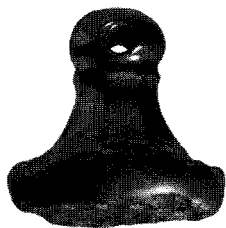


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# Rejoicing in the Gods: the Verb *dušk-* and Hittite Cheese Fighting

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The paper focuses on two peculiar aspects of local Hittite festivals.<sup>1</sup> Such festivals, held in provincial towns, are dealt with in a rich corpus of the so-called “cult inventories.” As is well known, a number of athletic games used to take place during the celebrations. Quite interestingly, the “disciplines” attested for such local festivals and those attested for the state cults turn out to be complementary distributed. This article will first examine the recurrent formula DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-*ma-aš-kán dušk(išk)anzi* “(they) rejoice in the god(s),” also focusing on the shorthand writing *-ma-aš* and on the Hittite construction *dušk-* + accusative. In the second part of the article I shall focus instead on a significant but until now neglected ritual game, the “fighting with cheese(s).”

## 1. Rejoicing in the gods: on Hittite *dušk-* and the shortwriting *-ma-aš*

### 1.1. Introduction

Most cult inventories preserving festival descriptions<sup>2</sup> bear witness to a moment of “joy” taking place right after the cult meal. Indeed, as Robertson Smith wrote,

<sup>1</sup> The title of the communication actually held in Warsaw was “Aspects of Hittite Cult Inventories: Cheese Fighting & the *huppar* and *hanešša-* Vessels.” In the present paper the former topic is treated, the latter being dealt with in a forthcoming article on Hittite vessels. The communication arises from my Ph.D. research on Hittite cult inventories funded by the University of Naples “L’Orientale;” further research work was possible thank to a DAAD short-term scholarship at the FU Berlin. I thank the Head of the Ph.D. Program on Eastern and African Studies of the University of Naples “L’Orientale,” Prof. C. Zaccagnini, for granting me to present the paper in Warsaw; my supervisor Prof. St. de Martino for his support and advice; and Prof. G. Wilhelm for kindly allowing a short stay at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz* in March 2011. I am further indebted to J. Klinger, J. Lorenz, C. Melchert, E. Rieken and A. Rizza for valuable comments on earlier drafts of this article. Abbreviations are those of the Chicago Hittite Dictionary. Unless otherwise noted, *CTH* numbers and paleographic datings follow the *Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte* online, version 1.84 (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>). “Obverse” and “reverse” are explicitly noted only in the case of single- and three-column tablets.

<sup>2</sup> As well known, these are by no means true “descriptions” of festivals. Nevertheless, I will continue to use this term for the sake of simplicity.

“When men meet their god they feast and are glad together, and whenever they feast and are glad they desire that the god should be of the party.”<sup>3</sup> Joy was, then as now, a vital ingredient of any party:

- (1) KBo 5.3 iii 36-37 (*CTH* 42.A, Šupp. I/NS): *nu=šši [a]danna / akuwanna pāi nu=za ezatten ekutten duš[k]iškiten*

Give her to eat (and) drink. And (you all) eat, drink (and) rejoice!

During the festivals, the gods are explicitly encouraged to rejoice:

- (2) KUB 24.6 rev. 13' (*CTH* 385.2, pre-NH/MS): *EZEN<sub>4</sub><sup>HI.A</sup>=KUNU dušgara[ttēn]*

Rejoi[ce], (oh gods), over your festivals!;

- (3) KUB 6.45+ iii 63-64 // KUB 6.46 iv 32' (*CTH* 381.A // *CTH* 381.B, Muw. II/NS): *nu=za=kan<sup>U</sup> piḫaššaššiš EN=YA parā duškatti*

(The temples that I will erect for you and the rites that I will [perfo]rm for you,) Storm-god of Lightning, my lord, you shall rejoice (in them).<sup>5</sup>

The Hittite verb *dušk-* “to be happy, to rejoice”<sup>6</sup> (not “to entertain;” see below, 1.4), together with its nominal derivative *duškaratt-* “joy, rejoicing,” is abundantly attested in the cult inventories within the descriptions of local festivals. In such accounts, after referring to the cult meal, the texts display the standard formula reading *DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-ma-aš-kan dušk(išk)anzi* “(they) rejoice in the deity / the deities” (in a few cases, a nominal sentence with the noun *duškaratt-* occurs in its place). Sometimes the subject of the expression is explicitly stated. In all such cases, except one, the subject turns out to be the *ḫazkarai-* women.<sup>7</sup> The only exception is KUB 56.39 ii 24' that features instead the “priests.”<sup>8</sup> Different interpretations have been put forward for this formula: I think it calls for a closer look.

## 1.2. The formula *DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-ma-aš-kán dušk(išk)anzi* and the value of *dušk-* + accusative

As already noted, the standard formula occurring in the texts reads *DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-ma-aš-kan dušk(išk)anzi*. In his groundbreaking Chicago disserta-

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Gurney 1977: 28.

<sup>4</sup> Singer 1996: 24.

<sup>5</sup> Translation after Singer 1996: 41.

<sup>6</sup> See *HEG* T: 464-469; Kloekhorst 2008: 901-902; to the list of forms add 3pl.pres.act. *du-uš-ki-ya-an-z[i]* (KUB 56.39 ii 24', *CTH* 670, NS [better: *CTH* 530, NH/LNS]). On the transitive usage of this stem see below.

<sup>7</sup> On these “female cult functionaries” see Carter 1962: 187-188; Hoffner 1998a: 37-40; Röbbe 2004; Torri 2006; Soysal 2010.

<sup>8</sup> For the relevant attestations see 1.6; for possible manifestations of “rejoicing” see 1.7.

tion on Hittite cult inventories, Ch. Carter considered “the *-aš* [...] probably a late 3d pl. nom.”<sup>9</sup> A. Archi independently reached the same conclusion a few years later.<sup>10</sup> Both scholars point out that in these passages the verb *dušk-* is used transitively and the particle *=z(a)* is lacking; they translate the phrase “(they) entertain the god(s).” In his monograph on the cult inventories (2003), J. Hazenbos preferred not to discuss the formula (cf. on p. 168: DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> ... =*kan duškanzi*).<sup>11</sup> The expression is translated “they entertain the deity,” thus apparently following Carter’s interpretation; the sequence *-ma-aš-* is, however, booked in the Glossary (p. 256) as “? *-ma-aš*” under “*-šmaš-*,” i.e. as a plural dat.-loc. third-person form of the enclitic personal pronoun. This interpretation has been criticized most recently by J. Miller in his review of the book. Although admitting that “one could perhaps assume that the *-šmaš* functions as the reflexive particle,” Miller cautiously goes back to Carter’s analysis suggesting that “the *aš* in DINGIR-*LUM-ma-aš-kán* is presumably a case of the late usage of *-aš-* for the nom. pl. c.”<sup>12</sup> However, this interpretation is not convincing, since third-person subject clitics do not occur with transitive verbs.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the passages featuring the *ḫazkarai-* women as subject of the expression provide conclusive evidence against this analysis, since a phrase like, e.g.,

(4) KUB 17.35<sup>14</sup> i 33’: DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán* MUNUS.MEŠ<sup>15</sup> *ḫa-zi-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-za du-uš-kán-zi*  
The *ḫazkarai-* women rejoice in the deity

is clearly inconsistent with the assumption that *-aš-* would be the subject.

The correct interpretation of the sequence *-ma-aš(-)* turns out to be that already somehow implicitly put forward by Hazenbos and explicitly formulated by Miller, i.e. considering the standard sequence *-ma-aš-kán* to be a shorthand writing for *=šmaš=kan*. Such an analysis is confirmed by two exceptional occurrences of the formula:

(5) KUB 57.103<sup>15</sup> i 4’-5’: DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ša<sup>16</sup>-ma-aš-k[án? ...]* / *du-uš-kiš-kán[-zi]*;

(6) Bo 6570<sup>17</sup> ii 3’: [DINGIR]<sup>LUM</sup>-*ša-ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi* (cf. Fuscagni 2007: 144).

<sup>9</sup> Carter 1962: 199.

<sup>10</sup> Archi 1973: 25 n. 76.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also Hazenbos 2004: 242: “DINGIR-*LUM*(=...)=*kan duškanzi* ‘Man unterhält die Gottheit.’”

<sup>12</sup> Miller 2005: 310.

<sup>13</sup> Garrett 1990: 232-236 (following and developing Watkins 1968-1969: 93). Moreover, it should be pointed out that the subject is frequently unexpressed within the descriptions under examination: why, then, express it regularly in this single context?

<sup>14</sup> *CTH* 525, NH/NS (better: LNS). Edition: Carter 1962: 123-153.

<sup>15</sup> *CTH* 525 (better: 530), NH/LNS.

<sup>16</sup> Collated on photo. In the hand copy the vertical wedge at the end of the sign ŠA has been omitted.

<sup>17</sup> *CTH* 626?

Both passages provide clear evidence for the above mentioned interpretation. In particular, the writing *-ša-ma-aš-kán* instead of *-aš-ma-aš-kán* proves that the sign ŠA is intended as part of the pronominal form =šmaš and not as a phonetic complement.<sup>18</sup> The lack of =šmaš in two occurrences does not change the picture, the overwhelming majority of the attestations firmly pointing toward this hypothesis.<sup>19</sup>

At this point it has to be observed that the bare sequence *-ma-aš-kán* might be interpreted *per se* also another way, namely as a shorthand writing for =ma=šmaš=kan. Thus, one may wonder whether the “shortwritten” formula DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-ma-aš-kan is to be understood as DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>=šmaš=kan or rather DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>=ma=šmaš=kan. Although we will never know with absolute certainty the answer, in my opinion the “extended” occurrences (5) and (6) constitute a strong hint in favour of the former analysis. The context of the relevant passages further corroborates this view. A perusal of these texts shows that within such descriptions the clauses normally follow one another asyndetically, i.e. without any conjunction. It would seem odd that enclitic =ma should occur always and only within this expression, never within all other analogous phrases which make up such festival descriptions.

The function of the oblique pronoun =šmaš also deserves consideration. As is well known, =šmaš may be used in Hittite to indicate possessive relationship referred to the subject of the clause, and as an alternative to =z(a) to mark reflexivity.<sup>20</sup> It may also be stressed that in a number of contexts such reflexive/possessive dative may be lacking, a fact which seems to account for the rare absence of =šmaš or =z(a) with the verb *dušk-* (cf. further below). In the “rejoicing formula” the oblique pronoun =šmaš clearly marks reflexivity,<sup>21</sup> just like the particle =z(a) does in other occurrences of *dušk-*. The fact that not a single occurrence of the expression has =z(a) seemingly indicates that this crystallized into a fixed formula.

<sup>18</sup> I thank A. Kloekhorst for having pointed out this to me.

<sup>19</sup> The defective occurrences are the following: KUB 25.23(+) (CTH 525, NS [better: NH/LNS]) i 21'-22': PANI DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/ GÉŠPU *hulḥuliya teškanzi duškiškanzi*; KUB 56.39 (CTH 670, NS [better: CTH 530, NH/LNS]) ii 23'-24': *ḥalziyari GAL<sup>HLA</sup>=kan ašnuwanzi / <sup>LUM</sup><sub>1</sub>MES<sub>1</sub>[SANGA<sub>1</sub>-kán duškiyanz[i]*; moreover cf. KUB 44.42 (CTH 525 [better: 530], NH/NS) obv. 17': [DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-m] a-[k]án *duškiškanzi*, rev. 19': [DINGIR<sup>LU</sup>]<sup>M</sup><sub>1</sub>ma<sub>1</sub>-kán *duškiškanzi* (these last two occurrences, however, likely entail an even more abbreviated writing of enclitic =šmaš).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *GrHL* §§ 6.3, 16.67 with n. 17, 28.18, 28.22; Luraghi 1997: 23.

<sup>21</sup> In principle, the scribes might intend that the local communities rejoice in “their” gods. However, reflexivity may well be considered the primary value, since otherwise we would expect the logogram DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DIGIR<sup>MES</sup> to be complemented with the usual Akkadian possessive -ŠUNU, at least in some occurrences (I thank Prof. Stefano de Martino for pointing out this to me).

Let us turn now to the interpretation of the formula under examination, which has always been translated “they entertain the deities” (or similar).<sup>22</sup> As we saw, the alleged lacking of =z(a) within the phrase suggested to Carter and Archi that the gods were the direct object of *dušk-*: “Friedrich, *HW*, p. 229, lists only intransitive meanings for the word (mostly with *-za*). He does not take into account the transitive meaning (without *-za*) required by the context in the passage cited above.”<sup>23</sup> However, the recognition of the presence of =šmaš in the “rejoicing formula” calls for a critical review of the available evidence. The form in *-a(n)za* taken by the collective stem <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*hazkarai-* when it occurs as subject of the formula<sup>24</sup> is indeed the most striking evidence for the transitive use of *dušk(išk)-*. But this does not necessarily mean that the correct interpretation is “they gladden the gods,” i.e. “they cause the gods to rejoice.” Another possibility has to be considered, namely that the phrase would mean “they rejoice *in* the gods,” i.e. they express joy at the presence of the gods. As recently argued by J. Boley<sup>25</sup> and now by C. Melchert,<sup>26</sup> *dušk-* + accusative is better interpreted as “rejoice over (someone).” Two occurrences crucially support this view. The first one is a passage from the story of Appu:

(7) KUB 24.8+ (*CTH* 360, OH?/LNS) iii 5'-6':  
*mAppuš=za DUMU.NITA-an duškeškiwan / dai[š]*

One may well translate “Appu began to amuse the boy,” as indeed Hoffner does,<sup>27</sup> however, the context suggests rather that the text means “Appu kept rejoicing over the child:”<sup>28</sup> the entire point of the story is that a man who had everything else wanted desperately to have a son, and Appu has just got on the knees his own first son!<sup>29</sup> The second passage, from the prayer *CTH* 383,<sup>30</sup> is even more revealing:

(8) KUB 14.7 (*CTH* 383, Ḫatt. III/LNS) iv 11-14:

<sup>22</sup> Cf. most recently Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 29-31.

<sup>23</sup> Carter 1962: 199; cf. Archi 1973: 25 n. 76: “[...] Mais dans le genre de textes examiné ici, *dušk-* est utilisé sans *-za*, et pour cette raison, il signifie ‘réjouir, entretenir’.” For this interpretation of the formula see also *HED* T: 465.

<sup>24</sup> KUB 17.35 i 33', iii 8, iv 13; KUB 46.27 obv. 13'. These occurrences may well be added to those discussed by Hoffner (1998a: 37-40) in his study on the stem <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*hazkarai-*.

<sup>25</sup> Boley 2000: 273-275.

<sup>26</sup> Personal communication. I am deeply indebted to Prof. C. Melchert for discussing with me the analysis of *dušk-* + accusative.

<sup>27</sup> Hoffner 1998b: 84.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Siegelová 1971: 11; Boley 2000: 273.

<sup>29</sup> Analogously see KUB 33.96+ iii 12'-13' (*CTH* 645). Too bad that Virgil did not know this passage as he wrote *cui non risere parentes...*

<sup>30</sup> Quoted also by Boley (2000: 274 Ex. 606).

*mān* UN-*aš*=*pat*<sup>12</sup>*atti anni* DUMU-*anšallanuzi nu*=*šši attas annas*<sup>13</sup>ŠA<sup>MUNUS</sup>UMMEDA  
 ŪL *imma pāi ŪL-ma-an-za-an-kán*<sup>14</sup>*duškiyazi*

Singer translates the passage as follows: “Even if a human being raises a child for its father and mother, doesn’t the father and mother pay him/her what is due to a wetnurse, and doesn’t he rejoice over it?”<sup>31</sup> Here, indeed, any other interpretation seems to be very hard to sustain.

H. C. Melchert pointed out to me that another reason to doubt of the interpretation “to make rejoice, to gladden” is that Hittite would have probably used *dušgamu-*. Although this verb is attested very poorly and in fragmentary contexts, there can be little doubt that it means “cause to rejoice.”<sup>32</sup> It is hard to believe that the Hittites would not have used this word, if they were to express such a concept.

Although J. Boley basically hits the mark with her interpretation of *dušk-* + accusative, other points of the analysis are not convincing. Boley assumes that at a certain time the particle =*z(a)* began to disappear:

Then there is a version with *-kan*, but without *-za*: cf. e.g. (607) DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>.GAL-*kan duškanzi* ([KUB] XLIV 21 II 9). See also e.g. KBo ii 13 Vs. 18 (*duskiskanzī*) [...]. Again, it is just as easy, if not preferable, to take the above phrase simply as «they celebrate the Great Goddess».<sup>33</sup>

Consequently,

it would appear that the particle [*-kan*] marks not *-za*, but the Acc., as being a kind of orientation point of the action. *-za* in fact is apparently eliminated at some point. Of course, perhaps in q. 602, the particle was included for some other reason, and then was reinterpreted: one might favor this analysis, in view of the fact that the roughly contemporary (?) Appu [KUB 24.8+ iii 5’-6’ (CTH 360)] does not include *-kan*. On the other hand, at this early date, perhaps there might have been some variation, while the expression was being formed.<sup>34</sup>

Both statements seem to be incorrect. Firstly, the correct reading of KUB 44.21 ii 9 happens to be DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán*,<sup>35</sup> so we have been no Great Goddess whatsoever, but rather, as it is now clear, the clitic pronoun =*šmaš*. Indeed, there is no reason to assume that the particle =*z(a)* was “eliminated at some point,” for in the bulk of attestations from the cult inventories it gets the shoes of =*šmaš*.

<sup>31</sup> Singer 2002: 100. Analogous interpretations have been provided by Archi, Sürenhagen and Hoffner (cf. *ibidem* n. 12 on p.109).

<sup>32</sup> All cases of *-nu-* stems which merely renew a basic stem in the same sense seem to pertain to inherently transitive verbs.

<sup>33</sup> Boley 2000: 274; reference to the context of the “rejoicing” formula follows.

<sup>34</sup> Boley 2000: 275.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. already Taggar-Cohen 2002: 141.

Moreover, the particle =*kan* is sometimes missing both in the case of transitive<sup>36</sup> and intransitive<sup>37</sup> usage of *dušk-*, without any difference in sense. Thus, in so far the particle =*kan* is concerned, we may keep on suspecting some “accompanying role” towards =*z(a)*.<sup>38</sup> The fact that the clitic =*z(a)* is missing in a very few occurrences<sup>39</sup> is not a problem at all, since the reflexive element (be that a pronoun or a particle) is not mandatory within the relevant contexts.

In light of all this, and based on the available evidence, the best interpretation of the formula is “(they)/the *ḫazkarai-* women rejoice/keep rejoicing in the god(s).” This fits very well in the context, since village communities all over the world are used to express their own “joy” in occasion of religious festivals. So far as the alternance between *duškanzi* and *duškiškanzi* is concerned, I would suggest that the *-šk-* form may bear a durative nuance.<sup>40</sup> This would fit well with the fact that the formula clearly summarizes multiple actions extending over a certain period of time. On what sort of actions might be actually intended, see below, 1.6.

### 1.3 “*Dies süße Wörtlein: und...:*” On the shorthand writing *-ma-aš*

The consistency displayed by the texts in using the shorthand *-ma-aš-kán* for =*šmaš=kan* may suggest that some phonetic phenomenon is involved. Although it seems impossible to determine how each scribe perceived the logogram DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup> while writing it down in the text,<sup>41</sup> the following hypothesis may be put forward. Assuming that the scribe would have in mind the Hittite word for “god,” the sequence might be perceived in the case of DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=*šmaš=kan* as something like

*šimuš-šmaš-kan* → *šimuš-(š)maš-kan*,

i.e., merging the /s/ at the end of *šimuš* with that at the beginning of the clitic =*šmaš*.<sup>42</sup> Thus, it may well be no sheer accident that both exceptional occurrences

<sup>36</sup> E.g., KUB 29.1 (CTH 414.1.A, OH/NS) iii 4: *nu=za=kan LUGAL-un duškeškanzi* “(All the gods (are) assembled in the mountains), and keep rejoicing in the king, (and *palkwiya-* him).” The CHD P: 68, followed by S. Görke (ed.), [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): CTH 414.1 (Expl. A, 25.08.2011), tentatively translates cthey will make the king glad,” but “they will rejoice in the king” fits the context just as well.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. passages (1) and (2) quoted above.

<sup>38</sup> Note that this is quite normal with the so-called “dative of disadvantage” (GrHL § 28.76), which is a particular case of indirect object, and the same probably applied to the “dative of advantage.”

<sup>39</sup> KUB 24.6 rev. 13’ (quoted above, no. 1): EZEN<sub>4</sub><sup>HL.A</sup>-KUNU *dušgara[ttēn]*; KUB 56.39 ii 23’-24’ *ḫalziyari GAL<sup>HL.A</sup>=kan ašnuwanzi / i<sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>[SANGA]<sub>1</sub>=kan duškiyanz[i]*.

<sup>40</sup> On this cf. GrHL § 24.8.

<sup>41</sup> On this problem see now Weeden 2011: 6, 10-13, 352-359.

<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the standard writing of the dative enclitic after a word ending in /-s/ is to spell the /-s#s-/ sequence only once: cf., e.g., KUB 26.1 i 6 *šu-um-me-eš-ma-aš ku-i-e-eš* <sup>LÚ.MEŠ</sup>SAG “you who (are) eunuchs” (kindly pointed out to me by C. Melchert). For additional examples see below.

(5) and (6) pertain to the “DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-phrase” concerning *one* deity. Here, the process might have been more complex. The first step might be the assimilation

*šiuṇan-šmaš-kan* > \**šiuṇaš-šmaš-kan*,

followed by the “merged” perception *šiuṇaš-(š)|maš-kan* which has been already discussed. In the latter step, analogy with the “DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-phrase” might well have played a role.

To my knowledge, all occurrences of the shorthand writing *-ma-aš* have been interpreted so far as haplographies (or true haplogologies) standing for *=ma=šmaš*.<sup>43</sup> In a footnote of his review of Götze and Pedersen’s *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*, J. Friedrich noted that the wording *ta-ma-a-i-ma-aš* in KUB 21.42+ i 38’ had to be understood as haplogology for *tamai=ma=šmaš*, where *=šmaš* had the function of the particle *=z(a)*, as confirmed by comparison with the analogous phrase in line i 20’.<sup>44</sup> In the latter passage the explicit presence of the clitic *=ma* (*ku-iš-<sub>1</sub>ma-za ta-ma-<sub>1</sub>i*) assured the correctness of the proposed analysis. Friedrich added a list of “mehr oder weniger sicher” attestations of the same haplogology.<sup>45</sup> Despite Friedrich’s caution, the possibility that in some other cases the writing *-ma-aš* might be differently interpreted has not deserved consideration. Now that the equivalence between *-ma-aš* and the simple *=šmaš* has been established as a feasible option, a closer look on these and other cases may shed some light on the topic. To argue in favor of the “simple *=šmaš*” option in some specific cases does not mean, of course, to deny that in most occurrences the *=ma=šmaš* interpretation is the correct one. For instance, in KUB 23.103 (*CTH* 178.1.A, Tuth. IV/NS) obv. 9’<sup>46</sup>: *me-mi-aš-ma-aš QATAMMA=pat* “the matter (is) in the same way for you (too),” the context and in particular the fact that the sentence occurs at the very beginning of a new paragraph clearly point to the *=ma=šmaš* interpretation (compare, e.g., obv. 6’).

In the following a selection of meaningful occurrences will be discussed. From a methodological point of view, it must be underlined that in most cases it is very difficult to rule in favor of the “simple *=šmaš*” against the “*=ma=šmaš*” option. Given the wide range of contexts in which enclitic *=ma* can occur,<sup>47</sup> the latter option is almost always possible, at least in principle. On the contrary, only disambiguating parallel passages or context-based arguments can support

<sup>43</sup> Cf. most recently van den Hout 2011: 37.

<sup>44</sup> Friedrich 1936: 309 with n. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Namely KUB 1.11+ (*CTH* 284.3.T.A, MS) i 11, 24, 46, ii 47, iv 27; KUB 1.13+ (*CTH* 284.1.T, NS) iii 14; KUB 11.13 (*CTH* 613.1.A, LNS) ii 6; KUB 13.4 (*CTH* 264, NS) i 15, 18, iv 21, 22, 30, 31; KUB 21.27+ (*CTH* 384, NS) ii 9; KUB 23.103 (*CTH* 178.1.A, NS) ii 9; KUB 24.3+ (*CTH* 376.2.A, NS) iii 4, 6; KUB 26.1+ (*CTH* 255.2.A, NS) iii 45.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Mora – Giorgieri 2004: 160.

<sup>47</sup> *CHD* L-N: 96-99.

the former option. The review will start with NH/LNS texts dating to a late period, when such shorthands were well established, and then investigate the presence of these writings in earlier times.

The cult inventory KBo 2.13<sup>48</sup> may serve as a good starting point. In this text the suspected expressions are the following (nos. 9 and 10 immediately follow one another):

(9) obv. 13: <sup>GIŠ</sup>ZAG.GAR.RA-*an-ma-aš* IŠTU GURUN unuwanzi

(They) adorn the pedestal with fruit for them (i.e. for the deities);

(10) *ibidem*: NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA<sup>MES</sup> DUG<sup>har-ši-ya-aš-ma-aš</sup> peran tiyanzi (analogously rev. 3')

(They) lay loaves of 'thick bread' of the *harši* vessel in front of them;<sup>49</sup>

(11) obv. 18: DINGIR<sup>MES</sup>-*ma-aš-kán* duškiškanzi

(They) keep rejoicing in the deities;

(12) obv. 20 & rev. 9': NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA<sup>MES</sup> tar-na-aš-*ma-aš* paršiyanzi

(They) break for them loaves of 'thick bread', (each made of) one *tarna*-measure (of flour);

(13) obv. 24: ALAM<sup>HLA</sup> DUMU.MUNUS<sup>MES</sup> AN.BAR DÙ-zi É.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>-*ma-aš*  
É.ŠÀ<sup>DUG</sup> *haršiyaš* D[Û-*an-zi*]

(They) make the statues (in the form) of girls, (made of) iron, and (they) m[ake] for them a temple (and) an inner chamber of the *harši* vessel.

The presence of =*ma* can be safely ruled out for nos. (10) and (12), but in both cases we are dealing with the normal spelling of the cluster /-s#s-/ and *not* with the haplography under examination (cf. above). As for the other occurrences, the context points towards the "simple =*šmaš*" option. There is no reason to assume the presence of =*ma* here, since it is missing in the whole document, with the exception of three very specific contexts.<sup>50</sup> Asyndeton is here the absolute monarch,<sup>51</sup> nor should we expect here any topicalizing marker.

<sup>48</sup> CTH 505.2, NS (better: NH/LNS). Another cult inventory treating the same towns is preserved: KBo 2.7 (CTH 505.1). Here the text is more concise and does not help disambiguating the writings under examination, since the controversial *-ma-aš(-kán)* happens to be lacking. Edition of both texts in Carter 1962: 90-115.

<sup>49</sup> The logogram NINDA.GUR<sub>4</sub>.RA refers normally (not always) to loaves of bread and usually alternates with <sup>NINDA</sup>*harši-* (c.) in duplicate manuscripts (again, exceptions do exist, see Weeden 2011: 593).

<sup>50</sup> I.e., those contexts where it is regularly found also in dozens of other inventories: the turning from one day to another (*lukat=ma*: obv. 11 [fragmentary], rev. 2'), the coming of the evening (GIM-*an=ma nekuza mēhuni kišari*, obv. 19), and "mirror expressions," such as that found in obv. 5 ([...1 UDU-*ma-kán* 'U...] / 1 UDU-*ma-kán* ANA<sup>HUR.SAG</sup> *Kikkališa*, cf. also no. (8)).

<sup>51</sup> No less than 24 cases may be detected in the single section obv. 1-20.

Why then should we postulate the presence of  $=ma$  just in those very points where also  $=šmaš$  occurs? For no. (11), one may further add the analogy with the already discussed passages nos. (5) and (6).

A perusal of the attestations referred to by Friedrich (1936) seems to me to confirm the rightness of his claim that all those cases cover more or less probably the  $=ma=šmaš$  sequence. A number of further occurrences, however, surely cover the simple  $=šmaš$  sequence, e.g.,

- (14) KUB 23.108 (CTH 297.5, NH/NS) rev. 9': EN-KU-NU-**ma-aš**-kán BA.ÚŠ  
because your lord died.<sup>52</sup>

This confirms that the spelling  $-ma-aš$  for  $=šmaš$  had established as a normal shorthand writing at least by the NH times, seemingly with special frequency after logograms.

Turning to the so-called Middle Hittite period, the Kikkuli text on horse training<sup>53</sup> attests not only the shorthand  $-ma-aš$  in the sense of  $=ma=šmaš$ , but also the “extreme” shorthand  $-aš$  used for  $=šmaš$ .<sup>54</sup> The two writings are found in both MS originals and NS copies. For some occurrences there are parallel passages pointing at the  $=ma=šmaš$  option, whereas no clear case of  $-ma-aš$  for  $=šmaš$  has been detected – although a number of attestations may be regarded, at least in principle, as ambiguous:

- (15) KUB 1.11+ (CTH 284.3.T.A, MH/MS) i 10-11:<sup>55</sup>  
... na[-aš] aš-nu-an-zi / wa-a-tar-**ma-aš** Ú-UL pa-a-i

Here, the writing  $-ma-aš$  stands most likely for  $=ma=šmaš$ . Indeed, this is favoured not only by the context, which seems to demand the connective particle, but also by a parallel NS passage (16) which in turn is disambiguated thanks to an analogous sentence in the same text (17), as A. Kammenhuber already noted:<sup>55</sup>

- (16) KBo 3.5+ (CTH 284.2.T, MH/NS) i 42:<sup>56</sup> wa-a-tar-**ma-aš** ŠÀ.GAL-ya Ú-UL pí-an-zi

<sup>52</sup> This example kindly supplied by H. C. Melchert.

<sup>53</sup> Edition: Kammenhuber 1961. On the dating of the tablets see Neu 1986.

<sup>54</sup> Of course, also the normal writing  $-aš-ma-aš$  is attested. See, e.g., KUB 1.13+ (CTH 284.1.T, MH/NS – “first tablet”) iii 68: [na-aš-kán aš-nu-]an-zi wa-a-tar-ra-aš-**ma-aš** pí-an-zi “[ (They) provi]de [them] (with fodder) and give them water” (Kammenhuber 1961: 68). The shorthand writing seems more frequent in the “second” and “fourth” tablets (but again, cf. in the latter the frequent  $nu-uš-ma-aš$  ... *adanzi*, see Kammenhuber 1961: 130 n. 35).

<sup>55</sup> Kammenhuber 1961: 90 n. 70. For “ambiguous” occurrences, probably to be interpreted as  $=ma=šmaš$ , see KUB 1.11+ (MH/MS, see above) i 46-47 (Kammenhuber 1961: 110 with n. 26) and KBo 3.2+ (CTH 284.4e, MH/MS) obv. 41-42 (Kammenhuber 1961: 132), analogously see obv. 56.

<sup>56</sup> Kammenhuber 1961: 82. Analogously see i 62, 72; ii 31; iii [1], 13, 24, 59; iv 34, 37, 73 (cf. Kammenhuber 1961: 83 n. 33).

... (they draw them (i.e., their heads) up to the (tethering) peg),<sup>57</sup> and (they) do not give them water and fodder;

(17) *ibidem*, ii 45-46: *wa-a-tar-ma-aš-ši* KASKAL-ši KASKAL-ši-pát / IŠ-TU 1  
UP-NI pé-eš-kán-zi

And (they) give him each time water, to an extent of one UPNU.

As for the “extreme” shorthand *-aš* for =š*maš* see the following quotation, again with parallels in NS fragments:

(18) KUB 1.11+ i 24:<sup>58</sup> *nam-ma-aš*<sup>URUDU</sup> ŠE-RI[-IN-NA an-da] ti-an-zi<sup>59</sup>

Then (they) put the bri[dle on] them.

A. Kammenhuber considers both writings to be “incorrect” (*fehlerhaft*): according to her, such writings are to be found especially “in den schlechteren Tafeln II-IV” of the Kikkuli text.<sup>60</sup> In my opinion, on the contrary, it would be safer to consider these writings just as they are, i.e. genuine shorthands (haplographies, and in some cases probably true haplogologies), for we have no right to label them as mistakes or “bad” writings. At most, they *might* be considered typical of cursory or stenographical writing.

Another interesting MS example of the haplogy *-ma-aš* for =*ma*=š*maš* has been recently detected by H. A. Hoffner in the Mašat corpus.<sup>61</sup> As pointed out by Hoffner, this writing may be listed among those phenomena which seem “to begin in MH and become fairly common in NH.” The attestations quoted by Friedrich come all from MS or (L)NS texts as well. It could be, however, that occurrences of this spelling in OS texts will be detected in the future.

#### 1.4. *duškaratt-*

Apart from the standard formula with *dušk-* discussed above, we find also alternate expressions with the derivative *duškaratt-*.<sup>62</sup> This noun appears normally in the nominative (*duškaraz*, “(there is) rejoicing”) or in the comitative

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *CHD* Š: 214.

<sup>58</sup> Kammenhuber 1961: 108.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. KBo 3.2+ obv. 27: *nam-ma-aš*<sup>URUDU</sup> ŠE-RI-IN-NA an-da ti-an-zi (Kammenhuber 1961: 130 with n. 21). Of course, the bare sequence *nam-ma-aš* is not always to be interpreted this way. Kammenhuber is probably right in pointing out that *-aš* in the passage KUB 29.40 (*CTH* 286.2, MH/MS) iii 32': *nam-ma-aš* GEŠTU<sup>HLA</sup>-ŠU-NU ki-iš-še-ri-it pa-ra-a hu-it-t[i-ya-an-zi] is an accusative plural and not a shorthand for =š*maš* (cf. line iii 31' in the same text; see Kammenhuber 1961: 185 n. c) and cf. *CHD* P: 119).

<sup>60</sup> Kammenhuber 1961: 174 n. 20 and 185 n. c). In Kammenhuber's edition, such passages are regularly tagged with an exclamation mark. On her attitude about correcting Hittite scribes see Hoffner 1989.

<sup>61</sup> HKM 18 left edge 2, see Hoffner 2010: 135 § 155.

<sup>62</sup> Note the equation between Hittite *du-uš-ga-ra-az* and Akkadian *HU-UD-DU-Ú* “rejoice” to be found in KBo 1.35 3'. It is also worth mentioning the anomalous writings *aššul du-uš-ga-ra-az-ša* (KUB 43.58 + KBo 52.85 ii 51') and EGIR-ŠU=*ma du-uš-ga-ra-aš-za ešzi* (KUB 17.20 ii 9).

ablative<sup>63</sup> (*duškarataz*, “with rejoicing (they do so and so).” Such expressions occur either after reference to cult meal and/or ritual contests, or at the very end of the festival description.<sup>64</sup> The only assured meaning for *dušgaratt-* is “joy, rejoicing,” while there is no evidence supporting the usual translations “entertainment” or “Unterhaltung.”<sup>65</sup>

### 1.5. Relevant attestations

What follows is a comprehensive listing of the relevant occurrences both of the standard formula (see 1.2) and of the nominal construction with *duškaratt-*.<sup>66</sup> All listed occurrences pertain to NH/(L)NS texts. Occurrences coming from cult inventories that are presently classified under *CTH* numbers other than 501-530, or from other textual genres, are explicitly marked. Interestingly, the inventories KUB 25.23 (+) and KUB 44.42 bear witness to both forms *duškanzi* and *duškiškanzi* (the former manuscript has also *du[-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-az]*).

(a) **DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> / DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=(š)maš=kan duškanzi:** KBo 26.182 i 16 (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi*); KBo 26.200 i<sup>2</sup> 3' (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> *du-uš-kán-zi*);<sup>67</sup> KUB 17.35 i 12' (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>[-*ma-aš-kán*] *du-uš-kán-zi*), *ibid.* ii 26', iii 35 (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi*), *ibid.* i 33', iii 8, iv 13 (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán* <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>*ha-zi-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-za du-uš-kán-zi*); KUB 42.91 ii 14 (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán<sup>1</sup> du-uš-kán<sup>1</sup>-zi*); KUB 44.21 ii 9' (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi*); KUB 44.42 rev. 19' ([DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>]<sup>M</sup>-*ma<sub>1</sub>-kán du-uš-kán-zi*); KUB 46.16 obv.<sup>2</sup> 3' ([DINGIR<sup>L</sup>]<sup>UM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi*); KUB 46.27 (*CTH* 651, better: 530) obv. 13' ([DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-ká*]<sup>n</sup> <sup>MUNUS.ME.ÉŠ</sup>*ha-az-zi-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-za du-uš-kán[-zi]*);<sup>68</sup> KUB 55.60+ (*CTH* 678.3.B)<sup>69</sup> iv<sup>2</sup> 11' (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán du-<sub>1</sub>uš-<sub>1</sub>ka<sub>4</sub>-an-zi*); KUB 58.31+ (*CTH* 678.3.A) iii 24' ([DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-ká*]<sup>n-zi</sup>);<sup>70</sup> KUB 59.34(+) iii 4 (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-<sub>1</sub>zi*); Bo 6570 (*CTH* 626?) ii 3' ([DINGIR]<sup>LUM</sup>-*ša-ma-aš-kán du-uš-kán-zi*).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See Melchert 1977: 397-400.

<sup>64</sup> This option is rare; see, e.g., the cult inventory KBo 2.7 (*CTH* 505.1) rev. 9 and 23.

<sup>65</sup> Used, e.g., by Carter and Hazenbos; see also most recently Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 29-31 (“Unterhaltung”), followed by *RIA* 13: 10 (“Verfügung, Unterhaltung”); Hutter 2008: 83-84. The same applies to translations like “entertain,” “zu unterhalten” for *dušk-*.

<sup>66</sup> The following listing has greatly benefited from a three day stay at the *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz* in March 2011, for which I am deeply indebted to Prof. G. Wilhelm.

<sup>67</sup> Without the usual = (š)maš=kan, but a restoration like [... *nu-za-kán*] at the end of line 2' would not be unconceivable.

<sup>68</sup> MUNUS.MEŠ in Soysal 2010: 347 no. 6.11.

<sup>69</sup> Strictly speaking, this text as well as KUB 58.31+ and KUB 56.54 quoted below are not cult inventories but rather festival texts pertaining to local cults of Nerik.

<sup>70</sup> The line numbering does not consider the join with KUB 59.32 and Bo 3315.

<sup>71</sup> After Fuscagni 2007: 144.

(b) **DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> / DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=(š)maš=kan duškiškanzi**: KBo 2.13 obv. 18 (DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ma-aš-kán du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi); KBo 26.160 8' (DINGIR<sup>MEŠ?</sup>-ma-aš-kán d]u-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi); KUB 25.23(+) i 22' (only du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi, without further specification); KUB 38.25 i 24' (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-ma-aš-kán d]u-u]š-ki-iš-kán-zi); KUB 44.20 left col. 13' ([DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ma-aš-kán da-]pi-an du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi); KUB 44.42 obv. 17' ([DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-m]a-[aš-k]án du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi); KUB 57.103 i 4'-5' (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-ša-ma-aš-k[án ... ] / du-uš-kiš-kán[-zi]),<sup>72</sup> KUB 60.27 rev. 6' (DINGIR<sup>LU</sup>]M<sup>?</sup>-ma-aš-kán du-uš-]kiš-]kán-zi); 1323/v (CTH 670) 9' (nu-za-ká]n<sup>?</sup> DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi).<sup>73</sup>

(c) **fragmentary (duškanzi)**: KBo 13.196 5' (...-ká]n du-uš-kán-z[i]; KUB 44.42 rev. 6' ([x-]ma] [-aš-] ]kán ] du-uš-kán-zi);<sup>74</sup> KUB 60.140 iii' 16' (du-uš-kán-zi); Bo 9018 5' (du-u]š-kán-zi).<sup>75</sup>

(d) **fragmentary (duškiškanzi)**: KBo 26.159 right edge (du-uš-ki-i]š-kán-zi); KBo 26.199 5' (du-u]š-ki-iš-kán-zi); KBo 26.219 4' (-p]i-an-]šá<sup>?</sup> ]-an du-uš-ki-iš-k[án-zi); KUB 25.23(+) iv 1 (du-uš-ki-iš-]kán-]zi]).

(e) **duškiyanzi**: KUB 56.39 (CTH 670 [better: 530]) ii 24' (<sup>LÚ,MEŠ</sup> ]SANGA-]kán du-uš-ki-ya-an-z[i). This is so far the only known attestation for the 3rd pl. form *duškiyanzi*<sup>76</sup> and the only occurrence with the “priests” as subject of the “rejoicing” formula (cf. also below, 1.6).

(f) **nom. sg. duškaraz “(there is) rejoicing”**: IBoT 3.100 + HT 71 10' (d]u-u]š-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-az); KUB 17.36<sup>77</sup> 9' (-]an du-uš-ga-ra-az); KUB 25.23 (+) KUB 59.34 (+)+ i 47 (du[-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-az]<sup>78</sup>), iii 4 ([d]u-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-az-za), left edge b, 4 (du-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-az); KUB 41.34+ rev. 11 (du-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-za); KUB 56.54 (CTH 678.3.C) rev. 30' (du-uš-ga-ra-za); KUB 57.97 i 13' (du-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-]ra-]a[z]; KUB 58.7 ii 7' (du-uš-k[a<sub>4</sub>-ra-az); KUB 60.162 obv. 3' (d]u-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-za); Bo 3332<sup>79</sup> (CTH 678.3.A) 14' and 16' (d]u-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-za).

(g) **abl. sg.: duškarat(t)az “with rejoicing”** (they do so and so): KBo 2.7<sup>80</sup> rev. 9 (EZEN<sub>4</sub>-šÚ du-uš-ka-ra-at-ta[-za tar-ra-a-u-wa-a-an-za]),<sup>81</sup> rev. 23 (EZEN<sub>4</sub>-šÚ

<sup>72</sup> Collated on photo. In the hand copy the vertical wedge at the end of the sign ŠA has been omitted. In the gap <sup>MUNUS.MEŠ</sup>ha-za-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra(-ya)-za probably to be restored.

<sup>73</sup> Collated on photo.

<sup>74</sup> Collated on photo.

<sup>75</sup> This fragment is quoted from an old transcription by H. Ehelolf.

<sup>76</sup> *duškiya-* is a variant (a late variant, according to HEG T: 464) of *dušk-*.

<sup>77</sup> This fragment might indirectly join KUB 25.23(+).

<sup>78</sup> So Carter 1962: 157.

<sup>79</sup> This fragment is quoted from an old transcription by H. Ehelolf.

<sup>80</sup> Quite interestingly, this inventory has the *duškarataz* formula, whereas its parallel KBo 2.13 has the standard one.

<sup>81</sup> So Carter 1962: 93.

*ḥa-az-zi-wi<sub>5</sub>-ya-az du-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-za<sup>1</sup> tar-ra-a-u-wa-an[-za]<sup>82</sup> “Her festival, with rite(s and) rejoicing, (has been) established”); Bo 5500<sup>83</sup> rev. 7’ ([DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>(?) ...] *du-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-ta-za pé-dan<sub>x</sub>-zi* “(they) carry [the deity (?) ...], (accompanying this) with rejoicing”)<sup>84</sup> rev. 15’ (DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> PA-NI<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> ZI.KIN *še-eš-zi GE<sub>6</sub>-an du-uš-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-da-za* “the deity spends the night (lit. “rests”) in front of the *ḥuwaši* – during the night,<sup>85</sup> with rejoicing.”*

(h) other: KUB 38.26(+) obv. 19’<sup>86</sup> contains the noun *duškaratt-* in the genitive case, a fact which constitutes an anomalous occurrence within the cult inventories corpus: DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup> *ki-li-la-an-zi du-uš-ga-ra-at-ta-aš* [“(They) wreath<sup>87</sup> the deity. Of the rejoicing [...].”

## 1.6. Rejoicing in the gods: music and dance

Given the highly concise character of the cult inventories, there is no doubt that the formula “(they) rejoice in the deities” was used to refer to a very specific moment of the festival. Today, however, the meaning of the formula is no more self-evident, and to guess what the texts actually intended to express is not an easy task. Firstly, the subject is usually left unexpressed. When it is made explicit, it is in all but one case the *ḥazkarai*-women, the exception being the “priests” in KUB 56.39 ii 24’.<sup>88</sup> Since these female cult functionaries are the subject also of other similar “operations,”<sup>89</sup> we can reasonably suppose that they were understood as subject of the expression in the majority of the formula’s “impersonal” occurrences as well.<sup>90</sup> Thus, it seems unlikely that the athletic contests would be meant as such an entertainment, at least from a grammatical point of view.<sup>91</sup> In my opinion, a reasonable assumption may be that the “rejoicing” consisted mainly in songs, and perhaps also in music and dances, performed during the festivals. Three elements corroborate this hypothesis. First and most obvious, these were basic ingredients

<sup>82</sup> The tablet has *du-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-a*, discussion in Carter 1962: 48 n. 1.

<sup>83</sup> This fragment is quoted from an old transcription by H. Ehelolf.

<sup>84</sup> Most probably by means of songs, cf. 1.6.

<sup>85</sup> Accusative of duration, cf. *GrHL* 249 § 16.29; compare *apūn* GE<sub>6</sub>-an “throughout that night” (KBo 4.2 iii 58-59).

<sup>86</sup> The line number does not take into consideration the indirect join with KUB 38.27.

<sup>87</sup> On Hittite *kililai-*, a verb normally written by means of the ideogram GILIM, see Laroche 1967: 33.

<sup>88</sup> This passage lacks the accusative DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>, but the context leaves little doubt that it deals with the standard formula about the rejoicing (edition: Cammarosano 2012: 445-452). Cf. also, e.g., the simple *duškiškanzi* in KUB 25.23(+) i 22’.

<sup>89</sup> Torri 2006; Soysal 2010: 341; Cammarosano 2012: 292-293.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Carter 1962: 187-188, and Soysal 2010: 341 n. 7. Such an assumption must be checked on a case by case basis depending on the context. E.g., clear exceptions to such a generalisation do exist not only for the “rejoicing” formula (Soysal, point no. 2) but also for the crushing of grain (Soysal, point no. 5).

<sup>91</sup> Note also that the games descriptions may precede but sometimes follow the formula (see below 2.1).

of Hittite festivals, as we know from texts and depictions.<sup>92</sup> Secondly, singing was precisely one of the main tasks of the *ḫazkarai*-women: by singing, they had to brighten up festivals or special occasions, such as the king's entrance in a provincial town.<sup>93</sup> Third, rare hints at this can be found in some cult inventories. According to KBo 2.8, after the *palwatalla*- woman cried (or clapped?) once,<sup>94</sup> the *ḫazkarai*-women “sing this way:” (the song's fragmentary text follows).<sup>95</sup> The fragment KUB 58.31+ (CTH 678.3.A, LNS) preserves descriptions of local cults performed in the sacred town of Nerik. In line iii 24', the formula [DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>= (š)maš=kan dušk]anzi is followed by the phrase LÚ.MEŠ<sup>NAR</sup> iṣḫamiškan[zi] “the singers sing,” which seems to specify the content of the “rejoicing.” Lastly, a fragmentary passage in the cult inventory KBo 59.131 (CTH 670 [better: 530], NS) reads ḫattiliš SİR<sup>RU</sup> “(they) sing in Hattian” (line 5').

Notoriously, the festival descriptions embedded in cult inventories are normally very compendious. This fact may be considered a key to explain their silence on songs and music. Indeed, the very formula DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>/DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>=šmaš=kan dušk(išk)anzi might constitute a specific and resumptive expression alluding to this. If so, the fact that most attestations of the forms *duškanzi* and *duškiškanzi* come from the cult inventories corpus could be no coincidence at all. May we further suppose that also some part of the village or town community used to take part in the “rejoicing”? Although this would seem a reasonable hypothesis, none of the many passages referring to the involvement of the community in the festivities<sup>96</sup> supports such an assumption, which therefore remains conjectural. In any case, one cannot ignore that both the relevance of “joy” among such descriptions and the complementary distribution of athletic contests between non-state and state cults would reflect two different attitudes of worship (see further below, 2.3).

<sup>92</sup> Texts: de Martino 1995; Schuol 2004: especially 203-205; Yoshida 1999 (with bibliography on pp. 239-240 n. 1-7). Depictions: relief vases from İnandıktepe (Özgüç 1988: 83-111 with figs. 64-65 and Pls. F-L), Bitik (Özgüç 1957), and Hüseyindede (Yıldırım 2009: 239-245); cf. also de Martino 2005: 188. On fragments from Boğazköy see Boehmer 1983: 27-30. On the importance of dancing within Hittite rites and festivals see de Martino 1989: especially 10-11, 13-18, 23-24. As noted by Soysal (2010: 342 with n. 10), the *ḫazkarai*- women are not to be considered “professional musicians” since there is no specific evidence for them as dancers or musicians. However, the cult inventories do not even mention music and dance, but it is quite obvious that such things actually took place within the celebrations. It seems, therefore, possible that also the *ḫazkarai*- women took some part in it.

<sup>93</sup> See Soysal 2010: 341 (to the attestations listed at point 2 one may add KUB 46.27 obv. 13'); often, the language of the songs turns out to be Hattian.

<sup>94</sup> On the *palwatalla*- see Badalı 1990 (“recitatore”); Nowicki 1990; Collins 1995; cf. also de Martino 2005: 188 with n. 5.

<sup>95</sup> KBo 2.8 (CTH 519, NH/NS) ii 1-2: MUNUS<sup>palwatallaš</sup> 1-ŠU<sup>palwaizzi</sup> / [MUNUS.MEŠ]ḫaz<ka>ra=ma iṣḫamiškanzi kišan (cf. Hazenbos 2003: 134).

<sup>96</sup> Cammarosano 2012: 284-286.

## Addendum

During my stay in Ankara, in September 2012, I had the opportunity of discussing with J. Lorenz and E. Rieken some topics treated in the present paper. To both of them I express my thanks. J. Lorenz kindly provided one further occurrence of the standard “rejoicing” formula from a still unpublished cult inventory fragment E 1461, line 1’: *du-u]š-<sub>1</sub>ki-iš-kán<sub>1</sub>-z[i* (this fragment will appear as KBo 69.142). E. Rieken suggested that the syntax of *dusk-* + Acc. might derive from raising of an original indirect object: “making merry for indirect object” > “to make merry direct object”. She further pointed out to me that the writing *-ma-aš* for *-šmaš* might involve interference with the Luwian pronoun =*manz(a)*. If so, we could postulate a morphological rather than graphic explanation for this writing. With this in mind and in the light of the new evidence, also the occurrences of the alleged shorthand *-ma-aš* for =*ma*=*šmaš* should be critically reconsidered. In this respect, moreover, the relevance of the Kikkuli text is diminished because of the faulty character of its Hittite. On the other hand, orthographic factors are also to be taken into consideration – a sequence such as *-ma-aš-ma-aš* is a natural candidate for a shortwriting; the *-ma-aš* writings seemingly occur mostly after logograms. All in all, a systematic, in-depth study on these writings is yet to be done, and may provide interesting results.

## 2. Fighting with cheese during Hittite festivals

### 2.1. Overview and relevant attestations

I will focus now on the importance of “fighting with cheese” during local Hittite festivals. As it is well known, athletic contests were a distinctive feature of these festivals, which were spread along the whole Hittite homeland. Various scholars have recently dealt with this topic, in particular Ch. Carter and J. Puhvel in two articles, both published in 1988.<sup>97</sup>

The attested disciplines within these contests were boxing and wrestling<sup>98</sup> (which at least in some cases might have been combined into something

<sup>97</sup> Carter 1988, Puhvel 1988. On this topic see also de Martino 1995: 2667-2668; Gilan 2001; and the overview presented by Hutter-Braunsar 2008. A thorough, up-to-date research on the figurative sources dealing with ritual games would be most welcome: on the much debated bull-leaping scenes cf. at least Yıldırım 2009: 244 and Pl. XXIX fig. 13 (Hüseyindede vase); de Martino 2005: 188 with n. 12-13; Staubli 2009. On two sherds from Boğazköy which might bear scenes of ritual games see Boehmer 1983: 30-31. As for analogous contests in the Mesopotamian world see now *RIA* 13: 6-12 (with previous bibliography); on *wrestling* in ancient Mesopotamia see also Azize 2002, in particular 7-10; cf. Poliakov 1987: 30-33 with n. 10 on p. 170 (wrestling), 64-67 (stick wrestling), 68-69 (boxing); on Akkadian *ḫumašum* as “wrestling belt” see also Sasson 1974.

<sup>98</sup> Carter 1988: 185; *HED* H: 363; Puhvel 1988: 29; *HW<sup>2</sup>* H: 698-699.

similar to the Greek *pankration*), shot put (literally “throwing the stone”),<sup>99</sup> and weightlifting.<sup>100</sup> The relevant occurrences are distributed as follows:

Discipline	Occurrences
1. Boxing (GĒŠPU)	KUB 25.23 (+) KUB 59.34 (+) Bo 4615+ i 22' iii 5, Bo 4615+ 12'; KUB 44.20 left col. 11'; KUB 44.42 obv. 16'. NB: KUB 51.33 i 3' and KuSa I/1.4 18' are not to be included in the list ( <i>contra RIA</i> 13: 10). <sup>101</sup>
2. Wrestling ( <i>hulhuliyā tiya-</i> )	KUB 7.24 + KUB 58.29 i 20; KUB 17.35 ii 26', iv 34; KUB 25.23 (+) KUB 59.34 (+) Bo 4615+ i 22', iii 5, Bo 4615+ 12'; KUB 44.20 left col. 12' (restored); KUB 44.42 obv. 16'; KUB 46.27 rev. 3; KUB 60.27 obv. 3'; KUB 60.127 1'.
3. “Shot put” (NA <sub>4</sub> <i>šiya-</i> )	KUB 25.23 (+) KUB 59.34 (+) Bo 4615+ iii 5; KUB 17.35 ii 26'; KUB 17.36 (+) <sup>2</sup> 4'; KUB 46.27 rev. 3.
4. Weightlifting (NA <sub>4</sub> <i>karp-</i> )	KBo 2.8 iii 28'.

However, there was one more discipline, namely the “cheese fighting” or rather, “fighting with cheese(s).” With ten preserved occurrences in eight different documents, this turns out being, together with wrestling, the best-attested “sport” performed at local Hittite festivals. The fact that this discipline has been neglected in previous studies is due, I think, to the poor state of preservation of most of the passages describing it. Despite this, it was mentioned by H. A. Hoffner in the entry “*Milch(produnkte). Bei den Hethitern*” of the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*<sup>102</sup> and by the *CHD*;<sup>103</sup> moreover, J. Hazenbos partially translated one of these passages in his monograph on the cult inventories.<sup>104</sup>

As other disciplines, this kind of contest has no fixed position within the sequence of sports mentioned by a text. Normally this is the last, when not the

<sup>99</sup> *CHD* Š: 19b-20a; Puhvel 1988: 29.

<sup>100</sup> Carter 1988: 186. I have not included the famous mock combat between “men of Hatti” and “men of Maša” described in KUB 17.35, since this is *not* a ritual competition but rather a sort of Tazieh or Passion play, the outcome of which is pre-determined. On this episode, well known to a larger audience thanks to a famous article written by H. Ehelolf in 1925, see Puhvel 1988: 28-29.

<sup>101</sup> The list presented in *RIA* is seemingly drawn from the Glossary of Hazenbos 2003 (p. 289). Indeed, KuSa I/1.4 18' undoubtedly refers to an object in the shape of a fist (see Hazenbos 2003: 155: *Ú-NU-TUM* 1 GĒ[ŠP]U? AN.BAR; on such objects see Güterbock – Kendall 1995); in KUB 51.33 i 3' the restoration GĒŠPU *ši-e[n-zi]?*, proposed by Hazenbos (2003: 91), is admittedly uncertain (see his own remark in n. 122). Such a wording would be a unicum, diverging from the standard expressions which refer to boxing within local festivals. The spacing between the signs suggests a reading GĒŠPU-*ši en?*[-...], with the text referring to an object in the shape of a fist as well; cf. GĒŠPU-*ši tianzi* in KUB 51.40 iv 13'

<sup>102</sup> *RIA* 8: 204 (reference to fragments KUB 42.91, KUB 17.36, KUB 57.103).

<sup>103</sup> *CHD* Š: 20a (reference to fragments KUB 42.91, KUB 59.34).

<sup>104</sup> KUB 42.91 ii 16 (see below, no. 1): “... they fight(?) [ ... ] with cheese” (Hazenbos 2003: 114).







Collated on photo (*Mainzer Photoarchiv*). This fragment might indirectly join KUB 25.23 (+) (iv col.?). Context: probably a spring festival. The fight precedes the coming of sunset.

The text is very badly preserved. We find reference to a shot put race, then to a “victory,” most probably concerning athletic contests, then *tarnanzi* which we meet also in passages nos. (1) and (7), finally, in lines 7'-8' the phrases *PANI DINGIR*<sup>LIM</sup> *tianzi* and *IŠTU GA.KIN.AG*, both elements pointing at the “fighting with the cheese(s),” hence my hypothetical restorations.

(7) KUB 44.20 left col. 8'-13' (*CTH* 530):

8' ] *traces* TA *tar-na-an-zi*  
 9' [GA.KIN.AG *dam-ma-aš-š*] *a-an-zi* DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*aš ti-ya-<an->zi*  
 10' [UN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni-ya* (?) ... ] *x pí-ya-an-zi* LÚ.MEŠGURUŠ  
 11' [IŠ-TU GA.KIN.A]G<sup>IP</sup> *za-aḥ-ḥi-ya-an-zi* GÉŠPU  
 12' [*ḥu-ul-ḥu-li-ya t*] *i-ya-an-zi* NA<sub>4</sub> *ši-ya-an-zi*  
 13' [DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ma-aš-kán da-*] *pí-an du-uš-ki-iš-kán-zi*

[...] (*traces*) ... (they) release. [Cheese (they) pre]ss. (They) lay (it out) for the deities [and] give (it) [to the people (?) ...]. The young fight [with the cheese]e(s)². (They) [s]tep into a fight of boxing [(and) wrestling]; (they) ‘throw the stone’ (i.e., a shot put contest takes place). (They) [a]ll keep rejoicing in [the deities].

Collated on photo (*Mainzer Photoarchiv* online).

Context: probably a spring festival. The passage seemingly refers to the celebrations held on the second day at a *ḥuwaši* sanctuary (cf. <sup>NA4</sup>ZI.KIN in l. 2').

In passage no. (7) we find again the form *tarnanzi*, followed by the cheese fighting sequence in highly broken context. Note that in the gap in line 10' the restored phrase UN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni=ya* should be followed by some other signs.

(8) KUB 57.103 i 1'-5' (*CTH* 525 [better: 530]):

1' 1 GA.KIN.AG<sub>1</sub> [*dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi PA-NI* DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> *ti-an-zi*]  
 2' UN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni-ya da-pi-i* x[... *pí-an-zi* LÚ.MEŠGURUŠ *IŠ-TU GA.KIN.AG*]  
 3' *za-aḥ-ḥi-ya-an-zi* UD<sup>KAM</sup>-*an* [  
 4' DINGIR<sup>LUM</sup>-*ša-ma-aš-k[án*  
 5' *du-uš-kiš-kán[-zi*

[(They) press] cheese, [lay (it) before the deity] and [give] (it) to all the people... [... The young] fight [with the cheese(s)]. During the day [...]. In the deity [...] (they) keep rejoic[ing].

Collated on photo (*Mainzer Photoarchiv* online. In the hand copy the sign AŠ in l. 4' is missing). Context: unknown festival. The “young” appear also in l. iv 7'.

(9) KUB 60.27 obv. 2'-3' (*CTH* 530):

2' [I]Š-TU 1 GA.KIN.AG<sub>1</sub> [*za-aḥ-ḥi-ya-an-zi*  
 3' *ḥu-ul-ḥu-li-ya* [*ti-ya-an-zi* (?)



So far the concerned fragments. The formula which properly refers to the cheese fighting, that is to say, *IŠTU GA.KIN.AG zahḫiyanzi*, is fully preserved only in passages nos. (1) and (2). However, as we saw, the occurrence of other elements of the sequence in the same context makes its restoration virtually certain also within passages nos. (3) to (8). As for nos. (9) and (10), the proposed restoration seems in the former case very likely and in the latter quite likely. I would point out that not all the occurrences display the entire four-step sequence as now sketched: in the passage no. (4), at least one of the two central steps is lacking; no. (1) omits the distribution of cheeses to the people.

## 2.2. On the trail of the cheese fighting

“... Then, the young fight with the cheese(s):” what sort of nice game is this? The standard sequence comprises four steps:

1. Cheese squeezing / pressing (GA.KIN.AG *dammaššanzi*);
2. Cheese(s) presentation to the gods (*PANI DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> tiyanzi*, or a variant of this formula);
3. Cheese(s) distribution to the people (UN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni=ya piyanzi*);
4. The young fight with the cheese(s) (<sup>LU</sup>.MEŠGURUŠ *IŠTU GA.KIN.AG zahḫiyanzi*).

Firstly, the cheese is pressed or squeezed (GA.KIN.AG *dammaššanzi*), a practice attested only with reference to the cheese fighting. The context implies, in my opinion, that the “squeezing” was performed on the spot, and therefore it does not refer to maturing processes. Perhaps, the expression means that some kind of soft cheese was “pressed” into guts or sacks, possibly also in order to remove the fluid in excess, as suggested by Hoffner,<sup>113</sup> and reach an appropriate consistency. In the fighting the cheeses were possibly used as weapons (perhaps thrown weapons?), or, like balls, as an object disputed among teams. Very likely, at the end of the game the cheese was not disposed of, but eaten. The second step is the presentation of the cheese before the gods, meaning their images, presumably for blessing or consecration (*PANI DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup> tiyanzi*, or a variant of this formula), after which it is given to the “people:” *antuḫšanni=ya* (UN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni=ya piyanzi*; note in passage no. (8) UN<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ni=ya dapī* “to all the people.”

Only now the ritual combat takes place. As we saw, the cheese is given to the “people,” seemingly referring to the town community. But the actual performers of the combat are labelled the “young” – strictly speaking, “those who are in the flower of youth” (see passages nos. (1) and (7)). This perfectly fits in the context of ritual games; moreover, the “young” are also explicitly mentioned as performers of the already mentioned weightlifting race in KBo 2.8. The

<sup>113</sup> *RIA* 8: 204.

ritual combat is referred to with the expression *IŠTU GA.KIN.AG zahhiyanzi* “they fight with the cheese(s).” The Akkadian preposition *IŠTU* clearly suggests that the cheeses were actively *used* in the ritual combat, so rejecting other interpretations as, for instance, “they fight *for* the cheese.”

As for a closer (although more tentative) investigation of such fighting, a good comparison for the cultic use of cheese can be found in the ritual text KUB 45.49. Here, the *apiri*-men and the torchbearers throw one another some cheese, which afterwards is eaten by the “pure ones:”

KUB 45.49 (CTH 790, NS) iv 1-8:<sup>114</sup>

[*nu=kan* G]A.KIN.AG *EMŠU* *kēz kēz=(i)ya* / [*har*]pānzi / § [*n*]u=*kan*  
 LÚ.MEŠ<sup>š</sup>*zupriyalliūš* LÚ.<MEŠ>*apiriūš* / [...] GIŠ<sup>š</sup>*kalmišnit apēnzan pahhueni anda* / [...]  
*šiyaiškanzi apē=ma* GIŠ<sup>š</sup>*kalmišnit* [... *a*]pēnzan pahhueni anda *šiyaiškanz[i]* / §  
 [*na*]mma GA.KIN.AG *daškanzi nu* LÚ<sup>arāš</sup> LÚ<sup>ari</sup> / [*šiy*]aiškizzi

[Then (they)] heap the bitter cheese(s) from here and there. The torchbearers (and) the *apiri*-men each hurl with logs into their fire(s). Next (they) take cheeses. And one hurls (them) at the other.

The verb *zahhiya*- “to fight” seems to imply, however, something slightly more violent than just throwing cheeses one another. As elegantly argued by Hoffner, “since the cheeses would hardly be the opponents, we must understand that the cheeses were wielded in some fashion like weapons.”<sup>115</sup> Possibly, however, the expression *IŠTU GA.KIN.AG* might be interpreted in the sense that the cheeses were part of the fight, although not necessarily used as weapons: as we refer to football as “playing with a ball.” Cheese is used in ritual games among a number of cultures. In central Italy, for example, a game of Etruscan origin named “ruzzolone” is still performed (from the verb *ruzzolare* “to tumble, to roll”). Here the players, usually grouped into teams, throw round and ripe cheeses along an arranged path by means of a rope twisted around it, trying to reach the finishing line first.<sup>116</sup> But a more interesting parallel is to be found in a curious cult practice held in ancient Sparta in honour of Artemis Orthia and described by Xenophon in the *Lakedaimonion Politeia*. This is a ritual game, possibly of initiatic nature. The goal for someone (a single player, or perhaps a team) was to steal as many possible pieces of cheese from Orthia (the goddess, meaning probably from the goddess’ altar). In the meantime other players, the defenders, tried to prevent the stealing, by capturing and beating the stealer(s):

<sup>114</sup>Quoted after CHD Š: 19b; cf. Cohen 2002: 57-58.

<sup>115</sup>RIA 8: 204.

<sup>116</sup>I owe this comparison to my girlfriend Lucia Raggetti, whose uncle smuggled a great number of cheeses over the Allied-Nazi lines near Perugia in 1944 by pretending to play this game, a brainwave which succeeded in deceiving the German troops.

*Lakedaimonion Politeia* 2.9:<sup>117</sup>

καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἀρπάσαι τυρούς παρ’Ορθίας καλὸν θεῖς, μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο δηλώσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος ὅτι ἔστιν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεισθαι.

And although he considered it a noble deed to steal as many cheeses as possible from Orthia, he ordered others to beat those who stole, because he wanted to show that one can enjoy lasting fame by suffering for a short time.

This passage is a very stimulating comparison, because of both its antiquity and relative geographical proximity and of the fact that here something similar to a real fight seemingly takes place. Add that no appropriate parallel to the Hittite cheese fighting comes from the ancient Near Eastern world – at least to my knowledge. For more on the importance of cheese in the ancient Greek culture and for a thorough discussion of the quoted passage, see Lipka 2002: 126-128, with further references. Despite all this, Xenophon can hardly enlighten the Hittite cheese fightings, whose precise outline remains obscure.

### 2.3. The place of the cheese fighting within the Hittite athletic contests

Finally, let us consider the following overview which is comprehensive of all the occurrences of athletic contests known to me within the local Hittite festivals.

I would like to emphasize importance of the cheese fighting among these competitions. With 10 occurrences in eight different documents, it proves being the best-attested discipline after wrestling (11 occurrences in eight documents). The cheese fighting is followed by boxing and shot put and, last and not least, weightlifting. The disciplines appearing together with the cheese fighting are boxing, wrestling and “stone throwing.” It is also worth underlining that all these disciplines are only attested in cult inventories, i.e. within local festivals pertaining to “non-state cults;” to my knowledge, they lack altogether from the so-called “state cults.”<sup>118</sup> There are only a few references to athletic contests outside the cult inventories corpus, and they entail other disciplines: running and

<sup>117</sup>Quoted after Lipka 2002: 68-71.

<sup>118</sup>It is worth stressing that the dichotomy is between “state” vs. “non-state” cults, not between “cults performed in the capital” and “local cults;” those local cults where the king takes part are treated in festival texts and not in cult inventories. It is also worth observing that while the cult inventories never treat state cults, the converse is not true: i.e., a festival text may treat either a state or a non-state cult. On the distinction between “political Hittite religion of the state” (state cults), “religious expression of the common people,” and “dynastic religion of the royal family” see most recently Hutter 2010: 411-413, based on previous studies by Taracha, Schwemer, and others (cf. p. 412 n. 52).

<sup>119</sup>The towns involved are Mutarašši, Šallunatašši, Šarwalašši, x-x-ašši and Laḫinašši, which might be located in western Hittite Anatolia (somewhere near Afyonkarahisar, according to a tentative hypothesis by Forlanini 1996: 5-12; cf. also Hawkins 1998: 29-30).

Text	Disciplines					Geographical scope
	Boxing (GÉŠPU)	Wrestling ( <i>hulḫuliyā</i> )	Shot put (NA <sub>4</sub> <i>šiya-</i> )	Cheese fighting ( <i>IŠTU GA.KIN.AG zahḫiya-</i> )	Weightlifting (NA <sub>4</sub> <i>karp-</i> )	
KUB 25.23 (+) i 21'-22'	+	+				Ḥakmiš, Urišta (northern Anatolia)
KUB 25.23 (+) ii 6'-8'				+		
KUB 59.34 (+) iii 3-8	+	+	+	+		
KBo 57.113 + Bo 4615 (+) 12'-15'	+	+		+		
KUB 17.36 (+) <sup>77</sup> 4'-9'			+	+		
KUB 42.91 ii 14-16				+		Šahpina? (location unknown)
KUB 44.20 left col. 8'-13'	+		[+]		+	?
KUB 57.103 i 1'-5'				+		?
KUB 46.27 rev. 2-3		+	+	[+?]		?
KUB 17.35 ii 26'		+	+			Guršamašša and surrounding area <sup>119</sup>
KUB 17.35 iv 34		+				
KUB 17.35 iii 8-15						
KUB 17.35 iii 34				The cheese is squeezed and presented to the gods. No fight? Fight omitted/given for granted?		
KUB 60.27 obv. 2'-3'		+		+		?
KBo 59.131 i <sup>78</sup> 6'-8'				+		?
KUB 44.42 obv. 16'-17'	+	+				Šuwašuwā? (location unknown)
KUB 60.127 1'-2'	+					?
KUB 7.24 + i 19-20		+				Malimaliya and Ḥaparḫuna mountains, towns of Taḫniwara, Takkupša and Ḥawalkina <sup>120</sup>
KBo 2.8 iii 28'					+	Parnašša? (location unknown)
<b>Attested occurrences</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10 + [1]</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9 + [1]</b>	<b>1</b>	-
<b>Different documents attesting a discipline</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7 + [1]</b>	<b>3 or 4<sup>121</sup></b>	<b>6 or 7<sup>122</sup> + [1]</b>	<b>1</b>	-

racing (within the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> and KILAM festivals),<sup>123</sup> and equestrian competitions (within the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> festival),<sup>124</sup> plus one uncertain reference to an archery competition in the Palace Chronicle.<sup>125</sup> In other words, the species of athletic disciplines attested among the cult inventories and among all other texts seem to be complementary distributed. At this point, it is worth to recall that, as we saw, also the formula about the “rejoicing” is attested only among cult inventories, i.e. it pertains only to local, “non-state” festivals, not to the so-called state cults. As H. Craig Melchert pointed out to me, such emphasis on the sheer “joy” that can arise from devotion is comparable with the uninhibited demonstrations associated with African-American Christian worship in the southeastern United States, which are a key element of the cult: singing, dancing, revelling in physical exuberance. This attitude is often frowned upon by mainstream U.S. Christian churches, especially by their top organs. With a small stretch of imagination, we can almost see the Hittite authorities obliterating the sensorial exuberance of local festivals as a not-quite-appropriate attribute to divine worship. This is a plausible scenario. Ch. Carter correctly argued that “unlike the ancient Greek games, the Hittite contests did not develop to the point where they dominated the religious activities of the festival.”<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, the variety of attested disciplines is remarkable, as is their wide span over different areas within the Hittite homeland. The descriptions of these festivals, rooted as they are in the ancestral past of provincial communities,<sup>127</sup>

<sup>120</sup>Takkupš/ta was possibly located in the north-eastern Hittite Anatolia (Barjamovic 2011: 269 with n. 1047).

<sup>121</sup>Depending on the possibility that KUB 17.36 indirectly joins KUB 25.23 (+).

<sup>122</sup>Depending on the possibility that KUB 17.36 indirectly joins KUB 25.23 (+).

<sup>123</sup>(a) AN.TAḪ.ŠUM<sup>SAR</sup> festival: KUB 10.18 (*CTH* 594.A) i 13-16 and cf. vi 13'-18' (text: Haas – Wäfler 1977: 232-234; discussion: Puhvel 1988: 27; Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 27-28; on this episode cf. KBo 10.20 (*CTH* 604.A) i 20 // KUB 30.39 obv. 15, see Güterbock 1997: 91). (b) KILAM festival: KBo 10.25 (*CTH* 627.1.j.A) ii 14'-18' and KBo 25.176 (*CTH* 627.3.b.A) 7-8 (text: Singer 1984: 50 and 92; discussion: Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 27); furthermore: ABoT 5+ (*CTH* 627.1.h.A) ii 10'-12'; KBo 20.33+ obv. 12 and KBo 10.1 i 12' (text: Singer 1984: 34; Neu 1980: 53; Singer 1984: 22).

<sup>124</sup>KBo 10.20 ii 13, iii 8-9 (Güterbock 1997: 92 and 94; cf. Gurney 1977: 36; Ünal 1988: 1492; Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 28-29; *pace* Puhvel 1988: 27). An inventory text KBo 9.91 (*CTH* 241), rev. B 4, might refer precisely to these episodes (Kořak 1982: 25).

<sup>125</sup>KBo 3.34 (*CTH* 8) ii 33-34 (text: Dardano 1997: 52). There is no agreement, however, on whether this should be regarded or not as a true contest (see Hutter-Braunsar 2008: 33).

<sup>126</sup>Carter 1988: 185.

<sup>127</sup>The Hittite cult inventories surviving to our days date almost without exception to the last phase of the Empire period, but this tells us very little about the antiquity of the ceremonies they deal with. Also the question whether the festival descriptions embedded in the cult inventories mirror a standard pattern imposed by the central authority, or rather the genuine celebrations held in the various provincial towns, is a long debated one. In my opinion, there are weighty arguments favouring the latter view; moreover, it would seem that the rites treated in these late descriptions were in turn rooted in a quite distant past.

bear evidence of the important role played by athletic ritual contests in the Hittite religion.

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