

THE TEXTUAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE "JESTER SCENE" ON THE SCULPTURES OF ALACA HÖYÜK*

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The following article has to be conceived as one of my responses to a long standing and enigmatic question-mark which I have been carrying incessantly in mind since my first acquaintance with cuneiform writing and archaeology: Are there interactive implications between archaeological record and textual context in Hittite Anatolia at all?¹ One might promptly and spontaneously expect that as a principle there must have been close relations between both sorts of data, since, first of all, they are mental and material products of the same people. Why are, then, the results gained from comparisons of archaeological and philological material disappearingly feeble considering that Hittitology is in a very lucky position in being supplied abundantly by both sorts of material? The temporary results gained from the comparative studies by other scholars as well as by myself were often disappointingly meagre. This is one of the reasons why I have frequently pointed out in a pessimistic way inconsistencies between archaeological objects and information supplied by the written sources in Hittite culture.²

In a recent study on Hittite construction ritual and architecture I had opportunity to deal with the textual evidence for games, sports, athletics and agonistic fights as they are attested occasionally in the Hittite cultic practices. As we know well, these games, originally taken from the native folklore, make up an important part of entertainments in the course of festivals which aim at

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¹Some of these studies are: A. Ünal, "Naturkatastrophen in Anatolien im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.," *Belleten* 163 (1977) 447-72; "Zu neu entdeckten kuriosen Graffiti in der näheren Umgebung von Boğazköy-Hattuša," *Fs Kurt Bittel* (1983) 523-35; "Studien über das hethitische Kriegswesen II: verba delendi *ḫarnink-ḫarganu* 'vernichten, zugrunde richten'," *SMEA* 24, *Fs Meriggi* (1984) 71-85; "Untersuchungen zur Terminologie der hethitischen Kriegsführung I: Verbrennen, in Brand stecken als Kriegstechnik," *Or* 52, *Fs Kammenhuber* (1983) 164-80; "'You Should Build for Eternity': New Light on the Hittite Architects and their Work," *JCS* 40 (1988) 97-106; "Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual," *Belleten* 205 (1988) 1469-1503; "Orta ve Kuzey Anadolu'nun M. Ö. 2. Binyıl Iskan Tarihiyle İlgili Sorunlar," *Anadolu* 22, *Fs Akurgal* (1989) 17-33; "Drawings, Graffiti and Squiggles on the Hittite Tablets—Art in Scribal Circles," *Fs T. Özgüç* (1989) 505-13; with A. Ertekin-İ. Ediz, "1991'de Boğazköy-Hattuša'da Bulunan Hitit Kılıcı ve Üzerindeki Akadca Adak Yazıtı — The Hittite Sword from Boğazköy-Hattuša, Found in 1991 and its Akkadian Inscription," *Müze/Museum* 4 (1990-91[1992]) 46-9 (Turkish) 50-2 (English); "Boğazköy Kılıcının Üzerindeki Akadca Adak Yazıtısı Hakkında Yeni Gözlemler," *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 727-30; "Boğazköy Metinlerinin Işığı Altında Hititler Devri Anadolu'sunda Filolojik ve Arkeolojik Veriler Arasındaki İlişkilerden Örnekler", *1992 Yılı Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Konferansları* (1993) 11-31; "The Nature and Iconographical Traits of 'Goddess of Darkness'," *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 639-44; "Ritual Purity Versus Physical Impurity in Hittite Anatolia: Public Health and Structures for Sanitation According to Cuneiform Texts and Archaeological Remains," in: H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa (ed.), *Essays on Anatolian Archaeology*, *BMECCJ* VI (1993) 119-39; "Zur Beschaffenheit des hethitischen Opfertisches aus philologischer und archäologischer Sicht," *Fs B. Hrouda* (1994) 283-91; "Grundsätzliches zur Korrelation archäologischer und philologischer

appeasing the deities, amusing them and the participating dignitaries as well. By means of information gathered from the written sources I was hoping to elucidate some archaeological monuments, especially the depiction of what is known as the "sword swallowing jester" (Gauklerszene) on the Alaca Höyük orthostats,³ which although known for more than a century still remain a puzzle. At that time, however, the results were disappointing because the texts attesting acrobats swallowing a dagger as a spectacle were still unpublished (see below). Therefore I was able only to refer to a passage from a text which, frankly, I did not believe could be related to this pictorial depiction. Today we can disregard the sentence in this text for our purposes,⁴ since it refers to a special phrase or saying, namely to a cultic act associated with swearing an oath. The knives would be functioning as a threat, reminding the swearer what would happen if he breached the oath. Besides this we have now more coherent textual material pertaining to the subject matter. In that study I could not even decide precisely what the proper duty of the "dagger man" (^{LU}GÍR) in the rituals was, i.e. whether he was dealing with daggers, swords or knives, whether he was doing something with them or in charge of producing them.

I am glad to have found finally the pertinent textual passages and the important clue⁵ which provide us with one of the very exceptional cases where texts and archaeological data relate to each other and illuminate one another. In these texts we certainly do not have a minute textual description, including every detail of the cultic and acrobatic scenes on the orthostats. We have never such a coincidence in the Hittite culture. In general we must state that the texts refer merely to some strips of the scenes; they never give a full account of the entire representations. The observation is critical because it explains why too many efforts looking for the textual references which would illustrate them as a whole had to fail from the beginning; examples are the depiction of deities in Yazılıkaya, illustrations on the Bitik and İnandık vases, the silver rhyton from the Schimmel collection and the recently published bowl from Kastamonu region.⁶

The fragmentary texts published recently belong to an extensive assemblage of festivals celebrated in honour of the Hattic deity Tetešhapi consisting of at least 40 tablets, most of them unfortunately fragmentary.⁷ This festival

Daten im hethiterzeitlichen Anatolien", *Fs. P. Neve, IstMitt.* 43, 117-22; "Yakılıp Yıkılan Eski Anadolu Kentlerinin Akibeti: Hitit Göçleri ve Hitit İşgalinin Anadolu İskan Tarihinde Doğurduğu Demografik Sonuçlar," (in a Turkish Memorial Volume) (forthcoming); for Syria see Marie-Henriette Gates, "Dialogues Between Ancient Near Eastern Texts and the Archeological Record: Test Cases from Bronze Age Syria," *BASOR* 270 (1988) 63-91.

² See for example A. Ünal, "Naturkatastrophen in Anatolien im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.—M. Ö. II. Binyıl Anadolusunda Doğal Afetler, *Belleten* 163 (1977) 424, 448; see also the bibliography cited above in note 1.

³ A. Ünal, "Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual," *Belleten* 205 (1988) 1498 f.

⁴ *KUB* 54.1 obv. ii 24: *nu-wa-mu-kán EN-YA ANA 2 GÍR pian paški[t]*, "My lord has stood/planted me in front of two knives/daggers." See the translation by Archi and Klengel, *AOF* XII (1985), 59.

⁵ H. Th. Bossert was also right in his estimation that the depictions on the orthostats of Alaca Höyük would eventually be explained by the ritual texts, *Altanatolien* (1942) 51.

⁶ K. Emre and A. Çınaroğlu, "A Group of Metal Hittite Vessels from Kınık-Kastamonu," *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 675-713.

⁷ *CTH* 738, See F. Pecchioli-Daddi, "Aspects du culte de la divinité Hattie Tetešhapi," *Hethitica* 8 (1987) 361-80.

has many peculiarities which diverge a great deal from other sorts of festival practices.⁸ The unusual traits in these festivals are certainly due to the unique nature of the deity they are celebrated for, i.e. Tetešhapi, a name which can be parsed as a Hattic composite noun with the meaning of "great deity", i.e. *tet(t)i* = Hitt. *šalli*- "great", *ašhapi* = Hitt. *šuni*- "god", thus comparable with ^DGAL.⁹ The sex of the deity is so far not clearly indicated in the available textual material. Daddi observes correctly that the NIN.DINGIR, i.e. a priestess meaning "sister of deity"¹⁰ plays a leading rôle in this festival and even, at times, represents the incarnation of Tetešhapi and recites as her proxy on one occasion.¹¹ From this Daddi concludes that Tetešhapi could be a female deity.¹² This observation is certainly very critical and will aid us below in identifying the deity's pictorial representation on the Alaca Höyük orthostats.

As stated, the cult of Tetešhapi has a lot of unique aspects. First of all some of the cultic persons acting in it are either attested only in these texts or they perform quite unusual actions unknown from other festival texts. These cultic personnel consist of ^{LÜ}ALAN.ZU, ^{LÜ}GİS¹³BANŠUR, DUMU.É.GAL, DUMU.SAL, ^{LÜ}GİR, ^{LÜ}GUDÚ, ^{LÜ}hapi-, ^{LÜ}hartagga-, ^{SAL}KAR.KID, ^{LÜ}GİS¹⁴KUN, ^{LÜ}LUGAL, ^{LÜ}MAŠDÁ, ^{LÜ}meneya-, ^{LÜ}MUHALDIM, ^{LÜ}NAR, NIN.DINGIR, ^{LÜ}GİS¹⁵PA, ^{LÜ}parašna-/paršana-, ^{SAL}LUGAL, ^{LÜ}SANGA, ^{LÜ}SILÁ.ŠU.DU₈.A, ^{SAL}SİR, ^{LÜ}ŠÁ.TAM, ^{LÜ}šerhala-, ^{SAL}šiwanzanna- (SAL.AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}), ^{LÜ}tahaya- (?), ^{LÜ}tanpi[...], ^{LÜ}tuhkanti-¹³, ^{LÜ}zili[*puriyatalli*]-, ^{SAL}zintuhi-, <LÜ.MES> ZITTI, the man from the city of Harhara and musicians who play three sets of *huhupal*-instruments.¹⁴ It is not surprising that most of these persons are of Hattic origin.¹⁵ NIN.DINGIR and ^{LÜ}GİR perform functions which are not attested elsewhere. Moreover the cult has close relations to hunting, and association with the wild animals would make Tetešhapi to a sort of protectress of wildlife, *potnia therôn*¹⁶ which fits with the hunting scenes on the Alaca Höyük orthostats very well (see below). Indeed we find more animals mentioned in the festival texts for Tetešhapi than are represented on the sculptures, namely panther, mountain goat, lamb, wolf, *hankuriya*- and piglet.¹⁷ The festival reveals also some clues which connect it with the Hattic *purulli*-festival and the Anatolian myth of Illuyanka.¹⁸ Since dance, music, games and acrobatics belong to the main structure of this festival in honour of Tetešhapi¹⁹ I used to call Tetešhapi in my pre-

⁸ Daddi, op. cit. p. 362 f.

⁹ See E. Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites," *RHA* 7 (1946-47) 35; G. Girbal, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Hattischen* (1986) 158, 161, 165, 169; Daddi, op. cit. 369.

¹⁰ On this priestess see in details E. L. Amantea, "La NIN.DINGIR nei testi ittiti," *Miscellanea di Studi Storici* 5 (1985-86) 121-61.

¹¹ *KBo* 21.90 lines 51-4.

¹² Daddi, op. cit. p. 363.

¹³ With its various writings.

¹⁴ *KBo* 32.114 obv. ? 14.

¹⁵ For the NIN.DINGIR's occurrences in Hattic milieu see L. E. Amantea, op. cit. p. 125 f.

¹⁶ Daddi, op. cit. 366, 367.

¹⁷ *parašna*-, *šaša*-, *SILA*-, *UR.BAR.RA*, *hankuriya*-, *ŠAH.TUR*, *KBo* 21.103 + *KUB* 32.82 rev. ! 27 f. with dupl. *KBo* 21.90 obv. 51 f.; *Bo* 6594 iii 4.

¹⁸ Daddi, op. cit. p. 368.

¹⁹ Music seems not to have been limited to Hattic rituals though: the (h)išuwa-ritual from Hurrian milieu also contains music as well as some military games, *KBo* 15.52 v 1 ff., *CTH* 628, but its purpose here is quite different, and its usage is not as extensive as in the festivals of Hattic origin.

vious studies a *deus jocundi*²⁰ which, because of her possible feminine sex, must now be altered to *dea jocundi*.

Another peculiarity of the Teteşhapi festival is its relatively early, i.e. Middle Hittite, date.²¹ It means that the festival goes back to a period when the Hattic traditions may have been much more prevalent and vivid in Hittite culture. This early text chronology is very significant for the origin and proposed Middle Hittite or earlier date of the friezes on the Alaca Höyük orthostats,²² although P. Neve most recently proposed a later dating for them.²³ In favour of an earlier date I wish to state here that the friezes on the orthostats render without exception Hattic cultic practices and it would be impossible to imagine that the Hittite kings of the 13th century B.C. would be interested in setting up a huge cultic city with a monumental city gate like Alaca Höyük which is pre-eminently dominated by Hattic elements only 20 miles away from the capital city of Hattuša. As is well known, 13th-century cults and cult places are exclusively dominated by Hurrian influences; during this period there were no more defenders of Hattic culture among the ruling class and dynasty and Hattic elements were being replaced by Hurrian ones. It suffices to mention here the open-air sanctuary of Yazılıkaya with its Hurrian pantheon and the newly discovered archive with a great deal of Hurrian text material at Ortaköy which shows how far Hurrian influences intruded into every nook of northern Cappadocia. The texts discussed below will prove that the pictographic representations on the reliefs go back to Hattic origins. This is indeed commensurate with the archaeologically attestable history of the city of Alaca Höyük, whatever its ancient name may be.²⁴ As we know, mostly through the royal tombs, Alaca Höyük was from the chalcolithic period on a genuine Hattic city. It is thus not surprising that, in spite of Hittite dominance, it could maintain its native Hattic identity during the Middle Hittite and Hittite Empire periods. It goes without saying that I cannot follow the current trend among scholars who on account of a few feeble stylistic elements and some historical speculations would identify the third millennium owners of the royal tombs at Alaca Höyük as the Indo-Europeans and forerunners of the Hittites.²⁵ Admittedly, some cultural connections between the culture of Central Anatolia and the Caucasian Kurgan culture may have existed,²⁶ but these connections existed independently of the Indo-Europeans. Cross references between the friezes and the texts are

²⁰ A. Ünal, *Belleten* 205 p. 1494; idem, "Boğazköy Metinlerinin Işığı Altında Hititler Devri Anadolu'sunda Filolojik ve Arkeolojik Veriler Arasındaki İlişkilerden Örnekler," 1992 Yılı Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi Konferansları (1993) 28.

²¹ Daddi, op. cit p. 364.

²² Cf. M. J. Mellink, "Observations on the Sculptures of Alaca Höyük," *Anatolia* 14 (1970) 15–27, esp. 18; idem, "Hittite Friezes and Gate Sculptures," *Fs Güterbock* (1974) 203–5.

²³ His paper read at the II Congresso Internazionale di Hittitologia, Pavia, June 29, 1993: "Zur Datierung des Sphinxtores in Alaca Höyük", now appeared in "Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients, Fs. R. Mayer-Opificius", *Altuntumskunde des Vorderen Orients*, Band IV, 1994, 213–26.

²⁴ Arinna, Tawiniya, Zippalanda etc. have been so far proposed, see below.

²⁵ K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976) 54; E. Akurgal, *Hatti Uygarlığı*, *Fs R. O. Arık* (1987) 1 ff.; idem, *Fs T. Özgüç* (1989) 1 f.; idem, "L'Art Hatti," *Fs Alp* (1992) 1–5; P. Taracha, "Hittites in Alaca Hüyük? An Old Question Reconsidered," *Archaeologia Polona* 29 (1991) 71–8; U. Moortgat-Correns, *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 123.

²⁶ W. Meid, *Archäologie und Sprachwissenschaft. Kritisches zu neueren Hypothesen der Ausbreitung der Indogermanen* (Innsbruck 1989); J. P. Mallory, *In search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (1989) 182 ff.; idem, "Kurgan and Indo-European Fauna iii: Birds," *JIES* 19 (1991) 223 ff.

given very clearly. Therefore we must scrutinize the pertinent archaeological and philological material once more under this new aspect.

We must start our comparison by analyzing the details of these pictorial scenes on the Alaca Höyük orthostats [Pl. XLVII (a)], as far as we can visually interpret their contents, and try to figure out what exactly the ancient artist(s) intended to express through them. We know that "the reliefs represent the illustration of rituals in continuous narrative strips, superposed in succession of events"²⁷ (though they are not of course strictly continuous). Among these strips we can with some certainty recognize the following components [Pl. XLVII (b)]: Stormgod represented by his attribute animal bull, the king, a woman,²⁸ a sitting goddess, worshippers, two men facing each other and holding a stick or standard between them, a dwarfish nude man facing a robed priest carrying a ceremonial axe or looped staff, attendants or cult personnel carrying sacrificial animals such as a goat and rams, a "guitar" or "lute" player, a man carrying a monkey(?) or a dog, hunters of deer, wild boar and lion, two dwarfish men wearing short skirts secured with sashes which fall down in the middle like tassels,²⁹ one of them mounting a ladder while the second one stands in front of the ladder just getting ready to undertake something. Probably he is just getting prepared to follow his companion up the ladder to the roof (see immediately below). At the deteriorated upper end of the ladder there must originally have been visible the edge of the roof of an edifice on which the ladder leaned. It is hard to assume that the ladder was unsupported, as maintained by Eduard Meyer³⁰ and H. Frankfort;³¹ this is impossible, because an unsupported ladder at this angle would simply fall over.³² The second person is typically Hittite in his physiognomy while the other one climbing the ladder is depicted intentionally sturdy and dwarfish; his head is shaven and has a single tress,³³ has a bulging nose and thus possesses nothing common with Hittite features. Ethnically he may be of Hattic origin although lilliputians, as he seems to be rendered here, can be found in any society.³⁴

At the rear of these two dwarfish figures there is another man turned with his back against the first two men; he is depicted taller than the two. His physiognomy is again commonplace Hittite with his flat cap, a pigtail hanging at his back, a short loin-cloth and upturned shoes. In his raised hands he is holding a dagger or sword, not a trumpet or wind instrument (as formerly supposed, see below), its pointed end stuck partly in his mouth [Pl. XLVII (c)]. The inverted crescentic pommel is very Hittite and can be found very frequently on almost every sword depicted in rock monuments and other representations.³⁵ This type

²⁷ J. Mellink, "Observations on the Sculptures of Alaca Höyük," *Anatolia/Anadolu* 14 (1970) 18.

²⁸ Interpreted up to now as the queen.

²⁹ The Hittite or, say better, the Sumerian name of this sash seems to be "E.ÍB. KUN "Quastenschleifen", J. Siegelová, *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente I* (1986) 220 f. note 4.

³⁰ *Reich und Kultur der Chethiter* (1914) 79 "eine frei dastehende Leiter".

³¹ *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1954, revised 4th edition 1969) 127.

³² Observation of Professor O. R. Gurney.

³³ Professor Gurney points to parallels from Thera and Crete, citing Marinatos, *AthMitt* 1983, 2-3.

³⁴ On the foreign character of these figures see A. Ünal, "Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual," *Bellesten* 205 (1988) 1499.

³⁵ Swords with crescent-shaped pommel from Boğazköy, Yazılıkaya, Gavurkale, Alaca Höyük etc.

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of pommel has most probably to be reconstructed on the bronze swords which have turned up in recent years in Boğazköy³⁶ and in the region of Kastamonu.³⁷

This portion of the scene including a ladder-mounting man and a dagger-swallowing acrobat has been interpreted by various scholars in different ways. The true recognition of the scene as "bateleurs", i.e. "jesters" was already observed by Perrot and Chipiez³⁸ and was repeated by Makridi Bey.³⁹ It was van Lennep who first thought that the ladder-men were "masons laying stones, with musicians blowing a wind instrument".⁴⁰ Mrs. Canby repeats without further reference this view of the dagger-swallower.⁴¹ Garstang is the first scholar who has given a full account of the whole scene in great detail.⁴² He also thought that the dagger-swallowing man was a "trumpeter", a view which is shared by Eduard Meyer.⁴³ Garstang, like van Lennep, interpreted the two men in connection with the ladder as masons dressing the wall-face. His view is worth citing here fully, because it has been totally ignored in the literature as Prof. Gurney correctly points out:⁴⁴ "It may be seen that the man upon the ladder is not holding the ladder in order to climb up higher. There is plain to careful scrutiny a small thin implement projecting below the clenched hand, which is just clear of the ladder near the top. The right hand is raised aloft and grasps a rounded implement (more clearly seen in another picture), in a natural attitude of striking a blow. He is working with a chisel and mason's hammer. . . ." ⁴⁵ But how is one to explain the abrupt interruption of the pure ritual and acrobatic scene and its replacement by an architectural performance? One construction ritual gives a clue: a mason or carpenter (L^UNAGAR) per-

³⁶ A. Ünal *et al.*, "The Hittite Sword from Boğazköy-Hattuša, found in 1991, and its Akkadian Inscription," *Müze/Museum* 4 (1990-91 (1992)) 50-2; A. Ünal, "Boğazköy Kılıcının Üzerindeki Akadca Yazıt Hakkında Yeni Gözlemler," *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 727-30; see also my anonymous note in: *Die Antike Welt* 23/4 (1992) 256-7; A. Ertekin-I. Ediz, "The Unique Sword from Boğazköy/Hattuša," *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 719-25.

³⁷ I am presently preparing this 42 cm. long bronze sword or dirk, found at Pınarbaşı in the Province of Kastamonu, and preserved in the museum of Kastamonu for publication together with Nurettin Çakır, Meral Güngördü and Yavuz Ortaakarsu, cf. Ünal, *Fs N. Özgüç* p.727 with note 6. Since, as I have guessed first in my publications of the Boğazköy sword (see the note above) it now is almost certain that this type of swords represents Aegean LH IIIA1 period swords (most recently M. Mellink, *AJA* 97. 1993, 112 f. with references to the studies of N. K. Sandars and Y. Ersoy) their pommels can be reconstructed, in contrast to crescentic pommels of the Hittite swords, round, as we can see on a potsherd from Boğazköy representing a Mycenaean(?) warrior, K. Bittel, "Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnungen von Boğazköy," *Revue Archéologique* (1976) 9-14.

³⁸ G. Perrot and Ch. Chipiez, *Exploration archéologique et histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, IV (1887).

³⁹ In his study of Alaca Höyük orthostats: "La porte des sphinx à Euyuk," *MVAG* 1908, 3, 13. Jahrgang, pl. 14 f. and fig. 20; this passage is cited also by A. Ünal, "Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual," *Belleten* 205 (1988) 1499 f.

⁴⁰ H. J. van Lennep, *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor* (London, 1870); information kindly supplied by Professor Gurney. Earlier literature is cited by Th. Macridy-Bey, *op. cit.*, note 1.

⁴¹ J. V. Canby, "Hittite Art," *BA* 52 (1989) 119.

⁴² J. Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites* (1910) 259-61; *idem*, *The Hittite Empire* (1929) 136 f.

⁴³ J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* 137; Ed. Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (1914) 79: "... voran geht ein Gittarrenspieler, hinter ihm ein Trompeter."

⁴⁴ In his letter of 8 November 1993.

⁴⁵ Garstang, *op. cit.* p. 136.

forms a similar "extravaganza", i.e. a rope-climbing act, after his completion of a roof-construction, which could be compared with this scene of the Alaca Höyük frieze.⁴⁶ The ladder-climbing man would represent then a sort of "self-portrait" of the artist. However, we have to consider that these two men are represented dwarfishly, making it possible that they are performing here rather an acrobatic show than fulfilling a masonry work. The idea that they were jesters was adopted by H. Frankfort⁴⁷ and followed without any comment by many scholars such as H. G. Güterbock,⁴⁸ E. Akurgal,⁴⁹ K. Bittel⁵⁰ and J. M. Mellink.⁵¹ Although, confessedly, it is difficult to decide whether the two men are masons at work or acrobats, in view of the texts attesting a "ladder-man" and a "jester" mounting a ladder, but never a mason dressing a wall-face using a ladder, I like to follow H. Frankfort⁵² and interpret the group as part of a jester scene. It is also possible that the ladder-men were on their way to the roof to perform there some cultic act: the roof (Hitt. *šuhḫa-*) occurs many times in the Hittite corpus as a place of cultic activities.

To be able to identify this scene with any description in the Hittite texts we must first gather information from the texts and archaeological material. Fortunately the texts belonging to the cult of Tetešhapi which I want to relate to this scene include most of the components we have seen above. They supply also the material setting such as *zalwani-*, buildings like an inner chamber (*tunnakešna-*, É.ŠĀ), temple of Tetešhapi, courtyard (*hila-*), inn (*ēaršana-*), gate-house (*hīlammar*), storage pit (ARAH), window (*gislutti-*), gate (*šupallaš KÁ.GAL*), *taršanzipa-*, daggers (GÍR), *ašuša-*, and most importantly a ladder (*ilana-*) and ladder-men (*LU.MES.GIS.KUN*).

I will not treat here the texts belonging to the cult of Tetešhapi and attesting the "dagger-man" without any further detail, since they are well known to the Hittitologists and will be edited by Mrs. F. Pecchioli-Daddi.⁵³ Rather I like to deal with the recently published and therefore less known four fragments *KUB* 60.56, *KBo* 32.106, 114 and *KBo* 27.39⁵⁴ which, as mentioned, attest the "dagger-man" in his new rôle swallowing a dagger.

1. *KUB* 60.56 obv. i? (right middle part of left col.) (1) ----- MIES⁵⁵ x-x-x
(2) ---]x-an-zi // (3) ---] LU.SANGA LU.MES.GUDŪ LU.MES.da-ḫa[-ya --- (4) [--- LU.da-ḫa-
y]a-aš-za da-pi-za pi-e-da-an (5) [ša-an-aḫ-zi⁵⁶ GAL DU]MUMES.É.GAL GIS-a-al-
wa-ni-in (6) [da-a-i na-a]n? INA É.ŠĀ pi-e-da-i // (7) [nu LÚ URU.HÁ]r-ḫar-na GÍR
pa-aš-zi (8) ---- SAL.MES.KAR.]KID, URUDU⁵⁷ a-šu-šu-uš GUŠKIN (9) [da-(a)an-zi

⁴⁶ *KUB* 55.28 +, A. Ünal, "'You should Build for Eternity': New Light on the Hittite Architects and their Work", *JCS* 40 (1988) 97-106; idem, "Hittite Architect and a Rope-Climbing Ritual," *Belleten* 205 (1989) 1469-1503.

⁴⁷ *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1954, revised 4th edition 1969) 127.

⁴⁸ H. G. Güterbock, "Notes on Some Hittite Monuments," *AS* 6 (1956) 56.

⁴⁹ E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (1961) p. 85 and fig. 93.

⁵⁰ K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976) 201 and fig. 218.

⁵¹ J. M. Mellink, "Observations on the Sculptures of Alaca Höyük, *Anatolia* 14 (1970) 16.

⁵² See above note 31.

⁵³ Announced to be published in *Eothen* 2, cf. Daddi, *Hethitica* 8 (1987) 361 n. 1.

⁵⁴ The text parallels *KUB* 60.56; I am grateful to Dr. T. van den Hout for this kind information communicated in a letter; see now *BiOr* 51 (1994), 123.

⁵⁵ Restoration is not sure; the majority of the texts attesting the "sweeping the ground" (*daganzipuš šanḫ-*) by LU.MES.ŠU.I have the local particles *-ašta* or *-šan*.

EGIR-an-da-ma 2 ^{LU}MES.GIS KUN₆ ^{<LU.MES>}ZI-I[T-TT⁵⁶ tar-ú-is-kán-zi⁵⁷ (10) --- kat-ta-a]n ú-iz-zi --- (11) [---] x x[broken.

The text is too fragmentary to be given in full translation. It is evident, however, that a fellow from the city of Harharna carries out here the rôle of a dagger swallower.⁵⁸ Line 8 mentions also *ašuša*-s made of gold as trinkets which should be identical with the earrings⁵⁹ on the ears of the two jesters as well as the other figures.⁶⁰ The verb at the end of the broken text "he/she comes [down]" which occurs in line 10, may be attributed to the jester's descending the ladder from the roof after finishing the performance. It is significant to find the "ladder-men" in line 9 who obviously occur here as acrobats climbing the ladder.

2. *KBo* 32.106 rev.? (middle part of rev.?) (1) ----]x-x[--- (2) --- ša-]a-ya-a[n-----š]a-a-ya-a[n---- // (3) ---]x-kán 6 G[IR?] ^{DUG}za-al-ha-ya-a-z[--- (4) --- ^{LU}G[IR]pa-ra-a [pi-e-da-i] na-at ^{LU}GÍR ša?[ra-a da-a-i? --- (5) ---] e-ip-zi [na-a]t LUGAL-i pa-ra-a [pa-a-i?] (6) ---]x ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉-pát har-zi // (7) ----]x-zi nam-ma-at ki-nu-hu-uš EGIR-[pa --- (8) --- iš-]ga-a-ri nam-ma-at-za-kán hu-uh-hu[pa-a? --- (9) ---] ti-e-zi na-at ar-ha ša-a-a[r-ri -- // (10) ---] A-NA ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉ pa-a-i 3 GÍR-ma ^{LU}GÍR pa.a.i?] (11) ^{LU}GÍR-ma-z]a 3 GÍR.ZABAR da-a-i na-at-za-kán [--- (12) --- ^{LU}GÍR-ma-at nam-ma pa-a-aš-zi [--- // (13) --- hi?-]in-kán-ta-ri nam-ma-za-kán [--- (14) ---] A-NA ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉ [--- (15) ----]zi broken.

As in the preceding case the text is again too fragmentary to reconstruct the exact context. It attests, however, six bronze daggers (1. 3) which will be swallowed in the following by the dagger-man (1. 12). It seems that beforehand a person, specially in charge of a duty, distributes the daggers equally to the clown and dagger-eater, giving three daggers to each of them. The dagger-eater takes them (line 11), after doing something obscure with them, he "swallows them again" (line 12). Besides the regular daggers (GÍR) there exists a special sort of knife or sword (1. 7)⁶¹ which will apparently be stuck in the ground.⁶²

3. *KBo* 32.114 obv.? (left middle part of obv.?) (1) ----]x[--- (2) ^{URU}UTU?A-ri-in-na x[--- // 3) nu 6 GÍR.ZABAR [--- (4) is-tar-ni-iš-ši x[--- (5) da-an-zi ma-aḥ-ha-a[n-----x-x-x-x] (6) pa-a-aš-šu-an-zi [zi-in-na-i] // (7) nu A-NA ^{LU}GÍR ^{LU}ZABAR.DIB ^{DUG}za-al-ha-a-i [pa-a-i] (8) an-da-ma-kán 1 GAL.GEŠTIN la-a-[hu-wa-i?] // (9) na-aš-ta 6 GÍR.ZABAR al-pu-ú-e-mar pi-ra-an [--- (10) an-da GEŠTIN-aš ki-it-ta[r-i] // (11) nu-uš-ši ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉ pi-ra-an [--- (12) ^{DUG}za-a-al-ha-ya-as-ši pi-ra-an x-x[--- // (13) EGIR-ŠU-ma 3 ^{SAL.MES}zi-in-tu-u-ḥi-e-[eš --- (14) nu 3 TA-PAL ^{GIS}hu-hu-ba-a-a[---- (15) is-ha-mi-iš-kán-zi-ma [---]x[--- // (16) --]x-li[--- broken.

This text again attests six daggers which will be swallowed in the course of the festival.

⁵⁶ Gurney proposes to restore [^{LU}MES]hal-li-r]i!-eš! ^{GIS}KUN₆ 6 zi-d[a? comparing *StBoT* 28.37.IV 6-9; for this reading see, however, below *KBo* 27.39 right col. 13 (text 4).

⁵⁷ For this restoration cf. *KBo* 4.9 i 42-4. In view of the parallel passage *KBo* 27.39 right col. 13 f. (below, text 4) Gurney suggests restoring *pa-a-an-zi* instead of *tar-ú-iš-kán-zi*.

⁵⁸ See the duplicate text *KBo* 27.39 r. col. 11.

⁵⁹ Although it is questionable whether *ašuša*- really means "earring" or not, cf. HW³ s. v. *ašuša*-.

⁶⁰ Akurgal, *Kunst der Hethiter* fig. 93.

⁶¹ Called *kinuḥi*-, *KBo* 18.173 ii 10; *KBo* 18.178 obv. 5; *KUB* 42.11 ii 10; *KUB* 42.58 line 5; cf. *kinuhaimma*- *KUB* 35.143 ii 4.

⁶² Besides *la-ga-a-ri*, *ša-li-ga-a-ri*, *du-ug-ga-a-ri* and *wa-ag-ga-a-ri iškar*- is the only possible reading in the broken line 8.

4. *KBo* 27.39 right col. (1) [...] *ú-da-i* [...] (2) [LUG]AL-[u]š QA-TAM d[a-a-i] (3) ^{GIS}za-al-wa-n[i ... (4) *pi-e-da*-[i ... // (5) *nu* ^{LU.MES}E[L-LUM]⁶³ (6) *i-la-na-aš* [...] (7) *Ú-UL a-r[u-wa-i-z-i* // (8) EGIR-an-na *ap-pi-i-z[-zi* (9) *pa-a-an-zi a-ru-ú-i[-iš-ki-i-z-i* // (10) EGIR-ma ^{SAL.MES}zi-in-tu-*hi-e-eš* [...] (11) ^{LU}URU Har-*har-na GÍR p[a-aš-zi* (12) 2 ^{SAL.MES}KAR.KID *a-šu-š[u-uš* ... // (13) EGIR-an-da-ma 2 ^{LU.MES.GIS}K[UN]⁶⁴ 6 ^{LU.MES}ZI-IT-TI] (14) *pa-a-an-zi* EGIR-an-da-ya [...] (15) *kat-ta-ma-at-kán NINDA ú-x[-....* (16) *nu a-ra-aš a-ra-an ŠU-an* [e-ip-zi?] // (17) EGIR-an-da-ma-za-kán ^{LU}zi-I[i-pu-ri-ya-tal-la-a-.. (18) 1 AŠ.GÍR.an?⁶⁵ *ha-at-ta-at-ma-za-kán* [...] // (19) UGULA ^{LU.MES}ALAN.ZU₉ ^{SAL.MES}x-x[-..... (20) *tu-uš lu-ú-li*⁶⁶

5. *KBo* 22. 194 left col. 9–10 demonstrates that besides the ladder-man (^{LU}GÍR KUN₃) the clown (^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉) also climbs a ladder and enters somewhere.⁶⁷

The Tetešhapi ritual *KBo* 19.163 i 24 shows clearly that the acrobatic games have probably taken place in the courtyard (*hila*-); indeed on the orthostat the structure against which the ladder is laid looks like the roof of a building. This can be a perspective view from the inside of the courtyard. The ladder-climbing acrobats on the orthostats are thus possibly to be identified with ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉. From an exhaustive study on Mesopotamian ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉ by Römer⁶⁸ we see that the Akkadian word for "jesters" is probably of Anatolian origin.⁷⁰ He disguises himself like a woman or a king, thus holding kings as well as religious persons up to public ridicule; he is "Imitator" and "Persiflator", i.e. satirizer. He deals with tamed bears, billy goats and appears as tightrope-walker (Seiltänzer) and glutton (Vielfrass); he sits on chamber pots and lets off farts. He pretends to eat unimaginable foods. The scope of his activities is very wide.

In the absence of *KBo* 27.39; *KBo* 32.114, 106 and *KUB* 60.56 attesting ^{LU}GÍR and the man of Harharna as dagger swallows Daddi assumed that the ^{LU}GÍR was in charge of slaughtering and peeling off the skins of sacrificial animals. He may have had such a butchering function; however, his main occupation must have been to act as jester, which is also supported by the Alaca Höyük reliefs. As I have already stated in a previous study, swallowing of a metallic (bronze ZABAR) dagger would—even in an acrobatic sense—be improbable. The literal meaning of *paš-* can therefore be deduced here as "to stick (the point of the dagger) into one's mouth"; the acrobat can play with it freely however he wishes, i.e. he can fling it away, bite or hold it between his teeth (Pl. XLVII (c)). We may also have here a scene which I compared with bucolic games in modern Turkey, the thrusting, hurling or flinging of knife or dagger using the teeth.⁷¹ The fact that in *KBo* 32.106 rev.2 (above, text no. 2) the dagger-swallowing persons are each given three daggers would support the

⁶³ Reading suggested by Gurney.

⁶⁴ Reading suggested by Gurney.

⁶⁵ Cf. dupl. *KUB* 28.101 iii 2.

⁶⁶ Dupl. *KUB* 28.101 iii 4.

⁶⁷ ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉ ^{GIS}i-la-aš (10) ...]x ti-i-e-zi.

⁶⁸ W. M. Ph. Römer, "Der Spassmacher im alten Zweistromland, zum 'Sitz im Leben' altmesopotamischer Texte," *Persica* 7 (1978) 43–68.

⁶⁹ *aluzimnu*, sum. u₄-da-tuš, a-tar-dù.

⁷⁰ Römer, op. cit. p. 46.

⁷¹ Ünal, *Belleten* 205, p. 1498.

flinging theory, which means that the daggers would have been hurled in quick succession one after another using the teeth. Another possibility is to compare it with thrusting a dagger by means of the teeth in some Caucasian folk dances ("hançer atma"). Actually it is stated that the daggers are "pointed" (*alpuemar*), which may refer to the fact that the jesters are dealing with real knives. The artist may, in fact, have intended to conceal the acrobat from the precise view of the spectators by depicting the dagger-"swallowing" jester from the rear, in contrast to other figures in the same row of the relief. This effort of the stone cutter to render an exact panorama of the ritual events would explain also the sudden interruption of the scene by figures facing in opposite directions.

We have in the texts another sort of game in connection with daggers in a text⁷² which *CHD* 3/3 (1986) 352 translates "The acrobats turn toward the (or on a) sword"; but the exact meaning is obscure.

Alaca Höyük certainly constituted the main cultic centre of the Hattic goddess Tetešhapi. It is unfortunate that the name of this city is not mentioned in these ritual texts. If we knew this name, it could be, on account of the congruence between archaeology and philology, straightforwardly identified with Alaca Höyük. Against an identification of Alaca Höyük with Arinna⁷³ we must say that in the festivals in honour of the Sungoddess of Arinna similar festive scenes with music, dance and acrobatics, as we see them in the Tetešhapi rituals, are absolutely lacking. For the same reasons the identification of Alaca Höyük with the important Hattic-Hittite cult centre of Zippalanda proposed by M. Popko is also unfortunately not decisive.^{73a} The occurrence of Tawiniya during a cultic journey of Tetešhapi is ambiguous.⁷⁴

Finally we must try to identify some of the figures with their names as they are attested in the texts. It is worth noting that the reliefs do not render the events in cinematocal form in the course of the festival, they rather reflect only some clips from the cultic scenes. This is also true in every case of pictorial, narrative representations such as İnandık and Bitik vases, seals, rhyta and vessels.⁷⁵ On the Alaca Höyük orthostats it seems that the cult of Tetešhapi is embedded in the cult of the Stormgod with his Hattic name Tarḫu or Taru who is represented as a bull standing at the top of an altar at the left side of the city gate. The festival texts for Tetešhapi attest indeed that many deities were involved and incorporated into the festival, such as the Sungoddess, Sungoddess of Arinna, Mezulla, Stormgod of Zippalanda, Kataḫḫa, Inar (LAMMA), Ḫ/Kapantaliya, Tundurmiša, UD.SIG₅, Telipinu, W/Purunkatte and Huwariyanzipa.

At the right hand of the sphinx gate there is a sitting goddess who has been considered up to now as the Sungoddess of Arinna because of her prox-

⁷² *KBo* 25.176 rev. 22.

⁷³ Cf. Sedat Erkut, "Hitit Çağının Önemli Kenti Arinna'nın Yeri," *Fs Alp* (1992) 163.

^{73a} M. Popko, *Zippalanda: Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien* (TH 21, 1994), 13 and esp. 29 ff.

⁷⁴ *KUB* 9.32 iii 5-11; cf. also the mention of GAL_{LU}MES₅hapiya ŠA_{URU}Tawiniya, *KBo* 19.161 i 4.

⁷⁵ The unique hunting scene on the newly published bowl from Kınık-Kastamonu represents so far the longest continuous representation in Hittite narrative art, A. Çınaroğlu, "Kastamonu Kökenli Bir Grup Hitit Gümüş(?) Eseri, *Müze/Museum* 4 (1990-91) 53-9; K. Emre-A. Çınaroğlu, "A Group of Metal Hittite Vessels from Kınık-Kastamonu", *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 675 ff. and fig. 23.

imity to the Stormgod,⁷⁶ her divine spouse. Here at the sphinx gate of Alaca Höyük the general layout and composition have close affinities with the concept of Yazılıkaya's focal scene,⁷⁷ i.e. at the left side Tešub and at the right side Hepat. It seems to me that the sitting goddess in her long gown⁷⁸ can also be identified with Tetešhapi. However, she is not the only goddess in this complex. There is inside the city gate, at the left hand door-jamb still another severely damaged female figure standing on a double headed eagle who also might be identified with Tetešhapi,⁷⁹ if one wanted to insist on seeing the Sungoddess of Arinna in the person of the sitting goddess. In general we must remark that many sculptured slabs are lost or they are not yet arranged properly.⁸⁰ This means that many strips are still lacking. The three men walking toward the sitting goddess all carry long spears, daggers at their belts and probably bags; these men can be certainly identified with ^{LÚ}meneya's, "hunters" of the texts. Here they are going to offer the goddess some sacrificial parts of their game which they carry in their hunting bags;⁸¹ at least on the body of the central figure an animal head seems to me distinguishable. The men shooting at deer, wild boar and lion⁸² with arrows or spear can be again identified with the hunters.

It is striking that there are no women attendants among the figures whom we could identify with the NIN.DINGIR, the chief person acting very frequently in the Tetešhapi rituals. She can hardly be equated with the female figure immediately behind the king⁸³ who has been taken up to date as the queen, because she appears here as elsewhere in the queen's typical garb as an inseparable companion of the Hittite king. The sceptre-men could possibly be identified with the two men each grasping with one hand a vertical pole between them (above, p. 211).⁸⁴ I have already mentioned that the LÚ ^{GIS}KUN, and the ALAN.ZU, can be identified with the ladder-climbing acrobat(s). The ^{LÚ}GIR is very clearly visible in his pretence of swallowing or eating a dagger.⁸⁵ The man of the city of Harḫarna, as we have seen above, represents another example of a dagger swallower. The priests playing a central role in the Tetešhapi rituals as well as in any of the festival texts can be recognized in the three men striding in behind the sacrificial animals,⁸⁶ or in the long-robed person carrying a looped

⁷⁶ For example K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976) 201.

⁷⁷ Cf. Mellink, *Fs Güterbock* p. 205.

⁷⁸ Bittel, op. cit. fig. 209, 216.

⁷⁹ On account of its bad preservation this figure has so far been observed and noted only by very few scholars such as Makridi Bey and J. Garstang. In a recent study "A Great Queen on the sphinx piers at Alaca Höyük" (*AS XXXIX*, 151 ff.) R. L. Alexander claims that it represents a Hittite Great Queen, while the better-preserved male figure on the inner face of the eastern sphinx pier opposite (E. Akurgal, *Kunst der Hethiter* (1961) fig. 88; Bittel, op. cit. fig. 210) is interpreted by him as the King.

⁸⁰ Cf. Hatçe Baltacıoğlu, "Four Reliefs from Alacahöyük, *Fs N. Özgüç* (1993) 55 ff.

⁸¹ Certainly something like ^{KUŠ}kurša- "hunting bag, hunter's bag", cf. the mention of 14 ^{KUŠ}kurša- in *KBo* 21.84:5; see in detail H. G. Güterbock, Hittite *kurša*- "hunting bag", *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to H. J. Kantor* (1989) 114-19; G. McMahon, *The Hittite State Cult of the Tutelary Deities*, *OIAS* no. 25 (1991) 20-22, 182-4, 250-4.

⁸² H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture* fig. 55; Akurgal, op. cit. fig. 97; Bittel, op. cit. figs. 224-6.

⁸³ Bittel, op. cit. fig. 214.

⁸⁴ Bittel, op. cit. fig. 220.

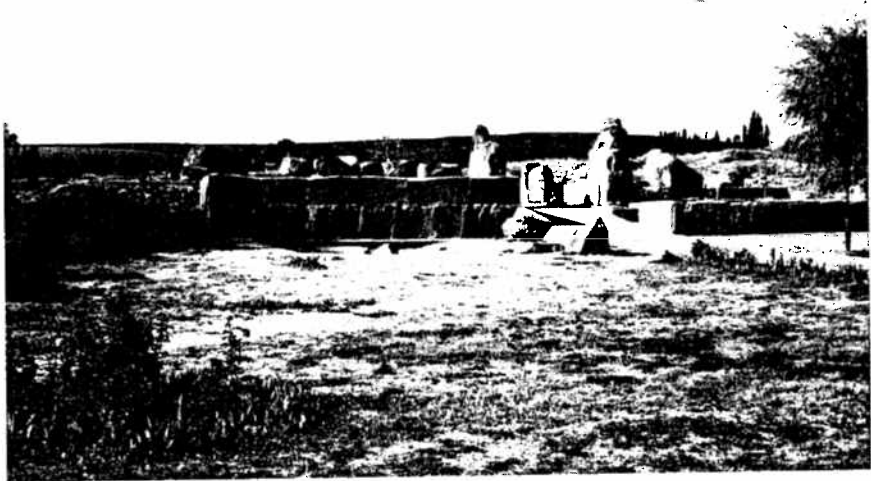
⁸⁵ Akurgal, op. cit. fig. 93; Bittel, op. cit. fig. 218.

⁸⁶ Bittel, op. cit. fig. 212.

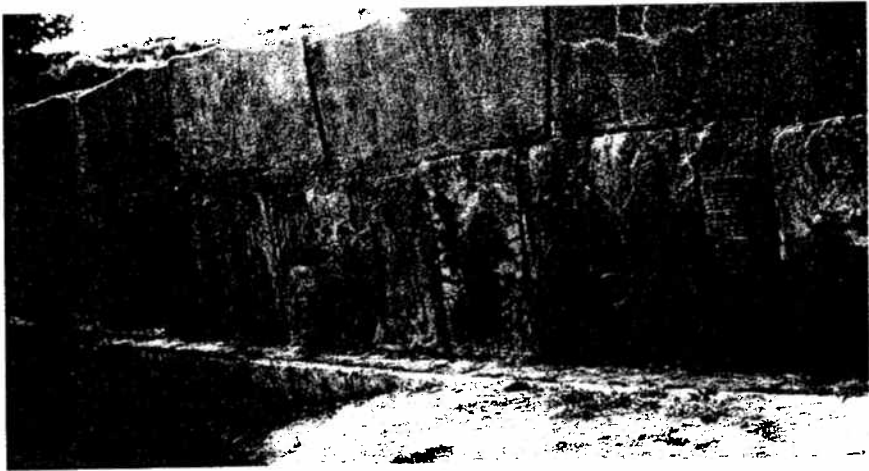
staff,⁸⁷ or in the two other men dressed in typical priestly garb and carrying some sort of staves, one of which is similarly looped, but which Bittel calls "lances".⁸⁸ Since lances as weaponry would not be fitting for the priests we would better assume them to be some cultic implements.

⁸⁷ Bittel, *op. cit.* fig. 220 right side.

⁸⁸ Bittel, *op. cit.* fig. 222.



(a) Alaca Höyük. General view.



(b) The orthostats.



(c) The "Jester Scene".