

Hittite *ḫilammar* and Hieroglyphic Luwian **ḫilana*¹

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The definition and archaeological identification of the structure to which the Neo-Assyrian sources refer as a *bīt ḫilāni* has been one of the most discussed topics in the history of Near Eastern architecture.² Although the descriptions of the structure³ are quite comprehensive with respect to its general appearance, they are unfortunately very restricted as to their exact location in the buildings to which they belong. Therefore their archaeological identification in Assyria itself is still problematical.⁴ North Syria is explicitly mentioned as the place of origin for both the word and the architectural type in question: "a room with windows like (that) of a Hittite palace, which in the language of Amurru is called a *bīt ḫilāni*" (CAD H 184). The first archaeological identification — with a badly denudated building in Khorsabad — was put forward by O. Puchstein (JdI 1892, 8f.). A few years later R. Koldewey used the term for a building in Zincirli on account of its similarity to the "Hilani"⁵ from Khorsabad (Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli II, 1898, 136f.). At the same site and then

¹ This paper proceeded from my dissertation entitled "The Hittite KI.LAM-Festival". (Abbreviations are those employed in the StBoT series).

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² Cf. now the entries "Ḫilammar" (H. G. Güterbock) and "Ḫilāni, bīt" (philological — J. Renger; archaeological — B. Hrouda) in RIA Band IV with further bibliography.

³ Cf. J. Renger, loc. cit. and CAD H 184f. The single problematical occurrence of *b.ḫ.* in the second mill., in ARM I 3,10' has now been removed on epigraphical grounds by J. Renger. (Cf. formerly A. L. Oppenheim, JNES 11, 1952, 130).

⁴ Cf. B. Hrouda, loc. cit. § 3.

⁵ In the following "Hilani" with inverted commas will be used to designate the architectural and archaeological terminus technicus.

in numerous others in North Syria and Southern Anatolia, a palace type with a characteristic pillared portico entrance, came to be known in the literature as "Hilani" or "Bit Hilani", the main discussion revolving around the question whether the term applies to the whole building or only to the portico at its entrance.⁶ However, this identification was based only on the NA passages and was never corroborated by primary sources.⁷

In 1927 J. Friedrich (ZA 37, 179f.) connected NA *bīt hilāni* with Hittite *hilammar*. Six years later H. Th. Bossert (AfO 9, 1933—4, 127) announced the identification of the word **hilana* in a hieroglyphic Luwian pictogram from Carchemish. Bossert's reading of the pictogram (Meriggi 217), if correct, would provide the "missing link" in the etymological chain: Hittite *hilammar* — hierogl. Luwian **hilana* — Neo-Assyrian *bīt hilāni*. However, semantically both Hittite *hilammar*, which was translated by Friedrich as "Torbau", and the pictogram from Carchemish illustrating a monumental gate-house, did not agree with the definition of NA *bīt hilāni* as a "portico" and with its archaeological identification. As a consequence, the reading proposed by Bossert was rejected by some scholars and accepted with reservation by others. In the archaeological discussion however, it was given little if any consideration. As to Hittite *hilammar*, in 1941 a new interpretation, as a pillared hall or portico, was put forward by R. Naumann (WVDOG 61, 45 ff.). Although most philologists did not follow this definition, Naumann's archaeological identification with the two-pillared halls giving access to the cult rooms of the temples of Boğazköy⁸ has never been challenged and has become the current view in the archaeological research.

The NA descriptions of the *bīt hilāni*, although chronologically the latest in the etymological chain, have had no doubt a predominant influence on the discussion of Hittite *hilammar* and hierogl. Luwian **hilana*. A review of the history of research also shows the curious fact that the current philological and archaeological interpretations of the two terms deviate considerably from each other.

In this article an attempt will be made to present the textual evidence for Hittite *hilammar*, especially with regard to its localization and identification. In the second part of the paper, the present

⁶ For a concise survey of the different views cf. Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem* (Leiden 1970), 544 ff.

⁷ The methodological inconsistency of this was pointed out by B. Hrouda, loc. cit.

⁸ Cf. R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens* (1971), 455 and fig. 595.

state of research for hierogl. Luwian **ḫilana* will be presented, pointing out the archaeological implications of Bossert's reading. The terms will be discussed independently, disregarding on purpose the "burden" of the Neo-Assyrian evidence. The problem of the correspondence of the latter to its western counterparts will be raised only after the internal evidence for *ḫilammar* and **ḫilana* has been dealt with.

Hittite *ḫilammar*

I. *The history of the research*

The first discussion of the term *ḫilammar* was undertaken by J. Friedrich in 1927.⁹ In this important investigation the etymological connection with Neo-Assyrian *bīt ḫilāni* was suggested for the first time.¹⁰ On the evidence of the Hittite material available at that time, a definition was put forward the main points of which are still tenable today:

- 1) In order to enter the inner temple one has to cross first the *ḫilammar* and next the courtyard (*ḫila-*; KBo IV 9 II 7 ff.). Vice versa, when going from the inside to the outside, one first passes through the courtyard and then through the gate (*aška-*; V 32 ff.).
- 2) On leaving from and on arriving at the "temple"¹¹ the king mounts and dismounts his vehicle in the *ḫilammar*.
- 3) The *ḫilammar* is not an indispensable component of every building (KBo V 2 IV 5).
- 4) The *ḫilammar* is mentioned only in connection with temples.
- 5) All these points considered, the *ḫilammar* must be connected in some way with the gate, although it cannot be identical with it, since KUB X 28 I 8f. states: "in (at) the *ḫ.* right to the gate".

Friedrich concluded: "Auf Grund dieser Tatsachen besteht zwar keine vollkommene Sicherheit, aber doch wohl einige Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, daß *ḫ.* die für hethitische Bauwerke charakteristischen Torvorbauten mit Tierkolossen und Bildfassaden bezeichnet, die der Assyrer vielleicht (bekanntlich ist das eine alte Streitfrage) mit einem "aus der Sprache des Westlandes" entlehnten Ausdruck *bīt ḫilanni* nannte."

⁹ ZA 37, 1927, 179f.

¹⁰ Accepted by A. Goetze, ZA 41, 1933, 246, n. 2.

¹¹ The building in question in the passages quoted by Friedrich is *ḫalentuwa* ("palace" cf. below, section 5).

In HW (1952), 69 the translation "Torbau" is given.¹²

Friedrich's definition was accepted by Goetze (AM, 204f. n. 1) with the exception of the fourth observation; he cited the passage IBoT I 36 (Bo 2002) IV 14ff. in which the *h*. is connected with the palace. In the same note Goetze suggested the equation K.L.LAM = *hilammar*.

The first application of the temple descriptions in the texts to the architecture of Boğazköy¹³ was put forward by Goetze in Kleinasiensien (1933), 155f. (= second ed. 1957, 166f.). He observed that the layout of the temples, especially of Temple I, corresponds well with the textual evidence, and he indicated the identification of the main architectural elements: the entrance portal (= *hilammar*), the courtyard (= *hila-*) and the cult rooms.¹⁴

A renewed attempt at the archaeological identification of the *h*. was made by R. Naumann in 1941.¹⁵ The starting points of Naumann were the Neo-Assyrian descriptions of the *bīl hīlāni* as summarized by Bossert in AfO 9, 127, and the observations of Friedrich listed above. Thence he proceeded to an examination of the gates of the temples of Boğazköy. Two types of entrances were distinguished:

1) The simple gate-rooms ("einfache Torkammern") represented by the gates of temples II—V and Yazılıkaya Building B.

2) The two-pillared halls which give access from the courtyard to the cult rooms of the five temples (ib. Abb. 13). The same type of hall is found also at the outer gate of Temple I directed both inwards and outwards (ib. p. 47).

The passage KBo IV 9 II 7ff. cited by Friedrich, in which the king enters the temple of ZABABA by crossing first the *hilammar* and then the courtyard, is quoted. Naumann believes that the description in this passage can be applied to Temple I (not including the magazines). That would mean that the *hilammar* in this passage is the pillared hall at the entrance portal (only in Temple I). Since this type of hall is also found in front of the cult rooms of the five temples

¹² E. H. Sturtevant, Hittite Glossary (Philadelphia 1936), 49: "a porch or anteroom at the outer door of a temple".

¹³ Friedrich's comparison was with the first mill. North Syrian monuments (cf. quotation above).

¹⁴ "Der Grundriß namentlich des Gebäudes I paßt sehr gut zu dem, was man über die Einrichtungen eines Tempels aus den Angaben der Texte, namentlich der Festbeschreibungen, herauslesen kann. Torbau, Hof, Kultraum und Allerheiligstes, weiter die Magazine können unschwer identifiziert werden."; "Torbau des Tempels (*hilammar*)".

¹⁵ "Hilammar, Bit Hīlani und Torbau" in K. Bittel, R. Naumann, H. Otto, Yazılıkaya (= WVDOG 61, Leipzig 1941), 45—49.

(type 2 above), they must be *hīlammar* too, although they are apparently not mentioned in the texts. In at least one of the temples (II) the gate to the adyton is not found at the back wall of the hall but on the side walls. Therefore, it is the hall, and not the gate which is designated by *hīlammar*. The remaining evidence, in his view, corroborates this definition.¹⁶ Afterwards he proceeds with the interpretation of the hieroglyphic evidence, which will be discussed in the second part of this article.

Naumann's interpretation of *hīlammar* rested on a series of interdependent assumptions, all of which were highly hypothetical: that the temple description taken from KBo IV 9 can be applied only to one temple or temple type (cf. types 1 and 2 above)¹⁷; that probably Temple I is referred to¹⁸; that the pillared halls which give access to the cult rooms, on view of their similarity to the portico at the outer gate of Temple I, are also *hīlammar*, in spite of the fact that, as the author admits, these are not mentioned in the texts (at least not with this name, since *h*. never appears as a station between the courtyard and the cult rooms).¹⁹ Already the confrontation of these hypotheses with each other shows that they are not tenable: Since in the texts the *h*. is connected with the temples of various deities,

¹⁶ Concerning the *h*. connected with the palace the discussion is not clear: on page 45 Friedrich's conclusion that the *h*. is found only in temples is still quoted. On page 47 Goetze's modification that the *h*. is mentioned also with the palace is acknowledged. However, the archaeological discussion is confined to the temples. (The passage cited by Goetze is compared with the pillared halls of the temples!).

The suggestion raised in Boğazköy II (1938), 18ff. to restore Building E on the Büyükkale as a "Hilani" is not taken up in this discussion or in later publications. To this cf. H. Frankfort, Iraq 14, 1952, 127ff.

¹⁷ Yazılıkaya, 46: "Jedoch wird dann der Text nur für einen Tempel bzw. für einen Tempeltyp zutreffen, und man darf nicht erwarten, daß er auf alle Tempelanlagen anzuwenden ist."

Compare on the same passage in Boğazköy II, 30: "Die Beschreibung dieses Weges der Prozession mag für sehr viele Festlichkeiten und verschiedene Tempel zutreffen, wir dürfen dahinter nicht eine bestimmte Ortsbeschreibung erkennen wollen, und doch ist sie für unsere Anlage sehr zutreffend." [Accentuations are mine].

¹⁸ Without the magazines. Compare H. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, 118f. where the magazines are included (thus altering the identification of the components).

¹⁹ In the summary in Architektur Kleinasiens, 455, *hīlammar* is equated only with these halls, whereas the hall at the outer gate of Temple I, which served as the starting point of the theory, is not explicitly defined as a *hīlammar*.

it follows immediately that *ḫ*. refers to all entrance portals irrespective of the fact whether they belong to the "simple" (1) or to the "portico"-type (2), with the conclusion that *ḫ*. has nothing to do with this architectonic division. Following Naumann's line of reasoning we would be forced to assume that all the textual references of *ḫ*. in a temple (in Ḫattuša) have to refer to Temple I (or still unexcavated temples with the same entrance type)!

The identification of the temple of ZABABA in KBo IV 9 with Temple I can no longer be maintained. Today we possess strong evidence for the identification of Temple I and its double adyton with the double temple of the Storm God and the Sun Goddess of Arina.²⁰ The temple description in KBo IV 9 is in no way exclusive for one temple or temple type. The layout of the temple observed by Friedrich and identified by Goetze (mainly on the basis of KBo IV 9; more examples of this layout will be presented in our discussion) has a general validity: the recurrent order of the three temple components in the texts — *ḫilammar* — courtyard — inner temple — can safely be identified with the layout of all five temples of Boğazköy, and thus the identification of *ḫilammar* with the entrance portals is established. Nothing in the texts argues for the identification with the pillared²¹ halls in front of the cult rooms.²²

The reception of Naumann's interpretation and identification of *ḫilammar* has to be surveyed from two points of view, the philological and the archaeological:

Friedrich and Goetze maintained the original definition "Torbau"²³, "Gateway"²⁴ and most scholars followed this translation consistently.²⁵

²⁰ Cf. H. Otten, Fischer Weltgeschichte 3 (1966), 160; id. StBoT 13 (1971), 51; P. Neve, Ist. Mitt. 17, 1967, 82.

²¹ Note also that nowhere in the texts is *ḫilammar* connected with pillars, pilasters or similar architectural elements: (GIŠ)ḫurakki (HW Erg. 1,20); (GIŠ)ṣarḫuli (H. Otten, Ist. Mitt. 19/20, 1969/70, 85 ff.).

²² Naumann's interpretation was no doubt influenced by the Neo-Assyrian descriptions of the *bīl ḫilāni* in which the pillars are a dominant component. Methodically it would have been preferable to consider only Hittite evidence in a definition of *ḫilammar*, since the possibility that the two terms are not connected, or if connected did undergo considerable changes in a span of more than four centuries, cannot be excluded a priori.

²³ HW, Erg. 1 (1957), 6; Erg. 2 (1961), 30 (s.v. KI.LAM).

²⁴ Translations in ANET (1950), 128, 359.

²⁵ K. Bittel, Hattusha (1970), 65; H. A. Hoffner, RHA 25/80, 1967, 45; A. Kammenhuber, Cor. lingu. (1955), 103; E. Laroche, RHA 15/60, 1957, 19; H. Otten, StBoT 13 (1971), 20.

Naumann's definition "hall" or "portico" was followed by H. G. Güterbock²⁶ and developed with some modifications, in his recent entry in the RIA IV s.v. "Ḫilammar".²⁷

As to the archaeological identification with the pillared halls before the cult rooms of the temples, as far as I can see, no further arguments, either for or against it, were introduced in the discussion. This identification was made available to a wide forum of scholars of various disciplines through Naumann's comprehensive study *Architektur Kleinasiens* (first ed. 1955, 395; second ed. 1971, 455) and met with general acceptance.²⁸

From the short survey above the fact emerges that the philological and the archaeological interpretations of *ḫ.* followed a partly diverging development: whereas in translations both Friedrich's "Torbau" and Naumann's "Vorhalle, Portikus" continued to "coexist", the archaeological identification of the latter was accepted into the research as a proven fact and became an important factor in the discussion of hierogl. Luwian **ḫilana*, NA *bīl ḫilāni* and their archaeological identifications.

Among the later treatments of *ḫ.*, Laroche's comprehensive etymological investigation (RHA 15/60, 1957, 19) contains an important definition: "La nature du *Ḫilammar* n'est pas mystérieuse. On sait

²⁶ Le Palais et la Royauté (XIX Renc. Assyr. Paris 1971), 1974, 312; Cf. also L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 11, 1965, 204; A. Walther, The Hittite Code (1931), 260 translated *ḫilannaš* with "of the portico".

²⁷ In the entry in RIA, *ḫ.* (equated with KI.LAM) is characterized as a building-part open to the outside, found in temple, palace and also in a simple house. The suggested translations: "offene Halle, Pfeilerhalle, Vorhalle, Portikus." Naumann's identification is extended so as to include besides the porticoes in front of the cult rooms, also other open halls, such as the colonnades surrounding the temple courtyards and (reconstructed) halls on Büyükkale and in Hüyük.

The identification of *ḫ.* with the hall in front of the cult rooms is not strengthened with new arguments. Furthermore, no objections to Friedrich's translation are presented. That the king dismounts his horse in the *ḫ.*, or that a dog climbs to the *ḫ.* of the temple and is killed there, fits the translation "gatehouse" at least as well. On the other hand, the translations suggested by Güterbock hardly do justice to the evidence in the Mešedi Instruction IBoT I 36, where the gatekeeper is responsible for the *ḫ.* and the term appears as a synonym to KÁ.GAL (IV 14—17). Also the name of the KI.LAM-Festival remains thus unexplained. (To these points cf. discussion in the following sections).

²⁸ H. Klengel, Die Hethiter (1970), 145; Th. A. Eusink, Der Tempel von Jerusalem (1970), 505; P. Neve, Festschrift Otten (1973), 270.

qu'il s'agit du complexe architectural qui constitue le portail de la cour (*hila-*), donnant accès au bâtiment principal, temple, palais, maison privée, etc. C'est le *bît hylan(n)i* des Assyriens; les Allemands disent bien "Torbau".²⁹ Un pictogramme de Kargamis (Meriggi, Liste No. 217) en révèle le profil et l'élévation. La traduction française, transposée en termes classiques serait "propylée" (de temple)."

2. (^É)*hīlammar* and phonetically similar words

	(^É) <i>hīlammar</i> ³⁰	KI.LAM ³¹
N.-A.	<i>hī-lam-mar</i>	
Gen.	<i>hī-lam-na-aš</i>	KI.LAM- <i>aš</i> (KUB XXIII 11 III 2)
Loc.	<i>hī-lam-ni</i> ³²	KI.LAM- <i>ni</i> (^É KI.LAM- <i>ni</i> KUB XI 23 V 18)
Dir.	<i>hī-lam-na</i> (KBo XX 88 IV ² 2')	KI.LAM- <i>na</i> (428/t + 282/t Vs. [?] 12')
Abl.	<i>hī-lam-na-az</i>	
Ergative	<i>hī-lam-na-an-za</i> (KUB XVII 10 IV 11)	

It is generally agreed that *hīlammar* is derived from *hīla-* "court-yard".³³ The existence of a *-mar* suffix in Hittite, though only sporadically attested, is admissible.³⁴ But on its classificatory semantic value little can be said from the few examples that exist. *hīla-* does not have correspondences outside Anatolia³⁵, and A. Kammenhuber did not exclude the possibility that it has a non-indoeuropean origin.³⁶

²⁹ With n. 24 referring (erroneously?) to Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien*¹ (1955), 394 ff. In RHA 9/49, 1948—49, 23, n. 11 Laroche still rejected the translation "Torbau".

³⁰ Compare J. Friedrich, HE I² § 86. From some 130 entries in the Marburg Thesaurus, appr. two thirds have the determinative É. (^É*hīla-* has a similar ratio). All the Old Hittite occurrences lack the determinative!

³¹ The equation KI.LAM = (^É)*hīlammar* will be discussed separately in section 7. The KI.LAM attestations will be not utilized in the following discussion.

³² ^É*hī-lam* in IBoT III 1 Vs. 10' must be rendered to ^É*hī-lam-ni*¹, *-ni* being partly erased by the last sign of Rs. 77' (Collated on the original by Prof. H. Otten).

³³ A. Kammenhuber, *Cor. lingu.* (1955), 103; E. Laroche, RHA 15/60, 1957, 19.

³⁴ J. Friedrich, HE II² § 86; J. Holt, BiOr 15 (1958), 153; E. Laroche, *op. cit.* Contrast A. Kammenhuber, *op. cit.* who considers it questionable.

³⁵ Cf. E. Laroche, *loc. cit.*

³⁶ A. Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.*

The derivatives of *hīla-* were discussed comprehensively by Laroche in RHA 15/60, 1957, 18ff.:

hīlannaš Attested twice in the Hittite Laws:

§ 82 ŠAḪ *hī-la-an-na-aš*; § 89 UR.ZÍR *hī-la-an-na-aš*, analysed by Laroche as gen. sg. of **hīlatar* related to *hīla-*, rather than an assimilated form of *hīlamnaš*.³⁷ Laroche translates accordingly "(animaux de) basse-cour" (J. Friedrich, HW Erg. 1,6 "Wirtschaftshof"). Freer translations would be "ordinary"³⁸ and "domestic"³⁹. Laroche connects this form with Neo-Assyrian *bīt hīlāni*. H. Th. Bossert analysed the form from a stem **hīlana-* and connected it with hierogl. Luwian **hīlana*, deriving both from an (unattested) cuneiform Luwian origin, thus returning to the first translation of Friedrich "Torhund", "Torschwein".⁴⁰

LÜ *hīlammi-* Sg. N. LÜ *hī-lam-mi-iš* KBo XV 33 III 24; XVII 55 I 11'; XVII 93 Vs. 6

Pl. N. LÜ.MEŠ *hī-lam-mi-e-eš* KUB XIII 8 Vs. 5; KBo XVI 65 IV 3'; XX 51 I 16'; XXI 75 l. col. 7'; XXI 77 ll. 7', 12'; Bo 2071 Vs. 22', Rs. 10

In KUB XIII 8 they are listed with the personnel of the "Stone House" (É.NA₄) who are freed from "*šahhan*" and "*luzzi*". In other contexts they appear as cult functionaries of the temple. The form has been connected with *hīlammar* and translated "gatekeeper".⁴¹

LÜ.MEŠ *hīlammatteš* Attested in the cult administration texts KUB XXXVIII 12 (with dupl. 15); KBo II 1; Bo 1583.

LÜ.MEŠ *hī-lam-ma-at-ti-iš* KBo II 1 I 23

„ *hī-lam-ma-at-ti-eš* XXXVIII 12 I 17

„ *hī-lam-ma-ti-eš* XXXVIII 12 I 3, 6, 11, IV 11, 16

„ *hī-lam-ma-te-eš* Bo 1583 Rs. 6

„ *hī-lam-ma-diš* XXXVIII 12 II 19

„ *hī-lam-ma-at-ta-aš* KBo II 1 II 4; XXXVIII 12 II 4

„ *hī-lam-ma-at-tin'* XXXVIII 12 I 5

A collective denomination for various cult functionaries of different occupations,⁴² involved in profane activities.⁴³ The relation between this and the former group, as well as the ending type (note the numerous spelling forms) is not clear.

³⁷ Following A. Kammenhuber, MIO 2, 1954, 436, n. 91. Cf. also J. Friedrich, HW Erg. 1, 6.

³⁸ A. Goetze, ANET (1950), 193; H. A. Hoffner, Alimenta Hethaeorum (1974), 65.

³⁹ E. Neufeld, Hittite Laws (1950), 26, 27.

⁴⁰ OrNS 30, 1961, 199 and n. 2.

⁴¹ H. Otten, Totenrituale (1958), 107, 133; I. M. Diakonoff, MIO 13, 1967, 319: "wahrscheinlich so etwas wie Wachen oder eine Polizei des Steinhauses"; cf. also H. Th. Bossert, OrNS 30, 1961, 202 Nachtrag.

⁴² F. Sommer, HAB, 133, n. 2; E. Laroche, OLZ 62, 1967, 33; H. G. Güterbock, RIA IV s. v. *hīlammar*.

⁴³ M. Darga, Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi I, 1970, 121.

hīlammīli This *-īli* adverb is attested only in the (Middle Hittite) Mešedi Instruction IBoT I 36 in the expression "dressed in *h*.-fashion": T^UG^NÍG. LÁM^{HI}.A-ma-aš(-ma-aš) K^UŠE.SIR SIG₅^{TIM} *hī-lam-mī/me-li ú-e-eš-ša-an-ta* (II 49, 53, 57). The meaning rests on the interpretation of the theme *hīlammaji* (cf. below).⁴⁴

hī-lam-mi-in-ni-iš KUB XXXI 147 II 23' Hapax. Meaning unknown.

hī-lam-ni-in [KUB XLI 4 II 16' Hapax. Meaning unknown.

The derivatives were divided by Laroche into two groups:

- a) Related to *hīla-* (theme *hīlan-*): *hīlannaš*
- b) Related to *hīlammar* (theme *hīlammaji-*): L^U*hīlammi-*, L^U*hīlammatta-*, *hīlammīli*.

A different interpretation was suggested by N. Oettinger (Erlangen): He derives *hīlammaji-* from *hīla-* (courtyard) and not from *hīlammar*, connecting it with the indo-european **-mo-* suffix which indicates relationship.⁴⁵ Thus *hīlammaji-* would be "belonging to the courtyard", in modern terms "courtier" ("Hofmann"). A similar abstract meaning of "courtyard" is not attested in the Semitic languages, but this does not necessarily preclude such an interpretation. L^U.MEŠ*hīlammeš* and L^U.MEŠ*hīlammateš* would be terms designating functionaries belonging to the court (of the temple?); *hīlammīli* — "dressed as courtiers" (note the ceremonial garments they are wearing). [Dazu in Alalah¹⁰ *hī-la-hu-li* Al. T. 267, 14 (JCS 8,21); vgl. M. Dietrich—O. Loretz, WO 3/1966, 191f. v. S.]

Toponyms⁴⁶:

UR^U*hī-lam-ma-a* KUB XXXI 66 IV 19; HT 7 Rs. IV 14.

UR^U*hī-lam-ma-at-ti-ja* KBo XVIII 155 l. 10⁴⁷

Personal names⁴⁸:

F^H*hī-la-ma-ad-du-un*, M^H*e-el-la-ni*, M^H*i(-il)-la(-an)-ni-iš*

3. *hīlammar* in the texts

In the following discussion an attempt will be made to present the evidence for *hīlammar* in temples, in the palace and elsewhere separately (wherever the data permit such a separate treatment).

⁴⁴ J. Friedrich, HW 69; L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 11, 1965, 214: "dem Tore entsprechend", "dem Ausgehen(?) entsprechend", "äußerlich(?)". F. Steinherr, MSS 32, 1974, 117 suggested a hier. Luwian parallel to *hīlammīli*.

⁴⁵ Cf. also E. Laroche, BSL 52, 1956, 72 ff. Compare the derivatives *arkamma-*, *waršama-*, *ekunima-*.

⁴⁶ Cf. E. Laroche, RHA 19/69, 1961, 81 no. 102.

⁴⁷ Compare also UR^UKI.LAM 275/f l. 8' = SBo I, 78 Text 5 (cf. MIO 6, 341) in a broken context. This suggests a connection of the toponyms with *hīlammar* (cf. Laroche, op. cit.). However, a relation to *hīla-* "courtyard" would give a better sense. Compare the toponyms ending in *-hīla* (cf. O. Carruba, StBoT 2,8, n. 2a) and the element 𐎧𐎢 in biblical toponyms.

⁴⁸ Cf. E. Laroche, Noms, 67.

Under the third heading two categories will be discussed for which the evidence is less conclusive: the *ḫ*. in private houses and the *ḫ*. as a city gate, as well as occurrences in a general sense and in unclear contexts. The following buildings in the texts are attested to have a *ḫilammar*:

Temples of the following deities.⁴⁹

Ḫepat — KBo XXI 34 I 59—II 6 (cf. p. 80)

Inar (= KAL) — KBo XXII 189 II 8—12 (cf. p. 81)

Zalīnu(?) — Bo 3249 Vs. I 11'—12'⁵⁰

IM/U — KUB XLI 48 III 14', IV 1'—2' (cf. p. 83); Bo 5047
Vs. ?II 9'⁵¹; Bo 5587 Vs. 24'⁵²

IŠTAR of Ninuwa — KUB V 10+ Vs. 19—24 (cf. p. 83f.)

KAL — cf. *Inar*

ZABABA — KBo IV 9 II 7—9 (cf. p. 80)

É^{TIM} GAL⁵³ — KBo XIX 128 I 6—9

DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš *ḫ*.⁵⁴ — KBo X 23 IV 15; KBo XXI 37 Rs. ?10'

Other cult buildings

É^{ḫešta}.⁵⁵ — IBoT III 1 l. 90'; VAT 7470 I 12—16⁵⁶; 1315/v l. 5'
(= 929/v l. 12')⁵⁷

NA₄-an *parnaš*⁵⁸ — KBo XVII 15 Vs. ?12'

É^{KUŠ} *kuršaš*⁵⁹ — KBo X 27 III 18—19

⁴⁹ With the exception of *Ḫepat* and the Storm-God, the temples of the other deities are explicitly mentioned as the "House of God-Name" (e.g. É^{DKAL} = *Inaraš parn-*). That the "gate-house of the Storm-God" is the gate-house of his temple emerges from the context (cf. p. 83). For D^{Ḫepat} cf. n. 61.

⁵⁰ 11' *lu-uk-kat-ta-ma DUMU-aš I-NA É^{DZa-li-nu} n[a]m-ma-pát x[*
12' *ḫa-az-qa-ra-a-i-ma-kán ḫi-lam-ni an-da t[i-ḫ]a-az-[zi*

⁵¹ After transliteration of H. Ehelolf: 9' *na-aš-ta LUGAL-uš ŠA DU É^{ḫi-lam-na-a}[z 10' *ú-iz-zi**

⁵² ... *nu-za-kán ŠA DU É^{ḫi-lam-n}[i*

⁵³ For the identification of É^{TIM} GAL with Temple I in Boğazköy (at least in this text) cf. H. G. Güterbock, XIX Renc. Assyr., 305 and n. 2. H. Otten, StBoT 13, 22f. interprets É^{TIM} GAL as a graphical variant of É.GAL^{TIM}.

⁵⁴ "The gate-house of the gods" is probably the gate-house of an unspecified temple.

⁵⁵ For the *ḫešta*-house cf. H. Otten, RIA IV, 369 with further bibl.

⁵⁶ Cf. H. Otten, OLZ 50, 1955, 390, n. 2.

⁵⁷ 1315/v l. 5' (Old Hittite)]É^{ḫi-iš-ta-a-aš} *ḫi-lam-ni*
929/v l. 12' (Late Hittite dupl.)]É^{ḫé-eš-ta-a}<-aš> *ḫi-lam-ni*.

⁵⁸ For the "Stone-House" (É.NA₄) cf. bibl. in HW, 270 and Erg. 2, 29.

⁵⁹ For ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* "fleece" or "shield" cf. HW, 118 and Erg. 3, 21.

Palace

É.GAL — IBoT I 36 passim (cf. p. 85 ff.)

Ḫalentuwa⁶⁰ — KUB VII 25 I 8—9; X 3 I 15'—16'; XXV 18
II 3—4; etc.

For private houses and city gates see discussion in section 6.

4. *ḫilammar in temples*

The list presented above shows that practically every temple has a *ḫilammar*. The list will probably grow considerably when large contexts of festival texts will have been restored, since in many fragmentary attestations the attribution of the *ḫ*. to a specific temple is on account of insufficient context not yet feasible at the moment. This prerequisite is even more necessary for the reconstruction of the temple layout as a whole. In the examples which follow we will try to demonstrate that in contexts which enable this, we find a consequent order of the architectural components. In doing so we hope to reinforce and to add to the statements of Friedrich and Goetze (cf. above section 1):

— KBo IV 9 (CTH 612) Translation: J. Friedrich AO 25/2, 1925, 5 ff.
Commentary: id. ZA 37, 1927, 177 ff.

- I 33f. Departing from the Ḫalentuwa.
- II 7 Going to the temple of ZABABA.
- 8f. Arrival at the gate-house (Ḫilammar).
- 11f. Entering the courtyard (Ḫila-).
- 37f. Entering the inner temple (INA É DZABABA anda).
- 38f. Prostration before the God.
- 42 The king steps to the throne (G1[^sDA]G-ti).
- 43 The queen enters the adyton (É.ŠA-na).

— KBo XXI 34 (CTH 699) I 59—II 3 were treated by H. Otten, Bagh. Mitt., 7, 1974, 139 ff.

- I 59 ... nu DḪé-pát kar-pa-an-zi
- 60 na-an-kán ma-aḫ-ḫa-an pár-na-aš an-da ar-nu-an-zi nu
G1^sIG
- 61 iš-tap-pa-an-zi ...
- II 3 nu G1^sIG ḫi-ša-an-zi nu-kán DḪé-pát pa-ra-a ú-da-an-zi
- 4 na-an-kán ma-aḫ-ḫa-an Ḫi-i-li ar-nu-an-zi na-aš-ta
2 GAL^{H1.A}

⁶⁰ For the identification of Ḫalentuwa with the palace cf. n. 76.

- 5 GEŠTIN-it *šu-u-ya-an-du-uš la-a-ḫu-u-ya-an-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-k[án] Ḫé-pát*
 6 *Ḫi-lam-ni pa-ra-a ar-nu-an-zi ...*
 I 59 ... They lift Ḫepat
 60 and as soon as they carry her inside the "house"⁶¹,
 61 they close the door ...
 II 3 They open the door and bring Ḫepat out.
 4 And as soon as they carry her to the courtyard
 5 they pour two cups full of wine. And as soon as they
 carry Ḫepat
 6 forward to the gate-house ...
- KBo XXII 189
 Vs. II 2 *na-aš-ta LUGAL-uš Ḫka-ta-pu-uz-na-az*
 3 *kat-ta ú-iz-zi LUGAL-uš É ḪKAL pa-iz-zi ...*
 8 ... LUGAL-uš ḪI-na-ra-aš pár-na pa-iz-zi
 9 *ḫa-an-te-iz-zi KASKAL-NI NIN.DINGIR-aš*
 10 UGULA LÚ^{MES}*ḫa-pi-ia-aš DUMU.É.GAL Ḫi-lam-ni*
 11 *a-ra-an-da NIN.DINGIR LUGAL-i ḫi-ik-zi*
 12 LUGAL-uš *Ḫi-i-li ti-i-e-zi ...*
 2 The king descends from the *katapuzna*(-house).⁶²
 3 The king goes to the "temple" (lit. house) of ḪKAL ...
 8 ... The king goes to the "temple" of Inar.
 9 For the first time the NIN.DINGIR(-priestess),
 10 the chief of the "*ḫapija*"-men and the palace-attendant
 11 stand in the gate-house. The NIN.DINGIR(-priestess)
 pays homage to the king.
 12 The king steps into the courtyard ...

The following stations are not preserved on the tablet.

— KUB XVII 10 (CTH 324). In the following passage from the Telipinu Myth it is not clear whether it is his temple that is referred to or merely house in a general sense; at all events the text attests to a layout which is similar to that of the previous passages.

⁶¹ The "house" in l. 60 is probably a temple or some other cult building. The ritual from which this passage is cited, takes place in Aštuvara (connected with Lawazantija). Cf. H. Otten, loc. cit., 142.

⁶² The *katapuzna*(-house) must be situated in the vicinity of the *ḫalentuwa*, i.e. the palace. In KBo X 24 III 18'ff. the (king's) coach is brought near the *k*. In IV 7ff. the queen's coach is brought in front of the gate of the *ḫalentuwa*, and from there the royal couple leaves together. In KUB XLIV 39 Vs. 6' *k*. has the determinative GIŠ.

Transliteration: E. Laroche, RHA 23/77, 1965, 97.

Translation: A. Goetze, ANET (1950), 128.

- Rs. IV 8 *pa-id-du* ^D*Te-li-pi-nu-ya-aš kar-pi-iš kar-di-mi-ia-az ya-aš-du-ul*
 9 *ša-a-u-ar pár-na-an-za-at tar-na-ú iš-tar-ni-ia-ša-at an-na-aš-na-an-za*
 10 *tar-na-ú* ^{GIŠ}*lu-ut-ta-an-za-at tar-na-ú ya-ya-ar-ki-ma iš-tar-ni-ia-ša-at*
 11 *hi-la-aš tar-na-ú KÁ.GAL-at*⁶³ *tar-na-ú hi-lam-na-an-za-at tar-na-ú*
 12 KASKAL.LUGAL-at *tar-na-ú* . . .
 Let Telipinus' rage, anger, malice, (and) fury depart!
 Let the house let them go, let the interior pillar(?)⁶⁴
 let them go, let the window let them go *wawarkima*⁶⁵
 let the interior courtyard let them go, let the gate
 let them go, let the gate-house let them go, let the road
 of the king let them go! . . .

Although some of the terms in the passage are not quite clear, the general meaning is obvious: the text enumerates a number of locations starting out from the innermost parts of the house and finally reaching the "road of the king". The stations important for us are: house inside — courtyard — gate — gate-house. Note the clear distinction made here between gate and gate-house (for this see below).

The quoted passages show a localization scheme gate-house (*hílam-mar*) — courtyard (*híla-*) — inner temple (and adyton) for the temples of ZABABA, Inar (= KAL), Hepat (not in Hattuša), and possibly also for the temple of Telipinu. As far as I know, no text can be cited in which these components are mentioned in a different order of localization (**híla-* — *hílam-mar* — inner temple). What was observed by Friedrich in 1927 on the basis of KBo IV 9, can now be generalized as a typical feature of various temples. This is in complete accordance with the Hittite temples excavated so far.⁶⁶

⁶³ The parallel passage in KUB XXXIII 24 (CTH 325) IV 3' has *KÁ-at*.

⁶⁴ For *annašnanza* cf. E. Laroche, BSL 57, 30.

⁶⁵ *wawarkima* - c. "Türangel", HW, 250. The syntactic connection of *w.* with the former is not clear. (Perhaps apposition to ^{GIŠ}*tuttanza*?).

⁶⁶ Cf. K. Bittel, Hattusha, 55: "The portal, the courtyard, and the adyton are therefore the basic elements, while the other parts could be designed more freely."

The cult activities in the temple are performed in all parts of it: the cult rooms, the courtyard and the gate-house. The latter appears frequently as the place where animal sacrifices are performed.⁶⁷ The offered animals are occasionally burnt there as an *ambašši* offering.⁶⁸

In KUB XLI 48 III 10'—15'⁶⁹ a bull, a calf and a sheep are offered to the Storm-God as *ambašši*. The calf and the sheep are burnt before the god (*PANI* DIM I. 12'), that is, in front of his statue in the adyton, whereas the bull is burnt, for obvious reasons, in the gate-house (III 14', IV 1'—2').

In KUB XXXIV 69+70 I 18'—19' also, the large cattle are sacrificed in the gate-house: (18') *ta* GUD.MAḪ^{HI.A} GUD.ÁB^{HI.A} UDU^{HI.A} *ḫa-ad-da-an-zi* [(19') *ta-aš-kán ḫa-at-ra-mu-uš¹ Ḫi-lam-ni an-da ar-kán[-zi* (18') They slay the bulls, the cows (and) the sheep [(19') and they are cut up to *ḫ*(?) inside the gate-house.⁷⁰

In KBo XVII 15 Vs. 9ff.⁷¹ the gate-house of the "Stone House" appears in similar context: a stallion, a cow and small livestock (a calf, a sheep and a lamb) are prepared in it for offering.

As the scene of ritual activities, the gate-house of the temple is cleaned and purified regularly. In KBo XIII 164 I 5'—7' this is done with sea-water (locality not preserved): (5') . . . *na-aš-ta* DINGIR^{LAM} *ku-e-da-aš A-NA É^{TIM} Ḫi-lam-ni-kán* (6') *an-da e-eš-ša-an-zi na-at a-ru-na-aš ú-<e>-te-ni-it pa-ap-pa-ar-aš-ša-an-zi* (7') [*na*]m-ma-at-kán *ša-an-ḫa-an-zi* " . . . And in which houses the God (is), they celebrate (him) in the gate-house. They sprinkle it (the gate-house) with sea-water; [fu]rther they sweep it."

The entrance of an unclean animal into the gate-house of the temple may stir the rage of the gods according to the oracle account KUB V 10+ Vs. 19—24 (CTH 567):⁷²

They wrote to me from the palace on the pollution case:
"In the temple of Ištar of Ninive a pollution was stated. We have questioned the men of the temple and this is what they said: 'A dog

⁶⁷ Cf. E. Laroche, RHA 9/49, 1948—49, 23, n. 11.

⁶⁸ For *ambašši* cf. V. Haas—G. Wilhelm, AOATS 3 (1974), 247.

⁶⁹ Cf. ib. 254f.

⁷⁰ Cf. further KBo XVI 78 IV 14—15 " . . . thirty male sheep (and) thirt[y] female sheep(?)] are prepared in the gate-house"; 246/s V 3 *ḫi-lam-ni ḫa-at-ta-an-t[a*; compare also KUB XXV 27 II 22'—23': (22') I GUD.MAḪ 5 UDU (23') *IŠ-TU KI.LAM ḫu-u-kán-du-uš pt-[an]-zi*.

⁷¹ Cf. H. Otten, OLZ 50, 1955, 391.

⁷² Cf. M. Vieyra, RA 51, 1957, 136. Compare the "Instruction for temple officials" (CTH 264) KUB XIII 4 I 20'ff.; III 65ff.

went up to the *hīlammar* and he came near the *ambašši* (-offering).⁷³ They killed him inside the aforementioned *hīlammar*.'” Because of that is the God angry? Let the *hurri*-bird be unfavourable. Not favourable.

5. *hīlammar in the palace*

The main source used for this category has been the Mešedi Instruction IBoT I 36.⁷⁴ This text⁷⁵ contains indeed information of primary importance to the investigation of architectural terms. It supplied the evidence for the identification of *Ḫalentuwa* with the palace.⁷⁶ The instructions are not bound to a specific locality, but we can assume that Ḫattuša served as the standard model. The text deals with topics common in the festival descriptions in greater detail.⁷⁷

Three sections (I 48—63) contain detailed instructions for the conduct of the bodyguards in the *hīlammar*:

Section 9 (I 48—52) forbids the bodyguard to enter into the *ḫ*. without authorization. Before he leaves the *ḫ*. through the side

⁷³ (21) ... UR.ZÍR-*ya-kán* (22) *Ḫi-lam-ni* UGU *pa-it nu-ya-ra-aš am-ba-aš-ši-ja-aš kat-ta-an a-ar-aš* Compare KUB XXV 22 Edge: (1) ... *na-aš-kán še-ir ḫi-lam-ni an-da* (2) *]am-ba-aš-ši-iš i-ja-an-za*.

⁷⁴ On *hīlammar* in this text cf. A. Goetze, AM, 204f., n. 1; E. Laroche, OLZ 57, 1962, 29—30; L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 11, 1965, 204; H. G. Güterbock, XIX Renc. Assyriol. (1974), 311ff.; id. RIA IV s.v. *Ḫilammar*.

⁷⁵ Treated by L. Jakob-Rost, op. cit., 165—225. For its dating before the middle of the 14th cent. cf. H. Otten apud H. G. Güterbock, op. cit., 311; H. A. Hoffner, JNES 31, 1972, 33.

⁷⁶ First suggested by L. Jakob-Rost, op. cit., 204 (“Wohnpalast”); K. Bittel, Hattusha (1970), 65f. identified the *ḫalentuwa* with the palace complex on the Büyükkale (cf. also H. A. Hoffner, JNES 31, 1972, 131). H. G. Güterbock, op. cit. provided further evidence and revised the definition to “palace as a whole”. We follow Güterbock’s definition and would like to add two more points to the evidence. The first was suggested by Prof. H. Otten: — In KUB XXXI 71 IV (cf. R. Werner, Festschrift Otten, 327ff.), in the queen’s dream, she is brought in IV 5 to her house and in IV 23f. to “some other *ḫalentuwa*”.

— The variation in two duplicates of the *Bēl Madgalti* Instruction (cf. E. von Schuler, AfO Beiheft 10, 51):

KUB XIII 2 IV (13) [*m*]a-ni-ja-aḫ-ḫi-ja-ták-kán ku-e É.GAL^{LIM}.ḪI.A.TIM É^{ḪI.A} BE-LU-TI-ja (14) [*an-d*]a na-aš-ta E.GIR-an ar-ḫa pu-nu-uš-ki ...

KUB XIII 24 (6) [*ḫa*]li-en-tu-u-ya-ja-ták-kán É.GAL^{ḪI}.A (7) [*ar-ḫ*]a pu-nu-uš-ki

⁷⁷ Numerous lexical similarities were found with the KI.LAM-Festival: *Ḫaš-kaštipa*, LÚ^{MEŠ}LIM ṢERI, LÚ^{MEŠ}NIMGIR ERÍN^{MEŠ}, *iškattah*.

entrance (*luštani*-)⁷⁸, he has to deposit his spear with the gate-keeper.

The following section (I 53—59) is a further elaboration of the previous prohibition, and divides the responsibilities between bodyguard and gatekeeper in case the former does not deposit his spear.⁷⁹

Section 11 (I 60—63) lays down the regulation for the bodyguards to leave only through the side entrance and not through the Great Gate (or Main Gate, GAL KÁ.GAL), which is reserved for persons of high rank. There is no reason not to connect the *luštani* in the first section with that in the third one. Therefore, it seems that all three paragraphs refer to the same gate-house (*ḫilammar*) which has a main and a side entrance.

Now, in the next passage the Main Gate apparently forms part of another structure, the *ḫkaškaštipa*- (I 66).⁸⁰ "The bodyguard, the "Man of the gold spear" and the gate-keeper go to the *ḫkaškaštipa*, lift the door-bolt of the Main Gate (GAL KÁ.GAL) and open the doors (^{G18}IGTIM)". Exactly the reverse action — the lowering of the door-bolt — is performed by the same persons in IV 25 ff. Here we have GAL *ḫkaškaštepa*. In a third occurrence connected with the door-bolt (I 8) we have *ḫgašgaštepa* alone. On comparing GAL KÁ.GAL, GAL *ḫkaškaštepa* and *ḫgašgaštepa*, it seems to me that GAL KÁ.GAL is the same as *ḫkaškaštipa*, rather than part of it. That two interchangeable terms alternate in the same passage is not unusual and is found elsewhere in this text (IV 14—17 where *ḫilammar* is synonymous to KÁ.GAL). E. Laroche, OLZ 57, 1962, 30 has shown that *kaškaštipa* is a reduplicated form, expressing intensification, of Proto-Hattian *kaštip* "gate". It is exactly the contrast between the main and the side entrance which is expressed by the intensification. Also the fourth occurrence of *kaškaštepa* in the text (II 28), points to the gate aperture rather than to the whole building: the head of the procession emerges from it. On returning, the mules

⁷⁸ That the *luštani* is part of the *ḫilammar* or is situated very close to it derives from the fact that the gate-keeper is responsible for both.

⁷⁹ This severe regulation recalls § 23 (second tablet) of the Hittite Law: "If somebody steals a bronze spear in (or from) the palace-gate he is punished with the death penalty (lit. he dies)."

⁸⁰ Previous interpretations of *ḫkaškaštipa*: L. Jakob-Rost, MIO 11, 1965, 206: "das Torgebäude des *ḫalantuwa*-Hauses"; E. Laroche, OLZ 57, 1962, 29—30: "*k.* est une autre désignation pour hittite *ḫilammar*."; H. G. Güterbock, XIX Renc. Assyriol., 312: "an elaborate gate structure, perhaps a propylon." Cf. also ib. n. 28 on p. 313.

emerge from the gate(-aperture) (KÁ.GAL IV 5f.). In the only occurrence of *k.* outside this text (KBo X 24 I 12), it is also used parallel to KÁ.GAL: "When these animals arrive from the upper *k.*, from the gate."⁸¹

The following emerges so far about the structure of the gate-house (*ḫilammar*) of the palace:⁸² it has a main entrance (*kaškaštiḫpa*- or GAL KÁ.GAL) and a side entrance (*luštani*-). The doors (*GIŠIG TIM*) of the main gate are locked by a metal bolt (*URUDUzakki*- cf. H. Otten, *Bagh. Mitt.* 3, 1964, 93), which apparently requires three persons to lift it. This massive gate is opened for the first time when the king departs from the *ḫalentuwa* (I 64ff.). The stereotyped phrase in festival texts *ḫalentuwa ḫaššanzi* might refer to this procedure. As soon as the procession returns and the king enters the palace, the gate is closed and locked again. In this gate-house the spears are deposited and the gate-keeper is responsible for their supervision.⁸³

In IBoT I 36 IV 14—17 the possibility is raised that the palace has two gate-houses:⁸⁴ "They shall not come up to the gate of the [pal]ace; but if (there are) two *ḫil[ammar]* they may come up to the lower gate but they may not come up to the upper gate." This passage evidently equates two *ḫilammar* with two gates of the palace, the upper and the lower one. The description of the procession's

⁸¹ (10) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma ki-e* (11) *ḫu-u-i-ta-a-ar ša-ra-az-zi-[ja-az]* (12) *ḫka-aš-ga-aš-ti-ḫa-az* (13) KÁ.GAL-*az hat-ta a-ri* // E. Laroche, op. cit. translates: "et lorsque ces animaux descendent au portail, (venant) du haut du *kaškaštiḫpa*". I prefer to regard KÁ.GAL-*az* as an explicative apposition to *k.* (quite apt for such a rare word), and *šarazzi[jaz]* as attribute.

⁸² Another term connected with the gate-house in this (I 70) and in other texts is the *ḫarkiu*, which was translated by Güterbock as "canopy" (XIX *Renc. Assyri.*, 312 and n. 26). I agree with Güterbock in deviating from the previous definitions which interpreted it as a cult building (E. Laroche, *RA* 47, 1953, 40; L. Jakob-Rost, *MIO* 11, 1965, 210), but I cannot follow his translation. My conclusions (the full argumentation of which I hope to present elsewhere) are that the *arkiu* is the "entrance", one of the spaces known as "Gate Chamber", "Gate Court" or both. The palace officials in IBoT I 36 and in the festival texts step to its right or left in order to enable the royal procession to pass through. There is possibly an etymological connection with *arkabinnu/i* (AHw. 69; CAD A/2 272; A. Salonen, *Die Türen*, 46), which is a Hurrian loan word meaning an "uncompleted door". (Compare the forms *ar-ga-u-i* KUB XXX 41 left edge 4; *ḫar-ka-u-ḫi[-ja]-a[iz]* KBo XI 47 I 4'; *ḫar-ga-ḫi* Bo 73/323 II 18').

⁸³ Compare also the description of the gate in the "Instruction for the Burgomaster", H. Otten, *Bagh. Mitt.* 3, 1964, 92f. and n. 9.

⁸⁴ Cf. H. G. Güterbock, XIX *Renc. Assyri.*, 311; *RIA* IV s.v. *ḫilammar*.

return seems to refer actually to two gates which are passed through (III 76ff., IV 3ff.; cf. H. G. Güterbock, XIX Renc. Assyr., 313). There is a good chance that this description reflects the situation in Ḫattuša at the time the text was composed.⁸⁵ H. Otten has expressed his view, that one should not compare the Middle Hittite text to the late thirteenth cent. remains of the Büyükkale.⁸⁶

The gate of the palace (^ḫ*ḫalentuwa*) is referred to in the festival texts under various denominations: *ḫilammar* — “gate-house” (KUB VII 25 I 8); *ḫilamnaš* KÁ.GAL — “the gate of the gate-house” (KUB X 3 I 15f.; XXV 18 II 3f.); KÁ — “gate” (KBo X 23 II 24'; KBo X 24 IV 8). *ḫilammar* always refers to the gate-house as a whole, whereas KÁ(.GAL)⁸⁷ can be used with a restricted meaning — “gate aperture” — or in a broader sense where it is interchangeable with *ḫilammar*.⁸⁸

In the Hittite Laws the gate of the palace, where the king sits as judge, is referred to also as *aška*.⁸⁹ (§ 187 LUGAL-*an aški* = §§ 198f. A-NA KÁ É.GAL LIM).

The gate-house of the palace is the starting point of festival processions in the capital and outside it. Here the king mounts and dismounts his vehicle (KUB XXV 18 II 1ff.; KBo VIII 119 Vs. 5'ff.) or his horse (KUB VII 25 I 8f.).

⁸⁵ An “upper *ḫilammar*” of the palace is known also from elsewhere: IBoT III 1 Vs. 10'; VAT 7470 I 15 (cf. H. Otten, OLZ 50, 1955, 390 and n. 2). To this must be compared the “upper *kaškaštiḫa*” in KBo X 24 I 11f. (cf. n. 81 above).

⁸⁶ Apud H. G. Güterbock, loc. cit., 311.

⁸⁷ The Hittite reading of KÁ(.GAL) is not known. H. Th. Bossert, OrNS 30, 1961, 199, n. 2 suggested **ḫilana*-. In view of *ḫilamnaš* KÁ.GAL this is hardly possible. KÁ and KÁ.GAL are almost fully interchangeable in Hittite, the difference being only in the intensification. It is questionable whether they have different readings in Hittite comparable to Akkadian *bābum* and *abullum*.

⁸⁸ Compare IBoT I 36 IV 14—17 quoted above. Compare also *turijaš* KÁ.GAL (KUB XXX 32 I 16) and *turijaš* ^ḫ*ḫilammar* (KUB II 3 V 31).

⁸⁹ *aška*- cannot be “door” as stated by A. Goetze, JCS 2, 1948, 232 since it never has a determinative and does not occur with *ḫeš-ḫaš*- “to open” which is the most frequent verb used with ^{GIŠ}IG. *aška*- seems to have an adverbial meaning and never a concrete one (attested only in the dimensional cases loc., dir., abl. Sg. and Pl.). This explains also the fact why in contrast to all other terms connected with gate or entrance which have either ^{GIŠ} or É as determinative, *aška*- does not. (Note IBoT II 12 l. 7' KÁ.GAL-*aš a-aš-ki* translated by Goetze, op. cit. “outside the gate”).

6. *hīlammar* in other contexts

In the previous sections the evidence for two well-attested groups of gate-houses has been treated: the *hīlammar* in the temple has enabled its identification and definition; the palace *hīlammar* has supplied further information concerning its structure and helped to distinguish it more clearly from neighbouring terms. For the semantic delimitation of *hīlammar* two more categories are of importance: private houses and city gates.

The private houses were included in Laroche's definition of the *hīlammar* (RHA 15/60, 19 quoted on p. 75f.). He defined the *hīlammar* as the "gate-house of the courtyard". In other words, only a gate-house which is divided from the main building by a courtyard is a *hīlammar*. Historically seen, this is probably true, since *hīlammar* is a derivative of *hīla-* "courtyard". But whether the term kept its original meaning or whether it was generalized for other types of gate-houses too, is not known. At present the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to answer the question decisively: the *hīlammar* of the five temples and of the palace⁹⁰ answer the demands of Laroche's definition — they all give access to a courtyard. Three further buildings which have a *hīlammar* according to the texts — *Éhešta-*, *É.NA₄* and *É KUŠkuršaš* (cf. section 3) — are not identified archaeologically. As far as I can see, no courtyard (*hīla-*) of these buildings is attested in the texts, but that may be incidental. The question of whether a gate-house which is attached directly to the main building was also called *hīlammar*, must await more archaeological identifications.

In private houses: Our main source for this category is the ritual and magical texts (CTH 390—500). When the object of the magical act, a house or a person, is not more precisely defined, we have to assume that the locality in which the ceremony takes place can be any given building, public or private.

The purification ritual KUB VII 41 opens with the words:⁹¹ "When a house is purified from blood (shed), contamination, mutilation and perjury ...". In I 22f. earth (or mud) is taken from the courtyard and from the *hīlammar*. In II 71—72, from the house and the *hīlammar*. These terms were compared by A. Goetze with Akkadian *eper bīti*

⁹⁰ Cf. K. Bittel, Hattusha (1970), 81 for the plausible identification of a *hīlammar* with the Gate Building connecting the Lower and the Middle courts on the Büyükkale (ib. fig. 95 on p. 75).

⁹¹ Cf. H. Otten, ZA 54, 1961, 116f.

and *eper bābi|abulli*.⁹² Again we are confronted with the three components of the house, only in this case the order cannot be determined.

The gate-house plays an important role in magical rituals of this type. Near the entrance artificial gates made of wood or reeds are built, through which the person being treated is led. By this procedure the evil forces are banned and kept away from the actual gate of the house.⁹³

Mention should also be made here of the passage which raises the possibility of the non-existence of a *ḫilammar*: KBo V 2 IV 3—6 completed with the help of dupl. Bo 3355 Rs. 11 ff. (CTH 471 Ammi-ḫatna ritual; cf. H. G. Güterbock, RIA IV s.v. *Ḫilammar*).

- 3 DUG^h*ḫu-up-r*]u-uš-*ḫi-e-eš ḫa-an-da-an-te-eš*
 4 [*ma-a-an* (^E*ḫi-lam-mar e-eš*)]-zi nu-uš-kán *ḫi-lam-ni an-da*
 5 [(*i-e-zi*) *ma-a-an*] ^E*ḫi-lam-mar-ma* NU.GÁL nu-uš-kán *šu-uh-ḫi*
 6 [*še-ir*] *i-e-zi*

“*ḫupr*]uš*ḫi*(-vessels) are prepared. [If] there is a *ḫilammar*, he makes them in the *ḫilammar*; [but] if there is no *ḫilammar* he makes them up on the roof.”

That the *ḫilammar* is not an indispensable component of every building is clear from its definition and has already been pointed out by J. Friedrich (on the basis of this passage). If a common factor for the *ḫilammar* and the roof which serves here as its substitute, is to be found, one may conclude that the ritual is performed in both cases in the open air. In that event, we miss the courtyard. Does the absence of a *ḫilammar* also imply the lack of a courtyard (*ḫila*-)? This would support Laroche's definition.

ḫilammar as city-gate: This category can hardly be examined conclusively for lack of comparative material. A systematic investigation of the names of the city gates of Ḫattuša has not yet been carried through.⁹⁴ A group of gate names in the texts is characterized by the fact that they are not known to belong to a specific building (in contrast to gates of various temples, of the palace and of other buildings):⁹⁵

⁹² The Hittite Ritual of Tunnawi (1938), 66, notes 234—235.

⁹³ Cf. H. Otten, AfO 16, 1952, 69—71; A. Goetze, Kleinasien² (1957), 159. *ḫilammar* in ritual contexts: KUB XXXV 39 + II 18; XXXV 43 II 32f.; XXXIX 48 l. 7'; XLI 1 IV 10f. (= L. Jakob-Rost, TdH 2, Rs. IV 12f.); KBo X 42 l. 9'; Bo 7833 II 5.

⁹⁴ Cf. e.g. the “Tawiniša Gate” in Garstang-Gurney, The Geography (1959), 11.

⁹⁵ Some of them were listed by H. Otten, Festschrift Friedrich, 357.

- ašušaš* KÁ.GAL KUB II 3 III 47 (with dupl. Bo 2505 III 14'); X 1 I 9'; XX 2 IV 24'; KBo X 27 III 4', IV 28'; Bo 2393+5138 I 25 (cf. H. Otten, loc. cit. n. 95, 352ff.); Bo 2692 V 20'—21'; 155/w l. 14'; Bo 68/215 V 19'
- hanišaš* KÁ.GAL KUB XXVI 9 I 17; XXX 32 I 16; XXXIV 70 I 19; KBo X 24 V 19; X 35 I 3'; Bo 4996 left col. 8', 11'; 1923/c Rs. 30'
- kupallaš* KÁ.GAL KBo XXI 95 I 18'
- puhlaš* KÁ.GAL IBoT I 27 l. 5'; ABoT 6 Rs. 10'; 54/s l. 11'
- turišaš* KÁ.GAL KUB XX 4 V 9'(?); XXX 32 I 16

As mentioned above, no “*ašuša*-house”, “*haniša*-house”, etc. is attested. It would be possible to propose that these are city-gates. The proof has still to be produced.

Now, *turišaš* KÁ.GAL in the list above, can be compared with [t]u-u-ri-ša-aš ^hhi-lam-ni in KUB II 3 V 31 (Dupl. Bo 2505 V 5' has ^hi-lam-na-aš). If our assumption on the nature of these gates is correct, the two parallel forms provide support for including the city-gates in the *hīlammar* definition.⁹⁶

hīlammar in a collective sense is found in the *Bēl Madgalti* Instruction (cf. E. von Schuler, AfO Beiheft 10, 45) col. II 21—22. The drains (*artaḫiuš*) of the “washing-house” (É.DU₁₀.ÚS.SA), of the house of the “cup-bearer” (LÚŠILA.ŠU.DU₈) and of the *hīlammar* must be kept in constant movement. Von Schuler provided the archaeological material for comparison from Boğazköy (ib. 54). Very frequently the outlet of the drainage systems was taken through the city-gates, since these were situated on a low topographical level.⁹⁷ A good example is found in the Hittite level in Alaca Hüyük.⁹⁸

Unclear contexts

- 112/x Vs. 9' IŠ-TU É URUḪu-^pt]-iš-na 3 UDU^{HI.A} ^{pt}-an-zi
 10' IŠ-TU É URUTu-^{ya}-nu]-^{ya} 3 UDU^{HI.A} ^{pt}-an-zi
 11' IŠ-TU] É URUNi-na-aš-ša ^p[t-a]n-z[i]
 12']x-pát 3 ^hhi-lam-ma[r

⁹⁶ A further case depends on the equation *hīlammar* = KI.LAM (cf. section 7): KBo X 24 V (19) ^h]a-a-ni-ša-aš KÁ.GAL (20) Š]À KI.LAM-ni In spite of the broken context, when compared with the previous sections, it is very probable that in both lines the same locality is meant.

⁹⁷ Cf. R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasiens* (1971), 197ff.

⁹⁸ Ib. p. 200; H. Z. Koşay—M. Akok, *Alaca Höyük Kazisi 1940—1948* (1966), figs. 94ff. Cf. also K. Bittel, *Hattusha*, 69 fig. 16/B, the drain under the City Gate.

Compare KUB X 48 II 6—8⁹⁹: (6) ... *a-da¹-an-na-ma-aš-ši a-k[u-an-na]* (7) 3 É^{MEŠ}GAL ŠA É.GAL URUNi-na-aš-ša É URU[Tu-ya-nu-ya] (8) É.GAL URUḪu-ḫi-iš-na-ja ar-ta-ri ...

Also KBo X 24 IV 33 (completed with dupl. KUB II 10a l. 14')

IŠ-TU É URUN]e-na-aš-ša; V I IŠ-T]U É URUTu-u-ya-nu-ya; V II IŠ-TU] É URUḪu-u-ḫi-<iš-> na

The three "houses" or "great houses" of Ḫuḫiḫiḫi, Tuwanuwa and Ninašša are store-houses supplying provisions during the festivals.¹⁰⁰ The three É^{ḫilammar} in 112/x Vs. 12' must refer to the three "houses" above. Perhaps the KI.LAM-Festival indicates a possible solution (cf. below in section 7): The king inspects the provisions given by the administrators (L^UAGRIG) of various towns. In two parallel fragments we hear that the administrators are standing in the gates of their respective "houses".

— The enigmatic passage from the *Šar Tamḫari* fragment KBo XXII 6 (cf. H. G. Güterbock, MDOG 101, 1969, 14 ff.), in which three different trees (or wood?) are apparently growing at the *ḫilammar* (IV 14', 17', 20') remains hard to understand in spite of the fact that the whole context has been preserved. I strongly suspect that only the city-gate can be meant, which in the next lines (23' ff.) is demolished together with the city walls, but I am unable to prove it. *ḫilammar* appears also in another fragment of the epic, KBo III 9 l. 8'. In looking for the corresponding term in the EA 359 version, H. G. Güterbock, ZA 44, 1938, 47 suggested "palace". If there is any correspondence, I would see it rather in KÁ.GAL (Rs. 8, 10).¹⁰¹

— A rare occurrence in a historical text is found in Frag. 25 (KUB XXXIV 23 I 8') of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (cf. H. G. Güterbock, JCS 10, 1956, 83). The passage in which "father, mother and brothers" are apparently paralleled by "father, mother and *ḫilammar*!" remains obscure. The following passage (completed by the dupl. KUB XL 8, cf. H. Klengel, Oriens Antiquus 7, 1968, 66 ff.) deals with the "repatriation" of NAM.RA-men of Ḫatti. Perhaps the context in our passage is similar: somebody is brought back to his own father, mother and "gate-house", in the meaning "to his own house"(?).

7. (É)*ḫilammar* = KI.LAM.¹⁰²

The evidence for KI.LAM is discussed separately for methodological reasons: although the equation is more than probable and is generally accepted,¹⁰³ a definite proof is still lacking. Despite the numerous occurrences, the two terms never alternate in duplicates.

⁹⁹ Cf. H. G. Güterbock, JNES 20, 1961, 89.

¹⁰⁰ Following H. G. Güterbock, ib. (not temples!, id. XIX Renc. Assyr., 306 n. 4).

¹⁰¹ Cf. A. F. Rainey, AOAT 8 (1970), 10.

¹⁰² For the phonetical complements of KI.LAM cf. section 2.

¹⁰³ A. Goetze and H. G. Güterbock cf. discussion above; E. Laroche, OLZ 57, 1962, 29 (emend Laroche's reading of KBo X 23 III 18"—19" to É^{ḫi-lam-na-aš-ša} KÁ.GAL-aš); H. A. Hoffner, RHA 25/80, 1967, 45; J. Friedrich, HW 281; Erg. 2, 30 (with question mark).

There remains also the unexplained fact that, with one exception, KI.LAM does not have a determinative, whereas *ḫilammar* has É in the majority of its occurrences.

The equation was suggested by A. Goetze in 1933.¹⁰⁴ His arguments were as follows:

- 1) Along with some occurrences where the meaning "market-price" (*maḫīrum*) is applicable, most occurrences of KI.LAM in the Hittite texts point to a locality for its meaning.
- 2) ^ÉKI.LAM-*ni* and ^É*ḫilamni* alternate in two parallel passages — KUB XI 23 V 18 and KUB X 28 I 8 respectively. (J. Friedrich, KIF I 92 n. 1 considered the former to be a phonetic variant ^É*kilamni*; cf. also E. H. Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language, 72).
- 3) In the mutilated passage KUB XX 4 VI KI.LAM-*ni* in l. 3' is followed by *ḫilamnaz* in l. 4'.¹⁰⁵

In the light of the above mentioned colophon H. G. Güterbock concluded that KI.LAM in EZEN KI.LAM refers to the building *ḫilammar*.¹⁰⁶ However, the connection between the name of the festival and the events taking place in it, remained obscure according to Güterbock's interpretation of *ḫilammar* as a "hall."¹⁰⁷

The festival was characterized by H. G. Güterbock as follows:¹⁰⁸ "It describes in detail the "sortie" of the king, how he moves from one gate of the palace to the next, and how several objects are carried along in procession while he is waiting at the gate . . . Afterward, when the royal couple reaches the temple of the Grain-goddess, the *abarakkū* of various towns present them with the produce that was brought from the storehouses belonging to their respective towns, storehouses which were no doubt located in the capital."

¹⁰⁴ AM (MVAeG 38), 204f. n. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Colophon of the "First day" of the KI.LAM-Festival.

x + 1 *ḫa-an]-te-iz-zi-ja ši-i-ya-at*
 2'] GAL-in ši-i-ja-ma-na-an
 3' [*ma-a-an LUGAL-uš*] KI.LAM-*ni* 3-ŠU e-ša
 4' ^{NA}*ḫu-ya-š]i-ja(?) a-a-ri Ū-UL QA-TI*

Compare also KBo X 28 + IV 6—8.

¹⁰⁶ KBo X Inhaltsübersicht ad no. 23; RIA IV s. v. *ḫilammar*.

¹⁰⁷ id. RIA IV: "Ein Teil des KI.LAM-Festes besteht darin, daß der König Lieferungen verschiedener Städte inspiziert; das findet zwar nicht in einem *ḫ.* statt, könnte aber trotzdem allenfalls dem Namen des Festes zugrunde liegen."

¹⁰⁸ XVII Renc. Assyr. 1969, 178f.

In the course of the preparation of my dissertation on the KI.LAM-Festival, more evidence accumulated for this aspect. In two fragments parallel to the second (KBo X 24) and the beginning of the third (KUB X 1) tablets, we hear that the administrators (L^UAGRIG) of the different towns are standing in the gate of their respective "houses".¹⁰⁹ They pay homage to the king and a libation ceremony is performed. This additional evidence confirms the observation made by Güterbock that the gates play a central role in the events of this festival. In the light of this aspect, the name of the festival and the sentence appearing in the colophon of its tablets¹¹⁰ become intelligible and at the same time further support becomes available for the equation KI.LAM = *hīlammar* = "gate-house".

KI.LAM with the original meaning "market-price" is attested in omen texts.¹¹¹ Its Hittite reading is a neuter stem on *-tar* (KUB VIII 22 II 4).

In two combinations it is not clear whether KI.LAM should be translated as "market" or as "gate-house": GAL KI.LAM and ^{DU}KI.LAM. The context in which GAL KI.LAM occurs in Bo 73/173¹¹² — with the merchants of Kaniš(!) — might point to a connection with the market.¹¹³ In KUB XXXIV 102 III 12' GAL L^UMEŠ KI.LAM[appears with SANGA(-priests) in a broken context. A parallel with L^U*hīlamnaš* EN-aš (KUB XLII 87 V 13') cannot be excluded.

The fact that *hīlammar* is always connected with ^{DU}TUTU¹¹⁴, does suggest for ^{DU}KI.LAM¹¹⁵ a connection with the market.¹¹⁶ On the

¹⁰⁹ KBo XVI 82 l. (4') ... I-NA KÁ É URUSu-uk-z[i-ia] (5') [L^UAGRIG-ŠU hi-]ik-ta ...; (8') ... I-NA] KÁ É URUA-an-ku-ya L^UAGRIG-ŠU (9') [hi-ik-ta ...; 1082/c Rs. IV (10) ... I-NA KÁ É URUZa-al-la-ra (11) [L^UAGRIG-ŠU hi-ik-ta ...

¹¹⁰ mān LUGAL-uš KI.LAM-ni 3-ŠU eša (The "three times" refers to the three days of the festival. The evidence will be presented in the dissertation).

¹¹¹ Cf. K. Riemschneider, StBoT 9, 71; H. Berman, Festschrift Güterbock, 62.

¹¹² Bo 73/173 IV² 5'] L^UMEŠUM-MI-A-AN GAL KI.LAM

6' L^U].MEŠDAM.GĀR URUKa-ni-i[š

7' UR]UŠa-la-ti-ya-ra[

8']x L^UDAM.GĀR URUTa-[

¹¹³ Compare Old Assyrian GAL/rabi mahirim, AhW 584a; K. R. Veenhof, Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology (Leiden 1972), 394f.

¹¹⁴ KUB XXXV 84 II 10'; VBoT 2 l. 17'; Bo 2575 IV 2; Bo 2616 II 12; KUB XXV 37 IV 10' ^D[

¹¹⁵ KBo V 3 I 44; KUB XV 24 IV 7'; XIX 50 IV 1; XX 2 III 14, 17; XX 90 III 16; XXI 1 IV 4; XXIII 11 III 2; XXV 49 III 29'; XLIV 30 r. col. 3'.

¹¹⁶ A. Goetze, AM, 204, n. 1.

other hand, the comparison with the "Stormgod of the gate"¹¹⁷ supports the meaning "Stormgod of the gate-house".

In the remaining occurrences¹¹⁸ KI.LAM appears either in the combination EZEN KI.LAM¹¹⁹, or as a locality.

To the occurrences evaluated by A. Goetze, AM, 204 n. 1 a few more occurrences in larger contexts are added in the following:

- 428/t + 282/t. Invocation in Old Hittite ductus.
 Vs. ?9' $\text{ᵀKa-at-te-eš-ḫa-ḫi}$ LUGAL-u-i URUḪa-at-[tu-ša-az]
 10' *kat-ta a-aš-šu-u ú-tir na-at kat-ta* KI.L[AM-na ú-tir(?)]
 11' GAL^{HI.A} SIG₅-an-da GUŠKIN-an SIG₅-an-da[-an
 12' *na-at kat-ta* KI.LAM-na ú-[tir]
 9' For Katešḫawi, the King¹²⁰, [from] Ḫat[tuša]
 10' they brought down goods. And [they brought(?)] it down
 [to] the KI.L[AM]
 11' Good cups, good gold[
 12' And [they] br[ought] it down to the KI.LAM.
- 365/i 4']x-zi *ḫal-ku-e-eš-sar* NINDA.KUR₄.RA^{MEŠ}[
 5']^{KUŠNÍG.BÀR^{HI.A}} GAL-kán KÁ DINGIR^{LIM}[
 6']ŠA KI.LAM UGU ú-da-an-zi[
 7' *ḫa-aš]-ša-an-zi* ^{KUŠNÍG.BÀR}-aš-ta uš-ši-[ja-an-zi
- Bo 181 (cf. ZA 53, 1959, 176, n. 12)
 5' LU[GAL-uš-š]a-an ku-ut-ti ša-ra-a
 6' []x KI.LAM LUGAL-i-kán
 7' [*me-na-aḫ-ḫ*]a-an-da ḫu-u-kán-zi
 8' LU[GAL]x KÁ.GAL É ᵀŠi-šum-ma

Compare the sacrificing of animals in the *ḫilammar* of the temple (section 4 above).

— 155/w

- 6' *ḫi-l]am-na-aš* KÁ.GAL-aš a-ri
 7'] a-aš-ki a-ri AMA.DING[IR^{LIM}
 8' *ku-i]t-ma-an* LUGAL-uš KI.L[AM

If one accepts the equation KI.LAM = *ḫilammar*, then this raises the question of how KI.LAM came to have this meaning which occurs only at Boğazköy.

H. G. Güterbock, RIA IV, s.v. Ḫilammar, suggested that the equation rests on the phonetic similarity, but the connection between the

¹¹⁷ ᵀJU KÁ.GAL (KUB XXV 32 I 21'); ᵀU GIŠKÁ (KUB XXXVIII 6 I 25').

Cf. M. Darga—A. M. Dinçol, *Anatolica* 3, 1969—70, 100, 113.

¹¹⁸ See also URUKI.LAM in n. 47.

¹¹⁹ *ḫuruli* KI.LAM in KUB XXII 31 Vs. ?15' which is parallel to *ḫuruli* URU Nerik (7', 12') is not clear. (Cf. A. Goetze, AM, 204 n. 1).

¹²⁰ Or vocative: Katešḫawi, King!

meanings of Akkadian KI.LAM/*maḫīrum* "market-price, market" and his translation of *ḫilammar* as "hall" remains unclear.¹²¹

B. Landsberger, Suppl. Vetus Test. (Festschrift W. Baumgartner), 1967, 184, n. 2¹²², suggested a connection between *ḫilammar* and Old Babylonian *bīt maḫīrim* (É.KI.LAM).¹²³ This may be correct, but the exact definition and localization of the latter, and thus its connection with *ḫilammar*, are problematical.¹²⁴

Another use of *maḫīru(m)* might throw further light on the origin of the equation: *bāb maḫīri(m)* "market gate". K. R. Veenhof brought together the evidence for *bāb maḫīrim* in the Cappadocian texts.¹²⁵ He also adduced a Nuzi text where the term *ašar maḫīri ina Nuzi* ("on the market in Nuzi") replaces the usual formula that a document had been drawn up *ina bāb abullim* ("at/in the entrance of the city-gate").¹²⁶ He concludes: "This underlines the role played by the city-gate not only in juridical, but also in economic matters."¹²⁷

Now, the Hittites possessed a word phonetically resembling the logogram KI.LAM and meaning "gate-house". One may perhaps assume that the twofold resemblance, phonetic and semantic, created the equation KI.LAM = *ḫilammar*. The nearest place to look for the origin of the equation would be Kaniš, but here *maḫīrum* is always written syllabically.¹²⁸ Thus the process, if correctly interpreted, must have originated in some other place, possibly in North Syria.

¹²¹ "Die Verbindung zwischen den Bedeutungen von KI.LAM akk. *maḫīru* "Gegenwert, Kaufpreis" und "Markt", einerseits und von heth. *ḫ*. "Halle" andererseits ist nicht klar, es sei denn, daß sich Handel vorzugsweise in Pfeilerhallen abgespielt hätte."

¹²² I wish to thank Nadav Na'aman (Tel-Aviv) for calling my attention to this note.

¹²³ "Ich kann leider auf die — nach Auskunft von Güterbock reichlich komplizierten hethitischen Termini (É)*ḫilammar*, Logogramme KI.LAM Friedrich Wb. 281 nicht eingehen. Doch mag der bautechnische Terminus sehr wohl zurückgehen auf das altbab. *bīt maḫīrim* "marktbudenartiger Vorbau zu einem Hause."

For É.KI.LAM cf. also K. R. Veenhof, ADATT 390, n. 516 with further bibl. For an Old Assyrian occurrence cf. P. Garelli, RA 59, 1965, 174.

¹²⁴ AHW. 583 1c "etwa Wechselstube?"; A. L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, 129 "a small shop, possibly for luxury items".

¹²⁵ Loc. cit. 394f. For Old Babylonian he cites an isolated occurrence of *ká* KI.LAM (ib. 354 and n. 474).

¹²⁶ ib. 353.

¹²⁷ ib. Cf. also Oppenheim, loc. cit., 128f.

¹²⁸ Veenhof, loc. cit. 390ff.

Hieroglyphic Luwian **hilana*¹²⁹

In a short article which appeared in 1933¹³⁰, H. Th. Bossert suggested the syllabic value **hilana* for a pictogram appearing four times on the great door-jamb inscription of Katuwa in Carchemish.¹³¹ It illustrates a monumental gate-house, the second storey of which has a window (Meriggi, Glossar no. 217; Laroche, HH no. 238; see fig. on p. 98). It is complemented with *-lana*. Bossert expressed his hope that the new evidence would end the long dispute on *bīt hilāni* in favour of a gate-house.

The full archaeological data of the inscription were not presented until 1952 with the publication of Carchemish III.¹³² The slab containing the Katuwa Inscription was found in situ forming the western jamb of the King's Gate. In the inscription Katuwa reports on the erection of the gate-house (GATE-*lana*), in which he installed the god Atarsuḫa.¹³³ This Atarsuḫa is the statue of a seated god (B 25) found in situ at the entrance of the King's Gate in proximity to the inscription itself.¹³⁴ Thereby a definite archaeological identification of GATE-*lana* was established with the gate-house leading from the Processional Entry to the Inner Court.¹³⁵

Apart from the four occurrences in the long Katuwa Inscription, the word is possibly attested in the Lion Inscription A 14b of Astu-

¹²⁹ I wish to thank Dr. D. Ussishkin (Tel-Aviv) for his comments on this chapter.

The following abbreviations are used in this chapter:

HL = Hieroglyphic Luwian

HHL = J. D. Hawkins, Anna Morpurgo-Davies and G. Neumann, *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New evidence for the connection*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Nr. 6, 1973 (Ausgegeben Sept. 1974).

Laroche, HH = E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites. Première partie: L'écriture* (Paris 1960).

Meriggi, Glossar = P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-Hethitisches Glossar* (Wiesbaden 1962).

Meriggi, Manuale = P. Meriggi, *Manuale di eteo geroglifico*, 2 vols. (Roma 1966, 1967).

¹³⁰ "Bīt hilāni — des Rätsels Lösung?", AfO 9, 1933—34, 127.

¹³¹ D. G. Hogarth, Carchemish I (1914), pl. A. 8 (= A. 11).

¹³² Pp. 202f., 243 and pls. 43a, 47a.

¹³³ Cf. Meriggi, Manuale II No. 21.

¹³⁴ R. D. Barnett, Carchemish III, 260.

¹³⁵ *ib.*; cf. also P. Meriggi, RSO 29, 1954, 10.

watimanza, but unfortunately the original location of this statue is a disputed matter.¹³⁶

The reading proposed by Bossert for the sign Meriggi 217, if accepted, would provide a final answer to the question of the archaeological identification of the *bīt ḫilāni*. However, it should be remembered that at the time Bossert advanced his theory, there was already a long established view current, which on the basis of the NA descriptions identified the *bīt ḫilāni* with a North Syrian/Anatolian palace, the most characteristic element of which is a pillared hall entrance.¹³⁷ In Carchemish itself the term was applied to by the excavators to a structure of this type.¹³⁸

The reading **ḫilana* proposed by Bossert was accepted by some scholars (although with some reservation)¹³⁹ and regarded with scepticism by others.¹⁴⁰ In an article discussed in the previous chapter (cf. n. 140) R. Naumann rejected Bossert's suggested reading, by departing from the interpretation of Hittite *ḫilammar*, which in his opinion is a hall and not a gate. The complementation *-lana* he considered to be incidental.¹⁴¹ On the other hand he proposed the reading **ḫilana* for another hieroglyph (Meriggi 218 complemented with *-na*) found on an inscription from Çalapverdi,¹⁴² in which he recognized a two-pillared portico.¹⁴³ This reading was not accepted by Laroche and Meriggi.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁶ According to Sir L. Woolley's reconstruction (Carchemish III, 163; accepted by H. G. Güterbock, JNES 13, 1954, 104 and J. D. Hawkins, AnSt 22, 1972, 97) it formed one of the doorjambs of the Staircase Gate leading to the Citadel. This location was questioned by P. Meriggi, op. cit. 2f. and D. Ussishkin, JNES 26, 1967, 87ff.

¹³⁷ Cf. the bibl. in Th. A. Busink, Der Tempel von Jerusalem (1970), 541, n. 154.

¹³⁸ Cf. Carchemish III, pls. 38, 41 and esp. p. 176 n. 1.

¹³⁹ R. D. Barnett, Carchemish III, 260; P. Meriggi, Glossar, no. 217 with question-mark, but cf. id. RSO 29, 1954, 10; Manuale I, 37 § 36; Manuale II, 59ff., 87ff., 97; E. Laroche, HH, no. 238 (ad A 11c 6) with question-mark, but cf. RHA 15/60, 1957, 19; J. Friedrich, HW Erg. 2, 45 with question-mark.

¹⁴⁰ R. Naumann, Yazılıkaya (WVDOG 61, 1941), 48 (cf. discussion above); H. G. Güterbock, RIA IV, s. v. ḫilammar; J. D. Hawkins, AnSt 22, 1972, 100.

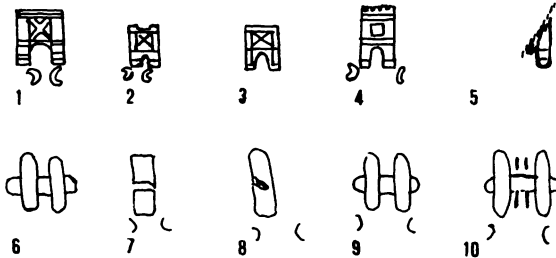
¹⁴¹ Naumann, loc. cit., 48, n. 7.

¹⁴² I. J. Gelb, OIP XLV (1939), pls. XXVIII—XXIX.

¹⁴³ What is actually visible on the photograph and drawing in Gelb, op. cit. are several vertical lines equally distanced from each other. In the drawing reproduced in Yazılıkaya p. 48 the shading of the space between the "pillars" is of course an interpretation.

¹⁴⁴ Laroche, HH, no. 251/1 (grouped together with a somewhat similar sign which is read GRANDE MAISON = Palace); Meriggi, Glossar, no. 218.

The **hīlana* question was raised again with the discovery of the bilingual inscriptions of Karatepe. The Phoenician and HL versions written on the slabs flanking the two gates of the fortress¹⁴⁵ are not identical, but the parallel is very close. In the typical curse formula at the end of the text, the structure in which the inscription was found is identified in Phoenician four times as *šʿr*. The corresponding HL section of the inscription was made available for the first time through the photographs published by E. Akurgal in *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (München 1961), pls. 144 ff. These and several other photographs¹⁴⁶ enabled P. Meriggi to reconstruct the section in his *Manuale II*, 86f. The HL forms parallel to Phoenician *šʿr* along with their contexts were treated by Bossert in a separate article.¹⁴⁷ Under these circumstances it is understandable that the copies of Bossert and Meriggi differ in some of the crucial points. F. Steinherr, *MSS 32*, 1974, 103 ff. presented recently an edition (in the analytical system used by Bossert) and a treatment of the whole passage, which will be followed here.



For the convenience of the reader the occurrences of the word in question (with accompanying demonstrative pronoun) in Carchemish and in Karatepe will be reproduced in the following with the modifications of HHL. The reproductions of the pictogram are according to the edition in Carchemish I and II and for Karatepe according to Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter*, pls. 146—148. For no. 10 cf. Bossert—Çambel, *Karatepe, A Preliminary Report on a New Hittite Site*, 1946, pls. VIII—IX, figs. 14, 15, 20 (reproduced in Meriggi, *Manuale II*, 98).

1.	Carchemish A II a 4	<i>za-ja</i> GATE- <i>lá-na</i>
2.	„ A II a 5	<i>za-ja</i> GATE- <i>na</i>
3.	„ A II a 5	<i>za-ja-ti-za</i> GATE- <i>na-za</i>
4.	„ A II c 6	GATE- <i>lá-nl-si-i-zi</i>
5.(?)	„ A I4 b 3	<i>za-ja</i> G[ATE]- <i>lá-n[a</i>

¹⁴⁵ Cf. H. Th. Bossert in *Karatepe Kazıları* (Ankara 1950), 60 ff. and pls. IX—X (Reproduced in Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien*, figs. 404—405).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Meriggi, *Manuale II*, 95 f.

¹⁴⁷ “*Bit hīlani und Anderes*”, *OrNS 30*, 1961, 199—202 and pl. XLIV.

6.	Karatepe Hu LXII 344	GATE- <i>la-na-i</i> ?(-) <i>zi-n</i> or GATE- <i>la-na-i</i> ?- <i>na-zi</i>
7.	„ „ LXV 356	222 a- <i>la-na za-ḫa</i>
8.	„ „ LXVII 364	222 a- <i>la-na</i>
9.	„ „ LXXI 381	<i>za-ḫa</i> GATE- <i>la-na</i>
10.	„ Ho „ „	

Remarks:

To no. 6 The reading of 344 is problematical (cf. Steinherr, loc. cit., 107). From the context and the comparison with the Phoenician version one would expect, with Steinherr, a locative + a demonstrative pronoun.

To no. 8 In spite of the minor differences to no. 7 (the rounded corners and the central stripe) no. 8 represents probably the same sign (correct Meriggi's reading).

Phoenician *ḫ* is rendered in HL by two different signs:

- a) In LXII and LXXI (nos. 6, 9, 10) by a pictogram described by Bossert as a fence. In LXXI it is marked as an ideogram, in LXII it is not. Bossert suggested for it the value *ḫila* (by connecting "fence" and "courtyard"), i.e. in the first case as an ideogram, in the second as a syllabic sign for *ḫi*. Steinherr, loc. cit., 116 identified the pictogram as a door-bolt. Closer observation of the pictogram in Ho (no. 10) shows that it could also be a stylized variant of the monumental representation in Carchemish, the gate aperture and the window being marked by two small lines. Accordingly, Meriggi groups it together with 217 (both read *HILAN*). The omission of the ideogram markings occurs also in Carchemish in one case (A 11a 5) and does not affect the reading.
- b) In LXV and LXVII (nos. 7, 8) the introductory ideogram is Meriggi 222a (= Laroche 239) which is described by Bossert as "Türflügel mit eisernem? Band". In both cases it has the ideogram markings. Its phonetic complements are the same as for 217 and it is most probable that 217 and 222a are interchangeable ideograms for the same word. Bossert's reading of 222a as *KÁ. GAL* is not acceptable.¹⁴⁸

The word is a neuter stem, as is shown by the demonstrative pronouns.¹⁴⁹ The attested forms are all plural¹⁵⁰: acc. pl. GATE-*lana*;

¹⁴⁸ Cf. above n. 87.

¹⁴⁹ Bossert, OrNS 30, 1961, 200; Meriggi, Manuale I, 37 § 36; HHL, 177.

¹⁵⁰ Meriggi, ib.; otherwise Bossert, op. cit. and F. Steinherr, MSS 32, 1974, 113 ad no. 364. Compare the paradigm of HL *parna*- "house" J. D. Hawkins, AnSt 22, 1972, 112 and HHL, 176.

genitival adjective (in acc. pl.) GATE-*lanisinzi*; dat. pl. GATE-*nanza*.¹⁵¹

The Karatepe evidence has not provided the conclusive proof for Bossert's theory, but it helps to bring the evidence and its implications for the *bīt hilāni* problem into focus. Once again the ideogram in question is identified archaeologically with a monumental gate-house. The acceptance of the reading **hilana* automatically implies that the King's Gate in Carchemish and the citadel gates of Karatepe are *hilana*, with all the implications to be derived for the long-discussed *bīt hilāni* problem.¹⁵²

It is now in order to re-examine the arguments which were raised against the reading **hilana* for Meriggi 217. They were summarized recently by H. G. Güterbock in RIA IV s.v. *Ḫilammar*: The pictogram differs from a) Hittite *ḫilammar* (as described in the entry by Güterbock) b) from Neo-Assyrian (*bīt*)*hilāni* c) and from the building type named "Hilani" in the research.

With regard to the comparison with Hittite *ḫilammar*, it should be noted that a discrepancy exists only if one accepts Naumann's and Güterbock's interpretation ("hall, portico") which we questioned in the previous chapter. According to the usual definition and identification as "gate-house", not only does Hittite *ḫilammar* not contradict the reading **hilana*, but in fact fully supports it. The structure

¹⁵¹ A further pictogram representing a gate is found on the socle inscription from Karatepe published by Bossert in Bell. 18, 1954, 32 fig. 8—9 (cf. further Meriggi, *Manuale* II, 99; E. Laroche, *Syria* 35, 1958, 275—283). The inscription was found in the southern gate (Ho) and does not have a correspondance in the Phoenician version (Bossert, op. cit.). The pictogram (cf. Meriggi, *Glossar* 217a; Laroche, *HH*, 237) is similar to those of Carchemish except for the missing second storey and window. It precedes the toponym Kurupija and is marked as an ideogram. Since it is not complemented, its reading and its syntactical connection remain unclear. P. Meriggi, *Festschrift Giorgio Levi della Vida*, Vol. II (Roma 1956), 130 transcribes *HILAN*. But after the publication of the curse formula of Karatepe he differentiates it as 217a (*Manuale* II, 100; similarly Laroche, *HH*, 237 and Bossert, *OrNS* 30, 1961, 199).

¹⁵² It seems that the fact that both in Carchemish and in Karatepe the pictogram in question was found in building inscriptions providing direct archaeological identifications, hardly found its expression in the discussion. Bossert himself wrote in *OrNS* 30, 199: "Daß zu einem *hilani* noch manches gehörte, was das abkürzende Schriftzeichen nicht sichtbar zu machen vermochte, wissen wir aus den Schriftquellen und der Baugeschichte." Thus, he still departed from the *hilāni* concept based on the NA sources and their identification, neglecting the implications of his own theory.

illustrated by the pictogram of Carchemish, equated in Karatepe with Phoenician 𐤊𐤏 and identified in both sites with monumental gate-houses, is in complete accordance with what we know about *ḫilammar* in the Hittite texts.¹⁵³

The difficulties begin only with the comparison to the NA descriptions and the archaeological identification based on those. But before we venture to account for these difficulties, some general considerations should be noted: it is true that HL **ḫilana*¹⁵⁴ and NA *bīt ḫilāni* belong to the same period, whereas Hittite *ḫilammar* is a few centuries earlier. On the other hand, *ḫilammar* and **ḫilana* belong to related languages — Hittite and hieroglyphic Luwian — whereas NA *bīt ḫilāni* is a loan word from a foreign language. That foreign terms can be subject to considerable alterations in the process of adoption, does not need to be demonstrated. I think the solution must be looked for in this direction. In any case, we are left with the Hittite evidence against the Neo-Assyrian, and it is a matter of opinion which of the two is to be given more weight. My own view is, that if a discontinuity in the semantic value is apparent, the “burden of proof” rests on the later component of the etymological chain.

To return now to the NA sources, it is generally accepted that the descriptions of the *bīt ḫilāni* can best be compared with the North Syrian/Anatolian palace type which has a pillared portico entrance. It is very probable that the Assyrians actually referred to these porticoes when using the term, although there is no direct evidence that the local inhabitants called them likewise.¹⁵⁵ Now, the pictogram we are discussing certainly does not depict this type of structure.¹⁵⁶ The resulting dilemma was summarized by H. Frankfort in

¹⁵³ Cf. also E. Laroche, RHA 15/60, 1957, 19.

¹⁵⁴ That the word itself must exist in HL, if not as the sign Meriggi 217 then in some other form, is obvious if the etymological connection with Hittite *ḫilammar* is accepted. The Assyrians describe the word as taken from the language of Amurru and the structure type from the land of Ḫatti. If one does not want to assume a Semitic origin (cf. M. Dunand, BMB 5, 1941, 76 to Hebrew ḫlwn) there is hardly any other possibility apart from HL.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. also H. Frankfort, Iraq 14, 1952, 120, 128; B. Hrouda, RIA IV, s.v. ḫilāni.

¹⁵⁶ The difference cannot be explained as resulting from the omission of certain details in the pictogram, as supposed by Bossert, OrNS 30, 1961, 199 (quoted in n. 152 above). The most essential element in the “Hilani” porticoes, the pillars, are missing in the pictogram. The rounded gate apertures of the pictogram recall the North Syrian gates depicted on the bronze gate of Balawat (cf. R. Naumann, Architektur Kleinasiens, 317, fig. 433) and note especially the city-gate of Carchemish (ib. 294, fig. 394).

Iraq 14, 1952, 128 in these words: "If, now, the term "*hilani*" is a Hittite word for gate-house, and if the pictographic sign represents such a gate-house, only two conclusions are possible. Either the term did not apply to the buildings we are discussing [the so-called "Hilani"], or the Syrians applied the Hittite term to a gate-house of their own invention." He decided in favour of the second possibility.¹⁵⁷

This formulation considers the pictogram isolated from its archaeological context. In order to depart from a common base of comparison, we have to consider the structure represented by the pictogram, rather than the pictogram itself, which for obvious reasons cannot offer a full representation. The problem can be re-formulated as follows: with the reading **hilana* for the pictogram accepted, the hierogl. Luwian evidence, supported by its Hittite counterpart, offers an archaeological identification with monumental gate-houses as represented by the King's Gate of Carchemish and the city gates of Karatepe. On the other hand, the Neo-Assyrian sources point to an archaeological identification with the pillared porticoes at the entrance of North Syrian/Anatolian palaces.

In searching for an explanation for this discrepancy, I arrived at two possibilities, but I do not have the evidence to decide between them:

a) About the semantic range of HL **hilana* we know very little. We should not draw conclusions from the pictogram alone. The pictogram could reproduce only one form of the depicted object, probably the most representative one. Is it possible that the term covered more than the monumental gate-house which it depicts and on which it was found, and, in particular, could it also refer to the so-called "Hilani" porticoes? We do not have any direct evidence to support such a possibility. The building inscriptions found in "Hilani's" in Tell Halaf and Zincirli identify them, as is to be expected, as "palaces"¹⁵⁸, referring of course to the building as a whole. There is no reason to expect a separate building inscription for the entrance alone, but the possibility that these monumental entrances were also called **hilana* cannot be excluded. Architectonically, there is a basic difference between these porticoes and the gate-houses of Carchemish and Karatepe. But we have seen that Hittite *hīlamma*

¹⁵⁷ Cf. also id. *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 255, n. 16.

¹⁵⁸ The "Palace (É.GAL) of Kapara" (cf. Frankfort, *op. cit.*, 174, 257 n. 44); The "Summer-house" and "Winter-house" of Barrākib (cf. H. Donner—W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, 1962, No. 216).

is a functional term with a broad semantic range, and the same applies to the Phoenician counterpart of **ḫilana* — *šʿr*. We have no evidence to assume that HL possessed different words for a monumental entrance with and without pillars. This distinction could have been made first by the Assyrians, who restricted the term to a particular case, a monumental entrance with pillars.

b) If the term **ḫilana* is restricted to a free standing gate-house and cannot apply to the so-called "Hilani" porticoes, we have to assume that a semantic shift took place with the adoption of the term by the Assyrians. This can be explained by the fact that the main ornamental element in both types of entrances are the animal, usually lion-shaped bases which recur in various forms: as door-jambs, as supporting pillars or as supporting statues. It could be that this was for the Assyrians the most eye-catching element in the North Syrian/Anatolian gates, and that they therefore connected **ḫilana* with every type of monumentally ornamented entrance, changing the connotation from a basically functional one to another which was more stylistic in kind.