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HITTITE ARCHITECT AND
A ROPE - CLIMBING RITUAL¹

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*“Let them use for the buildings only the
best quality of stone (and timber)”²*

Contents: I. Introduction, II. KUB 55.28 + Bo 7740 in Transliteration and Translation, III. Commentary, IV. Excursus 1: On the Role of Games, Fake Fights and Dances in Hittite Ceremonies, V. Excursus 2: Some New Insights into Hittite Architecture: Some Remarks on Pillars and Roofing Techniques

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² An approximate meaning gained from the bilingual Hatic-Hittite foundation ritual KUB 2.2 + KUB 48.1 ii 50-54: (50) *nāssi piweni SIG₃-andu[š] NA₄*. HIA new § (51) *bib išah tašte/h ka/ziya* (52) *urana kartanna š[a.]pašezzit* (53) *tašteh kazziya new §* (54) *idalušmaššikan NA₄*, *anda le kittari*, H.-S. Schuster, Hattisch-heth. Bilinguen I (1974) 66f.

I. INTRODUCTION

In addition to the above mentioned prescription another Hittite text, again freely translated, says: “*Let it be a construction for eternity*”³. Neither of these expressions are, as in many cases, literary topoi. They have real backgrounds. That the Hittite architects indeed built for eternity, can be understood best from the archaeological remains in their cities, most evidently from their capital Ḫattuša-Boğazköy. Almost nothing is preserved, however, of the good quality timbers which the Hittite architects once so meticulously employed. Only the stone foundations and some cavities where timber reinforcements once stood have survived the ravages of time; what is preserved, however, is enough to incite our imagination and to help reconstruct the extensive and prodigious character of Hittite secular and religious architecture.

It is noteworthy to point out at this point that the Hittites possibly had a notion of how to produce concrete. They gained it from splinter of millstone which they rubbed with a diorite stone (*walahḫannai-*). It was used, however, in the production of some magic objects, here vessels, for magical purposes, and not as a building material⁴.

The aim of this study is definitely not meant as a laudatory verse for the proficiency of the Hittite architects in building prodigious and splendid edifices. It is necessary to stress, however, that the Hittites were the first people to introduce a monumental architecture in Pre-Hellenistic Anatolia. Their ability to shape and level massive rock outcroppings and to depict on them elaborate reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions, and most of all, their cyclopaean masonry works have earned the admiration of researchers since their discovery in the 19th century. It is still difficult to find a reasonable explanation for their obsession with stone and crags. We still do not know whether they were already ‘petromaniacs’ before arriving in Anatolia, or whether the petrosal ground of Anatolia, clearly visible especially around Ḫattuša, forced them to master masonry and to develop a new pattern of settlement. So great are their architectural achievements that before the Hittites had been discovered, the architectural remains in their ancient capital Ḫattuša were attributed by various travellers of the previous century to the Greeks or the Romans. Some experts think, even today, that

³ KUB 31.100 obv? 10: ŠA EGIR. UD^{M1} *wetummar eš /du*.

⁴ 729/t rev. 4ff. w. dupl. KUB 41.8 obv. ii 39 ff.: ŠA^{NA4} *ḫarazi* ^{NA4} *kunkunuzit walahḫannai naškan para waršanzi nan kuḡullan ienzi ašzi* – *makan kuit nat kurtalli DÜ-anzi nat puruttit šunai nat ešḫanaš DINGIR^{LIM}-ni GAM-an dai*.

Babylonian architects and stone cutters were at work at Ḫattuša-Boğazköy; we do not have, however, any evidence supporting this Pan-Babylonian view⁵.

As *P. Doffontaines* once wrote, “*La marque la plus visible de la présence de l’homme à la surface de la terre est la maison*”. The Hittite architects, however, distinguish themselves not so much through their domestic architectural achievements, as through their temples, palaces and military constructions. Temples and palaces they called in their language “*house, home*” as well, only with a small modification, namely “*god’s house*” and “*king’s house*” respectively. Hittite private architecture is an area which has not been investigated thoroughly, and future excavations, which are to be carried out outside of the citadels, mounds, and royal settlements where the major archaeological work has so far been concerned, will certainly reveal much in this respect.

Who were these skillful builders, and what do we know from the Hittite written sources about them and their work? The so-called Foundation Rituals which reflect the influence of the Hattic originals give some scanty information on the subject. They show that the Hattians, indigenous people who were living in Anatolia long before the Hittite migration into the land, had a profound knowledge and deep skill in matters of architecture. The Hittites then adopted this skill and ‘magnified’ its size, proportions and dimensions commensurate with their imperial power. They, in fact, developed such a sophisticated architectural style that their urban centers were able to vie with contemporary Mesopotamian cities in regard to planning, design and workmanship, although not in the size of the physical site and population⁶.

⁵ The supporters of this archaic view refer only to a crucial passage in the Akkadian letter of Ḫattušili III to Kadašman-Enlil II, the Kassite king of Babylon, asking him to lend him a sculptor, see *B. Landsberger*, *Sam’al* (1948) 113 n. 269; *H. Frankfort*, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*⁴ (1969) 122; *J. V. Canby*, *OA* 15 (1976) 133; *K. Bittel*, *Die Hethiter* (1976) 233f.; *R. L. Alexander*, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of Yazılıkaya* (1986) 19, 20 n. 6 w. further bibliography. Even if one or two Babylonian or Kassite architects did some work at Ḫattuša, this would not mean that their share in the development, planning and erecting of the major architectural works was significant. Rather the opposite is true, since the Hittites sent stone cutters from Ḫupišna to Egypt in exchange for doctors during the reign of Ḫattušili III, cf. *KUB* 3.67 and *A. Ünal*, *Belleten* 175 (1980) 482.

⁶ It is not justifiable to reject the urban character of Hittite settlements and to dismiss them as absolutely simple villages as *J. G. Macqueen*, *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*² (1986) 74f. tries to show. On the contrary, Anatolia from the Neolithic Period on

It is becoming obvious that the Hittite architects were highly trained craftsmen, perhaps as skillful as their Greek colleagues working at the Acropolis of Athens a thousand years afterwards. It is a pity that they are not known by name. Even during this age the Hittite architects were able to emulate their Mesopotamian neighbors. It is possible that they would have even surpassed their Near Eastern colleagues, had not fate intervened. The Hittite architects, stone cutters, builders and workmen were apparently eagerly engaged in their work at Yerkapı, the King's Gate in the Upper city and elsewhere, with their utensils in their hands, when the invaders from the "Sea" interrupted and demolished everything⁷. Their works include the Great Temple and the other temples, city walls, gates, a tunnel and glacis at Yerkapı, the palaces and other magnificent buildings on Büyükkale, and the open air sanctuary at Yazılıkaya in Hattuša-Boğazköy, the palaces, City walls, at Alaca Höyük, Maşat etc. Their craftsmanship is also seen in many other Hittite cities such as Eskiypar, Korucutepe, Norşuntepe, Tepecik, Porsuk, Aslantepe, Kargamiş, Alalah, Ugarit, Emar-Meskene, El Qitar etc. Even though we do not know the names of the designers and builders, what historian of art could, if such were not the case, deny their inclusion in the long list of famous architects?

II. KUB 55.28 + Bo 7740 IN TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

KUB 55.28 with its unpublished join piece Bo 7740 represents a new kind of foundation ritual. It certainly is among the most interesting texts published in recent years. This unique text supplies some new and valuable information on architects and on some architectural details. Moreover, it sheds new light on ancient Anatolian cultic beliefs, ethnology, and, more importantly, on the technique of construction of private buildings in Hittite Anatolia. It also reveals a skill previously unknown among Hittite architects, namely their acrobatic ability. According to this text the architects had to prove themselves, not only in constructing suitable, strong houses

experienced continual urban development which can, in some cases, compare with that of the Mesopotamian cities in the south, although the size and population of Anatolian cities were much more restricted through given natural conditions and resources; see in detail *A. Ünal, The Hittite City and its Antecedents in Anatolia* (Budapest 1988, forthcoming).

⁷ We can observe the traces of this sudden interruption in the unfinished works in the city walls around the Lion Gate, in the unfinished stone blocks in a quarry in Kalınkaya near Alaca Höyük, in Yesemek and in many other places.

commensurate with the rough, cold, windy and snowy climate of the Anatolian Highlands, but also had to manage acrobatic maneuvers as a technical, cultic and professional part of their career. Thus this new foundation ritual reveals the Hittite architects as successful stunt men and dauntless climbers. While we know from the archaeological remains and topographical features around the crags and rock peaks in Hattuša that the Hittite architects were daring climbers and builders, their acrobatic skill must be seen as an original feat not attested in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

In my review of KUB 55⁸ I have already given a brief summary of this text and the related passage which included rev. iii with a small join piece which augments the text in some important points⁹.

Here I would like to publish the text in full, with commentary, and discuss some architectural terms and some other related aspects of Hittite architecture. In other words, I will present a re-reading or an evaluation of this somewhat laconic and cryptic text from the architectural point of view.

The tablet's script shows signs of the 13th century BC; its language is also New Hittite. It was originally written on a four column tablet of which obv. i and rev. iv are very poorly preserved, as they give only the ends of lines. From its restored obv. ii it is evident, however, that the upper edge of the tablet must be very close to the preserved portion and that only a few lines at the beginning of obv. i can be missing. How many lines from the lower parts of obv. i-ii and upper parts of rev. iii-iv are missing is hard to say since in the copy the middle of the tablet is not marked. Each of the four columns seems to deal with a different phase of the construction of what was most probably a private house¹⁰. The missing portion of obv. i might have included the habitual inception and introduction of the ritual as we know them from the texts of the same genre such as CTH 413-415 and 726-727.

In the following section the text already deals with sacrifices to the foundation stones¹¹, so the architect is now busy laying the foundation of the

⁸ BiOr. 54 (1987) 481ff. I have also reported on this text in a paper read at the 197th Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society in Los Angeles, March 1987 and at the XXXIVth RAI in İstanbul, July 1987.

⁹ I am grateful to Professor *H. Klengel* for sending me a copy of Bo 7740 and for his kind permission to publish it here. The join was already recognized by *H. Otten*, *IstMitt* 19/20 (1969/70) 88f., and repeated after him by *M. Popko*, *Kultobjekte* (1978) 40; neither author, however, gives the whole context of the text.

¹⁰ [□] or another possibility in connection with a "palace of the queen" in rev. iv 4, i. e. the colopho λ , see commentary on this line.

¹¹ The text refers to them simply as NA, "stone(s)".

house. It is also clear that the lost part of the text deals with the purgation, i.e. a magic spell must have been spoken to ward off evil and contagion from the building spot. In the lost lower part of obv. i the erection of pillars must have been described, since in obv. ii they appear already finished and erected, ready to receive the sacrificial animals. After sacrifices were brought to each of these pillars, there must have followed the most important, spectacular and, at the same time, heaviest aspect of the work, namely the transportation of long timbers which were used as beams, joists and roof battens for covering the flat roof¹². Although this section is lost on the tablet, we are able to reconstruct the details of this procedure from what is preserved in rev. iii. At the very beginning of this column the workmen are just about to accomplish the transportation of the beams to the roof; this work finished, everything is ready for the most spectacular and unique architectural ceremony known to date, namely an acrobatic performance on the part of the architect who was in charge of building the house. Using a rope, he must climb up to the roof to the newly lifted beams and, by means of an axe and knife, both made of silver, cut off the loops which have been twisted around the wooden beams to lift them to the top of the scaffolding. The magic, ceremonial and folkloristic character of this acrobatic act is evident among many other things from the use of silver tools, and the symbolic ceremony which terminates the accomplishment of the building activity as such. We should keep in mind, however, that one of the most important reasons for this activity is the rewarding of the overseeing architect, since he is the person who, at the end of his work, is allowed to take these silver tools home.

The roofing, in fact, is one of the most peculiar steps during the erection of a new house, and this is reflected in a strange ceremony. Following this the architect seems to have finished his main duty, since, after taking the silver tools into his possession, he heads home. But this does not mean that the architect did not return to his work, as he probably oversaw the rest of the construction.

Unfortunately in the preserved part of the tablet¹³ we do not have any hint relating to the building of the walls and covering of the flat roof with brushwood, scrub, reeds, etc., and finally with a waterproof clay layer. It is possible, however, that some of these activities were described in the lost upper part of rev. iv. The text ends with a very fragmentary colophon which is unfortunately impossible to reconstruct.

¹² See below.

¹³ For details see below p. 1482.

KUB 55.28 + Bo 7740:

Obv. i

1	[]
2	[	-z]i ı ¹⁴ UDU. GE ₆ -ma
3	[	nu-u]š-ma-ša-aš ¹⁵
4	[	-]an KUŠ. UDU
5	[	ku-i]t ?-kán
6	[	] UDU-aš an-da
7	[	k]u-e-da-ni-ik-ki
8	[	ša-ma-ni or ḫal-ḫal-tu-ma-ri ḫu-ek-zi . .] A-NA NA ₄ an-da
9	[	] É-ir-za pa-ra-a pa-id-du
<hr/>		
10	[	] e-eš-t [a . .]
11	[	] ḪI.A
12	[]
13	[]
14	[]
15	[]

Obv. ii

- 1 EN É^{TUM} 16 ku-e-da-ni šar-ḫu-li]
 2 pi-ra-an a-še-eš-ša-an-z[a a-pí-e-da-ni]
 3 šar-ḫu-li Ú-UL ḫu-kán-zi ZAG-na-az-z[i]
 4 GÛB-la-az-zi-ya ku-iš šar-ḫu-li-iš
 5 nu-uš-ša-an a-pí-e-da-ni 3 AŠ-RA ḫu-kán-[zi]
 6 [ḫu-k]án-zi-ma-aš-ša-an ku-wa-pí-it-ta ı UDU
 7 nu iš-ḫa-ni EGIR-an-da PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA
 8 KAŠ GEŠTIN ši-pa-an-ti 2 šar-ḫu-li-ya-aš-ša
 9 pí-ra-an ku-wa-pí-it-ta 3 -ŠU ši-pa-an-ti
 10 nu šu-up-pa ḫu-i-šu^{UZU}GAB.ḪI.A^{UZU}ZAG.UDU.ḪI.A

¹⁴ Sign looks like MAŠ, PAR, QA.¹⁵ There follows an erasure.¹⁶ Bo 7740 joins here and indicates clearly the upper edge of the tablet. Line counting from now on according to the join piece.

- 11 SAG.DU.MEŠ ĞİR.MEŠ-ya PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA ti-an-zi
 12 A-NA šar-ḥu-li-ya-aš ku-e-da-aš ḥu-u-kán-ta
 13 nu¹⁷ a-pí-e-da-aš-ša^{UZU}GAB.ḪI.A^{UZU}ZAG.UDU.ḪI.A
 14 SAG.DU.MEŠ ĞİR. MEŠ ti-an-zi

- 15 nam-ma EGIR-an-da KAŠ GEŠTIN PA-NI ZAG.GAR.RA
 16 3 - ŠU ši-pa-an-ti 3 šar-ḥu-li-ya-aš-ša-an
 17 pí-ra-an ku-wa-pí-it 3 - ŠU ši-pa-an-[ti]
 18 14 - ŠU ir-ḥa-iz-zi GIŠ.DINGIR.INANNA TUR ŠIR^{RU}

- 19^{UZU}NÍG.GIG^{UZU}ŠÀ ḥa-ap[-pí-ni-it za-nu-an-zi]
 (Rest of the column broken)

Rev. iii

- 1 nu m[a[?]-a-an^{LÚ.MEŠ 18} . . .]
 2^{GIŠ} in-n[a-aš-šu-uš¹⁹ ḥ]u-i[t-ti-ya-an-zi nu^{LÚ} NAGAR]
 3 ku-iš [I-NA (?) É]^{TIM 20} ú-e-te-i[z-zi]
 4 nu iš-ḥi[-ma-na-a]n a-pa-a-aš ar-ki-ya[-at-ta (-ri)]
 5 na-aš-kán [iš-]ḥa-ma-na-an! ša-ra-a I [-NA^{GIŠ}ÜR(?)]
 6 2 - ŠU p[a-i]z-zi²¹ kat-ta-ya-aš-kán 2[-ŠÚ pa-iz-zi]
 7 ku-it-ma-[n]a-an iš-ḥa-ma-an-an ar-k[i-ya-at-ta(-ri)]
 8^{LÚ.MEŠ}NAR-ma-kán ḥa-aš-ša-an ḥu-w [a-an-zi]

- 9 I-NA 3 KAS [KAL]^{NI} [-ma^{SIJG}pid-du-la-a[n]
 10 tuḥ-ša-[a-r]i²² ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-kán^{LÚ}NAGAR
 11^{SIJG}[p]íd-du-la-an tu-uḥ-ša!-a-ri
 12 [^{LÚ}p]al-wa-at-tal-la-aš-ša [[LÚ]]²³ pal-wa-a-iz-zi

¹⁷ Erasure.

¹⁸ According to the context we expect here as subject of the sentence some type of men working on the construction.

¹⁹ Restoration according to KUB. 29. 1 III 14f, see commentary.

²⁰ H.G. Güterbock proposes reading ^{GIŠ}ÜR, which I cannot follow.

²¹ According to the traces another possible reading is e[-i]p-zi.

²² This emendation is necessary; the sign looks like MEŠ.

²³ According to H. A. Hoffner the LÚ preceding *palwai-* here is a determinative on a verb denoting the action of a ^{LÚ}*patwatallaš*; cf. ^{LÚ}*miyahunteš-* and ^{SIJG}*miteški-*; see also E. Neu, StBoT 5 (1968) 142; CHD III/3 (1986) 304.

13 [TÚG-aš]-ma-kán ku-iš IŠ-TU ^{GIŠ}ÙR kat-ta ²⁴
 14 kán-kán-za PA-A-ŠU KÙ.BABBAR! ²⁵-kán GÍR KÙ.B[ABBAR]
 15 ku-e-da-ni A-NA TÚG an-da iš-ḫi-ya-an-za
 16 na-aš-ta a-pu-u-un-na TÚG-an ar-ḫa [tuḫ-ša-a-ri]
 17 na-aš-ta ^{LU}NAGAR iš-ḫa-ma-na-az
 18 kat-ta ú-iz-zi na-aš A-NA EN É [TIM]
 19 ²⁶ UŠ-KI-EN nu ma-a-an I-NA É-Š[U pa-iz-zi]
 20 nu-za ^{GIŠ}PA-A-ŠU KÙ.BABBAR GÍR KÙ.B[ABBAR]
 21 ^{LU}NAGAR d[a-a-i]

(Lower edge)

Rev. iv

1 []
 2 []

3 [] ME]Š ?-ši-kán ²⁷
 4 [] I-N]A É.SAL.LUGAL
 5 []-mu-uš ²⁸

(Free space, then broken)

Obv. i is too fragmentary to supply a coherent translation here²⁹. A comparison with obv. ii shows that the upper edge of the tablet is very close and, therefore, there would be only 3-4 lines missing at the beginning of the ritual. The mention of 1 UDU.GE₆ “one black sheep”³⁰ and KUŠ.UDU “skin, hide of a sheep” in line 4 suggests that some sacrificial animals have

²⁴ Over an erasure is written [IG]I ?-zi?, which is scarcely visible in the copy.

²⁵ The second part of the sign shows TE instead of the expected UD.

²⁶ Bo 7740 joins here.

²⁷ Colophon of the tablet.

²⁸ There follow erasure traces.

²⁹ For a possible reconstruction of the context see above p. 1473f.

³⁰ I was first tempted to read these blurred signs as the personal name of the acting ritual priest ^{m!}LÚ.GE₆-ma; because it is too late to expect the name of the ritual priest here in line 2, i.e. line 4 or 5 of reconstructed text and because of the mention of the sheep in line 4 and 6 I prefer this reading.

already been slaughtered at the very beginning of the ritual, if the sheep hide is not used for magical purposes. Lines 5-9 may have contained sacrifices to the foundation stones³¹ of the house.

Following obv. i in obv. ii appear pillars which seem to have been erected at the end of obv. i.

Obv. ii:

1-6: "In front of [the pillar where] the owner of the house is sitti[ng, to this] pillar they do not sacrifice (any sheep). Bu[t] to the pillars (sg.) which are on the right and left (side of the owner of the house), to those they sacrifice (sheep) in three different places. Each time, however, they s[ac]rifice one sheep.

7-14: In front of the altar, he (the owner of the house) pours beer (and) wine after (or following) the blood (offering). In front of each of the two pillars they libate three times. They place the raw meat (of the sacrificed sheep), the breasts, shoulders, heads and feet in front of the altar. The breasts, shoulders, heads (and) feet they place in front of those t[wo] pillars, to (or for) which (animals) have been slaughtered.

15-18: Afterward he libates beer (and) wine three times before the altar. He (now) libates three times before each of the three pillars. He makes the rounds 14 times (around the pillars?). [They] play the small Ištar-instrument.

19: The [live]r (and) heart [they cook on the f]lame".

(Rest of the column broken).

Rev. iii

1-8: "Wh[en the workmen h]a[ul] the be[ams] (up to the roof), [the architect] who builds [on the hou]se is the one who climbs up the r[op]e (to the roof). He g[o]es up the [ro]pe t[o the roof (?)] twice and [he comes] down twice. While [he is] climb[ing] it, i. e. the rope, the singers r[un] around the hearth.

9-21: The third time he (sc. the architect) cu[t]s the sling. When the architect cuts the [s]ling, the applauder claps his hands. But (there is) [a sash]³² which is dangling from the roof beam. In this sash are bound an axe

³¹ Here mentioned only as NA₄, line 8.

³² Literally "cloth".

of silver (and) a knife of si[ilver]. Now that sash too [he cuts (?)] off. Then the architect comes down by the rope and he bows to the owner of the house. When he [goes] to h[is own] house, the architect t[akes] the axe of silver (and) knife of silver for himself (as his fee)".

III. COMMENTARY

Obv. i 9, *É-irza para paiddu* is already cited by *H. Ehelolf*³³ as Bo 2418. In the lacuna is probably to be restored *idalu* = *kán* or something similar, and the following context could be expected: "*Let the evil go away from the house*", cf. KUB 46.41 i 7.

Obv. ii I, 3, 4, 8, 12, 16, ^{G1S}*šarhuli-*: As *H. Otten* showed³⁴, this word does not mean "*Brunnengerüst, Brunnen*"³⁵, but "*Pfeiler, Posten*"³⁶. On the basis of the change of *šarhuli-* in the duplicate text KUB 41.3 i 7 (= Bo 2767)³⁷ we know that its Sumerian equivalent is ^{G1S}DÌM, which means not only "*pillar*", but at the same time "*column*"³⁸.

Now KUB 55.28 + shows that there can be --at least in the case of this house here under construction -- three *šarhuli-* in one house or temple. If we are allowed to identify them with pillars or posts rising above the stone foundations, supporting the superstructure of the upper mud brick walls and at the same time serving as corner poles or posts, archaeologically they must be attested in the "*Wandvorlagen, die wir als pfeilerähnliche, rudimentäre Bauglieder kennenlernten*"³⁹. Their number, three, in our text corresponds with the number of the pillars in Temples I and II at Boğazköy which *Peter Neve* cites a priori as a supporting argument for this identification⁴⁰. This side issue, however, has little significance to our subject, since the construction in KUB 55.28 + is most probably a private house, not a temple; moreover their number can be accidental here. Consequently we do not have any evidence that the number three was an architectural rule. The best way to prove or disprove this is a close look at the archaeological

³³ ZA NF 9 (1936) 185.

³⁴ IM 19/20 (1969-1970 [1971]) 85-91.

³⁵ HW 1. Erg. p. 17.

³⁶ *Otten*, op. cit. p. 90.

³⁷ HW 1. Erg. p. 17; *Otten*, op. cit. p. 85ff.

³⁸ Hittite ^{G1S}*kurakki-*, *Otten*, op. cit. 89 with further literature and more recently *Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich*, Theth 12 (1987) 80-84.

³⁹ *P. Neve*, Fs. H. Otten (1973) 271f.

⁴⁰ Loc. cit.

remains in the Hittite sites: On the evidence of stone bases (“*Stützbasen, Pfeilerbasen*”) there are, for example, 12 of these pillars in two rows, each of them including 6 pillars in Building A at Büyükkale (similarly in Gebäude K) which *P. Neve* contra *R. Naumann* and *K. Bittel* interprets correctly as bases for wooden poles for the construction of wooden shelves alongside the walls⁴¹. Because of the high number of the bases and their proximity to each other, in both directions, *Neve’s* interpretation seems to be acceptable. We must compare here also the four flat stones in the palace at Maşat Höyük⁴², which must have served as bases for columns or pillars. A Hittite text attests clearly only one pillar in a temple, in front of which the wife of the anointed priest stands⁴³. In this case it can only be identical with the central pillar or column. From the same text its relation to the hearth is also evident, which means that they were close to each other.

In the myth of Hedammu⁴⁴ *šarhuli-* clearly denotes one or more poles at the top of which the throne of Kumarbi is placed; I understand this construction to be something like a trellis or bower (Turkish *Çardak*) or a hunting stand (Ger. *Anstand*)⁴⁵.

The central position of the ^{G15}*šarhuli-* in the rooms can be seen also from several other texts. It seems that it was still clearly visible even long after the complete construction of the building. This explains sufficiently why it appears in most cases receiving sacrifices together with other objects such as walls, hearths, windows, doors, door bolts, columns, altars etc.⁴⁶. As for their exact architectural position in the premises, two suggestions can be made from the archaeological point of view: The first possibility is that they were identical with the big pillars which are integrated into the walls. The big cavities for these pillars, which vary in thickness from 0.30-1.40 meters can be seen in the brick walls from the Palace at Maşat Höyük⁴⁷. In some other cases the burned beams themselves are preserved⁴⁸. They are also clearly visible in the brick and stone walls of the temples in the Upper City at

⁴¹ *Neve*, Büyükkale, die Bauwerke (1982) 106, 108 f. and Taf. 23b, 56a.

⁴² *T. Özgüç*, Excavations at Maşat Höyük and Investigations in its Vicinity (1978) 55 and Pl. 12-13.

⁴³ KBo 17. 15 obv? 13f. with its OH dupl. KBo 17.40 iv 7ff.

⁴⁴ KUB 12.65 ii 10ff.

⁴⁵ See CHD s. v. *šarhuli-*b, forthcoming.

⁴⁶ *M. Popko*, Kultobjekte (1978) 39f.

⁴⁷ See *T. Özgüç*, op. cit. p. 54f., Plates B1, C2, D2. Clear examples can be also seen in the walls of the pre-Hittite palace at Acemhöyük.

⁴⁸ Op. cit. p. 54 and Plates 8, 2; 18, 2.

Boğazköy⁴⁹. The bigger holes were, of course, filled with more pieces of wooden posts⁵⁰. Whether they were in all cases really quadrangular, as *K. Bittel* maintains⁵¹, we do not know. The second possibility is that they were identical with free standing rows of columns in the middle of the rooms, carrying at the top the axial heavy beams, one in the middle of the room and two more on each side of it, resting on the stone bases or in the deep holes⁵². This would explain the role of the central pillar, and the situation in some other texts which mention only one *šarḫuli* - at least in the sg!⁵³ - which must be identical with this one pillar just in the center of the room or the whole building⁵⁴. Another text, however, mentions four pillars⁵⁵, which means that at least two of them were in the middle of the room, if they do not designate the four corner pillars. We can imagine that especially the bigger buildings required the architects to support their heavy earthen roofs by means of free standing columns, as a kind of hypostyle, the size and number of which might have been dependent on the dimensions of the building in question. If the roof was too extensive, the pillars would have served to support the cross beams, to cover the intersections⁵⁶.

We know very little from the cuneiform texts about the shape and building techniques of the *šarḫuli*-. ^{G15}*šarḫuliyas pedan* "place of the pillar"⁵⁷ can be understood as the holes or column bases on which the pillars were erected. The existence of a central *šarḫuli*- and two others on either side is attested in another fragmentary text: "[*He libates to*] the right pillar one time"⁵⁸. According to another fragmentary text the verb for "to lift, to set up, to erect (a pillar)" seems to have been *karp*-⁵⁹.

⁴⁹ See *P. Neve*, AA 1985, 330, 341 and fig. 19; idem, AA 1986, 382 and fig. 17.

⁵⁰ *Özgüç*, op. cit. p. 55

⁵¹ *Die Hethiter* (1975) 117.

⁵² See below in connection with *šarḫuliyas pedan*.

⁵³ Note in this connection that its Sumerian equivalence ^{G15}DÌM occurs always in sg.!

⁵⁴ For example KUB 7.2 i 13 with dupl. KUB 41.3 i 7; KBo 20.68 i 11; KBo 17.15 obv. 15 with dupl. KBo 17.40 rev. 7 (see above); KBo 11.47 i 4f.; KUB 10.83 i 2ff.; KBo 15.24 + KBo 24.109 iii 3ff. restored from its dupl. VAT 7497 ii 1.

⁵⁵ KUB 2.2 rev. iii 38.

⁵⁶ See above p. 9 and in general *R. Naumann*, *Architektur Kleinasiens*² (1971) 131ff., whose examples are unfortunately non-Hittite.

⁵⁷ KBo 15.24 + KBo 24.109 ii 30; KUB 33.59 ii 4; KBo 20.68 i 7; KBo 11.47 obv. i 5; KBo 30.182 obv. i 14.

⁵⁸ *šarḫuli* ṢAG[-na] 1-ŠU [šipanti], KUB 10.83 i 2f.

⁵⁹ VAT 7497 ii 1-4: (1) [] aulin ^{G15}šarḫulin (2) [] karappanzi kuitmanma (3) [karappan] zi^{LU}NAR^{URU} Kanes (4) [SIR^{RU}].

^{GIS} *innašša-* rev. iii 2 is restored from the well known foundation ritual KUB 29.1 iii 14, 27 which provides the only other attestation of this word. In its context the word has already been translated correctly by *A. Goetze* as "beam"⁶⁰ and following him by *G. Kellerman*⁶¹ as "poutre". Our text, now, confirms *Goetze's* translation and reveals once more how important it was as part of the roof in Hittite architecture. The verb *huittiya-* "to pull, to haul"⁶² denotes how it was transported up to the roof⁶³.

Since there are three or more architectural elements which will be applied in roofing a house we must now specify exactly which one of them is denoted by ^{GIS}*innašša-*. These elements are 1. Massive beams or lintels which can rest on the tops of the walls or, if the dimensions of the building were bigger, on the tops of the pillars⁶⁴ or columns (*kurakki-*), to provide the roof with additional support⁶⁵. 2. Joists or rafters serving as the actual coverage of the roof. 3. Roof battens or poles, i.e. small tiny logs on the top level of the roof and finally 4. Bush, scrubs, branches, etc., and following it the heavy layer of clay and earth⁶⁶.

The identification of ^{GIS}*innašša-* with one of these functional timbers depends on its size. We should expect that the beams in accordance with their important function must be the biggest ones among all of these timbers. The necessary information supporting this thesis comes curiously not from the building activity, but from a detail on the payment of lumbering fees. The above mentioned foundation ritual KUB 29.1 iii 13ff. fixes the fee for the lumberers -here certainly in from of vittles- as follows:

"When he (i. e. the carpenter) builds a palace in a city, the carpenter who goes to the

⁶⁰ ANET (1969) 358.

⁶¹ Recherches sur les rituels de foundation hittite (unpubl. Ph. D., Paris 1980) 29f., 56.

⁶² The similarity with Turkish "*kiriş çekmek*" is striking.

⁶³ See below excursus 2.

⁶⁴ See commentary on *šarhuli-*.

⁶⁵ See parallels in modern times in Anatolia, *J.A. Morrison*, Alisar: A Unit of Land Occupance in the Kanak Su Basin of Central Anatolia, Ph. D. Chicago (Private edition 1939) 81: "If a room be small, the lintels rest directly on the walls, but in the case of large rooms, intermediate supports are necessary. There are posts of similar large, unsquared timbers. They rest on pediments of flat slabs of limestone and are surmounted by primitive capitals made of short sections of roughly squared logs. Where a roof is entirely supported by posts, as over large rooms, the walls can be replaced without removing the roof".

⁶⁶ The best way to understand these different layers is to look at in a dictionary such as *A. Auranche*, Dictionnaire illustrée multilingue de l'architecture du Proche Orient Ancien (1977) 146, 160 with illustrations.

mountain to lumber the (necessary) beams takes from the palace (as his fee and victuals) one bull, three sheep, three pitchers of wine, one jar marnuwan, ten wageššar-breads, twenty 'tooth'- breads, fifty soldier breads"⁶⁷. According to rev. iii 18ff. of the text, if the same carpenter fulfills a similar duty, but this time is cutting ^{GIŠ}iškišana- and ^{GIŠ}išparuzzi- in the forest, he gets as his fee or victuals only twenty 'tooth'- breads and fifty soldier breads. From this we see clearly that the cutting and transportation of *innašša-* must have been heavier work than the last two mentioned. Indeed the fee of the carpenter cutting *innašša-* equals the wage of an agricultural workman for four months⁶⁸. All this indicates that these timbers were probably the biggest and most important ones in function; thus they can be identified with the biggest archaeological elements, namely the beams. The other two elements ^{GIŠ}iškišana-, and ^{GIŠ}išparuzzi-, can be identified then with joists and roof battens. It is difficult, however, to find a reasonable explanation for the occurrence of ^{GIŠ}iškišana- in the Laws § 171, where it seems to be a kind of "article of furniture"⁶⁹, while ^{GIŠ}išparuzzi- is a hapax. If we are allowed to propose etymologies for these words, the first possibility is to compare them with *iškiša-* "back"⁷⁰ and *išparr-* "to spread"; in light of the following consideration it would make good sense: The joists would mean the "backside, the top" of the building, while *išparuzzi-* would denote the small wooden pieces, logs which, as the modern patterns demonstrate, would be stretched out, spread irregularly on the top of the roof, as a kind of interweaving or webbing before it was finally covered with a thick clay layer. On the basis of the etymological consideration *O. Carruba*⁷¹ came close to this meaning, when he rendered *išparuzzi-* as "Brett zum Ausbreiten".

^{GIŠ}UR in rev. iii 13 (*gušuru* or *uru* as a loan word in Akkadian) could be equated with one of these words: ^{GIŠ}innašša-⁷², ^{GIŠ}iškišana- or ^{GIŠ}išparuzzi-. KBo 30. 118 rev. 4 would not challenge this equation, since there it is most

⁶⁷ *man kuwapi kuwapi URU-ri É.GAL^{LIM} welezzi nu kuš^{LU} NAGAR IŠŠI ḪUR.SAG^{GIŠ} innaššaš karšuwanzi paizzi nu IŠTU É. GAL^{LIM} 1 GUD. MAḪ 3 UDU. ḪIA 3 DUG GEŠTIN 1 DUG marnuwan 10^{NINDA} wageššar 20^{NINDA} KA x UD 50 NINDA.ERÍN.MEŠ-ya dai.*

⁶⁸ See *G. Kellerman*, op. cit. 56.

⁶⁹ *Friedrich*, HW p. 88. It is, however, possible that the joist could have been removed and reused.

⁷⁰ See *H. Eichner*, *Die Sprache* 21 (1975) 103 n.13, 163 n. 12; *Nilüfer Boysan-Dietrich*, *THeth* 12 (1987) 28f., 127; both authors give different meanings: "Kiepe, Tragkorb", resp. "Drehstange, Drehsäule" (of the door).

⁷¹ *StBoT* 2 (1966) 22 n. 35, citing also 1236/u:10; cf. also *N. Oettinger*, *Stamm- und Wortbildung* (1979) 24, 266 ff.

⁷² For this identification see *Boysan-Dietrich*, op. cit. p. 25.

probably to be read as É. ^{G1S}ÛR.RA, not ^{G1S}ÛR-ra⁷³. In the Boğazköy texts and in Sumerian É. ^{G1S}ÛR.RA is a hapax. Since it is impossible to imagine under its wooden literal translation a “house/room of beam” it can only be related to a house made of wooden beams, thus a “log cabin”, “Blockhaus”; the tablet is too fragmentary to provide any further information. However, this is the first attestation of a kind of architectural construction which must have been prevalent in the northern, i.e. Kaškean regions of Anatolia. Even today this type of building is the predominate dwelling form in the richly forested regions of Bolu and the Black Sea region and the Taurus mountains⁷⁴.

išhamana/išhimana- rev. iii 4, 5, 7, 17 has a well established meaning on the basis of its etymological connection to the verb *išhiya*- “to bind”. According to KUB 17.27 ii 3iff. it can be *anda tarup*- which must mean something like “to sling, to loop, to knot”, because in the following it will be held (*ep(p)-*) or untied (*la-*)⁷⁵. Another text tells us that “*Hupašiya* [came] and bound *Illuyanka* [with] a rope”⁷⁶. So far, however, it never occurs in connection with acrobatic games in the texts. A passage in a mythological text could be understood in this sense, but it is too fragmentary⁷⁷. It is also possible that this has to do with the strangling of a person whose head or neck will be “pulled” (*huitiya*-).

ark- rev. iii 4, 18 with a secondary stem in mid. *arkiya*- shows the primary meaning of this much discussed verb as “to climb” and secondarily “to mount” in a sexual sence since its opposite is, according to rev. iii 18, *katta uwa*-, “to come down, to descend”. Thus there is now no reason to translate KUB 29.1 i 28ff. “but the bear would couple up against you”⁷⁸. It confirms at the same time the meaning of the animal name *hartagga*-, which has been discussed mostly in connection with this word as “bear”⁷⁹.

hāsān huwai-: This cultic action appears often in the Hittite texts, cf. KBo 11.32 obv. 15; KBo 20.32 rev. iii 3; KBo 25.31 rev. iii 3, 8; KBo 25.41 + KBo 30.114 obv. 5; KBo 25.46:5, 10; KBo 30.136 rev. 3; KUB 53.14 obv. ii 7;

⁷³ Cf. CAD G p. 144 which gives both writings, ^{G1S}ÛR and ^{G1S}ÛR.RA, and AHw s. v. ūru.

⁷⁴ See *J. Yakar-J. L. Garzon*, Expedition 18 (1976) 43ff.; *Handan Alkım*, Fs. K. Bittel (1983) 13-27.

⁷⁵ Cf. also KBo 17.15 obv. 10ff. with dupl. KBo 17.40 iv 3ff.

⁷⁶ *Hupašiyāš* [a uit] nu ^{MUS} *Illuyankan išhaman* [ta] *kalelet*, KUB 17.5 i 14-16.

⁷⁷ KUB 36.55 obv. ii 16ff.: (16) *x-paššamawaz išhamanaz apaš tarahhan hardu* (17) [-a]z *apaš tarahhan hardu nuwakan* SAG (?). DU (18) [*šara? hui*] *itiyannau x x x*.

⁷⁸ *J. Puhvel*, HED 1-2 (1984) 142.

⁷⁹ For details see *A. Kammenhuber*, HW² 301 ff.

KUB 53.15 obv. i! 17f.; Bo 2599 obv. ii 24 (as in our text with *-kán*); KBo 29.72 + KBo 14.96 rev. iii 13 (with *-šan*) and KUB 10.39 iii 7f. (without *-kán/-šan*). However in all these attestations the running persons are not the singers as here.

It is surprising that the house already possesses a hearth in this early phase of construction. In KUB 29 1 iii 37ff. the hearth is to be laid down or set up⁸⁰ after roofing and daubing, plastering (*ḫaneš-*). Like Early Bronze Age houses which are attested abundantly in the archaeological record⁸¹, Hittite hearths were set up in the middle of the room. Even today one can see such houses in some of the villages in the province of Çorum. They consist of only one big room with a hearth or fire place in the middle, and a hole in the roof immediately above the hearth which serves as chimney and light shaft.

Rev. iii 9 for KASKAL^{NI} with a preceding number in the meaning of "xth time" (Hitt. *pala-*) see A. Kammenhuber, *Hitt. Heth* (1959) 341.

Rev. iii 9, 11 ^{SIG}*piddula-*: This technical device as a means of transportation never appears again in the Hittite texts. A possible occurrence comes from KBo 15.10 iii 17 which G. Szabó⁸² restores by comparing it with *ibid.* 5ff. as follows: *nalkan* ^{SIG}*piddulit* [*šara ḫui*] *tṭiyaweni* "We [*li*]ft it up by means of slings". We do not know, however, what object here is being lifted.

Rev. iv 4 *IN*]A É.SAL.LUGAL: If this is really the colophon of the tablet, as I suppose, it gives the impression that the whole ceremony described in the tablet has been taking place in the "palace of the queen". Although admittedly I did not check all the occurrences of SAL.LUGAL and É.SAL.LUGAL in the Hittite corpus I wish to voice an objection against this interpretation, since our text speaks always of a "Lord, owner of the house" (EN É^{TIM}), not of a "Lady of the house"⁸³.

IV.

EXCURSUS I: ON THE ROLE OF GAMES, FAKE FIGHTS AND DANCES IN HITTITE CEREMONIES

In 1925 the late H. Ehelolf published a very interesting article under the title "*Wettlauf und szenisches Spiel im hethitischen Ritual*"⁸⁴. This fateful

⁸⁰ GUNNI GIBIL *tiyanzi*.

⁸¹ See in general J. Yakar, *The Late Prehistory of Anatolia. The Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age*, two vol., BAR-International Series 268 (I-II) (1985).

⁸² *THeth* 1 (1971) 34ff.

⁸³ *BELTI* É as attested in KBo 24.38 rev. iii 4, 8, 10; KUB 54.10 obv. ii 13, rev. iii 16.

⁸⁴ SPAW 1925, 267-272.

title might have been chosen under the influence of his friends from the section of classical studies in the Akademie, because the paper was read originally by the famous ancient historian *Eduard Meyer* in the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften. It was rather due to misinterpretations of the actual evidence that *Ehelolf's* article invoked a great sensation and an immediate reaction among scholars of classical studies and Pan-Hellenists⁸⁵. Another reason for this prompt reaction was certainly the spectacular conclusion at the end of his article; here he unfortunately used the seductive latin term *ludi scaenia* for “*szenisches Spiel, Festspiel*” which has given as a priori reason to view these games as an earlier manifestation of the Greek drama. Today we have a good enough understanding of the textual material that we may maintain positively that anyone who is looking for the origins of Greek drama, tragedy and olympic games in Hittite Anatolia is looking in the wrong place.

At that time *Ehelolf* could present only two pieces of textual evidence to support this theory. One of these texts attests to a foot race between some members of the royal body guard (*MEŠEDI*)⁸⁶ and the other one describes a symbolic fight between the Hittites and the people from Maša⁸⁷. As for the origins of these games he concluded that they were primarily of a profane nature and at a later stage were included in the cultic sphere⁸⁸.

Since that time our knowledge about these kinds of games has increased greatly so that we are now in a better position to evaluate them. We are, however, still unable to find a reasonable explanation for the exact origin, meaning, and function of these games in the cult. The situation at this point becomes very complicated because in the Hittite texts we have a huge collection of ethnographic and sociological material from different regions, ethnic groups and cult layers. As is well known, the Hittites took over without any distinction all these folkloristic and religious manifestations from their neighbors and their subjects, perhaps because they did not have a distinctive cultural and religious background which would have been commensurate with an imperial power; in other words, they had to adopt the indigenous cultural forms as the spiritual superstructure of their military

⁸⁵ *A. Lesky*, *Archiv Rel. Wiss.* 24 (1926) 73ff.; *W. Schubert*, *Gnomon* 2 (1926) 63; *Th. H. Gaster*, *Thespis*² (1966) 267ff.

⁸⁶ KUB 10.18 i 15f.

⁸⁷ KUB 17.35, at that time the unpublished Bo 614; for details see below.

⁸⁸ op. cit. p. 272.

power⁸⁹. We can observe this variety very clearly in the recitation of religious songs in the cults of different deities, which were sung in different languages, each time depending on the origin of the deities, such as Hittite (Nesite), Hattic, Hurrian, Luwian and Babylonian. This gives the Hittite society a cosmopolitan appearance. What is more important is that their songs, recitations and lamentations show a versatile repertoire⁹⁰.

Additionally they employed many musical instruments, which they partly adopted from their neighbors⁹¹. The evaluation of these games depends also on many factors which we do not know, such as the religious, belligerent, urban, and agricultural backgrounds of a society, not to mention the geographical and climatic influences.

While in the ancient world the religious system reflects the almost human behavior which is true especially in the case of the Hittites⁹², most probably these games are to be traced back to folkloristic origins, as *Ehelolf* suggested. But how to discern between the religious, magical, folkloristic and many other manifestations of a complicated human society like that of the Hittites? The matter becomes really rather complicated in the case of dead languages and cultures. The boundaries between these issues are very fluid, thus making it difficult to discern the real nature and background of these games. Being fully aware that these problems cannot be discussed and solved here, I would like in the following to put forward some hypotheses which may help to understand the social structure of the population in Ancient Anatolia during Hittite times and suggest some ideas to analyze some complicated problems.

The fact that with the exception of agonistic games, all other games appear in the religious texts, i.e. festival descriptions and magic rituals, should not lead us to conclude that the origins of these games must be religious - magic. They might have been games of ethnographic origin as well; they would simply reflect the genuine folklore and prevailing sport activities and entertainments.

⁸⁹ *A. Ünal*, Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 3 (1988) 53.

⁹⁰ *H. A. Hoffner* gives more than a dozen different kinds of songs so far attested in the Hittite texts, *BiOr* 38 (1981) 648, cf. also *H. Roszkowska*, *Orientalia Varsoviensia* 1 (1987) 23 ff.

⁹¹ Cf. *O. R. Gurney*, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977) 34f.; *H. M. Kümmel*, *Fs. Otten* (1973) 169ff.; *E. Badali*, *Biblia e Oriente* 147 (1986) 55ff. and in his forthcoming *Diss. THeth.*

⁹² Cf. the comparison between humans and gods in *KUB* 13.4 1 22ff., *A. Goetze*, *Kleinasiens* 2 (1957) 162.

Without having made any statistical records while reading the Hittite religious and historical texts, and on the basis of a superficial perusal of the sources, I would like to categorize the games in the following classes:

1. Games serving practical aims, i.e. as imitations of war games, agonistic games, sports etc.

2. Games serving to appease the spectators, as well as entertainment, which were also employed for the benefits of the gods. It should not surprise us in this regard that the Hittite verb *dušk-* does not denote that only the gods should be entertained; it also includes the assembled nobility who participate actively in the festivals.

3. Games or ritual combats serving magical purposes; they are very rare, and almost always restricted to magical rituals.

Another tentative conclusion is that different ethnic layers can be traced among the different population groups of ancient Anatolia. According to the evidence which can be retrieved from the Hittite texts I would make a tentative scheme of different ethnic groups:

1. The Hattians, the autochthonous inhabitants of Anatolia, express themselves as a cheerful people, especially enjoying the games of a non-agonistic nature.

2. The Hurrians seem to have been a music-loving society; they also liked liturgies and lamentations. The texts so far do not attest any agonistic games for them.

3. The Hittites appear, of course, in a mixture but they distinguish themselves through practical games, i. e. war games, agonistic fights, some of which they might have borrowed from other people. We have some clues that the Hittite monarchs may have organized annual tournaments.

To repeat, this is not a statistical result; to carry this out would be an exciting research task.

In the following section I would like to give a tentative overview of various kinds of games which we know from the Hittite texts. I would have categorized them in accordance to my above mentioned criteria, but unfortunately it is at the moment impossible to make such fine distinctions. This would necessitate a very detailed study⁹³.

⁹³ The most important literature on games in Hittite texts is: *H. Ehelolf*, SPAW 1925, 267-272; *A. Lesky*, Archiv für Rel. Wiss. 24 (1926), 73ff.; *A. Goetze*, Kleinasien² (1957) 163; *Th. Gaster*, Thespis (1950) 21ff., 379f.; *C. W. Carter*, Hittite Cult-Inventories (Diss. Chicago, 1962) 47ff.; *H.*

The Hittites saw in their deities an exact replica of their own traits. Their gods were no different from human beings, and this brings to mind the stoic conception. This means that they treated their gods exactly as their fellow humans. They gave them the same food to eat, they clothed them in the same way as human beings, and they also entertained them with similar means. They performed for the gods the same games, jokes etc. Doing this they aspired, of course, to attain the divine favor of the gods. In the description of the various festivals from different cult layers and diverse regions in Anatolia, including the Hurrians and even Semitic relics from northern Mesopotamia, it can be seen that games aimed at the entertainment of the deities and the assembled nobility played an important cultic role along with eating, drinking, sacrifice and other ceremonial activities.

The Hittite word for “to entertain” (transitive and intransitive) is *dušk-*, with its nominal form *duškarat-* “entertainment”. It sometimes seems as if the entertainment of the gods was the main target of the festivals: “[We have concerned ourselves] for [your] festival[s]. Enjoy [now, o gods], your festivals!”⁹⁴ In most cases the context of the entertainment is not indicated⁹⁵. In some other cases the scribes have noted implicitly, whether a festival in question included entertainments or not: “His (i. e. the deity’s) festival is established with rites (and) entertainment”⁹⁶. Often we do not know the context of this expression, since there is no description of it. So far I know of only one case in which the text tells us what this word denotes: “They entertain the deity, namely they fight (and) sling stones”⁹⁷. However, the very nature of this fight itself is obscure.

Another word for entertainment is *hazziwi-* which might have had a more definitive sacral character, i. e. restricted only to religious ceremonies; this word means at the same time “rite, ritual enactment”.

G. Güterbock, JNES 19 (1960) 82ff.; idem, Historia, Einzelschriften 7 (1964) 72; A. Archi, RSO 52 (1978) 19ff.; idem, UF 5 (1973) 24ff.; H. A. Hoffner, BiOr 35 (1978) 247; H. Roszkowska, PrZO 105 (1978) 66ff.; S. Košak, THeth 10 (1982) 25, 27; for Mesopotamia see in general A. Sjöberg, Expedition 27 (1985) 7-9; V. Haas, in: L. Burgener et al. (eds.), Sport und Kultur, Europäische Hochschulschriften 7 (1986) is not available to me.

⁹⁴ KUB 24.6 rev. 12f.: [nu šumenzan] ANA EZE [N.ĪI.A-KUNU EGIR-*pa* tiyawen] EZEN-KUNU *dušgara* [tten]

⁹⁵ From many attestations here only some examples: KBo 2.13 obv. 18; KUB 17.35 i 33, iii 35, iv 13; KUB 38.25 i 24.

⁹⁶ KBo 2.7 rev. 23: EZEN-ŠU *hazziwiyaza duškarattaza tarrauwanza*.

⁹⁷ KUB 17.35 ii 26.

We know from one text that the Hittites were not always people of good manners; they often caused trouble and created disturbances even in their sacred places. One stipulation in the instruction for the temple officials tries to prevent such unpleasant mishaps: “*Or if anybody drinks too much in another temple and if he is drunk in the middle of the temple and starts a fight and disturbs the festival let them beat him away!*”⁹⁸. It seems that the Hittites never tolerated these kinds of shenanigans, because according to an oracle text they punished these people: “*They whip those men, (because) they have started a fight in the presence of the deity (during a religious ceremony)*”⁹⁹.

In the following I want to start with a presentation of agonistic games:

“*They divide the men into (two different) groups and they give them (different) names. The one group they call “men of Hatti”, and the other group they call “men of Maša”. The men of Hatti are equipped with weapons made of bronze, while the men of Maša are equipped with weapons made of reed. And they fight. The men of Hatti get the upper hand. They take one prisoner and they devote him to the god*”¹⁰⁰. Of an agonistic nature is also the fight between the Storm God and the snake Illuyanka in the myth of Illuyanka¹⁰¹. One legendary text tells us the interesting story of a mythological hero by the name of Gurparanzaḫu; he is the champion in archery, and the arrows fly from his bow like birds¹⁰².

The agonistic- competitive character of archery in another Old Hittite text is quite evident: “*When they compete in (shooting) archery in the presence of the king, they reward the one who hits the mark with wine to drink, (he becomes) a soldier of the king. But to the one who does not score they give iyal-drink in a goblet, and (additionally) he makes a show of himself by running naked in the lower part (of his body)*”¹⁰³

The real nature of another agonistic game is again not described; it is, however, evident that we have here some kind of “boxing”, which has been carried out by professional men called “boxers”¹⁰⁴. One of these games is

⁹⁸ KUB 13.4 iii 36ff.: *našma tamedani^E karimmi kuški nikzi naškan man ŠA É.DINGIR^{LIM} niniktari nu ḫal | lu | wain iyazi našta EZEN zaḫzi nan zaḫand | u |*.

⁹⁹ KUB 5.6 ii 49: *ḫalluwair = a kuiēš naš PANI DINGIR^{LIM} zaḫ[anzī]*.

¹⁰⁰ KUB 17.35 iii 9ff.

¹⁰¹ KBo 3.7 obv. 9-11; the technical term here is *arga (-)tiya-*.

¹⁰² KUB 36.67 obv. ii 20ff.

¹⁰³ KBo 3.34 obv. ii 33-35.

¹⁰⁴ LUMES *ḫulḫuliyanteš*, KBo 3.40 rev. 12; E. Neu, StBoT 18 (1974) 78 (“*Faust-oder Ringkämpfer*”; F. Pecchioli-Daddi, Mestieri, professioni (1982) 560 (“*pugilatore (?)*”). On this passage see most recently H. C. Melchert, IF 91 (1986) 102f. whose interpretation we do not

described as follows: “*They eat and drink. They fill the cups. In the presence of the deity (they organize) a boxing match (GESPU). They step into fight; they entertain*”¹⁰⁵. Again another text says: “*They entertain the deity. They step into a fight, and they fling stones*”¹⁰⁶.

A similar agonistic game is expressed with the verb *zah-*, a word which is closely affiliated with the terminology of war making and means “*to fight, to struggle, to start a fight*”. The same word denotes “*to hit, to strike (with a whip)*”¹⁰⁷: “*The men from the township Hallapiya stay above the fountain (luliyā-). The performers (ALAN. ZU) go (to them) and at the top of the fountain they start a fight against them. By means of his eyes the king signals to a member of the bodyguard, and he chases them away. The performers go up to the town, while the men from the township Hallapiya stay there*”¹⁰⁸. Another text describes during the course of the (h)išuwa festival a sort of game, which is difficult to interpret. Accompanied by music the drum players bow in front of the deity, pretending to fight, perhaps tussling. This can only signify a kind of wrestling, or more precisely the prelude before the beginning of a wrestling match¹⁰⁹.

With the appearance of runners we leave the field of agonistic games and come to sport competitions. The verb for this sport is *piddai-* “*to run, to start a race*”, said of runners as well as horses: “*The king gets on the carriage and drives to the upper stela. The members of the body guard run towards (the carriage). Whoever (among them) wins the running, he is allowed to hold the rein, and the king gets out of the carriage*”¹¹⁰. Another text attests: “*Afterwards ten runners join (them)*

follow. If ^{LU.MES}*hulhuliyanteš* really denoted the two men who have been struck and mortally wounded, as Melchert maintains, we would expect another construction comparable to UN.MES-šuš katta GUL-anteš “*men who have been struck down*” KUB 22.70 obv. 61 discussed in detail by A. Ünal, Theth 6 (1978) 118-120.

¹⁰⁵ KUB 25.23 i 21ff.

¹⁰⁶ Bo 3039 iii 2ff., H. Otten-C. Rüster, ZA 64 (1975) 49. Similarly KUB 17.35 rev. iv 34; KUB 44.20: 11f.; KUB 44.42 obv. 16f.; KUB 46.27 rev. 3, cf. A. Archi, RSO 52 (1978) 19f.

¹⁰⁷ ^{SIG}*pittuli-*, KUB 17.12 iii 19f.

¹⁰⁸ KBo 23.92 ii 12ff. For *zah-* see further without any description KBo 25.23 ii 7f.

¹⁰⁹ KBo 15.52 + KUB 34.116 v 3-8: *menahhanda* 3² ^{(LU.)MES}BALAG.DI *PANI DINGIR* ^{LIM}*menahhanda zahhiyaš iwar hinganiškanzi nu ITTI* ^DIŠKUR *zahhiyaš* ^{LU.M[ES]}BALAG.DI *kuwayaralla zahhiyaš* ^{SIR}^{RU} ^{GIS}BALAG.DI-ya *galgalturi w[a]lhanniyanzi*.

¹¹⁰ KUB 10.18 i 12ff. with dupl. KUB 10.17 i 1ff.; cf. also *ibid.* vi 14f.; KBo 10.20 i 19ff.

running. *The first and second place runners they reward with soldier uniforms*¹¹¹; this means that they were made soldiers. According to another text the winning runner also receives from the hand of the king a *wagata*- bread and one mana of silver as his prize¹¹². The rewarding of the winners by means of different gifts and a monetary reward is remarkable; this gives us a means to compare these ancient games with modern ones¹¹³. One text actually attests that a sickle was to be given as the prize for the winners in a horse race¹¹⁴.

This last text brings us to one of the most exciting games in antiquity, namely the horse race: "*He (i.e. the king) sets the race-horses on their course*". It is however difficult to decide whether the horses were ridden or harnessed to a vehicle of some sort¹¹⁵.

The Hittites were very creative and versatile in inventing new kinds of competitions. In one case they let the smiths compete in rapid forging¹¹⁶. According to this text all of the smiths who participate in this competition, both the winners and the ones who are disqualified, make their reverence afterwards to the king (*UŠKEN*), who, while watching the competition signals with his eyes to the princes¹¹⁷. Another competition among the guild members is fast slaughtering of animals, undertaken by the cooks¹¹⁸.

Another category of sport is considered to be running around the hearth, accompanied in some cases by music: "*They run once to the right, once [to] the [left] around the hearth*"¹¹⁹. The other occurrences attest simply running around the hearth in a manner similar to KUB 55.28 iii 8¹²⁰.

The idea of dance, described as "*cosmic creative energy; the transformation of space into time; the rhythm of the universe; imitation of the divine 'play' of creation; the*

¹¹¹ KBo 10.25 ii 14ff.; similar KBo 10.25 obv. 7ff., transliterated by *I. Singer*, StBoT 28 (1984) 50, 92; IBoT 1.13 v? 14ff.

¹¹² ABoT 5 + KBo 17.9 + 20 + KBo 20.5 + KBo 25.12 ii 10ff., with dupl. transliterated by *Singer*, op. cit. p. 34.

¹¹³ Similar texts are KBo 22.195 obv. ii! 7f.; KBo 20.33 obv. 12 and, attesting only running, KUB 10.1 ii 12.

¹¹⁴ KBo 9.91 rev. 4.

¹¹⁵ KBo 10.20 ii 13, iii 8, *H.G. Güterbock*, JNES 19 (1960) 82, 83, 86; *O. R. Gurney*, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion* (1977) 36.

¹¹⁶ *šamnai-* which originally means "*to create, to put up, to erect*".

¹¹⁷ Bo 3371: 6-12, *H. Otten-J. Siegelová*, AfO 23 (1970) 38 n. 18; ^{LU} MÉS DĒ.E [] *šammananz[i]* ^{LU} DĒ.E *tarahzi kuš UŠG[EN] tan pedāša kuš* ^{LU} DĒ.E *šammananzi LUGAL-uš* [] ANA DUMU. MEŠ E.GAL IGI.HI.A-it iy[azi].

¹¹⁸ KBo 15.33 iii 13f.

¹¹⁹ KBo 20.38 obv. 9f.

¹²⁰ See above commentary on this line.

reinforcement of strength, emotion and activity”¹²¹, also takes an important place in the Hittite cultic texts. The words expressing different kinds of dances are *tarwai-*, *tarkuwai-* “to dance, to jump”, *nai-/neya-* “to turn”, *wah-* “to whirl, to turn”, *hinganiya-* “to dance”¹²² and their performers are professional “dancers” (LÚHUB.BÍ), although dancing may also be done by other persons¹²³. Music which is produced by the human voice and by playing different instruments is also a consistent part of entertainment, especially as a background to dancing. Costumes are also attested¹²⁴. In the following dance the king, certainly sitting in a central place, is the focus of the whole event:

“The [hapi(ya)-men]¹²⁵ are already performing a dance themselves (led by their master = GAL). As soon as their group leader (again GAL) tur[ns] his face to the king they make a turn to the right at their place. The performers sho[ut] ‘aha!’. [The hapi(ya)-men] make a turn again once to the left; the performers s[hou]t (again) ‘aha’ [Their master] glides¹²⁶ (dancing) forward (in the direction of the king). They also open (the ring) once, and glide. As soon as [their master] faces [the king], the scepter bearer (LÚ.GISPA) joins (appai-) (them) and he t[akes] his place (among the dancers?). [The hapi(ya)-men] make a wide (tuwan) turn in the direction (of the king) in their place; the performers [shout ‘aha!’]”¹²⁷.

This detailed and beautiful description of dance originates in the festival to the honor of the Hattian god Tetešhapi¹²⁸, who, as the other texts

¹²¹ J.C. Cooper, *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols* (New York 1987) 49.

¹²² On this last word cf. CHD 3/3 (1986) 28a.

¹²³ Since S. del Martino announces a special study on dancing in Hittite culture (“La danza nella cultura ittita”, in: Eothen, *Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell’ Oriente antico*), we confine ourselves here to some characteristic examples, OA 24 (1985) 261 n. 47.

¹²⁴ KUB 48.9 ii 4ff. where the performers put on trimmed (?) shirts and dance.

¹²⁵ F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni* (1982) 227ff.

¹²⁶ Literally “runs”.

¹²⁷ KBo 20.26 + KBo 25.34 obv. 18-25 with dupl. KBo 25.32 right col. 6ff.; KBo 25.154: 1ff.; KBo 30.161. Similarly KBo 25.33 + KBo 20.14 obv. i 9ff.; KBo 25.31 obv. ii 11ff., rev. iii 2ff.; KBo 25.41 obv. 8ff. Bo 2599 obv. ii 8ff., 16ff., all festival of Tetešhapi: [LÚ.MES ha]peš karumaš tarkuanzi man=asta GAL-ŠUNU LUGAL-i han[da]itta [. . .]pe]di=šmi=pát ZAG-ni 1-ŠU wahanzi LÚ.MES ALAN.ZU aha halz[yanzi] [LÚ.MES hapeš] namma GÜB-liya 1-ŠU wahanzi LÚ.MES ALAN.ZU aha ha[lyanzi] [GAL-ŠUNU p]eran huwai haššanz [i-m] a(?) 1-ŠU huyanzi man[a GAL-ŠUNU LUGAL-]i handaitta LÚ.GISPA-ša appai ta=az AŠAR-ŠU e[pezi] LÚ.MES ALAN.ZU [aha halzyanzi].

¹²⁸ Cf. F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Hethitica* 8 (1987) 361ff. She announces there a detailed study of the texts belonging to the cult of this deity in EOTHEN 2.

show clearly, must have had a jolly, cheerful nature and thus can be identified as *deus jocundi*, a kind of forerunner of Dionysos.

“[The man with a bear mask] smears the feet of the performers with a liquid solution (*šerħa-*)¹²⁹ and jumps back. [The . . .]-*x-patta*-[man] repeats (*it*)¹³⁰ in the same way. He (i.e. the man with the bear mask) comes close to the cooking pot; he takes out of it the penis (of the sacrificial animal) and he (immediately?) throws [it] back into the pot and he runs (away). One *ħapiya*-man and the man with bear mask [ru]n(?). The singer goes into the oven”¹³¹. Preceding this passage of this interesting ritual, which belongs to the Hattian layer, there is description of another dance; in the course of this dance a *ganenta*-man, carrying a reed, beats (*walħ-*) some other participants of the dance with a leather whip (^{KU^S}*šarazzi-*)¹³².

Finally some other passages must be cited here because they attest other interesting kinds of dances:

“They turn in their place and dance in the manner of a panther. They lift their hands up and beat time”¹³³.

“On [the ro] of, opposite the gate [of the deity] three (or six?) drum players dance facing (each other?), in the manner of battle, before the deity”¹³⁴.

“The other performers (who) have put on (this time) multihued clothes enter on the side of the king and lift up their hands; they turn in their place and beat time”¹³⁵.

“The leader of the people from the city of Lalluḫiya shouts to the cup bearer as follows: ‘wariyati *ħapanuša!*’¹³⁶, whereupon the cup bearer begins to perform a

¹²⁹ If indeed there is any relation between this action of smearing and taking the genital of the sacrificial animal out of the kettle and throwing it back in the following, the word *šerħa*-with an unknown meaning can indicate “urine of the animal”.

¹³⁰ Literally “to make”.

¹³¹ KBo 17.43 obv. i 14-17 with duplicate: [(^{LÚ}*ħartagga*)] ^{LÚ.MEŠ} ALAN.ZU GÌR.Ī. A-ŠUNU *šerħit šartai ta namma tarukzi* [. . .] *x-patta QATAMMA iezzi ta* ^{DUG}UDUL-ša *šaliga* ^{UZU}ÜR-aša *dai ta* [n. .] [(*app*)] *a* ^{DUG}UDUL-ša *peššiezzi taš piddai* i ^{LU}ħa|p|eš ^{LU}*ħartaggāšš* a] [. . .] i ^{LU}NAR-šiyāš UDUN-niya *paizzi šerħit šartai*, differently interpreted by F. Pecchioli-Daddi, *Hethitica* 8 (1987) 365f.

¹³² Ibid. i 8-13.

¹³³ KBo 10.23 (+ KBo 11.67) iii 1ff.; *nu = kán pedi* [ššī] *weħantari nu paršanalli tarwiškanzi* ŠU.MEŠ-ŠUNU-ya *šara appiškanki palwiškanzi = ya*, cf. A. Ünal, *RIA* s. v. Leopard.

¹³⁴ KBo 15.52 + KUB 34.116 v 2-5, CHD 3/3 (1986) 280a.

¹³⁵ KBo 4.9 i 45-50: ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ALAN.ZU *tameš TUG.DAR.A waššan ħarkanzi nat* LUGAL-i *tapuša aranta nu* ŠU.MEŠ-uš *šara ħarkanzi natšan pele = ši weħantari palwiškanzi*.

¹³⁶ This Hattian phrase must mean something inciting like Turkish “*haydi kıvr; döndür*”, i.e. “dance ardently, show your high performance!”.

dance. He performs this [da]nce exactly in the manner as the cook has always been performing it, and turns again and again in his place. Another man from Lallupiya grasps (his) cloak behind his (i.e. the first man's) back, and now (in this position) both of them turn together at the spot repeatedly. The cupbearer holds a *huhupal* musical instrument (lute ?) which he does not play"¹³⁷.

"When they run three times the physician takes two copper pins and he pierces (his body with them). Moreover he takes a *huhupal* musical instrument (in his hand) and performs a dance in front of the table. After he has turned three times, he pulls them (the pins) out from there (his body) and drinks wine. The one who works(?) sticks (the pins) in the (bodies of the) people who are sitting in front of him (i.e. the physician). The person whom he sticks (with the pin) is not aware of this"¹³⁸.

Another competitive game is similar to a modern habit among dog owners, namely to throw balls or sticks into the water and let the dog bring them back: "The augur throws¹³⁹ bread into the pond; the dancers catch them"¹⁴⁰.

Nudity in the Hittite festivals deserves special mention¹⁴¹. While nudity in public life was regarded as a debasing act and was imposed against some persons as a kind of punishment for their misdeeds¹⁴², its employment in the festivals seems to have had a cultic character and to have entertained the gods as well as the watching spectators: "They strip a blind man and whip him uninterruptedly and they chase him into the mausoleum"¹⁴³. The meaning and

¹³⁷ KUB 25.37+obv.i 4ff. (Lalupiya Ritual): nu ŠA LÚ.MES URU Lalupiya, LÚ GAL-ŠUNU ANA LÚ SILA. SU. DU 8.A kiššan hałzai wariyati hałpanuša LÚ SILA.SU.DU 8. A-ma tarwiškiuwan dai LÚ MUHALDIM mahhan tarwiškiit nu apaš-a QATAMMA [tarw]iškiuwan dai pidi-ya-šan wahnuškizzi tamaiš-ma-an LÚ URU Lalupiya iškša EGIR-an TUG šeknun harzi nu-šan takšan pedi wahnuškizzi LÚ SILA.ŠU.DU 8. A-ma G15 huhupal harzi UL-at GUL-aħhšikizzi, translated differently by A. Goetze, *Language* 15 (1939) 117.

¹³⁸ KUB 41.15 + KUB 53.15 i (!) 19ff.: man 3-ŠU huyanzi nuzal LÚ A.ZU-aš 2 URUDU šepikkuštuš dai nuzakan hałta nuzal namma G15 huhupal dai nu G15 BANŠUR-aš pıran taruk!zi man 3-ŠU wehzi nu-uš-za-ašta arha SUD-ya nu GEŠTIN NAG-zi pıran-šet kuiēš ašanzi nuk!kan apuša hałta kuiēš anıyaızzi nankan hałta kuiēš MIMMA IDU, cf. G. Beckman, *BiOr* 42 (1985) 143, who calls this an "ecstatic prophecy".

¹³⁹ *tarna-*, literally "leaves, lets".

¹⁴⁰ KUB 2.3 iii 19-21 with duplicate: LÚ.MEŠ MUŠEN.DÜ.ĪI.A NINDA.ĪI.A luliya tırananzi nu LÚ.MEŠ HUB.BÍ appanzi. It seems here that at the time of this action the dancers are already in the pond.

¹⁴¹ See in detail most recently S. de Martino, *OA* 24 (1985) 253ff.

¹⁴² For example KUB 14.4 iii 32ff., see *Aygül Sül*, *Direktif Metni* (1985) 60f. and *KBo* 3.34 obv. ii 33-35.

¹⁴³ *IBoT* 1.29 rev. 39f.: 1 LÚ IGI.NU.GÁL-ma nikumandarianzi namma walhannianzi nan Ē hešta pehudanzi.

background of this dance are obscure; it may, however, have had some folkloristic meaning dealing with death.

"The king comes out of the tent¹⁴⁴; the king steps near the hearth to a vat (of) *marnuwan-beer*. Two performers (ALAN.ZU) are squatting naked inside the vat. The priests of the deity Tittiutti (and) the overseer of the harlots run three times around the vat of *marnuwan*". The text goes on that the overseer of the harlots holds a wooden knife in her hand, while the priest of the deity carries a scepter (^{GI}PA), the function of which is unknown. It is, however, possible, that the harlot and the priest beat or poke the naked performers with these utensils. Subsequently they pour out three times *marnuwan-beer* upon the back of the performers in the vat; thereupon they get up and run away; meanwhile the horns are blowing¹⁴⁵.

Carrying around different representations of various animals, the so-called "*parade of animals (Tierparade)*", obviously served to amuse the gods and the people as well¹⁴⁶. We may understand in the same sense the role of the jesters who wear animal hides or put animal masks on their faces, and run around and dance¹⁴⁷.

On the dances in connection with a knife or dagger see below in the archaeological section.

Finally another text deserves special treatment here because of the unique information it supplies on cultic games¹⁴⁸. H.A. Hoffner already recognized the importance of this text¹⁴⁹. In its fragmentary beginning the text starts with a competitive fight between a Hittite¹⁵⁰ and a foreigner. It seems that the whole mock fight is accompanied by a drum (obv. I 2) which might have served as rhythm or the beating of time. The foreigner, who obviously falls down¹⁵¹, toils with something of an unknown nature. He probably tries to stand up while the Hittite possibly is trampling his back (?) in two different places¹⁵². In the meantime the foreigner seems to have gotten up. The Hittite attacks him anew and hits him (*walḫ-*), concluding

¹⁴⁴ Lit. "when the king comes..".

¹⁴⁵ KUB 2.3 ii 11ff., cf. CHD s. v. *luli-*.

¹⁴⁶ KBo 10.25 vi 4-8.

¹⁴⁷ See L. Jakob-Rost, Or. 35 (1966) 417ff.

¹⁴⁸ KBo 23.55.

¹⁴⁹ BiOr. 35 (1978) 247.

¹⁵⁰ The text calls him "*the ours one*" while his adverse is called "*the enemy*" (^{LU}KÚR).

¹⁵¹ *katta mauš-* obv. i 3-4.

¹⁵² obv. i 4: *anzel = ma = ššan šer 2 AŠR[I]*

with a “*knock out*”, since the foreigner falls down again. This action evokes a great deal of rejoicing on the part of the Hittite spectators who express their satisfaction by applauding (i 6). Now a priest, ordered by means of a sign from the king, approaches the fighting parties and manipulates something which is not clear. He probably changes the position of the fighting men, i.e. he brings the top one under the second person. In any case they take something, probably a cloth (?) which belongs to the enemy and place it at the bottom separately¹⁵³. The following section is fragmentary; however, we are able to reconstruct a scene similar to an arena: The defeated enemy has obviously been released to an enclosed place; he is also pent up in an arena. Afterwards they release into the same place two panthers, or persons masked with panther hides, and two bears or people masked like bears. Finally two men, carrying(?) wooden cudgels¹⁵⁴, enter the place. The rest is very fragmentary but it is expected that the two latter would incite the animals, i.e. the jesters to attack the enemy. After a paragraph divider they take up the unknown object, probably the cloth belonging to the enemy¹⁵⁵ and bring it to another place and burn it (*waranai-*) together with bulls and black rams¹⁵⁶. Then follows a wrestling match which is recognized and treated by *H. A. Hoffner*¹⁵⁷. The participants are again a Hittite and a foreigner. As one may expect the Hittite is the winning party; and he correspondingly pins (*laknu-*) the enemy. At the end he bows to the deity and crouches¹⁵⁸. Then follows a boxing match¹⁵⁹. Finally, this show culminates in a head butting between four rams, i.e. two pairs¹⁶⁰. A bull fight terminates the show¹⁶¹. During the whole show drum¹⁶² accompanies the action¹⁶³.

¹⁵³ ŠA LÚKÚR-*ma arḫaya katta tianzi*, i 9.

¹⁵⁴ LÚ.MES.GIŠ, i 12.

¹⁵⁵ ŠA LÚKÚR, literally “*the one of the enemy*”.

¹⁵⁶ i 15-17.

¹⁵⁷ loc. cit. *KITPALU* for correct Akkadian *KITPULU*, i 18, 21.

¹⁵⁸ On wrestling in Mesopotamia see *A. W. Sjöberg*, Expedition 27 (1985) 7-9.

¹⁵⁹ LÚ.MEŠ GEŠPÚ *tianzi* i 23-24.

¹⁶⁰ 4 UDU.ŠIR.ĪI.A *tarpa tianzi*; the technical term is also *tarpa tiya-* which must denote butting between two pairs of rams or men disguised as such. I cannot imagine any other sort of fighting. *Hoffner*, loc. cit. calls this “*ram- and bull wrestling (?)*”. Unfortunately all occurrences of *tarpa-* are fragmentary: KBo 15.7 obv. 4; KBo 22.50:10; KUB 2.1 iii 2; KUB 35.92 + 92 + KBo 9.146 rev. 11; 123/r: 5; FHL 37 right col. 12; KUB 17.15 rev. iii 9f. attests in fragmentary context *tarpa tarasšāsiddu* “?” and *tarpa tarna-* “*to bring, to release to butting*”.

¹⁶¹ EGIR.ŠU[-*ma 4?*] GUD.MAĪ.ĪI.A *tarpa tianzi*, i 26.

¹⁶² G¹⁵BALAG.DÍ.

¹⁶³ KBo 23.55 obv. i: (1') []x-x-x (2-) []*ha?*piri-x[-a]z G¹⁵BALAG.D[í]

After this brief overview of the textual evidence on games, jokes and acrobatics we may now turn to the supporting archaeological material. The evidence from this field is, however, disappointingly scanty. All efforts to correlate the reliefs depicted on the rock monuments, relief pottery, seals and other objects with written sources and to assign them a cultic, mythical or profane meaning have been unsuccessful. We are, unfortunately, still far from establishing an interrelation between the archaeological and philological evidence.

Among the archaeological material the so-called jester's scene (*Gauklerszene*) on the orthostats from Alaca Höyük takes an important place. One showman, holding a dagger in his hands and bringing its pointed end to his face, has been interpreted since its discovery as a sword or dagger swallower man¹⁶⁴. A closer examination of the picture shows that he is not a swordeater¹⁶⁵; what he actually does is to hold the pointed end of the dagger against his lips; perhaps he is going to bite or to balance it between his teeth. It is also possible that he is going to whirl it using his teeth as a catapult or pivot, as is common even today in rural regions in Turkey. In the cuneiform texts we do not have a single reference which could be related to this scene. An idiomatic sentence in one text is difficult to interpret: "My lord has

(3') []kan kuiš ka[ta] maušzi nu uš-x-zi nukan x[] (4') katta maušzi anzelmaššan šer 2 AŠR [I] // (5') nu mahḥan walaḥzi nukan ŠA^{LU} KUR katta [maušzi] (6') nu anzel ERÍN.MEŠ ḥumanzašša palwaizš [i] (7') taraḥta namma LUGAL ḥin < ik> zi nu^{LU} SANGA anz [et] (8') dai šeraššan kuiš ešzi nan x[] (9') ANA^{LU} KÚR-ma arḥaya katta tianzi x[] (10') 2 UG.TUR.ĪIA QATAMMA tianzi EGIR-ŠU-ma x[] (11') QATAMMA dai EGIR-ŠU-ma 2 AZ.ĪIA G [IŠ] (12') EGIR-ŠU-maššan 2 LÚ.MEŠ.GIŠ QATAMMA tia[nzi] (13') ape šagae zinnanzi mušša[n] (14') kue šer aškizzi nat PANI DINGIR^{LIM} ti[anzi] // (15') ŠA^{LU} KÚR-ma šara danzi nat katta x [(16') pedanzi nat ITTI GUD.MAḤ.MEŠ UDU.ŠIR.GE₆.ĪIA. (17') warani nu GIŠ.ĪIA. [š] agae šara danzi (18') nu^{LU.MEŠ} KITP [ALI⁰] IŠKUR KÁ? para tittanuanzi (19') nuzakan [] MEŠ [] QATAMMA ḥanuwanzi anzel (20') ŠA^{LU} [KITPALU]-ma [A] NA DINGIR^{LIM} 3-ŠU UŠKEN nu nammat (21') KITPALU ti[-] nankan mahḥan anzel (22') laknuzi [-] wanzi apašša ANA DINGIR^{LIM} (22') UŠKEN nu an[z] el pašanaizzi EGIR-ŠU-ma [] (24')^{LU.MEŠ} GEŠPÚ QATAMMA tianzi EGIR-ŠU-ma larpa tiya[nzi] (25') UDU.SIR.ĪIA larpa tianzi // (26') EGIR-ŠU [-ma 4] GUD.MAḤ.ĪIA larpa tianzi (27') EGIR-ŠU-ma x x x PANI DINGIR^{LIM} tianzi (28') ANA^{GIS} BALAG?-maššan šer apedani 1 edani (29') [] apedaniyaššan šer (30') [-] zi ANA^{GIS} BALAG-maššan še[r] (31') [ZA] BAR tianzi IGI.ĪIA-wašš[a] (32') [katta ḥuwa] ppi apedaniyašša[n] (33') [ZA] BAR ḥuwap [pi] // .

¹⁶⁴ The best pictures are in *H. Th. Bossert, Altanatolien* (1942) fig. 508; *E. Akurgal, The Art of the Hittites* (1962) fig. 93; *K. Bittel, Die Hethiter* (1976) fig. 218.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *H. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*⁴ (1969) 127.

swallowed (?) me/for me in front of two knives/daggers”¹⁶⁶. Another text mentions a “dagger-man”¹⁶⁷ together with ^{LU}*paršana*-¹⁶⁸, ^{LU}SANGA, ^{LU}*m[iniya]*-¹⁶⁹ and ^{LU}*šerhala*- some of which actually belong to the group of officials performing acrobatics¹⁷⁰. If we really want to identify the dagger man on the reliefs of Alaca Höyük with any description in the texts, I would suggest that ^{LU}GÍR has to come into play as the most likely option; this, however, depends on the correctness of its reading and the meaning, i.e. whether it really denotes a “dagger man” or a carrier, dealer or producer of daggers, or even a “slaughterer” as suggested by *F. Pecchioli-Daddi*¹⁷¹.

The acrobatic character of two men in the same scene just behind this dagger man is more clearly visible. Here two dwarfish men appear to be acting, but they are depicted as much smaller than the dagger man. This small scale cannot be explained because of perspective¹⁷² or available space on the face of the stone. One of them is climbing a ladder without holding anything in his hands. There is no clear evidence that the ladder was unsupported¹⁷³, because the upper end of the scene is abraded, where we would expect the touching point of the ladder against the wall or gutter of the roof. He does not have any hair; at the top of his head a plume is falling in front and behind. The second dwarf bears a skull cap and is waiting his turn. Among the spectators are the Hittite king and the Storm God. The noses of both showmen are bigger than the other men’s; they seem also to be non-Hittite noses, and are hanging like the so-called ‘eggplant nose’ (*Turk. patlıcan burun*). All this would indicate that what we have here are foreigners, alien stunt men performing this dangerous act of ladder climbing. While *Th. Makridi Bey* has already recognized their foreign origin, it is difficult to assume that they were prisoners of war, as *Perrot* believed, and that the artist wanted to express their inferior status by representing them in smaller scale, as *Makridi* proposes: “*Sur le bas-relief suivant (fig. 20-3 du plan), on voit trois figures dont deux de petite taille et vêtues du chiton court peuvent être prises*

¹⁶⁶ KUB 54.1 obv. ii 24: *nuwamukan EN-YA ANA 2 GÍR pıan pašk[ı] il*.

¹⁶⁷ ^{LU}[GÍ]R, cf. CHD 3/3 (1986) 290b.

¹⁶⁸ This certainly is cognate to *paršana*-, PIRIG.TUR “leopard” and denotes the “leopard man” or the man dancing in the manner of a leopard, cf. *A. Ünal*, RIA s. v. Leopard.

¹⁶⁹ Translated in CHD 3/3 (1986) as (an archer or hunter (?)).

¹⁷⁰ KBo 19.163 obv. i 21-22, cf. KBo 21.98 obv. ii 7, all festival of Tetešhapi.

¹⁷¹ *Hethitica* 8 (1987) 365.

¹⁷² I.e. the difficulty experienced by the artist in depiction both of them, one on top of the other.

¹⁷³ So *H. Frankfort*, op. cit. p. 127.

pour des bateleurs (Perrot), a moins que l'artiste n'ait voulu simplement exprimer ainsi l'infériorité de leurs fonctions dans la cérémonie"¹⁷⁴.

The pottery and the tablets do not show any games, although the latter sometimes include elaborate drawings of human beings and animals¹⁷⁵. It seems doubtful whether the two fragmentary descriptions of men at the upper part of the preserved lower register on the Bitik vase are really performing a "sword dance"¹⁷⁶.

V.

EXCURSUS II: SOME NEW INSIGHTS ON HITTITE ARCHITECTURE, PILLARS AND ROOFING TECHNIQUES

From the archaeological remains we know the Hittite architects very well and admire their works. One of their main achievements was their skillful integration of stone in their construction. This gives them a petromaniac appearance, as we mentioned at the beginning of this study. As rope climbers, however, they appear for the first time in KUB 55.28 + . Of course, whoever visits Boğazköy-Ḫattuša, their capital, will easily realize that climbing up the rocks, especially steep rock walls, must have been part of the daily work of the Hittite architects; it is a requirement imposed by the landscape. We should remember that Ḫattuša is the only capital in the Ancient world which rises on a very rocky, craggy and steep landscape. The most striking example is the steep rock cliff below Ambarlıkaya, down to Büyükkaya Deresi, where at its narrowest passage a bridge allegedly crossed over the torrent leading to Büyükkaya. On this steep cliff the Hittite stone cutters and architects built a kind of "Aufganggalerie" alongside the rock wall. To this end they first had to cut out huge holes in the rock to install the wooden poles which would carry this gallery. Since it is impossible to reach that high spot on the surface of the rock cliff from the bottom, i.e. from the bed of the creek, the only way to carry out such a difficult masonry task was to climb down from the top of Ambarlıkaya by

¹⁷⁴ Th. Makridi, MVAG 13 (1908) 14.

¹⁷⁵ KBo 13.256 rev.iv; KUB 38.3 (see A. Goetze, Kleinasien², 1957, 11 with n. 4; H. Klengel, Hethiter, 1970, Abb. 21); KUB 38.4 iv (A. Moortgat, Die bildende Kunst des Alten Orients 1932, Taf. 67). I have collected these and other drawings and signs on the tablets and I will publish them in a Turkish Festschrift, see my paper read at the 35th RAI in Philadelphia.

¹⁷⁶ So. H. G. Güterbock, Historia, Einzelschriften 7 (1964) 72; cf. R. M. Boehmer, Die Reliefkeramik von Boğazköy (1983) 30f. All other pottery sherds which Boehmer treats under the seducing heading "Wettkampf" (loc. cit.) are unfortunately too fragmentary and do not carry the slightest traces of a competition.

means of ropes. This construction, along with other major architectural remains at Boğazköy such as temples, palaces, archives and military architecture, served the needs of religious, administrative, military and civic personnel. In terms of domestic architecture, however, we know very little, because excavations have concentrated so far on the religious and royal centers. We cannot expect to find many private dwellings within the borders of the city walls at Hattuša, with its ever increasing influx of bureaucrats, nor in the other settlements located on top of the small mounds where most excavations have been carried out. Such places include Alaca Höyük, Eskiypar, Maşat, İnandık, Korucutepe etc.¹⁷⁷ Only in recent years is there an increasing interest in these settlements at the feet of the citadels which archaeologists earlier thought to be lying outside of the city walls, and, therefore, without any interest. Canal workers have recently accidentally discovered the existence of a city wall enclosing the whole Kārum at Kaneš-Kültepe, thus revealing what excavations for 65 years failed to do. The excavations which have been conducted outside of the city mound at Maşat have demonstrated the existence of intense settlements with many private houses at the foot of the citadel.

In the following I would like to make a few suggestions on some architectural details in the light of KUB 55.28 + . Our discussion above¹⁷⁸ clearly confirmed the meaning of *šarḫuli-* as “*pilaster, pillar*”. It further showed that the construction of a simple house followed these steps:

1. Laying the foundation, consisting of stone walls.

2. Erection of pillars. It is possible, especially in the case of simple houses, that the pillars were erected previously, i.e. before laying the foundation, in holes in the earth¹⁷⁹ or on column bases. They might have been supported by a wooden construction.

3. Above these pillars the heavy cross beams were placed. The Hittite name for these joists is ^{G15}*innašša-*¹⁸⁰. Today we are in a better position in regard to textual evidence than was *R. Naumann* who was still not able to make a clear statement whether the roofs were flat or not¹⁸¹; the roofs were undoubtedly flat¹⁸².

¹⁷⁷ See *A. Ünal*, Hittite city (forthcoming)

¹⁷⁸ See the commentary on ^{G15}*šarḫuli-*, p. 1479 ff.

¹⁷⁹ See above under *šarḫuliyāš pedan*.

¹⁸⁰ See above p. 1482 f.

¹⁸¹ *Architektur Kleinasien*² (1971) 155.

¹⁸² For further information and technical details see *Y. Dalokay*, *Lehmflachdachbauten in Anatolien*, Diss., Fakultät für Bauwesen der Technischen Universität Braunschweig 1969; *Naumann*, op. cit. pp. 153; *O. Aurenche*, *La maison orientale I* (1981) pp. 149.

The construction of the roof is the most important step in completing a new home¹⁸³. Even in present-day Turkey, after the foundation, the completion of the roof provides a second reason to enact some important ceremonies and sacrifices.

The role of the roof as protection against various kind of precipitation seems to have been appreciated by the ancient inhabitants of Anatolia as well. They were correct in this, since one can live in a house without walls, windows or doors, because they can be created temporarily, but not without a roof.

The roof not only protects the house as such, but also the bare walls against eroding weather conditions. Without the roofing the walls would be exposed to the full force of rain and snow and disappear in a short time¹⁸⁴. We should not forget that the building season is limited to a few summer months, and an unfinished construction would not survive the harsh winter conditions. It is not difficult to imagine the problems which confronted the Hittite builders during the roofing of a house. These problems included, first of all, finding an adequate supply of long, thick and strong beams for the roofing; second, cutting and carrying them from the distant mountains, possibly as far away as the forests in the Black Sea region; thirdly, hauling them up to the roof, because, as we know, they did not have sophisticated technical lifting devices, i.e. no multiplication of power, no pulley. Therefore they had to lift these heavy timbers using only a round timber with some grooves on the roofs, which served as a kind of primitive pulley. They might have attached one end of the rope (Hittite *išhamana-*) by means of a sling or loop to the timber, according to its weight and length, at one or more spot, flung the other end up to the carrying timber at the top of the roof, and pulled (*huittiya-*) them up. In some cases they might have used animals as draft power.

4. The next step was to lift the joists and roof battens which had to support the heavy earth covering on top of the roof. The Hittites called these joists ^{GIŠ}*iškišana-*. It seems that the Hittites rendered this entire construction with the logogram ^{GIŠ}ÜR.

¹⁸³ In this context we must stress that the texts do not give any clue as to the existence of an upper story, posited from an archaeological point of view. Only the existence of staircases could be taken as evidence for that. The roofing, but not the construction of a second story, appears always in the text as being the final act.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. the observations of J. A. Morrison on the flat roof houses in Alişar in the 1930's: *Alisar: A Unit of Land Occupance in the Kanak Su Basin of Central Anatolia*, Ph. D. Chicago (1939, private edition) 81.

5. Through modern analogies and from the texts we know more details about the roofing¹⁸⁵. They interwove the above mentioned wooden construction with brush, scrub, branches and leaves of trees and many other small ingredients (Hittite ^{GIŠ}*išparuzzi*-, see above) and covered it with an impermeable clay layer (Turkish *geren toprağı*). The most important information about the covering of the roof comes from the following text:

*“The prince, four priests of the city of Kašha, the ammama-woman (and) the Lord of Hanhana, each (of them) fills outside their cloaks (with) the clay-like soil (dug out) by means of a silver inlaid spade (and) pickaxe, and they carry it nine times into the temple, up to the roof (and) they cover the roof of Telepinu’s temple with (that) clay-like soil”*¹⁸⁶. Although this seems to be a ceremonial act, or probably part of the repair of the roof combined with some kinds of ceremonies, it gives us invaluable information on the roofing techniques of the Hittite architects¹⁸⁷. The other information comes from a purification ritual:

*“They clean the temple entirely. The floors they tatarai-. They sprinkle the temple outside and inside (ḫurniya-). The roofs they protect from leaks”*¹⁸⁸. In a similar context the instruction for the Border Commanders¹⁸⁹ stipulates the repair of temple, when they become leaky.

6. It is striking that the walls, which are built out of sun-dried or baked mud bricks are not mentioned in connection with building activity. They might have been erected after the roof was completed. We can imagine, as mentioned above, that the relatively short summer season obliged the Hittite architects-as in modern times as well- to cover the basements, foundations and walls before the heavy rainfall and snow set in.

Chicago, November 11, 1987

¹⁸⁵ For more information see *Boysan-Dietrich*, THeth 12 pp. 85.

¹⁸⁶ KUB 5.3 v 1-8 w. dupl. 4 (B); 6+(C), see *V. Haas-L. Jakob-Rost*, AoF 11 (1984) 56, 58ff., 78, 88: DUMU.LUGAL 4 ^{LU}MEŠ SANGA ^{URU}Ka[(*šha*)] ^{SAL}ammama ^{LC}BEL ^{URU}Ha[(*n-ḫana*)] ^{TUG}šeknuššet aški [(*IŠTU* ^{GIS}MAR)] ^{GIS}AL KÜ.BABBAR GAR.RA *puru*[(*t*)] *išḫuišḫuiškanzi* [(*naššan*)] | *INA* É.DINGIR^{LI} *šuhḫi* 3 [(*ara 9-kán*)] | *pedanzi* ŠA ^DT [(*elipinuāš*)] | *šuhḫan puru* [(*ddanzi*)] .

¹⁸⁷ Cf. CHD s. v. *purul-*, *purutai-*.

¹⁸⁸ KUB 9.15 + iii 5ff.: *nukan* É DINGIR^{LI} *para šanḫanzi daganziḫuš tattaranzi nu* É. DIN-GIR^{LI} *arahza ḫurniyanzi šuhḫuš zappiyaz paḫšanuwanzi*.

¹⁸⁹ KUB 31.86 ii 17f. with dupl. KUB 13.2 ii 37ff., *E. von Schuler*, HDA (1957) 43, 46.

