	LÚ ^{MEŠ} zi-in-ḫu-ri-e-eš (26', 30')

11 Note especially the form of DA (obv. 3, rev. 5'), which is closest to col. V in StBoT 20 (no. 166).

12 Note the form NINDA^{HLA} wa-ga-da-an in KBo XVI 80 obv.' 3' compared with NINDA^{HLA} wa-ga-da-aš in KBo XVI 68 +.

13 Compare Old Assyrian Ni-na-ša(-a)! (E. Bilgiç, AfO 15, 35).

14 See p. 167 n. 46.

D. MELQĒTU(M), *tarnatt*-, *ḫalkueššar*

There are two terms occurring in the ration texts of the KILAM festival which refer to the rations themselves, Akkadian MELQĒTU(M) and Hittite *tarnatt*-. A number of indications, discussed below, point to a very close parallel between the two terms. However, each of these terms has been equated independently with other words.

MELQĒTU(M), Sumerian ŠU.TI.A, is derived from *leqû*, "to take". The Akkadian dictionaries give the following renderings: W. von Soden, AHW 7 Lfg. (1966) 643b "eine Taxe oder Gebühr?"; GAG (1969), 64 § 56c "Einnahme, Darlehen"; CAD Vol. 10 (1977), 13: "revenue, income". For the Hittite usage, found only in festival texts, HW 310 suggests "Inhalt, Opferzurüstung". A. Kammenhuber, OrNS 39 (1970), 563f. (with further bibliography) indicates that the sense derived from the Hittite texts ("Annahme für Opfergaben = Opfergaben(-Abgabe)"; "Opferzurüstung") is closer to Sumerian ŠU.TI.A ("Annahme(bescheinigung) ex parte accipientis") than to Old Bab. MELQĒTU(M). An equation with Hittite *ḫalkueššar* was suggested by J. Friedrich, AfO 14 (1941-1944), 349¹⁵ on the basis of KUB XXXII 123 II 32f., 37f.:

(32) nu ki-i ḫal-ku-e-eš-šar ḫu-u-ma-an ŠA UD II^{KAM} ku-it-ma-an-kán
a-ni-u-ur kar-ap-ta-ri ŠA I NAM.LÚ.ULÚ^{LU}-ma-aš ME-EL-QĒ-SÚ

(37) nu ME-EL-QĒ-TA ma-aḫ-ḫa-an IŠ-TU É.GAL^{LIM}
lam-ni-ja-an-zi

(38) nu ki-i ḫal-ku-e-eš-šar ku-it ḫa-an-da-an

"This is the entire *ḫalkueššar* of the second day; and as long as the ceremony goes on, (this is) the MELQĒTU of one person." ...

... "And as they order the MELQĒTU from the palace, this is the *ḫalkueššar* which is prepared."

ḫalkueššar was discussed by E. Laroche in RHA XI/52 (1950), 39f. He suggested an original meaning of "harvest" with two derived senses, "first fruits" offered to the god and "provisions" for festivals. He also advocated an etymological connection with *ḫalki*- "grain" (cf. also HW 47). A. Kammenhuber considers the resemblance between *ḫalki*- and *ḫalkueššar* to be

15 Cf. also HW 47, 310a; E. Laroche, RHA XI/52 (1950), 39f.; A. Kammenhuber, OrNS 39 (1970), 564; A. Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 218 n. 63.

merely accidental (MIO 4, 1956, 40ff.; OrNS 39, 1970, 564), and consequently she rejects the meanings “harvest” and “firstfruits” based on the similarity.¹⁶ As for *MELQĒTU(M)* = *ḫalkueššar*, Kammenhuber points to KUB XXXII 123 III 8 where *MELQĒTA* (sg.acc.) is modified by an adjective in the neuter gender (*human*), which supports the equation.

tarnatt- is a nomen actionis in *-att-* of the verb *tarna-* “to let”. The generally accepted meaning is “allocation, ration”.¹⁷ The term is usually applied to rations of food for persons but it can also refer to animal fodder (KBo XI 41 I 9 ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ} *tarnattaš*).

Sg.nom. *tarnaz* (KBo II 12 II 22 *tarnaz=šiš* “his ration”, KBo X 31 III 16 *tarnaz=šemiš* “their ration”)

acc. *tarnattan* (KBo XVI 71 + KBo XXV 13, 11'; p. 148)

gen. *tarnattaš* (KUB XXIV 88, 6; KBo X 31 V 3')

A nomen actoris in *-alla-* is attested in KBo XVI 71 + KBo XXV 13 + II 9': [pa]-an-gu-uš ŠA ERÍN^{MEŠ} *tar-na-at-ta-al-la-aš* × [“the totality of the ration-receiving groups.”

E.Laroche, Ugaritica V (1968), 784 suggested that *tarnatt-* could be the Hittite reading of ḪA.LA (Akkad. *zittu*), “ration”, on the ground of the complemented form nom.sg. ḪA.LA-za (cf. also H.M. Kümmel, UF 1, 1960, 164). In this case *tarnattalla-* would be the reading of LÚ ḪA.LA = LÚ ZIT-TI (HW 283 “Teilhaber”).

In conclusion, the current equations of *MELQĒTU(M)* and *tarnatt-* are the following:

Sum. ŠU.TI.A = Akkad. *melqētu(m)* = Hitt. *ḫalkueššar*

Sum. ḪA.LA = Akkad. *zittu* = Hitt. *tarnatt-*

Nevertheless, there are a number of indications that *MELQĒTU(M)* and *tarnatt-* must have a very similar meaning, although they cannot be equated:

a) The Old Hittite tablet KBo XX 16+ (p.23) contains a list of rations in which each ration is introduced by *MELQĒT*. The list concludes with the following passage: KBo XVI 71 + KBo XXV 13 obv.

9' [pa]-an-gu-uš ŠA ERÍN^{MEŠ} *tar-na-at-ta-al-la-aš* × [
10' [t]a²-az ut-tar-še-it ḫar-zi DUMU^{MEŠ} LUGAL Û × [
11' [t]a² É.ŠĀ-[n]a tar-n[a]-at-ta-an ka-ru-ú [

There must then be a direct relation between the individual *MELQĒT* sections and between *tarnattan* and ERÍN^{MEŠ} *tarnattallaš* in the summary.

16 Cf. also H.A.Hoffner, Alimenta (1974), 25f. with n.110. The phonetic complements of BURU₁₄, “harvest”, in Hittite texts indicate that the Hittite word is an *a*-stem, common gender.

17 H.G.Güterbock, KBo X (1960) Inhaltsübersicht ad no.31; A.Goetze, JCS 17 (1963), 63; E.Laroche, OLZ 58 (1963), 248; A.Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 218.

b) A comparison between the colophons of KBo X 31 and KBo XVI 67 leads to the same conclusion:

KBo X 31 V 3': DUB-IV-KAM *tarnattaš*

KBo XVI 67 rev.: TUP-PÍ ŠA ME-EL-[QĒ-ET

Both tablets contain lists of rations. The former belongs to the KI.LAM festival, the latter to the festival of the *beštā-* house.

c) Compare also the passages KUB XXXII 123 II 37 and KBo XX 74 rev.¹⁸ III 7'f. In the former ME-EL-QĒ-TA is ordered from the palace (see above p.147), in the later *tarnatt-* (LUGAL-wa-an É-az tar-na-at-ta-a[n² -a]n-zi).

There is apparently a semantic overlap between *MELQĒTU(M)*, *ḫalkueššar* and *tarnatt-*. It seems that *MELQĒTU(M)* in the Hittite texts has more in common with *tarnatt-* than with *ḫalkueššar*. *MELQĒTU(M)* and *tarnatt-* usually refer to single rations (or to the adduced totals), whereas *ḫalkueššar* has a collective meaning referring to the entirety of cult provisions.¹⁸

Another difference may be connected with the original purpose of the provisions. The *tarnatt-* and the *MELQĒTU(M)* were intended for consumption by the cult functionaries participating in the festival. The *ḫalkueššar* was originally offered to the god. Only after the ritual was all or part of it consumed by the participants. However, more conclusive evidence is still needed to establish the exact relation between the three terms.

18 Note also the usage of the possessive pronoun with *tarnatt-* (see above p.148) and with *MELQĒTU(M)* (KUB XXXII 123 II 33) but not with *ḫalkueššar*.

E. The Composition of the Ration Lists

1. KBo X 31

The composition of KBo X 31 [5.a] which according to its colophon is the “fourth tablet of the ration(s)” (DUB-IV-KAM *tarnattas*), differs in its structure from the usual ration lists which have a uniform division into sections of one ration each.

A close examination of this tablet and its comparison with the *MELQĒT*-lists of the KILAM festival shows that KBo X 31 is actually a list of totals, the itemization of which is given in the stereotyped lists:

(a) Rev. IV 29'–34' states in brief that the silver and gold ornaments of all the *hapiya*-men are delivered from the “house of the scribe(s)-on-wood”. The detailed enumeration of these ornaments allocated to the respective groups¹⁹ is given in KBo XVI 68 + IV¹ [5.c] (with the parallel text 1620/c + [5.d]).

¹⁹ Under the collective term *hapiya*-men are included the following groups of cult functionaries listed in KBo XVI 68 + IV¹: the *hapiya*-men of various towns (Ališa, Ankuwa, Hatti), the men of the towns of Lumanhila, Angulla, Tišaruliya, the “wolf-men” (LÚ^{MEŠ}UR.BAR.RA), and probably several other groups. Cf. also L. Jakob-Rost, AoF 5, 1977, 263 ff.

For the *hapiya*-men of the towns of Ališa and Ankuwa see p.76 no.27 and the following fragment from a private collection in Buenos Aires (its transliteration kindly put at my disposal by Professor Güterbock):

Left col., upper part (opposite side not preserved).

x + 2' URU × [
 3' ma-a-an × [
 4' I GUD.ÁB II × [
 5' nu-uš-ša-an × [
 6' NINDA^{H1.A} Ū ME-E × [
 7' ma-a-an LÚ^{MEŠ} ha¹-pí-e[š
 8' URU A-li-ša-az [
 9' ku-wa-pí-it-ša-ma-a[š
 10' ta še-e-ša-an-zi[
 11' Ū NINDA^{H1.A} LÚ^{MEŠ} URU LIM[
 12' a-da-an-zi a-ku-wa-an[-zi
 13' ma-a-an LÚ^{MEŠ} ha¹-pí-eš[
 14' URU A-an-ku-wa-az [
 15' I MÁŠ.TUR NINDA^{H1.A} a-×[-
 16' LÚ^{MEŠ} URU Mi-nu-u[z-zi-ya
 17' a-da-an-zi a-ku[-wa-an-zi
 18' [ma-a-]an a-ap-pa[
 19']× × ×[

(b) Obv. III is a list of the livestock (oxen, sheep and pigs) distributed to the various groups of cult functionaries participating in the festival.²⁰ The list gives the totals (probably for the entire duration of the festival) and the groups of recipients, but omits the suppliers. These are given in the detailed *MELQĒT*-lists. Thus, e.g., the 15 sheep received by the “men of Ankulla” according to KBo X 31 III 4' are delivered by the AGRIG's of various towns, each of whom provides one sheep (KBo X 30 + rev. 1'–21'; KBo XVI 68 + II 10'–13' cf. table on p.155).

The omission of the supplier cannot be considered a consistent peculiarity of this text, since in other sections, both the recipient and the provider are named (II 8'–10'; IV 12'–18'). A consistent structure is not apparent in the tablet and there are a number of indications that the tablet is a preliminary copy rather than a final library exemplar: 1) Lines 25' ff. in obv. III were partly erased and then rewritten. 2) The festival title “when the king etc.” is inserted in the middle of a list of provisions of livestock (III 14' ff.; see also p.44). This probably indicates the beginning of a new tablet from which the present tablet was copied. 3) There are at least two dividing lines which appear in unexpected places: III 10'/11'; 22'/23'.

2. THE STEREOTYPED LISTS

The analysis of the stereotyped ration lists will center upon two aspects, their structure and their content. By determining the structure of the lists, it becomes possible to present a tentative classification of the material by formula types. This should simplify further utilization of small fragments, as well as provide a convenient basis of comparison with parallel material pertaining to other festivals. As noted above, two *MELQĒT*-lists which do not belong to the KILAM festival, the Old Hittite ration tablet KBo XX 16 + and the group of duplicates KBo XVI 67, 69 and KUB XLIII 24 which belong to the festival of the *heštā*-house, are also included in the discussion.

Apart from KBo X 31, all the remaining ration lists of the KILAM festival, as well as the other lists included in the discussion, follow a highly formalized structure. The text is divided into stereotyped sections, each having a number of recurring components:²¹

- A. The group of recipients.
- B. The provisions.

²⁰ A remarkably similar list is found in KBo VIII 124 + rev. For this tablet see Ch. I.E. p.29 f.

²¹ This definition excludes regular ration specifications which are found in almost every festival text, but are not reduced to stereotyped formular. There are several isolated *MELQĒT*-lists which are not included in our discussion (e.g. the fragment KBo XVI 74 which probably belongs to the cult of Nerik together with KBo XVI 72 + 73; StBoT 25 Nr.10).

C. The supplying functionaries or institutions.

D. Additional instructions, usually to the recipients.

The order of the components may vary from type to type. In the Old Hittite ration tablet KBo XX 16+ (Type 1) C is omitted altogether.

Under D one finds specifications of “adverbial” character: elements of time (Type 2: “... during the festival of the *heštā*- house”) and of place (Type 3: “... they take to the temple of ... and slaughter it to their god”). Other specifications refer to the manner in which the ration is to be consumed (Type 4: “they sit, eat and drink”; Type 3: “they bring the liver to the king and they take one *wagata*-bread in front of the king.”)

The individual sections in the lists appear in the order of the groups of recipients (A), but articles of clothing and ornaments are listed separately from the food rations (KBo XVI 68+). According to the recurring formula the ration lists can be classified as follows:

Type 1: Old Hittite ration tablet KBo XX 16+ obv. II (cf. p. 142).

Sections: KBo XX 3 obv. 13'–15', 16'–[18'], [probably no gap], KBo XVI 71+ obv. 1'–3', 4'–6', 7'–8'.

Formula:

- A. ME-EL-QÉ-ET LÚ^{MEŠ}/SAL^{MEŠ} LUGAL-wa-aš a-ap-pa-an ku-i-e-eš
 B. (2 ^{NINDA}wa-gi-eš-šar 10-li) 20/30 ^{NINDA}ha-a-li-iš 30-iš 10 ^{NINDA}tu-ni-ik
 50-iš 10 ^{NINDA}ka-ha-ri-it 70-iš 2/3/10 DUG (*har-ši-iš*) mar-nu-an ŠA 1 ^{huppar}
 up-pár Ū^{DUG} ha-ni-iš-ša-a-an-ni
 A. Ration of the – men/women of the king (lit. who are behind the king):
 B. (2 *wageššar*-breads of 10-li), 20/30 *hali*-breads of 30-iš, 10 *tunik*-breads of 50-iš, 10 *kaharit*-breads of 70-iš, 2/3/10 (*harši*-) vessels of 1 *huppar*-measure of *marnuan* and a *haniššanni*-vessel.

Following the MELQĒT sections is the closing sentence (KBo XVI 71 + XXV 13 + II 9'): [pa]-an-gu-uš ŠA ERÍN^{MEŠ} tar-na-at-ta-al-la-aš × [“the totality of the ration-receiving groups” (see p. 148). C is omitted in this type; the suppliers were probably listed separately in some other part of the text. The provisions include only different sorts of bread and beverages. In rev. IV (KBo XX 16+ Vs.²) there is an additional list of rations which differs from the usual MELQĒT sections. Its composition cannot be defined precisely since the beginnings of the lines are missing. Here the provisions also include various sorts of meat.

Type 2: Ration lists of the festival of the *heštā*- house.

(Duplicates KBo XVI 67, KBo XVI 69 + KBo XX 54 and KUB XLIII 24)

Sections: KBo XVI 67 I 1–4, 5–7 (= 69 + I x+1–2'), 8–10 (= 69 I 3'–5'), 11–13 (= 69 + I 6'–8' = KUB XLIII 24, x+1–3'), 69 + I 9'–11' (= KUB XLIII 24, 4'–6').

Formula:

- A. ME-EL-QÉ-ET LÚ^{MEŠ}
 B. 1 MÁŠ.TUR 2 ^{NINDA}wa-gi-eš-šar 10-li 18 NINDA 20-iš 2 DUG *mar-nu-an*
 D. I-NA EZEN ^Éhi-iš-da/ta-a
 C. LÚAGRIG ^{URU} pa-a-i
 A. Ration of -men:
 B. 1 kid, 2 *wageššar*-breads of 10-li, 18 breads of 20-iš, 2 vessels of *marnuan*
 D. in the festival of the *hišt/dā*- house.
 C. the AGRIG of delivers.

The explicit naming of the festival (D) is unique to this type. The partly preserved colophon of KBo XVI 67 has TUP-PI ŠA ME-EL-[QÉ-ET “tablet of ra[tions]”. (Cf. above p. 149). Note that the following rations in KBo XVI 69+ KBo XX 54 (69 I 12'–14' = KUB XLIII 24, 7'–9'; 69 + I 15'–19' = KUB XLIII 24, 10'; KBo XX 54 II x+1–6'; 7'–10') belong to Type 3a, a further indication of the intimate connection between the KILAM and the *heštā*- house festivals (cf. p. 142).

Type 3a: Ration tablet KBo XVI 68+ and parallel fragments [5.c].

Sections: KBo XVI 68 + I' x+1–3', 4'–9', 10'–15', 16' ff., II' (KUB XXXIV 86 (+) KBo XVI 68 II') x+1–2', 3'–8', 9'–14', 15'–20'', 21'–26'', 27'–32'', III' x+1–3'; 354/c obv. ?II 1–3, 4–6; KBo XVI 75; KBo XVI 76; KBo XVI 80+ rev. 1; 284/a obv. x+1–5'; 6' ff.; KBo XX 66 x+1–3'; 4'–9'

Formula:

- A. ME-EL-QÉ-ET LÚ^{MEŠ}
 B. 1–2 MÁŠ.TUR 1–2 NINDA.KUR₄.RA GAL 1 ta-ha-ši-iš mar-nu-an 1 ta-ha-(a)-ši-iš KAŠ.GEŠTIN
 D. I-NA É^D da-an-zi ta-aš-ša-an ši-ú-ni-iš-mi ^{hukán-zi} LUGAL-i
^{UZU}NÍG.GIG ú-da-an-zi LUGAL-aš pí-ra-an 1 ^{NINDA}wa-ga-da-aš/ani da-an-zi
 B. pí-ra-na 1 ^{NINDA}wa-gi-eš-šar 15-iš 10 NINDA 20-iš 1 DUG *mar-nu-an*
 C. LÚAGRIG ^{URU} pa-a-i
 B. 1 DUG KAŠ.GEŠTIN
 C. LÚZABAR.DIB pa-a-i
 A. Ration of -men:
 B. 1–2 kid(s), 1–2 large ordinary bread(s), 1 *tahaši*-vessel of *marnuan*, 1 *tahaši*-vessel of “beer-wine”.
 D. They take to the temple of ... and they slaughter it to their god; they bring the liver to the king and they take one *wagada*-bread in front of the king.

- B. Beforehand, 1 *wageššar*-bread of 15-*iš*, 10 breads of 20-*iš*, one vessel of *marnuan*
 C. the AGRIG of delivers;
 B. 1 vessel of “beer-wine”
 C. the “wine-supplier” delivers.

This is the most elaborate ration formula. It contains brief instructions to the group of recipients concerning the place and the manner of consumption (D). The statement “they slaughter it to their god” is noteworthy. Does this imply that each group of recipients is associated with a particular deity? Unfortunately, only in two cases can a connection between a group and its temple be established. The “men of (the town) Angulla” (KBo XVI 68 + I' 10'-11') and the *zinḫuri*-men (KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 rev. III 23') receive their ration in the temple of ^DKAL = ^DInar. The liver of the slaughtered beasts is appropriated for the king.

The significance of the division into two sub-sections (dividing line omitted only in KBo XVI 68 + I' 4'-9') is not clear. Although the beverages supplied in the two sub-sections are the same (for the correspondence between DUG and *tahaši*- see p.162), the bread differs. Therefore the second sub-section must list additional quantities. For *pí-ra-na* = *piran=a* which opens the second sub-section, I can only suggest a temporal sense (but cf. A.Kammenhuber, OrNS 39, 1970, 563). This is the only type in which two suppliers are mentioned: the AGRIG and the ZABAR.DIB, i.e. the food-supplier and the wine-supplier. Only the former is identified by his town of residence.

Type 3b: Ration lists of the festival of the *heštā*-house.

Sections: KBo XVI 69 + KBo XX 54 I 12'-14' = KUB XLIII 24, 7'-9' (partial), 15'-19' = KUB XLIII 24, 10', II x + 1-6', 7ff.

Same structure as Type 3a, but they include some additional items and considerably larger quantities: one he-goat, three kids (KBo XVI 69 + KBo XX 54 I 12'), 50 breads of 20-*iš*, 5 vessels of *marnuan* (ib. 15').

Type 4: Ration tablets KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 and KBo XVI 68 + [5.b.c].

Sections: KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 rev. III x + 1, 2'-6', 7'-10', 11'-15', 16'-18', 19'-21', 24'-26', 27'-31', 37'ff. KBo XVI 68 (+) KBo XVI 79 III' 4'-6', 10'-11', 12'-13' (= KBo XVI 70, 2'-3'), 14'-16' (= KBo XVI 70, 4'-6'), 20'-22'.

Formula:

(The complete rations of one group of recipients consists of the addition of several sections. See discussion below).

- B. 1 UDU 20 NINDA^(H1.A)/NINDA^{ha-a-li-iš} 20-*iš* 2 NINDA^{wa-gi-eš-šar} 15-*iš*/li
 2 DUG *mar-nu-an* (15 NINDA^{ša-ra-a-ma})
 C. LU^{AGRIG} URU.....

- A. A-NA LU^{MEŠ}..... *pa-a-i*
 D. (*e-ša-an-da a-da-an-zi a-ku-an-zi*)
 B. 1 sheep, 20 (*hali*-)breads of 20-*iš*, 2 *wageššar* breads of 15-*iš*/li, 2 vessels of *marnuan*, (15 *šarama*-breads)
 C. the AGRIG of gives
 A. to the “..... -men”
 D. (They take their seat, they eat and drink.)

Type 4 is basically different from the former types. It is not introduced by *MELQĒT* since only the addition of other sections makes up the ration of one group. The two parallel passages KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 and KBo XVI 68 + III', complete each other and give the rations of two groups: “the men of (the town) Angulla” and the *zinḫuri*-men. Each section represents the expenditures of one AGRIG. The rations are brought by eight AGRIG's for the first group, by seven AGRIG's for the second group.²² The rations provided by each AGRIG are usually identical, except in a few instances where they differ only slightly.²³

The differences between the types are more formal than substantial. It is difficult to explain the variations and even more so to discover any sort of typological evolution. The significant fact in this connection is that except for Type 1, which is at present unique to the Old Hittite tablet KBo XX 16+, the other three types appear throughout the ration series of the KILAM festival and the festival of the *heštā*-house, and may even alternate within the same tablet (e.g. KBo XVI 68+: cols. I', II', III' 1'-3' belong to Type 3; III' 4'-22' to Type 4. KBo XVI 69 I 1'-11' belongs to Type 2; I 12'ff. and II to Type 3).

Whereas the instruction parts of the lists (e.g. the quantities of food) were doubtless dictated by practical considerations, the form and the composition seem to be more the result of the “canonization” of frozen formulas through repeated copying. It is obvious that the stereotyped lists are bound to fixed formulas, almost without any room for free formulation. The only variations in the fixed formulas are achieved by the omission of parts of the formulas themselves (e.g. KBo XVI 69+ KBo XX 54 I 12'-14' of Type 3), or by the combination of shortened forms of two types (KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III

22 For the “men of Angulla”: the AGRIG's of K[araḫna ?], Ḫarḫarna, [], Šukziya, Zikkurka, Uwattarwa/Wattaruwa, Zinirnuwa, Ni/enašša. For the *zinḫuri*-men: the AGRIG's of Ališa, Karaḫna, Ḫarḫarna, K[attila ?], Šukziya, [Zikkurka]a (?), Wattaruwa.

23 E.g., in two sections in which the AGRIG's of Zinirnuwa and Nenašša supply the rations, the mention of 15 *šarama*-breads is omitted, as is the sentence “they take their seat, they eat and drink.” Atypical, too, is the section KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 22'-26' which is actually a shortened combination of Types 3 and 4 (note the repetition of component A !).

22'–26' = Types 3+4). Contrast these with KBo X 31, "the 4th tablet of the rations" (above p. 150), which exhibits a considerable degree of flexibility in its formulation.

Given the monotonous repetition of the same formula, varying only as to which group is receiving or supplying, it seems strange that so few attempts were made to abbreviate the formula with *QĀTAMMA*, *KI.MIN* or the like (except for Type 4). There seems to be no ready explanation. However, the quality of uncompromising accuracy is not confined to the ration lists. It is also apparent in the descriptions of the festival events. The desire to avoid any possible (accidental or deliberate) misunderstanding of these instructions which deal with such large quantities of food and other supplies, may partly account for this repetitiveness. Evidently, scribal tradition also played an important role.

F. The Rations

1. THE SUPPLIERS

Valuable data on the logistic aspects of a Hittite festival can be gathered from the ration tablets of the KILAM festival. Obviously, the information is limited by the fragmentary nature of the texts and the sporadic character of the documentation. The supplies to the participants in the festival include rations of food, festive garments, and ornaments. In the KILAM festival these are delivered by the following suppliers:²⁴

– The AGRIG's, the "overseers of the royal storehouses", supply all sorts of food, as well as various kinds of beer (in the KILAM festival mainly *mar-nuan*) and small numbers (one to three) of small livestock. A detailed treatment of the AGRIG in the Hittite texts will be given in a separate article.

– *LÚ^{MES}* ZABAR.DIB, "the wine-suppliers", deliver regular wine (KUB XLVIII 9 II 11 [3.b.C]) and another sort of wine called *KAS.GEŠTIN*, "beer-wine"²⁵ (KBo X 31 IV 14' [5.a]; KBo XVI 68+ [5.c] *passim*; etc.). He does not supply any sort of beer. In KBo X 31 which gives the totals of the provisions supplied, the quantity of "beer-wine" supplied by the ZABAR.DIB of the town of Madilla is not specified. In the other references to the rations of single groups, the amount furnished never exceeds one (KBo XVI 68+ *passim*) or two (KUB XLVIII 9 II 12 [3.b.C]) vessels (DUG).

– *LÚ^{MES}* IGI.DUG.A are attested only once in the KILAM festival (KBo X 31 II 9' [5.a]). They supply sheep (number not preserved) to the priest of the town of Kiliššara. The *LÚ^{MES}* SIPAD(.UDU), "the shepherds", who usually deliver the livestock in festivals are not attested as suppliers in the KILAM. (In KBo X 23 VI 18 they participate in a ceremonial procession.) As mentioned above, small numbers of livestock are also supplied by the AGRIG.

– *LÚ^{MES}* *tamišatalliš*²⁶ provide mutton, beef and rabbit meat (KBo X 31 IV 19'–21').

24 For a comprehensive list of suppliers attested in Hittite texts A.Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 220 ff.

25 G.Steiner, RIA III (1966), 306: "a sort of inferior wine or young wine." An interpretation "beer (or) wine" (A.Kammenhuber, OrNS 39, 1970, 563; A.Archi, OrAnt 12, 1973, 217 n.57) is excluded because of the clear distinction between beverages supplied by the AGRIG and by the ZABAR.DIB.

26 E.Laroche, OLZ 57 (1962), 30 analyzes the name as a *-talla*-derivative of the verb *tameš-* "to press, to squeeze". Cf. also N. van Brock, RHA XX/71 (1962), 166; A.Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 221: "pressatori (?)". The name is attested also in KBo XX 32 II 3 (*LÚ^{MES}* *dam-ša-tal-li-i[š]*) and dupls. Bo 2599 II 28', Bo 5943 rev. 12'. See now E.Neu, Akkad. *LÚ* MU-RI-DI = hethit. *LÚ* *damšatallaš*. Rocznik Orientalistyczny XLI/2, 1980, 83–87; StBoT 26 sub *LÚ* MURIDI.

– LU^{MEŠ}MUŠEN.DÜ, “the bird-breeders”, supply birds (KBo X 31 IV 22’–23’).

– The festive garments and the ornaments are delivered from the “house of the scribe(s)-on-wood” (É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ, KBo X 31 IV 33’; KBo XVI 68 + IV’ 30). See further below p. 166.

– UGULA LU^{MEŠ}AŠGAB, “the chief shoemaker, or leather worker” delivers to the Men of the town Tiššaruli a commodity whose name has not been preserved, but which is probably made of the “[hide ?] of sheep (?)” (KBo XVI 68 + IV’ 24] × UDU^{RI}(?) (=immeri).

– LU^{MEŠ}HAZANNU “the mayor (of Hattuša)” delivers something ending in GÍD.DA *ap-pa-an-da* (KBo XVI 68 + IV’ 27).

2. THE FOOD RATIONS

Some idea of the approximate totals of food distributed during the three days of the KILAM festival can be elicited from the ration tablet KBo X 31. Although not explicitly stated, the amounts seem to have been for the entire duration of the festival. This may be inferred from III 21’–24’:

“On the first day the priest of Inar takes 4 sheep;
on the second day he does not take (any);
on the third day he takes again”.

Since this is the only case of separate specifications for each day, it is logical to assume that in the regular cases the ration was intended for the entire festival.

In the parts of the tablet which have been preserved altogether more than 120 sheep (119 + obv. II 9’), are mentioned not including the meat of an additional 38 sheep listed in II 30. (The cattle were listed mainly in the broken beginning of obv. III.) Less than half of the tablet is preserved, so that this number represents only a part of the total. Nevertheless, even the partial quantity of nearly 160 sheep is quite impressive.

In some cases the text specifies whether the hides of the animals are included (III 15’, 17’, 26’, 27’) or excluded (III 28’) from the ration.

Besides the common sorts of livestock—cattle, sheep, goats and pigs—there are also varieties of meat more rarely mentioned in festival texts: rabbit (IV 19’), fish (IV 22’) and birds (IV 23’).

The rations are usually distributed to groups of cult functionaries. In those cases in which the rations are given to a single person, e.g. the foreman of the smiths (III 20’), the man of the Storm-god (III 18’), etc., one may assume that it was shared with his assistants. (Note, for example, the large quantity of “3 oxen, 15 sheep, including the hides” received by the foreman of the smiths in III 19’f.).

The amount per person is not given in the text, but it may be inferred from the following observation. From the list of ornaments distributed to cult

functionaries (p. 163f.) it was concluded that the group of the “men of (the town) Angulla” comprised 15 persons (p. 164), who received, according to KBo X 31 II 15’, 15 sheep, i.e. one sheep per person. It may be recalled in this connection that in the stereotyped MELQĒT-lists each AGRIG usually provides one sheep (p. 155; Type 4).

For the bread and beverage rations one must rely mainly on the MELQĒT-lists. The following comparative table shows the expenditures listed in one MELQĒT section according to the formulas described above, p. 151ff.²⁷

Type 1 is found only in the Old Hittite ration tablet KBo XX 16+, whereas Types 2–4 appear interchangeably in the ration tablets of the KILAM festival and the festival of the *heštā*-house which are closely related.

The order in the following table does not follow that of the original lists. For ease of comparison it is arranged according to the kinds of bread distributed. Where the quantities differ from section to section all the numbers are given, with the more exceptional quantities in parentheses.

A comparison between the ration types cannot reliably be made, since in most cases the exact nature of the various sorts of bread and the numbers following them is not known. These numbers refer no doubt to the size or the weight of the breads.²⁸ Following are the sum totals of the various types:

Type 1: 1800-*iš* or 2100-*iš*

Type 2: 380-*li/iš*

Type 3a: 215-*iš* + 1 NINDA.KUR₄.RA GAL + 1 NINDA_A*wagadaš*

Type 3b: 1000-*iš* + [

Type 4: 430-*li/iš* + 15 NINDA_A*šarama*

Types 3 and 4 include sorts of bread without numerical specifications. Assuming at random an average of 10-*iš* or 15-*iš* for one NINDA_A*šarama* we may arrive at a total of ca. 600-*iš* for Type 4. Type 3a, too, could not exceed this number. Note that the quantity of bread distributed in the rations of the Old Hittite tablet KBo XX 16+ (Type 1) is considerably larger than that of the KILAM festival (Types 3a and 4) and the *heštā*-house festival (Types 2 and 3b). Adopting for a moment Güterbock’s working hypothesis that the num-

²⁷ It must be pointed out, however, that one MELQĒT section does not represent the full ration for one group of recipients, but rather the amount provided by one AGRIG (and one ZABAR.DIB) to one group. In Type 4, for example (p. 154), only the addition of other sections completes the ration for one group. In addition the exact correspondence between the various types of formulas which are represented in the KILAM ration tablets is also uncertain. Thus, the “men of Angulla” receive according to KBo XVI 68+ (at least) two types of rations: Type 3 in obv. I’ 10’–15’ and Type 4 in rev. III’ 4’–13’. The two kinds of rations must in some way complement each other; either the two are provided on different occasions or by different suppliers.

²⁸ H.G. Güterbock, RHA XXV/81 (1967), 148–150.

	Type 1 (Old Hit. tablet KBo XX 16+; festival in Zip(pa)landa	Type 2 (<i>ḫeštā</i> - festival)	Type 3 a (KILAM festival)	Type 3 b (<i>ḫeštā</i> - festival; only partial sections)	Type 4 KILAM festival see p. 159 n.27)
LIVESTOCK	Listed separately in rev. IV	1 MÁŠ.TUR ("kid")	1(2) MÁŠ.TUR ("kid")	1 MÁŠ.GAL ("he-goat") 3 MÁŠ.TUR ("kids")	1 UDU ("sheep")
BREAD	20, 30 ^N ḫališ 30-iš 10 ^N tunik 50-iš 10 ^N kaḫarit 70-iš	18 NINDA 20-iš 2 ^N wageššar 10-li	10 NINDA 20-iš 1 ^N wageššar 15-iš 1 NINDA.KUR ₄ .RA GAL 1 ^N wagadaš	50 NINDA ^{HI.A} 20-iš []	20 NINDA ^{HI.A} 20-iš 20 ^N ḫališ 20-iš 2 ^N wageššar 15-iš/li 15 ^N šarama
BEVERAGES	2, 3 (10) DUG (<i>ḫaršiš</i>) marnuan SA 1 ḫuppar DUG ḫanišanni	2 DUG marnuan	1 taḫaiš marnuan 1 DUG marnuan 1 taḫaiš KAŠ. GEŠTIN 1 DUG KAŠ.GEŠTIN	5 DUG marnuan	2 DUG marnuan

marnuan = an inferior sort of beer (cf. p. 161);
KAŠ.GEŠTIN = "beer-wine" (an inferior sort of wine; cf. p. 157 n.25);
N. = NINDA.

bers may refer to units of weight of one shekel²⁹, the resulting weights would be ca. 25 kgs. of bread in Type 1 as against ca. 5–7.5 kgs. in Types 2, 3 a and 4 (Type 3b is incomplete).³⁰

The rations given to one group of cult functionaries cannot be calculated for the reasons given on p. 159 n.27. But one may attempt to arrive at some approximate figures with the aid of the Type 4 sections. In KBo XVI 68 + III' 4'–13' there is a well-defined passage concerning rations (separated from the other groups by a double line) for the "men of (the town) Angulla". The restorations are confirmed by the parallel passage in KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 x + 1–21'. The sum total of the amounts in these sections (supplied by eight different AGRIG's; see p.170 col.2) must give the full ration of the "men of Angulla". Six of the AGRIG's supply exactly the same amounts (ll.4'–9'). Two further AGRIG's (of Zinirnuwa and Nenašša) give the same except for 15 *šarama*- loaves. One arrives at the following amounts:

8 × 1 UDU = 8 sheep
8 × NINDA^{HI.A} 20-iš = a total of 3200-iš
8 × ^{NINDA}wageššar 15-iš = a total of 240-iš
8 × 2 DUG *marnuan* = 16 vessels of *marnuan* (sort of beer)
6 × 15 ^{NINDA}šarama = 90 *šarama*- breads

Assuming, for the sake of calculation, an average of 15-iš for one *šarama*-bread, one arrives at a total of ca. 3500-iš. Conjecturing that 1-iš stands for 1 shekel (see above p. 159) this amount is equivalent to approximately 44 kgs. of bread. If the group of the "men of Angulla" consisted of 15 persons (as shown on p.164), the amount per person would be nearly 3 kgs., quite a reasonable quantity for one man for the three days of the festival. It must be emphasized, however, that all these calculations depend on a series of hypotheses and must therefore be regarded as tentative.

For a study of the kinds of bread distributed, consult Hoffner's exhaustive treatment in *Alimenta Hethaeorum* (1974) Ch. VI. In the table above, there is one kind of bread which appears in all the types of rations: the ordinary bread (NINDA^{HI.A}) which, on the basis of our ration lists at least, can be designated also as ^{NINDA}ḫališ.³¹

The beverage rations include only *marnuan*, an inferior sort of beer (RIA III, 306) and KAŠ.GEŠTIN (in Type 3 only), "beer-wine" which must be some sort of wine, probably of inferior quality (p.157 n.25). Wine is used in the KILAM festival mostly for ritual purposes.³² For one ration, two vessels

29 Ib. p.150.

30 With the Hittite mina consisting of 40 shekels. Cf. H.Otten, AfO 17 (1954–1956), 128 ff.

31 This is concluded from the comparison of the two parallel passages: KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 7', 11', etc. has 20 ^{NINDA}ḫališ 20-iš; KBo XVI 68 III' 4', 10', 12', 14' has 20 NINDA^{HI.A} 20-iš.

32 E.g. KBo X 23 + IV 5' [1.a]; ABoT 5 + obv. 14 [1.b]; etc.

(DUG) are usually supplied. Only occasionally is the type of the vessel more closely specified: ^{DUG}haršiš (see p. 162 n.34) in KBo XVI 71 + KBo XXV 13 obv. II 8' (cf. Type 1), *taḥašiš* (see below) in Type 3a and ^{DUG}ḥaniššanni in Type 1.

As stated by A.Kammenhuber, OrNS 39 (1970), 563, *taḥaši-* is one Hittite equivalent of DUG. This equation is derived from the formula of the Type 3 ration lists (p. 153 ff.). The first sub-section has one DUG of *marnuan* and one DUG of KAŠ.GEŠTIN; the second sub-section has 1 *taḥaši-* of *marnuan* and 1 *taḥaši-* of KAŠ.GEŠTIN. Although the provisions referred to are not the same (see p. 154), the same vessels probably figure in both sub-sections (i.e. a total of four vessels). It is plausible to suggest that *taḥaši-* may actually be the Hittite reading of DUG despite the form ^{DUG}taḥaši- (Bo 5005 rev. 3', 4' [1.e.5]; KUB XLIII 24, 8'). There are other instances in which a determinative stands before a Hittite word which is actually its translation: ³³ (SI)karawar, "horn" (HW 342), ^(NA4)ku(wa)nna(n)- "copper" (cf. HW 122), ^(MUŠ)e/il-lu/iyanka "snake" (HW Erg. 1, 7), ^(GIŠ)taru (StBoT 8, 125).

The quantity of the beverage is specified in the Old Hittite ration tablet KBo XX 16+ (Type 1):

2–3 DUG *mar-nu-an* ŠA 1 *ḥu-up-pár*

"2–3 vessels of 1 *ḥuppar*-measure of *marnuan*"

A similar construction is found in the KI.LAM ration tablet KBo X 31 II 7'; IV 9':

1 DUG *mar-nu-an* ŠA 2 *ḥu-u-up-pár-aš*

"1 vessel of 2 *ḥuppar*-measure of *marnuan*"

In these instances *ḥuppar* is no doubt a unit of volume.³⁴ In most instances *ḥuppar* refers to a vessel,³⁵ as in the occurrences in which *ḥuppar* has the

33 Cf. E.Laroche, RHA XXIV/79 (1966), 182 f.

34 Cf. also KBo XI 36 III 18, IV 4: ŠA 2^{AM} *ḥu-u-up-pa-ra-an-ni*. A.Goetze, JCS 17 (1963), 63: "does that signify 'per two *ḥuppar* issues?'". Some notion of the size of a *ḥuppar* can be derived from KBo XX 16+ KBo XXV 13 II 7' f.: 10 ^{DUG}haršiš *mar-nu-an* ŠA 1 *ḥu-up-pár* "10 *haršiš*- vessels (with) *marnuan* of one *ḥuppar* (each)." ^{DUG}haršiš- has been defined as a "storage vessel, pithos", (HW 60) which suggests a rather large capacity for the *ḥuppar*. (Note also the alternation between ^{DUG}ḥuppar and ^{DUG}haršin in two duplicates of the same text: O.R.Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 122 n.3 with references.) Does this imply that the capacity of a *haršiš*-vessel is normally one *ḥuppar*?

That the volume unit *ḥuppar* is used not only for liquids is shown by KBo XI 36 III 7, V 11 (cf. H.A. Hoffner, Alimenta, 1974, 162). Most probably the unit of volume and not the vessel itself is meant here: 1 1/2 NINDA *ḥu-u-up-pár-aš*, "one and a half breads of (one) *ḥuppar*"; NINDA.Ī.E.DĒ.A *ḥu-u-up-pár-aš*, "bread spread with oil of (one) *ḥuppar*".

35 HW 75: "Schale, Terrine, σάμνος(?)" Cf. further A.Kammenhuber, SMEA 14 (1971), 149 f. Cf. H. Otten, ZA 46 (1940), 214 f.: *ḥu-up-pár* KUBABBAR ŠA 1/2

determinative DUG or GIŠ, and those cases in which the substance of the vessel is given (gold: KBo X 26 I 25 f. V 1 f.; silver: KUB XXX 15+ obv. 1), or where the context dictates this meaning: e.g. in the frequently attested ritual scene: "the king pours a libation into a *ḥuppar*"³⁶ (LUGAL-uš *ḥuppari* šipanti; KI.LAM festival occurrences: KBo X 25 [1.j] I 17 f. II 7; KBo X 26 [1.i] V 22; KUB II 3 [1.k] I 27 f.). In other contexts either rendering, as a unit of volume or as a vessel, is possible, e.g. in the outline tablet of the KI.LAM festival KBo XX 33+ obv. 13 f. [3.a]: "From the temple of Inar they bring the silver animals; they pour one *ḥupar* (of) wine for the panther/leopard, one *ḥupar* (of) wine for the boar."

Which of the two denotations of *ḥup(p)ar* was the original is difficult to tell, but one may safely conclude that the vessel *ḥup(p)ar* had, at least initially, the volume of one *ḥup(p)ar*.

3. THE ORNAMENTS

A glimpse of the richness and colorfulness of a Hittite festival is afforded by the lists of ceremonial garments and ornaments provided for the cult functionaries participating in the KI.LAM festival. Two passages³⁷ concerning supplies of ornaments have been identified so far:

1. KBo XVI 68 + IV¹ [3.c]; an almost complete column but with the beginning of the lines missing.

2. 354/c(+) 1620/c + 523/c + KBo XVI 80 rev. III [3.d]

Because of the uniform order of the lists and the recurrence of the same terms in both passages, they can be used to restore each other.

These detailed lists of ornaments are summarized in KBo X 31 [3.a] IV 29–34 (with duplicate 38/c) as follows:

ḥu-u-ma-an-da-an LÚ^{MEŠ} *ḥa-[a]-pí-ya-an ú-nu-wa-aš-ḥu-uš-mu-uš* KUBABBAR-aš GUŠKIN-aš IŠ-TU É.[(DUB.SA)]R [(G)]IŠ *pí-an-[(zi)]*

MA.NA XX-ya [IŠ-]TU Ì.DÜG.GA *šu-wa-an* "ein *ḥuppar*-Gefäß aus Silber von einer halben Mine und zwanzig (Halb-Sekel Gewicht) ist mit Feinöl gefüllt." The weight of this silver *ḥuppar* is thus ca. 375 g.

36 Cf. A. Archi–A.Kammenhuber, Mat.heth.Thes. Lfg. 5–6 (1975–76). H. Otten, ZA 46 (1940), 215 n.6 compares this description with the well-known libation scenes on the Malatya reliefs. In these the king is depicted pouring out a libation from a one-handed pitcher into a large two-handled vessel with a wide mouth. The latter may be identified, according to Otten, as the *ḥup(p)ar*. If so, one may compare this vessel to the hieroglyphic sign L 342, which actually has the phonetic value *hú* (in consonance with the acrophonic principle?).

For an alternative interpretation of this expression see F.Starke, StBoT 23 (1977), 57 ff.

37 Note also the fragment KBo XVI 76 obv. I [5.e.4]. The ends of lines indicate that this may belong to a similar list: (1') KJUBABBAR; (4') GUŠKIN.

“The ornaments of silver (and) gold of all the *hapiya*-men are given from the ‘house of the scribe(s)-on-wood’”.

One can only conjecture as to the meaning of many terms in the detailed lists of ornaments, and a full evaluation of this material would require a thorough investigation. Here only the main points of interest will be noted.

The order of the items in the list of the equipment of one group can be reconstructed by combining the beginning of the lines in 1620/c+ with the end of the lines in KBo XVI 68+ IV¹. The section begins with articles of clothing which include “shirts” (TUG.GÚ.Ē.A), “waistbands”³⁸ and “girdles” (E.ĪB). In all the attested cases the shirts are red (1620/c+ 4’, 11’; KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 6, 18). The waist bands are either red (KBo XVI 68 IV¹ 1, 6, 18) or made of “linen-cloth” (GAD; KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 8; 1620/c+ 11’). The girdles are made of silver (KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 3, 6, 18) and bronze (ib. 15).

These three items, “shirts”, “waistbands” and “girdles”, always appear in the same quantity. This seems very significant, for they must correspond to the number of individuals in each group of cult functionaries. Since the texts always refer to the groups collectively, this supplies a valuable source attesting to the number of participants.³⁹ Thus, the following numbers are obtained:

- 14 men of (the town) Lumanhila (KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 3)
- 15 men of (the town) Angulla (ib. 6)⁴⁰
- 10 *hapiya*-men of (the town) [-w]a² (ib. 8)
- 10 *hapiya*-men of (the town) Ankuwa (ib. 15)
- 18² [*hapiya*-men?] of (the town) Al[iša] (ib. 18)
- 15 *hapiya*-men of Hatti (1620/c+ 4’)⁴¹
- 15 [] (1620/c+ 11’)
- 16 [] (354/c III² 3’)

One may assume a similar average of about 10–15 persons in other groups of cult functionaries as well. These numbers can be utilized to calculate the average amounts of food provisions per person in the ration tablets (see p. 161).

The articles of clothing are followed by various ornaments. In connection with the *hapiya*-men one encounters attributes of lions. The construction is as follows:

38 For TUG.ŠA.GA.DÙ = Akk. *šaggatu* = Hit. *mašši(ya)*-(?) cf. A. Goetze, Cor. = lingu. (1955), 54f. and HW Erg. 1, 29.

39 Cf. also p. 150 n. 19.

40 Cf. the 15 sheep provided to this group according to KBo X 31 III 4 (p. 151).

41 The passages 1620/c+ 4’–7’ and 8’–10’ belong no doubt to the same ration of the *hapiya*-men of Hatti. Compare the next section ll. 11’–12’; the name of the recipient is not given here but probably in the next section.

x ŠA UR.MAH^{H1.A} [(-)] × -da *hulpa(n)zeneš*=šēš/šmiš=a(GUŠKIN Û ŠA) KUBABBAR (1620/c+ 6’, 11’f.; KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 9)

“× (number) [] of lions, his/their *hulpa(n)zeneš* (pl.) made of (gold and of) silver”.

The participial form *hulpazinanteš* in KUB XII 1 IV 35’ has been rendered by A. Goetze, JCS 5 (1951), 72, “studded (?) with gold” (said of shoes). If so, the substantive *hulpa(n)zena-* would be some sort of metal attachment “stud”, “clasp” or the like (K.K. Riemschneider, StBoT 9, 8: “(Zier)knopf, Spange”). It is very likely that the participle *huwalzinant-* in KBo II 1 I 38 is a variant form of the same word. There it refers to a copper dagger (1^{URUDU} GÍR TA GUŠKIN *hu-u-wa-al-zi-na-an*). Güterbock apud Carter, Hittite Cult Inventories (1962), 190 suggests the renderings “inlaid(?)”, “sheathed(?)”, “provided with a hilt(?)”. The first two renderings are consonant also with the above context.

There appears to be a connection between the *hapiya*-men and the lion attributes in this text, however, for the “lion-men” (LÚ^{MES} UR.MAH) an equation has been established by H. Otten, WdO 5 (1969–1970), 94f. with LÚ^{MES} *walwalla-*.

Other animal attributes: “15 teeth of reed pigs” (15 KA × UD ŠAH.GIŠ.GI^{H1.A}).

Other ornaments (with unknown meanings) are:

- *purungeš* (KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 4, 10; 1620/c+ 8’; 354/c III² 4’) of silver and gold.
- *išteheš* (KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 10)
- (-)]*šarupi* (ib. 16) of copper
- ŠUPPAT (1620/c+ 8’, 13’), of gold and silver (cf. Friedrich, HG, 35 n. 5)
- *iššanāppiš* (1620/c+ 9’) of iron
- *kalkali*-× [(354/c III² 5’)⁴²

The materials found in the lists include gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, rock-crystal (NA₄.DU₈.ŠÚ.A; KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 2), lapis-lazuli (NA₄.Z.A.GIN; 1620/c+ 7’) and raw glass(?) (NA₄.aš MEK[KU; KBo XVI 68+ IV¹ 2).

Indeed, the procession of the various *hapiya*-men dressed in red garments, adorned with ornaments of precious metals and stones, and with animal attributes, must have been an impressive spectacle!⁴³

42 Perhaps related to *kallikalli*- “falcon” (HW 95)?

43 The ornaments of the *hapiya*-men and their ceremonial procession are referred to in other festival texts as well. In the catalog text KUB VIII 69 III 5f. (CTH p. 186): DUB-1-KAM A-NA EZEN *pu-u-ru-li-ya-aš-za ma-aḥ-ha-an* LÚ^{MES} *ha-pi-i-eš ú-nu-wa-aš-hu-uš da-an-zi* “1 tablet. – How the *hapiya*-men put on their ornaments in the *purulli* festival”. In KBo X 27 III 5’, 13’f., IV 9’f., V 29’f. (see p. 28): LÚ^{MES} *ha-a-pi-e-eš ú-nu-wa-an-te-eš i-ya-an-ta* “the adorned *hapiya*-men proceed” (note also III 30’: TUG SA₅, “red garment”); see further p. 150 n. 19.

The last three sections in KBo XVI 68 + IV¹ (lines 21–29), differ from the scheme described above. They probably refer to special single items provided for the festival. The beginning of the lines cannot be restored with the help of the parallel passages.

In lines 21–23 we encounter the “SANGA-priests of the lands (and) the men of the Storm-god” (LÚ^{MES}SANGA KUR.KUR^{171M} LÚ^{MES} D^{IM}).⁴⁴ These two terms refer to the priests of various towns and provinces who gathered in the capital for the festival. The context of the first sentence is not clear. It is then stated that “they [tak]e (?) the staves (GÍŠPA^{H1.A}) to their towns.” This could mean that the ceremonial staves or insignia are not deposited in the capital, but are kept by the priests in their respective residences.

In lines 24–25 the men of (the town) Tiššaruli⁴⁵ receive from the “foreman of the leather workers” (UGULA LÚ^{MES} AŠGAB) something probably made of sheep hide (see p. 158).

The items supplied by the AGRIG of Hatti (l.26) and by the “mayor” (LÚ^UHAZANNU; l.27; p.158), two important administrative officials of the capital city, are not sufficiently well preserved. The same applies to the last item in the column which is given to the foreman of the *zipuriyatalla*-men (l.28).

The place where all these ornaments are kept is the “house of the scribe(s)-on-wood”, É.DUB.SAR.GÍŠ (KBo X 31 IV 34; KBo XVI 68 + IV¹ 30). This house appears in other texts as well, as a place where various articles of clothing and metal instruments are kept. In KUB XXV 31 obv., 8–10: one *iškalleššar* garment, one curtain (KUŠNÍG.BÀR, see p.58 n.10) IV^{AM} Š[APŪ, two large bronze axes of one mina each, two bronze daggers of 10 shekel each. See also KUB XXXIV 89 rev.

4. THE RECIPIENTS

The ration lists provide a useful source for the reconstruction of the list of participants of the festival. One encounters many of these groups of recipients and individuals in the regular tablets of the festival as they perform their ceremonial duties. Those missing must have been mentioned in the broken parts of the text, thus providing a clue in the search for further tablets and fragments relating to the festival.

The following table is an attempt to present the composite information on recipients, suppliers and provisions in the ration tablets of the KILAM fes-

44 Other occurrences of LÚ^{MES}SANGA KUR.KUR^{171M}: KUB XLIII 29 III 9', KBo XX 74 obv.² II 7'. For a suggested Hittite reading of LÚ^DIM/U, see p.64 n.32.

45 Usually URU^UTiššaruliya: KUB XXXVI 45 III² 9'; KUB XLI 45 I 3'; KBo VIII 124 rev.² 9; KBo X 31 III 8; KBo XIV 117 IV 7; KBo XXII 186 II 13; KBo XXII 218 rev. 7]; Bo 2835 IV x+1, Bo 3083 II 7'; Bo 5533, 7'. For the “women of T.” see KBo XIV 117 I 2; KBo XXI 109 II 15' (cf. H.-S.Schuster, *Hatt.-Heth.Bil.*, 1974, 144).

tival. There is no need to point out the fragmentary nature of the information. The numerous blank spaces in the table demonstrate the large gaps in the data.

The column of the recipients is the main objective of this tabulation; the columns of the suppliers and the expenditures can serve merely as a framework to be filled in with the data accumulated in the future. For the column of the expenditures the main source is KBo X 31 with the totals of livestock expenditures given there (see p.150f.). The stereotyped ration lists, i.e. the *MELQÊT*-lists, are not itemized in the table, but are noted according to the types of formulation defined in p.151ff. The same applies to the lists of ornaments (p.163ff.).

The recipients are not listed in order of occurrence, but according to types of designation. In addition to the priests of various deities and towns, the list consists mainly of various “cult functionaries” about whom very little is known. Some of these are designated simply as “men/women of the town x”.⁴⁶

46 One exceptional case is noteworthy in this connection: the group usually known as the *zinhuri*-men, is referred to in KBo XVI 68 (+) KBo XVI 79 III¹ 15 as LÚ^{MES} URU^UZi-in-*hu-ri*[-] “the men of (the town) *Zinhuri*[-]”. The parallel text KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 30' has the usual form LÚ^{MES} z[i-in-*hu-ri-e-eš* (cf. URU^UZi-in-*ku-ri*-[KBo XXI 105 obv. 6').

Recipients in the ration tablets of the KILAM festival

Recipient	Supplier	Provisions	Text
LÚ ^{MEŠ} SANGA KUR.KUR ^{TIM}	(ANA URU-ŠUNU ?)	GIŠPA ^U .A	KBo XVI 68 + IV ¹ 24f.
LÚ ^{MEŠ} D ^{IM}	"	"	"
LÚ ^D U		3 [ŠA]H ^U .A QADU KUŠ-ŠUNU	KBo X 31 III 17'-18'
LÚ ^{MEŠ} SANGA ^D Inar		4 [UD]U ^U .A ? (on the first and third days)	KBo X 31 III 21'-24'
LÚ ^{MEŠ} SANGA ^D Kampiuvit	LÚ ^{MEŠ} AGRIG URU ^U Hatti	1 NINDA ^U muryalaš šarnišn[iliš]	KBo XVI 68(+) KUB XXXIV 86 III ¹ 24' f.
[] ^D ZA.BA ₄ .BA ₄	LÚ ^{MEŠ} AGRIG URU ^U []	MELQĒT Type 3a	284/a obv. 6'ff.
NIN.DINGIR-aš LÚ ^{MEŠ} ħapies		5 UDU ^U .A	KBo X 31 III 5'
LÚ ^{MEŠ} ħapies [URU] ^U KI	IŠTU É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ	unuuš ^U heš	KBo XVI 68 + IV ¹ 8-12
LÚ ^{MEŠ} ħapies [URU An]kuu ^a KI	"	"	" 15-17
LÚ ^{MEŠ} ħapies URU ^U Ališa	"	"	" 18-20
LÚ ^{MEŠ} ħapies URU ^U Hatti	[LÚ ^{MEŠ} AGRIG URU ^U Ališ]a	MELQĒT Type 3a	KBo XVI 68 + II ¹ 3'-8'
	IŠTU É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ	unuuš ^U heš	1620/c + III 7'ff.

Recipient	Supplier	Provisions	Text
LÚ ^{MEŠ} hešta-]X-ti-la 3 ^U zuGAB	KBo X 31 III 25'
[LÚ ^{MEŠ} minalliš URU Ankuwa		3 UDU ^U .A	KBo X 31 III 11'-12'
[LÚ ^{MEŠ} zim/npunpures		10 UDU ^U .A GIUD KUŠ-ŠU NU.GÁL	KBo X 31 III 13' III 19'
LÚ ^{MEŠ} zin ^U hurieš (LÚ ^{MEŠ} URU Zin ^U hurri)	LÚ ^{MEŠ} AGRIG URU ^U Ališa " URU ^U Karahna " URU ^U Harharna " URU ^U K[a-tila?] " URU ^U Šugziya " URU ^U [Zikkurk]a " URU ^U Wattaruwa	5 UDU ^U .A (MELQĒT) Type 4 " " " " " " " "	KBo X 31 III 6' Parallel passages KBo XVI 68(+) III ¹ 14'-19' and KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 22'-36'
UGULA LÚ ^{MEŠ} zippuriyatallaš	LÚ ^{MEŠ} HAZANNU		KBo XVI 68 + IV 28'
LÚ ^{MEŠ} zippuriyatallaš]X QADU KUŠ	KBo X 31 III 26'
UGULA LÚ ^{MEŠ} E.DÉ.A		3 [GU]D 15 UDU ^U .A QADU KUŠ ^{MEŠ} -ŠUNU	KBo X 31 III 19'-20'
[LÚ ^{MEŠ} GUŠKIN] DÍM.DÍM	LÚ ^{MEŠ} AGRIG URU ^U Ališa	MELQĒT Type 3a	KBo XVI 68 + II ¹ 9'-14'
LÚ ^{MEŠ} AN.BAR DÍM.DÍM	"	"	" 15'-20'
LÚ ^{MEŠ} KUBABBAR DÍM.DÍM	"	"	" 21'-26'

Recipient	Supplier	Provisions	Text
LÚMEŠ URUDU DÍM.DÍM	LÚ AGRIG URU <i>Alīša</i>	MELQĒT Type 3a	KBo XVI 68 + II' 27'-32'
LÚMEŠ UR.BAR.RA		5 UDU ^U .A	KBo X 31 III 7'
LÚMEŠ UR.BAR.RA [URU] ^{KI(?)}	IŠTU É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ	<i>unuwāšheš</i>	KBo XVI 68 + IV' 13-14
LÚMEŠ URU <i>Angulla</i>		15 UDU ^U .A	KBo X 31 III 4'
	IŠTU É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ	<i>unuwāšheš</i>	KBo XVI 68 + IV' 6-7
	LÚ AGRIG URU <i>K[arāhna]</i> " URU <i>Harharna</i> " [URU <i>Šukziya</i>] " URU <i>Zikurka</i> " URU <i>Uwattaruwa</i> " <i>Wattaruwa</i> " URU <i>Zinirnuwa</i> " URU <i>Nenāšša</i>	(MELQĒT) Type 4 " " " " " "	Parallel Passages KBo XVI 68(+) III' 4'-13' and KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III x + 1-21'
LÚMEŠ URU <i>Anunuwa</i>		2 UDU ^U .A	KBo X 31 III 10'
LÚMEŠ URU <i>Lumanhila</i>	IŠTU É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ	<i>unuwāšheš</i>	KBo XVI 68 + IV' 1-5
LÚMEŠ URUPA (= <i>Hatti</i>)		2 UDU ^U .A	KBo 31 III 9'
[LÚMEŠ URU <i>Hat</i>]- <i>ti(?)</i>	[LÚ AGRIG URU ...]	MELQĒT Type 3a	KBo XVI 68 I' 15 f.
LÚMEŠ URU <i>Tiššaruli(ya)</i>	UGULA LÚMEŠ AŠGAB	6 UDU ^U .A] × QADU KUŠ]UDU ^{RI(?)}	KBo X 31 III 8' III 27' KBo X 31 III 10'

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POSTSCRIPT

As anticipated, the yield of new fragments continues to grow since this manuscript went to press in August 1981. In that same summer Professor Otten discovered a new duplicate to KBo X 25 (1.j) in the Ankara museum. The rejoined fragment 1555/u + 1556/u + 1557/u + 1559/u + 1560/u (1.j.I) only adds a few new readings to the main text. However, it preserves the colophon with the number of the tablet, unfortunately broken. The preserved traces appear to be part of the numeral VI (or perhaps IX). This would lead to a revision in the tentative order of the tablets suggested on p. 70. On the basis of contextual considerations it was formerly concluded that KBo X 25 (1.j) must follow after KBo X 26 (1.i), which is identified by its colophon as the "11th tablet". The main consideration was that KBo X 25 describes events taking place in the "ceremonial tent" near the *huwaši* of the Storm-god (1.j.B I 2), whereas in KBo X 26 the scene is still in the temple of the sun-deity in the town (I 18). It now seems that, unless 1555/u+ belongs to a different series of tablets, the order of the tablets must be adjusted accordingly.

A further new fragment is KUB LI 74. Although reverse 17' mentions EZEN KI.LAM, its classification within the known text of the festival is problematic. (Compare GIŠ^{H1.A} KUBABBAR in rev. 4', 8' to KUBABBAR-aš GIŠ-ru in 1.h I 10'.)

Both fragments will be presented in the forthcoming volume of transliterations. The constant increase of the recovered text will no doubt continue for a long time.