Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten

Herausgegeben von der Kommission für den Alten Orient
der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur
Heft 27

The Hittite KI.LAM Festival

Part One

by Itamar Singer

1983
OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

CIP-Konstantaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Singer, Itamar:
The Hittite KI.LAM festival / by Itamar Singer. – Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
(Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten ; H. 27)
ISBN 3-447-02243-4
NE/GT

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE ......................................................... IX

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .................................... XIII

INTRODUCTION .................................................. 1

PART ONE

I THE TEXT MATERIAL ......................................... 11
   A. Classification of the Text Material According to Tablet Series 13
   B. Concordance .................................................. 17
   C. The Find Sites of the Tablets ................................ 21
   D. Texts Excluded from CTH 627 ................................ 23
   E. Texts of Doubtful Ascription ................................ 28

II THE COMPOSITION OF THE TEXT ............................. 31
   A. The Colophons of the KILLAM Festival .................... 33
   B. The Shelf List KUB XXX 68 obv. ............................ 37
   C. The Tablet Series ............................................. 40
      1. The Series Enumerated by Tablets (EZEN SAG.U$NIM “the
         Regular Festival”) ........................................... 40
      2. The Series Enumerated by Festival Days (EZEN GAL “the
         Great Festival”) .............................................. 43
      3. The Relation between Series 1 and 2 ..................... 47
      4. The Liturgy Series (Fragments with Hattic Recitations) 48
      5. The Ration Series ........................................... 49
      6. The Outline Series .......................................... 50
   D. Summary ...................................................... 52

III SYNOPSIS OF THE FESTIVAL EVENTS ..................... 53
   A. Method of Presentation ....................................... 55
   B. The Beginning of the Festival Text (1st to 3rd Tablets of the
      “Regular Festival”) .......................................... 56
      1. The Material ................................................ 56
      2. Synopsis .................................................... 58
VI

Table of Contents

C. The End of the Festival Text (11th and Consecutive Tablets) ........................................... 65
   1. The Material ..................................................... 65
      a. The New Hittite Tablets .................................... 65
      b. The Outline Tablets .......................................... 66
      c. The Old Hittite Exemplar .................................. 67
      d. The Correlation between the Texts ....................... 70
   2. Synopsis ....................................................... 71

D. The Tablets Belonging to the “Great Festival” ............................................................... 81
   1. The Material ..................................................... 81
   2. Synopsis ....................................................... 82

IV SELECTED COMMENTARIES .................................................................................................. 87

A. The Ceremonial Procession ................................................................................................. 89
   1. The “Spears” ................................................................ 89
   2. The “Fleeces” .............................................................. 91
   3. The “Animals of the Gods” ........................................ 92

B. The “Great Assembly” ....................................................................................................... 98
   1. The Location ............................................................ 98
   2. The List of Gods ......................................................... 101
   3. The Race of the Runners ........................................... 103
   4. The Ceremony of the kalti- Vessel ................................ 104
   5. The Ceremonial Garments of the Priests .................... 105

C. Architectural Terms .......................................................................................................... 106
   1. šarkiu(i) ................................................................. 106
   2. šalentiu/šalentuwa- .................................................. 111
   3. šeštâ- ................................................................. 112
   4. šilammar = KILLAM ............................................... 115
   5. N4ašuwaši- of the Storm-god ................................... 115
   6. škašašita- ............................................................. 115
   7. škatapuzna- ............................................................ 116
   8. E.DU10,US-SA ......................................................... 117
   9. E.NA4(DINGIR1LM) .................................................. 117

V THE CHARACTER OF THE KILLAM FESTIVAL ................................................................. 119

A. The Name and the Title Sentence of the Festival ............................................................. 121
B. The Duration of the Festival ......................................................................................... 125
C. The Time-table of the Festival ..................................................................................... 128
D. The Season of the Festival ......................................................................................... 132
E. External References to the KILLAM Festival ............................................................... 134
VI THE RATION TABLETS OF THE KILAM FESTIVAL AND COMPARATIVE MATERIAL .......................... 139
A. Introduction ........................................... 141
B. Reconstruction of the Text Material .................. 143
C. The Dating of the Ration Series ........................ 144
D. MELQETU(M), tarnatt-, halkueššar .................... 147
E. The Composition of the Ration Lists .................... 150
   1. KBo X 31 ............................................ 150
   2. The Stereotyped Lists ............................... 151
F. The Rations ............................................. 157
   1. The Suppliers ........................................ 157
   2. The Food Rations .................................... 158
   3. The Ornaments ....................................... 163
   4. The Recipients ..................................... 166

FIGURES
   Join Sketch 1: KBo XX 3(+) KBo XVI 71 + KBo XVII 14 + KBo XX 4 + 16 + 24 + KBo XXV 13 .............. 24
   Join Sketch 2: KBo XX 33 + KBo XVII 21 + 46 + KBo XXV 19 (Abbr.: KBo XX 33+) ......................... 68
   Join Sketch 3: ABoT 5 + KBo XVII 9 + 20 + KBo XX 5 + KBo XXV 12 (Abbr.: ABoT 5+) .................... 69

INDICES .................................................................. 171
   General Index ............................................. 171
   Linguistic Index ......................................... 175
   Texts discussed (except KILAM) ........................ 177

POSTSCRIPT .................................................. 179

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 K.I.LAM 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 extant.

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 (İstanbul, 1948)
AiO Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin/Graz, 1926 ff.)
AJA American Journal of Archeology (Baltimore, 1885 ff.)
AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago, 1898 ff.)
Alp, Beamten. S. Alp, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenamen im hethitischen Festzeremoniell (Leipzig, 1940)
AM see Goetze, AM
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 Orientalní (Prague, 1929 ff.)
AT D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (London, 1953)
BaghMitt Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1960 ff.)
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 Bogazköy-Studien (Leipzig, 1916 ff.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XIV</th>
<th>List of Abbreviations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BoTU</td>
<td>E. Forrer, Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrif (Leipzig, 1922 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>von Brandenstein, Bildbeschreibungen</td>
<td>C. G. von Brandenstein, Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten (MVAeG 46, 2; Leipzig, 1943)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSL</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris (Paris, 1871 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAD</td>
<td>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago, 1956 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHM</td>
<td>Cahiers d'histoire mondiales = Journal of World History (Paris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cor.lingu.</td>
<td>Corolla linguistica; Festschrift F. Sommer (Wiesbaden, 1955)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTH</td>
<td>E. Larroche, Catalogue des Textes Hittites (Paris, 1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTCFY</td>
<td>Ankara Universitesi. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festschrift Friedrich</td>
<td>Festschrift J. Friedrich zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet (Heidelberg, 1959)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festschrift Sommer</td>
<td>See Cor.lingu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedrich, HG</td>
<td>J. Friedrich, Die hethitischen Gesetze (Leiden, 1959)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friedrich, Staatsverträge</td>
<td>J. Friedrich, Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 2 Bände (MVAeG 31/1 and 34/1). Leipzig, 1926 and 1930.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furlani, Religione</td>
<td>G. Furlani, La Religione degli Hittiti (Bologna, 1936)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAG</td>
<td>W. von Soden, Grundriß der akkadischen Grammatik (Rome, 1952)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Abbreviations

Goetze, AM
A. Görtze, Die Annalen des Muršiliš (MVAeG 38; Leipzig, 1933)
Goetze, Hatt.
A. Görtze, Ḫattušiliš (MVAeG 29/3; Leipzig, 1925)
Goetze, Kizzuwatna
A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography (New Haven, 1940)
Goetze, Kleinasiens
Goetze, Madd.
A. Görtze, Madduswatāš (MVAeG 32/1; Leipzig, 1928)
Goetze, NBr
A. Görtze, Neue Bruchstücke zum großen Text des Ḫattušiliš und den Paralleltexten (MVAeG 34/2; Leipzig, 1930)
Goetze, Tunnawi
A. Goetze, The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi (New Haven, 1938)
Gurney, Some Aspects
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
Houwink ten Cate, The Records
HT
Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum (London, 1920)
HUCA
Hebrew Union College Annual (Cincinnati, 1924ff.)
HW
J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg, 1952)
HW Erg. 1, 2, 3
Ergänzungshefte zum HW (Heidelberg, 1957, 1961, 1966)
HW²
IBoT
IF
Indogermanische Forschungen (Leipzig/Berlin, 1892ff.)
IstMitt
Istanbuler Mitteilungen (Istanbul, 1933ff.)
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, 1851ff.)
JCS
Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven, 1947ff.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JKF</td>
<td>Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung (Heidelberg, 1950ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago, 1942ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammenhuber, Arier</td>
<td>A. Kammenhuber, Die Arier im Vorderen Orient (Heidelberg, 1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kammenhuber, Mat. Heth. Thes.</td>
<td>A. Kammenhuber, Materialien zu einem hethitischen Thesaurus (Heidelberg, 1976ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo</td>
<td>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Leipzig/Berlin, 1916ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIF</td>
<td>Kleinasiatische Forschungen (Band 1, Weimar, 1930)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kronasser, EHS</td>
<td>H. Kronasser, Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache (Wiesbaden, 1962ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB</td>
<td>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1926ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KZ</td>
<td>Kuhns Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung (Göttingen, 1877ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laroche, CTH</td>
<td>E. Laroche, Catalogue des Textes Hittites (Paris, 1971)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laroche, DLL</td>
<td>E. Laroche, Dictionnaire de la langue loutite (Paris, 1959)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebrun, Samuha</td>
<td>R. Lebrun, Samuha – Foyer religieux de l’empire hittite (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAOG</td>
<td>Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig, 1925ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDOG</td>
<td>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Berlin, 1898ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIO</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin, 1953ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSS</td>
<td>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft (München, 1952ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVAeG</td>
<td>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (Berlin/Leipzig, 1922ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHF</td>
<td>G. Walser (ed.), Neuere Hethiterforschung (Historia, Einzelschriften 7; Wiesbaden, 1964)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLZ</td>
<td>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig, 1898 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrAnt</td>
<td>Orients Antiquus (Roma, 1962 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OrNS</td>
<td>Orientalia, Nova Series (Roma, 1932 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otten, HTR</td>
<td>H. Otten, Hethitische Totenrituale (Berlin, 1958)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popko, Kultobjekte</td>
<td>M. Popko, Kultobjekte in der hethitischen Religion (nach keilschriftlichen Quellen) (Warszawa, 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRU</td>
<td>Palais Royal d’Ugarit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue d’Assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale (Paris, 1886 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAI</td>
<td>Recontre Assyriologique internationale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHA</td>
<td>Revue hittite et asiatique (Paris, 1930 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIA</td>
<td>Realllexikon der Assyriologie (Berlin, 1932 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPO</td>
<td>Les religions du proche orient (Paris, 1970)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Ras Shamra tablets cited according to field numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBo</td>
<td>H.G. Güterbock, Siegel aus Boğazköy I–II (Berlin, 1940–1942)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMEA</td>
<td>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma, 1966 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sommer, AU</td>
<td>F. Sommer, Die Aḫḫiyavaḫ-Urkunden (München, 1932)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sommer–Falkenstein, HAB</td>
<td>F. Sommer and A. Falkenstein, Die hethitisch-akkadische Bilingue des Ḫattušili I (München, 1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StBoT</td>
<td>Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden, 1965 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sturtevant, Glossary</td>
<td>E. R. Sturtevant, Hittite Glossary (Baltimore, 1931)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symb. Koschaker</td>
<td>Symbolae ad ura Orientis Antiqui pertinentes P. Koschaker dedicatae (Leiden, 1939)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TdH</td>
<td>Texte der Hethiter (Heidelberg, 1971 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UF</td>
<td>Ugarit-Forschungen (Neukirchen, 1969 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAT</td>
<td>Unpublished tablets from Boğazköy in the Berlin Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VBoT</td>
<td>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte (Marburg, 1930)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WDO</td>
<td>Die Welt des Orients (Göttingen, 1964 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WVDOG</td>
<td>Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Leipzig/Berlin, 1900 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien, 1887 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig/Berlin, 1887 ff.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig/Wiesbaden, 1847 ff.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Anatolia 3 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 sense 4 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.
4 For comprehensive studies on Mesopotamian and Egyptian festivals cf. B. Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrier 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 K.I.LAM 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. TAḪŠUM festival, which lasted 38 days, seems to have comprised many more tablets. But even festivals of “medium size” text, such as the (ḫ)ḫšunaḫ or the K.I.LAM 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 reconstruction 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. TAḪŠUM 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 (ḫ)ḫšunaḫ festival comprises thirteen tablets (H.G. Güterbock, XVII RAI, 1969, 179). We estimate at fifteen the tablets of the K.I.LAM festival, not counting the ration, the liturgy and the outline tablets.

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

\(^7\) A photograph of the obverse is reproduced in Evelyn-H. Kellengel, Die Hethiter (1970), pl.20.
Introduction

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

Books and articles dealing with Hittite religion, by Goetze,\textsuperscript{9} Furlani,\textsuperscript{10} Alp,\textsuperscript{11} Güterbock,\textsuperscript{12} Gurney,\textsuperscript{13} Otten,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.ŞUM or Spring Festival\textsuperscript{16} and the numtar.taş or Fall Festival.\textsuperscript{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 NHF\textsuperscript{18} and in a lecture delivered at the 17th Assyriological Congress.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{20}


\textsuperscript{9} Kleinasiens (1957), 165ff.

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

\textsuperscript{11} Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln im hethitischen Festzeremoniell (1940).

\textsuperscript{12} In V. Fern, Forgotten Religions (1949), 95ff.

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

\textsuperscript{14} In Handbuch der Orientalistik, VIII/I Lfg. 1 (1964), 110ff.

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


\textsuperscript{18} G. Walser (ed.), Neuere Hethiterforschung, Historia, Einzelschriften 7 (1964), 62–73.


\textsuperscript{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 althethisches Gewitterritual (1970)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{23}

Let us proceed from this brief review of the history of research into Hittite festivals in general to the KLIAM 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 Goetz in a remark dealing with SAG.U.\textsuperscript{24} However, it was only after the excavation of Building K on Büyük Kale in 1957\textsuperscript{25} 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 KLIAM festival texts and suggested an initial classification of the

\textsuperscript{21} See further E. Neu–Christel Rüster, Festschrift Heinrich Otten (1973), 235 ff.
\textsuperscript{23} E.g. H. G. Güterbock, Rituale für die Göttin Hwuasšanna, Orients 15 (1962), 345–351 (on the cult of the town Hupišna); V. Haas, Der Kult von Nerik (1970), 41–50; for the festivals of Karahuša see the literature cited in CTH 681; R. Lebrun, Samuha–Foyer religieux de l’empire hittite (1976), 441. 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.
\textsuperscript{24} Die Annalen des Muršiliš (MVAc. G. 38, 1933), 204.
\textsuperscript{25} MDOG 91 (1958), 57 ff., 73 ff.; KBo X (1960) Vorwort.
material. In their reviews of KBo X, Goetze\textsuperscript{26} and Laroche\textsuperscript{27} offered several important comments with regard to the KLLAM 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.\textsuperscript{28} In these, he points out the elements which single out this particular festival. There are few references to the KLLAM festival elsewhere in the literature,\textsuperscript{29} nor have any textual excerpts been translated in other contexts.\textsuperscript{30} In a monograph on the bilammar in Hittite texts\textsuperscript{31} the author included several of the conclusions which will be elaborated upon in the present work.

The choice of the KLLAM 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 MELQET-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 KLLAM—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 MELQET-lists (most of which have been published in KBo XVI) belong to the series of ration tablets for the KLLAM 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 KLLAM 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.

\textsuperscript{26} JCS 16 (1962), 29f.
\textsuperscript{27} OLZ 57 (1962), 29f.
\textsuperscript{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° Renc. Assy. Int., 178–9". In OrNS 39 (1970), 561ff. A. Kammelhuber discusses the so-called MELQET-lists in KBo XVI, now identified as belonging to the KLLAM; see also A. Archi, SMEEA 14 (1971), 220f.
\textsuperscript{30} References are given within the text.
\textsuperscript{31} ZA 65 (1975), 92f. and notes 105–110; see also RIA V (1980), 590f.
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 reconstruction 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)\(^\text{32}\); c) the identification and reconstruction of a significant number of tablets and fragments in the series of ration tablets of the festival, the \textit{MELOQET}-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 İzmir 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 KLLAM festival (Ch. 1.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 StBoTa 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. 74ff.).

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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet Description</th>
<th>Synopsis and Commentaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>58 ff., 89 ff., 106,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>109, 112, 116 ff.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56f.</td>
<td>60 ff., 90 ff., 94 ff.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>109, 112, 115 ff.,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>128, 133, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>33, 63 ff., 104, 128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) ["1st tablet"]
   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"]
   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. IBor 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"]
   A. KUB X 1
   B. KBo XX 99 + KBo XXI 52 = 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
   A. 922/z
   B. Bo 5423 = A 3–17 f.
   C. KBo X 21 = A 11–17
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Synopsis and Commentaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e) Frgs. parallel to 2nd and 3rd tablet</td>
<td>57 62f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. KBo XVI 82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. KBo XXIII 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 496/u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. KUB X 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bo 5005</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) “5th tablet”</td>
<td>64 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002/u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) “8th tablet”</td>
<td>64 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1225/u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Old Hittite tablet ABoT 5+</td>
<td>67ff. 72, 75ff., 95ff., 99ff., 103, 129f., 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ABoT 5 + KBo XVII 9 + KBo XVII 20 + KBo XX 5 + KBo XXV 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. KBo XXII 195 (+) 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obv' II = A II 5'-25'; rev' III = A III 6'-17'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. KBo XXI 68 obv. is parallel to A II 13'-25'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. 487/w VI is par. to A IV 1'-13'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Izmir 1270 + 1271 + 1272 IV is par. to A II 27'-III 7'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) “11th tablet”</td>
<td>65f., 171 70ff., 98f., 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. KBo X 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Izmir 1270 + 1271 + 1272 III 19-37 = A I 1-38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. 1834/c obv. is par. to A I 28ff.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) (“12th”) tablet”</td>
<td>66, 171 70, 73, 74ff., 89ff., 100ff., 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. KBo X 25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. KBo XXVII 42 III 42’ff. = A I 6ff.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Bo 3687 = B II 9’-25’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. IBoT I 13 = A II 35”-41”ff.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. KBo XI 42 left col. = (?) A V 2’-7’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Bo 5840 = A VI 6’-19’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. IBoT III 66 is par. to A VI 30’-35’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. KBo XI 38 I = B I 15-32; V = B II 45-50; VI = B III 11-27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) (“15th”) tablet”</td>
<td>66 70f., 77ff., 100ff., 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. KUB II 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. KUB X 86 = A I 121-28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. Classification of the Text Material According to Tablet Series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Synopsis and Description</th>
<th>Commentaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

C. KBo XXIII 74 II is parallel to A I 43–II
D. Bo 3370 obv.7 = 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 46ff.

l) ['x tablet"]
   1. 1768/c
   2. Izmir 1274
   33 41ff.

2. The Series Enumerated by Festival Days

a) ['1st? tablet] on the first day"
   1. KUB XX 4
   2. KBo XII 131 r. col. is par. to KUB XX 4 II
   81 32, 44ff., 82f., 113, 126, 128f.

b) “1st tablet” (of the x day?)
   1834/c
   81 46f., 83

c) ['x tablet] of the 2nd day"
   KBo XX 83
   82 83f., 130

d) ['y tablet] of the 2nd day"
   1. Bo 3568
   2. KBo X 28 + 33 V is par. to Bo 3568 rev.
   82 44, 84ff, 124, 130

e) “1st tablet of the 3rd day"
   A. KBo XXV 17
   B. KBo XXV 18 = A I 2 ff.
   82 85, 114, 131

3. The Outline Series

a) KBo XX 33 + KBo XVII 46 + 21 + KBo XXV 19
   50, 66f. 70, 74ff., 95f., 98ff.

b) A. KBo XXV 176
   50, 67 74f., 98ff., 103ff.
C. KUB XLVIII 9 III = A rev. 9'-12' 92
D. KBo XXV 180 obv.7 is par. to C obv. II 10'ff.; rev.7 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) 48f.

1. 444/s
2. lBoT 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’ 143ff.
   1. A. KBo X 31 44, 126, 143ff., 150ff., 158ff., 163
      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 143ff.
   146, 154ff.

c) A. KBo XVI 68 (+) 79 (+) KUB XXXIV 86 143ff.
   B. KBo XVI 70 = A III' 11'-19'
   to A obv.!

b) 354/c (+ ?) KBo XVI 80 + 523/c + 1620/c 143ff.
   parallel to c)

143ff.

1. 38/c could join either KBo XVI 68(+) 163ff.
   IV! or KBo XVI 80+ IV (see also a)
   1.b.)
2. KBo XX 66 could be a join or a dupl. to 146
   KBo XVI 68 (+) obv.!
3. KBo XVI 75 same as above 146
4. KBo XVI 76 could be dupl. to KBo XVI
   68(+)
# B. Concordance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Series ¹</th>
<th>Find Site ²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KUB II 3</td>
<td>1.k),A.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB II 10 a</td>
<td>1.b),G.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB X 1</td>
<td>1.c),A.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB X 9</td>
<td>1.c),D.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB X 13</td>
<td>3.b),B.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB X 84</td>
<td>1.e),4.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB X 86</td>
<td>1.k),B.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB XX 4</td>
<td>2.a),1.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB XX 91</td>
<td>1.b),E.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB XXVIII 106</td>
<td>3.b),E.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB XXXIV 86(+)</td>
<td>5.c),A.</td>
<td>A 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB XLVIII 7</td>
<td>4,4</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB XLVIII 9</td>
<td>3.b),C.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB XLVIII 22</td>
<td>4,5</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 21</td>
<td>1.d),C.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 22(+)</td>
<td>1.a),A.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 23+</td>
<td>1.a),A.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 24</td>
<td>1.b),A.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 25</td>
<td>1.j),A.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 26</td>
<td>1.i)</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 28+</td>
<td>2.c),2.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 30+</td>
<td>5.b)</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tablet</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Find Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 31</td>
<td>5.a).1.A.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 32</td>
<td>5.a).2.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 33+</td>
<td>2.c).2.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo X 51</td>
<td>1.a).B.</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XI 38</td>
<td>1.j).H.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XI 42</td>
<td>1.j).E.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XI 67+</td>
<td>1.a).A.</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XII 131</td>
<td>2.a).2.</td>
<td>near House on the Slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 68(+)</td>
<td>5.c).A.</td>
<td>A 4–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 70</td>
<td>5.c).B.</td>
<td>House on the Slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 75</td>
<td>5.e).3.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 76</td>
<td>5.c).4.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 77+</td>
<td>5.b)</td>
<td>Dump of K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 79(+)</td>
<td>5.c).A.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 80+</td>
<td>5.d)</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVI 82</td>
<td>1.c).1.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVII 9+</td>
<td>1.h).A.</td>
<td>r-s/9–10, t/5–6 (surface)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVII 20+</td>
<td>1.h).A.</td>
<td>w/21 (above southern wall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVII 21+</td>
<td>3.a)</td>
<td>A 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XVII 46+</td>
<td>3.a)</td>
<td>A 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XX 5+</td>
<td>1.h).A.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XX 33+</td>
<td>3.a)</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XX 55+</td>
<td>1.c).B.</td>
<td>A 5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(= KUB XXXIV 86)</td>
<td>5.e).2.</td>
<td>A 5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XX 66</td>
<td>2.b)</td>
<td>A N. to 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XX 83</td>
<td>1.c).B.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XX 99+</td>
<td>1.c).B.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXI 52+</td>
<td>1.c).B.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXI 68</td>
<td>1.h).C.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXII 195(+)</td>
<td>1.h).B.</td>
<td>Temple I Mg. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXII 224(+)</td>
<td>1.h).B.</td>
<td>Temple I east to Mg. 7–9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXIII 74</td>
<td>1.k).C.</td>
<td>A N. to 2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXIII 91</td>
<td>1.e).2.</td>
<td>A 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablet</td>
<td>Series¹</td>
<td>Find Site²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXV 12+</td>
<td>1.h).A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= 1689/c</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 1983/c</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 2322/c</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 220/f</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>r/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 131/r</td>
<td>”</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXV 17</td>
<td>2.c).A.</td>
<td>v/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXV 18</td>
<td>2.e).B.</td>
<td>q/15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXV 19</td>
<td>3.a)</td>
<td>A 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXV 66</td>
<td>1.k).F.</td>
<td>House on the slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXV 176</td>
<td>3.b).A.</td>
<td>Temple I east mag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXV 180</td>
<td>3.b).D.</td>
<td>Temple I east mag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo XXVII 42</td>
<td>1.j).B.</td>
<td>NW to Temple I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABoT 5+</td>
<td>1.h).A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBoT I 13</td>
<td>1.j).D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBoT II 29</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBoT II 100</td>
<td>1.b).F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBoT III 66</td>
<td>1.j).G.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 297</td>
<td>1.c).E.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 2505</td>
<td>1.k).E.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 3370</td>
<td>1.k).D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 3568</td>
<td>2.c).1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 3687</td>
<td>1.j).C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 5005</td>
<td>1.e).5.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 5341</td>
<td>1.b).C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 5423</td>
<td>1.d).B.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 5840</td>
<td>1.j).F.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 5977</td>
<td>1.b).B.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 6127</td>
<td>1.a),C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>284/a</td>
<td>5.c).C.</td>
<td>A 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38/c</td>
<td>5.a).1.B.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>354/c (+)</td>
<td>5.d)</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>523/c+</td>
<td>5.d)</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablet</td>
<td>Series¹</td>
<td>Find Site²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620/c+</td>
<td>5.d)</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768/c</td>
<td>1.i)b).l.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834/c</td>
<td>1.i).c).C.</td>
<td>A 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88/d</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>s/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>444/s</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>House on the Slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/t</td>
<td>1.i).c).C.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>462/t</td>
<td>1.b).D.</td>
<td>House on the Slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>496/u</td>
<td>1.e).3.</td>
<td>Temple I east Mg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1225/u</td>
<td>1.g)</td>
<td>Temple I east Mg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1366/u</td>
<td>1.b).H.</td>
<td>Temple I east Mg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002/u</td>
<td>1.f)</td>
<td>House on the Slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>487/w</td>
<td>1.h).D.</td>
<td>p-q/10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>922/z</td>
<td>1.d).A.</td>
<td>Temple I east Mg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İzmir 1274</td>
<td>1.i)b).l.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İzmir 1275</td>
<td>1.i).k).G.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. The Find Sites of the Tablets

98 tablets and fragments have been ascribed to the KI.IAM 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.

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.) 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. This reorganization of the library probably took place under Tudhaliya IV. 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.
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 KILAM 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 K.L.LAM festival. Following this demonstration items of doubtful ascription will be dealt with (Ch.I.E).

CTH 627.15, 17, 18, 20

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 K.L.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 altert Duktus”.

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

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.\(^7\)

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 UR GUD.MAH bantezzian i "göš"zahrīti LU-nilī ...
Join sketch 1: KBo XX 16+
The text consists of ration lists of a festival which may have been the reason for its ascription to the KLAM in CTH. Some of the sections of col. II are introduced by MELQET which is reminiscent of the MELQET-lists of the KLAM festival (see Ch. VI.E.; the MELQET-lists of this tablet are included in our discussion of the ration texts). However, the following circumstances rule out its ascription to the KLAM 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/GID; to be read [IM.GID ?]), 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. In the extant colophons of the KLAM festival (see Ch. II.A) there is not a single occurrence of the sign PU/GID, and the sign AZ occurs only in the phrase LUGAL-uš KU/bi-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 KLAM. 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[i-]p-la-an-ta-az (?) (2) [u-r-i]z-z[... (3) ...] URU[Zi-]p-la-an-ta ‘… (4) ha-li-e-ha-ri-e i-e-i[...-i ‘When the king comes from Z[iplant]a …… In Ziplanta he performs the ḫalehāre(?).’ Finally in KBo II 12 + II 6f. we read: (6′) ma-a-an URU[Ha-at-t[u-ša-az? ] (7′) URU[Zi-]p-la-ta [ . All this evidence suggests that the tablets belong to a festival celebrated, at least in part, in Ziplanta. A connection with the KLAM festival which was celebrated in the capital (see Ch. V.A) can thus be ruled out.  

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 -p[i]-r’-ra-an'; obv. II, two lines are missing before × + 1; 1.7′ URU[Zi-]p-la-ta, 9′ ...u-iz[‘; 16′- 5 ŠA-A-LA’-AŠ-TU, 19′... 10 GIB[la-hu; 24′ URU[Sa-lam-pu-; 33′ ku-d’-uš; 42′ ha-an-te[i-z[; Rev. VI 3′, 7′ u-ba’-ti-ya; 14′ mar-mu’-an.

10 Text Bo 2816 contains important information with regard to the topography of the town Zip[pa]landa: I 5, IV 7′ še-ir ḫIM-aš E-ri “above, in the temple of the Storm-god”; I 11 kat-ta-an I-NA ḫa-li-en-tu-u “down, in the palace”. Thus, the topographical conditions of Zip[pa]landa are the opposite of those of Ḫattuša, 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 KLAM 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 911 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 ḪUR.ZI-pa-[l]a-an-da (7) SAG.UŠ [ ]. There is no basis for the restoration EZEN KLI M suggested by Güterbock; a more plausible restoration is suggested by the colophon of KBo XXIII 103: (IV 14–15) mān LUGAL-uš [uktu]riya EZEN-ni ḪUR.Zi[l]anti u[uzzi]. 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[p]a[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 II.6’ff. One would hardly relate such a stereotyped passage to the KLI M festival, were it not for the rare occurrence of the “raw cloth” (l.8’ wa-[a]-l[ ]-b[i]- TÜG-an). Apart from the KLI M 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/v.12 and Bo 88.13 However, this is hardly sufficient to ascribe the fragment to the KLI M 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. Orten, HTR 111). I can see no points of contact with the KLI M festival except perhaps for the Men of Ḫiṣṭa (IV 8) appearing in both texts (in the KLI M: 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 hešṭa- house, is quite possible (cf. LÚMES E.D.E.A ḪUR. 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 KLI M text.

12 689/v (1) x.MES wa-ar-[u-x][ ] (2) TŪG.MES ŠIG wa-ar-[u]-ši-l-
7’ har-غا-عŠESIR-[u]-ki-[š] x[ ]
8’ šar-ku-iz-[ ] wa-ar-[u]-in TŪG-[a][ ]
9’ wa-ar-[u]-wa-[ ]a TŪG.GU.È.A [ ]
10’ wa-[u]-ši-[ ]i-[ ] LUGAL-[u]-š-t[ ]
11’ ši-ka-[ ]-ši-[ ] u-[ ]-i-[ ]

For ṭe₂₃.mk[ ]-iya- 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 URUZIKIŠ[TERI/TE] (see KBo XXII p.VI) does not figure in the K.LAM festival. The ascription of the fragment to the K.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 K.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 K.L.LAM-Fest auf, gehört aber—schon nach dem Außeren der Tafel—nicht dazu." However, in his article on the Hittite Temple in XX RA (1975), 126 n.8 he cites KBo X 27 among the texts belonging to the K.L.LAM. In CTH the text is cited as 649.1 ("Fragmenta nominalia 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 "fleece" (kuškurša-) 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 Ḥalki (IV 15’) and in the temple of the Sun-goddess (V 19’, 25’). Among the participating personnel, the hapiya-men, the zintuḫi-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 K.L.LAM 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 zintuḫi-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 zintuḫi-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 K.L.LAM 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 K.L.LAM festival. Especially noteworthy is her close association with the hapiya-men in both texts.  

14 Cf. also M.Popko, AoF 2 (1975), 69 n.28.
(b) The “fleece” of D\textsuperscript{1}Kantipuitti is attested only in these two texts.\textsuperscript{16} (The deity is also attested in IBoT I 8 VI 4\textsuperscript{'}).

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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{'} has |\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}\text{-ti-ya-aš} G\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}MAR.G\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}D.A-aš. There is a slight possibility that the broken first word belongs to an expanded -iya form of nanankalas G\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}MAR.G\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}D.A which is found only in KILAM texts (see p. 59 n. 24).

(f) V 21\textsuperscript{'} has |\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}ta-pu-uz-zi. Here again, there is a possibility that this is a variant form of the 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 reverse 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\textsuperscript{ff.} [5.a.1]. Even some of the quantities seem to correspond (five sheep to the zimhuri-men, six sheep to the Men of Tiššaraliya). The metalsmiths of lines 11\textsuperscript{'}-12\textsuperscript{'} also appear in the \textit{MELOET}-lists of KBo XVI 68 + II\textsuperscript{'} 15\textsuperscript{''}ff. [5.c]: the goldsmiths, the ironsmiths, the silversmiths and the coppersmiths (note the order!).

The obverse (with the duplicate KUB XI 28\textsuperscript{38}) 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

\textsuperscript{16} KBo X 27 III 11\textsuperscript{'} D\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}Kān-ti-pu-it-tya-aš kūškur-ša-aš; KBo XXV 176 rev. 16 [3.b] ŠA lo\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}kān-te-pu-it-ty Kūškur-ša-am; dupl. KUB X 13 III 19\textsuperscript{'} [3.b,8] has D\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}Kān-ti-\textsuperscript{\textasteriskcentered}pu-it-ty.

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

\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{'} ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA\textsuperscript{MES} tarnattāš). 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 K.I.LAM 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)”.

To sum up the evidence, while the reverse of KBo VIII 124 suggests an ascription to the K.I.LAM, 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 K.I.LAM. Both 91 and 92 mention the LÚMEŠ ka-a-la-ye-eš. There are no conclusive points of contact which require the ascription of KBo XXIII 92 to the K.I.LAM 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 LÚMEŠUR.BAR.RA 15 SALMEŠKAR.KID). Obv. 11 has ]3-ŠU e-ša. This may or may not belong to the festival title mān LUGAL-uš K.I.LAM-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 K.I.LAM festival see Ch.VI.A.

51/u

A small fragment running parallel to KBo X 26 I 19ff. The context—placing of the golden spear, the GİŠkalmuš and the silver zaq of the holy priest of Žiplanda 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.


20 × + 1 SHA GİŠŠUKUR GUŞKIN an-da[
CHAPTER II
THE COMPOSITION OF THE TEXT
A. The Colophons of the K.I.LAM Festival

The first step towards the reconstruction of the text was a search for additional unpublished colophons of the K.I.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 K.I.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 [I.c.], was first signed by the scribe, but his signature was later almost completely erased. The traces left are:

\[ \text{ŠU } \text{[}{ } \text{Hand (of) [} \\
\text{LU}{ } \text{[DUB.SAR ? } \text{the [scribe] ?} \\
\text{IŠ-[TUR ? } \text{wrote (it) ?} \]

Two colophons, 1768/c and Izmir 1274 [I.I, 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 Piha-UR.MAH. 2 We may safely restore his name also in Izmir 1274 on the evidence of KUB XL I 26 + KUB XX 29 VI 30–31 which has the same pair of scribes: Piha-UR.MAH DUB.SAR GIŠ and Palluwarā-LŪ DUB.SAR. I strongly suspect that the DUB.SAR’s in 1768/c and in Izmir 1274 are identical as well, [Palluwa(rah)-ZA and [Palluwa]ara-LŪ 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.HUR-kan handan and istarniyan EGIS-an tarmunnanāš, for which see discussion Ch.II.C.I.

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 10 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 ụpsarru šēhrū in the Baby-

---
1 Cf. E. Laroche, ArOr 17/2 (1949), 11; E. Neu-Ch. Rüster, StBoT 21 (1975), 7.
2 This Piha-UR.MAH 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.
Ionia 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 KILLAM festival:

The Colophons of the KILLAM Festival
(/ end of line; // division line)

1 KBo X 24 VI 1'-3' [1.b] DUB-II²-KAM Ü-U[L QA-TI]/ŠA EZEN KILLAM S[AG.UŠNIM] // A-NA GIŠ.HUR-kán ša-an-da-a-an

2 KUB X 1 VI 3'-6' [1.c] DUB-III-KAM ŠA EZEN KILLAM/ SAG.UŠNIM NU.TIL // A-NA GIŠ.HUR-kán/ša-an-da-a-an //


4 1225/u rev. 1'-3' [1.g] [DUB]-B-VIII-KAM N[UT.I]/[ŠA EZEN] KILLAM SAG.UŠNIM // [A-] NA GIŠ.HUR-kán


7 1768/c, 1'-7' [1.l.1] [DUB-?]KAM NU.TIL/[ŠA EZEN KILLAM SAG.UŠ / [iš-tar]-ni-ya-aš/[EGIR-a]n tar-nu-sum-ma-aš // [A-NA] GIŠ.HUR-kán ša-a-da-a[n] //mPi-] ša-UR.MAḪ DUB.SAR GIŠ/[mPal]-lu-wa(-ra)-ZA DUB.SAR //

9 1834/c rev. 8'-12' [2.6]

9a. DUB-I-KAM ma-a-an LUGAL-úš KIL.LAM-ni
   3-ŠU e-ša te[-
   LUGAL-úš KIL.LAM-na-a[ž ka-at-ta ?
   [na-a]́(?) DU.TU-aš E-ri]
   ]UL-UL QA[-TI

Broken

10 KUB XX 4 VI 1'-6' [2.a]

[ DUB-Í-KAM ḫa-an]-te-iz-zi-ya ši-i-
    wa-at
   [ ] GAL-in ši-ya-ma-na-
   an
   [ma-a-an LUGAL-úš] KIL.LAM-ni 3-ŠU
   e-ša
   [ma-a-an-kán ?] LUGAL-úš ḫi-lam-na-
   az ka-at-ta
   [PÁ-úš ? NAKḫu-ur-wa-ši-ya(? a-a-ri UL-
   UL QA TI]
   ][[DUB.SAR TUR IN.SAR

11 Bo 3568 VI 8'-11' [2.d.1]

11a. [DUB-?]-KAM ṢA UD-II-KAM/[ma-a-
     an] LUGAL-úš /[KIL.LAM]-ni 3-ŠU e-
     ša/[UL UL QA TI]

12 KBo XX 83 IV 8'-13' [2.c]

12a. [DUB-?]-KAM ṢA UD-II-KAM/[ma-a-
     an] LUGAL-úš KIL.LAM-ni/[3-ŠU] e-
     ša/[UL UL QA TI]

13 KBo XXV 18 rev. 12'-13' [2.e.B]

13a. DUB-I-KAM ṢA UD-III-KAM ma-a-
     an LUGAL-úš KIL.LAM-ni/[3-ŠU] e-ša
     UL-UL QA TI]

14 KBo X 31 V 3'-5' [5.a.1]

14a. DUB-IV-KAM tar-na-atta-aš NU.
     TI/[m]a-a-an LUGAL-úš KIL.LAM-
     ni/[3-ŠU] e-ša

15 1620/c+ IV [5.d]

15a. ] KIL.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 KIL.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 signifi-
cance of each type, it will be fruitful to adduce the additional evidence sup-
plied by the tablet KUB XXX 68.
B. The Shelf List\textsuperscript{4} 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 Larroche in OLZ 57 (1962), 29. A transliteration is given in CTH p. 173. The KILAM festival is one of the few texts for which we possess the original inventory label of the Hittite librarians.\textsuperscript{5} The text was found in the vicinity of Archive A (in square u/11) from which the majority of the KILAM festival tablets originate. Unfortunately, the beginnings and the ends of the lines are broken. The transliteration below varies in some minor points from CTH:

\[
x + 1 \quad \text{URU[Z]}-\text{i-ip-la-an-da } \text{URU[A]}[-
\]
\[
2' \quad \times \text{ša-an-ti pa-a-an-} \quad \text{z[i]}
\]
\[
3' \quad \text{[DUB- } \times - \text{KAM}^{\text{HLA b)} } \text{EZEN.GA]L} \quad \text{ŠA KILAM ma-a-an LUGAL-uš}
\]
\[
\quad \text{KLUD(sic)-} \text{nu}^{\text{II1}3} \cdot \text{šU e}-\text{ša}^{\text{III}2}
\]
\[
4' \quad \text{[DUB- } \times - \text{KAM}^{\text{HLA b)} } \text{EZEN] KILAM KA-YA-MA- NIM [ ]}
\]
\[
5' \quad \text{[DUB- } \times - \text{KAM}^{\text{HLA b)} } \text{ma-a-an (?) ŠAL MEŠ]} \text{zi-in-tu-} \text{hi-eš ŠA KILAM}
\]
\[
\quad \text{ŠIR}^{\text{HLA [ ]}}
\]
\[
6' \quad -\text{x-eš-ša LÛ} \text{MEŠ uš-da-na-aš iš-} \text{hi-eš ku-iš [ ]}
\]
\[
7' \quad \text{me]-mi-iš-ki-iz-} \quad \text{zi}
\]
\[
8' \quad \text{[DUB- } \times - \text{KAM}^{\text{HLA b)} } \times \text{EZEN.GAL Ṛhi-iš-ta-a ma-a-an LUGAL-[uš}
\]
\[
9' \quad \text{[DUB- } \times - \text{KAM}^{\text{HLA b)} } \times \text{EZEN KA-YA-MA-NIM Ṛhi-iš-ta-a}
\]
\[
10' \quad \text{ha-[b]}
\]

End of obv.

a) Larroche transliterates -\textit{nia}°-\textit{an-ti}. However, both the copy and the photograph show a horizontal wedge which cannot belong to \textit{a} na (perhaps -\textit{w})a).

b) The suggested restoration supplies the total number of tablets in each series. Compare KUB XXX 42 l 5f. DUB-32-KAM\textsuperscript{HLA ŠA EZEN pu-u-nu-li-ya-aš \textsuperscript{URU}Ne-ri-igga QA-TI “32 tablets of the purulli festival of Nerik. Complete.” The notation “complete” or “not complete” is missing in l.3’ (see note c).

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-\textit{nu-li-ya-aš}.

d) KLUD (KISLAH) instead of KILAM is obviously a scribal error.

---

\textsuperscript{4} Designation suggested by H.A. Hoffner.

\textsuperscript{5} Only about thirty titles found in the inventory labels can be identified among the modern titles of CTH (Larroche, CTH, p. 192).
e) ʃa 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):
   \[ \text{SAL} \text{MEŠ} zi-in-tu-u-ši-i-e-eš-ša ma-ab-ša-an ŚIR GAL ŚIR} \text{RU}. \]

g) Laroche suggests the restoration ū₄-[ša-an-zi ?], “they open”; V. Haas-M. Wäfler,
   UF 8 (1976), 78 restore ū₄-[me-eš-ši] “in the spring”.

From the seven titles on the obverse, only the second, the third, and the fourth are explicitly attributed to the K.I.LAM festival. The first title, which apparently belongs to a festival connected with Ziplanda and an additional town (Laroche suggests Arinna?), was also attributed by Laroche (CTH p.174) to the K.I.LAM festival. This was apparently due to the alleged attribution of KUB XXIII 15 to the K.I.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 K.I.LAM festival and consequently, there are no grounds for connecting the first title in KUB XXX 68 obv. with the K.I.LAM.

The fifth and the sixth titles belong to the festival of the ẖesťa- house. A number of factors indicate a close relationship between this festival and the K.I.LAM. The parallelism between the titles of the K.I.LAM festival in ll.3'–4' and those of the festival of the ẖesťa- 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.ÚŠNIM = KAYAMÁNI) K.I.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” (mán LUGAL-ūš K.I.LAM-ni 3-ŠU esša).

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 K.I.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.UŠNM “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 [I.a] which has been identified with certainty as the 1st
tablet, although its colophon is broken off. The beginning of 1.4' 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 esti-
ated 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.UŠNM “regular, fixed, steady” always modifies
   the title EZEN KLLAM. 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 GIS.HUR-kan bandan. (Two of the colophons also
   have the notation ištarmiya EĞİR-an tarnammaš 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 GIS.HUR (Akkadian išur/nu) 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

6 HW 290; Erg. 3, 42; E.Laroche, RA 41 (1947), 71 “official”. Cf. e.g. KBo XXIII
103 14'-15' (colophon): mān LUGAL-uš uktu-ria EZEN-ni ÜRU Zi-planta uzi-
“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), 391 b.
9 See CAD Vol.7, 252 s.v. iškuru. A “wax-tablet” (šuppu ša iškuri) is already
attested in a text from Ugarit (RŠ 19.53 l.23; see PRU VI 20). Cf. further H.Hun-
ger in RIA IV, 458 f. s.v. “Holztafel”.


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

The notation ANA GIŠ.HUR-kan bandan is found only in festival tablets. It is usually rendered “true to the original script”, 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 tuppī “this is a final (literally: genuine) copy” occasionally preceding it. The opposite expression could be EGIR-an tammūmaš which also appears exclusively on tablets related to the state cult. EGIR-an tammūmaš 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. More plausible are the meanings suggested by C.W. Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories (1962), 196 f. “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), 172 f.; idem, Minoica (Festschrift J.Sundwall, 1958), 67 ff.
13 P. Meriggi, Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico II/3 (1975), 297 identifies the notation bandan (+ the numeral 3), written in hieroglyphic characters (bu-ta 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-Hattian 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 (munṭariya-šu); KUB XII 26 + KUB XX 29 VI 28 (Festival of ḪZipparwa); KUB XXVII 68 IV 1 (Festival of the Storm-god of Zahalukka); KUB XXXIV 126 rev. 6 (Festival of Ziplanda); KUB XLIV 24 VI 7 (Festival of ḪKAL); KBo II 7 left edge 2 (Cult-inventory); 1768/c, 3–4 and Izmir 1274,4' (K.I.LAM); 431/s rev. S'.
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’.”
Several occurrences,\textsuperscript{19} of which two belong to the K.LAM text, have the more elaborate expression \textit{ištarniyaš EGIR-an tarnummaš}. They all have in common the fact that they occur in colophons which contain the notation ANA GIŠ.HUR-kan handaru 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. \textit{ištarniya-} means middle; the genitive form \textit{ištarniyaš EGIR-an tarnummaš} can only be related to DUB preceding it. The colophon 1768/c for example, may perhaps be rendered as follows: "xth tablet--not complete--of the regular K.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" (\textit{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 12–14\textsuperscript{20}, LUGAL-suš-ma-kán ma-ah-ša-an UD-ti-li ši-pa-an-za-ki-zi nu GIŠ.HUR LÚMEŠ.DUB.SAR GIŠ šar-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.\textsuperscript{21} Muršili II commanded that the cultic instructions of the temple of DINGIR.MI in Šamaḫa 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.\textsuperscript{22} It is quite possible that during the annual celebrations copies on wooden tablets were used, thus minimizing the wear upon the library exemplars.

\textsuperscript{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 K.LAM text.

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

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

\textsuperscript{22} Already suggested by E. Forrer, ZDMG 1 (1922), 178.
All the extant tablets of the KILAM festival on which the notation “true to the (original script on a) wooden tablet” appears are written in a New Hittite ductus. 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 KILAM 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 EZENMEŠ SAG.USH i-ya-zi “when the king performs the regular festivals.” 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 mán LUGAL-uš KILAM-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 Kammehuber 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]-uṣ I-NA KILAM
15' 3-[Ș] [U] ե-șa ka-a-șa
16' tar-[na-a]-iš-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-uṣ KILAM-mi/I-NA KILAM 3-Ș] U e-șa

After several sections of stereotyped rations, this festival title introduces a new subject. Ritual loaves of bread are given to the priest of Kampi-wuit and are taken to the huwašši- of the Storm-god.

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

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

[ma-a-an-kān LUGAL-uṣ]
[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. 7 5'-8' [4.1]

5' ma-a-an-kān LUGAL-uṣ I-NA EZEN KILAM p[a-iz-zi ?
6' nu-za-kān ta- ×- × - ya-aš bar-ša-na-al[-li (-)
7' SALMES KAR.KID-ya IT-TI NIN.DINGIR A-NA [;
8' nu SALMES zi-in-ta-u-ši-e-eš ki-iš-ša-an [SIR RU

The title is preceded and followed by Hittite recitations.

c) KBo X 28 + 33 IV 6-10 [2.d.2]

6 ma-a-an-kān kat-ta-an [hi-lam-na-az ?
7 I-NA EZEN KILAM [;
8 LUGAL-uṣ SUM-aš NAM [šu-ša-wa-ši-ya
9 u-iz- zi[i
10 nu LUGAL-uṣ 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 šiuat “day”, šiyaman “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] KLLAM-ni 3-ŠU e-ša
4 [ma-a-an-kán (?)] LUGAL-uš ū-iam-na-az ka-at-ta
5 [PU-aš (?) NAšu-ua-ši]-ya(?) a-a-ri Ū-UL QA-TI
6 L[1]0 DUB.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.

l. 1 “On the first day” (šiuat in an endingless dat.-loc.)25 is opposed to the usual genitive compound DUB-x-KAM ŠA UD-y-KAM “xth tablet of the yth day”.

l. 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 *šiyama-. Its meaning may be inferred from the corresponding entry in the shelf list KUB XXX 68 (p. 37), obv. 3:

[DUB-x-KAMUL-A EZEN GA]-L ŠA KLLAM ma-a-an LUGAL-uš KILAM'-ni 3-ŠU e-ša

The restoration EZEN.GAL is suggested by the parallelism with l. 8', EZEN. GAL ši-iš-ta-a ma-a-an LUGAL-[uš; and with rev. 2, EZEN.GAL pu-u-r]-ba-. The juxtaposition of EZEN.GAL with GAL *šiyama- seems to indicate the Hittite reading of EZEN, “festival”. The phonetic complements nom. -aš, acc. -an and dat.-loc. -ni (not EZEN46; see H.-S. Schuster, Hatt.-Heth.Bil., 1974, 20 n. 56) are consonant with this equation.26

ll. 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

---

26 Another Hittite equivalent for EZEN has been suggested based upon the Akkadian-Hittite bilingual text KUB IV 3 obv. 13 (see E. Laroche, Ugarita V, 1968, 783 and H. M. Kümmer, UF 1, 1969, 164). The Akkadian column has i-na-šu-šen-ni, the Hittite column the adverb gal-liš-tar-ua-ni-li. Related words are šušlanu- and šušlanu (HW 95). The derived noun *šušlanu- is of course consonant with the complemented forms as well. However, note the reservations expressed by H. Orten apud H. M. Kümmer 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 hilamaz and (PUSH-aš)  NEKHUWAŠIYA 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 LUGAL-UŠ KILAM-ni
9' 3-ŠU e-ša te]-
10' LUGAL-UŠ KILAM-na-až katta
11' [na-aš] tā[d] UTU-aš Ē-rr[i]
12' [STEM-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-až in l.10', juxtaposed with hi-lam-na-az in KUB XX 4 IV 4, provides the long sought-after proof of the equation KILAM = hilammar (see L.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 KBX 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 king …s down from the gate-house…” His destination in 1834/c is the temple of the Sun-goddess. If our restoration [na-aš] 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 (PUSH-aš)  NEKHUWAŠIYA in KUB XX 4 IV 5 must be maintained since traces rule out restoration as (PUSH-aš Ē-rr)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 ḫUWAŠIYA 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[riyama šiwa? “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 KL.LAM 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 màn LUGAL-uš KL.LAM-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 “šiyanna” 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 KL.LAM”. 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 enumeration system and the title sentence of the festival.

The heading “the great festival of the KL.LAM” of series 2 must obviously be contrasted with the heading “the regular KL.LAM festival” (EZEN KL.LAM SAG.UŠ NM) 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 KL.LAM festival. In the same shelf list KUB XXX 68, one encounters “the great festival of the ḫeššā-house” (obv. 8’), alongside the “regular festival of the ḫeššā-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 purudiyaš kuit GAL-in EZEN-an.

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

29 A. Goetze, AM 204f.; G. Furlani, Religione (1936), 245. Note especially KUB XXX 27 IV 8 l. màn LUGAL-uš EZEN NM SAG.UŠ ṭyaṣṣi, “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 Ḫattuša by Muršili II (AM 138, IV 41: EZENBL.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: EZENMES GALMEŠ ŠA MU-6-KAM). It would follow that the "great festivals" are celebrated once in six years; 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 work. The evidence from the KILAM festival is insufficient; a contextual comparison between the two parallel series of the KILAM 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"
- Enumeration by festival days
- Festival title "when the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house"

The "regular festival"
- Enumeration by tablets
- Notation ANA GIS.HUR-kan ḫan- dan "true to the (original script on a) wooden tablet"

4. THE LITURGY SERIES (FRAGMENTS WITH HATTIC RECITATIONS)

The third title of the KILAM festival in the shelf list KUB XXX 68 obv. 5'-7' (see p. 37 above) is related to the "songs of the KILAM" (ŠA KILAM SIRBL.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" (LUMES udderā šētuš l. 6'). The zintuḫi-women are well-known as reciters of Hattic liturgies; the "masters of the words" occur as conjuring priests. In the KILAM festival they figure in the first tablet (KBo X 23 III 10' [1.a]).

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), 39ff. (see especially p. 43f.).
33 H. Otten, KBo XI Inhaltsübersicht ad no. 14.
C. The Tablet Series

No colophon of this series has been discovered so far; however, there are a number of fragments with Hittite recitations of the KILLAM festival which can be attributed to this series. The most indicative of these is 444/s [4.1]. Within passages of Hittite responsories, there is an elaborate form of the festival title, which proves the attribution of the passage to the KILLAM festival (p.44). This is followed by the introductory sentence (1.8'), me SAL:MSzi-in-tu-u-bi-e-eš ki-iš-ša-an [SIR.RU] "the zintuḫti-women [sing] as follows". The same sentence is found in the other fragments, which are attributed to the KILLAM 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-Hittite bilinguals. Little can be said about their contents from the small fragments preserved. Note the occurrence of the "bee" (NIM.LAL-aš; KUB XLVIII 7 III 1) and the "mother-bee" (amnaš NIM.LAL-aš; 88/d right col. 7'). Is it possible that the Hittite recitations of the KILLAM festival contained mythological passages as did other festivals?36

Short passages with Hittite 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.h.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 ]KILLAM-niḫ 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 this, 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 Ziplanta or in the first day of the purulli festival.
36 For mythological texts featuring the bee cf. E. Laroche, RHA 23/77 (1965), 147ff., 158f.
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, SrBoT 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 K.I.I.A.M are discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

6. THE OUTLINE SERIES

The colophons of the K.I.I.A.M 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.TAH.-ŠUM and the nuntariyašhaš, 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).

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.TAH.ŠUM festival see H.G. Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960), 80ff.; NHF (1964), 62ff. For the nuntariyašhaš festival see idem., JNES 20 (1961), 90 and n.30. Cf. also the outline tablets of the “Ritual for the deceased”, šallīš šubāštāš (CTH 450); H. Otten, HTR (1958), 48ff.
39 One of the AN.TAH.ŠUM outline tablets (KUB XXX 39) is also a one-column tablet. The other outline tablets of the AN.TAH.ŠUM and the nuntariyašhaš 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 K.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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{purulli}: “1 tablet—How the \textit{hapi}-men take their adornments and how they fix the provisions in the \textit{purulli} festival; and how the \textit{zintuhi}-women sing the great song.” If the same festival is meant here as in the previous texts\textsuperscript{41}, this tablet contains the rations\textsuperscript{42} as well as the liturgies of the festival.

\textsuperscript{40} H. G. Güterbock, XVII RAI (1969), 175.
\textsuperscript{41} The \textit{purulli} festival is in most cases connected with Nerik, however, \textit{purulli} festivals of other towns are also attested (V. Haas, Nerik, 1970, 43, 44 n.1).
\textsuperscript{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 K.I.L.A.M festival" (EZEN K.I.L.A.M SAG.U$^[56]$) 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 41 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/a, Bo 5423, KBo X 21 [I.4]) 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 [I.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 [I.b.H], KBo XXIII 91 [I.e.2]). The text itself exhibits numerous linguistic features which testify to an Old Hittite original.

The "first tablet" (KBo X 23 [I.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 [I.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 [I.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. The duplicate KBo X 51 [I.a.B] may belong to a somewhat later copy.

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

1 21 ti-i-ε-ziz; II 24 ti-i-iz-zi (cf. E. Neu, StBoT 12, 1970, 52). On the other hand, wa-šš-š-ya-zi (l.11') is late.
2 ti-i-ya-zi (l.7'; cf. note above).
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 century°—kašgašši-pa- (Ch. IV.C.6), LÜMEŠ LIM ŠERI,° iškittab-°.

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.°

The “third tablet” (KUB X 1 [I.e.]): 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 three small duplicates.

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

["First tablet"]

KBo X 23+ [1.a]
I x + 1
(cf. KUB XX 4 I [2.a.1])

Introduction. Broken off except for: ["when the king] goes to the K.I.LAM festival."

The king makes his toilet.

The palace⁹ is opened. The curtain is drawn up.¹⁰

The king enters the inner-room and dresses himself. He puts on a white shirt (according to) Subarian (fashion)¹¹, a raw cloth¹², a šepahiš-shirt¹³, a golden earring and black shoes.

The king leaves the bathroom¹⁴ and takes his seat on the palace throne.

I 22'–34'

Ceremony of the iron spear. The foreman of the smiths¹⁵ presents the ceremonial (1)¹⁶ iron spear¹⁷ to the king.

---

⁹ For šalantuwa see Ch. IV.C.2.
¹¹ A. Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), 29, reads SU⁰ and translates "a white shirt for street (-wear)", H. Otten (oral communication) prefers URU⁷ "a white shirt of the town". I now think (originally I suggested KUŞ⁴⁷ = maski "leather") that SU⁰ is the well-known abbreviation of Subartu or Subarian (i.e. Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, 1944, 23ff.); the resultant "white shirt (according to) Subarian (fashion)" corresponds with the more frequently attested TÜG.GÜ.E.A Ḥurri "shirt (according to) Hurrian (fashion)" (A. Goetze, Cor. ling., 1955, 53ff.). This may be compared to an Alalakh IV text (AT 416) where, in a list of garments, both TÜG.GÜ.E.A Ḥürü (l.5, 30) and TÜG.GÜ.E.A SU.BIR₃ (l.7) appear (Goetze, Cor. ling., 54, n.56). Compare also the Mari occurrence of GÜ.E.A SU₄₄ in ARMT 1 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 SU⁰ has no parallels in Bğazkoy (for KUR Subartu see Del Monte, Répért. Géogr., 1978, 367) or in contemporary archives (Gelb, op. cit., 25).
¹² For TÜG warhipu- see p. 26 with notes 12f.
¹³ TÇEšepabīn = za with P. Meriggi, WZK M 58, 107 (not a Luwian plural, A. Goetze, JCS 16, 29). Cf. VAT 7474 II 10³ TÜGše-pa-hi-in ŠA ŁE.SIPAD.UDU.
¹⁴ For É.DU₉,Ü.S.S.A see Ch. IV.C.8.
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 GILŠUKUR = (GIL).turi (HW 295) is certain (contra Y. Coşkun, DTCFY 239, 1974, 437f.}.
The king proceeds from the palace to the ḫatapuz-
na-.  

35'–40' Completely mutilated. Scene moves to the court-
yard (I. 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.

28'–35' Comedians 20 greet the king at the gate of the
"house of the queen’s treasurer".

III x + 1–8' Beginning of column lost. First lines fragmentary.
Mention is made of ḫu-ut-la-ri (hapax).

Lacuna of about 5 lines.

y + 1–6' [Comedians ?] dance “in the manner of a le-
pard”. 21

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

III 7'–11” While the king sits in the ḫatapuzna- the “ani-

mals 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 [I.a.c])

IV 1–6 (cf. Bo 5005 obv. 3’f.
[1.e.5])

Description of the ornamented oxen harnessed to
the carts: the horns and the yokes are mounted in
gold. Golden lunulac 25 are affixed to their fore-
heads. 26

who suggests ẞUKUR = (gib)za-. All the occurrences of turi- in the KLAM
text are in the neuter which is the original gender of this word (cf. E. Neu, StBo 18, 29). For “spears” as cult objects cf. further Ch. IV.A.1.

18 See discussion in Ch. IV.C.7.
19 For ẞarki- see Ch. IV.C.1.
20 For the LÜMES ALAM.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)na: “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 “kasat-
chok”).

22 For uddanaš BELU 2 MEŠ see H. Otten, KBo XI Inhaltsübersicht ad no. 14 (“Be-
schwörungspriester”).
23 For sameyane see n. 21 on p. 95.
24 nana(n)kata-. Conjectured meaning suggested by E. Laroche, OLZ 57 (1962), 29.
26 This may be compared to the frequent representation of decorated oxen foreheads
in Anatolian clay figurines (examples in Bogazköy, 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 ḫKAL, the "holy priest" of ḫKAL and a psalmist are standing (at the head of the procession). The priest of ḫKAL 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 (standing on mountains). (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. [1.4])

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 ḫKAL] and the men of Anunuwa play music and sing in Hattic.

13–29 (The stag figures follow, see discussion on p. 93f.)

Golden stag; drawn by the men of the "gate-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 Zizzimaraten. They hold their torches in front.

End of tablet. Colophon missing.

"Second tablet"
(KBo X 24 [1.6])

I 1–5 Repetition of last section of the previous tablet.

6–9 The aliyânuš karkidandaš (see p. 94) are carried by the LU̯MES LIM ŠERI (see p. 57 n.4).

27 DUMU:NITA palumatallaš "a psalmist boy" instead of the usual ḫḏ p., is attested only in the K.I.LAM text.
10–13 Procession of “animals” leaves through the “upper gate” (For ḫaššaštipa- 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 comedians, the table-men and the foreman of the herald(s) of the troops (VI 34’ UGULA NIMGIR ERĪNMES28). 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 comedian and the priest of DKal 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 [Seri(?)] and [Hurri, made of silver. Their horns are mounted in gold.

22”’–28”’ Comedians play music and sing in front of the sacred(?). cart.

Beginning of col. III (about 10 lines) lost.

III 1’–14’ Obscure passage.29

15’–17’ The zmḫurĩ-men follow.

28 For this reading (not MŪRUB+ERĪN) 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 MESDI1 Instruction (for references see Güterbock op. cit.). Thus, as in the case of the LIM ŠERI (p. 57 n. 4), it occurs only in texts dating from before the Empire period. GAL LUMESNIMGIR in the Palace Chronicle (KBo III 34 II 31) may be compared to GAL ʾna-ḫi-rī in a Külêtepe tablet (TCL XXI 214B, 3; P. Garelli, Les Assyriens en Cappadoce, 1963, 69).

29 Cf. E. Neu, StBoT 5 (1968), 102, 174, 182; for II 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(?)[b] of ippiya- plant[b] (there are) good lips; kalwešna- plants[b] are laid on them; it rests for an hour and then it rises gradually (or: it rises to the right[b]). / As the tišeš (and) laries of the sea (or: in the seas) gasped, in the sky above, the divines[b] are sent away.”

a) Perhaps kapmeššar is related to kapma- “thread” (HW 99), rather than to kappmeššar “counting, examination” (HW Erg. 1, 9); Ardzinba relates it to 6th kadampa- in KUB XLIII 62 III 3 and suggests the translation “lower part (of a tree)”, perhaps “roots”. [For the KLLAM 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 ḫatapuza- na.

21'-22'

The king leaves the ḫatapuza- na.

23'-33'

Palace attendants take the ceremonial (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 (Ḫalki).

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 11 [1.e]

Parallel texts [1.e]

Ceremony of the AGRIG’s.

(IV 21-30)

(cf. KBo XVI 82 17-10

AGRIG of Ankuwa 31; beside the passageway of the entrance to Ḫalki’s temple (in KBo XVI 82:

b) ḫa-ḫiippiya- (HW 341; Carter, Hittite Cult-Inventories, 192) and ḫa-tuwa- na- (SAH) (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 purului- 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 Ḫa-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 KILLAM text in the outline tablet KBo XX 33 + obv. 36* [3.a] Ḫa-ni-ik-ku-un .Delayabi (see further p. 102).
B. The Beginning of the Festival Text

[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.

AGRIG of Nenašša; near the previous location.
AGRIG of Tuwanuwa; (location not preserved)
AGRIG of Hupišna; at the “long [hatal]keš-šar(?)”.
AGRIG of [ -y]a; at the haniya- gate.

Remainder of tablet lost. The lacuna until the “third tablet” could be filled with any of the isolated or parallel fragments.

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 Karafna.

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 Kaš[lwara]; at the gate of his “house”.

[ ]; at the gate of the house of the Ṽurianni.
Remainder lost.

“Third tablet”
KUB X 1 [1.c]
I 1‘–4‘
5‘–8‘

AGRIG of Kattila
The ummitiya- men pay homage to the king at the temple of Šura.

The royal couple proceeds to the ḫuwašš- of the Storm-god.

9‘–10‘
The royal couple leaves through the aššaša- gate.
The runners race (see discussion in Ch. IV.B.3).
11‘–12‘
The GUDU-priest and the SANGA-priest of Arinna and of Zippalanda (cf. Ch. IV.B.5) and the UBĀRUMEN greet the king.

Ritual offerings at the ḫuwašš- of the Storm-god.

22‘–27‘
Before the king’s entry to the ḫuwašš- of the Storm-god, the priest of ṬKAL leads the “holy-priest” of [ṬKAL ?] (to the ḫuwašš- ?).
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.

A. (KUB X 1) II
Fragmentary. The scene is probably still at the ḫuwašš- of the Storm-god. Rituals with the partic-
ipation of the chief of the bodyguards and the priest of the Storm-god. King purifies his lips with tatkhuššušar (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": the huwaši-, the Damnāšara-deities, a libation vessel (išpanduzi-), arša-34 the wall (ku|t|t-), 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" (išDAG) appear in l.4'. The reverse contains only the colophon.

---

32 Note the dative LÚ DU-š (l. 18'); nom. LÚ DU-aš). The Hittite name of the "Man of the Storm-god" is probably an -alla- noun comparable to LÚŠAT-huwašsamalla-š, išharrall- (Otten, HTR, 94f.). Perhaps *LÚŠARḫunalla-š? (cf. also KUB VII 57 + KUB XXXV 148 IV 26': LÚ DU-ššašš-š).


34 Perhaps same as ıššaraša- "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.

İzmir 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,l]; rev. IV is parallel to ABoT 5+ II 26′–III 7 [1.b]. 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
III Synopsis of the Festival Events

KILAM festival'. Col. I is paralleled by Izmir 1270+ III 19ff. and by 1834/c obv. [2, b].

KBo XXVII 42 [1, j, B]. 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 KILAM 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 KILAM (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 1. 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. 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. … manmandaš lütin [3-SU lüyan]ži (the main text has loc. lüyan); dat. sing. of enclitic pers. pron. 3rd person -še (II 12’) (main text has -š).
Hittite ductus of the 15th or early 14th century.\textsuperscript{38} The beginning of the obverse of KBo XX 33 is an outline of KBo X 25 [1.\textit{j}]; the last entries of the reverse, of KUB II 3 1 [1.\textit{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.\textit{b}] (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.

\textbf{KBo XXV 176 [3.\textit{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 \textit{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.\textit{j}] is closer to the New Hittite outline than to the Middle Hittite one.\textsuperscript{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.\textit{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 KLAM resulted from its parallelism to the outline tablet KBo XX 33+ (see above). This is the only large original Old Hittite tablet of the KLAM festival discovered as yet and is an important asset to the growing corpus of Old Hittite festival tablets.\textsuperscript{40} The large fragment ABot 5 + KBo XVII 9 was the first to be identified as belonging to the KLAM. It was later joined with KBo XX 5 and other-small-
Join sketch 2: KBo XX 33 -
C. The End of the Festival Text
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 Buyukkale; 220/f was found in square t/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.b.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.b.C, 1.b.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”.
“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 K.I.LAM 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.b] (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. | Fragmentary context. The king arrives at a gate, Gap of about 20 lines. |
| II 1–5 | Ceremony of putting on garlands (cf. p. 79) with the participation of the overseer of the harlots. The king arrives at the gate of DGER (= Miyantanzipa). He worships DTelipinu and DHalk(i?). Rest of column lost. |
| II 1′–6′ | The king descends the chariot and goes up somewhere; he worships DZABABA and two other deities (broken). |
| 7′–9′ | The king worships a further deity (broken). Fragmentary passage. The ZI[TTL ?]-men and the comedians are acting. The “barbers”43 throw a torch into the hearth of DKutarna. Then they extinguish it with water. |
| III 1–5 | The king worships D*KAL and D*Harantali. (Continuation better preserved in KBo X 26) |
| 6–8 | 9–18 |
| 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]) | 24–26 |
| (= KBo X 26 I 5–9) |  |

KBo X 26 [1.i]  

| Ceremony in the temple of the Sun-goddess. | The king arrives at the temple of the Sun-Goddess. |
| I 10–16 |

43 For LUSHUR (= LUSHABYALI) cf. A. Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), 83 n.12; The Laws of Ešnuna (1956), 128 n.10.
At the entrance he “drinks to” the Sun-goddess and Mezzulla.

17–18
The king enters the temple.

19–23
The kalμaš- is placed on the throne.

24–27
Water for hand washing is brought.

28–35
The chief of the bodyguards places the silver ẓaw- of the “holy priest” of Zippalanda by the wall, to the king’s right.

I 36–42
The three holy SANGA-priests of Arinna and their cup-bearers, the SANGA-priest of Zippalanda, the tazzell-, and their cup-bearers hold their cups and take their seats in front of the king (see Ch. IV.B.5).

I 43–II 4
The king and queen wash their hands.

5–44
Only beginnings of lines preserved (restorations following analogous passages). 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,b]

Stations on the procession to the buwaši- 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, Wašezzili, Inar, ..., NiN.E.-GAL, ZABABA, Ta[hampiwu(?)], Wahzašu, Kataḥhi, [...], Hašāmmiu, Hašatši.

10′–12′
The “silver wood”(?) and the buwaši- of the Storm-god are mentioned. (Probably the king sets out, or arrives there).

13′ff.
[The king?] descends from [...]. List of deities: telippunu, Tahpîllanna, Tapalahijuna, Kataḫḫi, Zuliya, NiN.E.GAL ..... Gap of about 10–12 lines.

y + 1–14′′
“Drinking to” various deities (names not preserved) in different locations.

44 KUBABBAR-ua Giš-ru(-)x[ cf. KUB XXVI 9 l 14 (HAZANNU Instruction) INA GIS^{UL}A KUBABBAR; KUB XLIII 29 II 8 KUBABBAR-ua GIS^{UL}A-uš.
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 26ff., the 16th day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival celebrated in the temple of DZABABA)

I 1–3
(cf. 487/w I 8 [1.b.D])
The king and queen arrive at the “ceremonial tent” and take their seats.

4–25
Various insignia are brought in and set in place. A palace-attendant places the kalnuš- on the throne. He keeps holding the golden spear and utters a Hattic exclamation. Chief of the bodyguards puts the silver zau- of the holy priest of Zippalanda upon a loaf of bread at the entrance of the inner-room.

26–42
Ceremony of hand-washing.
Gap of about 25 lines.

II 1–4
Fragmentary. Offering table is brought in.

5–20
Three bodyguards take their places near the king. They hold golden spears and staves. Table-men pass by.

21–28
Bread offering to DKal of the spear.

29–32
Cup-bearers prepare pot-stands.

33–37
Chief of the palace-attendants, chief of the bodyguards and royal princes take their seats.

38–42
The holy priests of Arinna and Zippalanda and their cup-bearers take their seats. They hold their cups.

43–47
Cooks distribute some sort of meat.\(^{45}\)

48–51
The holy priests of Ḫatti, the Lord of Ḫatti and the priestess of Ḫalki take their seats.

52–63
Musicians, comedians and psalmists take their seats.

64–67
Various dignitaries take their seats (zaḫurtiš išḫuš and Lûmeš DUGUD).

68–III 11
Cooks distribute food and beverages.

III 12–23
The king throws away his linen cloth either to the bodyguards or to the palace-attendants.

24–26
Sweeper sweeps the floors.
Gap of about 15 lines. Where the text resumes it is dupl. to KBo X 25 I.

---

\(^{45}\) A comparison of KBo XXVII 42 II 47 with KBo IV 9 V 47 suggests that ṭuzukuz-
zaniyant—could be the Hittite reading of ṭuzul “fat”.
b. The “Great Assembly” (šalli aššār)

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 ḫali-riya- men playing the “lstar instriments” 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-û-ri-e-ît
   = D I 6
   = F III 42’
   C: Ṯa-tu-i-ri

3. B, 2 = C obv. 3 “Drinking to” Storm-god and DWašezzi/ali; standing
   and bowing. (D II 3 and F IV 7 add: “They let the
   rain(?))”
   B: ḠIM ḠWa-aš-e-iz-zî-li
   C, D: ḠU ḠWa-aš-e-iz-za-al-li-in

4. B, 3 = C obv. 4 “Drinking to” Sun-goddess and ḠMezzulla; standing,
   without bowing. (D and F: with bowing)
   = D II 6
   = F IV 10

5. B, 4 = C obv. 5 B: Three NINDA kištu- are presented to the king by the
   cooks.
   C, [D]: Three stands (Gtš kišdu-) are brought from
   “the house of the gods”.

46 ṫann tannazi see p. 103.
6. B, 5 = C obv. 6  
   = D II 38  
   tab(a)tumar(a)\(^{48}\) is brought from the “stone-house”.  
   B: E\(^{\text{HI}}\L A NA\(_4\); ta-ba-at-\(\text{tu}\)-ma-a-ar  
   C: E\(_9\)NA\(_4\) DINGIR\(^{\text{LM}}\), tab-tu-u-m[a-  
   D: E\(^{\text{MS}}\)NA\(_4\) DIN\(\text{GI}R\)\(^{\text{LM}}\); (tab-tu-\(\text{u}\)-ma-ra-a)  

7. A II 5', 10'-12'  
   = B, 6, 12 = C  
   obv. 7–12 = D  
   (dupl. D 14' ff.)  
   Race of 10 runners (In A, B this comes after § 10).  
   A, B: The winner receives one mina of silver and  
   two \(\text{wa}g\)ada-loaves from the king’s hand (A:  
   ceremony omitted on 2nd day).  
   C, D: The runners who came in first and second  
   receive “tunics” (TUG ER\(^{\text{MS}}\)\(_5\)), \(\text{sarama}\)-  
   bread and wine.  
   See commentary in Ch. IV.6.3.  

8. A II 6'-7'  
   = B, 7-8 = C  
   obv. 13  
   "Drinking to" Storm-god and W\(a\)eszzi’ali; standing.  
   "They let the rain(?)" (Spelling variants same as  
   in 3; A = B).  

9.\(^{49}\) A II 8'-9'  
   = B, 8-9  
   = F V 3  
   The table-men \(\text{s}a\)-ak-na-a\(_a\)-š ti-an-zi;\(^{50}\) the meadmen  
   distribute mead\(^{51}\) (KAŠ.L\(\text{Ă}L\)) from a silver vessel.  
   A and F: A table-man takes a tuniptu-loaf. B: A  
   table-man prepares a z\(\text{i}p\)ulašne-loaf on a G\(\text{i}š\)\(\text{ar}m\)-  
   pa-\(^{52}\)  

10. A II 10'-12'  
    = B, 9-12  
    = F V 14 ff.  
    The smiths bring two (silver) bulls’ heads (B) and fill  
    them from two red vessels of wine. A table-man  
    removes the z\(\text{i}p\)ulašne-loaf. A: E.D.E. A (late dupl.:  
    E.D.E); B: E.D.E  

11. A, B: foot-race (see 7.)  

12. A II 13'-14'  
    = B, 13-14 (= C  
    obv. 18)  
    = F V 25  
    “Drinking to” Inar and Ḥabandali; sitting.  
    A: D\(\text{I}\)-na-ar \(\text{D}^\text{\(\text{I}\)Ha-ba-an-di-li}  
    B: D\(\text{I}\)-na-ar U \(\text{D}^\text{\(\text{I}\)Ha-ba-an-da-li}  
    C: \text{D}KAL.\(\text{\(\text{I}\)Ha-pa-an-ta-li}  
    F: \text{D}\(\text{I}\)\(\text{Ha}\)-pa-an-da-li-an-na  

13. A II 15'-18'  
    = B, 13-16  
    (= D VI 4'-8?)  
    From the temple of Inar the (A) š\(\text{h}p\)piš\(\text{š}\)war\(\text{e}š\) (B) the  
    silver animals are brought. (B only:) a h\(\text{u}p\)par of  
    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 kur\(\text{s}\)a”.  
    A: u-en-z\(\text{zi}\); B: u-an-z\(\text{zi}\)  
    (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 šakk\(\text{a}\).  
\(^{51}\) 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 gar-
   ments (tü/gi adapli-). They bow to the king.

15. A II 21'–22'
   = B, 17
   "Drinking to" Moon-god (DEN.ZU) and Ḫuzanišu;
   sitting.
   (A only:) The men of Kaniš play the large "Ištar
   instrument".

16. A II 23'–24'
   = B, 18
   = F VI 6'
   "Drinking to" Ḫulla; sitting. (A only:) The pipes are
   played. Ten loaves of bread and two ḫu-par of
   "beer-wine"[).
   A: Ḫu-ul-la-a-an B: Ḫu-ul-la-an

17. A II 25'–26'
   = B, 18
   "Drinking to" Ṭelipinu; sitting.

18. A II 27'–29'
   = B, 19–20
   "Drinking to" ḪUBABAB; sitting. (A:) ḪUB.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 III 31'–III 3]
   = B, 21–24
   (C rev. 20 ?)
   "Drinking to" PUDAM "the (deified) day"; standing,
   bowing; "they let the rain(?)"
   Rest fragmentary (ḪUB.BI-men)

21. [A III 4'–7]
   = B, 25–27
   "Drinking to" GAL.ZU; [standing,] bowing.
   Rest fragmentary (variable types of bread).

22. [A III 8]
   = B, 28
   "Drinking to" Ṭuḫšašili; sitting.

23. [A III 10ff.]
   = B, 29
   "Drinking to" ḪUB.BI-men.

24. A III 1'–8'
   = B, 30
   Fragmentary. [Cooks?] of Da-a-ú-ni-ya give liver to the
   king. Meal is taken. Singer (LONAR) omitted on
   2nd day. Cups are presented to the king and the
   NIN.DINGIR, zintuḫi- women recite in Hattic.

25. A III 9'–12'
   = B, 31–32
   "Drinking to" Zuliyah; sitting. zinḫuri- men and Men
   of Lumanhila dance.

26. A III 13'–15'
   = B, 33
   "Drinking to" Šušumittu; sitting. [ Ḫapuymes-]
   dance. A: ([Pšu-šu-m] i-it-tu4
   B: Pšu-šu-me-[i]-tu

27. A III 16'–19'
   = B, 34–35
   "Drinking to" NIN.E.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" Ḫa-ni-ik-ku-um Ḫa-; damaged line: "one
   man with(?) his foot, one man with(?) his hand
   [".
29. [A III 22'-23'] "Drinking to" DZilipuru; sitting.
   = B, 38
30. [A III missing end of column] "Drinking to" DKatimu; sitting.
    = B, 39
   = B, 40-42
   Men of Kilišra.
32. A IV 4-6 "Drinking to" DZilipuru; sitting. Broken.
   = B, 43
   A: Two harlots take earrings.
33. A IV 7-9 "Drinking to" DWaḫiši; sitting. A: DWAḫiši-ši-ši-in
   = B, 44
   (= D V 2'-3')
35. B, 47-49 The goldsmiths come; "Drinking to" [ ]; sitting.
   The goldsmiths sing.
36. B, 50-53 The iron-smiths 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" DHAšammili. Broken. The men of the
   town[...
39. [A IV 1'-2'] "Drinking to" DPUškuruna and DTApalḫuna. Broken.
   = B, 56
40. A IV 3'-5' "Drinking to" the Storm-god of Ziplanda and DKataḫ-
   hi; sitting and bowing.
   = B, 57
41. A IV 6'-8' "Drinking to" DUlza, DULšaru and DKatarzaršu; sitting.
   = B, 58
42. A IV 9'-11' "Drinking to" DŠušumahi and DŠimmišu. The last
   dignitaries (LUMEŠ DUGUD EĞIR?) leave.
43. A IV 12'-14' "Drinking to" DHamatiš; sitting. The "dignitaries of the
   meal" (LUMEŠ (DUGU)D NAPTANIM) leave.
44. A IV 14'-15' The kisitu-loaves and the zippulašne-loaves of(?)
   the princes and of the priests are taken away.
45. A IV 16'-18' "Drinking to" [PSi]rušunu, DTAḫam/npw/pa, DWAḫ-
   zašu and DTakkḫau; sitting.
   = B, 62-63
   A: DTA-ha-am-pi-un-an B: DTA-ha-an-pi-pun
   The princes and the princesses leave.
46. B, 63 "Drinking to" [DP] Ṣnatašu, DKuzanišu, DTAḫpilananu
   = B, 64
   B: DKA-za-šu-un DTAḫ-pil-la-šu
   E: DKA-za-šu-un DTAḫ-pil-la-šu
47. B, 65 "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  
    = E I 44–46  
    The SANGA-priests leave. B: SANGA<sup>MEŠ</sup>; E: LÜ<sup>MEŠ</sup>  
    SANGA; (E: The “great assembly” is finished).  
50. B, 66  
    = E I 51f.  
    (cf. Bo 3568 obv.)  
    A palace attendant takes away the (iron) spear.  
51. B, 67  
    = E II 1  
    The king leaves the “tent”.

c. Events Following the “Great Assembly”

KUB II 3 II 1–2<sup>53</sup>  
[1.k]  
3–8  
The king leaves the “tent”. He holds the <i>Giš</i>kal-muš-.  
He is followed by two palace attendants—one holding an iron spear, the other holding an iron <i>Giš</i>marr-, a <i>Giš</i>kalmuš-, a “whip” (<i>Giš</i>STUHHIA), and a “sistrum(?).”<sup>54</sup> (<i>Giš</i>mukar-)<sup>55</sup>—and by one bodyguard holding his spear.

Ceremony of ritual bath

11–12  
After leaving the tent, the king views a ritual bath.  
II 13–31<sup>56</sup>  
“Near the hearth, in a basin<sup>57</sup> of <i>marruwans</i><sup>58</sup> there are two naked comedians. They are squatting inside in the basin. // The “mother-of-god”-priestess of <i>Ditiuutti</i> and the overseer of the harlots run three times around/to the basin of <i>marruwans</i>. // The overseer of the harlots holds a wooden dagger. In front of her walks the SANGA-priest(ess)<sup>59</sup> of <i>Ditiuutti</i>. The SANGA-priests...

---

<sup>53</sup> 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).  
<sup>54</sup> O.R. Gurney, Some Aspects (1977), 35.  
<sup>55</sup> Cf. IBoT I 36 II 11 ... ŠA <i>Giš</i>SUKUR-ma DUMU.E.GAL [<i>Giš</i>kal-mu-us] (12) <i>Giš</i>Š-<i>TU.UH-HA</i> <i>Giš</i>GU.ŁU-ga-an-na-aš-ša <i>Giš</i>mu-u-kar ḫar-zi ...  
<sup>57</sup> For ḫu-šu see Goetze, op. cit.; A. Kammenhuber, OrNS 39 (1970), 559.  
<sup>58</sup> An inferior sort of beer; G. Steiner, RIA 3 (1966), 306.  
<sup>59</sup> Despite the determinative LŪ, <i>Laš</i>SANGA <i>Ditiuutti</i> in I.21 and <i>ša</i>SALAMA.DINGIR,LIM <i>Ditiuutti</i> in I.17 are, in all probability one and the same person. Cf. also <i>ša</i>SANGA·ša ŠA <i>Ditiuutti</i> in KUB VII 19 I 12. That <i>LŪ</i>SANGA may also refer to a priestess is shown by KBo X 35 obv.7–8: 2 LŪ<sup>MEŠ</sup>SANGA arantani ŠÀ.BA 1
t(ess) holds a scepter and in the front šipartes\(^{60}\) are tied to her/it. // She pours marn\(_{\text{mn}}\) 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 buwaši- of the Storm-god**

II 32–35

The king enters the buwaši- of the Storm-god. He pays homage to the buwaši-. (See p. 101 n. 40).

36–43

At the passageway he “drinks to” 4 gods: the Storm-god, D\(_{\text{ Wa}}\)šizzili, D\(_{\text{ U}}\)GUR, D\(_{\text{ Wa}}\)ḫisser.

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.

**The king returns from the buwaši- of the Stormgod to the city.**

III 1–11

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 buwaši- of the Storm-god.

12–18

Fragmentary. “Drinking to” the Storm-god[...]

19–21

The “augurs” (L\(_{\text{M}}\)MEŠ.MUŠEN.DU\(_{\text{T}}\).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 stops\(^{63}\) the chariot.

---

DUMU.NITA 1 DUMU.SAL\(^{10}\) “two SANGA-priests are standing: one male (and) one female”\(^{11}\).

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

61 a-muwā-aš hāşanallī. The parallel fragment Izmir 1275 [1.k.G] L.6’ has GILIM u-a-nul-wa-aš (For GILIM = hāšanallī see HW Erg. 1, 5). This indicates that (\(\delta\))amu- (HW\(^{2}\) 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 hāšanallī (the genitive depending on hāšanallī is obliterated on the tablet).

62 L. 22 ANA NA\(_{\text{2}}\)\(_{\text{10}}\)\(_{\text{A}}\) ha-ya ha-ya-yā kattan. Dupl. F 12’ 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’ NA\(_{\text{2}}\) ha-a-ya-aš NA\(_{\text{2}}\) ha-a-ya-ya (the fragment is obliterated).

63 a-t-en-zi is probably a corrupt form for araí- pres. sg. 3 “to stop (a horse)” (HW 338, Erg. 1, 2). Dupl. F 15’ has here e-ip-zi “holds”. 
25–32 The Damnaṣṣara- deities (E. Laroche, Dieux, 67) are turned so that their eyes are directed towards the king. Wherever the king turns, the Damnaṣṣara-deities turn in the same direction.

III 33–39 The king ascends to the basin; he “drinks to” Zuliyā.

40–46 The king arrives at the gate of the “house of the bow” (KÂ Ɛ GISBAN); he honors Hašamili.

47–51 The king enters the “ašuša-gate”; he “drinks to” the Šalaunana-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[sidē?] 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” Taḫantiu and Ka-pariyamu.

14'ff. The king arrives at the gate of the [beš]ā-house (see Ch. IV.C.3); he “drinks to” Taḫ[……]u.

Remainder lost.

V x + 1–3' The king “drinks to” Telipimu and […]

4'–5' The king drives up to the palace? (Ḫā[lentuwa]?)

6'–8' The comedians call out “aḫa” 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 KILLAM 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-zī, ti-e-iz-zī, ū-e-iz-zī, šar-kw-e-iz-zī; phonetic writings: tu-u-ri, ha-aš-ša-an(-kām), ši-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-u-an-zī, ū-iz-zī).

"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 (“Älticher 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 ḫurianzipa (11’–18’) 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.

Parallels to KBo XII 131 right col. Both deal with a ceremony involving the participation of the Men of the town Lumnaḫila and the ḫupṣuppa-

64 Further attested in KUB V 7 obv. 17; 877/z. Probably the same as ḫuwariyanzipa.
The latter is attested in KBo XX 101, 14’; KUB XLIV 2 + 3, 3’; 13 IV’3’; IBoT II 19, 1’; 30, 7’; Bo 858 Rev. 10’ (eRUSHamubas ḫHJ); cf. R.Lebrun, Samuha (1976), 341.

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

KBo XII 131 [2.a.2]
Right col.
1'–4'
Fragmentary. The female singers sing in Hattic (?) (l.4' Ḫa-at-ḫu-I).
5'–11'
One pair⁶⁷ of Lummahila-men enters; they pay homage to the king and to the Ḫupḫuppa-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
17'–26'
Broken. Man of Lummahila is acting.
Bread offerings.
Remainder lost.

KUB XX 4 V
3'–8'
The king [descends from/ascends (?)] the chariot. He "drinks to" 3 deities: [ ],⁶⁸ Teteš[ha-
pi] of Ḫattuša (?) (ḪU PA-aš ḪTe-te-eš⁶⁹ and Miyatanzipa.
9'–11'
At the ṭar(i)ya-[gate] (see p.75) the king "drinks to" the S[torm-god ?
12'–20'
Fragmentary. Ceremony taking place at the gate (?) of Ḫeštā (i.e. of the Ḫeštā- house; see p.113) with participation of the GUDU-priest of Ḫeštā, a SANGA-priest and the Men of the house of Ḫeššā.

Rev. VI
1834/c [2.b]
Obv.
Rev.
“2nd day”
KBo XX 83 [2.c]
Obv. 13'–8'
Fragmentary. Shows some similarities with KBo XII 131 II 5'ff. (ḫu-ḫu-ḫu see p.83 n.67).

⁶⁶ Attested only in these two texts. The forms without determinative in KUB XX 4 II 7' (ḫu-up-ḫu-ḫu-ḫu) and II 19' (ḫu-up-ḫu) must belong to a related verbal form.
⁶⁷ 1 i-ḫu-ḫu-ḫu (l.5', 10'). Conjectured meaning; literally "one yoke". Cf. KBo XX 83 I 1' [2.c] 3 i-ḫu-ḫu-ḫu.
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.
III Synopsis of the Festival Events

II 1′-5′
Fragmentary. King ["drinks to"] D.GAL.ZU. Bread offerings. Remainder lost.

Rev. IV
Fragmentary. Scene in front of the "ceremonial tent" (see pp. 100 f.). Compare Bo 3568 I (below) which also belongs to the 2nd day (note GIL.ZAGHURTI).

Bo 3568 [2.d.1]
Obv.
Parallel to KUB II 3 I 51-11 1 (p. 98 f.): 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. 13′-7′
The "wolf-men" leave (?) the war(a)šuwar. 70 Upper portion of Col. II lost.

II 5′-17′
The king and queen "drink to" D.ZU idiya. Bread offerings. Offering tables are brought. Upper portion of col. III lost.

III 3-4
The king enters the inner-room (EŠA). (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" D.HALI.-

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 ?)

Ceremonies at the huwašši- of the Storm-god

6′-10′
"When in the KL.LAM festival the king proceeds [from the gate-house ?] to the huwašši- of the Storm-god" (see discussion on p. 46).

11′-12′
Three tables are brought. (cf. KBo X 25 II 31′ff. [1,1])

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" (GIL.KIÎDU; 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 LUMES UR.BAR.RA (3′) KAXUD war-ar-as-šu-ar (4′) -zi ta pur-as-na-a-an-zi. (Apparent-ly related to the verb war(a)šu- KUB X 66 VI 4 GIRMES-SU-NU u-ar-as-ša-an-zu).
VI
“3rd day”
A. KBo XXV 17
[2.e.A]
B. KBo XXV 18
[2.e.B]
A 1–5 = B 1 1’–8’
A 6–8 = B 1 9’–12’
B 1 13’ff.
Rev. 1’–7’
8’–12’
Colophon

(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.

Beginning of the third day. The king puts on festive garments in the inner-room of the *maktu-ziya*- (see p. 114) [and goes to(?)] the temple in the *bi* / *ešta* -house. [Then he sets out(?)] to the road at the entrance of the *maktu-ziya* -.
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 *bešta*-house and of taking something to a grove (*gššTim-ni*).
Fragmentary. Mention is made of the cooks of the town Dawiniya, the Men of the *bešta*- house, and the *zikumuha*-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 *-yla šuwa* ṭ. The suggested completion [*banteziyja šuwa* “first day” (E. Neu, StBoT 25, no. 17)] is contradicted by the colophon of text B; on the other hand, the anticipated completion [*teriyannja* 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 ḫalentuwat- house, that is, in the royal acropolis of Ḫattuša 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 “fleece”.

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'[I.a] EGIR-SU=ma GibbsSUKURuba Hur.SAGuba = šan kwaqpi š[e]r arantar. "Thereafter (follow) the "spears"; they stand somewhere on the mountains".

This translation differs from that given by E.New 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. 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 Stormgod of the Rain in KUB XXV 23 left edge, left half, 1.1, who "stands on a rock" (piššiš šer artar; C.W.Carter, Hittite Cult- Inventories, 1962, 163, 173). To be sure, this interpretation suggests a more general meaning for GibbsSUKUR in this context than simply "spears".

That GibbsSUKUR (= Gibbs turši; 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 [I.j] is unfortunately damaged, at this point: 1 'SUKUR[u]ba 2' × -ma-kan wa-at-ku(-). The latter could belong to one of the verbs watku- "to leap, to jump"; or to watkuwu- "to drive off". The second seems more likely in this context.
King's chariot

Queen's chariot

PAlACE GATE
(khalentuwaš KA; bilammaš KA.GAL)

King sits in katapuzna-

Ceremonial carts with ornamented oxen (nanankaš GIsMAR.GİD.DA Bl.A)

10 or more dancers (LūMešJÜB.BI)
(one naked)

GATE OF THE GODS/
UPPER GATE
(DINGIRMeš-as ḫilammar)
(šaraṣṣi- kaṣgaṣtipa-)

psalmodist holy priest of KAL priest of KAL

"the spears"
(GIsUKUR Bl.A)

10 or [20] "copper fleeces"
(NAkunannaš kuršaš)

"the animals of the gods"
silver panther/leopard
silver wolf
golden lion
lapis lazuli boar
silver boar
silver bear

["the dog-men"]
[The singer of KAL]; "the men of Annuwa"

"the stags"
golden stag
silver stag with antlers
silver stag with golden antlers
silver stag without antlers

aliyazemš karkidanduš
[ something of ivory; some birds? ]
zinburi- men
A. The Ceremonial Procession

Šumerisches Lexikon II (1928–1933), p. 865: “wohl ‘Fahne’ (da es ein Symbol ist)”; see further F. Sommer, ZA 46 (1940), 24 ff. This is obvious in expressions like ANA 𒊩𒌀𒈗 KUB X 21 I 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.

𒊩𒌀𒈗 as a sacred symbol is also attested in an Alalah text of Level VII, No. I, i.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 Yazilikaya) found in the Level I B temple at Alalah (L. Woolley, A Forgotten Kingdom, 1953, Pl. 17a).

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. [I.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. [I.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. [I.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 𒈴ḫukuwatār (see p. 58 n.16) lies in this direction.

2. THE “FLEECE”

KBo X 23 V 14‘–15‘ [I.a] EGIS-ŠU=ma mān 10 ma[n 2]0 (?) kunnanaš kuršaš plāŋzi
KBo X 25 VI 3‘–4‘ [I.j] × NAK kunnanaš [kuršaš pāṇzi
KBo XXV 180 rev.‘ 13‘ [3.b.D] KUŠ kuršaš pānzi
For (KUŠ) kuršaš- “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 (NAK) kunnana- “copper” or “blue glass-paste”. If the above meaning of (KUŠ) kuršaš- is valid, this can only mean that the fleeces had some additional fittings made of copper or of blue paste.

Other occurrences of (KUŠ) kuršaš- in the KILLAM festival are: (a) in the outline tablet KBo XXV 176 (with dupl. KUB X 13) rev. 14‘, 16‘ [3.b]: the “man of the ḫeša- house” who holds up the fleece receives a “rough-garment”; (b) the “house of the fleece” appears in the old Hittite exemplar ABO U 5 + II 18‘ [I.b]: kur-ša-aš Ė-ir-za DINGIRMEŠ ẞ 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), 181 f. is rejected in Popko’s article.
4 For other adorned fleeces see Popko, op. cit. 66 with n.7–8.
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 10.f. [1.b]), although other types of symbols, the "spears" and the "fleeces" are also included. This "animal" procession, which distinguishes the K.LAM 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.i] 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 (KUŚ), 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 16' UG.TUR KUBABBAR
  [1.a]
16' UG.TUR KUBABBAR
17' UR.BAR.RA KUBABBAR
18' UR.MAḤ GUŚ[GIN]
19' [SAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]
20' [SAH.GIŠ.GI NÀ][ZA.GIN]
21' [ZA.KU][KUBABBAR]
22' [SAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]
23' [SAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]
24' [SAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]
25' [SAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]

(b) KBo X 25 16' UG.TUR KUBABBAR
  [1.j]
25' [SAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]

(c) KBo XXV 180 3' UG.TUR KUBABBAR
  [3.b.D]
25' [SAH.GIŠ.GI KUBABBAR]

(see below)

---

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

7 The listing of the metal figures begins in L 14' UR.MAḪ GUŚ[GIN] SÁH.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 E Gir-ŠU-ma, the entire list of animals is repeated (for some unknown reason) in sequence. For JPA A R1 at the end of 1.23' (= KBo X 22,3') I can only suggest the restoration (gale) 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 wolf 11) 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 expedition 12 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" (DARA.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 DARA.BA, "ibexes", instead of DARA.MAŠ. This

---

8 For this spelling see H. Otten, StBoT 15 (1971), 6 (typical for Old Hit.2).
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 = ulippana- 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).
13 E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 33.
14 For the readings DARA and DARA.MAŠ (instead of ŠEG₄ and ŠEG₄.BAR) see H. G. Güterbock, Festschrift Heinrich Otten (1974), 824f.; E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 32.
could simply be an omission or the two words could be interchangeable to a certain extent.\textsuperscript{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 Hûyük. 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 moulding 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.\textsuperscript{16} The textual description in the KILAM festival which lends prominence to the antlers is very reminiscent of this moulding. 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 \textit{a-li-ya-zé-nu-uš kar-ki\textsuperscript{(di?)-da-an-du-uš} (acc. plural)}. These could be two asyndetic substantives or, more likely, an attribute depending on the substantive \textit{aliyazemuš}. The word \textit{karkidanduš} is not attested elsewhere.

\textit{aliy(a)n}zena\textsuperscript{-17} is attested in two parallel tablets of CTH 401 (Ritual of the bird-breeder \textit{[(−)]banippi}).\textsuperscript{18} KUB XXX 33 I 17' [×-×]-ya-an-kán a-l[i-ya-a]n-zi-na-an (sg. acc.) a-pi-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-pi-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 \textit{[a-lí]-ya-an-kán}. This is important because it shows that \textit{aliyana}- is only a variant of \textit{all(i)ya-}, a bird occurring in oracles. Other occurrences of \textit{aliyana}- do not shed more light on the meaning: KBo XII 96 I 11' … nu a-li-ya-mi EGI\textsuperscript{r}an-da li-e ku-iš-ki pal-u-a-a-iz-zi “behind an a. nobody claps (his hands).”;} KUB XXXVI 83 I 32 ]ta a-li-ya-na-aš GI\textsuperscript{t}; Bo 6091 rev. V 1 ]×-ki I-aš a-li-ya-mu-uš]. Thus it seems that \textit{all(i)ya-} and \textit{aliyana-} are merely variants related to an original \textit{n-}

\textsuperscript{15} KBo XXV 180 rev. '4' (list c) has DÂ[R]A.MAŠ.
\textsuperscript{17} Cf. A. Kammenhuber, HW\textsuperscript{2}, 58 (unknown meaning).
\textsuperscript{18} A further occurrence in mutilated context is in KBo XXIV 11 obv. '3': [a-li-ya-an-zi-na-×[.]
stem ("aliyan").\(^{19}\) *aliya(n)zena-* is apparently an extension of *aliya(na)*- (cf. N.Oetinger, KZ 94, 1980, 56). The evidence surveyed above is far from conclusive. The most we can say at the present is that *aliyanzena*- 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 *bubazi-* 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 (?),] *iInar* and *Habandali*; from the temple of *Inar,*
(14) they bring the silver [animals]. They pour one *bupar* wine for the panther/leopard and one *bupar* for the (male-)boar.\(^{20}\)
(15) They *carry along* (?\(^{21}\) the [animals]; 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 *bupar*).

\(^{21}\) For the verb *šamen-* causative *šamenu-* see HW 180; A.Goetz, JCS 20 (1966), 31; N.Oetinger, MSS 35 (1976), 97ff. The current translations—"disappear, withdraw, withhold, do without" (for the special meaning "burn incense" see E.Neu, StBoT 12, 69ff.)—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 *katapuzna-* all the animals and the 'masters of words' *ša-me-ya-an-zi* before the king" (For the shift *šannanzi > šaneyanzi* see Oetinger 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.

\(^{22}\) [ŁU] ?*m* ALAN.ZU. Note the exceptional spelling with ZU instead of the usual ALAM.KAXUD = ALAN.ZÜ. Unless the restoration ŁU is mistaken, this spelling corresponds with the usual ideogram for Akkadian *alucinna* which is alan.zu, cf. H.G. Gütterbock, RHA 22/74 (1964), 95ff.; XIX RAI (1974), 313 n.27; W.M.Ph. Römer, Persica 7 (1975–78), 43–68; cf. also A.Kammerhuber, 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 D]Haband]ali. The large “Ištar instrument” is played by the ḫalirim-
15′ [From the temple of] DInar, the šuppišuwareš
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[(ians)]
18′ sits [in?] the GIS marau-. The gods come from the “house of the fleece”.

The comparison between the parallel passages (a) and (b) indicates that šuppišuwareš (nom. pl.) in (b) corresponds to the two animals made of silver in (a). This correspondence points one in the direction of Laroche’s interpre-
tation of šuppišuvara- 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 num-

ber 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 ele-
phant tusk mounted in metal; a golden š. is inlaid with (precious) stone in KUB XLII 69; ṬOG.SA.GA.(AN.)DU MAŠ-LU š. could be a “waist-band” trimmed with some decorated metal; BIBRA GUD GUSKIN š. is a bull rhy-
ton 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 KILAM context but also by the juxtaposition of two parallel passages cited by Neu: 99/r II 2 šuppišuwarit kurupšini and KUB X 89 I 38 IŠTU BIBRI kurupšini (a rhyton made of low quality gold).

Returning now to the KILAM text, in the passage preceding the libation into the šuppišuwareš, two bull’s heads made of silver are brought by the chief smith (ABOT 5+ II 10v [1.h]). These are apparently associated with the Storm-god and Wašezzili in the previous passage (II 6v). 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. More unusual is the association of the panther/leopard (UG.TUR) and the male boar (ŠAH.NİTA) with Inar and Habandali respectively (in passage (a) cited above). The better-known sacred animal of Inar is the stag. However, this would not be the only instance in which one deity is associated with more than one animal. The fact should also be recalled that the text in question is written in a Middle Hittite ductus.

A third passage may now be added to the discussion:
(c) KBo XXI 68 I 3’-4’ [1,6,C]; this text is parallel to the Old Hit. tablet ABoT 5+ (passage (a) above). The relevant lines are badly mutilated:

\[3' \text{hu-}i\text{-}t\text{-a-a-r še-mê-}n\text{-}zi ŠA LÜMEŠ]^{8}
\[4' \text{tak-}ku\text{ MUŠEN-}in\text{ me-e-}i\text{-}k-kän u-}x[\]

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)? 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 aliya(zen)š karkidanduš; the first word is, as shown above p. 94, probably related to aliya(zen)- (a bird occurring in oracles), in which case it could correspond with peri-. The other occurrences of peri- do not help any further with the interpretation. In KBo XVII 43 IV 5’ pi-e-rí-îš u-îz-zi (cf. passage (b) above), appears in a broken passage which is somewhat reminiscent of the passages treated above; note MUŠENB in l. 9’.

KUB XLII 69 obv. 10’ a-ra-am-ni-îš pi-e-rí-îš XII ZI-1Hj-PU GUŠKIN an-da. Here again peri- appears next to the name of a bird (for arammí- see HW Erg. 2, 8).

---

24 A. Goetz, JCS 1 (1947), 89; O. Carruba, Kadmos 6 (1967), 96.
25 Carruba, op. cit. 97; H. Orten, StBoT 13 (1971), 42.
26 Carruba, op. cit. 96.
27 For the goddess Inar throughout the various stages of the Hittite cult see A. Kamenhuber, ZA 66 (1976), 68–88.
29 Sg.nom. pi-e-rí-eš ABoT 5+ Il’16’ [1,h].
   pi-e-rí-iš KBo XVII 43 IV 5’; KUB XLII 69 obv. 10’
Sg.acc. pi-e-rí-in KBo XX 33+ obv. 15. [3,a].
The word pera-MÜŞEN given in HW 167 (KUB XXXIII 121 III 5; see J. Friedrich, ZA 49, 1950, 236f. 254: pi-e-ra-×MÜŞEN) does not exist. See E. Neu, Kratylos 12 (1967), 163.
B. The “Great Assembly” (šali 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, ḫTIauri, 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 šali 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 appāī “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-]li ḫal-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 tabhtumar(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. At the time 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 ḫGIR ( = Miyatanzipa), where he worships the gods ḫTelipinu and ḫHalki(?). This could well happen in the temple of ḫHalki 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 ḫZABABA (1.5) and other gods. This is followed, apparently with no change
of location, by several ceremonies, including the lighting and extinguishing of a torch. Then D:\textsuperscript{KAL} and D:\textsuperscript{Hapantali} are worshipped (l.26) after which the king arrives at the temple of the Sun-goddess.

(b) KBo X 26 ("11th tablet") I-II [I.i] is parallel to (a) III 19 ff. In the temple of the Sun-goddess (I 10, 18) the silver z\textit{au} (I 33) and the [iron spear?] (II 26) are placed on both sides of the king.\textsuperscript{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 [I.i]).

(c) The evidence in ABoT 5+1 [I.b] 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' D:\textsuperscript{UTU-\textit{wa}}\textsuperscript{a}s E[-]. 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 \textit{hunwasi} are mentioned (11' \textit{hu-wa-si} a\textit{xt} D:\textsuperscript{IM}).

In the following section [the king ?] descends from somewhere. The relevant word is damaged (13' \textit{-u-iz-na-az}).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{33} If \textit{hunwasi}- 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 passages;\textsuperscript{34} the temples of some vegetation deity (D:\textsuperscript{Miyatanzipa}, D:\textsuperscript{Telipinu}, or D:\textsuperscript{Halki}; see p.98) and of D:\textsuperscript{ZABABA} (possibly also of D:\textsuperscript{KAL}) may be conjured from passage (a). Thereafter, judging from passage (c), the

\textsuperscript{30} The same sequence, the "barbers" (L:\textsuperscript{ME}Š Š\textit{U}\textit{I} = L:\textsuperscript{ME}Š \textit{tahiyaleš}, see p.71 n.43) and the "drinking" of D:\textsuperscript{KAL} and D:\textsuperscript{Hapantaliya}, 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.

\textsuperscript{31} The same objects are removed at the end of the "great assembly" (KUB III 3142 ff. [I.k]).

\textsuperscript{32} E. Neu, StBoT 25 no.12: [LUGAL-\textit{u-iz-na} a\textit{z}.

\textsuperscript{33} Line 2: "In the [ ... ]-gate[t]", or "In the gate of [ ... ]"; 4": 10" "[The king] arrives at [ ... ]; 12: "Beside/Below the (--)\textit{asūr}a" (see p.100 n.35).

\textsuperscript{34} Cf. also the colophon of 1834/c [2.b] (see pp.46 f.).
procession headed by the king proceeds to the ḫuwaši- 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 ašša- gate and arrives at the ḫuwaši- of the Storm-god.\textsuperscript{35} Then various bread offerings and libations are performed at the ḫuwaši-. 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) preceding the opening of the "great assembly" can be followed in KBo XXVII 42 [1.i.B] I–III 26, whereas both outline tablets [3.a, b] and KBo X 25 [1.j] start directly with the first worshipped deity, \textit{D}Tauri(t).\textsuperscript{36} These include the disposition of various insignia—\textit{kalmuš}-, \textit{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", \textit{{g}is}ZA.LAM.GAR.\textsuperscript{37} This location is clearly indicated both at the beginning of the ceremonies—in KBo XXVII 42 1 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 (\textit{ludi}-) which is situated near a hearth; here a ritual bath takes place after which the king enters the ḫuwaši- 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 ḫuwaši-. That the \textit{{g}is}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 (\textit{tunnakeššar} I 19) just as in the temples. It is possible that although made of light materials such as wood or reeds, the \textit{{g}is}ZA.LAM.GAR was built after the model of a temple with more than one room.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{35} Is there any possibility that the obscure \textit{]-aš(\textasciitilde{c})šur-ra-aš} in ABoT 5 + 1 12" (see above n.33) is somehow connected with the temple of \textit{D}Sura in KUB X 1 I 6 ?

\textsuperscript{36} For \textit{(D)Ta\text{\textsuperscript{u}}}r(i) see H.M. Kümmel, Festschrift H. Otten, 1973, 170ff.; E. Laroche, RHA 31 (1973), 119.

\textsuperscript{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 XLI/2 (Festschrift R. Ranoszek), 1980, 101–104.

\textsuperscript{38} A further text in which a tent is associated with a ḫuwaši- 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 Yazilikaya or some part of it. A close examination of this question merits a separate investigation, but there is one point concerning the huwaši- of the Storm-god in the KILLAM text which should be mentioned in passing. According to two passages 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 Yazilikaya, a rock monument incorporated in an architectural complex, is striking. The identification of Yazilikaya as a huwaši- was already tentatively suggested by Güterbock; 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), Kuzanišu (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 D, D, 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/aktuwanzi; 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, Ḥabandali).

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. Birgel, Yazilikaya (1975), 254–256.
40 KUB II 3 ii 32–33 [i.k]: LUGAL-uš=šan D U-aš NM huwašiya anda paizeri; KUB XX 1 i 22’–24’ [i.c]: kutman=ma LUGAL-uš D U-aš NM huwašiya anda naqi paizeri. O.R. Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion (1977), 40ff., 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 šu". 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 Yazilikaya, the kernel of which is a rock monument.
41 MDOG 86 (1953), 76 n.2.
1 Tauri(t) 13 [Zizzašu] 24 HASHAMILIN
2 IM, Wasezzili 14 Zuliuian 25 Ḥattuša TETEŠaPIN
3 UTU, Mezzulla 15 Šušumittu 26 PUSKURANUN, TAPAIJUNAN
4 IM, Wasezzili 16 NIN.E.GAL-un 27 IM URU-Ziplanda, KATAḪI[n]
5 Inar, Ḥabandali 17 Ḥanikkun 28 Ḫulan, Uliwašun, KATARAZAŠUN
6 EN.ZU, KUZANišun K[ATAḪI] 29 Șušumašin, ŞIMMIŠUN
7 Ḥullan 18 ZILIPURUN 30 Ḥaratšin
8 Telipinun 19 KATIMUN 31 [Šita]ruzan, Taḫam/NIW/...p
9 ZABABA 20 Ḥalkin 32 pun, Wazhašun, Takkihaun
10 [UD5] 21 ZILIPURUN 32 ḪATAŠUN, KUZANišun,
11 GAL.ZU 22 Wajišin 33 TAḪPIJANU
12 Tuḫaššil 23 [ ] 33 IM, Wasezzili

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), 29ff., H.G. Güterbock, RHA 19/68 (1961), 12 and E. Laroche, RHA 31 (1973), 83ff. I confine myself here to several general observations.

The overall character of the list is unmistakably Hattic although there are exceptions (e.g. Ḥalki, ULZAN[42]). One can also note the use of Kanišan and Hurrian singers in the cult of Hattic deities—KUZANišUN and Wajiši[43] respectively. Two deities appear in conjunction with the Hattic names of their towns: Ḥanikkun DKAṬAḪI and URU Ḥattuša D TETEŠaPIN.

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 KLLAM list correspond with Laroche's list B (KBo XX 70 + KBo XXI 88 V 1ff.). From this parallel we may infer that URU Ḥattuša D TETEŠaPIN[44] who follows ḤASAMILIN[45] in the KLLAM list must correspond to Ḫattušantewašab = URU Ḥattuša DINGIRMEŠ 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 Tuḫaliya 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' [2,4]: URU PA-aš D TETE-ELŠ-BA-PIN.
45 Once again the equation ḤASMAIUN = HAŠAMMUN = ḤASAMILIN (see Laroche, no. 26) is confirmed.
46 ṬETEŠaPIN is analysed by A. Kammenhuber, HD 479 as a combination of two nouns of which the first is in the stem form (with unknown meaning): ṭETI-ŠaPIN = "ḥatti + God". However, in view of the comparison with Ḥattušan tep/wašab (literally: "of Ḥattuša, its gods") one is inclined to analyze ṭETE- as the possessive prefix TE-, and an unexplained additional TE.
regard to the KLLAM 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, StBo T 13, 44). All the gods worshipped “sitting” except for the Storm-god (and Wašezzili), the Sun-goddess (and Mezzulla), and the deified “Day” (UD.444). The king bows (USKEN) for the Storm-god, he does not bow for the Sun-goddess (UL USKEN). The obscure expression behun tanzanzi, literally “they let the rain”, apparently occurs with these same deities only.

The detailed tablets supply additional information pertaining to musical accompaniment, 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 tab(a)umar(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 V7 14–18 [1,.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” (TÜG ERINMES). ... 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 20ff. [3.b.C] and in the Old Hittite exemplar ABoT 5+ II 10'–12’ [1,b] 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), 33f., 57f.
48 Usually the haliyari-men play the large or the small “Istar-instruments”. For ḫšula the pipers (LI(INES. GL.GLD) play.
49 For the ritual “drinking to” gods see A.Kammenhuber, SMEA 14 (1971), 143ff.; idem–A.Archi, Mat.heth.Thes. Lfg. 4–7 (1975–6), 118ff.
50 See H.G.Güterbock, NHF (1964), 63 n.49 with previous literature; O.R.Gurney, Some Aspects (1977), 36ff.
sion in which both the first and the second place receive prizes, but this time only a tunic. 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] mu ŁUMES KaššE pit-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 aššuqa- gate (I 9’). The location in the above passages is at the ceremonial tent in the vicinity of the hduwaši- of the Storm-god where the “great assembly” is celebrated (see Ch. IV.B.1).

4. THE CEREMONY OF THE kalti-VESEL

The focal point of this event is a ceremony in which the king pours wine into the hands of the main officiaries 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 Hititite 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 (ŁUMES KaššE) bring in a large silver or gold vessel called kalti, and place it by the throne. The vessel is filled by the wine-suppliers (ŁUMES ZABAR.DIB) with (sweet-) wine. Then a comedian takes some wine from it and pronounces a Hittite recitation. Thereafter the libation vessel is handed over to the king. The king pours wine into the hands of the lords (BEL ŁUMES.TIMA). The following list of officials is of interest since it is very similar to the list in § 33 of the Telipinu Decree: “the foreman of the bodyguards” (GAL MESEDI), “the foreman of the palace attendants” (GAL DUMUŁUMES.É.GAL), “the householder” (LABÚBITUM), “the great of the wine” (GAL GESTIN), “the foreman of the grooms”

51 Note that the prices of garments according to the Hititite Laws are from 3 shekels to 30 shekels at the most (J. Friedrich, HG, p.80). The TUG ERINŁUMES (literally: “troop-garments”) do not seem to belong to the most expensive category; see Ch. IV.B.5.

52 In the Old Hititite (ABOT 5 + II 30’ [1.b]) and in the Middle Hititite (KBo XX 33 + obv. 19 [3.a]) exemplars the spelling is gal-di, in the New Hititite 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 kal-ti to which the bodyguard goes down to urinate in IBoT I 36 l 36. A third occurrence is KBo XXI 37 rev. 18’ GEL kal-tius. 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. kal-ti; dat.-loc. DUG kal-tiya (IBoT I 36 l 36); abl. kal-tius (KUB XLVIII 9 II 14); acc-plc. GEL kal-tius (KBo XXI 37 rev. 18’).

53 Cf. A. Archi, OrAnt 12 (1973), 216 n.50.
(GAL LŪMEŠ IŠ), “the dignitaries” (LŪMEŠ DUGUD) and the “men of the spear” (LŪMEŠ GİRŠUKUR). 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] LŪMEŠ DUGUD EGIR “the last (?) dignitaries” (or: “the dignitaries of low rank”); E.Neu, StBoT 26) (l.59); LŪMEŠ (DUGU) D' NAPTÂNIM “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 [3.6]) 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. Following is a tabulation of the list:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Garments</th>
<th>Quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 SANGA-priests</td>
<td>3 garments</td>
<td>of the first quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 GUDÜ-priests</td>
<td>2 garments</td>
<td>of the second quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cupbearer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 “troop-garment”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 singer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 “troop-garment”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Garments</th>
<th>Quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 SANGA-priest</td>
<td>1 garment</td>
<td>of the first quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tazelli-priest</td>
<td>1 garment</td>
<td>of the second quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 hamina-priest</td>
<td>1 garment</td>
<td>of the second quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cupbearer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 “troop-garment”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 singer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 “troop-garment”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other cult functionaries** (13'–17')

- The zilipuriyatala-men (13') 4 “rough garments”\(^5\)
- The man of the heštâ-house who holds the “fleece” (14'f.) 1 “rough garment”\(^6\)
- The man who holds the “fleece” of D'Kantepuitti (16'f.) 1 “rough garment”\(^7\)

---

\(^5\) Cf. also KBo X 26 l 36ff. [1.i] (= KBo XXVII 42 II 38–42 [1.i.B]): “3 holy SANGA-priests of Arinna and their cupbearers, the SANGA-priest of Zippalanda, the tazelli- and their cupbearers”.

\(^6\) For TÜG.BAR see H.G. Güterbock, Festschrift H. Otten (1973), 71.
C. Architectural Terms

1. *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 (ήπαλεντωά): IBoT 1 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 δίψαλκος: KBo X 26 II 10 [1.i].
The temple of the Sun-goddess: KBo X 26 I 10 [1.i].
The ḫesāḫ house: IBoT III 1 obv. 21.
The ḫemwast-i 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”) LU’MEŠ ALAM.KA<UD-MAKÁN (29”) I-NA KÁ É LEŠA.TAM (30”) SÁ SAL.LUGAL Ė-ar-ki-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.”

“"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 arkii- in two parallel passages of the KLAM text:

İzmir 1270 + III 27 [1.k.H]: LUGAL-uš KÁ ŠUTU a-ri (28) 2-e ir-ja-a-iz-zi (29) ŠUTU ŠM-i-iz-zi-ul-la
KBo X 26 1 10 [1.i]: LUGAL-uš ŠUTU-aš pâr-na pa-iz-zi ta š-ar-ki-u-i (11) ti-ya-zi (12) ŠUTU ŠM-e-iz-zi-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 Gütterbock’s treatments, is found in the Meshedí Instruction IBoT I 36. After the king’s departure from the palace, the metal-bolt of the “Main gate” (šaškaštipa- = GAL KÁ.GAL see below Ch. IV.C.6) is removed, the doors are opened (l 66–69), and the chariot is turned (toward the gate). Thereafter, the text continues as follows: 56


“The bodyguards take their stand next to the arkii-, 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 arkii-.”

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-jams 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‘ [I.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 Ḫattuša (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 RA, 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 (KĀ; 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. KĀ 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 'alāa'.” 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 Ḫattuša 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 69 f. LŪMEŠME-ŠI-[E-D]-I-ki-ú-ú ta-pu-uš-za ZAG-zu ti-en-zī

57 For this adverb in Old Hittite see F. Starke, StBoT 23 (1977), 185 ff.
(b) KBo X.23 II 25'ff. [1.a] DUMUŠ.GAL-ma-az LÚŠ.E-ŠE- Di ar-ki-
u-i kat-ta-an GUB-la-az A-ŠAR-ŠU-NU ĥar-kān-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 con-
texts, I suggest that arkiui(ya) kattan be rendered “beside the passageway”.

Another context which requires the above rendering is found in the de-
scription 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 ŠAL.LUGAL i-ya-an-ta-ri (20) DHaš-
ki-aš a-aš-ki kat-ti-ir-ra-az (21) a-ri nu ar-ki-u-i kat-ta-an / (22) IŠ-TU Š E
An-
ku-wa (23) ĥar-pa-an DUG KAŠ-ya ar-ta / ...... / (31) ma-a-an kat-te-ir-ri-
ma (32) ar-ki-u-i a-ri (33) nu-uš-[ša-an IŠ-TU Š E e-na-aš-ša] (34)
[ĥar-pa-an DUG KAŠ-ya (ar-ta)]
“The king and queen proceed. It (i.e. the royal couple) arrives in the vicin-
ity (kattiraz) of the gate of Ťalki’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 Nenaša 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 Ťalki’s temple, the royal couple advances in the direction of the pas-
sageway where the AGRIG’s of different towns are lined up. The first
AGRIG (of Ankuwa) stands arkiui kattan (21), the second (of Nenaša)
katteri arkiui (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 katteri means “closer” to the arkiue-, i.e. to the passageway.
Whether the next AGRIG (of Tuwanuwa) is also situated near the passage-
way 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 ḫantezziazi which
have the adverbial meaning “in front of”.

58 H. Otten, StBoT 13 (1971), 23ff. For a general discussion on the ablative in adver-
bial usage see E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 62ff.
The *passageway* of the gate-house is often the place where deities are worshiped, and offering ceremonies are performed. 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. In KUB XXX 41 left edge 4 “120 sheep and 10 oxen [stand] already in the *passageway*. In KUB XX 87 I 1–3 the king is sitting in the *passageway*.

One may now proceed to examine the evidence concerning *(6)* *arkiu(i)-* 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)-*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.loc.</th>
<th>I-stem (arkiu(i)-)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ar-ki-ú-i (KBo IX 136 I 4; Bo 2438 IV IBoT III 1 obv. 21’)</td>
<td>ar-ki-ú-ya (KUB XX 87 12’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar-ki-ú-wi₅ (KUB XLIV 47 II I 2; KBo X 20 III 44)</td>
<td>ar-ki-ú-ya (KUB XX 87 7’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 2. As was demonstrated by J. Friedrich, RHA VII/47 (1947–48), 16, words which can add the suffix -ta/-ti are Hurrian loanwords (cf. the doublets āpi/āpta, kiššu/kiššita, ḫazziu/iḫazziu/iḫazziuuitsa). This suffix goes back to the Hurrian directive, -ta. These phenomena strongly suggest a Hurrian origin for the word *(6)* *arkiu(i)-*.

---

59 KUB XLIV 47 II 7’. (to ḫUR NĪR.GÂL); KBo X 20 III 44–45 (to ḫUR URO Ururušamāšši).
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-ne-u [ (Such a large number of cattle could hardly stand under a “canopy”.)
63 The determinative ʾ is present in about two thirds of the occurrences.
64 (12’) SALLUGAL-ma-za l-NA ḫUR UR MÈŠ ŠÀ.TAM ḫar-ki-ú-ya-aš (13’) EZEN TIR i-ya-am-zi.
65 Cf. also Bo 6827, 6’ (based on the transliteration of Eheloî): ḫar-ga-i-ú-ta.
66 Other Hurrian loanwords in the architectural domain: ḫururu (sort of sanctuary) (HW Erg. 1, 4), ḫaruruši “granary” (HW Erg. 2, 15), ḫinapsi “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; ḫar-ga-ū-iš KBo XXVII 42 II 54 [1,1.B]; abl. ḫar-ka-ū-ūl-ya-š-a[r] 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 arkišqumu/i, probably of Hurrian origin.68 The occurrences are compiled in A. Salonen, Die Türen des Alten Mesopotamiens (1961), 46. In a synonym list (CT XVIII 3 Col. V 22; ZA 43, 240 line 172) ḫa is rendered da-al-tum la qa-ti-tum, "an incomplete door". The word also appears in the expression dalat arkišqimmu "the door of the a." A further instructive occurrence is in Gilg. VI 34 (CAD): "(you, ḫtar, 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 arkišqimmu remains obscure, it certainly falls into the same general category as Hittite ( mụ)arka/išqimmu/-išqimmu/-išqimm(u)- "passageway". The double resemblance, phonetic70 and semantic, may suggest a common etymology for the two words.

2. ḫalentišu/-ḫalentišug - "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, 1 ff.).

In his treatment of the term in XIX RA 1 (1974), H. G. Güterbock has referred to the existence of more than one ḫ, 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 ḫ, 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 arkuwa/i - "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 Nizi named a). 69 Perhaps the obscure occurrence cited in RIA IV, 37 (s.v. "Hacke"), line 88 also belongs here: giš-giri-ka ḫar-ki-ām "Am Fußholz (= Fußessel?) ist sie ein ...".
70 For the u/b interchange in Hurrian see E. A. Speiser, Introduction to Hurrian (1941), 42 (cf. e.g. Kunarbi/Kunarwi). The -nu is in all probability an Akkadianized ending (of the Hurrian article -ne!).
71 In the K.LAM text both the older form halentiš - (KUB XX 4 1 19 2[a]); see H. Otten, SrBoT 13, 1971, 20) and the later form halentiš(u) - (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 ḫalentuwa’s in the capital really existed. It must be admitted that the plain meaning of the above mentioned passage implies the existence of two ḫ.’s. Nevertheless, I would prefer to interpret the evidence as two voyages of the king from the same ḫ. to the huwaši- of Anzili (lines 1–7 first trip; 8–11 entry to the ḫ. after return; 12–15 second trip); namma in l.12 would then mean “again”.

With regard to the contribution of the KILAM text to the knowledge of the layout of the ḫ., the following points may be noted:

(a) In the palace proper there is an inner-room (tummakkeškar) which contains a “bathroom” (Ē.DU₁⁰.Ū.SA see below) in which the king performs his toilet. From there he proceeds to the “throne of the ḫ.” (KBo X 23+I 20’f. [I.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 Mešēdī 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 KILAM 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 kašgaštipa-” (KBo X 24 I 11f. [I.b], see below Ch. IV.C.6). The same place is also known in all probability as the “gate-house of the gods” (DINGIRMESŠ-aš hilammar KBo X 23 IV 15 [I.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 [I.b]).

(c) To the list of structures located in the palace complex (see H.G. Güterbock, XIX RAL 312) one may add, on the basis of the KILAM text, the ḫatapu-na-, some sort of tribunal (?) located at the main entrance (see below Ch. IV.C.7), and the “house of the queen’s treasurer” (Ē LÓŠA.TAM ŠA SAL.-LUGAL KBo X 23 II 29’f. [I.a]).

3. ḫestā-

The ḫ.-house is one of the places visited by the king in the course of the KILAM festival. Unfortunately, all instances of the ḫ.-house in the KILAM 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. ḫestā.; V. Haas—M. Wäfler, UF 8 (1976), 65 ff.; UF 9 (1977), 87 ff. with further literature. The occurrences of ḫ. in the KILAM text all have, with one exception, the later spelling ḫestā; the Old Hitrite fragment KBo XXV 17 has the original spelling ḫūšṭa-. 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 KILAM text and evaluate the information they contain. Nevertheless, I will briefly state that the theory which relates the š.-house to the funeral temple in the side chamber of Yazilikaya \(^{73}\) is, in my opinion, very plausible.

(a) In KUB XX 4 [2.a], "[the first tablet?] on the first day" the š.-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-alš-ki ?) of DHeštā. \(^{74}\)

The GUDU-priest of DHeštā, a SANGA-priest and "men of the house of DHešš-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 š.-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 ëš-eš-ta-a-aš a-aš-ki na-at EG((IR-pa ne-u)a-ah-ša-an-(z)]
(15) na-aš-ta wa-a-tar an-da ar-aš-ša-na-ru-(z)]
(16) ha-ni-ya-aš KÁ.GAL-ma tu-ur-ri-yá-aš KÁ.GAL GIG CBLA [(EGIR-pa) haššanzi ?]
(17) na-at ha-at-ga-as-kán-zí EGIR-pa-ya-at ha-as-kán-[(z)]
(14) The spring which is at the gate of the Šeštā-house, they renov[ate] it, (15) and they let the water flow in [ (16) They re[open ?] the doors of the haniya- gate and the turiya- gate (17) and they close them. (Again) they open them.

According to this passage the haniya- gate and the turiya- gate \(^{75}\) must be connected somehow with the renovation of the spring at the gate of the Šeštā-

---

\(^{73}\) H.G. Gütterbock, MDOG 86 (1953), 74-76; NHF (1964), 73; H. Otten, OLZ 50 (1955), 389ff.; K. Bittel, Yazilikaya (1975), 256.

\(^{74}\) The so-called š.-house is also attested in KBo XI 36 IV 8 (L<sup>U</sup>MEŠ D<sup>Ir</sup>-š-ta-a). In addition to the two texts cited above, the turiya- gate is attested in KUB II 3 V 31 [1.k], again a KILAM text. Here with the designation turiyaš šīlammar, "the turiya- gate-house" (see ZA 65, 90). The context before and after this is damaged. The restoration ES<sup>La</sup>entuwa in l. 25 is not certain, therefore its relation to the š.-gate in the following is questionable. As for the etymology of the name, Friederich, 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, it is worth observing the connection between this spring and the haniya- gate, perhaps the “gate of the (water) drawing?” (related to the verb hän- “to draw”?). Whether the etymology is popular (A. Kamenhuber, OrNS 41, 1972, 298) or real is irrelevant in this case. It must have had some real meaning for a resident of Ḫattuša.

(b) The context in which the ḫ.-house appears in KBo XXV 18 [2.e.B] “1st tablet of the 3rd day”, is very fragmentary. In rev. 1.5’ it is followed by a “grove” (l.6’岩石). In l.9’ the “men of the ḫ.-house” are connected with the ḫ.izknuha-. On the obverse, the ḫ.-house appears in association with the makzi(ya)-house (see below).

(c) The third context in which the ḫ.-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 ḫ.-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 KILLAM festival occurrences associate the ḫešṭa- 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 KILLAM festival and the festival of the ḫešṭa- house, mentioned in the formulas of the MELQET tablets KBo XVI 67, 69, has been raised (Ch. V.LA). Some of the ration formulas in these tablets are identical to those of the KILLAM 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 obs. (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 ḫešṭa- house appears in the KILLAM text do not bring us any closer to the solution. Perhaps the descriptions relating to the ḫešṭa- are contained within the large missing parts of the text. There

76 Cf. also KUB XXXIV 69 + 70 126’]še-ir 𒈦.GUDU IV LUGAL ḫeš-te-a-[27’] Ḫa-ani-ya-aš KÁ-aš a-ri.
77 Also attested in Bo 2701.11’; ḫ.izknuha- LUGAL.LUH.
78 The makzi(ya)- house is further attested in KBo VII 40 obs. 8’; KBo XVII 15 obs. 19’; KUB XXXIV 71.1.4’, 6’; 256/4, 5’; 145/3, 3, 5; 879/z 11 8’; Bo 5478 rev. 5. In practically all occurrences, the m.-house is associated with the ḫešṭa- house. In all probability the ḫ.makzi(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).
are a great number of festival texts which are related in some way to the heštā- house. In different festivals, such as the AN.TAH.ŠUM and the purul-li, rituals performed at the heštā- house are included. It seems plausible that the K.L.LAM 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. *(b)* ḫilammar = K.L.LAM “gate-house”

For ḫ. one may consult the separate article in ZA 65 (1975), 69ff. The main contribution of the K.L.LAM 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 K.L.LAM = ḫilammar see now p. 46.

5. NAAḫuwa-ši of the Storm-god

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

6. ḫaššaštīpa- “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 136). 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 ḫ. 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 ḫilammar 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 ḫšlan, as I attempted, following Bosser, to show in the same article (pp. 96ff.), and since this word must be related to ḫilammar, 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 millennium 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 *luštanī*—“the side entrance” (probably “postern”), both forming part of a gate-house (*ēšlammar*). In the K.I.LAM text, there appears the “upper *k.*” that is, the upper gate of the palace, which is elsewhere referred to as the “upper *ēšlammar*” (ZA 65, 87 n.83). See further the discussion on *ḥalentiwa*.

7. *ēkatapuena.*

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 kaškašīpa-*” (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 porch or balcony incorporated into the gate-house itself. In KUB XLIV 39 obv. 6’ the *k.* has the determinative for wood (*GIS*). 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 Ḫalki. 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.* and sets out to the temple of Inar.

The context of KUB XLIV 39 II 7’6’ (*GISk.*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.

From the standpoint of word formation, *katapuena*—resembles *GISkattaluzzi*- “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 BBoT III 69+ (E.Laroche, OLZ 72 (1977), 33) has the unusual form *ka-tla-pu-ul-zi-ni-az.*
83 The fragment belongs to the AN.ṬAH.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-ul-zi* (cf. p.29).
8. É.DU₁₀.ŬSS.A “bathroom”

É.DU₁₀.ŬSS.A is attested in the K.I.LAM 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. At the beginning of the festival the king enters the inner-room (turnakkeššar I 6) and performs his toilet. After completing this activity he leaves the É.DU₁₀.ŬSS.A (I 18). This might at first sight create a case of mistaken identity between the two terms. However, turnakkeššar 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. The explanation of the apparent inconsistency in the text is quite simple. One of the units is contained within the other. The É.DU₁₀.ŬSS.A is not an independent structure, but a functional unit which can be found in various buildings, the palace, the tar-nu-house and others.

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

9. É.NA₄(DINGIR-L₄M) “mausoleum”

The “(royal) mausoleum”, lit.: “the stone-house (of the god)”, is attested in the K.I.LAM text in connection with the substance tab(a) tumar(a) brought from it. The burning of this incense (?) is performed during the “great assembly” (see p. 98) at the ħunuāši of the Storm-god. Three trays

---

85 J. Friedrich, ZA 37 (1927), 178; HW 270 equates it with Akkadian bit rimki. S. Alp, JCS 1 (1947), 1721. n. 24 suggested the equation with Hittite šormu. (See n. 87 below).
86 turnakkeššar = É.ŠA: KBo XVI 101 III 11–12; IBoT III 1 obv. 7; etc. É.DU₁₀.ŬSS.A: KUB II 13 I 3f.; KUB XXV 16 i 4f.; KBo XI 43 i 14f.
87 Therefore the equation of É.DU₁₀.ŬSS.A with šormu, 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.ŬSS.A 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; Orients 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 bi₄(zal)u₂wani- (restored in KBo X 25 II 31) see E. Neu, StBoT 12 (1970), 73f.
and three stands\(^{93}\) 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!):

- E\(^{HL-}\)NA\(_{4}\) (Middle Hittite KBo XX 33 + obv. 5 [3.a])
- E\(_{NA_{4}}\) DIN\(_{4}\) L\(_{4}\) (KBo XXV 176 obv. 6 [3.b])
- E\(_{MES_{4}}\) NA\(_{4}\) DIN\(_{4}\) GIR\(_{4}\) L\(_{4}\) (KBo X 25 II 38'' [1.j])
- E\(_{MES_{4}}\) NA\(_{4}\) UL\(_{4}\) (IBo T 1 13 V\(_{6}\); dupl. of the former [1.j.D])
- (L\(_{MES}\) E\(_{NA_{4}}\) (KBo X 25 II 41'' [1.j])

As for the difficult problem of the relation of the “stone-house” to the “bone-
house” (\(\overline{\text{jeśta}}\)\(^{94}\)), the K.I.LAM text provides no new evidence.

---

93 For K\(_{t}i\)\(\overline{\text{stu}}\)- see H. Otten apud HW Erg, 3, 20 (The Middle Hittite outline tablet
KBo XX 33 + obv. 4 has N\(_{INDA}t\)\(\overline{\text{kį̂stu}}\).
94 See H. G. Güterbock, Oriens 10 (1957), 360; A. Goetze, JAOS 74 (1954), 189;
AJA 64 (1960), 378.
CHAPTER V
THE CHARACTER OF THE KI.LAM FESTIVAL
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 KLLAM festival. He suggested the equation KILLAM = (6) šilammār, 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 KILLAM, viz. "market".

In the edition of the KILLAM tablets found in Building K, H. G. Güterbock concluded that KILLAM in the name of the festival equals šilammār. 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 šilammār, which were discussed in detail in ZA 65 (1975), 69ff.

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

2. The definition first given by J. Friedrich (ZA 37, 179f.) viz. "gate-house". In the article in ZA 65 1 attempted to adduce evidence in support of the second definition. One of the main aspects of the KILLAM festival, to be discussed below, further substantiates this view. Accordingly, I translate the name of the festival as the "Festival of the gate-house".

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

"Another festival, which became known relatively recently, has the strange name EZEK KILLAM. 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 bibiru

1 AM (MVACG 38, 1933), 204 n. 1; cf. I. Singer, ZA 65 (1975), 92.
3 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.
4 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 *abarakkku* 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 *abarakkku* is introduced by the herald with the Hattic gentilic name of his town, e.g. *Karakhnail* “the one from Karakhna”, 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 Ḫattuša 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, Ḫattuša is not explicitly mentioned in the text, but one may reasonably presume that the scene in this type of text, unless otherwise stated, is Ḫattuša.4 The occurrence in the text of terms like Ḫešša- (see Ch. IV.C.3) and ḪAZANNU (KBo XVI 68 + IV/27 [5.c]) which are presently attested only in connection with Ḫattuša5 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-ū KILAM-ni 3-ŠU eša, “When the king takes his seat seven 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-
ring to the duration of the festival, viz. three days. What then is the gatehouse 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 ḫakatapuzna- (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 haniya-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 1st urianni- (p.63) are preserved in the fragment. According to several passages which belong to the second part of the text (pp.71ff.) but whose exact arrangement is difficult to establish, a number of temples within the town are visited before the procession sets out to the huwaši- of the Storm-god (cf. p.72). Here again certain rituals are performed at the gates. The gate of ŠGIR (= ŠMiyatanzipa) 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 unnumiangi-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 huwaši- 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 huwaši- 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 (KĀ Ė GIBAN; p.80), the ašuša-gate again (p.80), and, after a lacuna, the gate of the makiya-house (p.80) and the gate of the [ḥešt]-a- 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 Ḫattuša, 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 KL-LAM in the festival name and title sentence refers to a specific gate-house. First, the title sentence always has KL-LAM-ni (or INA KL-LAM) in the singular, 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 Ḫatu-puzna- 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, KL-LAM in the title sentence is the gate-house of the palace. 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) which suggests the restoration: [mān = kan(?)] LUGAL-ni-ḫallannaz kitāta [’U-š(?) N₄ hruwašiya (?) ari “[When(?)] the king proceeds from the gate-house to the [hruwaši(?) [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 hruwašī- 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 KL-LAM/ḫallannar is not attested (cf. ZA 65, 76), however, one would expect KL-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.TAH.ŠUM festival, celebrated in the spring, it is known that it lasted 38 days. The muntarinyaššaš festival celebrated in the harvest season lasted at least 21 days. These two were the main annual festivals in the central part of the kingdom. 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 1 51f.; 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, 18ff.).

The two newly discovered outline tablets of the K.I.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 K.I.LAM festival in 1.15’ 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 (حارثاتييا šīwat), 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-

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.GAL)\textsuperscript{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 KILAM 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 Ḫattuša. Some of these are sent to the Īsuwaši of the Storm-god (l.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 KILAM 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 “Ḫurianzīpa
(17') ] they perform; for the second (time) (tān) they perform in the same way;
(18') ] [for the third (time) (teriyatna) 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 KILAM festival, all of them referring to the first, second or third day. Not a single reference is found for a later day of the

\textsuperscript{15} II 30'; III 6'; restored in II 5'; II 17'; also in dupl. B (KBo XXII 195(+) II' 16').
festival.\textsuperscript{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 KILAM festival was three days.\textsuperscript{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.

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

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

\textsuperscript{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 *lukkāti=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]). 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 *hawāši*-i 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 *hawāši*-i 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’I. [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 ḫeštā, 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 [hwaš[i] (?)’].” Thus, there is good reason to believe that the first day of the festival included the “great assembly” at the hwaši 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 assigning the text to a particular day. The only allusion in this respect is found in KBo X 25 V 38 [1.f], 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’f. (see synopsis on p.75): “[From the temple of] Ṣinar, the šappištuares 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 K.LAM festival, according to which a festival for the Grain-goddess (NISABA = ḫalki-) 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\(^{KAM}\) LÜMES\(\ddot{e}\) KAŠ\(\ddot{e}\)E NU.GÂL “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)i-e-ri-eš ḫu-i-ta-a-ar-ra NU.GÂL “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') [(S\(\ddot{A}\) LÜMES\(\ddot{e}\) UR.GI, DUGUD)] N\(\ddot{I}G.BA\)-ŠU LUGAL-un pu-ū-nu-\(\ddot{u}\)-\(\ddot{s}\)-ša-an-zi

(20') [(I-NA UD II\(^{KAM}\) N\(\ddot{I}G.BA\))] NU.GÂL

“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.i]. The present given there to the “dog-men” is a “ceremonial dress” (TUG\(a\)-du-li). There too this follows immediately upon the procession of the “animals of the gods”.

- Obv. II 30' I-NA UD II\(^{KAM}\) gâl-di NU.GÂL “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\(^{KAM}\) LÚNAR\(i\)-aš NU.GÂL “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 Ḫattuša.

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 Ḫeššā- house (obv. 6'; rev. 5') and two other architectural sites: ṭanakāru- (obv. 4', 7') and ṭikumu- (rev. 10'). A "grove" (GISTIR rev. 6') is also mentioned. The Ḫeššā- 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 Ḫeššā- 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 KIAM 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 phenomenon or by an agricultural activity.

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.33ff.) 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.

Some indication of the season may be derived from the central role played by the temple of the “Grain-goddess” Ḫalki in the celebrations. According to the oracle tablet ABoT 14 a special festival for the Grain-goddess (NISA-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

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).
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 Ḫalki'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 depts 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 K.LAM festival was celebrated. 24

---

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 (l. 32 ff.); NHF (1964), 64.
24 In the passage referring to the K.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 (mašiyankî) 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 KL.LAM Festival

The references to the KL.LAM 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 KL.LAM 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 Ḥattišili III's recapture of the town.26 No indirect information of this type is available for the KL.LAM 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 KL.LAM festival27 deals only with the latter subject. Whether the preceding oracle account (lines 1–7) also has some bearing on the KL.LAM cannot be established.

The passage referring to the KL.LAM has two small duplicates: 2001/1 (to lines 5–19) and the tiny fragment Bo 69/101 (to lines 7–10).

8 ᄑ sûr Individual, ku-wa-pi EZEN KL.LAM
9 i-ya-zi ((GAL)) L injustice GISバンシュラ-ya
10 ŠA LUGAL ku-in EZEN ᄏ jal-ki-ya-aš
11 e-eš-šu-u-wa-an-zi i-ya-an-zi
12 nu-za ᄑ sûr EZEN a) ma-ši-ya-an-ki
13 MUŠAM. 1-i-ya-zi a-pu-u-un-ma i
14 EZEN ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-an-pat
15 e-eš-ša-an-zí p-eš-kán-zí-ma ki-i

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 ᄑ Aruritti they have driven, but 10 sheep they gave here.” “Here” must refer to Ḥattiša, 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 IS-TU É.GAL LIM pî-an-zi
17 40 UDUBIA-ma ḫal-ku3-esšar-ra
18 ŠA EMES-ŠU-NU-pât an-na-la-az
19 tūp-pî-an-za QA-TAM-MA i-ya-an

a) 2001/i, l.5' EZENBI
b) ll.6', 7' om. -ma
    c) l.8' add. -e-

“When His Majesty performs the KIAM festival, which festival (the forerunners of) the king’s table-men begin to perform in the temple of Ḥalki—His Majesty performs the festivals in the respective (or: at any given time in the) year—they also (should) celebrate that festival accurately. And one provides this: two oxen are provided from the palace, but the 40 sheep and the cult provisions are (are) from their own houses; so it is made according to the former tablet.”  

What can be learned about the KIAM 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 KIAM festival”. The details remain to be elucidated. The statement that the festival has to be made šakūwāšāran (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 Ḥalki 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 Ḥalki’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 KIAM festival.  

28 For Ḫalkuešar see pp. 147f.
29 For ll. 13−19 cf. translation of E. Laroch, 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, 40f.). Here the “former document” was written on a wooden tablet: ...an-na-la-za-at-kín GIS.ḪUR guš-da-na-za ar-ḫa guš-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 KLLAM festival (otherwise it is not clear what "on the second day" in l.20 refers to):

20 I-NA UD ƗKAM-.ma LU\textsuperscript{MEŠ} GI\textsuperscript{BANŠUR} ŠA SAL.LUGAL
21 I-NA E D\textsuperscript{NISABA} A-NA D\textsuperscript{NISABA}
22 ESEN-an i-ya-an-zi pî-ya-an-zi-ma-aš-ši
23 ki-i I GUD ŠA E.GAL\textsuperscript{LIM}
24 [2]0 UDUI\textsuperscript{LIMA}-ma ūal-kul-eš-šar-ra ŠA E\textsuperscript{MEŠ} Š[U-N]U

(the remainder of the column is lost except for) \textsuperscript{LIM} ŠA E.ZEN [ in l.25]

"On the second day the queen's table-men perform a festival for D\textsuperscript{NISABA} in the temple of D\textsuperscript{NISABA}. And they provide this for it: one ox of the palace (is provided), but the 20th sheep and the cult provisions (are) from their own houses".

D\textsuperscript{NISABA} is the logographic writing for D\textsuperscript{Halki} (E. Laroche, Dieux, 103). It follows from this passage that a festival for the Grain-goddess is incorporated into the second day of the KLLAM festival (see further pp.129f.). While the preparation of the KLLAM 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 KLLAM festival text, there is no direct reference to this festival. However, it is possible that the festival of Halki 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, Kleinasiens, 165 n.1). The section beginning with line 9' deals with the KLLAM 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 D\textsuperscript{NISABA} for [D\textsuperscript{NISABA}...". 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 KLLAM festival (H. Otten, ZA 66, 1976, 299).

Bo 69/429

This small fragment only contains the following: (1) B\textsuperscript{L][IB-R}l\textsuperscript{LIMA} [ (2) ]\textsuperscript{LIMA} pal-h\textsuperscript{LIMA} i-\times [ (3) ]\times ESEN KLLAM [ . The occurrence of rhyta (BIBR\textsuperscript{LIMA}) in connection with the KLLAM 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 Hattuša according to the Instructions for Temple Officials (CTH 264).

The KLLAM festival was celebrated in Hattuša, within the town proper and in the cult places in its vicinity. Therefore, the absence of the KLLAM festival
from the list of festivals of the capital in the Instructions for Temple Officials\textsuperscript{31} 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 bibru is “rhyton”, i.e., a hollow zoomorphic vessel for liquid offerings\textsuperscript{32}, whereas in my opinion the metal animals carried in the procession had a different character (see p. 94). In addition, the term BIBRU (Hittite balwani-) does not appear in the description of the procession.\textsuperscript{33}

(b) EZEN AYALI, “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.\textsuperscript{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 suppayaš\textsuperscript{5} LUG 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 D\textsuperscript{KAL}” led by the priest of D\textsuperscript{KAL} is at the head of the procession of the “animals of the gods” (KBo X 23 IV 15ff. [i,a]; cf. also KUB X 1 1 26 [i,c]). In other parts of the text we encounter the “holy priest of the Storm-god” (KBo

\textsuperscript{31} For the list of festivals (KUB XIII 4 1 39–45) see H.G. Güterbock, XVII RAI (1969), 177f.
\textsuperscript{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 suppistaḫawarāš).
\textsuperscript{33} The only occurrence of BIBRU in connection with the KILAM festival is in the small fragment Bo 69/429 (see above p. 136).
\textsuperscript{34} For compilations of occurrences of the stag (DARRA.MAS = ayala) see H.G. Güterbock, Festschrift Otten (1973), 82f.; E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974), 32. For EZEN AYALI cf. also O.R. Gurney, AAA 27 (1940), 59f.
X 24 II 2 [1.b]) and the “holy priests” of Ḥatti (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 K.I.L.A.M in the list of festivals of Ḥattuša, 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 K.I.L.A.M was indeed omitted from the list for some unknown reason.
CHAPTER VI
THE RATION TABLETS OF THE KILAM 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. 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. 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. 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 MELQET-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 ḫeštā-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 *MELOQET*-lists of the K.LAM 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 K.LAM, see Ch. 1.D. The *MELOQET*-lists of this tablet (which probably belongs to a festival celebrated at Zip(p)a)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 KLLAM festival. 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 KLLAM 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 MELQET-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 KLLAM 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 KLLAM-ml 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.

---

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. 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 + IVi 27'); natta (KBo X 31 III 23').
Typical spelling: \textsuperscript{1}UrDu-a-	extsuperscript{1}ti-mi-ya (KBo XVI 67 I 5). Cf. H. Otten, StBoT 17 (1973), 39.

Morphology
Gen.pl. -an for a collective group: 

\textsuperscript{1}UrLM\textsuperscript{1}Umes\textsuperscript{1}Uapiyan (KBo X 31 IV 29–31).

Lexical

Frequent use of possessive pronoun: šunišši (passim); tarnaz-śemiš (KBo X 31 III 16'); šuppa-šmit (ib. III 31'); \textsuperscript{1}UrDu muḫḫarauš-śmīš (ib. III 33'); unuwa-šnuš-śmīš (ib. IV 31'); ḫulpa(n)⟨\textsuperscript{1}Ur⟩nunuš-šēš-śmīš (KBo XVI 68 + IVi 9; 1620/c+; 6'); E-as-mi-it > *parnašt-śmit (1620/c+ 3').

Particles: ta-asša-an < ṭa-asša-an

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.

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 Winkler’s excavation in the House on the Slope (square L/18). It, too, is written in New Hittite ductus.  

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). 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 heštâ- house; see p.114). This group of MELQET-lists was discussed by A.Kammenhuber in OrNS 39 (1970), 561ff., where the ductus characterizations given in the publication were brought into question. Contrary to Kammenhuber’s supposition (ibid. p.562), not all the fragments belong to one festival, whereas those belonging to the KILLAM 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. Only two small fragments of the KILLAM 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 SAR (l.4’), URU (S’, 7’) and note the spelling a-ku-uwa-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.\textsuperscript{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'); Ū (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+ 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 KŪ (ib. 8').

The smaller duplicates and parallel fragments, as well as the duplicates KBo XVI 67 and 69 belonging to the festival of the ḫeštā-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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KBo XVI 68 + III'</th>
<th>KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 NINDA\textsuperscript{11}A 20-iš (4', 14')</td>
<td>20 NINDA ha-a-li-iš 20-iš (7')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URU\textsuperscript{13} U-wa-at-tar-uwa (9')</td>
<td>URU Wa-at-ta-na-uwa (4', 34')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URU Ni-i-na-aš-ša (13')\textsuperscript{13}</td>
<td>URU Ne-na-aš-ša (20')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LŪ\textsuperscript{14} LŪMEŠ URU Zi-in-ḫu-ri-[l-(15')]\textsuperscript{14}</td>
<td>LŪMEŠ zi-in-ḫu-ri-eš (26', 30')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{11} Note especially the form of DA (obv. 3, rev. 5'), which is closest to col. V in StBoT 20 (no. 166).

\textsuperscript{12} Note the form NINDA wa-ga-da-an in KBo XVI 80 obv. 3' compared with NINDA wa-ga-da-aš in KBo XVI 68+.

\textsuperscript{13} Compare Old Assyrian Ni-na-aš(a)- (E.Bilgği, AfO 15, 35).

\textsuperscript{14} See p. 167 n. 46.
D. MELQETU(M), tarnatt-, halkueššar

There are two terms occurring in the ration texts of the KLLAM festival which refer to the rations themselves, Akkadian MELQETU(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. MELQETU(M), Sumerian ŠU.TL.A, is derived from leqä, “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.TL.A (“Annahme(bescheinigung) ex parte accipientis”) than to Old Bab. MELQETU(M). An equation with Hittite halkueššar was suggested by J. Friedrich, Afo 14 (1941–1944), 349f. on the basis of KUB XXXII 123 II 32f., 37f.:  

(32) nu ki-i hal-ku-e-eš-šar hu-u-ma-an ŠA UD ILKAM ku-it-ma-an-kán a-ni-u-ur kar-ap-ta-ri ŠA I NAM.LÜ.ULU.LU-ma-aš ME-EL-QE-SÜ

(37) nu ME-EL-QE-TA ma-ah-ha-an IŠ-TU É.GAL.LIM lam-ni-ja-an-zi

(38) nu ki-i hal-ku-e-eš-sar ku-it ha-an-da-an

“This is the entire halkueššar of the second day; and as long as the ceremony goes on, (this is) the MELQETU of one person.” …

…”And as they order the MELQETU from the palace, this is the halkueššar which is prepared.”

halkueššar 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 halki- “grain”(cf. also HW 47). A.Kammenhuber considers the resemblance between halki- and halkueššar to be

merely accidental (MIO 4, 1956, 40ff.; OrNS 39, 1970, 564), and consequently she rejects the meanings “harvest” and “firstfruits” based on the similarity. As for MELQETU(M) = halkuesar, Kammenhuber points to KUB XXXII 123 III 8 where MELQET (sg.acc.) is modified by an adjective in the neuter gender (humān), which supports the equation. tarnat- is a nomen actionis in -att- of the verb tarna- “to let”. The generally accepted meaning is “allocation, ration”. The term is usually applied to rations of food for persons but it can also refer to animal fodder (KBo XI 9 ŠA ANŠE.KUR.RA MESŠ 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-š ŠA ERINMESŠ 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 ḤA.LA (Akkad. zittu), “ration”, on the ground of the complemented form nom.sg. ḤA.LA-za (cf. also H. M. Kümmel, UF 1, 1960, 164). In this case tarnattalla- would be the reading of LŪ ḤA.LA = LŪ ZITTI (HW 283 “Teilhaber”).

In conclusion, the current equations of MELQETU(M) and tarnatt- are the following:

Sum. ŠU.RI.LA = Akkad. melqetu(m) = Hit. halkuesar
Sum. ḤA.LA = Akkad. zittu = Hit. tarnatt-

Nevertheless, there are a number of indications that MELQETU(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 MELQET. The list concludes with the following passage: KBO XVI 71 + KBO XXV 13 obv.

9’ [pa]-an-gu-š ŠA ERINMESŠ tar-na-at-ta-al-la-aš ×]
10’ [t]a’az u-tar-še-it ḫar-zi DUMU MESŠ LUGAL Ü ×]
11’ [t]a’ E.ŠA-[n]a tar-[n][a]-at-ta-an ka-ru-[u] [ ]

There must then be a direct relation between the individual MELQET sections and between tarnattan and ERINMESŠ tarnattallas in the summary.

16 Cf. also H. A. Hoffner, Alimenta (1974), 25f. with n. 110. The phonetic complements of BURU, “harvest”, in Hittite texts indicate that the Hittite word is an a-stem, common gender.
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-PIŠA ME-EL-[QÉ-ET]

Both tablets contain lists of rations. The former belongs to the KILAM festival, the latter to the festival of the heštā- house.

c) Compare also the passages KUB XXXII 123 II 37 and KBo XX 74 rev.7 III 7'f. In the former ME-EL-QÉ-TA is ordered from the palace (see above p.147), in the later tarnatt- (LUGAL-wa-an É-az tar-na-at-ta-a[hr] -a)n-zi).

There is apparently a semantic overlap between MELQĒTU(M), halkueššar and tarnatt-. It seems that MELQĒTU(M) in the Hittite texts has more in common with tarnatt- than with halkueššar. MELQĒTU(M) and tarnatt-usually refer to single rations (or to the adduced totals), whereas halkueššar 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 halkueššar 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 halkueššar.
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 tarnatasi), 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 MELQET-
lists of the KI.LAM 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 hapiriya-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+ IV' [5.c] (with the parallel text 1620/c+ [5.d]).

19 Under the collective term hapiriya-men are included the following groups of cult
functionaries listed in KBo XVI 68+ IV': the hapiriya-men of various towns (Ališa,
Ankuwa, Šarri), the men of the towns of Lumahila, Angulla, Tišaruliya, the "wolf-
men" (LUMES.UR.BAR.RA), and probably several other groups. Cf. also L. Jakob-
Rost, AoF 5, 1977, 263 ff.
For the hapiriya-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).

\[
x + 2' \text{URU} \times [ \\
3' \text{ma-a-an} \times [ \\
4' 1 \text{GUD-AB} \times [ \\
5' \text{mu-ša-an} \times [ \\
6' \text{NINDA}^{11} \text{A} \text{Ú ME-E} \times [ \\
7' \text{ma-a-an LUMES} \text{ba-š-ma-šu} \times [ \\
8' \text{URU} \text{A-li-ša-am} \times [ \\
9' \text{ku-wa-pi-š-ša-ma-aš} \times [ \\
10' \text{ta še-ša-an-zid} \times [ \\
11' \text{UNINDA}^{11} \text{A LUMES URU URU LIM} \times [ \\
12' \text{a-da-an-zid a-ku-wa-am-zid} \times [ \\
13' \text{ma-a-an LUMES} \text{ba-š-ma-šu} \times [ \\
14' \text{URU} \text{A-ča-š-ka-ša} \times [ \\
15' \text{I MASI.TUR NINDA}^{11} \text{A a-x} \times [ \\
16' \text{LUMES URU Mi-me-ul/z-zi-y} \times [ \\
17' \text{a-da-an-zid a-ku-wa-an-zid} \times [ \\
18' \text{ma-a-an a-ap-pa} \times [ \\
19' ] \times \times [ \\}
\]
(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. 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 MELQET-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 MELQET-lists which do not belong to the KLLAM 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 hešša- house, are also included in the discussion.

Apart from KBo X 31, all the remaining ration lists of the KLLAM 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. 1.E. p. 29f.
21 This definition excludes regular ration specifications which are found in almost every festival text, but are not reduced to stereotyped formulæ. There are several isolated MELQET-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-QE-ET LÚMEŠ/SALMEŠ.....LUGAL-wa-aš a-ap-pa-an ku-i-e-eš

A. Ration of the ..... − men/women of the king (lit. who are behind the king);
B. (2 wageššar-breads of 10-li), 20/30 ḫali-breads of 30-iš, 10 tunik-breads of 50-iš, 10 kaḫarit-breads of 70-iš, 2/3/10 (ḫarši-) vessels of 1 ḫupparr-measure of marrumun and a ḫaniššanni-vessel.

Following the MELOQET sections is the closing sentence (KBo XVI 71 + XXV 13 + II 9’): [pa]-an-gu-uš ŠA ERINMEŠtar-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.7) there is an additional list of rations which differs from the usual MELOQET 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 + 1 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’).
E. The Composition of the Ration Lists

Formula:
A. ME-EL-QÉ-ET LÚMEŠ

B. 1 MÁŠ.TUR 2 NINDAwa-gi-eš-šar 10-li 18 NINDA 20-iš 2 DUG mar-nuan

D. I-NA EZEN Ė ti-iš-da/ta-a
C. LŪ AGRIG URU pa-a-i

A. Ration of ……-men:
B. 1 kid, 2 wagessaar-breads of 10-li, 18 breads of 20-iš, 2 vessels of mar-nuan
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-PJ ŠA ME-EL-QÉ-ET “tablet of rations”. (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 I x+1-6’; 7’-10’) belong to Type 3a, a further indication of the intimate connection between the KIAM 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.; 284/a obv. x+1-5’; 6’ff.; KBo XX 66 x+1-3’; 4’-9’

Formula:
A. ME-EL-QÉ-ET LÚMEŠ
B. 1-2 MÁŠ.TUR 1-2 NINDA.KUR.GAL 1 ta-ḥa-si-iš mar-nu-an 1 ta-ša-(a-ši)-aš KÁŠ.GEŠTIN

B. pī-ra-na 1 NINDAwa-gi-eš-šar 15-iš 10 NINDA 20-iš 1 DUG mar-nuan
C. LŪ AGRIG URU pa-a-i
B. 1 DUG KAŠ.GEŠTIN
C. LŪ ZABAR,DIB pa-a-i

A. Ration of ……-men:
B. 1-2 kid(s), 1-2 large ordinary bread(s), 1 taḥaši-vessel of mar-nuan, 1 taḥaši-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 + 1’
10’-11’) and the zinḫuri- men (KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 rev. III 23’) receive
their ration in the temple of D^KAL = DInar. The slaughter of the livestock
beasts is appropriated for the king.

The significance of the division into two sub-sections (dividing line omitted
only in KBo XVI 68 + 1’ 4’-9’) is not clear. Although the beverages supplied
in the two sub-sections are the same (for the correspondence between DUG
and taḫšši- see p.162), the bread differs. Therefore the second sub-section
must list additional quantities. For pir-a-na = pir-ana which opens the
second sub-section, I can only suggest a temporal sense (but cf. A.Kammen-
huber, OnNS 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 beštä- 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).
2 DUG mar-nu-an (15 NINDAša-ra-a-ma)
C. LUG AGRIG URU ......
E. The Composition of the Ration Lists

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-šiš, 2 wageššar/ breads of 15-šara, 2 vessels of marmun, (16 šara-ma-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 MELQÊT 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 zinjuɾi-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. The rations provided by each AGRIG are usually identical, except in a few instances where they differ only slightly.

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 hašša-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[araḥna ?], Ḥarḥarna, [ ... ], Šukziya, Zikkurka, Uwattarwa/Wattaruwa, Zimnuruwa, Ni/enaša. For the zinjuɾi- men: the AGRIG's of Ališa, Kariša, Ḥariš, K[attila ?], Šukziya, [Zikkurk]a (?), Wattaruwa.

23 E.g., in two sections in which the AGRIG's of Zimnuruwa and Nenaša 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 QATAMMA, KLMIN 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.
1. THE SUPPLIERS

Valuable data on the logistic aspects of a Hittite festival can be gathered from the ration tablets of the KI.IAM 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 KI.IAM 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 KI.IAM festival mainly mar-muan) 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.

- LU\textsuperscript{MES} ZABAR.DIB, "the wine-suppliers", deliver regular wine (KUB XLVIII 9 II 11 [3.b.C]) and another sort of wine called KAŠ.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).

- LU\textsuperscript{MES} [G]I[D]U₆[A] are attested only once in the KI.IAM festival (KBo X 31 II 9' [5.a]). They supply sheep (number not preserved) to the priest of the town of Kiliš̄ara. The LU\textsuperscript{MES} SIPAD.(UDU), "the shepherds", who usually deliver the livestock in festivals are not attested as suppliers in the KI.IAM. (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.

- LU\textsuperscript{MES} tamišatăliš 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.Arch, OrAnt 12 (1973), 220ff.
25 G. Steiner, KIA III (1966), 306: "a sort of inferior wine or young wine." An interpretation "beer (or) wine" (A.Kammenhuber, OrS 39, 1970, 563; A.Arch, 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. Laroch, OLZ 57 (1962), 30 analyzes the name as a -tally-derivative of the verb tameš: "to press, to squeeze." Cf. also N. van Brock, RHA XX 71 (1962), 166; A.Arch, OrAnt 12 (1973), 221: "pressatori (?)." The name is attested also in KBo XX 32 II 3 (LU\textsuperscript{MES} dam-ša-tal-liš) and dupls. Bo 2599 II 28', Bo 5943 rev. 12'. See now E. Neu, Akkad. lu\textsuperscript{MUR}D 1 = hethit, lu\textsuperscript{MUR}D. Rocznik Orientalistyczny XLI/2, 1980, 83–87; StBoT 26 sub lu\textsuperscript{MUR}DI.
VI The Ration Tablets of the KLLAM Festival and Comparative Material

- LU\(^{3}\)MU\(^{3}\)EN.DU, “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” (E.DUB.SAR.GIŠ, KBo X 31 IV 33'; KBo XVI 68 + IV' 30). See further below p.166.
- UGULA LU\(^{3}\)AŚGAB, “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' × UDUNI (?) (šimmari)).
- LU\(^{3}\)HAZANNU “the mayor (of Ḫattuša)” delivers something ending in GI\[D\](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 KLLAM 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'.)

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. 163 f.) 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 MELQÊT-lists each AGRIG usually provides one sheep (p. 155; Type 4).

For the bread and beverage rations one must rely mainly on the MELQÊT-lists. The following comparative table shows the expenditures listed in one MELQÊT section according to the formulas described above, p. 151 ff. 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 ḫēštā- 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  Khá.KURš.RA GAL + 1 Khá.wagadaš
Type 3b: 1000-iš + [ ]
Type 4: 430-li/iš + 1  Khá.sarama

Types 3 and 4 include sorts of bread without numerical specifications. Assuming at random an average of 10-iš or 15-iš for one Khá.sarama 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 ḫēštā- 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 MELQÊT 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. l' 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>Type 2</th>
<th>Type 3a</th>
<th>Type 3b</th>
<th>Type 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Old Hit. tablet KBo XX 16+; festival in Zip(paj)landa)</td>
<td>(קֶשֶׁת- festival)</td>
<td>(קֶשֶׁת- festival; only partial sections)</td>
<td>(סֶשֶׁת- festival)</td>
<td>KILAM festival see p. 159 n. 27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIVESTOCK</th>
<th>1 MÁŠ.TUR (&quot;kid&quot;)</th>
<th>1(2) MÁŠ.TUR (&quot;kid&quot;)</th>
<th>1 MÁŠ.GAL (&quot;he-goat&quot;)</th>
<th>1 UDU (&quot;sheep&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listed separately in rev. IV</td>
<td>3 MÁŠ.TUR (&quot;kids&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BREAD</th>
<th>18 NINDA 20-iš</th>
<th>10 NINDA 20-iš</th>
<th>50 NINDA 20-iš</th>
<th>20 NINDA 20-iš</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20,30 נִהָלִים 30-iš</td>
<td>2 נָוָגֶשֶׂר 10-li</td>
<td>2 נָוָגֶשֶׂר 15-iš</td>
<td>2 נִהָלִים 20-iš</td>
<td>2 נִהָלִים 15-iš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 נְטִינִך 50-iš</td>
<td>1 NINDA.KUR.א.ה GAL</td>
<td>1 נָוָגֶשֶׂר</td>
<td>15 נָוָגֶשֶׂר</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 נְקַחֶרִית 70-iš</td>
<td>1 NINDA</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 NINDA.ש.ר.מ.א</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BEVERAGES</th>
<th>2 DUG marnuan</th>
<th>1 תַּחְשִׁישׁ marnuan</th>
<th>5 DUG marnuan</th>
<th>2 DUG marnuan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,3(.10) DUG (כַּחָשׁ) marnuan</td>
<td>1 DUG marnuan</td>
<td>1 DUG marnuan</td>
<td>1 DUG KA.ש.ג. גֶּשֶׁת</td>
<td>2 DUG marnuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŞA 1 huPPAR DUG תַּחְשִׁישׁ</td>
<td>1 תַּחְשִׁישׁ KA.ש. גֶּשֶׁת</td>
<td>1 DUG KA.ש.ג. גֶּשֶׁת</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*marnuan* = an inferior sort of beer (cf. p. 161);
KA.ש.ג.גֶּשֶׁת = "beer-wine" (an inferior sort of wine; cf. p. 157 n. 25);
N. = NINDA.
bers may refer to units of weight of one shekel, the resulting weights would be ca. 25 kgs. of bread in Type 1 as against ca. 5–7.5 kgs. in Types 2, 3a and 4 (Type 3b is incomplete).

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 (Il.4'–9'). Two further AGRIG's (of Zinirnuwa and Nenaššâ) give the same except for 15 šaramal- loaves. One arrives at the following amounts:

8 x 1 UDU = 8 sheep
8 x NINDABILA 20-is = a total of 3200-is
8 x NINDAGeššar 15-is = a total of 240-is
8 x 2 DUG marmuan = 16 vessels of marmuan (sort of beer)
6 x 15 NINDAšarama = 90 šaramal- breads

Assuming, for the sake of calculation, an average of 15-is for one šaramal-bread, one arrives at a total of ca. 3500-is. Conjecturing that 1-is 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 (NINDABILA) which, on the basis of our ration lists at least, can be designated also as NINDAJališ.

The beverage rations include only marmuan, an inferior sort of beer (RIA III, 306) and KAS.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 KI.ŁAM festival mostly for ritual purposes. For one ration, two vessels

---

29 lb. p.150.
31 This is concluded from the comparison of the two parallel passages: KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 7', 11', etc. has 20 NINDAJališ 20-is; KBo XVI 68 III 4', 10', 12', 14' has 20 NINDABILA 20-is.
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: \textit{DUG har-šiš} (see p. 162 n. 34) in KBo XVI 71 + KBo XXV 13 obv. II 8' (cf. Type 1), \textit{ta-haššiš} (see below) in Type 3a and \textit{DUG haniššamni} in Type 1.

As stated by A. Kammenhuber, OrNS 39 (1970), 563, \textit{ta-haššiš} 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 \textit{marnu-an} and one DUG of KAŠ.GEŠTIN; the second sub-section has 1 \textit{ta-haššiš} of marnu-an and 1 \textit{ta-haššiš} 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 \textit{ta-haššiš} may actually be the Hittite reading of DUG despite the form \textit{DUG haššiš} (Bo 3005 rev. 3', 4' [i.e.5]; KUB XLI 34 24, 8'). There are other instances in which a determinative stands before a Hittite word which is actually its translation: \textit{Ib3} karwar, “horn” (HW 342), \textit{Ib4} ku(wa) nm(n)- “copper” (cf. HW 122), \textit{Ib3} ku(wa) nm(n)- “copper” (cf. HW 122). The quantity of the beverage is specified in the Old Hittite ration tablet KBo XX 16+ (Type 1):

\begin{itemize}
  \item 2–3 DUG mar-nu-an ŠA 1 ḫu-up-ｐar
  \item “2–3 vessels of 1 ḫu-up-par-measure of \textit{marnu-an}”
\end{itemize}

A similar construction is found in the KILAM ration tablet KBo X 31 II 7'; IV 9':

\begin{itemize}
  \item 1 DUG mar-nu-an ŠA 2 ḫu-up-par-әš
  \item “1 vessel of 2 ḫu-up-par-measure of \textit{marnu-an}”
\end{itemize}

In these instances \textit{ḫu-up-par} is no doubt a unit of volume.\textsuperscript{34} In most instances \textit{ḫu-up-par} refers to a vessel,\textsuperscript{35} as in the occurrences in which \textit{ḫu-up-par} has the function of the vessel is meant here: 1 ½ NINDA ḫu-up-par-әš, “one and a half breads of (one) ḫu-up-par”; NINDA,1,E.D.E.A ḫu-up-par-әš, “bread spread with oil of (one) ḫu-up-par”.

\textsuperscript{33} Cf. E. Laroche, RHA XXIV/79 (1966), 182 ff.
\textsuperscript{34} Cf. also KBo 36 III 18, IV 4: ŠA 2ᵐḫu-up-pa-ra-an-ni. A. Goetze, JCS 17 (1963), 63: “does that signify ‘per two ḫu-up-par issues?’”. Some notion of the size of a \textit{ḫu-up-par} can be derived from KBo XX 16+ KBo XXV 13 II 7': 10 \textit{DUG har-šiš} mar-nu-an ŠA 1 ḫu-up-par “10 ḫar-šiš vessels (with) marnu-an of one ḫu-up-par (each).” \textit{DUG har-šiš} has been defined as a “storage vessel, pithos”, (HW 60) which suggests a rather large capacity for the ḫu-up-par. (Note also the alternation between ḫu-up-par and \textit{DUG har-šiš} 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 ḫar-šiš vessel is normally one ḫu-up-par?

That the volume unit ḫu-up-par 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 ½ NINDA ḫu-up-par-әš, “one and a half breads of (one) ḫu-up-par”; NINDA,1,E.D.E.A ḫu-up-par-әš, “bread spread with oil of (one) ḫu-up-par”.

\textsuperscript{35} HW 75: “Schale, Terrine, ortoxomos (?)”. Cf. further A. Kammenhuber, SMEA 14 (1971), 149 ff. Cf. H. Otten, ZA 46 (1940), 214 ff.: ḫu-up-par KUBABBAR ŠA ½
determinative DUG or GIŠ, and those cases in which the substance of the vessel is given (gold: KBo X 26 I 25f. V 1f.; 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 hupparr”\(^{36}\) (LUGAL-uš hupparr šipanti); KLLAM festival occurrences: KBo X 25 [1,j] I 17f. II 7; KBo X 26 [1,i] V 22; KUB II 3 [1,k] I 27f.). In other contexts either rendering, as a unit of volume or as a vessel, is possible, e.g. in the outline tablet of the KLLAM festival KBo XX 33+ obv. 13f. [3.a]: “From the temple of lnar they bring the silver animals; they pour one huppar (of) wine for the panther/leopard, one huppar (of) wine for the boar.”

Which of the two denotations of hup(p)ar was the original is difficult to tell, but one may safely conclude that the vessel hup(p)ar had, at least initially, the volume of one hup(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 KLLAM festival. Two passages\(^{37}\) concerning supplies of ornaments have been identified so far:

1. KBo XVI 68 + IV\(^{1}\) [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:

\[
\text{tšu-ua-an-da-an L̄U}\up{\text{meš}}\text{ša-[a]-pi-ya-an u-nu-wa-aš-hu-uš-mu-uš KUBAB-}\text{BAR-aš GUSKIN-aš IŠ-TU E.((DUB-SA))R ([G])IŠ pi-an-((zd))}
\]

MA.NA XX-ya [IŠ]1D.ÜG.GA šu-wa-an “ein Hupparr-Gefäß aus Silber von einer halben Mine und zwanzig (Halb-Sekel Gewicht) ist mit Feinöl gefüllt.” The weight of this silver hupparr 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 hup(p)ar. If so, one may compare this vessel to the hieroglyphic sign L 342, which actually has the phonetic value hu (in consonance with the acrophonic principle?).

For an alternative interpretation of this expression see F. Starke, StBoT 23 (1977), 57ff.

\(^{37}\) 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') K|UBABBAR; (4') GUSK|IN.
“The ornaments of silver (and) gold of all the ḥapīya-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 KBō XVI 68 + IV 3. The section begins with articles of clothing which include “shirts” (TÚ.G.GŬ.E.A), “waistbands” 38 and “girdles” (E.I.B). In all the attested cases the shirts are red (1620/c+ 4’, 11’; KBō XVI 68 + IV 3, 6, 18). The waist bands are either red (KBō XVI 68 IV 1, 6, 18) or made of “linen-cloth” (GAD; KBō XVI 68 + IV 8; 1620/c+ 11’). The girdles are made of silver (KBō XVI 68 + IV 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) Lumanḫila (KBō XVI 68 + IV 3)
- 15 men of (the town) Angulla (ib. 6) 40
- 10 ḥapīya-men of (the town) [ ] 41
- 10 ḥapīya-men of (the town) Ankuwa (ib. 15)
- 18’[ḥapīya-men?] of (the town) Al[iša] (ib. 18)
- 15 ḥapīya-men of Ḥatti (1620/c+ 4’) 41
- 15 [ ] (1620/c+ 11’)
- 16 [ ] (354/c III 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 ḥapīya-men one encounters attributes of lions. The construction is as follows:

39 Cf. also p. 350 n. 19.
40 Cf. the 15 sheep provided to this group according to KBō 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 ḥapīya-men of Ḥatti. Compare the next section II 11’–12’; the name of the recipient is not given here but probably in the next section.
The participial form hulpazinantesš 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 hulpā(n)žena- would be some sort of metal attachment “studded” or “clasp” or the like (K. K. Riemschneider, StBoT 9, 8: “(Zier)knopf, Spange”). It is very likely that the participle huwalzinant- in KBo II I I 38 is a variant form of the same word. There it refers to a copper dagger (1 URUDUG 8 TA GUSHKIN hu-u-ua-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” (LÜMEŠ UR MAH) an equation has been established by H. Otten, WdO 5 (1969–1970), 94f. with LÜMEŠ wallwaller-

Other animal attributes: “15 teeth of reed pigs” (15 KA×UD ȘAH ǦIS.

Ornaments (with unknown meanings) are:

- purunges (KBo XVI 68 + IV’ 4, 10; 1620/c+ 8’; 354/c III’ 4’) of silver and gold.
- štelheš (KBo XVI 68 + IV’ 10)
- -(.)šarupi (ib. 16) of copper
- ŠUPPAT (1620/c+ 8’, 13’), of gold and silver (cf. Friedrich, HG, 35 n.5)
- iššanāppis (1620/c+ 9’) of iron
- kalakli-×[ (354/c III’ 5’)]

The materials found in the lists include gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, rock-crystal (NA A.DU.N Şi.ŞA; KBo XVI 68 + IV’ 2), lapis-lazuli (NA A.GI.N; 1620/c + 7’) and raw glass(?) (NA A-aš MEK/KU; KBo XVI 68 + IV’ 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 kalikalli- “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 5b, (CTH p. 186): DUB-I KAM A-NA EZEN pu-u-ru-li-ya-zi-sa ma-aḫ-ba-an LÜMEŠ ba-pi-eš ui-um-ua-aš-pu-su dā-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’t., V 29’t. (see p. 28): LÜMEŠ ba-pi-eš ui-um-ua-an-te-eš i-ya-an-ta “the adorned hapiya-men proceed” (note also III 30’: TUG ȘAŠ, “red garment”); see further p. 150 n. 19.
The last three sections in KBo XVI 68 + IV (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” (LUMENŠ SANGA KUR.KUR17IM LUMENŠ DIM).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 (GISPALMA) 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) Tiškarulî45 receive from the “foreman
of the leather workers” (UGULA LUMENŠ AŠGAB) something probably made of
sheep hide (see p. 158).

The items supplied by the AGRIG of Hatti (l.26) and by the “mayor”
(lH HAZANNÜ; 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”, E.DUB.SAR.GIŠ (KBo X 31 IV 34; KBo XVI 68 + IV 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., 9–10: one
iškallešar garment, one curtain (KUSHNİG.BAR, see p. 58 n. 10) IVAM SİAPŮ,
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 recipi-
ents 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 LUMENŠ SANGA KUR.KUR17IM, KUB XLIII 29 III 9; KBo XX
74 obv.: II 7. For a suggested Hittite reading of LUMENš IM, see p. 64 n. 32.
45 Usually URU Tiškarulîya; KUB XXXVI 45 III 9; KUB XXV 45 1 3; KBo VIII 124
rev.: 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 _MELQET_ 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 One exceptional case is noteworthy in this connection: the group usually known as the _zinjurri_ men, is referred to in KBo XVI 68 (+) KBo XVI 79 III 15 as _LU^MES_ _URU_ _Zi-in_ - _mu-ri(-)_ “the men of (the town) _zinjurri(-)_”. The parallel text KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77 III 30’ has the usual form _LU^MES_ _zi-n_ - _mu-ri-e-es_ (cf. _URU_ _Zi-in_ - _ku-ri(-)_ KBo XXI 105 obv. 6’).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Supplier</th>
<th>Provisions</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LÚMEŠ SANGA KUR.KUR TLM</td>
<td>(ANA URU-ŠUNU ?)</td>
<td>GIŠ PA UL.A</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + IV ² 24 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚMEŠ DIM</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚDU</td>
<td>3 [SA]HUL.A QADU KUŠ-ŠUNU</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 17–18'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚSANGA Dinar</td>
<td>4 [UD]UL.A</td>
<td>(on the first and third days)</td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 21–24'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚSANGA D Kampusuit</td>
<td>LÚAGRIG URU Hatti</td>
<td>1 NINDAMURITUŠ [šarnīš[š][iš]]</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 (+) KUB XXXIV 86 III ² 24 f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]PZA.BA₂₄.BA₄</td>
<td>LÚAGRIG URU [</td>
<td>MELQET Type 3a</td>
<td>284/a obv. 6' ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NINDINGIR-aš</td>
<td>5 UDUUL.A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚMEŠ hapieš [URU ] KI</td>
<td>IŠTU É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ</td>
<td>uniwašeš</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + IV ² 8–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚMEŠ hapieš [URU An]kuwaKI</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>15–17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚMEŠ hapieš URU Ališa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>18–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[LÚAGRIG URU Ališa]</td>
<td>MELQET Type 3a</td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + II 3’–8'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÚMEŠ hapieš URU Hatti</td>
<td>IŠTU É.DUB.SAR.GIŠ</td>
<td>uniwašeš</td>
<td>1620/c+ III 7’ ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>Supplier</td>
<td>Provisions</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ heštā-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 25'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[LÜMEŠ minallāš</td>
<td>3 UDUḪA</td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 11'–12'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URI Ankuwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[LÜMEŠ zim/npumpadēš</td>
<td>10 UDUḪA</td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 13'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GJUD KUŠ-ŠU</td>
<td>III 19'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NU.GAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ zinḫurēš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 6'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(LÜMEŠ URI Zinḫurēš)</td>
<td>5 UDUḪA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ URI Zinḫurēš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ zippuriyatallaš</td>
<td>LÜHAPRIG URI Alīša</td>
<td>(MELOQET) Type 4</td>
<td>Parallel passages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;URU Karīma</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68(+) III 14'–19'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;URU Ḥarharna</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;URU K[...]</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>KBo X 30 + KBo XVI 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Sukriya</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>III 22'–36'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;URU [Zikkurj]-a</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;URU Wattaruwa</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UGULA LÜMEŠ zippuriyatallaš</td>
<td>LÜHAZANNU</td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + IV 28'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ zipuriyatallaš</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UGULA LÜMEŠ EDĒ.A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ EDĒ.A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UGULA LÜMEŠ EDĒ.A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[LÜMEŠ GUŠKIN] DĪM.DĪM</td>
<td>3 [GUJ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 UDUḪA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>QADU KUŠ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[LÜMEŠ GUŠKIN] DĪM.DĪM</td>
<td>LÜAGREG URI Alīša</td>
<td>(MELOQET) Type 3a</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + II 9'–14'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ ANBAR DĪM.DĪM</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>15'–20'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LÜMEŠ KUBABBAR DĪM.DĪM</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>21'–26'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipient</td>
<td>Supplier</td>
<td>Provisions</td>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ URUDU DÍM,DÍM</td>
<td>LUGRIG URU Ališa</td>
<td>MELQET Type 3a</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + II 27'-32'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ UR,BAR,RA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 7'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ UR,BAR,RA [URU]</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 UDULUA</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + IV 13-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ URU Angulla</td>
<td>ĮSTU É,DUB,SAR,GIS</td>
<td></td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 4'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uuwaššes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LUGRIG URU[aralma]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>URU šarārma</td>
<td>(MELQET) Type 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>URU Sukziya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>URU Zikkurka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>URU Uwattarwa/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Watarūwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>URU Zimrnūna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>URU Nenašša</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ URU Amnuwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 UDULUA</td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 10'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ URU Lumanṭula</td>
<td>ĮSTU É,DUB,SAR,GIS</td>
<td>uuwaššes</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 + IV 1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ URU PA (= Hatti)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 UDULUA</td>
<td>KBo XVI 68 1' 15f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[LUGEŠ URU Hāṭ]-ti(?)</td>
<td>LUGRIG URU[... ]</td>
<td>MELQET Type 3a</td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 8' III 27'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUGEŠ URU Tissaruli(ya)</td>
<td>UGULA LUGEŠ AŠGAB</td>
<td>JUDU[?]</td>
<td>KBo X 31 III 10'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDICES

GENERAL INDEX

administrator (AGRIG), 5, 141; ceremony of, 29f., 56, 62f., 109, 122f., 133, 135; supplies by, 151, 154f., 157, 159ff.; towns of, 30, 109; of Ḥattuša, 131, 166; of Nerik, 145
Alaca Hüyük, 526, 94
Alişar, ḥapīya-men of, 15019, 164
Alişar Hüyük, 526
Angulla, men of, 15019, 151, 154f., 159ff., 164
animal(s), attributes, 164f.; hides, 92; vessels, 96f.; with deities, 96f.
"animals of the gods", 56, 89, 92ff., 116, 124, 129f., 137, 163
Anitta text, 93
Ankuwa, Hattic name, 6231; ḥapīya-men of, 15019, 164
Anunuwa, men of, 28f.
arachism, 102
archives, 21f., 37f., 43, 145
Arinna, festival, 13427; priests, 100, 105, 138; smith, 26
Arunitti (d.), 13427
"assembly, great", 55, 65, 70f., 74, 91, 98ff., 105, 123, 128ff., 132
axe, 6229, 91, 122
bath, ritual, 78, 100
bathroom, 117 (cf. washing-house)
beetle, 49
beer, 157, 161
"beer-wine", 157, 161
beverage, 161f.
bird(s), 94ff., 158
bird-breeder(s), 158
boar ("reed-pig"), 97, 165
Boğazköy (see also Ḥattuša), Archive A, 21f., 37, 70; Archive K, 4, 21f.; Büyükkale, 21, 2510, 70, 89, 108, 111f.; House on the Slope, 21; Lion Gate, 11580; Lower City, 21, 2510; Royal Gate, 108
"bone-house(?)", see bi'ešṭa-house bread, 159ff.
catalog tablets, see shelf lists
ceremonial, see garments, procession, tent clothing, see garments
comedians, 9522, 104
cult calendar, 8, 136
cult functionaries, 166ff.
cult-inventories, 423, 26
cult objects, see "animals of the gods"
axe, fleeces, figurines, spears, staff, zoomorphic vessels
cupbearers, 105
dating, 144ff., see also, language
"Day", deified, 103
deities, see gods
"dog-men", 130
Emirgazi, 11580
festivals (see also EZEN), degrees, 47f.; duration, 2, 125; Hattic origin, 4114, 52, 94, 102; in historical texts, 134; local, 4; logistic aspects, 141ff., 157ff.; names, 3; participants, 166ff.; provisions, see rations; regular and great, 471; seasonal pattern, 422, 132; (bi)šu-waš, 23; muntariyaštus, 3, 2917, 50, 125; purulli, 2, 28, 37, 47, 4927, 50, 52, 115, 125, 134, 16543; AN.TAH.ŠUM, 21, 4829, 50, 73, 115, 11643, 125, 133; KLAM, see KLAM; of the fall, 3; of
the gate-house, see KLLAM; of the Great House, 125; of the hi/eštä-house, 30, 38, 47, 114, 141f., 146, 149, 152ff., 159; of the holy priest, 137; of the month, 125; of the rhyton, 122, 137; of the sixth year, 48; of the spring, 3; of the stag, 137f.; of the torch(es), 30; of the thunder and the moon, 102; of Ḥalki, 129, 132f.; of the Storm-god of Ḥalap, 42; of Arinna, 134; of Ḥattuša, 48, 134, 136ff.; of Ḫupišna, 42; of Karataša, 42; of Nerik, see purulli; of Zippalanda, 25f., 38, 142, 145f.

festival texts, 52; composition, 1f., 42, 52; colophons, 41; dating, 4; editing, 41f.; length, 2; liturgy, 28, 52; Old Hittite, 67; outlines, 21f., 6, 50f., 125; rations, see rations; studies on, 1f.

figurines, 59f.

fleece(s), 28f., 91, 95f., 105

food, see rations

garments, ceremonial, 103f., 105, 158, 163ff.

gate(s), 106ff., 112, 115ff., 122ff.; city gates, 115ff.; gate-house, 115, 121ff.; main gate, 115f.; of hi/eštä-house, 113f.; of the palace, 46, 89ff., 112, 116, 123ff.; of temples, 123; asšu Gate, 28, 100, 104, 123; ṣapiya-gate, 113f., 123; türriya-gate, 113, 123

GIR, see Miyantanzipa
glass, raw, 165
gods, 101ff.

Grain goddess, see Ḥalki

Ḫabandali (d.), 97
Ḫalki (d.), 102; see also, festivals, temples
Ḫaniku(n), 62, 102
harlots, 30, 78
Ḫašamili (d.), 102
Ḫatti, see Ḥattuša
Ḫattic, bilinguals, 49; deities, 102; festivals, 41f., 52, 94, 102; liturgy, 48f., 52, 104f.; translations, 102; words, 116

Ḫattuša, 102
Ḫattuša (see also, Boğazköy, Yazılıkaya), AGRIG, 131, 166; buildings, 123f.; festivals, 48, 134, 136ff.; ṣapiya-men of, 150f., 164; ḤAZANNU, 122, 158, 166; KLLAM festival, 122; palace, 89, 111f.; priests, 100, 138; temples, see temples; topography, 25f.

Ḫattušantewaššab (d.), 102
Ḫattušili III, 134

hieroglyphic, inscription, 115ff.; monument, 101; script, 41; signs, 115ff., 163f.

hi/eštä-house, 112ff., 118, 122; cult-inventories, 26; deified, see Ḫi/eštä (d.); entrance, 106, 108; festival of, see festival; men of, 26, 91, 105; rituals at, 131

Ḫi/eštä (d.), 26, 113

horses, 29f.

house, 29, 123 (see also, bathroom, palace, “stone-house,” storehouse, temple, washing-house, hi/eštä-house, ṣemakziya-, ṣizkunyâ-), of the bow, 123; of the fleece, see fleece; of the ṣapiya-men, 28; of the queen’s treasurer, 106, 108, 112, 123; of the “scrib(e)-on-wood”, 150, 158, 164, 166; of the Ḥi-urianni, 123

Ḫula (d.), 103f.

Ḫupišna, 3f.

Hurrian, singers, 102; words, 110
Ḫu(wa)rianzipa (d.), 82, 126

ḫuwašši-, of Anzili, 112

ḫuwašši-of the Storm-god, entrance, 101, 106; “great assembly” at, 100f., 104, 123, 129, 171; location, 100f.; processions to, 46, 99f., 123f., 132; rituals at, 44, 100, 131

Inar (d.), animals of, 97; priest, 126, 137, 158; spear of, 91; temple, 116, 154, 163

instructions, for bodyguards, see IBaT I 36; for temple officials, 134, 136ff.

iron, axe, 62f., 91, 122; spear, 82, 91, 99

Itrar instrument, 103f.

ivory, 96
Indices

KAL, see Inar
Kampiwiut (d.), 44
Kaniš singers, 102
Kantipuitt (d.), 29, 105
Karabuück-Elbistan, 11580
Karatepe, 11580
Katahh (d.), 102
KLAM festival, additional names, 137f.; celebration in Hattusa, 122, 136f.; external references, 134ff.; duration, 123, 125ff.; great and regular festival, 38, 40ff., 47f., 81, 131; name, 121f., 132; origin, 94; participants, 100, 104f., 166ff.; rations, see rations; research, 4ff.; season, 132f.; sub-festivals, 135; time-table, 128ff.
KLAM text, classification, 13ff.; colophons, 33ff., 43, 46, 49f., 67, 132; composition, 6, 56; dating, 7, 21, 55, 65, 74, 144ff.; detailed text, 6, 40ff., 52, 55, 74; ductus, 56, 144ff.; find spots, 21f., 70; liturgy, 6, 38f., 44, 48f., 52; Middle Hittite texts, 6, 21, 33, 45, 57, 66ff., 81f., 952, 103; New Hittite texts, 6, 21f., 33, 43f., 55ff., 65ff., 70, 81f.; Old Hittite texts, 6, 21, 43, 53, 67, 69f., 81f., 103; outlines, 6, 39, 50ff., 55, 66f., 70, 74, 103; preservation, 2, 61, 21, 40, 55, 70, 81; ration tablets, 6, 8, 21, 36, 39, 43f., 49f., 52 (see also, rations); reconstruction, 6, 33, 52, 65ff.; redactions, 38, 57f., 65f., 70, 74, 103; scribes, 33, 56; shelf list, 37f., 40; tablet series, 21f., 35f., 38f., 40ff., 46ff., 52, 55, 81; texts excluded, 23ff.; texts of doubtful ascription, 28ff.
Kilišara, 157
Kūltepe texts, 574, 6118
language, 65, 74; see also, morphology, orthography
Laws, Hittite, 91, 1043
leather-worker, 158, 166
libation ritual, 104f.
library, see archives liones, 164
“lion-men”, 165
liturgy, see KLAM text
Lumnahila, men of, 826, 164
Madilla, 157
Malatya, 16336
Mari, 5811
MEQET lists, see ration lists
MESEDI Instruction, see IBoT 1 36
metal, animals, see “animals of the gods”; ornaments, 164f.; smiths, 26, 29, 158; weapons, 166 (see also, axe, spears); zoomorphic vessels, 96f., 104, 163
Mezzula (d.), 103
Miyantanziz (d.), 98, 123, 134
morphology, 6637, 81, 144
Mursili II, 42, 48, 134
music(ians), 74, 100, 103
mythology, 49, 6229
Nerik, 423, 1459, 1511 (see also, purulli)
Neša, 93
Nimrud, 41
Ninaša, 14613
NISABA, see Ḥalki
offerings, 66, 103
Old Hittite, see KLAM text, KBo XX
16+
ornaments, 28, 150, 158, 163ff.
othography, 44f., 57, 74ff., 81, 92a, 144, 146
palace, (see also bpalentuwa), bathroom, 117; gate, 46, 81f., 112, 116, 123f.; queen’s, 123; in Hattusa, 89, 111f.; in Zippalanda 2510
Palluwara-LU (scribe), 33
panther, 97
Piḫa-UR.MAH (“scribe-on-wood”), 33
priest(s), holy, 100, 137; of Arinna, 100, 105, 138; of Hattusa, 100, 138; of Kilišara, 157; of Zippalanda, 2511, 100, 105, 138; homina-. 105; tazzelli-105; GUDU, 105, 113; SANGA, 105, 113, 166
priestess, 7889
princes, 100, 105
princesses, 105
procession, ceremonial, 89 ff.

purullu, see festival

race, 103 f., 130
rations, 139 ff.; beverages, 161 ff.; consumption, 141, 149, 154 f.; food, 50, 159 ff.; for horses, 2918; garments, 163 ff.; livestock, 158 f., 167 ff.; ornaments, 50, 163 ff.; recipients, 150 f., 166 ff.; suppliers, 150 f., 157 f., 167 ff.
ration lists, composition, 150 ff.; dating, 144 ff.; texts, 5 f., 25, 29, 49 f., 141 ff.
rython, 96, 121 f., 136 f.

Šamūha, 42
Schimmel collection, 96
scribe, 33, 42
"scribe-on-wood", 33, 42
script, see, dating, hieroglyphic
seasonal pattern, see festivals
shelf lists, 28
singer, 130
smith(s), 26, 29, 58 15, 158
songs, see liturgy
spear(s), 82, 89 ff., 99 f.
sports, 104
staff, 100, 166
stag(s), figures of, 93 f.; of Inar, 97; festival, 137
standards, 94
state officials, 104 f., 130
stele, see Buwaṣir-
stones, precious, 165
"stone-house", 103, 114, 117 f.
storehouse(s), 5, 62, 122 f., 133, 135, 157
Storm-god, image, 122; priest, 137, 158, 166; stele, see Buwaṣir; temple, 2510; vessels, 96; worship, 103
Storm-god of Hālap, 48 11
Storm-god of the Rain, 89
Storm-god of Zippalanda, 2510,11
Subartu, 58 11
Sun-goddess, 103, (see also, temple)
Šura (d.), 123

tablet(s), copying, 41 ff.; drafts, 42, 151;
empty space, 98; falsification, 42; "final copy", 41; find sites, 145; "former tablet", 135; library exemplars, 41 f.; one-column, 50; re-editing, 41; shelf lists, 37, 50, 52; wax tablets, 40 f.; wooden tablets, 33, 40 ff., 135 30
Tauri(t) (d.), 100
Telipinu Decree, 104
temple, in Nēkā, 93; of DINGIR.MI in Šamūha, 42; of Storm-god in Zippalanda, 25 10; of Halki, 28 f., 91, 98 f., 106, 109, 116, 122 f., 132 f., 135 f.; of Inar/KAL, 99, 116, 154, 163; of Miya-
tanzipa, 99, 123; of Storm-god, 25 10; of Sun-goddess, 28 f., 46, 98 f., 106, 116, 123, 171; of Šura, 100 45, 123; of Telipinu, 99; of ZABABA, 2, 99
tent, ceremonial, 99 f., 104, 171
Tētešāpi (d.), 102
Tišarulīya, men of, 29, 150 19, 158, 166
Tituṭti (d.), 78 59
topography, ancient, 25 10
Tudjaliya IV, 21, 26, 102

UD 44, see "Day", deified
Ugarit, 40 9
Ulzan (d.), 102

volume units, 162 34

Wašezzili (d.), 96, 103
washing-house, 117 (cf. bathroom)
weight units, 161
wine, 157, 161, 163
wine-supplier, 104, 154, 157
wolf, 93
"wolf-men", 30, 150 19

Yazilikaya, 91, 101, 113, 115
Zip(p)alanda, festival, 25 10, 38, 142, 145 11, priests, 25 11, 100, 105, 138; Storm-god, 25 10; topography, 25 10
zoomorphic vessels, 96 f.
Indices

LINGUISTIC INDEX

Hittite

all(l)iya- 94
aliyana- 94
aliya(n)zena- 94f., 97
(â) anu- 79f
ar- 89
arai- 79f
(ô)arkiu(i)- 106ff.
armanni- 59f
arša- 64f
aška- 108
aššasi- KÂ.GAL 28, 100, 104, 123

NÂhaya haya 79f
(ô) balentin-/bolentuwa 81, 89, 111f.
NINDA-hali- 161
LÔ hal'iyarî- 74, 103f
bâlkuešar 135, 147ff.
LÔ damina- 105
bâniyaš KÂ.GAL 113f., 123
bandan 41
LÔ bâpiya- 28, 52, 150, 164f.
bâršanalli- 79f
bûn tarmanzi 103
(ô) bi/elâ- 112ff. (see also General Index)
(b) bîlammar 5, 46, 115, 121ff.
bûtar 92f
bûlpa(n)zena- 165
bûppar 162f.
LÔ bûphûppa- 83f
bûwažiinta- 165
NÂhûwaši- 1014 (see also General Index)

Gîtî bîpiya- 62f
-iš (with numerals) 159ff.
išktâb- 57f
ištarniya- 33, 42
iukar 83f

LÔ kalâha/- 30
*kîlîštarwana- 45f
kalkali- 165f
kalti- 104f, 130
kalušiša- 62f

kapnuešar 61f
karkidandûš 94
êkaššástipa- 115
Gîtâššitãzzi- 116
kattan 108f.
Gîtâššitãzze- 29, 112, 116, 123f.
kattaraz 109
kätteri 109
Gîtâššitãzze- 74f, 118f
(ô) kumana- 91
kunnikûnkušš- 62f
(kû) kûran- 91
Lûzû kuzučuliya- 73f

lariš 61f
lûkkati 128
lûli- 66f
luštani- 116
êmakziya- 114f
marmön 161
êmakziya- 114f

nana(n)kaltas Gît MAR.GİD.DA 29, 59f
LÔ paluštalla- 60f
paršânili 59f
peri- 97, 130
pirân 154
šakuwañas Gît SÛKUR 58f, 91, 135
šanem(u)- 95f
šappareš 79f
TÔ sepâš- 58f
šipartî 79
šuppištuwa- 96

DÔ tâḫâšî- 162
tâḫ(u)mar(u)- 103
LÔ tamisštalla- 157
ôtarmînalla- 64f
tarrittî- 147f.
tarnataša- 148
šarma- 117f
EGIR-an tarumâš 33, 41f.
LÔ tazzelli- 105
Indices

HA.LA 148
HUR.SAG 89
SU.UI 7345
LUG.LUDU 157
SAL.KAR.KID 30, 78
LUG.KÁ 103 ff.
KÁS.GEŠTIN 157, 161
KLLAM 46, 115, 121 ff.
KUBABBAR-AS GIŠ-ru 7244, 99
LUG.MES DUGUD EGIR 71 105
LUG.MES (DUGU) D NAPTÂNIM 105
LUG GLGID 103 48
LUG HALA 148
LUG 1/2U 6422
MUŠEN 97
LUG.MUŠEN.DU 158
NA, I.LA huya huya 7962
LUG.NIMGIR ERI.NMES 6128
NIN.DINGIR 28
NINDA 161
GIŠ.PA 166
SAG.UŠ 26, 40, 43
LUG.SANGA 7899
ŠUN 5811
GIŠŠUKUR 5817, 89 ff.
ŠU.TLA 147 ff.
TUG.ERIN.MES 10451
TUG.GU.E.A IUARRI 5811
TUG.GU.E.A SUBIR 5811
TUŠ-AS 103
GIŠ.ZA.LAM.GAR 100
LUG.ZABAR.DIB 104, 154, 157

Akkadian (Akkadograms)

abaraku  see AGRIG
aluzinmu 9522
arkabimu/i 111

Sumerian (Sumerograms)

LUG.AGRIG see administrator
LUG.MÉALAM KAXUD 9522
LUG.MÉALAN.ZU 9522
LUG.AŚGAB 158
DARÁ.MAŠ 93 ff.
LUG.DUB.SAR 33
LUG.DUB.SAR GIŠ 33, 42
LUG.DUB.SAR TUR 33 ff.
DUG 162
DUGUD see LUG.MES DUGUD
DUMUNITA palwataallaš 6027
LUG.E.DÉ.A 5815
E.URU ... 62
E.DUŠA US.SA 112, 117
E.DUB.SAR.GIŠ 166
E.NA(DINGIR LUG) 117 ff.
E.SÁ 117
EZEN 45
GAL LUG.MES NIMGIR 6128
GLGID see LUG GLGID
GILIM 7903
GIŠ.I.LA KUBABBAR 7244
GIŠ.HUR 33, 40 ff.
GUB-AS 103

teriyanna 46, 126
tiešš 6129
tunnakkeššar 100, 117
GIŠ.TURI 5817, 89 ff., 11375
turiyäš KÁGAL 11375
ukturi 26, 40
umuwaḫa 163 ff.
udanaš išheš 48, 5922
war(a)ḫmuwar 8470
warḫušu-TUG 26, 58
GIŠ.ZAU 5817
E.ZIMMUDU 11477, 131
LUG.IIPURLI.GIŠ 105, 166
LUG.ZINHURU 154 ff., 16746
GIŠ.ZUPTARI 28, 48 ff., 52
GIŠ.ZUPPARI 93
Indices

bibru 96, 121f., 136f.

Tȫ hazannu 122, 158, 166

isurtu 40

iskuru 409

kayamăn̄u 40

Tȫlim šeri 574

NAmekku 165

melqetum 147ff.

rabi nāgiri 6128

rabi šerimi 574

uṣurtu 40

uṣabbala(?) 8368

uṣkēn 103

zittu 148

Hattic

Hēnikku(n) 6231, 102

Hattušalsuwašhab 102

ka- 116

kaštip 115

tettšişapi 10246

ureš 5815

Hurrian

arkabinna/i 111

Luwian

*hilana- 11580

TEXTS DISCUSSED (except KILLAM)

KBo II 12(+) 23f.

KBo III 8 + III 93

KBo VIII 124 + 29f.

KBo X 27 28f.

KBo XI 36 26

41 2918

KBo XIII 257 136

KBo XVI 67, 69 30, 141f., 152ff.

71+ see KBo XX 16+

KBo XVII 14+ see KBo XX 16+

KBo XX 3(+) see KBo XX 16+

4+ see KBo XX 16+

16+ 632, 23ff., 142, 148, 152, 162

21 26

24+ see KBo XX 16+

30(+) 23

70 + V 102

86 + 29f.

KBo XXI 88 + V 102

KBo XXII 257 27

KBo XXIII 92 30

KBo XXV 13+ see KBo XX 16+

KUB VII 25 11-15 111f.

KUB VIII 69 III 5-9 28

KUB X 45 III 12-14 42

KUB XI 28 29

KUB XIII 4 (CTH 264) 136ff.

KUB XXIII 15 26, 38

KUB XXV 18 II 3-5 106

KUB XXX 32 I 14-17 113

33 I 17' 94

36 II 11f. 94

68 obv. 37f., 45ff., 114

KUB XXXII 123 II 32 ff. 147

KUB XLI 24 30, 141f., 152ff.

KUB XLIV 28 27
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lBoT III 1 obv. 17 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABoT 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 III 8–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV 11–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 2816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 2898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo 3695</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 1 2), whereas in KBo X 26 the scene is still in the temple of the sun-deity in the town (1 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 KILAM, its classification within the known text of the festival is problematic. (Compare GIS^SH.-A KUBABBAR in rev. 4’, 8’ to KUBABBAR-aš GIS-ru in 1.b 1 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.