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Cult, Temple, Sacred Spaces

Cult Practices and Cult Spaces in Hittite Anatolia and Neighbouring Cultures

Proceedings of the First International HFR Symposium, Mainz, 3–5 June 2019

Edited by Susanne Görke and Charles W. Steitler

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAS	*Anatolian Archaeological Studies*
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABoT 1	Kemal Balkan. *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri / Boğazköy Tablets in the Archaeological Museum of Ankara.* İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1948.
ABoT 2	Rukiye Akdoğan. *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri II / Boğazköy Tablets in the Archaeological Museum of Ankara II.* CHDS 1. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2011.
ADOG	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AfOB	Archiv für Orientforschung. Beihefte
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
ANESS	Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Supplements
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse
ArAn	*Archivum Anatolicum = Anadolu Arşivleri*
AS	Assyriological Studies
AT	Donald J. Wiseman. *The Alalakh Tablets.* London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953.
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis. Revista de estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo*
AuOrS	Aula Orientalis. Supplementa
BAH	Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
BAR IS	British Archaeological Reports – International Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BLMJ	Joan Goodnick Westenholz. *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem. The Emar Tablets.* CM 13. Groningen: Styx, 2000.
BMECCJ	Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan

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BoHa	Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen
BSIEL	Brill's Studies in Indo-European Languages and Linguistics
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–2010.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHD	*The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980–.
CHDS	Chicago Hittite Dictionary. Supplements
ChS	Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications
CRAIBL	*Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CRB	Cahiers Revue Biblique
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche. *Catalogue des textes hittites*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971 (with supplements in *RHA* 30 [1972]: 94–133 and *RHA* 33 [1973]: 68–71; now extensively expanded and revised in the online *Catalog der Texte der Hethiter* of the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz*: Silvin Košak, Gerfrid G. W. Müller, Susanne Görke, and Charles W. Steitler (eds.). hethiter.net/*CTH* – last accessed 08.08.2020).
DAAM	Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DBH 46/2	Rukiye Akdoğan. *Hethitische Texte. Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien*. DBH 46/2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016.
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*
DiskAB	Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
Emar	Daniel Arnaud. *Recherches au pays d'Aštata – Emar VI/1–4*. ERC 18. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985–87.
ERC	Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
FHL	Jean-Marie Durand and Emmanuel Laroche. Fragments hittites du Louvre. In: Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes (ed.). *Mémorial Atatürk: Études d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes*. Synthèse 10. Paris: A. D. P. F., 1982: 73–107.
HbOr	Handbuch der Orientalistik / Handbook of Oriental Studies
HED	Jaan Puhvel. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Trends in Linguistics. Documentation. Berlin et al.: de Gruyter, 1984–.
HEG	Johann Tischler. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 20. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1977–2016.
hethiter.net/:	*CTH …* : online text editions on the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz*

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HHCTO	Ahmet Ünal. *Hittite and Hurrian Tablets from Ortaköy (Çorum), Central Turkey. With Two Excursuses on the "Man of the Storm God" and a Full Edition of KBo 23.27*. Istanbul: Simurg, 1998.
HHT	Kaspar K. Riemschneider. *Hurritische und hethitische Texte*. München: privately published, 1974.
HW^2	*Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*. Indogermanische Bibliothek, zweite Reihe: Wörterbücher. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975–.
IBoT	İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(nden seçme metinler). İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası et al., 1944, 1947, 1954; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988.
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IM	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JANEH	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JANES	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of North-West Semitic Languages*
KAR	Erich Ebeling. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I–II*. WVDOG 28 and 34. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915–1919 and 1920–1923.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy
Konkordanz	Silvin Košak. *Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln, Online-Datenbank Version*, 2002–. hethiter.net/: hetkonk (zitiert mit Versionsnummer).
KpT	= DAAM 1
KTU	Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places*. 2nd ed. ALASP 8. Münster: Ugarit, 1995.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy
KUBABA-SA	Collection KUBABA. Série Antiquité
LANE	Languages of the Ancient Neart East
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LSAWS	Linguistic studies in Ancient West Semitic
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
MTK	Materiale Textkulturen
MVAeG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft*
NABU	*N. A. B. U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
NüBlA	*Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie*
OA	*Oriens Antiquus*
OAC	Orientis Antiqui Collectio

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OAM	*Orientis Antiqui Miscellanea*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia. Nova Series*
ORA	Orientalische Religionen der Antike
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul = Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul
POLO	Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Beihefte, Reihe B 7)
RHA	*Revue Hittite et Asianique*
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (*und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*)
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
RSOu	Ras Shamra – Ougarit
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SAALT	State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAMR	Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SCO	*Studi Classici e Orientali*
SEL	*Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici*
SILO	Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum
SMEA	*Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*
StAs	Studia Asiana
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
StBoTB	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten. Beihefte
StMed	Studia Mediterranea
StPohl	Studia Pohl
StPohl SM	Studia Pohl. Series Maior
StSem	Studi Semitici
STT	Oliver R. Gurney, Jacob J. Finkelstein, and Peter Hulin. *The Sultantepe Tablets I–II.* BIAA Occasional Monograph Series 3 and 7. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957 and 1964.
TAD	*Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
TTKYayın	Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TUAT NF	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge

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TVOa	Testi del Vicino Oriente antico
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek – Leipzig
VSNF	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Neue Folge
WAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WorldA	*World Archaology*
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

General abbreviations

ah.	althethitisch	NH	New Hittite
DN	divine name	NS	New Hittite Script
LNH	Late New Hittite	OH	Old Hittite
LNS	Late New Script	OS	Old Hittite Script
MB(A)	Middle Bronze Age	P(ap).	Papyrus
MH	Middle Hittite	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
mh.	mittelhethitisch	PN	personal name
MS	Middle Hittite Script	p(p).	page(s)

Symbols

?	reading of a sign is doubtful
(?)	reading of sign string is doubtful
!	abnormal or mistaken sign; designation of column or side of tablet varies from hand copy
[ ]	encloses lost text
[( )]	encloses restorations according to duplicate text
⌜ ⌝	encloses damaged but legible signs
⟨ ⟩	omitted by scribal error
⟨⟨ ⟩⟩	sign to be omitted
x	illegible sign (in transliteration)
[x x]	indicates amount of space in gaps; each x = space for one sign
…	encloses signs over erasure
*	reconstructed form
+	fragments join directly; after reference to a single fragment adjoining other fragment(s) (listed elsewhere)
(+)	fragments join indirectly
//	duplicate/parallel text
/	line break (in transliteration)
𒹻	*Glossenkeil* (single)
𒹼	*Glossenkeil* (double)
𒹽	*Glossenkeil* (triple)
=	separates morphological elements within words
₌	for division of logograms at the end of printed lines

Cursive text in translations indicates uncertain meanings or restorations.

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FOREWORD

The long-term research project "Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrituale: staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien" (HFR; www.adwmainz.de/projekte/corpus-der-hethitischen-festrituale), which has been funded by the research programme of the Union of German Academies of Sciences and Humanities since 2016, focuses on the edition and analysis of the so-called festival texts, the largest group of cuneiform texts that have come down to us from the cuneiform tablet collections of Hittite Anatolia.

These regulations are usually concisely phrased but often extensive, and describe the performance of the cult on specific and, frequently, seasonal occasions. Festival texts are attested in all periods of Hittite history and include all strands of traditions and milieus that were constitutive for the historical development of the Hittite religion. A comprehensive treatment of this group of texts, which has been preserved in a multitude of fragments, some of which are too small to be meaningful by themselves, is therefore of fundamental importance for the study of the history of ancient Anatolian religions. As a product of the state cult administration, however, the ceremonial ritual texts are also important sources for understanding the administrative and production structures of the Hittite kingdom, as well as for the transmission techniques used by the experts responsible for carrying out the cult, and for the development of Hittite cuneiform writing culture as a whole.

The research programme of HFR will reach its first major milestone in 2021 with the publication of the so-called *Basiscorpus*. The *Basiscorpus*, which will form a new element of the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz* (HPM: www.hethiter.net), comprises transliterations of all nearly 10,000 fragments of festival texts. This digital text corpus will include a lexical and morphological annotation of all Hittite text passages. For the realization of the annotation, HFR developed innovative tools in the collaboration between linguistics and information technology – tools that are now also being used by other research projects, such as the "Thesaurus Linguarum Hethaeorum digitalis" (TLH^{dig}) (German Research Foundation), an undertaking that will start this year. The *Basiscorpus* of Hittite festival texts, the prototype of which is already being used daily by the staff of HFR and of partner projects, will form the basis for HFR's further work: the completion of annotated critical editions of selected festival ritual complexes as well as studies on cuneiform paleography, the linguistic form of the festival texts, and – one of the final goals of the project – an overarching presentation of the history of the Hittite cult.

A longterm research project, which will be carried out over a period of 21 years, depends on regular exchange with the scholarly community of Hittitologists. This exchange takes place on an almost daily basis, not least of all through the collaboration of many Hittitologists with the Mainz department of HFR – the *Hethitologie-Archiv* at

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the Academy of Sciences and Literature | Mainz – whether in the form of research stays or correspondence. In addition to the daily collaboration, the research programme of HFR provides some fixed elements that are designed to foster and renew international collaborations periodically. With regard to the support of the next generation of Hittitologists, these include the HFR PhD scholarships and the international summer schools, the first of which was held in Mainz in 2018 with great success. The International Symposia serve to bring together established scholars regularly under the auspices of HFR. Taking place every five years, these Symposia assemble colleagues from different disciplines studying ancient cultures in order to discuss various topics central to the research programme of HFR from interdisciplinary perspectives.

The organization and planning of the First International HFR Symposium, which we were able to hold at the Mainz Academy in June 2019, was the responsibility of Susanne Görke and Charles W. Steitler, who deserve our gratitude for their tireless efforts before, during, and after the symposium. Further, we would like to express our sincere thanks to all contributors as well as the two editors of the present volume for ensuring the prompt publication of the acts of the symposium in such professional fashion.

Marburg / Würzburg, August 2020 Elisabeth Rieken and Daniel Schwemer

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PREFACE

The present volume is a collection of contributions that were presented by an international group of scholars during the First International HFR Symposium at the Academy of Sciences and Literature | Mainz, June 3–5, 2019. This is the first of a series of symposia that will be held in the context of the long-term project, "Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrituale: staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien" (HFR). Further symposia are planned that will be dedicated to illuminating other aspects of the Hittite cult from scribal, linguistic, economic, political, social and historical religious perspectives. The themes of the symposia correspond to the research objectives planned for the various stages of the HFR project.

The aim of this first HFR symposium was to discuss recent developments regarding the interpretation of philological and archaeological sources from Anatolia and adjacent areas in the second millennium BCE. The papers delivered at the syposium focused on questions concerning the archaeology of temples and other sacred places, the differentiation of sacred spaces according to written sources, the organization of festivals and their spatial aspects, participation in festivals, and possibilities of interpretation in light of the cult practices of Northern Syria, the Levant, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Of the twenty papers given, eighteen are presented here in written form. The papers by Mark Weeden and Kimiyoshi Matsumura ("Mass Participation in Ritual Activity in Second Millennium BC Anatolia") and Thalia Lyssen ("A Performative Approach to the Celebration of Hittite Festivals") are planned for publication elsewhere. The symposium speakers were joined by a number of scholars, students and other interested audience members who enriched the symposium with insightful questions and personal interaction between the sessions and during the receptions.

Special thanks are due to the primary organizers of the symposium, Elisabeth Rieken (Marburg) and Daniel Schwemer (Würzburg), who as editors of the series also gave the impetus for publishing the acts of the symposium in *Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten* and supplied editorial feedback on the individual contributions. The Academy of Sciences and Literature | Mainz provided a most appropriate setting for the symposium, not only as an outstanding conference venue and one of the location sites (alongside Würzburg University and Marburg University) as well as the primary organizational and financial carrier of the HFR project, but also as the long-term host of the *Hethitologie-Archiv*, which continues to make valuable philological resources available both on-site and online to scholars from the fields of Hittitology and ancient Near Eastern studies worldwide. The HFR team is grateful to the administration and staff of the Academy for their support.

A special word of thanks is also due to the contributors, many of whom were required to transform their research into formal written studies under the less than optimal conditions necessitated by worldwide restrictions, working from home and/or

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with only limited access to libraries and institutional resources. This volume would not have been possible without their commitment to research even in trying circumstances. The editors are grateful to Dagmar Becker (Marburg) and especially to Paul Herdt (Marburg) for careful proof-reading and formal corrections as well as work on the typesetting of this volume. Finally, we express our thanks to the Harrassowitz Verlag for the technical support in preparing this volume for print publication.

Marburg / Mainz, August 2020 Susanne Görke and Charles W. Steitler

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"HE HAS MADE THE LABARNA, THE KING, HIS ADMINISTRATOR"

The Role of the Hittite Monarch in Festival Performance

Gary Beckman
University of Michigan

Abstract

Perhaps the major duty of the Great King of the Hittites was to serve as the Chief Priest of all of the gods of the land, particularly of its preeminent deities, the Storm-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna. His centrality to the state religion and closeness to these divinities are expressed in numerous texts. Nonetheless, during the execution of most cultic rites, the ruler, while indeed the focus of attention, is led through the performance by religious professionals.

It's good to be king.
Mel Brooks, "History of the World, Part I" (1981)

One of the recurrent subjects of my research over the years has been the ideology of Hittite kingship, the body of shared beliefs, concepts, and 'common sense' that informed the society of Ḫatti and served to reify and maintain the domination of an absolute monarch and his extended family over a polity composed for the most part of peasants and herdsmen. In my contribution here, as background for the following essays by my colleagues on more particular aspects of the performance of the state cult, I will outline the central role of the Hittite king in the religion of his land and survey briefly his activity in the compositions we call 'festivals' (EZEN4).

1. The Hittite king

The Hittites conceived of the world in which they lived as a closely integrated system, with no clear-cut boundaries among its several levels, which were inhabited by gods, by humans, and by the spirits of the dead and various demonic forces, respectively. Under the right circumstances, gods might have direct intercourse with humans, as is reported of the goddess Inara and the man Ḫupašiya in one of the Illuyanka myths (see Hoffner 1998: 11f.). Ghosts of the departed routinely exerted their influence over the affairs of their descendants (see del Monte 1973; 1975; Archi 1979b).

Despite its porous borders, within this universe a strict hierarchy was in force. As in ancient Mesopotamia, the unquestioned function of men and women was to serve

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the gods, providing for their sustenance, pleasure, and entertainment. We get an idea of the scope of this maintenance from a prayer that King Muršili II directed to the Sun-goddess of the city of Arinna, who, with her partner, the Storm-god of Ḫatti, presided over the pantheon:

> [You, oh Sun-goddess of Arinna, are an honored] goddess. [To you, my goddess], there are revered temples in Ḫatti, but in no other land are there [any] such for you. [Only in Ḫatti] do they provide for you [pure and holy] festivals and rituals, [but in no other land] do they provide any such [for you. You have lofty temples adorned] with silver and gold [only in Ḫatti, and in no other land] is there anything for you. [Cups and rhyta of silver], gold, and precious stones you have only in Ḫatti. Only in Ḫatti do they celebrate festivals for you – the festival of the month, festivals throughout the course of the year – [autumn, winter], and spring – and the festivals of the sacrificial rituals. In no other land do they perform anything for you. (*CTH* 376.A; KUB 24.3++ obv. I 6–20;[1] translation adapted from Singer 2002: 51)

That the mighty and immortal gods were actually dependent upon this attention from their underlings is evident from another passage in the same prayer of Muršili, who reminds them of the consequences of a severe and persistent epidemic:

> All of the land of Ḫatti is dying, so that no one prepares the sacrificial loaf and libation for you. The plowmen who used to work the fields of the gods have died, so that no one works or reaps the fields of the gods any longer. The miller-women who used to prepare the sacrificial loaves of the gods have died, so that they no longer make the sacrificial loaves. As for the corral and sheepfold from which one used to cull the offerings of sheep and cattle – the cowherds and shepherds have died, and the corral and sheepfold are empty. So it has come about that the sacrificial loaves, libations, and animal sacrifices are cut off. Yet you proceed, oh gods, to hold us at fault in this matter! (*CTH* 376.A; KUB 24.3 obv. II 4′–17′)

In return for the support they received, the satisfied deities would, it was hoped, cause crops to thrive, domestic animals to multiply, human society to prosper, and Hittite armies to prevail in battle. These expected rewards are reflected in yet another prayer of Muršili, in which the god Telepinu is enjoined:

> Give life, health, strength, long years, and joy in the future to the king, queen, princes, and to (all) the land of Ḫatti! And give to them future thriving of grain, vines, fruit, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mules [sic], asses – together with wild animals – and of human beings! (*CTH* 377; KUB 24.2 rev. 12′–16′)

And in the *(ḫ)išuwa-* Festival, the king is assured:

> O king, do not be afraid! The Storm-god will always place the enemies and the enemy lands beneath the feet of you, the king, so that you may break them like empty vessels. And to you, the king, [he has given life], health, an heroic [weapon] for the future, and the eternal favor of the gods. Do not be afraid! You shall defeat [every enemy]. (*CTH* 628; KBo 15.52 + KUB 34.116 rev. V 14′–22′)

The intervention of deities in determining human affairs was known as *para ḫand(and)atar*, literally 'prior arrangement', but which we may often best render as 'providence' (see Beckman 2017: 42–44). For example, in his so-called Apology, King Ḫattušili III attributes the successful course of his career to the influence of his patron goddess, Šaušga of the town of Šamuḫa. Narrating the course of his revolt against his nephew, King Urḫi-Teššup (Muršili III), he relates:

1 I have not included transliterations of the texts adduced in this essay. These have all been well studied and those interested will find references to the various editions in the *Konkordanz* (Košak 2002–) of the *Hethitologie-Portal Mainz* (hethiter.net).

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> Šaušga, My Lady, supported me, and things turned out as she had promised me. Šaušga, My Lady, on that very occasion revealed her divine providence (*para ḫandandatar*) in great measure (by bringing about the defeat of my rival). (*CTH* 81; edition by Otten 1981: 24f., iv 16–19)

On the other hand, a neglected or offended god or goddess could wreak havoc on an individual, a household, or all of Ḫatti. Attested manifestations of divine displeasure include epidemic, military defeat, and the illness of the king. When confronted with misfortune, it was necessary that the individual sufferer – or the royal establishment on behalf of the community as a whole – determine just which deity was angry, the cause(s) of his or her rage, and the appropriate ameliorative measures. As we will see later, this relationship of mutual dependence between gods and humans could function smoothly and to the benefit of both parties only through the use of effective means of communication between the two groups.

On the human side of this cosmic grand bargain, it was the responsibility of the Hittite monarch to supervise the activities of his fellow men and women. As in the ideologies of other cultures of the ancient Near East, Hittite society's paramount ruler occupied the center not only of political but also of communal religious life. Accordingly, the king worked in close contact with the divine, organizing his people's efforts on behalf of their para-human masters and seeking the blessings of the latter for his subjects. In contrast to the situation in Egypt, where the pharaoh was himself a major deity, during his earthly life the king of Ḫatti stood with his fellow humans, albeit just below the realm of gods and goddesses. His lofty, but still ultimately mortal, position is manifest in the euphemism employed for the death of a king or another member of the royal family, 'to become a god' (*šiuš kiš-*). That is, while living and breathing, the ruler was not yet considered divine.

A possible exception to this limitation may, however, be presented by the final attested Great Kings of Ḫatti. In the EMİRGAZİ hieroglyphic text (Hawkins 1995: 88f., §34), Tudḫaliya IV requests offerings to his images on stelae. It has been suggested (van den Hout 1995: 571–73) that this desperate ruler of a fragmenting empire might have embraced pre-mortem divination as a measure to shore up his crumbling position among the elite. This view would be almost certain if the bas-relief of a Šuppiluliuma from Chamber 2 of the *Südburg* at Ḫattuša – on which the monarch sports the horns of divinity (depicted in van den Hout 1995: 550, Abb. 3) – indeed represents Tudḫaliya's son and second successor, Šuppiluliyama II, and not his illustrious predecessor Šuppiluliuma I.

This close, but hierarchically marked, association between the king and the pantheon may be illustrated by an address by the monarch to the personified Throne that was included in an Old Hittite rite for constructing a new palace:

> [Then the king] says to the Throne: "Come, let us go! [You], step behind the mountains. You shall not become my man. You shall not become my in-law. Be my equal, yes, be my fellow!
>
> "Come, let us go to the mountain, and I, the king, will give you glassware. We will eat from the glassware and you shall protect the mountain.
>
> "The gods, the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god, have allotted me, the king, the land and my house, and I, the king, will protect my land and my house. You shall not come to my house, and I will not come to your house.

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> "The gods have allotted me, the king, many years. The years are without limit.
>
> "From the sea the Throne brought rule and the (royal) cart to me, the king. The land of my mother has been opened, and I, the king, have been designated Labarna (Emperor).
>
> "In return, I will continually praise my father, the Storm-god." (*CTH* 414; KUB 29.1 obv. I 10–26)

Although some of the symbolism here remains obscure, we can observe that the king is at pains to avoid too intimate a connection with the divinized Throne – "You shall not become my man. You shall not become my in-law. Be my equal, yes, be my fellow!" he exhorts. Yet he also claims – surely metaphorically – the Storm-god as his father. We also learn that it was the leading deities themselves who had allotted the Hittite monarch his preeminent position in society.

Furthermore, the relationship of the Hittite monarch to the chief of the gods is expressed quite clearly in the following blessing to be recited periodically for him by a priest:

> May the Tabarna, the king, be dear to the gods! The land belongs to the Storm-god alone. Heaven, earth, and the people belong to the Storm-god alone. He has made the Labarna, the king, his administrator and given him the entire land of Ḫatti. The Labarna shall continue to administer with his hand the entire land. May the Storm-god destroy whoever should approach the person of the Labarna, [the king], and the borders (of Ḫatti)! (*CTH* 821; IBoT 1.30: 1–8)

Indeed, in a prayer directed to the entire pantheon through his patron deity, the Storm-god of Lightning, King Muwattalli II employs the metaphor of filiation – of similarity but inferiority – to express his position over against the chief of the gods:

> Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, I was but a human, whereas my father was a priest for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and for all the gods. My father begat me, but the Storm-god of Lightning took me from my mother and reared me; he made me priest for the Sun-goddess of Arinna and for all the gods; for the land of Ḫatti he appointed me to kingship. (*CTH* 381; KUB 6.45 rev. III 25–31; translation adapted from Singer 1996: 21, 40)

It will have become apparent from the sum of these quotations that in Ḫatti the office of kingship was essentially equivalent to that of chief priest of the presiding deities of the pantheon, the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god (variously referred to as the Storm-god of Ḫatti, of Heaven, or of Lightning), and indeed priest of all the gods. The ruler was accordingly most frequently the nominal offerant in ceremonies of the state cult. The queen might also assist the monarch, or even preside in her own right. A prince or even a symbolic hunter's bag (^{KUŠ}*kurša-*) might also be deputized to represent the royal house.

Among his many positions in Hittite society, the king was – to use modern terminology – head of state, commander in chief of the military forces, and the ultimate legal authority in his land (see Beckman 1995). Therefore, it was necessary for him to delegate many of his duties in each of these areas. The body of the monarch's deputies, whose upper echelon was drawn preponderantly from the extended royal family (see Bilgin 2018: 413–23), constituted the bureaucracy that administered Ḫatti on a day-to-day basis.

Nonetheless, the symbolic role of the monarch and his immediate family as the foremost servitors of each and every deity was reinforced by a twice-yearly royal progress lasting a month or more through those towns of North-Central Anatolia constituting the original core region of Ḫatti, during which the king participated in rites in the sanctuaries of the more prominent local divinities. These onerous journeys –

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dubbed the 'Festival of the Crocus' in early spring and the 'Festival of Haste' following the conclusion of the season of military campaigns in the autumn – allowed the monarch to 'keep his hand in' the cult of each and every significant deity worshiped within his realm (see Güterbock 1997a: 89).

Furthermore, in times of crisis such as that of the plague addressed above by Muršili II, the ruler appeared in person before the gods in order to present Ḫatti's *arkuwar*, 'plaidoyer', confessing to offenses committed by himself and his people and suggesting possible remediation. The parade example of such a brief delivered to a divine authority is indeed that very prayer of Muršili.

But most everyday worship in Ḫatti was in the hands of priests and other persons whose working lives were dedicated to the care and feeding of the gods. These divine servitors included members of numerous domestic professions (palace servant, cook, baker, waiter, janitor, etc.), who were also to be found in the palace and undoubtedly in other elite households. The highest-ranking religious professionals were designated by the Sumerograms ^{LÚ}SANGA, 'priest', and ^{LÚ}GUDU$_{12}$, 'anointed priest', if male, and by NIN.DINGIR, 'lady-deity', or ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, 'mother of the deity', if female. These functionaries were assisted or accompanied in ceremonies by a multitude of minor officiants whose designations in many cases elude translation. Responsibility for the poorly documented routine sacrifices in provincial temples and village shrines fell to the district governor and local officials, who often had a minor priest or two at their disposal.

It is important to keep in mind that the priests and their assistants functioned solely as representatives of the crown. They had no discernable corporate organization[2] and as a group do not seem to have exercised any political influence. Indeed, in addition to the princes Telepinu and Kantuzzili who carry the Sumerographic epithet ^{LÚ}SANGA (see Freu 2002), we learn the personal names of only around 25 other SANGAs from cuneiform sources.[3] The term appears predominantly in festival texts, where it designates a generic ritual practitioner (for attestations, see Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 343–69, esp. 350–56).

As for the mass of the population, these men and women appear to have had little involvement with the official worship of the Thousand Gods of Ḫatti. Perhaps ordinary inhabitants of Ḫattuša might have been spectators at the parade of divine symbols through the streets of their city described in the KI.LAM Festival (Haas 1994: 749), or some may have witnessed the royal party as it moved from one shrine to another in the course of some other ceremony. But the (Grand) Assembly ((*šalli*) *aššeššar*, lit. '(great) seating'; see Archi 1979a: 205–9; CHD Š 98f.), a communal feast that was a part of many festivals, was attended by only a limited number of royal relatives and bureaucrats, in addition to the participating cult functionaries.[4] It was definitely not an occasion for the establishment and reinforcing of the feeling of community for the people at large, although sometimes the populace was represented by a group of its elders.

2 We do encounter the title GAL.SANGA, 'chief priest', but there is no evidence that its bearer presided over a college of lesser fellows.

3 See Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 357. Most of these individuals are found in records concerning the administration of local cults.

4 On the question of who was entitled to receive the foodstuffs distributed in the course of programs of the state cult, see now Barsacchi 2019.

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Here we must keep in mind that our knowledge of Hittite religion is largely limited to the cultic concerns and operations at the governmental level as described in the cuneiform documents in the archives, which were produced by, and maintained exclusively for, the use of the royal bureaucracy. That is, we know next to nothing of the worship practices or spiritual lives of non-elite persons in Ḫatti, although we may find some indication of this conceptual realm in the descriptions of local activities in the cult inventories (see Cammarosano 2018) and in the concepts that inform the white magic featuring in the rites Hittitologists refer to as 'rituals' (SISKUR).

2. Communication

Returning to a point touched upon earlier, it was of the greatest importance that the monarch and the gods of Ḫatti conduct a regular exchange of information so that any difficulties arising in the functioning of the cosmos might be rectified to their mutual benefit. Of course, the king reported directly to his divine lords through his prayers, but traffic in the other direction was necessarily more complex. Accordingly, Muršili II demands of the gods concerning the cause of the epidemic that troubled most of his reign:

> Either let me see [the cause of the divine ire] in a dream, or let it be established through an oracle, or let a prophet (*šiunaš antuḫšaš*, lit. 'man of god') speak of it. Or all the priests shall perform an incubation rite (lit. 'sleep purely') concerning that which I have instructed them. (*CTH* 378.II; KUB 14.10 rev. IV 9′–13′ and duplicates)

We may observe here that the media of communication employed by or in relation to the gods were of two types: those of which the divinities availed themselves on their own initiative (omens; see van den Hout 2003–05: 88–90), and those whose use was initiated by humans (oracles; see Kammenhuber 1976).

Thus, a god might contact a person directly by appearing in a dream, cause a third party to utter a prophecy, or send a portent in the form of unusual human or animal behavior. The sign might also take the form of an astronomical occurrence (a solar or lunar eclipse, shooting star, and so forth), a meteorological phenomenon (for example, a lightning strike or thunderclap), or any abnormal terrestrial event, say a monstrous birth. The interpretation of these signs was the responsibility of experts, who relied in part on handbooks imported from Syria and Mesopotamia.

Alternatively, through various procedures, a specialist serving in the Hittite religious bureaucracy could pose a question to a deity and request a reply, to be delivered through a number of alternative divinatory techniques. Such practices utilized in Ḫatti included the examination of the entrails of a sacrificed animal (extispicy), the observation of the flight and other behavior of birds (augury), incubation (sleeping in a numinous location in expectation of receiving a significant dream), and the still mysterious 'lot' (KIN) oracle. These various methods were often employed in series as checks upon the results obtained by one another. I present an excerpt from a lengthy sequence of such questions:

> In regard to the fact that you, oh Deity of Arušna, were ascertained to be angry with His Majesty (the king), is this because the queen cursed (the palace woman) Ammattalla before the Deity of Arušna? Because Ammattalla began to concern herself with the deity, yet did not go back and forth

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(in service to the deity)? Because the son of Ammattalla has dressed himself in garments entrusted to his mother and was summoned to the palace? If you, oh God, are angry about this, let the extispicy be unfavorable. … (Here are reported the technical details of the observation.) (Result:) Unfavorable. If you, oh God, are angry only about this, let the duck oracle be favorable. … (Result:) Unfavorable. … (*CTH* 566; KUB 22.70 obv. I 7–11)

3. Festivals

The records of the rites making up the regular periodic state cult are labelled with the Sumerogram EZEN4, which is customarily translated as *Festritual* or 'festival'. Texts of this sort, making up by far the largest collection of religious ceremonial records from the ancient Near East prior to those of first-millennium Assyria, comprise a major portion of the recovered Hittite corpus. Here I will adduce evidence primarily from the major productions of the central state cult: the springtime *purulli-* ('Earth') Festival, the KI.LAM ('Gatehouse') Festival, the late *(ḫ)išuwa-* (perhaps 'Eagle') Festival, the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM ('Crocus') Festival, and the *nuntarriyašḫa-* ('Haste') Festival.[5] As noted earlier, these latter two labels were actually collective designations for rites performed in each instance over the course of several weeks in various locations. In regard to them, we may avail ourselves not only of programs for individual days but also of tablets outlining the travels and cultic activities of the king and queen among the towns in which they would be officiating (e.g. Güterbock 1997b).

I will pay less attention to the local cults not included in these composite 'national' programs (on which see Cammarosano 2018), if only because they are for the most part known solely from concise reports compiled to allow the central royal administration to assure that their basic requirements as to cultic equipment and the supply of offerings were satisfied. For these ceremonies, we do not generally possess the type of 'scripts' (*Rollenbücher*) or detailed descriptions of the participants and their actions available for the major rites, especially those held in the capital.

As is the case with most Hittite cuneiform tablets, the sources for the festivals were recovered in fragmentary condition, necessitating their reconstruction from numerous scattered pieces. Since their texts are often quite similar – see an example below – varying, e.g. only in the deities addressed or the quantities and types of offerings presented, sorting out and rejoining the scraps into complete tablets has proven to be a Herculean task.

The analysis of the state cult is therefore one of the least evolved areas within Hittite studies, but is accordingly attracting increasing attention among contemporary scholars, as exemplified by the project and conference documented in this volume. More rapid progress in this area is sure to result from the use of the indispensable *Konkordanz* hosted in Mainz, as well as from the introduction of new cybernetic tools under development by Gerfrid Müller for identifying individual scribal hands and for matching the contours of fragments.

As for the character of the ceremonies of the state cult, we might imagine that the attention paid to a deity or deities in the course of a festival mirrored – *mutatis mu-*

5 For synopses of all of these ceremonies, see Haas 1994: 696–874.

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tandis – the quotidian experience of the king among his courtiers, for which we unfortunately have disappointingly little direct evidence. Through a sequence of offerings, incantations, and physical acts, festivals manipulated and cajoled the god(s) or demonic force(s) in question to accede to the needs and desires of the monarch and his society.

Beyond the provision of food and drink, Hittite cult ceremonies might feature entertainment in the form of song, dance, athletic competitions, circus-like performances, and even historical re-enactments. An amusing example of the latter appears in a festival of the Storm-god of the town of Guršamašša:

> They divide up the young men and name them. They call half of them 'the men of Ḫatti' and the other half 'the men of the town of Maša'. The men of Ḫatti have weapons of bronze, while the men of Maša have weapons of reed. Then they fight and the Hittites prevail. They take a prisoner and dedicate him to the deity. (*CTH* 526.18; KUB 17.35 rev. III 9–15)

I have already stated that the monarch or a member of his nuclear family was in theory the patron of all activities comprising the state cult. When we are informed about the source of the requisite provisions for a rite, this is most often said to be the king, his palace, or an institution belonging to the dynasty, such as the House of the Grandfathers or the House of the Labarna. The texts often attribute modifications to programs of worship to particular kings, or generically to 'His Majesty'.

The royals might also intervene directly in the structuring of the festival calendar. Queen Puduḫepa, wife of Ḫattušili III and daughter of a 'Priest-King' of Kizzuwatna (classical Cilicia), introduced a novel complex of rites to Ḫattuša during the thirteenth century. This new production was the *(ḫ)išuwa-* Festival, which displays many Hurrian and Luwian lexemes and practices[6] and is devoted above all to a manifestation of a god of great importance in Puduḫepa's home region, the Storm-god of Mount Manuzzi. The colophon of the texts describing these ceremonies reads:

> When Queen Puduḫepa charged Walma-ziti, chief of scribes, to search in Ḫattuša for tablets of Kizzuwatna, then on that day he copied these tablets of the *(ḫ)išuwa-* Festival. (*CTH* 628; KBo 15.52 VI 39′–45′)

But what was the role of the king or his lady in the actual performance of a festival? The following excerpt from the 'Festival of Haste' will provide an impression of the typical proceedings:

> The king and the queen toast the deity Tuḫašel while seated. The *ḫalliyari-* men play the large lyres. The jesters speak. The declaimer shouts. The *kita-* man calls out. The cupbearer brings in a sour loaf from outside. He gives (it) to the king. The king breaks (it). The cupbearer holds the bread out to the king and carries it away. The pure priests bring in the *zaḫurti-* seats. The waiters take the *zippula⟨š⟩ni-* bread. The crouching (cupbearer) comes in.
>
> The king and the queen toast the deity Karmaḫili while seated. The *ḫalliyari-* men play the large lyres. The declaimer shouts. The (crouching) cupbearer squats. Nothing is poured into the *iškaruḫ-* vessel. He sets about (libating) twice. The cupbearer brings in a sour loaf from outside. He gives (it) to the king. The king breaks (it).
>
> The cupbearer holds (the bread) out to the king and carries it away. (The waiters) take the *šaramma-* bread of the chief of the palace servants. The crouching (cupbearer) comes in. (*CTH* 626; KUB 11.34 rev. V 38′ – VI 6 and duplicates)

6 See the contribution by Meltem Doğan-Alparslan to this volume.

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As is evident from this and earlier excerpts, despite his central significance in the cult, the ruler himself was not a religious specialist. While a focus of attention, his participation in a rite was usually limited to such token actions as momentarily holding an offering or sanctified object and then handing it on to a professional officiant. Or he might pour a libation or crumble an offering loaf. But for the most part, he was 'walked through' the ceremony by the other participants and did not have to acquire and retain knowledge of the technical procedures. Of course, his other administrative, military, and judicial responsibilities would have left little time for absorbing such arcana. When animals were sacrificed, the actual slaughter and butchery were commonly left to culinary experts.

But perhaps the king took a more active role in the state cult by directly addressing his divine masters, if indeed he personally recited any of the royal prayers composed and tradited under his name.[7] The prayer to all the gods of Muwattalli II (*CTH* 381) was delivered in connection with a long series of offerings, and since the texts of many other prayers indicate that they were accompanied by libations, it is probable that they were all spoken in the context of what we are calling festivals. What better moment to make a request of your superior than immediately after you have provided him or her with a lavish meal, flattery, and entertainment?

Finally, we should mention the attention paid to defunct rulers in festivals. The statues of divinized kings, namely Ḫattušili I, Šuppiluliuma I, Muršili II, Ḫattušili III, and Šuppiluliyama II, receive offerings in the course of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM Festival, and lambs are offered to the Sun-goddesses of Arinna of deceased queens, including Walanni, Nikalmati, Ašmunikal, Daduḫepa, Ḫenti, and Tawananna, during the *nuntarriyašḫa-* celebration. Some scholars believe that these latter objects of worship, which take the form of either anthropomorphic statues or sun-disks, are simply representations of the chief female deity, perhaps set up in the temple by the queens in question and inscribed with the names of their donors. However, I believe that in death, the former queens have become in some way indistinguishable from the deity, much as the Hittite king was identified closely with the male solar deity. In this connection note the almost mirror images of the king and queen of Ḫatti and of the king and queen of the Thousand Gods in the rock relief at Fraktın (see Ehringhaus 2005: 59–65).

To summarize: The Hittite monarch was the most exalted of human beings, standing near – or perhaps even among – the gods, to whom he alone was responsible for managing the affairs of the people of Ḫatti, in particular those involving the service of their divine masters. The king's closeness to the immortals is illustrated by the depiction in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya of Tudḫaliya IV in the protective embrace of his personal god Šarrumma (Bittel 1975: Tafel 49). While the ruler's burden was undoubtedly a heavy one, he enjoyed the support of his patron deity as well as the assistance – as we have seen – of innumerable anonymous fellow men and women in fulfilling his religious obligations.

It was indeed good to be king.

7 Note that *CTH* 377, KUB 24.1+, Muršili's prayer to Telepinu, is explicitly said to be read aloud daily by a scribe.

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