

Ceremonies Feasts And Festivities In Ancient Mesopotamia And The Mediterranean World Performance And Participation Proceedings Of The 11Th Melammu 2020 Melammu Workshops And Monographs 7 Rocio Da Riva Editor

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7



Ceremonies, Feasts
and Festivities in
Ancient Mesopotamia
and the Mediterranean
World

Performance and
Participation

Proceedings of the 11th Melammu Workshop,
Barcelona, 29–31 January 2020

Edited by Rocio Da Riva, Ana Arroyo
and Céline Debourse

Zaphon

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Introduction

Rocío Da Riva / Ana Arroyo / Céline Debourse

The present volume, edited by R. Da Riva, A. Arroyo and C. Debourse, contains the proceedings of the 11th Melammu workshop “Ceremonies, Feasts and Festivities in Ancient Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean World: Performance and Participation,” which was held at the Faculty of Geography and History of the University of Barcelona (UB) between 29 and 31 January 2020. The event, organized by one of the editors (Da Riva), received financial support through *Ajuts per donar suport a les activitats dels grups de recerca* (SGR 2017–2019) provided by the Agency for Management of University and Research Grants of the Government of Catalonia. Also, an ICREA Acadèmia research award furnished additional support, as did the Dean’s Office of the UB’s Faculty of History. In addition, the faculty’s administrative personnel offered their assistance before, during and after the event. To each of them, the editors would like to express our most sincere gratitude. We would also like to acknowledge the painstaking work done by anonymous reviewers, whose input has enormously improved both the quality of each individual article and the consistency and coherence of the volume as a whole. And last but by no means least, we would like to thank Kai Metzler of *Zaphon* who, as always, has been extremely supportive and helpful in the process of edition.

The workshop, which was organized as part of the Melammu Project, followed the main goals of the program, namely, to study the dynamics and dissemination of Ancient Near Eastern culture and its connections to cultural aspects found in other ancient cultures, and to encourage interdisciplinary cooperation. Under the auspices of the project, a series of events are organized yearly, all focusing on the promotion of integrative research and the investigation of cultural diversity. At these gatherings and in the publications that arise from them, continuity, diffusion, and transformation in the ancient world are appraised methodically and long-term structures prioritized. Emphasis is given to the sustained exchange of ideas between scholars working in different disciplines, with the aim of systematically increasing the number of specialists involved and encouraging cooperation among disciplines.

See: <http://melammu-project.eu/workshops/mwheld.html>

The main lines of the workshop were “religious ceremonies,” “participation” and “performance” and the presented papers, most of which appear here in the form of articles, were organized in three sessions by geographical area: Egypt and the Mediterranean, Assyria and Babylonia, and Anatolia. All of the papers discussed a series of topics. In the first place, religious events (ceremonies, feasts, rituals)

were scrutinized in relation to the common experience of groups, their identity and their values. The discussion highlighted how performance and/or participation in ceremonies and rituals strengthens social cohesion and provides societies with a cultural identity. Second, the papers considered texts recording religious ceremonies or rituals, for they provide information on the activities of public worship, as well as on their participants (active and passive). By studying the people who perform and attend the public rituals, we can better grasp the social value and impact of the ceremonies. A third aspect was to analyse how, through the public display of religious ceremony, the ruling elites are able to reinforce their power and influence in society by conveying an idea of their traditional authority both to the performers and to the audience. Attention was given to exploring how these elites organize and manage sacred and profane spaces for the celebration of religious ceremonies and ritual performances, revealing the political and social function of festivals and venues. In the fourth place, the papers focused on the inquiry of “religious landscapes” and on the topographical information on sanctuaries and sacred spaces provided by the ritual texts. As the documents often refer to specific gods and spaces at particular moments in the cultic day/calendar, they are very useful in reconstructing the topography of the temples and cities where rituals took place, as well as of the sanctuaries and other places of religious performance. As a result, one can get a better idea of the arrangement of ritual spaces. And lastly, some papers focused on the makeup of the pantheon. Texts registering ceremonies and festivals cast light on the deities that were the focus of liturgical services and on the hierarchical relations that existed between different gods and goddesses. As information of this sort is rarely found in canonical texts, ritual texts add a new dimension to the study of ancient religion.

Accordingly, the ten articles appearing in the present volume deal with different aspects of ancient religion and religious events. They encompass several regions and periods, from ancient Greece and Rome to the Near East and Egypt. Some compare two cultures by searching for affinities in the performance of a particular practice or by investigating the possible forerunners of certain traditions, while others focus on specific localities at a particular time. Some contributions explore the relationship between religious practices and the state, whether by analysing the role of the king in ceremonies, the process of recording different deities in state archives, or even the historical context of specific celebrations. Others focus on practices carried out by anonymous persons or seek to understand the interface between religious celebrations and ordinary people. However, each provides the reader with a broad picture of how various societies and their members cope with their relationship to the gods through collective events.

The papers comparing Near Eastern and Classical cultures come from Mary Bachvarova and Ian Rutherford. Mary Bachvarova investigates the cultural, symbolic, and historical significance of the ancient Greek procession of the Molpoi

and its possible connections to Hittite religious festivals. In her study of the possible forerunners of the main deities involved in the Greek festival, she draws attention to the city of Miletus, already present in Hittite sources under the name of Millawata, and its main god, Apollo, who shows some connections with the Hittite deity KAL. Although the article by Ian Rutherford focuses on the Ancient Near East, he too draws on comparisons with Greece and Rome to better illustrate his approach. He investigates pilgrimages in Mesopotamia and Anatolia in the 3rd–2nd millennia BCE, provides a general definition of the expansive notion of pilgrimage, and systematizes its main constituents. His contribution, which addresses a topic that is not deeply researched, does so by engaging in a comprehensive study of five different types of cultic journeys in Ancient Near East based on their purpose, the involvement of the monarchy, and their power to unite people.

This last characteristic of Near Eastern pilgrimages is one of the topics dealt with in the contributions of Céline Debourse, Sebastian Fink, Mait Kõiv, Jaume Llop-Raduá, and Alice Mouton. Each explores different aspects of the multifaceted relationship between state and religion. Their contributions cover a broad range of topics that are as rich and varied as the relationship itself, such as how the state creates and maintains a record of the gods worshiped in the country or which items were used by the king in certain ceremonies that sanctioned his highest position in the religious arena. Other pivotal questions raised in these studies in connection with the relationship between religion and state focus on specific state religious ceremonies and how they might have contributed to create a sense of belonging in the community, reinforced the king's legitimacy, or supported the hegemony of a city over a territory. Concerning archival sources, Jaume Llop-Raduá investigates the attestations of divine names in Middle Assyrian texts of several typologies, from letters to decrees and from royal inscriptions to ritual texts. He provides a comprehensive corpus of the deities of the period and analyses which deity is behind the unspecific terms god/goddess (*ilu/iltu*) and gods/goddesses (*ilānu/ištarātu*) and whether particular passages could refer to the processions of certain divinities. His work fills a lacuna in religious studies and furnishes valuable data for future research on Middle Assyrian religion. For her part, Alice Mouton discusses how Hittite cultic festivals functioned as occasions for presenting the king in ways that emphasized the legitimacy of his rule. By means of textual and iconographic sources, she analyses the symbols that the king employed in state religious ceremonies, such as weapons, garments, and the *lituus* (^(GIS)*kalmuš*). Her study indicates that these symbols, alone or in combination, were intended to convey a specific image of the king, highlighting his character as the chief representative of the gods and even merging with the divinity, or as holding the highest position in the army, or indeed as acting as a shepherd. Also linked to the role of the king in religious festivals, Céline Debourse investigates

the meaning of the Seleucid kings' involvement in the Babylonian New Year Festival, the *akītu*. She questions the assumption that the celebration of the festival, which had a long tradition, might have continued without any change in this late period and, thus, that the Seleucid kings could have behaved in the same way as their predecessors, the kings of Babylonia, accepting the same conception of the New Year Festival as a form of legitimacy. Through her study of different textual sources, she concludes that the way in which the Seleucid kings related to the former *akītu* was not aimed at legitimating themselves, but rather at obtaining resources, and that the festival was no longer comparable to its Babylonian forerunner. Similarly focusing on the role played by kings, Sebastian Fink revisits the notion of "propaganda" and connects it to Neo-Assyrian victory processions. In his opinion, these ceremonies, which encompassed different occasions and places, belonged to a chain of actions that were designed to create a specific public image of the king and whose last step were royal inscriptions. He concludes that the Assyrian kings' victories were publicly witnessed on a variety of occasions, showing that royal propaganda was disseminated amongst the broader public. A recurring aspect of public religious events that served to legitimate the ruling elite is the integration of ancient traditions in the ritual complex. Mait Kōiv analyses the history of the main communities – Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns – on the plain of Argos in the Peloponnese from the Late Bronze Age to the Classical period, with a particular focus on mythology and epics. He focuses his study on the sanctuary of Hera, the Heraion, the religious ceremonies carried out there, and the various foundation myths and epics connected to it and the polis of Argos. He proposes that these issues were used by Argos to appropriate the ancient religious traditions of Mycenae and Tiryns and thereby support its hegemony over the territory in the Classical period.

Linked to some of the topics addressed in the latter papers, such as the construction and development of group identity, the papers of Kostas Vlassopoulos, Tawny L. Holm and Ana Arroyo focus on the role that ordinary people and communities undertook in religious ceremonies, although their three contributions relate to different places and periods. Religious events (ceremonies, feasts, festivals) play an important role in the formation and maintenance of a social group's cultural identity. The public nature of some events helps to strengthen the cohesion of a social group through participation or attendance. Similarly, the inclusion or exclusion of certain people demarcates social boundaries. Ana Arroyo discusses the possibility that the Hittite population might have taken part in religious festivals, and in particular she asks what "participation" in the festivals meant. What allows one to define whether someone is a "participant" or merely an "attendee" or "audience member"? She starts with an analysis of three undoubtedly Hittite open-air cult places close to a settlement – Yazılıkaya, the Šuppitašu complex, and Eflatun Pınar. Then she studies the iconography to ascertain the extent to which certain representations could be interpreted as ordinary people taking

part in festivals. Finally, she examines textual sources, from which some expressions attested in local festival texts seem to point to the involvement of common people in the festivals. The results of her multidisciplinary investigation point to a possible use of some local cult centres by the community of the nearby city during religious festivals. Not only the performance of public rituals, but also their remembrance could have a strong community-binding function. Tawny L. Holm examines the Papyrus Amherst 63, which contains an anthology of religious texts (prayers, hymns, blessings, and rituals), a historical narrative, and references to feasts between the gods and the community. The content of the diverse composition is connected to a miscellaneous community of Arameans settled in Egypt and reflects a combination of various Near Eastern traditions that include their New Year celebration linked to the Babylonian *akītu*, the remembrance of their land, deities and cult centres, and their desire for regeneration in their new homeland. Her study shows that this complex composition might have sought to promote a sense of belonging within the Aramean community in Egypt. The contribution of Kostas Vlassopoulos limits the broad topic of the role played by ordinary people in religious events more narrowly to the nature of slaves' involvement in ancient religious ceremonies, a part of the population that has always been regarded as marginal. He focuses on Greek and Roman cultures, but also offers comparisons with later societies in order to explore different conceptualizations of slavery. His paper goes beyond approaches that limit slaves' involvement in religious ceremonies either to specific cults or to rituals that invert the roles of slave and master in order to explore all types of slave participation in rituals.

The contributions of this volume offer a broad outlook on religious ceremonies by exploring several aspects of these types of social events within different societies in different periods. Through them, the reader can go in depth into how such social acts both shaped and were shaped by the culture to which they belonged. Religious ceremonies are not only a product of the society of which they are a part, they also contribute to configure that society. Thus, because they are a constituent element of a given culture, they show and reflect both diachronic changes and continuity, turning them into an inestimable tool to understand particular aspects of the society from which they spring.

Hittite Open-Air Cult Places and their Relation to the Community During Festivals

Ana Arroyo¹

1. Introduction

There are only two sites in ancient Hatti that can be confidently identified as open-air cult places and that are, directly or indirectly, related to festivals (EZEN_[4]):² Yazılıkaya and the Šuppitaššu complex.³ Eflatun Pınar might also be included in this group on the basis of its characteristics, iconography, pottery finds and indirect textual evidence. The three of them are located close to a settlement and are linked to it by means of a road, but who was allowed access to these cult places? Was it possible to enter them on a specific occasion, such as during a festival? If that is the case, was the community allowed to participate in the festival? This article organizes the available archaeological, iconographical and textual data to explore to what extent these questions can be answered at the present state of the research.

These issues are not only important in their own right. They are related to a wider theoretical context in which, in general terms, scholars seek to determine the limits of common people's involvement in religious ceremonies that are performed outside the private, intimate, sphere. The belief that a given community participated in religious festivals – also named “rituals” – come from some anthropological theoretical frames that interpret festivals as a mode of social cohesion – also as a form to resolve sociopolitical tensions –, which, for their success, requires the presence of the community. It entails the notion of “public,”⁴ and thus,

¹ I would like to thank the reviewers of this article for their valuable comments, suggestions and criticism that helped me to improve these pages.

² For the distinction between EZEN_[4], “festival,” and SISKUR/SÍSKUR, “(magical) ritual,” see McMahon, 2003: 279; Marcuson / Hout, 2015: 145.

³ Some scholars interpret rock reliefs and other Hittite structures with hieroglyphic inscriptions – such as dams or fountains – as cult places. In my opinion, neither an inscription, nor the type of structure, nor its visibility, nor its relation to water, nor even the presence of “cup-marks” are sufficient, taken alone or in combination, to label reliefs and structures as a “cult-place”; see Arroyo, 2020: 102–103, with references. The Emirgazi altars were discovered inside a town, one of them probably *in situ*, the other two in a secondary place. To my knowledge, no further excavations have been made on the site, so it cannot be stated whether they were in an open space: see Sayce, 1905: 21; Callander, 1906: 178–180, Pl. IX–XI. Yazılıkaya and the Šuppitaššu complex are open-air cult places beyond doubt: both of them are related to a temple and have no roof; see §§3.1–3.2.

⁴ On the diachronic meaning of “public” and its use for ancient societies see Klinger, 2013b: 94, n. 7. See also a broad definition in Inomata / Coben, 2006: 5.

these festivals are understood as “public ceremonies/events,” i.e. social acts that are open to (all members of) the community and in which either the whole group performs the required actions, or some people performed these actions and other watch them, which would mean that the audience, the public, could be considered as “participants”⁵ (see §2).

This approach was introduced in Hittitology and it has been suggested that Hittite festivals primarily served to unite the society, and the latter with the gods, as well as to strengthen the status of the king.⁶ However, in Hittite festivals, the participation of common people, either as audience or as performers, cannot be taken for granted. Thus, the above-mentioned intellectual frame that seeks to explain the sociocultural meaning and function of festivals is questionable.⁷ This is why it is important to analyze to what extent the bulk of the Hittite population could have accessed some cult places – in this case, those with an open-air character – during festivals, because alternative explanations for both festivals and cult places are possible, such as an “inward-looking strategy of appropriating space and performance.”⁸

A further and last remark must be made regarding chronology, both of the texts treated here and the three cult places. Concerning the former, I presuppose that, although changes can be traced in festival texts, their general and deep meaning was not altered in the course of the Hittite period.⁹ This is why I used here (see §5) festival texts of different periods, because, if this assumption is correct, all of them serve to give a general idea of Hittite social procedures in religious festivals. With respect to Yazılıkaya, the Šuppitaššu complex and Eflatun Pınar (see §3), the first two seem to have been in use for centuries, crossing different periods, although it is only for the Empire Period that we have the most secure dates for the three of them. On the first assumption, how these places were used should not have varied over time.

⁵ Mainly functionalists and structuralists, but also other schools of thought; see an overview of the most outstanding anthropological theories in Bell, 1997. See also Inomata / Coben, 2006: 6; *id.*, 2006b. For the Ancient Near East see, among others, Sallaberger, 2012: 157–158; Ristvet, 2014: esp. 2–3, 29–30, 210–217, 225.

⁶ See, among others, Haas, 1994: 675; Görke, 2008; Hutter, 2008; *id.*, 2010: 405–408; Görke, 2014: esp. 363; Cammarosano, 2018: 103–105; Cammarosano / Lorenz, 2019: 22–23. On the function of Hittite festival texts see Burgin, 2019: 2–12.

⁷ See also Klinger, 2013b: 95. See also the questions raised by Baines, 2006: 262; and the problems in interpreting Hittite festivals in Burgin, 2019: 147–148.

⁸ Baines, 2006: 263.

⁹ Taracha, 2009: 59. An example is given by Corti, 2020: 244, with references, who indicates that the festival text KUB 31.57, although with a script NS, was composed in the Old Hittite period. See also n. 125.

2. Definitions

It is necessary to provide definitions for the most controversial terms that will be used here: participation and population.

Concerning the first one, “participation,” I understand it here as the direct involvement in a festival; that is, the execution of an action that is required for a festival performance according to the description of cult practices attested in texts. Merely watching or attending a festival will not be considered “participation” because these actions do not imply a direct involvement in a festival. A contemporary parallel would be an Easter Procession: if the population does not take part in it, such as singing directly to the image when it passes in front of them and stopping it, and thus modifying the intended course of the procession, they are not participating in it; they are merely attending and thus they are only spectators, audience. Even in a theatrical performance, in which the existence of an audience is an important presupposition, most of the times they are not taking part in the play – a lack of involvement that is known as the “fourth wall.”¹⁰ There is, in a fragmentary context, at least one example of the presence of people watching some performances in a festival, in particular, a combat: [...] *nu uš-ḫán¹-zi*, “[...] and they watch”;¹¹ but, as has been explained, it will not be considered “participation” for several reasons. First, because it is unknown whom this 3rd person plural refers to, and second, because it cannot be deduced from the texts either that these spectators were directly involved in the festival, or that their presence was essential for its performance, i.e., that if they had not been there, the festival would not have been celebrated.

The second term, “population,” refers here to the inhabitants of a town excluding those people with official duties who took part in a festival as one of their responsibilities. That is, temple and palace personnel such as priests, officials and workers are excluded.¹² “Representatives,” such as the *UBĀRU*,¹³ are also excluded as they were performing a duty, although a sporadic one. Therefore, “population” here indicates common people or community.

3. Cult places

3.1. Yazılıkaya

Yazılıkaya is located on an elevation to the northeast of the Hittite capital Boğazköy/Ḫattuša. It consists of a group of limestone outcrops that create four

¹⁰ I am aware that some authors would consider attending a festival as “participation,” however, I disagree for, in my view, “being part of” something is not necessarily the same as “taking part in” something.

¹¹ KBo 23.55 (CTH 648) i 3’, see Gilan, 2001: 115. See also §§4, 5.2.

¹² See an outline in Güterbock, 1970 [1997]: 83–85; Haas, 1994: 678–680; Taracha, 2009: 65–69, 130.

¹³ Görke, 2014: 369–370.

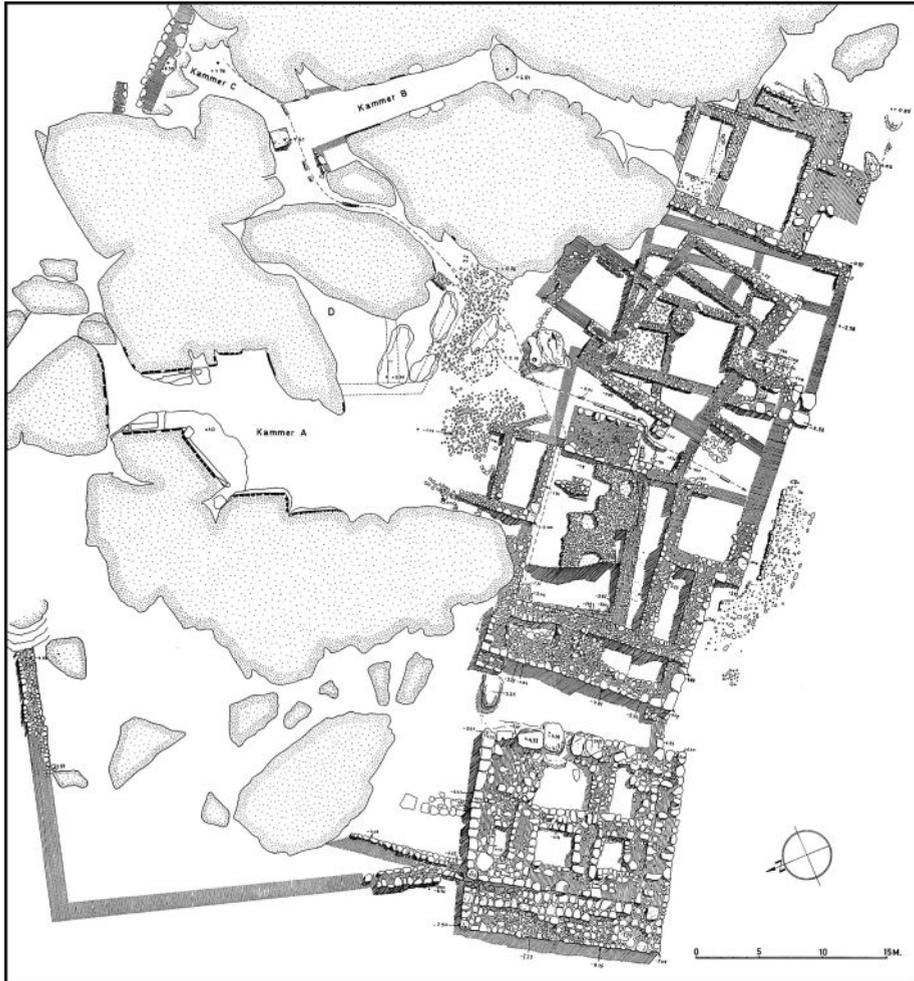


Fig. 1: Plan of Yazılıkaya (Yaz², Bei. 2).

chambers of different sizes and a temple that closes the assemblage on its southern side (Fig. 1). Two of these chambers (A and B) are decorated with reliefs that depict various gods, the king Tudḫaliya IV and his name in hieroglyphs. The *terminus post quem* for the execution of the reliefs seem to have been in the last period of the Hittite Empire, although an earlier date cannot be totally excluded, especially in view of the (uncertain) dating of the four phases of the temple.¹⁴

Most authors indicate that Yazılıkaya was connected to the capital by a path that is thought to have followed contour lines and might have been paved in the

¹⁴ Yaz.; Yaz²; Ehringhaus, 2005: 15, 17; Seeher, 2011; Schachner, 2011: 99–104; Arroyo, 2014: 177–208; Seeher, 2016.

vicinity of the sanctuary.¹⁵ Some of these authors even label this road as “processional way.”¹⁶ Incomplete walls, pottery fragments, water pipes and two water basins have been found along this supposed track (quadrants AA/26–27 + R/27).¹⁷ These findings seem to indicate that Yazılıkaya was located in the border area of the capital.

The exact function of Yazılıkaya is still a matter of debate. Some authors believe that at least Chamber B was the place where Hittite kings, or at least Tudḫaliya IV, were buried.¹⁸ Their arguments are mainly based on the relief of this king (Nr. 81) which stands to the right of what seems to be an Underworld God (Nr. 82), maybe Nergal, and also in the presence of three niches that have been interpreted as containers for ashes. However, there are neither marks nor textual references that can illuminate the exact function of these niches. They have also been interpreted as cases without a clear function, as censers, as lamp containers and even as basins.¹⁹ Regarding the relief Nr. 82, its identification with an Underworld God is not sufficient in itself to determine the function of this chamber.

Other authors suggest that festival activities were performed in Yazılıkaya. This hypothesis is based primarily on its location near the capital, on the reliefs of gods in Chamber A, and on the expressions *šalli ašeššar*, “great assembly,” and DINGIR^{MEŠ} *tuliyāš AŠRU*, “the place of the gods’ assembly.” The latter is attested in the prayer of Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa to the Sun Goddess of Arinna (KUB 21.19 (CTH 383) iv 25’) and indicates that the capital is the place where the gods gather: [...] ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-tu-ša-aš* DING[IR^{MEŠ}]-*aš tu-li-ya-[aš AŠ]-RU*, “Ḫattuša, the place of the gods assembly.”²⁰ For its part, the *šalli ašeššar* is mentioned in other festivals, such as the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} or the KILAM,²¹ although, as it will be discussed below (see §4.), it is not always clear who belongs to this *ašeššar*.

¹⁵ Yaz.: 4; Yaz²: 12, 29, Bei. 1; Ehringhaus, 2005: 15, 17; Seeher, 2011: 19, Abb. 148.

¹⁶ Yaz²: 12, 29; Ehringhaus, 2005: 15.

¹⁷ Yaz²: 29; Schachner, 2008: 142–146; *id.*, 2011: 105, Abb. 48; Seeher, 2011: 19. In the quadrant S/30 there is also a stone pavement, but it seems that it belongs to a water structure, see Bo. IV: 66, Taf. 32, Bei. 15; Bittel, 1989: 38; Schachner, 2008: 146, Abb. 49.

¹⁸ Singer, 1986: 251; Bittel, 1989: 38; Ehringhaus, 2005: 17; Schachner, 2011: 103; Beckman, 2013: 156; *contra* Kohlmeyer, 1983: 66. See Seeher, 2011: 159: “[...] Hypothese, dass die Kammer B mit dem Totenkult in Verbindung steht. Wenn dies so ist – und es fehlt eine überzeugende andere Erklärung – dann muss es sich dabei um den Kult für den Großkönig Tudḫalija IV. handeln.”

¹⁹ Yaz, 18; Neve, 1989: 351, 352.

²⁰ Sürenhagen, 1981: 98; Singer, 2002: 101; Klinger, 2013: 132. For *tuliyā-* see EDHIL: 897–898, *s.v.*; for *AŠRU* see CAD, A II: 459–460, *s.v.*: *ašru* A 3.4’. See also Beckman, 1982: 438, with more textual references, and esp. n. 48.

²¹ For other festivals in which there is a “great assembly,” see Burgin, 2019: 27, with references.

In the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}, the “great assembly” took place in the capital at four different locations: in the *ḫalentuwa-* in several days of the festival (2nd, 3rd, 6th, 10th), in the temple of the Storm God (day 16th), in the temple of Hannu (day 17th) and in the “House of the Queen” (É.MUNUS.LUGAL). But it also takes place in the *ḫalentuwa-* of Ankuwa (day 37th).²² If Yazılıkaya might be identified with the place where the “great assembly” took place,²³ it must be equated either with the *ḫalentuwa-* – in case it can be identified with a temple or part of it²⁴ – or with the Storm God temple or with the Hannu-temple.

For its part, in the KILAM, the “great assembly” starts in a tent (GIŠZA.LAM.GAR). When the gathering is over, the king leaves the tent, washes himself in a basin (*luli-*), and enters the *ḫuwaši-* of the Storm God.²⁵ Singer “strongly suspect[s] that the *ḫuwaši-* of the Storm God near this tent [...] is the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya or some part of it.”²⁶ In his view, the “tent” could have been either a movable structure or the temple itself,²⁷ presuming that the latter is the petrification of the former, which is disputable; while the *ḫuwaši-* of the Storm God might be equated with his image at the end of Chamber A (relief Nr. 42). But, it is also possible to identify the remains of a pedestal found at the entrance of Chamber B with a base for a *ḫuwaši-*.²⁸ Unfortunately, there are too many conjectures in this reasoning to consider it as certain; although it is still possible.

Finally, it has also been proposed that the New Year’s Festival was celebrated here because all the gods meet at the “house of the Storm God”²⁹ (KUB 36.97 (CTH 600) obv. i 6–7): ⁽⁶⁾ DINGIR^{MES}-*ya ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš ta-ru-up-pa-an-ta-at* ⁽⁷⁾ DĪŠKUR-*na-aš pâr-na ú-e-er*, “⁽⁶⁾ All gods gathered ⁽⁷⁾ and entered in the House of the Storm God.”³⁰ However, this expression could indicate a temple in the capital.

²² KBo 10.20 (CTH 604.A), see Güterbock, 1960 [1997]. On the festival see Haas, 1994: 772–826; Klinger, 2008: 196–202; Taracha, 2009: 102, 139–141.

²³ For this possibility, although called into question, see Yaz²: 254–255.

²⁴ See Beckman, 1984 *contra* Alp, 1983; HW², Ḫ: 20–21, *s.v.*, with references. See also Singer, 1983: 111–112; and n. 37.

²⁵ Singer, 1983: 98–103, esp. 100. See also *id.*, 1986; Haas, 1994: 759–767. For OS texts related to the *šalli ašeššar* and the actions carried out until the king leaves the tent, see Burgin, 2019: 31–97. For the *šalli ašeššar* in the KILAM, especially in the Old Hittite period, see Burgin, 2019.

²⁶ Singer, 1983: 101 *contra* Taracha, 2009: 63 and n. 331. See also Cammarosano, 2019: 321–323, 327.

²⁷ Singer, 1986: 249.

²⁸ Compare these remains (Yaz², Abb. 17a–c) with those of Karahöyük (Darga, 1969: Taf. I–II).

²⁹ Yaz²: 254; Singer, 1986: 252.

³⁰ Otten, 1956: 102; Haas, 1994: 697, n. 13.

The fact is that no known text refers unequivocally to this cult center³¹ and thus it is extremely difficult to ascertain the specific function of this place beyond its religious character. Its connection with the capital makes clear that it was closely related to its inhabitants, but the temple that closes the chambers from outside (Fig. 1) seems to preclude a free access, even during a festival. In addition, and although there is no data on the areas of Chambers A and B, their small dimensions (Fig. 1) would not have allowed many people to gather here.³² Thus, if the community of Ḫattuša assembled here, they must have done it outside the temple and the limestone outcrops, and thus outside the cult place.

3.2. Šuppitaššu complex

The Šuppitaššu complex is located in a mountain to the south of Kuşaklı/Şarişša.³³ It was connected to this city by means of a road that is mentioned in some texts and that might have been partially surveyed.³⁴ The complex (Fig. 2) comprises 10 different structures and is organized around a sinkhole (130 m diameter)³⁵ feed by several springs whose natural walls have been plastered with stones (structure N).³⁶ Although there is no certain data on its construction, its *terminus post quem* would have roughly coincide with that of the city, in the so-called Middle Hittite Period.³⁷ From the ten structures found in the complex, only A, B, and G are of interest here. All of them were only geomagnetically surveyed.

Structure A is located in a terrace to the southwest of the sinkhole (Fig. 2). It is a building (*ca.* 75 × 48 m) with an inner courtyard (32 × 30 m) and an access in its northern part. Comparisons with similar Hittite structures suggest that it was a temple.³⁸ Two limestone blocks found in the southern part of the courtyard have been interpreted either as mere rock fragments fallen from the slope or as *ḫuwaši-*.³⁹

³¹ Yaz²: 254.

³² Chamber A measures 10 m long (Seeher, 2011: 33, Abb 23) and, according to its plan, between *ca.* 2 and 10 m wide in a very irregular form. Note that the actual ground level in Chamber A lays *ca.* 0.5 m below the Hittite one, see Yaz²: 33–34; Seeher, 2011: 33. Chamber B measures *ca.* 18 m long and between 4.5 and 2.15 m wide, see Yaz²: 41, Abb. 13. There is no data for the space between both chambers.

³³ See recently Müller-Karpe, 2017: 16, 25–26.

³⁴ See Wilhelm, 2015: 95, Fig. 6.

³⁵ Müller-Karpe, 2017: 123.

³⁶ Müller-Karpe, 1999: 81, Abb. 20, 85; Ökse, 1999: 87, Abb. 22 *contra* Hüser, 2007: 120: “Die kreisrunde Form ist nicht natürlich,” 124.

³⁷ Arroyo, 2014: 212, with references.

³⁸ Müller-Karpe, 1999: 82, 84; *id.*, 2017: 124. Similar accesses have been documented in Temple 2 and 5 of the Upper City of Ḫattuša see Neve, 2001: 20–47, esp. 23 for Temple 5, and *ib.*, 47–71, esp. 49, 59, for Temple 2.

³⁹ Müller-Karpe, 1999: 82–84; *id.*, 2002: 188, Abb. 12; *id.*, 2017: 124, Abb. 121. See also Wilhelm, 2015: 95.

Structure B lays *ca.* 100 m to the north of Structure A (Fig. 2) and has been interpreted as a *halentuwa*-.⁴⁰ A geomagnetic anomaly linear in shape found to its southeast is believed to be a “processional way.”⁴¹ The sketch in KUB 7.25 (CTH 636.1), which includes a festival celebrated in the town, was identified by Müller-Karpe as the schematic representation of the link between the town and the cult place⁴² (see §4).

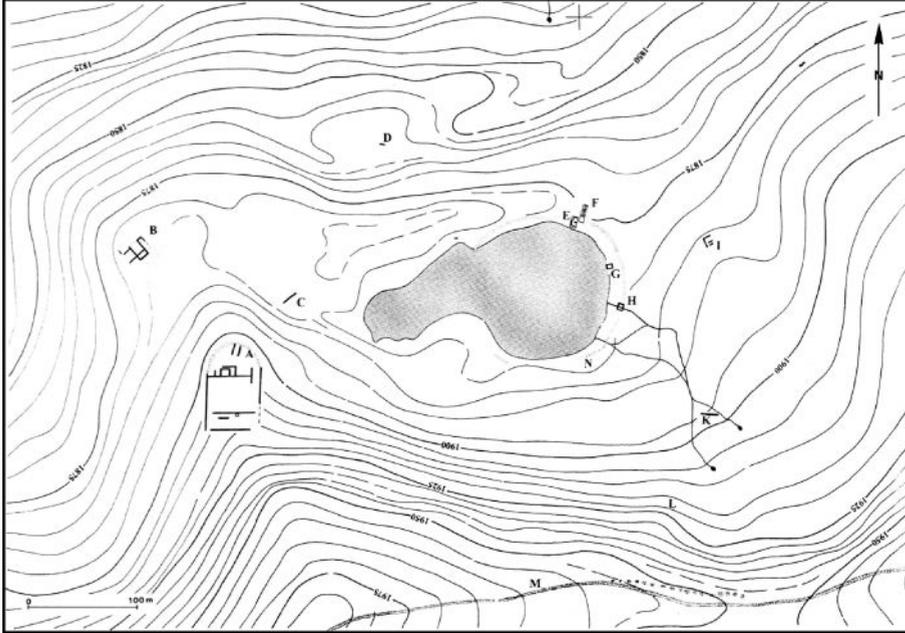


Fig. 2: Plan of the Šuppitaššu complex (Müller-Karpe, 2019: Abb. 20).

Finally, structure G lays at the sinkhole’s northeast edge, is quadrangular and seems to have three chambers (Fig. 2). Its function is not clear, but it has been suggested that it might have been a “platform or pedestal base” to make offerings.⁴³

Thanks to various texts that belong to the “Festival of Šarišša” (CTH 636) this complex could be identified with the place where the king performed several rites outside the town in spring.

One of these texts found in Kuşaklı/Šarišša (KuSa 1/1.1 (KuT 19, CTH 636) obv. i 1–3, 6–8) mentions various *huwaši*- of the Storm God in a place outside the city that was reachable by means of a road:

⁴⁰ Wilhelm, 2015: 95; Müller-Karpe, 2017: 126.

⁴¹ Müller-Karpe, 1999: 84.

⁴² Müller-Karpe, 2017: 121.

⁴³ Müller-Karpe, 1998: 153; *id.*, 1999: 85; *id.*, 2017: 126. See also Hüser, 2007: 125; Wilhelm, 2015: 94.

(1) [*ma-a-an* LUGAL-*u*]š ¹*ḥa¹-me-eš-ḥi* (2) [*INA* URUŠ^{URU}*Ša-r*]i-iš-ša *A-NA* EZEN₄^{MEŠ} (3) [*i-ya*]-¹*u¹-wa-an-zi pa-iz-zi* [...] (6) KASKAL-*an* (7) ¹*A-NA*¹ NA₄ZI.KIN^{HIA} DU ¹*ša-ra-a* (8) ¹*pa¹-iz-zi*
 “(1–3) [When the king] goes in springtime [to per]form the festivals [in the town of Šar]išša [...] (6–8) he goes up the road to the *ḥuwašis* of the Storm God.”⁴⁴

Another text (KuSa 1/1.2 (KuT 6, CTH 636) 9–10) indicates that this road was accessible by carriage, although it only mentions one *ḥuwaši*:- (9) ¹LUGAL-*uš¹-kán* GIŠ^{GIŠ}GIGIR-*ni ti-¹ya-zi¹* (10) *na-aš-kán A-NA* NA₄ZI.KIN^D¹ U¹UGU¹ ¹*pa¹-[iz-zi]*, “The king steps on the chariot and goes up to the *ḥuwaši* of the Storm God.”⁴⁵

A text found in Boğazköy/Ḫattuša (KUB 20.99 (CTH 636.2) i 11) confirms that the *ḥuwaši*- was in an elevated location: [GIM-*an* LUGAL-*uš A-NA ḥu-wa-ši-ya*] *ša-ra-a a-ri*, “[As soon as the king] gone uphill [to the *ḥuwaši*]”;⁴⁶ and that this *ḥuwaši*- was inside a structure (KUB 20.99 (CTH 636.2) obv. ii 4): LUGAL-*uš-kán* NA₄*ḥu-wa-ši-ya pí-ra-an an-da pa-iz-zi*, “The king goes inside in front of the *ḥuwaši*-.”⁴⁷

The name of the spring, Šuppitaššu, was found in this text from Ḫattuša (KUB 20.99 (CTH 636.2) obv. ii 14, 20, 22): ^{TÚL}Šu-*up-pí-ta-aš-šu-ú-*. It also mentions that the king makes offerings to the *ḥuwašis* of the Storm God and the Protective Deity – both set inside a structure – as well as to this spring (KUB 20.99 (CTH 636.2) obv. ii 13–14, 16–22, 25–27):⁴⁸

(13) [...] 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA SA₅-*ma* 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA BABBAR
 (14) *A-NA* ^{TÚL}Šu-*up-pí-ta-aš-šu-ú-i pár-ši-ya* [...] (16) [...] IŠ-TU NA₄ZI.KIN
^DIŠKUR-*ya-kán ku-it* (17) UZU NÍG.GIG *ḥar-za-zu-ú-ta-an me-ma-al a-aš-ša-an* (18) *na-at-kán ta-pu-ú-ša A-NA* NA₄ZI.KIN^DKAL (19) *ú-da-an-zi nu-uš-ša-an* NA₄ZI.KIN^DKAL EGIR-*pa* (20) 2-ŠU *da-a-i A-NA* ^{TÚL}Šu-*up-pí-ta-aš-šu-ú-i-ya* 1-ŠU *da-a-i* (21) EGIR-*an-da-ma ta-wa-al PA-NI* NA₄ZI.KIN 2-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti* (22) *A-NA* ^{TÚL}Šu-*up-pí-ta-aš-šu-ú-i-ya* 1-ŠU *ši-pa-an-ti* [...] (25) [*nu*] LUGAL-*uš UŠ-KE-EN na-aš-kán IŠ-TU* NA₄ZI.KIN^DKAL (26) [*pa-r*]*a-a ú-iz-zi na-aš-kán an-da* ^É*ḥa-le-[en-tu-u-wa-aš]* (27) [*pa-iz-z*]*i*

⁴⁴ Wilhelm, 1995: 38–39; *id.*, 1997: 9, 14; *id.*, 2015: 93.

⁴⁵ Wilhelm, 1997: 18.

⁴⁶ Wilhelm, 1997: 10. For another meaning of *šāra* with a verb of movement to indicate “to enter” a structure or a settlement, see Kryszewski, 2019: esp. 510. In this case the difference is not crucial, for there are at least two attestations that indicate that the *ḥuwašis* were in an elevated position (see above in the text) and another three that show that there were inside a structure (see below in the text).

⁴⁷ Wilhelm, 1997: 10–11. Mentions of a *ḥuwaši*- in this text are in KUB 20.99 obv. ii 4, 6; possibly also in obv. i 11, 19, 21.

⁴⁸ Wilhelm, 1997: 11–12.

“(13–14) He (i.e. the king) breaks 1 red bread and 1 white bread for the spring Šuppitaššu [...] (16–19) Whatever is left from the liver, *ħarrazuta* (and) grits of the “stele” of the Storm God they bring to one side of the “stele” of the Protective deity; and behind the “stele” of the Protective deity (20) (he) puts 2 (portions, and) for the spring Šuppitaššu, (he) puts 1 (portion), (21) and (he) libates *tawal* twice again in front of the “stele” (22) and (he) libates once to the spring Šuppitaššu [...] (25–27) [and] the king bows and goes out of the “stele” of the Protective deity and goes inside the *ħalentuwa*-.”

Another text emphasizes that the *ħuwašis* were not in an open space (KUB 7.25 (CTH 636.1) obv. i 12–14): (12) *nam-ma LUGAL-uš Ēħa-le-en-tu-u-az DAn-zi-li-[ya-aš]* (13) *NA^aħu-u-wa-ši-ya pa-iz-zi na-aš NA^aħu-u-wa-ši-[ya-aš]* (14) *KÁ-aš pi-ri-an ti-ya-zi*, “(12–14) Then the king goes out of the *ħalentuwa* to the *ħuwaši*- of the god Anzili and steps forward the gate of the *ħuwaši*-.”⁴⁹ This same text (KUB 7.25 (CTH 636.1) obv. i 8–10) indicates that the structure(s) that contain(s) the “steles” and the *ħalentuwa* building should have been surrounded by a wall, because the king crosses a *ħilammar* to get into the *ħalentuwa*: (8) *nu-kán LUGAL-uš Ēħi-lam-ni an-da IŠ-TU ANŠE.KUR.RA* (9) *kat-ta ti-ya-zi na-aš-kán Ēħa-le-en-tu-u-as* (10) *an-da pa-iz-zi*, “(8–10) The king gets off the horse/chariot at the gateway and gets inside the *ħalentuwa*-.”⁵⁰

Unlike to the case of Yazılıkaya, this place is attested in textual sources. According to them, the king performed here part of the festival of Šarišša, making offerings to the *ħuwaši*- of various deities and to the spring Šuppitaššu. Leaving aside the exact meaning of *ħalentuwa*- and the precise type of structure that it might have been,⁵¹ this structure and the *ħuwašis* were set in an enclosure which had a gateway (*ħilammar*). But it is not possible to identify the two blocks laying in the court of structure A with the *ħuwašis* – as Müller-Karpe suggests⁵² – because KUB 20.99 describes simultaneous offerings to the *ħuwašis* of the Storm God and the Protective Deity as well as to the spring Šuppitaššu. Thus, at least, these two *ħuwašis* and the spring must have been close to each other.⁵³

In agreement with both textual and archaeological sources (Fig. 2) the remains of a wall (D) might be identified with the enclosure that contains the gateway (*ħilammar*) and the structures A (temple),⁵⁴ B (*ħalentuwa*-) and G (platform). But it is not clear if this enclosure prevented access or if its function was only to separate the complex from the surroundings. Be that as it may, the textual attestation of a road to reach the complex and its possible identification with an anomaly near

⁴⁹ Wilhelm, 1997: 13–14; *id.*, 2015: 94.

⁵⁰ Wilhelm, 1997: 14. See also *id.*, 2015: 94.

⁵¹ See n. 24. See also Wilhelm, 1997: 14, n. 16; *id.*, 2015: 94.

⁵² See also Wilhelm, 2015: 95; Cammarosano, 2018: 84; *id.*, 2019: 304, 312, 319–320.

⁵³ See also Wilhelm, 2015: 94.

⁵⁴ Wilhelm, 2015: 95 thinks that “it is likely that it is the *ħuwaši*-sanctuary of the Storm God.”

to structure B make clear that this complex was closely related to the nearby city of Šarišša.

There are not specific data on the area occupied by the Šuppitaššu complex. Its surveyed area measures 600×500 m (30 ha),⁵⁵ seemingly too big to be considered as its real dimensions. Hence, to have an idea of its surface area it is necessary to consider plans. The most appropriate method is to combine the measures of a plan that comprises city and cult complex and another of only the latter (Fig. 2).⁵⁶ According to them, the complex area might have measured *ca.* 700×300 m (21 ha). Subtracting the areas of the doline (130 m diameter) and the temple (75×48 m), the surface where people could gather might have extended over *ca.* 19 ha. With an estimate of 1 m^2 per person, a maximum of 190,000 persons could have gathered here; 478,000 people if the estimate is 0.4 m^2 per person.⁵⁷ With a maximum surface of *ca.* 53 ha. for the citadel and the lower city⁵⁸ and an estimate of 100 per/ha these numbers are between 35 and 90 times greater than the inhabitants that Šarišša might have had (5,300 people), but the difference is lower if one uses the estimate of Ḫattuša (*ca.* 10,000 per/ha; 530,000 people), where the quantity of public buildings – as in Šarišša – was considered to influence the estimate.⁵⁹ It is important to recall that, after all, these data for Šarišša and its Šuppitaššu complex are only speculative.

3.3. Eflatun Pınar

The fountain of Eflatun Pınar is located in the Konya province, around 7 km eastwards from the Beyşehir lake.⁶⁰ There are four settlements in the vicinity, but the

⁵⁵ Müller-Karpe, 1999: 82.

⁵⁶ For the plan of both city and cult complex, see Müller-Karpe, 2017: Abb. 118; for that of the cult complex alone, see *id.*, 1999: Abb 20 (= Fig. 2).

⁵⁷ For the estimates see Ristvet, 2014: 229, n. 9, with references. These estimates are certainly useful for understanding whether the inhabitants of Šarišša could gather here. However, without data on Hittite demography and population density – without even an approximate number of persons involved in the festival – they only point to an enormous area – as do its dimensions – and says nothing on whether this area was designed to host the entire community or whether it just shows monumentality, which, in my opinion, is more related to the expression of power than to practical, utilitarian reasons. For Hittite demography and its problems see Wilhelm, 2009: 223, 233; Simon, 2011. In view of the large quantity of public spaces, some estimates given for the capital Ḫattuša are not the normal average for ancient times of 100 per/ha, but *ca.* 10,000 per/ha, see Schachner, 2011: 241.

⁵⁸ In the Kuşaklı period III, Müller-Karpe, 2017: 44.

⁵⁹ Based on the capacity of the town main silo, Müller-Karpe estimates a population of 5.000 inhabitants, see Müller-Karpe, 2002: 182. See also *id.*, 2017: 82. Also based on the silo's dimensions Mielke *apud* Simon, 2011: 20, 22, estimates 4,000 people. For the estimate of Ḫattuša see n. 57.

⁶⁰ Mellaart, 1962: 112; Börker-Klähn, 1982: 250; Kohlmeyer, 1983: 34; Bachmann / Özenir, 2004: 84.

homonymous höyük, located *ca.* 500 m to the south, is the nearest one.⁶¹ It has pottery fragments dating to the Hittite period and seems to have been connected to the fountain by means of a paved road.⁶²

The fountain (Fig. 3) is constructed with ashlar,⁶³ has a square basin, a kind of façade, a platform, a channel⁶⁴ and a large orthostat decorated with the protomes of three bulls that for several years were thought to have been the basin's overflow.

The “façade”⁶⁵ is decorated with several reliefs. Among them there are two seated figures that might be interpreted as the Storm God and the Sun Goddess.⁶⁶ There are also five Mountain gods, from which the three central ones have holes that allow the water flow into the basin.

The platform lays in front of the “façade.” It has two high reliefs, that, based on a symmetrical reconstruction, might have been identical to the central ones of the “façade.” These two figures are placed above a large stone block that has been interpreted as a place to make offerings.⁶⁷

The square basin has lost the upper row of ashlar. It has two seated female figures with disc headdresses at both sides of the “façade” and the relief of two standing men in the eastern side (Fig. 3). In the bottom of the basin were found pottery fragments of votive vessels and *Linsenflaschen*,⁶⁸ as well as 14 zoomorphic sculptures, some of which can be identified as big cats.

It is tempting to identify this fountain with the ^DKASKAL.KUR of Arimmat-ta⁶⁹ mentioned in the ‘Bronze Tablet’ (Bo 86/299 (CTH 106.I.1) i 24): ⁽²⁴⁾ [...] ^DKASKAL.KUR ^{URU}A-ri-im-ma-at-ta ZAG-aš i-ya-an-za, “⁽²⁴⁾ [...] the

⁶¹ Other settlements are Küladası, 10 km to the south; Kireli, 5 km to the east; Bayat Höyük, 2 km to the northeast. On them see Mellaart 1962: 117; Kohlmeyer, 1983: 35 and n. 289; Bachmann / Özenir, 2004: 105; Erbil / Mouton, 2018: 109–110.

⁶² Bachmann / Özenir, 2004: 116, n. 141, Abb. 26.

⁶³ Bachmann / Özenir, 2004: 95: andesite, *contra* Börker-Klähn, 1982: 250 *sub* n° 308 and n. 3; Kohlmeyer, 1983: 34, n. 284, who says that the stone is trachyte.

⁶⁴ Bachmann / Özenir, 2004: 110, 117, Abb. 33–34. Close to the “façade” this channel had a sluice, which may be Hittite *ištappeššar*, see HEG, I-K: 432–433, *s.v.*: *istap(p)-*, *contra* HED, E-I: 471–475, *s.v.*: *istap(p)-*, esp. 473: “dam”; EDHIL: 415–416, *s.v.*: *ištāp/ištapp-*: “dam, enclosure.”

⁶⁵ For Mellaart, 1962: 113; Börker-Klähn, 1982: 251; Kohlmeyer, 1983: 36; and Ehringhaus, 2005: 51, 56, its inner space was filled with stones; for Bachmann / Özenir 2004: 108–109, 116, this space was a chamber.

⁶⁶ In local pantheons they also represent Mountain gods and Fountain goddesses, respectively; see Arroyo, 2014: 70, 285.

⁶⁷ Bachmann / Özenir, 2004: 99.

⁶⁸ Bachmann / Özenir, 2004: 100, without images.

⁶⁹ Suggested by Dinçol *et al.*, 2000: 13, Map 1. For other proposal see Forlanini, 1998: 221.

^DKASKAL.KUR of Arimmatta (was) established as frontier⁷⁰; as well as in the treaty with Ulmi-Tešub of Tarhuntašša (KBo 4.10 (CTH 106.II.2) obv. 19’): ^(19’) [...] ^DKASKAL.KUR^{MES URU} *A-ri-im-ma-at-ta* ZAG-aš [...], “^(19’) [...] the ^DKASKAL.KUR-s of Arimmatta [...]”⁷¹

However, a ^DKASKAL.KUR cannot be equated with a fountain but with a ponor.⁷²

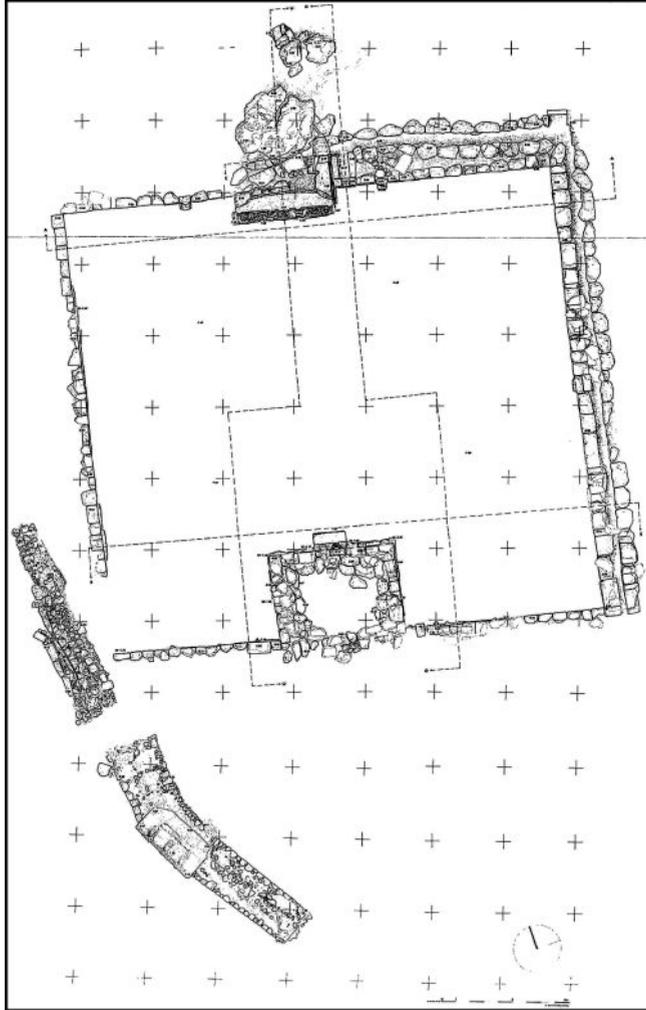


Fig. 3: Plan of Eflatun Pınar (Bachman / Özenir, 2004: Abb. 26).

⁷⁰ Otten, 1988: 10–11.

⁷¹ Hout, 1995: 26–27.

⁷² Arroyo, 2014: 330–337, with references. Against this identification, although based on other arguments, see also Erbil / Mouton, 2018: 78.

Without any text that clearly mentions this fountain, it is difficult to ascertain the exact religious function that it might have had. However, the so-called Benedictions for the Labarna (KBo 21.22 (CTH 820.4) obv. 36–45) mentions the fountain of the Storm God and the fountain of the Sun Goddess, which is protected by leopards, and some of the sculptures found in the basin can also be identified as leopards or big cats:⁷³

(36) [D]¹UTU¹-wa-aš wa-at-ta-ru ú-it na-at ma-a-aḥ-ḥa¹-[an i-ya-an]
 (37) kat-ta¹ ša-ra-at-kán NA₄-ta ú-e-da-an iš-ki-ya¹-[an] lu-li-[it²] (38) na-
 at pá-r-ša-né-eš pa-a-aḥ-ša-an-ta wa-a-tar-še-da¹-kán x[] (39) [lu]-ú-li-az
 ar-aš-zi na-an pa-aḥ-ḥa-aš-nu-an-du la-[ba-ar]-ḥa¹-an (40) LUGAL¹-un
 pa-aš-ši-le-eš na-aš ^DUTU-wa<-aš> AN.BAR ki-ša-ru¹ (41) D¹IŠKUR-aš
 wa-at-ta-ru i-an-zi nu-wa wa-at-ta-ru ma-a-aḥ-ḥa-an i-ya-an (42) ku-un-na-
 ni-ta-at ú-e-da-an ar-zi-li-ta-at ḥa-ni-iš-ša-a-an (43) AN.BAR-at iš-ki-ya-
 an [...]

“(36) The fountain of the Sun Goddess came [lit.], ‘How (is) it [made?]
 (37) ‘From bottom to top it (is) constructed with stone, coat[ed], [with²] a
 ba[sin²], (38) it (is) protected by leopards, its water x[] (39–40) flows from
 the [ba]sin.’ ‘Let the pebbles protect the Labarna, the king! Let him become
 the iron of the Sun Goddess!’ (41) They make the fountain of the Storm God,
 ‘How (is) the fountain made?’ (42) ‘It (is) made with copper, it (is) covered
 with plaster, (43) it (is) coated with iron [...].’”

Perhaps Eflatun Pınar was constructed following (part of) the model described in this text. At least, it seems to accord with the design related to the fountain of the Sun Goddess, as it is made in stone, several statues of leopards – or felines – were found in a secondary position in the basin and there are the images of four Sun Goddess (one in the “façade,” two more at its both sides and a fourth one in the platform). The palaeography of KBo 21.22 is MS and, although there is no conclusive data on when the fountain was constructed, the pottery found in the basin indicates a rough date in the Imperial period.⁷⁴ This means that most probably the text precedes the building of the fountain and could have served as a prototype.

The parallels with the Šuppitaššu complex and the fragments of votive pottery found in the basin indicate that this fountain was used in connection with the cult. For its part, the paved road that links Eflatun Pınar with the settlement of the same name indicates a close relation between them, and thus, also with the inhabitants of the town. No wall around the fountain prevents an approach, and, thus there is no limit to the number of people who could gather here.

⁷³ See Archi, 1979: 46–47; Watkins, 1995: 137–138; CHD, L–N: 81, s.v.: *luli-*, *luliyā-*, 2.

⁷⁴ See Arroyo, 2014: 72, with references.

4. A gap in between: Iconography

The three cult complexes – Yazılıkaya, Šuppitaššu and Eflatun Pınar – have shed a little light on some open-air cult places where festivals were or could have been celebrated; but another kind of data provide us with more information on specific actions performed during festivals: namely iconography.⁷⁵

When dealing with iconography we have to bear in mind that only few of the many events of a festival seem to have been depicted. However, and although these data are limited to some orthostates and pottery and metal vessels, they are still very useful to understand how festivals developed and can be put together with textual information. For example, in the reliefs of Alaca Höyük the scene of a sword swallower (LÚ GÍR) next to a man climbing a ladder (LÚ^{MEŠ} GIŠ KUN₅) can be found in the cult of Arinna (KBo 27.39, KUB 60.56 (CTH 666)), in the cult of Tetešhapi (KBo 32.106, KBo 32.114 (CTH 738)) and in the Spring Festival of Zippalanda (KBo 22.194+ (CTH 592.2.I.B)); that is, in local festivals.⁷⁶ In the KILAM (KBo 20.33+ (CTH 627.3.a) lo. e. 40), the men of Ḫarḫarna also swallow swords.⁷⁷

However, not every image that seems to be connected with festivals can be confidently related to a textual passage. These are the cases of the scene of a man and a woman sitting on a kind of bed in the İnadık vase or the fragmentary depiction of a man with a bull in the Hüseyindede vase.⁷⁸ Both depictions have been largely discussed by several authors, but there is still no convincing hypothesis to explain them because of the lack of consistent textual information.⁷⁹

On the other hand, festival texts inform us of some actions that are never depicted in the preserved archaeological record, such as the washing of statues or steles in extramural cult places, which is one of the central moments in festivals.

Concerning our topic, the link between the three cult places and textual information through iconography, there is, unfortunately, no depiction that can be directly connected with any of these places. The lines scratched on KUB 7.25 might be an exception, but insofar as they comprise a sketch without any detail, it is uncertain that they really represent a plan of Šarišša and its Šuppitaššu complex as Müller-Karpe suggests (see §2.2). However, iconography is still useful for both the topic of specific actions performed during festivals and the question of whether the community took part in them. For example, it has been shown that during the festival in Šarišša, the king made libations to the steles of the Storm God and the Protective Deity, as well as to the Šuppitaššu fountain, and scenes of

⁷⁵ De Martino, 2016.

⁷⁶ Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 359, and n. 7, with references. For the texts see Ünal, 1994: 213–215. For images of these orthostates see Bittel, 1976: 186–187, 190–199.

⁷⁷ Burgin, 2019: 34–35, 44–45, with references.

⁷⁸ For images of the İnadık vase see Özgüç, 1988: Pls. 36–39, F–I; for the one of Hüseyindede, see Yıldırım, 2009: Pls. XXV–XXIX.

⁷⁹ De Martino, 2016: 92–94.

libation are represented in, for example, the rhyton in form of a fist.⁸⁰

But scenes that are of interest for the present topic are those that depicted several people forming a group, because they might show the involvement of the community in a festival performance. These scenes comprise guiding animals to be sacrificed, preparation of food and beverages intended both for offerings and meals or libations, dancing and playing music, a row of people in a kind of procession and what seems to be representations of plays or contests. These scenes might depict common people taking part in a festival. However, at the present state of the research and without any inscription, it is not possible to determine if these scenes represent common people or temple and palace personnel. This question can only be answered through the study of the textual evidence.

5. Textual sources on participation

5.1. Terms that (might) refer to population

The Hittite most common term used to refer to “people” is *antuḫša-* (sg. person, pl. people; Sum. UN^(MEŠ)).⁸¹ Other words derived from it, such as *antuḫšatar* (UN^(MEŠ)-*tar*; population, people) and *antuḫšannant-* (UN^(MEŠ)-*annant*, UN^{HI.A}-*za*, population), are less frequently used.⁸² Finally, Sum. LÚ^{MEŠ}, although it literally means “men,” is translated as “people” in constructions such as LÚ^{MEŠ} URU GN,⁸³ or – sometimes – in LÚ^{MEŠ} URU-(*LIM/LUM*/-*aš*),⁸⁴ although these expressions could also point to collective powers.⁸⁵ Thus, in view of the different and sometimes loose meaning the terms can have, it is not possible to automatically identify them

⁸⁰ For an image see Collins, 2005: Fig. 2.6.

⁸¹ HW², A: 109, *s.v.*

⁸² For both, see HW², A: 110, 120–122, *s.v.*

⁸³ For LÚ^{MEŠ} see CHD, P: 324–328, *s.v.*: *pešna-*: “man, male person.” For LÚ^{MEŠ} URU GN see CHD, P: 328, *s.v.*: *pešna-* g 2’: “LÚ (KUR) URU x ‘man/person from the land of X’”; HW², H: 235–236, *s.v.*: *ḫappira-*; Weeden, 2011: 291–298. However, Singer, 1983: 167 indicates that some cult functionaries were labelled “men/women of the town x.” The expression is used, among other texts and followed by *eššanzi*, “(they) celebrate,” in KUB 38.2 (CTH 527.47) iii 20, 24: (URU Pada, URU Dala), see Cammarosano, 2018: 298–299; KBo 39.48 (CTH 527.9) iv 18’, rev. v 5’, 7’, 22’–23’ (URU Zikmar(-), URU Takduša, URU Ḫapathā), see Hazenbos, 2003: 99–102; and doing other actions in KUB 25.23+ i 9’, 35’, 39’, 42’, ii 6’, 24’(?) (URU Urišta), see Cammarosano, 2018: 362–369, who translates “men of Urišta” except in ii 6’, where he translates “people of Urišta.” See also below.

⁸⁴ As in KBo 2.8 (CTH 526.3) obv. i 39, ii 14–15, rev. iv 9’–10’ (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU LIM), see Hazenbos, 2003: 133–134, 136, 138–140. Note, however, that LÚ^{MEŠ} URU LIM is translated as “men of the town” in another passage of the same text, KBo 2.8 rev. iv 25’–26’, see Hazenbos, 2003: 136, 141; HW², H: 248, *s.v.*: *ḫappira-*; in KUB 7.24+ (CTH 526.36) iv 13’, see Hazenbos, 2003: 28, 30; and that in KUB 38.2 (CTH 527.47) iii 11, 16, LÚ^{MEŠ} URU -*aš*, is translated as “men of the town” in HW², H: 247, *s.v.*: *ḫappira-*, but not in Cammarosano, 2018: 299. See also previous note, and below.

⁸⁵ Solans, 2014: 47–48.

with the referent for “population” used here (see §1.). For example, in a local cult, UN^{MEŠ} are mentioned: [...] UN^{MEŠ}-za da-pi-an-za ʿki-li¹-la-[an-zi, “all the people wreath[e] themselves”;⁸⁶ but it is not automatically clear if “people” here refers to the whole community or to the wolf-men and the *hazqara*-women who were previously mentioned in the text and who performed some ritual actions. Similarly, in another local cult, some persons put on wreaths: GURUN ú-da-an-zi DINGIR^{MEŠ} GILIM-an-zi UN^{HI.A}-za GILIM-a-iz-zi, “they bring fruit, they put on wreaths on the gods, the people put on wreaths.”⁸⁷ And the same is attested in a further local cult, KUB 17.35 (CTH 526.18) iii 33, iv 33.⁸⁸ In these two latter passages, it is not clear if UN^{HI.A/MEŠ}- refers to “population” because the previously performed rites were carried out by the *hazqara*-women or by unspecified people – “they” – expressed by the 3rd person pl. Hence, the term can have the vague meaning of “people.” Another local cult text that mentions “people” is KBo 2.13 (CTH 528.14) obv. 28: [...] UN^{HI.A}-za wa-ar-[ap-pa-an-zi], “the people wa[sh] themselves.”⁸⁹ The term may or may not indicate “community,” although parallels with two ritual fragments that clearly point to the involvement of the whole town in the performance seem to support this possibility (see below). Finally, also in a local cult (KUB 44.21 (CTH 528.107) obv. ii 11) the term “people” might be mentioned: UN^{MEŠ} URU-aš-ma-kán ŠÀ É LÚ. SANGA GIBIL KÚ-zi, “but [the peopl]e² of the town eat in the house of the new SANGA-priest.”⁹⁰ Because the tablet is broken just at the crucial point in which “people” could have been written, this reconstruction is uncertain and other possibilities are likely.⁹¹ Moreover, the reconstruction of UN^{MEŠ} implies either that the town had very few inhabitants or that the SANGA had an enormous house, or both. Otherwise, it seems not possible that a whole town could be hosted inside (ŠÀ) a house.⁹²

Sometimes, local cult texts present the expression LÚ^{MEŠ} URU- *peškanzi*/SUM-*kanzi*, the “men/people of the town regularly deliver”⁹³ goods for the

⁸⁶ KUB 44.42 (CTH 526.31) rev. 20’, see Hazenbos, 2003: 129, 131. For the expression “all (the) people” see below.

⁸⁷ KBo 2.13 (CTH 528.14) obv. 18, see Carter, 1962: 106, 112; Cammarosano, 2018: 156, 220–221.

⁸⁸ Cammarosano, 2018: 156, 174, 177–178, 181.

⁸⁹ Cammarosano, 2018: 222–223.

⁹⁰ Cammarosano, 2018: 155.

⁹¹ See the photograph of the tablet in hethiter.net/fotoarch/BoFN01979b. Other reconstructions in HW², H: 248, s.v.: *happineš*-: “E]N”; CHD, S: 192, s.v.: *šankun(n)i- 1 d 1’*: “[...]x.” Cohen, 2006: 219–220, gives no transcription but doubts between “people” and “elders.”

⁹² On Hittite demography see Wilhelm, 2009; Simon, 2011. For Hittite houses see Schachner, 2011: 244–250; Müller-Karpe, 2017: 45–55.

⁹³ See n. 84 (except KUB 38.2 (CTH 527.47) iii 11, 16: LÚ^{MEŠ} URU-aš ʿeš-ša¹-an-zi, “the people/men of the town celebrate”; see HW², H: 248, s.v.: *happira*-; Cammarosano, 2018:

festival. Leaving aside whether the proper translation of LÚ^{MES} in this expression is “people” or “men,” this seems to indicate that the whole community took part in the festival. However, it is also possible to think that it indicates that the population’s involvement was restricted to delivering supplies for the festival celebration, which does not necessarily imply that the community gathered to deliver those goods as part of the festival performance. In addition, the hazy meaning of the expression could also refer not to the entire community, but to part of it (see below).

Linked to this point, another term used in festival texts that could refer to “population” is “town”⁹⁴ (Sum. URU, Hit. *ḥappira*-). In various local cult texts, such as KBo 12.56 (CTH 527.7) i 5’,⁹⁵ KBo 2.1 (CTH 527.5) ii 29, 38, iii 32, iv 14⁹⁶ and KUB 17.35 (CTH 526.18) ii 34, iii 22, 38⁹⁷ towns are said to deliver goods regularly (URU-*peškezzi*/SUM-*ezzi*) for the festival, but, as has been pointed out, this does not automatically mean that the inhabitants gathered during the festival to fulfil this duty. They might have brought those goods to a functionary, such as the LÚ AGRIG, or a priest, who delivered them to the temple as a preparative for the festival performance. This possibility seems to be supported – in the case of the “town” as well as in the case of the “men/people of the town” – by passages that state that local officials, local institutions, specific groups of workers, individuals or even districts are responsible for providing goods for the festival⁹⁸ and points more to a redistribution policy (see below) than to a direct involvement in the festival performance. Besides, and especially from a redistributive point of view, the expression “the town regularly delivers (goods for the festival)” could refer more to the whole group of households of the city – as economic units – than to the whole group of its inhabitants.

298–299), and below.

⁹⁴ Görke, 2008: 66, n. 89. See also Cammarosano, 2018: 149; Cammarosano / Lorenz, 2019: 23.

⁹⁵ Hazenbos, 2003: 55.

⁹⁶ HW², H: 246, s.v.: *ḥappira*-; Cammarosano, 2018: 196–197, 200–203.

⁹⁷ HW², H: 246, s.v.: *ḥappira*-; Cammarosano, 2018: 172–177.

⁹⁸ See Singer, 1983: 141, 157–158; Archi, 2015: 12–14; Cammarosano, 2018: 148–150; Barsacchi, 2019: 6; Cammarosano / Lorenz, 2019: 23–24; Corti, 2020: esp. 238, 240. An example that contains most of the groups mentioned is Kp 14/95+ (CTH 529.33) ii 6–8, iii 18”, iv 6–7: ^(ii 6) *ki-nu-na* LÚUGULA.10 A-NA GU₄ KUR *am-pa-ra-an* <*kat-an*> *da-a-iš* ⁽⁷⁾ A-NA UDU-*ma* URU *Ku-um-mar-na-an* :*la-pa-na-an* ⁽⁸⁾ *kat-an da-a-iš* [...] ^(iii 18”) *ku-ita*¹ *wa-ar-na-aš* ARAD^{MES} ⁽¹⁾ DINGIR^{LM1} *pé-eš-⁽¹⁾kán¹-zi* [...] ^(iv 6) [...] É.GAL[^{H1A} (?)] ^(iv 7) URU *Ša-mu-ḥa pé-eš-kán-zi*, ^(ii 6–8) “But now the Commander of the Ten <ap>pointed the land of Ampara (as responsible) for the (supply of) cattle, whereas for the (supply of) sheep he appointed the saltlick of Kummarna [...] ^(iii 18”) The servants of the god regularly supply a *warna*-measure of each one (of the listed offerings) [...] ^(iv 6–7) The palace[s]’ of Šamuḥa regularly supply (it),” see Cammarosano, 2018: 390–395.

Nevertheless, certain passages seem to use “town” as a synonym for “community,” “population.” In a local cult (KUB 46.21 (CTH 526.33) rev. 1–2) the SANGA-priest and the “town” are mentioned together: ⁽¹⁾ *lu-kat-ti-ma* ^{LÚ}SANGA URU^{LUM}-*ya* I[T-TI? ...] ⁽²⁾ *ša-ra-a pa-an-zi*, “⁽¹⁾ the next day the SANGA-priest and the town w[ith? ...] ⁽²⁾ go up.”⁹⁹ Some authors believe that “town” here refers to “population,”¹⁰⁰ and although it is disputable, it is still possible. Two unclear passages come from the Spring Festival in Zippalanda and the *nuntarriyašha*-. In the Spring Festival in Zippalanda “the king bows aga[in] to the town,”¹⁰¹ while in the *nuntarriyašha*- (KUB 9.16+ (CTH 626.Ü.1.A) obv. i 33–34) the capital and the *šalli ašeššar* are mentioned together: ⁽³³⁾ [*nu*] *nam-ma* ^Éḫa¹-*le-en-tu-wa-aš šal-l[i a-še-eš-šar]* ⁽³⁴⁾ [^{UR(U)}Ḫa-a)]*t-tu-ša-aš* ^ṛ*e-ša¹-ri*, “⁽³³⁾ [And] then (there is) in the *ḫalentuwa*- the Gre[at Assembly,] ⁽³⁴⁾ [Ḫa]ttuša seats.”¹⁰² This latter example led Görke to think that the word “town” could have been used in some cases with the same meaning of *ašeššar*.

This term, *ašeššar*, indicates “assembly, congregation, religious community” and in festivals its only function seems to have been eating and drinking.¹⁰³ It is not always clear who belongs to this congregation because most of the time it is not specified. Still, sometimes there is explicit mention of who its participants are, such as in the Great Festival at Arinna (KUB 25.3 (CTH 634) obv. iii 19–21), among them “foreigners” (^{LÚ.MEŠ}UBĀRU), workers and dignitaries (^{LÚ.MEŠ}DUGUD).¹⁰⁴ In the Autumn Festival in Matilla (KBo 21.78 (CTH 596.1.a) obv. ii 13–16) the elder, the UBĀRU and the dignitaries share a soup and distribute it in the *ašeššar*.¹⁰⁵ In KUB 1.17 (CTH 591.II.A) iii 40–43 a *walḫi*-beer is shared among the whole *ašeššar* which comprises palace attendants (DUMU^{MEŠ} É.GAL) and the MEŠEDI.¹⁰⁶ Hence, it seems that the composition of the *ašeššar* depends on the specific festival and that, when it is detailed who its participants are, the population is not included.

⁹⁹ Hazenbos, 2003: 74; Cammarosano, 2018: 156. HW², H: 237, s.v.: *ḫappira*- reads “URU^{LUM}-*ya* EGI[R-an, hinter der Stadt]”; although this reconstruction is uncertain.

¹⁰⁰ Hazenbos, 2003: 74, n. 60; Cammarosano, 2018: 156.

¹⁰¹ KBo 13.214 (CTH 592.2.III?) rev. iv² 9²–10²: ⁽⁹⁾ LUGAL-*uš* URU-*ya* EGIR-[*pa*] ⁽¹⁰⁾ *a-ru-wa-a-zi*, see Nakamura, 2002: 258.

¹⁰² Also in KUB 10.48 (CTH 626.Ü.1.B) ii 20–21; KBo 22.228 (CTH 626.Ü.5) 4–5, see HW², A: 398, s.v.: *ašeššar*: “der Hethiter sitzt”; Nakamura, 2002: 18–20 (KUB 9.16+), 20–22 (KUB 10.48), 65–67 (KBo 22.228); Görke, 2008: 66, n. 89.

¹⁰³ HW², A: 397, s.v.: “Versammlung, Kultgemeinde [...] Einzige erkennbare Funktion: essen und trinken.” See also HED, A: 209, s.v.: *asas-*, *ases-*, *asiwant-*; Barsacchi, 2019: 7–9. See also Archi, 215: 18, for the *šalli ašeššar* in the AN.TAḫ.SUM^{SAR}.

¹⁰⁴ HW², A: 397–398, s.v.: *ašeššar*; Görke, 2013: 132.

¹⁰⁵ Lebrun, 1977: 144, 147; Görke, 2014: 368.

¹⁰⁶ HW², A: 399, s.v.: *ašeššar*; Barsacchi, 2019: 7.

A term related to *ašeššar* in its meaning as “congregation” is *panku-*.¹⁰⁷ In a local cult text (KUB 42.100 (CTH 526.7) rev. iii 36’–38’) it is said:

(36’) [U]M-MA LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} an-na-la-za-wa-kán DINGIR^{LUM} É.
 ŠÀ-ni (37’) [EGI]R-an e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-an pa-an-ku-uš UL uš-gít (38’) [k]i-
 nu-un-ma-aš-kán^{GIŠ} iš-ta-^{na}1-[ni] GUB-ri
 “(36’) [T]hus spoke the men of the temple: ‘Formerly the god was (standing)
 (37’) [at the rea]r end of the inner room and the congregation did not see
 him.’ (38’) Now he is standing on the alta[r].”¹⁰⁸

As CHD assumes, this clarification seems to indicate that since the god was moved to the altar, the congregation could see him. But as in the case of *ašeššar*, it is not clear who belonged to the *panku-*, whether it was specific worshippers or the whole community. From the Instructions for Temple Personnel we know that “a [strang]er, a person not of Ḫattuša”¹⁰⁹ was not allowed to approach the deity, but there is no mention of such a similar prohibition for a Hittite.

Do “people,” “town” and “assembly/congregation” denote the population? In Görke’s opinion, at least the terms “people” and “town” are indeed indications of “common people” (“gemeine Volk”) that point to the involvement of the community in a festival.¹¹⁰ However, the examples that we have seen do not allow us to verify this theory in all cases, and especially in regard to the “assembly,” its composition seems to exclude the community because only functionaries and representatives seem to be included in it.¹¹¹

Following Görke and Klinger, the participation of the community in Hittite festivals is an obscure phenomenon, as texts almost never refer to it.¹¹² An exceptional case is a passage from a local cult (KBo 39.48 (CTH 527.9) rev. v 16’–19’) which mentions the “**whole town**”:

¹⁰⁷ CHD, P: 90–91, *s.v.*, B. See also HED, PA: 84–89, *s.v.*

¹⁰⁸ Hazenbos, 2003: 19, 23, translates “community”; CHD, P: 90, *s.v.*, B.2: “congregation”; Cammarosano, 2018: 348–349: “(worshipping) assembly.”

¹⁰⁹ Miller, 2013: 253 *sub* §6.

¹¹⁰ Görke, 2008: 66: “Hinweise auf das ‘gemeine Volk’ reduzieren sich auf Ausdrücke wie ‘Menschen’ oder ‘Stadt’, so dass es insgesamt eher örtliche Begebenheiten sind, die für eine Teilnahme der Bevölkerung sprechen.”

¹¹¹ See also Klinger, 2013b: 94.

¹¹² Görke, 2008: 66: “Eine breite Öffentlichkeit oder das Volk wird innerhalb der Texte so gut wie nicht erwähnt”; Klinger, 2013b: 94: “Und auch sonst ist die Teilhabe einer ‘Öffentlichkeit’ [...] allenfalls in wenigen Ausnahmefällen bezeugt, so dass gerade die gesellschaftliche Relevanz solcher Handlungen weitgehend hypothetisch bleibt.” However, and regarding local cults, for Cammarosano, 2018: 104, 155: “[...] it is possible to argue that usually a large part of the local community, if not the whole of it, actively participated in the festivals.”

(16') [...] URU^{LUM} (17') ṛḫu¹-u-ma-an-za LÚ.MEŠŠU.GI MUNUS.<MEŠ>ṛŠU.GI¹
 (18') ṛLÚ.MEŠŠGURUŠ¹ MUNUS.MEŠŠKI.SIKIL ḫu-u-ma-[an-za] (19') an-da a-ri
 na-an DÙ-zi

“(16’-17’) [...] The whole town, old-men, old-women, (18’) young men, young women, al[of them], (19’) arrive and celebrates them (i.e.: the gods).”¹¹³

Here it is clear that the entire community is meant. Other passages of this same text mention “the men/people of the town” (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU) followed by the name of the town.¹¹⁴ Given that both expressions, the “whole town” and the “men/people of the town,” appear in the same text, should it be understood that the latter indicates the whole community and that lines 16’–19’ are a clarification? Or is it “the whole town” a special expression to indicate a distinction between different procedures of each town by means of the connection between “town” (URU) and “whole” (*ḫumant-*)? For Hazenbos, these lines are exceptional, but he does not give a deeper explanation.¹¹⁵ For Cammarosano this is one of the few examples that show the participation of the community in festivals.¹¹⁶ Finally, for Hutter-Braunsar these exceptional lines are connected with the expression “all (the) people” – that will be discussed below and is similar to “all of them” of the quoted text – and are indeed a piece of evidence that the whole community is meant.¹¹⁷ A similar passage is also attested in a ritual fragment, where, again, it is clear that “community,” “population” is understood (KBo 12.103 (CTH 456.9) obv. 7: *nam-ma-za URU-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-za LÚ^{MEŠ} MUNUS^{MEŠ} DUMU^{MEŠ} ṛwa¹-ar-ap-z[i]*), “then the whole town, men, women, children, washes itself.”¹¹⁸

In another ritual fragment (IBoT 3.94 (CTH 470.177) obv. 6) the terms “town” and “whole” are connected, but this time it is not detailed who is included in the “whole town”: URU-ri-aš-ma-za ḫu-u-ma-an-za wa-[ar-pi-zi], “but the whole town washes itself.”¹¹⁹ The same undetailed expression can be found in the local cult KUB 56.39 (CTH 528.119) obv. ii 14’–15’: (14’) *lu-ka-ti-ma-kán ṛURU^{LUM} da-pi-an-za še-ṛli¹-[uš²]* (15’) *an-da u-da-an-zi*, “On the next day, the whole town brings in the har[vest].”¹²⁰ But this time the passage is preceded by another one (ii 10’) that seems to be its clarification and a link to the exceptional case seen

¹¹³ Hazenbos, 2003: 100, 102; HW², H: 246, s.v.: *ḫappira-*. See also Cammarosano, 2018: 156.

¹¹⁴ See above and n. 83.

¹¹⁵ Hazenbos, 2003: 99.

¹¹⁶ Cammarosano, 2018: 156. See also below.

¹¹⁷ See n. 131.

¹¹⁸ HW², H: 247, s.v.: *ḫappira-*; Fuscagni, 2016: §2.

¹¹⁹ HW², H: 247, s.v.: *ḫappira-*. See above for a local cult (KBo 2.13) which mentions UN^{H1A} instead of URU-*ḫumant-*.

¹²⁰ CHD, Š: 365, s.v.: *šeli-*; Cammarosano, 2018: 156, 250–251.

above: [...] UD^{KAM}-*ti* UN^{MEŠ}-*za*¹ URU^{LUM} *da*²-*pi*¹-[*an-zi* ...], “the first day the people of the who[le] town [...]”¹²¹

It is difficult to derive a clear conclusion from only a few cases, but it seems that the indication “the whole town” is an especial expression used to denote “community.” In any case, there is, at least, one clear piece of evidence that the population took part in a festival and not only in providing goods.

5.2. Festivals’ actions that could indicate the participation of the community

The **move of the king alone or of the royal pair** from one point of the town to another, from the town to a cult center, or from one town to another, might have created a certain expectation. Some of these displacements that imply musicians, singers, as well as temple and palace personnel could obviously not be made discreetly. In this case, the population might have watched the procession,¹²² but following the definition given above (see §2), this is not considered participation. The same can be said for other types of processions in which other actors took part, such as the animals procession during the KILAM. In any case, festival texts do not mention that people watched or could have watched these parades.

Plays and competitions, such as boxing (GEŠPU *tiya*-), wrestling (*hulhuliya tiya*-), racehorses or chariot races (*pittiyawaš* ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ}), stone throwing – maybe shot put? – (NA₄(-*an*) *šiya*-), weight-lifting (NA₄ *karp*-), as well as prizes given to winners seem to fall in this idea of participation.¹²³

Regarding **competitions**, in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} (KBo 10.20 (CTH 604.A) ii 13, iii 8–9) there were horse races – or chariot races – and footraces, stone throwing, boxing and wrestling competitions.¹²⁴ In the KILAM (KBo 25.176 (CTH 627.3.b.A) obv. 7–10) there was a footrace in which 10 men (LÚ^{MEŠ} KAŠ₄.E) took part, and soldier garments (TÚG ERÍN^{MEŠ}) were given to first and second place. But in an older version (ABoT 1.5+ ii 10’–12’ (1.h)) the winner is rewarded directly by the king with 2 *wagada*-breads and 1 mina of silver.¹²⁵ There is also a weight-lifting contest in a local cult (KBo 2.8 (CTH 526.3) iii 28): [...] NA₄ LÚ^{MEŠ} GURUŠ *kar*¹-*ap-pa*-*zi*¹, “[...] The young men lift the stone.”¹²⁶

¹²¹ Cammarosano, 2018: 250–251.

¹²² Görke, 2008: 54–55, 57, 59, 64, 66. See also Hutter, 2010: 406.

¹²³ See an overview in Cammarosano, 2018: 128.

¹²⁴ Haas, 1994: 688; Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 359, 361–363.

¹²⁵ Singer, 1983: 103; *id.*, 1984: 34; Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 360; Burgin, 2019: 66–67. See also Haas, 1994: 678; and Burgin, 2019: 80–81 for another OS text of the KILAM which also contains the same indication. Prizes, and persons to whom they were given, varied over time, but the fundamental point, i.e. that person(s) in the first places were rewarded, did not change. See §1.

¹²⁶ Carter, 1988: 186; Hazenbos, 2003: 135, 140.

Other kinds of competitions included fights. In three festivals there was boxing and wrestling.¹²⁷ Two similar passages include also the throwing of a stone (shot put?).¹²⁸

An odd fight is mentioned in KUB 17.35 (CTH 526.18) iii 34, iv 34 with cheese given out afterwards to “the people”:¹²⁹

(iii³⁴) GA.KIN.DÙ *dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ti-an-zi UN^M[EŠ-
ni-ya pi-an-zi]*, (iv³⁴) [GA.KIN.DÙ *dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM}
ti-an-zi UN^{MEŠ}-ni-ya pi]*-¹an¹-zi
“(iii³⁴) They press cheese (and) place (it) in front of the goddess; [also, they
give (it)] to the peopl[le], (iv³⁴) [They press cheese, place (it) in front of the
god, (and) g]ive (it) [to the people].”

Another text that contains the same procedure is KUB 57.103 (CTH 526.14) i 1’–2’, but this time the cheese is given to “all the people”: (1’) ¹GA.KIN.AG¹ [*dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ti-an-zi*] (2’) UN^{MEŠ}-*ni-ya da-pi-i x[... pi-ya-an-zi]*, “they press cheese, [lay (it) before the deity] and [give] (it) to all the people.”¹³⁰ As it has been pointed out above, Hutter-Braunsar thinks that the expression “all (the) people” means the whole community.¹³¹

Fights lead us to consider the topic of **ritual combats** in which two groups of men fight against each other, sometimes representing a town. In a text from the cult of Arinna (KBo 23.92+ (CTH 666) obv. iii 12’–18’) the men of Ḫallapiya (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU *Ḫal-la-pi-ya*) fight against various LÚ¹ ALAM.ZU₉.¹³²

In a local cult text (KUB 17.35 (CTH 525.2) rev. iii 9–15), young men were divided into two groups, one with bronze weapons representing the men of Ḫattuša (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU *GIDRU-TI*), the other with reed weapons, the men of Maša (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU *Ma-a-ša*). After victory, the men of Ḫatti took a prisoner and brought

¹²⁷ KUB 25.23+ (CTH 526.14) obv. i 21’–22’, iii 5, see Hazenbos, 2003: 32, 36; Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 363–364; Görke, 2013: 134; HED, Ḫ: 363, s.v.: *ḫula-*; Cammarosano, 2018: 364–365, 369–371. KUB 44.42 (CTH 526.31) obv. 16’–17’, see Hazenbos, 2003: 128, 130; HED, Ḫ: 363, s.v.: *ḫula-*. KUB 17.35 (CTH 526.18) ii 26, iv 34, HED, Ḫ: 363, s.v.: *ḫula-*; Cammarosano, 2018: 172–173, 178, 181.

¹²⁸ KUB 59.34 (CTH 526.14) iii 4–5, see Hazenbos, 2003: 43–44; Cammarosano, 2014: 156, 369–371; Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 364. KUB 17.35 (CTH 526.18) ii 26, see Carter, 1988: 127, 134, 141, 149; HED, Ḫ: 363, s.v.: *ḫula-*; Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 364; Cammarosano, 2018: 172–173.

¹²⁹ Cammarosano, 2018: 156, 159, 174, 177–178, 181. See also Carter, 1988: 131, 134, 145, 149.

¹³⁰ Cammarosano, 2014: 158; *id.*, 2018: 366–367.

¹³¹ Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 365.

¹³² Gilan, 2001: 121 and n. 50. For the LÚ¹ ALAM.ZU₉ see Klinger, 2013b: 93, n. 2; Burgin, 2019: 40–41, with references.

him to the deity.¹³³ A similar combat (KBo 23.55 (CTH 648) i 2'–33') from a festival text fragment involves “our army” (6': *an-ze-el ÉRIN^{MEŠ}*) and the “enemy” (9': *ŠA LÚ^{MEŠ}KUR*) as well as watchers (3': *nu uš-^rkán¹-zi*) who cheer (6', 22': (*hu-u-ma-an-za-aš-ša*) *pal-wa-a-iz-^rzi*).¹³⁴

Similarly, in a ritual fragment (KBo 29.201 (CTH 470.917) obv. ii 13'–22') the men from Lallupiya (*LÚ^{MEŠ}URU La-al-lu-ú-pt-ya*) went to Ḫattuša and when they reached the city, they fought over barrels against *LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAM.ZU₉*.¹³⁵ In the KI.LAM (KUB 58.48+ (CTH 627.1.c.F) rev. iv 1'–16') the men from Tiššaruliya (*LÚ^{MEŠ}URU Ti-iš-ša-ru-li-ya*) came to Ḫattuša with their “overseer” (*GAL LÚ^{MEŠ}*) to start a battle.¹³⁶

Does the expression “men of the town GN,” as well as “our army” and the “enemy” in KBo 23.55, indicate the participation of all the men of a town, and thus of a great part of the community? As we have seen before (see §5.1) in regard to the terms “people” (*UN^{MEŠ}*) and “town” (*URU, ḫappira-*) it is not clear if such an assumption can be made. In addition, the presence of the overseer in KUB 58.48 seems to preclude this conclusion, because it might indicate that combatants belonged to a closer group that did not include all the men in the town, a selection of men – maybe the youngest – under the orders of a supervisor. The same can be said for KBo 23.99+, KUB 17.35 and KBo 23.55 regarding the “men of Ḫallapiya” and the *LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAM.ZU₉*, the young men of the town with bronze or reed weapons, and the men split into two groups forming “our army” and the “enemy,” respectively. In any case, in none of these cases were women and children included, and thus, it cannot be understood that the whole community took active part in these actions. Be that as it may, in these contests and combats the festival transcends the mere praising of the god to become a social act.

Two social acts in a broader sense, **dancing and singing**, seem to encompass the community, at least in Haas' opinion.¹³⁷ In the KI.LAM some *LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAM.ZU₉* danced dressed with leopard skins and it is said that dancers “could be 10 or more men,”¹³⁸ but it is unclear if this expression refers to the *LÚ^{MEŠ}ALAM.ZU₉* or if these men were common people. Some texts, such as the *nuntarriyašḫa-* (KUB 10.14 (626.Tg06.III.1.D) i 7), use the unclear expression “the dancers (*LÚ^{MEŠ}ḪÚB.BÍ*) dance,”¹³⁹ which avoids any indication of whom the text refers

¹³³ Haas, 1994: 689, n. 105; Gilan, 2001: 119–120; Hutter-Braunsar, 2014: 364; Cammarosano, 2018: 172, 175. Haas and Hutter-Braunsar ascribed this text to a “Frühlingsfest,” Gilan to the “Herbsfest für den Wettergott.”

¹³⁴ Gilan, 2001: 115–118; CHD, P, 81, s.v.: *palwai-*. See also §1.

¹³⁵ Haas, 1994: 280–281, n. 222, 689, n. 107; Gilan, 2001: 122.

¹³⁶ Hout, 1991; Haas, 1994: 689, 766–767; Gilan, 2001: 122.

¹³⁷ Haas, 1994: 684: “Darüberhinaus tanzen die Mädchen, Frauen und Männer der an den Festen beteiligten Ortschaften.”

¹³⁸ Klinger, 2008: 194.

¹³⁹ De Martino, 1989: 13, 39.

to. Other passages refer to the “men of the town”¹⁴⁰ as dancers. As in the case of ritual combats already seen, it is not possible to discern if all the people of the town took part in the dancing or if only a selection of its inhabitants danced. However, in those cases in which “the men of the town” are accompanied by their overseer (GAL), such as in the Tablet from Lallupiya (KUB 25.37 (CTH 771.1) i 4’–10’),¹⁴¹ it seems that they belonged to the religious or palace administration. In fact, as De Martino stated, “[m]usicians and singers were part of the personnel in temples and palaces,” and the same can be said for dancers.¹⁴²

Maybe **cult meals** are the most outstanding festival rites that confront us with the question of whether the population participated in a festival – especially if those meals entailed large quantities of food and particularly if festivals are considered as part of a redistribution policy (see above) and/or as a social act implying commensality (see below).¹⁴³ Considering the great quantities of food that were sometimes at hand, it is logical to suppose that a large number of people ate them. But because texts do not always specify the number of palace and temple personnel who took part in a festival, it is difficult to state that not all that food was intended for them, or even for the temple. In this sense, KUB 38.12 iv 16’ (CTH 527.53.A; dupl. KUB 38.15) records 775 individuals as cult personnel and although this number is extraordinarily high, it might give an idea of the quantity of people who could work for the temple and who could avail themselves of the supplies.¹⁴⁴

In other occasions, such as in the KI.LAM, the great quantities of goods provided for the festival must be understood as intended for the whole duration of the festival.¹⁴⁵ The case is especially striking when a text indicates that the *ašeššar* eat that food, for, as we have seen, it is not always clear who belonged to this congregation (see §5.1). For example, on the fourth day of the Festival for Teli-pinu, in which 50 cows and 1000 sheep were butchered during the days of the festival, “the congregation appointed by name seated likewise,”¹⁴⁶ but it seems that only the Governor, the Prince and the palace and temple personnel composed this congregation.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ De Martino, 1995: 2663.

¹⁴¹ De Martino, 1989: 22.

¹⁴² De Martino, 1995: 2664, 2667.

¹⁴³ On these topics see Barsacchi, 2019, with references; Cammarosano, 2018: 103–105, 149–158; Cammarosano / Lorenz, 2019; Corti, 2020: esp. 232, 243–244. See also Archi, 2015: 14.

¹⁴⁴ See Taracha, 2009: 135, with references. For the text edition see Cammarosano, 2018: 420–428.

¹⁴⁵ Singer, 1983: 158; Taracha, 2009: 136.

¹⁴⁶ KUB 53.4 (CTH 638.2.G) rev. iv 21’: *a-[še]-eš-šar lam-ni-it QA-TAM-MA e-ša* (reconstructed from this line in ii 35’), see Haas / Jakob-Rost, 1984: 75; Görke, 2013: 126.

¹⁴⁷ Haas / Jakob-Rost, 1984: 23.

Collins already indicated that the people who generally took part in these cult meals were ritualists, temple personnel and the royal family, and that generally it is not specified who eats.¹⁴⁸ Cammarosano instead interprets cult meals in local cults as “feasts” and these as public and ritualized social acts in which food and drinks were consumed by (most of) the population.¹⁴⁹ His interpretation “is based on a generalization of selected passages as well as on the analysis of the cult provisions listed in the inventories.”¹⁵⁰ These selected passages are seven (KUB 44.21 obv. ii 11–12, KUB 17.35 rev. iv 32–34; KUB 44.20 l. col. 9’–13’, KUB 46.21 rev. 1–2, KBo 39.48+ rev. v 14’–19’, KBo 2.13 obv. 18 and KUB 56.39 obv. ii 9’–18’)¹⁵¹ and except from KUB 44.20 l. col. 9’–13’ in which “people” (UN^{MEŠ}) is reconstructed from similar passages such as KUB 17.35 iii 34, all of them have been treated here under the terms “people” and “town” (see §5.1). Among these, only in KBo 39.48+ rev. v 16’–19’ the participation of the community in a festival is beyond doubt. Regarding supplies, their large quantities could point to their distribution over the several days of the festival rather than to the persons who could have consumed them (see above), but even in the latter case, most of the time it is not specified how many people ate and drank, thus it cannot be automatically ruled out that those supplies were intended for the cult personnel who directly performed the festival. His assertion agrees with the theory that local cults played an important role in social cohesion through commensality, but this theory is not always confirmed by texts (see §1). Moreover, the reference to the conclusions reached by Sallaberger for Late Bronze Emar¹⁵² to support his thesis is misleading, because two points make the situation in Emar totally different to the one in Ḫatti. First of all, in Emar, families could possess and inherit a temple and were responsible for the particular festival ascribed to a particular deity, in which case the members of that family provided the goods and consumed them inside the temple. But Sallaberger gives no attestation that during those festivals all the families in Emar gathered to feast. Secondly, only in the “throne festival” (Akk. *kissu*)¹⁵³ in honour of the patron deities of the city, Išhara and Ninurta, it is explicitly said that the whole population contributes with supplies and that they consume that food. But this case is exceptional, and besides, it falls under the category of “state” festivals, for which Cammarosano excludes the participation of the community in cult meals. He stresses indeed the difference between “state” festivals and local cults in this matter of their participants to support his conclusion that only in the latter did the population take active part in the cult meal. “State” festivals as well as local cults could have been social rituals, one of the

¹⁴⁸ Collins, 1995: esp. 88. See also Singer, 1983: 141, 158; Barsacchi, 2019.

¹⁴⁹ Cammarosano, 2018: 103–104.

¹⁵⁰ Cammarosano, 2018: 104. See also Cammarosano / Lorenz, 2019: 22.

¹⁵¹ Cammarosano, 2018: 155–156.

¹⁵² Sallaberger, 2012.

¹⁵³ Sallaberger, 2012: 162, 165–166, esp. 169–170.

functions of which could be the maintenance and reinforcement of the social and political order,¹⁵⁴ but this does not mean that the whole community took part directly in them; and at least, Hittite texts offer scant support for this.

However, in some cases it seems that the community played a role in these cult meals. Such is the case of the local cult KBo 2.8 (CTH 526.3) rev. ii 14–15:¹⁵⁵

(14) [...] ^{DUG} *hu-up-pár* KAŠ NINDA.KAŠ ṽLÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} (15) [SU]M?
 ṽan¹-[z]i² ṽGU⁷-zi ṽNAG¹-zi ṽGAL¹ ^{HL.A} *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi*
 “(14) [...] a *huppar*(-vessel) of beer and beer-bread(?) the men/people of the town (15) [del]iv[e]r(?). They eat. They drink. They provide for the cups.”

Although it has been shown that it is not clear what is really meant under ṽLÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} – whether the “men” or “people” of the town – and we have also seen that when the inhabitants of a town delivered goods for festivals they probably gave them to a functionary, these lines seem to indicate, by means of what seems to be a concatenation of acts, that the inhabitants of a town feast together during the festival after bringing the goods. However, the expression “they eat, they drink” is too vague to derive any firm conclusion only from it.

In the KILAM (KBo 10.31 (CTH 627.5.a.1.A) rev. iv 24’–28’) the *UBĀRU*, “foreigners,” and the “people of Ḫattuša” get meat portions:¹⁵⁶

(24’) 2-ÀM ^{UZU} ḪA.LA (25’) A-NA ṽLÚ^{MEŠ} ṽBA-RÛ-TIM (26’) I-TA-ÀM ^{UZU} ḪA.
 LA (27’) A-NA ṽLÚ^{MEŠ} URU ḪA-AT-TI (28’) *ti-an-zi*
 “(24’–28’) (They) put two meat portions for the *UBĀRU*, two meat portions for the people of Ḫattuša.”

The *UBĀRU* were a kind of representatives of their respective kingdoms¹⁵⁷ and thus they are not subsumed under the category of common people; but it seems that “people of Ḫattuša” refers to the inhabitants of the capital, although it could also be a marker to differentiate them from the *UBĀRU* and in that case it might point to cult or palace personnel.

Who is really meant by ṽLÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} / URU ḪA-AT-TI in these latter examples? The whole community? Or the palace and temple personnel who performed the festival? It is difficult to ascertain, but regardless some authors believe that cult meals represent a ritual phase to bring together the gods and the community¹⁵⁸ and are a link between festivals’ economic and religious aspects.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ For a broad look at ritual theories see Bell, 2009; Belliger / Krieger, 2013. See also §1.

¹⁵⁵ Hazenbos, 2003: 134, 139. There are similar passages in the same tablet in rev. iv 9’–10’, 25’–27’, see Hazenbos, 2003: 136, 140–141; and above.

¹⁵⁶ Görke, 2014: 365. For KBo 10.31 (CTH 627.5.a.1.A) see Klinger, 1992: 202.

¹⁵⁷ See n. 13.

¹⁵⁸ Haas, 1994: 675; Gilan, 2001: 120; Barsacchi, 2019: 10–11, 17.

¹⁵⁹ Cammarosano, 2018: 139, 157–158.

6. Conclusions

Only from one passage (see §5.1) can we conclude that the participation of the community in a festival is certain:

- 1) KBo 39.48 (CTH 527.9) rev. v 16’–19’:

(16’) [...] URU^{LUM} (17’) Ṛhu¹-u-ma-an-za LÚ.MEŠŠU.GI MUNUS.< MEŠ>ṚŠU.GI
 (18’) ṚLÚ¹.MEŠGURUŠ MUNUS.MEŠKI.SIKIL hu-u-ma-[an-za] (19’) an-da a-ri
 na-an DÛ-zi
 “(16’–17’) [...] The whole town, old-men, old-women, (18’) young men, young
 women, al[l of them], (19’) arrives and celebrates them (i.e.: the gods).”

As has been pointed out, “the whole town” and “all the people” (see §5.1) might have been used to denote the community – with respect to “all the people,” because it is linked to the expression “all of them” that is attested in the first and clearer example mentioned above. If this is true, then there are three further cases; the first one containing what seems to be the link between “the whole town” and “all the people:” “people of the whole town:”

- 2) KUB 56.39 (CTH 528.119) obv. ii 10’, 14’–15’: (10’) UD^{KAM}-ti UN^{MEŠ}-Ṛza¹
 URU^{LUM} Ṛda²-pi²1-[an-zi ...] (14’) lu-ka-ti-ma-za ṚURU^{LUM} da-pi-ya-an-za
 še-Ṛli¹-[uš²] (15’) an-da u-da-an-zi, “(10’) the first day the people of the
 who[le] town [...] (14’–15’) On the next day, the whole town brings in the
 har[vest].”
- 3) KUB 44.42 (CTH 526.31) rev. 20’: [...] UN^{MEŠ}-za da-pi-an-za Ṛki-li¹-la-
 [an-zi, “[...] all the people wreath[e] themselves[.]”
- 4) KUB 57.103 (CTH 526.14) i 1’–2’: (1’) ṚGA.KIN.AG¹ [dam-ma-aš-ša-an-
 zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ti-an-zi] (2’) UN^{MEŠ}-ni-ya da-pi-i x[... pi-ya-an-zi],
 “they press cheese, [lay (it) before the deity] and [give] (it) to all the
 people.”

The term “**people**” (UN^{MEŠ}) seems to refer to the “population,” (see §5.1.) but this cannot be ascertained in all cases. Below are listed only those passages that are likely to be indications of the “population” on the basis of their similarities with instances listed above or with ritual passages that clearly point to the involvement of the whole community:

- KUB 17.35 (CTH 526.18) iii 34, iv 34: (iii 34) GA.KIN.DÛ dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ti-an-zi UN^M[EŠ-ni-ya pi-an-zi], (iv 34) [GA.KIN. DÛ dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI DINGIR^{LIM} ti-an-zi UN^MMEŠ-ni-ya pi]-Ṛan¹-zi, “(iii 34) They press cheese (and) place (it) in front of the goddess; [also, they give (it)] to the peopl[le], (iv 34) [They press cheese, place (it) in front of the god, (and) g]ive (it) [to the people].”
- KUB 17.35 iii 33, iv 33: (iii 33) DINGIR^{LUM} GILIM-an-zi UN^MMEŠ-na-za GILIM-iz-zi, (iv 33) [[...] DINGIR^{LUM} GILIM-an-zi UN^MMEŠ-na-za GILI]M-iz-zi, “(iii 33) They put a wreath on the goddess; the people put on wreaths,

(iv³³) [[...] They put a wreath on the god; the people put on wreaths.]”

- KBo 2.13 (CTH 528.14) obv. 18: GURUN *ú-da-an-zi* DINGIR^{MEŠ} GILIM-an-zi UN^{HIA}-za GILIM-a-iz-zi, “they bring fruit, they put on wreaths on the gods, the people put on wreaths.”
- KBo 2.13 obv. 28: [...] UN^{HIA}-za wa-ar-[ap-pa-an-zi], “the people wa[sh] themselves.”

The same occurs with “**town**” (URU^{LUM/LIM}), “**people/men of the town**” (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LUM}), and “**people of the town GN**” (LÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{GN}), which may or may not indicate “population.” (see §5.1).

A) “**Town**” (under ●). An especial case is the indication “the town regularly delivers” goods for the festival (under ○) because it does not necessarily imply that the inhabitants gathered during the festival to accomplish this duty:

- KUB 46.21 (CTH 526.33) rev. 1–2: ⁽¹⁾ *lu-kat-ti-ma* LÚSANGA URU^{LUM}-ya I[T-TI[?] ...] ⁽²⁾ *ša-ra-a pa-an-zi*, “⁽¹⁾ The next day the SANGA-priest and the town w[ith[?] ...] ⁽²⁾ go up.”
- KBo 13.214 (CTH 592.2.III) rev. iv[?] 9’–10’: ⁽⁹⁾ LUGAL-uš URU-ya EGIR-[pa] ⁽¹⁰⁾ *a-ru-wa-a-zi*, “the king bows aga[in] to the town.”
- KUB 9.16+ (CTH 626.Ü.1.A) obv. i 33–34: ⁽³³⁾ [*nu*] *nam-ma* É^r*ha¹-le-entu-wa-aš šal-l[i a-še-eš-šar]* ⁽³⁴⁾ [UR(U)*Ha-a*]*t-tu-ša-aš* ^r*e-ša¹-ri*, “⁽³³⁾ [And] then (there is) in the *halentuwa-* the Gre[at Assembly], ⁽³⁴⁾ [Ha]ttuša seats.”
- KBo 12.56 (CTH 527.7) i 5’: URU^{LUM} ^r*pé¹-[eš-ki-iz-zi]*, “the town regularly delivers.”
- KBo 2.1 (CTH 527.5) ii 38, iii 32, iv 14: ^(ii 38) URU-aš SUM-ez-zi, “the town regularly delivers”; ^(iii 32) [URU-aš] ^rSUM-ez¹-zi, “[the town] regularly delivers”; ^(iv 14) URU-aš ^rKUR^{sic¹}-e-za SUM-zi, “the town regularly delivers from the land.”
- KUB 17.35 (CTH 526.18) ii 34, iii 22, 38: ^(ii 34) URU-aš *pé-eš-ke-[ez-zi]*, “the town regularly deliv[ers]”; ^(iii 22) URU-aš *pé-eš-ke-ez-zi*, “the town regularly delivers”; ^(iii 38) URU-aš [*pé-eš-ke-ez-zi*], “the town [regularly delivers].”

B) “**People/men of the town**” and “**people of the town GN**” (see §5.1). With both expressions a distinction must be made between passages that refer to the delivery and consumption of goods in a (seeming) chain of concatenated actions, and passages that refer to ritual combats or competitions. The latter most probably allude either to a selection of men of a given town or only to the adult male population, that is, the expression intentionally excludes women and children and thus will not be listed below. The former refers to cult meals that may or may not have involved the whole community and are listed below (under ●). From the third attestation onwards (under ○) the expression might or might not refer to “population”:

- KBo 2.8 (CTH 526.3) rev. ii 14–15 (similarly in rev. iv 9’–10’, 25’–26’):
⁽¹⁴⁾ [...] ^{DU}G¹hu-up-pár¹ KAŠ NINDA.KAŠ ṽLÚ^{MEŠ} URU^{LIM} ⁽¹⁵⁾ [SU]M²-
 ṽan¹-[z]i² ṽGU⁷¹-zi ṽNAG¹-zi ṽGAL¹^{Hl.A} aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi, “⁽¹⁴⁾ [...] a
 ḥuppar(-vessel) of beer and beer-bread(?) the people/men of the town
⁽¹⁵⁾ [del]iv[e]r(?). They eat. They drink. They provide for the cups.”
- KBo 10.31 (CTH 627.5.a.1.A) rev. iv 24’–28’: ^(24’) 2-^{AM} ^{UZU}ḪA.LA
^(25’) A-NA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ṽBA-RŪ-TIM ^(26’) I-TA-^{AM} ^{UZU}ḪA.LA ^(27’) A-NA ^{LÚ.MEŠ}
 URU¹ḪA-AT-TI ^(28’) ti-an-zi, “^(24’–28’) (They) put two meat portions for the
 UBĀRU, two meat portions for the people of Ḫattuša.”
- KUB 38.2 (CTH 527.47) iii 11, 16: ^{LÚ.MEŠ} URU-aš ṽeš-ša¹-an-zi, “the peo-
 ple/men of the town celebrate.”
- KUB 38.2 (CTH 527.47) iii 24: ^{LÚ.MEŠ} URU¹Da-a-la-aš ṽe¹-[eš-ša-an-zi],
 “the people of the town Dala c[elebrate].”
- KBo 39.48 (CTH 527.9) rev. v 7’–8’, 22’: ^(7’) ^{LÚ.MEŠ} URU¹Ták-du-ṽša¹ ^(8’) e-
 eš-ša-a[n-z]i, ^(22’) ṽLÚ^{MEŠ}¹ URU¹Ḫa-pát-ḫa e-eš-ša-an-zi, “^(7’) the people of
 the town Takduša celebra[te], ^(22’) the people of the town Ḫapathā cele-
 brate.”

Only the passages in the numbered list (1–4) can refer to the participation of the community in a festival, but among them, only nr. 1 offers no doubt. The three other passages could refer to this only if it is accepted that “the whole town” and “all the people” are forms to denote “population.” Occurrences of “people,” “town,” “people/men of the town” and “people of the town GN” in festival texts do not clearly refer to the entire inhabitants of a settlement. Only those passages that are similar to those of the numbered list or to ritual passages that clearly point to the involvement of the whole community might be suggested to indicate the “population,” but this remains speculative.

In addition, no text mentions the access of the community to a cult center. The Instructions to Temple Personnel only mentions this as prohibited to foreigners. But a local cult text seems to indicate that some parts of a temple might have been accessible for the congregation (*panku-*). However, it is not clear who belonged to it.

All in all, the participation of the community in a festival cannot be excluded, but textual passages that express it clearly are scarce. In this sense, the possibility that the cult places of Yazılıkaya, the Šuppitaššu complex and Eflatun Pınar were open for the population during a festival remains a hypothesis, even when the washing of gods’ statues or “steles” in extramural cult places was one of the cardinal moments in local festivals. However, the fact that the only text that clearly shows the participation of the community in a festival is related to a local cult and the fact that Eflatun Pınar and the Šuppitaššu complex belong to this local realm seem to speak in favour of the open character of these two places during a festival or part of it. This possibility is strengthened by the location of both places, especially of Eflatun Pınar, that allow the gathering of very many people. However, it

should be kept in mind that the Šuppitaššu complex is encircled by what seems to be a wall and that it is unknown whether it functioned to prevent the access or to establish a frontier with the surroundings.

Another possibility was suggested as speculation by Hutter, namely that open-air cult places in minor centers might have been used by the community on some occasions other than festivals to express popular religious beliefs.¹⁶⁰ But this suggestion is outside of the scope of this article.

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> . Berlin.
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i> . London.
AO	<i>Antiguo Oriente</i> . Buenos Aires.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Münster.
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i> . Berlin.
AS	Assyriological Studies. Chicago.
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research. Books and Monographs. Boston.
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo</i> . Sabadell.
Bo. IV	Bittel, K. / Güterbock, H.G. / Hauptmann, H. / Kuhne, H. / Neve, P. / Schirmer, W., <i>Boğazköy IV. Funde aus den Grabungen 1967 und 1968</i> . Berlin 1969.
Bo-Ḫa	Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen. Berlin
CAD	Gelb, I.J., et al.: <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago 1956–2010.
CANE	Sasson, J., et al.; <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> . New York. 1995.
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Saarbrücken / Wiesbaden.
CHD	Güterbock, H.G., et al., <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago 1980–.
CM	Cuneiform Monographs. Leiden / Boston.
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie. Dresden / Wiesbaden 2002–.
EDHIL	Kloekhorst, A., <i>Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon</i> . Leiden / Boston 2008.
HED	Puhvel, J., <i>Hittite Etymological Dictionary</i> . Berlin 1984–.
HEG	Tischler, J., <i>Hethitisches Etymologisches Glossar</i> . Innsbruck 1977–2001.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik. Leiden / New York / Köln 1952–.

¹⁶⁰ Hutter, 2010: 407–408. Contrast his hypothesis with the reformulation made by Cammarosano, 2018: 121.

- HW² Friedrich, J / Kammenhuber, A. / Hazenbos, J. (eds.): *Hethitisches Wörterbuch Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*. Heidelberg 1975–.
- JANER *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*. Leiden.
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Baltimore.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*. Berlin.
- OIS Oriental Institute Seminars. Chicago.
- OLZ *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*. Leipzig / Berlin.
- PIHANS Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul.
- PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. London.
- RHA *Revue hittite et asianique*. Paris.
- RIA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*. Berlin 1928–2018.
- StAs *Studia Asiana*. Roma.
- SMEA *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*. Roma.
- StBoT Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Wiesbaden.
- StMed *Studia Mediterranea*. Pavia.
- THeth Texte der Hethiter. Heidelberg.
- TUAT NF Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Neue Folge. Gütersloh 2004–.
- SBLWAW Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta.
- WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig / Berlin.
- Yaz. Bittel, K. / Naumann, R. / Otto, H., *Yazılıkaya. Architektur, Felsbilder, Inschriften und Kleinfunde*. WVDOG 61. Leipzig 1941.
- Yaz² Bittel, K. / Boessnek, J. / Damm, B. / Güterbock, H. G. / Hauptmann, H. / Naumann, R. / Schirmer, W., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya*, Bo-Ḫa IX. Mainz 1975.

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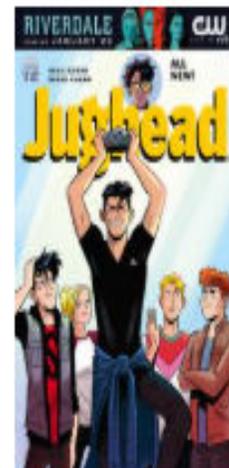
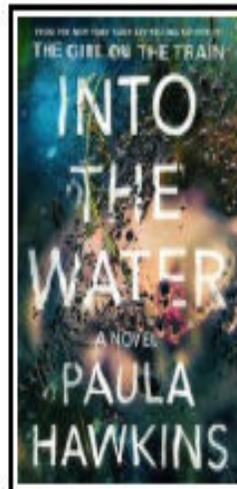
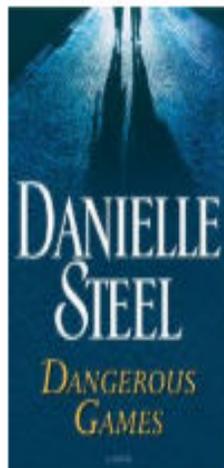
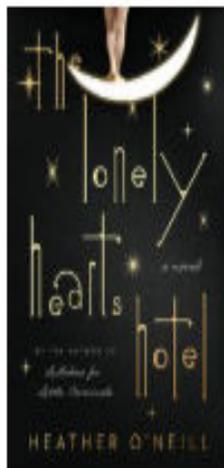
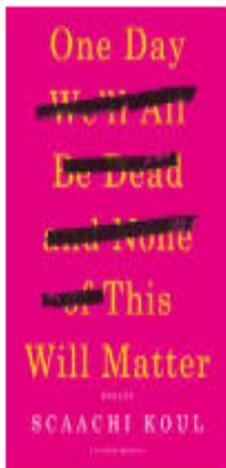
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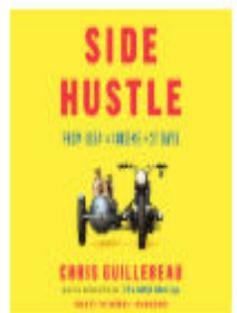
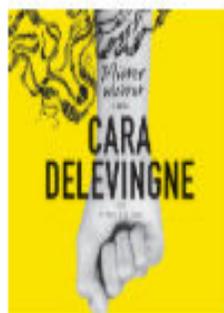
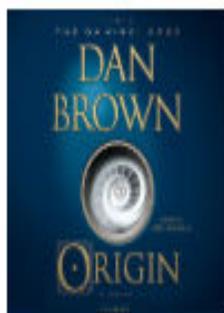
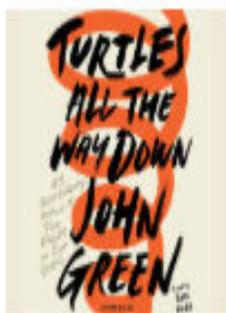
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