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STAGING KINGSHIP: A PERFORMANCE-ORIENTED APPROACH TO THE HITTITE  
'THEATRE OF STATE'

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For my parents, Chris and Jojet



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## Abstract

Extant Hittite sources evoke the image of a society “obsessed” with the celebration of religious festivals. These festivals take place at the interplay between religion and politics: they reflect a meticulously organized and maintained system of ceremonies not just aimed at appeasing the gods and ensuring the prosperity of the realm, but also used to legitimate and support the rule of the royal elite. In recent scholarship, it has been suggested that the Hittite empire was a Geertzian ‘theatre state’, in which festivals reproduced and created sovereignty (Glatz 2020, 101). My research expands on this idea. I investigate how Hittite festival performances were orchestrated to function as a form of impression management, so as to create, negotiate, and sustain the power of the king and his elite. I develop a performance-oriented approach, drawing on theory from theater and performance studies, as well as on performance-oriented scholarship on the ancient world. This approach adds to our understanding and appreciation of Hittite performance culture in general and expands our understanding of the very practicalities of Hittite festival performances: the ‘how’. Building on my understanding of the ‘how’, I ultimately look at ‘why’ festivals were performed in particular ways. That is, I ask what efficacies were pursued in their creation. I survey and categorize examples from both the material and textual records, such as the lay-out of the urban landscape of Hattusa, as well as selections from the AN.TAḪ.SUM and KILAM festivals, so as to expose which cultural behaviors were especially meaningful and in what ways. I argue that the Hittite toolkit of impression management consisted of different performance ‘building blocks’, some of which were used with specific socio-political effects in mind: i.e. emphasizing the status of the king, creating a sense of community, and constructing

social differentiation. Most striking among these building blocks is the constant change of performance stages during festival celebrations. These stage transitions resulted in a fluctuating permeability of the performance, turning specific events within the festival into diacritical ceremonies. Despite the existence of large audiences during some parts of Hittite festival performances, I argue that most of their socio-political effects were aimed specifically at elite audiences. My performance-oriented approach reveals how religious festivals functioned as the fabric of the Hittite 'theatre of state' and shows the ways in which they created political power.

## Preface

*ὁ κόσμος σκηνή, ὁ βίος πάροδος· ἦλθες, εἶδες, ἀπῆλθες.*

*“The world is a stage, life an entrance: you came, you saw, you went away.”*

*—Democritus, Fragment B115 (gnome 84) Diels-Kranz*

Every theater production is the result of a long process of creation, including grand plans that turn out unobtainable, scenes and scenarios practiced and erased, many new script versions and rehearsals, and, at the end of all that work, a grand opening night. This dissertation is not much different from a theatre production, its end result very different from the original plan, with many adjustments and unexpected obstacles before its opening night.

The research presented here started in a class on Hittite festivals with my advisor, Prof. Theo van den Hout, and was greatly influenced by a class on the archaeology of Early Iron Age Anatolia by Prof. James Osborne. Consequently, I wrote my MA thesis on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, which became one of the chapters of this dissertation. My original research design contained a number of elements (extensive case studies, specialized research methods) that I have had to partially forego, especially given the context of carrying out the lion’s share of my research during the ‘pandemic years’ of 2020 and 2021.

Nevertheless, I have the hope that what remains of my ‘performance’ will be of use to the academic community. It is my hope that researchers studying Hittite festivals will find the performance-oriented approach a useful addition to the methodological and theoretical toolkit used in interpretations of Hittite texts, or in the very least, that they will develop a greater appreciation of the incredible riches of the Hittite evidence. Furthermore, I wrote this dissertation

in the hope that it will be of value to scholars outside of cuneiform studies, interested in what Hittite society has to offer in terms of cultural rituals, performances or ceremonies. I aimed to write this book in such a way as to be accessible for researchers in theater and performance studies, in music and dance studies, as well as to scholars of religion, archaeology and history.

In order to do so, I built on the work of numerous others, who carried out extensive research before me, both from Hittite philology, as well as from different fields concerned with cultural performances. My work also greatly benefitted from discussions with and input from other scholars, either at conferences or through personal communication. Among these, I would like to mention by name Gary Beckman, James Burgin, Josh Cannon, Amir Gilan, Alessandra Gilibert, Petra Goedegebuure, Susanne Görke, Theo van den Hout, Manfred Hutter, Kathryn Morgan, Alice Mouton, James Osborne, Daniel Schwemer and Charles Steitler. Any errors that remain are mine alone.

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I would also like to thank Prof. Petra Goedegebuure, who was both a committee member and a mentor to me, during my time at the University of Chicago. I took many classes with you,



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Expressing my wish to become a mother, people told me that combining PhD studies and parenthood would be hard. They were right. Especially when, as newly minted PhD parents, we were confronted with a global pandemic, unsure if our daughter's health insurance was even valid, and thousands of miles away from family. In the last three years, I have found a strength within myself that I did not know possible. While battling health issues and having only limited access to outside support, I found a strength that enabled me to take care of my family *and* finish my PhD. For inspiring this strength, I thank you, my dearest Ida. You make me want to be the best role model, every day, and by performing that role, I am becoming a better version of myself. Thank you also for all the giggles and hugs, yours are the very best.

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My final words of gratitude are to my parents, Chris and Jojet. I owe more to you than words can express. Essentially, you started my academic journey by reading me book after book, by insisting we look up every word I asked about in one of the many dictionaries we had at home, by showing (or feigning) enthusiasm for all my theater plays, and by taking me to so many museums that I ended up loving rather than dreading those visits. You helped me choose schools where I felt safe and where I could thrive. By supporting my university endeavors both financially and emotionally, you granted me the privilege and freedom of finding out for myself what paths I wanted to take. Both of you showed me that hard work and career ambitions can be combined with having a loving family life. In the last few years, you have supported Rik and me tremendously, opening up your home to us, taking care of our loved ones (some purring, some talking) and always lending your ear to me. To express my deepest thanks for all these things, I dedicate this book to you.

## Structure

In the introduction (chapter 1) I present the main problems as well as aims of the project. I give an overview of the data I use, as well as of the methodology employed, and I reflect on the restrictions to this research.

The performance-oriented approach is developed in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5. In 2 and 3, I summarize and critically assess concepts and frameworks from theater and performance studies as well as applied studies from scholarship on the ancient world.

In the fourth chapter, I examine the current state of performance-oriented research in Hittitology. This includes former and current discussions on the function of Hittite festival texts, the question of the festival 'audience' and previous scholarship on the festivals' socio-political effects.

In chapter 5, I survey the extant material evidence specifically from the question what information this category of evidence holds for studying Hittite performance culture.

I present my analysis of the first case study, the 16th day of the Hittite AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival in chapter 6. I categorize and investigate several of its key aspects (roles, stages, objects, and so forth) and bring to light structures in the performance set-up that have gone unnoticed.

Chapter 7 contains the analysis of the second case study, the first act of the KILAM festival, the so-called 'procession of the animals'. Here too, I present the performance aspects into categories, and look for correlations and structures. Much attention will go to the staging of this part of the festival.

In chapter 8, I present a synthesis, in which I highlight the differences and similarities in both case studies and explain how performance characteristics of these festivals work together to create specific 'effects': an emphasis on the special status of the king and a sense of community, while at the same time providing avenues for social differentiation. The toolkit of impression management consisted of different performance building blocks, such as the use of music and elements of visual splendor (dance, acrobatics, luxury items) as well as specific gestures (bowing, sitting down), the monuments passed by during processions, and the overall organization and contextualization of acts at different stages of the performance. Especially relevant to interplay between performance and politics are the correlation between space, visibility and participation during the festival performance. In the concluding remarks, I also present a number of pathways for future research, including an expansion of case studies, the use of a relation database and a proposed new methodology: experimental philology.



# Chapter 1 Introduction

*“Hittite state-cult festivals do not only symbolize or demonstrate the power of the king, they are, among other things, what Hittite kingship is all about. The king’s appearance in the rituals does not only represent royal power, it constructs his power in the first place.”*

—Amir Gilan<sup>1</sup>

## 1.1 Hittite festivals between religion and politics

In politics, one of the essential tasks of those in power is to project the right image at the right time. Public ceremonies, such as inaugurations, weddings, and funerals are perfect occasions for figures of state to gain, negotiate, and sustain their power. Why did vice-president Kamala Harris wear an all purple ensemble at the 2021 Inauguration? Why did Kate Middleton choose to ride towards her wedding in a Rolls-Royce but to leave Westminster Abbey in a horse-drawn carriage? Why did John F. Kennedy’s funeral procession include a riderless horse with boots facing backwards in its stirrups? Both those preparing and attending such events pore over the details and effects of public ceremonies.

As I will argue in this study, the Hittite Kingdom of Late Bronze Age Anatolia (ca. 1650-1200 BCE) was no exception to this phenomenon of organizing ceremonies with specific effects in mind. Specifically, the Hittite royal elite used public ceremonies to legitimate their rule and establish social hierarchies. In this chapter, I will introduce the reader to the Hittites and several marked characteristics of their society (1.1.1, 1.1.2). Among these are the way the textual evidence is skewed towards the (royal) elite (1.1.3), as well as an apparent “obsession” with the celebration

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<sup>1</sup>(Gilan 2011, 281)

of religious festivals (1.1.4), which I will then introduce in more detail (1.1.5). I will argue that within Hittite society, these festivals held a position at the interplay between religion and politics (1.1.6). After a consideration of previous scholarship on Hittite kingship and imperialism (1.1.7, 1.1.8), I will show that scholarship has not adequately addressed the question how Hittite festival performances were orchestrated by the royal circle to function as a form of ‘impression management’, so as to create, negotiate, and sustain the power of the king and his elite (1.1.9). To study the festivals and their potential efficacy in more detail, I propose to develop a performance-oriented approach and test this out on two relevant case studies (1.1.10). This performance-oriented approach also adds to our understanding and interpretation of Hittite performance culture in general, valuing the richness of the Hittite evidence for performance, rather than finding fault in it from a modern-day perspective (1.1.11). In the remainder of the chapter, I set out the aims of my research (1.2), I clarify what methodology I use (1.3), and what the restrictions of this research are (1.4).

### 1.1.1 Introduction to the Hittites

The ethnonym ‘Hittites’ started being used in the early twentieth century, and was inspired by the *ḫittîm* people known from the Hebrew Bible.<sup>2</sup> The term was and is still used to refer to the population groups ruled from Hattusa (modern Boğazköy/Boğazkale) during the Late Bronze Age, from ca. 1650-1200 BCE.<sup>3</sup> Hittite is the oldest extant language of the Indo-European language

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<sup>2</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 7) For an extensive consideration of the people and languages of Ancient Anatolia, including the different terms used in modern scholarship to refer to speakers of languages, culture groups and political regions, see (Yakubovich 2022, esp. 5). A short summary of the situation can be found in (Bryce 2009b, 313-314)

<sup>3</sup> (Yakubovich 2022, 4-5; van den Hout 2020, 1) Hittites themselves used the emic designation ‘Nešili’ to refer to their own language, and did not seem to have used terms distinguishing ethnic belonging. (Bryce 2009b, 313-314) For

family. Reconstructing the early history of its speakers is a difficult task, mostly relying on linguistic evidence, and a confusing one, because of the many groups of people and languages involved. It seems that speakers of Hittite and its sister language, Luwian, settled in Central Anatolia over the course of the third millennium BCE.<sup>4</sup> Speakers of Luwian would have merged with people already settled within the bend of the Kızıl Irmak River, the Hattians. Hattian culture and religion remained dominant and the people gave their name to the central region, ‘Hatti’ and an important city within it, ‘Hattus’ (called ‘Hattusa’ during the Hittite Kingdom period).<sup>5</sup> At the same time, thriving trade colonies existed in the region, populated by a mixed community of Assyrians and Anatolians.<sup>6</sup> The center of this trade activity was the town of Kanesh, called Nesa in Hittite (modern Kültepe). In about 1750 BCE, a ruler by the name of Anitta conquered Kanesh and created “the first unified Central Anatolian kingdom”.<sup>7</sup> Even though Anitta destroyed and cursed the town Hattus, it became the new capital of Central Anatolia about a century later, under the rule of Labarna. It is here that most scholars see the real beginning of the Kingdom of Hattusa.<sup>8</sup> Labarna referred to the people he ruled with a term harking back to earlier inhabitants of the region: “men of Hatti” and “men of the land of Hattusa”.<sup>9</sup> Theo van den Hout sees this tendency to adapt to existing conditions as “the defining characteristic of the Hittite state”.<sup>10</sup> Despite this

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introductions to Hittite (political) history see for instance (Bryce 1998; 2002, 8-9; Collins 2007, 21-90; van den Hout 2020, 6-9; De Martino 2022b; Bryce 2009b, xlv-xlvii) and Hittitological scholarship see (Bryce 1998, 1-7; Collins 2007, 1-20; van den Hout 2020, 11-13; Alaura 2022).

<sup>4</sup> Following the reconstructed scenario proposed by Petra Goedegebuure, (Goedegebuure 2008).

<sup>5</sup> See also (Yakubovich 2022, 6-9)

<sup>6</sup> There would have been speakers at least of Hattian, Luwian and Hittite, and possibly more. For mixed marriages between different of these groups, see (Yazıcıoğlu-Santamaria 2017)

<sup>7</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 6)

<sup>8</sup> See for instance (van den Hout 2020, 7-8).

<sup>9</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 7)

<sup>10</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 7)

generally adaptive attitude and despite the many languages that were or must have been spoken in (parts of or on the fringes of) the kingdom (Hattian, Luwian, Palaic, Hittite, Hurrian, Ugaritic), the ruling elite chose to write in Hittite.<sup>11</sup> Naturally, many loanwords from other languages are present.<sup>12</sup> In this study, I follow the definitions used by van den Hout:

With “Hittite” and the “Hittites” I therefore refer to the Central Anatolian kingdom that between ca. 1650 and 1200 BC used the Hittite language as its main internal means of written communication while controlling a population that spoke several other (mostly related) languages and largely continued their own centuries-old customs and traditions. As a consequence, I will also often use the terms “Anatolian” and “Anatolians” for the same people.<sup>13</sup>

Considering aspects of culture and religion, two strands of cultural traditions are often mentioned to have greatly ‘influenced’ Hittite society: Hattian culture and Hurrian culture.<sup>14</sup> As to this Hattian ‘layer’, Schwemer writes: “The pantheon, cult, mythology, and royal ideology of the Old Kingdom period reflect to a large extent central Anatolian customs and beliefs that predate the emergence of the Hittite kingdom with its royal seat in Hattusa”.<sup>15</sup> As such, this Hattian influence is often referred to as the ‘original’ or ‘native’ culture of Anatolia, even though we have no way of reconstructing the history of or prior to the height of Hattian civilization independent of Hittite

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<sup>11</sup> (Yakubovich 2022, 5-6; van den Hout 2020, 7-8) For how and when the Hittites started writing, see (van den Hout 2020). The proto-languages proto-Lydia and proto-Carian may also have been spoken within the Hittite kingdom, though proto-Lycian should not be considered as part of the spoken languages within Hatti. I thank Petra Goedegebuure for making me aware of this difference.

<sup>12</sup> (Yakubovich 2022, 13)

<sup>13</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 8)

<sup>14</sup> For a good summary of both with references to in-depth considerations, see for instance (Schwemer 2022, 366-368)

<sup>15</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 366-367)

cuneiform sources. The Hurrian 'influence' is an even more complicated situation.<sup>16</sup> Since about the reign of Tuthaliya I (ca. 1400 BCE), Hittite state religion starts adopting practices and beliefs from the region of Kizzuwatna in south-central Anatolia. The main language of these traditions from Kizzuwatna was Hurrian, so that this language gained some importance in elite circles. Schwemer emphasizes the complexity of the situation: "The Hurro-Kizzuwatnean religious practices and beliefs themselves represent a complex blend, drawing on originally Hurrian as well as Syrian, Mesopotamian, and south-Anatolian Luwian traditions".<sup>17</sup>

As van den Hout argues (following Andreas Schachner), it is likely that the diversity of languages, scripts and population groups of Anatolia, reflected in the extant textual evidence of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron age, has much to do with its geography. The presence of numerous mountain ranges and difficulty of navigating these, resulted in many regions being isolated to some extent.<sup>18</sup> The character of the landscape likely also contributed to the type of power Hittite kings exercised over their state. Rather than envisioning the Kingdom of Hattusa as a modern-day country with clearly delineated borders and a strong and central control over the region within, van den Hout explains that we should think of it

in terms of spheres of influence instead of domination and direct control. Economically, socially, and religiously these more remote parts were largely independent. The long arm of Hittite power rarely reached there in its full force and Hittite kings may not even have felt the urge to do so. They

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<sup>16</sup> See (Schwemer 2022, 368)

<sup>17</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 368)

<sup>18</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 8; Schachner 2011, 33-40)

intervened when they considered their influence imperiled but otherwise contented themselves with control from afar allowing and condoning local conditions and traditions.<sup>19</sup>

Looking at the extant evidence for Hittite society, there are several characteristics worthy of attention for the purposes of this study. First, I will go over several characteristics of the textual evidence, showing the complexity of the Hittite cuneiform record. Then, I will show how our evidence is biased towards elite society. Lastly, I will address another major characteristic of the extant textual record, which reveals what some have called an obsession with the celebration of festivals.

### 1.1.2 Nature of the textual evidence: text carriers

The Hittite textual evidence is mainly preserved on text carriers made of clay, written in Hittite cuneiform, a script structured (mainly, see below) in syllabic writing: each sign represents a syllable. In most cases, these tablets are not preserved in full and some are so broken that we refer to them as ‘fragments’ rather than texts. In many cases, texts are broken off both at the beginning and at the end.<sup>20</sup> Sometimes we have ‘*lacunae*’ (missing parts) in the middle of the text, because of erosion of the inscribed text. Ever since the Hittite script was definitively recognized as representing an Indo-European language in 1915, much of Hittitological scholarship has been

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<sup>19</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 9), referring also to (Glatz 2020).

<sup>20</sup> This is due to the lay-out of many Hittite clay tablets, which had a beginning at the top of the tablet and an end at the backside of that same part of the tablet, since they were turned on their horizontal axis. See (van den Hout 2011, 7).

dedicated to joining fragments to tablets and to determine which tablets belonged to which texts or text traditions.

Scholars furthermore have been and still are concerned with interpreting and translating Hittite words, as well as the many loanwords from languages spoken within the Kingdom. Hittite texts are also riddled with logograms, that is, signs that represent words or concepts rather than syllables. These word signs are taken from either Sumerian or Akkadian, and in Hittitology referred to as Sumerograms and Akkadograms. Just like the number 4 for instance is read as 'four' in English but 'quatre' in French, a logogram used in a Hittite text would have been pronounced as the Hittite word.<sup>21</sup> Because some of these logograms are never spelled out using syllable signs, there are many concepts we do not know the Hittite words for. Even worse, for some of these signs, we cannot even turn towards our understanding of Akkadian or Sumerian to understand the concept that is meant, and we are left in the dark as to their meaning altogether.

Hittite texts almost never provide enough clues in their content to date them to a specific period or year. This problem is complicated further by the Hittite tradition of recycling royal names as well as a tradition of copying older texts. There is an ongoing discussion on our ability to date Hittite texts using other methods. In the last few decades, scholars developed a method to determine the age of a text based on several characteristics of the inscribed tablet, among which the writing style and shape of the signs. Thus, Hittite texts were said to show Old Script, Middle Script or New Script. This palaeographic dating method has come under scrutiny in the last few years. I follow Theo van den Hout's suggestion to distinguish only between Old Script (OS) for

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<sup>21</sup> For this way of comparing logograms with modern numbers see (van den Hout 2011, 11)

the period of ca. 1650-1400/1350 BCE and New Script (NS) for the last part of Hittite written history, ca.1350-1200 BCE.<sup>22</sup>

### 1.1.3 Elite bias

Due to the nature of our evidence, Hittite history has been studied mostly from the upper echelons of its society. Of the textual evidence, almost all fragments and texts are written by people from or directly reporting to the royal circle. Surveying the entirety of Hittite written sources, Theo van den Hout remarks that the local population is essentially “invisible”.<sup>23</sup> He states:

Since all our written sources come from the ruling circles of the Hittite kingdom it would be correct to say that all those sources can be used in a study of the elite... The story of the Hittite kingdom thus is the story of the one percent ruling it, with the voices of the 99 barely heard.<sup>24</sup>

The available material evidence too, mostly reflects activities by those in power. So impressive are the monumental gates, palatial structures, temples and relief that archaeologists even summarize it as follows:

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<sup>22</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 21)

<sup>23</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 13)

<sup>24</sup> (van den Hout 2022, 315-316)



The archaeology of the Hittites in the Late Bronze Age is an archaeology of imperialism. It revolves around edifices devoted to defense and control; symbols of power and persuasion, and artefacts of cosmopolitan complexity.<sup>25</sup>

Those studying the lower levels of Hittite society, or experiences of everyday life, have comparatively little evidence to work with, as excavated household architecture or materials and especially graves, are few and far between.<sup>26</sup> This is not just because of the extant material evidence, but also due to a tendency on the part of archaeologists, especially in the earlier days of archaeological research in Anatolia, to excavate building structures.<sup>27</sup> In more recent years, this bias is being leveled out by new efforts, especially field surveys and efforts in landscape archaeology and pottery analysis.<sup>28</sup>

The inherent bias towards the elite in Hittitology is reflected in the newest edited volume and summary of Hittite society, Stefano De Martino's *Handbook Hittite Empire: Power Structures* (henceforth: *Handbook*).<sup>29</sup> Almost all of the contributions to this volume are concerned with the behavior and strategies of the elite, or work with evidence created by the elite. These concern language and writing systems, considerations of governance and stratification, as well as reflections on power and power display through religion, architecture, and imagery. Only the

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<sup>25</sup> (Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 266)

<sup>26</sup> For a summary of Hittite archaeology and its data, including the issue of the graves, see (Seeher 2011c) as well as (Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 253-290).

<sup>27</sup> (Schachner 2022, 422)

<sup>28</sup> See for instance the overviews in (Matthews 2011, 9-11) and (Sagona and Zimansky 2009, 273-275), and exemplary studies such as (Harmanşah 2014, 2015; Glatz 2020).

<sup>29</sup> (De Martino 2022a)

contributors working on landscape archaeology and pottery provide a more representative perspective.<sup>30</sup>

#### 1.1.4 Obsession with festivals

The last peculiarity of the Hittite evidence relevant to the study at hand concerns the corpus of surviving Hittite texts, which is undeniably skewed towards texts concerned with cult. Gerfrid Müller once estimated that ‘cultic ritual texts’ added up to approximately 9500 tablets and fragments, more than 40% of all the texts and text fragments found at the Hittite capital Hattusa.<sup>31</sup> Daniel Schwemer lists even more types of texts associated with the cult, including ration lists, recitations, royal orders, cult inventories and oracle reports.<sup>32</sup> Adding all of these text types to the category of ‘cult’ texts would lead to an even higher percentage of cult texts within the Hittite textual record.<sup>33</sup> Summarizing the types of festivals that extant texts refer to, Schwemer writes:

Hittite texts mention more than 200 different religious festivals that were celebrated in the towns and temples throughout the various regions of the empire. Though for many of them no ritual instructions have survived, the range of festival types can be inferred from the set of attested festival names. The year was structured by festivals greeting every new month and the main

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<sup>30</sup> Contributions by Andreas Schachner on the natural environment of the Hittites (chapter 4), as well as Dirk Paul Mielke’s work on Hittite pottery (chapter 13).

<sup>31</sup> (Schwemer 2016, 6, n. 19, personal communication)

<sup>32</sup> (Schwemer 2016, 6-10) Note that I am not including the wooden writing boards, following Theo van den Hout: (van den Hout 2020, 13-15, 184-217), nor the outline tablets, for which see (Burgin 2019, 24-25). I will discuss the corpus of ‘festivals concerning performance’ in 4.2.1.

<sup>33</sup> Note however, that Schwemer in a later publication reports a lower percentage (“a third”), though he still writes that it “testifies to a very significant administrative effort that went into securing compliance with the royal duty of a complete and proper execution of the cult”. (Schwemer 2022, 388, with n. 152 listing an extensive bibliography of overviews of cult texts.)

seasons, spring, autumn, and winter. In addition to the major seasonal events, numerous other festivals were associated with more specific agricultural activities and products. Thus there were, to name but a few, harvest festivals, tilling festivals, fruit festivals, wine festivals, lamb festivals, and milk festivals. Other festival names refer to locations in nature (e. g., festival of the forest, festival of the spring), natural phenomena (e. g., rain festival, thunder festival), groups of society (e. g., festival of the elders, festival of the girls), societal activities (e. g., festival of manumission, festival of the lot, work service festival), family life (e. g., festival of the family, festival of giving birth, festival of womanhood, festival of the hearth), or important buildings and institutions (e. g., festival of the gate building, festival of the royal residence, festival of the royal throne, festival of the army camp). Finally, festivals are named after cultic institutions or implements (festival of the *hešta*- temple, festival of the *huwaši*- cult stela, festival of the *bibrû* rhyton), or simply refer to the deity for whom they were celebrated.<sup>34</sup>

The sheer number of extant texts, their percentage in comparison to texts not concerned with the celebration of the cult, and the references to these 200 religious festivals have by some been summarized as the “Hittite obsession with collecting and describing festivals”.<sup>35</sup> The perceived importance of the cult is also evident from the production and storage of cultic texts at other Hittite centers, as well as the continuous tradition of copying and preservation of older exemplars.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 391)

<sup>35</sup> (Bachvarova 2016, 221)

<sup>36</sup> Festival texts were also found at Ortaköy, Kuşaklı, Oymaağaç, Kayalıpınar, Yassihüyük and Meskene. For references see (Schwemer 2016, 10, n. 25). For the tradition of copying and preserving specific texts, see (van den Hout 2008, 90)

The very existence of these texts shows the importance that was attached to the proper celebration and preservation of the cult, but the contents of specific texts also makes this concern explicit.<sup>37</sup> Schwemer has collected instructions, prayers and oracle texts concerned with the proper celebration of the cult, a group of texts I will henceforth refer to as ‘quality assurance’ documents, using Schwemer’s term.<sup>38</sup> In these texts, Hittite kings are concerned about the proper execution of rituals, praying to the deities, urging their subjects to observe the cult or attempting to ‘fix’ crisis situations by repairing their relationship with a deity after their cult has been neglected.<sup>39</sup> Our records preserve a tradition of oracle inquiries as to the proper performance of festivals, which includes instructions on the exact provisions for sacrifices, mentions several actors in the performance and provides information for unforeseen circumstances, for instance how to perform the festival if the king is absent.<sup>40</sup> Schwemer’s reflections on cult text production and conservation neatly summarize the different goals of these texts, essentially a form of “quality assurance and micro-management on a state-wide scale”.<sup>41</sup>

Schwemer finds a dichotomy in the Hittite records between the wish to perform the required cultic rites in the ideal way, represented by the Hittite word *šakuwaššar(ra)* (“complete”), and the neglect or non-fulfilment of these requirements, represented by the verb *šakuwantariya-* (“to be neglected”), which reflects the reality of what happened in many cases.<sup>42</sup> This ideal model

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<sup>37</sup> For the question of what the function of these texts was, see (Schwemer 2016, 11), who summarizes the function as “written and archived with the objective of preserving the tradition, controlling the adaptation of cultic rituals and managing their performance.”

<sup>38</sup> (Schwemer 2016)

<sup>39</sup> Schwemer cites the prayer of Arnuwanda and Asmunikkal to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 375), parts of the Testament of Hattusili (CTH 6), a plague prayer of Mursili II (CTH 378.2) and a prayer by Tuthaliya IV to the Sungoddess of Arinna (CTH 385.9) : (Schwemer 2016, 2-3, 6, with references). See now also (Schwemer 2022, 360-361).

<sup>40</sup> For this oracle inquiry (CTH 568) as well as others, see (Schwemer 2016, 3-4, with references)

<sup>41</sup> (Schwemer 2016, 20)

<sup>42</sup> (Schwemer 2016, 2-6)

existed, because the proper performance of cult requirements was “a prerequisite of the gods’ favor: it thus plays a central role in establishing and preserving the exclusive relationship between the Hittites and their gods”.<sup>43</sup> Schwemer’s focus is the function of the text, rather than the function of the performance itself. This is a distinction we shall further explore in Chapter 4. For now, it suffices to say that the textual record, both by its size and complexity, continuous development and preservation, as well as a diverse set of instructions, prayers and oracle texts within it, reflects an enormous importance attached by the Hittites themselves to the proper celebration of the cult.

So why were the Hittites so preoccupied with the celebration of these religious festivals? The prompt and correct performance of the cult was “considered key for securing the benevolence of the gods and the welfare of the land and its people”.<sup>44</sup> The purpose of the festivals does not seem to have been purely religious however. Amir Gilan explains how the care of the gods was connected to the figure of the king:

According to the Hittite ideology of kingship, the gods – headed by the Storm-God and his spouse, the Sungoddess of Arinna – were the true proprietors of the land and guaranteed success in battle. The King was their administrator on earth and was responsible for taking care of, expanding and increasing their property, the land of Hattuša.<sup>45</sup>

Already in 1958, Oliver Gurney showed that the religious or ‘priestly’ role of the king was inseparable from his royal status. There was an intricate connection between the welfare of the

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<sup>43</sup> (Schwemer 2016, 2)

<sup>44</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 387)

<sup>45</sup> (Gilan 2011, 278)

king and that of the kingdom.<sup>46</sup> These two characteristics, the king's religious function and the innate connection between the king's wellbeing and that of his dominion, bear upon the legitimation of Hittite kingship. As Gurney puts it: "In the theocratic world of that time, the authority of the Hittite king was naturally derived from the will of the gods."<sup>47</sup> Hittite texts show the king as an administrator, taking care of the realm put into his care by the gods. This connection between the celebration of the cult and the prosperity of the land lies at the foundation of royal power in Hittite society. In the words of Schwemer:

The power of the king over the land and its population was founded on this divine power, and the king bore the prime responsibility for cultivating the relationship with the gods, on whose favour the welfare of the state depended. The exercise of his religious duties as the highest priest of the land during the many cult festivals throughout the year gave visible expression to and reinforced the power relationships within the state hierarchy; as a communal effort and through their elements of commensality and collective enjoyment, the festivals also contributed to societal cohesion at both the local and the imperial level.<sup>48</sup>

Even though Schwemer largely characterizes the importance of festivals and the responsibilities of the king as directed towards the divine, he also mentions the efficacy of the celebrations in reinforcing existing hierarchies and creating a sense of community. It is not surprising that, if the celebration of the cult was a prerequisite for prosperity in the land, and the king was the main

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<sup>46</sup> (For the most recent overview of scholarship on Hittite royal ideology and the role of the king in Hittite cult, see Schwemer 2022)

<sup>47</sup> (Gurney 1958, 113)

<sup>48</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 396)

communicator with the divine realm, the celebration of the cult was an excellent opportunity for kings to establish and negotiate power. Schwemer's position shows how Hittite scholarship on festivals has changed over the years, since Gurney did not think that the king's performance in festivals informs us on his socio-political role: "The elaborate ceremonial which precedes and accompanies the king's offerings is usually described in great detail, but throws no light on the nature of Hittite kingship".<sup>49</sup>

As I will argue (see 1.1.6) the performance of Hittite festivals should be seen in the interplay between Hittite religion and Hittite politics. In opposition to Gurney, I believe that it is exactly at the intersection between religion and politics that we can learn the most about Hittite kingship. While the king performs his role as the highest priest, as the communicator with the gods, his actions and the staging of those actions are witnessed by members of Hittite society, some of whom participate in the actions themselves. The enactment of rituals by the king, within the context of a specific setting and witnessed by some sort of audience, would have had socio-political effects on several involved parties. As such, this study argues that besides obtaining the favor of the gods, another reason for the "obsession" with cultic celebrations may have been the importance of festivals as tools of impression management and as ways to sustain authority. The resulting question then becomes, in which way the king and his staff orchestrated this performance so as to use the celebration of the cult as a tool of impression management.

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<sup>49</sup> (Gurney 1958, 106)

### 1.1.5 A short characterization of Hittite festivals

The term 'festival' is somewhat idiosyncratic to the field of Hittitology. Hittite festivals are categorized in the overarching category of 'cult', that is, the practiced system of veneration for Hittite gods: "the entirety of the rites, rituals, ceremonies and festivals performed in and outside the sanctuaries".<sup>50</sup> Hittite festivals, as a subcategory of cult in general, are also called '*Kultrituale*'<sup>51</sup>, but are a separate category from what Hittitologists refer to as 'ritual texts', that is, texts that are concerned with the solution of individual problems, often in the form of some type of (sympathetic) magic.<sup>52</sup> Hittite festivals then, are elaborate and (mostly) structurally performed celebrations for the gods, meant to appease the gods and ensure prosperity for the Hittite realm. The types of ritual performers between these two types of cult activities also greatly differ. Whereas 'ritual texts' often describe the activities of one specialist ritualist, such as the Old Woman, carrying out the necessary rites to remove evil, the festivals involve many more participants and in many cases, an elaborate structure of activities, moving between different locations and honoring many different gods.

The distinction between 'ritual texts' and festivals is confusing, since both represent cultural and religious behaviors, and both can be said to follow the general understanding of what 'ritual' is, as per the Oxford English Dictionary: "the prescribed form or order of religious or ceremonial rites" or, broadening the definition somewhat, "the performance of ritual acts;

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<sup>50</sup> (Schwemer 2016, 2) Schwemer also lists several Hittite terms for rites, ceremonies, festivals and offerings, difficult to map definitively on our modern understandings of these cultural phenomena: e.g., '*ḫazziwi-*' 'rite, ceremony', 'EZEN4' 'festival', 'SÍSKUR' 'ritual, offering', '*šaklai-*' 'custom', '*išḫiül*' '(cultic) regulation(s)'.

<sup>51</sup> See for instance the recent volume '*Liturgie oder Literatur? Die Kultrituale der Hethiter im transkulturellen Vergleich*' (Müller 2016) As a consequence of this German term, some scholars use the English term 'cult festivals'.

<sup>52</sup> For the difference between what Hittitologists call 'ritual' texts and what they call 'festival' texts, see (Schwemer 2016, 1-7) and (Burgin 2019, 5, n. 16, with examples of ritual-like festivals and festival-like rituals).



repeated actions or patterns of behaviour having significance within a particular social group”.<sup>53</sup>

A clear difference between these two groups of texts (and the cultural behaviors they represent) is the occasion of the performance and the usual practices seen within the performance. ‘Ritual texts’ reflect an occasion at which a person is confronted with a specific problem (e.g., infertility) and performs ritual acts under the guidance of a ritualist so as to solve the problem. Festival texts reflect recurring, expected and ritualized veneration of the gods, in the form of elaborate celebrations involving a large number and variety of participants, locations and ritual acts.<sup>54</sup>

When I use the term ‘ritual’ (or ‘ritual performance’, ‘cult rituals’, ‘religious rituals’) in this study, I follow the general (and anthropological) understanding of this word, rather than the Hittitological designation, which is reserved for texts meant to solve individual problems. Using this understanding of ritual helps in operationalizing anthropological and performance theory to better analyze Hittite cultural behavior.

Following Michele Cammarosano, one further distinction within the category of Hittite festivals can be made: state festivals versus ‘local’ or ‘non-state’ festivals.<sup>55</sup> Non-state festivals take place outside of Hattusa, without participation of the king, queen or princes.<sup>56</sup> This study is primarily concerned with state festivals, though the non-state festivals, as examples of Hittite performance culture on the local level, are important sources of information for an analysis of

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<sup>53</sup> (Online June 2022)

<sup>54</sup> A succinct bibliography of Hittite festival editions and translations (monographs and articles) can be found in (Schwemer 2022, 388-389, n. 152).

<sup>55</sup> (Cammarosano 2013, 68)

<sup>56</sup> Information on non-state festivals is preserved in the so-called cult inventories. For a short introduction on the genre and an overview of his research on the topic, see (Cammarosano 2021).

Hittite performance culture in the general sense. When in this thesis I use the term ‘Hittite festival’, ‘festival performance’ etc., I refer primarily to the celebration of the state festivals.

Some festivals lasted as long as 40 days, others only a day or less. Some took place in Hattusa, the capital of the Hittite kingdom in what is now central Turkey, others in smaller Hittite towns. When preserved well, festival texts read somewhat like movie screenplays: they list in chronological order the actions which make up the performance, while mentioning the stage, the actors and what props are used. In most festivals, the Hittite king is the main cult actor: “On the occasion of the major cult festivals throughout the year, the king, often together with the queen, acted as the highest-ranking priest and personally presided over the central rites, in particular the presentation of the offerings to the gods”.<sup>57</sup>

We have seen that more than 200 (state and non-state) festivals can be distinguished in the cuneiform records.<sup>58</sup> Despite the different seasonal and agricultural events, locations and institutions, societal groups or deities these were concerned with, many festivals contained similar or even identical elements of performance.<sup>59</sup> Schwemer lists:

This [similarity, Th.L] is particularly true for the highly ritualized parts in which the king directly participated, from washing and putting on the ritual attire in the morning to the Great Assembly in the evening, a communal meal and entertainment that included an extended drinking ceremony in honour of the gods. Further typical elements include bread and meat offerings, libations of wine

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<sup>57</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 387-388)

<sup>58</sup> For an overview of Hittite gods, see (van Gessel 1998).

<sup>59</sup> So also (Schwemer 2022, 391), who refers to Haas’ summary of these elements: (Haas 1994, 674-695 as well as 640-673 for offerings and sacrifices). Note however, that Schwemer elsewhere questions the reliability of Haas’ reconstructions: (Schwemer 2022, 389, n. 152).

and beer, offerings for specific sacral places of Hittite temples, travel between different cultic locales (sometimes in the form of processions), music and dance (often involving the same cult actors and musical instruments), as well as acrobatic acts, athletic contests, and theatrical performances.<sup>60</sup>

We can refer to these different elements as ‘building blocks’ of Hittite festival performances. By categorizing these different elements as clear types and groups, it becomes easier to recognize similarities and differences between the festivals, as well as to analyze the ways in which different building blocks were combined with specific effects in mind. Schwemer’s list of ‘elements’ refers mainly to the performance events, the actions that happen during the performance. To these building blocks representing action and movement, we can add building blocks such as clothing, props and staging.

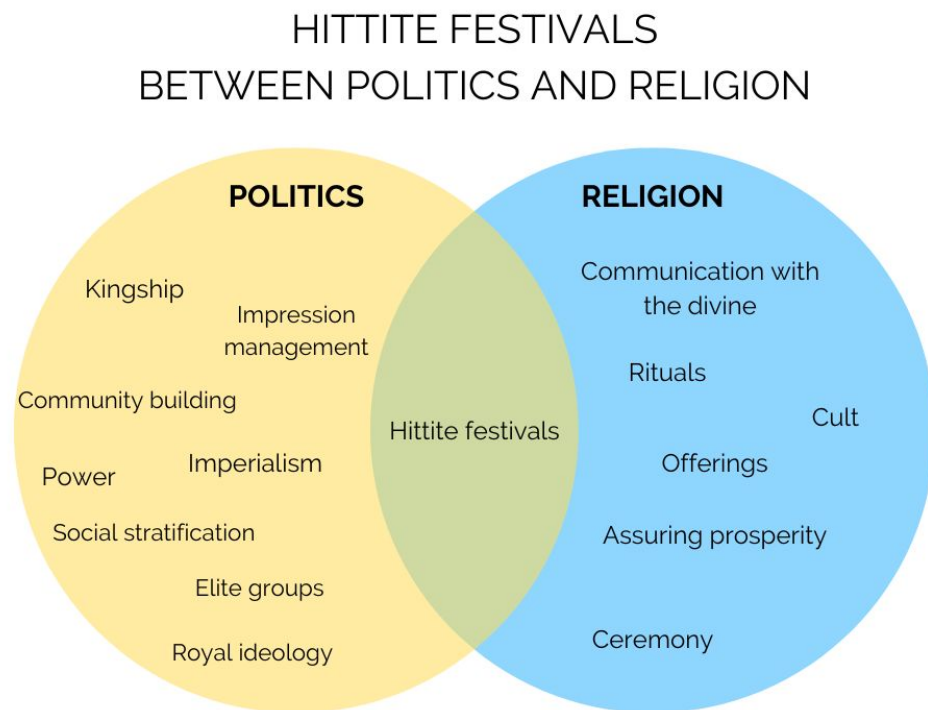
### 1.1.6 Festivals between religion and politics

As we have seen, the perceived importance of the celebration of festivals depended on two factors: first, the timely and sufficient veneration of the deities would lead to the gods’ favor and prosperity of the kingdom. At the same time, the celebration of the festival was the visual demonstration of the king’s role as protector of the realm and high priest of the gods, making it an ideal occasion to pursue certain socio-political effects, such as creating a sense of community, establishing social hierarchies and negotiating royal power. In this sense, Hittite festivals can be said to have been staged at the interplay between Hittite politics and Hittite religion (see figure

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<sup>60</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 391).

1.1). Within the sphere of Hittite religion (blue), the celebration of Hittite festivals is a way to communicate with the divine world, an example of the different forms of ‘cult’ (see 1.1.5) known for Hittite society. Within the sphere of Hittite politics (yellow), the celebration of festivals is connected to the institution of kingship and to the character of Hittite royal ideology. The performance of festivals can be seen as a tool of impression management, used to create, negotiate and sustain elite power and social hierarchies.



*Figure 1.1, Hittite festivals between politics and religion*

It should be evident from this graph, that to consider all societal aspects related in some way to Hittite festivals is impossible, at least in the scope of one study. This graph does not even include other spheres of society that Hittite festivals (and the texts that have preserved the festival

traditions) are connected to, such as economics, agriculture, and product manufacture.<sup>61</sup> The entwinement of religion and politics is also visible in Schwemer's contribution to the *Handbook*.<sup>62</sup> Titled '*Religion and Power*', Schwemer's overview is mainly concerned with the religious responsibilities of the Hittite king, as well as the role of cult in the authorization of royal authority and state power within and outside of the Hittite kingdom.<sup>63</sup> Schwemer provides a good overview of the Hittite pantheon, which – unsurprising given the diverse cultural milieus of Hittite society as sketched above – is so diverse that Hittites themselves refer to the “thousand gods (of the land of Hatti)”.<sup>64</sup>

### 1.1.7 Festivals and politics: kingship and royal ideology

The focus of this study is Hittite festivals in connection to the sphere of politics. We have seen that the extant corpus of Hittite texts is characterized by a bias towards the elite and the Hittite royal house specifically. Furthermore, we have seen that Hittites are said to have been “obsessed” with the celebration of Hittite festivals. It is surprising, then, that no comprehensive study exists on the use of festival performance for the establishment and negotiation of Hittite royal power.

Previous studies centered on the nature of Hittite kingship or royal ideology are, like Schwemer's contribution to the *Handbook*, often primarily concerned with the sphere of religion. The first consideration of Hittite kingship as a stand-alone topic was Gurney's *Hittite Kingship*, already cited above.<sup>65</sup> Gurney covers many of the topics associated with kingship, such as the

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<sup>61</sup> See (Schwemer 2022, 389, n. 153, with references)

<sup>62</sup> (Schwemer 2022)

<sup>63</sup> For other considerations of Hittite religion, see (Schwemer 2022, 356, n. 2).

<sup>64</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 363-381)

<sup>65</sup> (Gurney 1958)

priestly role of the king and his religious responsibilities, the possibility of divine kingship and coronation ceremonies. In most cases, he formulated the understanding of Hittite kingship that has resonated in many books on Hittite history and culture over the years.<sup>66</sup> Gary Beckman lists similar aspects of Hittite kingship, such as the existing royal titulary, the duties of the king, the customs of succession, coronation practices, symbols of office, and the role of the queen and wider royal family.<sup>67</sup> Elsewhere, he approached Hittite kingship from a comparative point of view, looking for Mesopotamian conceptions of kingship.<sup>68</sup> Mauro Giorgieri and Clelia Mora have studied kingship from a diachronic perspective, zooming in on the events at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century specifically.<sup>69</sup> They argue that in that final stage of the Hittite empire, “Hittite monarchy and the concept of kingship seem to have differed from those of previous periods, probably because of changes on the international scene. Links with the gods are stronger, for example, and theocratic characteristics are more accentuated.”<sup>70</sup> Piotr Taracha too, takes on a diachronic approach of Hittite royal ideology by analyzing the changes over time in the choice of divine patrons by Hittite kings.<sup>71</sup>

Harry Hoffner considered Hittite kingship in his article on royal cult, using a line of inquiry that includes iconography and considerations of the actual performances of festivals.<sup>72</sup> Like others before him, Hoffner characterizes Hittite kingship as religious rather than military:

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<sup>66</sup> For a list of such short characterizations to Hittite kingship, see (Gilan 2011, 278).

<sup>67</sup> (Beckman 1995, with a useful bibliography of older publications on kingship related themes, such as royal titulary, royal succession, symbols of office and the role of the Tawananna)

<sup>68</sup> (Beckman 2002)

<sup>69</sup> (Giorgieri and Mora 2010; 1996, which responded also to the by now theoretically very outdated Goetze 1957)

<sup>70</sup> (Giorgieri and Mora 2010, 136)

<sup>71</sup> (Taracha 2013)

<sup>72</sup> (Hoffner 2006)

It has been often noted that the king's presence at major religious festivals took precedence even over his duties as a battlefield commander, as witnessed by reports in the annals of king Muršili II that the king left the battlefield at crucial moments in order to return to Hattuša to preside over a festival.<sup>73</sup>

Hoffner highlights several monuments with depictions of the king and gods to gather information on the king's role as worshipper.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, the article summarizes the understanding of topics such as the cult of deceased kings, special royal titles and roles, the concept of purity, the royal afterlife and the status of the king as a 'superhuman'.<sup>75</sup> Hoffner is one of the first scholars to take note of less obvious ways of 'participating' in a festival performance, as he remarks the following on the Hittite king:

First, we must understand that his role as builder of the temple, donor of its most valuable furnishings and observer and supervisor of the rites were of equal importance to his function as an active participant. In fact, through the gesture of extending his hand toward another celebrant, the king figuratively performed many more of the concrete actions of worship than would appear at first glance. From this point of view we must also include among his worshipping actions those performed by his subordinates. Prominent among these actions were those intended to entertain the deities.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> (Hoffner 2006, 132)

<sup>74</sup> (Hoffner 2006, 132-136) Iconography is discussed in more detail in chapter 5 of this book.

<sup>75</sup> (Hoffner 2006, 144-150)

<sup>76</sup> (Hoffner 2006, 140)

Several things can be remarked here. Hoffner refers to the king's responsibilities in building and maintaining the festival stages (the temples) as well as his role as administrator of the cult. We will see in chapter 4 (4.3.1) how these types of tasks are indeed, according to modern performance studies, considered part of the participation in a performance process. Furthermore, Hoffner shows the importance of looking at seemingly small details within the festival performance, such as a single hand gesture by the king.<sup>77</sup> Lastly, it is somewhat remarkable that Hoffner understands actions of the king's subordinates – meaning, everyone else doing anything in the festival – as the king's own actions, aiming at entertaining the gods. From these remarks, it follows that Hoffner too, considers the celebration of festivals first and foremost as directed at the deities, rather than understanding the different actions of different performers within the cult celebrations as having meaning to the performers and spectators. Nevertheless, Hoffner lists several aspects of the king's behavior in the festivals that aligns well with a performance-oriented analysis.

The last consideration of Hittite kingship I will discuss here is the one that was most influential on the initial design of this study. In his 2011 article '*Hittite religious rituals and the ideology of Kingship*' Gilan studies the relations between ritual practices and political power, the same approach that I take here (see below, 1.1.9). His line of inquiry however, follows a specific occasion: the Hittite king's return home after battle. Gilan is one of the first Hittitologists to (explicitly) look towards anthropological theory to analyze Hittite society.<sup>78</sup> In his article on

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<sup>77</sup> For the hand gesture see: (Hoffner 2006, 134, n. 7, 143). For a list of further actions and gestures performed by the king, see (Hoffner 2006, 142-144)

<sup>78</sup> See for instance his application of Victor Turner's 'social drama' and Arnold van Gennep's '*rites de passage*' in (Gilan 2001), discussed in 4.4.



kingship, Gilan expresses his surprise that the king's return after a victory was not an occasion used for displays of military power:

The victorious return of the king from war constituted a central, decisive, ratifying moment in Hittite Ideology of Kingship, an event that could have easily lent itself to the presentation and celebration of power in form of victory parades or triumphal ceremonies. The roman triumph comes to mind in this context...<sup>79</sup>

Besides missing military parades or ceremonies that celebrated battle victory, Gilan also sees the Hittite record as lacking descriptions of the dedications of war booty to the deities.<sup>80</sup> That spoils were supposed to be presented to specific deities (especially the Sungoddess of Arinna) is clear from several extant texts, but the occasions during which this happened are not described in detail. Methodologically, Gilan's two lacunae in the Hittite record should be distinguished: the lack of military parades or triumphal ceremonies is a lack in something we (or in this case, Gilan) would have expected from a cultural comparative point of view, but Hittite records do not show this as cultural feature of their society. The latter lacuna, that of descriptions of war booty dedication ceremonies, is indeed an actual gap in our evidence, since Hittite texts do indicate that such dedications would have taken place.<sup>81</sup>

Gilan continues his exploration of these supposed lacunae, by presenting anthropological theory on rituals in a political dimension.<sup>82</sup> To my knowledge, Gilan is the first scholar in

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<sup>79</sup> (Gilan 2011, 279) Small typo corrections are mine.

<sup>80</sup> (Gilan 2011, 280)

<sup>81</sup> See especially the cited passage in (Gilan 2011, 278), quoting Singer's translation of KUB 57.63.

<sup>82</sup> (Gilan 2011, 280-281, citing from the works of Catherine Bell, Stanley Tambiah and Clifford Geertz)

Hittitology to follow the line of thinking presented in the works of Clifford Geertz and Stanley Tambiah (see also chapter 2) and to suggest that Hittite rituals do more than *represent* hierarchical structures of society, the rituals *create* these:

Moreover, political rites do not only symbolize and demonstrate power, they construct it in the first place. “The king’s cult” writes Bell (following Geertz), “creates the king, defines kingliness and orchestrates a cosmic framework within which the social hierarchy headed by the king is perceived as natural and right”. Seen in this light, Hittite state-cult festivals do not only symbolize or demonstrate the power of the king, they are, among other things, what Hittite kingship is all about. The king’s appearance in the rituals does not only represent royal power, it constructs his power in the first place...<sup>83</sup>

With this, Gilan has formulated the point of departure of this thesis: to look in more detail at the performance of Hittite state festivals as ways to create and negotiate royal power. Despite his appreciation of these anthropological concepts, Gilan cannot align the extant Hittite record with the paradigm he himself formulated.

He finds fault with the Hittite textual record, for not mentioning the audience of the festival celebrations.<sup>84</sup> This ‘audience question’ is complex and entwined with other ongoing discussions in Hittitology, such as on the function of Hittite festival texts, and will be addressed in chapter 4 (4.3). Going back to Gilan’s treatment of Hittite royal ideology, Gilan finds it strange that among the many festivals performed, not one involves “war booty or its festive presentation to the

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<sup>83</sup> (Gilan 2011, 281) Small typo corrections are mine. For this mechanism in Geertz’ work, see (Geertz 1980, 13-17, 21).

<sup>84</sup> (Gilan 2011, 281-282)

gods".<sup>85</sup> Upon his return from war, the Hittite king goes to the Sungoddess of Arinna as part of the celebrations of the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival, but:

not as a victorious king, leading columns of deportees and carts loaded with treasures, but merely to participate in the local cult, just as he was doing in spring and in other important cult centres too. There is no evidence suggesting that the king used the opportunity to present the Sun Goddess with the spoils of war that that were rightfully hers.<sup>86</sup>

Gilan problematizes the textual record in two ways: first, he questions why the Hittites did not ratify their ideology of kingship with grand military parades and similar ceremonies and sees this as an inconsistency or contradiction. Second, he wants to understand the lack of sources for war spoils dedication to temples. For the second problem, we either have to assume that the texts dedicated to these activities were not preserved or, as suggested by Gilan, that they were not written down at all.<sup>87</sup> For the first problem, it is important that we rid ourselves of the perspective of the present when analyzing (ancient) cultural history.<sup>88</sup> Rather than wondering why Hittites did not use festivals as occasions for the display of military power, we can observe *that* they did not. A second observation then, would be that they did spend a lot of energy, time and resources into the proper celebration of these non-military celebrations. Rather than state that the Hittite king "merely" participated in the local cult (see citation above), the question should be why the

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<sup>85</sup> (Gilan 2011, 282)

<sup>86</sup> (Gilan 2011, 282-283)

<sup>87</sup> (Gilan 2011, 283) I thank Theo van den Hout for the suggestion that indications of spolia display may be found in the Annals of Hattusili, for which see (Bryce 2018).

<sup>88</sup> This form of presentism in historical analysis is also present in the debate on the function of Hittite festival texts. See 4.1.2.

Hittite king was so immensely invested in celebrating state festivals, both inside and outside of the capital on many occasions during the year, and *also* after the victorious return from war. The real conclusion of Gilan's article then, following the paradigm he himself developed, should have been that the Hittite ideology of kingship is inherently religious, and that this ideology was enacted and indeed *constructed* on several occasions throughout the year by way of the performance of religious festivals.

### 1.1.8 Festivals and politics: power and imperialism

Now that we have looked at past scholarship on royal ideology and kingship specifically, we will take a step back again and consider other aspects of the sphere of 'politics' (the blue sphere in figure 1.1) and their connection to the celebration of festivals. A separation of all these 'political' aspects is of course artificial, as in real life, they would have been intricately connected. For the purposes of positioning this study in relation to past scholarship however, I present a synopsis of the aspects of royal ideology and kingship separate from broader considerations of power.

Much has been written on the organization of and political hierarchy within the Hittite state.<sup>89</sup> The 2022 *Handbook* contains contributions on a number of topics with the objective to "present the most significant aspects of the political history of the Hittite kingdom of Hatti, a typology of the written and archaeological evidence, the structure, the administrative organization, and the economy of this state".<sup>90</sup> However, even as the book sets out to be a general volume on all things Hittite, it inevitably concentrates on the power of the Hittite king and his

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<sup>89</sup> See for instance the short bibliography listed in (van den Hout 2022, 313).

<sup>90</sup> (De Martino 2022a, VII)

elite, also referred to in the volume's subtitle, 'Power Structures'. In the subsection on 'Power and Governance', the *Handbook* has contributions on Hittite political history, the governance of subordinated countries, elites and social stratification as well as the role of religion in negotiation of power.<sup>91</sup> As we will see, the contributions in the *Handbook*, though not denying the role of cult celebrations for political purposes, does not take these as structural contributions to power strategies or 'tools' of impression management.

The concept of imperialism has recently been studied both from a (mainly) textual perspective, in the article by Elena Devecchi in the *Handbook*, as well as from a (mainly) archaeological perspective, in Claudia Glatz' 2020 '*The making of empire in Bronze Age Anatolia: Hittite sovereign practice, resistance, and negotiation*' (henceforth *Making*).<sup>92</sup>

Devecchi focuses on the Hittite empire during the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, what she calls the "acme of its territorial expansion".<sup>93</sup> She does not deal with the process of empire making but instead on "the strategies it developed in order to successfully rule the subordinated polities and maintain control over them across generations".<sup>94</sup> Besides the more obvious topics of military conquests, treaties and divisions of political territories, Devecchi also considers other approaches of the topic, such as economic exploitation, including tribute and gifts. The performance of cult is not treated in Devecchi's article, but dealt with in Schwemer's contribution on 'Religion and Power', also mentioned above. Schwemer explains how some rituals could be "employed to establish and stabilize the power relations between the king and

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<sup>91</sup> (De Martino 2022a, 201-418) The *Handbook*'s contributions in the next section, 'Materiality of Power', are discussed in chapter 5, where I discuss material evidence for the performance of Hittite festivals.

<sup>92</sup> (Devecchi 2022; Glatz 2020)

<sup>93</sup> (Devecchi 2022, 271)

<sup>94</sup> (Devecchi 2022, 272)

various groups of people within the realm and society of the Hittite kingdom".<sup>95</sup> Along these lines, he mentions divine oaths, the regulations postulated in instruction texts, vassal treaties and rituals pertaining to military endeavors.<sup>96</sup> As such, the *Handbook* contributions do not offer much on the convergence of imperialism or power strategies with festival celebrations.

Glatz on the other hand dedicates an entire chapter within her book on this very topic.<sup>97</sup> Her book presents an essayistic and comprehensive picture of the Hittite empire from an archaeological point of view.<sup>98</sup> In general, Glatz argues for an anthropologically informed consideration of the Hittite empire and emphasizes the internal diversity and fluidity in its material expressions, both regionally but also over time. In contrast to Devecchi, who (as per her abstract) looked towards the *floruit* of Hittite history without considering its rise to power, Glatz emphasizes that the empire is always "in the making".<sup>99</sup> It is in her chapter 3 that Glatz argues for the importance of the performance of state festivals for the sovereignty of the Hittite empire. We will dive into her line of inquiry in more detail below (1.1.9). Glatz further considers the topic of imperialism and sovereignty by looking in more detail at the region north of the core land, the use of landscape monuments as non-state claims to power, as well as objects, seals and plain pottery. Many of these topics are considered with an underlying search for local agency or even 'resistance' to state power in mind. As argued by James Osborne, it is sometimes difficult to be

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<sup>95</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 361)

<sup>96</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 361-362)

<sup>97</sup> See below (1.1.9) for more details.

<sup>98</sup> For this view see (Osborne 2022).

<sup>99</sup> (Glatz 2020, 1-43)

convinced by all attempts to identify local agency, as Glatz argues to see this both in local styles diverting from imperial examples, as well as in cases where they are the same.<sup>100</sup>

### 1.1.9 Festivals and politics: impression management (Geertz, Gilan and Glatz)

In De Martino's *Handbook*, the relation between religion and power is but a subsection of one of the contributors' chapters.<sup>101</sup> Two other chapters, according to the editor, "address the different media employed in royal promotion, namely, the written documents and the images of the king on seals and reliefs".<sup>102</sup> I believe that the celebration of festivals is also one of the major 'media' of royal promotion, and should be studied as such.

The point of departure for seeing state cult festivals as tools of impression management is Gilan's 2011 publication on Hittite Kingship, in which he created a paradigm of Hittite festivals creating the power of the king, following the anthropological model set out by Geertz (see above, 1.1.7).<sup>103</sup> Gilan himself finds the Hittite records lacking in displays of military prowess as well as in evidence for an audience, so that they no longer fit the expectations of his own paradigm. As I have argued, we should approach Hittite historical records on their own terms, resulting in the observation that Hittite royal ideology seems to have been primarily religious and focused on the role of the king as communicator with the divine, rather than military and displaying military victories. Moreover, I do not think that the 'audience question' of Hittite festivals has been properly dealt with (see chapter 4.3). These observations and arguments were the starting point

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<sup>100</sup> (Osborne 2022, 202)

<sup>101</sup> (Schwemer 2022)

<sup>102</sup> (De Martino 2022a, VII)

<sup>103</sup> Although other studies have contributed to seeing the socio-political efficacies of Hittite festivals too, see 4.4. For this mechanism in Geertz' work, see (Geertz 1980, 13-17, 21)

for developing the study at hand, with the aim of finding out how the royal elite organized and manipulated the celebration of festivals to create, negotiate and sustain their power.

Towards the finishing stages of writing this study, I became aware of Glatz' *Making* and especially her chapter on 'sovereign performance', in which she surveys examples of Hittite festival practice as political technologies.<sup>104</sup> I have discussed briefly the overall approach of Glatz' book and the many topics, places and objects it surveys (see 1.1.8). It is the chapter on 'sovereign performance' that we will take a closer look at in this section. In this discussion of the chapter, I will summarize Glatz' observations and explain the ways in which Glatz' chapter is similar to my research, as well as ways in which it is different. First and foremost among the differences are the scale and level of detail in which we discuss and analyze the Hittite festival texts.

The underlying assumption of Glatz' performance chapter is the idea that the sovereignty of the Hittite empire was, at least to some extent, based on "ritual, theatricality and performance", as these "establish and maintain the symbolic, social and economic ties critical for political reproduction".<sup>105</sup> In this way, Glatz disregards the more Weberian notion of power<sup>106</sup>, assuming that despite a "threat of violence" inherent to all forms of sovereignty, ritual performances could better than acts of violence alone make "subordinates into more or less willing subjects and legitimize the extraction of resources".<sup>107</sup> In alignment with the thinking of Benedict Anderson, Glatz argues for the creation of a sense of community through ritual practice:

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<sup>104</sup> (Glatz 2020, 100-118)

<sup>105</sup> (Glatz 2020, 100)

<sup>106</sup> This traditional understanding of power is summarized by Clifford Geertz as: "Power, defined as the capacity to make decisions by which others are bound, with coercion its expression, violence its foundation, and domination its aim, is the rock to which... most of modern political theory clings". (Geertz 1980, 134) For a discussion on different theories of power, including Weber's, see (Westwood 2002, 5-28).

<sup>107</sup> (Glatz 2020, 100)



In the absence of print media and widespread literacy, the exertion of sovereignty and the production of community required the creation or adaptation of a shared cultural logic, a symbolic thread capable of overcoming geographical, social, and cultural distance and interconnecting place-bound practices of agricultural production, surplus circumscription, and ritual consumption. Ritual practice and an assemblage of distinctive material symbols... formed the most important mechanism through which the Hittite imperial network sought to reproduce itself on the central Anatolian plateau. The adoption, adaptation, and aggrandisement of local gods and ritual practices by the Hittite state helped rationalise and weave together this new political reality.<sup>108</sup>

Glatz' work on cult performances in Hittite society is thoroughly informed by anthropological theory. Like Gilan, she follows the Geertzian concept that political rituals functioned "not only to represent the state, but to actively construct it. Ritual in other words is not commemorative or confirmative of power, but a critical mechanism in its continued *making*".<sup>109</sup> Geertz famously coined the term 'theatre state' to refer to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Balinese Negara.<sup>110</sup> The term implies that a political state is directed towards the performance of drama and ritual, rather than to more conventional conceptualizations of power, such as warfare and welfare.<sup>111</sup> The theory that power

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<sup>108</sup> (Glatz 2020, 117)

<sup>109</sup> (Glatz 2020, 101), Glatz' italics, referring to her understanding of empires and their power being continuously negotiated. For this concept in Geertz' work, see (Geertz 1980, 13-17, 21)

<sup>110</sup> (Geertz 1980)

<sup>111</sup> Note that Geertz has received considerable criticism on his theory over the years, as it is deemed static and disregards especially the importance of economics and wealth as mechanisms of power management. E.g., (MacRae 2005).

is created by spectacle is often summarized with Geertz' own words: "power served pomp, not pomp power".<sup>112</sup>

Glatz then, applies this Geertzian concept of the 'theatre state' to the Hittite empire:

The Hittite empire was also in many respects a theatre state in the sense that theatricality formed a fundamental part of its *raison d'être*. Over half of the Late Bronze Age Anatolian cuneiform corpus centres on ritual matters and the organisation and performance of large numbers of cult festivities. Pomp, circumstance, and specially devised assemblages of things colluded in regularised ritual performances to reproduce Hittite sovereignty, and to bolster its political economy at home and in some of its more distant imperial dependencies...<sup>113</sup>

Elements of the festivals that she highlights as reproducing sovereignty are royal movement, which unified the communities of Anatolia, but at the same time created pathways for economically advantageous endeavors (movements of agricultural surpluses, taxes) as well as material symbols. As noted by Glatz, the Geertzian idea of constructing power through spectacle is supported by the ideas of David Kretzner and Maurice Bloch. These include considerations of the sensory and emotional experiences created by rituals: "This is because the experiences routinely created by political ritual, especially emotional arousal, narrow participants' breadth of attention, discourage critical thinking, and make them suggestible and focused on a limited set of symbols".<sup>114</sup> Glatz also emphasizes the importance of feasting for socio-political efficacy:

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<sup>112</sup> (Geertz 1980, 13)

<sup>113</sup> (Glatz 2020, 101)

<sup>114</sup> (Glatz 2020, 102)

“Hosting a feast not only demonstrated the extent of the social network of the host and their economic prowess, but also socially indebted participants”.<sup>115</sup>

Glatz more or less divides her performance chapter into two sections: one concerned with the first half of the Late Bronze Age, the early days of the Hittite Kingdom, and one with the second half of the Late Bronze Age, the height of the Hittite Empire. For each period, she surveys the available evidence, ranging from objects (cult equipment, pottery), iconography and buildings to examples from individual texts.<sup>116</sup> The available evidence for the second part of the Late Bronze Age is, of course, a lot more extensive, especially textually. Glatz states: “The increase in surviving texts dealing with ritual activities, by contrast, tracks either a drastic increase in ritual activities, or heightened state interest, interference, and appropriating of ritual”.<sup>117</sup> Both of these explanations for the uptick in Hittite festival texts are possible, though we should also add that Old Hittite texts might simply not have survived since they are, indeed, older by sometimes several hundreds of years, and furthermore, Old Hittite originals may have been discarded after their contents were copied or edited according to the needs of the administration in later times.

Glatz characterizes the three big state festivals, the KILAM festival, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival and the *nuntarriyašhaš*-festival as “grand occasions of royal display and commensal generosity”.<sup>118</sup> The text of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival “underscores that the performativity of movement as well as its puncture by specific, place-bound ritual actions, and commensal

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<sup>115</sup> (Glatz 2020, 114)

<sup>116</sup> I will discuss in more detail to some of Glatz’ observations on objects and iconography in chapter 5. In terms of surveying Hittite festival performances in general, I find the overview given by Schwemer (Schwemer 2022) more structured and exhaustive, on the other hand his overview is lacking in references to archaeological evidence for performance.

<sup>117</sup> (Glatz 2020, 109)

<sup>118</sup> (Glatz 2020, 109)

consumption events, were critical to Hittite theatres of state”.<sup>119</sup> Although I agree wholeheartedly with these observations, I miss examples and an analysis to substantiate these observations in more detail. Of course, Glatz’ focus is archaeological, so a more detailed treatment of the texts could not have been expected.<sup>120</sup>

In her consideration of the traveling festivals (*Reisefeste*), Glatz reflects on the nature of Hittite festivals in a chronological perspective, at the same time connecting the textual evidence with the material and contextualizing the festival tradition within the landscape and geography of Anatolia. She concludes that:

Overall, the ritual geography of the *Reisefeste* maps remarkably well onto the regions of central Anatolia, whose settlement landscapes underwent the most dramatic and, as I have argued in Chapter 2, centrally orchestrated transformations in the early era of Hittite empire-making. This too, however, appears to have been only a temporary solution, as ritual travel underwent a significant spatial and symbolic transformation during the later Empire Period, when local cults acquired *Stellvertreter* institutions (‘houses’) in the capital city, suggesting either a shift in royal focus away from the central Anatolian plateau or, more in line with the archaeological evidence discussed in the preceding chapter, a weakening of imperial ties and greater local autonomy in the central region.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> (Glatz 2020, 109)

<sup>120</sup> Likewise, archaeologists may find my survey of material evidence for Hittite performance culture (chapter 5) wanting. These are nevertheless useful exercises, as they at least attempt to bridge the disciplinary divides that impede scholarly progress.

<sup>121</sup> (Glatz 2020, 114)

Lastly, Glatz addresses possible avenues for resistance and negotiation within the Hittite state festivals. As she herself explains, there is little direct evidence for these, but the character of Hittite culture and its appropriating tendencies suggests “a keen awareness of the opportunities for dissent and re-interpretation that ritual provides”.<sup>122</sup> Glatz finds a possible locale for low-level resistance in peasant tax evasion, suggesting that the grain collected as tax (during the celebration of some state festivals) could deliberately have been of poor quality.<sup>123</sup>

The main similarities between Glatz’ approach in her ‘sovereign performance’ chapter and my study, are the point of departure, the aim, as well some of the evidence considered and theory employed.

Like Glatz, I work from the assumption that the celebration of festivals could be a powerful tool in the creation and negotiation of political power. Looking at the way that extant textual and iconographical sources depict Hittite kingship, I think the Geertzian concept of a ‘theatre state’ may indeed be applicable to Hittite society, although we should allow, like Glatz, for a critical and modernized version of the concept, which includes the importance of wealth distribution. My aim too, is similar to that of Glatz in this chapter, namely to “draw out a series of pertinent characteristics of the political intent and efficacy of these practices”.<sup>124</sup> As I will argue in the remainder of this chapter, the only sound way to analyze the potential or intended socio-political efficacy of Hittite festivals, is to first have a thorough understanding of the festivals’ characteristics and of the details of their performance in a type of bottom-up approach. I want to add a second aim to the one formulated by Glatz: to come to a better understanding of the

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<sup>122</sup> (Glatz 2020, 116)

<sup>123</sup> (Glatz 2020, 116-117)

<sup>124</sup> (Glatz 2020, 109, n. 49)

complex and varied ways in which Hittites celebrated their festivals or, put this into more practical terms, to catalogue and analyze the 'building blocks' of Hittite performance culture (see also below). To investigate Hittite performance culture, we have to look at many of the same types of evidence that Glatz surveyed. A proper understanding of the celebration of festivals does not stop with an analysis or catalogue of building blocks found in the textual records, but also consists, as Glatz exemplifies, of other locales of evidence on performance culture, including the landscape, pottery assemblages, cult objects and monumental buildings. Furthermore, festival texts should be analyzed as much as possible in congruence with the physical situatedness of the festivals, reflected in architecture and imagery. In chapter 3, we will see how several 'media' of impression management can be studied in such a multi-disciplinary approach, looking at the work by other scholars in Ancient Near Eastern studies.

Glatz' performance chapter is part of an overarching narrative that focuses mainly on archaeological sources to study the making of empire. Given her predominantly archaeological approach, Glatz does not present the textual evidence in much detail in the performance chapter. Glatz focuses mostly on the theory on social and political functions of rituals, so that she cannot give her full to the intricacies of the texts, that is, what exactly the performances looked like, and how those performance characteristics would have been experienced by the audience. In the performance-oriented approach of Hittite festivals that I develop here, I consider these aspects of Hittite texts in more detail, so that I can show *how* festivals were used by the royal elite as tools of impression management. As we will see (see chapters 6 and 7), this approach necessarily also entails extensive discussions on the problems of interpreting details of performance from within the festivals texts, such as sequences of events and the staging of the activities.

Glatz essentially presents a survey of performance related evidence that is grounded in anthropological theory. She positions performance within the overall study of Hittite imperialism. Glatz' work is informed by many of the same anthropological theories that have informed my study, especially the work of Geertz on the concept of the 'theatre state'. She also refers to some of the works from ancient studies that I use in developing my performance-oriented approach (see especially chapter 3).<sup>125</sup> In my study, I will add to Glatz' approach of Hittite festival performances by operationalizing theory and terminology from performance studies. As we will see in the next chapter (chapter 2), performance studies is partially embedded in and adds to anthropological theory. Concepts and terminology from performance studies are useful tools in discussing and analyzing Hittite performance culture, as we will see in chapter 4.

#### 1.1.10 Performance-oriented approach

What is missing in the scholarship on Hittite festivals, and what I develop in this study (chapters 2-4), is a performance-oriented approach, that includes relevant theory, terminology and comparative case studies from several related disciplines: anthropology, the history of religion, archaeology, and performance studies. This approach should also include as a methodology for the collecting and cataloguing of different elements of Hittite performance culture (e.g., typical ritual acts carried out during festival performances, physical settings of performance, the use of specific instruments, etc.). A useful way of conceptualizing the elements of a performance, is to approach it as a producer of a performance would, dividing different elements of its final staging

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<sup>125</sup> See chapter 3. Especially (Ristvet 2015) and (Elizabeth DeMarrais 1996).

into 'building blocks', each of which we have to analyze by gathering evidence from textual and material sources and interpret using the performance-oriented approach. This is a long-term process that, due to the vastness and complexity of the evidence, cannot be executed by one scholar. This study is a first step into that direction, but in itself already builds on the philological and interpretative work of many other scholars.

Using the accumulated background understanding of performance behavior (theory, terminology, comparative case studies), we can then analyze the particular application of these building blocks as they are used within the celebrations of specific festivals (see case studies 1 and 2, chapters 6 and 7) This contextualization should also include, as much as the extant evidence allows, the physical settings of the performance. In this way, we first focus on the question 'how' Hittite festivals were celebrated. This question is always entangled with its logical interpretative counterpart: 'why' were Hittite festivals celebrated in this way? That is to say, what effects were anticipated by those orchestrating the performance? Together, these questions connect the character of Hittite kingship and power with the performance realities of Hittite festivals. It is in this way that I attempt a first reconstruction of the characteristics and effects of the 'Hittite theater of state'.

Scholars studying the ancient world have found multi- and interdisciplinary ways to study different types of religious and political events, which are marked in their organization and often geared towards creating certain 'effects' on the participants and audience.<sup>126</sup> These events are called by many different names: public events, festivals, ceremonies, rituals, spectacles.

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<sup>126</sup> See for instance the different terms employed in the scholarship summarized in chapter 3.



Sometimes the religious nature of events is emphasized, when they are called cultic events, ceremonial rituals or religious ceremonies. Some scholars prefer to keep their terminology 'objective' by using terms such as performance, performative event or gathering. Sometimes the political efficacy of these moments is underlined by using terms such as theater of state, political theater, state performance or performance of politics. For studying Hittite festivals, the exact terminology is not the main issue, as these types of events had efficacy in multiple spheres (e.g., religious, political) and among a diverse audience (the king, the elite, perhaps different levels of the populace; people from inside and outside of the capital; people watching versus people performing; people involved in the preparations and people who were not, to name but a few).

Since the 1990's, there has been a growing number of approaches to such events in ancient societies, including but not limited to the anthropology of public events, the archaeology of ritual and performance, theater and festival studies and strands within philosophy, archaeology and history focusing on social power, performance and socio-political organization. Despite these developments, only little attention has gone to the interplay of politics, religion and performance in Hittite society. Besides the work of Glatz, discussed above, pioneers in this field are Manfred Hutter, Amir Gilan and Susanne Görke.<sup>127</sup> Their work on Hittite performance and its social and political efficacy remains limited however, to (sections within) articles. They are aware of and refer to anthropological scholarship, but there is no attempt to create an overarching framework of relevant approaches, theory or terms so that it can be applied to several case studies of Hittite performance. There is also no systematic approach to the analysis of the source texts, such as the

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<sup>127</sup> See 4.4.

performance-oriented catalogue of building blocks I propose we should use, but rather a series of references to interesting phenomena of performance found throughout the Hittite textual records.

### 1.1.11 Hittite performance culture in light of performance studies

Hittite festival texts are an extraordinary set of records: they are among the world's oldest extant sources on the performance of ritual acts, and contain an astonishing wealth of information and detail that texts from other ancient cultures often lack. Performance studies scholar Richard Schechner writes in a summary on the 'earliest performances':

The origins of theatre and dance in China can be dated to about 4,000 years ago, in Greece to about 2,600 years ago. That the peoples of Africa, Native America, and elsewhere were performing is evident – but exactly what these performances were like, we are not likely ever to know with any finality.<sup>128</sup>

Given this general statement that we know little of the characteristics of ancient performances, it is sad that not more is known outside of Near Eastern studies about the existence of the Hittite festival tradition. As we will see, some work has been done within Hittitology, to approach Hittite festival texts as sources on human performance. In general, however, the tendency within Hittitology is to consider the philological work on festival texts as unfinished, and thus, to wait with interpreting the texts or assigning any type of cultural meaning or socio-political efficacy to

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<sup>128</sup> (Schechner 2013, 222)

the practices reflected in these texts. I think that both of these processes can and should go hand in hand (see below).

Furthermore, there is a tendency of presentism in Hittitological research on festivals, that is, scholars tend to focus on what is 'missing' from the record, according to the standards of today. In more positive cases, this is because the academic wishes to understand better the intricacies of a specific phenomenon. In other cases, perceived '*lacunae*' have even led scholars to question whether there is an actual performance praxis behind the textual tradition of Hittite festivals.<sup>129</sup> It is surprising that this discussion exists, given all the evidence presented above, that is, the sheer size and complexity of the textual corpus, the internal evidence for quality assurance and concern with the proper celebration of festivals both on the state and the local level, the continued tradition of preserving and updating the festival texts as well as a varied corpus of evidence from the material side, including monumental buildings used for cult, cult objects and assemblages, pottery used for feasts or libations and iconographic depictions of performance, including libations, acrobatics, processions and music.

For those studying human performance diachronically, the Hittite records provide a wealth of information that, albeit difficult to interpret, is extremely detailed and extensive, especially considering its age. Scholars studying other periods and regions analyze and reconstruct the structures and efficacy of performance culture with much more meagre evidence. Besides answering the questions of how Hittite festivals were performed and what effects these performances could have had, this study therefore has a third aim: to approach the Hittitological

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<sup>129</sup> See chapter 4.

evidence of performance without presentism, but instead, with an awareness of the riches it provides for cultural historical research in general. In this way, I aim to make Hittite performance culture accessible to those from outside of the field of Hittitology, and to create a new level of appreciation for performance within it.

## 1.2 Aims

Currently, three German universities (Universities of Mainz, Marburg and Würzburg) are partners in the EU sponsored research project '*Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrитуale: staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien*', which sees a large team of scholars undertake much of the necessary philological work in publishing the extensive corpus of Hittite festival texts.<sup>130</sup> My project aims to add to this collective Hittitological endeavor by moving from philological research into the domain of interpretation.

In this study then, I develop a performance-oriented approach to Hittite festival culture, by surveying relevant theory, selecting applicable terminology and collecting comparative case studies from several related (and often intertwined) disciplines: anthropology, history of religion, archaeology and performance studies. Part of the performance-oriented approach is the development of a methodology: by collecting and cataloguing different elements of Hittite performance culture, the building blocks of performance, I build a point of reference that can be used in the analysis of specific case studies of festival performances.

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<sup>130</sup> (HFR-Team 2019b, a)

Using this performance-oriented approach, I intend to, on the one hand, grow our knowledge of the practicalities of Hittite festivals in general (the 'how') and, on the other hand, develop a better understanding of their social and political efficacies (the 'why').

The question of how the festivals were celebrated is broad, comprising a large number of sub-questions. What were the elements of performance key to these festivals? Who are the participants, what do they do, and where do they do it? Who was the envisioned audience of the performance? The 'why' question, which seeks to answer why the festivals were designed and orchestrated the way that they were, pertains to the sort of effects these performances were envisioned to have on the audiences witnessing them and the performers enacting them. As such, we can study the importance and inner workings of ceremony as a technique of 'impression management', as a way to establish, negotiate and sustain power.

### **1.3 Methodology: performance-oriented analysis**

As we have seen, this thesis is concerned with two overarching questions: 'how were performances performed?' (i.e. what were the 'building blocks' of performance and in what constellations were they used) and 'why were they performed in this way' (i.e. in what ways did the Hittite elite orchestrate the performances so as to have particular social and political efficacies). The connection between these two questions is the expected effects of performances, by the organizing parties of the performances, but also by us as scholars. In analyzing emotional, psychological, social or political effects of human behavior, we are treading on thin ice. In modern day times, politicians need a team of specialists to manage their social media output, to write their speeches and to micro-manage every detail of their public appearance, and still, these strategies

can back-fire, performances can disappoint and careers can be broken. If the effects of modern-day performances cannot be properly predicted and indeed manipulated, then what chance do we as historians of such events have to reconstruct the desired effects, let alone the ones that were actually felt? There are several ways to answer this question. One could refrain from taking on this challenge at all. As I have argued, it would be a shame to do so: festivals were part of the media strategy of the Hittite elite and as a source on human performance behavior in ancient times, they are uniquely detailed and dynamic. Some might argue that before starting interpretative work, we first need to have completed the editions and publications of all the Hittite festival texts, and make them available in a searchable database, such as the one the *Hethitische Festrirtuale* project is currently working on.<sup>131</sup> It would be ideal of course, to have all the relevant comparative material in just a few clicks, and to know that this material was already thoroughly scrutinized by multiple scholars. But there is also something to be said to start trying out different types of analyses before a fully edited corpus is ready, so that when it is ready, the collective effort of several scholars trying out interpretative work has led to insights, approaches and terminology that is useful and applicable to the Hittite corpus. By taking on the questions mentioned above, I might be undertaking something that will later be proven wrong. I hope that in the course of doing so, I come up with ideas and questions that will in the long run further our understanding of Hittite society.

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<sup>131</sup> (HFR-Team 2021) Note that the website of the HFR project itself warns that studies such as these will remain of a “provisional character” until the publication of the entire corpus of festival texts: “Für das Studium übergreifender kulturhistorischer, sprachgeschichtlicher und paläographischer Fragestellungen kann das umfangreichste hethitische Textgenre derzeit nur eingeschränkt herangezogen werden. Insgesamt gilt, dass jede Bearbeitung eines einzelnen Textbereichs aus den Festrirtualtexten nur vorläufigen Charakter haben kann, solange eine umfassende und systematische Aufarbeitung des Gesamttextbestands (einschließlich der bisher nur grob zugeordneten Fragmente) nicht erfolgt ist.”

I propose the following answer to critical voices on interpretative work of Hittite festivals and their expected or actualized effects: first, we need to be aware of the problem, that in analyzing the *how* and the *why* of festival performances, we are always influenced by our own preconceptions. We should be aware of our tendency to search for universalist characteristics of human behavior, a criticism that, as we shall see in chapter 2, has often been voiced in performance-oriented scholarship, especially when applied to the study of ancient or non-western societies. Following the principles of the hermeneutic circle, we cannot prevent working from and interpreting with presuppositions, even if we wish to be as objective as possible. As we will see throughout this thesis, it is nearly impossible to find answers to the *how* and *why* questions without going back and forth between them: “we can only understand the parts of a text, or any body of meaning, out of a general idea of its whole, yet we can only gain this understanding of the whole by understanding its parts”.<sup>132</sup> Being aware of these methodological difficulties, we can recognize presuppositions when they arise, and continue our interpretation while “allowing Hittite society to be its own”.<sup>133</sup> Last, one way to become more aware of our preconceptions and to widen the world of references we use to interpret human behavior, is to look towards other cultures, modern as well as ancient, and see how performances were organized and what effects they were thought or said to have.

To come to an analysis of the particular workings of Hittite festival performances, I first develop the performance-oriented approach (chapters 2-4). I do this by compiling, surveying and critically assessing several examples of mono-, multi-, and interdisciplinary theory and the

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<sup>132</sup> (Grondin revised version 2017)

<sup>133</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 16)

terminology there employed, such as key concepts and approaches from theater and performance studies (chapter 2), as well as from historical and archeological scholarship focusing on the interaction between space and ritual in more well-studied societies, especially Greco-Roman and Mesopotamian (chapter 3). Furthermore, the approach includes a survey and critical assessment of previous scholarship from within Hittitology on topics related to festival performance (chapter 4), as well as a survey of Hittite material evidence pertaining to performance culture in general (chapter 5).

Having built this multi-disciplinary framework for the study of Hittite performance, I turn to two case studies, to analyze how the building blocks of performance are constructed in those particular cases and to assess what effects would have been envisioned or pursued in their design (see case studies 1 and 2, chapters 6 and 7). I carry out an in-depth analysis of two Hittite state festival texts: the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival and act 1 of the KILAM festival. In my textual analysis, I move between interpretation based on the source texts and evaluations of interpretations or philological work published by others. Rather than starting with an overview of other scholars' interpretations of each case study, it is my aim to evaluate each case study based primarily on evidence provided by the text itself. I strive to explain the materials as coherent and authentic documents, making reasonable extrapolations from the text.<sup>134</sup>

For each case study, I categorize the data presented by the text in a meaningful way, so that the categories help us understand the organization and performance of the festival. These

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<sup>134</sup> In this way, I follow the principle outlined by van den Hout, who argued that we should study the Hittite world using the evidence we have available, refraining from excessive speculation about categories of evidence we do not have or do not have yet. Even if one turns out to be wrong, this may be the best way to move forward in understanding Hittite society. See (van den Hout 2020, 13-17).



categories include the types of information one would expect in a theater script: actors, stage settings, props and movements and actions carried out by the actors. Whenever possible, I reflect on the possible effects these building blocks could have had in their specific constellation. As we will see, the complexity of the Hittite evidence inevitably leads to questions and problems in filling out the categorizations and reconstructing the effects of the performance. By moving back and forth between the building blocks of the festival, the context in which they were performed, and their possible effects on performers and audiences, I try to come to a meaningful interpretation of social and cultural behavior by essentially writing a Geertzian “thick description” of Hittite festival culture.<sup>135</sup> Geertz used Gilbert Ryle’s term “thick description” to explain the elaborate intellectual effort of ethnography, in which the scholar collects examples of human cultural behavior, weighs which behaviors are meaningful and which are accidental and assigns them to a stratified hierarchy.<sup>136</sup> Geertz himself already admits that these descriptions are “our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to”.<sup>137</sup> Because of the seemingly objective way in which anthropologists present their finished research, much of the interpretative activity is obscured. The thick description is essentially a “sorting out the structures of signification”<sup>138</sup> or an intelligible description of “interworked systems of construable signs”.<sup>139</sup> To explain how difficult this interpretative analysis is, Geertz turns to a metaphor which sounds all too familiar to the cuneiformist:

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<sup>135</sup> For Geertz’ ‘thick description’ and ‘webs of significance’ see (Geertz 1973, 3-30, especially 5-10) This is a type of hermeneutic approach: see (Gadamer 1975, 270-281).

<sup>136</sup> (Geertz 1973, 6-9)

<sup>137</sup> (Geertz 1973, 9)

<sup>138</sup> (Geertz 1973, 9)

<sup>139</sup> (Geertz 1973, 14)

Doing ethnography is like trying to read (in the sense of “construct a reading of”) a manuscript-foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behavior.<sup>140</sup>

Carrying out a thick description based on actual foreign, faded, fragmented, incoherent, emended manuscripts then, rather than witnessing human behavior first hand or interviewing people, is one step further away from the analyzed society than Geertz envisioned. These difficulties should not deter us from carrying out interpretative work at all, but it is an important methodological difference that we should acknowledge.<sup>141</sup> By ‘performing’ a thick description, I highlight patterns found within festival performances, such as sequences of gestures and the changing physical and visual permeability of specific ceremonies. Furthermore, I identify questions which have so far not even been asked, and clear the path to finding the corresponding answers.

Another important part of this approach entails the contextualization of evidence. At the heart of performance studies is the idea that performance is part of a dynamic of interaction: it is communicative behavior that works to influence others.<sup>142</sup> In other words, a performance is developed to lead to a specific audience experience. As sociologist Erving Goffman puts it: “Power of any kind must be clothed in effective means of displaying it, and will have different

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<sup>140</sup> (Geertz 1973, 10)

<sup>141</sup> A further interpretative step is the one from the texts (the envisioned ideal) to the practiced reality. I will go into this topic in more detail in chapter 4.

<sup>142</sup> For the discussion on what exactly ‘performance’ entails, see chapter 2. For the definition of performance I see as most applicable to Hittite festivals, see 2.9.

effects depending on how it is dramatized.”<sup>143</sup> This dramatization is shaped by a plethora of factors, including the space, the visibility of the performance and the number of spectators.

Ideally, a contextualization of festival performances is both historical and spatial, meaning that we could contextualize a performance of a Hittite festival as taking place in a specific set of buildings or open space, along a specific route, in a specific month and year during the reign of a specific king. It is currently impossible to pinpoint in time specific performance events reflected in the festival texts (see below). Even though spatial contextualization, too, is speculative at best, I endeavor whenever possible to use the available evidence for a spatial contextualization. Scholarship on performances in other cultures, both modern and ancient, can help us overcome some of the difficulties in accessing and reconstructing lived or desired effects of performances. The scholarly focus on what can be heard, seen, smelled and experienced has led to concepts that can be applied to analyze Hittite festival performances, including staged visibility and diacritical ceremonies.<sup>144</sup> The Hittite evidence mainly consists of the lay-out of excavated structures within the Hittite capital of Hattusa, the excavated remains of the citadel Büyükkale within it, and examples of temple plans. On some occasions, representations of cult activities from iconographic data (either objects or reliefs) can inform our understanding of abstruse activities mentioned in the texts. Even if such reconstructions of possible scenarios remain only that – possible – they allow us to create mental visualizations of what these performances would actually have looked like and felt like. In turn, these visualizations help to guide our research to new questions and

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<sup>143</sup> (Goffman 1990, 232-233)

<sup>144</sup> For these terms, see especially 3.3.

new lines of inquiry which we otherwise would not have considered. These scenarios are also invitations for future studies, to add, improve and refute the suggestions I have made.

#### **1.4 Restrictions**

Scholars working with Hittite texts have to reckon with the challenges of the material they work with. Answering the cultural historical questions focused on in this study would not be possible without the enormous efforts of years of philological work preceding my own. The work of editing texts, assigning fragments to specific texts and finding ‘joins’ (fitting two fragments together like a jigsaw puzzle) is meticulous and difficult. Even more so, as — opposed to other fields such as Classics — there are no exhaustive digital databases, and our texts are notoriously fragmented.<sup>145</sup> As we have seen, we are also confronted with a relatively skewed archaeological record, in the sense that the bias of the textual records towards elite society is not compensated for adequately in the archaeological record. Philology and in-depth analysis of textual sources will therefore remain at the core of Hittitological research, including my own, until more records come to light. Luckily, I conduct my research in a time when unprecedented new opportunities in connecting scarce sources are opened up by the growing corpus of published texts, the use of digital resources (such as searchable databases), as well as evolving possibilities in engaging with scholars internationally.

In an ideal situation, we would be able to study the performance of a festival during the reign of a specific king, compare it to that of other kings and relate the performances to their

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<sup>145</sup> Note however, the new database for Hittite festival texts (still in its early stages) that was made public during the last stretch of writing this study: (Müller 2021).

specific political, economic and environmental circumstances. A historically particularized study of the festivals would allow us to better distinguish strategies behind the performance of the festivals or reconstruct possible effects they could have had. Sadly, the current evidence does not allow putting festival texts into such a detailed historical context, and they are usually studied as part of a general tradition of festival celebrations. Although we cannot link the festival texts to specific historical people or events, we can try to analyze them in their social context. By social context, I mean the greater complex of cultural and societal characteristics of a society, including for instance hierarchical structures, cultural meanings and religious beliefs. For now, we can only assume that festivals will have seen both continuity and changes over time, and that they themselves were perceived as coherent and useful strategies in the communication with gods and men. In this study, I take the Hittite festival texts as idealized versions of the performance reality (see chapter 4 for the discussion on the function of Hittite festival texts and the difference between the 'dramatic text' and the 'performance text'). Because of our current inability to pinpoint directly and in detail how the idealized performances of Hittite festivals changed over time, for the purposes of this study I do not attempt a diachronic approach, but I gather and interpret the extant sources as evidence of 'Hittite performance culture' in general.

The frame of reference I use for coming to a meaningful analysis of Hittite performances, includes an awareness of cultural comparanda. When we look towards other cultures to find comparative case studies, we should always keep in mind why we are doing so. If a scholar seeks to find which strains of human behavior are common among all cultures, then that scholar should ask themselves how many cases they should compare, how many examples of a feature one needs to find to establish something as 'universal'. Taken at face value, a feature can only really be

universal if we could not find a single group of people who did not show that feature, and to prove that is an impossible task.<sup>146</sup> Cultural comparanda can bring us something else. We have seen that in the analysis of a culture that is different than that of the scholar (modern or ancient), they will always work from presuppositions and give meaning to performances that might not have been felt by those from within the culture group. With a plethora of cultural comparanda from cultures across time and throughout history, the scholar is equipped with tools of reference to contradict, question or explain the preconceptions that they might have. As such, using ethnographic analogies can open one's mind to the multitude of possibilities in human behaviors and the meanings that people attached to those behaviors. Of course, ethnographic analogies should not become methodological dangers in themselves, steering scholars towards anachronistic interpretations or seeking 'similarities' for the sake of pointing them out.

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<sup>146</sup> In this sense, my understanding of 'universal' is similar to what is called an 'absolute universal' in linguistics, where it is also deemed a meaningless category, since unknown languages (or in my case, culture), may lack the feature. See (Bickel).

## Chapter 2 Performance studies

*“A performance is declarative of our shared humanity, yet it utters the uniqueness of particular cultures. We will know one another better by entering one another’s performances and learning their grammars and vocabularies.”*

—Victor Turner<sup>1</sup>

In the next three chapters (chapters 2-4), I form the performance-oriented framework for my analysis, gather the necessary terminology and look at several comparative case studies. First, I will introduce the field of performance studies, providing a brief overview of its history, going over several important definitions and the relevance of this field for the study of Hittite sources. As we will see in the following pages, the literature on performance studies can be broadly divided into three trends that are characterized by 1) a mostly anthropological or social focus, 2) a very broad definition of performance combined with strong theoretical and postmodern tendencies, 3) a mostly linguistic focus. Given the cultic nature of Hittite festivals and my politically oriented research question, I adopt in this study a mostly anthropological approach to ancient Hittite performance, but make use of some elements of the more postmodern approach.

In the following two chapters, we will look at the implementation of the ‘performative turn’ in research on the ancient world in general and in Hittitology specifically. I will highlight terms and ideas that are of particular interest to understanding the performance of Hittite festivals.

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<sup>1</sup> Cited by Richard Schechner from a meeting to plan an international conference on Ritual and Performance: (Schechner 2013, 20).

Although these chapters mention a myriad of studies and scholarship, it does not mean to be exhaustive. There are other scholars and other studies, that are perhaps also relevant or applicable to Hittite festival performances. For now, I have selected these studies, since they show the most promise in guiding an analysis of Hittite festival text, equipped with the knowledge and work of those who have dedicated their time laboring over the philosophical and methodological details of performance, as well as those who have used these tools to analyze other cultures and operated the theory to come to a better understanding of human behaviors.

There is a methodological danger to seeking theory that might pertain to Hittite instances of performance, and to then use that theory to try and explain texts that exhibit those phenomena. Though this method is strictly speaking circular, we have to start somewhere to come to meaningful interpretations of social and cultural behavior. Theory can deepen our understanding of the data and vice versa: being aware of the hermeneutic circle, we can endeavor to make sense of what Geertz refers to as ‘webs of significance’ – the pattern of symbols, rituals, and practices that constitute a culture.<sup>2</sup>

## **2.1. Performative turn in the social sciences**

Performance studies, nowadays often mentioned in one breath as ‘theater and performance studies’, is a field that has gained in popularity since the 1950’s and 1960’s, when the term ‘performance’ emerged as a useful concept in the social sciences, a movement often referred to as

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<sup>2</sup> (Geertz 1973, 5; For the hermeneutic circle, see especially Gadamer 1975, 270-281)



the 'performative turn' (or 'performance turn').<sup>3</sup> Between the 1950's and 1970's, scholars from fields such as sociology and anthropology, among whom Kenneth Burke, Dwight Conquergood, Ervin Goffman and Victor Turner, started using theatrical language and metaphors to discuss and analyze non-theatrical social and cultural phenomena.

Such approaches were then called 'dramatism' or 'dramaturgical analyses' of social interactions.<sup>4</sup> Some of the most influential concepts to emerge with the performative turn were Victor Turner's ethnographic descriptions of ritual as a processual form of "social drama", J. L. Austin's linguistic theory of "performative utterances", and Erving Goffman's analyses of the scenarios of "social interaction".<sup>5</sup> The definitions of 'performance' by Goffman and Milton Singer fit well with the research aim of my study. Goffman defined 'performance' as "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continual presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers".<sup>6</sup> It was anthropologist Milton Singer who coined the term 'cultural performance', to refer to "a specifically limited timespan, a clear beginning and end, an organized programme of activity within this span, a set of performers, an audience, and a specific place and occasion".<sup>7</sup> Goffman and Singer's definitions then, add to the basic understanding of 'ritual' that we have seen before.<sup>8</sup> Most importantly, they show the important dimension of the observer or audience, and the possible effects of the activity on that audience.

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<sup>3</sup> (Davis 2008, 1-8) (Shepherd 2016, 49-51)

<sup>4</sup> (Carlson 2014, 78)

<sup>5</sup> (Bell 1998, 206)

<sup>6</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 21) See also (Carlson 2014, 78)

<sup>7</sup> (Carlson 2014, 79-80)

<sup>8</sup> I.e. 'Ritual' as "the performance of ritual acts; repeated actions or patterns of behaviour having significance within a particular social group". See 1.1.5.

## 2.2 Theater versus performance studies

For decades, a strong tension has existed between traditional theater scholars and those in performance studies. This tension was so strong that even now the history of the field and the emergence of performance studies is a debated topic.<sup>9</sup> In most places still, scholars artificially separate performance studies from the field of theater studies.

Theater studies had existed since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was — until recently — focused mainly on studying the traditional European theater tradition from a literary perspective. A major paradigm shift within theater studies that happened in the decades following WWII was the gradual change of both the traditional canon of Western European drama as well as the established textual approach of theater.<sup>10</sup> Gradually, from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards,

an awareness grew that the canon, far from being the result of objective and unchanging standards of abstract artistic excellence, had been constructed, sometimes consciously but more often not, in order to demonstrate the supremacy of certain groups — a class, an ethnicity, a nation, a gender — in a self-created and self-justifying system.<sup>11</sup>

The former focus on the literary text or the original performance faded, and performances are now studied in a way that takes into account the fluidity of their nature, developments that

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<sup>9</sup> See for instance the different stories of the emergence of Performance Studies as told by Marvin Carlson and by Simon Shepard. (Carlson 2014, 74-92; Shepherd 2016, 174-183)

<sup>10</sup> (Carlson 2014, 88-92)

<sup>11</sup> (Carlson 2014, 90)

happen after their creation, as well as of variations from performance to performance. More attention too, goes out to the social context of a particular production and the role of the audience. In a political sense, the paradigm shift saw the traditional study of theater first become challenged by feminist scholars, and shortly thereafter, under the influence of postcolonialism and postmodernism, it underwent internationalization, democratization and contextualization.<sup>12</sup>

Performance studies as a field developed out of the acknowledgement of the 'pervasive theatricality in everyday social life'.<sup>13</sup> Even though many acknowledge the importance of scholars from the social sciences, particularly Goffman, for the beginning of the performative turn, many point at NYU as the beginning of the institutionalized field of performance studies. At the NYU Drama department, we see the development of the *Tulane Drama Review* (now *TDR*) under the auspices of Richard Schechner, known for his work on rituals and other performance activities in India and New Guinea. In a famous 1992 speech, subsequently published in *TDR*, Schechner emphasized the difference between theater and performance studies, essentially claiming the significance of performance over theater, which he called an "extremely limited genre, a subdivision of performance."<sup>14</sup> This position has been criticized and even called a "fetishisation of (New York) Performance Studies and its founder".<sup>15</sup> One strain of performance-oriented scholarship was developed from a different point of origin. At Northwestern University, Dwight Conquergood shaped a department of Performance Studies out of Oral Interpretation and Communication Studies. As such, it was not in direct opposition to a department of theater

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<sup>12</sup> (Carlson 2014, 92)

<sup>13</sup> (Carlson 2014, 78-88)

<sup>14</sup> (Carlson 2014, 88)

<sup>15</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 177)

studies but rather based in oral interpretation and folklore studies.<sup>16</sup> Despite this alternative disciplinary strain, many see and cite Schechner as the inventor of the field of performance studies, at least in the United States.<sup>17</sup>

Decades after the emergence of Performance Studies, the tensions between traditional theater studies and performance studies have somewhat dissolved and collaborative relationship has arisen in 'theater and performance studies' departments, although in many places, a sense of competition and subsequent bickering over definitions and disciplinary limits remains.<sup>18</sup>

Although discussion exists as to the exact function of Hittite festival texts (see chapter 4), I will argue that they are indeed instructions for physical enactments on a stage, making them objects of study in the traditional theater studies sense. The celebration of Hittite festivals would beyond doubt have included music and dance performances, as well as theatrical interludes.<sup>19</sup> A study of Hittite festivals through the lens of traditional theater studies would be mostly focused on the *'how'* of Hittite festivals, that is the characteristics of its staging: the *'who'*, *'what'*, *'where'*.

Compared to traditional theater studies, performance studies is more of a sociological approach, and focuses on 'cultural performance' (see the definitions of Goffmann and Singer above, as well as 2.5) in a general sense, rather than instances of theater-like performances in the more narrow sense.<sup>20</sup> From the decades-long schism between theater and performance studies, as

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<sup>16</sup> (Schechner 2013, 161-166)

<sup>17</sup> (For the most objective view on the emergence of performance studies, including the non-US based institutions and scholars, see Schechner 2013, 174-183)

<sup>18</sup> (Shepherd 2016), esp. ch. 16. Shepherd remarks, for instance: "The definition of the subject area is founded not on any inherent characteristics but on where the institutional lines are drawn. Thus one group of people might think they are doing Performance Studies while another group of people doing exactly the same thing might think of it as drama and theatre studies". (Shepherd 2016, 203)

<sup>19</sup> See for instance (van den Hout 1991)

<sup>20</sup> (Shepherd 2016, vii-x)

well as numerous publications on the different understandings of ‘performance’, it should be clear that the term is complex and hotly debated.<sup>21</sup> As Simon Shepherd puts it: “the entity of ‘performance’ shifts, mutates, knots itself up and gets into downright contradictions.”<sup>22</sup> The performance approach that is based in the social sciences is more focused on the meaning and effects of performance, its ability to create culture and authority. As such, this perspective is useful to answer questions on the ‘*why*’ of Hittite festival culture.<sup>23</sup>

Most scholars prefer not to use the term ‘Performance Theory’, but rather loosely refer to performance as a ‘concept’ or an ‘approach’, with its own set of analytical models, procedures and terminology, that can be applied to a range of disciplinary areas. This set varies widely however, depending on the institutional and philosophical stance of each ‘performance oriented’ scholar.<sup>24</sup> Alongside the institutional expansion of performance studies, as outlined above, the term ‘performance’ has informed numerous other disciplines, with the social sciences taking the lead. Besides anthropology and sociology, performance is a term used by scholars in religion studies, cultural history and archaeology (see below). By highlighting some of the themes studied and observations made by scholars on ‘performance’, I aim to outline my own understanding of the term and its applicability to the study of Hittite festivals.

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<sup>21</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 183)

<sup>22</sup> (Shepherd 2016, x)

<sup>23</sup> See also 2.9 for which trends in performance studies I use to investigate which questions.

<sup>24</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 221-224)

## 2.3 Performance of power

Since the beginning of performance studies, the term performance has been studied as part of a dynamic of interaction: it is communicative behavior that works to influence others.<sup>25</sup> Goffman recognized early on the potential of a performance-oriented approach to the analysis of social establishments and the description of ‘techniques of impression management’.<sup>26</sup> As Goffman puts it: “Power of any kind must be clothed in effective means of displaying it, and will have different effects depending on how it is dramatized.”<sup>27</sup> The display and performance of power is the meeting point between theater and society. As summarized by Georges Gurvitch, ‘social ceremonies’, such as public rituals, are avenues of collective activity, in which individuals and groups play social roles, sometimes without realizing they do.<sup>28</sup> Because performances can be used to *create* certain effects, “performance terminology analyzes both religious and secular rituals as orchestrated events that construct people's perceptions and interpretations.”<sup>29</sup> Performance studies thus bears upon phenomena encountered in Hittite culture and ritual, not just attested in festival texts, but also in for instance funerary rituals and visual culture. By looking at Hittite festival texts as evidence of the specific cultural performances, we can study the importance and inner workings of ceremony as a technique of ‘impression management’, as a way to establish, negotiate and sustain power.

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<sup>25</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 6)

<sup>26</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 5) Goffman defines ‘impression management’ as “the contingencies which arise in fostering an impression, and ... the techniques for meeting these contingencies”: (Goffman 1959, 80, 208-237)

<sup>27</sup> (Goffman 1990, 232-233)

<sup>28</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 19-20)

<sup>29</sup> (Bell 1998, 208)

In discussing the definition of 'performance', Schechner makes an interesting distinction between 'make-believe' and 'make-belief'. In make-believe, actors take on a role on a stage or children act out a role in play: "the performances maintain a clearly marked boundary between the world of the performance and everyday reality". In make-belief, "the performances intentionally blur or sabotage that boundary".<sup>30</sup> As a primary example of make-belief, Schechner explains how public figures, such as American presidents, enact the effects they want the audience to accept as 'real'. This power performance is carefully staged, and has an unsuspected two-fold goal:

The president's words are written by professional speechwriters, the backdrops and settings carefully designed for maximum effect, the chief executive himself well-rehearsed. Teleprompters ensure that the president will appear to be speaking off the cuff while he is actually reading every word. Each detail is choreographed, from how the president makes eye contact (with the camera, with the selected audience at a town meeting), to how he uses his hands, dresses, and is made up. The goal of all this is to "make belief"—first, to build the public's confidence in the president, and second, to sustain the president's belief in himself. His performances convince himself even as he strives to convince others.<sup>31</sup>

We will leave aside here Turner's concept of 'social drama', since it is better applied to large scale historical crises than instances of individual performances. A future study may look into the role of Hittite festivals as a reaction to the 'social drama' of the twenty-year plague during the early

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<sup>30</sup> (Schechner 2013, 43)

<sup>31</sup> (Schechner 2013, 43) Small typo corrections are mine.

14<sup>th</sup> century BCE. What we should take into account in the current study is the interplay between aesthetic and social dramas. Schechner depicted this interplay as follows:<sup>32</sup>

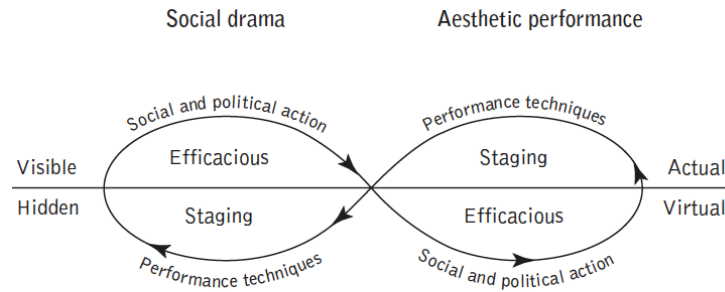


Figure 2.1. Schechner's mutual positive feedback relationship of social dramas and aesthetic performances. Schechner 2013, 76-77

His own explanation of the model is as follows:

visible actions of any given social drama are informed, shaped, and guided by aesthetic principles and performance/rhetorical devices. Reciprocally, a culture's visible aesthetic practices are informed, shaped, and guided by the processes of social interaction... The politician, activist, lawyer, or terrorist all use techniques of performance –staging, ways of addressing various audiences, setting, etc. – to present, demonstrate, protest, or support specific social actions – actions designed to maintain, modify, or overturn the existing social order. Reciprocally, artists draw on actions performed in social life, “real events,” not only as materials to be enacted but as themes, rhythms, and models of behavior and representation.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> (Schechner 2013, 76-77)

<sup>33</sup> (Schechner 2013, 76)



To bring this back to the current undertaking: the social and historical circumstances under which Hittite festivals were organized and performed will have shaped their performance and reception. On the other hand, the performances themselves were also set up in a specific relation to the existing social structures, they were supposed to have social efficacy. Looking at Schechner's graph, the 'aesthetic performance' corresponds with the celebration of Hittite festivals. In this research, I will describe as much as possible the actual staging of the performance, while trying to identify possible effects it aimed to bring about.

## 2.4 Performance and religion

As we have seen, the 'performative turn' has its roots in multiple fields, among which anthropology and sociology. One particular field of study that has been greatly influenced by performance studies is the study of religion. From the seminal works of Turner and Goffman onwards, scholars like Stanley Tambiah and Clifford Geertz continued the performance-oriented approach towards religious activities.<sup>34</sup>

Geertz famously studied the performance of the Balinese cockfight as well as the whole complex of highly choreographed performances in the palatial structures of 19th century Bali, for which he coined the term 'theatre state'.<sup>35</sup> It is in Geertz that we first see the notion of ceremonies not just *representing* beliefs, but *creating* them.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> (Bell 1998, 206)

<sup>35</sup> (Geertz 1973, 1980)

<sup>36</sup> (Geertz 1980, 13-17)

It was a theatre state in which the kings and princes were the impresarios, the priests the directors, and the peasants the supporting cast, stage crew and audience. The stupendous cremations, tooth filings, temple dedications, pilgrimages, and blood sacrifices, mobilizing hundreds and even thousands of people and great quantities of wealth, were not means to political ends: they were the ends themselves, they were what the state was for. Court ceremonialism was the driving force of court politics; and mass ritual was not a device to shore up the state, but rather the state, even in its final gasp, was a device for the enactment of mass ritual. Power served pomp, not pomp power.<sup>37</sup>

Geertz has been criticized as being rigid, seeing only the reaffirmation of existing structures through ceremonial performances, where other scholars, such as Turner and Schechner, emphasized liminality and the ability to create change through performance.<sup>38</sup>

By looking at religion through a performance-oriented point of view, scholars are able to investigate not just how religious activity communicates, but also at how it creates. In the words of Bell, scholars “seek to explore how activities create culture, authority, transcendence, and whatever forms of holistic ordering are required for people to act in meaningful and effective ways”.<sup>39</sup> Simply put: religious activities, such as Hittite festivals, do not just *communicate* existing beliefs, they *create* cultural meaning.

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<sup>37</sup> (Geertz 1980, 13)

<sup>38</sup> (Alexander 2011, 19)

<sup>39</sup> (Bell 1998, 208) This same shift in thinking about religious activity is seen in for instance the analysis of Hindu festivals as ‘cultural performances’ by Milton Singer and the understanding of Ndembu rituals as actively resolving existing social frictions by Turner. See (Bell 1998, 208)

In their analytical models, both Singer and Turner produce information on societies by “treating their objects of investigation as forms of performance”.<sup>40</sup> According to Simon Shepard, this approach can give access to new sorts of knowledge, changing the emphasis “from ‘systems of representation’ to ‘processes of practice and performance’, from texts to actions, from ‘symbol structures’ to ‘physical habitus’”.<sup>41</sup> A performance-oriented approach to Hittite festival could thus lead to new sorts of knowledge and to a better integration or cross-contamination of the evidence provided by different types of sources.

For the study of Hittite festivals and other religious activity, a performance-oriented approach means a shift away from the traditional philological approaches to cuneiform texts. As Bell puts it: “The goal has been an analytic orientation truer to the nature of human activity, or at least one less patently reflective of the hermeneutical stance and agenda of the textual scholar”.<sup>42</sup> It is here that we can see why the ‘performative turn’ is seen as part of a larger shift in social science, the so-called ‘interpretive turn’.<sup>43</sup> Since scholars in Hittitology cannot observe the actual performances of the ritual activities, talk to the organizers or performers, or analyze changes in the performances over time, a large portion of the work will always remain philological. We must examine the ‘*how*’ in order to analyze the ‘*why*’ of Hittite festival performances, and in order to examine the ‘*how*’, we have to collect and catalogue their ‘*who*’, ‘*what*’ and ‘*where*’.

Scholars have argued about what exactly makes ritual performances (as opposed to for instance written letters or entertainment *pur sang*) effective: what makes them perfect tools for

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<sup>40</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 47)

<sup>41</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 47)

<sup>42</sup> (Bell 1998, 207)

<sup>43</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 51)

impression management? Some believe that ritual activities can bring about psychological transformations, others that ritual performances are perfect occasion for the rhetorical use of symbols, and yet others emphasize that ritual brings about “social and ontological change by virtue of the doing itself”.<sup>44</sup> As Bell summarized: wherever its efficacy stems from, “ritual action does what it does by virtue of its dynamic, diachronic, physical, and sensual characteristics”.<sup>45</sup> As such, Bell too, sees the ‘*how*’ of ritual performances as the basis of understanding the ‘*why*’.

## 2.5 Cultural performances

The approach I take in this study aligns strongly with the one developed by Milton Singer, who — like Goffman — came out of the School of Sociology at the University of Chicago. Singer, rather than studying the theatricality of everyday social behaviors, focused on routine ceremonies in southern India. Hindu festival celebrations for instance, were ‘cultural performances’ that do more than just present existing social and cultural systems, they construct these systems.<sup>46</sup> Again, we see the efficacy of performance not as a tool of politics, but rather as an essential part of it, similar to Geertz’ analysis of 19<sup>th</sup> century Bali.

Singer’s method of analysis comprised two parts. On the one hand, the scholar describes ‘the structure and organization of particular kinds of performances’, what I have called the ‘*how*’. On the other hand, Singer compares performances, ‘tracking the linkages among these structures and organizations’.<sup>47</sup> As Shepherd puts it: ‘The model of cultural performance thus was founded

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<sup>44</sup> (Bell 1998, 209)

<sup>45</sup> (Bell 1998, 209) For a short reflection on the definitions of ‘ritual’ vis-à-vis ‘performance’, see (Houston 2006, 135-139)

<sup>46</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 42-46; Bell 1998, 208)

<sup>47</sup> Singer apud (Shepherd 2016, 43)

on the idea that one performance is not an isolated event but part of a system of interlocked enactments that together constitute the mode of operation of a whole society'.<sup>48</sup> In chapter 5, I take a similar comparative approach. It is with a comparative approach that we can start assembling our understanding of how these celebrations helped create Hittite society and culture. By analyzing Hittite festivals as 'cultural performances', we can study the roles of individuals and groups — such as the king and his elite — within specific ceremonies, and eventually, Hittite society at large. The study at hand, limited to only a selection of the material evidence and two textual case studies, cannot claim to give a comprehensive analysis of the performance aspects of Hittite society, and, as we will see, a in-depth analysis of these case studies does not always answer questions, but rather, gives rise to new ones. My research aims, however, to be a good first step into a comprehensive direction, in the hopes that other performance-oriented studies will follow. In the words of Geertz: "cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is".<sup>49</sup>

## **2.6 Functions of performance**

In his Introduction to performance studies, Schechner lists seven functions of performance, without hierarchy. Each performance may accomplish one or more of these functions:<sup>50</sup>

1. to entertain
2. to create beauty

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<sup>48</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 43)

<sup>49</sup> (Geertz 1973, 29)

<sup>50</sup> (Schechner 2013, 46)

3. to mark or change identity
4. to make or foster community
5. to heal
6. to teach or persuade
7. to deal with the sacred and the demonic

Another important point that Schechner makes is that there is no such thing as an 'original' performance. He sees performance as originating from the tensions between the dyad efficacy and entertainment.<sup>51</sup> Whereas many scholars tried to prove that the performing arts (theater, dance, music) originated from ritual, there is no need to see these as separate entities.<sup>52</sup>

The fact is that at any given point in time, in every part of the world and in every culture, people were and are making dances, music, and theatre. They are using performances for a variety of purposes, including entertainment, ritual, community-building, and socializing. These functions can be summarized as the dynamic tension between efficacy and entertainment. The desire to imagine a "first performance" tells us more about what scholars of a certain culture desire than about what may have actually happened.<sup>53</sup>

For Hittite festivals for instance, we know that they were rituals that encompassed theatrical interludes, that included specialized singers as well as people who performed specific dance

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<sup>51</sup> (Schechner 2013, 80 , including the not so convincing figure 3.17. ; For a criticism on Schechner's definitions of theatre and ritual, as well as the efficacy-entertainment dyad, see Shepherd 2016, 28-29)

<sup>52</sup> (Schechner 2013, 80)

<sup>53</sup> (Schechner 2013, 81)

moves. Hittite festivals are not like traditional western theater in the sense that they don't rely heavily on spoken words or discourse. Theater, dance, music are integrated in the performance, like the Kathakali in India, Makishi performances in Zambia and the Deer Dance of the Yaquis.<sup>54</sup> Like rituals all over the world, Hittite festival celebrations (such as we find them described in the cuneiform documents) in all likelihood were a continuation or adjusted version of rituals that already existed before they were 'captured' by the cuneiform, like a snapshot of an ever changing tradition. At the same time, we know that cultures tend to invent traditions, or thoroughly revise old traditions but give them the appearance of being old: "such an appearance helps support official culture's claim to tradition and to assert that the status quo provides social stability".<sup>55</sup> In terms of Schechner's efficacy-entertainment dyad, and the seven functions he distinguishes, we should keep in mind the following. Although the state festivals were organized, as is evident from the cuneiform documents, by the state, its function will never only have been to produce social efficacy or to deal with the sacred. Although the production of social efficacy, particularly its ability to mark identity and make a community, will be the main points of focus in this study, the celebrations themselves will have done more. I see an avenue for some of the other functions mentioned by Shepherd in for instance the individual's emotional response to participating in or witnessing the festival celebration: such events could indeed produce a sense of beauty and be entertaining. On the other hand, such events may also have made spectators feel overwhelmed, excluded or a number of other emotions.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, a state festival can be accompanied by less organized gatherings of folks, such as preparations, prayers, group movements and 'after

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<sup>54</sup> (Cultural examples from Schechner 2013, 51)

<sup>55</sup> (Schechner 2013, 81-82)

<sup>56</sup> For studies on the senses during these types of events, see (Hamilakis 2013; Neumann and Thomason 2022).

parties' of sorts, that have not been recorded in the texts, since the state did not intend to manage such gatherings. The celebration of a Hittite festival could, for someone not participating in the inner circles of the performance, still have been a special event. Such scenarios will remain speculative of course, but it is not difficult to imagine from the evidence we do have, that the celebration of a state festival would have produced festive elements otherwise inaccessible for an average farmer: the sights and smells of incense and foods, perhaps even a taste of meats, breads and beer that were otherwise difficult to obtain; a spectacle of abundance, of glittering gold and silver statues and clean, fine garments worn by artists or figures of state and of awe-inspiring acrobatics, dance, sword swallowing and fire spewing; the sounds of marching parades, of musical instruments, and of professional singers from cities afar; the feeling of movement, of walking with a group of onlookers alongside a procession, of stamping feet with the rhythm of twirling dances. Following Victor Turner, we should acknowledge that performances are multi-interpretative: for those participating in or witnessing the performance first hand "ritual performance is multivocal, representing different meanings for different people and in different situations".<sup>57</sup> Benedict Anderson also emphasized how performances had an effect not just on the spectators, but also on the leaders themselves.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 18, referring to Turner's work in 'The Forest of Symbols'.)

<sup>58</sup> (Anderson 1990, 27) This effect of public ceremonies on the person in the centre of it all, is also attested in the Western world. After his 1969 investiture ceremony (which I see as an example of a diacritical ceremony, see below), the newly minted Prince of Wales remarked: "For me, it's a way of officially dedicating one's life or part of one's life to Wales, and the Welsh people after all wanted it, and I think also the British on the whole tend to do these sorts of ceremonies rather well, and for this reason, it's done well, in fact, and I think it's been very impressive, and I hope other people thought so as well." (Prince Charles 1969, 00:23)



## 2.7 Performativity

After making an outline of what type of performance-oriented approach guides this study, we should also note what kind of performance scholarship I am not applying. Some scholars, especially those using linguistic theory, will associate 'performance' with the term 'performative', developed by J.L. Austin in his 1962 *How to Do Things with Words*: "it indicates that the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action... The uttering of the words is, indeed, usually a, or even the, leading incident in the performance of the act...".<sup>59</sup>

In Austin's view, linguistic utterances have a 'performative efficacy', they bring about change, such as the phrase "I hereby name this ship Queen Elizabeth". For an utterance to have that effect however, it needs to be uttered under specific conditions, as explained by Stanley Cavell:<sup>60</sup>

According to these rules, for me, for example, successfully or happily to christen a ship I must (1) participate in a culture in which christening exists, (2) be the one authorized in the relevant subculture to do the naming, and in the presence of the appropriate authorities, celebrities, and onlookers, (3) at the appropriate place and time and with the appropriate implement in hand (here a bottle of champagne), say the required words (including I suppose 'I christen this ship the So-and-so') and break the bottle on the ship's edge, and (4) speak audibly, visibly, and without abbreviation.

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<sup>59</sup> (Austin 1962, 6-8)

<sup>60</sup> (Cavell apud Davis 2008)

Thus, a 'performative' is bound by specific cultural and social circumstances. Austin himself excluded theater from his concept of the 'performative', because theater only pretends, and no real change can come from pretense.<sup>61</sup>

After Austin, the term 'performativity' has taken on several contested meanings. In its most loosely applied form, 'performative' or 'performativity' is used to describe something that is not a performance in the formal sense, but that takes on performance-like qualities.

Furthermore, the term 'performativity' became a topic of (post structural) philosophical discussion and is often associated with performance art.<sup>62</sup> Besides the meaning of 'linguistic efficacy', it has also taken on the meaning of a 'performed activity'. Schechner summarizes the application of the term 'performativity' as "the construction of social reality including gender and race, the restored behavior quality of performances, and the complex relationship of performance practice to performance theory".<sup>63</sup>

A major philosophical and political discussion exists on the point of reference that 'performativity' has.<sup>64</sup> According to Judith Butler (and others), performativity is one act that refers to things in the past, it cites an existing cultural script. For instance, uttering the words 'I do' only makes one married because of all the performances of 'I do's before it.<sup>65</sup> According to others, like Elin Diamond, performativity is a way to change things in the present, to oppose oppressive culture.

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<sup>61</sup> (Davis 2008, 124)

<sup>62</sup> (For a discussion of 'performance' versus 'performativity' see Shepherd 2016, 189-198) (For a treatment of performativity, including references to performativity scholarship including Austin, Searle, Derrida and Butler, see Schechner 2013, 123-169)

<sup>63</sup> (Schechner 2013, 123)

<sup>64</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 190-198)

<sup>65</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 192)

For the analysis of Hittite festivals as undertaken in this study, we will of course look at utterances that are made during the celebrations, though the primary observation is that they are infrequent. The theoretical and philosophical problems particular to the post structural ‘performativity’ strand of performance studies do not seem to me a fruitful way to add to our understanding of Hittite cultural performances. Because of the discussion concerning the term ‘performative’ as explained above, as well as its connotation with the linguistic strand of performance studies, I do not use the term ‘performative’ in this study to mean ‘relating to performance’, but only in the sense of ‘bringing about effects through performance’.

## **2.8 Limits and generalizations**

A word of caution is necessary for those embarking on this less traditional way of analyzing cultural history, specifically one studied primarily through textual analysis. Performance studies arose as a type of reaction to the ‘scientific’ and quantitative tendencies in the social sciences in the 1950’s and 1960’s. In contrast, one could call performance-oriented research “qualitative, evaluative and subjectivist”.<sup>66</sup> Schechner, Shepherd and Bell warn against the dangers of generalization and see it as a challenge to the performance scholar not to succumb to universalism and essentialism.<sup>67</sup> One particular form of generalization which is easy to slip into when comparing ancient forms of performances to modern examples, is ‘vertical transculturalism’. In transculturalism, scholars work on diverse cultures “under the assumption that there are cultural ‘universals’ — behaviors, concepts, or beliefs that are true of everyone, everywhere, at all times”.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 52)

<sup>67</sup> (Bell 1998, 218; Shepherd 2016, 52-53; Schechner 2013, 38-40)

<sup>68</sup> (Schechner 2013, 301)

While this particular form of studying culture is not necessarily bad, it is, as Schechner writes, detrimental that examples be drawn from the widest possible range of cultures. Furthermore, one could argue against the necessity of such a form of cultural history: why do we even need to find universals?<sup>69</sup> Vertical transculturalism is an almost utopian experiment, developed by Jerzy Grotowski, to find universals in cultural performances and recreate the historical “origin” of performance. The major criticism on this otherwise influential work is the lack of actual historicity.<sup>70</sup> Another type of generalization from the same type of thinking is the thesis behind developing ‘theater anthropology’. As we have seen, this is a term used by those from the field of theater studies (rather than performance studies), and it theorizes that “there are movements, stances, and rhythms employed by the most accomplished performers in all cultures”.<sup>71</sup> Not only does this approach lean towards subjectivism (what makes those particular performers ‘the most accomplished’), but it also seeks universals.

As we will see, the warning against generalization is particularly relevant when the object of study is not as approachable as the case studies analyzed by scholars like Singer, Turner and Bell. Where they could gather their information in real time, talking with participants, reading prescriptive or reflective documents, witnessing and experiencing the events, the scholar of Hittitology is confronted, by comparison, with an incomplete and enigmatic puzzle of performance evidence. In order to reconstruct what the performance would have looked like, it is difficult not to be influenced by the effects we *think* the performances were supposed to have had. In other words: to reconstruct the ‘*how*’, we need to be careful not to already assume the

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<sup>69</sup> (Schechner 2013, 304. 306)

<sup>70</sup> (Schechner 2013, 301)

<sup>71</sup> (Schechner 2013, 303)

'why'. We will see an example of these difficulties in chapter 7, when we consider three scenarios for the location of the 'procession of animals' in the KILAM festival celebrations. As I have explained in the introduction, it is never fully possible to do interpretative work without bringing in presuppositions, but there are a number of things we can do to make sure our work is still methodologically sound.<sup>72</sup>

Being the catchy term that it is, the definition of performance is contested and sometimes overapplied.<sup>73</sup> We have seen that there is not one 'performance approach', and that terminology and methods used vary between scholars and schools. What varies too, is the object that is studied through the performance approach. Some argue that the object of study should only be everyday life, whereas others focus mainly on 'special' events, or study everything and anything 'as performance'. Schechner for instance, has such an all-encompassing, 'broad spectrum approach' to performance:

'a broad spectrum' or 'continuum' of human actions ranging from ritual, play, sports, popular entertainments, the performing arts (theatre, dance, music) and everyday life performances to the enactment of social, professional, gender, race and class roles, and on to healing (from shamanism to surgery), the media and the internet.<sup>74</sup>

In opposition to Schechner, there are also those within performance studies, who see the overapplication of the term performance as diminishing its usefulness. Shepherd for instance

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<sup>72</sup> See 1.4.

<sup>73</sup> (Schechner 2013, 38, summarizing and citing Gay McAuley.)

<sup>74</sup> (Schechner 2013, 2)

contextualizes the term with other popular research buzzwords by asking: ‘What does it actually mean to say that everything is performed? And is it different from saying that everything is constructed or everything is connected?’.<sup>75</sup> In the following section, I will pinpoint what parts of the performance approach, as outlined in this chapter, seem particularly useful for the study of Hittite festivals.

## **2.9 Different performance approaches for Hittite festivals**

As I have argued, Hittite festival celebrations are performances in multiple senses of the word. As staged celebrations with their own instructions and neat organization, they are ‘theater performances’ in the more traditional sense of the word and can be studied as one would any other theater tradition. At the same time, festival celebrations permeated Hittite social, cultural and religious life: they governed the calendar, had great impact on the use of resources and were cause of worry and — consequently — neat administration for the political authority. As such, Hittite festivals can be studied as performances which create cultural meaning and hold social efficacy.

The cuneiform documents that hold the textual information on the performance of Hittite festivals are our primary source material and object of study. However, my research is not primarily focused on studying a text, it is focused on studying the practices and behaviors that the texts bear witness to. It is important to note here that we are not looking at Hittite festivals ‘as’ performance, meaning, in the metaphorical sense.<sup>76</sup> According to Schechner “Something ‘is’

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<sup>75</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 198)

<sup>76</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 50)

a performance when historical and social context, convention, usage and tradition say it is.”<sup>77</sup> If we were to take a completely different approach to the same cultural phenomenon — for instance a linguistic analysis of the use of verbs of motion in festival texts — the cultural phenomena that existed in Hittite history do not cease to exist, they are still performances. We are not studying Hittite festivals ‘as’ performances: they *were* performances.

Very broadly speaking, three main trends can be discerned in current performance scholarship. First, performance scholarship focused on ‘cultural performances’, often aligned with anthropology and religious studies. This approach started in applying ‘theater’ as a type of metaphor to explain non-theatrical human behaviors, such as religious or social rituals. A second trend came out of theater studies, which, under the influence of postmodernism, has developed into a strain of theater and performance studies that is heavily theoretical, highly reflexive and tends to expand the definition of ‘performance’ to the point where it risks becoming inoperable. A third trend is the linguistically inclined scholarship on performance, with its extensive discussion on ‘performativity’. As I have argued, this is not an applicable direction of scholarship for research on Hittite festivals.

As we have seen in the introduction, the aims of this research are twofold. My first aim is to answer how the Hittite elite orchestrated the celebration of festivals so as to use these as tools for impression management. In order to do so, I also have to come to a better understanding of the practicalities of Hittite festival performances. These two aims can also be explained as a ‘how’ and a ‘why’ question.

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<sup>77</sup> (Schechner 2013, 38)

Given the cultic nature of Hittite festivals, as well as my first research aim, it follows that the socio-political efficacies of Hittite performances are best studied through the application of the ‘anthropological’ strain of performance studies.<sup>78</sup> As we have seen for instance, the definitions of ‘performance’ by Erving Goffman and ‘cultural performance’ by Milton Singer fit well with the research aim of this study: “all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continual presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers”<sup>79</sup> and “a specifically limited timespan, a clear beginning and end, an organized programme of activity within this span, a set of performers, an audience, and a specific place and occasion”.<sup>80</sup> These definitions show the important dimension of the audience, and hint at the possible efficacies of the performance. Furthermore, this trend within performance studies includes the Geertzian concept of the ‘theatre state’, with his understanding of ceremony and ritual *creating* (political) meaning, and the ‘interpretative turn’ on religion, as advocated for by Catherine Bell. These approaches inform my understanding of the socio-political efficacies of Hittite festivals

The other aim of this study, that is, to understand better the actual practices of Hittite festival performances, is a well-suited topic to approach through the perspective of (postmodern) theater studies, as it is better equipped at studying the details of the performance, as opposed to its efficacies. In chapter 4, I will use several concepts from this strain of performance studies, such

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<sup>78</sup> I will call it ‘anthropological’ here, since scholars from this field were prominent in its infancy, but the contributors to this trend are also from fields like sociology, religious studies, archaeology and history.

<sup>79</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 21) See also (Carlson 2014, 78)

<sup>80</sup> (Carlson 2014, 79-80)



as Schechner's 'time-space sequence' and his performance 'quadrilogue', which facilitate a productive engagement with the Hittite material.

Performance studies scholarship has a tendency to be quite reflective. Shepherd defines 'performance' as both "a practice and a mode of analysis. It is communicative behaviour for which there is no other name... It is a mode of analysis that works by framing, thinking of, its material as if it were performed, which is to say as if it were a deliberate communicative practice".<sup>81</sup> In the current study too, there are some elements of 'performance', even within my own analysis. In chapter 3 and 5, I develop and use two formulas to quantify elements from Hittite festivals. In my approach of the textual case studies too, I think of these material "as if it were performed". Although further examples of 'experimental philology' will have to wait until future research projects (see 8.3), I believe that performance as a mode of analysis can add to our understanding of Hittite performance culture.

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<sup>81</sup> (Shepherd 2016, 222-223)

## Chapter 3 Performance studies in the ancient world

*“In the ancient Near East, ritual performance was not set apart from the real practice of politics: it was politics... Priests, kings, and ordinary citizens used festivals to negotiate, establish and contest political power... The performance of rituals allowed both elites and nonelites to negotiate the long-standing tensions that allowed for and simultaneously threatened early politics.”*

—Lauren Ristvet<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1 Introduction

Scholars who study ancient societies, and the Ancient Near East in particular, are not new to approaches, terminology and methodology borrowed from theater and performance studies. Besides the published monographs and articles mentioned in this section, many projects are currently being undertaken in the study of the ancient world that involve the use of performance-oriented approaches or a focus on the use of public rituals in power strategies. During the annual meetings of ASOR (American Society for Overseas Research, formerly American School of Oriental Research) in 2018, 2019, and 2020, several talks and panels were concerned with performance approaches, ranging from topics on the ceremonial use of public architectural spaces, to the sensorial aspects of cemeteries and bodily experiences of landscapes (‘sensescapes’) and processions.<sup>2</sup> The 2019 OI conference ‘Pomp, circumstance, and the performance of politics:

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<sup>1</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 2)

<sup>2</sup> Among others: ASOR 2018: contributions by Dora Goldsmith, Neville McFerrin, Laurel Hackley, Carl Walsh and Pinar Durgun. ASOR 2019: Karlene Shippelhouse, Louise Steel, Sarah Kielt Costello, Caroline Tully, Nassos Papalexandrou, Katharina Frankson. ASOR 2020: Itamar Weissbein, Cynthia S. Colburn, Kelly-Anne K. Diamond, Maura K. Heyn  
2021: Bianca Hand, Rachel Webberman, Romina Antonella Della Casa, Anna Glenn, Ioana A. Dumitru

acting politically correct in the Ancient World', organized by Kathryn Morgan, was dedicated to ritualized aspects of political performance in the ancient world, looking at social space, ritual movements such as processions as well as political messages and their audiences.<sup>3</sup>

These performance-oriented approaches to the ancient world are mainly used to study the anthropological, sociological and philosophical concepts of ritual, power and politics. They are closely related to a number of different subfields and related disciplines, such as theater and festival studies, urban and social geography, the anthropology of public events, and strands within philosophy and archaeology focusing on power, performance and socio-political organization.<sup>4</sup> As we will see, some scholars use interdisciplinary approaches, in which for instance concepts developed in theater studies are combined with concepts developed in archaeology in an 'archaeology of performance', whereas others use multidisciplinary approaches, in which for instance they interpret public performances by analyzing public inscriptions, iconography as well as urban lay-out. As such, there is no clear-cut distinction between the relevant approaches: it is in their symbiosis that they are most fruitful. Lauren Ristvet, in her 2015 book *'Ritual, Performance, and Politics in the Ancient Near East'* summarized the Ancient Near Eastern scholarship on those topics as follows:

Archaeologists and ancient historians have interrogated ritual performance in four basic ways.

First, Assyriologists have considered ritual texts and the actual performance of ritual as documented in administrative texts. Second, art historians have focused on monumental art,

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<sup>3</sup> Chicago (2019)

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to James Osborne for pointing me into the direction of studies drawing upon the so called 'spatial turn'.

particularly sculptures or stelae, depicting performances or ritual acts. Third, some landscape archaeologists have investigated the spatial processes of performance, including how landscapes, cities, plazas, monumental gateways, and other places have shaped specific ceremonies. Finally, other archaeologists have analyzed the detritus of performance, archaeological depositions that result from the accumulation of ritual actions.<sup>5</sup>

We will come to the treatment of ritual, performance and politics for Hittite society in the next chapter, but it suffices here to say that none such extensive and thematically focused studies have been undertaken for the Hittite ritual texts, monumental art, landscape or deposits. In this section then, I will highlight several approaches and terms utilized by scholars working on other ancient societies, while reflecting on their usefulness for the study of Hittite festival performances.

The first is a grouping of three publications, selected by Alessandra Gilibert as the theoretical basis for her 2011 study 'Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance: The Stone Reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli in the Earlier First Millennium BCE'.<sup>6</sup> As we will see, the types of questions I ask while analyzing the Hittite material have been heavily influenced by Gilibert's work. Some of the models and terms she developed for Iron Age Anatolia are, as I will argue, also applicable to Late Bronze Age Hatti. Because of the importance of her work for the theoretical and methodological base of this thesis, I find it useful for the reader to also include the three studies upon which she herself based her paradigms. Thereafter, we will look at Gilibert's own work, as well as the more recent study by Lauren Ristvet.

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<sup>5</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 33, with an excellent overview of relevant literature in notes 18-21.)

<sup>6</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 3)

### 3.2 1990's-2000's: monumental contexts of performances

Several studies concerned with the ancient world from the 1990's make the connection between spatial or monumental contexts and the performances that took place within them. These studies can be seen as part of the so-called 'spatial turn', an intellectual paradigm shift summarized as "the increasing propensity of historians, beginning in the 1990s, to pay attention to the spatial dimension in studying the past and, consequently, forge even closer connections with specialists in geohistory and cultural geography".<sup>7</sup>

#### 3.2.1 DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle

In their 1996 paper '*Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies*', Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Jaime Castillo and Timothy Earle look at different forms of what they call 'materializations of ideology':

The materialization of ideology invests social capital, usually labor, to achieve specific objectives that often are contained in the messages of the ideology. For example, materialization can help to create solidarity, social cohesion, or group identity, while legitimating leadership and demonstrating the basic coercive nature of its authority.<sup>8</sup>

They look at case studies from Early Bronze Age Thy (Denmark), early first millennium AD Moche society (Peru) and the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD Inka empire to investigate how social power

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<sup>7</sup> (Torre 2008, 1127)

<sup>8</sup> (Elizabeth DeMarrais 1996, 31)

depended upon the strategic allocation of resources. The ‘materialization of ideology’ could take on different forms, including ceremonial events, symbolic objects, public monuments and writing systems.<sup>9</sup> These had different effects:

The different means of materialization accomplish varying political objectives, including unifying or assembling groups (events), rewarding loyal followers (symbolic objects), perpetuating images of corporate power or chiefly control (monuments), and spreading a message or propaganda (texts).<sup>10</sup>

The study by DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle shows that it is important to look at different forms of materializations of ideology, as well as the way these act together. An event like a ceremony can be organized with specific effects in mind, and these can be positioned in specific physical circumstances (such as in or near monuments) to enhance those effects. This relation between events and the space they take place in becomes more apparent in later scholarship (see below). The author’s Inka case study shows how one festival tradition could have multiple social and political functions at the same time: on the one hand, Inka feasts reinforced reciprocal relations in a society that was in reality asymmetrical, on the other hand, festivals and rituals were used to show the power and wealth of the emperor, so as to deter people from challenging that authority. This case study is an important reminder for those studying Hittite festivals that its social efficacy may be multifaceted.

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<sup>9</sup> (Elizabeth DeMarrais 1996, 17-19)

<sup>10</sup> (Elizabeth DeMarrais 1996, 31)

### 3.2.2 Bergmann and Kondoleon

Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon address the lack of attention (felt in the late 90's) from archaeologists and art historians to 'spectacle' as a driving force in the creating of monuments. They bring together scholars from different disciplines (philology, history, archaeology, art history), to reflect on 'ephemerals', i.e., nonverbal performances (e.g., athletic contests, funerals, processions and banquets) and their physical context in ancient Greece and Rome. The difficulty in interpreting these types of performance events can be seen in the editors' reflection on the concept 'spectacle':

For most authors in this volume, spectacle is understood as a human-made, multimedia event, described by ancient writers as a wonder or a miracle to behold. Beyond that basic definition, however, the term spectacle is construed in multiple ways depending upon the meanings the authors derive from ancient and modern sources. These shades of difference are important to acknowledge, for in reconstructing what is now gone and was intended for just a day, a month, a year, or a reign, we reorchestrate the performances and rewrite their scripts.<sup>11</sup>

Bergmann and Kondoleon emphasize the importance of non-literary events in light of the fact that many members of society would have been illiterate.<sup>12</sup> They detect three levels at which monuments and performances affect one another: "as settings or props for the event, as

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<sup>11</sup> (Kondoleon and Bergmann 1999, 16)

<sup>12</sup> (Kondoleon and Bergmann 1999, 9-10)

documentary records of the event, and as mimetic agents that recreated the event in the mind of the beholder".<sup>13</sup> These three 'modes' of the setting of performances were an important point of departure for the work of Alessandra Gilibert, as we will see. For Hittite performances too, we should think about the different modes that performance settings could have and the ways in which the setting could 'prolong' the effect of a performance, by serving as a mimetic agent to the event.

An interesting conclusion Bergmann and Kondoleon draw from their survey, is the seemingly small amount of agency patrons or creators of 'ephemerals' had over the afterlife of those performances.<sup>14</sup> This questions in a way the social efficacy of such performances, especially over the course of decades or centuries. What makes the Greco-Roman material stand out compared to the evidence from the Ancient Near East, is the detailed material sources left in the archaeological record, such as performance scenes on lamps, frescoes and mosaics displayed inside homes as well as small portable 'souvenirs' such as terracotta statuettes of actors, coins, medallions and even rings and ivories.<sup>15</sup>

### 3.2.3 Coben and Inomata

Lawrence S. Coben and Takeshi Inomata's 2006 'Archaeology of Performance: Theatres of Power, Community and Politics' is another volume that brings together contributors from different disciplines, all interested in "spectacle and performance as integral elements of political

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<sup>13</sup> (Kondoleon and Bergmann 1999, 14)

<sup>14</sup> (Kondoleon and Bergmann 1999, 14)

<sup>15</sup> (Kondoleon and Bergmann 1999, 15)



processes".<sup>16</sup> The volume is mainly concerned with archaeological evidence of performance, focusing on the spatial context and its effects on the audience. Performances have a political efficacy, as they can reproduce power relations, negotiate ideologies and to constitute a community.<sup>17</sup> Again, the definition of the word 'spectacle' bears reflection, and the authors define it as "public performance and public theatrical events"<sup>18</sup> and later on as "a gathering centered around theatrical performance of a certain scale in clear spatial and temporal frames, in which participants witness and sense the presence of others and share a certain experience".<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that "public" in this case does not mean "accessible to all", but a "participation of people beyond the circle of daily face-to-face intimate interactions."<sup>20</sup> In their reflection on the terms used for performance, they more or less equate the terms 'spectacle', 'theatrical performance' and 'public event', and deliberately refrain from using the terms 'ritual' and 'ceremony', so as to align themselves with performance theory rather than anthropological or archaeological theory. As we have seen however, these terms are also widely contested within 'performance theory', a term which in itself is problematic (see chapter 2).<sup>21</sup>

The editors emphasize the importance of studying public performances as critical forces in the development of centralized polities.<sup>22</sup> For Hittite society, Coben and Inomata's description of a premodern state or centralized political institution rings true, in the limited power of the

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<sup>16</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006a, 3) The volume goes back to a Society for American Archaeology working group called 'Spectacle, Performance and Power in Premodern Complex Societies'.

<sup>17</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006a, 16)

<sup>18</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006a, 5) See also (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 16)

<sup>19</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 16 (with references), 34 (n. 4).)

<sup>20</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006a, 5) Note however, that Ian Hodder (also in the volume) criticized this narrow definition of spectacle, wanting to focus also on spectacle and performance in more intimate settings.

<sup>21</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 20)

<sup>22</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 11)

state's military force, which left subordinates the option to flee from its sphere of influence. In premodern states, that military force was often directed towards outside polities, so that central authorities used other means to attract and keep their followers:

Many early states did not have a developed bureaucracy, and the royal court operated as the main apparatus of administration and domination primarily through fluid personal relations. For such political institutions, one cannot overemphasize the importance of performance in establishing, affirming, manipulating, and maintaining power relations between elites and nonelites, as well as among elites themselves.<sup>23</sup>

Much like Geertz' notion of ritual creating power, Coben and Inomata see performance as actively creating community and identity: "communal identities associated with theatrical events are not expressions of deeply held inner cores of community members but practical accomplishments achieved by means of performance, witnessing, and participation".<sup>24</sup>

More so than the other two studies in this grouping, the Coben and Inomata studies use theory from theater and performance studies, while focusing mainly on the physical surrounding of the performance. The creation of a monumental stage requires a large investment of resources and would in itself have been a major event, perhaps even a spectacle. As we will see in more detail in Gilibert's work, the performance stage could be ordered in such a way so as to "define social relations".<sup>25</sup> As argued by Coben and Inomata, members of premodern societies would

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<sup>23</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 25-26)

<sup>24</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 24)

<sup>25</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 17)

often have been both builders of the performance spaces as well as audience to the performances held there. Thus, the construction of architectural structures such as courtyards, temples and palaces would have been part of the 'creation of memory'.<sup>26</sup> Because of the focus on physical surroundings of performances, many of the contributions talk about the 'formal characteristics' of the performance, what I call the *how*, with the characteristics of the stage as a main thread throughout the volume. In their own words, they look at the "form, context and process of theatrical events" to investigate "how theatrical events communicate, how they generate meaning, and how different meanings are negotiated among participants, rather than simply assume the preexistence of fixed meaning".<sup>27</sup>

In their theoretical paper, Coben and Inomata distinguish two 'effects' that performance can have: communication and the creation of identities or social relations.<sup>28</sup> Again, we are reminded that in mostly non-literate societies, such as Hittite society, nonverbal communication, including performance, may have been more persuasive than verbal communication.<sup>29</sup> The creation of identities and relations aligns more with the 'social efficacy' model we have already seen in Turner and Schechner's work: performance does not only communicate meaning, it *creates* it.<sup>30</sup>

Dictated by the evidence available, Coben and Inomata and their contributors are concerned with questions concerning physical acts and their material contexts, both space, images

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<sup>26</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 30)

<sup>27</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 21)

<sup>28</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 18)

<sup>29</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 19)

<sup>30</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 24, 28)

and objects used in the performance.<sup>31</sup> By closely examining the performance space, scholars can analyze physical and sensual aspects of performing, including “kinesthesia, the sensations experienced by the body in movement, and synesthesia, a stimulus in one sense inducing sensations in other senses”.<sup>32</sup> The editors list a number of avenues one can take to study the sensory perception of performance participants, including:<sup>33</sup>

- Three-dimensional reconstruction of the performance space.
- The study of proxemics, which holds that “spatial settings, particularly the distance between the performers and audience, define what kinds of communicative acts — verbal and musical performance, facial expressions, body movements, and so on — were within the capability of human perception”.<sup>34</sup>
- The study of spatial configurations: stages, backdrops, lighting, visibility, acoustics
- The size and configuration of the space as it relates to the number of performers and audience possible
- The visibility between stage and spectators, between performers, and between spectators
- Images of performance: identity, appearance, posture of performers; spatial setting; emic notions of sensory perceptions
- Images may be idealized representations, documentation of specific events, as well as guides for future performances.

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<sup>31</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 29-30)

<sup>32</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 20)

<sup>33</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 29-31)

<sup>34</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 30)

- Performance paraphernalia

This 'research program' as one could call it, is taken on in more or less detail by the contributors of the volume, who analyze for instance the efficacy of drumming in Andean funerary processions, the transubstantiation of divine being by means of dance in Classic Maya festivals, the use of architectural space in late prehistoric Pueblo performances and exclusion through the use of sacred space in Egyptian performances. In their own papers too, Inomata and Coben work with this research program in mind. As we will see in Gilbert's work, this is more feasible in a monograph than in a book chapter.

Inomata's case study concerns colonial and classic Maya festivals. Inomata takes on many different issues, such as the amount of spectators present at specific performances and the presence of 'outsiders' at these occasions. He elaborates extensively on the staging of classic Maya performances, during which the Maya used temporary structures such as scaffolds and litters (a stretcher-like vehicle for transport, also called 'palanquin') as well as more permanent features, including plaza lay-outs and stairways.<sup>35</sup> Inomata also looks at elite gatherings, such as meetings of the ruler in the throne room, and remarks that in some places, there was (partial) visibility to people not allowed inside the throne room, when standing at the right spot at the right time. In other places this was different: "Thus there appears to have been varying degrees of exclusivity for gatherings in courtly settings of different centers".<sup>36</sup> The performances themselves would have been important in the creation of a Mayan community:

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<sup>35</sup> (Inomata 2006b, 197-201)

<sup>36</sup> (Inomata 2006b, 203)

Mass spectacles gave the physical reality to a community through the bodily copresence of their members and helped ground precarious community identities on sensible physical forms through the use of symbolic acts and objects. Such theatrical events probably defined the boundary of a community, at least temporarily; those who gathered for spectacles made a community. Thus the cohesion of a Maya polity may have been rooted deeply in its aspect of a real, albeit temporal, community with its physical qualities. This implies that the continuation of its imagined moral unity required constant physical gatherings of its members.<sup>37</sup>

This understanding of physical gatherings during performances as an ongoing effort to create and maintain a sense of community may very well be an explanation for the overwhelming amount of festivals dictating the Hittite calendar. Whereas the creation of buildings later used in performances and the performances themselves are seen as avenues for creating a sense of community, a sense of inclusion, performances are at the same time an avenue for exclusion. Inomata calls this “social differentiation through varying access to theatrical events”. These ranged “from the most inclusive ceremonies held in public plazas to more exclusive events that took place in royal residential complexes, served to define various social categories and ranks through the right and duty of participation”.<sup>38</sup> One specific marker for rank would have been the spatial proximity of the ruler to a specific person. Inomata reminds us that social differentiation not only took place in terms of rank, but also in age and gender, as per the Mayan evidence. We will see in Gilibert’s study, and later on in the Hittite case studies, the importance of this dual

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<sup>37</sup> (Inomata 2006b, 206)

<sup>38</sup> (Inomata 2006b, 210)

function of performances: creating community through inclusion and producing social differentiation through exclusion.

A further interesting point of Inomata's is the "convergence of administrative and ceremonial functions", which he sees in the Mayan evidence. The main ceremonial function was held by the so-called *hopol*, an important political figure.<sup>39</sup> If we take Hittite festivals to have efficacy in the socio-political sense, or even to *be* politics in a more narrow sense (following Geertz) would it not be likely that the ceremonial roles within Hittite festivals are also part of the performers' socio-political identity?

Lastly, Inomata remarks that even though performances, such as Mayan festivals, were used by the ruler and the elite to sustain their power, they were also bound by the performance:

Theatrical events thus cannot be viewed simply as tools of elites for their ideological propaganda; rather, they were arenas of negotiation and conflict of power. The strong emphasis on public performance by the ruler and other elites implied that they were under constant check by their peers and subjects.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, because the elites were dependent on the performances for their power, they required a certain level of approval from the spectators.

Coben studies the Inka empire of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, and the use of space in what he calls internally focused "ritual theatre".<sup>41</sup> Performance was a ubiquitous imperial force

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<sup>39</sup> (Inomata 2006b, 196, 207-208)

<sup>40</sup> (Inomata 2006b, 211)

<sup>41</sup> (Coben 2006, 223)

that mostly followed a strict calendar. Coben argues that in several parts of the Inkan empire, reproductions were made of the most sacred theatre and its performances: Cuzco.<sup>42</sup>

For our purposes here, we are mainly concerned with Coben's repetition of the research program. To understand the effects of a performance, we should study the 'theater' it takes place in:

...theater is any building, plaza, landscape, pilgrimage route, or other setting in which spectacles are performed and may include multiple locations and pathways. Consideration of a theater includes its performance characteristics or properties—size, shape, entrances and exits, location of the "stage," set, lighting, sound, costumes, orientation, changes in elevation, audience capacity, and viewing patterns of the spectators. Nor should analysis end at the theater door — its location within a settlement/city, the roads leading to it, and its relationship to other buildings and features are critical elements of the audience experience.<sup>43</sup>

We will now see how Gilibert took on Coben and Inomata's program of questions and approaches for her study of ancient Carchemish and Zincirli.

### **3.3 Gilibert**

In her 2011 study 'Syro-Hittite Monumental Art and the Archaeology of Performance: The Stone Reliefs at Carchemish and Zincirli in the Earlier First Millennium BCE', Gilibert analyzes

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<sup>42</sup> (Coben 2006, 252)

<sup>43</sup> (Coben 2006, 223-224)



monumental art and urban space at Carchemish and Zincirli as arenas for public spectacles.<sup>44</sup> These two city-states were part of the Early Iron Age socio-political landscape that succeeded the end of the Late Bronze Age. Following James Osborne's suggestion, we will henceforth refer to this society as that of the Syro-Anatolian Culture Complex ('SACC').<sup>45</sup> In opposition to terms such as 'neo-Hittite', 'Luwian' and 'Aramean', the term SACC reflects the varied, hybrid, multi-linguistic and multi-cultural character of this region and time.

Gilibert sees art and performance as complementary strategies for the negotiation of power and ideology: "ceremonial events and monumental art interacted as a top-down device to legitimize and reinforce the dominance of a ruling elite."<sup>46</sup> These events include "ceremonies, parades, public presentations and festivals".<sup>47</sup>

After a general introduction to the historical context of SACC (chapter two), Gilbert discusses, reconstructs and describes the development of the monuments and urban space at Carchemish and Zincirli (chapters three and four). She describes the architectural layout of the sites and explains the position and content of the iconographic materials as well as epigraphic records within that lay-out. Much attention is paid to the visual effects of the spatial organization, buildings and monuments on the spectators, and the author speculates about their use in ceremonial practices as well as questions of visibility and gathering potential. In the presentation of the sites, there is a tension between Gilbert's wish to show how all the architectural, iconographic and epigraphic factors worked together towards a certain effect on a spectator, and

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<sup>44</sup> (Gilibert 2011)

<sup>45</sup> (Osborne 2021, 15)

<sup>46</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 98)

<sup>47</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 1-2)

her wish to present the development of those factors in diachronic order. The different parts of the site of Carchemish for instance are presented one by one, and considerations of diachronic development are dealt with per building or area. This mode of presentation aids the reader in the understanding of each of those parts, and one can almost imagine what it would have been like to walk from the Watergate towards the Lower Palace Area, walking past the Herald's Wall and the Long Wall of Sculpture and climbing up the Great Staircase towards the citadel. Gilibert's extensive use of clear maps, references to images of the iconographical material within the same volume, as well as numerous summaries and citations from the relevant literature, present an overall telescopic view of the sites. The downside of this mode of presentation, however, is that the reader might not see how insecure many of the dates for buildings, iconographical and epigraphic material really are.<sup>48</sup>

Most relevant for our purposes here is the analysis that Gilibert makes of Carchemish and Zincirli in her chapters five and six. In the fifth chapter, the author explains the development of monumental art within their urban space from a performance perspective. The ceremonies or ritual performances together with monumental art "interacted as a top-down device to legitimize and reinforce the dominance of a ruling elite".<sup>49</sup> Gilibert ingeniously brings together three sorts of evidence that she herself lists as:

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<sup>48</sup> See for instance (Özyar 1998; Bryce 2009a; Marchetti 2012) Orthmann's stylistic sequences for SACC iconography are based on the corpus of Carchemish, but his own writings on the dating of the Carchemisian material reveals how difficult it is to really pinpoint the iconographic material to specific periods: e.g., (Orthmann 1971, 11-28 But also 29-37 (for Carchemish specifically) and 459-467).

<sup>49</sup>(Gilibert 2011, 98)

1. the urban and architectural evidence, in particular the evidence pertaining the existence of ceremonial open spaces with specific installations for ritual acts;
2. iconographic evidence from monumental art depicting ceremonies;
3. written evidence from monumental inscriptions describing ceremonies and/or prescribing rituals.<sup>50</sup>

A synthesis of this scope has not been carried out for Hittite material so far, and would also look quite different, since Gilibert's study is based mostly on archaeological material, supported by textual material, whereas for Hittite performance, we have mostly textual material, potentially supported by archaeological material. Looking at Gilibert's categories, we have the first two for Hittite Anatolia, but we lack the third.

Like the scholars mentioned in the previous section, Gilibert emphasizes the parallels between spectacles and physical monuments:<sup>51</sup>

1. they (partially) acquire social importance from a large labor investment;
2. the construction of monuments is like a spectacle (sometimes on purpose);
3. monuments can be stages to spectacles (they structure space and movement);
4. they both are 'loci of negotiation of spatial meaning'.

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<sup>50</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 98)

<sup>51</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 17, with references; ; Gilibert 2011, 4) For a similar approach that links Syro-Anatolian architecture and material culture to social memory and concepts of kingship and cultural identity, see (Harmanşah 2013, 134-152).

Just like Coben and Inomata, Gilibert is concerned with the characteristics of the spatial context of performance, as well as its effects on the bodily experience of participants and audiences. The author explains the monuments at Carchemish and Zincirli as part of a strategy in which monumental art and urban space functioned as arenas for ritual performances. Evidence to this effect are the consciously open space of the Lower Palace Area at Carchemish, which shows a number of ‘installations’ that indicate its use as a ritual space: platforms for offering near the Great Lion Slab, cup-marks indicating ritual offerings on two statue bases, the existence of raised platforms associated with rituals offerings to statues, and the position of these platforms in a stairway system structured so as to lead to more secluded areas.<sup>52</sup>

On the organization of the ceremonial space, Gilibert remarks that it was construed so that there were multiple levels of visibility.<sup>53</sup> Visibility is understood as a dual term that refers to an area that can be seen from a specific point (‘outward viewshed’) as well as the areas from which a specific point can be seen (‘inward viewshed’).<sup>54</sup> The concept of visibility goes — as Gilibert shows — hand in hand with that of ‘spatial permeability’, that is “the degree of accessibility”.<sup>55</sup> I suggest we distinguish accessibility of the body (‘physical permeability’) and accessibility by means of seeing (‘visual permeability’).<sup>56</sup> In performances such as Hittite festivals, especially when carried out in the type of mountainous areas of the Hittite capital, some parts of the celebrations may have been inaccessible by the body as a whole, but one might have found

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<sup>52</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 99-100; Ussishkin 1970, 101-102)

<sup>53</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 100-101)

<sup>54</sup> For the visibility terms (used in GIS), see (Smith 2007, 24-26).

<sup>55</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 102)

<sup>56</sup> In earlier work, I proposed to call a change in physical permeability a ‘change in performativity’. I believe the latter term is confusing due to the contested meaning of ‘performativity’. Moreover, the term ‘physical permeability’ includes both physical accessibility in terms of ‘being there’ as a member of audience, as well as physical accessibility in terms of ‘being there’ as a performer.

hilly outcrops, tall buildings or gateway structures from and through which to catch glimpses of the 'happenings' taking place within the constricted areas.

A further phenomenon highlighted by Gilibert is that of "stations of complex spectacles", when spatial features allow a ritual space to function in a marked way. Gilibert sees these "stations" both as stages with a large crowd, as well as "areas of more selected access" with a smaller audience.<sup>57</sup> A similarity in deliberately constructed spaces with increasingly limited access was noted by Michael Smith for the 19<sup>th</sup> century palaces in Bali, as well as in the Yoruba palaces in south-west Nigeria:

In both cases, the palace compounds contained spaces of increasingly limited access, starting with large open areas in which the urban population gathered on key ritual and administrative occasions, followed by more restricted areas for elites and priests, and leading finally to the innermost controlled spaces where the royal family lived.<sup>58</sup>

Gilibert sees a similar phenomenon at the Great Staircase area in Carchemish:

the logic of space was organized by different levels of enhanced visibility: towering atop the first flight of stairs there was a massive gateway with a wooden double door of enormous dimensions (each panel measured 3.75m wide: Carchemish III, 160), and just before it, a relatively narrow passageway to the precinct of the Stormgod functioned to provide a kind of "backstage access."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 100, 104)

<sup>58</sup> (Smith 2007, 24; see also Geertz 1980, 109-120)

<sup>59</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 101)

Although this is not explicitly made clear in Gilibert's work, these stations often correspond with changes in physical and visual permeability during the course of a performance. First, a group of people is allowed to see or participate in part of the performance. At the next 'station', the permeability changes: only a part of the group is allowed to see or participate in the next stage of the performance. Or perhaps that first group is not allowed any type of access and must remain behind while a new group takes over. This phenomenon is an excellent tool for inclusion and exclusion, showing and indeed *performing* social and political status. It is not surprising that Gilibert — although alluding to this change in visibility and participation in her analysis — does not expand on the workings of these 'stations' and the changing permeability. Her evidence is in a way limited to the *possibilities* of exclusion, but does not necessarily prove that this happened.<sup>60</sup> As we will see, the Hittite textual evidence shows that these mechanisms were abundant in the way the festival celebrations were construed.

What Gilibert does emphasize is how ceremonies could function as "exclusionary events that were used to naturalize and reify ranked differences in social status". We call events "diacritical" when "access and participation function as a sign of status distinction".<sup>61</sup> Building on observations of (consciously restricted) visibility and 'stations of complex spectacles', Gilibert argues that the area of the Great Staircase at Carchemish, with its enormous wooden gateway, was part of a strategy in which some parts of rituals were visible to a whole crowd, whereas

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<sup>60</sup> Note however, that she presents iconographical evidence of a ruler surrounded by his entourage, which may represent a diacritical event (see below). (Gilibert 2011, 106)

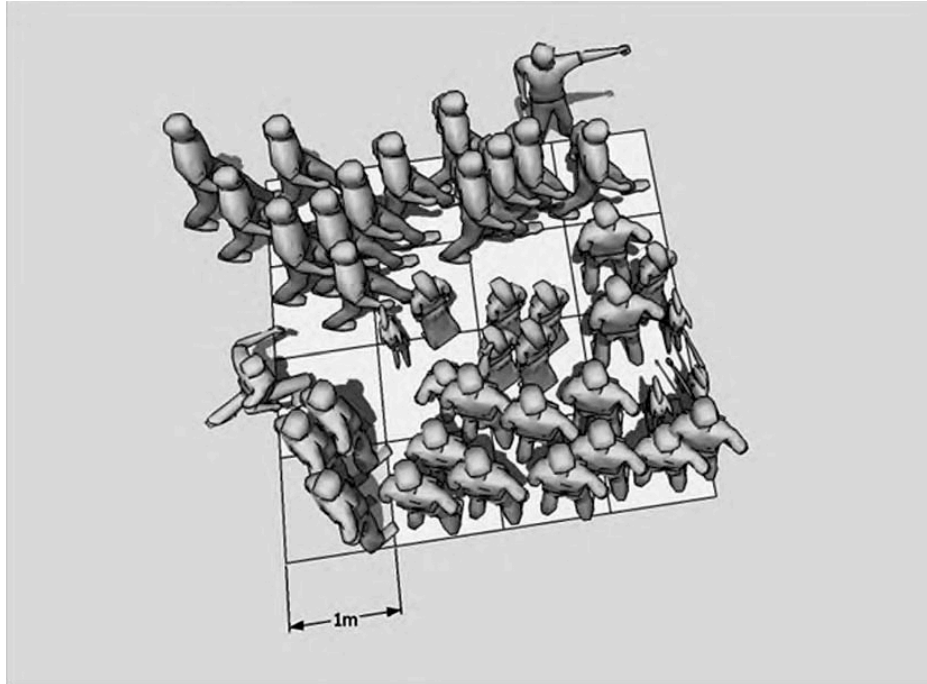
<sup>61</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 106, n. 176, including references to anthropological studies on this subject.)

others were only visible to a limited audience.<sup>62</sup> Gilibert convincingly argues against Elif Denel's view that, on the grounds that the Lower Palace Area was not large enough to accommodate a large amount of people, "ceremonial participation would probably have been restricted to those who contributed to instituting sociopolitical order and who could potentially generate a real threat from within the community to the operation of societal systems".<sup>63</sup> In a particularly innovative approach for the analysis of ancient ceremonial space, Gilibert makes an estimation of the spatial permeability (specifically the kind I would like to call physical permeability) by means of calculating the amount of people that could reasonably assemble in a specific space, for instance a courtyard. Gilibert utilizes the formula for a 'medium crowd size' (2.5 people per m<sup>2</sup>), which would have allowed for small spaces of unrestricted movement and speed. Gilibert's visualization gives an impression of the bodily experience a spectator or performer would have had in this space:

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<sup>62</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 100-101)

<sup>63</sup> (Denel 2007, 187)



*Figure 3.1 A visualization of a medium crowd size.  
(Gilibert 2011, p. 103)*

Gilibert shows that rituals at Carchemish could actually have been participated in by a large audience (at least 7500 people), corresponding to (at a minimum) half of the entire estimated population of the city state.<sup>64</sup> Where Denel states that “the Lower Palace Area with irregular dimensions does not seem broad enough to contain extremely large masses of participants”<sup>65</sup>, Gilibert uses more verifiable methods to argue for a (partially) public ceremony that made use of open space and a stage-like background: she argues for conscious manipulation of visibility in the ceremonies and a possible symbolic use of the gates.<sup>66</sup> We will look at the formula for crowd density again in Lauren Ristvet’s work.

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<sup>64</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 103)

<sup>65</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 103)

<sup>66</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 101-103 esp. 103 with notes 168-170) The estimated number of inhabitants is 18.200, about half of which will have been too young or old to participate. According to Gilibert’s calculations (see figure 57, 103), around



Drawing on general theory on processions, Gilibert states that the combined use of processions and images of processions in Carchemish and Zincirli reinforces the former's three functions: the enhancement of solidarity, the feeling of necessity and the re-enactment of past events (archetypical events). Processions were used both to create a sense of collective identity in a large audience, and to legitimize political authority, as the king and his court were presented as the main actors in the ceremonies.<sup>67</sup>

One of the strongest elements of Gilibert's book, is her emphasis on the complementary strategies of monumental art and ritual performance, visualized as a positive feedback loop:<sup>68</sup>

"The combination of ceremonial events with monumental art decreases the fade-away effect and increases the efficacy of both as a media of communication. Monumental art anchors the ceremonies in space and time, gives them an "aura of permanence" and crystallizes in them retrospective as well as prospective collective memories. Ceremonial events and extraordinary ritual performances, on their part, enliven the monumental art and somehow makes it 'real' again and again, using it as a ritual implement and embedding it in ritual behaviour."<sup>69</sup>

Gilibert's use of the three classes of evidence described above make for a well-constituted and convincing argument. She is not the first to argue that a tradition of rituals within the urban space of Carchemish existed, as is evident from for instance Stefani Mazzoni's work on rituals at the

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7500 people could have fitted comfortably ('a crowd of medium size', 2.5 people/m<sup>2</sup>) in the open area at Carchemish (ca. 3000 m<sup>2</sup>). Gilibert's estimates follow a rather cramped model: her 'severe crowd', 8.4-10 people/ m<sup>2</sup>, would have allowed around 28.000 people to witness ceremonies from the Lower Palace Area. As we will see in 3.4, I propose to follow a less generous formula.

<sup>67</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 108)

<sup>68</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 112-114, especially 113 with figure 58)

<sup>69</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 114)

city gates and David Ussishkin's work on the cup-marks.<sup>70</sup> The strength of Gilibert's book is that it takes into account all types of possible evidence, and uses an approach combining elements of landscape archaeology with anthropological theory concerned with theater and performance studies. By using those approaches to make sense of the combined record of evidence as a whole, she is able to make sense of evidence that we have as a coherent, 'integrated' unity.<sup>71</sup>

As we will see, the kinds of phenomena observed and analyzed by Gilibert for EIA Zincirli and Carchemish, can also be found in Late Bronze Age Hatti. The two case studies undertaken for this study show that parts of the celebrations of these festivals can be considered diacritical events, and that strategies were used in the performance of the festivals which consciously restricted or staged the visible and physical permeability of the events.

### **3.4 Ristvet**

In her 2015 *Ritual, performance and politics in the Ancient Near East*, Lauren Ristvet takes on an approach somewhat similar to Gilibert's, as she investigates the relation between ritual performances and politics in Mesopotamia.<sup>72</sup> Ristvet used landscape archaeology (settlement patterns), excavated remains (including images) and cuneiform texts, essentially creating a 'thick description' of Mesopotamian society.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> (Ussishkin 1970; Mazzoni 1997; Ussishkin 1975) See also (Harmanşah 2013; Osborne 2014) (published after Gilibert 2011).

<sup>71</sup> For the term 'integrated', see (Osborne 2014, 200): "several different monuments — buildings, stelae, statues, wall reliefs — being not merely isolated objects spread across the city, but rather components of a single construction effort whose connectedness can be identified both from their content (artistic image or textual record) and by their physical location (aligned along lines of sight, streets and so on)."

<sup>72</sup> (Ristvet 2015) Ristvet looks at Northern Mesopotamia in 2600-2200 BCE, the Middle Euphrates in 1900-1700 BCE and Seleucid Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period.

<sup>73</sup> (Hutter 2016, 163)

In Ristvet's work too, we see the Geertzian point of view: performance is not a reflection of politics, it is the very fabric of politics. We are reminded that to understand a society and its politics, we have to understand its performances. And to understand the performances, we have to make — and indeed perform! — a thick description of the cultural characteristics, of the entire *mise-en-scène*:

Rituals do not exist as words alone. It is the bodies performing them that give them their meaning and power. Posture, dress, and repetitive action literally incorporate social norms; they take advantage of habitual memory and construct new identities.<sup>74</sup>

Although Ristvet takes an unusually wide scope geographically and temporally within Ancient Near Eastern scholarship, her research does not extend to LBA Anatolia. Her theoretical approaches, terminology and frameworks could be helpful to study the interplay between ritual, performance and politics in the Hittite society, especially since she includes more elaborate textual evidence than for instance Gilibert. Ristvet takes on three case studies:

- 1) a coronation ritual in Ebla (western Syria and northern Mesopotamia in the mid-third millennium BCE, ca 2600-2200 BCE);<sup>75</sup>
- 2) the feast of Ishtar and the *kispum* ritual of offerings to the dead at Mari (middle Euphrates River region in the early second millennium BCE, ca. 1900-1700 BCE);<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 90)

<sup>75</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 40-91)

<sup>76</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 91-152)

- 3) the Akitu Festival in southern Mesopotamia (Babylonia) under Seleucid rule in the late first millennium BCE (the Hellenistic period).<sup>77</sup>

For each performance event, Ristvet endeavors to investigate both the 'how' and the 'why', as she analyzes:

how the rituals drew upon a system of collective representations in order to establish their "scripts" and how they were deployed through a range of materialized symbols – settings and props that gave them a certain narrative force that endured long after the performance ended. The chapters also considered the *mise-en-scène* of individual performance events, the different ways that political actors enacted their visions, and how the responses of the audience informed the broader efficacy of the political performance.<sup>78</sup>

For each period and region, Ristvet zooms in on a specific performance event, looking at three basic features: movement, memory and tradition. According to Ristvet, those three features correspond to the three forms of public events:<sup>79</sup>

- 1) events that model, shaping new realities
- 2) events that present, depicting the way things should be
- 3) events that represent, enabling change in political situations

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<sup>77</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 153-210)

<sup>78</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 211)

<sup>79</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 26, with references to Smith, Bell and Handelman)

Marian Feldman has criticized these specific 'forms' that Ristvet envisions for each event, as "these three aspects of public events are never entirely distinct".<sup>80</sup> This is also evident from Ristvet's own work, in which she emphasizes among other things the importance of movement (e.g., processions) for both her first and second case study, even though only the first is centered on that feature. Following performance scholarship, such as Schechner's work, we should acknowledge that performances such as the events in Ristvet's case studies, would have had efficacy on multiple people in different ways, and not only one meaning or one socio-political valence. Since Ristvet's book already covers a vast number of periods and regions, she may have felt it necessary to stick to the tripartite format to keep the volume relatively uncluttered.<sup>81</sup>

All in all, Ristvet's approach aligns perfectly with the aims of this study, as she integrates different types of evidence using a performance approach and sees performance as having social and political efficacy in Ancient Near Eastern society. Her theoretical framework is based on modern and historical case studies and a firm grasp on the diverse theories supporting this analysis of performance, ritual and politics.<sup>82</sup> In her own three case studies, Ristvet shows exactly how a performance-oriented approach helps to enrich our understanding of history. For each case study, there are useful take aways for studying Hittite society.

In her first case study, Ristvet shows how rituals had efficacy not only on the city of Ebla, but also on the surrounding countryside. Weddings, coronation rituals and pilgrimages to cult

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<sup>80</sup> (Feldman 2017, 384)

<sup>81</sup> (She herself may allude to this in Ristvet 2015, 213)

<sup>82</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 1-35, including many examples from anthropological studies with cultural comperanda ranging from the Persepolis celebrations in 1971 to the French Revolution, from Majapahit processions on Java in the fourteenth century to the Fiesta de Santa Fe and and rituals for Maya ancestors in Meso-America)

centers helped establish political power. Rituals carried out in local cult centers had effects not just on elites, but also on powers of resistance. One particularly interesting angle of Ristvet's, that we should take into consideration for Hittite society, is the role of processions and royal coronation or investiture ceremonies. As Ristvet shows from both cultural comparanda, as well as the Ebla case study, these types of events are of particular importance in states with instable or fragile rule:

Ritual journeys are potent reminders of the power of a ruler. Cross-culturally, kings have resorted to such royal processions particularly at times of transition or in states with weak political infrastructures.<sup>83</sup>

The existence of an extensive tradition of *Reisefeste*, the Hittite traveling festivals, could very well be explained by the (real or perceived) fragility of the Hittite state or instability of its royal line and power. Furthermore, the concept of power in Hittite society may be vastly different than the military, Weberian type of power that we as scholars often assume must have existed. As Ristvet shows (following Geertz), different types of societies, including for instance 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Morocco, had different types of strategies for the manifestation of power.<sup>84</sup> Where Ristvet sees similarities with third millennium Ebla, I do with second millennium Hatti. In this thesis, my case studies are limited to two festival celebrations that took place within the capital Hattusha. For future research that includes traveling festivals beyond the capital, we should look into different

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<sup>83</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 62, see also 65.)

<sup>84</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 62. See also 61 with note 28 on the "heterarchical nature of Mesopotamian political power".)

types of ‘performance networks’ (that is, a performance that took place in different locations throughout a large regional space, such as during the *Reisefeste*). Ristvet’s suggests that the pilgrimage network of coronation rituals and offerings to the dead took place on a smaller scale than the network of the rituals in honor of ‘Adabal (a god of the Orontes valley region), which saw performances on a wider scale and had a different type of efficacy. In the former network, royal power was overstated, whereas in the latter network, it was underplayed.<sup>85</sup>

Ristvet further shows that authorities in the Early Bronze Age consciously made use of the effects of the landscape and the installations they built within it:

For those who ruled early cities, channeling or limiting movement was a clear way to demonstrate, and indeed create, political authority. The construction of walls, gates, streets, and monumental buildings not only expressed a regime’s political power, but as architecture became part of the urban fabric, it continued to affect each citizen “in an unconscious, habitual, corporeal way”

Besides limiting movement, the authorities also created ‘inclusive spaces’, especially squares, courtyards and gates, that could have been loci for political meetings (‘citizen councils’), trade and civic affairs.<sup>86</sup> An important difference between Gilibert and Ristvet’s work on such spaces, is the assumptions about the use of space for exclusion and inclusion. Gilibert sees open spaces as areas used mainly for creating a sense of community and inclusion, so as then to reinforce elite dominance by de facto excluding a large part of the population in the next ‘station’ of the

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<sup>85</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 89-90)

<sup>86</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 64-65)

spectacle. For this case study, Ristvet leans towards the other end of the spectrum, seeing large open spaces as representing civic forms of government and as tools for inclusion and the creation of community. But as Ristvet rightly comments: “ Not all plazas are *agorai*”.<sup>87</sup> We should keep in mind these different options when looking at the use of space in Hittite festivals.

Case study number two concerns several rituals, among which a traveling celebration honoring Istar, blood rituals and the commemorative ritual of *kispum*. Ristvet shows how in Old Babylonian northern Mesopotamia these rituals combined the veneration of a goddess with ancestor commemoration, animal sacrifice and diplomacy.<sup>88</sup> Ristvet sees the performance of these rituals, especially on a state level, as part of a presentation of a unified Mesopotamian identity in the Old Babylonian period. In this case study, Ristvet emphasizes the importance of memory as a driving feature for ritual performances because of their ability to unify different polities. She explains this importance by looking at the instable socio-political history of the region as well as the emic conceptions of time and history.<sup>89</sup>

But a unitary cultural landscape emerged that transcended the region’s linguistic and ethnic diversity, despite the enduring political divisions and the transience of individual kingdoms. The performance of elite rituals and daily practices that depicted a shared past – grounded in an understanding of death, ancestors, and belonging – created a common framework for activities in the Old Babylonian present.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 65, but see also 85)

<sup>88</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 91-92, 142-143)

<sup>89</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 95, 98-101, 112-??)

<sup>90</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 95)



As pointed out by Feldman, there is some inconsistency here, as Ristvet also highlights the importance of movement (through the countryside and through the city of Mari) for this case study.<sup>91</sup>

For the region of Mari, Ristvet takes on the model of space and permeability as presented by Coben, Inomata and Gilibert. Ristvet follows Inomata’s formula to calculate crowd size, slightly deviating from the formula presented by Gilibert:<sup>92</sup>

	<b>Small crowd:</b> <i>Movement easy; Hittite festival: ample space</i>	<b>Medium crowd:</b> <i>some movement in corridors possible; Hittite festival: adequate space, infrequent limb touching</i>	<b>Dense crowd:</b> <i>Barely any or no movement possible; Hittite festival: only just enough space for required movements</i>
<b>Gilibert</b>	No information	2.5 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.42 m <sup>2</sup> /person	8.4-10 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.12-0.1 m <sup>2</sup> /person
<b>Inomata, Ristvet</b>	0.28 person/m <sup>2</sup> 3.6 m <sup>2</sup> / person	1 person/m <sup>2</sup> 1 m <sup>2</sup> /person	2.2 person/m <sup>2</sup> 0.46 m <sup>2</sup> /person
<b>Lysen</b>	0.77 person/m <sup>2</sup> 1.3 m <sup>2</sup> /person	1.25 person/m <sup>2</sup> 0.8 m <sup>2</sup> /person	2.78 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.36 m <sup>2</sup> /person

*Table 3.1, Crowd density according to different formulas*

<sup>91</sup> (Feldman 2017, 384)

<sup>92</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 134-135; following Inomata 2006a; Gilibert 2011, 103)

I have added to the table my own estimates for a small, a medium and a dense crowd, based on my understanding of the crowd's movements during Hittite festival gatherings inside courtyards of temples (see also chapters 6 and 7). The movements of relatively passive participants (or partakers), during for instance the great assembly and other types of feasting is limited to sitting, standing and some drinking and eating. Given the appearance of an 'usher' (LÚ GIŠPA) in the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (see case study 1, chapter 6), who helps specific people find their right spot, it might be reasonable to assume that the space for movement could have been quite limited. Having tried out different amounts of space for the types of movements mentioned in the text, I estimate that a square surface of 80 cm x 100 cm (0.8 m<sup>2</sup>/person) would allow for a relative ease of movement, without compromising too much on the surface area occupied.<sup>93</sup> In this surface area, one could sit and stand without a drink spilling over or limbs touching too much with adjacent people. In this surface area, a festival participant would have been able to sit cross-legged, or with legs folded under or sideways (not stretched out). We do not know whether participants would have used stools or cushions, but the use of a stool would have made the area of movement for each participant even larger, since the limbs take up more vertical and less horizontal space. In a dense crowd, the participants would still have needed space to stand up and sit down, but perhaps in this case, they would do so while touching limbs and sides with others, bumping into each other, and sitting rather uncomfortably. Trying out different square

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<sup>93</sup> For this experiment, I have tried out different surface areas, possible positions and movements for my body within the area, as well as the likelihood of touching and bumping others while changing position. My body is 173 cm tall. In future research, it would be best to expand this experiment to a large crowd, and interview the participants on their experiences, the amount of limb touching, the spilling of drinks, etc. Ideally, this would happen in a space similar to a temple courtyard. Furthermore, this research should be corroborated with understandings of the average body height of a Late Bronze Age Anatolian.

surface for this situation, I estimate that in a dense crowd like this, a participant would need 60 x 60 cm of surface area (0.36 m<sup>2</sup>/person). In a small crowd then, all participants would have been allowed ample space to sit comfortably, for instance with their legs stretched out, not touching the backsides of those sitting in front of them, having the space to move their hands and stretch their arms without accidentally knocking over the drink of the person sitting next to them. Trying out the surface area for these movements, I estimate that a participant would need 130 x 100cm (1.3 m<sup>2</sup>/person) for this scenario.

By comparing the Mesopotamian towns of Umm el-Marra, 'Usiyeh and Ebla to the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan, Ristvet shows that different strategies of communication (fear and divine justification) were employed in different spaces. In Tenochtitlan, human sacrifices were visible and audible to the whole city, as they took place on top of a temple. Only the elite had access to that temple, that included ideological imagery. Ristvet imagines that some of the rituals in Mesopotamia would have functioned in similar ways: the elite was connected to ancestors by performing the sacrifices and reusing monuments, while the populace celebrated in less exclusive spaces and held their own *kispum* rites.<sup>94</sup>

Again, I think we can make the contrast in permeability even more clear, by distinguishing visible and physical permeability. When one can neither see nor be at an event, the differences in accessibility may actually be less striking than if one were to be excluded from an event physically, but could see others being allowed to participate. Of course, the visual permeability could also be replaced by other types of 'sensing', such as audible permeability. Such a situation

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<sup>94</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 135)

occurred during the 1959 investiture ceremony of Prince Charles as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester at Caernarfon Castle in Wales. After a publicly attended procession, the actual investiture ceremony was a diacritical event at which only a select few were physically present. Those who were not able to be physically present were able to listen to the ceremony on the speakers standing outside of the castle. Alternatively, one could see and hear the ceremony on the BBC television broadcast, at home or in a pub.<sup>95</sup>

Just like in her third case study (see below), Ristvet is able to make some distinction within the Old Babylonian landscape in how each of the historically situated rulers “negotiated the domain of the ancestors during this period of political recovery”.<sup>96</sup> We have seen that a historically — and indeed politically — situated analysis of Hittite festivals is not possible with the current state of the evidence, although the historical context is of major importance to understand the social and political efficacy of festival performances. Ristvet’s case studies show how much more depth knowing the historical situation can give to our understanding of a performance efficacy. One particularly interesting angle, that shows us just how much we do *not* know for Hittite festivals, is the evidence Ristvet shows for those not in compliance with the authorities and their wish to perform the proper rituals. Ristvet presents letters that imply not all of the Mesopotamian rulers’ clients were as invested in the celebrations of Istar as the rulers themselves, as well as invitations to celebrations that were ignored. In an age when the physical power rulers had over their populace was more limited than it is now, festival celebrations were

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<sup>95</sup> (BBC 2022)

<sup>96</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 142, furthermore 143-149)

not only opportunities to create a sense of community or to establish power, they were also opportunities for inversion and non-compliance.<sup>97</sup>

In her third case study, we see an example of what a historically situated analysis of an Ancient Near Eastern festival celebration would look like. Ristvet sees the celebration of the *akītu* festival as a *lieu de mémoires* that drew on tradition but was manipulated to suit the political needs of the enacting elite:<sup>98</sup>

Babylonian temples were a stage for the quotidian political performances of Babylonian communities, for meetings of the assembly, legal affairs, and other overtly political activities. They also provided the setting for the *akītu* ritual, an event that re-presents, breaking down the established order only to resurrect it. This was a celebration in which Seleucid kings and priests in Uruk and Babylon invoked tradition as part of political negotiation, as a method to strengthen hegemony.<sup>99</sup>

In terms of the use of space and effects of inclusion and exclusion, the *akītu* festival is the one occasion that the populace was physically in the presence of the divine, during the processional voyages of the gods Nabû and Marduk.<sup>100</sup>

Another interesting angle of Ristvet's, that we should keep in mind studying Hittite festivals, are the roles of different people in the organisation and preparations of a festival. She mentions among others the artisan manufacturers of religious artifacts (or indeed performance

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<sup>97</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 152)

<sup>98</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 210)

<sup>99</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 205-206)

<sup>100</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 153)

props) such as metalworkers and carpenters. They created two figurines that were used in a repeated performance of the king's humiliation, a ritual which "probably purified the entire city, setting things in order for another year".<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, Ristvet emphasizes the role of Babylonian priests as both directors of and actors in the rituals:

Indeed they supplied the script, were responsible for the *mise-en-scène*, and provided the authoritative interpretation. Within the ritual, the priests were responsible for the reestablishment of order, for Bel's yearly triumph over chaos. As a result, they assumed an authority that rivaled and sometimes outranked the king's. Hence, this festival served to both affirm and construct their social power within Babylon.<sup>102</sup>

An interesting terminological issue that Ristvet tackles is the distinction between 'tradition' and 'custom'. Ristvet follows Eric Hobsbawm's definition of tradition as "a set of practices ... of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past".<sup>103</sup> Traditions may be invented, manipulated or changed by participants. 'Custom' on the other hand "refers to any activity, significant or not, that is subject to precedence". As such, customs are not the realm of special occasions in marked spheres (e.g., religion, politics), but conservative practices of daily life in for instance the domestic sphere.<sup>104</sup> As such, each tradition is a custom (albeit a special or marked one), whereas not all customs are a tradition.

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<sup>101</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 154)

<sup>102</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 154-155)

<sup>103</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 157; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, 1)

<sup>104</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 157).

Ristvet looks at the ongoing celebration of the *akītu* festival in Babylon in 205 BCE as well as in 187 BCE, under the Seleucid ruler Antiochus III. Because we can historically situate these specific performances, it is interesting to see the sorts of conclusions Ristvet draws from her case study. There are some indications that we can even pinpoint the specific props that were used for the 187 BCE performance. The celebration of the *akītu* festival is on the one hand part of a continuation of tradition, a paying respect to Babylonian culture. On the other hand, the priests' perception of the festival, which included a ritualistic "humiliation" of the king, could have been steered by their opposing attitude towards the Seleucid rulers.<sup>105</sup>

### **3.5 A performance-oriented framework**

In these last two chapters, I have looked towards several disciplines and historical studies to compile a set of theoretical approaches, key concepts, useful insights, fitting terminology and comparative case studies to test out on the Hittite corpus. As mentioned in the introduction, this methodological framework will guide my research on Hittite performances. The framework helps in defining the questions I seek to answer and the problems I aim to solve. Furthermore, it makes me aware of common methodological pitfalls and ways to avoid these. Comparative work helps negate presuppositions I already have, as it shows a vast range of variety in human behavior and the meanings assigned to it.

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<sup>105</sup> (Ristvet 2015, 207-210)

## Chapter 4 Hittitology and performance

*Feste fördern ein Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl, grenzen aber gleichzeitig auch diejenigen ab, die nicht mitfeiern dürfen, können oder wollen.*

—Susanne Görke<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, I present a thematically organized *Forschungsgeschichte* of performance-oriented approaches to Hittite society. I will go over former and current discussions in the field of Hittitology that are relevant for studying the performance of Hittite festivals, especially concerning the function of Hittite festival texts, as well as the question of the festival audience. These issues find their most extreme form in the debate about the ‘supposed reality’ behind Hittite festival texts.<sup>2</sup> I will argue that we *should* call Hittite festival texts ‘prescriptive’ or ‘instructive’ and that they *can* be called scenarios, because these designations do not prevent us from acknowledging that texts and praxis were not and did not have to be the same. In opposition to Jörg Klinger, I look towards the available textual and archaeological evidence, and assume a rich and varied tradition of Hittite performance culture. Furthermore, I argue that in a performance-oriented analysis, the function of Hittite *texts* is relevant mostly to studying the preparation and organization of the performance, whereas the analysis of the function of the *performance* helps us understand the social and political efficacy of the festivals themselves.

Lastly, I survey and discuss past scholarship concerned with several aspects of Hittite performance, including its social and political effects. As we will see, some Hittitologists have

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<sup>1</sup> (Görke 2008, 50)

<sup>2</sup> Paraphrased from Jörg Klinger’s criticism on “vermeintlich realen Festen”, see below for full quote.



ventured into a type of performance-oriented research of Hittite festivals and their efficacy. By highlighting the outcomes of previous scholarship and critically assessing the current state of the field, this chapter adds to the methodological framework and selected terminology necessary to study Hittite performance culture and its efficacy on Hittite society.

## **4.1 The function of festival texts and the reality of the performance**

### 4.1.1 Forschungsgeschichte of the 'Sitz im Leben' of Hittite festival texts

In the introduction (chapter 1), we have seen how Hittite festivals are the point of interaction between two major spheres of Hittite society: religion and politics. In this study, the focus is on the anticipated socio-political effects of the celebration of Hittite state festivals. In order to analyze those effects, we must first understand the characteristics of the performances themselves. For scholars from theater and performance studies, cultural history, comparative religion and the like, it would be a logical step to move from the documents intended to prepare the performance to an analysis of the desired and potential effects of the performance. There is, however, a major road block for this research agenda, formed by years of Hittitological scholarship on the so called '*Sitz im Leben*' (or simply: function) of Hittite festival texts. As we will see, the course of this debate has made some scholars within Hittitology wary of using the information provided by the texts to analyze or interpret Hittite examples of performance. Some have even taken this debate to unnecessary extremes by questioning whether any 'real' praxis of performance existed in Hittite society.

The function of Hittite festival texts was recently discussed and revisited by both Birgit Christiansen and James Burgin.<sup>3</sup> Summarizing their findings, there are several models of interpretation on the function of Hittite festival texts:

1. the **'festivals texts as scripts' model**, which likens the festival texts to prescriptive manuals found in theater, using comparative designations such as 'Rollenbücher', 'Regiebuch' and 'script'. This model emphasizes the political function of the festivals and the uniformity (both in space and in time) the texts helped create in their performance.<sup>4</sup>

2. the **'administrative' model**, which finds the texts lacking in details on the exact performance, and sees them as a type of 'cheat sheets' or '*aide-mémoires*' for individual users in specific situations. This model emphasizes the insufficiency of the texts in ensuring a correct performance. Either there was considerable variability in the performance or the uniformity was created by the professionals organizing the performances rather than dictated by the texts.<sup>5</sup>

3. the **'scholastic model'**, which was used to explain the function of Hittite *ritual* texts.<sup>6</sup> In this model, texts function as scholarly reference literature. The model was tested out by Burgin on the genre of festival texts, and found wanting by him on many accounts, not the least among which the sheer size and complexity of the Hittite festival corpus, implying it could not have

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<sup>3</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 31-36; Burgin 2019, 2-12)

<sup>4</sup> (Burgin 2019, 2-3)

<sup>5</sup> (Burgin 2019, 3-5)

<sup>6</sup> See (Burgin 2019, 6-8). For the difference between what Hittitologists call 'ritual' texts and what they call 'festival' texts, see (Schwemer 2016, 1-7) and (Burgin 2019, 5, n. 16, with examples of ritual-like festivals and festival-like rituals).

existed purely for the sake of a scholarly tradition.<sup>7</sup> Since Burgin convincingly tested and rejected this model, I will leave it out of our further considerations.

The majority of Hittitologists<sup>8</sup> follow the festivals as scripts model: they consider the texts to be instructions for the proper celebration of the festivals.<sup>9</sup> Hans Gustav Güterbock characterized the festival texts as “detailed manuals, or prescriptions, for the performance, step by step, of all the rites pertaining to a festival”.<sup>10</sup> Itamar Singer too, calls them a “detailed manual for the celebrations”.<sup>11</sup> Volkert Haas is the first to designate the texts as ‘scripts’ (“Rollenbücher”), containing ‘stage directions’ (“Regieanweisungen”) for the correct performance of the festival ceremonies.<sup>12</sup>

The most important opponent of the ‘prescriptive’ function of Hittite festival texts and the main supporter of the administrative model is Jörg Klinger.<sup>13</sup> His problem with designations such as script or screenplay (“Regiebuch” or “Drehbuch”)<sup>14</sup> is the lack of detailed information given in the texts, especially concerning the exact ritual acts to be performed. As such, Klinger prefers to use the term ‘proceedings protocol’ (“Verlaufsprotokoll”) for the festival texts.<sup>15</sup> In later publications, Klinger emphasizes the administrative aspect of the festival texts even more<sup>16</sup> and his considerations become “decidedly pessimistic”.<sup>17</sup> In the 2008 edited volume *Fest und Eid*,

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<sup>7</sup> (Burgin 2019, 7-8).

<sup>8</sup> Christiansen lists Güterbock, Singer, Neumann, Haas, Prechel, de Martino and Taracha. (Christiansen 2016, 31-32, with references.)

<sup>9</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 31)

<sup>10</sup> (Güterbock 1970, 175)

<sup>11</sup> (Singer 1983, 53)

<sup>12</sup> (Haas 1994, 674)

<sup>13</sup> Starting with (Klinger 1996, 727-729).

<sup>14</sup> (Klinger 1996, 728-729)

<sup>15</sup> (Klinger 1996, 729), likewise (Klinger 2002, 96)

<sup>16</sup> (Klinger 2007, 80)

<sup>17</sup> (Burgin 2019, 5)

Manfred Hutter and Susanne Görke wrote contributions that spoke of the socio-political function of Hittite festival celebrations (see also 4.4). In his review of the volume, Klinger takes a rather critical position.<sup>18</sup> He questions the relation between the text and the festival proceedings and thereby the practiced reality of festival performances themselves. Because of the resonance of this position in the entire debate, it is worth citing at length:

So plausibel dies, vor allem auf dem Hintergrund gängiger ethnologisch-anthropologischer Deutungen zu "Fest" als komplexem Ritualgeschehen, auch scheint, so ist m. E. dabei nicht unproblematisch – dies gilt auch für andere Beiträge des Bandes –, dass die Frage nicht eigentlich diskutiert wird, was eigentlich, abgesehen von der konventionellen Übersetzung des in den hethitischen Texten gebräuchlichen Sumerogramms EZEN<sub>4</sub> als "Festritual", die in den entsprechenden Ritualen geschilderten Handlungen eigentlich zum "Fest" macht bzw. in welchem Verhältnis die Texte überhaupt zu konkreten "Fest"- oder Ritualhandlungen stehen, sprich: welche Funktion die Texte eigentlich hatten und was ihren spezifischen "Fest"-Charakter denn ausmacht.<sup>19</sup>

[...] häufig [wird] von vermeintlich realen "Festen" gesprochen, wenn eigentlich eine bestimmte Form von schriftlichen Quellen gemeint ist, deren Bezug zu einer unterstellten Realität erst zu klären wäre – von der Frage der eigentlichen Funktion dieser Texte, die m.E. Ganz bestimmt keine "Regiebücher" für Festhandlungen oder präskriptive Vorschriften zur Durchführung von solchen sind, ganz zu schweigen.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> (Klinger 2013)

<sup>19</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94)

<sup>20</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94, n. 6)

There are multiple reasons why this type of position is, in my opinion, harmful for the study of Hittite festivals.

First, there is a conflation between the function of the texts and the function of the celebrations. Hutter and Görke were discussing the societal efficacy of the performances themselves, not of the texts. As I will argue more extensively below, the function of the texts is primarily an angle from which to study the preparation and organization of Hittite festival performances, whereas the analysis of the functions of the festivals themselves start with analysing the performances.

Most importantly, the position argued for by Klinger shifts the debate about Hittite festivals towards an unnecessarily positivistic line of thinking. Studying past societies, we have to use textual material so as to approach a factual reality, and we have to assess whether there is a particular reason not to assume said reality, for instance in the case of self-aggrandizing documents. For many past societies, historians and archaeologists have detected a praxis of performance and sometimes even compared, analyzed and interpreted performances based on a lot less evidence than the rich and complex evidence of performance found in Hittite textual and material records. Indeed, scholars have inferred a practice of 'paleoperformance' from 40.000-year-old cave paintings representing dancing humans wearing masks, as well as footprints possibly indicating dancing.<sup>21</sup> The Hittite tradition of festival texts as a genre is too large, too complex and too regulated to assume that they would have no bearings upon the real world, or that festivals would not actually be celebrated, but just written about. Moreover, Hittites

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<sup>21</sup> (Schechner 2013, 57-58; 2003, 66-67)

themselves reflected on their own performances in different kind of documents, that show their concern with the proper execution of the cult. As we will see in the next chapter, the material record too, has many indications for a complex, widespread and politically charged tradition of ritual performance. Rather than question the “assumed reality” behind festival texts, we should marvel at the opportunity to critically assess the vast record of textual and archaeological data to come to a better understanding of the realities of Hittite performance culture. Unless one has a camera, “performing leaves no direct traces”.<sup>22</sup> It is our job as philologists, archaeologists and historians to make use of whatever traces were left and reconstruct their use and meanings to the best of our ability. This in turn leaves the scholar vulnerable to criticism, since reconstructions and assumptions are always easy to rebuke from a positivistic point of view. There is however, a difference between for instance making reasonable extrapolations from the texts, making assumptions based on visual evidence or suggesting possible interpretations based on comparative material, versus excessive speculation. Overly positivistic criticism on the creative and interpretative efforts of scholars like Hutter and Görke risks stifling productive discussion.

Ever since Klinger essentially argued that the reality behind festival texts remains to be proved, the tendency in Hittitological studies has been to de-emphasize any direct correlations between the texts and the ritual reality. Even though some scholars do see the texts as essentially instructional, they refrain from using designations such as ‘prescriptive’. Both Ilse Wegner and Susanne Görke refrain from positioning themselves in the ‘festival texts as scripts’ and the ‘administrative’ model. Both scholars argue that there are too few details regarding the

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<sup>22</sup> (Schechner 2013, 222)

performance to sustain the former model, and too many for the latter.<sup>23</sup> Burgin summarizes the “fundamental tension” between the festival texts as scripts and the administrative models in a similar fashion: “any explanation emphasizing the practicality of the texts must account for their shortcomings as instructions, and any de-emphasis of the prescriptive aspects of the texts reduces their utility as practical documents”.<sup>24</sup> In his summary of the genre festival texts, Cammarosano writes:

A festival text provides detailed information about the performance of specific festival(s). Whether performed in the capital, in local towns, or in more than one location, these rites normally pertain to the so-called ‘state cults’. In short, this basically means that the king takes part in the ceremonies. As is well known, this kind of document provides by no means true ‘descriptions’ of festivals, but rather concise ‘running protocols’. The basic aim of these texts was to pass on over time the information needed for the correct execution of those specific festivals.<sup>25</sup>

In his characterization of the genre of festival texts too, Daniel Schwemer navigates between the different designations and understandings of the corpus:

It is maintained here that the tasks involved in the practical administration of the cult, which included planning, investigating, organising, supervising, approving and documenting cultic events, provide a sufficient explanation for the quantity and range of the surviving Hittite cultic texts; the texts have to be understood as records of the management of the cult within the context

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<sup>23</sup> (Wegner 1995, 3; Görke 2008, 49, n. 3)

<sup>24</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9)

<sup>25</sup> (Cammarosano 2013, 68)

of a state in which the correct observance of the cult was regarded as one of the essential responsibilities of the king and in which, consequently, the organisation and supervision of major cultic events was entrusted to the royal administration and its scribes. ... [The texts] were written and archived with the objective of preserving the tradition, controlling the adaptation of cultic rituals and managing their performance.<sup>26</sup>

Whereas Schwemer on the one hand uses the terms “administration” and “records of management”, he also explains that the texts were used for the “correct observance of the cult” and for “managing their performance”. As observed by Burgin, Schwemer’s contribution to the debate is “a descriptive approach by typologizing the kinds of texts and information contained in the festival corpus”.<sup>27</sup> We will look at Schwemer’s typologies in more detail below (4.2.1).

As we can see, there is much difficulty in accounting for the many details mentioned in some (parts of) the festival texts, if these merely functioned as ‘administrative’ texts. Furthermore, it is unclear what the exact function of the texts would have been in this ‘administrative’ capacity. This is the problem that Birgit Christiansen addresses in her 2016 comparative study between the Hittite festival texts and modern liturgy texts like the *Missale Romanum* and the coronation ceremony of Queen Elizabeth II.<sup>28</sup> Christiansen problematizes Klinger’s understanding of the festival texts.<sup>29</sup> She convincingly argues that the word choice within Hittite texts themselves show these texts are not descriptive, but have to be seen as prescriptive (they are “Vorlagen” rather

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<sup>26</sup> (Schwemer 2016, 12), also cited in (Burgin 2019, 8).

<sup>27</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9)

<sup>28</sup> (Christiansen 2016)

<sup>29</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 33-35)



than “Aufzeichnungen”).<sup>30</sup> As such, she does not like to use Klinger’s term “Verlaufsprotokollen” and instead prefers “Ritualanleitungen” (‘ritual instructions’). The question remains then, how these instructions would have functioned, since they are also not comprehensive directives. Looking at both form and content of these texts, Christiansen compares the function of Hittite festival texts to that of similar texts from recent times, *i.e.* the *Missale Romanum* and the instructions for the coronation ceremony of Queen Elisabeth II. Based on the similarities especially with the Catholic Mass liturgy, Christiansen argues that Hittite festival texts had more than one function: they were a type of liturgical agenda and teaching material used by the main agents in the festival’s performance. In this manner, the agents could oversee the organization and praxis of the cult. This control also extended to the administrative process, which in turn helped maintain the traditions of performance over time.<sup>31</sup> Hittite festivals texts were thus both instructions as well as “repositories of tradition”.<sup>32</sup>

James Burgin takes up this dual function of Hittite festival texts as the starting point of his own study, in which he argues how the morphology of the texts conveys this dual functionality of the texts as both instructions and retainers of information.<sup>33</sup> By comparing different manuscripts of the same festival, all belonging to the same general period of writing, Burgin argues that the differences found between these festival texts are testament to the different intended users of the texts. To refer to this phenomenon in which cuneiform tablets “extract from the idealized master festival only what is relevant for a particular role or viewpoint”, Burgin

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<sup>30</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 37-40)

<sup>31</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 31, 40, 60-61)

<sup>32</sup> As summarized by (Burgin 2019, 10).

<sup>33</sup> (Burgin 2019)

reintroduces the term *Rollenbücher*.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, Burgin introduces a more generalistic term, inspired by theater studies, saying that the majority of the festival texts are “dramatic texts, here defined as texts recording festival performances through description, instruction, and sometimes recitation, but without implication of a narrative element”.<sup>35</sup> Whereas the term *Rollenbücher* is meant especially to emphasize that different dramatic texts were meant for the instruction of specific organizers or participants in the festival, resulting in functional differentiation, the term ‘dramatic text’ is a more general designation, with which, it seems, Burgin acknowledges the instructional character of the festival texts. It should be noted that despite citing Christiansen’s preference of “Vorlagen” over “Aufzeichnungen”, Burgin still refers to the festivals as “descriptive” rather than following Christiansen’s convincing analysis that shows they are indeed prescriptive.<sup>36</sup>

In his concluding section on the debate too, it seems that Burgin has to some degree overlooked Christiansen’s criticism of Klinger with his descriptive ‘*Protokollen*’, and her own understanding of the texts as instructions. Burgin somewhat confusingly writes that he will advance “the administrative model put forth by Klinger, Schwemer and Christiansen”, even though from their written publications, Schwemer and especially Christiansen do not seem to align themselves necessarily with the administrative model, but either defer further classification (Schwemer) or further the debate by seeing the function of the texts as multifaceted (Christiansen).

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<sup>34</sup> (Burgin 2019, 25)

<sup>35</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9), and see also the ‘*Rollenbücher*’ above.

<sup>36</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9, n. 29)

#### 4.1.2 Models and criticism of presentism

The two current models on the function of Hittite texts both have their weaknesses, especially when we regard the texts as examples of the vast range of data on worldwide historical and contemporary performances.

The difficulty with the ‘festivals as scripts’ model is on the one hand the understanding one has of the theater-inspired terminology, and on the other, the assumed creation of a “religious uniformity”<sup>37</sup> or even “orthodoxy”<sup>38</sup> by means of the text. Concerning the theater-inspired terminology, I believe that how we understand those terms depends heavily on how literally or metaphorically we take these terms. Christiansen, too, acknowledges that in the literal sense, Hittite festivals are not ‘Regiebücher’ or ‘Drehbücher’:

Ob man sich ihm anschließt, hängt natürlich entscheidend davon ab, was man unter diesen Bezeichnungen versteht und was man mit ihnen zum Ausdruck bringen möchte. Im Wortsinn sind die Bezeichnungen selbstredend unpassend, weil es sich bei den Festritualtexten weder um Bücher noch um textliche Vorlagen für Filme oder Theateraufführungen handelt.<sup>39</sup>

If one accepts that modern terms could be used in the metaphorical sense, without automatically assuming that these terms are in their whole meaning and understandings completely applicable or similar to the ancient phenomena we are applying them to, these theater-inspired terms could be useful ways to conceptualize phenomena from ancient cultures and to inspire discussion. I

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<sup>37</sup> (Burgin 2019, 5)

<sup>38</sup> (Burgin 2019, 4)

<sup>39</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 36)

think it was partly the very use of these terms that incited Christiansen, for instance, to look at the Hittite texts in more detail, and argue for their prescriptive (rather than descriptive) nature. Burgin too, ends up using the terms '*Rollenbücher*' and 'dramatic text', showing that these designations do indeed help us grasp the use of specific text groups and refer to them in succinct ways. Critically using theater-inspired terms also makes it easier for those from within the field of specialty to search for cultural comparanda, which might enlighten our understanding of certain (aspects of) ancient phenomena, and in the other direction, make the observed phenomena from our field of interest understandable for scholars from other disciplines. With the exception of Klinger, it seems that even those scholars who are closest to the 'administrative' model, Schwemer and Burgin, cannot do without theater-inspired terminology.<sup>40</sup>

I believe we should use theater-inspired terms critically, but that they are useful in multiple ways. They inspire discussion as to the exact operations of the Hittite performance process, especially those parts belonging to the so-called "proto-performance" (see 4.2.3). Furthermore, they aid comparisons between different historically attested performance phenomena and ease interdisciplinary dialogue.

One of the reasons the debate on using 'theatrical' terms for Hittite festivals has become so heated, is because there is no agreement on the exact meanings of these terms, and they also take on different meanings with developments in the media landscape. Comparing for instance the terms 'script' and 'scenario'/'screenplay'<sup>41</sup>, these terms used to be more rigidly divided due

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<sup>40</sup> Burgin uses both 'dramatic text' and '*Rollenbuch*', as we have seen. In his characterization of the religious responsibilities of the Hittite king, Schwemer writes: "The king is the most senior cult *actor* in the vast majority of cult festivals that have to be *performed* throughout the year" (my italics). (Schwemer 2022, 360)

<sup>41</sup> The former is used more in European screen productions, the latter in American industry.

to the difference in the intended media: scripts were used especially for staged theater productions and audio broadcasts, scenarios/screenplays used especially for films and television shows.<sup>42</sup> Nowadays, the terms are often associated with different levels of detail in the written instructions used for the preparation of a performance. Technically, scenarios/screenplays fall under the category of scripts. In daily usage, scripts are often characterized as mainly consisting of dialogue, a notion decidedly not applicable to the Hittite festival texts. However, scripts can also contain information on the visual lines, gestures, movements and expressions enacted by the performers, i.e. the dramatic action. They are often divided into scenes or acts, and for each act, the script can contain information as to the location and movements. In this way, there are some correlations between the festival texts and scripts, since they do provide these types of information, especially at the beginning of a new 'act'. We will see this in the analysis of the KILAM festival especially (case study 2, chapter 7). The terms 'scenario' or 'screenplay' (originally a script for a performance that takes place on a screen) is generally associated more with directions on the visual aspects and processes of the performance. Since the term script has become mainly associated with dialogue, the term scenario is sometimes used to refer to outlines of the plot or a model of an expected or supposed sequence of events. This use of the term scenario, underlining its function as an outline or model of sequenced events, comes much closer to the observed content of Hittite festival texts.

Drawing from these general usages of the terms, I propose to continue to use Burgin's term 'dramatic texts' (as well as his specific usage of the term *Rollenbücher* in cases of functional

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<sup>42</sup> See for instance (Britannica 2008, 2019).

differentiation) and Christiansen's understanding of 'instructions', and to add to this the possibility to refer to Hittite festival texts as 'scenarios'. The term 'screenplay', though in terms of its use aligning quite well with the observed characteristics of Hittite festival texts, conjures the image of a camera and film, so that it seems less apt, unless used metaphorically. The term 'script', although technically the overarching category of scenario, is probably best avoided altogether, since it is too often associated with written dialogue, thus causing misunderstandings among scholars less embedded in the terminological debate within performance studies.

A second criticism on the 'festivals as scripts' model is the assumed ambition of a uniformity in the performance praxis.<sup>43</sup> First, we should not assume that we know exactly what level of uniformity the festival organizers would have considered necessary for either the religious or political efficacies they envisioned.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps this level was low enough to excuse the lack in detail modern scholars accuse the corpus of (see above). Alternatively, the strict level of uniformity would have been accomplished by other means than the texts alone, as was for instance proposed by Klinger, who suggested that the missing details would have been obvious to contemporary users of the texts.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps additional information was retained by the cult professionals in other ways, through practice, oral traditions, and institutional memory. By way of comparison, we can think about the way in which ritual specialists are trained to perform in the West African Yoruba ritual. This involves the individual training of many particularized ritual roles, since "nobody can witness a Yoruba performance in its entirety, not even ritual specialists

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<sup>43</sup> See 4.1.1 and (Burgin 2019, 2-3).

<sup>44</sup> Compare, for instance, the combined rigor and improvisation visible in the performance of the Yoruba ritual. (Schechner 2013, 232)

<sup>45</sup> (Klinger 1996, 729)

themselves".<sup>46</sup> This lack of a macro view on the performance was due both to ritual actions taking place simultaneously, as well as parts of the ritual being inaccessible to some participants, in a type of diacritical ceremony.<sup>47</sup>

By looking at the perceived lack of details, we also touch upon difficulties inherent to the administrative model. By calling the texts insufficient, we are clearly projecting our own value systems, expectations (and scholarly wishes) onto the ancient corpus, essentially imposing cultural bias in the form of presentism. This is visible for instance in Burgin's assessment (which lacks references to a comparative study): "It has been established that Hittite festival dramatic texts are insufficiently detailed to be scripts, i.e., they require more prior knowledge from the reader to effect a performance than do most modern dramatic texts".<sup>48</sup> We can and should assume that the Hittites themselves had all the complete instructions for all the festivals, and additional documents when these were deemed necessary (such as the ration lists or liturgies, which we will discuss in more detail below), as well as various texts reflecting on the necessity of the proper performance or specific instructions to make up for missed or substandard performances. These people had the agency to create all these types of texts, to adjust them when this was deemed necessary or – as is the case with the non-state cult inventories – present the essential information in various ways, depending on the situation. As such, we can and should assume that the compilation of all these festival-related texts provided enough information for the planning, organization and performance of the festival, either by itself or accompanied by other forms of information retention (*i.e.* non-textual forms of collective and institutional memory). I believe this

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<sup>46</sup> (Margaret Thompson Drewal 1992, 24-25, apud Schechner 2013, 232)

<sup>47</sup> (Margaret Thompson Drewal 1992, 24-25, apud Schechner 2013, 232)

<sup>48</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9)

is an important point to emphasize: we as modern scholars are sometimes quick to assume that because the information is not detailed enough for *us* to understand the ancient performance, it would also have been insufficient for ancient audiences. This line of thinking does not attribute proper agency to ancient people to have organized their societies and administrative systems in ways that worked for them.

To the modern scholar, there are many conventions and meanings that are not spelled out in the Hittite festival texts, that apparently would have been clear for whoever was handling the texts – and indeed, for whoever was organizing a Hittite festival performance. For the cultural historian, the cuneiform texts give us a high level of information on the performance's characteristics. Indeed, compared to those of contemporary cultures and even later ones from within the ancient world, Hittite festival texts are very detailed. It is only to the contemporary reader that they are not a comprehensive account of the “network of expectations and obligations” that guided the performance.<sup>49</sup> It is up to the scholar to reconstruct this set of conventions, precedents, liturgies and manners, that is to say the “cultural rules” that instruct all those involved in the performance.<sup>50</sup> I take a first step in the direction of describing some of these rules by carrying out a categorization of performance ‘building blocks’ in the analysis of my case studies, and synthesizing from these case studies common features, notable structures and other types of cultural rules.

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<sup>49</sup> (Schechner 2013, 250)

<sup>50</sup> (Schechner 2013, 249)



### 4.1.3 Texts versus performance

In performance studies, it has long been acknowledged that theater texts and their performance praxis stand in an indirect correlation to each other: a written text is only a part of the process of shaping and acting out a performance. With the sidenote that Hittite texts do not *describe* but *prescribe*, as argued by Christiansen (see above), we will use Burgin's designation of the textual instruction for a performance as 'dramatic texts'. Borrowing a term from Schechner, we can oppose the (textual) dramatic texts with the so-called 'performance text':

everything that takes place on stage that a spectator experiences, from the movements and speech of the dancers and/or actors to the lighting, sets, and other technical or multimedia effects. The performance text is distinguished from the dramatic text. The dramatic text is the play, script, music score, or dance notation that exists prior to being staged.<sup>51</sup>

As outlined by Schechner, the process of staging a performance can be understood as the relationship between four involved parties, "the performance quadrilogue":

1. sourcers (authors, choreographers, composers, detectives, dramaturgs, etc.)
2. producers (directors, conductors, coaches, judges, designers, technicians, business staff, etc.)
3. performers
4. partakers (spectators, fans, juries, the public, etc.)<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> (Schechner 2013, 227)

<sup>52</sup> (Schechner 2013, 225, 250-255)

Because performance is a multifaceted operation dependent on different parties and specific circumstances, no performance can be exactly like another, and not every performance goes as planned or hoped, no matter how abundant the instructions. Even if the performance is planned and enacted to approach the textual 'ideal', it is a one-time phenomenon that changes appearance depending on its performed context. Circumstances of the moment could cause deviations between the 'dramatic texts' and the 'performance texts': the physical context of the performance, the weather, the availability of certain props, the mood of the actors and the audience, to name but a few. From the perspective of performance studies, there is no problem therefore in characterizing Hittite festival texts as prescriptive or instructional texts that present us with the 'idealized' norm of the performance, or using the term 'scenario', while at the very same time acknowledging that the 'performance text', that is, the actual performed reality, would have deviated from the 'dramatic text', that is, the written version from the cuneiform texts.

Taking into account the numerous deviations from the 'script' that we see in Schwemer's grouping of 'quality assurance' texts, the difference between the prescribed ideal and the performance reality was a lived experience by Hittites, that they were both aware of and on occasion worried about. In the case of such worries, there was an impetus for the Hittites to take action and to make amends, both by performing necessary cult actions, as well as adjusting the festival administration, so that in future times, the 'dramatic texts' and the 'performance texts' would show less deviation.

Although positivistic inclined scholars may say differently,<sup>53</sup> acknowledging that there would have been a difference between the ‘dramatic text’ and the ‘performance texts’ does not mean that ‘anything goes’ in terms of interpretation. The texts present us with a desired form of performance, using cultural references that would have been understood by those people who were meant to read or use the texts for organizing or performing in the festivals. As such, we can study the desired forms of performance as ‘restored behavior’ (see below), while acknowledging their idealized status.

#### 4.1.4 Function of performance over function of texts

In this study, it is my intention to study the ‘performance text’, the actual Hittite performances themselves, that is, the “execution of an action as opposed to capacities, models, or other factors that represent the potential for such action or an abstraction from it”.<sup>54</sup> In other words, I intend to study the building blocks, inner workings and potential effects of actual Hittite performances, rather than just the scripts. Of course, the most extensive evidence for the performances are those very play scripts, the Hittite festival texts.<sup>55</sup> From a methodological standpoint however, the intentional distinction should be made clear.

There is a distinct difference between the question ‘what is the function of Hittite festival texts’ and the question ‘what is the function of Hittite festival celebrations’: this thesis, and the

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<sup>53</sup> E.g., (Gilan 2011, 282): “Furthermore, the texts only prescribe the desirable and correct order of events – of what really happened – of the illuminating gap between plan and performance – we know nothing, as we do not possess the impressions of participants or eyewitness descriptions. All we possess are the scribal, official, technical transcripts”.

<sup>54</sup> (Bauman 1992, 41)

<sup>55</sup> Though see the next chapter for additional evidence, from the material record.

framework I develop for the analysis of Hittite performance culture in general, deals with the latter question. This is what I have called the '*why*' in earlier chapters, and it focuses on the sociopolitical efficacy of Hittite festival performances.

The cuneiform texts are testament to the 'restored behavior' Hittite festivals show, that is, they refer to recurring "habits, rituals and routines of life".<sup>56</sup> Schechner describes this as existing both in everyday life and in "actions marked off by aesthetic convention as in theatre, dance and music... Because it is marked, framed and separate, restored behavior can be worked on, stored and recalled, played with, made into something else, transmitted, and transformed." If, like Geertz, we take human behavior as a social action, then we should endeavor to decode the 'restored behavior' and understand the different elements that it contains. This is why it is important to disentangle from the amassed web of texts related in one way or another to Hittite performance culture, the building blocks of the performance, and see what are the marked elements of the restored behavior. The study of these cultural practices, and their function within Hittite society, is a subject one can and should study independently of the function of the text carriers which make up their most important sources of evidence.

## **4.2 Performance process**

Now that we have critically assessed the ongoing discussion on the function of Hittite festival texts, let us take a closer look at what exactly the Hittite textual material concerning festivals looks like. I present here a brief overview of the types of textual evidence that provide information on

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<sup>56</sup>(Schechner 2013, 34)

Hittite performance culture and suggest what parts of the performance process they can illuminate most.

#### 4.2.1 A typology of Hittite texts concerning performance

In his 2019 book, Burgin reassesses the typology of Hittite festival texts as found in Schwemer.<sup>57</sup>

Following Burgin's suggestion on Schwemer's first two categories (covering outline tablets)<sup>58</sup>, and van den Hout's stance on wooden writing tablets,<sup>59</sup> we would come to the following list:

- a) audit-outline tablets
- b) day tablets or daily outlines; alternatively called 'scenarios'<sup>60</sup>
- c) tablets detailing rations; alternatively called 'ration lists' or *MELQĒTU* lists
- d) tablets detailing recitations and chants; alternatively called 'liturgies'
- e) royal orders and proclamations regulating the cult
- f) oracle reports and related texts
- g) cult inventories

Type a) would, according to Burgin, mainly exist in the "context of a larger process of festival auditing and management", rather than the preparation of individual festival performances.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> (Burgin 2019, 13; Schwemer 2016, 7-11)

<sup>58</sup> (Burgin 2019, 24-25)

<sup>59</sup> *I.e.* we should not assume them as an essential category of evidence for particular parts of Hittite history, since we simply do not have them: (van den Hout 2020, 13-15, 184-217).

<sup>60</sup> For the designation script, which, as I have argued, is technically correct, but should for purposes of clarity be replaced with 'scenario', see 4.1.2.

<sup>61</sup> (Burgin 2019, 25)

Whereas type b) gives a “selectively-detailed description of single days or festival scenes”, c) covers the cultic provisions (foods and objects) necessary for the performance and d) the liturgies which retain fragments of Hattic recitations sung during the festival performance.

Types b), c), and d) are all “written from within the perspective of the dramatic action” and according to Burgin, should be considered a form of ‘Rollenbücher’. Types a), b), c), and d) all fall under the general denomination ‘dramatic text’, both in the definition given by Burgin as well as the general understanding of ‘dramatic text’ from performance studies.<sup>62</sup>

Schwemer describes the formatting of these dramatic texts on the clay tablets. They provide:

succinct information on the performance of ceremonies that take place on one specific day or in a specific place. If a festival lasts for more than one day and/or is celebrated in a number of different places, a series of day tablets is compiled that can be ordered by days or tablet numbers. The text pertaining to one day can stretch over several tablets, which then have their own tablet count; but, at the same time, the ceremonies of more than one day can be taken together on one tablet if they are regarded as one ritual unit (e. g., a local festival in one specific place).<sup>63</sup>

No extant Hittite festival is completely preserved, and not all partially preserved festival scripts are accompanied by these additional documents. In modern theater, these additional documents would fall under different organizational directories. The ration list is much like a modern ‘prop list’, which falls under the responsibilities of the stage director. The liturgies compare to lyrics or

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<sup>62</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9; Schechner 2013, 227)

<sup>63</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 389)

musical scores, and would have been especially useful to someone in charge of preparing singers and musical performers.

Besides dramatic texts (a-d), we have the set of texts from different 'genres' that show a concern with past performances, brought together by Schwemer in his work on the 'quality assurance' of Hittite festival celebration.<sup>64</sup> These comprise types e) and f). In a way, we could see them as an ancient form of performance 'reviews'.

There are more types of textual evidence to be found on Hittite performance culture. Besides dramatic texts and texts concerned with the quality assurance of performance, we also have cult inventories.<sup>65</sup> This group of texts evinces an emic category distinguished by the Hittites themselves as different from festival texts. They reflect a certain degree of state control over the performance of cults at the local level, as they are comprised of "reports of officials who, on behalf of the king, inspected local temples and shrines throughout the country to ensure that even those cults which the king did not personally attend were in good condition and conformed to the general precept of observance".<sup>66</sup> The corpus of cult inventories consists of about 550 greatly varying fragments that deal with non-state offerings and festivals, all of which take place outside of Hattusa, without involvement of the king, queen or princes.<sup>67</sup> The texts are concerned with the proper celebration of the cult in smaller Hittite towns, and show a remarkable concern with practical topics such as cult objects and cult supplies. They are especially relevant to see how the Hittite state administration interacted with local settlements and to compare Hittite state cult with

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<sup>64</sup> (Schwemer 2016)

<sup>65</sup> It was Michele Cammarosano who argued for a clear cut demarcation between festival texts and cult inventories: (Cammarosano 2013).

<sup>66</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 390)

<sup>67</sup> For a short introduction on the genre and an overview of his research on the topic, see (Cammarosano 2021).

local traditions. Cammarosano calls the corpus a “unicum in the ancient Near East”, relevant for both the history of religion and centre-periphery studies.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Past consideration of the performance process

Although much of the discussion was focused on the function of the texts (see above), some suggestions have been made as to the practicalities of the performance process. How were the texts used in the process of preparing, performing and evaluating the festivals?

As argued by Christiansen, several linguistic elements from within the texts indicate that the texts of categories a) through d) were used for preparing the performances ahead of time.<sup>69</sup> Besides these text-internal elements, there are also practical considerations, making the use of cuneiform tablets *during* the performance of the festival less logical (though not impossible).<sup>70</sup>

Christiansen mentions two examples of ways which the scripts could have been used by those preparing for the performances. First, the tablets could have been given to cult actors to familiarize themselves with the general course of the specific festival that was being prepared.<sup>71</sup> This scenario could only work of course, if either those actors were able to read, or if the tablets were read to them. We should compare this scenario to the transference of ritual knowledge in other societies with complex and partly secluded celebrations, such as the Yoruba. As we have seen, the aim there was not to school individual actors in the entire course of the celebrations, but to initiate individual actors into their specific roles only.<sup>72</sup> Christiansen’s second suggestion was

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<sup>68</sup> (Cammarosano 2021)

<sup>69</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 37-39)

<sup>70</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9)

<sup>71</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 40)

<sup>72</sup> (Margaret Thompson Drewal 1992, 24-25, apud Schechner 2013, 232)



that the texts were merely used by those people in charge of the correct performance of the festival or by those who had central roles within the performance.<sup>73</sup>

Both of Christiansen's suggestions, as well as the comparison with the Yoruba performance tradition, align well with the conclusion of Burgin's book. As we have seen, Burgin compares the different Old Hittite manuscripts of the KILAM festival and concluded that their inherent variety is testament to the different intended users of the texts: a functional differentiation. The KILAM's festivals manuscripts 1 and 2a-c were focused on the king's table, manuscript 1 concerned mainly with the special breads and drinks and manuscripts 2a-c with the regular offerings. Any information on goings-on elsewhere than at the king's table was left out, except when absolutely necessary to follow the general performance process. Burgin further observes that manuscripts 3 and 4 are concerned with the great assembly in a more general sense, "recording the actions of a wide range of cultic participants".<sup>74</sup> Whereas manuscript 4 shows a detailed concern with "the process, sequence, and choreography of the ceremony", manuscript 3 is limited to a summation of results: "bread was brought, cups were given, dances were danced".<sup>75</sup> By arguing for a functional differentiation of the Hittite festival texts, Burgin has also added to our knowledge of the planning and organization of the festivals. These, it seems, were differentiated and complicated enough to warrant a multifaceted textual tradition.

Some more obvious suggestions on the practicalities of the performance process, for instance listed by Burgin, include the observation that ration lists and liturgy texts were composed separately from the main festival texts because of their use in the preparations, to

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<sup>73</sup> (Christiansen 2016, 40)

<sup>74</sup> (Burgin 2019, 162)

<sup>75</sup> (Burgin 2019, 162-163)

prepare all the items needed ahead of time and to rehearse the songs respectively. Alternatively, the songs could have been disembedded from the scripts because of the expertise needed in editing and managing them.<sup>76</sup>

#### 4.2.3 Schechner's time-space sequence

Schechner proposed the following "time-space sequence" to discern three different parts of the performance process: proto-performance, the performance and the aftermath.<sup>77</sup>

**Proto-performance:** "a source or impulse that gives rise to a performance; a starting point. A performance can (and usually does) have more than one proto-performance".<sup>78</sup>

1. training
2. workshop
3. rehearsal

The proto-performance encompasses (among other things) the script, liturgy and oral tradition. Specific dates or traditions that require a performance (Schechner suggest Christmas or an initiation rite) are also part of this stage. Prior performances are also part of the proto-performance. Schechner emphasizes the role of backstage activities and of "hidden" features of

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<sup>76</sup> (Burgin 2019, 9)

<sup>77</sup> (Schechner 2013, 225-262)

<sup>78</sup> (Schechner 2013, 226)

the performance: "Identifying what is emphasized and what is omitted is important to understanding both the performance process and the social world which contains and is also shaped by particular performances."<sup>79</sup>

Looking back towards the types of texts we have in the Hittite textual record, types a), b), c) and d) will give the most information on the proto-performance. Depending on the level of detail provided in the 'scripts' that comprise type b), one could for instance decide how many people were needed, for what roles, and instruct them as to their actions in the performance. Furthermore, one could read through these texts to see what stages needed to be prepared: an organizer could scout the physical locations of the performances, design, order and construct the necessary temporary structures and check on the state of temples, monuments and assembly places that were visited or passed by during the performance. The texts could also be mined to see which props were going to be used, such as symbolic weaponry made of precious metals, to check on their whereabouts and state and to order them cleaned or repaired. For each of the participants too, the necessary preparations would include the proper garments, especially for the king, whose garments are so explicitly mentioned in the texts and (as we will see in the next chapter) would also have been visually discerning compared to other festival participants. Using in addition information from the ration lists, there would have been extensive preparations for the vast amounts of food and drink offered and consumed during the festivals, including the offerings of animals. Based on the information provided by the scripts, there could also have been auditions and rehearsals of some form for the specialized performances during the festival,

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<sup>79</sup> (Schechner 2013, 226)

including acrobatic acts, theatrical interludes, athletic events and of course music and dance. The liturgies could have been used in these rehearsals as well.

Burgin's novel understanding of functional differentiation within the festival texts, taken together with Christiansen's arguments for the prescriptive function of those texts, shows that different people were in charge of different parts of the preparations. In the case of the KILAM festival for instance, it seems that at least for one organizer (or cult participant), the one using manuscript 1, it was necessary to focus on the intricacies of the special breads and drink at the king's table. For the person using manuscript 4, it was important to know many of processes and sequences of the great assembly in much detail, so that this person might have been in charge of "tracking the locations and responsibilities of each cult participant contributing to the advancement of the ceremony".<sup>80</sup>

An important part of analyzing the efficacy of a performance, is understanding who considered themselves a participant in a performance. This question is reflected in the (heated) debate about the audience of Hittite festivals (see below). As we can see in this section, a vast group of people would have been involved in the preparations of the festival. As such, even if some of these people were not able to see any or all of the parts of the performance as 'partakers' (see Schechner's 'performance quadrilogue' in 4.1.3), they were still participants in the performance in some way and can be classified as part of Schechner's second category in the quadrilogue, that of the 'producers'.

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<sup>80</sup> (Burgin 2019, 163)

## Performance

4. warm-up
5. public performance
6. events/contexts sustaining the public performance
7. cooldown

As we have seen, the performance itself could and in some cases did deviate from the idealized form presented in the texts. Nevertheless, the texts are our best shot at compiling and analyzing the restored behaviors and cultural references that were deemed meaningful and essential by the users of the texts. It is the same types of texts then, a)-d), that inform us as to the building blocks of the actual performances, the *how*. Because of the brevity of a) and the narrowness of c) and d), the riches of information on this part of the performance process really lies with type b), the scenarios.

As Schechner explains, every type of performance has a type of 'warm-up':

There is before every kind of performance – aesthetic, social, athletic, ritual, political, personal – a liminal time, sometimes brief, sometimes extended, when performers prepare to make the leap from “readiness” to “performance.” This leap is decisive, a jump over a void of time–space. On one side of the void is ordinary life, on the other, performance.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> (Schechner 2013, 240)

In some Hittite festival texts, this limited time is preserved in the prescription. The most poignant example is from the KI.LAM festival (see chapter 7), when the king prepares himself after waking up, by washing and putting on the clothes and ornaments for the festival, out of the gaze of any sort of audience. Burgin characterizes this scene as the king's "morning toilette".<sup>82</sup> As Schechner describes, the ritual of putting on one's "costume" is a way to warm-up to the role that one is about to play.<sup>83</sup> Schechner even implies that there are different phases of this warm-up, which we can apply to the case of the Hittite king as well. As we will see in chapter 7, the king first gets ready, and is visible only to a few close servants or personnel. Then, he steps into a specific physical space of the palace complex which contains the throne or dais, and by entering that space and seating himself on the throne, he becomes even more visible. All of these actions precede the moment that the king's presence really would have become more widely visible, namely, when he enters through a gateway into a courtyard.

Schechner explains that it is very hard to mark exactly the point that a performance becomes public:

I note only that a performance is whatever takes place between a marked beginning and a marked end. This marking, or framing, varies from culture to culture, epoch to epoch, and genre to genre – even, sometimes, from instance to instance... For every genre, in every culture, there are usually very clear markers signaling the start and finish of a public performance.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> (Burgin 2019, 27) See also KBo 10.23 1'-21'.

<sup>83</sup> (Schechner 2013, 240)

<sup>84</sup> (Schechner 2013, 240)

The part of the performance process that we know the very least about, is what Schechner refers to as the “larger events and contexts”.<sup>85</sup> For Hittite performances, this would pertain to things like the behavior of the audience, what happened ‘backstage’, how the performance venues were set up, who would have gotten access to which parts of the performance, the travel of spectators towards the performance venue, the attitudes of spectators about the performances, the clean-up necessary after the event. As I will argue in the analysis of my case studies (belonging to category b), our texts do contain information on some of these aspects, especially the way in which groups of people were given or denied access to certain parts of the festival. What we do have extensive information about is the larger systems that the Hittite performances were in service of. Per Schechner’s understanding, there are no “politics, ritual, or social events for their own sakes. These are always in the service of larger systems; and the performances always affect these larger systems.”<sup>86</sup>

At the end of the main performance a new, less formal phase begins, which Schechner calls the cooldown.<sup>87</sup>

Whatever the performance, at some point it is over. The curtain comes down, the audience leaves, the inauguration ends, the bride and groom leave the party, the dancers are in their dressing rooms changing into street clothes. As the performers unwind, the spectators gather their belongings, chat about what they have just seen or participated in, and go out for a bite or home to rest. Things return to “normal.” This transition between the show and the show-is-over is an often overlooked

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<sup>85</sup> (Schechner 2013, 244-245)

<sup>86</sup> (Schechner 2013, 245)

<sup>87</sup> (Schechner 2013, 245)

but extremely interesting and important phase. If warm-ups prepare people for the leap into performance, cooldown ushers them back to daily life.<sup>88</sup>

We can think of for instance the call for marnuwan beer; the great assembly in general; the king putting certain regalia back on or removing them again and driving back to the citadel.

### **Aftermath**

8. critical responses
9. archives
10. memories

The last phase of the performance process is the aftermath. Schechner writes:

This phase of the performance process may extend for years or even centuries – in fact, the duration of the aftermath is indefinite. Through various historical and archaeological research techniques a performance even thousands of years old can be to some degree reconstructed. Ironically, the more removed in time, the more important trivial or throwaway evidence becomes – pottery shards, midden heaps, snapshots, old clothing, personal letters, and so on. The aftermath persists in physical evidence, critical responses, archives, and memories.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> (Schechner 2013, 245)

<sup>89</sup> (Schechner 2013, 246-247)



This very book could, in this sense, be said to belong to the aftermath of Hittite festival performances. Going back to Hittite times, the aftermath would have consisted of the “word-of-mouth” circuit, of oral responses to the witnessed events. Furthermore, responses could have been fixed in writing or pictures, as is evident from both the ‘quality assurance’ texts, types e) and f), as well as the iconographic record, which we will look at in the next chapter. Christiansen argued that the festival texts were not just instructions, they also served to retain information over time. Following that suggestion, types a)-d) can also be said to contain information for this part of the process, as they show which types of information were deemed worthy of preservation and form a type of “archival material”.

Of major importance to the analysis of the festivals’ efficacies, is the memories they would have created in the minds of the participants and – through the media of oral communication, the written record, and iconography – in the minds of others as well.

### **4.3 The audience question**

#### **4.3.1 Schechner’s quadrilogue as audience**

A pivotal issue in the Hittitological discussion on festival performance is that of the audience. Ideally, we would like to know who the audience consisted of for any given festival, and any given scene within that festival. But from a methodological viewpoint, the situation is somewhat bleak. The dramatic texts list the active participants to each festival, that is, the performers. These are mentioned by title or as part of a group, the number of people belonging to such a group being unexpressed in most cases. For many of the groups, we don’t know exactly who was considered part of this group or how large the group would have been. The main lacuna in the

extant evidence is on the group of festival participants which would fall under Schechner's group of 'partakers', the audience in the narrow sense of the word. Even Hittitologists who are interested in studying the socio-political effects of Hittite festivals, have found this lacuna difficult to assess. Gilan for instance writes:

However, despite this bulk of theory, a closer look at the Hittite festival texts may leave a different impression altogether, namely that its 'authors' were not interested at all in the propagandistic possibilities the festivals offered. Whereas processions – ceremonial, ritualized 'public' appearances of the king – are amply attested in Hittite festival texts... there is no mention whatsoever of the audiences that were supposed to view the spectacle.<sup>90</sup>

Gilan did, however, write about the audience of mock combat performed during a festival celebration:

Die Kämpfe werden von einem Priester geleitet und finden in Anwesenheit des Königs, der Gottheit und eines scheinbar großes Publikums statt, welches sich aus Truppen und den übrigen Zuschauern zusammensetzt... Nicht nur die einzelnen Kämpfe, sondern auch die Reaktionen des Publikums werden ungewöhnlich ausführlich beschrieben. So erfahren wir, daß das Publikum die Siege des "Unseren" und die Niederlagen des Vertreters des Feindes bejubelt.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> (Gilan 2011, 281) Small grammar correction is mine.

<sup>91</sup> (Gilan 2001, 118)

About a royal procession described in the instructions for the royal bodyguard, Gilan writes (citing the translation by Güterbock and van den Hout<sup>92</sup>):

Among other procedures, the texts prescribe the exit of the king from the palace, an event that involved dozens of guards, soldiers and different experts forming a ca. 90 m long and 30 m wide procession. The whole procession was accompanied by soldiers from a field-battalion whose orders were to “keep the peaceful [population] lined up on the sides. The left ones keep (it) lined up on the left, and the right ones keep (it) lined up on the right” (§27, lines 60–63)...

Apart from keeping the crowds out of the way the soldiers are instructed to prevent anything – such as stray oxen or horses – from disturbing the procession (§28).<sup>93</sup>

What else do these two texts – the combat scene and the instruction text – show, if not a reality of spectators to ritual and political performances, whether they be cheering or in need of restraint?

The first of Gilan’s citations here, shows how much the debate on the function of festival performances is connected to the audience question: if the lack of evidence for a festival audience is taken as evidence that there really was no audience, how could the festivals have had any socio-political efficacy? In the remainder of this section, I will briefly discuss past scholarship, and show how a performance-oriented approach gives new insights into what and who we should consider ‘audience’. I argue that not only did Hittite festival performances – at some points during their celebration – have an audience in the narrow sense, but we should consider all groups belonging

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<sup>92</sup> (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991)

<sup>93</sup> (Gilan 2011, 281-282) Small typo correction is mine.

to Schechner's quadrilogue as participants of the performance and as such, as audience members in the broader sense.

We have already looked briefly at Schechner's quadrilogue, which categorizes all the involved parties of a performance. These are:

1. sourcers (authors, choreographers, composers, detectives, dramaturges, etc.)
2. producers (directors, conductors, coaches, judges, designers, technicians, business staff, etc.)
3. performers
4. partakers (spectators, fans, juries, the public, etc.)<sup>94</sup>

All of these people can be called 'participants' of the performance and as such, the performance would have had some sort of effect on them. We may expect different levels of efficacy depending on several factors, for instance the level of participation in the performance, or the closeness of the participant to the king. This is not to say however, that someone who had only a brief encounter with the performance could not have been thoroughly affected by it. One can imagine for instance, that the effect of briefly seeing the king in his ceremonial garb, surrounded by other processants, with music and elements of visual splendor accompanying the movements, would have had a large impact on someone not used to seeing these forms of performance, whereas a member of the elite may have been less impressed by the same event, having helped orchestrate and perhaps rehearse the procession. On the other hand, those members of the elite allowed to participate in diacritical events may have been thoroughly impressed by stimulations of the

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<sup>94</sup> (Schechner 2013, 225. 250-255)

different senses. The human mind cannot be reduced to a simple diagram, when it comes to affects and emotions.<sup>95</sup>

The discussion on the audience of Hittite festivals has not been actively informed by performance studies. The audience debate is intense, because it is erroneously linked with the debate on the function of the Hittite texts. As I have shown, there is a distinct difference between studying the function of the texts and studying the function of the performances themselves. In the case of the audience, we are engaging with the latter issue. As we will see, as a consequence of the audience question being connected to the function of the texts, there are again tendencies to doubt the reality behind the instruction texts, and to question whether the Hittite festival performance even had an audience. Many scholars in Hittitology understand the audience only as the 'partakers' from Schechner's quadrilogue. As we will see, this narrow understanding of the audience disregards completely the efficacy of festivals on the performers and other participants in the festivals.

Besides the king and queen, a myriad of people are involved in the preparation and performance in the festivals. Schwemer lists:

the royal entourage, palace servants, and, where applicable, local officials, as well as all those who were involved in the economy and administration of the relevant temples, including shepherds and farmers, bakers, brewers, winemakers, butchers, cooks, cupbearers, table attendants, textile and metal workers, and various other crafts. At the temples, several groups of cult functionaries, most prominently the SANGA-priests, GUDU<sub>12</sub>-priests, and AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, were

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<sup>95</sup> On human emotions and affects in this sense, see (Hamilakis 2013).

charged with the day-to-day cultic activities, the protection and maintenance of the sanctuary, and the management of the annual festivals, whether they were sponsored by themselves, by local officials and communities, or by the royal household. During the major festivals, various groups of lower-ranking cult personnel and community groups performed recitations, songs, instrumental music, dances, and artistic performances.<sup>96</sup>

As we will see in the case studies, consciously pursued effects on the festival performers are especially visible in those parts of the festivals which could have functioned as diacritical ceremonies. Furthermore, we have seen comparative examples of the importance of these public displays of power for the king himself, such as in Mayan festivals and in the investiture ceremony of Prince Charles (see 3.2.3 and 3.4).<sup>97</sup> Although there is no direct evidence that this was the case for the Hittite king, comparative studies do show that similar ceremonies had efficacies even on those people in charge of or heading the performance.

As I have argued above (4.3.1), the performance will also have had effects on the other participants of the performance, the sourcers and producers. Some of these people might not have been able to see any or all of the parts of the performance as ‘partakers’, but nevertheless, they were participants in the performance in some way.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, it seems that of the vast groups of professionals (producers) that would have worked to manufacture everything needed for the festival performance (e.g., cult objects, food and drink) some were chosen to also act in the festival as performers. In these cases, the festival scenarios mention the ritual acts of for instance cooks,

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<sup>96</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 388)

<sup>97</sup> (Inomata 2006b, 211);

<sup>98</sup> This argument is also made by Ristvet about for instance metalworkers and carpenters who produced the religious artifacts used in the *akitu* festival. (Ristvet 2015, 153-154)

bakers and smiths. Although a greater efficacy should be assumed for direct and active sensorial experiences of the performance, some effect must have been felt by those who directly or indirectly contributed to the performance as producers, without performing or partaking. If nothing else, they might have felt excluded or they might have begrudged other groups their ability to participate more elaborately in the performance. This indirect effect is all the more likely, if indeed some individuals from these groups of professionals were allowed to represent their profession in the performance, whereas others were limited to partaking or not allowed any direct access to the performance.

Here too, we are reminded of the socio-political effects envisioned by scholars like Coben and Inomata as well as Gilibert and Ristvet on those members of society who were either not active partakers in the performance, or whose partaking was limited or filtered because of restricted visual or physical permeability.<sup>99</sup> The efficacy of 'materializations of ideology' was not limited to the partakers, but stretched to those people involved in other ways in the performance process, such as people producing the objects used during the performance, as well as people who heard about the performances by word-of-mouth.

Besides mention of the performers, there is only sporadic evidence, textual or archaeological, for the presence of a larger audience at Hittite festivals. Although most scholars seem to agree that some sort of audience would have been present at parts of the celebrations at least, other scholars, Klinger most adamantly, see the lack of detailed evidence regarding a wider audience as a real problem, leading them to think festivals may not have been witnessed outside

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<sup>99</sup> E.g., (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 30; Gilibert 2011, 4, 108; Ristvet 2015, 154)

of the circle of performers at all.<sup>100</sup> Klinger criticizes Görke's statement that music would have drawn the attention of the public and states that the question, whether the main ritual acts of festivals would have had a public audience ("Öffentlichkeit") at all, remains to be answered.<sup>101</sup> Görke on the other hand suggests that comparative material from the Egyptian world, as well as the spatial surroundings of festivals, indicate that we can assume a large audience.<sup>102</sup> The example of the 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival specifically (see also case study 1), shows signs of being 'staged' for an audience, according to Görke:

Mit Musik wird die Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit erweckt, und der an anderer Stelle erfolgte Hinweis auf die Hauptstraße und die anzunehmende Blockierung derselben durch den königlichen Tross lassen vermuten, dass der Gang des Königs auf keinen Fall unbemerkt blieb.<sup>103</sup>

#### 4.3.2 Entertainment elements as evidence of audience

Besides the 'usual' music and dance that were part of Hittite rituals (especially during the drinking rites), there are several elements in the Hittite dramatic texts that are of an especially high entertainment value. As shown by Schechner, efficacy and entertainment are not binary opposites, but poles of a continuum.<sup>104</sup> Whereas efficacy is usually associated with ritual, entertainment is associated with the performing arts. As Schechner states "no performance is

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<sup>100</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94, as well as Amir Gilan, personal communication, June 2018)

<sup>101</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94)

<sup>102</sup> (Görke 2008, 50, 55)

<sup>103</sup> (Görke 2008, 61)

<sup>104</sup> (Schechner 2013, 79-80)



pure efficacy or pure entertainment”.<sup>105</sup> The entertainment elements of Hittite festivals that we know of from the texts include a myriad of activities and objects that would have created multi-sensual splendor: we can discern acrobatic acts, such as sword-swallowing and fire-eating, athletic contests, including footraces and a possible mock fight, a possible metal-crafting contest, theatrical performances and specialized forms of dancing, including a type of ‘twirling’.<sup>106</sup> Further elements of splendor include the visible use of luxurious or symbolic objects such as ritual axes, spears, animal figurines made out of precious metals and stones, and the exuberant use of everyday objects, visible for instance in the KILAM festival scene during which nude performers sing while bathing in a container of alcoholic drink. The consumption of food and drink during the evening meal, the great assembly, by a group of festival performers, can also be considered part of the entertainment. The food consisted (in the case of the KILAM festival) of soup or stew, several types of breads, cucumbers and fruit.<sup>107</sup> As argued by Burgin, even a tiny amount of drink consumed for each ‘drinking of the gods’ “would have made all but the strongest heads swim”.<sup>108</sup> All these elements taken together show an elaborate performance with consciously constructed elements of entertainment, that spoke to various senses of the festival’s participants. Summarizing the events of the KILAM festival, Burgin describes the festival’s great assembly as a “spectacle”.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> (Schechner 2013, 80)

<sup>106</sup> For in-depth studies of many of these elements, see (Beal 2022; Schwemer 2022, 391, with references)

<sup>107</sup> See also (Burgin 2019, 28)

<sup>108</sup> (Burgin 2019, 28) See also the next chapter for my own calculations on the ‘drinking of the gods’ in the KILAM example, in correlation with material evidence.

<sup>109</sup> (Burgin 2019, 28)

The connection between these high entertainment elements and the existence and role of the audience is also evident in the staged combat scene discussed by Amir Gilan (KBo 23.55 Rev I, see also above). He remarks that this combat event would have had a “scheinbar große[s] Publikums, welches sich aus Truppen und den übrigen Zuschauern zusammensetzt”.<sup>110</sup> This audience would have “cheered” the victory of the performer referred to as “ours” (Hitt. *anzel*):

5' nu maḥḥan walḥanzi nu=kán ŠA LÚKÚR katta m[aušzi] 6' nu anzel ÉRIN.MEŠ ḥūmanzaš=ya  
*palwaizz*[<sup>111</sup>

When they hit and (he of) the enemy falls down, our troops and the entire crowd (lit. all) shout.

Processions are the performance elements par excellence to be taken as evidence that the performance was designed to be seen by audiences of varying sizes. Processions are communal events during which the processants themselves undergo specific effects: the movements in congruence with other group members and accompanying sensations in the body (rhythm, sound, smells) have been said to make people in processions, marches and protests feel ‘as one’.<sup>112</sup> The changes in location by themselves imply that these movements happened so that they could be seen. If the ruling elite had wanted to perform their rituals only indoors and absolutely limited visual and physical permeability, they could and would have done so.

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<sup>110</sup> (Gilan 2001, 118)

<sup>111</sup> (Gilan 2001, 115)

<sup>112</sup> E.g., (Rideau 2019). See also (Beal 2022, 684, 688), for the sights seen and sounds heard during processions.

### 4.3.3. Audience , “Öffentlichkeit” and social differentiation

As I have argued before, there is ample evidence that a real praxis of festival celebration existed outside of its textual tradition. Based on the understanding of ‘audience’ as all four categories of contributors to the performance proceedings, as well as the varied efforts of entertainment employed, I do not think that the question of whether there was an audience at all is pertinent. However, I do agree that the nature of that audience should be investigated as much as is possible using the extant evidence.<sup>113</sup>

One particular element that Klinger is concerned about is the use of festivals for purposes of social differentiation and the concept of ‘publicness’ (“Öffentlichkeit”).<sup>114</sup> Klinger undermines the idea that festival celebrations reflect a social hierarchy or organization, specifically because of the lack of functionaries from military and administrative institutions in the festival texts.<sup>115</sup> Klinger is pessimistic regarding how integral this group was to festival celebrations, as well as on their actual participation in ritual acts during the festivities.<sup>116</sup>

The difficulty with the term “Öffentlichkeit” is that it implies a black-and-white distinction. Either a performance was ‘open’ or it was not. As we have seen in the case studies presented by Gilibert and Ristvet, the visual and physical permeability of performances did not follow such a black-and-white division. On the contrary, performances were often construed specifically so that there was a change in the permeability, either completely or partially, which in turn created specific socio-political effects. As I will argue in the analysis of the case studies,

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<sup>113</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94, especially n. 7)

<sup>114</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94, especially n. 7)

<sup>115</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94)

<sup>116</sup> (Klinger 2013, 94)

this conscious manipulation of the permeability of the performance was used as a strategy to create social differentiation by emphasizing the particular permeability of parts of the performance for specific groups of people. Such occasions can be called diacritic events.

Hutter and Görke both show the contrasting effects these performances have on the sense of community in the audience. Görke states that “Feste fördern ein Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl, grenzen aber gleichzeitig auch diejenigen ab, die nicht mitfeiern dürfen, können oder wollen.”<sup>117</sup> Hutter writes:

In dieser Zusammensetzung spiegelt die “Festgemeinde” zugleich etwas von der gesellschaftlichen Hierarchie des Hethiterreiches wider: Je näher jemand innerhalb der Festgemeinde zum König steht, desto höher ist wohl sein gesellschaftlicher Rang und durch die Feier wird dieses soziale Gefüge bestätigt und bekräftigt.<sup>118</sup>

Görke and Hutter’s observations show what I believe to be one of the most central mechanisms in Hittite festival performance: on the one hand, being allowed to participate in the festival could create a sense of community. On the other hand, varying levels of permeability (both to the performance and to the figure of the king) delineated social differentiations within the group of participants.

An interesting suggestion regarding the role of the upper clergy in the festivals was made by Van den Hout in his work on elite and social stratification.<sup>119</sup> He suggests that there may have

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<sup>117</sup> (Görke 2008, 50), (Hutter 2008)

<sup>118</sup> (Hutter 2008, 80)

<sup>119</sup> (van den Hout 2022, 336-337)

been a difficult relation between the king and the priesthood, that was even visible in the performance of festivals. In the KILAM festival, the priests of Arinna and Zippalanda (two important cult centres) are said *not* to have bowed to the king. Furthermore, they are wearing the same kind of hat that is usually preserved for the king and deities. In our analysis of the festival texts, we should take notice of any types of differentiation we can find between the king and such priests, looking towards other performance aspects besides gestures and costume. Furthermore, we should look in more detail at the role of bowing within the ceremonies, to assess the possible effects of this gesture.

#### 4.3.4 Specific audience groups: ašeššar and LÚ.MEŠZITTI

Little systematic study has been done as to the role of specific groups or individuals in Hittite festival celebrations. The exceptions are three studies by Görke, looking at the role of foreigners (*UBĀRU*)<sup>120</sup>, giving a synoptic overview of participants in the KILAM festival and the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival,<sup>121</sup> and comparing the accessibility of the performance between old Hattian-Anatolian rituals and those influences by a Hurrian or Mesopotamian background.<sup>122</sup> These studies are not complete or detailed, as the scholar herself acknowledges.<sup>123</sup> Görke's research shows that even though the names of participants are not mentioned, it is possible to study the socio-political role of a specific group within the festival tradition, both in comparison

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<sup>120</sup> (Görke 2014)

<sup>121</sup> (Görke 2013a, 129-131)

<sup>122</sup> (Görke 2013b)

<sup>123</sup> (See for instance Görke 2013b, 50)

to other festival participants (synchronically) as in relation to the development of festival celebrations over time (diachronically).<sup>124</sup>

Of special interest, especially considering the question of audience, is the composition and role of the '*ašeššar*'. The meaning is either taken abstractly as 'a meeting of a group of people or gods' or concretely, referring to the group in question itself. In festival texts, '*ašeššar*' is often translated as 'assembly', 'congregation', 'Versammlung', or 'Gemeinde'.<sup>125</sup> Within festival texts, we find the word on its own, but also preceded by '*human*' to make 'the entire assembly', by '*šalli*' to make 'the great (or: royal) assembly' and as a way of designating a group of specific people, such as '*ašeššar* LÚUBARŪTIM'.<sup>126</sup>

Most scholars seem to approach the term concretely, understanding *ašeššar* as referring to a concrete group of festival participants. It is almost never made clear whether *ašeššar* is considered a collective term covering only elite participants at the ceremonies (who had specific roles), whether it refers to those festival participants or audience members who did not have specific roles (thus excluding the elite dignitaries) or whether it is used as a term to cover both categories of participants: those with and those without a specific title. To Singer, '*šalli ašeššar*' refers to the occasion of a group of people coming together: a meeting. As such, he never dives into the exact makeup of the group, but focuses on the characteristics of the meeting.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> (Görke 2014)

<sup>125</sup> (van den Hout 2016)

<sup>126</sup> (cf. Haas 1994, 800)

<sup>127</sup> (Singer 1983, 98-105) Note that Görke uses the term both in the abstract and in the concrete way: (Görke 2013a)

Besides *'ašessar'*, we find more terms to designate groups in Hittite festivals, such as *'LÚ.MEŠZITTI'* ('participants'<sup>128</sup>), a specific city name (e.g., Hattusa) or the word for city ('URU')<sup>129</sup>, as well as just 'people' (*'antuḫšeš'*).<sup>130</sup> A more systematic study of these terms could lead to a better understanding of audience participation in Hittite festivals. Such group names could be studied systematically, for instance, according to specific scenes or micro-rituals within festival celebrations. Görke has argued for instance, that ceremonies involving the slaughter of sheep and oxen often mention the *'šalli ašeššar'* and that such parts of the celebrations can therefore be expected to have been witnessed by larger groups of people.<sup>131</sup> A study of the audiences of festival celebrations should also concern itself with the distinction between festival performers and festival partakers. When does a partaker become a participant?

#### **4.4 Performance and societal aspects of festivals**

Several studies have considered the socio-political efficacy of Hittite festival performance. In the introduction (1.1), I discussed the scholarship of Gilan and Glatz.<sup>132</sup> Here, I will briefly summarize other previous scholarship on this topic. It should be noted that this debate too, is highly entwined with the discussions we have seen previously about the function of the festival texts and assumed audience of the performance. In general, festivals are thought to have reflected idealized notions of societal structures and to create a sense of community among the

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<sup>128</sup> (See for instance Görke 2013a, 132)

<sup>129</sup> (So KBo 13.214 rev. IV? 9' and KUB 9.16+ obv. I 34, see Nakamura 2002, 18-20, 258) In (Görke 2008) Görke suggests that 'city' stands for the great assembly of a specific city.

<sup>130</sup> (So KUB 51.1 rev. III 22'. Haas and Jakob-Rost 1984, 43)

<sup>131</sup> (Görke 2013a, 125, 133)

<sup>132</sup> (Gilan 2011, 100-118; Glatz 2020, 100-118)

participants. Lastly, scholars find indications that the festival performances would have been used for social differentiation between the different participants, so that both inclusion and exclusion were mechanisms consciously employed for specific efficacies.

In his 1994 volume on Hittite religion, Volkert Haas stated that Hittite festivals, approached from a sociological perspective, are a reflection of Hittite society.<sup>133</sup> They convey an image of a neatly organized, comprehensive state, focused on the king. About the great assembly during the festival celebrations for instance, Haas notes that it legitimizes the authority of the state.<sup>134</sup> Haas' perspective to Hittite religion has been criticized by several scholars, who call it either evolutionist or void of an overarching theoretical framework for studying Hittite religion.<sup>135</sup> As such, there are many worthwhile observations and remarks in Haas' work, but we have to turn to other scholars to see more elaborately operated and theoretically substantiated examples of the social efficacy of Hittite festivals.

Gilan was one of the first Hittitologists to engage more elaborately with the societal aspects of festivals texts. In his article on Hittite combat scenes, Gilan approaches Hittite festivals from an anthropological point of view, following Victor Turner's notion of rituals as 'social dramas' and Arnold van Gennep's notion of *rites de passage*.<sup>136</sup> Thus, Gilan seeks to find the social function (or in the terminology employed in this thesis, the social efficacy) of combat scenes within the festival celebrations.<sup>137</sup> He argues that these scenes do not reflect Hittite society, which

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<sup>133</sup> (Haas 1994, 680)

<sup>134</sup> (Haas 1994, 679)

<sup>135</sup> (Peter 2004, 79-149; Hutter 2010, 399-400)

<sup>136</sup> (Gilan 2001, 113-114) These are his interpretations of the mock battle scenes KBo 23.55 Rev. I (the battle of 'ours' versus 'the one of the enemy') and KUB 17.35 III 9-15 (the battle between the men of Hatti and the men of Maša).

<sup>137</sup> (Gilan 2001, 113-114)



was varied and complex, but rather, present an idealized situation to both the performers and the gods. As such, what is reflected is not reality, but religious and political values.<sup>138</sup>

Another concept that Gilan seeks in his analysis of the festivals is that of liminality. For the Tiššaruliya scene especially, Gilan sees an example of liminal social behavior. In this scene, the usual norms of Hittite society are overthrown and actions are shown that would usually have been inadmissible.<sup>139</sup> Reflecting on the chief of the men from Tiššaruliya outright refusing to dine with the Hittite king, Gilan states: “Ich kenne keinen anderen Text in der hethitischen Literatur, in der uns eine vergleichbare Respektlosigkeit dem König gegenüber überliefert ist.”<sup>140</sup> As such, some of the theatrical scenes in Hittite festivals served to reflect idealized versions of society, whereas others, showed the exact opposite of what was deemed appropriate. As Gilan already notes himself, the tale of Tiššaruliya is an outlier within the corpus of Hittite texts. I think might therefore be too early to claim that liminality was a central concept in Hittite festival performance.<sup>141</sup>

Just like Gilan, Hutter and Görke focus on the functions of the actual celebrations rather than the function of the texts.<sup>142</sup> According to Hutter, festival celebrations were instruments for the establishment of power and the stabilization of society, especially through the impression of divine support and legitimization.<sup>143</sup> According to Görke, festivals establish a sense of community and identity, and are important for the study of legitimation of rulership. Festival texts allow us

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<sup>138</sup> (Gilan 2001, 121)

<sup>139</sup> (Gilan 2001, 114, 121-123)

<sup>140</sup> (Gilan 2001, 123)

<sup>141</sup> But see now also (Mouton 2014b)

<sup>142</sup> (Görke 2008), n. 3, (Hutter 2008, 74-75)

<sup>143</sup> (Hutter 2008, 86)

to study how the king presents himself and his power.<sup>144</sup> Hutter and Görke thus join Gilan in highlighting the potential power of Hittite festival celebration for mechanisms of reinforcing existing social patterns and royal authority, especially by presenting the idealized norms of society.

Hutter recognizes the dual function of festivals as both theological and social.<sup>145</sup> Communication takes place not only between men and deities, but also between the celebrating community and the society it is embedded in.<sup>146</sup> According to Hutter, this embeddedness can be into a regional context, or that of the ruling elite.

Both Görke and Hutter discern inclusion and exclusion as socio-political mechanisms within festival celebrations. The specific makeup of the celebrating community ('Festgemeinde') is paramount: who gets to participate, and who does not.<sup>147</sup> As examples of rituals that serve to create this feeling of collectivity or *communitas* ('*Binderitus*'), Hutter mentions communal meals and drinking rites, award ceremonies and gift ceremonies.<sup>148</sup> Görke furthermore mentions recitations and processions as occasions to build community and identity during the celebrations.<sup>149</sup>

Görke analyzes processions to see who presented themselves to whom, where, and why, and what effect this could have had for Hittite kingship.<sup>150</sup> She describes a process in which the

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<sup>144</sup> (Görke 2008, 50)

<sup>145</sup> When festivals aim to safeguard Hittite endeavors outside of the Hittite land, Hutter sees their function as 'Außerpolitik'. When festivals are aimed at integrating outsiders or non-central regions into Hittite (elite) society, or at structuring the inner elite circle, he calls this the 'Innenpolitik'. (Hutter 2008, 85)

<sup>146</sup> (Hutter 2008, 73)

<sup>147</sup> (Hutter 2008, 80) (Görke 2008, 50)

<sup>148</sup> (Hutter 2008, 80-81), referring for instance to the 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the KILAM festival and the ḫišuwa festival, with references.

<sup>149</sup> (Görke 2008, 50)

<sup>150</sup> (Görke 2008, 50)

consecutive settings of the procession (the palace, the road from palace to temple, the area outside of the city, a ritual tent) allow for different sizes and kinds of audiences to participate in the procession and ritual acts or to catch a glimpse of the king and his entourage.<sup>151</sup> Rather than seeing the different scenes of the festival celebration as a constant expansion of the performance community (“kontinuierliche Erweiterung der Festgemeinde”),<sup>152</sup> I believe we see a constantly changing shift in the participation of people sometimes from large to smaller groups, sometimes the other way around. We will see examples of this mechanism in the case studies (see chapter 6 and 7). In this sense, I apply to Late Bronze Age Hatti Gilibert’s mechanisms of ‘stations of complex spectacles’ and the use of some of these stations as diacritical ceremonies. These mechanisms are, in my opinion, at the heart of the socio-political effects of Hittite festival celebrations. Processions are one of the locales where the visual permeability of the performances would have been the greatest. These are the moments that the group of partakers could potentially have been at its largest, due to the large spaces available, as well as the greater difficulty in controlling audience visibility and participation. As such, it is processions that are of particular interest to the study of the festival’s efficacies. The analysis of processions should not just include the possible locations (start and end point, route, significant waystations) but also other elements of theatricality, such as sound and visual splendor.<sup>153</sup> As we will see in the case studies, the analysis of the processions as well as other parts of the performance are greatly hindered by our lack of understanding regarding the festival’s locations. Nevertheless, I believe

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<sup>151</sup> (Görke 2008, 51-55)

<sup>152</sup> (Görke 2008, 54, 66). See also (Görke 2013a)

<sup>153</sup> Görke mentions people and objects associated with music and sound as well as visual splendor, but she does not go into the possible effects of these phenomena on the audience.

we should endeavor to come up with different possible scenarios. Regarding one of these stages, the citadel Büyükkale, Görke interprets the relative inaccessibility of this location as emphasizing the king's role as communicator with the gods.<sup>154</sup> I would add to this observation that the continuous and conscious changing permeability of the performance likewise functions as a way to underline who did and did not have access to the king.

This notion of a desired physical closeness to the Hittite king as a marker of status is not new. Hutter for instance writes that the performance *communitas* ("Festgemeinde") mirrors the hierarchy of Hittite society. Like Görke, Hutter sees the accessibility of the festival grow during the course of the festival:

Je näher jemand innerhalb der Festgemeinde zum König steht, desto höher ist wohl sein gesellschaftlicher Rang und durch die Feier wird dieses soziale Gefüge bestätigt und bekräftigt... In dieser Hinsicht kommt im Verlauf der Feste m. E. auch der so genannten „Großen Versammlung“ eine wichtige Aufgabe zu, wobei nicht nur die „wichtigen“ Festteilnehmer zusammenkommen, sondern durch das gemeinsame Essen (und Trinken) auch ein soziales Band der *communitas* zwischen den Teilnehmern entsteht. Essen und Trinken ist dabei als „Binderitus“ zu verstehen, wo das gemeinsame Mahl die Festteilnehmer einschließlich der „Fremden“ wie beispielsweise am 16. Tag des AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes zu einer Gemeinschaft formt.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> (Görke 2008, 56), 68.

<sup>155</sup> (Hutter 2008, 80)

Whereas I agree with the general notion that the status of specific people would have been reflected in their proximity and direct interactions with the king during the performance, I would like to refine the characterization of the accessibility or permeability in Hutter's statement. First, we need to distinguish between a visual and a physical permeability (see 3.3). The 'lowest' form of permeability would be one in which other senses than vision were the only way to access the performance, for instance by hearing about the festival by word-of-mouth, by only being able to hear some of the music or stamping feet from afar, by smelling the meats and the beer. One step up from these is when vision is added, arguably making the person who watches a partaker of the festival. The amount of visibility is of course a sliding scale. Even higher up is the partaker who is physically present at the stage where the performance is being enacted, someone who can see from up close the movements, the gestures and perhaps even the expression of the performers. Again, these delineations are not hard, but should be seen on a sliding scale. If this person was allowed, then, to join in parts of the performance, for instance by way of stamping feet to the rhythm of drums, by shouting or marching in a procession, we can truly call this person a performer. Within the performers then, there are those who have more 'to do' and those who are less active. Since all of the actions are generally directed at or in association with the king (see also case studies 1 and 2, chapters 6 and 7), this means that an active performer is someone who gains more accessibility to the king. This person's visual and physical permeability is of a very high category. As we will see, perhaps the highest form of permeability is to be allowed to touch or give something to the king, or receiving something from his hands.

A second aspect of this mechanism of visual and physical permeability follows Gilibert's line of thinking and examples from Carchemish and Zincirli. Whereas Hutter and Görke,

especially looking at the great assembly at the end of festival days, envision the accessibility to grow larger throughout the festival performance, I believe that the mechanisms of visual and physical permeability were manipulated to change over the course of the celebrations: for instance, a festival started out with a small group of partakers, followed by a scene that many people were allowed to watch, which in turn was followed by a diacritical ceremony that only a very small group participated in, followed again by a large group during a procession, then followed by a middle-sized group during the great assembly.<sup>156</sup> Towards the end of this study, I will argue that it was this variation in permeability especially, that characterizes the tools of ‘impression management’ employed by the organizers of Hittite festivals.

In 2011, Gilan published the most theoretically substantial work up to that point in time on the use of religious rituals for the negotiation of Hittite royal ideology.<sup>157</sup> Summarizing again his main point, Gilan states that we would expect the Hittite king to manifest his political power after a victorious battle through some sort of ritual activity. According to Gilan however, the king does not “mold ritual practices into political goals” at this occasion.<sup>158</sup> As I have stated in chapter 1, it is somewhat surprising that Gilan should come to this conclusion, as he himself, in the same article, extensively argued how ritualized behaviors were used in Hittite society to legitimate and realize social hierarchies.<sup>159</sup> The crux of this mismatch between Gilan’s Geertzian views on the

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<sup>156</sup> See case studies 1 and 2 for examples of these varied sequences of permeability.

<sup>157</sup> (Gilan 2011), See also Chapter 1. When I started this study, Gilan’s 2011 article was the publication par excellence dealing with Hittite festivals (and other ritual behavior) as creating political realities. Since then however, Claudia Glatz has published her arguments on the performance of Hittite festivals in light of Hittite political strategies (Glatz 2020, esp. 100-118). In further considerations of this topic, we should also include the forthcoming publications of Gilan and Alice Mouton from their contributions to the 2019 OI conference ‘*Pomp, circumstance, and the performance of politics: acting politically correct in the Ancient World*’, organized by Kathryn Morgan.

<sup>158</sup> (Gilan 2011, 283)

<sup>159</sup> (Gilan 2011, 281)

performance of festivals on the one hand and his surprise at the lack of demonstrations of military might on the other, lies in his understanding of the audience problem. As we saw earlier in this chapter, Gilan is torn between his understanding of Hittite festivals as having an essential socio-political function and the lack of textual evidence for audience and audience experience, despite presenting two references to spectators of public performances himself (see 4.3.1). As I have shown, there is no need for such a narrow understanding of the audience of Hittite festival performances. As such, Gilan's original understanding of the importance of festival performances for socio-political strategies remains valid.

In this chapter, I have presented a thematically organized *Forschungsgeschichte* of Hittitological scholarship on festivals. I have summarized and critically assessed discussions in the field of Hittitology that are relevant for studying the performance of Hittite festivals, especially concerning the function of Hittite festival texts, as well as the question of the festival audience. Going over these issues and the terminology necessary to discuss them is part of the process of developing a performance-oriented approach to Hittite performance culture.

## Chapter 5 Performance and the Hittite material record

*The Hittite image of rule embodied both political and religious aspects, taken together: it was a fiction of power that was neither historically typological nor explicable by reference to a canonical text but was unique to the historical moment.*

—Dominik Bonatz<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, I survey the Hittite material record, so as to see what information it holds to inform us on Hittite performance culture. In this way, this whole chapter can be seen as a material case study, adding to our understanding of ‘how’ Hittite festivals were celebrated.<sup>2</sup> As stated above (1.2), the purpose of this study is to build a framework that can be used to study Hittite performance culture in general. Consequently, this chapter is not supposed to present an exhaustive analysis of Hittite performance culture through the perspective of material culture. It aims to take a step in the right direction, presenting the different categories of available evidence in a manner that aligns with the performance-oriented approaches we have seen in the previous chapters (chapters 1-3), and taking into consideration those questions and concerns that are relevant specifically in studying the performance aspects of Hittite society.<sup>3</sup> Since the material record does not allow us to distinguish between (cultural) performance in general and festivals specifically, the approach in this chapter is to look at performance culture in general, following

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<sup>1</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 133)

<sup>2</sup> My hope is that this approach can be enlightening both to those coming to this study from outside of cuneiform studies, as well as to those from within Hittite studies, who are less familiar with the material evidence or a performance-oriented approach of this material.

<sup>3</sup> As such, I hope to add to previous scholarship correlating Hittite material finds with festival texts, by using my performance-informed approach. See especially (Popko 1978; de Martino 2016).



the definitions of 'performance' by Erving Goffman and Milton Singer.<sup>4</sup> By overviewing the extant material and visual evidence for performance, this chapter aims to counteract the relative infrequency of interdisciplinary approaches to Hittite (festival) performance.

A second aim of this chapter, is to pave the way for a future analysis into which ways different forms of Hittite impression management could have worked together. As argued by Alessandra Gilibert and Lauren Ristvet, different ancient societies seem to have attuned the creation of space, visual culture and performances so as to create effects that enhanced one another and had more lasting effects.<sup>5</sup> It falls beyond the scope of this research to go into Hittite architecture and Hittite iconography as tools of impression management. But performance as a tool of impression management is intrinsically connected to the space in which it is enacted, and Hittite visual culture also provides some information on how Hittite performances would have been practiced and perhaps, perceived. As such, this chapter aims to situate Hittite performances in their performance context and to highlight where these different types of impression management *might* have overlapped.

In a future, more encompassing analysis of Hittite performance culture, the material evidence should be integrated with, compared to, and scrutinized by reference to the textual record, and vice versa. In order to build the methodological framework however, it seems appropriate to keep different types of evidence separated, at least while surveying what evidence is available. This sounds easier than it is, especially considering that 'textual' evidence for Hittite

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<sup>4</sup> See 2.9 (with references): Goffman: "all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continual presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers", Singer: "a specifically limited timespan, a clear beginning and end, an organized programme of activity within this span, a set of performers, an audience, and a specific place and occasion".

<sup>5</sup> See 3.3 and 3.4.

society is in many ways also material evidence. Cuneiform texts are mainly found inscribed on clay tablets, and the textual evidence provided in hieroglyphic script is also set in the context of reliefs that were once part of monumental assemblages, were set in their specific urban or landscape contexts, that might have been accompanied by freestanding sculptures, and encased in architectural structures now lost. This only goes to show how important the final integration of these different types of evidence is, in an approach similar to Gilibert's performance-oriented methodology that integrated an analysis of monuments and urban space with an analysis of the iconographic and epigraphic records.

Even within the material record, we can argue about the categorizations used when presenting the available evidence. For some categories, such as monumental architecture (5.1), ongoing discussions are too long to go into much detail about here, and a brief characterization will suffice. When touching upon smaller examples of Hittite material culture, namely objects and reliefs, I have chosen the following performance-oriented organization of the material. First (5.2), we consider objects that are not carriers of iconographic information, such as miniature cups and ceremonial axes. These can be considered 'props' used in ritual performance. Then (5.3), we will consider items of material culture that *do* carry iconographic evidence: first, as carriers of information on the potential building blocks of Hittite performance culture through their visual depictions. Next (5.4), some of these objects and reliefs with iconographic evidence could also have been used *during* performances as props, settings, and even participants. Lastly, I will consider freestanding statues as a final type of objects that both carry iconographic information and were used during performances.

## 5.1 Landscape, urban structures and monumentality

As we have seen in the work of DeMarrais, Castillo and Earle, as well as that of Gilibert and Ristvet, performances are ‘materializations of ideology’ that are situated in a specific context so as to enhance their effects. To study Hittite festivals and the experiences of those performing, we need to also study the situatedness of the festivals in landscape and urban structures. As we will see for our case studies, it can be very difficult to find out what the physical context would have been, let alone how this context would have felt to participants and audience. Some headway can be made however, by carefully studying the texts as well as the urban layout of the city and citadel, and using the highlighted tools from previous studies, especially concerning visual and physical permeability. As such, Hittite archaeology, especially that of landscape monuments, urban landscapes and monumental architecture, can and should be an important part of the methodological framework for studying Hittite performance culture.

In a recent overview, Andreas Schachner demonstrates how Hittite state-sponsored architecture functioned as a representation or *pars pro toto* of the state’s power and ideology.<sup>6</sup> He calls this an ‘ideological conditioning of the capital, essential for kings’ political survival and Hattusa’s position as *the* capital’.<sup>7</sup> The Hittite public building programs

transmit intangible political and/or religious symbolism, constitute crucial structural parameters that were characteristic of the Hittite architectural tradition until the end of the thirteenth century BC. They consequently stand for the achievements of Hittite kingship and point at the mechanisms

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<sup>6</sup> (Schachner 2022, esp. 424, 457)

<sup>7</sup> (Schachner 2022, 436)

for the long-term determination of institutionalized socio-cultural processes and the shaping of Hittite identity.<sup>8</sup>

Schachner characterizes the natural landscape on which the city was built as having ‘large differences in altitude, numerous natural terraces, and rugged rock cones’.<sup>9</sup> The naturally occurring features such as rocky outcrops were consciously incorporated into the urban landscape so as to transmit ‘institutional messages associated with buildings placed spectacularly atop topographical landmarks’, including Kesikkaya and Büyükkale.<sup>10</sup>



*Figure 5.1, Hattusa (Boğazköy), a view from the Upper City  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

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<sup>8</sup> (Schachner 2022, 442-443)

<sup>9</sup> (Schachner 2022, 429)

<sup>10</sup> (Schachner 2022, 438)

As to the socio-political efficacy of the urban architecture, Schachner remarks:

The purpose of this extraordinary building program was not only to unite what were probably separate areas of the settlement but also to create new space within the city. In my opinion, these public and monumental building activities are closely connected to the emerging Hittite state and its need to demonstrate its power. It was also to create an indigenous Hittite identity.<sup>11</sup>

The Great Temple, the palace compound Büyükkale and the <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur* phenomenon merit further remarks, since they are (potentially) the setting for the festival performances analyzed later on in this study, and were certainly the setting for at least some Hittite cult performances.

Schachner explains how the design of the Grand Temple at Hattusa dictated the ritual acts and their procedural sequences (such as movement patterns of the participants). Temples and other cult buildings in the Hittite heartland all showed a standardized structure. They had ‘a large gate, a courtyard in which visitors often had to change their direction of movement, a pillared hall, and finally the adyton’.<sup>12</sup> Since the temple’s layout did not really change over time, neither would the cultural behaviors and their effects have changed.<sup>13</sup> Typical for the layout of the Hittite palace was its division into multiple detached structures, each with their own supposed function. These detached buildings are surrounded by large squares with gates and differ in heights.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> (Schachner 2022, 438)

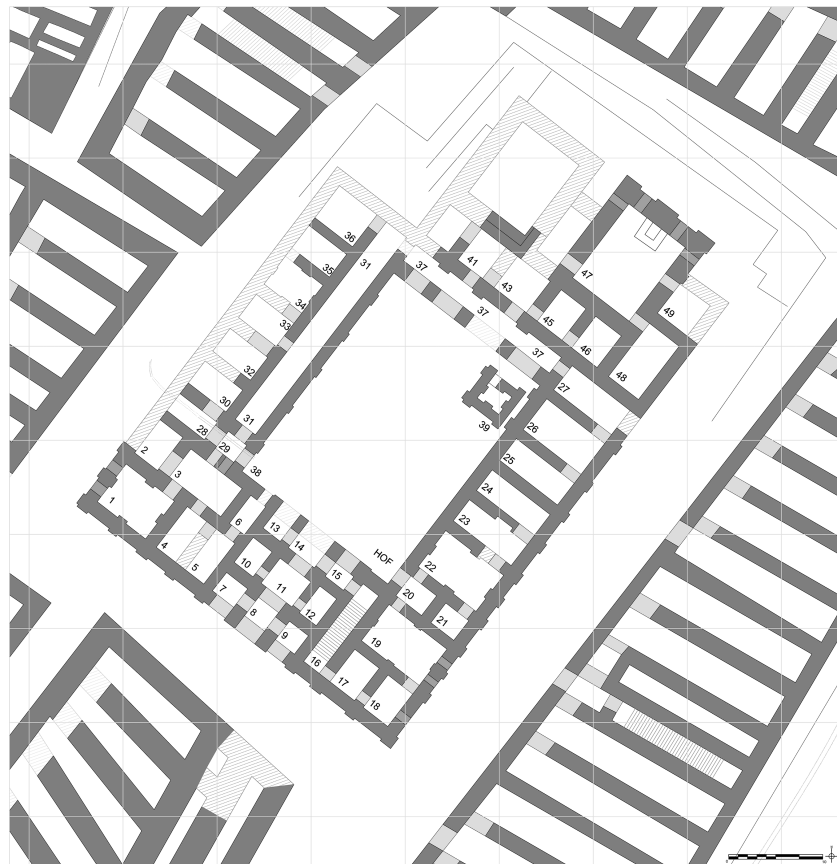
<sup>12</sup> (Schachner 2022, 439)

<sup>13</sup> (Schachner 2022, 439)

<sup>14</sup> (Schachner 2022, 441)

For the Great Temple, Schachner reflects on the visual permeability of this cult space:

The unique features of its construction and its visibility within the city as well as in the surrounding countryside condition the longterm physical fixation of the cult acts performed here. Additionally, they also contribute significantly to the formation of the identity of the society, be it through the fact that the people in the temple participated in the cult or that they could follow them from a distance. In this context, technical details such as the large windows of the cellae or the roofs play a decisive role, since rituals were performed at both places.<sup>15</sup>



*Figure 5.2, a plan of the Great Temple in the Lower Town  
(Schachner 2022, Fig. 9.7, p. 440)*

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<sup>15</sup>(Schachner 2022, 439)

One further step we can take in approaching the Great Temple as a setting for ritual performances, is to calculate the amount of people that would have fit inside of the inner courtyard. The square surface of the space comes to about 460 m<sup>2</sup> (when subtracting the space taken up by the structure inside). Using the formula I adjusted from the ones used by Gilibert, Inomata and Ristvet (see chapter 3.4), the inner courtyard could have held a small crowd of about 353 people, a medium-sized crowd of about 575 people, or a dense crowd of 1279.

	<b>Small crowd:</b> 0.77 person/m <sup>2</sup> 1.3 m <sup>2</sup> /person	<b>Medium crowd:</b> 1.25 person/m <sup>2</sup> 0.8 m <sup>2</sup> /person	<b>Dense crowd:</b> 2.78 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.36 m <sup>2</sup> /person
<b>Great Temple</b> 460 m <sup>2</sup>	353 people	575 people	1279 people

*Table 5.1, Calculation of crowd size in the Great Temple*

Participants performing within this building, would have had to move through quite narrow entrances and hallways before entering the larger space of the courtyard. It would be interesting to research more in-depth, what psycho-physical effects are created by moving through this specific architectural space, in the presence of a large number of other people.<sup>16</sup>

Looking at the citadel of Hattusa, Schachner emphasizes the intentionally created sectioning of the palace into different parts with different functions. The variety in levels of height is, according to him, not just conditioned by the natural landscape, but “the topography and the available space were deliberately manipulated in order to implement sociocultural

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<sup>16</sup> See chapter 8 for some suggestions in this direction.

specifications.”<sup>17</sup> Here, we are reminded of the intentionally sectioned space of Balinese palaces as observed by Geertz.<sup>18</sup>

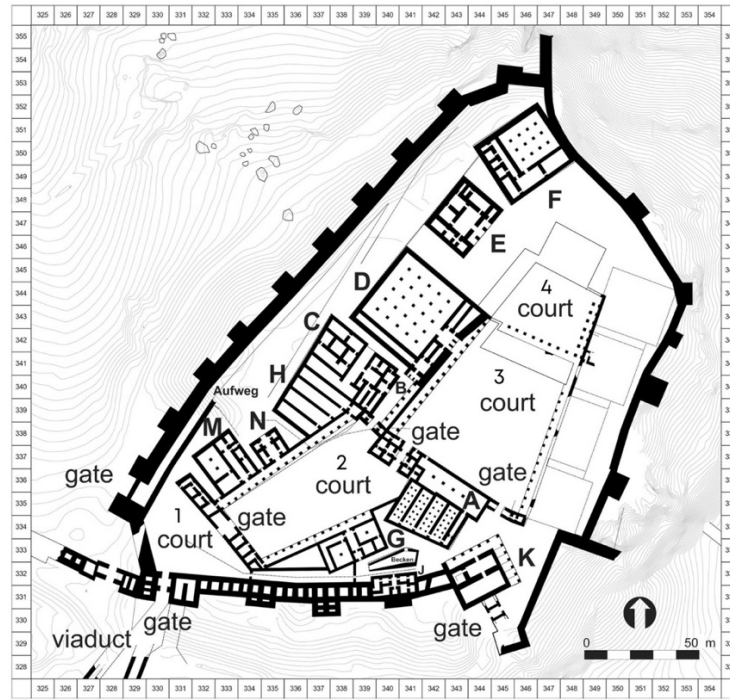
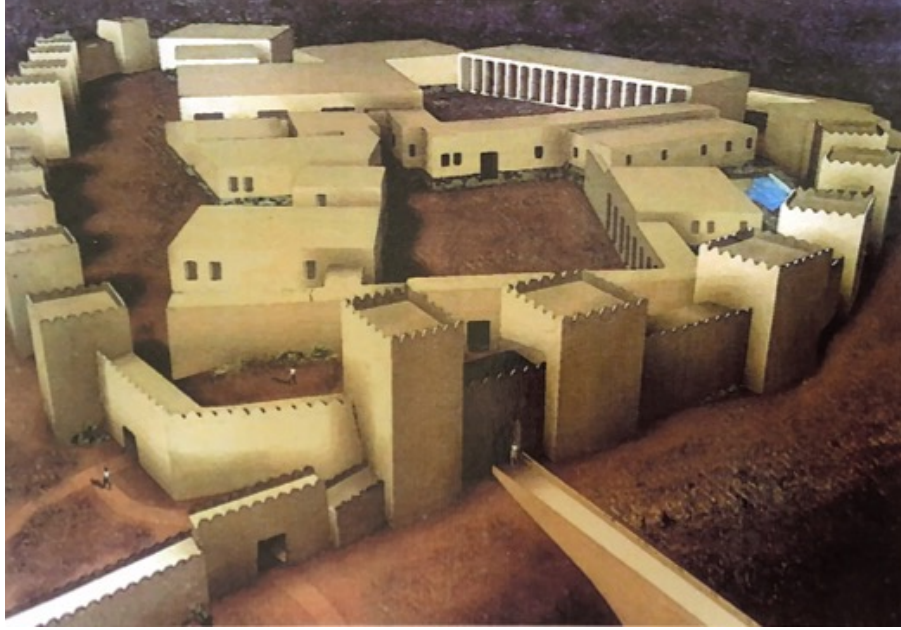


Figure 5.3, a plan of Büyükale, the citadel of Hattusa  
 (Schachner 2022, figure 9.8, p. 443, numbers added and legend corrected by Th.E.L.)

<sup>17</sup> (Schachner 2022, 442)

<sup>18</sup> (Geertz 1980, 109-115)





*Figure 5.4, Reconstruction of Büyükkale, the citadel of Hattusa  
(Seeher 2011, fig. 110, p.106)*



*Figure 5.5, view of Büyükkale, the citadel of Hattusa  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

<b>Courtyard (estimated square surface</b>	<b>Small crowd</b> 0.77 person/m <sup>2</sup> 1.3 m <sup>2</sup> /person	<b>Medium crowd</b> 1.25 person/m <sup>2</sup> 0.8 m <sup>2</sup> /person	<b>Dense crowd</b> 2.78 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.36 m <sup>2</sup> /person
<b>1</b> (975 m <sup>2</sup> )	750 people	1219 people	2710 people
<b>2</b> (3027 m <sup>2</sup> )	2328 people	3784 people	8415 people
<b>3</b> (3585 m <sup>2</sup> )	2758 people	4481 people	9966 people
<b>4</b> (992 m <sup>2</sup> )	763 people	1240 people	2758 people

*Table 5.2, Estimates of the number of people that could fit at courtyards 1-4 at Büyükkale*

To calculate the square surface of the different courtyards, I have taken the space inside of the pillars, due to lines of visibility. If these had been disregarded, each estimate would have been even higher. Calculating these numbers helps us in several ways. It is easy for a scholar to become caught up in the image one creates in one's head while reading texts. As we will see (case study 2, chapter 7), a part of the KILAM festival might have taken place inside of the citadel. This then, has led many scholars to believe this part of the festival is reserved to a small selection of people, an elite event. The calculations offered above remain hypothetical — we do not know if these amounts of people actually attended events inside the capital. On the other hand, we must value the evidence based on the premise that Hittites were able to construct their buildings any way they wanted. As such, the amount of space that was left open, could indeed have been constructed so as to receive a certain amount of visitors at the same time. The calculations show quite some variety, but these estimations do help us create a more objective image of what *possibilities* these spaces held as stage for gatherings or performance.

As we will see in chapter 7, there might be textual evidence for a processional route through these spaces, although the details of the route remain vague. Again, it would be interesting to use new research methods to explore the effects of these spaces and routes on its users.<sup>19</sup>

The last example of a structure within the urban landscape that we will mention here as a potential stage for performances is the phenomenon of the <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur*. This term is distinguished from the term É.NA<sub>4</sub> 'Stone House'.<sup>20</sup> The É.NA<sub>4</sub> would have been a type of mausoleum, the resting place of the ashes and bones of the king's 'body natural'. The <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur* would have been a kind of commemorative monument for a deceased royal figure, that was "meant to serve the cult of the deceased king in his deified form", the king's 'body politic'.<sup>21</sup> Several examples of a <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur* seem to have been attested in Hattusa's Upper City, on top of high rocky crops, such as Yenicekale in Boğazköy. They are thought to be especially significant for kingship and the legitimacy of the living ruler, but also deeply connected to the position of the capital.<sup>22</sup> As such, they represent spaces that had their own tradition of cult performance (ancestor cult) and were thus part of the performance landscape of the Hittite capital. As we will see in the case studies, it is likely that processions taking place during the celebration of Hittite festivals would have passed by other locales of significance. The <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur* are prime examples of the sort of spaces that would be used in such processions: they have both the political and religious importance, as well as the visual

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<sup>19</sup> See chapter 8.3 on pathways for future research.

<sup>20</sup> (van den Hout 1994, 48-52; 2002)

<sup>21</sup> (van den Hout 1994, 52)

<sup>22</sup> (Schachner 2022, 452 with references; van den Hout 1994, 50, suggesting that the stone outcrop Nişantaşı was the monument for Tuthaliya IV's 'body politic' (as opposed to his 'body natural', which found its resting place at Yazılıkaya room B).)

characteristics, as they stand out in the landscape and are laden with messages, either inscriptions or, as we will see (5.4.3) with statues and associated altars.

## 5.2 Objects without iconographic information: props and settings

Archaeology also plays a significant role for the study of Hittite performance culture by recovering objects, making clear what textually attested objects such as feast equipment or symbolic weaponry actually looked like, analyzing how objects could have functioned and perhaps indicating to some level how common or uncommon these objects were. Objects relating to performance culture include symbolic objects (*i.e.* functionality was not their main objective) such as ceremonial axes, practical objects (although these too could be symbolically charged) such as vessels used for libations, and other props used during performance, like altars. One of the greatest gaps in our knowledge of the ‘props’ used for ritual performances consists of the many instruments known from texts and iconographic representations (see below), not even one of which has survived in the material record. If one were to attempt to recreate the experiences of a Hittite festival, music would surely play a large part.

Future discoveries of other performance related objects or assemblages could also aid our overall understanding of performance culture: I think specifically of tools and vessels used for the preparation of the food and drink necessary for performance and evidence for specific ritual events (e.g., burnt or buried objects, assemblages of offerings, evidence for mass participation in feasts or banquets).<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See for instance (Glatz 2020, 139-140, 150), referring to a cultic assemblage at Oymaagaç Höyük/Nerik that shows similarities as well as some differences with Hittite cultic practices. Perhaps we can add the assemblage she herself mentions for Firaktın, with its miniature cups and jugs: (Glatz 2020, 165).

One of the archaeologically best attested forms of ‘ritual equipment’ for the Late Bronze Age are the beak-spouted jugs (or ‘beak spout pitcher’), corresponding neatly to visual evidence for libation vessels (see below). These are known from the texts as *išpantuzzi-/ išpantuzziyaššar(a-)* vessels.<sup>24</sup> In Glatz’ words:

Made from fine clay and usually red-slipped and highly polished, beak-spouted jugs were one of the most elaborate vessel forms in the north-central Anatolian ceramic repertoire, their sharp edges and knob-like decorations indicating a strong connection to metal work.<sup>25</sup>



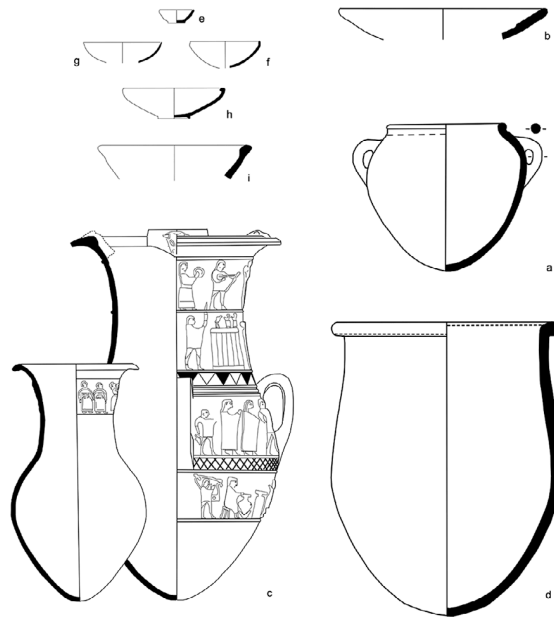
*Figure 5.6, Spouted libation vessel (17th-16th century BCE)  
(The Met Catalogue Beyond Babylon, item 116, p. 191)*

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<sup>24</sup> (de Martino 2016, 96, with references)

<sup>25</sup> (Glatz 2020, 108)

Concerning the many textual references to different types of vessels and their correlation to archaeological material found in excavations, De Martino writes that certain identifications can only be made in a few cases. Besides the libation vessels, he mentions the different shapes of drinking bowls (<sup>(DUḠ)</sup>GAL/*KĀSU* = Hitt. *zeri* and *tešummi*) used in the drinking rites and for ‘drinking (to) the deity’. There are also numerous categories of vessels known from the material record that we cannot identify in the texts, among them for instance the striking arm-shaped vessels <sup>26</sup> In her 2020 book, Claudia Glatz gives an overview of the types of vessels that are associated with feasts, and as such, are part of what she calls the “dramatized performance of sovereignty”.<sup>27</sup>



*Figure 5.7, North-central Anatolian pottery types associated with feasting  
(Glatz 2020, figure 54, p. 248, based on earlier references)*

<sup>26</sup> (de Martino 2016, 96-100)

<sup>27</sup> (Glatz 2020, 247)

Her overview includes cups for drinking (e in figure 5.7), often referred to as miniature or votive cups, since they are so small.<sup>28</sup> These cups contained, according to Glatz' measurements, around 80-100 milliliters of liquid.<sup>29</sup> Textual evidence is scarce, but points at "a special concern with the availability of consumption vessels during ritual acts by the central authority".<sup>30</sup> and small cups are also visible in the iconographic evidence (see below). Glatz remarks that these small cups have often been interpreted as offerings, whereas their actual purpose may primarily have been as vessels to hold a liquid during feasts.<sup>31</sup> These 'shot glasses' of the Hittite pottery assemblage, would likely have been used in the sorts of feasts known from the Great Assemblies in the Hittite festival texts. Following Burgin's synopsis of the Old Hittite KILAM great assembly<sup>32</sup>, the drinking of the gods' is done in honor of 51 gods on a total of 30 occasions. If we assume for the moment that the drinking cups were indeed filled to an average of 90 milliliters, then, depending on whether the participants drank a toast to each individual god mentioned, or on each occasion, festival participants would have had to drink between 2.7 liters (90 ml. x 30 toasts) or 4.6 liters (90 ml. x 51 gods). I propose therefore that not only would the drink have been less strong than modern day wine or beer, it is also very likely that the cups were not filled to the max amounts of liquid Glatz suggested they could contain.

Besides the miniature cups (type e), Glatz' overview of 'plain' vessels used for performance purposes, covers hemispherical eggshell bowls (type g) (most likely used similarly, for the consumption of liquids), cooking pots for soups (type a) and the bowls those were likely

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<sup>28</sup> See also (Schoop 2011, 247-248, type G)).

<sup>29</sup> (Glatz 2020, 248, n. 112, with references)

<sup>30</sup> (Glatz 2020, 247-249)

<sup>31</sup> (Glatz 2020, 248)

<sup>32</sup> (Burgin 2019, 168-184)

eaten from (type i), large vases used for multiple purposes (type c), including the production of beer (similar in shape to the İnandık vase), vessels used for the production of flat breads (type b) and storage vessels for grain and liquids, including wine (type d).<sup>33</sup>

A particularly spectacular find is the ritual axe head found at Şarkışla, now in Berlin (Fig. 5.8).<sup>34</sup> Its ritual purpose is evident from its bluntness, the edges of the blade being adorned with eagle heads. The object is ornamented in high relief and in the round, showing a pyramid of support: a mountain god that supports the upper bodies ('protomes') of lions, which in turn support a deity who in turn supports two more figures that support the winged sun disc.<sup>35</sup> Rising from the axe are several lion-griffin protomes and spikes.



*Figure 5.8, Axe head with mountain deity (14th-13th century BCE)*  
*(Beyond Babylon, item 105, p. 179)*

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<sup>33</sup> (Glatz 2020, 249-251)

<sup>34</sup> (Wartke 2008) While technically an 'object with iconographic depictions', I present it in this category, since the visual art represented on the ax does not (evidently) bear upon Hittite performance culture. We should not disregard that the figures depicted may have something to do with the ritual behaviors the axe would have been used in, but at present, the connection cannot be made.

<sup>35</sup> The composition has been connected to the Fasillar statue. (Per class discussion in the Winter 2020 Class on Hittite Visual Culture, University of Chicago, instructed by Theo van den Hout).



Another axe head has also been linked to LBA Anatolian ritual practices: the shaft-hole three-spiked battle axe from Tell Atchana (ancient Alalakh).<sup>36</sup> Aslihan Yener argued that this axe would have had a ceremonial function and that such special weaponry made of bronze “functioned as expressions of royal and religious iconography during the second millennium B.C.”<sup>37</sup> The axe has been likened to visual representations of an axe on the Hittite King’s Gate (see below).<sup>38</sup>

The so called Emirgazi stones (now in Istanbul), have in the past been interpreted as a type of altar in a distinct ‘mushroom’ shape. As such, they are reminiscent of visual depictions of altars, which seem to depict wicker versions of the same shape (see below).



*Figure 5.9, Emirgazi 2, the best preserved of the two Emirgazi altars  
(Thalia Lysen, march 2018)*

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<sup>36</sup> (Yener 2011)

<sup>37</sup> (Yener 2011, 266)

<sup>38</sup> (Yener 2011, 267; Aro 2022, 534-538)

The understanding of the Emirgazi stones is complicated by the presence of Emirgazi 2, a stone block that seems to have functioned as a pedestal.<sup>39</sup>



*Figure 5.10, Emirgazi 2, the pedestal (seen from the side and the back)  
(Thalia Lysen, March 2018)*

As we will see, Aro interprets the stones as part of a ritual assemblage that included inscriptions as well as a freestanding statue of Tuthaliya IV (see below).

At Kuşaklı (Building E and possibly Temple 1), we see the rare attestation of an actual cult event – one or more feasting events, dating to the late 15<sup>th</sup>, early 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>40</sup> Besides the

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<sup>39</sup> (Aro 2022, 572, with references to past discussion of the stones)

<sup>40</sup> (Glatz 2020, 115, 251-252)

types and numbers of vessels found, the assemblage is also characterized as ritual because of the bones found: these were the bones of young male sheep and goat, not accumulated slowly over time, but possibly slaughtered at the same time, meaning they are killed for consumption.

At Hattusa too, an archaeological assemblage shows material remnants of a supposed drinking ritual. The types of vessels found are included in Glatz' overview of performance-related plainware we have mentioned above. The assemblage includes "large numbers of miniatures, drinking bowls, some serving equipment, and an arm-shaped libation vessel", all found in a water-basin on Büyükkale.<sup>41</sup> Neve suggested the assemblage was connected with the Hittite rain cult.<sup>42</sup> Building M on Büyükkale preserved an amazing pair of ceramic vessels in the shape of bulls (now in Ankara).<sup>43</sup>



*Figure 5.11, Ceramic vessels in the shape of bulls (found on Büyükkale)  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

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<sup>41</sup> (Glatz 2020, 115)

<sup>42</sup> Neve apud (Glatz 2020, 252)

<sup>43</sup> (Neve 1965)

Not many cult-related items were found at Yazılıkaya. Glatz explains that like other cult-related locations in Hattusa, the evidence at Yazılıkaya is not of one particular event, but of the sorts of materials one would expect at such events, including “miniature cups, hemispherical drinking bowls, bowls with inverted rims, plates, and a few serving and preparation vessels”.<sup>44</sup>

One of the most interesting observations to be made from this material evidence for performance culture, is a parallelism to the physical and visual permeability of festival performances, which had, as we have seen, both a community-shaping as well as a differentiating function, distinguishing the ‘in-crowd’ from the greater mass. Glatz observes that:

The communal consumption of food and the inebriation from alcoholic drink speeds the formation and consolidation of social relationships and the forging of alliances, as well as a broader sense of community among participants. At the same time, differential access to particular foods and objects, specific spatial arrangements and differences in the ways in which bodies are trained in the expert manipulation of consumption equipment, and etiquette are powerful means of maintaining social hierarchies and distinctions.<sup>45</sup>

### **5.3 Objects with iconographic evidence: potential building blocks of performance culture**

#### **5.3.1 Introduction**

Besides (non-iconographic) archaeological data embedded in the landscape and objects (see above), iconographic evidence too is relevant for the performance-oriented analysis of Hittite

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<sup>44</sup> (Glatz 2020, 252, see also 253-254 for other feastlike pottery found at Hattusa)

<sup>45</sup> (Glatz 2020, 247)

festivals. Visual data hold information on performance culture in two ways: first, by providing information on the possible building blocks of Hittite performances.<sup>46</sup> Second, the carriers of visual culture (especially stone reliefs and portable vessels) could be used in the actual performances as settings or props. Iconography is a meeting point between different techniques of impression management: it can be studied as part of performance (as I do here), but visual culture is also a type of ‘materialization of ideology’, so that it belonged to the toolbox of the elite ‘media output’.<sup>47</sup> As argued by Aro, more work should be done to

take the visual material as “real” historical evidence in their own right, as visual embodiments of the Hittite kingship and empire... Kings’ images in various forms were very important for the Hittites and even if we cannot know how they were perceived and experienced by ancient viewers, their power should not be underestimated, and we should try to trace the origins, motivations, meanings and changing conceptual modes behind them.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> I do not agree with the strict method followed by De Martino (de Martino 2016), who seemingly aims for corroboration of all building blocks by *both* texts and archaeology, but I do agree that not *all* performance elements found in iconographic depictions were also *necessarily* part of the repertoire of performance elements actually executed. The difference is that I do think they *could* be, and therefore, we should include them in our analysis of Hittite performance culture.

<sup>47</sup> This is the approach of Sanna Aro in her considerations of Hittite iconography in the Handbook: (Aro 2022), although she does not call it by that name. Aro looks especially at images of the king through the lens of *Bildwissenschaft*, so that it is “not only perceived as an “artistic” product but more as a symbol and embodiment of the Hittite kingship and empire.” (Aro 2022, 503)

<sup>48</sup> (Aro 2022, 498-99)

Some scholarship has already been dedicated to the socio-political efficacies of these monuments in terms of “imperial messages of power”<sup>49</sup> (Harmanşah) as well as “political toolkits that were deployed in the hope of chiselling out new spheres of authority” (Glatz).<sup>50</sup>

Ömür Harmanşah emphasized how Hittites chose spaces with existing traditions and meanings to carve their monuments so that they could mould memories and use them for their own purposes:

These monuments both commemorate kingship ideology at politically contested border regions and appropriate local sites of geological wonder and cultic significance such as caves, springs, sinkholes, while transforming them into state sanctioned sites of ritual practice.<sup>51</sup>

Glatz on the other hand emphasizes the use of landscape monuments as a way to expand authority by different patrons in an area of contested power.<sup>52</sup> She warns against viewing all of the landscape monuments found in Late Bronze Age Anatolia as ‘Hittite’, because of the great diversity in monument authorship.<sup>53</sup> As we have seen, the construction of such monuments is in itself a type of monumental performance that would have created lasting memories for the participants and audience. In the words of Glatz:

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<sup>49</sup> (Harmanşah 2015, 33)

<sup>50</sup> (Glatz 2020, 153)

<sup>51</sup> (Harmanşah 2015, 35)

<sup>52</sup> (Glatz 2020, 153-174)

<sup>53</sup> (Glatz 2020, 174)

Building or carving a landscape monument and its subsequent practice, such as the performance of associated rituals and the stories told of them, hoped to transform otherwise liminal and politically frictious upland locales into foci of sovereign projection, or, in network terms, nodes on which could be centred, or at the very least claimed to be centred, sufficient relational ties between people, places and things to yield political community.<sup>54</sup>

Concerning reliefs depicting a Hittite ruler, Ömür Harmanşah argues that their modest scale contradicts a “terror inflicting character”.<sup>55</sup> Instead, he argues:

that the efficacy or the agency of rock monuments does not come from their monumentality, but holiness of the place itself and from the power of their carved imagery which derives from interactions with the divine, perhaps in the form of miraculous apparitions.<sup>56</sup>

Harmanşah’s characterization fits well with my criticism on Gilan’s perceived lack of display of military prowess (see 1.1.7, 1.1.9): the media strategies of the Hittite royal elite seem to be distinctively religious, whether it concerns public performances of the king or depictions of his figure on reliefs.

Other scholars too, have considered the corpus of Hittite iconography in terms of their socio-political efficacies.<sup>57</sup> Dominik Bonatz paints a picture of Hittite imagery that maps quite perfectly onto my own observations on Hittite festivals as positioned between the spheres of

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<sup>54</sup> (Glatz 2020, 173)

<sup>55</sup> (Harmanşah 2015, 91)

<sup>56</sup> (Harmanşah 2015, 91)

<sup>57</sup> See for instance (Collins 2004; de Martino 2010; Hoffner 2006)

politics and religion (see chapter 1.1.6), so that we will consider them here in more detail. Bonatz positions Hittite iconography at the “interaction between religious and political praxis”<sup>58</sup>. He addresses the problem that, given the state of our evidence, we cannot really speak of Hittite *visual* culture, since we do not know how and by whom these images were seen.<sup>59</sup> Bonatz sees royal relief images as expressions of the privilege “exclusively ascribed to the king and queen”, namely, ritual performance in honor of the gods.<sup>60</sup> Concluding his survey of Hittite royal imagery, Bonatz argues that Hittite royal imagery is:

almost without exception determined by religious motivation. The iconographic phenotype of the king integrates itself seamlessly with this world of religious imagery because it bears the characteristics of the gods... It was precisely because of the possibilities afforded by the medium of an image in overcoming the physical boundaries of interaction and in presenting the ruler as one with the gods that the images could function as propaganda. As an icon of universal power, the divine image of the ruler enjoyed an exclusive status and was first and foremost an instrument of political interest. As a religious representation, however, it remained part of a system that sought to derive its power from communion with the divine, and this consequently led to a very unique religious form of political representation.<sup>61</sup>

Looking towards interpretative scholarship on Hittite iconography, we can see that visual culture was indeed used as a tool for impression management, and that its usage, much like that of the

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<sup>58</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 111)

<sup>59</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 111)

<sup>60</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 112)

<sup>61</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 133)



Hittite festivals, seems to have been characterized by the projection of a religious role for the king and an emphasis on his importance as the connection to the divine realm.

What we are concerned with in the rest of this chapter, is the information these monuments can provide for Hittite performance culture. As argued by Gilibert, it is likely that these tools (performance and iconography) were used in mutual congruence and reinforced one another's efficacies. As we have seen in chapter 3, reliefs can work together with ritual performances to create more elaborate effects, both during as well as after the performance.<sup>62</sup> Such reliefs would preserve the memory of the performance and make its effects last longer. This is especially the case for depictions of performances (such as the Fraktin relief), which are understood to also be *settings* for ritual performances (see below), creating a type of *mise-en-abîme* (or Droste) effect. The use of a ritual object such as one of the silver vessels that themselves represent ritual performances could have had a similar effect.

Different media can neatly work together and enhance one another's efficacy, in the same way that a politician's attendance of an event can simultaneously be photographed and posted on Instagram, so that both of these strategies work together in shaping the politician's public image. Studying performance events is aided by access to the imagery (e.g., what kind of clothes was the politician wearing? Who was standing next to her while she made her speech?), but performance and imagery also work together towards the same goals (e.g., becoming the first female president of the United States). As we will see, the two case studies I consider in this study are difficult to correlate with preserved imagery, but that does not mean that imagery has no use

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<sup>62</sup> See for instance Gilibert and Ristvet (3.3, 3.4).

in its analysis.<sup>63</sup> In the following sections, I build on my methodological framework, so that it is clear how iconography has already informed our understanding of Hittite performance culture, and how we can continue to make use of the rich information it provides.<sup>64</sup>

There is an ongoing discussion regarding the dating of many Hittite iconographical depictions.<sup>65</sup> As my purpose here is to survey in what ways these data can help us to research and analyze Hittite performance culture, which undoubtedly experienced changes and innovations over time, I will leave that discussion aside for the moment.

### 5.3.2 Two types of kings

Before diving into the available iconographic evidence, a few general points of discussion should be mentioned regarding the figure of the king. Past scholarship on Hittite visual culture was often concerned with discussing whether a deity, a king or a priest was depicted.<sup>66</sup> Most scholars are now more or less in agreement that the Hittite king is depicted (in anthropomorphic form) according to two main types: the king as the Sun god or the king as a warrior.

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<sup>63</sup> Contra De Martino, who tends to take the differences between texts and iconography as evidence for the argument that there is no 'reality' behind the Hittite festival tradition. (de Martino 2016).

<sup>64</sup> For this purpose, I hope that someone will take up Aro's survey of Hittite iconography, and will contextualize it (more extensively than done by Aro herself) into the landscape of Hattusa and Anatolia more broadly.

<sup>65</sup> See for instance (Aro 2022, 500, n. 19, with references). In her contribution to the new Handbook, Aro proposes to approach Hittite iconography from *Bildwissenschaft*, bypassing the dating discussion to some degree: (Aro 2022, 525). Each summary of an iconographic 'Bild' still mentions the potential dating, and all pieces are ordered according to their tentative chronology.

<sup>66</sup> For the discussion and references see (Aro 2022, 507-508, 516, with n. 107).

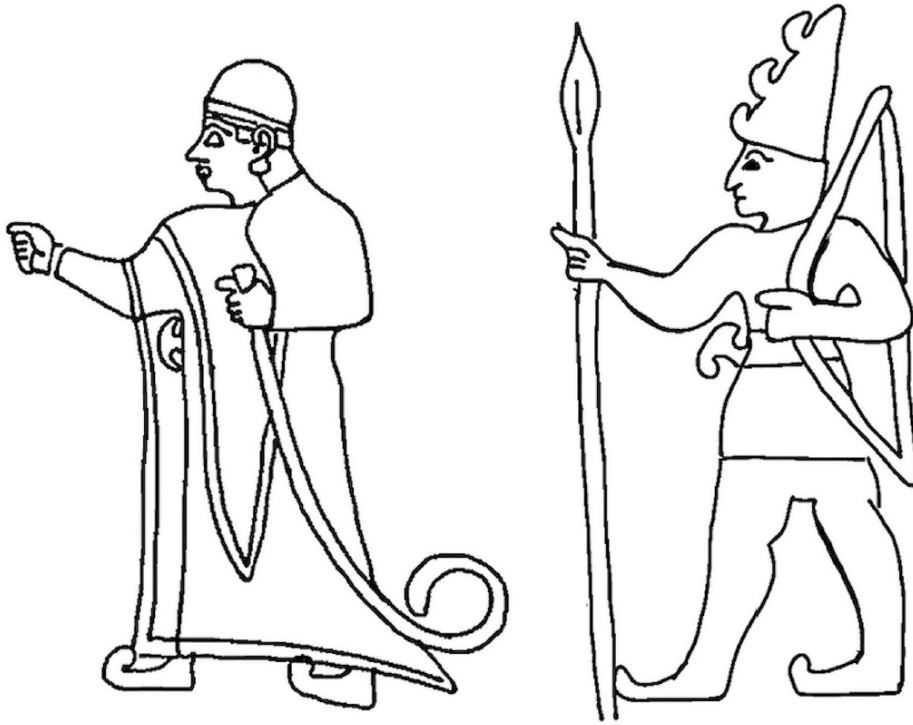


Figure 5.12, Two main types of royal imagery: the 'king as Sungod' (left) and the 'king as a warrior' (right)

(Line drawings by S. Aro, 2022, figure 11.5a and 11.5b, p. 517)

Both types show the king as a beardless figure. The king as a Sungod wears a long open robe (much like a modern Berlin jacket) that would have revealed the short tunic worn underneath. Textual evidence suggests that the tunic would have been white or blue. The king as Sungod wears a tight headdress referred to as the 'skullcap', hoop earrings and pointy shoes similar to a crakow or poulaine shoe. The shoes, according to the texts, would have been black or white. From his robe sticks out the handle of a sword or dagger.

The king as a Sungod carries a long staff with a curved end, in Aro's drawing with the curve turned towards the back. This staff is often referred to as the *Krummstab* or *lituus* (referring to its curved shape), the latter term borrowed from Etruscan and Roman references to the staff

used for augury and hare hunting, modelled on a shepherd's crook. In Hittite visual culture, we also see a short curved staff, probably referring to its use in falconry and hawking, and serving the same purpose it had in later forms of hunting: to flush out game.<sup>67</sup> We should distinguish the short staff associated with falconry from the long crooked staff we see in the 'king as Sungod' type, which is sometimes referred to as a 'long' or 'royal' lituus or a shepherd's crook.<sup>68</sup> The long staff is seen as the "unmistakable sign of Hittite Great Kingship"<sup>69</sup> and in visual representations it is never carried by other people.<sup>70</sup> This depiction of the king is generally thought to represent the king in his function as chief priest and performer of the cult.<sup>71</sup> In Hittite texts, this staff carried by the king during cultic performances is referred to as the *kalmuš*. It seems that the term 'lituus' is used a bit too broadly in some scholarship<sup>72</sup>, as it should not be used for the short curved stick used for falconry, held up and the curve usually pointing forward, as if ready to be thrown,<sup>73</sup> but only for the long curved stick carried by the 'king as Sungod' type, the *kalmuš*, held downward and the curve usually pointing backward. As pointed out by Jeanny Canby, both staff types are visible in the (admittedly post-Late Bronze Age) relief from Malatya, suggesting that the two are indeed different 'memes'.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> (van den Hout 2018, 117; Canby 2002)

<sup>68</sup> (Canby 2002, 170-172)

<sup>69</sup> (van den Hout 2022, 342)

<sup>70</sup> The short stick held upright is held by deities, as well as one hooded figure in a procession (see below).

<sup>71</sup> (Aro 2022, 518)

<sup>72</sup> E.g. (Aro 2022, 517).

<sup>73</sup> An exception would be the throwing stick held by a deity in the Fraktin relief.

<sup>74</sup> Note that in a post-Hittite relief from the SACC city of Malatya, we see both a short stick, being carried by deities, and a long stick, carried by the king: (Canby 2002, 171-172).

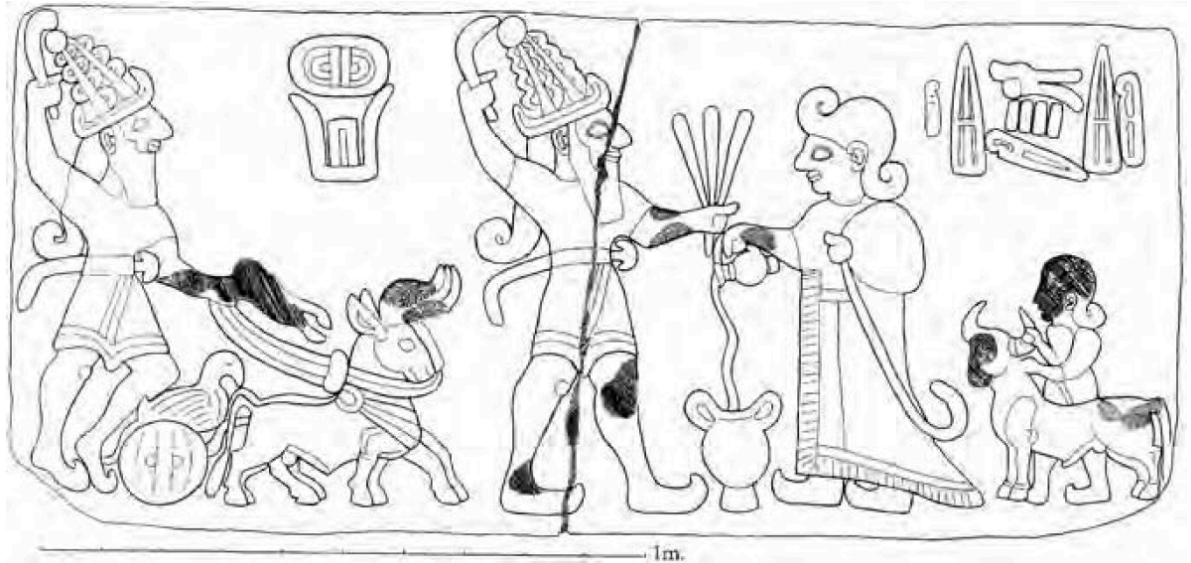


Figure 5.13, *Throwing stick and shepherd's crook in one depiction, Lion Gate (Malatya), Relief K*  
(from Hawkins 2000, Pl. 149)

Another significant feature of the king as Sungod type, is the gesture he makes with his right hand, clenching his fist with the thumb laying on top, raising the arm and hand to a little below shoulder height (or higher, as in other representations).<sup>75</sup> Aro understands this gesture as a “homage to a deity”<sup>76</sup>:

This gesture is interactive and the raised fist is pointing towards the object of veneration, creating a connection between the king and the divinity. Beside the most famous example of this type of king's image in Alaca Hüyük, and also the figure at the King's Gate ... it also appears on some early Hittite seals in which a figure, possibly a king, is worshipping a usually seated deity.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> (See also briefly Bonatz 2007, 131-132)

<sup>76</sup> (Aro 2022, 519)

<sup>77</sup> (Aro 2022, 519)



Figure 5.14, *Different imagery with the 'clenched fist' gesture*  
 (Line drawings by S. Aro, 2022, figure 11a, 11b, 11d, p. 520)

The gesture might correspond to a textually attested expression in which hands are 'held up' to a deity.<sup>78</sup> The gesture is reminiscent of what one would now call a 'fist pump', although the element of movement is seemingly absent. It is difficult to assess, how we should understand a similar gesture, with hieroglyphs seemingly 'held' by the raised hand. Aro argues that in the case of the *Umarmungsszene* (bottom right in figure 5.14), the gesture is not unilateral: deities too, use the gesture to communicate something to the king. This happens when they are standing across from one another, but even when the deity is holding the king in a type of hug and they are looking in the same direction.<sup>79</sup> I think that in that specific case, we should see the gesture as 'holding' the hieroglyphic sign, rather than a communicative gesture. A more extensive

<sup>78</sup> (Aro 2022, 519, n. 129 with references)

<sup>79</sup> (Aro 2022, 520)

comparison of these cases might prove useful in determining the relation between the clenched fist with and without a hieroglyphic sign.

Aro suggests that ritual gestures depicted in for instance reliefs are not just representations of those gestures in real life, they are 'stand-ins' for the actual gestures being performed 'by' the relief or depiction.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the figure of the king libating or making the clenched fist gesture is continuously honoring the deities and performing the royal role of high priest. Following Gilibert's understanding of reliefs, this means that people seeing the reliefs are reliving and experiencing performances in different ways. If they were present at or participated in the construction of the reliefs, this in itself would have been a memorable event. Furthermore, reliefs might have been the stages at which ritual performances take place (see 5.4.2), so that seeing the relief again can bring back memories of those rituals. Lastly, if Aro is right, the continuous performing of the depicted figure is also an act of performance, witnessed by those looking at the reliefs.

The king as a warrior is the second type of royal imagery we encounter. Here, the king is wearing only the short tunic or skirt that was probably hidden by the long robe in king as the Sungod type, and the same type of pointy shoes. He wears a hat or helmet in conical shape, which features one pair of horns or knobs, sometimes more.<sup>81</sup> His attributes are a lance or spear or on one occasion the 'three-spiked shaft-hole axe' (see above)<sup>82</sup>. Furthermore, he sports a dagger or sword (visible by the shaft sticking out) and the occasional bow.

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<sup>80</sup> (Aro 2022, 520-521)

<sup>81</sup> For the discussion on the amount of horns and their possible 'divine status', see (Aro 2022, 518). For the possibility of knobs, see (Goedegebuure 2012, 428).

<sup>82</sup> Only visible at the King's Gate, which is a special type of visual art all together. See (Aro 2022, 534-538).

### 5.3.3 building blocks of performance in the iconographic record

The extant (but considerably small) collection of Hittite visual culture provides possible information on the building blocks of Hittite performances, especially considering:<sup>83</sup>

1. actors
2. types of dress and shoes
3. objects or props
4. conceptualizations of the divine
5. setting or stages
6. gestures or actions



*Figure 5.15, Hüseyindede vases A (left) and B (left)  
(Pictures by Klaus-Peter Simon, Wikipedia Commons)*

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<sup>83</sup> The following section follows the tentatively diachronic order of objects and reliefs as represented by Sanna Aro: (Aro 2022).



The Old Hittite relief vases from Bitik, İnandık (both in the museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara) and Hüseyindede (both vases A and B in the Çorum Archaeological Museum) are among the first representations of Hittite performance behavior.<sup>84</sup> To their repertoire, Sanna Aro adds a fragment from Boğazköy, depicting a male figure with a curved staff, the same way that Great Kings are portrayed in later times.<sup>85</sup> The best preserved (and most often cited) vases are Hüseyindede A and the vase from İnandık.

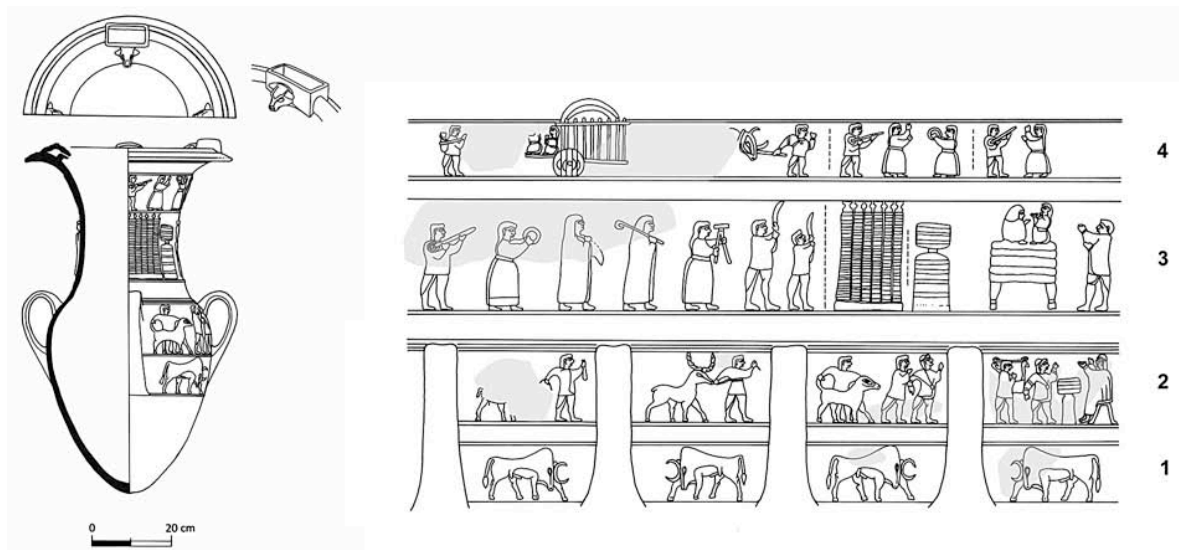


Figure 5.16, Line drawing of Hüseyindede vase A

(Marie-Henriette Gates 2017, p. 203. Drawings by N. Yılmaz, after Yıldırım 2008: figs. 3–8; and 2013: 233, fig. 8d.)

<sup>84</sup> (Aro 2022, 524-526; Schachner 2012, 134-136, both with further references)

<sup>85</sup> (Aro 2022, 524) Glatz mentions similar fragments from Alacahöyük, Eskişehir, Kabaklı, Alişar Höyük, Kaman-Kalehöyük, Karahöyük-Elbistan, Maşat Höyük, and Muşkubukü: (Glatz 2020, 106, with references)



Figure 5.17, İnanlık vase  
(Carole Raddato, Wikipedia Commons)

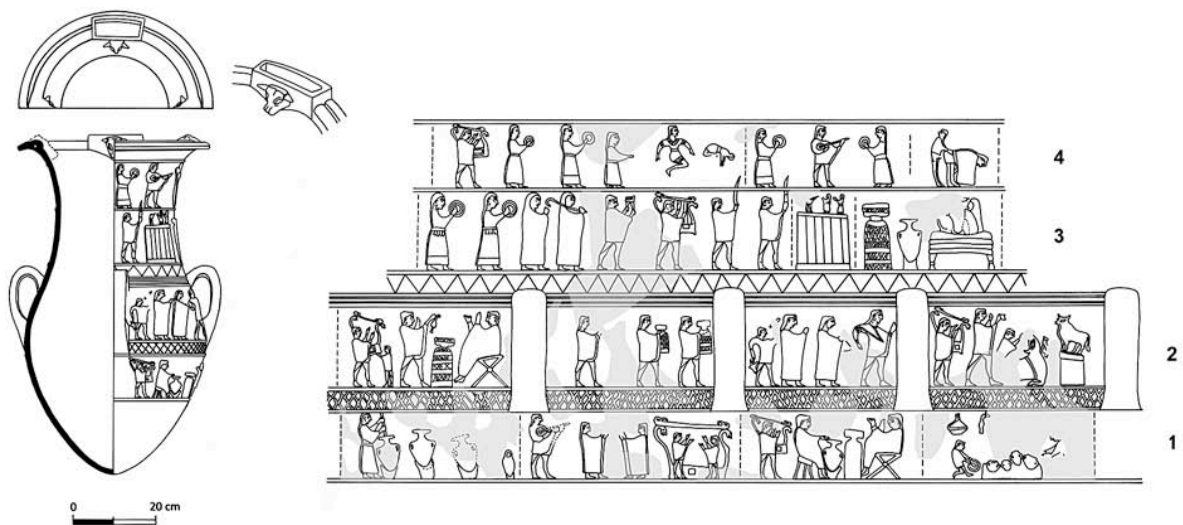


Figure 5.18, line drawing of the İnanlık vase  
(Marie-Henriette Gates 2017, p. 202. Drawings by N. Yılmaz, after T. Özguç, 1988: figs. 64, 65.  
Shading according to T. Moore.)



*Figure 5.19, Bitik vase (details)*  
(D. Osseman, Wikipedia Commons)

Based on their archaeological context, Schachner has suggested that the vases were commissioned and used by elite, but non-royal people.<sup>86</sup> This correlates nicely with the fact that it is rather difficult, if not impossible, to discern a royal figure in any of the friezes, despite attempts of many scholars. I agree with Aro therefore, that the vases cannot be seen as being used in strategies of kingship, as was suggested by Glatz.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps these types of iconographic depictions were commissioned by non-royal members of Hittite society to keep the memory of their participation in a ritual, or to project in general the image of their role as active members of society. What message they were supposed to convey depends on where these vases would have been used and to whom they would have been visible. Schachner understands the regional distribution of these Old Hittite relief vases as evidence for a growing uniformity of religion in central Anatolia, so that their existence can also be used to argue for a growing political cohesion in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>86</sup> (Schachner apud Aro 2022, 525), contra (de Martino 2016, 94-95). De Martino suggests that the vases were used in temples and in the cult, “principally the expression of the royal power and richness”.

<sup>87</sup> (Glatz 2020, 105-106; Aro 2022, 525)

BCE.<sup>88</sup> The exact use and messages of these vases are part of how visual culture is used as a tool of impression management, which is not the subject of my research. Independent of their socio-political messages, these vases provide information about the types of performance behaviors that were seen as plausible references for the people seeing the object. Many building blocks of performance culture can be found within their reliefs.

The actors depicted in these scenes can be categorized by the length of their garments, which are either long or short. The figures with the long robes seem to also have long, black hair, those with the short tunics have shorter hair, though it is not always easy to say whether this is a consistent rule. As such, the long robed and haired figures have been identified as women. The roles taken on by these figures differ: the short robed figures can have any type of role (acrobat, musician, cook, sword swallower, bull leaper, general participant carrying some offer or walking in a procession without any props), whereas the long robed figures are more restricted. Those who wear their long robes with a kind of belt or scarf around the waist, are only seen playing the cymbals. A second type long robed figure wears a garment with a less narrow waste. Some of these loosely long robed figures are hooded as well. These loosely long robed figures appear as participants in processions – usually carrying nothing, although one hooded figure carries a type of throwing stick – they mix something in a cooking pot (perhaps beer), they have been suggested to have danced to lyre music, and one figure can be found on a type of dais or bed (see below).<sup>89</sup>

If we were to follow the idea that the length of the robe shows the gender of the figure, this would

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<sup>88</sup> (Schachner 2012, 136-137)

<sup>89</sup> For the hooded figure carrying a type of throwing stick, see (Figure 102 in Moore 2015, 161). Note that the supposed 'dancing' figures from the İnadık vase, standing facing each other, have a parallel in terms of 'footwork' in a fragment from Eskiyyapar, which shows at least one of the two figures wearing a long robe with a narrow waist. (Compare figure 58 in Moore 2015, 138; plate 70 in Özgüç 1988, 3)

tentatively tell us something about the gender norms in Hittite festival culture as depicted in the iconographic record. I would hesitate at this point to assign these genders without further consideration, especially because of the occurrence of two different types of long-robed figures.

Seated figures too, presumed to be deities, wear long robes, and some can be seen to make a gesture reminiscent of raising the glass while saying ‘cheers’.<sup>90</sup> Divine figures are sometimes depicted as miniatures (perhaps statuettes) on top of pedestals or a type of dais. It is not always clear whether a figure is supposed to represent a deity, or not. Thinking of the performance of festivals as known from the texts, the seated figures raising a glass might very well be drinking *to* a deity, rather than representing the deities themselves.

One example of information provided by the Old Hittite vases in terms of props, are the many types of pottery that are visible in the reliefs. Dirk Paul Mielke remarks that the İnandık vase shows a rare representation of cooking pots and compares the scene to a passage from the ‘Great Feast of Arinna’ (CTH 634), in which pot dishes are brought and placed on vessel stands as part of a cult meal.<sup>91</sup> We will see in case study 1 (chapter 6), that the act of putting down stands for pots may be part of the preparations for a new act in the festival performance, announcing as it were, the start of the cult meal.

De Martino reports that the correspondences between the Old Hittite vases and Hittite texts concerning musical instruments correspond exactly in “the way of playing them, the presence of ensembles composed of different instruments, the performed dances”.<sup>92</sup> The instruments include large lyres, cymbals, flutes, and a string instrument that looks like a bağlama.

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<sup>90</sup> (E.g., figure 39, İnandık vase (right figure) in Moore 2015, 129)

<sup>91</sup> (Mielke 2022, 668)

<sup>92</sup> (de Martino 2016, 91)

Some actors are only marked by carrying a (to our eyes) generic type of offering, such as a ceramic container. On Hüseyindede Vase A, there are long robed figures (two hooded, one with of the narrow waist type), holding objects yet to be identified: suggestions include incense burners or a stool.<sup>93</sup>

Besides cooking pottery and musical instruments, we see other props depicted: swords that are seemingly used in sword swallowing acts or that are simply carried towards different types of vessels and what looks like wicker work offerings, as well as sacrificial animals (bulls, deer, a ram).

In terms of settings, the vases may show the architectural features of a temple, although they could also be said to represent altars.<sup>94</sup>

Gestures and actions include processions as well as (possibly) the clenched fist gesture. The İnandık vase shows a male figure making a libation from a beak spouted pitcher onto a type of altar.<sup>95</sup> This figure may be wearing an earring. The vase from İnandık also shows acrobats performing some kind of jumps or summersaults, accompanied by music.<sup>96</sup>

The İnandık and Bitik vases reveal scenes that have been interpreted as sexual. On the İnandık vase, there is a scene involving two persons, one of whom is bent over, their long robe seemingly revealing a naked bottom. A second figure, standing behind the first, seems to wear a very short tunic or only a type of shirt. This would be a rare occurrence, since Hittite dress usually involves robes or tunics, and it should be noted that other figures on the same vase also wear

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<sup>93</sup>(Figure 102 in Moore 2015, 161)

<sup>94</sup>(E.g., figure 26, İnandıktepe A in Moore 2015, 124; Özgüç 1988, 176)

<sup>95</sup>(Figure 19, Moore 2015, 121)

<sup>96</sup>(Özgüç 1988, 175; Figure 22 in Moore 2015, 122)

lightly colored garments that are noticeably short (e.g., the lyre player, whose dress falls several inches above the knees).<sup>97</sup> Whereas the first figure is looking down towards the ground, the second seems to look back. The gender of the figures is not necessarily a given, in my opinion. A second scene on the same vase that has been interpreted as ‘intimate’ seems to me simply a type of dais with figurines of deities on them, though it is not impossible it is a bed scene.<sup>98</sup> The Hüseyindede Vase A and Bitik vase also show ‘bed’ scenes. The Bitik vase depicts what looks like a male figure lifting the headscarf covering a female figure. The scenes on these vases have been interpreted in many different ways.<sup>99</sup> Since no clear royal markers are present, and there are no actual indications for anything like the Orientalizing concept ‘sacred marriage’, I think one of the most feasible interpretations is the one by Billie Jean Collins, who suggests the vases depict Hittite marriage celebrations.<sup>100</sup>

Several attempts have been made to find textual attestations for the iconographically attested ritual involving both music and bull leaping (on vase B from Hüseyindede).<sup>101</sup> Following Klinger’s line of reasoning regarding the realities behind festival texts, De Martino doubts whether the depiction of bull leaping in a festival like setting would indeed have taken place.<sup>102</sup> Again, our starting point should be to use the evidence available, rather than to demand of the historical record even more detailed evidence of performance culture than we already have. Bull

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<sup>97</sup> (Figure 29 shows the lyre player, Moore 2015)

<sup>98</sup> (Figure 24, frieze 2 in Moore 2015, 123; Özgüç 1988, 176) See also (de Martino 2016, 92, with references to different interpretations)

<sup>99</sup> (For various interpretations and references, see de Martino 2016, 92-94)

<sup>100</sup> (Collins 2007, 124) Admittedly an anachronistic thought, one also thinks of artworks enjoyed in the private sphere, often with sexual connotations or depictions of nudity. If indeed the Old Hittite relief vases were commissioned by non-royal persons, perhaps they were to be enjoyed by fellow well-to-do elites, who enjoyed the references to these aspects of life?

<sup>101</sup> (For various interpretations and references, see de Martino 2016, 92-93)

<sup>102</sup> (de Martino 2016, 94; Özgüç 1988, 176)

leaping, it seems, or more vaguely 'acrobatic acts involving bulls' should be added to the know repertoire of spectacular acrobatics that could be used during Hittite cultural performances.

Two exquisite silver objects, both in American collections, are (sadly) of unknown archaeological provenance, but are understood as Hittite cult objects with iconographic depictions of Hittite cult rituals, probably dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>103</sup> One is the silver vessel in the form of a stag, now in the Metropolitan Museum, in some publications still referred to as 'the Schimmel rhyton'<sup>104</sup> and the other the 'vessel in the form of a fist' from the Schimmel Collection in Boston, sometimes referred to as 'the Boston fist'.



*Figure 5.20, Silver vessel in the form of a stag (14th-13th century BCE)  
(Van den Hout 2018, figure 1, p. 114)*

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<sup>103</sup> (Güterbock and Kendall 1995, 56-57, followed by others.; van den Hout 2018, 114)

<sup>104</sup> Despite the fact that this object now belongs to the Metropolitan Museum, and the absence of a pouring spout.





Figures 5.21 (above) and 5.22 (below), Photomosaic and line drawing of the stag vessel frieze (Van den Hout 2018, figure 2 and 3, p. 116, Referring to Muscarella 1974 and Güterbock 1989.)

**The stag vessel**, recently meticulously studied up-close by van den Hout and published with detailed pictures, shows a libation scene in which “the worshippers are hunters who have laid down their weapons, deposited their hunting trophy, and come to thank the deities for a successful hunt”.<sup>105</sup>

The three actors in this ritual performance wear short tunics, their attributes and movements revealing the typical elements of Hittite worship: one figure pours out the libation for the deity, one figure offers a type of flat bread and the kneeling figure corresponds with the so-called *paršanawaš* <sup>LÚ</sup>SAGI, the ‘cupbearer of squatting’.<sup>106</sup> Van den Hout noted that the line drawing of this last figure is incorrect: the kneeling figure does not wear shoes with upward toes, the other two figures do.<sup>107</sup> The sequence of these three figures does not necessarily indicate the

<sup>105</sup> (van den Hout 2018, 118)

<sup>106</sup> (van den Hout 2018, 117) See also (de Martino 2010, 91-92)

<sup>107</sup> (van den Hout 2018, n. 13)

order in which they perform their respective duties as they might also be envisioned to perform alongside each other.<sup>108</sup> The headdress of the worshippers seems to feature some kind of band on the front, and perhaps a cap on the rest of the head, though it is difficult to tell what exactly is depicted. There is no definite indication that one (let alone all) of these figures are royal, although the presence of the squatting cupbearer does indicate the likely elite context of this event.<sup>109</sup> In terms of how the deities are envisioned, we see both a seated anthropomorphic depiction of the deity, as well as a tutelary deity of the countryside envisioned as a figurine, holding several attributes, standing on top of a deer. The tutelary deity sports long hair in a type of braid and a skullcap. The hat of the seated deity has a conical shape with a horned front.<sup>110</sup> The altar in this depiction is of the ‘mushroom’ type, in this case quite narrow and long. In terms of the setting of the performance, it seems that this particular performance is held outside, as signaled by the plant or tree behind the deity.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> This suggestion was made by Theo van den Hout in a class on Hittite visual culture (Winter 2020, University of Chicago), during which he compared the vessel to several pieces of Hittite iconography that show triadic figures.

<sup>109</sup> Contra Mayer-Opificius ad (Aro 2022, 525).

<sup>110</sup> Note that, even though this hat looks similar to the hat of the goddess Hepat depicted at Fraktin (for which, see below), it is not the same. I thank Petra Goedegebuure for her suggestion (personal communication) that the ‘conical’ hats at Fraktin are actually represent sundiscs as seen from the side (similar to the seated goddess with child figurine, fig. 5.52), whereas the seated deity of the stag vessel wears a conical hat without a type of veil protruding from the end, perhaps indicating that this deity is male, rather than female. For different considerations of the deity’s gender, see (van den Hout 2018, 117, 123, n. 6, with references).

<sup>111</sup> Jean-François de Lapérouse even suggests the cult celebration is of a spring festival, because of the foliage depicted. (de Lapérouse 2008, 182)



Figure 5.23, Silver vessel in the form of a fist (14th-13th century BCE)  
 (Van den Hout 2018, figure 11, p. 121, Referring to Muscarella 1974 and Güterbock 1989.)

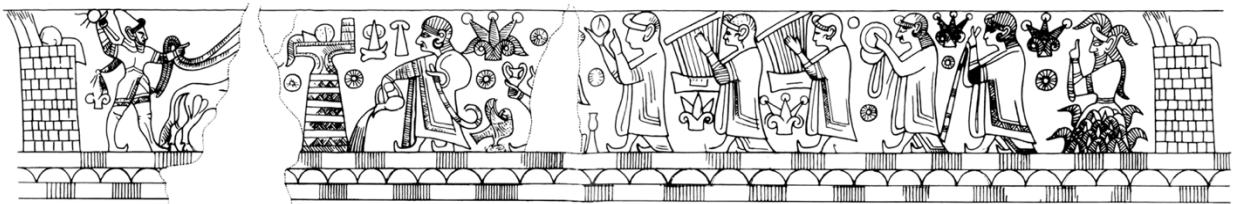


Figure 5.24, Line drawing of fist vessel frieze  
 (Van den Hout 2018, figure 122-123, p. 121)

The **Boston Fist** then, shows yet another typical cult performance scene, as described by van den Hout: "The scene is emblematic for what we know of the Hittite cult: a king libating to a deity, assisted by a "man-of-kneeling" (= cupbearer), people administering bread for an offering,

musicians (two with a kind of lyre or harp and one holding cymbals), and a man holding a stick of some kind who could be a “staff bearer” (LÚ GÍŠGIDRU), as we know him from the texts.”<sup>112</sup> This time, the main performer offering to the deity is mentioned by name: he is a Great King Tuthaliya, libating to the Stormgod. The king carries his downward curved staff and a long robe (the ‘Sungod’ type).<sup>113</sup> The Stormgod appears in anthropomorphic form, and has his bull-drawn chariot as an attribute.<sup>114</sup> The offerings on the offering table include a stack of flatly shaped objects, likely breads, a round object (another bread or perhaps a piece of fruit) and a napkin.<sup>115</sup> A mountain god is also present at the back of the sequence of people offering and musicians. I propose that rather than being a representation of the deity venerated in this performance, his presence gives an indication of the setting of this performance, apparently associated with a mountain. The plant-like decorations could also point to an outdoor setting.<sup>116</sup> Kendall argued that the structure visible behind the mountain god is a city tower with a human figure rising above.<sup>117</sup> Gilibert suggests that if this is the case, the performance would take place “in front of the city gate, with the audience gazing from the fortification walls”.<sup>118</sup> If the mountain god is indeed also an indication of setting, I suggest that the performers came from a mountain and subsequently performed at the gate-like structure, so that the frieze indicates both start location

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<sup>112</sup> (van den Hout 2022, 342, including a discussion as to the social status of those holding these roles.) For this object see especially (Güterbock and Kendall 1995).

<sup>113</sup> For an excellent summary of the two types of representations of Hittite kings, as well as two ‘standardized’ models, see (Aro 2022, 516-518)

<sup>114</sup> Yener argues that the god’s weapon is similar to the three-spiked ax from Alalakh: (Yener 2011, 268)

<sup>115</sup> Glatz interprets the stack of things as possibly ‘cups’: (Glatz 2020, 108); Güterbock and Kendall interpret the dotted objects as a pita-like bread, and do not comment on the stacked objects. They compare the napkin to the knee cloth depicted in the Fraktin relief. (Güterbock and Kendall 1995, 50); similarly (Gilibert 2011, 116).

<sup>116</sup> Gilibert sees the god as a ‘vegetation god’ and likewise thinks of an open setting. She adds that the ritual would be performed in the springtime. (Gilibert 2011, 116)

<sup>117</sup> (Güterbock and Kendall 1995, 54)

<sup>118</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 116) Gilibert then takes this as evidence for Hittite rituals located at the gate, for which other types of evidence also exist, see (Gilibert 2011, 118), with references.

and end location of a type of procession, also indicated by the presence and position of the musicians. It should be noted that on this occasion, the cymbals are not played by a figure with a long robe with narrow waist. On the contrary, all of the offering figures, as well as the musicians, are wearing long mantles of the kind the king wears in his 'Sungod' appearance, suggesting that these fall alongside the body to reveal the short tunic underneath.<sup>119</sup>

**Stone reliefs from the site of Alaca Höyük** show a greater variety of performance actors than most iconographic sources do.<sup>120</sup>

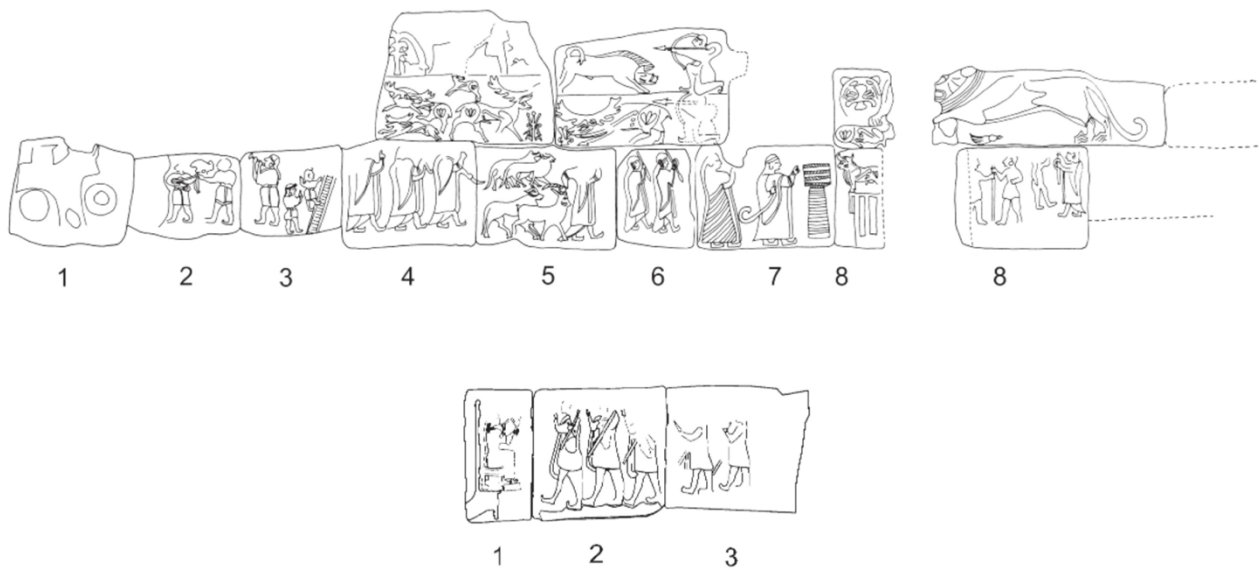


Figure 5.25, Line drawing of the Alaca Höyük reliefs  
(From Schachner 2012, figure 4, p. 138)

We see the king (in the 'king as Sungod' type) and queen (block 7), marked by royal attributes (the shepherd's crook or *lituus*, skull cap, long robe, pointy shoes), making the clenched fist

<sup>119</sup> See also (van den Hout 2018, n. 6)

<sup>120</sup> See observations in (van den Hout 2022, 342-344), a summary of the datings and interpretations of this assemblage of relief stones in (Aro 2022, 527-530, with references).

gesture to the deity.<sup>121</sup> We see musicians (block 2), a sword swallower (block 3) and two men who could be identified as ‘acrobats’ or performers of some kind, performing a stunt with a ladder (also block 3). These are marked by their respective ‘props’ (guitar, sword, ladder) and gestures or actions. Furthermore, we see several groups of ‘officials’, performers in the cult proceedings (blocks 2, 4, 6). These are less clearly marked by specific dress, props or action. Some make the clenched fist gesture (block 2 and 4), others hold a spear of some kind (block 6, likely representing the ‘bodyguards’ known from Hittite texts, the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>MEŠEDI, especially considering their weapons and position right behind the royal couple). Further depicted ‘props’, include sacrificial animals (block 5), an altar (block 7), a statue of the god in bull-form on a pedestal (block 8) and a seated deity (block 1). Some blocks show actions and props that are difficult to interpret, and need further investigation (block 8 especially). In terms of dress, we see both figures with long robes and ones with short tunics, and headdresses and hairdos also come in several varieties. Those performers who need the ability to move freely (musicians, performers: blocks 2 and 3) wear short tunics. The sword swallower wears an earring, seems to wear their hair long underneath a type of skullcap with a diadem or headband, whereas the performer on top of the stairs wears a kind of cap with strands of hair protruding from the crown of the head and no earring. The second ‘acrobat’ also wears a type of diadem and an earring. Looking back at the İnandık vase, the scene on block 8 could represent dancing, as two sets of two figures face each other while holding a type of staff. Perhaps this dance is performed while holding on to this object? It should be noted that the figures on the left wear short tunics (conductive to dancing), whereas the figures on the

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<sup>121</sup> This relief is one of the most frequent depicted images of Hittite art and has become the canonical choice for depicting the king in his role as high priest.

right might not be dancing: their 'staff' is shorter and held up in the air, and at least one figure is wearing a long robe. We may also think of the example of two figures standing facing each other and playing the large harp together (İnandık A vase, Moore figure 38, p. 129). Either way, the figures at Alaca Höyük resemble ritual participants who carry out some sort of performance (music, dance, gesture with a symbolic object) that is carried out in pairs.

As listed by Aro, there are several more **figures at Alaca Höyük** that have been interpreted as representing the Hittite king.<sup>122</sup> Following her titulature for these reliefs, we can make the following observations concerning the building blocks of performance from those reliefs. Figure 5.26 shows the king in the 'king as Sungod' type (though without his lituus), making a variation on the clenched fist gesture.



*Figure 5.26, Alaca Höyük relief, showing a two-hand gesture towards a deity  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.9a, p. 521)*

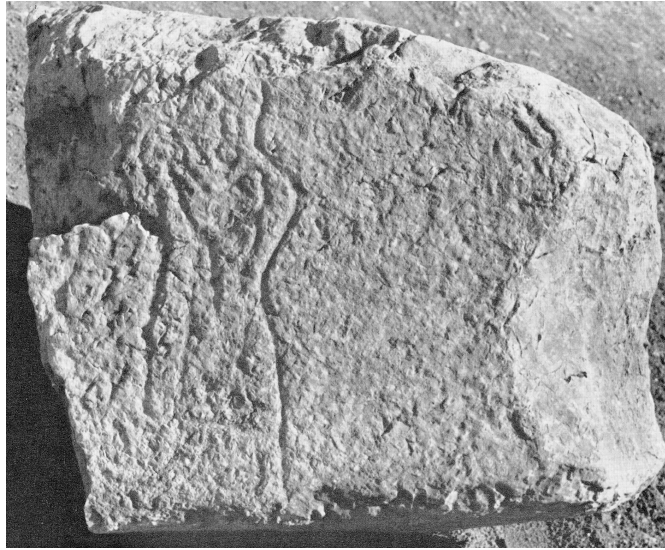
223

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<sup>122</sup> (Aro 2022, 529-534)



Aro likens the gesture, in which the king holds both hands together at chin height, to an incised male figure from the so-called *Quellgrotte* in Boğazköy (Lower City) that makes a similar gesture.<sup>123</sup>



*Figure 5.27, Relief from Boğazköy, showing a figure making the two-hand gesture  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.11, p. 537)*

The gesture is also known from later times in the SACC region.<sup>124</sup> Perhaps we should add this gesture to the repertoire of possible performance building blocks that could be used during Hittite festivals.

The following Alaca Höyük relief has become the canonical depiction of the king performing a ritual in front of an altar:

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<sup>123</sup> (Aro 2022, 529, 531-533)

<sup>124</sup> (Aro 2022, 529, n. 187)





*Figure 5.28, Alaca Höyük relief, showing king and queen in front of an altar  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.9b, p. 532)*

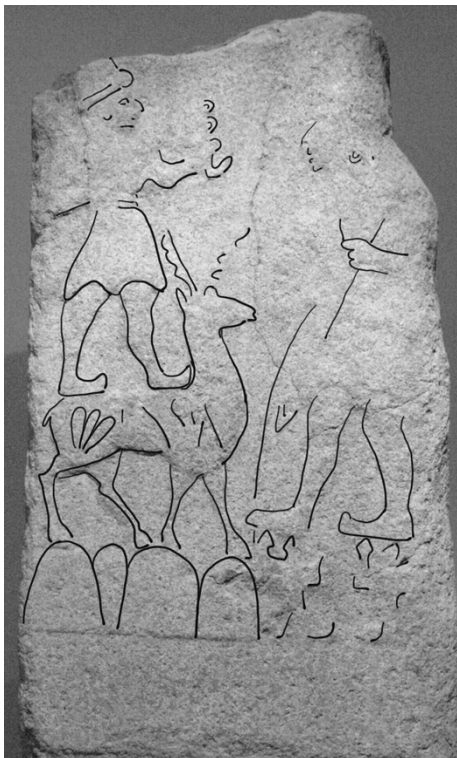
The block next to the altar (block 8), depicted the Stormgod in the form of a bull.



*Figure 5.29, Alaca Höyük relief, showing king and queen and other ritual performers in front of an altar  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.9c, p. 532)*

Figure 5.29 shows a fairly standard image, depicting the king in his 'king as Sungod' type, libating from the beak spouted pitcher.

Two cultic scenes depicted on the **reliefs from Altınyayla and Atabey**, show the entity offered to as standing on mountain tops, perhaps referring to a mountainous setting of the depicted rituals.



*Figure 5.30 (left) Altınyayla stele with an offerant standing on mountains  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.10a, p. 535)*

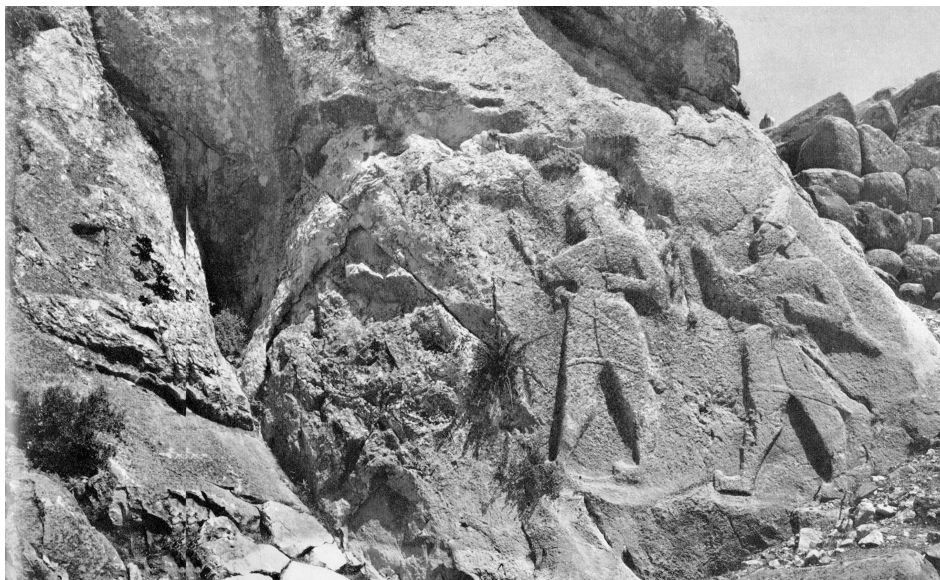


*Figure 5.31 (right) Atabey stele with an offerant standing on mountains  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.10b, p. 536)*

In the first case, the figure is libating for the Stag God Kuruntiya (figure 5.30). It is unclear whether the figure represents the king or someone else. The relief from Atabey (figure 5.31) shows

someone libating in front of a deity. Aro suggests this is the king, though his identification seems quite uncertain given the state of the relief.<sup>125</sup>

The **relief at Gavurkale** shows two relief figures in short dress, following the ‘king as warrior’ type, approaching a seated deity with clenched fists. The figures’ identities are disputed, and they have been called deities, kings or princes based on their facial hair (one is bearded, one is beardless) and horned hat.<sup>126</sup>



*Figure 5.32 Gavurkale relief with two figures making ‘clenched fist’ gestures  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.13, p. 540, Photo after Akurgal 1961, pl. 99)*

The well-known **relief at Fraktın**<sup>127</sup> also shows a scene of veneration, thus providing us with information on the possible building blocks of Hittite ritual performances. It is one of the few

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<sup>125</sup> (Aro 2022, 530)

<sup>126</sup> (Aro 2022, 538-540)

<sup>127</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 112-115; Harmanşah 2015, 103-106)

monuments that can somewhat securely dated, as it shows Hattusili III and his queen Puduheba.<sup>128</sup>



*Figure 5.33 Fraktın relief with hieroglyphic inscription known as FRAKTIN  
(van den Hout 2018, figure 13, p. 123)*

The royal pair libates to two deities, one male and one female. The king is depicted in the 'king as warrior' type, mirroring the deity he libates to. The deity is carrying the short throwing stick but, contrary to most depictions of the stick, it is not held with the curve forward as if ready to throw it. Whereas in Alaca Höyük we saw the king and queen offer to the bull-god together (or, more correctly, the king libating with his queen behind him), here at Fraktın, we see two parallel scenes: the king offers to the male deity in one part of the relief, whereas the queen actively libates to (the female deity) Hebat in another. Perhaps this is a reflection of certain ritual performances, during which such gendered distinctions were made. The male scene shows both the king and

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<sup>128</sup> See for instance (van den Hout 2018, 122), dating it 'ca. 1267-1240 B.C.'

the deity standing, a (wicker) altar in between them. The king's left hand clasps the bow. Hebat is sitting down, and another altar is visible between the deity and the queen, who is standing. Both altars have indications of a napkin or cloth hanging from the side of the altar, and some type of offering present on the altar itself. Both Hepat and the queen are wearing long robes and hats that might represent sundiscs, as seen from the side.<sup>129</sup>

A last category of reliefs that might provide information as to the building blocks of Hittite performance culture, are reliefs depicting banquet scenes (reliefs 65-66 from Yazılıkaya, the banquet relief block from Yağrı and a seated scene from an Alişar basalt stone).<sup>130</sup> Aro presents these examples of what might be depictions of either deities or the royal couple sitting down and enjoying a type of banquet, but she does not connect these to the 'gesture' of sitting down.<sup>131</sup> I think we need to think about sitting down as a performance gesture and about what that would have looked like were it captured in a depiction. Sitting down is connected to the Hittite concept of kingship: becoming a king, for instance, is performed by 'sitting down in kingship' (*haššuwizni ašatar*).<sup>132</sup> The Hittite enthronement ritual is called the 'festival of sitting (in kingship)' (*EZEN ašannaš*), though the particulars of this performance are unknown. Evidence from substitution rituals suggests that the basic building blocks of that performance would have been anointment with a special type of oil, the official bestowal of the title of king and putting on royal dress.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> I thank Petra Goedegebuure for this suggestion (personal communication), that what have been called hornless 'conical' hats at Fraktın, are not conical, but actually represent sundiscs as seen from the side. In this way, they are strikingly similar to the golden figurine of the seated goddess with child figurine (fig 5.52, now at the Metropolitan Museum). It would be interesting to look into all conical shaped hats depicted in Hittite iconography and see whether more of these could be sundiscs, rather than conical hats.

<sup>130</sup> (Aro 2022, 552-554)

<sup>131</sup> (Aro 2022, 552-554)

<sup>132</sup> For an overview of Hittite sources and scholarship see (Mouton 2014a, esp. 101-104). For the Early Iron Age counterpart of this expression, also reflected in iconography, see (Osborne 2012, 41-42).

<sup>133</sup> For the substitution rituals see (Yakubovich 2005).



Furthermore, Theo van den Hout has recently argued that the hieroglyphic Luwian sign (L 326) formerly read as SCRIBA, should actually be read as SELLA ('chair') and understood as a status-designating term meaning something along the lines of "grandee".<sup>134</sup> Van den Hout connects his thesis to the shape of the stool-like sign and the idea of "the throne as symbol of kingship and seat of government or that sitting on a chair or stool, especially in the king's presence, was a privilege of the ruling elite".<sup>135</sup> He cites several examples from Hittite texts implying the special honor of sitting down next to the king and rules about standing up when the king and queen sit down. This is a specific phenomenon to watch out for during the performance of the festival, especially during the great assembly after the day's rituals. All these types of evidence point towards the importance of the actual gesture of sitting down, both by the king and by others in his presence. As such, depictions of sitting down may also be interpreted as a type of 'performance' of kingship and referring to actual ritual performances during which this gesture by the king had a special meaning.

### 5.3.3 Vessel iconography versus relief iconography from a performance perspective

Relief iconography mostly shows us royal figures in veneration of the gods, whereas lively depictions of other ritual performers, such as the ones of the acrobats in Alaca Höyük remain rare. Since the king and queen do not actually do that much during the performances, the range of gestures or actions is likewise limited in reliefs. There is quite some difference in this sense

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<sup>134</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 341-374) Van den Hout's criticism of the reading 'SCRIBA' is supported by a new understanding of the sign (not yet published) by Petra Goedegebuure, whom I thank for sharing this idea with me: SELLA '*tuliyalla*' 'assembly', and SELLA-la '*tuliyalla*', meaning 'member of the assembly, high courtier'.

<sup>135</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 357)

with the Old Hittite relief vases: these showed a more varied array of performers, performance gestures and acts, as well as ritual props. In future studies, we should look into the possible consequences of this observation for understanding the use and efficacy of both types of media: the reliefs versus the old Hittite objects. As suggested above, the non-royal context of the vessels, the lack of royal attributes, the difference in choice of the depicted performers and performed actions, including the possible sexual innuendo, might point toward a different intended audience for these vessels. Their highly visual design, large size, as well as novel pouring design suggest a use for communal consumption in some sort of ritual or feast context. The reliefs on the other hand, seem to have had a different intended efficacy, being part of the multi-media offensive of the Hittite royal elite, combining depictions of kingship with religious performances and creating opportunities for memory-making.

#### **5.4 Objects with iconographic information as setting, prop, actor or audience**

Besides providing information on the building blocks of Hittite performances, the carriers of iconographic evidence were also used *during* performances. In the case of objects with iconographic depictions, these objects are often also props to be used during ritual performances. In the case of most images of deities or kings (either 2-D in the form of reliefs or 3-D in the form of statues), the performance role of the images is that of both setting and audience. In the case of votive statues, the image of the king could take on the role of actor.

### 5.4.1 Vessels

Some objects with iconographic depictions were possibly used as props during performances or given as offerings to gods during a ritual. These include the two silver vessels, as well as possibly the luxurious Old Hittite vases.

Glatz suggests that the performances depicted on the **Old Hittite relief vases** were enacted in the finding places of the ritual objects.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, she suggests that in Old Hittite times too, Hittite kings would have traveled and carried out cultic duties at different towns outside of the capital, and that these occasions would be portrayed on these vases.<sup>137</sup> As we have seen, there is no reason to necessarily assume the portrayal of any royal figure on these vessels, so that we cannot agree with Glatz' assessment that "The vases' decorative panels projected as well as instantiated Hittite kingship, its idealised social context, and divine relationships".<sup>138</sup> Their bright colors and size do point at their possible use as "centrepieces of cult acts and associated feasting".<sup>139</sup> The vases were rounded on the bottom, meaning that they could not have stood on their own, but likely were held up in a type of stand or hole. Glatz suggests that, if no pot stands were used, participants in the cult acts would have had to hold the vases upright. This would indeed have made for a direct and physical engagement with the object, making it possible – albeit uncomfortable – for the participants to look at the visual representations up close.<sup>140</sup> It should be noted that the vases, specially while holding liquid, would have been very heavy and difficult to balance, so that this scenario seems unlikely. As we will see, we do have textual

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<sup>136</sup> (Glatz 2020, 106)

<sup>137</sup> (Glatz 2020, 106-107)

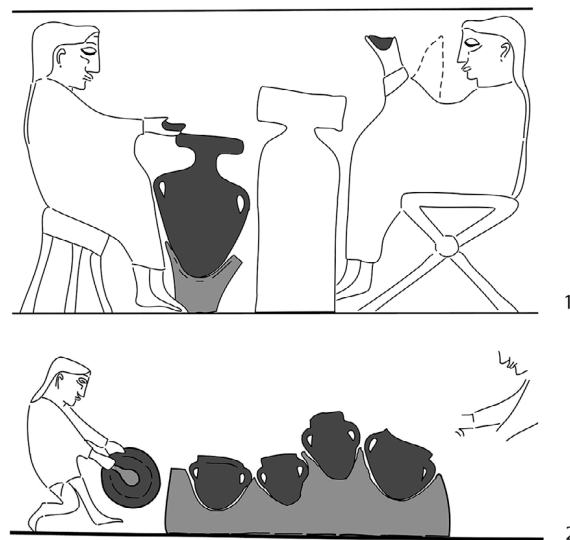
<sup>138</sup> (Glatz 2020, 105)

<sup>139</sup> (Glatz 2020, 105)

<sup>140</sup> (Glatz 2020, 105)



evidence for ‘pot stands’ being used in the celebration of Hittite festivals. Rather than risk breaking and spilling the luxurious vase and its contents (Glatz suggests beer), it seems more likely that the vase would have been held upright in a type of stand or partially buried, which would additionally have helped cool the liquid inside. The existence of pot stands is also corroborated from depictions on the vases themselves:<sup>141</sup>



*Figure 5.34, Drinking scene from the Inandik vase (upper registry) as well as cooking pots (lower registry), both showing stands for pots with rounded bottoms (Glatz 2020, figure 55, p. 249)*

The act of pouring liquid into the vessel seems to have been an important moment, given the elaborate construction with the bull-shaped spouts. As such, it might be interesting to consider the visibility and effects of the vases’ iconography, taking into account which figures would have been visible while liquid was poured into the vessel. For Hüseyindede vase A for instance, the liquid was poured directly above the panel with the dais and figurines, so that the figures on the

<sup>141</sup> For the drinking scene, Glatz refers to Glatz 2015; fig. 8.2; based on Mielke 2006b, 95; Abb. 76c, and for the cooking pots to Glatz 2015; fig. 8.3; based on Mielke 2006b, 84; Abb. 59.

other side of the vase would have been better visible than the ones covered by the body of the person pouring.<sup>142</sup> On the other hand, the pouring into the vessel was only part of the vessel's use, so that other panels may have been visible at other times.

The design at the rim of the vases is special, showing a main 'point of entrance' for the liquid and multiple bull-shaped spouts from which liquid would then flow into the center of the vase.



*Figure 5.35, Rim of Hüseyindede vase A, showing 4 bulls heads and one hole for pouring  
(Picture by Klaus-Peter Simon, Wikipedia Commons)*

Different interpretations exist of a possible connection to other zoomorphic cult objects (BIBRU and GÚ) and the tradition of ritually drinking (to) a god.<sup>143</sup> One interesting speculation that should be mentioned in this regard, is to look toward the textually attested expression “they make

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<sup>142</sup> (See figure 67 in Moore 2015, 142) For a more elaborate analysis, one would need to see all vessels in person.

<sup>143</sup> (Glatz 2020, 107, with references)

it rain" (*heun tarnanzi*<sup>144</sup>). Franca Pecchioli Daddi suggested that this expression, used in festival texts, refers to the action of pouring liquid into a ceremonial vessel, which would have sounded like rain.<sup>145</sup> As the expression is used in a festival concerned primarily with the Stormgod, the vessel's bull shaped spouts would be especially fitting. If Pecchioli Daddi's suggestion is correct, this would have implications for other performance elements during the ritual. James Burgin for instance suggests that music and dance would accompany the *heun tarnanzi* rain ritual<sup>146</sup>, but if the dripping of liquids is supposed to be heard by (at least some of) the participants, no music would be accompanying this part of the performance. Itamar Singer noted that this rain ritual only occurs with gods who are drunk to while standing.<sup>147</sup> This would have repercussions for the visibility of the vessels, if they indeed play a role in the rain ritual.

Aro refers to textual evidence to show that a lively tradition existed of "monumental votive statues representing the king".<sup>148</sup> Textual evidence also shows that separate body parts could be offered. As such, **the Boston fist** could be conceived as a type of offering in the form of a hand. In this case, the hand would have been specifically marked as belonging to someone who is privileged enough to use falcons for hunting, as Canby convincingly argues that the Boston fist is actually wearing a falconer's glove, which protects that part of the hand that would come in contact with the sharp claws of a hunting bird.<sup>149</sup> The reference to falconry can also be seen as containing some reference to the performance of an offer: in order to provide offers to the god,

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<sup>144</sup> For its attestation (Burgin's Ms 1 obv. 22) and a discussion, see (Singer 1983, 103; Burgin 2019, 32-33, 41-42).

<sup>145</sup> (Daddi 2010, 268)

<sup>146</sup> (Burgin 2019, 41ff)

<sup>147</sup> (Singer 1983, 103)

<sup>148</sup> (Aro 2022, 558)

<sup>149</sup> (Canby 2002, 169-170)

the offers needed to be hunted down. Furthermore, the visual depictions on the vessel itself seem to indicate that the offer was made to a goddess of the hunt, as well as the tutelary deity connected with falconry. As such, the vessel's shape again works together perfectly with the message depicted on its rim, and could have been part of an actual ritual performance. Van den Hout has convincingly argued that the fist was an offering by a royal woman.<sup>150</sup> Because we do not know the provenance of the vessel, it is impossible to say with any certainty how it was used. The 'hoard' of items it is part of, if they come from the same finding spot, may indicate their function as royal gifts to the temple in acts of conspicuous consumption and veneration.<sup>151</sup>

Two tentative suggestions can be made about the silver stag vessel and its performance context. Van den Hout has recently suggested that the hieroglyphic signs on the silver stag vessel should be read: "[right epigraph] Ms. So-and-so, [left epigraph] daughter of the country so-and-so".

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<sup>150</sup> (van den Hout 2018, esp. 124)

<sup>151</sup> (van den Hout 2018, 124-125)



Figure 5.36. Detail of the silver vessel in the form of a stag, showing hieroglyphic signs  
(van den Hout 2018, figure 4, p. 117)

This would imply that the silver vessel was once dedicated by a female royal to a goddess depicted on the vessel (or both the goddess and the tutelary deity).<sup>152</sup>

As argued by Ada Taggar-Cohen, a special role in the festival performances is held by the so-called NIN.DINGIR priestess. In each cultic event, there is only ever one NIN.DINGIR, and Taggar-Cohen suggests she is a royal princess, taking on a cultic role, especially in festivals that have a Hattic character.<sup>153</sup> In her cultic capacity, the NIN.DINGIR actually performs many of the same gestures and micro-rituals the king does:<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> (van den Hout 2018)

<sup>153</sup> (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 386)

<sup>154</sup> The NIN.DINGIR priestess also uses and wears many of the 'props' that usually designate royal status. She 'performs' her role as V.I.P. in the festival. (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 394)

It is quite illuminating that in several texts her performance is very similar to that of the king, mainly in traveling to different towns or locations in the vicinity of Ḫattuša using a carriage; also, during the rites, like him she is seen breaking the bread, drinking the gods and offering libations to the gods.<sup>155</sup>

Taggar-Cohen presents evidence showing the connection between the NIN.DINGIR priestess and her protective deity, <sup>d</sup>Zithariya, who is associated with the hunting bag (*kurša*) as well as the deity <sup>d</sup>Teteshapi, a goddess associated with wild animals and hunting.<sup>156</sup> I would therefore like to make the provisional suggestion that the royal woman dedicating the silver vessel to the goddess of hunt (and perhaps the tutelary deity) was indeed a woman holding the NIN.DINGIR position.

A second suggestion that I would like to make, and suggest as a topic for future research, is the potential importance of deer in Hittite ritual performances. Looking at the vessel in detail (see figure 5.20), one can see that the deer has a type of collar around its neck. This suggests that the depiction of the deer is associated with the taming of nature or hunt. The vessel can be compared to the relief from Yeniköy (near Alaca Höyük), which sees a very similar figure standing on top of a stag, also holding a throwing stick. Here, the extended clenched fist is not empty (as in the ‘clenched fist’ gesture), nor is it holding a hieroglyph: the deity is holding a bird used for hunting (likely a goshawk).<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 389-390)

<sup>156</sup> (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 390-391)

<sup>157</sup> (Canby 2002)



*Figure 5.37. Deity on a stag, holding a throwing stick and a goshawk  
(The Met Catalogue Beyond Babylon, item 106, p. 180)*

It seems to me that the occurrence of deer in these material contexts indicates both their symbolic values (already noticed in earlier scholarship<sup>158</sup>) as well as their importance for the performance of rituals. Anthropological scholarship, as well as performance studies, emphasizes the connection between ritual performance and hunt.<sup>159</sup> Following the line of thinking from those disciplines, as well as several examples that we have seen of Hittite disinterest in displays of military prowess, it would make sense to investigate further, the depiction of the king as ‘warrior’ and perhaps, to rename Aro’s second ‘type’ to ‘king as hunter’.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> (Collins 2003)

<sup>159</sup> E.g., (Schechner 2003, 67-68, 104-105; 2013, 221-224)

<sup>160</sup> This was also argued by Theo van den Hout at 67<sup>th</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Torino, 2021). A publication is forthcoming.

## 5.4.2 Reliefs

In addition to iconographical depictions, the great Hittite reliefs are also ‘landscape monuments’, since they are often found in a non-urban landscape throughout the territory of Hatti and its borderlands. As we have seen (5.3.1), there is a lively discussion on the efficacies of these iconographic reliefs and their contextualization in the landscape. Besides looking at reliefs and statues as the *settings* of a ritual performance, we should also take into consideration their potential role as an envisioned *audience* of ritual performances. In her treatise on Hittite iconoclasm, Petra Goedegebuure explains what the status of imagery was in Hittite culture:

... to summarize, the deity is not the image, although the image may be seen as an extension of the deity. As a consecrated image it is a trace of the deity, and also one of the meeting places with the deity, the locus of interaction between deity and human being. In front of the statue one could at least be sure that one’s ritual acts and prayers were noted, and the ritual practitioner also stood the best chance of being observed, literally, by the deity.<sup>161</sup>

In terms of performance, these images are not only settings, but also a representation of or a kind of portal to the envisioned audience. Not in the sense of the images *being* the audience, but in the sense that they were “evidence of the presence of the deity”. When Goedegebuure writes that an image “had become a portal through which the deity could act and through which one could reach the deity (if s/he was looking)”<sup>162</sup>, we are reminded of the increased use of virtual ‘portals’

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<sup>161</sup> (Goedegebuure 2012, 423)

<sup>162</sup> (Goedegebuure 2012, 423)



such as FaceTime and Zoom, also acting as portal through which another party can view what is happening somewhere else.

In the case of reliefs, in some special cases we have direct archaeological evidence that they were sites of veneration. As discussed by David Ussishkin, several Hittite and post-Hittite sites show evidence of consciously developed hollows or “cup-marks”, carved on the surface of monuments themselves or into the rock surrounding them.<sup>163</sup> Ussishkin’s survey shows the following distribution:

	<b>Monuments</b>
<b>Without cup-marks</b>	King’s Gate (Boğazköy); Eflatun Pınar; Gavurkale; Alaca Höyük; Fasillar statue; bull’s base (Karatepe)
<b>With cup-marks</b>	Fraktın <sup>164</sup> ; Sirkeli <sup>165</sup> ; Yazılıkaya; Lion’s Gate (Boğazköy); Zincirli statue on lionbase; Carchemish bull-base; Carchemish lion-base B25; B53a;

*Table 5.3, Monuments with and without cup-marks*

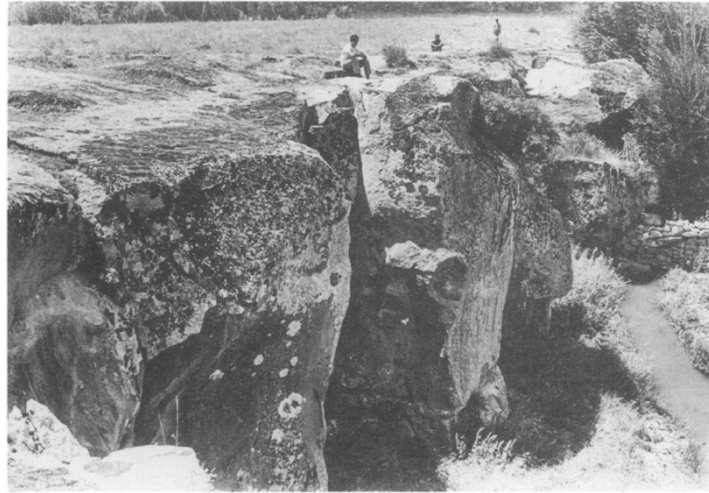
Ussishkin argues that there are three types of cup-marks, two of which are relevant for the Late Bronze Age material. The first type is found at the rock monuments of Fraktın, Sirkeli and perhaps Yazılıkaya. These hollows are high above the reliefs, situated in what Ussishkin calls a “rock-platform”, and used as receptacles for libations.

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<sup>163</sup> (Ussishkin 1975) Note that Ussishkin performed his survey in 1972, and was not able to inspect all the known monuments.

<sup>164</sup> Aro calls this an “ancestral cult place” (Aro 2022, 560), Glatz adds assemblages of feasting pottery to the arguments for Fraktın being a setting of ritual performance (Glatz 2020, 165-166), and see also Harmanşah (Harmanşah 2015, 103).

<sup>165</sup> Aro adds that this may have been a <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur*: (Aro 2022, 559)



*Figure 5.38, Cup-marks at the Fraktın rock relief  
(positions of the boys indicates cup-marks, the relief is below the boy on the left)  
(Ussishkin 1975, figures 1 and 3, p. 87)*

Ussishkin associates these specific attestations with the function of the reliefs as water-shrines. The hollows found at Yazılıkaya then, may be compared to the ones found by Bittel at the (rare) Hittite cemetery of Osmankaya, since the former is likely also associated with funerary purposes. The second type of cup-marks are associated with gates and lions: the Boğazköy lions as well as several statue bases from the SACC cities Zincirli and Carchemish (which I will leave aside here).



Figure 5.39 (left), Lion Gate figure with cup-marks  
(Ussishkin 1975, figure 12, p. 93)

Figure 5.40 (right), Lion Gate (reconstructed)  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)

The Boğazköy lion's front paws were constructed as a type of "platform", to be used as an offering table. The cup-marks then, would also have contained liquid from libations. We will see that there is more evidence for gates especially, as stages for the performance of rituals.

Of the Fraktın relief, Harmanşah argues that it could have been a <sup>NA4</sup>hekur for queen Puduhepa. If the Fraktın relief was indeed a <sup>NA4</sup>hekur, the monument would likely have been the setting of cult performances. As Harmanşah explains, the relief is associated with a large monumental building (at least 30 x 28 meters), cup marks, circular basins, and a nearby settlement mound (Fraktın Höyük) with Late Bronze Age ceramics and metal finds.<sup>166</sup> Other scholars too,

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<sup>166</sup> (Harmanşah 2015, 103-104)

have remarked that the headgear and clothing worn by the pair of deities is reflected by the royal pair, thus suggesting that the latter had already died and become gods themselves.<sup>167</sup>

As we have seen, several reliefs have been marked as settings for ritual performances by the presence of cup-marks. The absence of cup-marks is of course, not evidence that a relief was not a setting for a ritual performance. Other types of evidence have led scholars to consider non-cup marked reliefs to have been the setting of ritual performances as well. In essence, any relief could have been a ritual setting.<sup>168</sup> For the purpose and scope of this study, it makes sense to briefly look at the reliefs from Hattusa that have been considered as such: Yazılıkaya, Südburg, Temple 5, and the King's Gate.

**Yazılıkaya** is the rock-cut sanctuary about 1.5 kilometres from Hattusa's outer walls, consisting of three 'sections', referred to as room A, B and C.<sup>169</sup> The sanctuary is open air, since there were no roofs covering the rooms. The entrance was restricted by a gate structure, a small courtyard and a larger building structure with its own entrance, courtyard and several small rooms.

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<sup>167</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 115)

<sup>168</sup> For instance, monuments from Ussishkin's survey that do *not* have cup-marks, have still been considered settings of ritual performances: e.g., (Aro 2022, 538) on Gavurkale (perhaps a burial place or a NA4 *hekur*) and at Eflatun Pınar, Harmanşah points at the small votive bowls used for ritual purposes (Harmanşah 2015, 69).

<sup>169</sup> The most important and up to date information can be found in (Seeher 2011a). A summary can be found in (Seeher 2002).



Figure 5.41, Map of Yazılıkaya (rooms A, B, C) with associated building structures  
 (From Seher 2002, 112)



Figure 5.42, Panoramic picture of Yazılıkaya as seen from where the building structures would have been;  
 left room A, right the pathway to room B and C  
 (Thalia Lysen, June 2015)



Seeher suggests that the building structures would have been used for the preparations of rituals, including washing and changing into specific clothes (the ‘warm-up’), as well as ritual performances themselves, such as prayers and libations. The inner courtyard of the larger building contains a small structure that has been interpreted as an altar.<sup>170</sup>

The iconography in **Yazılıkaya Chamber A** — that is, 65 reliefs of gods, goddesses as well as one of Tuthaliya IV — reflects the ‘Hurro-Kizzuwatnean’ pantheon, at its head the Hurrian Stormgod Teššub (equated with the Hittite Stormgod) and his wife Hebat (equated with the Sungoddess of Arinna).<sup>171</sup>

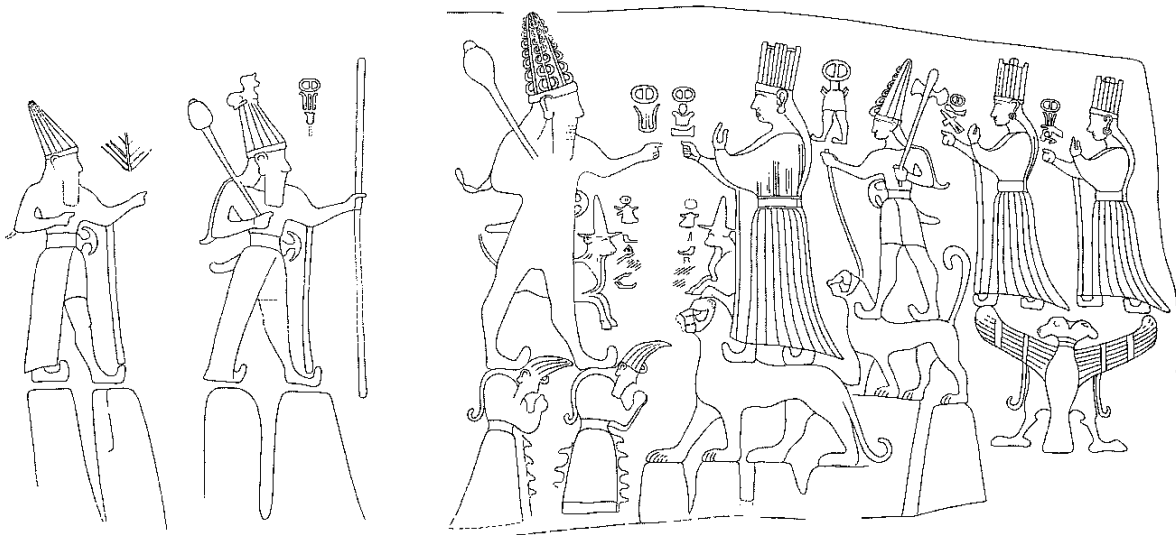


Figure 5.43, Line drawing of the central relief in Yazılıkaya room A: Teššub and Hebat (42 and 43 on the map)

(From Seeher 2011, figure (62), p. (64))

<sup>170</sup> (Seeher 2002, 113)

<sup>171</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 369) See also (Harmansah 2015, 111-113).

Schwemer describes chamber A of the sanctuary Yazılıkaya as “the cella of a sanctuary of the Storm God ... a venue for offerings to the whole Hurro-Hittite pantheon”.<sup>172</sup> Schwemer explains how no direct correlation has been found between the ritual texts and the deity gatherings depicted in the relief, even though the arrangement of the deities matches the known offerings in Hurro-Hittite festivals.<sup>173</sup> Again, we notice that the groups are divided by gender. Since the figures are deities and not humans, I have not included them in the previous section which concerned reliefs that provide information on the building blocks of Hittite performance culture. When comparing this gendered division to the Fraktın relief, we do see a repetition in this division. As such, we might take the division in the Yazılıkaya Chamber A relief as circumstantial evidence that Hittite festivals would sometimes have contained scenarios during which participants were divided by gender.

Room A has been the suggested setting for many textually attested rituals: the New Year’s festival, the KILAM festival and the coronation ritual. Scholars connect the building to the so-called “festival house” (É.EZEN<sub>4</sub>) or the *huwaši*-sanctuary of the Storm God (from the KILAM festival, see case study 2).<sup>174</sup> Besides the aforementioned procession, it also contains an image of Tuthaliya.<sup>175</sup>

Using Seeher’s plan of the space, we can make an estimated calculation of the available space to sit or stand in Room A: 210 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>176</sup> According to my formula, this means that about an

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<sup>172</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 369)

<sup>173</sup> (Schwemer 2022, 369)

<sup>174</sup> (Aro 2022, 564, with references)

<sup>175</sup> Aro compares this image to the (fragmented) image of the king at Ain Dara: (Aro 2022, 563)

<sup>176</sup> To make this calculation, I used the map in (Seeher 2011a, 112). I have drawn an artificial divide, lengthening the wall on the right side, so as to maintain visibility lines. In all likelihood, the available space would be even smaller, unless people were expected to touch the reliefs and sit in all the niches of the room.

averagely dense crowd of 262 people would fit inside, or a very dense crowd of 583 people. Tentatively, I would suggest that the whole niche area decorated with reliefs would have functioned as a type of ritual stage, so that participants not directly involved in libations and the like would be restricted to the area between the building and that stage area, which is only about 88 m<sup>2</sup>. This then would allow the spectators to look at the reliefs (just as the image of Tuthaliya is essentially doing) and for performers to move around on stage. The image of Tessub and Hebat would be the central background image in this scenario. This smaller audience area would allow for about 110 people (medium crowd).

	<b>Small crowd</b> 0.77 person/m <sup>2</sup> 1.3 m <sup>2</sup> /person	<b>Medium crowd</b> 1.25 person/m <sup>2</sup> 0.8 m <sup>2</sup> /person	<b>Dense crowd</b> 2.78 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.36 m <sup>2</sup> /person
<b>Whole of Room A (210 m<sup>2</sup>)</b>	162 people	262 people	583 people
<b>Likely spectator area (88m<sup>2</sup>)</b>	68 people	110 people	244 people

*Table 5.4. Estimate of crowd sizes at Yazılıkaya*

Much discussion exists on whose images exactly were displayed in **Room B at Yazılıkaya**, how many images there were, who commissioned them and whether or not this was an actual burial place or a <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur*.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> See for instance (Bonatz 2007, 116-118)





Figure 5.44, Yazılıkaya Room B (looking towards the entrance to Room C); left a row of deities of the Underworld, right the relief of the god Sarruma embracing Tuthaliya IV and the Sword God relief (Thalia Lysen, June 2015)

Van den Hout's scenario seems the most likely: Room B would have been the É.NA<sup>4</sup> 'Stone House' (dedicated to the body natural), whereas Nişantaş (see below) would have been the <sup>NA<sup>4</sup></sup>hekur (dedicated to the body politic).<sup>178</sup> As argued by Aro, these questions do not change the fact that "this space has a highly secluded and private character and could well have served as some sort of funeral temple or cult place for ancestors".<sup>179</sup> The space itself clearly restricts both physical and visual permeability.

<sup>178</sup> See for instance (van den Hout 1994, 48-52; 2002)

<sup>179</sup> (Aro 2022, 577)



*Figure 5.45, Yazılıkaya, entrance to Room B and C from the courtyard at Room A;  
on the left a demon relief, thought to protect the entrance  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

As such, it is an ideal setting for diacritical ceremonies. The main image is the famous *Umarmungsszene*, in which the god Sarruma embraces the king Tuthaliya, almost certainly Tuthaliya IV. This room may also have contained a freestanding statue of a king (see also below).<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> (Aro 2022, 576)





*Figure 5.46, Yazılıkaya room B relief of the Umarmungsszene between Šarruma and Tuthaliya;  
showing the king as Sungod type  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*



*Figure 5.47, King's Gate at Hattusa (reconstructed)  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

Even though the **King's Gate** did not show any cup-marks, scholars still connect this gate to the performance of rituals.<sup>181</sup> The extraordinary figure at the King's Gate, that is almost carved in the round, holds an axe that is almost exactly like the ceremonial axe from Şarkışla. We have already seen the archaeologically attested examples of ritual axes. Texts too, mention axes during the celebration of festivals (see for instance at the end of case study 2), although the king in that case is wearing his traditional priestly outfit, with shoes and earrings. Since we are not sure that the relief shows the king in a performance context, this relief has not been taken as evidence for researching Hittite performance culture (5.3). The figure does not correlate well with other depictions of the king while performing rituals: he is depicted close to the 'king as warrior' type, wearing a short skirt and a helmet with a long string of hair. However, the king is not wearing his pointy shoes and his chest is bare (if one inspects the relief from up-close, there is even some hair visible around the nipples). Despite the absence of a depicted deity, the figure does make the clenched fist gesture, which would point at some type of approach towards a deity. An alternative explanation would be that a hieroglyphic sign was 'held' by the hand, but is currently illegible<sup>182</sup>, or that it was supposed to have been carved there but was left unfinished.

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<sup>181</sup> See the forthcoming publication of Aro and Klinger: (Aro 2022, 537). For gates as settings of rituals in Anatolian culture, see: (Ussishkin 1970; Mazzoni 1997; Harmanşah 2013; Osborne 2014; Collins 2006; Miller 2012).

<sup>182</sup> A very tentative suggestion could be, that the name of the (current) king was written here, using some type of paint. I am eager to read the forthcoming publication by Aro and Klinger, to see if this suggestion might fit with their interpretation of the figure as "Hittite ancestor kings together in one body". (See below)



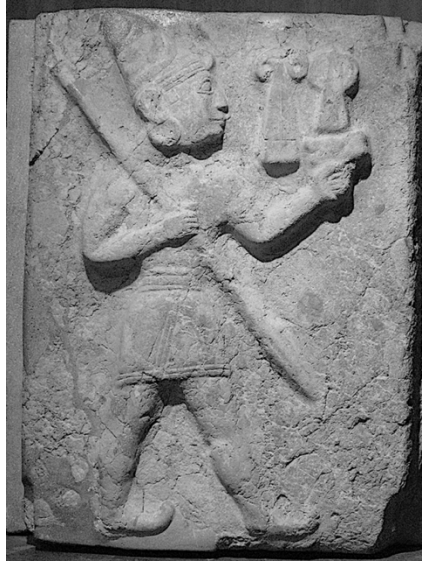
*Figure 5.48, Original King's Gate relief (now in Ankara)  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

In a forthcoming publication, Sanna Aro and Jörg Klinger argue that the figure represents “Hittite ancestor kings together in one body”.<sup>183</sup> Aro also suggests that the gate should be connected to the textually attested “gate of the king/kings”, so that it would have been the setting of processions. As we will see in the second case study (chapter 7), gates are indeed of major importance to processions during festival performances, and their location is contested. In the case of gates we are again confronted with a character of Hittite society that seems contradictory to our own instincts. As Jared Miller writes:

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<sup>183</sup> (Aro 2022, 537)

Hittite texts mention the city-gate only rarely in connection with what modern researchers would consider to be its primary function, military defence, but rather much more often in connection with rituals, festivals and above all with what one might term the projection of royal authority and power.<sup>184</sup>



*Figure 5.49, Relief figure of Tuthaliya from temple 5 temenos area (now in Çorum)  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.15, p. 550)*

The relief of a king belonging to the **Temple 5** temenos area has also been connected to the King's Gate.<sup>185</sup> The gate and the temple are located close to one another and stylistically too, they are close.<sup>186</sup>

The figure on the relief is of the 'king as warrior type', wearing a horned helmet, a large earring, the short tunic and pointy shoes, and carrying a type of spear in the one hand using his other hand to "hold" his name in hieroglyphics: Great King Tuthaliya. The relief could indicate that the building was the setting of rituals for an ancestor cult, either for an early Tuthaliya

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<sup>184</sup> (Miller 2012, 675)

<sup>185</sup> (Bonatz 2007, 119)

<sup>186</sup> (Aro 2022, 547-548)

(Tuthaliya I) or a later one, depending on what period the building (and the whole Upper City) is dated too, and when we expect this relief block to have been inserted into the temple.<sup>187</sup>

The ongoing discussion about the **Südburg monument**<sup>188</sup>, containing a relief of a king Suppiluliuma (room 2) and a depiction of what is generally thought to be a Sungod, makes it difficult to decide what role this monument would or could have played as a setting for ritual performances in the Hittite capital. The Suppiluliuma depicted is of the 'king as warrior' type, wearing a rather long cone-shaped horned hat with a long braid or ribbon protruding from the top, reminiscent of the strains of hair protruding from the one of the Alaca Höyük acrobat figures. Besides the usual short tunic and pointy shoes, the figure holds a bow over his shoulders and a long spear, in front of him. If the monument was used in ceremonies (without restrictions to its visual permeability), its size does point to a significant restricted physical permeability. As such, it is again an excellent setting for diacritical ceremonies and the conscious use of space to delineate social hierarchies during performances.

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<sup>187</sup> (Aro 2022, 548-549; Bonatz 2007, 119)

<sup>188</sup> See (Aro 2022, 549-552), with references. She concludes: "we must admit our ignorance... the function of this structure escapes us". (Aro 2022, 552) See also (Bonatz 2007, 121)





*Figure 5.50 (left), Südburg (room 2); left Suppiluliuma relief, centre Sungod relief, right hieroglyphic inscription  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

*Figure 5.51 (right), Südburg (room 2), Suppiluliuma relief  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.16, p. 551)*

### 5.4.3 Statues

A last category of archaeological material that is possibly of interest to our analysis of Hittite performance culture, are freestanding statues. In terms of what the images likely represented for the Hittites themselves, there is no ontological difference between images in 2-D, as in the reliefs,



or 3-D.<sup>189</sup> But because the latter category is almost non-existent in the archaeological record, it bears some clarification and is presented here as a separate category of evidence. Depictions of kings and deities, in the form of statues large and small, could have been the object of veneration during ritual performances. Textual evidence refers for instance to imagery of a deceased king during festival celebrations (see case study 1), and the importance of the effigy of the king during his funeral.<sup>190</sup> Furthermore, the texts indicate that offerings to deceased royals (the ancestor cult) were made to images that were kept in various temples.<sup>191</sup> Some texts provide a bit more detailed information, for instance about the golden statue Hattusili I claims to have erected in the temple of the Sungoddess of Arinna<sup>192</sup> or the statue of the king (restored by the Sungod and the Stormgod) that was made using tin and iron and that specified the characteristics of the depiction as having eagle eyes and lion teeth.<sup>193</sup> One example that we will also come across in case study 1 is the statue of Hattusili I that is part of the performance setting in the celebration of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival. In this context, scholars also often refer to the ancestral ‘images’ (GIDIM.ḪI.A) that Muwatalli II would have transported from Hattusa to Tarhuntassa when the latter became the new Hittite capital. Apparently, these images were important enough to warrant such an expedition. In terms of their performance role, votive statues, also known from the texts<sup>194</sup>, have a different position than statues that were the object of ancestor cults. Votive

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<sup>189</sup> For a discussion on the ontological status of deity images, see for instance (Goedegebuure 2012; Cammarosano 2018, 61-63).

<sup>190</sup> For references see (Aro 2022, 546)

<sup>191</sup> (Aro 2022, 546-547)

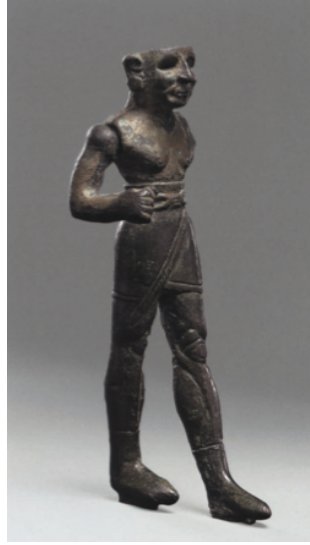
<sup>192</sup> As Aro explains, the interpretation of this bilingual texts depends on whether one believes the Hittite or the Akkadian to be the original: if it was the Akkadian, the statue is likely not a statue of the king himself, but refers simply to ‘a’ golden statue he commissioned for the goddess. (Aro 2022, 555-556)

<sup>193</sup> (Aro 2022, 524, with references to CTH 414)

<sup>194</sup> E.g., the Hattusili statue mentioned by Puduhepa in a Prayer for the Goddess Lelwani: (Aro 2022, 557)

statues would have been either ‘props’ in a ritual performance, or, a type of stand-in actor. As argued by Aro, the gestures made by these statues would have had a continuous effect, constantly repeating the performance to the deity (and those looking at the statue after its dedication).<sup>195</sup>

Besides textual attestations in the cuneiform record, there are several indications in the archaeological and hieroglyphically inscribed record indicating that Hittites would have had freestanding statues, which would have been offered to during their ritual performances. We have several examples of small statuettes in precious metals, ivory and crystal, such as the smiting god figurines, mountain gods and other god statuettes, the crystal child figurine and the golden pendant with a seated goddess with child.<sup>196</sup>



*Figure 5.52 (left), Golden figure of seated goddess (perhaps Arinna) with child (The Met Museum website)*

*Figure 5.53 (middle), Bronze figure of striding male (now in Berlin) (The Met Catalogue Beyond Babylon, fig. 104, p. 178)*

*Figure 5.54 (right), Rock crystal figure of a child (Wikipedia Commons)*

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<sup>195</sup> (Aro 2022, 544)

<sup>196</sup> E.g., (Aruz, Benzel, and Evans 2008, 177-178; Özyar 2006; Canby 1986).

The only extant example of a large Hittite statue is the torso found at Alaca Höyük, to which Aro adds a number of either damaged or unfinished pieces of statuary, among which colossal torso found at Yalburt, another colossal statue and two lion pedestals.<sup>197</sup> Based on these, as well as evidence from MBA Ebla and the EIA SACC cities, Aro suggests that the Hittites might have already had a tradition of freestanding statues with images of king standing on double lion pedestals.<sup>198</sup>

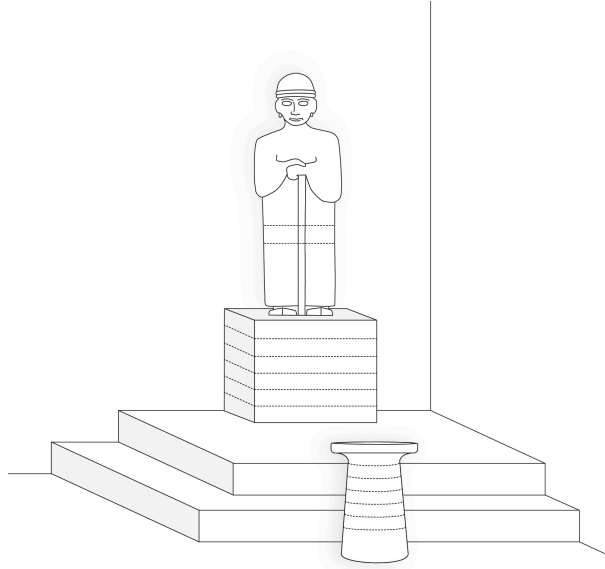
An intriguing suggestion made by Aro about the Emirgazi assemblage (see also above on the altars), also has repercussions for Nişantaşı. Aro explains how the tradition of the ancestor cult seems to have changed towards the empire, when kings Tuthaliya and Suppiluliuma started commissioning commemorative monuments of themselves or their fathers to be set up at the <sup>NA4</sup>*hekur*.<sup>199</sup> Aro suggests a tentative reconstruction for the EMIRGAZI inscriptions, the statue base and the altars:

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<sup>197</sup> (Aro 2022, 541-542; Bonatz 2007, 118-119)

<sup>198</sup> (Aro 2022, 542)

<sup>199</sup> (Aro 2022, 571)



*Figure 5.55, Reconstruction of the Emirgazi monument  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.23, p. 573, drawing by Maija Holappa)*

Aro likens the ‘self-introduction’ of the king in the EMIRGAZI inscription to examples of texts (KBo 12.38), Hittite reliefs (Muwatalli II, Sirkeli, an orthostat from Ain Dara) and inscriptions (NIŞANTAŞ) that use a type of ‘self-introduction’: either by starting with the phrase “I (am) so and so” or by starting with the EGO/EGO<sub>2</sub> sign, which includes a gesture of pointing to oneself followed by a name. In this way, Aro makes sense of the evidence that we have as a coherent, ‘integrated’ unity.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> For the term ‘integrated’, see (Osborne 2014, 200): “several different monuments — buildings, stelae, statues, wall reliefs — being not merely isolated objects spread across the city, but rather components of a single construction effort whose connectedness can be identified both from their content (artistic image or textual record) and by their physical location (aligned along lines of sight, streets and so on)”.

Aro argues that the **Niřantařı** rock outcrop would, similarly to Emirgazi, have featured a freestanding statue associated with the inscribed texts.

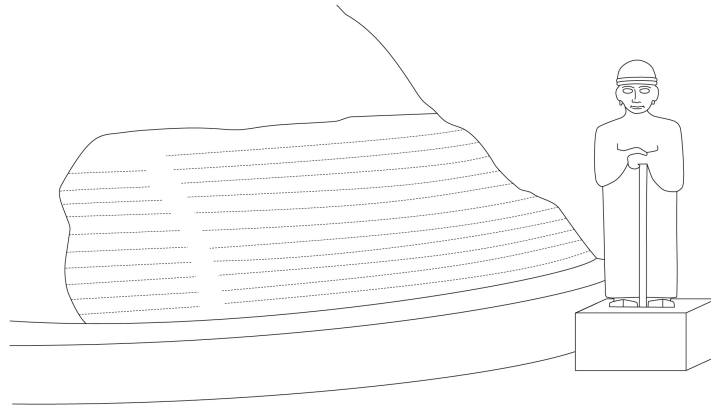


*Figure 5.56, Niřantařı rock at Hattusa  
(Thalia Lysen, June 2015)*

This then introduces a marked ‘performance’ setting, including both inscriptions and a freestanding statue into a central location within the Hittite capital.<sup>201</sup> Aro envisions the monument like this:

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<sup>201</sup> (Aro 2022, 573-575)



*Figure 5.57, Reconstruction of the Nişantaşı monument  
(Aro 2022, fig. 11.24, p. 575, drawing by Maija Holappa)*

The area of Nişantaşı is close to the citadel and as such, it is likely that parts of the performance moving towards or away from the citadel would have passed by this monument. If we accept Aro's suggestion, the performance setting of Hittite festivals (at least those celebrated during the reign of Suppiluliuma II) would now include monuments with visual representations of the Hittite king as well as associated inscriptions, which themselves likely referred to cult performances. The question remains of course, what the physical and visual permeability of Nişantaşı would have been. If it were (at least partially) public, the scenario is quite similar to the types of interactions between cult performance, performance settings and inscriptions that are the focus of Gilbert's analysis of Carchemish and Zincirli (see chapter 3). Aro, however, argues against a public setting for Nişantaşı, comparing it to Yazılıkaya as a space only for the private royal ancestor cult.<sup>202</sup> I wonder why the Nişantaşı monument would have been constructed where it was, if it was supposed to have been only accessible to royal participants in the ancestor cult.

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<sup>202</sup> (Aro 2022, 577)

Would not the citadel have provided other opportunities for rocky outcrops, with the added bonus of being located within the citadel walls, thus automatically excluding the greater public from entering or witnessing what happened inside? With the risk of using circular reasoning, Nişantaşı especially, the location of the monument and its visual clues (inscriptions and —if one were to follow Aro’s suggestion — iconography,) seems like a perfect setting for a mostly accessible part of a ceremony, or a meaningful ‘waystation’ to pass in a procession, having effects on the participants both during the moment, as well as after the performance is over. We should take into account the possibility of Nişantaşı as a ‘setting’ with marked meanings about kingship and ancestry when analyzing Hittite performances within the capital.

As the statues of Hittite kings could have received offerings, they would have been both settings and a type of ‘audience’ for ritual performances. There is one more statue (known through circumstantial evidence) that could have functioned in a similar way: the statue of Tuthaliya IV presumed to have stood on the stone base in room B at Yazılıkaya.<sup>203</sup>

Regarding the visibility of these images to the greater public, Aro holds a rather conservative opinion. Mainly, she argues for a limited physical and visual permeability of the statues. About the images of the king used in the ancestor cult she writes that they “seem to have been accessible only to the living king and those who were initiated as priests and were observing rules of purity”.<sup>204</sup> On the other hand, the general public may have been able to catch glimpses of these images:

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<sup>203</sup> (Aro 2022, 576; Bonatz 2007, 116-117)

<sup>204</sup> (Aro 2022, 546)

Set up in temple cellas in front of divine cult images, such votive statues of the king were not aimed at public viewers, at least not directly. The indirect effects, i.e. people knowing about such precious images, both royal and divine, through hearsay and/or having been able to cast a glimpse in audience during religious festivals when processions passing by with images carried around, should be studied in more detail.<sup>205</sup>

By emphasizing the limited permeability of the images, Aro claims to contradict Van den Hout and Görke, who see propagandistic aims in the creation of the statues.<sup>206</sup> This seems to me a continuation of the overly simplistic criticism that Görke's work on Hittite processions received. Simply put, the discussion should not come down to the question of whether a performance (or a statue) was 'public' or 'not public'. The greatest social and political effects are created in manipulating the performance to maneuver between 'public' and 'private' spaces: when there is a notable shift between what could be seen and what can no longer be seen, when there is a chance to see something 'exclusive', but only briefly, when one can perceive with one sense what one cannot with the other senses.

In this chapter, I presented a survey of Hittite performance culture as seen from the material side. This was not an exhaustive analysis, but it shows how we can use a performance-oriented approach in studying Hittite material evidence, taking into consideration those questions and concerns that are relevant specifically in studying the performance aspects of Hittite society. As

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<sup>205</sup> (Aro 2022, 556-557)

<sup>206</sup> (Aro 2022, 556, n. 331)



explained above, it is impossible to distinguish between evidence bearing upon performance culture in general or upon festival performances specifically. As we will see, some of the outcomes of this chapter, especially the use of the crowd density formula, are useful, interdisciplinary tools, to also help in the interpretation of festival performances specifically. Future studies should look more extensively at the ways in which space, visual culture, and performance could have worked together. In this chapter, I showed some possible avenues where these tools of impression management may have overlapped and reinforced one another.

## Chapter 6 Case study 1: 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM

### festival

*ašešni=wa marnuwan*

*“Marnuwan-beer for the congregation!”*

*— (possibly) the Hittite king, during the 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival*

*(KBo 4.9, rev. VI 3; BZ §71, 3; b.A VI)<sup>1</sup>*

In this chapter and the next, I analyze case studies from the Hittite festival tradition, using the performance-oriented approach developed earlier in the book. The aim of these chapters is to categorize the different performance aspects of the festival celebration, so as to find answers to *how* the festival was performed (and to test the method used to do so). As I have explained in the introduction, the study of Hittite examples of performance culture could benefit from an approach that looks like a Geertzian ‘thick description’ (see 1.3). Essentially this means that scholars develop a collection of examples of human cultural behavior, which are weighed for significance or arbitrariness. In this chapter and the next, I will therefore describe rather than explain. In order to start this collection of performance behavior, I analyze the texts to find the essential building blocks that make up the performance, such as the stage, the performers, the props, and what actions are being performed. Another way of framing the method used in this chapter is to say that I will turn the edition of the cuneiform record by Enrico Badalí and Christian

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<sup>1</sup> (Badalí and Zinko 1989)

Zinko (see below) into a categorized overview that one could use to prepare for a celebration of the festival day.

As I have discussed in previous parts of this book (see 1.3 and 1.4), the question of *how* a performance is celebrated is intricately connected to the other question I am interested in: *why* were performances orchestrated in this way, that is, what effects were expected or hoped to come about by these performances? By looking at the specific constellation of performance building blocks, as well as comparing the building blocks and their application in both case studies, I aim to highlight which effects seem to have been particularly frequent or important. Reflections on the *why* question will inevitably pop up during my discussion of the specific case studies, but they will be discussed more elaborately in this study's synthesis (chapter 8).

The cuneiform record of this festival, as of others, is not complete or self-evident. As such, I also aim to make explicit what elements of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival are still poorly understood, and in some cases, I suggest solutions to these problems (see 6.7).

### **6.1. Introduction: dating, edition, outline**

As a first case study for the performance-oriented approach of the Hittite festival tradition, we turn to the celebrations of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM spring festival, specifically the festival events taking place on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of that festival., which was celebrated in the Hittite capital, Hattusa. The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival was a spring festival dedicated to the Sungoddess of Arinna and the deities of Ḫatti land, and took place at the beginning of the new year. It belongs to the so-called *Reisefeste* or traveling festivals, since the king traveled from Hattusa to perform the festivities in other

important ritual centers of the Hittite core land.<sup>2</sup> Its celebration took up 38 days, and a summary of the festival can be found in outline tablet KBo 10.20.<sup>3</sup> The celebration of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival is one of the best preserved and thus better-known parts of this 38-day festival. In terms of mayor cultic events, this day does not seem to have been witness to one of the more significant features, such as the opening of storage vessels of the Stormgod of Zippalanda and Hatti (which happens on days 5 and 12 of the festival) or the symbolic burying of the ‘year’ (day 11).<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of trying out the performance-oriented approach, I am concentrating on just this one day of the larger festival. In some cases, I have consulted texts concerning other days of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival so as to complement our understanding of the 16<sup>th</sup> day. A future performance-oriented study would be necessary to fully analyze and contextualize this one day in relation to the rest of the festival.<sup>5</sup>

The AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival was named after the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup>, a spice or vegetable plant, presumably fennel or crocus.<sup>6</sup> King Mursili II states that it was his father Suppiluliuma I (1350-1322) who established the festival.<sup>7</sup> However, as noted by Volkert Haas, there are indications that the festival was already celebrated before Suppiluliuma’s time.<sup>8</sup> Specific micro rituals, that is, smaller sections of the ritual that can be considered one ritual ‘unit’, (in this case: a libation ritual concerning baked goods called ‘*današ*’) mentioned in the festival can be connected

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<sup>2</sup> For an introduction to the festival, see (Haas 1994, 772-826).

<sup>3</sup> For the edition see (Güterbock 1997). See also below.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., (Haas 1994, 792).

<sup>5</sup> I look forward to Charles Steitler’s forthcoming study on and edition of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival.

<sup>6</sup> (Haas 1994, 772, following Water Farber, n.1)

<sup>7</sup> KUB 19.2 and the (damaged) fragment KBo 14.42 from the Deeds of Suppiluliuma state that Mursili’s father ‘A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ URU<sup>U</sup> *Hat-ti* Û A-NA DUTU URU<sup>U</sup> *TÚL-na* AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> *da-iš*’. See (Haas 1994, 772-773).

<sup>8</sup> (Haas 1994, 772-773)

to Muwatalli II (1295-1272) and Tudḫaliya IV (1237-1209).<sup>9</sup> Thus, the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival was probably celebrated throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Besides looking at the festival tradition as a whole, there are also methods to date a specific Hittite text, that is, the textual carrier that preserves the instructions for the celebration of the festival tradition at a specific point and time. Within Hittitology, many scholars have looked towards the characteristics of the text (the type of writing and especially the specific forms of the cuneiform signs) to date the text carrier. Based on the characteristics of the sign forms, scholars assign a cuneiform tablet (or fragment) to one of three script types: Old Script, Middle Script, New Script. This dating method, which is called 'paleographic dating' has come under scrutiny in the last few years and there is no longer consensus on the absolute dating of the earliest Hittite text group.<sup>10</sup> To reiterate the point made when discussing the function of Hittite festival texts (see chapter 4), this research focuses on the actual manifestations of the festival tradition, more so than on the text carriers that preserved it. Hittites had a living and continuously changing tradition of festival celebrations. Although it would be interesting for future research purposes to pinpoint dates to specific textual carriers on which information about the celebrations is conserved, our focus here is on the content of the carriers, that is, the *how* and *why* of the celebrations themselves. Thus, I follow Theo van den Hout's suggestion to distinguish only between Old Script (OS) for the period of ca. 1650-1400/1350 BCE and New Script (NS) for the last part of Hittite written history, ca.1350-1200 BCE.<sup>11</sup> The tablets that contain instructions for the 16<sup>th</sup> day have been

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<sup>9</sup> (Haas 1994, 773-774)

<sup>10</sup> See for instance (Archi 2003); (Archi 2010, 37-46); (van den Hout 2009a, 11-35); (van den Hout 2009b); (Weeden 2011, 42-52)

<sup>11</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 21)

analyzed, edited and published by Badalı and Zinko (henceforth BZ) in their 1989 *'Der 16. Tag des AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes'*.<sup>12</sup> Concerning the date of the texts, BZ argue that they are new Hittite copies of older texts. As evidence for this dating, they list the use of the expression *'ANA GIŠ.HUR=kan ḫandan'* (see below), the use of old Hittite sign forms for the cuneiform signs /li/, /az/ and /uk/, a relative frequent use of the conjunction *'ta'* (according to their count, *'nu'* is used twice as often) and Hittite syllabic writings for concepts that could be expressed with sumerograms. Lastly, the three columns of the tables would point at a new Hittite dating for the texts.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the texts would fall into the category of *'New Script'* according to a biparte division.

BZ believe that differences between copies or text groups could be explained due to editions made in the time of Tudḫaliya IV.<sup>14</sup> Two of the four remaining colophons to the 16<sup>th</sup> day mention the editorial expression *'ANA GIŠ.HUR=kan ḫandan'*, one colophon has no such expression after stating it is the third tablet, and the last one is broken. Following a newly envisioned editorial scheme, van den Hout argues that *'ANA GIŠ.HUR=kan ḫandan'* means the festival text was a copy made from the archetype text ("true to/collated against the original"), which was intended to contain all the proper rules and rituals for a correct performance of the festival.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> (Badalı and Zinko 1989) To make it easy for non-Hittitologists to go back and forth between the published edition and this book, I will refer as much as possible to the paragraph numbers as listed in the BZ volume (e.g., §8), and only refer to the specific Hittite text and fragment by KBo or KUB number when necessary, e.g., to discuss a hapax (a word that is only attested once) or infrequent word or a difficulty in the understanding of the text.

<sup>13</sup> (Badalı and Zinko 1989, 10, 86) Waal notes that three-columned festival texts occur from the OH period onwards, but become more frequent with time. Of the three-columned festival texts (212 texts), 96.2% (204 texts) have been designated (late) New Script. (Waal 2015, 86).

<sup>14</sup> (Badalı and Zinko 1989, 8 and n. 8). For the tablets used to make the edition see (Badalı and Zinko 1989, 7-8).

<sup>15</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 188-195, esp. 195) For a different view, see (Waal 2015, 165-7), who translates *'matched with a wooden tablet'*. It would be interesting to look further into the differences between copies designated *'ANA GIŠ.HUR=kan ḫandan'* (KBo 4.9, BZ's b.A and KUB 25.1, BZ's c.B) and ones that have no such editorial designation (KUB 2.5, BZ's c.A), as this could tell us more about the editorial process and the kinds of things that were changed from one version to the next.

The outline tablet KBo 10.20 (published by Hans G. Güterbock) gives us the following summary of celebrations on the 16th day of this festival:<sup>16</sup>

(32) *lukkatti=ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL INA É<sup>D</sup>U *pānzi*

(33) *nu sallī ašešša[r I]NA É<sup>D</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub>=ma* EZEN.x[... ]

(34) *īyanzi nu 10* UDU.ĪI.A *hūkanzi nu=kan* UZU<sup>š</sup>su[*ppa*]

(35) *danzi n=at PANI DINGIR-LIM tianzi* UDU.ĪI.A=*wa*

(36) *hūmanduš INA É.GAL.LIM EGIR-pa danzi*

(37) 1 UDU=*ma=kan ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM dāliyanzi*

(38) GAL.ĪI.A=*ma=kan ŠA* EZEN.ITU.KAM *aššanuwanzī*

(39) *IŠTU DINGIR-LIM kiššan handaittat*

On the next day, the king (and) queen go into the temple of the Storm-god.

A great assembly takes place. In the temple of Zababa they perform the festival(s).

They slaughter ten sheep, take the meat and put it before the god. They take all the sheep back to the palace, but one sheep they leave in the temple.

They set up cups of the Festival of the Month;

thus it was determined by the deity.

(KBo 10.20, col. ii 32-39)

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<sup>16</sup> Edition by Güterbock (Güterbock 1997, 93-6), the modern sign readings, bound transcription and translation are my own.

Interestingly, this outline does not map neatly onto the actual festival text. By way of example, sheep are only mentioned once in the extensive instructions for 16<sup>th</sup> day festival text:<sup>17</sup>

(12) (...) *šuppa hūešu*

(13) ŠA GU<sub>4</sub>.MAH ŠA GU<sub>4</sub>ÁB<sup>H<sub>1</sub>A</sup> ŠA UDU<sup>H<sub>1</sub>A</sup>

(14) Û ŠA MÁŠ.GAL<sup>H<sub>1</sub>A</sup> *ištanani*

(15) *piran PANI DINGIR-LIM šanī pidi tianzi*

They place raw meat

of a bull, of cows, of sheep

and of goats at the altar

in front of the god, in the same place.

(§8, 12-15 b.A I; KBo 4.9, 12-15)

Though the sheep mentioned here are plural, they are not said to be ten. Furthermore, they are mentioned in a sequence of other meat offerings, and no mention is made of some sheep being taken to the palace, and one remaining at the temple.

What is more, the elaborate description of the 16<sup>th</sup> day does not mention a visit to the temple of the Stormgod by the royal couple, nor a great assembly, both of which are mentioned in the first lines of the outline. The outline seems to imply that the actual festival celebrations

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<sup>17</sup> Paragraph division and edition by (Badali and Zinko 1989), translation by the author.



(EZEN<sub>4</sub>) took place in the temple of Zababa. We will see that this correlates with the long description of the 16<sup>th</sup> day, most of which is set in that temple.

One explanation for the discrepancy between the outline tablet and the elaborate instructions would be that the necessity (and proper performance) of a visit to the temple of the Stormgod and a great assembly were considered self-evident and thus, they were not described in the elaborate description. As visits to the temple of the Stormgod and great assemblies happen on quite a few days of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the elaborate description of the 16<sup>th</sup> day would focus just on the specificities of that particular day.<sup>18</sup> This explanation fits well with James Burgin's understanding of different festival texts being composed for the benefit of different organizing or performing parties within the festival tradition: his 'functional differentiation'.<sup>19</sup> Another possible, though less likely explanation would be that the outline and the elaborate description do not reflect a performance of the festival in the same period: the visit to the temple of the Stormgod, the great assembly and the emphasis on sheep sacrifices could show an earlier or later envisioned rendering of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the festival. This is a larger variety over time than we would expect, given the importance of correctly performing the festivals (see chapters 1 and 4).

For the purpose of this chapter, I focus on just those parts of the festival performance that are preserved in the text as edited by BZ. In an ideal situation, we would be able to understand more fully how the actions described in that text are related to other events happening on the same day, as well as to the rest of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival. As I have stated in the introduction,

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<sup>18</sup> Such visits and assemblies happen on days 1, 2, 3, 7, 10, (perhaps 17), 37, 38. (Haas 1994, 782-826)

<sup>19</sup> See (Burgin 2019), as well as chapter 4.1.1.

this book aims to move forward the discussion and analysis of Hittite performance culture, but I cannot claim to do so in an exhaustive way. This would first require a “complete” publication record of all Hittite texts referring to performance behavior — in as far as we can speak of “complete”, since new texts are still being found — and furthermore, such an analysis would necessarily be the undertaking of many scholars over many years.

## 6.2 Setting or stage

The festival activities of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival take place in Hattusa, in and near the *halentu*-building and the temple of the god Zababa. The festival starts out from the *halentu*-building, from where the king makes his way to the temple of Zababa. The king then returns to the *halentu*-building and moves once more to the temple of Zababa, where the lion's share of the festivities take place. The location of both these stages of performance within the Hittite capital are uncertain.

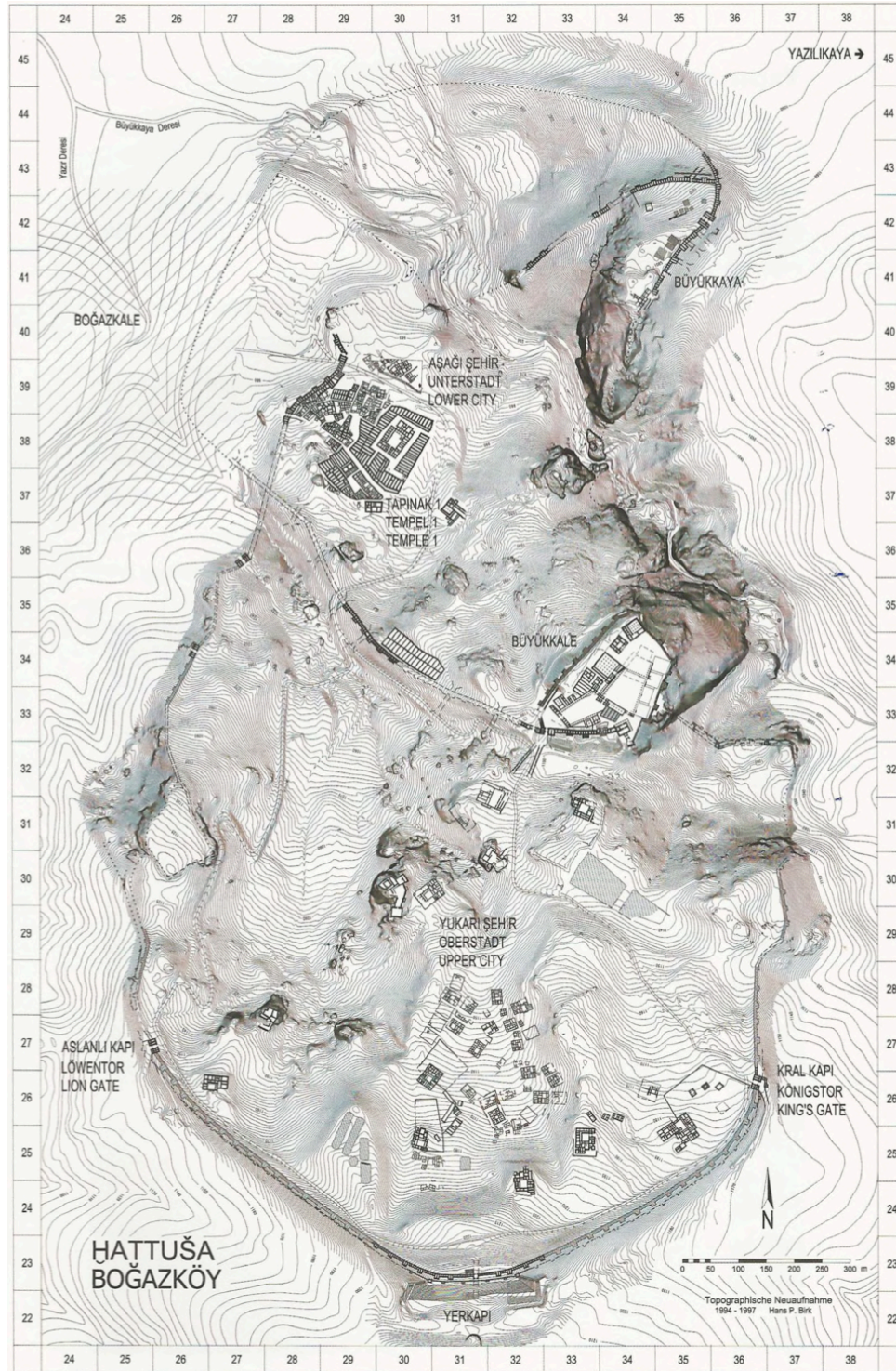


Figure 6.1, Map of the Hittite capital Hattusa  
 (Fold-out map from Jürgen Seeher, 'Hattusha Guide, a day in the Hittite Capital', 2002)

### 6.2.1 The *ḫalentu*

Despite constant scholarly debate, which became especially fervent in the 1980's and 1990's, there is still no complete consensus on the function and location of the so-called *ḫalentu* building. In 1983, Sedat Alp summarized the proposed functions of the *ḫalentu* as follows:<sup>20</sup>

- roadhouse, house for resting
- equation with the '*Haus am Hang*'
- palace, living quarters of the king
- southern precinct of the Great Temple (Temple 1 in the Lower City)
- bedchamber
- sacristy

Whereas the original discussion started out with multiple possible locations and functions for the *ḫalentu*, the two main candidates that the discussion boiled down to are the *ḫalentu* as a main cult room (as argued by Sedat Alp and followed by Annelies Kammenhuber) or as the royal palace (as argued by Hans Gustav Güterbock and Heinrich Otten among others).<sup>21</sup>

Recent publications tend to side with the interpretation of *ḫalentu* as the royal palace. Sibilla Pierallini for instance states that the *ḫalentu* is "identificabile con il palazzo reale situato sulla cittadella" and spends no further words on the history of the discussion.<sup>22</sup> Maciej Popko speaks of the "Klärung einer wichtigen Frage der Hethitologie ... jetzt [wird] das Wort

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<sup>20</sup> (Alp 1983, 6-15)

<sup>21</sup> (Alp 1983, 318ff; Güterbock 1974) and again in (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 59-60; Kammenhuber 1992; Otten 1984, 373) Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 59-60; Otten 1984, 373; Kammenhuber 1992 and in HW<sup>2</sup> III, Lfg. 11, 1991, 20ff.

<sup>22</sup> (Pierallini 2002, 627)

*ḫalenti(u)(wa)-* als Benennung einer königlichen Residenz gedeutet, die im Falle von Ḫattuša eindeutig auf Büyükkale zu suchen ist“.<sup>23</sup>

Even the excavation of the Hurro-Hittite bilingual text KBo XXXII 13, which mentions the Hurrian equivalent of *ḫalentu* (Hur. [ḫ]aikalli/ḫaikal'ni), has not lead to a definitive answer.<sup>24</sup> The bilingual showed that “the Hittite translator used *ḫalentuwa* to render a Hurrian loanword derived from Sumerian É.GAL ‘palace’”.<sup>25</sup> Still, Alp maintained that the *ḫalentu* was primarily a cult space, associated with the Sungoddess of the earth. This association is based on Alp’s restoration of a text which has been scrutinized by other scholars.<sup>26</sup> According to Alp, the bilingual actually proves the use of the *ḫalentu* as a godly residence.<sup>27</sup> Alp holds *ḫalentu* to mean in the first place “ein grosser Raum, die zentrale Stelle der Kulthandlungen”.<sup>28</sup> Many scholars have brought up the practical point that most of our festival texts start out with the king putting on his ceremonial paraphernalia after sunrise.<sup>29</sup> This scenario seems most likely to have taken place after the king’s awakening, so that equating the *ḫalentu* with a (part of) Büyükkale seems most likely. Volkert Haas holds an equation of the *ḫalentu* with building F on Büyükkale most likely.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> (Popko 2003, 315-6, German according to the original citation) Note that some texts mention a *ḫalentu*-building in places outside of the Hittite capital.

<sup>24</sup> For a summary of the discussion up to 1983, see (Alp 1983, 1-6). The main discussion can be found in (Alp 1983; Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991; Otten 1984) For the Hurro-Hittite bilingual, see (Neu 1996, 228-230).

<sup>25</sup> (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 60) For the first equation see (Otten 1984)

<sup>26</sup> (Alp 1991, 318-9) But see (Haas 1994, 296).

<sup>27</sup> (Alp 1991, 319)

<sup>28</sup> (Alp 1991, 319)

<sup>29</sup> E.g., (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 59) See also references under (Alp 1983, 6-8)

<sup>30</sup> (Haas 1994, 623)

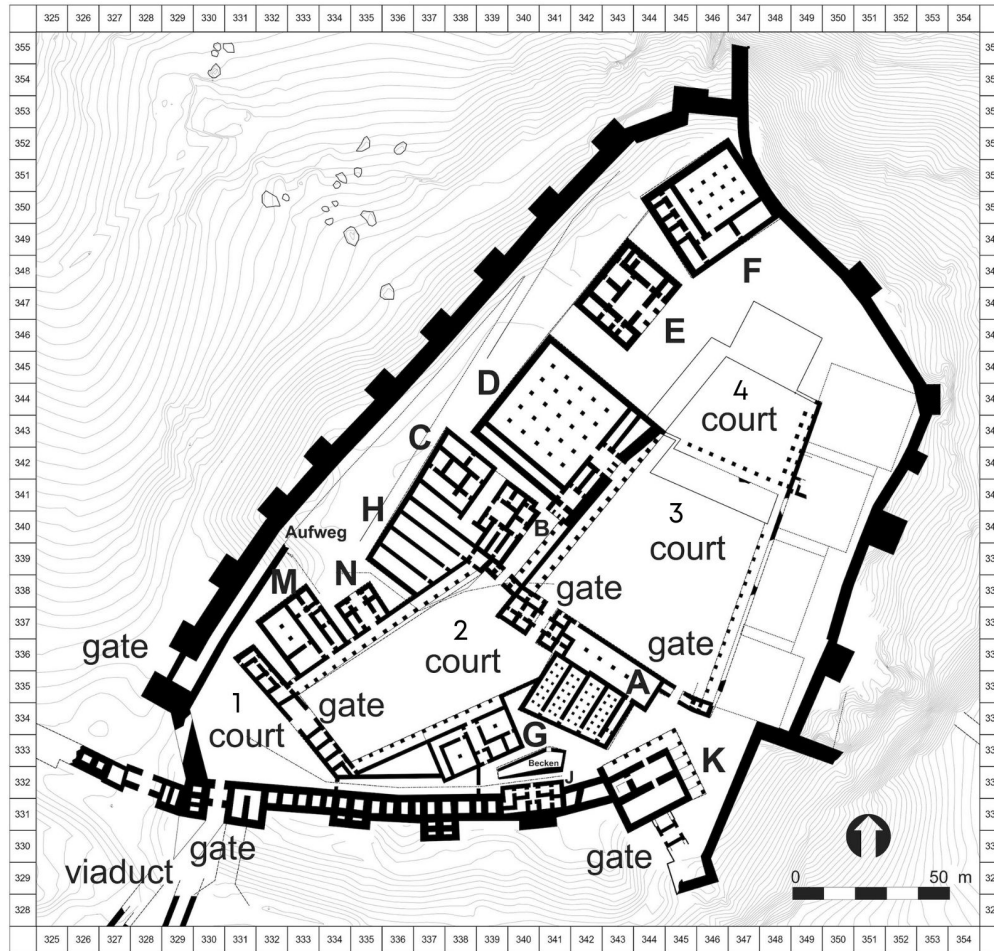


Figure 6.2, A plan of Büyükkale, the citadel of Hattusa  
 (Schachner 2022, figure 9.8, p. 443, numbers added and legend corrected by Th.L.)

This also correlates well with the concept of warm-up (see 4.2.3): if the *halentu* is (part of) the citadel, the Hittite king would not have had to move from his place of residence to a cult space before starting his preparation to get into character. This in turn means he would not have been seen by anyone until after he starts his preparations. In other words, the *halentu* building, or at least the part of it in which the king prepares himself, could have functioned as a sort of backstage space.



Alp does reckon with the possibility that the Hurrian word could cover both a divine and a secular palace. He remains positive however, that “im Hethitischen *ḫalentu*- den göttlichen Palast, also den “Tempel”/“Cella” und *šaramna*- den profanen, weltlichen “Palast” darstellen”.<sup>31</sup> The religious importance of the *ḫalentu* is certainly evident from the texts.<sup>32</sup> There seems little reason in arguing over a primarily religious or secular character of the building, as the Hittites may very well not have made such a distinction.<sup>33</sup> It seems most likely that the *ḫalentu* was a palatial building complex, meaning that it was used by or accessible to members of the royal house, which also had a significant religious significance.<sup>34</sup> Throughout the discussion on the function of the *ḫalentu*, arguments are used that hold that a certain function X would exclude a function Y. Alp for instance argues against René Lebrun’s understanding of the *ḫalentu* as a ‘sacristy’ because there already is another room (the É.ḪI.ÚŠ.A), where the king is said to put on his cultic gear.<sup>35</sup> We should not seek such a narrow definition of the *ḫalentu*, but rather reckon with the possibility that it could be used both to refer to a building complex and to a specific part of it.<sup>36</sup> Based on the current evidence, especially the logistics of the king’s warm-up, it is not likely that the *ḫalentu* was part of a temple complex, such as temple 1 in the lower part of the city.<sup>37</sup> The texts imply that the king wakes up in or very near to the *ḫalentu* building.<sup>38</sup> In this chapter, as well as the next, we will see that visibility and the movement between locations are important

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<sup>31</sup> (Alp 1991, 319)

<sup>32</sup> (Alp 1983, esp. 17-323; Güterbock 1974, 310-311; Haas 1994, e.g. 454, 775, 784)

<sup>33</sup> See also (Charpin 2012, 73-82) I am indebted to Hervé Reculeau for drawing my attention to this reference.

<sup>34</sup> Güterbock and Popko too, argue that the palatial complex will have included buildings with a religious function: (Güterbock 1974, 310-311; Popko 2003, 317)

<sup>35</sup> (Alp 1983, 14)

<sup>36</sup> For a similar suggestion, see (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 59) See also (Popko 2003, 317-322) The author proposes a number of specific buildings to have been part of the *ḫalentu*.

<sup>37</sup> For the *ḫalentu* as part of the great temple see (Haas and Wäfler 1973, 1974)

<sup>38</sup> Sedat Alp himself also argued that the king woke up close to the *ḫalentu*, but not inside it. (Alp 1983, 6)

characteristics of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival. As such, it is very unlikely that the king would leave the citadel to move to another location, in a sense ‘breaking the 4<sup>th</sup> wall’, to then start his performance preparations in that second location. Therefore, I argue that the *ḫalentu* building is indeed to be sought at Büyükkale. As to its function, the textual evidence for the 16<sup>th</sup> day only shows the function of the *ḫalentu* described by Lebrun: “une sorte de ‘sacristie’ dans laquelle le roi et la reine se rendent pour revêtir des vêtements liturgiques avant de se rendre dans le temple de la divinité fêtée”.<sup>39</sup>

From the text of the 16<sup>th</sup> day, it seems that the ‘court of the bodyguards’ (ŠA LÚ.MEŠMEŠEDI=*ma* <sup>ē</sup>*ḫilaš*) is part of the complex where the *ḫalentu* is situated, as they are mentioned in a very close context (§12).<sup>40</sup>

### 6.2.2 The temple of Zababa

The temple of Zababa could have been located in the upper, southern part of Hattusa (*Yukarı Şehir*), as part of the many temple complexes found scattered there. Based on textual evidence alone, however, we cannot exclude that its location should be sought in the lower part of the city.

Popko proposes to locate the temple of Zababa on Büyükkale, based on the text of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival as well as one festival fragment.<sup>41</sup> We will see that the journey between the *ḫalentu* and the temple of Zababa is described elaborately, and that there is good reason to believe it was used in strategies of visibility and inclusion. As such, it is not likely that

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<sup>39</sup> Lebrun 1977 ad (Alp 1983, 5-6)

<sup>40</sup> This fits in nicely with the remarks made by Güterbock regarding passages where other spaces are mentioned in association with the *ḫalentu*. (Güterbock 1974; Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 59)

<sup>41</sup> (Popko 2003, 321-2) The fragment is IBoT 1.4 Rs.!(iv) 16’ff.



the two buildings were both located at Büyükkale, which had restricted access, given its wall structure and gates. As we will see towards the end of this chapter, several buildings in the upper city that are interpreted as temple buildings have a layout that could fit the descriptions of the 16<sup>th</sup> day in terms of accessible space.

The text mentions different parts within the temple of Zababa or within the temple context, which are difficult to map onto archaeological findings within the Hittite capital. In the text, a distinction is made between going to the complex as a whole and going inside the temple, and reference is made to a courtyard (<sup>É</sup>*hila*), a house of the gateway (<sup>É</sup>*hilamni*), an inner chamber (<sup>É</sup>.ŠĀ-*na*), and a room — perhaps distinct from the inner chamber, perhaps to be equated with it — containing the dais (<sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti*). Besides the dais, this ‘dais room’ contains at least a hearth, a window, a type of wooden lock beams, (perhaps part of a door) and a paravent (a type of screen), which are all used as *loci* for ritual purposes.

### 6.3 Performers

The festival text follows the movements and actions of the king, who is sometimes accompanied by the queen. A read-through of the text conjures an image of a myriad of further participants:

Groups of participants (mentioned in plural, sometimes also mentioned in singular):<sup>42</sup>

- ALAM.ZU-man/men, performer(s) (BZ’s: ‘Statuenanbeter’) : <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU<sub>x</sub>
- the (entire) congregation: (*human*) *ašeššar*<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> People and objects are listed alphabetically according to their Hittite, Akkadian or Sumerian name. Sumerograms and Akkadograms are listed under the constituent that gives the main information, not the determinative.

<sup>43</sup> Note that in contrast to the festival outline, there is no mention of a great assembly (*šalli ašeššar*), contra (Haas 1994, 800). The *ašeššar* mentioned in the longer description of the 16<sup>th</sup> day is sometimes written with, and sometimes without the designation ‘*human*’ (entire). It may refer to a group of festival participants or to non-participating audience members. See chapter 2.3.

- congregation of travelers (*ašeššar* LÚUBARŪTIM)
- waiters (BZ's 'Tafeldecker'), with a chief waiter: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GIŠBANŠUR
- lord(s) (BZ's 'Würdenträger, Herr'): BELU<sup>(H1.A)</sup>
- 'dignitaries' (BZ's 'Würdenträger'): LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>DUGUD
- palace attendants (BZ's 'Hofjunker'), with a chief palace attendant: DUMU.É.GAL; LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>É.GAL
- princes: DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>.LUGAL
- smiths: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>E.DÉ.A
- singers: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GALA
- flute players: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GI.GÍD
- *ḫaliyami*-man/men (BZ's 'Kultfunktionär'): LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>ḫaliyami
- recitation priest(s) (BZ's 'Priestersänger'): LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>ḫalliyari
- bodyguards, with a chief bodyguard: LÚ<sup>(MEŠ)</sup>MEŠEDI
- cooks: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>MUḪALDIM
- musicians: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>NAR
- heralds/ushers: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GIŠPA (or LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GIŠGIDRU)
- *palwatalla*-man/men: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>palwatalla-
- (sacred) priest(s): LÚ<sup>(MEŠ)</sup>SANGA
- cupbearers: LÚ<sup>(MEŠ)</sup>SÌLA.ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A
- barber(s): LÚ<sup>(MEŠ)</sup>ŠU.I
- travelers, or guests, strangers (BZ's 'Fremdling, Schutzbürger'): LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU(M)
- Dog men, or hunters: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>UR.G[I<sub>7</sub>]
- wine cup bearer(s): LÚ<sup>(MEŠ)</sup>ZABAR.DIB
- participants (BZ' 'Teilhaber'): LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>ZITTI

Single performers (only mentioned in singular):

- the mother-of-god-priestess of Ḫalki (BZ's 'Gottesmutter, eine Priesterin'): MUNUSAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>
- the lord of Ḫatti: EN<sup>URU</sup>ḪATTI
- chief waiter: GAL LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GIŠBANŠUR
- chief palace attendant: GAL LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>DUMU.É.GAL
- dancer: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>ḪUB.BI
- priest of <sup>D</sup>LAMMA: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>SANGA <sup>D</sup>KAL
- *kita*-man (BZ's 'ein Kultfunktionär; "Vortragspriester?": LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>kita-
- the king: LUGAL
- chief bodyguard: GAL (LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>)MEŠEDI

- chief cook: UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM
- the queen: MUNUS.LUGAL
- kitchen employee: LÚMURIDI
- bread baker: LÚNINDA.DÙ.DÙ
- a herald or scepter bearer (BZ's 'Herold'): LÚGIŠPA or LÚGIŠGIDRU
- the cupbearer of the palace attendant: DUMU.É.GAL LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DU<sub>s</sub>.A
- the chief cupbearer: GAL LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DU<sub>s</sub>.A or LÚSAGI
- the cupbearer of squatting: *paršnauwaš* LÚSÌLA.ŠU.DU<sub>s</sub>.A
- attendant (BZ's 'aufseher'): UGULA
- lord of the *zaḫurti* (a kind of seat<sup>44</sup>: EN GIŠ*zaḫurtiyaš*)

If we count each of the 'groups' of participants designated by a plural marker as consisting of at least two people, the list above would render a total of at least 69 participants plus the *ašeššar* (the 'congregation', see also 4.3.4), which refers to a group of people. If these groups, such as the palace attendants, bodyguards, waiters and performers would consist of more than two men, for instance averaging five persons per group, the total number of participants would be 144 plus the *ašeššar*. Depending on our understanding and estimation of the *ašeššar*, and the number of people belonging to each group of participants, we can envision that at least 80 people performed in this day of the festival (the royal couple, the participants mentioned and a conservative estimate for the *ašeššar*), and possibly hundreds of people. Following the concept of Schechner's quadrilogue (see 4.3.1), this number only pertains to the group of performers. The quadrilogue implies that an even larger number of people would have been involved in the performance, including the sourcers, producers and partakers.

From the categories of performers mentioned in the catalogue above, as well as the objects used during the festival performance (see below), it follows that in Hittite festival culture a — to

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<sup>44</sup> (Laroche 1965, 85)

the modern reader — unexpected amount of importance was given to the producers of certain festival necessities, such as bakers, cooks, and smiths. By including these people in the performance of the festival, their role is in a sense ‘upgraded’ from producer to performer.

## 6.4 Props

A number of objects are mentioned throughout the festival activities. Some of these hold a practical purpose (e.g., a cloth for drying hands after washing, musical instruments), other seem to have only a symbolic function, as they are only said to change hands or to be put on display (e.g., a golden spear). In order to develop a better understanding of the symbolic significance of any of these objects, we should note their occurrence in relation to other performance aspects of the festival and ideally, look at these in a macro view.<sup>45</sup> For instance: which person hands the golden spear to the king? Is it always the same person, and what happens right before and after they have done so? In terms of the performance of these celebrations, we would like to know not just about the symbolic significance of certain items, but also about other aspects, such as size, color, materials (e.g., how visible are they from afar? do they reflect the light?) and the loudness of their sounds.<sup>46</sup>

For observations regarding the use of props in the AN.TAĤ.ŠUM festival, see below (6.4).

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<sup>45</sup> A pathway for future research would be to gather the data in the way proposed here (in a sense boiling the performance information down to a sort of overview one could use to prepare a performance) and present these in a relational database.

<sup>46</sup> For a ritual that may have centered on the sound of liquid pouring through a vessel, see 5.4.1.

Non-edible items used in the festival are musical instruments, clothing, furniture (or décor), items used for handling foodstuffs and items without a clear function, possibly indicating a high symbolic value.

Musical instruments:

- *arkammi*-drums
- *galgalturi*-drums
- harps (small and big)
- *huhupal*-drums
- <sup>GIS</sup>*mukara* (a sistrum or harp)

Clothing:

- cloak of the cupbearer
- cloak of the priest of <sup>D</sup>LAMMA
- knee cloths
- vestments

Furniture:

- *chaiselongue* (<sup>GIS</sup>GU.ZA GÌD.DA)
- movable hearth
- table
- throne or dais (may also be seen as a location)

Tools or items used for handling foodstuffs (e.g., libation):

- golden cup for wine
- *huppar*-bowls (silver, gold)
- racks
- silver cup for wine
- silver *išgaruḫi*-vessel
- stands for pottery
- silver oxen heads
- *tuḫueššar* (see below, perhaps symbolic too)
- water for washing hands and a cloth for drying them

Symbolic objects :

- cloth of the golden spear
- gold
- golden spear
- lituus (G<sup>15</sup>*kalmuš*)
- scepter from *šuruḥḥa*-wood (multiple)<sup>47</sup>
- silver
- *taḥtummar* from the É.NA<sub>4</sub>

Many of the objects used during the celebration of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the festival are foodstuffs (mostly types of bread and meat) or beverages. I put these in a separate category as they are of a perishable nature, and as far as we know, were consumed as part of the festivities. The mention of objects pertaining to food and drink as well as musical instruments indicate that besides providing visual splendor, the festival was also supposed to actuate smell, hearing and taste.

- cheese
- fat
- *kattapala*-meat
- *marnuwan*-beer
- meat broth
- meat of a bull, cows, sheep and a goat
- *šaramma*-bread
- sour thick breads (some of *šepit*, some of fine flower)
- sweet breads
- *tunnaptu*-breads of two *šatu*, a red and a white one
- *wagatan*-bread
- wine
- *zipulašši*-bread

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<sup>47</sup> According to Volkert Haas, this type of scepter is particularly important in rituals for the god Zababa: (Haas 1994, 364)

It should be mentioned that there is also a category of props not explicitly mentioned in the text, that we can assume to have been used based on the context. When the text mentions that the courtyard of the temple of Zababa is swept for instance, this implies that a broom was necessary. Furthermore, trays may have been used to carry the objects mentioned in the text, or a type of seating like stools or cushions may have been used for the performers and partakers. Two observations can be made in this regard. First, that according to the model of functional differentiation, we may expect different instructions for different organizing parties of the performance. The text edited by BZ may have been used by someone who was in charge of the correct performance of the libations in the temple of Zababa, since the text focuses on this location (rather than for instance what happened in the temple of the Stormgod, see 6.1). The proper preparation of the temple is mentioned in the text (§8), but its intricacies remain unspecified. For the user of this text, it seems to have been merely necessary to check that these preparations have indeed taken place. The second observation that can be made somewhat contradicts the first. Besides functional differentiation, what other explanations can we think of, to understand why some objects (or people, or actions) are mentioned explicitly, while others are not? It could mean that those objects or actions not mentioned are self-evident, and it has consequences for the importance of the ones that are mentioned: perhaps they were considered very important.

## 6.5 Deities: audience, stage, props or participants?

The status of the deities that are mentioned throughout the festival texts is somewhat uncertain.<sup>48</sup>

We can categorize them as part of the envisioned audience of the festival performance, as suggested by the ‘quality management’ texts that underline the importance of the proper execution of these festivals in order to stay in the gods’ good graces (see 1.1.4 and 4.2.1). As we have seen in the previous chapter, images (either in 2-D or 3-D) can also have other functions: as a setting for the performance, as a prop and, depending on the ontological status of the image, as a performing participant.<sup>49</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival is dedicated to a god, which would imply that the religious acts performed are meant to communicate something to that god. The offerings of wine and bread could be seen as a rite of exchange that is directed at communication with the divine.<sup>50</sup> As such, we should not exclude the deities to whom the festival day is formally directed (as per the text itself) as at least part of the audience of the ceremonies.<sup>51</sup> However, as I have argued in chapter 1 (see 1.1.6), festivals can be seen as situated in-between the religious and the political realm. Besides communicating with the divine, they were also thoroughly embedded in political society and can be used as an impression management tool to communicate with members of society.

Keeping this political perspective in mind, the status of deities takes on yet another form: they can be a form of ‘prop’ or ‘stage’ used in the performance, such as in drinking rites, when

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<sup>48</sup> For the ontological status of deities in religious ceremonies, see also (Haas 1994, 675; Inomata and Coben 2006b, 32).

<sup>49</sup> For the ontological status of deity images, see (Goedegebuure 2012; Cammarosano 2018, 61-63)

<sup>50</sup> (Bell and Aslan 2009, 108-115)

<sup>51</sup> Contra (Coben and Inomata 2006, 14-5)



the king drinks to a specific deity. By associating himself with specific deities at specific times, the king is using the presence of a deity (by a ritual performance or by a visible presence of some sort, such as a statuette) to emphasize his relation with that deity as well as his role as the communicator with the divine realm. As we will see (7.5), deities in the KI.LAM festival might even have taken on a proper ‘role’ as participants of the festival. The activities carried out by other festival participants, such as musicians, certainly seem to be influenced by the presence or absence of specific deities in certain ‘scenes’ (see below).

The deities that are mentioned in the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival are either bowed to or offered to (in general or with a specifically mentioned offering), or the king and queen drink to the deity. From the colophon, we learn that this day of the festival is dedicated to Zababa, a war god.<sup>52</sup> Contrary to what one might expect, this dedication of the festival performance of day 16 to the war god Zababa is by no means a thematic designation. This day of the festival does not seem to be particularly concerned with war.

Deities mentioned for this day of the festival are:

- Throne goddess or deified dais: <sup>D</sup>DAG
- Ḫalmašutt, throne goddess: <sup>D</sup>ḪALMAŠUTTU(M)
- Ḫalki, vegetation goddess: <sup>D</sup>Ḫalki
- Ḫulla, mountain god(?): <sup>D</sup>Ḫulla
- Ištu, Sungod: <sup>D</sup>Ištu = <sup>D</sup>UTU
- KAL, protective deity: <sup>D</sup>KAL
- Tappinu: <sup>D</sup>Tappinu

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<sup>52</sup> Usually written <sup>d</sup>ZA-BA<sub>4</sub>-BA<sub>4</sub>. (Haas 1994, 363-366). Tudhaliya IV’s deity list (as translated by Haas) mentions a ‘Zababa, Zababa of Ḫatti, Zababa of the army camp, Zababa of the city Ḫarnunnuwa, Zababa of the city Illaya and Zababa of Kizzuwatna.’. The god’s cult seems mostly to have been carried out in southern Anatolia. Besides this day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival, there is mention of an autumn, spring and harvest festival for Zababa. For a complete list of attestations see (van Gessel 1998, 961-969).

- Tauri: <sup>D</sup>Tauri
- Telipinu, vegetation god: <sup>D</sup>TEL<sup>I</sup>pinu/<sup>D</sup>Tappinun
- <sup>D</sup>U, the weathergod (of the city Zippalanda): <sup>D</sup>U
- Zababa: <sup>D</sup>ZABABA

There is also mention of a statue of a king Hattusili: ALAM <sup>m</sup>Hattuši-DINGIR-LIM (B. III 11, §34), which the chief cook offers to inside the dais room. We do not know what material this statue was made of, but it could be seen as part of the royal ancestor cult known in Hittite Anatolia (see also 5.4.3).

## 6.6 Movements and activities performed by the king

To investigate the role of the king in festival performances, I distinguish between three different kinds of ‘activities’:

Type A: moving and staying still

A1: movements between settings

A2: stationary positions as a reference for other actors

Type B: actions concerning objects

B1: concerning objects in general

B2: the Drinking Ceremony specifically

Type C: acts of communication

C1: with people

C2: with deities

## 6.6.1 Type A: moving and staying still

### 6.6.1.1 A1: movements between settings

§1: the king comes out of the *ḫalentu*-building.<sup>53</sup>

§2: the king goes in (...); preceded by two palace attendants and a bodyguard.

§4: the king goes in (...); takes up a position.

§6: the king sits down; goes out of the temple.

§7: the king goes to the *ḫalentu*-building.

§13: the king and queen go out of the *ḫalentu*-building; preceded by two palace attendants and a bodyguard.

§14 (ad §13): the lords and the (other?) palace attendants and the (other?) bodyguards march after the king.

§15 (ad §13): the ALAM.ZU-men beat their instruments in front of and behind the king.

§16 (ad §13): the ZITTI-men/participants stand next to the king and dance.

§17 (ad §13): the other ALAM.ZU-men stand next to the king and turn on the spot reciting and holding their hands up.

§19 the king and queen go into the temple (complex) of Zababa. The king goes into the *ḫilamni*-house (the 'House of the Gateway').

§20 the king and queen take up position in the courtyard.

§27 the king and queen go into the (inner) temple of Zababa.

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<sup>53</sup> References to textual passages follow the paragraph division by BZ. For a hypothetical 'route' of movements during the 16<sup>th</sup> day within the Hittite capital, see below.

§28: the king steps onto the dais (<sup>GI</sup>DAG-*ti*) (see also under A2).

§28 the queen goes into the inner chamber.

§36: the king stands up (to drink a deity).

§38: the king and queen sit down on the throne.

(§44: It is not the king and queen who go out of the dais room, but the palace attendant and the chief palace attendant mentioned in §43.<sup>54</sup>)

(§74: It is not the king and queen who go out of the dais room, but the palace attendants and the chief palace attendant.<sup>55</sup>)

§78: the congregation (*ašeššar*) stands while the king and queen remain seated (see also A2).

§82: the king stands up and bows.

§83: the king and queen sit down (and receive knee cloths, see B1).

The main movements of the king are from and to the *halentu*-building and the temple of Zababa.

The king starts out from the *halentu*-building, which he exits (§1). He goes into the courtyard of the Zababa-temple (§2). It is unclear where the movement is directed in §4-5, but in §6, he exits the Zababa-temple. We cannot be sure whether the king made it past the courtyard of the temple.

The route taken from the first to the last location is unclear, though one passage strikes the reader as potentially informative in understanding the location of the different buildings. In

§7, the king is said to move from the temple of Zababa to the *halentu*-building:

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<sup>54</sup> For a discussion on this text passage, see below.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

- (5) 2 DUMU.É.GAL 1 LÚMEŠEDI *peran*
- (6) *ḫūwayanteš* LUGAL-uš *ḫalientuwaš*
- (7) *paizzi ta mān* LUGAL-i ZI-anza
- (8) *ta araḫza paizzi*
- (9) GIM-an LUGAL-i ZI-za nu QATAMMA
- (10) *iyazi UL kuitki duqqari*

2 palace attendants and 1 bodyguard are walking in front (of him),

The king goes to the *ḫalentu*-building.

If the king wishes he goes outside. As it pleases the king, thus he does.

It is not important at all.

(§7, b.A I 5-10, KBo 4.9, 5-10)

From this passage, we learn first of all that the king had a say in the route that he would take when this day of the festival was carried out. During a given celebration of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, he could choose to ‘*araḫza paizzi*’ ‘go outside’ or he could choose not to. One can speculate as to the meaning of this ‘*araḫza*’. Does this mean that the king goes outside of the city walls, perhaps taking a route from the upper to the lower city leaving through what is now referred to as the sphinx or king’s gate? Or should we envision some sort of enclosed walkway for the king, which he could choose not to use, thus using the more regular, open pathways connecting the two buildings? In both cases, one wonders what the consequences are of this choice to ‘go out’ for the visibility of the king to the people participating in or witnessing the festival and the wider population of Hattusa.

In the *halentu*-building, the king puts on other clothing (§12). Next, the king and queen leave the *halentu*-building together (§13). The royal couple is said to not go into the temple of Zababa just yet. The ALAM.ZU-men, the *palwatalla*-man and the *kita*-man go before the king and queen, and take their places. They may be going into the courtyard before the royal couple, but this is not stated explicitly (§18). When the king and queen go into the temple of Zababa, the king goes to the *hilammarr*-house, the so-called ‘House of the Gateway’ (§19). The royal couple proceeds to the courtyard (§20). Whereas in §19, the royal couple is said to ‘*INA* <sup>d</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub> *pānzi*’, followed by them going into the courtyard in §20, we see ‘*INA* <sup>d</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub> *anda* *pānzi*’ in §27. This speaks strongly for an interpretation of the movement in §19 as going *towards* the temple or of going into the temple complex, rather than *into* the center of the complex, the temple itself, which is referred to in §27. Thus, we could see this actual entering of the center of the temple complex as a transgression of liminal space, which perhaps needed to be preceded by a visit to the outer part of the temple by the king in §2 and a change of clothing in §12.

The second visit follows much more closely the expectations of a grand royal procession from the royal residence to the performance stage: it is preceded by the warm-up of the king putting on the right clothing and the elaborate procession towards the temple. The first visit to the temple of Zababa by contrast, seems to go against the expected principles of performance, as the king does not carry out a warm-up (that we know of), nor is he accompanied by a display visual splendor. Furthermore, during his first visit, the king does not necessarily seem to have made it inside the temple, nor do any offerings take place. All of this strikes me as significant and connected to the effect of the performance, as the subsequent visits seem to underline the differences between them: adding the right clothing, adding the visual splendor of the procession

entourage, (perhaps) going into the temple rather than staying outside of its *limes*, carrying out the offerings rather than turning back to the start point. The differences are all visible to participants and partakers of the performance.<sup>56</sup>

In his movements within (or even outside of) the city, the king is accompanied by palace attendants, bodyguards, lords, ALAM.ZU-men and ZITTI-men. They are positioned both in front of him, behind him, and to his side. A particularly vivid image is that of the king emerging from the *halentu*-building in §13-17, which could be schematized as follows:

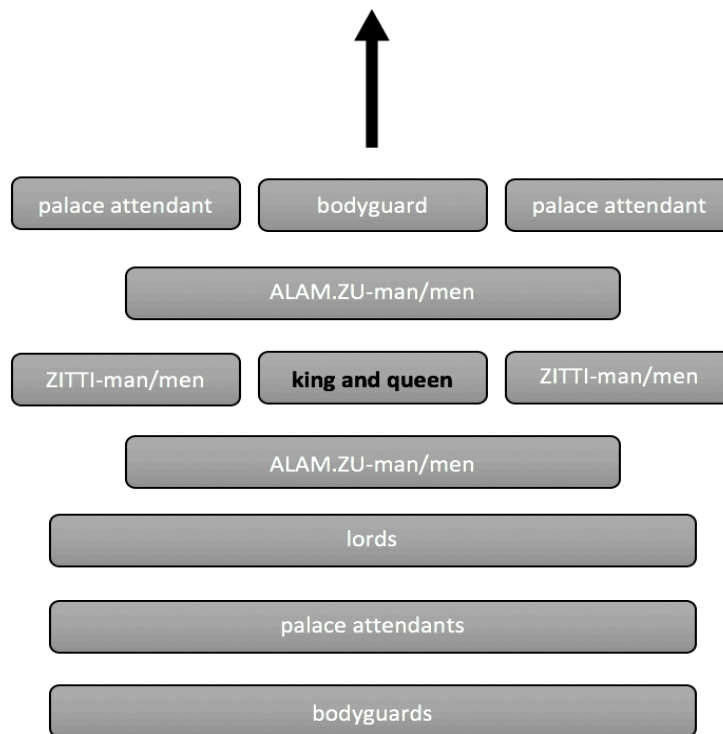


Figure 6.3, Schematic reconstruction of the procession in §13-17 (arrow indicates direction), other reconstructions are possible

<sup>56</sup> If for instance, the only difference had been a ritual washing in the *halentu*-building, not visible to the outside world, the difference between the two visits would have been more easily understood as signifying something in the religious sphere, rather than the political.

We are unsure, how many people we should assume for each of these groups mentioned, and we do not know their exact role or occupation. Who are the 'lords' (*BELU<sup>HIA</sup>*) accompanying the king? Who were considered 'participants' (*ZITTI*-men)? From §18 we learn that *ALAM.ZU*-men, a *palwatalla*-man and a *kita*-man preceded the king in going into the temple. Does this mean that the *palwatalla*-man and the *kita*-man were already at the temple waiting for him to arrive? Or are they not mentioned in the procession described in §13-17, but assumed to be there as well, perhaps included in the description as *BELU<sup>HIA</sup>* or *ZITTI*-men?

Besides the people mentioned in the festival text, more people can have seen or heard the festivities, especially the king's movements from the *halentu*-building to the temple of Zababa. Depending on the understanding of the '*arahza paizzi*' clause, the king may even have had a choice to deliberately show himself outside of the walls of Hattusa. Even without this clause, it is probable that the large procession, which is described as colorful and accompanied by music, was visible and audible within the city to inhabitants, merchants, and visitors of the capital.

In an ideal situation, we would be able to map the movements of the king and his entourage onto the map of Hattusa. Seeing as that we do not know the location of the temple of Zababa, this is a difficult task. As argued above, I follow the localization of the *halentu* on the citadel Büyükkale. If the temple of Zababa was located at the temple district in the southern part of Hattusa, there are several possible routes for the first movement between the buildings (which saw the king possibly going 'outside') and for second movement, with the elaborate procession:



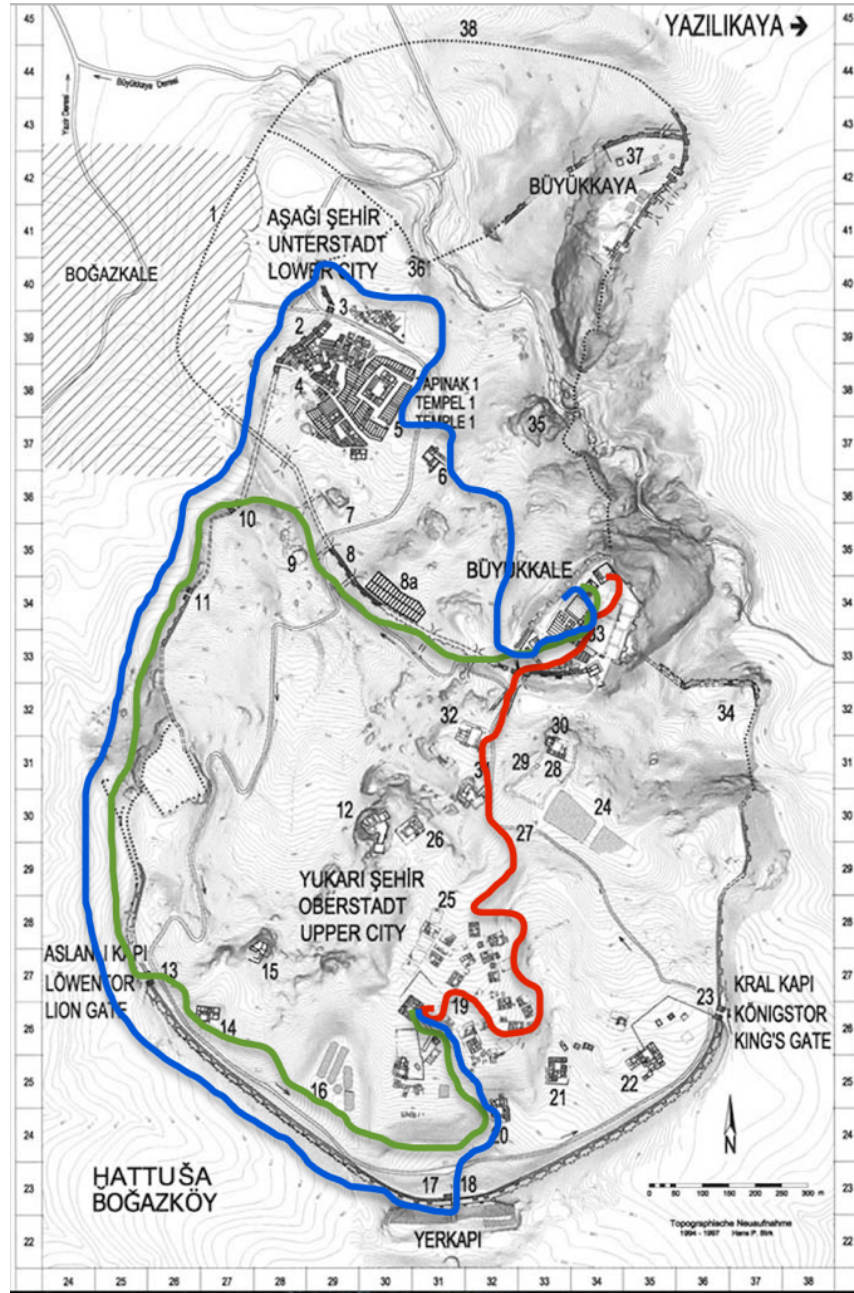


Figure 6.4, Possible routes taken during the 16th day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival

The red route is the most straightforward path between Büyükkale and the temple district. Depending on the specific constellation of the buildings at a particular moment in Hittite history, the processions could and probably will have made use of monuments along the way, such as the

Südburg and Nişantaş monuments (see also 5.4.2 and 5.4.3) and temple buildings. The blue and the green route show two possible routes that the king could have taken to go from the temple of Zababa back to the *halentu* building, going ‘outside’ of the city, if indeed ‘outside’ referred to outside of the city walls (§7). The possibility of going outside is not mentioned for the public procession from the *halentu* to the temple of Zababa, only for the return from the (from a performance perspective) odd first visit of the king to that temple. The description of the entourage accompanying the king during that return (§7) is not elaborate, and the journey does not seem directed at public display the way that the procession in §13-17 is. In this sense, a covert route rather than an overt one is more probable for this journey from the temple back to the *halentu*. Perhaps the expression of going ‘outside’ was meant exactly for this purpose, to find a less public way of returning to the *halentu*. A route such as the green one, which — seen from the current state of the archaeological evidence — does not go past important residential areas or public buildings, seems more fitting than a route like the blue one, which sees the king — accompanied by merely two palace attendants and one bodyguard — walking through the lower city and past the massive complex of temple 1. Alternatively, the character and envisioned effect of the king’s first visit to Zababa’s temple was supposed to and consciously constructed to strike the partaker as underprepared, as unfinished, as simple, so that the contrast with the second visit was all the more striking. In order to showcase the differences, the routes would likely have been the same. This second visit then, was the epitome of public performance, with the king appearing in festival regalia, accompanied by his colorfully clad entourage, the rapping and rumbling of drums and high notes of the harp, dancers and other artists drawing attention with rapid movements and recitations.

It would be interesting to see more studies about the physical setting of Hittite festivals and the potential correlation between Hittite rituals and representations of rituals on works of art. To understand this correlation, and possible documentary and mimetic functions of art works involved in the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival specifically, we would need to know more precisely where the temple of Zababa was located and we would need to know with more certainty about (potential) imagery visible outside and inside the temple itself (but see 5.4.3), as well as on the props used during the ritual.

The movements within the temple of Zababa are more difficult to understand, which makes it hard to distinguish when exactly the king is inside the 'dais room' and whether or not he is in the courtyard, a space which is occupied by a larger number of people starting with the 'usher' scene in §60 and further. This makes it difficult to understand who is able to witness the royal couple during this part of the 16<sup>th</sup> day. A certain emphasis is placed on the change between sitting and standing for the royal couple, often followed by the ritual 'drinking' of a deity. These problems concerning the king's actual location as well as his visibility during the larger part of the festival are discussed in 6.7. The king's actions of movement within the temple are smaller movements such as stepping into a different room, stepping onto the dais, as well as standing and sitting, and these are not accompanied by other actors than the queen. However, the shift between sitting and standing by the royal couple is followed by a larger group of people (see under A2).

6.6.1.2 A2: stationary position as point of reference for other actors

§28: the king steps onto the dais (<sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti*). Equating <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti* with the <sup>D</sup>DAG-*ti* (after the king has stepped onto it)<sup>57</sup>, the following actions are centered on the throne with the king seated on it:

§29: the chief cook puts down a meat offering at several places, starting with the throne goddess or deified throne (<sup>D</sup>DAG-*ti*) and Zababa. The offerings are made to the hearth, the dais without divine determinative (<sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti*), the window and the doorpost.

§31: the chief cook libates 3 times before the throne goddess or deified throne (<sup>D</sup>DAG-*ti*) and Zababa.

§33: Same sequence of offerings as §29, (hearth, dais, window, doorpost), but the dais is written <sup>D</sup>DAG-*ti*.

§34: the sequence is continued with another entity to which the chief cook offers once: a statue of Hattusili.

§38: the king and queen sit down on the throne.

The palace attendant brings the ‘cloth of the golden spear’ and the *lituus*, he places the *lituus* on the right of the dais.

§40: The chief bodyguard takes up position in front of the king.

§46: the chief bodyguard takes up position in front of the king.

§48: the chief bodyguard makes a gesture with the spear, and places it to the left of the king at the wall.

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<sup>57</sup> A discussion on the somewhat inconsistent use of the determinative <sup>GIŠ</sup> (“wood”) vs. the determinative <sup>d</sup> (for DINGIR “god”) follows below. The determinative for ‘wood’ might have been used to emphasize the dais as a physical location, the determinative for ‘god’ might have been used when the dais was approached and libated to as a divine being.

§51: the palace attendants squat, presumably near the king, where a table has just been placed.

§60: the herald seats the princes (see C1): perhaps they are positional reference for the other people seated after them (§61-70).

§78: the congregation (*ašeššar*) stands while the king and queen are still seated.

§79: the recitation priests play the INANNA-instruments, apparently close to the seated and libating king.

§80-81: breads are brought to the king for breaking (see B1).

§107: the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU, still standing, bow to the king and then sit down and drink wine.

§116: the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU, who apparently have stood up, bow to the king together with the congregation (*ašeššar*).

§119: the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU bow to the king twice and sit down.

§122: the cupbearer and the chief bodyguard back away from the king while facing him.

§130: the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU and the congregation (*ašeššar*) are asked to stand up by the heralds.

§132: the king and queen stand (after their knee cloths have been removed in §131).

§135: the congregation of travelers (*ašeššar* <sup>LÚ</sup>ÚBARÙTIM) is said to stand.

In §28-34, the king's position on the dais seems to be a point of reference for many of the other actions and movements taking place, including offerings made by the chief cook. In §38-51, both people and objects are positioned in relation to the dais and king, including the chief bodyguard, the *lituus* and a spear. As to the sitting and standing of the king and queen after §59 (when, as we will see in the next paragraph, the second part of the festival day possibly starts, including a larger ritual audience), their movements are mimicked by the larger crowd: when the king and queen

sit, the congregation sits down too, when the royal couple stands up, the congregation follows. Other movements too, are directed at the king while seated: bread is brought to him for breaking, instruments are played in his proximity, people bow to him, the cupbearer and chief bodyguard walk away from him backwards (apparently so as not to turn their backs on him).

#### 6.6.1.3 *Remarks concerning category A*

As we have seen, the king's movements within the city are accompanied by a number of participants. He does not lead the movement, but is rather the center around which a group of people moves from one setting of the festival to the next. What can still be categorized as movements in the later part of this day of the festival are smallish movements accompanied only by the queen. What stands out most is the fact that the king actually does not move all that much, but that his presence, his stationary position, functions as the focal point of performance activities. The festival text does not describe the actions from the king's point of view, but the 'camera' seems to always be directed at him, describing how things are placed close to him, or how people approach him or leave him again, performing various micro-rituals.

Not all questions regarding the movement of the king during this day of the festival can be answered without going into the text in more detail and seeking answers to problems of textual interpretation. Many questions remain, especially regarding the exact location of the king within the temple of Zababa and the situation and visibility of the king starting at §59, when several new actors, not (explicitly) participating in the ritual before, enter the stage. For a way forward in many of these issues, see chapter 3.3 and chapter 5.

## 6.6.2 Type B: actions concerning objects (B1) and the Drinking Ceremony (B2)

### 6.6.2.1 B1: actions concerning objects

Table 6.1, Actions concerning objects.

§12:	clothing	The king puts it on.
§21:	hand water	Handed by two palace attendants; the king and queen wash their hands.
	cloth	Handed by the chief attendant; the king and queen dry their hands.
§22:	tuḥḥueššar	Handed by the priest of <sup>d</sup> LAMMA; the king ‘cuts’ from it.
§23:	cloth of the golden spear	Handed by chief attendant; the king dries his hands.
§25:	tuḥḥueššar	Handed by an attendant; the queen cuts from it.
§26:	cloth of the golden spear	Handed by the chief attendant; the queen dries her hands.
§30:	wine bowl	Handed by the chief cook; the king puts his hand on it.
§36:	ḥuppar-vessel	After drinking of deities; the king libates with or in it, probably for Ḥalmašutt and Zababa. The vessel is not explicitly handed to the king by someone.
§38:	cloth of the golden spear	Handed by a palace attendant.
	lituus	A palace attendant places it on the dais for the king.
§41:	washing water in a golden bowl	Handed to the king and queen by two palace attendants; They wash their hands.
	cloth	The royal couple receives it from the chief palace attendant.
§43:	washing water in a golden bowl	Handed to the king and queen by two palace attendants; They wash their hands.
	cloth	The royal couple receives it from the chief palace attendant.
§46:	knee cloths	The king and queen are equipped with them by two palace attendants.
§51:	sacred table	It is placed for the king; handed by the chief waiter, but brought in through joint efforts by him, three bodyguards, the chief bodyguard and perhaps the chief palace attendant.
§72:	a cloth	‘Tuchwurfsszene’: the king drops a cloth, and either the squatting palace attendants or the squatting bodyguards catch it, and hand it over to the waiters. . [Table continued on next page]

		[Table 6.1, Continued]
§74:	washing water in a golden bowl	Handed to the king and queen by two palace attendants; They wash their hands.
	cloth	The royal couple receives it from the chief palace attendant.
§75:	marnuwan-beer	The king and queen receive it from the cupbearer.
§78:	knee cloths	The king and queen remain seated but the cloths are removed by palace attendants.
§79:	<i>ḥuppar</i> -vessel	The king libates with it after drinking two gods. (see B2)
§80:	thick bread	The king receives it from the cupbearer and breaks it.
§81:	two sweet breads	The king receives them from a waiter and breaks them.
§82:	knee cloths	After standing in §82, the king and queen sit down and receive them from palace attendants.
§85:	three racks	The chief cook holds them out for the king next to the hearth from afar. The king puts his hand on it from afar.
§90:	thick bread	The king receives it from the cupbearer and breaks it.
§91:	two sweet breads	The king receives them from a waiter and breaks them.
§97:	silver bull's head	Text broken: the king is mentioned in its context.
§106:	thick bread	The king receives it from the cupbearer and breaks it.
§110:	thick bread	The king receives it from the cupbearer and breaks it.
§118:	thick bread of <i>šep̄pit</i> made from three <i>šātu</i>	The king receives it from the cupbearer and breaks it.
§121-122:	silver cup with wine	The king receives it from the cupbearer.
§125:	cup	The king receives it from the cupbearer.
§128:	<i>šaramma</i> -pastry and cooked fat	Shown or given to the king by the <i>ḥaliyami</i> -men and the MURIDI-men.
§131:	knee cloths	Are taken away from the king and queen.
§133:	thick bread of fine flower of a <i>par̄isu</i> and three <i>upnu</i>	The king receives it and breaks it.

There are several ways in which the king uses objects during the 16<sup>th</sup> day.

First, the king is a focal point to which objects are brought or shown, or placed in proximity of. He receives cups, puts his hand on cups and racks (and perhaps a silver bull's head),



he is shown or given *šaramma*-pastry and fat, and a lituus and sacred table are placed near or in front of him. Other actors, even the queen, are not mentioned as a focal point for the placement of objects during the ritual. It seems as though the association with the king, be it through his manual acceptance, his gaze and even sheer proximity, grants the object an elevated status. The very act of associating the objects with the king seems to be what constitutes the rituals for the larger part. These objects, that are primarily taken to the king to acquire this status-by-association, are handed to the king by an actor typically associated with the type of object being brought: the chief waiter hands the king the sacred table, the cup bearer hands him a silver cup and another type of cup, the smiths bring cow heads made of silver, the chief cook hands him racks and a bowl of wine to touch, the *haliyami*-men and the *MURIDI*-men hand or show him the *šaramma*-pastry and cooked fat.

Furthermore, we see a number of breads which the king receives and breaks. This is a type of offering, perhaps in the form of a deliberate ‘destruction’ of the object. Wine and beer too, are libated and consumed, using cups or *huppar*-vessels. As we will see below (B2), the drinking to deities is a frequent and particularly important type of offer, performed both by the king and the queen. If my analysis of the performance is correct (see below in 6.7), *i.e.* if the festival is joined in by a larger community starting from §59, it follows that the drinking of *marnuwan*-beer is an act performed by a larger ritual audience (from §71), which is then also performed by the king and queen in §75.

A third scene performed throughout the festival day is the washing and drying of hands, performed both by the king and the queen. The washing water is provided by palace attendants. The cloth for drying, in some cases the ‘cloth of the golden spear’, is handed by the chief palace

attendant. We can hypothesize that the chief palace attendant was allowed to come closer to the king than his subordinates, and that handing a cloth to someone with wet hands may have entailed more physical contact than offering a washing bowl for washing hands. Even though the washing of hands, like sitting and standing (performed not just by the king and queen, but also by the *ašeššar*), seems to have a symbolic function in the festival day at large (see below), we do not hear of other participants washing and drying their hands. The restriction of ablution to royal participants in the festival might indicate that only they communicated (directly) with the divine.

The knee cloths, which are placed on the royal couple's knees by palace attendants, are not explicitly said to serve a specific purpose. By analogy of our modern day napkins, one would expect the knee cloths to protect the knee and upper legs from being sprinkled by the bread that the king breaks and the wine that the royal couple drinks. As we will see in the discussion following (6.7), the knee cloths may also have had a more symbolic function, emphasizing the standing up and sitting down of the king and queen.

Two specific activities concerning objects remain elusive: the cutting of the *tuhḫueššar* (§21-26) and the *Tuchwurfszene* (§72). The *tuhḫueššar* is cut not just by the king, but also by the queen. It is on this occasion that they wipe their hands not with a normal cloth, but with the cloth of the golden spear. The *tuhḫueššar* seems to have been penetrable without a knife, unless the knife is for some reason not mentioned. The text is quite elaborate in mentioning the objects used within the performance in the temple of Zababa, as even objects left untouched by the king, but put in his vicinity, are mentioned explicitly. Even the cloth used to wipe the king's hands afterwards is mentioned. As such, I think we should not assume that an unnamed object was used in the tearing of the *tuhḫueššar*, but rather envision a type of tearing without the use of tools, such

as tearing something by hand or using teeth.<sup>58</sup> This is the only interaction the king has with the priest of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA except for a bow from the latter to the former in §24. It is interesting that when the queen has need of the cloth of the golden spear, the priest of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA hands the cloth to a palace attendant, who gives the cloth to the queen. This seems to indicate that it is not just the special status of the cloth of the golden spear (as opposed to other cloths or towels mentioned in this text) dictating its transferal to the king by the priest of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA, but a combination of the special status of this cloth and the fact that it is handed to the king. Although the king and queen perform the same act concerning the *tuhhueššar*, this change in roles between the priest and the palace attendant indicates the king's elevated position even in comparison to the queen.<sup>59</sup> To get a better insight into the *tuhhueššar* and its possible symbolic meaning, we would have to look at all texts mentioning this object and pose the same questions we have tried to answer here. Perhaps then we can also make sense of the setting for this micro ritual, which is performed in the courtyard of the temple of Zababa, not in the 'dais room' like most other rituals.<sup>60</sup>

In the *Tuchwurfszene*, the king throws a cloth (apparently in the air), and depending on where it lands, either a group of palace attendants or a group of bodyguards catches it, and hands it over to a group of waiters. It is unclear whether this scene alludes to a type of game or sport, and whether honor or prizes were to be gained by either group for catching the cloth. We do not learn where the cloth comes from, and it is only the king who performs this specific act. As similar

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<sup>58</sup> Note that BZ compare this scene to other festival texts, where the king wipes off his lips after 'tearing' the *tuhhueššar*. (Badali and Zinko 1989, 66)

<sup>59</sup> Alternatively, we should look into the possibility that the priest of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA was not allowed to touch the queen.

<sup>60</sup> As the *tuhhueššar* is not used in the KILAM festival, a comparative analysis goes beyond the scope of this study. I believe the *tuhhueššar* will be one of the first props that we might understand better when we use a relational database covering most Hittite festival texts, and it is a promising topic for future research.

scenes occur in other festival texts, a better understanding of the symbolic meaning of the *Tuchwurfszene* may be possible through comparison with those attestations.

#### 6.6.2.2 B2: *The drinking ceremony*

§36: the king drinks to Ḫalmašuit (the personified throne) and Zababa

(while standing; singing and recitation, libation by the king).

§76: the king and queen drink to Tauri

(while sitting; no music, no food).

§79: the king and queen drink to Ištanu and Tappinu

(while standing; music, libation by the king).

§89 The king and queen drink to the weathergod and the weathergod of Zippalanda

(while sitting; music).

§109: the king and queen drink to the deity Ḫulla

(while sitting; music).

§112: the king and queen drink to Telipinu

(while sitting; music, breaking bread).

§114: the king and queen drink to Zababa

(while sitting; music).

§132: the king and queen drink to the Sungod

(while standing; music, breaking bread).

The drinking to or of gods has been discussed by a number of scholars, and different interpretations exist as to the understanding of the constituent expressed in the accusative (the deity) depending on the verb *'eku-* (to drink).<sup>61</sup> Depending on one's understanding of this expression, there are different possible interpretations of this action: does the king literally 'imbibe' the (soul of the) deity ('drinking the deity') or does he drink a beverage in honor of a deity ('drinking to a deity')? Following Oğuz Soysal and Petra Goedegebuure, I will translate as 'drinking to' the deity, and envision a type of toast in honor of the deity. This does not exclude however, that this micro ritual was seen as an important religious and symbolic act with which the king could associate himself with the deity in question and thereby enhance his own position and status.

The first act of drinking ceremony is performed by the king alone (§36): he drinks to Ḫalmašutt and Zababa. In all other cases, the king and queen together are the ritual actors drinking to the deity. Other actors probably drink *marnuwan*-beer (§73: the *ašeššar*) and wine (§107: the *UBĀRU*-men), but they are not said to drink to deities. As we know from the colophon that this day of the festival was for the god Zababa, and as the drinking to the deities is explicitly stated to have been performed by both the king and queen in other cases during this day, the 'deity drinking' by the king alone in §36 shows that Ḫalmašutt has a special significance or connection with the king.

A further observation that can be made, is the alternation of the context of the 'drinking to the deity'. In some cases, the king and queen sit, in some they stand. In some cases, offerings

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<sup>61</sup> See especially the contributions by (Soysal 2008, 45-66) and (Goedegebuure 2009), who understand the selection of the accusative to be an interference from the original Hattic formula (the Hattic formula containing a dative ending on *-n*, resembling the Hittite accusative ending).

are made afterwards, in some cases there are no offerings. Some of the ‘deity drinking’ rituals are accompanied by music, some are not. One could argue that these variations perhaps should not be taken so literally. In §76 for instance, it is stated explicitly that there is no music or food, but in §89 and §109, there is no explicit mention of offerings, nor of there not being offerings, so that for those cases, we have no proof either way. This is, of course, the case for several elements in our festival text, and the only way to produce a meaningful, falsifiable analysis of the text is to assume that it was written the way it is written because that is how those composing the text wanted it to look like. Though it may be true that such things as the omission of offerings may have happened in the process of copying, it is methodologically more sound to assume that such variations bear meaning. The variation in the context of the ‘deity drinking’ is difficult to interpret. The variation can be schematized as follows:

§	deity	sitting	music	offerings
§36	Ḫalmašuitt & Zababa	no	yes	yes
§76	Tauri	yes	no	no
§79	Ištanu & Tappinu	no	yes	yes
§89	Weathergod & Weathergod of Zippalanda	yes	yes	(no?)
§109	Ḫulla	yes	yes	(no?)
§112	Telipinu	yes	yes	yes
§114	Zababa	yes	yes	(no?)
§132	Sungod	no	yes	yes

*Table 6.2, Distribution of sitting, standing, music and offerings in the context of ‘deity drinking’*

From this table, we can deduce that at least in the case of Zababa, the elements of ‘deity drinking’ were not fixed, as we see a variation in sitting/standing and the appearance/omission of offerings between §36 and §114. Furthermore, we see all possible combinations except for standing without

music or offering (which would render no/no/no). Music is an element in all but one case, but standing/sitting and appearance/omission of offerings are distributed over the 'deity drinking' attestations almost evenly. There is no apparent distribution pattern for this day of the festival, such as a consistent yes-no-yes-no variation. It would be of interest to see whether other texts referring to the same deities show similar patterns of distribution, so as to see whether for instance the worship of the gods Ḫalmašuit, Zababa and the Sungod (all: no/yes/yes) are typically associated with music and food offerings, or whether this is the way that 'deity drinking' is usually started and ended. In the latter case, we would like to know what the significance is of a similar sequence for the deities Ištānu and Tappinu, which are mentioned third in our list. The growing dataset as started out in this thesis will facilitate a large-scale comparative analysis in the future.

### 6.6.2.3 *Remarks on category B*

Activities concerning objects performed by the king show that the king is a focal point for the ritual activities performed during this day of the festival. His presence, gaze or touch could have been seen to change the status of objects. When the king actually wields an object, it most often concerns food offerings (breaking bread) or libation of beer or wine. Two special actions, which are performed only once, are the 'tearing' of the *tuhḫueššar* and the *Tuchwurfszene*. The drinking to deities occurs eight times. The king acts alone in many cases, but is also joined by the queen in a number of the activities concerning objects. Even when the king is joined by the queen in performing specific rituals, such as the 'tearing' of the *tuhḫueššar* and the drinking to deities, there are indications that the king has a status that is different, probably more elevated, than the that

of the queen. Among other things, this can be deduced from the actors who hand the king certain objects. Compared to the overall number of people participating in the festival, it is interesting to see that only a small group of people handed objects to the king and queen: most often palace attendants, the chief palace attendant or the cupbearer, furthermore the priest of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA, the chief bodyguard, the chief cook, the chief waiter, a waiter and the so-called *haliyami*-men and the *MURIDI*-men. This does not mean however, that only a small amount of people witnessed the king's actions regarding objects. As we will see in 6.4, the drinking ceremony and bread breaking scenes may very well have been witnessed and/or participated in by a large audience.

### 6.6.3 Type C: Acts of communication concerning people (C1) and deities (C2)

#### 6.6.3.1 C1: Acts of communication concerning people

§3: the priest leads bodyguards to the king and the king puts his hand on them.

§24: the priest of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA bows to the king.<sup>62</sup>

§35: the king bows, probably to the statue of Hattusili or to the entities to whom the chief cook has offered in §29-34 (see C2). However, it cannot be excluded that the king bows to signal the <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU and the <sup>LÚ</sup>kitaš to perform.

§60: the herald seats the princes (see A2).

§63: The king repeats the command given by the chief bodyguard about the GIŠ <sup>D</sup>INANNA-instruments: “let them lift them (out)”; the command is passed from the chief bodyguard to the

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<sup>62</sup> Note that although there is parallelism in the scenes where the king and queen cut from the *tuhhuesšar*, only the king is bowed to.



king, and then from the chief bodyguard to the herald and from the herald to the musicians, changing form during most of these exchanges.

The chief bodyguard functions as the link between the herald and the king (presumably located in the courtyard and the 'dais room' respectively, see below).

§71: the chief bodyguard communicates with the king about the *marnuwan*-beer for the congregation. It is uncertain whether the citation here is of the chief bodyguard or of the king himself: "*marnuwan-beer for the congregation*". This may be the official start of the festive part of this day (see below).

§73: the king signals with his eyes, after which the barbers sweep the floor.

§84: the chief palace attendant announces 32 thick breads from Arinna to the king and queen.

§94: the chief bodyguard announces the gifts of the UR.GI-men to the king.

§107: the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU bow to the king.

§116: the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU and the congregation (*ašeššar*) bow to the king.

§119: the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU bow to the king twice and sit down.

§124: the cupbearer bows to the king.

§129: the cupbearer bows to the king.

Within the preceding forms of communication, one can distinguish active and passive activities involving the king. In the latter category, we see that the priest of <sup>d</sup>LAMMA, the <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>UBĀRU, the *ašeššar* and the cupbearer bow to the king on a number of occasions. Furthermore, breads and

gifts are announced to him, though these ‘activities’ could also be put under B1 (activities concerning objects).

Active acts of communication are infrequent: the king may have bowed to signal the <sup>LÚ</sup>ALAM.ZU and the <sup>LÚ</sup>kitaš to perform, but the bow is more likely directed at a deity or deified ancestor (see C2). The act in §3, when the king puts his hand on the bodyguard, reminds us of several of his activities towards objects in B1, where the king is the focal point of action and his presence changes the status of an object. Most interesting within C1 are the commands expressed in §63 and §71. In both of those cases, it seems as though the command only becomes ‘valid’ when it has been repeated by or at least communicated to the king. In §63 for instance, the chief bodyguard already knows that the next part of the festival should entail music on the *INANNA*-instruments, but this can only be set in motion through an elaborative communicative act set in motion by the king. In §73, the king seems to give a command by giving a signal with his eyes.

During these festival celebrations, there are many references to music and other types of sound. It strikes the reader as curious therefore, that we should only hear the king speak once (*‘parā=war=uš karpandu’* “let them lift them out”; §63, 31, about the *INANNA*-instruments). In §63, the king repeats the exclamation of the chief bodyguard verbatim. In §71, it is not immediately clear who is speaking, the king or the chief bodyguard:

(1) GIM-an=ma TU<sup>7HI.A</sup> takšan šarrattari

(2) nu GAL MEŠEDI LUGAL-i marnuwan

(3) tarkummiyaizzi ašešni=wa marnuwan

(4) ta ašešni marnuwan tiyanzi

When the stew is divided in half,

the head bodyguard notifies the king of the *marnuwan*-beer.

“*Marnuwan*-beer for the congregation”. And they place *marnuwan*-beer for the congregation.

(§71, 1-4 b.A VI, KBo 4.9 iv 1-4 )

In §71, the verb *tarkummiyaizzi* takes the direct object *marnuwan*. As such, it seems that ‘GAL MEŠEDI LUGAL-*i marnuwan tarkummiyaizzi*’ corresponds to the citation of the bodyguard’s speech in §63, and indicates that the bodyguard has delivered his message to the king.<sup>63</sup> It is likely therefore, that the direct citation (with the citation particle -wa) ‘*ašešni=wa marnuwan*’, is the direct speech of the king.

Should we assume that the king spoke more than the text gives us evidence for, for instance during the many times that he offers bread or wine? Or were festival celebrations like these a rather silent affair – at least when it comes to the spoken word — than modern readers might expect them to have been? The abundance of musical instrument suggests that the festival could have been a rather loud affair. Perhaps a middle ground should be envisioned, in which the expressions that could be heard by most participants of the ritual are mentioned in the text (and as such, are rather limited for the 16<sup>th</sup> day), whereas the king could also have whispered words of prayer or small commands not audible to most participants. The text itself however, does not provide proof of this scenario.

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<sup>63</sup> Note that cuneiform copy c.B has ‘*tianzi*’ right after the first mention of *marnuwan* in §71, probably a case of parablepsis.

### 6.6.3.2 C2: deities

§27: the king and queen bow to Zababa.

§35: the king bows, probably to the statue of Hattusili or to the entities to whom the chief cook has offered in §29-34.

Whereas several ritual actors bow to the king, the king and queen only bow to a deity, namely Zababa, the main deity of the 16<sup>th</sup> day. As such, the interpretation of the bow in §35 as a bow to Hattusili becomes even more likely. Interestingly, it is not the king who offers to the statue of Hattusili, but the chief cook (§34).

### 6.6.3.3 Remarks on category C

Kingly activities of communication are to a large extent passive acknowledgements of bows or announcements made by other ritual actors. When the king actively communicates, it concerns commands to people or honoring of gods and possibly ancestors. Again, the king seems to function as a focal point for ritual activities, as his touch and his voice lend a status to both people and commands. Apparently, other actors could not lend this authority or carry on the festival in this manner. Whereas active communication (bowing) is performed by a large group of people towards the king, the king and queen reserve this act of communication for the most important deity of the day. These communication differences and the apparent silence during large portions of the festival will have had an effect on the festivals' witnesses. We can assume that the few words the king did utter would have had a great impact and may bear a greater significance than one would think at a first glance. The role of bodily movements within the festival (such as the

bowing of large groups of people to the king) may have reinforced power relationships. We have also seen sequences in gesticular performance during the many alternations between sitting and standing (see also 6.4 below). It is in these performance elements specifically, that a comparative analysis between different Hittite festivals may show what effects these movements and gestures may have had, and how the elements were employed to create certain effects. Some preliminary conclusions based on the comparison of these elements from the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and KI.LAM festivals follow in chapter 8.

### **6.7 Text specific problems: location and visibility**

The previous sections of this chapter covered the basic building blocks of performance we would need to know and understand to organize a performance of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival. As we have seen, even understanding those basic elements of *how* to perform the festival can prove difficult, as the cuneiform record is not self-explanatory. Questions remain concerning some core characteristics of the celebrations, which greatly impact our understanding of the king's visibility during the festival. In turn, our lack of understanding exactly *how* the festival was performed, impedes a better understanding of *why* this was done so.

In this section, then, I further address some of the questions of how we should envision the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival. Most importantly, I go into the difficulties in pinpointing the exact location of the king during different parts of the festival, a possible division of the festival day into a more secluded and a more public part, and the impact of those elements on the visibility of the king's actions. I formulate hypotheses to answer the questions which remained unanswered in the discussions above, so that we have a more integral understanding

of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival before we undertake a comparative analysis with the KILAM performance (chapters 7 and 8).

### 6.7.1 Presence or absence of the king

As has been argued above, the festival is not primarily governed by the king's actions, but rather by his presence and participation in general. There are only one or two descriptions of festival activities taking place outside of the presence of the king. The first one is the sweeping of Zababa's temple and the *mise-en-place* of offerings in that temple after the king has left (§8-11). Depending on how one interprets the situation (see below), the second scene outside of the king's presence is the preparation for the greater audience's arrival in the courtyard of the Zababa-temple (§59). As we will see, there seems to be partial visibility between the courtyard and the room where the royal couple is situated from §59 onwards. I see these exceptions as confirming the rule: preparations for ritual acts could be done without the king present, but his presence was necessary for the actual carrying out of the festival's rituals.

We should keep in mind that the presence of the king was paramount to the celebration of the festivals, and he would break off military campaigns to participate if possible. If his performance was really impossible to organize, alternatives were sought, such as a performance by stand-in royals or extensions of the performance.<sup>64</sup> Though we may expect the importance of the king's presence to have to do with the active participation in ritual acts — envisioning the king as a type of priest who is in charge of the rituals — our festival text rather paints a picture in

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<sup>64</sup> See for instance (Bryce 2002, 188; Schwemer 2022, 389-390).

which many ritual actors perform a multitude of micro-rituals, *some* of which were performed by the king (and by the king only), none of which took place in case the king was not present. In other words, it seems that the king's primary role in the festivals is not that of the minister, vicar or another type of principal figure in the performance of ritual acts: his primary role was to be physically present as a focal point for the festival. His presence and occasional performance confers authority or legitimacy to the festival as a whole, to the objects used and to the micro-rituals performed.

### 6.7.2 Dais

A further problem that we would like to see solved is the status of the deified throne, the dais, in this festival. The king's position on the dais (starting in §28), may have reinforced the king's status or role as a ritual focal point.

The somewhat inconsistent use of the determinative <sup>GIŠ</sup> ("wood") vs. <sup>d</sup> (for DINGIR "god") in <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-ti, <sup>d</sup>DAG-ti, <sup>GIŠ</sup>hal-ma-šu-it-ti and <sup>d</sup>HAL-MA-AŠ-ŠU-UT-TU<sub>4</sub>, both within the main text and throughout the copies, make it difficult to pinpoint what the relationship is between the sacred or deified throne and the throne goddess herself. Ḫalmašuitt is seen as the personified throne, and is held to have played "an important role in the ideology of kingship".<sup>65</sup> In our text, the dais is used for something one can both step on and sit on. BZ use the distinction made in HW<sup>2</sup> and translate 'die Throngottheit' when the deity is being offered to or drunk to in relation with Zababa (in §29 and §36), and 'Thron' when they believe the physical dais is meant (all other

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<sup>65</sup> (Popko 1995, 71) See also (Soysal 2008, 61-4) for the deity 'couple' Ḫalmašuitt and Halm/putili, who he sees represented by the dais and the *lituus* respectively.

cases, including the second attestation in §29).<sup>66</sup> The variation of usage can be summarized as follows:<sup>67</sup>

Dais designation:	Mentioned in paragraph:	Use:
<sup>GIŠ</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i>	§28	the king steps on it
<sup>d</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i> ; b.B II has <sup>GIŠ</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i>	§29	an offering is made to it and to Zababa
<sup>GIŠ</sup> [DA]G- <i>ti</i> ; b.B II and b.C IV have <sup>GIŠ</sup> <i>hal-ma-šu-it-ti</i>	§29	it is mentioned in a sequence of locations within the room at which an offering ritual takes place
<sup>d</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i>	§31	an offering is made to it and to Zababa
<sup>d</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i>	§33	it is mentioned in a sequence of locations within the room at which an offering ritual takes place
<sup>d</sup> HAL-MA-AŠ-ŠU-UT-TU <sub>4</sub>	§36	the king drinks to it and Zababa
<sup>GIŠ</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i>	§38	the king and the queen sit on it
<sup>GIŠ</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i>	§38	the <i>lituus</i> is positioned close to it
<sup>GIŠ</sup> DAG- <i>ti</i>	§45	the golden spear is positioned close to it

Table 6.3, Use and designations of the dais

In §28, the dais that the king steps onto is called the <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti*. The sequence of entities to be offered to in §29 has <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti* (but <sup>GIŠ</sup>*hal-ma-šu-it-ti* in two different versions), the sequence in §33 is almost the same, but has <sup>d</sup>DAG-*ti*. When the king and queen sit down on the dais, it is the <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti* again (§38, 26). The easiest solution is to follow HW2 and assume that <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti* is used when the physical throne is meant, and <sup>d</sup>DAG-*ti* when the deity specific is meant. This would however leave us with a few inconsistencies: the <sup>GIŠ</sup>DAG-*ti* in b.B II for the offering to the throne deity and Zababa, and the use of the phonetic spelling of the throne goddess's name when the physical dais was meant in b.B II and b.C IV. The inconsistent use of terminology throughout the

<sup>66</sup> HW<sup>2</sup> III 65a, (Badali and Zinko 1989, 48-50)

<sup>67</sup> Variations in other copies are mentioned per attestation.



copies indicates that no clear distinction between the different designations was made by the scribes. The exact connection between the goddess Ḫalmašuitt — the first deity to be honored in the drinking ceremony together with Zababa — and the physical dais remains to be seen.

In the discussions of category A2 and B2, we have seen that the sitting and standing of the king and queen were marked events, in some cases influencing also the movement of large groups of ritual participants. If the dais indeed held a symbolic role concerning kingship, then it seems that special attention was drawn to it during festival celebrations by a gesticular performance of sitting and standing, as well as the use of the dais as a point of reference for many of the activities performed during the festival day.

### 6.7.3 Location

In the following sections, I argue that starting §59, the festival turns into a feast-like celebration in the courtyard, which include music, food and drink. Furthermore, this day of the festival (that is, those parts described in the texts edited by BZ), can be envisioned as different ‘acts’, which saw different amounts of people witnessing and participating in the ritual activities. The parts of the festival inside the ḫalentu as well as inside the temple of Zababa would have been more secluded, perhaps only to be seen by those people participating in the ritual, whereas the processions between the locations, as well as the feast-like act starting from §59 had a larger audience. The people present at this last act (not as public as the processions and not as secluded

as the acts inside the *ḥalentu* or the dais-room of the temple of Zababa) may have been a type of congregation, sometimes referred to as the ‘*ašeššar*’ or ‘*ašeššar ḥuman*’.<sup>68</sup>

The sequence of locations I propose for the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the festival is as follows:

Table 6.4, Location of the king throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the festival

Location of the king	Paragraphs that take place there	Other relevant locations
<i>Ḥalentu</i>	§1	
Unknown place/road	§2	
Temple complex of Zababa; probably limited to courtyard of Zababa	§2-3	
a room/space within the temple or courtyard of Zababa	§4-6	
Road to the <i>Ḥalentu</i> , choice of going ‘outside’ or not <sup>69</sup>	§7	
[Preparations at the temple of Zababa (without the king present)]	[§8-11]	
<i>Ḥalentu</i>	§12-13	Courtyard of the bodyguards is opened, procession participants gather
Road to the temple of Zababa	§14-18	
Temple complex of Zababa; specifically the <i>hilamni</i> -house	§19	
Courtyard of Zababa	§20-26	
Inner temple of Zababa	§27	
Dais room	§28-136	During §28, the queen is in the inner chamber. She has joined the king again by §38. From §59, a larger audience is witness to the festivities from the courtyard.

<sup>68</sup> There are three uses of *ašeššar*’ for the 16<sup>th</sup> day. The first can be disregarded here, and concerns a special assembly of LÚ.MEŠUBĀRU(M) (§78, 135). The second is ‘*ašeššar*’ without a qualifying noun or adjective (§71, 78, 119) and the third specifies the assembly as ‘*ḥuman*’ (§78, §130). These last two probably refer to the same group of people.

<sup>69</sup> The king is said to have a choice to go outside at this point (‘*a-ra-ah-za pa-iz-zi*’, b.A I, 8). It is uncertain what is meant by this expression. Perhaps it meant that he could go outside of the city walls, or perhaps there were two ways from the temple of Zababa to the *ḥalentu*: one considered an ‘inside’ route, and one considered an ‘outside’ one.

We will follow the locations mentioned in the text, and go into the problems as they come up:

- §1: *Ḥalentu-building*

The king starts out from the *ḥalentu*-building, which he exits (§1).

- §2-§6: *Courtyard of the Zababa-temple*

He goes into the courtyard of the Zababa-temple (§2). It is unclear where to the movement is directed in §4-5, but in §6, he exits the Zababa-temple. We cannot be sure whether the king actually made it past the courtyard of the temple.

- §7-12: *Ḥalentu-building*

The king goes to the *ḥalentu*-building (§7), where he puts on other clothing (§12).

- §13-17: *Walking from the ḥalentu-building to the Zababa-temple*

Next, the king and queen leave the *ḥalentu*-building together (§13). Their movements are accompanied by a parade of people, music, song and dance.

- §18-26: *Courtyard and the 'House of the Gateway' in the temple of Zababa*

The royal couple is said to not go into the temple of Zababa just yet. The ALAM.ZU-men, the *palwatalla*-man and the *kita*-man go before the king and queen, and take their places. They may be going into the courtyard before the royal couple, but this is not stated explicitly (§18). When the king and queen go into the temple of Zababa, the king goes to the *ḥilammar*-house (the so-called 'House of the Gateway') (§19). The royal couple proceeds to the courtyard (§20).

- §27-42: *Inner temple of Zababa: dais (room) and inner chamber*

We have already seen that the royal couple goes towards or into the temple complex in §19, into the courtyard in §20 and into the temple proper in §27. Within the temple, the king steps onto the dais (<sup>GI</sup>ŠDAG-*ti*) and the queen goes into the inner chamber (É.ŠÀ, §28). In §38, both the king and queen sit down on the dais. There is no proof that the dais was not in the inner chamber referred to as É.ŠÀ, though it seems strange that if it was, only the queen would explicitly be said to go into the inner chamber, and not the king. In any case it seems likely, due to the use of prepositions of going ‘in’ and ‘out’ when referring to the room in which the dais with the king stands, that the dais is placed in a type of room that can be considered part of the inner temple. When the queen joins the king on the dais in §38, both of them are in the same room, which we will refer to as the ‘dais room’, so as to keep the option open that the dais was not in the É.ŠÀ.

- §43-58: *Staying in or leaving the dais-room*

§43 sees palace attendants and the chief palace attendant helping the royal couple washing their hands. It is unclear who, in the paragraph following, is said to leave:

(1) DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>.É.GAL [ANA LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL MÊ QATI]

(2) *pianzi* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL [ŠU<sup>MEŠ</sup>=ŠUNU]

(3) *arranzi* GAL DUMU.M[EŠ.É.GAL GADA-*an*]

(4) *pāi* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ŠU<sup>ME</sup>[Š=ŠUNU *ānšanzi*]

The palace attendants give the king and queen hand water.

The king and queen wash their hands.

The chief palace attendant gives a towel.

The king and queen wipe their hands.

(5) *n=at=kan parā pānzi*

(6) GAL MEŠEDI=a=kan parā paizz[i]

They exit.

The chief bodyguard too, exits.

(7) *nu DUMU.É.GAL G<sup>IS</sup>SUKUR GUŠKIN*

(8) *G<sup>IS</sup>mukar=ya pēdai*

(9) *n=at=šan paizzi G<sup>IS</sup>DAG-ti*

(10) LUGAL-i ZAG-naz *G<sup>IS</sup>mari*

(11) *kattan dāi (...)*

A palace attendant carries forth the golden spear and the *mukar*-instrument,  
and he goes and places them on the dais to the right of the king next to the spear.

(§43-45, 1-11 b.A IV, KBo 4.9 iv 1-11)

It is the king and queen who are the last mentioned subjects of §43 before the start of §44. It would therefore seem logical that it was they who leave in line 5. However, in §45, we learn that a palace attendant brings two objects to the dais and places them 'on the dais to the right of the king, next to the spear'. This would imply that the king has not left the dais at all. Also in favor of this

interpretation is the fact that the king is not said to have stood up and his knee cloth has not been removed. We will see that the knee cloths might indicate the movements (or lack thereof) of the king. One could argue that the indication ‘to the right of the king’ refers to the position the king would normally have, had he been sitting on the dais. However, the actions that follow these paragraphs make no mention of a direction for the royal couple to go to nor of a new location for the actions that follow. The activities do not take place in the inner temple without the king being present, as can be deduced from the actions of the chief bodyguard in §40, §46 and §48. He comes in (*anda úizzi*; §40, 36-37) and places himself ‘LUGAL-*i menahhanda*’ (‘facing the king’; §40, 39-40, §46, 15) and puts a spear ‘LUGAL-*i GÙB-laz kuttianda*’ (‘to the left of the king at/against the wall’; §48, 24-25). The use of the preposition ‘in’ (*anda*; §49, 27), implies that ritual actors are still coming or bringing things into an enclosed space, rather than the courtyard or other open space. Therefore, the king and queen cannot have left the dais room in §44.

There are two possible interpretations of this ‘going away’ in §44, 5. A first possibility is that it is not the king and queen who are said to go away, but the palace attendants and the chief palace attendant mentioned in §43. This makes even more sense when we consider §44, 6, in which the chief bodyguard, who was mentioned in §40, is said to ‘also’ leave. A second solution is that the scribe erroneously used a standardized expression following the micro ritual of hand washing, which we also see in §74 (but not in §21). In §74, 24 we see the exact same expression : *‘n=at=kán parā pānzi’*.<sup>70</sup> As we will see below, it is unlikely that the expression of ‘exiting’ or ‘going away’ in §74 refers to a departure by the royal couple. Since the expression is used twice (in §44

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<sup>70</sup> Note that in §43-44, the formula is separated from the washing scene by a paragraph line, whereas in §74, it is right at the end of the paragraph after the washing scene, before the paragraph line.

and §74), it is unlikely that this is an error by the scribe. It seems that the expression ‘and they exit’ (or ‘and they go away’) was a type of formula used to conclude the micro ritual of hand washing. In our case, the formula is used so closely to actions performed by the king and queen that we would think it is they who leave, whereas the formula is actually meant to signal the departure of the attendants. I take the king and queen as not leaving the inner temple in §44, where they actually remain (sometimes seated, sometimes standing), in my understanding of the text, for the rest of this festival day.

- §59-136: *Courtyard and the inner temple of Zababa*

Starting from §59, a second ‘setting’ for ritual activity is introduced with the phrase:

*éhili=ma=kan zériyalli GADA-it waššanta karū arta*

In the courtyard, zeriyailli-pottery stands, covered with cloth, are already set up.

(§59, 18-19 b.A V, KBo 4.9 v 18-19)

In the lines following, it is debatable whether the king has gone out of the inner chamber into the courtyard, or whether there is a back-and-forth between the actors preparing things in the courtyard and communicating with the king inside. I will argue for the latter possibility.

A first indication are the actions performed by the ‘herald’ (LÚ<sup>GIŠPA</sup>) and the chief bodyguard. In §60, directly following the description of pottery already standing ready for the rituals following, the herald changes his position (*‘peran hūwai’*, lit. ‘he runs in front’; §60, 20) and starts a sequence of seating different people, the first of whom are the princes

(DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>.LUGAL). After the princes, the LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>PA, apparently acting as a type of usher here, seats the cooks, the holy priest, the ‘lord of Ḫatti’ and the priestess of the goddess Halki. Though we mustn’t exclude the possibility that the list of people being seated could fit into the dais room where most of the ritual acts have taken place before §59, it seems more likely that they were seated in the courtyard mentioned in §59. The king on the other hand seems to have still been inside, as after the ushering scene, the text proceeds in §63:

(28) *n=[aš]ta GAL MEŠEDI anda paizzi ta LUGAL-i*

(29) *[tark]ummiyaizzi GIŠ<sup>h</sup> INANNA<sup>h</sup>.A=wa parā*

(30) *karappanzi*

(30) *LUGAL-uš=ya tezzi*

(31) *parā=-war=uš karpandu*

The chief bodyguard goes in and notifies the king: “they will lift (out) the Inanna-instruments”.

And the king says: “let them lift them (out)”.

(32) *n=ašta GAL MEŠEDI<sup>h</sup> hīli parā*

(33) *paizzi nu ANA LÚ<sup>GIŠ</sup>PA tezzi zinir zinir’*

Then the chief bodyguard goes on to(?) the courtyard and says to the herald: “zinir zinir”.

(§63-64, 28-33 b.A V, KBo 4.9 v 28-33)

From this passage, it seems that the chief bodyguard functions as a kind of messenger between the herald in the courtyard and the king in the dais room. This can be deduced from the use of ‘anda’ (§63, 28) for going inside, and perhaps from the expression ‘para paizzi’ (§64, 32-33). The



latter literally means “to go forth, to go on”. The explicit ‘*anda*’ in line 28, plus the apparent necessity for a middleman to communicate between the herald and the king about the playing of the instruments, speak for a position of the king inside, separated from the courtyard.

Another indication that the king was inside during the events happening after §59, is what occurs in §73:

(14) LUGAL-*uš* IGI<sup>HL.A</sup>-*it iyazi* LÚ.MEŠŠU.I=*kan*

(15) *taganzipuš šanḫanzi*

The king makes eye signs. The barbers sweep the floors.

(§73, 14-15 b.A VI, KBo 4.9 vi 14-15)

The word *taganzipa* is etymologically related to *tekan* (earth)<sup>71</sup>, and is sometimes used as the opposite of heaven (*nepiš taganzipaš* = AN-*iš* KI-*paš*, ‘heaven and earth’). The word could either mean ‘earth’ or ‘floor’, referring to a manmade type of floor. As we have no certain archaeological evidence for the type of flooring used in Hittite temples, there is no way to prove that the inner temple would have a proper floor and the courtyard would not, but this is a possibility. The king could either give a sign with his eyes to the barbers, who are close enough to see this gesture, and they sweep the (dais room) floors. Alternatively, the king gives the sign in the dais room and the barbers know through someone else that they are to start sweeping the courtyard floor or earth. It is also possible, though less likely, that even though they were standing in the courtyard, they were able to see the king’s sign. The use of *taganzipa* instead of *tekan* however, could indicate that

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<sup>71</sup> (Kloekhorst 2008, 812-3)

they are sweeping a manmade floor, thus making the scenario of the king and the barbers in the dais room more likely. As such, this passage can be used as indirect evidence that the king was probably inside, still in the dais room, after §59.

A third argument for the existence of two ‘stages’ for ritual acts here, are the knee cloths that are mentioned in §46, §78, §83 and §131. As we have seen, before the introduction of the courtyard as a stage for rituals acts (in §59), the king is sitting on the dais with the queen. In §46, two palace attendants put ‘*gienuwa* GAD<sup>HLA'</sup> ‘cloths towards the knee’<sup>72</sup> of the royal couple (§46, 17). There is no more mention of these cloths until §78, when the cloths are taken away again, and after some rituals during which the couple is seated, the king bows while standing (‘GUB-*aš'*, participle of *ar-* ‘to stand’, §82, 55). The putting down of knee cloths thus indicates a seated position when the couple has just sat down, and the taking away of the knee cloths indicates that they will soon stand up.

Directly after the king’s standing bow in §82, the royal couple sits down again, and they are again fitted with knee cloths in §83. Like the activities described in §46-78, everything that happens between §83 and §131 probably happened while the king was seated. The royal couple is said to drink several deities while seated (‘TUŠ-*aš'*, e.g., §89, 23’). After the knee cloths are taken away in §131, the royal couple drinks to the sun deity while standing ‘GUB-*aš'* (§132, 25).

The shifts in positions deduced from the text can be summarized as follows:

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<sup>72</sup> The form as we find it in the text would be an allative. As this is unusual, perhaps we should consider this to be a haplography, where the sign /*aš'*/ was mistakenly omitted: the horizontal sign /*aš'*/ may have been omitted because of the ending of the /*wa*/ sign. I am indebted to Theo van den Hout for this suggestion. A counter indication for this suggestion would be that BZ do not mention a genitive construction for any of the copies.

relevant §	context:	royal couple position: (bold is explicit, <i>italics</i> is inferred)
§38	king and queen sit down on the dais	<b>sit down</b>
§46	cloths put on knees of king and queen	<i>stay seated</i>
§78	cloths 'taken'	<i>stay seated</i>
§78	the UBĀRU(M)-men (and) congregation stand	<i>stay seated</i>
§79	king and queen drink to Ištanu and Tappinu while seated	<b>stay seated</b>
§82	king bows while standing	<b>stand up</b>
§83	king and queen sit down, knee cloths are put down on their knees	<b>sit down</b>
§89	king and queen drink to the Weathergod and the Stormgod of Zippalanda while seated	<b>stay seated</b>
§107	the UBĀRU(M)-men bow to the king, are referred to as 'standing ones', and sit down.	<i>stay seated</i>
§109	king and queen drink to the Hulla while seated	<b>stay seated</b>
§112	king and queen drink to Telipinu while seated	<b>stay seated</b>
§114	king and queen drink to Zababa while seated	<b>stay seated</b>
§115	some people are reciting while standing	<i>stay seated</i>
§119	the UBĀRU(M)-men bow to the king and sit down	<i>stay seated</i>
§130	the UBĀRU(M)-men (and) congregation stand	<i>stay seated</i>
§131	cloth taken away from the king and queen	<i>stay seated</i>
§132	king and queen drink to ʿUD while standing	<b>stand up</b>
§135	the UBĀRU(M)-men are still standing	<i>stay standing up</i>

Table 6.5, Seated or standing position of the royal couple throughout the text

From these occurrences of the knee cloth, we can conclude that the sitting and standing of the royal couple was important and any changes in their position were therefore probably made explicit. The putting down and taking away of the knee cloths can serve as a marker of changes

in the king's position, and therefore also of his location, as the king cannot have moved from the dais room to the courtyard if he did not stand up.

The knee cloth evidence helps us with the two occasions (§44 and §74) where one might think that the text indicates a departure by the royal couple from the dais room. We have seen that contextual evidence shows that palace attendants leave in §44. The practice of putting down knee cloths after an explicit moment of sitting down (e.g., §83) supports this analysis. Similar contextual arguments, as well as the evidence provided by the knee cloths indicates that the royal couple was also seated in §74, so that it is again palace attendants (the ones who have brought washing water) that leave, and not the king and queen.

#### 6.7.4 Visibility

Drawing on the above, the king likely remained seated in the dais room from §38-79, and was seated also from §83-131, without any mention of leaving the dais room or moving elsewhere. There is no reason to assume that the king left the dais room at all after §28. That means he will not have been physically present at rituals taking place in the courtyard starting in §59. However, he *is* taking part in the actions described after §59, a situation which seems problematic.

The king's actions appear to relate to a larger audience during the announcement of the *marnuwan*-beer (§71, see C2 and below), and the '*Tuchwurfszene*' in §72 (see also B1). One could argue that the announcement of the *marnuwan*-beer and the *Tuchwurfszene* are the first real events taking place after the seating of the greater audience by the herald and the start of a type of feast (see below) for the 'congregation'. Perhaps the *Tuchwurfszene* even had entertainment value for the audience. Furthermore, there seems little purpose to the introduction of new people as

performers or partakers of the festival (§60-70) if they are not able to witness in some way or other the bread breaking, libations and 'deity drinking' rituals that take place from §76 onwards. Their active participation in the rituals, at least as far as the text shows, seems limited to drinking wine and eating soup, changing from sitting to standing positions and bowing to the king. However, there are indications that they may have been part of a kind of feast, which could include the consumption of the many breads that are mentioned.

Taking this into account, we should reconsider the scenario of the dais room and the courtyard as two complete separate entities, but rather allow for some form of visual and/or auditory communication to have been possible between the spaces. If the actions taking place in the inner temple were (partly) visible from the courtyard, there is less of a problem understanding why a number of people were ushered to their places in the courtyard in §60-70 without the king changing position too. These people were not supposed to take part in or be witness to the rituals acts before being seated, but they are to take part as witnesses in what follows, though at a distance from the inner chamber. The references to music, stew, wine, and beer, could indicate that the second part of the 16<sup>th</sup> day, starting after §59, sees a larger audience to the festivities, perhaps in the form of a feast. The exclamation '*marnuwan*-beer for the congregation' (§71, 1-4 b.A VI) after the seating of §60-70 could be understood as the start of this feast. This scene could mark the second part of the day, in which a larger part of the community takes part, and stew or soup,<sup>73</sup> as well as beer is consumed by those attending. The *zeriyalli*-pottery which was said to stand ready in §59 could be the first marker in the text to announce that this part of the festival was

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<sup>73</sup> BZ envision an unappealing sounding 'wässriges Topfgericht mit Fleish' (which they compare to Turkish haşlama), other envision a 'bouillon de bœuf' or 'bouillon de viande'. BZ 1989, 75-6.

about to start. ‘*Zeriyalli*’, according to Hoffner and Melchert, is a noun built on a noun (*zeri*- ‘cup’) using the Luwian suffix *-alli-*: ‘cup-stand’.<sup>74</sup> Depending on how large these stands were, they may either have supported the vessels holding stew or beer, or they may have held cups used to consume stew or beer. I presented iconographic evidence for the existence of such support stands in chapter 5 (see 5.4.1, fig. 5.34). We have seen that it is likely that the exclamation ‘*marnuwan-beer for the congregation*’ was spoken by the king. If this was indeed the case, that would be an even stronger indication that this is a pivotal point in the celebrations of the festival day. The actions of the herald and the bodyguard, who communicated with the king regarding the INANNA-instruments between the courtyard and the dais room, are arguments for envisioning the king as remaining in the dais room even after §59. This may seem contradictory to the idea of those spaces allowing for communication, but the indirect communication with the king could also be explained through his special status: perhaps it was not *bon ton* to communicate *en plein public* to the king that he needed to give the order for music, or perhaps some existing dynamic of silence, whispering and music is lost to us.

Evidence from the archaeological record does not contradict the possibility of acts happening in the dais room while partially visible or audible to the audience in the courtyard. The temples of the temple district in *Yukarı Şehir* (the southern, higher part of Bogazköy) show a lay-out featuring a centrally located courtyard with many adjacent rooms.

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<sup>74</sup> (Hoffner and Melchert 2008, 55) I am indebted to Josh Cannon for bringing this reference to my attention.

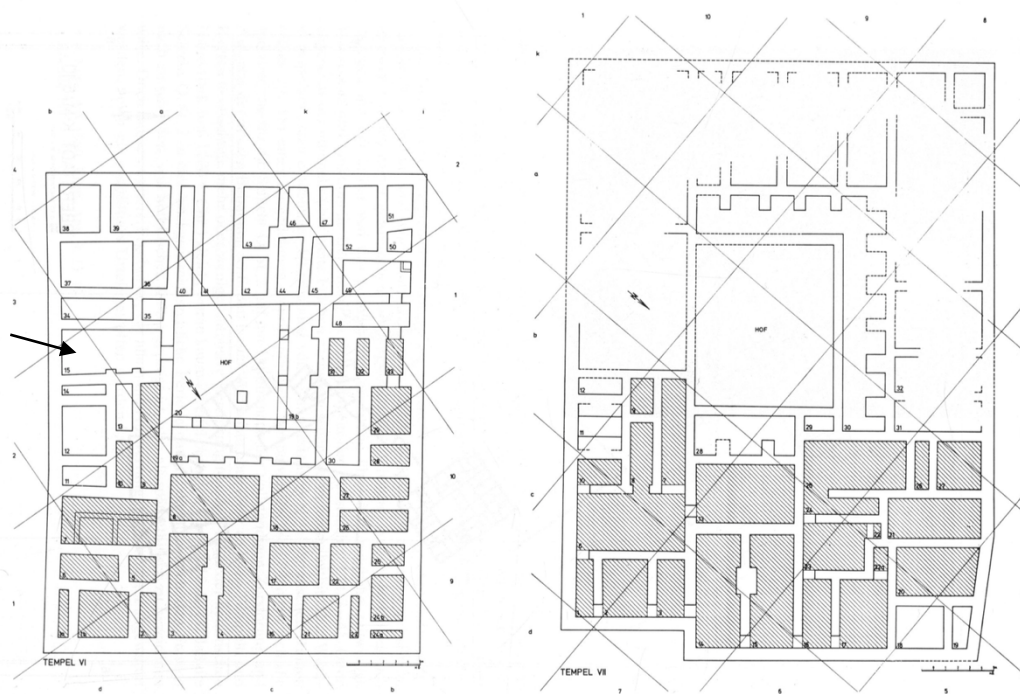


Figure 6.5. Temple VI and VII in the Upper City (arrow indicates room 15)  
(Neve 1984, 347-8), *Abbildung 21*

Although the courtyards of temples VI and VII may seem small compared to the number of people estimated to have witnessed the 16<sup>th</sup> day (ca. 80 to possibly hundreds, see 6.3), their surface area actually allows for an estimate of roughly the same amount of people.<sup>75</sup> Starting from the formula used by Gilbert, Inomata and Ristvet, I developed my own formula for festival participants (in a feast-like setting) in chapter 3.4, that I have applied to several potential performance locations in chapter 5.

<sup>75</sup> The image from Neve ((1984, 347-8)) shows the approximate length and width of both courtyards, 10x12m and 11x13m for temple VI and VII respectively.

	<b>Small crowd:</b> <i>ample space</i>	<b>Medium crowd:</b> <i>adequate space, infrequent limb touching</i>	<b>Dense crowd:</b> <i>only just enough space for required movements; frequent touching</i>
<b>formula</b>	0.78 person/m <sup>2</sup> 1.3 m <sup>2</sup> /person	1.25 person/m <sup>2</sup> 0.8 m <sup>2</sup> /person	2.78 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.36 m <sup>2</sup> /person
<b>Temple VI courtyard</b> (ca 120 m <sup>2</sup> )	93.6 people	150 people	333.6 people
<b>Temple VII courtyard</b> (ca 143 m <sup>2</sup> )	111.5 people	178 people	397.5 people

Table 6.6, Possible numbers of festival participants

The formula shows that a ‘medium’ crowd size for an average Hittite temple actually fits well with the estimated amount of people based on the texts of the 16<sup>th</sup> day (see 6.2.2). Based on the size of the ‘groupings’ of people, I estimated a very minimum of 69 people present, but more probably 80-100 and possibly hundreds. This was based on 19 counted individuals, and 25 groups (e.g., waiters, singers, dancers, existing of at least 2 but probably more people, thus 50 at minimum), as well as the unspecified group of <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ZITTI ‘participants’. If all groups are counted as containing at least 3 people, the estimate already goes up past 100 participants. If people were seated quite densely together, the above mentioned ‘groupings’ of people would have contained up to 10-15 people each, or, alternatively, we could allow for a large number of people to be counted as <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ZITTI ‘participants’ or members of the more general category ‘*ašeššar*’. If the crowd was seated more comfortably, following the medium crowd estimation, the groupings of people would have averaged 5-6 people, or their numbers were smaller, but the overall crowd was completed by a sizable number of participants described in the texts as <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>ZITTI or members of



the *ašeššar*. Taking together the situation as indicated by the formula, as well as the texts, I think it is most likely that the festival scenario roughly followed the ‘medium crowd scenario’.

There are several ways in which a courtyard-adjacent room (functioning as the dais-room) could have revealed some of what went on inside to an audience in the courtyard. The doorway in-between the two spaces (for instance like the one between the courtyard and room 15 – indicated with an arrow- of temple VI), could have been closed off by a type of curtain. The text itself mentions a *taršanziṣa* as a feature ‘in front of which’ a palace attendant positions himself with the golden spear, in the direct context of the dais, right before the chief palace attendant takes over said golden spear, enters the dais room and positions the spear close to the king (§39, 67). Alwin Kloekhorst defines the *taršanziṣa* as “an object in the temple, a sort of room divider to separate the entrance section from the real temple sanctuary”.<sup>76</sup> As such, I propose that in this day of the festival, a *taršanziṣa* screen or divider of some sort was used to obscure the vision of those inside the courtyard inwards to the dais room.

The concept of partial visibility of ritual acts to a larger audience, and the existence of several stages in visibility, used in strategies of religious experience, power display and social cohesion, are known from societies widely separated from Anatolia in space and time: we can think of altar screens, *templa* and choir stalls in Christian churches<sup>77</sup> and the royal palace in 19<sup>th</sup> century Bali as a “collection of larger and smaller stages”.<sup>78</sup> We have already seen the importance of visibility strategies and the phenomenon of ‘stations of complex spectacles’ for the Syro-

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<sup>76</sup> (Kloekhorst 2008, 849)

<sup>77</sup> The choir stalls in the Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari church in Venice (14<sup>th</sup> century AD) separates the monks from the congregation, giving them a closer position to the altar.

<sup>78</sup> (Geertz 1980, 113)

Anatolian City States of the Early Iron Age.<sup>79</sup> In her analysis of Carchemish and Zincirli, Alessandra Gilibert envisions some rituals to have had a limited audience, especially those rituals that she considers ‘diacritical events’, i.e. “those ceremonies and rituals in which access and participation function as a sign of status distinction”.<sup>80</sup> For the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, this could be the case for the micro-rituals acted out in the dais room before the opening up of the courtyard in §59. Depending on the amount of people we think were present at the courtyard of the temple of Zababa, we might see the communal enjoyment of alcoholic beverages, bread and other offerings as a diacritical event, in which part of Hattusa’s (elite) population was allowed to join in the ceremonies previously only participated in by (a small part of) the elite.<sup>81</sup> The distinction between these ‘levels’ of participation will have been felt all the more after the public procession by the king from the *halentu* to the temple of Zababa. As such, the festival performance sees a shifting permeability: both the visual permeability (accessibility by means of seeing) as well as the physical permeability (accessibility of the body).<sup>82</sup> Thinking about the socio-political consequences of these permeabilities and of the diacritical events, we can visualize the distinctions made as follows, whereby the most inner part of the circle participates in or is witness to all the events taking place in the circles surrounding it:

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<sup>79</sup> See 3.3 and (Gilibert 2011, 100). Visibility also seems to have played an important part in Mycenaean palace courts, for which see (Cavanagh 2001).

<sup>80</sup> (Gilibert 2011, 106, as well as n. 176, with further references)

<sup>81</sup> See also (Bell and Aslan 2009, 123), which also mentions that feasts and communal eating could be used as spaces for the negotiation of communal identities.

<sup>82</sup> For my understanding of these terms as an adjustment of Gilibert’s ‘spatial permeability’, see 3.3.

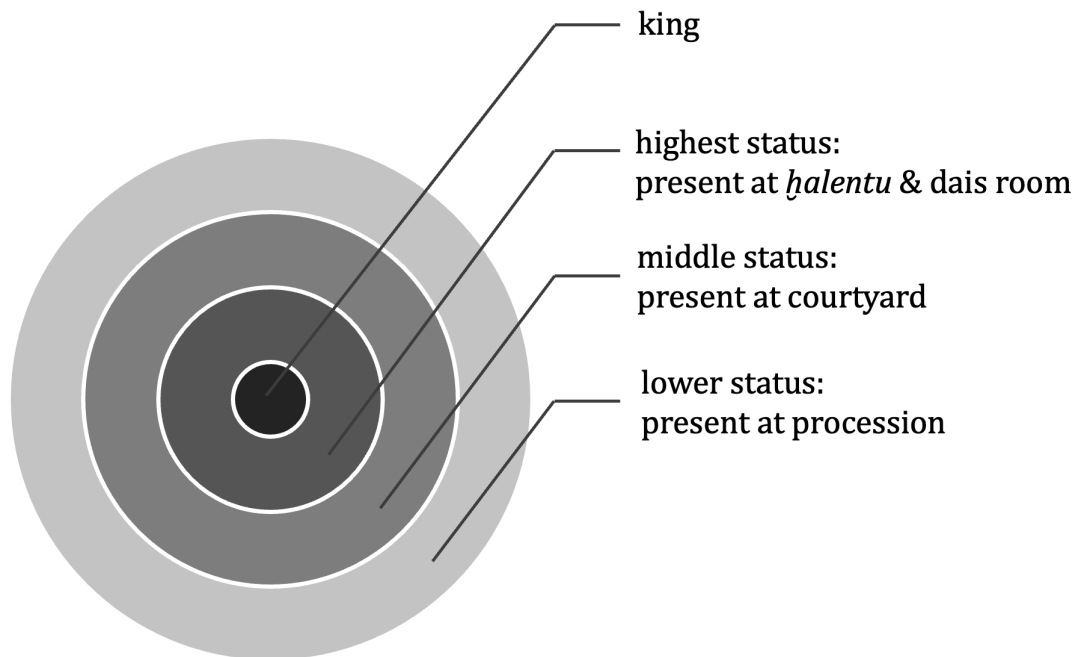


Figure 6.6, Participation in the festival by groups of different status

As we will see in the second case study, this shifting permeability, in which first a group of people is allowed to view a ritual performance and later only a more restricted group is allowed to do so (or vice versa) is a recurring element of Hittite festival celebrations. Whereas Gilibert's '*stations of complex spectacles*' was mostly concerned with changing visual (and physical) permeability, in the case of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, we also see degrees of participation, such as during the scenes taking place after §59 between the dais room and the courtyard of the temple of Zababa. Although the greater audience (the middle status group in figure 6.6) seems to have been actively involved in some micro-rituals, including sitting and standing, as well as a type of feast, they could only partially see or hear the micro-rituals taking place inside the dais room. I think that it is exactly in these types of situations, where differences in participation and visibility become apparent in ritual acts following closely in time (like the procession and the rituals in the

temple of Zababa) or taking place simultaneously (after §59), that ritual performances, such as the celebration of this festival, communicate and create political meaning.

I propose that the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival was structured in such a way, so as to allow for multiple stages permeability and participation throughout the festival day. The ritual acts happening before §59 were visible only to a small audience of active ritual participants. Activities happening after §59 were visible and/or audible to some extent to a larger audience, the composition of which we do not know. Furthermore, the procession or parade from the *ḫalentu* to the temple of Zababa (§13-17) was a public event, probably witnessed by the inhabitants of the town.

It is worthwhile to go back for a moment to the discussion on the location of the *ḫalentu* within the city of Hattusa. As we have seen above (see 6.2.1), many scholars believe its location should be sought on Büyükkale. The idea of a staged visibility, which seeks a varied accessibility for the rituals during different parts of its celebration, bespeaks the location of the *ḫalentu* in a secluded part of town, as it is used in rituals only accessible to very few participants.

If my hypothesis of a staged permeability and participation, separating the festival in two general parts, would prove correct, ritual acts that were not visible to a larger audience include the king's communication with deities, and activities involving the *tuhḫueššar*, the cloth of the golden spear, and *lituus*. Activities that would have been (partially) visible or at least audible to a larger audience include the king's commands, the display of larger groups of people bowing to the king, all the drinking ceremonies except for the first one – which was dedicated to Ḫalmašuit and Zababa-, the *Tuchwurfszene*, the acceptance and breaking of bread, libations and the many acts of standing and sitting down.

## 6.8 Concluding remarks

In this chapter on the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival and the next chapter on the KI.LAM festival, the aim was to categorize the different performance aspects of the festival celebration and to answer to the best of our ability *how* the festivals were performed. The chapters also makes explicit what elements of the performance need further discussion and clarification, and how comparing the two festivals may be useful in solving certain problems. In some cases, only placing their performance into an even larger pool of Hittite festival data might help us understand certain structures or peculiarities.

In the current chapter, I created an overview of the main performance elements of the festival (stage, actors, props), the different activities carried out by the king himself and the biggest challenges in understanding royal participation and representation, such as location and visibility. The performance-oriented method has not only helped overcome some of these challenges , it has also drawn attention to patterns and specificities of royal participation in the festival that were unexpected. These insights have also led to a number of preliminary indications as to the *why* of this particular festival performance.

For 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, I argue that:

- The king is not very active as a performer during the festival, but he is the focal point for almost all ritual activity.
- The king's presence validates the actions performed by others during the festival performance.

- The king is the only person who can communicate directly with the gods.
- The king's special status is emphasized by the limited number and high-status of people in direct contact with him, as well as one-sided acts of courtesy directed at the king.
- The festival was performed both for a divine and for a human audience, most likely varying in status.
- The 16<sup>th</sup> day sees a shifting visual and physical permeability as well as participation. It starts out in a covert part (§1), seems to be publicly visible in the first visit to the temple of Zababa (§2-7), becomes secluded again when the king prepares himself in the *ḫalentu*-building (§12), it extends into a public procession (§13-17), is secluded again in the temple of Zababa (§18-58), and ends with a somewhat more public part (§59-136), which may have included a type of feast.
- This structure of shifting visual and physical permeabilities, as well as shifting participation levels correlates with the concept of 'stations of complex spectacles', so that we can call some of the festival acts 'diacritical events'. These structures would have had socio-political effects, emphasizing the status of the king and delineating who belonged to which group and who did not.
- Sequences of gesticular performance, specifically the highly ritualized and emphasized actions of sitting and standing by the royal couple, are used to create a special effect.
- Following the understanding of some parts of the festival as diacritical events, we can see that particular ritual performances, such as the ones involving the *tuhḫueššar*, the cloth of the golden spear, and *lituus*, had a special, secluded status. This in turn corroborates the understanding of these objects as symbolically charged.

## Chapter 7 Case Study 2: The KI.LAM festival

*nu=ššan kuitman LUGAL-uš<sup>š</sup> ēkata<pu>zni ēšzi*  
*kuitman=ma ḫūtār ḫumanda uttanašš=a BELU<sup>MEŠ</sup> PANI LUGAL šameyanzi*

*While the king sits at the katapuzna-structure, 'all the animals' and the 'masters of the words' pass in defilé before the king.*

*—KBo 10.23 obv. III 9''-11''*

### 7.1. Introduction: dating, edition, outline

The KI.LAM festival is considered a 'medium sized' festival, compared to for instance the much larger *purulli* and AN.TAH.ŠUM festivals, which would have taken many more days to celebrate, and many more clay tablets to document.<sup>1</sup> Chapter 6 was concerned with one particular day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival that would have lasted 38 days in total, whereas this chapter looks at a central act of the KI.LAM festival, a festival which would have been celebrated in only three days.<sup>2</sup> As discussed before, choices in case studies and the amount of detail of our analyses are heavily influenced by which materials have survived the ages, as well as the relative youth of Hittitology as a discipline. I have chosen a part of the KI.LAM festival (for the motivation to choose that particular section, see below) because like the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival, it is a well-preserved and well-known example of Hittite festival performances, but it is different in several ways, being much shorter, marking a different moment in the Hittite calendar, and showing different types of behavior by the king. As in the previous case study, the main goal of

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<sup>1</sup> For a synopsis of the festival events, see (Singer 1983, 58-64).

<sup>2</sup> (Singer 1983, 125-127, 129-131) As per Singer, it is likely that the ritual activities looked more or less the same on all three days, the second day perhaps showing small alternations.

our analysis of this scene in the KILAM festival is to collect and label the performance building blocks of the celebrations, searching for answers to *how* the festival was performed. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on the effects of those characteristics, moving closer to *why* performances were shaped the way that they were.

As seen in the previous chapter, the extensive AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival was a spring festival and one of the traveling festivals. The KILAM festival in contrast only saw movement between temples and public spaces within the Hittite capital Hattusa.<sup>3</sup> It may have been a summer (harvest) or autumn (sowing) festival.<sup>4</sup> In the latter case, it would probably have been celebrated at the end of October, early November.<sup>5</sup> The festival was celebrated in veneration of the Sungoddess of Arinna and the Stormgod of Zippalanda, both places considered sacred locations. Volkert Haas, and more extensively Alfonso Archi, have emphasized the Hattian character of the KILAM festival.<sup>6</sup> Archi states, for instance, that the KILAM festival is dedicated almost exclusively to Hattian deities.<sup>7</sup>

The Sumerogram KILAM in the title of this festival translates to Hittite *ḫilammar* ‘gatehouse’, making this the ‘festival of the gatehouse’.<sup>8</sup> The ‘title sentence’ given to this festival is ‘*mān LUGAL-uš KILAM-ni 3-ŠU eša*’ “*When the king takes his seat three times in the gate-house*”.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> For the argument that this festival takes place in Hattusa, see (Singer 1983, 122).

<sup>4</sup> (Singer 1983, 132-133)

<sup>5</sup> (Cammarosano 2018, 118)

<sup>6</sup> Hattian (or ‘Hattic’) is the term we as scholars use to refer to a culture group that existed in Anatolia before the arrival and subsequent dominance of the Hittites. It is not an ethnic term, but refers to the central Hattian territory (its capital called Hattuš), which originally would have encompassed the region within the bend of the Kızılırmak river. The Hittites then also came to use the term ‘land of Hatti’ to refer to themselves. (Bryce 2009b, 297-298)

<sup>7</sup> (Archi 1993, 5; Archi 2015, 12)

<sup>8</sup> (Singer 1983, 121-124; Singer 1975, *passim*) For the alternative translation ‘Of the Market’, see Haas and Archi. (Archi 2015, 4; Haas 1994, 748)

<sup>9</sup> For a discussion of this title, see (Singer 1983, 121-124). For the different attestations (in fragments), see (Singer 1983, 34-46).



As we will see, such Hittite versions of titles give information on the details of the festival performance.

There is ongoing discussion on the relationship between the KILAM festival and yet another grandiose state festival, the *nuntarriyašha*-festival.<sup>10</sup> The *nuntarriyašha*-festival is often translated as ‘festival of haste’, or recently as ‘festival of timeliness’, possibly referring to the importance of celebrating this festival as soon as possible after the end of the king’s military campaigns.<sup>11</sup> It was Philo Houwink ten Cate who first suggested that the KILAM festival rites may have been celebrated as part of the *nuntarriyašha*-festival, and several scholars have followed this suggestion.<sup>12</sup>

The *nuntarriyašha*-festival was an autumn festival celebrated after the king would return from his military campaign, and included four ‘tours’ by the king. It would have taken at least 21 days to celebrate, but perhaps as many as 40 days, making it even longer than AN.TAḪ.ŠUM.<sup>13</sup> The question of the KILAM’s status vis-à-vis the *nuntarriyašha*-festival will not be taken up again here: even if the KILAM was part of a longer traveling festival, my aim is to try out the performance-oriented approach developed in the previous chapters so as to come to a better understanding of how Hittite festivals were structured as performances. In future research, the approach can be used to categorize and analyze larger datasets.<sup>14</sup> A first expansion would be to contextualize the act chosen for analysis here (act 1, see below for this choice) with the other two

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<sup>10</sup> The main edition of this text is by Mitsuo Nakamura: (Nakamura 2002).

<sup>11</sup> (Cammarosano 2018, 399, thanking Craig Melchert; Nakamura 2002, 9-10) See Nakamura also for a summary of Frank Starke’s position, who has suggested the title means ‘of the moment’, meaning ‘variable’, in opposition to other festivals which would be ‘regular’.

<sup>12</sup> (Houwink ten Cate 1988, 191-194) (Nakamura 2002, 80, 127-128) (Archi 2015, 12) (Rutherford 2020, 37, 231)

<sup>13</sup> (Taracha 2009, 140; Singer 1983, 125)

<sup>14</sup> See 8.3 for further ideas on future research.

acts of the KILAM festival. Because of the similarities between the KILAM and *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival on the one hand, as well as the contrasts between the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival and the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival on the other hand, a further expansion of the corpus of texts under a performance-oriented analysis should probably start with the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival.

Research on the KILAM festival began in the 1930s, but really took off after the excavation of Building K on the citadel of Hattusa in the 1950s.<sup>15</sup> In a series of articles and presentations in the 1960s and 1970s, Hans Gustav Güterbock pointed out the salient elements of the KILAM festival.<sup>16</sup> Itamar Singer's dissertation work on the KILAM festival resulted in StBoT volumes 27 and 28 (published in the 1980s). His aims were to find and edit as many tablets and fragments belonging to the KILAM festival, to study their structure and to reconstruct as far as possible, the events belonging to and nature of the celebration itself.<sup>17</sup> Since then, scholars have added several fragments to the supposed collection of KILAM festival materials.<sup>18</sup> James Burgin's 2019 edition covers the great assembly part of the festival (what I will refer to as 'act 3' of the festival performance) and focuses mostly on the issue of the *Sitz im Leben*.<sup>19</sup> As we have seen (see 4.1), the issue of the text's function is not the main concern for a performance-oriented analysis, but Burgin's detailed philological analysis and edition are essential for historical analyses too.

Singer estimates that we have less than 40% of the original texts describing the KILAM festival. Being a somewhat shorter festival, there would have been 15 tablets describing the events

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<sup>15</sup> (Singer 1983, 4ff)

<sup>16</sup> For the corrected references to Güterbock and contemporary publications see Singer. (Singer 1983, 5, n. 28)

<sup>17</sup> (Singer 1983, 5-6)

<sup>18</sup> The Hethitologie Portal Mainz website hosts a constantly updated bibliography for each of the fragments and tablets assigned to the KILAM festival: (Košak).

<sup>19</sup> (Burgin 2019)

and rituals making up the celebration. Of those 15, we have about 6 tablets, but they are incomplete.<sup>20</sup> All tablets and fragments assigned to this festival were found in the Hittite capital Hattusa, mostly in its citadel Büyükkale.<sup>21</sup> We have KILAM manuscripts in Old Script as well as New Script. Following the bipartite division of script types as envisioned by Theo van den Hout<sup>22</sup>, the performed festival tradition goes back to at least the older of the two periods and likely continued to the period during which New Script was used.

While building and analyzing from the catalogue of performance building blocks of the KILAM festival, we should keep in mind that this work is based on less than half of the original ‘manuals’ used to prepare and properly execute the performance. From the parts that remain, three main structural elements — which I will refer to as ‘acts’ — stand out, which were repeated in more or less the same way each of the three days of the festival:<sup>23</sup>

1) a ceremonial procession of people and symbolic objects, including animal figurines, moving towards the king, who is onlooking from the gate-house of the palace.

2) an AGRIG ceremony at the temple of the Grain Goddess Halki, during which representatives of various towns present their harvest to the royal couple.

3) A great assembly, taking place at the *ḫuwaši* of the Stormgod outside of Hattusa proper, in a tent.

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<sup>20</sup> (Singer 1983, 7)

<sup>21</sup> (Singer 1983, 21) Singer used 98 tablets and fragments for his StBot publications. Fragments and tablets considered by Burgin (only the great assembly part of the KILAM) are listed in each manuscript heading. A list of all texts cited are at the end of the book. (Burgin 2019, 31, 49, 65, 79, 231)

<sup>22</sup> He proposes to distinguish Old Script (OS) for the period of ca. 1650-1400/1350 BCE and New Script (NS) for the last part of Hittite written history, ca.1350-1200 BCE. See (van den Hout 2020, 21).

<sup>23</sup> (Singer 1983, 128-131)

We should keep in mind that these were the elements that, according to the amount of attention given in the remaining texts, seem to have been the most in need of guidance through text as an *aide-mémoire*: for instance because they were regarded as the most important, or because their performance was trickier than say, the movement from the palace gate-house to the temple of the Grain Goddess, or the physical gathering of people for the great assembly. Because their importance is reflected in their textual representation, and because each of these elements is concentrated in a specific 'locus', we shall take these three structural elements as 'acts' of the festival performance. It should be noted that, following James Burgin's understanding of different festival texts as representing a functional differentiation<sup>24</sup>, the focus on these three acts may also have been due to the responsibilities of the person(s) these texts were written for.

For the purposes of this study, I have chosen the first act as the main focus of this case study, the so-called 'procession of animals'. When necessary, I will relate act 1 to the two acts following, and in the last chapter, I will explain in more detail what pathways for future research I envision for acts 2 and 3.<sup>25</sup>

There are several reasons to choose act 1 to center this case study on. First, there have been no extensive considerations of this scene since the publication of Singer's edition.<sup>26</sup> Whereas act 2 was discussed recently by Alfonso Archi<sup>27</sup>, and James Burgin goes into many of the details of act 3<sup>28</sup>, the so-called 'procession of animals' is mostly discussed in (comparative) considerations of

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<sup>24</sup> See 4.1.1., summarizing (Burgin 2019).

<sup>25</sup> See 8.3.

<sup>26</sup> Note however, the forthcoming publication of Charles Steitler: (Steitler forthcoming).

<sup>27</sup> (Archi 2015)

<sup>28</sup> (Burgin 2019)

Hittite processions.<sup>29</sup> As we have seen (see 4.3.3), these considerations already underline the socio-political effects of processions in Hittite festivals and point toward central mechanisms in their performance (see also below).

In his considerations of the great assembly of the KILLAM festival (act 3), Burgin characterized this festival as “spectacle”.<sup>30</sup> The high entertainment value of this particular festival was constructed by a combination of performers, activities and objects, as I have discussed earlier (see 4.3.2).<sup>31</sup> Act 3, as the culmination of this festival, is enjoyed — as I have shown (see 5.2) — while drinking a copious amount of alcohol. Act 1 then is the start of the festival day, when the senses were, presumably, less dulled. The textual evidence shows the effort put into the sensory splendor of this part of the performance too. From a performance perspective, this is an interesting starting point.

As we have seen (4.3.3), Susanne Görke was one of the first scholars to emphasize the ways in which a festival performance can create but also manipulate a sense of community. Not only can these occasions create a sense of belonging, they can also underline who does not belong to the higher echelons of society.<sup>32</sup> As I have shown in the first case study, changes in location and conscious manipulation of visibility are ways in which Hittite festivals created varying levels of permeability (both to the performance and to the figure of the king), so as to delineate social differentiations within the group of participants. In this case study too, I will examine the existence of such shifts in permeability.

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<sup>29</sup> E.g., (Görke 2008; Steitler forthcoming).

<sup>30</sup> (Burgin 2019, 28)

<sup>31</sup> For an overview per sense ‘addressed’, see (Beal 2022).

<sup>32</sup> See also (Görke 2008, 50).

Following the logic of shifting permeability of the performance, Act 1 is also an interesting case to look more closely at another feature of the KILAM festival observed by Görke: the concept of several 'Öffentlichkeitsebenen'.<sup>33</sup> In Görke's understanding of the KILAM festival, the sequence of acts saw an ever growing public or permeability, especially during processions (such as the one from act 2 to act 3), which would have provided opportunities for members of Hittite society to catch a glimpse of their king.<sup>34</sup> As I will argue, it is exactly the non-linear changes in permeability that created the socio-political effects of inclusion and exclusion. In other words, the festivals (in my case studies) did not become more public over time, but rather, constantly changed in their accessibility (or 'Öffentlichkeitsebenen'): sometimes only a small group of festival performers was present near the king and at the center of the ritual activities. At other times, the king (and with him, the performance) was visible to a large audience, especially, as also argued by Görke, during the processions. We could see these as a type of liminal acts within the performance, when the performance changed from one stage to the next. In the case of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, we have seen that an event such as a feast could be seen as relatively accessible, in the sense of allowing an estimated average of 150 people to participate. It was not, however, a culmination in accessibility, including a large number of the city's inhabitants.

A last reason to choose this act from within the KILAM festival, is the character of the movements during this performance. In the previous case study, the Hittite king moves from one performance space to the next, eventually settling in the dais room of the temple of Zababa. In

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<sup>33</sup> (Görke 2008, 51, 66)

<sup>34</sup> (Görke 2008, 53-54, 66)

this part of the KILAM festival, we see the king carrying out the 'warm-up', that is, his preparation for getting into the role of festival performer (see 4.2.3), but then, he immediately takes up a stationary position. Rather than moving with the procession of animals, he is the focal point towards which this procession moves, making this scene more of a 'défilé'.<sup>35</sup> Contrasting these two types of scenes (one in which the king moves and one in which the performance moves towards him) could help us understand better how festivals were used as tools of impression management.

As we will see, the biggest obstacle in forming an understanding of how this act was performed, is our poor understanding of its staging. By moving between evidence from the text, the urban lay-out of the Hittite capital and an understanding of different aspects of performance settings, I will present three different scenarios for the performance of this festival act.

## 7.2 Setting or stage

There is still no consensus as to the exact buildings mentioned or routes taken during the celebrations of the KILAM festival, and it is as of yet still impossible to definitively 'map' the textual designations onto archaeological remains.<sup>36</sup> From the texts that have survived, we can see that (at least) three main 'stages' existed for the performance of the festival. In broad terms, there is a performance (act 1) in or towards the palatial complex (the citadel known as Büyükkale), there are ritual acts happening (act 2) at several temple buildings within the capital, including an

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<sup>35</sup> As already noted by Görke: (Görke 2008, 52, 57)

<sup>36</sup> (Singer 1983, 106-118)

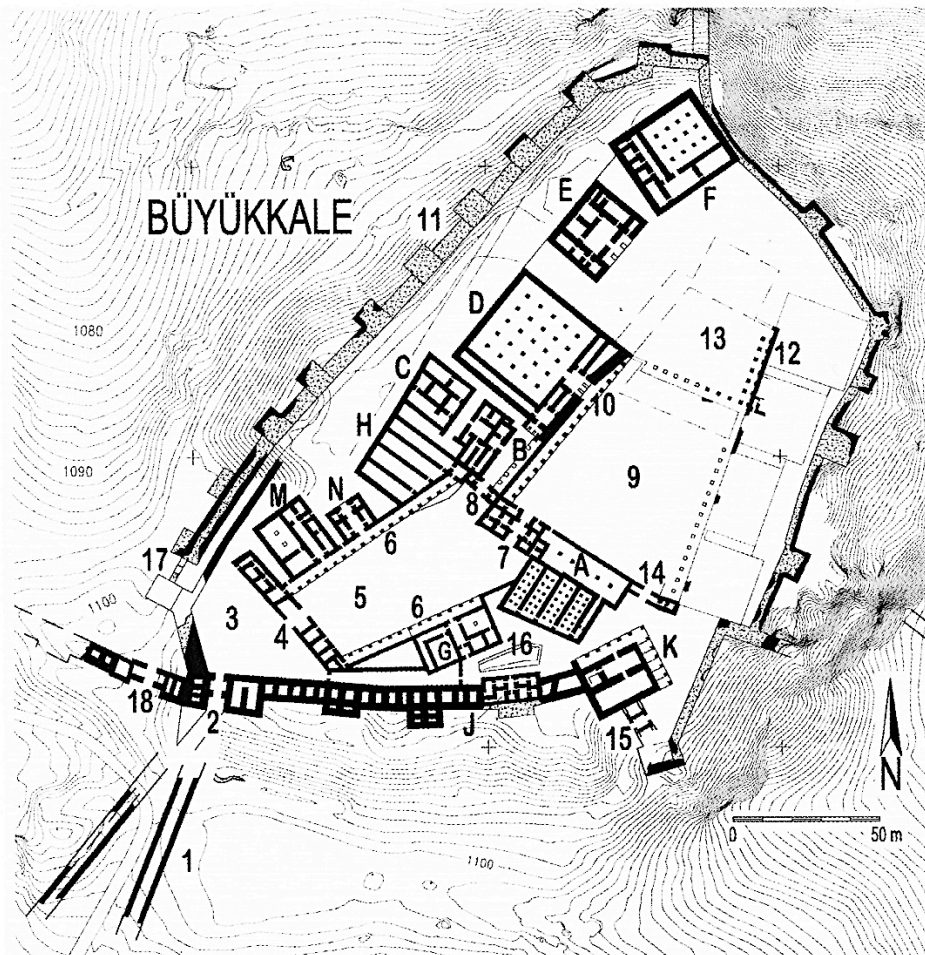
elaborate one at the temple of the Grain Goddess. Lastly, there is a performance (act 3) at the *ḫuwaši* of the Stormgod, presumed to be the rock sanctuary now known as Yazılıkaya.

For the first act of the KI.LAM performance, the one we are concerned with for this case study, the scene starts within the walls of the palatial complex, the *éḫalentuwa*. The main event is a procession of officials, some holding cult images in the form of animals. The procession moves in *defilé* towards a viewing loge, where the king is sitting to survey the procession. A great many architectural terms are mentioned in this section of the festival texts, and scholars have envisioned this scene in different ways. We will go over the different terms and staging options. I provide several schematic representations of these options, so as to allow the reader to envision the enactments with more clarity. These represent several of the major archaeological features found at the citadel, such as the walls and gate structures. The schematic representations fit in the archaeological terms as mentioned in the texts, per the suggestions of several scholars, as well as my own. When I refer to archaeological remains as they were found in the Hittite capital, I will refer to the letters and numbers used by Seeher.<sup>37</sup> In discussing the locations of act 1, I follow the order of events as represented in the text.

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<sup>37</sup> (Seeher 2011b, 115-127), and in particular the map in (Seeher 2011b, 116) NB. I thank Theo van den Hout for the observation that gate 14 should say 'gate to the middle courtyard' (rather than the upper courtyard).





**Fig.109** Plan of Büyükkale: 1) viaduct, 2) Main (or South) Gate to the Royal Citadel, 3) the Court of the Citadel Gate, 4) entrance to the Lower Court, 5) the Lower Court, 6) stoas, 7) gateway to the Central Court, 8) side gate, 9) Central Court, 10) entrance to the reception hall in building D, 11) northwestern fortification wall, 12) ridge (artificial platform) with silo pits (or cisterns?) 13) the Upper Court, 14) small gate to the Upper Court, 15) the East Gate, 16) pool, 17) the Southwest Gate, and 18) the gate in the Postern Wall. See text for descriptions of buildings A-N.

*Figure 7.1, Map of the citadel at Hattusa  
Jürgen Seeher, a day in the Hittite Capital 2011, fig. 109.*

### 7.2.1 Preparatory scene

The scene starts with an act of preparation, which is common in several state festivals (see more extensively 7.4.2). The king prepares himself for a proper performance of the rituals in the inner-

room (*tunnakkešsar*) of the palace complex (*Éhalentuwa*).<sup>38</sup> Once he performs his toilette, he seats himself on the throne or dais (*GIŠDAG*, Hitt. *ḫalmašuitt-*) of the palace complex, presumably in a different room.<sup>39</sup> These preparation acts may have started out from the buildings designated as private royal chambers — Building E and F on Seeher’s map — but buildings C and B could also candidates for acts like washing and dressing, as they are associated with cultic activities and contain remnants of a water basin. The throne might have been located in building D, which is supposed to have been a type of throne room or audience hall. On this throne, the king receives the ceremonial iron spear (for this scene see 7.4.3). We may visualize this area for the acts of preparation as follows:

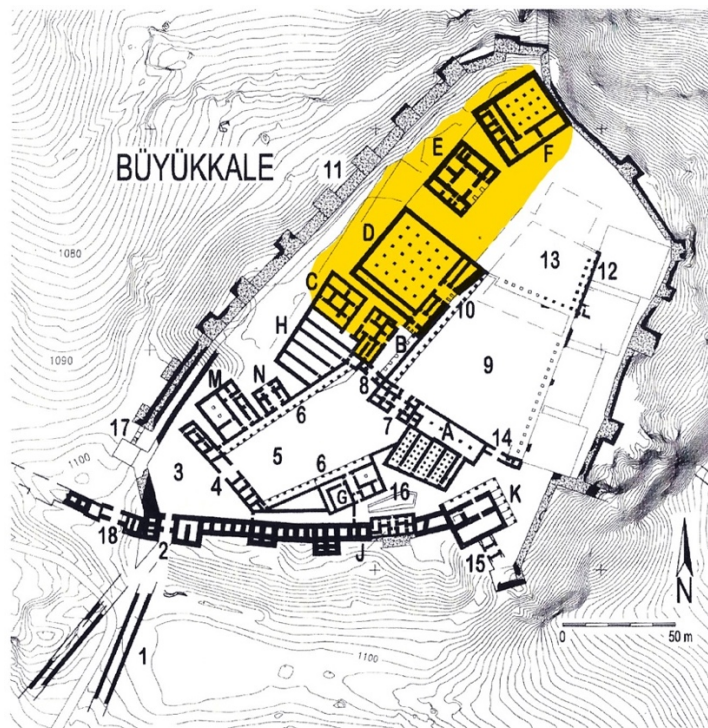


Figure 7.2. Area for the king’s preparations

<sup>38</sup> (Singer 1983, 111-112). For a discussion on the latter building see also 6.2.1. The inner room would have contained a type of bathroom, for which see Singer 1983, 117.

<sup>39</sup> (Singer 1983, 112)

### 7.2.2 Towards the *katapuzna*-structure

Now fully prepared for the performance, the king makes his way from the buildings where he physically prepared himself, towards the so-called *katapuzna*-structure (see below). If we follow the text, the following route and areas are relevant for understanding the king's movements:

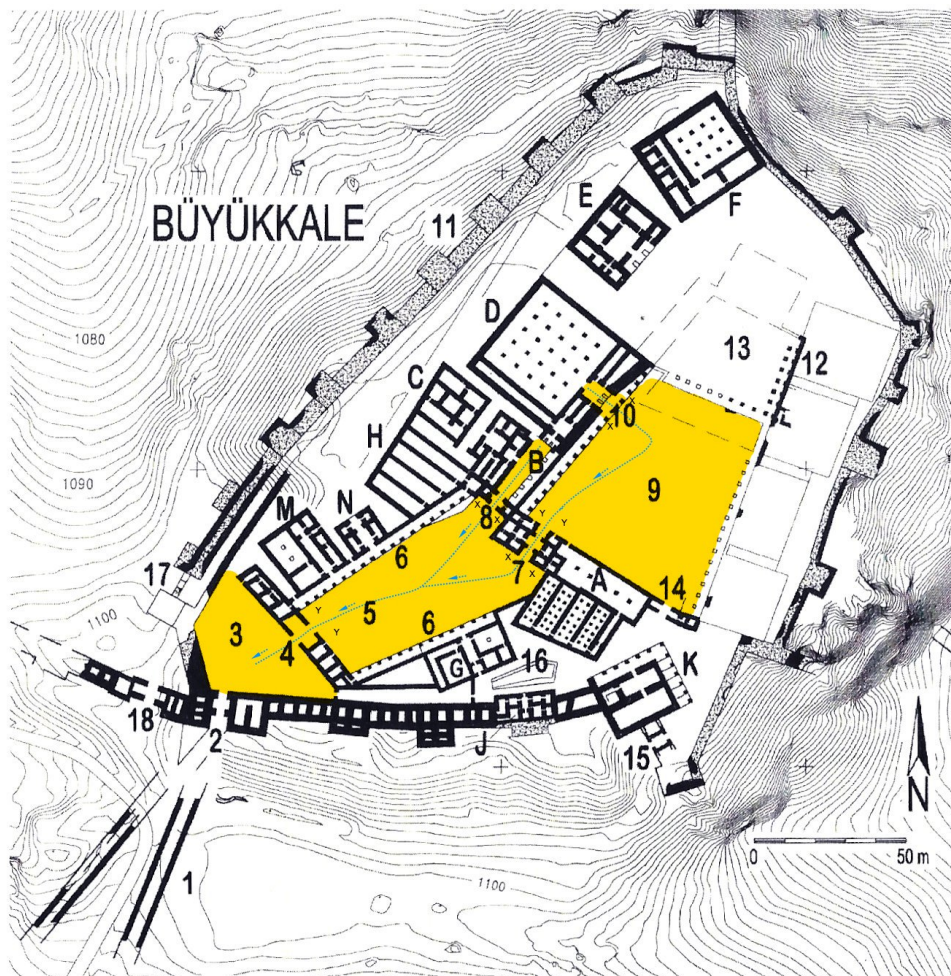


Figure 7.3, showing two tentative routes taken by the king from the area of the throne room through palatial courtyards and gates towards the *katapuzna*-structure.

The king exits the building through a 'passageway of the palace' (*Ḫalentuwaš Ḫarkiui*, KBo 10.23 obv. II, 13'), the exit being flanked by bodyguards and palace attendants (they stand beside the

passageway, ‘on the left side’, Hitt. ‘GUB-laz’, KBo 10.23 obv. II, 27’). The king is said to move through a gate (KÁ, KBo 10.23, obv. II, 24’). ALAM.ZU-performers are awaiting him at the so-called passageway to the gate ‘of the house of the queen’s treasurer’ (KÁ É LÚŠÀ.TAM ŠA MUNUS.LUGAL *éarkiui*, KBo 10.23, obv. II, 29’-30’).<sup>40</sup> From the text it follows that these performers were facing the king, awaiting his arrival.<sup>41</sup> Two possible routes are visualized in map 3, showing a movement of the king from the preparatory quarters through a gate and courtyards. The X’s mark the stationary actors, namely the bodyguards and palace attendants. The ALAM.ZU men, marked by Y, await the king, greet him, and go on to perform the ‘leopard dance’ (KBo 10.23, obv. III, y+1’’-6’’).<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the gates mentioned, the one through which the king moves, and the one at which the ALAM.ZU performers await him, are respectively to be equated with the ones designated as 8 and 4 by Seeher, so that the king moves from the area of the palatial buildings (B, C and D), through passageway 8 (guarded by bodyguards and palace attendants), through a courtyard (5) towards the main entrance of the citadel, with ALAM.ZU performers facing him from their location at the passageway (4). According to Singer, there is ‘visual communication’ between the passageways, as the performers call out ‘*aḥa*’ when they see the king.<sup>43</sup> This scenario would provide courtyard 5, and perhaps the smaller courtyard 3, as space for the ALAM.ZU performers to carry out their ‘leopard dance’. Another option, also visualized on map 3, sees the king moving directly from the throne room (building D) through gate 10,

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<sup>40</sup> See also (Singer 1983, 108).

<sup>41</sup> For the different types of exclamations of these two groups in this scene, see 7.6.3.1.

<sup>42</sup> For Güterbock’s interpretation of this dance as involving a type of squatting down (suggesting a comparison with the Ukrainian-Russian Kozachok folk dance), see (Singer 1983, 89, n. 21). Looking towards modern parallels of dances involving squatting and thrusts of the hips (following Güterbock’s understanding of a verb *par(š)anai-*), we can think of twerking, a dance style that was popularized out of the New Orleans bounce music scene in the 1980’s, but is said to have roots in Caribbean and Latin American religious practices. See (Pérez 2016).

<sup>43</sup> (Singer 1983, 108)

towards gate 7. The 'visual communication' between the different actors described could then refer to performers standing either within courtyard 9, or within courtyard 5. From a performance perspective, the second route seems more likely, as the king would have had more space to move out of the area of preparation (compare the passageway B to the exit 10), and the route would have moved to more courtyards, providing more and more spacious opportunities for visual displays, such as the 'leopard dance' (compare courtyard 9 to courtyard 5). Thinking back on the use of space and monumental architecture for the creation of memories and 'impression management' (see 3.2, 3.3, 3.4), the king would have been more likely to move through several spaces. On the other hand, as we will see (7.3), the courtyard and the number of performers mentioned in the text leave an extremely generous amount of space, no matter which of the courtyards were chosen. After a break in the text, during which the king is presumed to have walked on in the direction of the main gate, the king installs himself in or on the viewing 'loge', the <sup>É</sup>*katapuzna*, which we will look at more closely below.

One could argue that the preparations of the king and his movements towards the *katapuzna*-structure are an actual 'act', as it takes place in a location different from the acts that follow, and has a different audience, as far as we can tell. Only a few actors other than the king himself are mentioned in the text (see 7.3). Someone opens up the palace and draws the curtains, perhaps a type of palace attendant (DUMU.É.GAL), though he is not mentioned explicitly. The chief palace attendant and the chief smith hand the king items and interact with him while the king is seated on the dais or throne. In the preparatory scene, the king is fairly active himself, moving from room to room, adorning himself with various types of clothing. In a way, this scene is reminiscent of an actor preparing himself for a play behind the scenes. In an almost



filmographic manner, we see the actor waking up, transforming himself from who he was waking up into the role he must take on during this day. Once he has donned the right costume, he moves to the next space, where just two other actors (the chief palace attendant and the chief smith) help him prepare by handing him the right props. He gets into the right mindset to get 'on stage'. The whole scene correlates with Schechner's understanding of the warm-up (see 4.2.3). Although the performance of a festival, situated into a specific cultural-historical context, cannot be directly 'mapped' onto a modern day stage play, there are similarities: the preparations take place out of full view, and there are different waystations behind the scenes that help the actor come into the right mindset to immerse themselves into their role, such as a physically separated room to change clothes and an conceivable moment of going 'on stage'. For the Hittite king, this seems to have been the moment he stepped out of the palace buildings into the palatial courtyard, where he was escorted by bodyguards and palace attendants and greeted by ALAM.ZU performers. For a modern and likewise cultural-historically situated parallel to this situation, one might think of a member of a royal household preparing themselves with the help of a lady-in-waiting or chamberlain, then stepping into a less private space, where members of the court as well as other servants would be present.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The importance of royal private spaces and the prestige of being allowed 'back stage' is evident in the well-known position of 'Groom of the Stool' in the English Tudor Age. Although the position came with some unpleasant tasks, it was highly coveted, as one had direct access to and influence on the king and was privy to his secrets. (Bucholz 2006).

### 7.2.3. $\dot{E}$ katapuzna , the viewing loge

After the preparatory scene, the king moves to the so-called  $\dot{E}$ katapuzna, which I will translate as ‘viewing loge’ and show on the map with the letter alpha ( $\alpha$ , see figure 7.4 below).<sup>45</sup> This is the place from which the king watches a procession move towards him. As we will see, the location and vantage point of this viewing loge are contested.<sup>46</sup> The Hittites themselves saw the *katapuzna*-structure as the main setting for this scene, as can be deduced from the description of this part of the festival:

LUGAL-uš=ma=za=kan kuwapi  $\dot{E}$ katapuzni ešari

When the king sits down at the *katapuzna*-structure...

(Bo 6217, obv. III 16''-18'')<sup>47</sup>

This reiterates the point made in the previous chapter, that the focus of Hittite state festivals is the king. It isn't until after the procession is over, that the king leaves the *katapuzna*-structure, swaps the iron spear for an iron axe, and mounts his chariot to ride to the next stage (the temple of the Grain Goddess), starting the second act of the KILAM festival. Singer locates the *katapuzna*-structure either near or as part of the main gate to the Hittite citadel (Seeher's 2).<sup>48</sup> This location

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<sup>45</sup> For a discussion of this word, see (Singer 1983, 116; Friedrich and Kammenhuber 2021, 265-267). The word ‘loge’, according to the Merriam Webster dictionary, can refer to ‘an enclosed group of seats for spectators in a theater’, as well as ‘a small partitioned area’, ‘a separate forward section of a theater mezzanine or balcony’, as well as ‘a raised section or level of seats in a sports stadium’. As such, this translation covers both enclosed as well as non-enclosed options for this viewing area. (Merriam-Webster 2022)

<sup>46</sup> (Singer 1983, 116; Steitler forthcoming, 7, 15-19, 24; Görke 2008, 52-53; Haas 1994, 618, 751-753)

<sup>47</sup> (Singer 1984, 12; 1983, 59)

<sup>48</sup> (Singer 1983, 90, 116)

of the *katapuzna*-structure is assumed based on the direction of the procession which follows: it would be the procession's end-point. It should be noted here that Singer assumes, without giving a clear reason to do so, that the *ḥalentuwaš KÁ* ('the gate of the *ḥalentu*') and the *ḥilammaš KÁ.GAL* ('the great gate of the *ḥilamma*') refer to the same architectural structure.<sup>49</sup> As we will see, many scholars translate *ḥalentuwaš KÁ* as 'gate of the palace', so that the translation of *ḥalentu* seemingly becomes more narrow than the palatial mound *Büyükale*.<sup>50</sup> Because of this translation, some confusion arises as to how this festival act was orchestrated, and whether scholars assume that the gate structure in question is part of the palatial walls and forms the main gate to the palatial mound *Büyükale* (so Singer and Görke<sup>51</sup>), or if perhaps the gate structure in question is located inside of the palatial walls, leading in and out of a politico-religious building referred to as '*ḥalentu*' in this context (see below).

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<sup>49</sup> (Singer 1983, 111-112)

<sup>50</sup> For the original discussion on '*ḥalentu*', see 6.2.1). Also (Singer 1983, 111ff). HED translates as "palace (compound), (royal) residence". (Puhvel 1997, 15)

<sup>51</sup> (Görke 2008, 52-53)



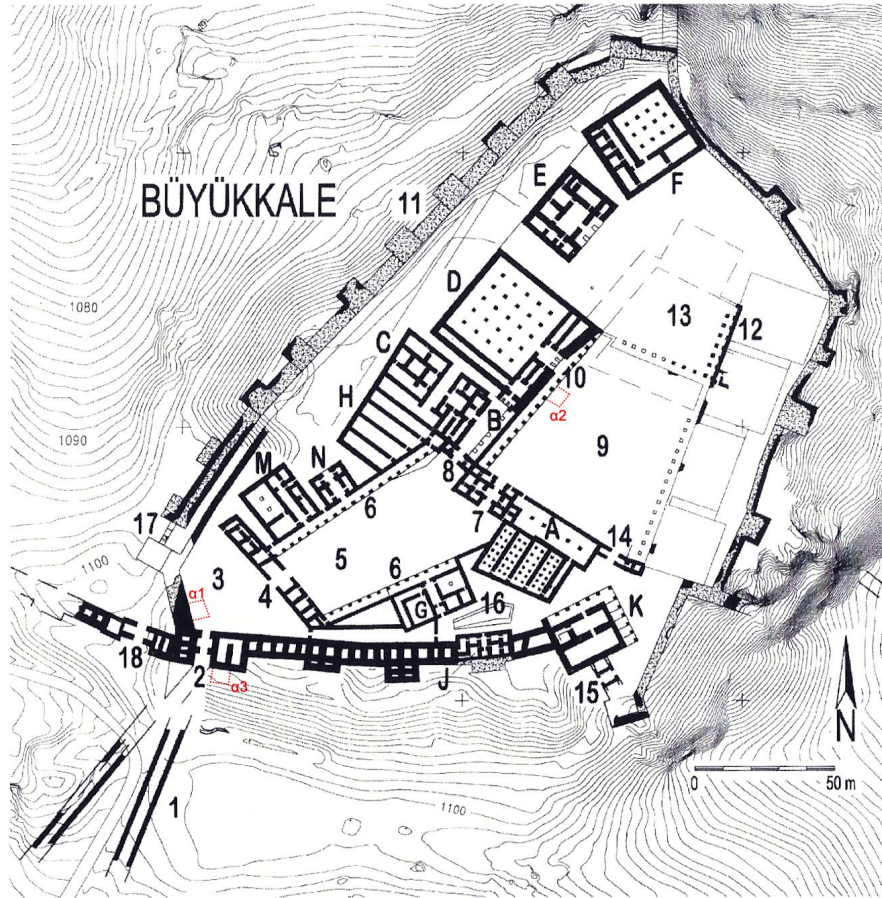


Figure 7.4. Three tentative locations of the *katapuzna*-structure:  $\alpha 1$ ,  $\alpha 2$ ,  $\alpha 3$ .

The nature of the *katapuzna*-structure is up for debate. Singer envisions “a high point permitting a good view” and perhaps “some sort of porch or balcony incorporated into the Gate House itself”.<sup>52</sup> Steitler thinks of “eine begehbare Fläche” and translates as “Tribüne”.<sup>53</sup> He believes *katapuzna*-structures are constructed temporarily for the celebration of the festival, as we find one in a different festival text as a structure attached to a temple.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> (Singer 1983, 116) Haas too, envisions the *katapuzna* as a type of balcony: (Haas 1994, 618)

<sup>53</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 7, 15)

<sup>54</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 7, 15, 24) As remarked by Steitler, a *katapuzna*-structure is also found in a celebration of one of the days of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival: KUB 44.39 Rev. ii<sup>2</sup> 4ff. (Steitler forthcoming, 24, n. 62). For the socio-political effects of building (temporary) features in the landscape for ritual purposes, see 3.3.

One issue has so far remained largely unaddressed: the point of view from the *katapuzna*-structure. Is the king looking at a procession that happened within the citadel, or outside of it? From their translations and interpretations, it is clear that both Singer and Görke envision the king looking inward from the *katapuzna*-structure, that is, looking at the procession that makes its way inside of the citadel walls towards the main gate ( $\alpha 1$ ). Both Steitler and Archi's analyses are somewhat ambivalent. Steitler writes that the *katapuzna*-structure is 'an der Außenseite des Torhauses' and 'am Torhaus des Palasts'.<sup>55</sup> A similar confusion arises from Alfonso Archi's summary of the festival, when he writes that "the king sits first *outside* the gate of the palace to inspect the procession of cult symbols and 'animals of the gods'..."<sup>56</sup> Do Steitler and Archi equate 'gate of the palace' with the main gate of the citadel (Seeher's 2) and if so, do they really envision the *katapuzna*-structure to be outside of the citadel walls? Or do they picture the *katapuzna*-structure attached to some kind of gate structure that gives entry to a palatial building, like gate 10, that gives entry to the pillared building that is referred to as an audience hall? Steitler clearly pictures the procession as taking place 'vor dem Palast auf der Königsburg', the king leaving the citadel only after the end of the procession.<sup>57</sup> As such, even though Steitler writes that the *katapuzna*-structure would have been outside of the gate building, he envisions the whole scene within the walls of the citadel. The scenario becomes even more opaque when we take into consideration Steitler's remarks on the movements of the king after the end of the procession. He remarks that the king would have stepped directly from the *katapuzna*-structure onto the chariot, even though in the text, the king is first said to leave the *katapuzna*-structure (KBo 10.24 obv III,

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<sup>55</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 7, 15)

<sup>56</sup> (Archi 2015, 12), my italics.

<sup>57</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 7)

21'-22') and only after swapping his spear for an axe, he steps onto the chariot (KBo 10.24 rev. IV 5-6).<sup>58</sup> Because of this assumption, Steitler envisions the *katapuzna*-structure as not very high, since the king would have literally had to step from the platform onto the chariot.<sup>59</sup> If Steitler indeed assumes the *katapuzna*-structure to be located inside the citadel, possibly temporarily attached to gate 10, the chariot would have had to be brought inside of the citadel to pick up the king. In short, Steitler (and Archi) do not explicitly locate the *katapuzna*-structure. Map 4 shows a tentative scenario — seemingly implied in their translations — in which the *katapuzna*-structure is attached to a gate structure within the citadel ( $\alpha 2$ ), so that we can take into consideration the different options. In the scenario as envisioned by Singer and Görke ( $\alpha 1$ ), the king would have been able to step outside of the *katapuzna*-structure, and then step onto the chariot. Whether the act of 'bringing the chariot near the *katapuzna*-structure' (KBo 10.24 III 18'-20') means that the chariot was brought inside of the city walls, is unclear. In Singer's visualization, the chariot was waiting for the king outside of the palace gate.<sup>60</sup> Since he envisions the *katapuzna*-structure looking inwards to the citadel, Singer would never translate that the *katapuzna*-structure is located *outside* of the 'gate of the palace'.

If one is discussing the details of the festival's performance, it is necessary to express explicitly what one holds *ḫalentu* to refer to.<sup>61</sup> In the following, I take *ḫalentu* the way Singer does: as a designation for the whole of Büyükkale, which makes the 'great gate of the *ḫalentu*' the main

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<sup>58</sup> (Singer 1984, 19)

<sup>59</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 15 with n. 37)

<sup>60</sup> (Singer 1983, 90)

<sup>61</sup> For an overview of the discussion, see (Singer 1983, 111-112, with references; Singer 1975).

gate to the palatial compound. The *katapuzna*-structure would have been close to or attached to this gate structure.

As we have seen, Susanne Görke was one of the first scholars to flag the function of a festival (such as the KILAM festival) for creating a sense of community and identity, specifically by looking into the effect of the performance on the audience present.<sup>62</sup> In his analysis of Act 1 of the KILAM festival, Steitler ultimately defends and elaborates on Görke's understanding of the socio-political function of this part of the festival performance.<sup>63</sup> He agrees with Klinger in the sense that the audience at Büyükkale would be limited, but he also identifies that audience as a specifically delineated group: the elite class. The effects of the procession are thus geared towards those people and helps to negotiate their affiliation with the king.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, Steitler notes that a distinction should be made between the procession taking place on Büyükkale, and the movements of the king after the king leaves the citadel.<sup>65</sup> After the festival activities leave the citadel, Steitler sees possible effects of its performance on the broader audience. They would have been impressed by the general mystery and secretive cult practices which they would — during some parts of the festival day — catch glimpses of.<sup>66</sup> This observation fits in neatly with the phenomenon detected by Gilibert for the Syro-Anatolian public rituals, and by myself for the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival: the effect of a performance on those *not* present.<sup>67</sup> If indeed the defilé style procession of Act 1 took place on Büyükkale, and the audience and participants were

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<sup>62</sup> (Görke 2008, 50-51) See also 4.3.3, 7.1.

<sup>63</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 18-19)

<sup>64</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 18)

<sup>65</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 19)

<sup>66</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 18-19)

<sup>67</sup> See 3.2, 6.7 and 6.8.

limited to a group of cult dignitaries and other elite members of society, including groups of people from regions or social groups outside of Hattusa (see 7.3), this in turn, would have had an effect on excluded members of Hittite society.

First, they would know that they indeed did not belong to the inner circle, who were allowed to perform in a religious ceremony and could come close the king. Furthermore, it would make the exit of the king and his entourage from the citadel into the more accessible main streets of the city all the more spectacular.

This then leads us back to the question whether the procession really did take place on Büyükkale, rather than outside of the citadel walls. Was the *katapuzna's* viewpoint inwards or outwards? Where was the procession heading from and to? In the following, we will consider a third location for the *katapuzna*-structure, that is, on the outside of the main gate to the citadel (depicted on map 4 as  $\alpha 3$ ).

Previous scholarship has not addressed explicitly whether the king looked outward from the *katapuzna*-structure or inward. Is the king looking at a procession that happened within the citadel, or outside of it? Where was the starting point of the procession? This question has many repercussions for the character of the performance of act 1. If the procession took place within the walls of the citadel, per Singer's understanding, the number of spectators, as well as their social status, would have been vastly different than if the procession took place within the walls of the city at large. Furthermore, the sensory effects of a procession taking place within the enclosed spaces of the citadel's courtyards would have been very different than those of a procession taking place on the roads of the city. Within the palace walls, sounds would have resonated more and impacted with more force, smells would have less easily evaporated. As we have seen in the

previous chapters, the amount of available space also impacts the number of spectators and their likely distribution pattern and mobility. Would the space allow for procession participants to dance freely in large circles? Or was the space so narrow that they were standing hip-to-hip, restricting their walking to shuffling movements? As we will see (7.3), the formula I developed for calculating the number of feasting participants can (in an adjusted form) be used to estimate the number of people who could perform in a procession. The estimates for Büyükkale are somewhat surprising, in the sense that many more people could have fit inside its courtyards than are mentioned in the texts. This is especially surprising given the quite neat fit of participant crowd estimates based on the texts of the 16<sup>th</sup> day (case study 1) with the estimates based on my formula and the square surface of an average Hittite temple courtyard (see 6.7.4). The procession space for the KILAM festival also has repercussions for what I would like to call ‘crowd optics’, that is, the perception of a crowd as perceived by an audience, including the participants. A small space containing a limited number of people may be perceived as ‘crowded’ and for members of this crowd, their density can convey a sense of community. However, that exact same number of people would not be perceived as a large crowd when performing in an open space. A protest organizer for instance could choose for their event an enclosed square or street lined with tall buildings, rather than an open field: this may create the illusion of a large crowd and give the participants a feeling of belonging and togetherness, a sense of safety that allows them to express their discontent with more vehemence.<sup>68</sup> A wide field tends to reveal quite openly the number of spectators (or lack thereof), as was observed at the impressively badly attended inauguration of

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<sup>68</sup> From personal experience. For an academic take on the typologies and principles of protest design see (Hatuka 2018).

Donald Trump as president in January 2017.<sup>69</sup> Besides the interplay of crowd and space in terms of crowd optics, the performance space also determines the accessibility of the performance for an audience, the distance between the participants and the audience, which in turn influences visibility and audibility. Furthermore, different spaces have different symbolic meanings, and there is no doubt that a procession taking place outside of the palatial structure would have had a different meaning or connotation than one that would have taken place inside of it.

#### 7.2.4 Connecting the dots: Great Gate of the *ḫilammar*, *ḫilammar* of the Gods and Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*

In the previous section we have discussed the *katapuzna*-structure and its possible relation to the gate of the citadel. I concluded that the *katapuzna*-structure was most likely constructed temporarily close to the main gate of the citadel (Seeher's Südtor 2), either on the inside or the outside of it ( $\alpha 1$  or  $\alpha 3$ ). This is the viewpoint from which the king inspects the procession. The texts flag the beginning of the actual procession with the following sentence:

*nu=ššan kuitman LUGAL-uš <sup>é</sup>kata<pu>zni ēšzi*

*kuitman=ma ḫūitār ḫumanda uttanašš=a BELU<sup>MEŠ</sup> PANI LUGAL šameyanzi*

While the king sits at the *katapuzna*-structure, 'all the animals' and the 'masters of the words' pass in défilé before the king.

KBo 10.23 obv. III 9''-11''

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<sup>69</sup> (Tim Wallace 2017)

During the description of the procession, three architectural terms are mentioned in relation to its movements. The Greek letters correspond to those used in the maps and charts in this chapter.

- 1) 'Great Gate of the *ḫilammar*' (<sup>É</sup>*ḫilamnaš* KÁ.GAL), β
- 2) '*ḫilammar* of the Gods' (DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-*aš ḫilammar*), also 'Gate House of the Gods', γ
- 3) 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' (*šarazziš kašgaštīpa* KÁ.GAL), δ

Although the meaning of these designations is by no means easy to grasp, several scholars — most notably Singer — have assumed their locations or made equations without thoroughly explaining the rationale. In the following section, we will zoom in on these three terms and the meanings other scholars have given them. Working from the Hittite text of the KILAM festival first, but also using attestations in other texts, I will show what text internal evidence there is for specific locations of these terms. It is only after this text internal analysis that we try to 'map' these terms onto the archaeological remains as we know them. Although no definite localizations can be found, this analysis will show that several assumptions held in previous scholarship either cannot be true, or are likely untrue.

#### 7.2.4.1 'Great Gate of the *ḫilammar*' (<sup>É</sup>*ḫilamnaš* KÁ.GAL-*aš*)

The first action after the king sits down to inspect the procession, is the positioning of ceremonial carts, that are set up at the 'Great Gate of the *ḫilammar*' (<sup>É</sup>*ḫilamnaš* KÁ.GAL-*aš*, Obv. III, 18''-19'').



According to Singer, the ‘carts’ mentioned here are set up on the inside of the citadel entrance.<sup>70</sup>

I concur with the equation of the ‘Great Gate of the *ḫilammar*’ to the <sup>É</sup>*ḫalentuwaš* KÁ (‘the gate of the *ḫalentuwa*’) and as such, with this passage referring to the entrance to the citadel. If we take the *katapuzna*-structure to be located outside of the main gate, these carts would have been positioned on the outside, otherwise they would not have been visible for the king. If we take a look at the passage as a whole, several questions come up.

LUGAL=uš=ma=za=kan *kuwapi* <sup>É</sup>*katapuzni* *ešari* <sup>É</sup>*ḫilamnašš=a* KÁ.GAL-aš *nanankaltaš*  
GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA<sup>ḫl.A</sup> *karū* [*neyari*(?)] § [GUD<sup>ḫ</sup>]<sup>l.A</sup>-*ma* *kuiēš* *tūriyanteš* *nu=šmaš* SI<sup>ḫl.A</sup>-ŠUNU G[UŠKIN  
GAR.RA(?)] GIŠŠU.ŠUDUN<sup>ḫl.A</sup>-ŠUNU=*ya=šmaš* G]USKIN GAR.RA *ḫandi=ši=ma=šmaš=kan* *armanniš*  
GUŠKIN § *nanankaltašš=a* GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> ḪUB.BÍ *mān* 10 LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *mān=at* *meiqaēš* EGIR-*an*  
*aranta nu=šmaš=kan* 1-aš *ištarna* *nekummanza nu=kán* LÚḪUB.BÍ 1-ŠU *neya*

While/where the king sits down in/on the *katapuzna*-structure, and while the *nanankaltaš*-carts<sup>71</sup> are already [turned towards] the Great Gate of the *ḫilammar*, § the oxen which are harnessed, their horns are covered with gold and their yokes were covered with gold and on their forehead was a golden lunula. § Behind the ceremonial carts dancers are positioned, either ten men or many. Among them, one is naked. The dancer turns once.

(KBo 10.23 obv. III 18''-20'', rev. IV 1-14)

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<sup>70</sup> (Singer 1983, 90)

<sup>71</sup> (Güterbock 1989, 393b-394a)

It is not entirely clear what we should envision here: it seems from the description that the carts are either already at the *katapuzna*-structure, or set up there after the king takes his seat. Is the description of the carts meant to say that the carts are the head of the procession, and that the 'Great Gate of the *hīlammar*' is the destination of the procession? Singer views the cart set-up as a type of preparation: the carts are set up at the Great Gate of the *hīlammar*, waiting for the actual procession to start and arrive there. In this case, the carts and the oxen would be standing there during the entirety of the procession. Where did they come from and who was there to lift or guide them towards the Great Gate of the *hīlammar*? Are these actual oxen pulling carts or are they oxen statues, standing on top of carts? The verb *turiya-* ('to yoke') might suggest that these are live animals. If this is indeed the case, this leads to a number of difficult questions. How does one keep in check live oxen, and deal with their manure at a place this important? The texts are inconclusive on three accounts: whether the carts are set up on the inside or outside of the Great Gate of the *hīlammar*, whether we should see the carts as the head of the procession, or as a *mise-en-scène* of the procession's end point and whether the oxen are real or not. From a performance perspective it would make sense to envision the carts as the vanguard of the procession: plodding in front of the other participants, the gold of the oxen's ornaments would catch the light and be visible for onlookers from close by and far away, as they slowly approached their destination. But even if the oxen gold was a stationary spectacle awaiting the procession rather than a moving one, they would have been a wonder to behold. The 'flow' of the procession makes more sense if the carts come from the same direction as the procession, and furthermore, no other point of departure is mentioned in the texts. The presence of dancers, standing behind the carts, does indicate that attention was drawn to the carts, although it does not imply that the carts were

moving per se. If the oxen were the start of the procession, they would have been seen ‘pulling’ the procession forward, much in the same way they would pull a cart. If these are actual oxen, rather than statues, there are many practical reasons they should head the procession, rather than be expected to stand still in tranquil reverence in front of a noisy approaching crowd. There are two arguments speaking against the oxen heading the procession, and in favor of them awaiting the procession together with the king in a stationary manner. First, the text indicates that the carts were already standing at the ‘great gate of the *hīlammār*’, the dancers standing behind them (KBo 10.23 III 16’-20’, IV 1-14). The beginning of the procession starts at a different location, indicated in the next passage as the ‘*hīlammār* of the gods’ (KBo 10.23 IV 15-10’). Thus, the carts are already in a stationary position and do not move towards a different one. Furthermore, there are indications from iconographic evidence. On the relief of the silver vessel in the form of a fist (see 5.3.3, fig. 5.23, 5.24), we see a god, presumed to be the Stormgod, awaiting a procession, in his hands the reigns of a bull (or two?).<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the symbolic meaning of the carts with oxen is exactly as depicted on the vessel: they would be the point towards which the procession moves, perhaps even considered part of the audience.<sup>73</sup>

A middle ground might even be possible: perhaps the ox carts, together with the dancers, were the first part of the procession. After their arrival at the ‘Great Gate of the *hīlammār*’, they turned around to face the rest of the procession, in similar fashion to the vessel relief. It might have been at that point that the rest of the procession would start up again. This could also fit in with the way the text is structured: after the king has settled in/on the *katapuzna*-structure, there

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<sup>72</sup> (Güterbock and Kendall 1995; Boston 2022)

<sup>73</sup> A similar function of statues is noted by Haas for the *dammaššara*-goddesses. (Haas 1994, 51)

are several formulaic sentences that indicate the beginning of the actual procession (esp. KBo 10.23, obv. III 7''-11'', see above). It would therefore make most sense that the movements of the ceremonial carts were seen as the start of the procession. There is no way to know for sure, however, if the starting location of the ceremonial carts was the same as that of the rest of the procession.

#### 7.2.4.2 'hīlammār of the Gods' (DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš hīlammār), also translated as 'Gate House of the Gods'

After the text prescribes the set-up of the oxen carts, the second architectural term connected to the procession is mentioned: the so-called 'Gate House of the Gods' or 'hīlammār of the Gods' (DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-aš hīlammār: KBo 10.23, IV 15) is the point from which three religious figures depart: the priest of <sup>D</sup>KAL, the 'holy priest of <sup>D</sup>KAL' and the 'palwatalla-boy'.<sup>74</sup> Singer sees this group as the 'head' of the procession, therefore taking the 'hīlammār of the Gods' as the start point of the procession. It is at the 'hīlammār of the Gods' that these cult dignitaries are standing when, after a section of some 24 lines in the text are lost, they leave through the gate. Then follows what we can truly call the core of the procession: spears and 'copper fleeces' (presumably held up by people) and the famous 'animals of the gods', statuettes in the form of predators made out of precious, shiny materials like gold, silver and lapis lazuli. More participants follow, including the 'dog-men', the singer of <sup>D</sup>KAL, and singing men from Anunuwa. Multiple stag figures, again in precious metal, follow. This grouping of people and symbolic objects then passes through the

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<sup>74</sup> (Singer 1983, 60, n. 27) Usually we find a *palwatalla*-man, only in the KILAM festival do we find this younger alternative. See 7.3.

third architectural structure under review here, the ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’ (šarazziš *kašgaštīpa*, KBo 10.24 I 11-12 ).

#### 7.2.4.3 ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’ (šarazziš *kašgaštīpa* KÁ.GAL)

After the exit through the ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’, it is hard to reconstruct the group’s movements until the very end of this act, as some 44 lines of text are damaged or lost.<sup>75</sup> Before the king switches his spear for an axe (marking the end of this act), we learn that sacred bulls ornamented in gold are present (KBo 10.24 II 17”-21”), followed by the ALAM.ZU men performing in front of the sacred cart, so that we seem to have arrived back at the set-up near the ‘Great Gate of the *hīlammar*’, mentioned before the start of the procession, when the performers were said to be dancing, clapping and playing music while the ox carts were set up. A group of *zinḥuri*-men follow. When the focus has shifted from the procession to the movements of the king and queen, we do not learn what the performers of the procession do next, whether they simply leave and disband, or whether they follow the king on his way to the temple of Ḫalki. The damaged sections towards the end of the procession make it hard to pinpoint what the actual end (and end point) of the procession looked like. Two suggestions have been made in previous scholarship to explain the terms ‘*hīlammar* of the Gods’ and ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’ and place them within the ‘narrative arch’ of this act: one by Singer and one, less explicitly argued for, by Steitler.

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<sup>75</sup> (Singer 1983, 61-62)

Singer equates the '*hīlammār* of the Gods' with the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' (*šarazziš kašgaštīpa* KÁ.GAL).<sup>76</sup> In Singer's scenario, this gate would have been located at the far end of the citadel, thus leading from an explicitly mentioned 'Upper' Gate to what Singer presumes would have been a different name for the main entrance to the citadel: the 'Lower' Gate', a term which is never actually used in the texts.<sup>77</sup> Two of Singer's assumptions need scrutinizing: first, why should the two terms necessarily refer to the same gate structure, when the texts use two different terms? In the absence of further textual evidence for this equation, I believe we should take the two terms as referring to two different structures, especially since their specific designations 'Upper' and 'of the Gods' do not logically refer to the same concept.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, why would, as per Singer's assumptions, these terms refer necessarily to a gate structure that is part of the citadel?

Steitler, although refraining from explicit criticism on Singer's visualization, takes the two terms '*hīlammār* of the Gods' and 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' to be different entities.<sup>79</sup> In a footnote, he explains that it is remarkable the procession should leave the palace complex through the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*', whereas at the same time, the royal couple leaves through the main gate towards the temple of Ḫalki. Although I agree with Steitler that it makes no sense to take the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' as the point of departure for the procession (since it had already been well under way departing from the '*hīlammār* of the Gods'),

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<sup>76</sup> (Singer 1983, 112)

<sup>77</sup> (Singer 1983, 112, 115-116) For criticism on Singer's equation of '*kašgaštīpa*' with KÁ.GAL see (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 60-61).

<sup>78</sup> We will see later on, that there is a different text which refers to an 'Upper *hīlammār*'. This would be a logical candidate to equate with the 'Upper *kašgaštīpa*'.

<sup>79</sup> (Steitler forthcoming, 17, 19 n. 52)

I do not think the text shows irrevocably that the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' is the end point of the procession. The damaged sections would have shown whether the procession makes its way all the way to the *katapuzna*-structure (implied because of the oxen carts that we come back to) or ends before that. But since some 44 lines are missing before we are 'back' at the ox carts, it seems unlikely that the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' was the end point of the procession. From a performance perspective too, the procession is more likely to have made it all the way to or near the *katapuzna*-structure, since the main onlooker of the procession was stationed there. So, either the main gate (area) was the end point of the procession, or the procession participants came into viewing range of it and continued onward or turned around. The most plausible scenario, therefore, is to take the '*hīlammār* of the Gods' as the starting point of the procession (perhaps also of the ox carts' movements), and the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' as a station along the way. The area surrounding the main gate, especially the *katapuzna*-structure, would have formed a logical end point for the procession. Reminiscent of a relay race, the king would then take on the responsibility to move to the next station of the festival celebrations. We cannot exclude the possibility however, that the damaged sections of the festival performance held information as a different scenario, showing in more detail what the procession participants did after they left the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*'.

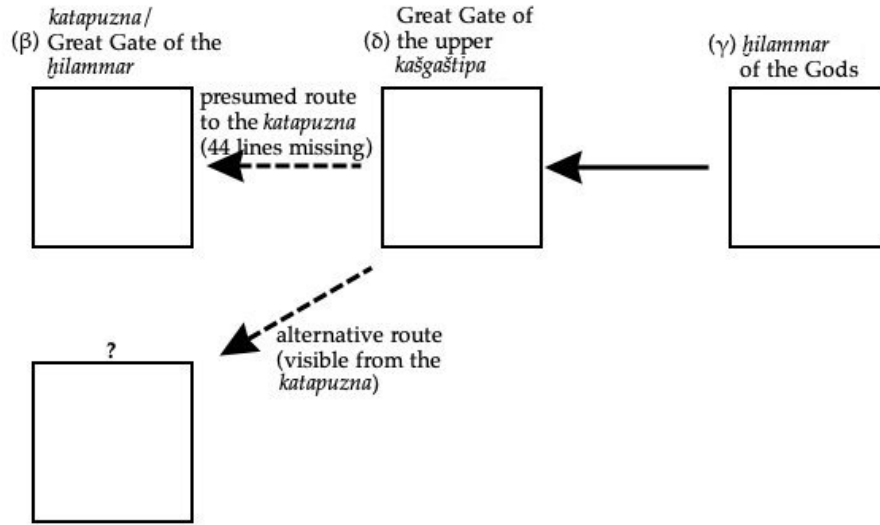


Figure 7.5. A simplified route of the procession (Act 1 of the KI.LAM festival)

#### 7.2.4.4 From texts to archaeology: Mapping the terms onto physical locations

Coming back to the actual location of the ‘*ḥilammar* of the Gods’ and the ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’, I think we should at the very least reckon with the possibility that these architectural terms could refer to structures *outside* of the citadel, such as the Sphinx Gate, the King’s Gate or other gatelike structures that could have carried the names mentioned in the KI.LAM texts. As we have seen, the attachment of the *katapuzna*-structure to (or close to) the Main Gate of the citadel does not present an obstacle for a localization either inside or outside of the citadel wall, but the texts give no further indication where we should envision it. The start point of the procession, the ‘*ḥilammar* of the Gods’, could either be inside or outside of the citadel too. If the ‘*ḥilammar* of the Gods’ was inside or part of the citadel walls, the ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’ — as a waystation during the procession — is also likely to have been located inside of the citadel. If the ‘*ḥilammar* of the Gods’ was outside of the citadel, for instance at Yerkaḫi, then the ‘Great Gate of



the Upper *kašgaštīpa* could have been located either inside or outside of the citadel. The missing 44 lines after the mention of the 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' give plenty of opportunity for the procession to move through the citadel, even if it started out from a citadel external gate like Yerkapı or the King's Gate. In the festival description of the procession, no explicit mention is made of palace buildings, palatial temple structures, courtyards or corridors inside of the palace complex. Looking at the end point of the procession, there is nothing speaking against a procession that would have taken place outside of the palatial mound.

The textual attestations of the terms *ḫilammar* or *kašgaštīpa* themselves also provide only meagre information as to their location inside or outside of the citadel.<sup>80</sup> The term '*ḫilammar*' is used seven times in the KILAM texts (including duplicates). Two times, it is used to refer to a *turiyaš*-gate, which Singer supposes to be in close proximity to Yazılıkaya.<sup>81</sup> Two times, the term is used for the '*ḫilammar* of the Gods' (the procession's start point). One time, it is specified as the 'Great gate of the *ḫilammar*', where the oxen carts are set up. This is our presumed Main Gate to the citadel. The other two attestations are from colophons and refer to the *ḫilammar* without any further additional information as the point from which he travels towards the *ḫuwaši* of the Stormgod. This *ḫilammar* too, refers to the main gate to the citadel. Following Singer's understanding of the *turiyaš*-gate, the term *ḫilammar* does not necessarily refer to a gate structure within the citadel. This means that the '*ḫilammar* of the Gods' is not necessarily a structure within the citadel. There are 25 attestations of KILAM written as a Sumerogram in the KILAM festival

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<sup>80</sup> For the discussion and different interpretations of the term *ḫilammar*, the Hittite usage now generally translated as 'gate' rather than 'portico' or 'pillared hall' see (Singer 1983, 115-116, 121; Singer 1975; Friedrich and Kammenhuber 2010, 586-593; Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991; Güterbock 1975). For *kašgaštīpa* see (Singer 1983, 115-116; Friedrich and Kammenhuber 2021, 245).

<sup>81</sup> (Singer 1983, 113)

texts, all are either part of the festival name (EZEN KI.LAM) or part of the title of the festival. As such, they provide no information on the use of the word KI.LAM for a structure inside or outside of the palatial mound.

Outside of the KI.LAM texts, *ḫilammar* also turns up in locations outside of the palatial structure, such as temples and houses.<sup>82</sup> As such, the *ḫilammar*-building mentioned in the KI.LAM text may have been located outside of the citadel, although it is still impossible to locate more specifically the '*ḫilammar* of the Gods' found in the case study.

Outside of the KI.LAM festival, we have attestations of the word '*kašgaštīpa*' in only one Hittite text: the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard.<sup>83</sup> There, this word is used of a gatelike structure that has its own main gate, and it is *not* specified as 'upper'. It is definitely part of the palace compound and in its context almost certainly refers to the Main entrance of the citadel.<sup>84</sup> We cannot be sure that the upper *kašgaštīpa* from the KI.LAM festival (as opposed to the undefined one from the Instructions of the Royal Bodyguard) was also part of the citadel structure, but it does seem likely.

In the KI.LAM text we find the pair 'Great Gate of the *ḫilammar*' ('*ḫilamnaš KÁ.GAL-aš*') and 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' ('*šarazziš kašgaštīpa*'). There is no 'lower' *kašgaštīpa* mentioned. In the Instructions for the Royal Bodyguard, we find the 'Main Gate' (GAL *kašgaštīpa*).<sup>85</sup> As we have seen, there is also an 'Upper *ḫilammar*'. From these attestations, it seems that *ḫilammar* and *kašgaštīpa* were interchangeably used to refer to an (impressive?) gate structure,

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<sup>82</sup> For examples see (Friedrich and Kammenhuber 2021, 586-593) (Singer 1983, 115-116; 1975; Friedrich and Kammenhuber 2010, 586-593)

<sup>83</sup> (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991) See also (Singer 1983, 115-116; Friedrich and Kammenhuber 2021, 245).

<sup>84</sup> This seems especially clear from the context of IBoT 1.36, col. i 66-67: (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 12-13).

<sup>85</sup> IBoT 1.36, Col. iv, 26-26. (Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991, 36-37)

although *hīlammār* was certainly used for gate structures both inside and outside of the citadel, and *kašgaštīpa* perhaps only for parts of the citadel. Perhaps one or the other found its origins in designating a specific part of a gate structure, such as the doors or the empty space inside of a gate structure.<sup>86</sup> But for the purpose of the festival instructions, both could be used to refer to the gate structure as a whole.<sup>87</sup> The addition of ‘upper’ for *kašgaštīpa* then, must have significantly signaled to the reader of the text, which gate structure *other* than the main gate to the citadel was meant. The addition of ‘šarazziš’ in our text likely indicates that it should not be equated with the main gate but rather represented another gatelike structure that, as we have seen, could have been a waystation from the start point of the procession to its final destination. Since the structure referred to as ‘upper *kašgaštīpa*’ is said to have its own gate, it is implied to have been a substantial structure. If we follow the suggestion — based on the attestations we have — that *kašgaštīpa* likely is part of the citadel, and is not the main gate (since that was already the location of the viewing loge), I think it is more likely to have been an actual entrance to the citadel than one of the internal gate structures from within the citadel walls (e.g., 4, 7, 8, 14).

We only know of three gate structures providing entry to the citadel: the main entrance (marked as 2), the East entrance (marked as 15), and the South-West entrance (marked as 17). The East entrance would have given easier access to courtyard 9 (through gate 14), and a possible procession way can be imagined that enters through gate 15, moves through gate 14 to courtyard

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<sup>86</sup> (Singer 1983, 115-116) Singer argues that ‘*kašgaštīpa*’ is used as a term for the ‘main gate’ (as opposed to the side entrance) of a gate-house. The gate-house itself would thus be the *hīlammār*. Güterbock envisions it the other way around: according to him, the ‘Great Gate’ GAL KÁ.GAL is inside or part of the *kašgaštīpa*. As such, the <sup>é</sup>*kašgaštīpa* mentioned in the KILAM texts would be a type of ‘gate building’, that incorporates the ‘Great Gate’ we know from other texts.

<sup>87</sup> See also Singer’s observation that the *turiyaš* KÁ.GAL and the <sup>Giš</sup>*turiyaš* <sup>é</sup>*hīlamni* mentioned elsewhere in the text are the same gate structure. (Singer 1983, 113)

9, and follows the path through gate 7 onto courtyard 5 towards a *katapuzna* structure located either inside ( $\alpha 1$ ) or outside ( $\alpha 3$ ) of the citadel. The latter scenario seems unlikely, as the procession would not have been visible from the *katapuzna* structure. The other entrance to the citadel, gate 17, is associated with the Lower Town of Hattusa, and likely functioned as the main entrance for the transport of goods and access to water from Büyükkale.<sup>88</sup> If a procession came through the South-West entrance, it would immediately be visible from an internally located *katapuzna* structure ( $\alpha 1$ ), or it would have to make its procession through the capital towards a *katapuzna*-structure located outside of the citadel walls ( $\alpha 3$ ) unnoticed. From a performance-oriented point of view, neither are likely. This leaves the East entrance as the only possible entrance to the palatial compound used during the procession, besides the main entrance which is the location of the viewing loge.

It is unlikely that the starting point of the procession would be one of the internal gate structures within the citadel. Not only would this make the procession way very short, it would also pose a problem for the impact of the performance. If the procession started from within the citadel, for instance from gate 14 or 7, this would provide very little space for actors and props to gather. Effectively, there would be no hidden space to gather props, to get into position or to prepare mentally, as the actors would have been visible during their preparation. This lack of a 'backstage' diminishes the impact of the performance of a procession.<sup>89</sup> If the procession went through the citadel at all, it is very likely that gate structure 15 would have been involved.

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<sup>88</sup> (Seeher 2011b, 127)

<sup>89</sup> For the social importance of the back stage space, see (Filmer 2006).

### 7.2.5 Three scenarios

From the preceding indications and arguments, three possible scenarios remain:

1) Neither the ‘*hīlamma* of the Gods’ ( $\gamma$ ) nor the ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’ ( $\delta$ ) were located in the citadel. The *katapuzna* structure is located outside of the citadel walls ( $\alpha$ 2). The procession could potentially cover a long stretch of space. Its performance space is quite unlimited, but leaves little room for secluded settings or ‘stations of visibility’.

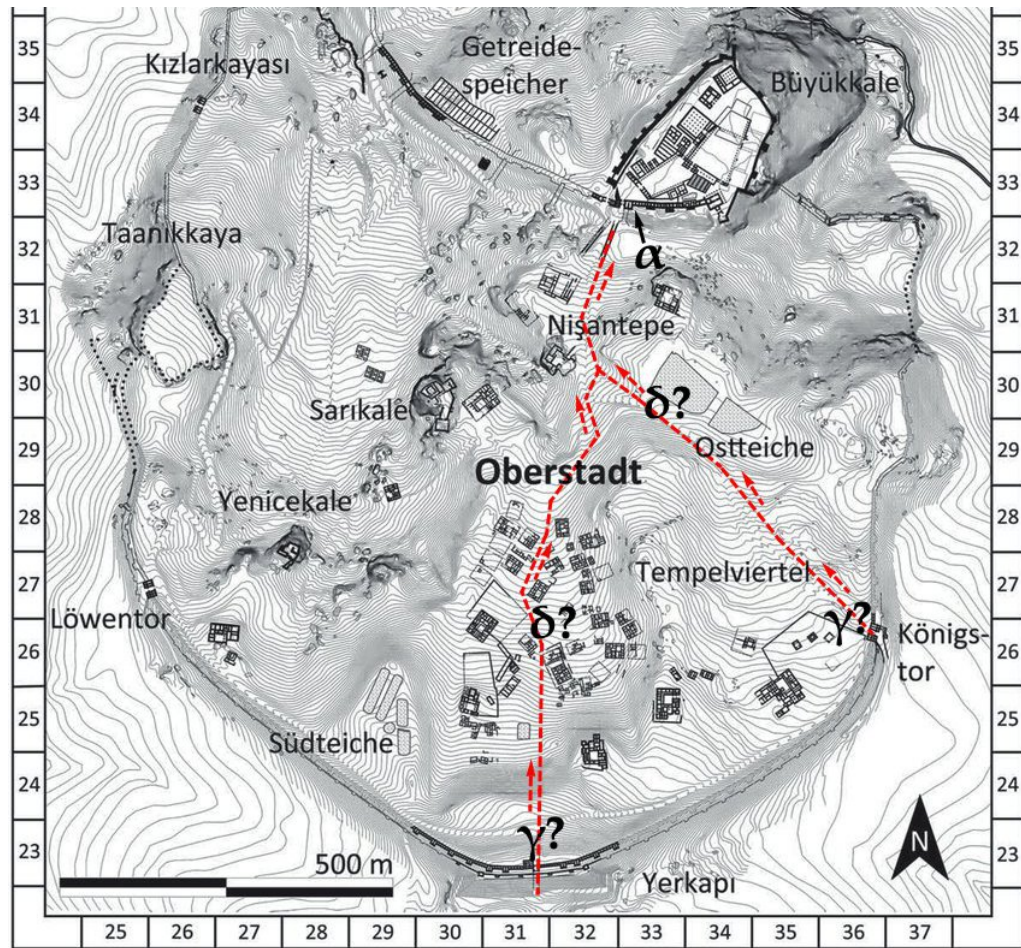


Figure 7.6, Showing scenario 1 on a greater map of Hattusa (original map by D. Krüger, reprinted in (Harmanşah 2020, 229, figure 9.2))

2) The 'hīlammar of the Gods' (γ) is located outside of the citadel (to be equated for instance, with the Sphinx Gate or the King's Gate). The 'Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*' (δ) is part of the citadel, likely to be equated with gate structure 15.<sup>90</sup> The first part of the procession takes place outside of the citadel. The second part of the procession takes place within the citadel (but this part is broken in our texts), and moves towards the katapuzna structure which is located inside of the citadel walls. The procession could potentially cover a long stretch of space. Its performance space is quite unlimited, but also provides room for secluded settings or 'stations of visibility'.

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<sup>90</sup> If future discoveries prove this equation of the 'upper *kašgaštīpa*' with gate 15 to be correct, a suggestion should be made to explain its name. Perhaps this gate to the citadel, in contrast with gate 17 that gave access to the Lower Town, was the one associated more directly with the Upper Town, perhaps even situated a little more higher up (or towards the higher part of Hattusa). Note that Otten suggested for the 'upper *hīlammar*' a grammatical understanding (cf. Lat. '*in summa sacra via*') rather than physical one: (Otten 1955, 390, with n.2)



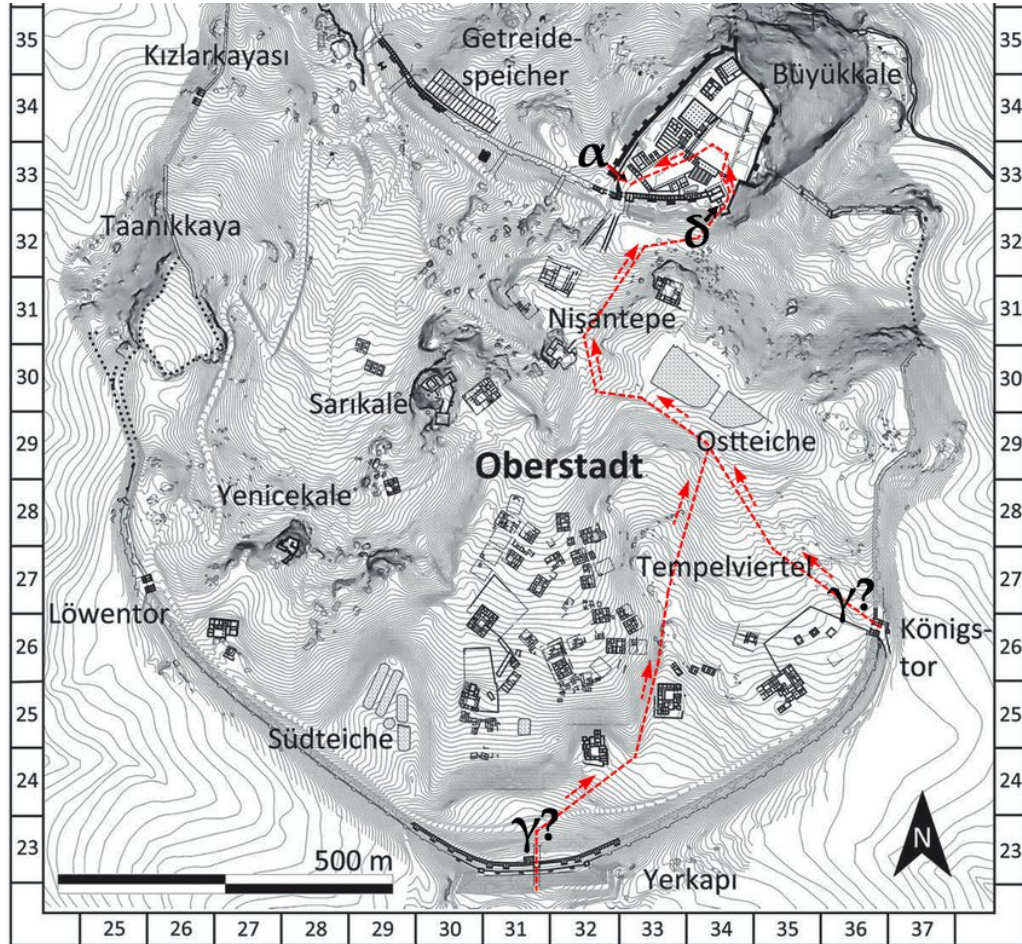


Figure 7.7, Showing scenario 2 on a greater map of Hattusa (original map by D. Krüger<sup>91</sup>)

3) Both the ‘*hīlammār* of the Gods’ ( $\gamma$ ) and the ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’ ( $\delta$ ) are located within the citadel. The ‘*hīlammār* of the Gods’ is likely to be equated with gate structure 15, and an internal gate structure would have been called ‘Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa*’, perhaps 14 or 7. The procession moves towards the *katapuzna* structure which is located inside of the citadel walls. The procession would have been quite limited spatially. Its performance space is limited to a small audience.

<sup>91</sup> (Harmanşah 2020, 229, figure 9.2)

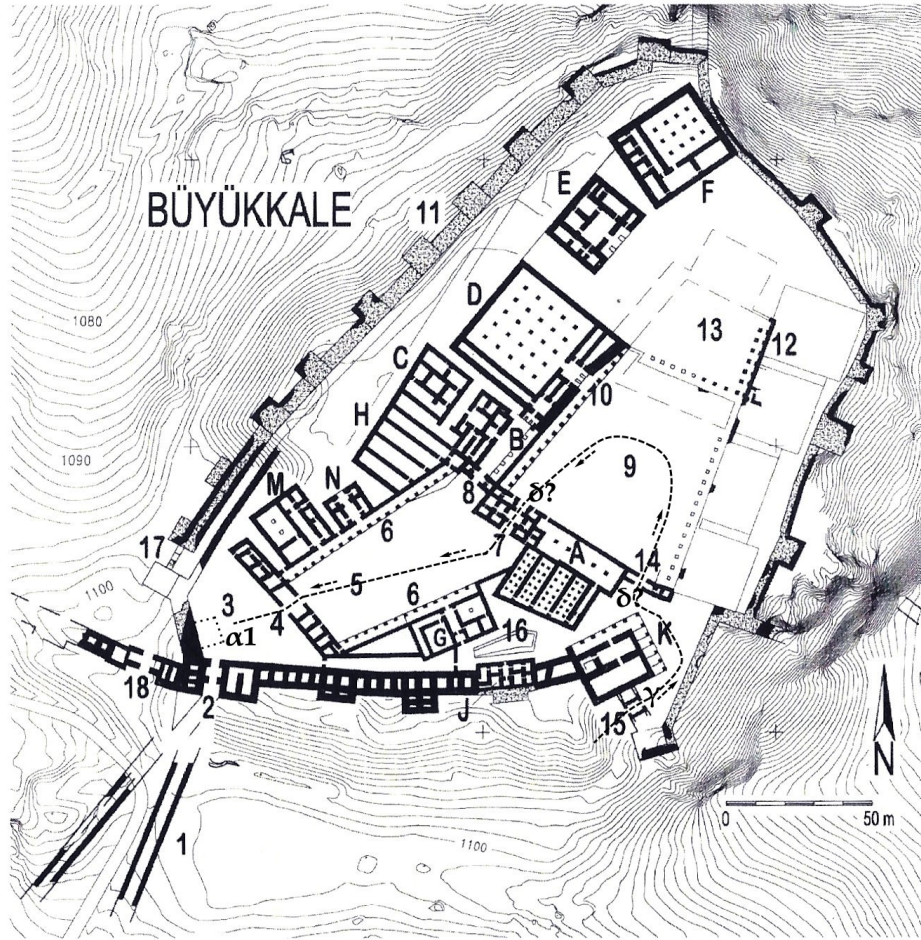


Figure 7.8, showing scenario 3 on Büyükkale

We saw that, according to the textual attestations of *kašgaštīpa*, there is an — albeit weak — indication, this word is only used in association with the citadel. Were this indication to be corroborated with more attestations, and our Great Gate of the Upper *kašgaštīpa* were certainly part of the citadel, we would have to limit the possible scenarios to number 2 and 3. One observation that should be made in favor of scenario 1, is the sightlines between the *katapuzna* structure (located outside of the citadel) and the procession route. In the other two scenarios, where the *katapuzna*-structure is located inside of the citadel, the king would actually be able to



see very little of the procession, because of the gates closing off large portions of the view towards the courtyard. From a performance-oriented point of view, this makes little sense. On the other hand, performance studies also greatly value the experience of other actors within a performance. Scenario 3, the most constricted envisioning of the procession, might have been geared mostly towards the experience of the actors within the procession, and less so on their visual effects for the royal audience. Scenario 2 would have been an excellent opportunity to play with changes in visibility: whereas a part of the procession would have been visible for a wide audience (like scenario 1), perhaps by people standing in the temple district or lining up along the path taken from a gate in the Upper City towards the citadel gate, the second part of the procession would have been for *intimi* only, thereby emphasizing the social status and belonging of those chosen few.

### 7.3 Performers

For act 1 of the KILAM festival, we find the following people mentioned besides the king and queen.

Groups of participants (mentioned in plural, sometimes also mentioned in singular):<sup>92</sup>

- ALAM.ZU-man/men, performer(s) : LÚALAM.ZU<sub>x</sub>
- men of Anunuwa: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>URU Anunuwa
- waiters: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>GIŠBANŠUR
- men 'of the great house': LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>É<sup>TIM</sup>
- palace attendants; LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>É.GAL
- men of Hariyaša: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>URU Hariyaša
- 10 or more dancers (one naked): LÚ<sup>(MEŠ)</sup>ḪUB.BI

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<sup>92</sup> People and objects are listed alphabetically (following the letters of the original word). Sumerograms and Akkadograms are listed under the constituent that gives the main information, not the determinative.

- the ‘thousand of the battlefield’<sup>93</sup>: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> LIM ŠĒRI
- bodyguards: LÚ(.MEŠ)MEŠEDI
- singers: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> NAR
- ‘shepherds of the right- and the left-side’: LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> SIPAD ZAG-aš GÙB-laš
- ‘masters of the words’: *uddanaš* BELŪ<sup>MEŠ</sup>
- Dog men, or hunters: LÚ.MEŠUR.G[l7]
- *zinḫuri*-men
- *Zizzimara*-men

Single performers (only mentioned in singular):

- a ‘psalmodist boy’<sup>94</sup>: DUMU.NITA *palwatallaš*
- Chief of the smiths: UGULA LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup>E.DÉ.A
- queen: MUNUS.LUGAL
- king: LUGAL
- foreman of the herald(s) of the troops<sup>95</sup>: UGULA NIMGIR ERÍN<sup>MEŠ</sup>
- priest of <sup>D</sup>KAL: LÚSANGA <sup>D</sup>KAL
- holy priest of <sup>D</sup>KAL: *šuppi*- LÚSANGA <sup>D</sup>KAL
- priest of the Stormgod: LÚSANGA <sup>DU</sup><sup>96</sup>
- holy priest of the Stormgod: LÚSANGA <sup>DU</sup> *šuppi*-

Then, there is a third category of people, who are performing in the festival but are not mentioned as part of a particular group.

- those people who set ready the carts at the gate-house (and presumably also made ready the oxen with their decorations and yokes)<sup>97</sup>
- those people who carry the spears ‘standing on mountains’<sup>98</sup> (see also below)
- those people who carry the 10 (or 20) copper fleeces<sup>99</sup> (see also below)
- those people who carry the animals of the gods (at a minimum 6)<sup>100</sup>

<sup>93</sup> A military office also mentioned in a few other Hittite texts. See (Singer 1983, 57, n. 4)

<sup>94</sup> Singer notes that in other festivals, the psalmodist is a man designated as LÚ*palwatallaš*. (Singer 1983, 60, n. 27)

<sup>95</sup> Singer notes that this term is known from other (but only pre-empire) texts. (Singer 1983, 61)

<sup>96</sup> KBo 10.24 obv. II 4. Note that in his synopsis, Singer erroneously translates this as ‘priest of <sup>D</sup>KAL’. See (Singer 1983, 16, 61).

<sup>97</sup> (KBo 10.23, IV 1-6)

<sup>98</sup> (KBo 10.23, V 11’-13’)

<sup>99</sup> (KBo 10.23, V 14’-15’)

<sup>100</sup> Alternatively, we need to think of these being carried by the *uddanaš* BELŪ<sup>MEŠ</sup> ‘masters of the words’.

We should note that no mention is made of a ‘congregation’ (*ašēššar*), nor of the ‘foreigners’ (*ašēššar* LÚUBARŪTIM, LÚ.MEŠUBĀRU(M)) or other general categories of high-ranking participants, such as dignitaries (LÚ.MEŠDUGUD) or princes (DUMU<sup>MEŠ</sup>.LUGAL). The so-called ‘thousand of the battlefield’ (LÚ<sup>MEŠ</sup> LIM ŠĒRI) may be a group designation implying a large number of people.

The types of people mentioned generally follow our expectations given the performance activities that take place in this act. For instance, the lack of libations or other activities with food or drink explains the (almost complete) absence of cup bearers, cooks and bakers.<sup>101</sup> Music and song are performed not just by those we expect to do so (e.g., ALAM.ZU-performers, the singers) but also by the men from Anunuwa, who are said to play music and sing in Hattic. It is the foreman of the smiths who conducts the ceremony in which the king receives his iron spear. Typical for this festival in general, and also visible in this particular act, is the important representational role of groups of people coming from a particular region or belonging to a specific (social) group. Following the concept of a *defilé*, these groups of people present themselves (and the objects they hold) to the king (e.g., the men ‘of the great house’, the ‘shepherds of the right- and the left-side’, the men from Ḫariyaša, the *Zizzimara*-men).<sup>102</sup> Later on, in act 2, there is another ritual that performs the hierarchical relationship between different (regional) social groups and their king.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Note however, that the chief cook is mentioned once (the context is broken, so we don’t know what he did), right before the ALAM.ZU-performers play music and sing in front of the ‘*nanankaltaš* carts’ (KBo 10.24 obv. II 22’).

<sup>102</sup> See also (Görke 2008, 52-3)

<sup>103</sup> See (Archi 2015, 12-14).

Calculating our baseline number of participants would start from the single performers mentioned: 9. Then, we can add at a very minimum 2 people for each of the 15 unspecified 'groupings': 30. The dancers are 10 or more, according to the text. Adding then, the performers of the third category, we need to make some estimations. If there are at least two carts (since they are in plural), we would expect at least 2 people per cart, so 4 people in total at a minimum. We don't know the amount of spears, so the number of carriers would have been at least 2, though likely more given the amount of animals and fleeces. For the fleeces, understanding each fleece to be carried by one person, we would need 10 or 20 performers. The 'animals of the gods' would be carried either by the *uddanaš* BELŪ<sup>MEŠ</sup> (in which case, we should not add to our minimum number) or they represent at least another 6 performers, but possibly more, if the break in our texts would have mentioned even more animals. As such, the minimum number of people performing in this act, would be 65. Taking the larger number of fleeces (20 rather than 10), and assuming the *uddanaš* BELŪ<sup>MEŠ</sup> as separate from the carriers of the 'animals of the gods', the minimum number of participant grows to 81.

A more likely number would include at least a few more carriers for the spears and the 'animals of the gods' (since a large break exists at the end of that list), say 90. Then, we have seen that the number of people estimated for each 'grouping' greatly influences the total number of participants. Adding even one person to the average group size (so going up from 2 people per group of for instance bodyguards, palace attendants, table-men, etc. to 3 per group) bring us to a total of 105 participants. An average of 4 people per grouping already brings us to 120.

As we have seen (7.2.5), some of the staging scenarios for this act of the festival take place within the citadel. This is also the assumed location in previous scholarship. As such, it would

make sense to relate the number of people estimated from the text, to the number of people that could fit into the citadel courtyard space, using the formula of space per participant I have used before.<sup>104</sup> As we have seen (see 3.4), these calculations were made with a Hittite feast-like setting in mind, during which the participants would have had to sit and stand, and possibly drink as well. In the case of this act of the KI.LAM festival, the formula is somewhat difficult to apply. The participants in question would have been walking in procession form. This means there was a general movement (though hold-ups are of course possible, and perhaps even expected in a defile style gathering) as well as the occurrence of music and dance (e.g., KBo 10.23 III 12''-15'', VI 1-12, KBo 10.24 II 22''-28''), which can take up a lot of space, depending on the execution. Depending on the size of the symbolic objects carried, as well as the space given to those performers carrying these objects (so that the objects remained visible), the specific characteristics of this defile style procession may actually call for a larger, rather than a smaller amount of space necessary for the average performer. On the other hand, since the texts do not mention people sitting down, participants would have taken up less space than the formula assumes on average. In lieu of trying out the amount of space necessary for a procession such as the one in the KI.LAM festival<sup>105</sup>, I will take the formula as I estimated for a feast-like setting to be roughly the same for a procession (since the legroom needed to sit down might compensate for some of the movement necessary in a procession), though it might be wise to err on the side of the 'small crowd' size.

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<sup>104</sup> See chapters 3.4 and 5.

<sup>105</sup> But see chapter 8.3 for pathways of future research.

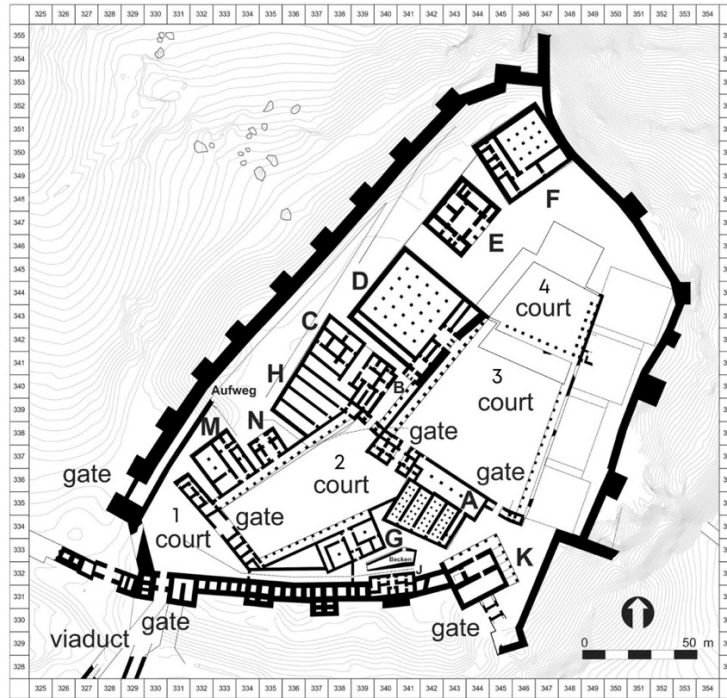


Figure 7.9, A plan of Büyükkale, the citadel of Hattusa  
 (Schachner 2022, figure 9.8, p. 443, numbers added and legend corrected by Th.E.L.)

Courtyard (estimated square surface)	Small crowd 0.77 person/m <sup>2</sup> 1.3 m <sup>2</sup> /person	Medium crowd 1.25 person/m <sup>2</sup> 0.8 m <sup>2</sup> /person	Dense crowd 2.78 people/m <sup>2</sup> 0.36 m <sup>2</sup> /person
1 (975 m <sup>2</sup> )	750 people	1219 people	2710 people
2 (3027 m <sup>2</sup> )	2328 people	3784 people	8415 people
3 (3585 m <sup>2</sup> )	2758 people	4481 people	9966 people
4 (992 m <sup>2</sup> )	763 people	1240 people	2758 people

Table 7.1, Estimates of the number of people that could fit at courtyards 1-4 at Büyükkale

Looking at the small crowd estimates for the different courtyards at Büyükkale, it is striking that even the smallest of these could easily fit 6 times the number of participants of a sizable estimate

based on the texts of this festival act (6 times the estimate of 120, which was based on an average group size of 4 people per group). This means that either the defilé groups of the KILAM festival were much larger than the average group size fitting for the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM festival, or, the groups were of a similar size, but the participants had a very large space available for their movement. If the latter situation was indeed the case, this would have had a serious impact on how the procession was perceived, especially by those performing within it.<sup>106</sup> The latter situation also opens up the possibility of spectators — not mentioned explicitly in the texts — being present along the path taken through the citadel. From a functional point of view, this contradicts the staging of a procession in a secluded part of the city. Spatially however, it was very well possible.

#### **7.4 Props**

As explained in the previous chapter, it would be most useful to view objects used in the festivals in macro perspective, and especially in relation to other factors, such as their user, and the physical circumstances they are used in. The categorization presented here is merely a push in the right direction, but to truly come to better insights, we would need to develop a relational database (based on a larger number of festival texts) to highlight correlations we otherwise might miss.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> See for instance the understanding of vast, empty, enclosed spaces seen as marking status as well as asserting the power of the gods from ancient Egyptian examples. (Baines 2006, 283)

<sup>107</sup> See also chapter 8.3, pathways for future research.

## 7.4.1 Categories

Similar to the previous case study, items necessary to carry out this part of the festival can be organized into different functional categories.

Musical instruments:

- Inanna-instruments (harps)
- music instrument (lyre?): GÍŠŠÀ.A.TAR

Clothing:

- white shirt (of the Subarian<sup>108</sup> style)
- TÚG warḥui- ‘raw cloth’
- šepahi-shirt
- a golden earring
- black shoes
- a cloak: TÚGšeknu-

Furniture/staging:

- KUŠNÍG.BÀR ‘curtain’ (or drapery of some sort, part of the doorway covering<sup>109</sup>)
- nanankaltaš GÍŠMAR.GÍD.DA<sup>H.L.A</sup> ‘nanankaltaš carts’ (perhaps ‘sacred’ (?) carts (they remain stationary, it seems<sup>110</sup>))
- ornamented oxen

Tools or items used for handling foodstuffs (e.g., libation):

- A silver vessel (with wine)
- A hold or strap (SÍGippuli-)

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<sup>108</sup> See (Singer 1983, 58, with n. 11, including other options for translation)

<sup>109</sup> See (Singer 1983, 58, n. 10, with references)

<sup>110</sup> See (Singer 1983, 59, n. 24.)



### Symbolic objects:

- ceremonial iron spear<sup>111</sup>
- spears
- 10 or 20 (copper) 'fleeces': (<sup>NA4</sup>*kunnana*) <sup>KUŠ</sup>*kurša*
- 'animals of the gods' (see discussion below): DINGIR.MEŠ-*naš huitar*
  - a silver panther/leopard
  - a silver wolf
  - a golden lion
  - a silver boar
  - a lapis lazuli boar
  - a silver bear
- stag figures
  - a golden stag
  - a silver stag with antlers
  - a silver stag with golden antlers
  - a silver stag without antlers
- torches<sup>112</sup>
- *aliyazenuš karkidanduš* ; perhaps a type of bird figures<sup>113</sup>
- something made of ivory<sup>114</sup>
- bull figures of Šeri(?) and Ḫurri, in silver with golden horns
- iron axe<sup>115</sup>

### Vehicles:

- (*nanankaltaš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA<sup>H1.A</sup>), perhaps more like a wagon carrying a statue
- king's chariot
- queen's chair

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<sup>111</sup> As the parallel text has '*šakuwannaš turi*' (KUB 20 4 I 22'), a spear of the *šakuwatar*-type, Singer proposes that to translate this type-word as 'ceremonial', since the spear is frequent in this festival. (Singer 1983, 58, 91)

<sup>112</sup> I categorize these under 'symbolic', since this act is supposed to have taken place after the king woke up in the morning, following the usual scheme of Hittite festivals. As such, torches would not have been needed to provide light. Furthermore, these torches are mentioned for only one group of festival performers (the *Zizzimara*-men). If torches had been necessary for practical purposes, more performers would have been said to carry them.

<sup>113</sup> See (Singer 1983, 94-95)

<sup>114</sup> From KBo 10.25 VI 19'-35' in bad condition. See (Singer 1983, 61)

<sup>115</sup> This axe was decorated with an image of the Stormgod, and has been likened to the decorated axeheads as the ones discussed in 5.2, figure 5.8.

Foodstuffs:

- Wine

In comparison with the happenings of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAĪ.ŠUM festival, this act of the KILLAM festival mentions little food and drinks. This part would come later, during the great assembly (act 3). Still, it is interesting to note that not a single food item is mentioned for this first scene of the festival.

#### 7.4.2 The king's 'toilet'

We have previously seen that in performance studies, the 'warm-up' is a necessary part of the performance, representing a liminal time during which actors prepare themselves to take on their role and to "leap" into the performance.<sup>116</sup> The king's 'morning toilette', as James Burgin characterizes this scene<sup>117</sup>, describes the waking and dressing of the king (KBo 10.23 obv. I 2'-17'), and is a beautiful example of this 'warm-up' phenomenon, including even the almost theatrical opening of the curtains.

[mā]n lukatta

Éhalientuwa

[h]aššanzi KUSNÍG.BÀR=ašta

uššīyanzi

[Wh]en it is morning,

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<sup>116</sup> See 4.2.3, (Schechner 2013, 240).

<sup>117</sup> (Burgin 2019, 27)

they [o]pen up the halentu-building.

They draw up the curtains.<sup>118</sup>

KBo 10.23 obv. I, 2'-5'

Next, the king walks into an inner room so as to get ready for his role: he puts on his festival costume, including at least some of the items we have seen in iconographic depictions of the king in his 'king as Sungod' type (see 5.3.2): he wears several layers of shirts (corresponding, perhaps, to the long robe and the short tunic visible underneath), an earring and black shoes. As we will see below, however, the king subsequently receives (or looks at) a ceremonial spear, which aligns better with the 'king as hunter' type.<sup>119</sup>

### 7.4.3 Royal attributes

Another stage in this liminal phase before the real performance starts, is receiving the right props, perhaps, we might speculate, adding to the outward image of the king in his role as high priest or the particular character of the *defilé* style procession which followed.

After the morning toilette, the king sits down on the throne, presumably, as we have seen, in building D on the citadel. A micro ritual enfolds (KBo 10.23 obv. I 22'-34') which involves the foreman of the smiths, who presents the king with an iron spear, and the head palace attendant, who is holding a cloak (presumed to be the cloak of the foreman). From the text, it seems that the king is either shown or briefly given these items, but that they are then, it seems, taken away

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<sup>118</sup> For a discussion on this noun see (Singer 1983, 58, n. 10).

<sup>119</sup> I argued for renaming this 'type' from warrior to hunter in 5.4.1, given the accumulated evidence that Hittite culture and Hittite royal power seems to have been mostly disinterested in displays of military prowess.

again.<sup>120</sup> This is a similar way of ‘associating’ objects with the king as we have seen in the previous case study. By looking at these items or touching them, the king, apparently, lends these items the power or meaning they need to be used during the festival.

Throughout the act, no further mention is made of this spear, but towards the end of it, when the king steps up from the *katapuzna*-structure so as to step onto his chariot and leave (starting act 2), palace attendants take away the iron spear from the king and present him with a different attribute, an iron axe, which is decorated with the image of the Stormgod (KBo 10.24 III 23’-33’). Because the spear is taken away from the king at this point, I envision the following scenario. By presenting the spear officially to the king in the room with the throne, the spear was ritually ‘activated’. Less speculatively put: the celebrants of the festival found it necessary to officially present the spear to the king before the more public parts of the celebration started. Besides the foreman of the smiths and the chief palace attendant, no other performers were present besides the king, at least relying on the text. This part of the festival then, seems to have been rather secluded. Once the king travels through the passageway of the *halentu*-building, he is surrounded by bodyguards and palace attendants, and awaited by ALAM.ZU-performers who are said to greet him at the ‘house of the queen’s treasurer’ (KBo 10.23 obv. II 5’-35’). En route to the *katapuzna*-structure then, the performance has really started, at least in the sense that several people are able to see the king, there are movements by multiple people and displays of dance (and presumably music). The actually sitting down in or on the *katapuzna*-structure is not described in any detail. Given the reappearance (and subsequent swapping) of the iron spear at

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<sup>120</sup> See also (Haas 1994, 750)

the moment the king leaves the *katapuzna*-structure, and its ceremonial presentation to the king at the start of the festival day, I think the spear was likely carried by another performer from the throne room to the *katapuzna*-structure and put to the side of the king after he seated himself at the *katapuzna*-structure, in a similar fashion to the spear in the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival. Such a scenario cannot be proven however, unless we find a text (perhaps one ‘functionally differentiated’ for a person in charge of the *katapuzna*-structure) that says so.

The swapping of the spear for the axe is an interesting structural feature in the festival performance, as it correlates perfectly with the king’s movements. Before the king sits down to enjoy his defilé, he associates himself (in one way or another) with the spear. When the defilé is over, the king swaps this attribute with another and embarks upon a trip in his chariot to the next festival stage. At the end of act 3, the taking away of the spear again signals the end of a major act of the performance, essentially signaling the start of the ‘cooldown’, in this case, the return of the royal pair from the *ḫuwāši* of the Stormgod to the citadel.<sup>121</sup> The association of these ceremonial objects with different types of acts is something worth looking into in future endeavors.

#### 7.4.4 The procession

A striking feature of this act is the high number of symbolic objects used. Mainly, this is due to the objects carried in the defilé style procession, displayed for the king to see. These objects include the spears, the copper fleeces, the ‘animals of the gods’, objects made out of ivory, bird or deer figurines<sup>122</sup>, and stag figurines. Since the latter were said to be ‘*šallanai*-‘dragged’, these are

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<sup>121</sup> For the text see (Burgin 2019, 36-37), Burgin’s Ms 1, KBo 20.33+ rev. 66.

<sup>122</sup> For these different interpretations of ‘*aliyazenuš karkidanduš*’, see (Singer 1983, 95; Melchert 2002, 298).

generally thought to have been standing on carts.<sup>123</sup> In the case of the silver stag drawn by the *Zizzimara*-men, we learn that these same men were holding torches. I suggest this means the method used for dragging the procession carts included straps attached to the shoulders or upper arms of the people dragging, rather than dragging with ropes or handles held by hand. If the latter was the case, the *Zizzimara*-men would likely not have been able to both drag a stag figure and hold a torch.<sup>124</sup> Some objects were (presumably) carried or held up (e.g., the fleeces, the ‘animals of the gods’, the bird/deer figurines<sup>125</sup>), whereas others might have been standing on top of constructions, implying that they too, might have been carried on carts. This might have been the case for the spears, since they “stand somewhere on the mountains”, according to Singer’s translation of the text.<sup>126</sup> The figurines of the bulls *Seri* and *Hurri* too, were likely part of the display of symbolic objects.

According to Archi, the first acts of the KILAM festival represents “the magic reintegration of hunted wild animals”.<sup>127</sup> This hunt-like character manifested itself in the kind of performers and props used: the priest of <sup>D</sup>KAL, spears, the paraded animals, hunters, stag figures and perhaps bird figures. Archi’s observation that the animal figures of animal were sizable since otherwise they would not have had to be ‘pulled or dragged’ (rather than lifted up) is important to provide an accurate image of the performance and the experiences this would have created.<sup>128</sup> In a sense, the weight or size of the animals resulted in a ‘performance’ by those dragging, a

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<sup>123</sup> E.g., (Singer 1983, 95; Haas 1994, 752).

<sup>124</sup> Note that the only ‘strap’ mentioned in the text, the <sup>SiG</sup>*ippuli*- (KBo 10.24 obv. II 6), is presumably used by the priest of the Stormgod, though it is unclear what the priest is holding with this strap.

<sup>125</sup> (Singer 1983, 95; Melchert 2002, 298) In the case of these bird/deer figurines, the verb Hitt. ‘*karp-*’ is used.

<sup>126</sup> (Singer 1983, 98)

<sup>127</sup> (Archi 1993, 4)

<sup>128</sup> (Archi 1993, 4-5)

tableau vivant of some sort, passing by the king. If the animals were so small that they were merely displayed, the performance would have been less convincing.

The meaning and appearance of many of these objects is unknown to us.<sup>129</sup> There are numerous examples of spears being used as cultic objects in Hittite culture, and one materially attested example of a spear head decorated with lions, that suggests the ceremonial use of spears in the (general) region and period (from Alalah).<sup>130</sup> The 'fleeces' are thought to be cult objects made from animal hides, fitted with either copper or a blue paste of some sort.<sup>131</sup> The 'animals of the gods' then, are the most enigmatic objects found in the KILAM festival. They lend their name to the defilé-style procession, so they are generally held to be the central figures of the procession, despite many other objects and people being mentioned.

Singer gives an overview of all the different attestations of the list of animals that are paraded before the king, as these show minor variations.<sup>132</sup> In all of these lists, the stag figurines seem to be regarded as separate from the other animals. All are made out of precious materials, namely gold, silver, lapis lazuli and (if we count broken attestations mentioned a bit further down the text) ivory. Singer suggests that the lists all include the most impressive wild animals found in Anatolia: panthers, wolves, lions, boars and bears. Following his logic, these wild animals were seen as a distinct group, separate from the stags that followed and *aliyazenuš karkidanduš* (either bird figurines, following Singer, or deer figurines, following Melchert<sup>133</sup>). We could speculate therefore, that the ivory objects named in the same context as the *aliyazenuš karkidanduš* were no

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<sup>129</sup> For a discussion and references, see (Singer 1983, 89-97).

<sup>130</sup> See (Singer 1983, 89, 91, with references)

<sup>131</sup> (Singer 1983, 91, with references)

<sup>132</sup> (Singer 1983, 92)

<sup>133</sup> (Melchert 2002, 298)

predatory mammals, but either a type of hooved animals, or birds (depending on one's understanding of *'aliyazenuš'*).

From a performance perspective, we get the most information from the attestations of the stag figures, since we know that they were dragged rather than carried and, as I have argued, likely were dragged behind the body using straps or the like, to free up the arms. To conjecture about their appearance, Singer brings up the Alaca Höyük standards, bronze objects found burial context and generally understood as cult instruments.<sup>134</sup> These standards, dating to pre-Hittite times (speculated to be Hattian<sup>135</sup>), have often been interpreted as used in burial rituals: according to these theories, they would for instance have decorated the drawbar of burial carts or were used to guide the reins. Given the verb *šallanai-*, as well as the different attestations of carts used in the procession, the comparison is not completely moot. As Singer argues, the Alaca standards were, much like the stags found in the KILAM festival, plated with precious metals. We should however, keep in mind that the KILAM festival is not a funerary performance, so we should not speak of a direct 'Hattian' influence.

## 7.5 Deities

In opposition to the previous case study, we do not find deities mentioned as such in this part of the KILAM festival. In act 3, the great assembly, an extensive drinking ceremony takes place, during which the king performs his role as high priest, libating for a host of different deities.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> (Singer 1983, 94, with references; see also Krafzik and Börker-Klähn 1986; Orthmann 1967)

<sup>135</sup> For the Hattians and Hittite society, see 1.1.1.

<sup>136</sup> For my calculations of the amount of alcohol consumed for these 51 deities, see 5.1.



The details and structure of this ceremony have recently been discussed in much detail by Burgin, and he offers a comparative method that can be used on a corpus-wide level.<sup>137</sup>

As we have seen (7.4.4), the animal statues, specifically the ones representing predatory mammals, likely had a special status within the repertoire of paraded objects. Not only did they give their name to this particular scene of the festival performance, they are also called, in some attestations ‘animals of the gods’ (‘DINGIR.MEŠ-*naš huitar*’). As such, they are thought to have a special connection to the gods or represent deities in an animalistic form. Görke for instance, shows how a further passage from the KILAM festival correlates different gods with different animals:<sup>138</sup>

[TUŠ-*aš*] 𒀭Inar Ù 𒀭Habandali IŠTU É 𒀭Inar

[*hui*]tar KÙ.BABBAR *udanzi* 1 *hupar* GEŠTIN ANA PÌRIG.TUR 1 *hupar* GEŠTIN ANA ŠAḤ.NITA  
*laḥuanzi*

The gods Inar and Habandali (they drink to) [while seated]. From the temple of Inar they bring the silver [ani]mals. They pour one *hupar* wine for the panther, one *hupar* wine for the boar.

KBo 20.33+ obv. 13-14<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> (Burgin 2019, 113-146)

<sup>138</sup> (Görke 2008, 56)

<sup>139</sup> (Singer 1984, 89; Burgin 2019, 32) I follow the new readings of signs by Burgin. Bound transcription and translation are my own.

## 7.6 Movements and activities performed by the king

Setting out to compare case study 1 and 2, an immediate difference emerges when describing the actions performed by the king using the same scheme. Considering that I characterized the king as relatively passive during the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM festival, this act of the KI.LAM festival is even less action-packed. This is largely due to the selection of this act of the festival, since in the two acts that follow, the king does move past various locations, carries out some forms of communication and, during the great assembly, performs his role as the high priest libating to the gods. As I have explained towards the beginning of this chapter, one of the reasons to choose this act is to contrast the role of the king in the two different types of processions: one in which the king is the center of the movement (in the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḤ.ŠUM festival) and one in which he is the center to which the ritual activity moves (act 1 of the KI.LAM festival). We will look at the same three ‘types’ of activities as considered for the first case study:

### 7.6.1 Type A: moving and standing still

#### 7.6.1.1 A1: *movements between settings*

As we have seen (7.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.4.2), the king moves from a type of residential area to a room where he performs his ‘toilette’. He then moves to a building with a throne, where he seats himself for the ceremony during which he is presented with the iron spear and cloak. In my understanding, there is a constant build-up in accessibility in these scenes, and with each movement, more performers can see the king. If we have to pinpoint one point at which this day really becomes ‘a performance’ (moving from the warm-up to the actual performance), it is the point at which the king steps through the passageway of the ḫalentu-building, flanked by

bodyguards and palace attendants, as he is greeted by the ALAM.ZU-entertainers awaiting his arrival (KBo 10.23 obv. II 12'-35'). We then see the king move through a courtyard, and move to the *katapuzna*-structure. Given the limits of this case study, chosen partially because of this reason, the king remains completely stagnant for the rest of the festival act.

#### 7.6.1.2 A2: stationary position as a point of reference for other actors

In this festival act, we see the Hittite king in what Geertz would call a “fixed figuration of authority”<sup>140</sup>, that is, someone around whom the activities enfold, surrounded by performers, by sounds, by movements, but predictable and still himself. As he did in the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, the king lends objects and people a special status by his gaze or touch. As the focal point for the defilé style procession, he is both the end point and the *raison d'être* of the parade. Whereas in other parts of this festival (especially in the great assembly), the king can be said to be fairly active, in this first act of the KILAM festival, the Hittite king resembles the character of the Balinese king described by Geertz:

“insofar as he was an actor in court ceremonies, his job was to project an enormous calm at the center of an enormous activity by becoming palpably immobile. [...] the king was The Great Imperturbable, the divine silence at the center of things.”<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> (Geertz 1980, 131)

<sup>141</sup> (Geertz 1980, 130)

## 7.6.2 Type B: actions concerning objects

### 7.6.2.1 B1: actions concerning objects

The king's actions regarding the spear (and other attributes), as well as the paraded animals has been discussed in 7.4.3 and 7.4.4.

### 7.6.2.1 B2: the drinking ceremony

There is no drinking ceremony in this part of the festival. The extensive ceremony during the third act of this festival was recently discussed by Burgin.<sup>142</sup>

## 7.6.3 Type C: Acts of communication concerning people C1 and deities C2

### 7.6.3.1 C1: acts of communication concerning people

The only acts of communication that are described for this act of the KILAM festival happen during the iron spear ceremony (presumably in the audience hall of the citadel) and the movement of the king from there to the *katapuzna*-structure. In the first case, the foreman of the smiths bows to the king (KBo 10.23 obv. I 32'-33'). In the next scene, as we have seen, the king is accompanied by both bodyguards and palace attendants, who had been awaiting him at a passageway. From what can be understood, it seems that one of the palace attendants calls out 'kaš', upon seeing the king enter. Continuing his route, the ALAM.ZU-performers are awaiting the king at the so-called 'house of the queen's treasurer'(KBo 10.23 obv. II 28'-35'). Here, they greet the king by shouting 'aha'.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> (Burgin 2019, 113-146)

<sup>143</sup> For these expressions, see (Klinger 1993).

As we can see, none of the acts of communication are reciprocated. This correlates with my findings in the previous case study, as well as the general reverent and still demeanor of the king during the festival performances (see also below).

#### 7.6.3.2 C2: acts of communication concerning deities

It is somewhat remarkable that given the length and amount of detail the defilé style procession is described in, we do not learn more about the moment at which this procession past by or arrived at the Hittite king, sitting at or on the *katapuzna*-structure. As such, we also do not learn how the Hittite king communicated with the performers carrying or dragging the ‘animals of the gods’, nor whether he showed these objects, as representatives of the deities, signs of reverence or respect, such as the bows we have seen in the previous case study. The absence of these acts of communication may be due to preserved state of the text. Perhaps the missing lines in this section of the festival instructions would have contained more information on the king’s responsibilities towards the ‘animals of the gods’. The likelihood is not very high however, since the breaks and damaged sections do not occur towards the end of the procession. One possibility is that the king’s reaction (for instance, a bow) may have been referred to in the long break after the ‘animals of the gods’ are listed (KBo 10.23 rev. V, 17-20 lines missing after 28<sup>144</sup>).

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<sup>144</sup> (Singer 1983, 14)

## 7.7 Concluding remarks

The second case study, chosen deliberately to contrast the types of activities analyzed in the first case study, shows both similarities and differences in its performance features. As we have seen, one of the major hurdles in coming to a proper understanding of how this act of the festival was celebrated, was to understand the staging of the scene. After the king sits down on or at the *katapuzna*-structure, it becomes very difficult to envision what happened, if we do not know from where to where the defilé style procession paraded. We must acknowledge that we lack as of yet a good enough understanding of Hattusa's urban structures' names and functions. As such, I have chosen not to make a case for one scenario or the other, but instead, to present the material as we have it now, and shown how it can be used to come to three different scenarios, all with their own consequences for the how and why of the festival performance. Hopefully, future discoveries, either philological or archaeological, will show which — if any — of these scenarios is plausible. For now, these scenarios allow us to discuss with more structure and in more detail, several performance elements and their effects.

We have seen for instance, that the scenario followed (either implicitly or explicitly) in current scholarship, the whole act taking place within the walls of the citadel (scenario 3, see 7.2.5), shows a remarkable contrast between the participants mentioned in the texts and the space they had to perform and parade (see 7.3). I hope that other scholars will join me in coming to explanations for this discrepancy, and that it may lead to a better understanding of for instance the role of festival performers not mentioned in the texts, or the organization of architectural space within the citadel. Should we envision the palatial courtyards to be lined with partakers in the performance not mentioned in the texts? Were the courtyards occupied by structures no

longer extant, impeding free movement? If indeed the performers had an exceptional amount of space to perform in the procession, this may have had the effect of making these people feel insignificant or less powerful. In scenario 3, the intricacies of the performance would, it seems, be mostly focused on the kinds of impressions made on the participants of the performance itself (rather than partakers), although in the large scheme of things, any ritual taking place within the confines of the citadel would have had an exclusionary effect on the population not allowed permeability. Given the character of the act that follows (act 2), perhaps the performance at the citadel too, was focused on binding several regional or social groups to the Hittite center and impressing them with the (divine) importance and power of its ruler.

Scenarios 1 and 2 open up more possibilities of performance effects. If act 1 took place both inside and outside of the citadel (scenario 2), a similar situation would arise as we have seen in case study 1: a constantly changing permeability and participation, having the effect of actively creating inclusion and exclusion. Again, looking at the KILAM festival in macro scale, these effects could have existed either way, since the festival performance moves away from the citadel in act 2, so that the festival opens up to a larger possible audience (visibly), and closes down again to a smaller participating audience during act 3, the great assembly.<sup>145</sup> In terms of history of religion, it would be interesting to know whether the representations of gods in the forms of animals would have been visible to a broader public.

One particularly interesting aspect of the act of the KILAM festival, is the glimpse it provides of what scholars from performance studies would call the 'warm-up' to the

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<sup>145</sup> As we have seen (5.4.2), the area inside Room A of Yazılıkaya (the presumed location of the great assembly) could have held 162-583 people, though a number of 64-288 is more likely.

performance. Similarly, there seems to be a noticeable crescendo in the permeability of the king's actions, from waking up to seating himself on the *katapuzna*-structure. As I have argued, the moment that he leaves the passageway of the *ħalentu*-building, flanked by bodyguards and greeted by ALAM.ZU-performers, may be regarded as the moment the king steps 'on stage', the real start of the performance.

In this act of the KILAM festival, the king acts similar to the previous case study, as a center figure towards whom the performers, props and movements navigate. Also similar is the way in which the king's gaze and touch are necessary or validating for the use and performance of specific objects or activities. Given the scene chosen for this case study, the king is particularly still and inactive. We must reckon with the possibility that another instruction text (perhaps one focused on the responsibilities regarding the *katapuzna*-structure) might have provided more information on the king's actions. The evidence as we have it now presents us with an image of the king, sitting in the viewing lodge, as a still spectator to the *defilé* style procession. Those participating in the procession (and, perhaps, other spectators lining the courtyard space, if this were the case) would have seen the king sitting there on a sort of stage, he himself, inactive, almost like a prop.



## Chapter 8 Synthesis

*All the world's a stage,*

*And all the men and women merely Players;*

*They have their exits and their entrances*

*—Jacques, in Shakespeare, As You Like It, Act II Scene VII Line 139*

### 8.1 Synthesis

We have seen that the Hittites of Late Bronze Age Anatolia were seemingly ‘obsessed’ with the celebration of religious festivals. From the extant textual records, we learn of more than 200 different festivals celebrated throughout the empire. These records also show the great care and importance attached to the proper execution of these celebrations. Not only were they necessary for obtaining the benevolence of the gods and securing the welfare of the Hittite people: Hittite royal ideology showed the king as the communicator with the divine realm and responsible for organizing the cult. As such, the celebration of religious festivals was a key tool of impression management. Based on her mainly archaeological research, Claudia Glatz recently suggested that the Hittite empire was, in a sense, a Geertzian ‘theatre state’, in which ritual performances reproduced and created sovereignty. In this research, I further explore this idea, working from the same anthropological assumptions, and with the same aims in mind. I add to Glatz’ work an extensive theoretical and methodological framework, my ‘performance-oriented approach’, which not only serves to analyze Hittite festivals as political tools, but also to further research on Hittite performance culture in general. Furthermore, this research provided an opportunity to

look into Hittite festival texts in more detail, drawing attention also to several difficulties in understanding the texts, and providing a systematized overview of the details of Hittite performances, so as to show *how* exactly a festival could work as a critical mechanism in the continued “*making*” of the Hittite state.<sup>1</sup>

This research aimed to add to the collective endeavor of Hittite festival studies by building on the enormous efforts of philological research to start incursions into the domain of interpretation. My particular focus was the use of these festivals as tools of impression management by the royal elite.

The first goal of this book then, was to develop a theoretical and methodological approach that could be used to analyze Hittite festivals: the performance-oriented approach. By identifying and surveying scholarship from performance studies, anthropology, archaeology and history of religion, both theoretical and applied to specific (ancient) case studies, I collected a set of theoretical frameworks, useful terminology and comparative case studies that could be applied to or used for the study of Hittite performance culture. An interdisciplinary survey such as this always runs the risk of being both too extensive and too narrow at the same time. There are many pieces of scholarship that could have been added to my survey, and in order to save on space, I have chosen not to cite too extensively the intricacies of the case studies of cultural behavior I came across. Scholars from the particular fields mentioned may find my choice of the one scholar’s work over the other too limited, whereas scholars from cuneiform studies might find chapters 2 and 3 too broad already. For the purpose of this book, the approach has helped both

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<sup>1</sup> See 1.1.9., (Glatz 2020, 101)

to narrow down the focus on particular aspects of Hittite culture, as well as to highlight elements of cultural behavior not previously considered as significant. In this way, particular case studies outside of the Hittite realm help in distinguishing performance building blocks for Hittite performance culture. Furthermore, the use of a shared vocabulary helped tremendously in describing, comparing and analyzing the cultural phenomena I encountered in my own case studies. I think for instance, of the different categories of participants from Schechner's quadrilogue, as well as concepts such as permeability and diacritical ceremonies. The performance angle also worked as an eye-opener in a sense, making us aware of just how extraordinary the Hittite festival corpus is from a cultural historical point of view. In my attempt to argue for a more performance-oriented approach to Hittite festival texts, I have revisited the long-standing discussion on the function of Hittite festival texts and the words we use to refer to these. Within the spectrum of scholarly attitudes towards this corpus of texts, I take up an optimistic position. Despite many of the limitations we face in interpreting these texts, I believe it would be a shame to postpone (or forego) analyses and interpretations of this fascinating body of texts. I hope that my own attempt has contributed to our understanding of the riches of the Hittite festival corpus or in the very least, will inspire others to continue this line of thinking.

A further aim of this research was to grow our knowledge of the practicalities of Hittite festivals, the 'how'. In order to study the celebration of festivals as a political tool, I first had to dive into their performance realities. This in turn led to the development of an approach that is focused on more than just the political impact of performances and that can be applied more widely. In order to come to a better understanding of how Hittite festivals were celebrated exactly, and what the details were of their organization and execution, I proposed that we should

write a 'thick description' of Hittite performance behavior. Essentially, a thick description is an intellectual endeavor used by ethnographers, to collect examples of human cultural behavior. As a cultural historian, I am of course a few levels of interpretation away from the direct experience of an ethnographer. Rather than collect examples of what I see, hear and taste, I have to collect examples of what we believe performers (or partakers) of the Hittite festivals would have heard, seen and tasted. Such an approach always necessitates reflections on and an awareness of its methodological difficulties and pitfalls. In order to come to a thick description, I compiled a list of 'elements' of performance behavior, which I call 'building blocks' of performance, such as the different actors or performers, the objects or props used, as well as the stages the performances take place at. Further building blocks include all elements that can be said to stimulate our senses in one way or another, including, but not limited to dance, music, processions, drinking ceremonies, theatrical interludes, feasts, acrobatics and contests. Many of these building blocks have been mentioned or discussed in one way or another in previous Hittitological scholarship.<sup>2</sup>

Building blocks of performance behavior had not previously been studied or catalogued as such for Hittite material evidence, especially the iconographic material. Both architectural design and urban lay-out (temples, the citadel), as well as visual culture (iconographic depictions on objects and monumental reliefs) were, of course, tools of impression management themselves. The existing practices of creating space, image and performance would have been complementing strategies. It is difficult to know exactly how interactions and reinforcements between these three spheres worked, especially given our still limited ability to locate the stages of Hittite festival

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<sup>2</sup> For more in-depth treatments of these elements of entertainment, see the bibliographical summary in (Schwemer 2022, 391), as well as in (Beal 2022).

performances. In this research, I have chosen deliberately to look at archaeological evidence only as a source of information on Hittite performance culture, rather than go into the political strategies of space and image creation as such. In my survey of the material evidence, I have shown how objects and monuments could have been used as props, settings or even as performers or members of audience. Furthermore, I looked towards visual representations on objects and monumental reliefs for information on performance building blocks. This survey of the iconographic evidence led to several reflections on Hittite performance culture that were not evident from the textual perspective. For instance, the visual evidence shows several recurring features or 'memes' that are not attested with the same frequency in the texts, implying that the visual representations may show behaviors that were so evident, they did not need to be mentioned in the texts. I think specifically of the 'clenched fist' gesture, but there are also other observations from the visual evidence that are somewhat humbling to someone interpreting the performance from just the text. The Bitik vase shows the use of a strap to carry a vase, vase B from Hüseyindede shows bull leaping, several depictions show the deities in a human form, giving rise to questions on the existence of deity statues and the philosophical and ontological conceptions of the divine in the Hittite mind.

The catalogue of material performance evidence also gave rise to two true interdisciplinary approaches to Hittite performance culture. First, the calculation of the likely amount of alcoholic drink consumed during the great assembly of the KILAM festival, based on the volume of the 'shot glasses' found in ritual contexts. Even more applicable for future studies, is the formula I developed for crowd density in a Hittite feast-like setting. Despite the recent attention to space and performance in Ancient Near Eastern studies (e.g., Alessandra Gilibert and

Lauren Ristvet), there had been no consideration of the available ritual space within Hittite temple or palace courtyards, in correlation with the types of activities likely taking place there, based on the textual evidence. With my formula, I was able to make estimations that are useful in compensating for the relative subjectivity of our (modern day) presumptions in estimating the experiences of peoples in the past. We have seen for instance, that the textual evidence for the celebration of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival fits very well with the crowd density estimates for an average Hittite temple courtyard. For the defilé style procession that takes place in what I have called 'act 1' of the KILAM festival, the crowd density estimates do not correlate well with the people mentioned in the texts (that is, if one follows the staging scenario adhered to in current scholarship). As such, the crowd density formula helps, first, to notice this discrepancy between the texts and the available space. Second, it helps us formulate different options in order to overcome this discrepancy: either these people had way more space to move than we would assume, which in itself could have had particular emotional or physical effects. Alternatively, this suggests that there was a group of 'assumed' spectators not mentioned in the texts. Another option is to find a solution for this discrepancy in the architectural or urban layout of the stage setting.

Besides the material evidence, I chose two textual case studies to test out the performance-oriented approach and add to our knowledge of how Hittite festivals were performed. For the purposes of this study, with its focus on the political dimension of festival celebrations, I limited myself to a number of performance building blocks in the analysis of these textual case studies: the stages, the performers, the props, the deities and the activities and movements of the king. Essentially, my approach of these bodies of texts was to come to a very practical understanding

of the mechanics and happenings of its performance, almost, as I have explained, so as to write a manual that could be used to organize a festival performance. Writing a catalogue of these performance building blocks forces the scholar to interpret, to make decisions, and to explain where the texts and our lack of contextualizing information impede further interpretations. Whenever possible, I have then resorted to showing the different possible scenarios, so that I could discuss the other aspects of the performance in light of these different scenarios. As we have seen, this method also puts much focus on those elements of the performance that are essential to answering the 'how' question, but are simply too hard to answer definitively, at least with the current state of our evidence. For the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, I have extensively debated the structure of the festival and the location of the king during its events, eventually arguing for several shifts in the festival's permeability and a long scene during which the king, seated in a room with a dais, is partially visible (or at the very least audible) by a medium-sized crowd sitting in a temple courtyard. For the KILAM festival too, the staging was the biggest difficulty in coming to a better understanding of the intricacies of its performance. Based on a critical reading of the textual material, I have drafted three possible scenarios for the stage setting of the procession, which enable us to discuss with more accuracy the different options and continue further interpretative endeavors, without losing sight of the difficulties presented by the text.

In both case studies, the role of the king is at the same time relatively inactive as well as indispensable. He is the focal point for the ritual activity: his presence starts and ends the performance, and validates the actions performed by others. He is the only person to communicate directly with the gods. The king's special status is further emphasized by the

limited number of people in direct contact with him, in terms of touch and speaking. Furthermore, his status is emphasized by one-sided acts of greeting, as well as several forms of gestures, such as (one-sided) bowing and highly ritualized sequences of sitting and standing.

By analyzing these two case studies with a performance-oriented approach, it can be concluded that one of the central mechanisms in Hittite festival performance was the conscious manipulation of the performance stages, so as to create the effect of changing permeabilities and participation levels of the performance. The festival was organized in such a way that the king and his direct entourage would move from location to location. Some locations were completely closed off and what happened inside was only perceived (and potentially participated in) by a select group. Shifts in location would have happened within the citadel, opening up the visual permeability of the performance to its widest audience. As I have argued, it is this change in permeability that has the greatest inclusionary or exclusionary effect. During other parts of festival performance, a crowd was able to participate in feast-like parts of the performance and depending on the space these parts of the festival took place in, the physical permeability of these acts was not extremely limited. At the same time, I believe that the visual permeability may still have been limited, for instance in the case of the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and its possible use of a screen to create an obscuring effect. These shifting permeabilities and participation levels correlate with the concept of ‘stations of complex spectacles’, so that we can label those events that were deliberately limited to a small number of participants ‘diacritical events’.

This brings us to the last aim of this study: to investigate *why* the royal elite orchestrated these festivals the way that they did: how did they manipulate the celebration of festivals to create, negotiate and sustain their power? By analyzing different examples of evidence for Hittite



performance culture, both archaeological and textual, I aimed to make some first steps into understanding why performances took on the form that they had, that is, what envisioned or desired effects the particular constellations of building blocks could have had.

In the interpretation of performance and its anticipated or pursued effects, there is a great risk of attributing meaning held by the interpreter. Victor Turner already explained how “ritual performance is multivocal, representing different meanings for different people and in different situations”.<sup>3</sup> Following Lawrence S. Coben and Takeshi Inomata, we should focus more on “how theatrical events communicate, how they generate meaning, and how different meanings are negotiated among participants, rather than simply assume the preexistence of fixed meaning”.<sup>4</sup> When we explore possible effects of performance events of the past, our estimations are ultimately based on the assumption that we can know the psyche and the feelings of peoples of the past. It assumes that in some way or another, peoples of the past would have felt and responded to impulses in similar ways that we do, or in ways that we may expect based on what we know from the particular socio-historical circumstances of the time. On the one hand, we must not lose sight of these limitations to our abilities to know what the effects of performances would have been, and how peoples of the past would have felt experiencing such performances. On the other hand, it is our duty — and privilege — as historians to go beyond stating the barebone facts and texts: we should examine and interpret the texts and snippets of cultural historical information left to us.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 18; Turner 1970, 5-51)

<sup>4</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 21)

<sup>5</sup> Many examples of this type of interpretative research can be found in Ancient Near Eastern contributions to the so-called ‘sensory turn’, culminating in the *‘Routledge Handbook of the Senses in the Ancient Near East’*: (Neumann and Thomason 2022).

Based on my analysis of the two case studies, as well as the general performance-oriented approach to Hittite festival celebrations, I argue that the effects of Hittite state festival celebrations were orchestrated so as to create three main effects. First, to emphasize the special status and importance of the king, as we have seen above. Second, to give participants (that is, both performers and partakers in the broader sense) the feeling of belonging to a community. Third, to differentiate between different social groups, binding a specific group of elite people to the king and showcasing their high status to the rest of the population.

As techniques for creating a sense of community, the main force was the existence and regular celebration of these festivals in general. The repetition of familiar elements, of recognizable building blocks, could have had the effect of creating commonality: a sense of shared culture, beliefs and practices. Furthermore, the festivals were performed according to rules and expectations that were regulated by the central administration, so as to have positive effects on the Hittite community as a whole: they were celebrated to honor the gods, in the shared interests of the entire Hittite realm. A further tool to create this sense of community were elements within the performance that were directed at the experiences of a larger spectatorship. In the widest sense, this would be any moment during which a general public would have been able to see or catch glimpses of the performance, such as during a procession through the citadel. If the procession through the capital passed by monuments or locales that held a specific meaning, or if these were themselves part of other media of impression management (architectural, iconographical), then the effects of these combined strategies could have been multifold. If, for instance, the route taken during the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM would have taken the procession entourage from the citadel to the temple district in the Upper City, it could (depending

on the period during which this celebration took place) have passed by the Südburg monument, as well as Nişantaşı. As we have seen, the latter may have contained not just inscriptions and altars, but also a statue of Suppiluliuma II. The existence of monumental reliefs depicting processions (e.g., Alaca Höyük, Yazılıkaya) suggests that Hittites can be said to have had a ‘materialization of ideology’, which took place at the intersection of public events and monuments. Whereas a procession was temporary, significant buildings, monuments, and locales it passed by were (at least to some extent) permanent. As such, these could have functioned as mnemonic devices that kept the memory of the performance, as well as its efficacies, alive, even after the performance had ended. A repetition of such ceremonial events, for instance due to the seasonal character of festivals, contributes to the effects of processions.

Elements of visual (or audible) splendor could also have added to the effect of community building.<sup>6</sup> These include several of the building blocks of Hittite performance culture, such as (professional) dancing, music, acrobatic acts, as well as the use and display of precious materials, luxurious or symbolically significant clothing and objects with religious or political significance. These performance elements could have provided those normally not exposed to such behaviors and forms of luxury with entertainment and a sense of wonder. At the same time, these elements would have signified the amount of wealth and energy the king and his elite could spend on these events, so that they could have had the added effect of excluding.

Even though feasting is traditionally seen as a major contributing factor to community building<sup>7</sup>, my analysis did not show that this would have been the effect envisioned while

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<sup>6</sup> See also 1.1.9., (Glatz 2020, 101-102)

<sup>7</sup> E.g. (Bell and Aslan 2009, 120-127; Inomata and Coben 2006b, 26)

orchestrating a feast during a Hittite festival celebration. For a celebration such as the one in the courtyard of the temple of Zababa, for instance, I estimate that about 150-200 people would have been present. Unless one assumes that the feasts as described in the Hittite texts were extended beyond the confines of the courtyards and beyond the participants mentioned within the texts, this means that feasts would have the effect of excluding those not invited, and including those lucky enough to join in, rather than give a wider feeling of communal belonging.

This brings us to the third effect I think is central in Hittite festival celebrations: the creation of a social hierarchy by means of consciously and visibly excluding a large group of people, while including only a small group as the 'in-crowd'. In the performance of the festivals, this is visible in the constantly changing locales of performance. I have explained that we can detect several 'shifts', and that it is because of these shifts that the effects are most potent. We see shifts in visual permeability (being allowed to see a performance, if even from a distance), physical permeability (being allowed to be physically near the performance) and participation (being allowed to actively contribute to the performance). The first two often go hand in hand, although, following Schachner, temple 1 may have had a relatively large visual permeability.<sup>8</sup> The effect of these shifts then, was the visible inclusion of some at the exclusion of other groups of people. Those ceremonies during which only a small group of people were allowed to attend and witness the festival activities were 'diacritical', that is, the permeability of and participation in these activities were a sign of status distinction.

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<sup>8</sup> See 5.1.

The shifts between different stages of the performances were marked by movements of the king, often in the form of some sort of procession. Whereas processions provided occasions for a more general public to experience the festival and thus, as I have argued, feel a sense of community through shared experiences, marked by events and sights that were out of the ordinary, such as seeing the king and other important figures, and marveling at the different performance elements, it should be noted that they were also situations during which only a small group of people — at least according to the texts — were allowed to move with the king. As such, even processions can be said to contribute to the effect of inclusion (of those people moving together with the king) and exclusion (to those who remained spectators). There is no textual information on these ‘partakers’, as performance studies would call those people viewing the procession. We can therefore do nothing more than speculate that they were unlikely to have remained complete passive, perhaps clapping hands, rhythmically stamping their feet or even joining in the movements. For those participating in the procession (either the narrow understanding of those people mentioned in the texts, or the wider understanding that includes a number of bystanders), the various experiences of smell, hearing and seeing would have been added to in the form of kinesthesia, that is, the experience of the body in movement.<sup>9</sup> This is particularly the case for movements performed while listening to music (such as drumming) or when the movements are congruent with those of others, such as marching or synchronous dancing.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> (Inomata and Coben 2006b, 20)

<sup>10</sup> For these effects, see (Moore 2006; Rideau 2019)

These effects of the musical elements of Hittite festivals and particularly processions would at the very least have been experienced by those people we hear mentioned as participating in the processions. Many of the understandings of processions stem from anthropology, where they are held to have multiple effects at the same time. These effects can be seen as an elaboration on the effect of 'inclusion'. According to Clifford Flanigan, processions enhance solidarity among participants; they give participants a feeling of necessity (the ritual must unavoidably take place and do so in a prescribed way); and, they are re-enactments of events that had already taken place in the past ("archetypical events"), so that they have a commemorative character.<sup>11</sup>

As I have argued, feast-like scenes such as the ones we know from great assemblies likely did not have the effect of creating a sense of community, that is, among the general Hittite (or urban) population. Building on the finding of my formula, when used to calculate the available space for Hittite performance within temple courtyard settings, it follows that these were very likely diacritical events, as only a very small portion of the population would have been able to attend. The effects of these parts of the festival performance then, seem to have been largely directed at an elite audience. Within these settings, the participants were allowed to join in the ritual performance, but only to a certain extent. These people must have felt their own special status, being allowed to enter specific sacred spaces, joining in drinking ceremonies, drinking *marnuwan* beer and eating soup, catching glimpses of the king communicating with the gods, enjoying the performances of music and dance, as well as the ritual reenactments of battles and

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<sup>11</sup> (Clifford Flanigan apud Gilbert 2011, 107-108)

contests. In this sense, the ‘sense of community’ that anthropologists see as an effect of feasting, may have manifested itself in a smaller scale, and great assemblies may have contributed to a shared sense of belonging to the Hittite elite.

At the same time, feasts emphasized the distinction between this elite group and the king himself. Catherine Bell explains this socio-political effect of feasts: “By eating generously of the provided food and accepting the gifts distributed by the host, the guests are formally witnessing and acceding to the host’s claims to possess the rights to particular prestigious titles, dances, and masks”.<sup>12</sup> Just like the building of monuments is a way to display wealth and power, there is an element of display in the mere ability to organize a festival. Furthermore, participants of Hittite feasts would have witnessed the king as the only one directly communicating with and libating to the gods, while his position was ceremoniously staged, with micro rituals — carried out by a flock of different servants surrounding the king — such as the one involving the lap cloths, multi-leveled acts of communication, and the constant movement of objects and people towards the king. Gestures such as bowing and sequences of sitting and standing often happened within these diacritical events. As we have seen, these seem to have been directed at emphasizing the king’s status above others: while others bow to the king, the king bows to no one except the gods. When the Hittite king and queen sit down, other people must stand up.<sup>13</sup> In my survey of the iconographic record too, I have alluded to the importance of the gesture of sitting down in these contexts (see 5.3.3). The acts of sitting down and standing up are treated with a surprising amount of detail and importance in the instructions and are made conspicuous during the performance

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<sup>12</sup> (Bell and Aslan 2009, 120; similarly Glatz 2020, 114)

<sup>13</sup> See also (van den Hout 2020, 357).

by the taking away and putting down of the lap cloths by palace attendants, as well as, presumably, the furniture used for sitting down (on a dais or a throne). Although future research will have to corroborate this idea (see below for the use of a relational database), I believe that the performance of this gesture worked to bring to mind, perhaps subconsciously, the Hittite coronation ceremony, called the festival of ‘sitting down’ (‘EZEN *ašannaš*’), referring to the performative act of ‘sitting down in kingship’ (*‘haššuwizni ašatar*)<sup>14</sup>. As we have seen, Theo van den Hout recently argued that the hieroglyphic Luwian sign (L 326), which looks like a stool or a chair, should be read as SELLA, and should be understood as a status-designating term meaning something along the lines of “grandee”.<sup>15</sup> Van den Hout explains that “sitting on a chair or stool, especially in the king’s presence, was a privilege of the ruling elite”.<sup>16</sup> Given the importance of ‘sitting down’, based on these other sources, I argue that when the king ceremoniously sits down during the celebration of a festival, he is in a way re-enacting his very first performance as king, emphasizing his special status amongst the participants.

I return briefly to the discussion of the nature of Hittite festival texts and the understanding of what audience these performances would have had, and consequently, what socio-political efficacies these were directed at. As I have argued extensively in this book, there is no need to limit our understanding of the audience of Hittite festival performances to those people mentioned in the text as performers. In performance studies, the participants of performances also include those in charge of or contributing to the creation and production of the

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<sup>14</sup> For the enthronement ritual, see (Haas 1994, 190-191; Mouton 2014a, esp. 101-104).

<sup>15</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 341-374) Van den Hout’s criticism of the reading ‘SCRIBA’ is supported by a new understanding of the sign (not yet published) by Petra Goedegebuure, whom I thank for sharing this idea with me: SELLA ‘*tuliyā-*’ ‘assembly’, and SELLA-la ‘*tuliyalla-*’, meaning ‘member of the assembly, high courtier’.

<sup>16</sup> (van den Hout 2020, 357)



performance (the 'sourcers' and the 'producers' respectively), as well as the 'partakers', that is, passive consumers of the performance. I have argued that for some parts of the performance, we should assume that partakers were present, especially during the movements between different stages of the performance. These movements could take on the special form of extensive processions, which, as I have shown, were very likely created to have efficacies on a wider audience. Not all changes in location were effectuated by way of processions, however. Less formalized changes in location, as well as (parts of) performances in temples, may also have been at least partially visible or audible to a group of partakers. The architecture of Hittite temples, with its large cellae windows and open roofs, also shows the possibility of partial visibility of what happened inside of temples to people not participating actively in the activities happening inside.<sup>17</sup>

The performance-oriented analysis of Hittite performance culture also showed a perhaps unexpected result regarding the audience and its efficacies. My analysis of both the material and textual evidence presented in this study, indicates that for many parts of the festival performance, the effects were geared towards an elite audience, rather than a general one. In this sense, even those who remain skeptical of the existence of a wider audience during the moves between performance locations or of my use of the performance 'quadrilogue' to designate who should be considered a participant in the performance, should acknowledge that festival performances had socio-political effects on the performers participating within the activities. In the case of Hittite festival performances, I have shown that these performers likely belonged to a group of some

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<sup>17</sup> (Schachner 2022, 439)

hundred to maybe several hundreds of people, depending on the performance location. The performance of festivals was a way to make these people feel included as an elite group, at the same time connected and subordinate to the Hittite king.

Throughout this study, we have seen indications that Hittite royal ideology and its different manifestations (in architecture, visual art and festival performance) were directed at showcasing the religious responsibilities of the king, rather than his military prowess. This characteristic of Hittite culture had been noted by others, such as Oliver Gurney and Harry Hoffner<sup>18</sup>, but does not seem to have established itself as a given in the general discourse on Hittite politics, as exemplified in the discussion on the 'lack' of post-victorious parades by Amir Gilan.<sup>19</sup> My survey of the material evidence, as well as analysis of two case studies, demonstrate that the performance of festivals, as a tool of impression management, create an inherently religious ideology of kingship. As the king's power was based in religion, the performance of religious festivals enacted his religious importance and thus, created the Hittite 'theatre of state'.

## 8.2. Theses

In this study, I have argued that:

1. Festival texts are instructional, prescriptive and can be called scenarios (which, as a term used in the performance industry, belongs to the overarching category of scripts, but since

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<sup>18</sup> See 1.1.7, (Hoffner 2006, 132; Gurney 1958).

<sup>19</sup> See 1.1.7, (Gilan 2011).

this latter term is associated by many with written dialogue, it is lost in translation to those concerned with cultural history).

2. Festival texts had multiple functions, among which also to preserve the tradition over time and maintain a type of long term 'quality assurance'. This function can be called administrative.
3. A clear distinction should be made between analyzing the function of the texts and analyzing the function of the performances they prescribed.
4. There was a performed reality behind the idealized instructions of the festival texts.
5. Compared to many other examples of performance culture around the world and from a historical perspective especially, the textual and material evidence of Hittite performance culture is rich, rather than scant.
6. Questioning the existence of the performed reality (rather than problematizing it methodologically) reduces our scholarship to an unnecessarily positivistic line of thinking and hinders further research on the complex richness of the festival corpus.
7. The performed reality of Hittite festivals was of major importance to the ruling elite as a tool for impression management.
8. We can study the idealized forms of performance preserved in the instructions of the festivals to analyze on the one hand what these performances would have looked like and felt like to Late Bronze Age audiences (the 'performed text') and on the other, what socio-political effects were pursued in their organization and performance.

9. To study the 'performed text' of Hittite festivals, we must develop a performance-oriented approach that includes relevant theory, methodology, terminology and comparative case studies.
10. To analyze the 'performed text' of Hittite festivals, we must gather and catalogue performance building blocks.
11. The audience of these festival performances was not limited to passive bystanders looking at ritual participants. Performances could have had effects on all participants of the performance process. The festival audience would have consisted of people in charge of the creation and organization of the performance, people who performed within the performances in one way or another and people who were able to see, hear or otherwise get to know the performance as bystanders.
12. The two main socio-political effects of festival performances are seemingly in contrast: on the one hand, festivals created a sense of belonging and community, on the other, they created social differentiation by performing the elevated status of specific individuals or groups.
13. The driving force of social differentiation was the conscious manipulation of the elements of space and permeability. The accessibility of certain parts of the festival performance would change during the course of the festival day. As such, I argue that in Hittite festivals too, we can distinguish 'stations of complex spectacles' and 'diacritical ceremonies' that Gilibert demonstrated for Carchemish and Zincirli in a later period of history.
14. We should distinguish especially between accessibility with the whole body (the physical permeability of a performance), which would allow a person to be a partaker with all their

senses (or in some cases, even become a performer of sorts themselves) and partial accessibility, for instance by seeing other people perform or partake from a distance or through a screen (the visual permeability of the performance). Even lesser forms of permeability would lean on other senses, such as smelling and hearing.

15. We can use quantifiable methods to aid our estimations of the experiences of festival participants. Based on an experimental method from archaeology, as well as my understanding of the activities of festival participants, I propose my own formula to calculate the crowd density of feast-like settings in Hittite festivals.
16. A useful method for analyzing Hittite festival performances is to come to a Geertzian 'thick description', essentially, making a catalogue of past cultural behaviors (extant in our varied sources) and making estimations of which behaviors were significant.
17. A reference list of building blocks of performance is a useful tool that contributes to mutual understanding between disciplines as well as fruitful comparisons between different Hittite performances as well as between Hittite performances and those from other cultures.
18. The performance of Hittite festivals had three main socio-political effects: emphasizing the special position and religious importance of the king; creating a shared sense of community; and creating a social hierarchy.
19. Within the performance of Hittite festivals, the king is a mostly passive, but central figure towards and around whom the whole performance is directed. His presence, gaze, touch and words convey a special meaning to other actions, performers and objects within the

performance. Several performance elements (staging, micro rituals, gestures) add to this effect.

20. Some parts of Hittite festivals were true performance spectacles, during which different senses were stimulated at the same time. It is likely that performances were also correlated with the physical context, which added to the effects in that moment, but possibly also created lasting effects, as the urban monuments worked as mnemonic devices even after the celebrations ended.
21. One of the main mechanisms in Hittite festival performances were the shifts in permeability and participation, which created changing levels of accessibility and thus, effectuated the inclusion and exclusion of specific groups of people. Parts of the festival which included only small groups of people were diacritical events.
22. These levels of permeability did not open up linearly, but kept on changing throughout the celebration of the festival.

### **8.3 Pathways for future research**

In addition to the methodological points mentioned in the introduction of this book (see 1.4), this study has a number of limitations. In this last section, I will list some key limitations and explain how these can be addressed in the future, as well as suggest other fruitful pathways for research.

### 8.3.1 Scope

As I have shown above, the performance-oriented approach advocated for and operated in this study provides new insights into the socio-political efficacies of Hittite festival performances. The scope of my case studies, however, limits the generalizability of the results. To better understand the extent of the efficacies I have argued for, future studies should address a larger corpus of Hittite festival texts.

One future step would be to compare my findings for the 16<sup>th</sup> day of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival with other extant texts of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival, so as to better place into context how this day differs from the rest of the festival, and to flag which behaviors were probably deemed significant, and consequently, are likely to have been manipulated for creating specific effects.<sup>20</sup>

The case study from the KI.LAM festival too, is a good candidate for broadening the scope of performance-oriented research. Act 2 and 3 of this festival also provide interesting examples of performance behavior. In act 2, we see the AGRIG ceremony at the temple of the Grain Goddess Halki, during which representatives of various towns present their harvest to the royal couple. In his interpretation of this act of the festival, Alfonso Archi explains how the AGRIG-administrators of different towns stay “at the gate of (their houses)” while offerings bread, drink and livestock.<sup>21</sup> Archi suggests that perhaps, existing architectural structures within the Hittite capital were actively ‘staged’ for the performance of the festival. In this way, act 2 also shares characteristics of a defilé, as representatives of different towns would ‘present’ themselves in one way or another to a royal entourage. In the royal defilé of queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands

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<sup>20</sup> I look forward to Charles Steitler’s forthcoming study on and edition of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival.

<sup>21</sup> (Archi 2015, 12)

in September 1938, representatives of different municipalities passed by the queen, each holding a flag that symbolized the municipality. Since most towns did not have their own flags at that time, the organizing committee for the royal defilé newly designed flags (‘defileervlaggen’) and symbols for many of the participants.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps this was the type of temporary design added to existing structures that helped in the representation of the AGRIGS during the performance.<sup>23</sup> It would be interesting to contrast this use of temporary structures during festival performance, including also the *katapuzna*-building from act 1, to the (speculated) use of permanent buildings as part of the festival route and staging.

Act 3 of the KILAM festival has recently been discussed extensively by James Burgin, who also highlights and analyzes some typical ‘building blocks’ of performance behavior, such as the lap cloth ritual, an ‘accompaniment formula’ and the drinking ceremony.<sup>24</sup> In his work, Burgin also hints at a potential social differentiating effect resulting from the structure of the great assembly, namely, the order in which the participants of the meal leave.<sup>25</sup> I believe that a performance-oriented approach would lead to an even better understanding of both the performance behaviors preserved in the texts, as well as their socio-political efficacies. A special situation for instance, seems to have been going on during the libation for the Zippalandean Stormgod and the god Kataḥḥi.<sup>26</sup> The text states explicitly that it is only the king who libates (not the queen), and he uses a special *ḥuppara*-vessel to do so, positioned on or near the throne. Furthermore, in opposition to almost all other libations carried out during this act (except for

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<sup>22</sup> (The 1938 flag designs can be found on Wikipedia: 2021. Accessed 12/17/2021)

<sup>23</sup> For temporary structures in performances, see (Inomata 2006b, 194-195)

<sup>24</sup> (Burgin 2019, 113-146)

<sup>25</sup> (Burgin 2019, 99; also Bachvarova 2016, 225)

<sup>26</sup> See Ms 2b r. rol. 12''-16b. (Burgin 2019, 54-55)



Halki), the *halli(ya)ri*-men do not sing during this libation. I think that this part of the great assembly might have been a diacritical event within an already diacritical ceremony. Right before this libation happens, the ‘hindmost dignitaries’ as well as a ‘decorated’ servant of the god are said to leave.<sup>27</sup> As such, the physical permeability of this part of the performance is more limited than the parts that took place before it. In many ways, this libation is set apart from the other libations by means of variation in the performance building blocks. Due to the highly repetitive nature of the events in act 3, it is a good candidate for giving a thick description and making relatively secure estimations of which behaviors were significant.

Further performance features from act 3 that deserve further attention in studying festivals as tools of impression management, are the sequences of sitting and standing that we find (see also above), as well as the special role of the NIN.DINGIR priestess, who sometimes carries out acts that are usually reserved for the king.<sup>28</sup> As a prime example of a performance ‘spectacle’, this act of the KILAM festival is also of interest to the study of Hittite performance culture in general. Lastly, future research should consider the location of this part of the KILAM festival, so as to see whether indeed the festival’s staging (referred to as <sup>GIŠ</sup>ZA.LAM.GAR, ‘tent’ in the text) can be correlated with the religious spaces found at Yazılıkaya.

A third logical step in expanding the application of the performance-oriented research on Hittite festivals, is to look towards the *nuntarriyašha*-festival. As we have seen, the KILAM festival may have been part of this longer festival tradition. The similarities between the KILAM and *nuntarriyašha*-festival and contrasts between the *nuntarriyašha*-festival and the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM

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<sup>27</sup> See Ms 2b r. col. 9’-11b’’. (Burgin 2019, 52-55)

<sup>28</sup> For this figure, see also my theory in 5.4.1, and (Taggar-Cohen 2006, 394).

festival suggest that these three corpora of texts are a good base for testing out the broader applicability of the theses I have argued for here.

It might also be of interest to look into the local festivals (as opposed to the state festivals) and see if we can detect differences both in the way in which these were performed, as well as in the efficacies they pursued. In his comparison of local cult and state festivals, Michele Cammarosano concludes:

The so-called state cults reflect the official, institutionalized ritual tradition, where physical exuberance and other manifestations of sheer “joy” may have been considered not quite appropriate and hence inhibited. The cult inventories, on the other hand, tend to reflect local cult practices that are closer to commoners; in those practices, revels, athletic games and “rejoicing” still find a place. An analogous split between “official” vs. “popular” tradition is observable in most religions, but the latter is hardly documented in the written legacy of ancient cultures. The information provided by the cult inventories on the role of athletic games and “rejoicing” within local festivals constitutes once again a most precious piece of evidence for the understanding of Hittite religion.<sup>29</sup>

Cammarosano thus argues that a difference between the local non-state cults and the so-called state cults emerges in the types of activities that take place after the feast during a festival’s celebration. Based on the differences in these athletic contests, as well as the absence of the

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<sup>29</sup> (Cammarosano 2018, 128) Regarding the expression of joy, Cammarosano writes that local cults almost always culminated in a cult meal that was followed by a “moment of joy”, referred to with the formula “they rejoice over the gods” and thought to be a sort of release of exhilaration through music, song and dance. (Cammarosano 2018, 127, with references)

formula “(they) rejoice over the god(s)”, Cammarosano characterizes the state cults in comparison with the local cults as driven by the need to be more official and less exuberant, or even appropriate. State festivals did contain many elements of splendor and entertainment, so much so, that Burgin characterized the KILAM festival as having a “party-like atmosphere”<sup>30</sup>. Given these high-entertainment elements in state cult festivals, I do not think we should characterize the difference between the activities of the local cult festivals versus the state cult festivals along an axis of appropriateness, as the risk of presentism lurks yet again. Seen from a modern day perspective, we would hardly imagine singers performing naked in a bath filled with alcoholic drinks “appropriate” for a religious event lead by the king, but nevertheless, it seems this was deemed appropriate by the Hittites organizing these events.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps a better way of thinking about the differences we find between local and state cult festivals, is to emphasize their need and ability to display wealth, as a type of energy expenditure. Whereas in local festivals, the performances of “joy” would have been carried out by members of local communities, it seems similar activities (e.g., games, entertainment) were often performed by professionals in state festivals. Dances in the state festivals for instance were not just performed by partakers, but also by professional dancers, at times the “*crème de la crème*” of dancers from specific regions. As such, the state festival energy expenditure was greater, and their usefulness for impression management presumably better.

To come to a better understanding of Hittite performance culture generally, rather than the socio-political efficacies I focused on in this study specifically, it is necessary to also include

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<sup>30</sup> (Burgin 2019, 28)

<sup>31</sup> For this scene, see KUB 2.3 obv. ii 11–31, (Singer 1983, 78-79).

other types of Hittite texts pertaining to performance, besides the instructive ‘scenarios’. These include, as we have seen (see 4.2.1), texts from the festival genre such as ration lists, royal orders regulating the cult and liturgies. For act 2 of the KILAM festival for instance, we have an oracle account that concerns provisions for the celebrations at the temple of Ḫalki.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, there are other genres of texts that also reflect performance behavior, such as the ‘Royal Funerary Ritual’ and the ‘Instruction for the royal bodyguard’.<sup>33</sup>

### 8.3.2 Relational database research

One avenue for future research that I think would be particularly promising is the use of a relational database, especially if this database could be used and added to by multiple scholars working on Hittite festivals. A relational database would help in seeing correlations between the different building blocks of Hittite performance culture. Whereas now, it is often thanks to the memory of a single scholar that we see which behaviors are unique or deviant from usual constellations of performance building blocks, a database would point out which sets of building blocks are special, marking them as significant in their meaning. Examples of these significant performance behaviors are for instance the singing performance of the smiths in act 3 of the KILAM festival<sup>34</sup>, the libation for Mezzulla, which always happens while standing up<sup>35</sup>, the libation to the Zippalandean Stormgod and Kataḫḫi without the *ḫalli(ya)ri*-men singing.

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<sup>32</sup> (Archi 2015, 12, n. 4, referring to ABoT 14+ III 8-19)

<sup>33</sup> For editions of these texts, see (Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel'tsev 2002; Güterbock and Van den Hout 1991)

<sup>34</sup> See (Burgin 2019, 156)

<sup>35</sup> See (Otten 1971, 44)

A relational database may help us come to a better understanding of specific symbolic scenes, actions, stages objects or performers, such as the '*Tuchwurfszene*', the *tuḥḥueššar*, the dais or throne, and the *UBARU*-men. Since the meaning and use of many of the props mentioned in Hittite festival texts is unclear, a relational database would especially help in linking different attestations of the same objects and in this way, aid our comparison and analysis of their usage. Furthermore, it would make it easier to look up specific attestations of the building blocks, when specific questions arise. For instance, if someone were to argue that the colors black and white held a specific meaning in Hittite culture, the relation database would make it easy to compare during which festival the Hittite king during was wearing white shoes, and when black. It is my hope that this approach might also give a better insight into what exactly defines a 'great assembly', which dignitaries are expected based on the preserved texts, and whose presence is a deviation from 'standard' great assemblies.

Due to the high volume of festival texts within the extant corpus of Hittite texts, a relational database may also help identify fragments or find joins.

A further addition to the relational database I envision would be a bibliography sorted by performance building block, so that past work on and interpretations of specific building blocks becomes easily accessible for scholars both from within and outside of Hittitology. This bibliography would also be a good starting point for scholars using comparative approaches and drawing on performance elements from other cultures. Ideally, a bibliography of Hittite performance building blocks would be a community sourced, online accessible and open source tool.

### 8.3.3 Experimental philology

In my original research plan, I had designed a project that would add to the analysis of Hittite festival texts in a new and exciting way. I planned to collaborate with the Committee of Theater and Performance Studies (TAPS), the UChicago Performance Lab and the Oriental Institute to turn a Hittite festival text into an actual performance. However, the sudden outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic made this project impossible. I hope that in the future, the research carried out for this study can be complemented by a re-enactment project.

In the current study, I have already made some first steps into what I would like to call ‘experimental philology’, that is, the textual counterpart to experimental archaeology. In chapter 3, I developed a formula that can be used to calculate the crowd density for a Hittite feast-like setting in context. I applied this formula to different archaeologically attested religious spaces in chapter 5. I also tried to further our knowledge of alcohol consumption during the great assembly by correlating the cups associated with ritual drinking with the number of deities that were toasted to in the KILAM festival. Furthermore, my approach to the textual case studies, essentially making an overview of the building blocks necessary to organize a performance, was a boiled-down version of what I had imagined creating a re-enactment of a Hittite festival would be like.

Re-creating a thing from the past confronts the researcher with many of the same problems and decisions people in ancient times experienced. The experimental nature of such an undertaking forces the researcher to test hypotheses, rather than to stop at the point where ‘we cannot be sure’. The logistics process of preparing the performance, may, by itself, lead to new insights into the performance aspects of these celebrations. Furthermore, if an actual performance

could be staged, we could examine the experiences of the performers, as well as the experiences of those witnessing the re-enactment.

Many things could be tested out through experimental philology. One of the things I would like to do first, is to try out my crowd density formula with a greater number of people (my test sample was 2 people), so as to see if indeed all participants would be able to carry out their ritual activities, stand up, bow down, and hold their drinks (or soup bowls) with some ease. Ideally, this would be done in a setting similar to a courtyard of a Hittite temple, so that the physical experience of the space is also taken into account.

A next avenue would be to test out the experience of a performance on the move, for instance by re-enacting the procession of Act 1 of the KILAM festival. I am not only interested in the quantifiable details of this scene, i.e. the number of participants or the amount of space they needed, but also in the psycho-physical effects of such movements. Having tried this out myself in several of the colleges at Oxford University, I found for instance, that walking through a number of narrow, dark and covered passageways, to then come into large, light open courtyard space has a tremendous effect of anticipation, as well as an unexpected switch between relying mostly on hearing in the passageways, to being overwhelmed by what my eyes could see in the bright courtyard space. It would be interesting to follow the instructions of the Hittite festival texts, adding the right number of people, special costumes, heavy animal figures and lyre music, so as to create an experience closer to the Hittite festival performance, and to interview the participants and find out what effects a procession such as the one in the KILAM festival has on modern-day participants.

Besides re-enactments within existing spaces, we can also try experimental philology by creating a virtual reality simulation of Hittite performance spaces, and analyze the movement through that architectural space from the perspective of movement theory, such as Laban movement analysis.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> See (Groff 1995).



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