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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
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Edited by Susanne Görke and Charles W. Steitler

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical Abbreviations

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

- BoHa Boğazköy-Hattuša. 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*

HHCTO	Ahmet Ünal. <i>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.</i> Istanbul: Simurg, 1998.
HHT	Kaspar K. Riemschneider. <i>Hurritische und hethitische Texte.</i> München: privately published, 1974.
HW ²	<i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte.</i> 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	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IM	<i>Istanbul Mitteilungen</i>
JANEH	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of North-West Semitic Languages</i>
KAR	Erich Ebeling. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I–II.</i> WVDOG 28 and 34. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915–1919 and 1920–1923.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy
Konkordanz	Silvin Košak. <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Keilschrifttafeln, Online-Datenbank Version, 2002–.</i> hethiter.net/: hetkonk (zitiert mit Versionsnummer).
KpT	= DAAM 1
KTU	Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places.</i> 2 nd ed. ALASP 8. Münster: Ugarit, 1995.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy
KUBABA-SA	Collection KUBABA. Série Antiquité
LANE	Languages of the Ancient Near East
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LSAWS	Linguistic studies in Ancient West Semitic
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
MTK	Materiale Textkulturen
MVAeG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
NABU	<i>N. A. B. U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NüBLA	<i>Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie</i>
OA	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OAC	Orientis Antiqui Collectio

OAM	<i>Orientis Antiqui Miscellanea</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia. Nova Series</i>
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	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale</i>
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes (Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Beihefte, Reihe B 7)
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asiatique</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie (und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie)</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RSOu	Ras Shamra – Ougarit
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
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	<i>Studi Classici e Orientali</i>
SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici</i>
SILO	Subsidia et Instrumenta Linguarum
SMEA	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
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. <i>The Sultantepe Tablets I–II</i> . BIAA Occasional Monograph Series 3 and 7. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1957 and 1964.
TAD	<i>Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi</i>
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

TVOa	Testi del Vicino Oriente antico
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
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	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WorldA	<i>World Archaeology</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

General abbreviations

ah.	altheithitisch	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	+	fragments join directly; after refer- ence to a single fragment adjoining other fragment(s) (listed elsewhere)
(?)	reading of sign string is doubtful	(+)	fragments join indirectly
!	abnormal or mistaken sign; desig- nation of column or side of tablet varies from hand copy	//	duplicate/parallel text
[]	encloses lost text	/	line break (in transliteration)
[()]	encloses restorations according to duplicate text	↖	<i>Glossenkeil</i> (single)
┌ ┐	encloses damaged but legible signs	↗	<i>Glossenkeil</i> (double)
< >	omitted by scribal error	↘	<i>Glossenkeil</i> (triple)
<< >>	sign to be omitted	=	separates morphological elements within words
x	illegible sign (in transliteration)	≠	for division of logograms at the end of printed lines
[x x]	indicates amount of space in gaps; each x = space for one sign		
...	encloses signs over erasure		
*	reconstructed form		<i>Cursive text in translations indicates uncer- tain meanings or restorations.</i>

FOREWORD

The long-term research project “Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrитуale: staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien” (HFR; www.adwmainz.de/projekte/corpus-der-hethitischen-festrитуale), 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

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

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 Festrитуale: 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 symposium 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

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

“THE KING GOES UP TO THE ROOF”

Hittite Nocturnal Rites Performed During the New Moon

Francesco G. Barsacchi

Università degli Studi di Firenze

Abstract

At particular times, Hittite ritual practices could take place on the flat roof of sacred or profane buildings, perceived as the ideal setting for the performance of rites directed to celestial or astral deities. This paper aims at analyzing some examples of cult activities taking place on the roof, before focusing on a particular group of texts describing a sequence of ritual actions performed by the Hittite king during the night, in connection with the first appearance of the new moon. Many fragments of this group are currently filed under *CTH 645*. Besides providing a general description of the text corpus, the paper will address the debated issue of the possible relationship of these rites with the great state festival of the month.

1. Introduction

Hittite documentation provides a large amount of evidence for ritual procedures that could occasionally take place in a particular setting, namely the roof of certain buildings. In specific circumstances, the roof (Hittite *šuhḫa-*) assumed the character of a veritable sacred space, where religious practices had to be performed in order to be effective. As in Mesopotamia, such religious activities in Hittite Anatolia could take the form of private *ad hoc* rituals, generally taking place on the roof of the house of the person who commissioned the ritual, but they could also be included within the religious program of larger official festivals, in which case they were performed on the roof of buildings such as temples or palaces.

The present study will present a general overview of the main religious activities that are attested in Hittite sources as taking place on the roof, before focusing on a particular group of texts which seem to describe a very specific purification ritual, performed by the Hittite king during the new moon and perhaps included in the sequence of rites that represented the so-called festival of the month, the fragments of which are currently collected as *CTH 591*.

2. The roof as a sacred space

In Hittite cosmic geography, astral and celestial deities had their seat in heaven (Görke 2013: 45–47). All spaces that were perceived as being directly in contact with the sky, and therefore exposed to an unmediated influence from a higher divine sphere, e.g. mountaintops, were given a strong religious significance. In an urban context, this connotation was naturally associated with the roof of particular buildings, the only elevated setting that could allow such a direct contact with the divine. The flat roof of Hittite buildings, generally easily accessible by a staircase,¹ was therefore the ideal place to address prayers or perform rites directed to solar and astral deities such as the Sun-god, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, or the Moon-god. Unlike other sacred spaces of the house, it was not perceived as a place having a sacral character in itself, which explains why it is never mentioned in the rather standardized lists of sacred elements of the house which receive libations and offerings on many religious occasions.² The meaning of the roof as a privileged place for performing rituals was represented by its liminal position between earth and sky, from where a direct contact with the deities that were believed to inhabit the celestial part of the cosmos could be established. Such a symbolic significance seems to be reflected in a very peculiar rite described in an interesting tablet written in New Hittite script, KUB 55.28 + Bo 7740 (*CTH* 470).³ The text, which is in some respects analogous to the so-called foundation rituals,⁴ describes the rites that accompany the building of a house. A specific ceremony seems to be performed when the beams that are meant to sustain the roof are lifted into place. The architect who is in charge of the building climbs twice to the roof by means of a rope, while the singers run around the hearth of the house. Then he cuts off the loops that have been used to lift the beams, perhaps with a silver axe and a silver knife, which are also bound to one of the beams. When the ceremony ends, he is allowed to take these tools home as a form of reward. The whole rite is clearly aimed at sacralizing the building of the roof as one of the most significant parts of the house.

It is possible to divide the Hittite religious practices carried out on the roof into two main categories, depending on the temporal setting of their performance. This, in turn, often depends on the particular nature of the gods that are involved in the rites. The daily, solar, character of this cult is generally expressed in prayers and invocations directed to celestial deities. This is well exemplified in the incipit of the famous prayer of king Muwattalli II to the assembly of the gods, *CTH* 381.⁵ Here the king is described in the act of setting two wicker tables on the roof of his palace, before directly addressing the Sun-god and the Sun-goddess in his prayer. In the absence of the king, invocations to solar deities could also be recited by particular cult functionaries, as

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- 1 On the architectural features of the Hittite roof, and in particular on the building techniques applied in the roofing a house, see Ünal 1988: 1469–1503; cf. Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 85–105. On the symbolic meanings of the roof in ancient near eastern and mediterranean cultures, see also Wilburn 2019: 594–97.
 - 2 On the Hittite *loci numinosi*, see Steitler in the present volume, with further references.
 - 3 Transcribed by Groddek 2002: 46–48; cf. also Ünal 1988: 1472–85 and Beckman 2010: 87.
 - 4 See Torri and Görke 2013: 287–300, with further literature.
 - 5 The text has been edited by Singer 1996.

attested in the title of a tablet preserved in the shelf list KUB 30.43 (CTH 276; see Dardano 2006: 38–47). The document records an invocation to the Sun-goddess of Arinna performed on the roof by a ^{LÜ}NAR singer when the king is on a military campaign:

KUB 30.43 rev. III

11' [1 IM.GÍD.D]A LUGAL-*uš ku-wa-pí la-aḫ-ḫi*

12' ^rke^{7?}-[e-ma] *ud-da-a-ar* ^{LÜ}NAR-*aš*

13' A-NA ^DUTU¹ ^{URU}a-ri-in-na

14' *šu-uḫ-ḫi* [še-er m]e-^rmi¹-iš-ke-ez-zi

[One long table]t: Whenever the king (is) on a military campaign, [...]. The NAR singer recites th[ese] words for the Sun-goddess of Arinna on the roof.

A parallel passage is documented in an interesting, but unfortunately rather fragmentary tablet, KUB 57.63 (CTH 385),⁶ recording an invocation to the Sun-goddess of Arinna aimed at protecting the royal couple. At daybreak, the SANGA priest of the Sun-goddess, who is responsible for the ritual proceedings, recites the invocation. Once again, the ceremony takes place on the roof of the main temple of the deity:

KUB 57.63 rev. III

20' LUGAL-[u]š ^rku-wa¹-p[i l]a-a[ḫ-ḫi]⁷

21' *ke-e-ma ud-d[a]-^ra¹-ar* ^{LÜ}SANGA

22' ŠA ^DUTU ^{URU}a¹-[r]i-in-na

23' *šu-uḫ-ḫi-iš-^rša-an¹ še-er*

24' ŠA É ^DUTU k[i]-^riš-ša-an¹

25' *me-mi-iš-ke-^rez¹-z[i]*

Whenever the king (is) on a mi[litary campaign], the SANGA priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, on the roof of the temple of the Sun-goddess recites these words as follows.

The same description is repeated in the colophon of the tablet. As explicitly stated in rev. III 29'f., the recitation was performed by the SANGA priest “facing the sun” (^DUTU-*i menaḫḫanda*). It has been convincingly proposed that some Hittite temples could follow an astronomical orientation.⁸ The temple 1 in Šarišša, for instance, seems to have

6 The text has been edited by Archi 1988 and treated most recently by Steitler 2017: 313f.; cf. also Singer 2002: 25–27.

7 I accept here the restoration proposed by Steitler 2017: 313, who follows Dardano 2006: 44 and Popko 2009: 44. After photo collation, the sign traces at the end of rev. III 20' would theoretically allow also a restoration: š[u-u[ḫ-ḫi], as in the online text edition by Rieken et al. 2017. This reading, however, seems implausible considering the dominant role played by the SANGA priest in the invocation. If the king had been present at the same time on the roof, it is reasonable to assume that he would have recited the invocation in person.

8 Müller-Karpe et al. 2009: 45–64; Müller-Karpe 2013: 335–54; cf. also González García and Belmonte 2011: 461–94.

- 20 *na-at iš-TU NINDA.GUR4RA EGIR-an* ^{GIŠ}PISAN MUL-*aš kat-ta-an da-a-i*
 21 *nu ki-iš-ša-an te-ez-zi še-e-er kat-ta-at ne-pí-ša-za* 1 LI-IM MUL^{HL.A}
 22 *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-kán-zi na-at* ^{D30-aš}¹ *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ed-du*
 23 *kat-te-ra-ma-at da-an-ku-wa-az ták-na-a-az ták-na-aš* ^{DUTU-uš}
 24 *ḫu-uk-ki-iš-ke-ed-du na-at* MUL^{HL.A}-*aš kat-ta-an še-eš-zi*

... and she brings it by night on the roof.

She puts it, together with the loaf of bread, by the gutter under the stars, and speaks as follows: “Down from heaven, above, the thousand stars will conjure it, the Moon-god will conjure it, but down, from the dark earth, the Sun-goddess of the Earth will conjure it.” And it stays overnight under the stars.

After having recited the incantation, the ritual practitioner leaves the magic elements on the roof for the night. The following morning she takes the *materia magica*, breaks the *ḫaršama*-bread and recites an analogous invocation, this time directed to the Sun-god:

During the night, the thousand stars and the Moon-god have conjured it, and the Sun-goddess of the Earth has conjured it, now you, Sun-god, conjure it.¹²

Afterwards, the practitioner takes the *materia magica* down from the roof, before concluding the ritual inside the house.

The exposure of ritual material to the influence of the stars closely resembles analogous passages in Babylonian medical texts of the first millennium BCE (Reiner 1995: 48–60) and is often attested in medical tablets found in Ḫattuša and written in Akkadian, probably modeled after original Babylonian documents from the middle of the second millennium or earlier.¹³ In Hittite rituals of Kizzuwatnean provenance, the nocturnal consecration of cultic elements by placing them on the roof, exposed to the stars, is a well-attested practice.¹⁴ In the foundation ritual for the Goddess of Night (*CTH* 481),¹⁵ for example, the so-called ‘water of purity’ is brought to the roof of a temple, where it is left the whole night, before being used in the execution of the ritual activities. The same action is described in more detail in the ritual of Ammiḫatna (*CTH* 471).¹⁶

The meaning of the exposure of particular elements to the stars in Mesopotamian and Hittite sources has been widely discussed.¹⁷ As rightly pointed out by R. Strauß (2006: 43f.), this action has probably both a concrete and a magical explanation. In medical texts, there are certainly practical reasons for letting a substance, or a preparation, stand overnight, considering that the ingredients might need time to blend or

11 Erroneously transcribed as DINGIR^{MEŠ} in the online edition and in HW² III H/2, 622.

12 KUB 7.1 obv. II 27–30.

13 See Reiner 1995: 48f. The idea of a direct borrowing of this ritual practice from Mesopotamia was expressed by Haas 1971: 426.

14 See Strauß 2006: 42–44 and Mouton 2008: 8f.

15 KUB 29.4 obv. II 43–47; see Miller 2004: 283, 285.

16 KBo 5.2 obv. II 28; cf. Strauß 2006: 216–52.

17 See Reiner 1985: 591–95; 1995: 48–56; Maul 1994: 44–46; Strauß 2006: 42–44.

to cool down before the resulting compound can be used.¹⁸ At the same time, however, the nocturnal exposure to the stars has certainly no practical explanation in cases like the above-mentioned ritual of Wattiti, where the ritual material laid on the roof is represented by symbolic objects. The recitation described in KUB 7.1 obv. II 21–24 gives us the clearest indication of the significance attributed by the Hittites to this ritual practice: in some circumstances the stars were believed to have the power to enhance the cathartic power of the elements left on the roof, making them more effective for the purpose of the ritual. Such an astral influx is conveyed by the Hittite verb *hukkišk-*, the iterative form of *huk-*, ‘to conjure, to enchant’ (or German ‘beschwören’).

The double recitation performed at night to the stars and the Sun-goddess of the Earth and during the day to the Sun-god is particularly indicative of the influence that, in some circumstances, astral and celestial deities were believed to have on a ritual practice that was carried out on the roof of a particular building.

The liminal space between ‘high’ and ‘low’, between human and divine, represented by the roof, therefore, emerges from Hittite documentation as having a dual character. It allows vertical communication between man and the gods, both in the form of diurnal prayers or invocations, recited by the king or particular priests and directed towards celestial deities, and in the form of a direct divine influx, aimed at securing the desired effect of the ongoing rites or the efficacy of the ritual material exposed on the roof.

3. The Hittite rites for the new moon

Having briefly analyzed the meaning of the Hittite ritual procedures taking place on the roof, I would like now to focus on a particular group of texts, describing a nocturnal ceremony that was performed at a very specific time, namely during the new moon,¹⁹ and that marked the transition from one month to the next. Many of these rites, which at least in part took place on the roof of the *halentiu-* building,²⁰ are currently listed under *CTH* 645, but other documents currently filed elsewhere should probably be added to this group. In particular, some fragments that have tentatively been assigned to *CTH* 591, among the texts describing the great festival of the month, including two tablets unearthed in Kayalıpınar/Şamuha and published by Soysal (2019: 157–70), should probably be reassigned to *CTH* 645 (see Table 1).

KBo 11.32²¹ is a well-preserved, single-column tablet written in Late New Hittite script. The document contains the descriptions of three different ritual sequences, separated by double paragraph lines. All of them are clearly connected with the night and the cult of the Moon, even though it is difficult to establish with certainty whether they are all part of the same ceremony. The first one begins with offerings to the Moon, qua-

18 The same explanation is certainly valid also for the deposition of the ‘water of purity’ in *CTH* 481 and *CTH* 471. Cf. Strauß 2006: 43; Schwemer 1998: 131.

19 On the lunar character of Hittite calendar see del Monte 1988: 51–56; cf. also Barsacchi 2019: 7–11.

20 On which see now Taracha 2017: 101–10, with further literature.

21 Duplicated in KBo 43.75, KUB 57.110 + Bo 6168 and Bo 3390.

CTH No.	text	dating
CTH 645	KBo 11.32	NS
	KBo 25.104	NS
	KBo 27.40	NS
	KBo 34.189	NS
	KBo 43.75 (dupl. KBo 11.32)	NS
	KBo 47.241	NS
	KBo 63.76 + KBo 63.78	NS
	KUB 20.24 (+) KUB 58.38	NS
	KUB 43.30 (rev. III 3'-12' dupl. KBo 43.75)	OS/MS ²
	KUB 57.110 + Bo 6168 (dupl. KBo 11.32)	NS
	KUB 58.35	NS
	Bo 3302	NS
	Bo 3390 (dupl. KBo 11.32; KUB 57.110+)	NS
	Bo 3991 (dupl. KUB 43.30)	NS
	Bo 4881 (dupl. KBo 43.75)	NS
	Bo 6044 (dupl. KUB 55.39)	NS
	Gurney 12 (Gurney 1986: 63, 68, n. 12)	NS
KpT 1.72 (+) KpT 1.73	NS	
CTH 591	KBo 54.117 + KUB 55.39	NS
	Bo 3752 (dupl. KBo 25.104)	MS ²²
CTH 832	KBo 25.79	NS

Table 1

lified with the adjective GE6 ‘black’,²³ and the sacrifice of a black sheep and a black lamb. In the second section of the tablet, from obv. 10, after a short description of ritual activities performed next to the hearth, including the sacrifice of a white lamb to the GUL-šeš deities and the act of pouring oil into the fire, the text describes how a particular kind of wooden tray, called ^{GIS}wera- (here apparently in nom.-acc. neut. pl.¹; thus HEG W-Z 494–96), is/are brought from the roof to the inside of the *ḫalentiu-* building and placed by the window. Then the king takes again the *wera-* tray(s) and goes up to the roof.

The third and longest section of the tablet begins with a sequence of offerings for the male gods and Maliya, in which a particular cult functionary is involved, the ^{LÚ}Ú.ḪÚB, literally the ‘deaf man’, who seems to have played a significant role in all nocturnal rites performed by the king on the roof. The role and responsibilities of this particular functionary, who is often involved in rites of purification of the king,²⁴ are still not entirely clear:

22 Collation by H. Otten; cf. *Konkordanz* (Kořak 2002–).

23 This could indicate that the rites begin during the phase of obscuration that precedes the first appearance of the new moon; cf. Barsacchi 2019: 12f.

24 See, e.g. KBo 19.128 rev. V 32, VI 7; cf. Otten 1971: 14–17.

KBo 11.32 obv.

- 16 EGIR-ŠŪ-kán^{GIS} ú-e-ra šu-uh-ḫa-za GAM pé-e-da-i
 17 ŠĀ^E ḫa-li-tu-aš-kán^{GIS} AB-i an-da ti-an-zi nu^r DINGIR.LŪ^{MES7} BAL-ti
 18 LUGAL-uš EGIR-ŠU šu-uh<<-ḫu>>-ḫi ú-ez-zi^{GISr} ú-ra^r(-) x x-Vḫ-zi²⁵
 18a^r EGIR-an^{GISSEN7} da-a-i
-
- 19 LUGAL-uš 3 GUNNI DINGIR^{MES} LŪ-aš^D ma-li-ia UŠ-KE-EN
 20 LŪ.Ū.ḪUB^{GIS} er-ḫu-az^{GIS} ḫu-u-wa-al-liš ME-i PA-NI^{GISSEN} (...)

Then he brings down the *wera-* tray from the roof; they place it inside the *ḫalentiu-* at the window and he makes offerings for the male gods. The king comes back to the roof and he [...] the *wera-* tray and he places (it) back by the gutter.

The king bows three (times) by the hearth to the male gods (and) Maliya. A ‘deaf man’ takes juniper wood from a basket (and) before the gutter (...)

By the gutter the ‘deaf man’ performs some kind of purification by means of the *ḫulliš-*. This substance, probably to be identified with juniper wood,²⁶ is often attested in Hittite festival descriptions, where it is generally immersed in water and used to purify the king in a clear lustrative rite (cf. Barsacchi 2017: 51). In KBo 11.32, this purification seems to take place by the gutter of the roof, written sumerographically as^{GISSEN}. After this description, a series of deities arranged in couples is called upon. This particular divine group is composed as follows: Storm-god – *annaš daganzipaš*, Sun-goddess – Mezzulla, ^DNIN.UR.TA (Šuwaliyatt) – Ḫalki, Moon-god – Išpanzašepa, ‘hearth’ – Ḫilašši, DINGIR LŪ^{MES} – Maliya, Wa-/Uškuwattaššiš – Kuwanšeš. This sequence can be found in many fragments listed under *CTH* 645 and it enables us to distinguish between fragments belonging to different text corpora within this very heterogeneous catalogue number.²⁷ Interestingly enough, the Sun-goddess of the Earth, whom one would have expected to find in a divine group comprising several other chthonic deities, is not present.

The small fragment Bo 3752, currently filed under *CTH* 591, describes, in the very few preserved lines, a ceremony which takes place on the roof, as clearly indicated by the sentence *šarā šuhḫa paizzi* “he (i.e. the king) goes up to the roof” in one of the first lines of Bo 3752 obv. II. This action is followed by the sacrifice of a black lamb, recalling the offering of a black lamb to the Moon-god in KBo 11.32 obv. 2f., while the offering of a white lamb to the *GUL-šeš* deities in KBo 11.32 obv. 10 parallels the act of bowing to the *Kuwanšeš* deities performed by the king in Bo 3752 obv. II 12’.²⁸

25 HEG W–Z 495 reads the signs at the end of l. 18 as: [*we*’]ḫzi. The translation “he turns the tablets” (“er dreht die Tablettis um”), however, does not seem to make much sense in the context. In H. Otten’s autography the signs AḪ/UḪ/IḪ and ZI are recognizable, but the passage is extremely damaged, and after photo collation the reading of the last four signs of the line remains problematic.

26 The Akkadian term *burāšu(m)*, which corresponds to Hittite *ḫulliš-*, *ḫuwalliš-* in the lexical list KUB 3.93: 3’ is now translated as ‘juniper’; cf. CAD B 369.

27 The different divine lists attested in the texts filed under *CTH* 645 have been recently analyzed by Steitler 2017: 76–86.

28 The *Kuwanšeš* deities have been identified by Waal 2014: 1025–31; 2019: 121–32 as the name behind the Hittite fate deities ^D*Gulšeš*/^D*GUL-šeš*.

Another tablet written in Late New Hittite script, KUB 20.24 + KUB 58.38 obv. III, describes several libations and purifications of the king, which take place by the gutter and are performed, once again, by a functionary called ‘chief of the deaf men’. These actions alternate with offerings to the same divine group organized in pairs already mentioned. On the reverse, the tablet describes a series of bread breakings and offerings to a list of deified parts of the body: Ištanzaššaš, Šakuwaššaš, Ḫantaššaš, Ištamanaššaš and Kiššaraššaš.

A small fragment of the corpus that should also be mentioned is Bo 3302, parallel to KBo 11.32, where we find reference to the *wera*- tray, which is brought from the roof inside the *ḫalentiu*- building and placed by a window. After a broken passage, the *wera*- is brought once again onto the roof by a palace attendant. In obv. 12', the ‘chief of the deaf men’ is also mentioned, although in broken context.

All these documents seem to have an antecedent in KUB 43.30, included by E. Neu in his *Althethitische Ritualtexte in Umschrift* (Neu 1980: 76–78) and generally classified under CTH 645. Following E. Neu, the text is currently dated *ah.* in the online *Konkordanz*, but several authors now tend to consider it a MS tablet on paleographic grounds.²⁹ The tablet is certainly older than the other ones of the same group included in CTH 645. The reverse of the preserved text records a series of offerings to the same group of deities worshipped in KBo 11.32 and in the other fragments already mentioned. Among the preserved theonyms we read in rev. 5'–12': *annaš daganzipaš*, *Mez-zulla*, *Ḫalki*, *Išpanzašepa*, *Ḫilašši*, *Maliya*, *Waškuwattašši* and *Kuwanšeš*.

This rite is followed by the act of pouring fine bran and *šemeḫuna*- for the UGULA LÚ.MEŠÚ.ḪÚB, the overseer of the ‘deaf men’. Then the resulting compound seems to be poured from the roof, where clearly the whole rite takes place, for the male gods:

KUB 43.30 rev.

- 15' [...] Ū GAL DUMU^{MES} É.GAL A-NA UGULA LÚ.MEŠÚ.ḪÚB ḫu-u-u[*p-pí-iš-ši*]
 16' [*šu-uh-ḫa-a*]n-zi me-ma-al še-me-ḫu-na-an UZU^{NÍG}.GI[G
 17' [A-NA UGULA L]Ú.MEŠÚ.ḪÚB ḫu-up-pí-iš-ši ḫu-uh-ḫa-an-z[i
 18' [...-t]a ḫu-u-uh-za a-ap-pa DINGIR.LÚ^{MES}-na-aš ḫu-u[*ḫ-ḫa-an-zi*]

[...] and the overseer of the Palace attendants [pou]r to the overseer of the ‘deaf men’ for [his m]ix, and they pour groats, *šemeḫuna*- (and) liver [... to the overseer] of the ‘deaf men’ for his mix. [...] they po[ur] again from the roof for the male gods.

All these sources seem to record the execution of the very same rite, performed by the king and other cult functionaries on the roof of the *ḫalentiu*- building. The rite includes some form of purification of the king, as seems to be indicated by the liturgical use of the *ḫulliš*- wood and the presence of the ‘deaf men’, and it is followed by offerings to at least two distinct divine groups. The first one is organized in couples, including astral

29 Popko 2007: 65; Taracha 2009: 51 n. 261; Waal 2014: 1026. The whole transition between Old and Middle Hittite script is currently a very debated issue (cf. Weeden 2011: 42–49 for a brief synthesis, with further literature), and a more accurate dating of the tablet would only be possible through a systematic analysis conducted on a broader spectrum of texts, which goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

and chthonic deities such as the Moon-god or the ‘genius of the night’, Išpanzašepa, while the second one is represented by the deified parts of the body. Some of the rites are performed by the gutter, which was certainly located on the roof, in order to allow the water and all liquid remains of the ritual to flow away.

4. The purification for the festival of the month

In order better to determine the nature and significance of this ceremony, it is now necessary to address the debated issue of the relationship of the documents mentioned so far with the festival of the month, *CTH* 591, and in particular with the text KBo 54.117 + KUB 55.39. The tablet is currently filed among the fragments of the festival of the month, but its pertinence to this corpus was already questioned by J. Klinger in his edition of the festival (Klinger 1996: 270).

The first preserved lines of the obverse describe the sacrifice of a black lamb to the Kuwanšeš deities, which takes place by the hearth. Then the action moves probably to the roof. Indeed, lines 11’f. describe how the king goes down from the roof to the *tun-nakkeššar*, the ‘inner chamber’. Then he stands in the *ħalentiu-* building. The palace attendants bring down a *wera-* tray and a jug of wine from the roof. On the *wera-* are placed seven loaves of flat bread, *memal* and a *tipa-* object (made of) vine-wood. The tray is then placed before the window. The king bows down and a palace officer brings the ritual material up to the roof:

KBo 54.117+ obv. I

- 3’ [n]a-aš U[š-KE]-EN na-aš-ta 1 SILA4GE6^Dku-wa-aš-ša-aš ši-pa-an-ti
 4’ 1 NINDA.GUR4RA GAL me-ma-al-la GUNNI-i da-a-i
 5’ na-aš-ta SILA4 ar-ga-an-zi na-an-ša-an GUNNI-i ti-an-zi
 (...)

 11’ [...] LUGAL-uš UŠ-KE-EN na-aš-kán šu-uḫ-ħa-az GAM ú-ez-zi
 12’ na-aš^Ē tu-un-na-ak-ki-iš-na pa-iz-zi
-
- 13’ LUGAL-uš-kán^Ē ŠA-az ú-ez-zi ta-aš^Ē ħa-li-in-tu-u-i
 14’ ti-ia-zi DUMU^{MEŠ}.Ē.GAL-ma-kán šu-uḫ-ħa-az kat-ta^{GIS} ú-e-ra-an
 15’ 1^{DUG} KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN-ia ú-da-an-zi (...)

He bows down and offers one black lamb to the Kuwanšeš deities. He places one loaf of bread and groats by the hearth; they mark off the lamb and place it by the hearth. (...)

[...] The king bows down; he comes down from the roof and goes to the inner chamber.

The king comes from the inner chamber and he enters the *ħalentiu-*. The palace attendants bring down from the roof the *wera-* tray and a jug of wine.

By night, the king goes back to the roof. The following parts of the tablet are extremely damaged, and only a partial understanding of the ritual procedure is possible. From

what is preserved of the obverse, it is possible to understand that a ritual manipulation of the *hulliš-* wood is performed by a ^{LU}Ú.ĤÚB, probably by the gutter (obv. 21'ff.), and followed by a series of libations to the male gods and Maliya. On the reverse of the tablet, offerings for a list of deified parts of the body are described.

The colophon of the tablet, represented by fragment KBo 55.39, is particularly relevant:

KBo 55.39 rev. IV

27' DUB 1^{KAM} QA-TI ma-a-an ^{D30}-aš ti-ia-zi

28' LUGAL-uš GIM-an A-NA E[ZEN4] ITU^{KAM}

29' šu-uh-ḫa pa-iz-z[i pâr-ku-i]³⁰ TUP-PU

One tablet. Complete. When the Moon appears. When the king goes to the roof for the festival of the month. [Clean] tablet.

The action of going to the roof performed by the king is explicitly related to the first appearance of the new moon. In a calendar based on the lunar phases, this moment, also called *REŠ* ITU^{KAM}, literally ‘head of the month’,³¹ clearly had a particular meaning. This signaled the beginning of the new month, and it is no surprise that it was associated with specific rites, some of which may have been included in the great state festival of the month, *CTH* 591.

In one of the outline tablets of the AN.DAĤ.ŠUM festival,³² which describes the rites of the fourth and fifth days of the spring festival, the same purification is mentioned among the ritual activities that the Hittite king had to perform at the new moon:

KBo 10.20 obv. I³³

26 [(lu-uk-kat)-ti-ma (^{KUŠ}kur-ša-(aš ^{URU}ta-ú-i-n)]i-ia pa-iz-z[i]

27 [(LUGAL-uš-ma-za) A-N(A EZEN4ITU wa-ar)]-ap-z[(i)]

28 [(l)]u-u[(k-kat)-ti-(ma ^{KUŠ}kur-ša-aš ^{URU}t[(a-ú-i)]-ni-ia-az ú-ez-z[i]

29 na-aš [^{UR}(^Uḫi-ia-aš-na še-eš-zi) LUGAL-u(^š³⁴-ma šu-uh-ḫa p)]a-iz-[zi]

The follow[ing] day the [*kur*]ša- bag goe[s to] Tawiniya, and the king purifies himself [fo]r the festival of the month.

The following day the *kurša-* bag come[s] from Tawiniya, it spends the night in ḫiyašna, and [the kin]g goe[s] to the roof.

In this description the king goes to the roof only the day after the first appearance of the new moon, and the related festival of the month, but the connection between the two

30 Integration by del Monte 1988: 55.

31 Cf. KBo 9.136 obv. I 1 (*CTH* 591).

32 *CTH* 604, preserved in copies A = KBo 10.20 // B = KUB 30.39+ // C = KUB 10.94 // D = KBo 45.16(+ // E = KUB 44.39; cf. Güterbock 1997: 91–98.

33 Restorations based on KUB 30.39 + KBo 24.112 + KBo 23.80 obv. I 22–25.

34 The restoration of LUGAL-uš as subject of the verb *paizzi* in obv. 29 is now ensured by KBo 24.112 obv. I 23.

events is evident. The fact that an outline tablet, which by nature records only the most rudimentary elements of the festival organization, mentions this particular action, confirms both its importance within the sequence of rites that mark the beginning of a new month and the connection between the appearance of the new moon and the king's ascent to the roof mentioned in the colophon of KBo 55.39. How the celebration of a ceremony that is linked to a fixed date in the calendar, like the festival of the month, could be arranged within the larger organization of a seasonal festival like AN.DAḪ.ŠUM, whose beginning does not seem to have been calendrically determined, is still an open question.³⁵

That the beginning of the month envisaged some form of purification is further suggested by the monthly festival performed for the Storm-god of Nerik (CTH 672),³⁶ where KUB 56.48 obv. 11–16 describes that at the beginning of the month, the local priests and cult functionaries responsible for the ritual procedure must perform particular ablutions (expressed through the imperative form *warpandu*) before the beginning of the festival.

This passage of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM outline tablet has a parallel in an interesting document, KUB 25.27 (CTH 629), containing a list of the regular festivals (EZEN4^{MES} SAG.UŠ) that the king had to perform in the course of the year.³⁷ Here as well, the purification is referred to by means of the infinitive of the verb *warp-*:

KUB 25.27 obv. I

- 7' [lu-uk-kat-ti-ma^{KUŠ}ku]r-ša-aš^{URU}ta-u-i-ni-ia
 8' [pa-iz-zi I-NA] É.GAL-LIM-ma A-NA EZEN4ITU^{KAM}
 9' [wa-ar-ap]-pu-wa-an-zi (...)

[The following day the *ku*]rša-bag [goes] to Tawiniya, and [in] the palace the ritual cleansing for the festival of the month (takes place). (...)

I believe that the purification performed by the Hittites for the festival of the month, and expressed by the verb *warp-*, should be identified with the complex of cleansing rites that are described in the fragments collected under CTH 645 analyzed above. It is the same ceremony probably referred to in the incipit of the festival of the moon and the thunder (CTH 630), which begins thus: “When the ritual cleansing (*warpuwanzi*) for the festival of the Moon-god (takes place) [...]” (Barsacchi 2015: 44f.). The *hapax* EZEN4^{DZUEN} ‘festival of the Moon-god’ refers very likely to the festival of the month which, as in Mesopotamia, started with the first appearance of the new moon. In particular, it

35 Houwink ten Cate 1992: 96f. underlined the importance of KUB 59.1 (CTH 619), a tablet describing the festival of the rain performed in Ankuwa during one of the last days of the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festival (day 34 according to his calculations), which seems to duplicate a passage of the second day of the festival of the month (Archi 1979: 38–42). The combination of two beginnings of a month, the first one being signaled by the rites of the fifth day mentioned in the outline tablets, at the required distance of approximately 29–30 days, could indicate, according to Ph. Houwink ten Cate, that the festival of the month was actually performed twice during the great spring festival, at the beginning of the last month of the old year and of the first month of the new year.

36 See Haas 1970: 279–92; Součková 2010: 279–300.

37 The tablet was probably composed by the scribe by combining various sections of the outline tablets of the *nuntarriyašhaš* and the AN.DAḪ.ŠUM festivals; cf. Nakamura 2002: 73–77.

could refer to this particular moment of the festival organization, the sequence of cleansing rites that the king has to perform in order to renew his status of purity at a symbolically significant time such as the transition from one month to another.

As already mentioned, J. Klinger doubts that KBo 54.117+, whose colophon explicitly connects the appearance of the new moon and the festival of the month, belongs to the great state festival whose fragments are catalogued under *CTH* 591. In his opinion, the fact that the colophon declares the tablet as finished (*QAT*), makes it very difficult to place it within the larger textual organization of the festival description (Klinger 1996: 270). A different opinion was expressed by other scholars, such as Houwink ten Cate (1992: 94) and Popko (1991: 294). Ph. Houwink ten Cate, in particular, has pointed out the similarities between KBo 54.117+ and KUB 2.13, another text certainly belonging to the state festival of the month.³⁸ This document, as indicated by the colophon, describes the ritual activities of the third (and final) day of the festival. The tablet is only fragmentarily preserved, but there are several elements that prompt us to connect it with the fragments of *CTH* 645, such as the presence of the ‘deaf man’, the ritual use of the *wera-* object, which is placed by the window, and the description of offerings to the Kuwanšeš deities:

KUB 2.13 obv. I

- 8 ^{LÚ}Ú.ĤÚB *a-ku-ta¹-al-li-it* KÙ.BABBAR *wa-a-tar*
 9 *pé-e-da-i* LUGAL-*uš-za QA-TI-ŠU a-ar-ri*
 (...)

obv. II

- 24' *nu* ^{GIŠ}ú-*e-ra-an* Û ^{DUG}KU-[*KU-UB GEŠTIN*]
 25' *da-an-zi na-at* ^{GIŠ}A[B-*ia pé-ra-an ti-an-zi*]
 26' LUGAL-*uš UŠ-KE-EN* G[AL DUMU^{MES} É.GAL]
 27' LUGAL-*i* ^{DUG}KU-KU-UB GE[ŠTIN *pa-a-i*]
 28' *na-aš-ta* LUGAL-*uš* ^rke-e¹-[*da-aš*]
 29' DINGIR.LÚ^{MES}-*aš ši-pa-an-t[i]*
 (...)
 54" *na-aš-ta* LUGAL-*uš* 1 UDU ^Dši-*wa-at-ti*
 55" ^Dku-*wa-an-ša-ia ši-pa-an-ti*

The ‘deaf man’ brings water with a silver *akutalla-* vessel and the king washes his hands.

(...)

They take a *wera-* tray and a j[ug of wine] and [place] them [before the win]dow. The king bows and the ch[ief of the palace attendants gives] to the king the jug of wi[ne]; the king libates to th[ese] male gods.

(...)

And the king sacrifices one sheep to Šiwatt and to the Kuwanšeš deities.

38 Edited by Klinger 1996: 544–89.

Furthermore, immediately after a large gap in obv. II 18', it is possible to read: *kat-ta ú-e[z-zí]*, "he comes down", which very probably refers to the action of the king coming down from the roof, usually described immediately before the cultic operations involving the use of the *wera-* tray and the jug of wine, as in KBo 54.117+ obv. I 11'–15'. That considered, it seems reasonable to affirm that KUB 2.13 contains a description of the same sequence of cult activities that are described in many of the fragments currently filed under *CTH* 645. The complex of rites performed by the king on the roof of the *halentiu-* building on the occasion of the new moon should be analyzed as a moment of the great state festival of the month, taking also into account the fact that external sources, such as the outline tablets of the AN.DAḪ.SUM festival, clearly refer to this particular ceremony, associating it with the rites performed by the Hittite king when a new month begins.

That does not necessarily imply that the fragments describing this ceremony, which are currently catalogued under *CTH* 645, should be attributed to the corpus of the state festival of the month. In my opinion they could just as well represent the detailed description of a particular purification rite which was performed by the Hittite king on the occasion of the new moon already in the Old Hittite period, as proved by fragments in older script such as KUB 43.30, and included only later on within the larger ritual organization of the great state festival performed at the beginning of the new month.

Besides being the privileged place for the performing of prayers and invocations to celestial deities and the setting of particular rituals on which the irradiation of the stars was believed to have a large influence, the roof as a sacred space had an essential role in the course of the Hittite rites that marked the passage of the month. On this occasion, the king observed from the roof of the *halentiu-* building the first appearance of the new moon, a moment charged with a profound religious meaning. A liminal space such as the roof became at this time of transition the stage of a specific sequence of rites aimed at renewing the king's status of ritual purity for the month to come, ensuring the perpetual continuity of the cosmic order sanctioned by the gods.

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