

2. GROUPS AND CLASSES OF PRIESTS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents Hittite texts referring to the cult personnel in general in order to determine the main groups within the Hittite priesthood. By determining the groups and classes among the priests, their social status and obligations will also become clear. The texts, or passages from texts, are given in transliteration and in translation, in order to identify the groups of priests according to the Hittite manner of writing. The following texts are of interest in this regard:

- CTH 375 - The prayer of king Arnuwanda and queen Ašmunikal
 CTH 261 - The instructions for commanders of the border garrison
 CTH 760 - Ritual of Tunnawiya, or Ritual of the ox
 CTH 456 - Purification ritual
 CTH 517 - The Karahna cult center's inventory text KUB 38.1
 (CTH 501) - Cult inventory of different towns
 CTH 592 - The temple of the Sun-goddess of the Earth in the town of Zippalanda
 KUB 36.90 - The priesthood of kings

2.2 Prayer of Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal - A Middle Hittite text regarding the priesthood and the cult of the kingdom (CTH 375)

This prayer is most important for understanding the devotion of the kings and queens of Hatti to their gods.²¹ It reveals the role of kingship within the cult and the king's and queen's responsibility for the cult institutions, as well as for the provision of offerings for the sacrifices. The prayer also describes the devastation of the cult in the hands of the northern tribes, the Kaška.²²

Aside from the fact that this prayer is an expression of the Hittite monarchs' devotion to their gods, it is also a very informative

²¹ The prayer has been edited by von Schuler (1965a) 152-167, and translated into English by Goetze, *ANET*: 399; recently again by Singer (2002a) 40-43. For CTH 375 see Singer, *ibid*, 112.

²² This prayer has important historical implications, since it was composed and spoken to the gods in a period when the kingdom was weak. This prayer confirms the loss of territories by the Hittites during the reign of Arnuwanda I in the 14th century BCE. See Bryce (1998) 154-156.

document regarding the organization of the cult at the time of the Middle Hittite kingdom. Hattuša is depicted as a cult center to which all tribute and cult presents should be sent. Other cult centers receive some offerings sent from the capital by the monarch, although they are supposed to take care of their own temples and temple personnel. Temple personnel are mentioned in the following passages from the prayer:

KUB 17.21 ii 8'-13'²³

- 8' šu-me-en-za-an ne-pí-ša-aš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš ku-e KUR.KUR^{HIA} NINDA
 ḫar-ša-lī¹a-aš
 9' ^{DUG} iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ja-aš ar-ga-ma-na-aš-ša e-eš-ta
 10' ar-ḫa-kán LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA MUNUS^{MEŠ} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} šu-up-pa-e-eš
 LÚ^{MEŠ} SAN[GA]
 11' LÚ^{MEŠ} GUDU₁₂ LÚ^{MEŠ} NAR LÚ^{MEŠ} iš-ḫa-ma-tal-li-eš ku-e-i[š]
 12' i-ja-an-ta-at DINGIR^{MEŠ}-ša-kán ar-ga-ma-nu-uš ḫ[a-a]z-zi-ú-ja
 13' ku-e-iz ar-ḫa píd-da-a-ir

Heavenly gods, concerning (the offerings of) your lands, which were of ḫarši-bread, libation-vessel, and tribute,²⁴ out of some (lands) the SANGA-priests, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the sacred SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, the musicians, and the singers went out (=left), from other (lands) the gods' tribute (and) cult (presents) they carried off.²⁵

The main cult personnel mentioned in this part of the prayer are:²⁶

LÚ^{MEŠ} SANGA = (male) SANGA-priests;
 MUNUS^{MEŠ} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} = (female) AMA.DINGIR-priestesses;
 šu-up-pa-e-eš LÚ^{MEŠ} SAN[GA] = (male) sacred SANGA-priests;
 LÚ^{MEŠ} GUDU₁₂ = (male) GUDU-priests.

Next are mentioned the musicians and singers who take care of the gods' entertainment. Other temple servants or personnel are not mentioned in this passage, but in the third column the order of the functionaries is different, and other members of the temple personnel are mentioned.

²³ Compare Singer (2002a) 41.

²⁴ Puhvel, *HED* 1:144 - "tributaries".

²⁵ *CHD* P/3: 356^b.

²⁶ They are already referred to here as "priests", although the title is explained later in this chapter.

KUB 17.21 iii 1-7

- 1 nu-za KÙ.BABBAR GU[(ŠKIN BI-IB-RI)]^{HLA} GAL^{HLA} ŠA
 KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN
 2 ku-un-na-na-aš [(Ú-NU-TE^{MES}-KU-NU-ja)] ŠA ZABA[R]
 3 TÚG^{HLA}-KU-NU ša-ru-u-e-i[(r)] na-at-za ar-ḫa šar-ri-i[(r)]

 4 LÚ^{MES} SANGA šu-up-pa-e-ša-za LÚ^{MES} SANGA MUNUS^{MES}
 AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ^{MES} GJUD[U₁₂]
 5 LÚ^{MES} NAR LÚ^{MES} iš-ḫa-ma-tal-li-ú-uš LÚ^{MES} MU
 6 [LÚ]^{MES} NINDA.DÙ.DÙ LÚ^{MES} APIN.LÁ LÚ^{MES} NU^{GIS} KIRI₆ ar-ḫa
 7 [(šar-ri-i)]r nu-uš-za ARAD-na-aḫ-ḫi-ir

(The Kaška people) they plundered the silver and gold, the rhyta and vessels of silver, gold (and) copper, as well as your utensils of bronze (and) your garments; and they divided it (among) themselves.

They divided out (among) themselves the sacred SANGA-priests, the SANGA-priests, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, the GUDU-priests, the musicians, the singers, the cooks, the bakers, the farmers, the gardeners, and they made them their slaves.

The order of the cult personnel here is:

- (male) sacred SANGA-priests
- (male) SANGA-priests
- (female) AMA.DINGIR-priestesses
- (male) GUDU-priests

In the continuation of column iii, the prayer's complaints focus on the result of the plundering of the land: no more festivals and rites are celebrated or performed to the gods.

KUB 17.21 iii 17-20

- 17 k[(a-a-ja-aš-ma-aš A)]-NA KUR^{URU} Ḫa-at-ti nam-ma ar-g[a-ma-nu-uš]
 18 [(ḫa-az-zi-i-ú-ja)] Ú-UL ku-iš-ki ú-da-i LÚ^{MES} SANGA
 [(šu-up-pa-e-eš-š)]a-kán
 19 LÚ^{MES} SANGA MUNUS^{MES} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ^{MES} NAR
 LÚ^{MES} iš-ḫa-ma-ta[l-le-e-eš]
 20 [(nam-ma ar-ḫa)] Ú-UL ku-e-ez-ga ú-ḫa-an-zi

Here, too, to the land of Ḫatti, no one brings tribute and cult (presents) to you.

Also sacred SANGA-priests, SANGA-priests and AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, musicians (and) singers no longer come (to you) from any where.

Instead of a situation where the cult personnel of different towns

come to Ḫattuša, there is no celebration for the gods in Ḫattuša itself anymore. The personnel mentioned in this section includes the following members, in the following order:

- (male) sacred SANGA-priests
- (male) SANGA-priests
- (female) AMA.DINGIR-priestesses
- (The GUDU-priests were left out in this case).

To sum up the information on the main personnel of the cult, we may exclude the musicians, singers, cooks, bakers, farmers and gardeners, and are thus left with three groups of male priests - sacred SANGA-priests, SANGA-priests, and GUDU-priests - and one group of priestesses, the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses. If the order in which they are counted is significant, then the two male groups of SANGA are senior, then comes the female group, AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, and last are the GUDU-priests.

One should note in regard to this text the central organization of the cult; by the way tributes and offerings are distributed according to royal orders, it would appear that cultic personnel are part of the kingdom's provisions to the cult.

2.3 Instructions for Commanders of Border Garrisons (CTH 261)²⁷

This long text of instructions for the commanders of border garrisons (henceforth referred to as ICBG) contains procedures for the administration and safety of border towns, as well as instructions for the administration of the daily life of the local inhabitants. The instructions on how to conduct the guarding of towns include detailed safety measures related to town gates, walls, and roads in and out of the towns. There are also direct instructions on how to maintain the judicial and the religious life of the towns. The commander is responsible for the administration of the courts and trials as well as for the maintenance of the temples and their environment, including their personnel.

This text of instructions has come down to us in a number of copies, an indication that it was well known and used by the Hittite administration.²⁸ The manuscripts date to the Middle Kingdom,

²⁷ See Schuler (1957) 36-64. Pecchioli Daddi (2003); for her text constitution see pp. 33-41. The latest English translation is by McMahon, *CoS* 1: 221-225.

²⁸ On the type of texts called "instructions" see below, Chapter 3.

although most texts show a late script.²⁹

Quotes are given below of those sections which relate to the cult within the towns under the supervision of the commanders. The commanders in the Hittite texts are called *auriyaš išḫaš*, “lord of the watch tower/ guard post” (the Akkadian *BEL MADGALTI*).

KUB 13.2 ii 26-35

26 ku-e-da-ni-ma-aš-ša-an URU-ri a-ú-ri-ja-aš EN-aš EGIR-pa pí-en-na-i
27 nu-za LÚ^{MES} ŠU.GI LÚ^{MES} SANGA LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂ MUNUS^{MES}
AMA.DINGIR kap-pu-u-id-du
28 nu-uš-ma-aš ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-ú ki-e-da-ni-ya-aš-ša-an URU-ri
29 na-aš-šu ŠA ^dU ku-it ^Eka-ri-im-mi na-aš-ma ta-me-da-aš DINGIR^{LIM}-aš
30 ku-it-ki ^Eka-ri-im-mi ki-nu-na-at kat-ta mu-ta¹-a-an³⁰
31 na-at ar-ḫa ḫar-kán

In a town to which the border commander drives, let him take account of the elders, SANGA-priests, GUDU-priests (and) AMA.DINGIR-priestesses. He shall say to them thus: “A temple in this town, either that of the Storm-god or of any other god it is now neglected (or) it is ruined.”

From this passage a picture of the functionaries in the town who are responsible for the cult can be drawn. They are: LÚ^{MES} ŠU.GI = “elders”; LÚ^{MES} SANGA = (male) SANGA-priests; LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂ = (male) GUDU-priests; and MUNUS^{MES} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} = (female) AMA.DINGIR-priestesses. Several lines further in the text we learn of their responsibility for the sacred buildings in the town:

32 LÚ^{MES} SANGA-at-za MUNUS^{MES} ši-ya-an-za-an-ni-iš
LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂ EGIR-an Ú-UL kap-pu-u-an-za
33 ki-nu-na-at EGIR-an kap-pu-ya-at-te-en na-at EGIR-pa i-ja-an-du
34 na-at ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ka-ru-ú ú-e-da-an e-eš-ta
35 na-at EGIR-pa QA-TAM-MA ú-e-da-an-du

It is not attended to in regard to SANGA-priests, *šiwanzanna*-priestesses (and) GUDU-priests. Now account for them!” Let them restore it. As it was built before let them build it again the same way.

The ones belonging to the temples are not the elders but only the three groups previously counted: SANGA-priests, *šiwanzanna*-priestesses (and) GUDU-priests. Two more things can be pointed

²⁹ KUB 13.1; 40.56; 31.87; 31.88; 40.55, for example, are written in MH script.

³⁰ CHD M: 335^b.

out: 1) the AMA.DINGIR-priestess is called in Hittite *šiwanzanna*, and 2) the previous order of the male priests is switched, and the priestesses precede the GUDU-priests.

KUB 13.2 ii 36-46

36 nam-ma-aš-ša-an DINGIR^{MES}-aš na-aḫ-šar-az ti-ja-an e-eš-du A-NA
^dU-ma-aš-ša-an
37 na-aḫ-šar-az me-ik-ki ki-it-ta-ru ma-a-an É. DINGIR^{LIM}-ja ku-it-k[i]
38 za-ap-pí-ja-at-ta na-at aú-ri-ja-aš EN-aš LÚ^{MES} MAŠKIM.URU^{KI}-ja
39 EGIR-pa SIG₅-aḫ-ḫa-an-du na-aš-ma-kán A-NA ^dU ku-iš-ki BI-IB-RU
40 na-aš-ma-kán ta-me-e-da-aš DINGIR^{LIM} ku-e-da-ni Ú-NU-TIM ḫar-kán
41 na-at LÚ^{MES} SANGA LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂ MUNUS^{MES} AMA³¹-ja EGIR-pa
i-ja-an-du

Furthermore, let there be reverence paid to the gods. Let them establish reverence especially to the Storm-god. If some temple leaks, the border commander and the town mayor must repair it. Or if some *BIBRU*-vessel of the Storm-god or some (cultic) utensil of another god has been broken, the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, and the AMA-priestesses must repair that.

42 nam-ma ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} Ú-NU-TIM a-ú-ya-ri-ja-aš EN-aš gul-aš-du
43 na-at MA-ḪAR ^dUTU^{SI} up-pa-ú nam-ma DINGIR^{MES} me-ḫu-na-aš
iš-ša-an-du
44 ku-e-da-ni-ja DINGIR^{LIM}-ni ku-it me-ḫur na-an a-pí-e-da-ni
me-ḫu-ni e-eš-ša¹-an-[d]u
45 ku-e-da-ni-ma A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} LÚ^{MES} SANGA MUNUS^{MES} AMA^{LÚ} GUDU₁₂
NU.GÁL
46 na-an EGIR-pa ḫu-u-da-a-ak i-ja-an-du

Further, let the border commander write down the (cultic) utensils of a deity. Let him send it before His Majesty. Further, let them celebrate the gods on time. Whatever is the time for any deity, let them celebrate him on that time. (If) to any deity there is no SANGA-priest, GUDU-priest (nor) AMA-priestess, let them immediately assign him/her.

Again in these two paragraphs the sequence in which the AMA.DINGIR-priestess and the GUDU-priest are listed continues to alternate. However, the SANGA-priest is counted first all along. It becomes clear that in order to have a temple and run it, there must be at least one SANGA-priest. A very important procedure is revealed here: the commander must count and report not only the personnel but also the utensils of each temple. For this administrative

³¹ Note here and in line 45 and col. iii 21 the writing AMA-priestess. See below 2.8.2 pp. 30-31.

process there is a well-known corpus of texts called “Inventory texts”, which will be referred to later.

In the next two paragraphs the commanders are instructed to keep track of all the stelae of the town, as well as springs or rivers or even mountains which are considered sacred, and accordingly rituals exist for them. The temple personnel are mentioned again in the third column lines 17-21 which read as follows:

KUB 13.2 iii 17-21

- 17 DINGIR^{MES}-ja ku-ua-pí [e]-eš-ša-an-zi nu PA-NI DINGIR^{MES} le-e
ku-iš-ki
18 ni-ni-ik-zi I-NA É EZEN₄ le-e ku-iš-ki ni-ni-ik-zi
19 nam-ma-aš-ša-an A¹-NA LÚ^{MES} SANGA LÚ^{MES} UM-MI-IA-NU-TIM
LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂
20 MUNUS^{MES} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} na-aḫ-šar-ra-az ki-it-ta-ru LÚ^{MES}
SANGA LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂
21 MUNUS^{MES} AMA-ja A-NA DINGIR^{MES} na-aḫ-ḫa-an-te-eš a-ša-an-du

And when they celebrate the gods, let no one cause a disturbance in the presence of the gods, and let no one cause a disturbance in the festival house. Furthermore, let reverence be established toward SANGA-priests, temple specialists, GUDU-priests, (and) AMA.DINGIR-priestesses. Let the SANGA-priests, GUDU-priests, and AMA-priestesses be fearful/reverent to the gods.

This paragraph emphasizes the awe and reverence the cult personnel should display toward the deities; therefore they are not to allow any disturbances during the festivals. Reverence should also be shown towards the servants of the gods themselves. The cult personnel here are named as the three groups previously noted, SANGA-priests, GUDU-priests and AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, but there is one more word indicating a fourth group which was not mentioned previously, written in the Akkadogram *ummiānutim* (a plural form of *ummiānu*), an Akkadian word known from Old Babylonian and Mari texts meaning “craftsman, specialist”.³² This word does not refer to an established group of temple personnel, but rather to temple trade workers, who are known to be valuable workers.³³ So again we are left with the three groups, two male

³² See CDA: 422^a.

³³ Hoffner (1997b) 140-1, translates DUMU UM-MI-A-AN as “trained artisan”. This group is not mentioned again in the next line, where reverence to the gods is demanded of the temple’s priests, indicating that they do not belong to

and one female. The special craftsmen are considered part of the temple personnel, but since they are not always mentioned together with the other three groups, they should not be regarded as belonging to the priesthood classes.

2.4 The activity of the priesthood and its status in society

2.4.1 The ritual of Tunnawiya (CTH 760)

This text, the ritual of Tunnawiya, has been shown to be a single text with two different titles. Beckman has shown that the text with the colophon “When the Old Woman, the king, and the queen perform the ‘ritual of the Ox’” is the same text as that treated by Hutter under the title “When the old woman takes the king and the queen from the earth”. Both texts come from the Tunnawiya corpus. This ritual of Kizzuwatnean origin is intended to lift from the royal couple the threat of death brought about by slander (EME = *lala*-lit. “tongue”³⁴), or by impious behavior.

The text was originally written in the Middle Hittite period, but most of the manuscripts, except for KBo 21.6 (which is clearly MH), are to be dated to the Empire period.³⁵

The text has been shown by Hutter to be composed on four tablets.³⁶ Of the third tablet no exemplars have to date been found, and the main text appears on tablets two and four. In the parallel “Ritual of the Ox” text, it is tablets 2 and 5.

The text presents the actions taken by the practitioner to release the king and queen “out of the hands of death” by using a substitute animal - a sheep or a piglet - which represents all parts of the body of the person being treated. When the practitioner treats the patient, she utters a long incantation, in which the priesthood is mentioned among the other members of the state bureaucracy.

Since both texts have been transliterated and translated by Hutter and Beckman, only the relevant passages regarding the priesthood are quoted below:

the priesthood. They may have been mentioned in light of the repairs to be conducted in temples.

³⁴ See Puhvel, *HED* 5: 40-44; *CHD* L: 21-25.

³⁵ Beckman (1990) 35. And Hutter (1988) 99-102.

³⁶ Hutter (1988) 11-12.

KUB 55.20+³⁷

rev. iv

[Let it remove the] sh[ort year!]

[Likewise] the an[ger of] the gods [and the slander of the community!]

[Likewise] the slander of the palace attendant! [Likewise the slander of the palace woman!]

[Likewise] the slander of the royal bodyguard! [Likewise the slander of the GUDU-priest!]

<Likewise> the slander of the SANGA-priest! [Likewise the slander of the AMA.DINGIR-priestess. Let it remove the slander of the troops!]

Likewise the slander [of] the army camp! Likewise the slander o[f] the law-court!

Likewise the slander of the oath! [Likewise] the slander of the *aušiyala*-men[Likewise] the slander of the entire descendents³⁸!

Likewise the slander of the mountaineers and the mercenaries!

Likewise the slander of the dead and of the li[ving]

Let it remove the slander of the slaves!

Likewise the slander of the eater and the drinker!

Let it remove the s[lander] of the one who fasts!

[Likewise the] sl[ander] of the *šarikuwa*-men!

Let it remove the slander of all sorc[erers]!

The text has been emended on the basis of the parallel text on tablet five A i 13'-20'. Both texts count the sources of slander in the same order:

DUMU.É.GAL - palace attendant

MUNUS³⁹ SUHUR.LAL - concubineLÚ⁴⁰ ME-ŠE-DI - king's bodyguard

LÚ⁴¹ GUDU₁₂ - GUDU-priestLÚ⁴² SANGA - SANGA-priestMUNUS⁴³ AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} - AMA.DINGIR-priestess

ÉRIN.MEŠ - troops

KARAŠ - army camp

DI-NIM - law court

linkiia - oath

LÚ⁴⁴ MEŠ⁴⁵ *aušiyala**pangauwaš haššanaš* - the entire king's retinue

³⁷ According to Beckman (1990) 47 §27'-29'.³⁸ Beckman's translation is "the entire royal family".LÚ⁴⁶ MEŠ⁴⁷ *lulaḥiya* - mountaineersLÚ⁴⁸ MEŠ⁴⁹ *ḥapiri* - mercenaries

agantaš + *ḥuišyandaš* - the dead and the living

IR.GEME - servants

ādandaš + *akuḫantaš* + *tangarantas* - the eater, drinker, and the one who fasts (the poor)LÚ⁵⁰ MEŠ⁵¹ *šarikuwaš**humandaš alwanzenaš* - every sorcerer

There is an attempt here to cover any possible "social" source of evil which may attack the king and queen. First are counted the members of the court, including palace attendant, concubine, and the king's bodyguards. Next comes the group of major cultic functionaries: only the three main kinds of acting priests are mentioned. The GUDU-priest is counted first in this list. He appears before the SANGA-priest, who in the other texts (2.2 and 2.3 above pp. 8-15) appears in the first place. As will be demonstrated later (4.2.6 pp. 276-277), the GUDU-priest is involved in rituals on behalf of kingship, and this could be the reason for mentioning him first in this type of text. The AMA.DINGIR-priestess is mentioned last. Then comes the army, and following it the court of law and the justice system.³⁹ Next on the list are people outside the urban society, followed by unexpected forces, who are not satisfied in this way or another and choose the way of inflicting disaster on the king and queen. The list ends with all sorcerers or anyone who wants to harm.

For our purpose the list sheds light on the status of the priesthood among the social groups related to the court. The priests occupy a rather high position on the list, second only to the members of the king's court. The place of the priests within the social hierarchy, as seen in this text, can be compared with CTH 261, ICBG (2.3 above pp. 11-15). In that text, too, the priests are mentioned before the legal officials.⁴⁰

³⁹ Last on the list of insiders is a group called *pangauwaš haššanaš*, for which Beckman suggested the translation "the royal family". The appearance of the royal family at this point is strange, and the translation of "royal" in this context is doubtful. The term *pangauwaš haššanaš* may refer to the nobility of Hattuša, especially since the next group includes outsiders, people who do not belong to the Hittite society. See for *panku*-CHD P/1: 92': 'the totality of the king's retinue as an advisory and admonitory body', which fits perfectly the context of legal institutions.

⁴⁰ See Beckman translation in CoS 1: 223-224 - priests §29-§34, legal officials §35.

2.4.2 Purification ritual or instructions to cult personnel

(CTH 456)⁴¹

This is a text which could be either a purification ritual (as regarded in CTH), or a text of instructions to the cult personnel (as suggested by the *CHD*⁴²). The tablets show the script of the new kingdom period (NH). What follows are the relevant passages, which start on col. ii line 24':

Obv. ii

24⁴³ ma-a-an-ma li-e-la-aš UD.KAM⁴⁴ ki-ša-an-da-ri
 25' nu-kán ma-a-an ŠĀ URU^{LIM} ALAM DUMU⁴⁵ U
 26' na-aš-ma É.DINGIR^{LIM} DUMU⁴⁶ U e-eš-zi
 27' nu-uš-ma-aš pí-ra-an [p]a-ra-a LÚ^{MES} SANGA MUNUS^{MES}
 AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}

Edge of tablet

Rev. iii

1 ʷa-ar-pa-an-zi KI-LI-LU⁴⁴ -ma-aš-ma-aš-kán⁴⁵
 2 ŠAG.DU-aš ar-ḥa da-an-zi nu-uš-ma-aš SAG.DU.MEŠ⁴⁶
 3 IŠ-TU⁴⁷ BAR.SI BABBAR an-da iš-ḥi-ja-an-zi
 4 TÚG.ḪI.A BABBAR-ja-aš-ma-aš ʷa-aš-ši-ja-an-zi⁴⁷
 5 nu-kán (erasure) É.DINGIR^{LIM} pa-ra-a ša-an-ḥa-an-zi
 6 da-ga-an-zi-pu-uš ta-at-ta-ra-a-an-zi
 7 nu É.DINGIR^{LIM} an-dur-za a-ra-aḥ-za ḥar-ni-ja-an-zi
 8 šu-uḥ-ḥu-uš za-ap-pí-ja-az pa-aḥ-ša-nu-ʷa-an-zi
 9 ma-a-an-ma a-pí-e-da-ni URU-ri É.DINGIR^{LIM} DUMU⁴⁸ U
 10 Ú-UL e-eš-zi nu-kán ma-a-an ŠĀ LUGAL ku-it-ki
 11 ú-e-tum-mar EGIR-an e-eš-zi nu-kán a-pa-a-at
 12 pa-ra-a ša-an-ḥa-an-zi da-ga-an-zi-pu-uš-ma
 13 ta-at-ta-ra-a-an-zi šu-uḥ-ḥu-uš za-ap-pí-ja-az
 14 pa-aḥ-ša-nu-ʷa-an-zi a-ra-aḥ-za an-dur-za
 15 ḥar-ni-ja-an-zi ŠIM⁴⁹ -kán EGIR-an

⁴¹ From CTH 456: A = KUB 39.52 + KUB 9.15; B = KBo 12.114 = A ii 13ff. iii 22ff. See Souček (1961) 375-7 who offers transliteration and German translation to the text, without the knowledge of the duplicate. A new reading is offered below.

⁴² *CHD* P/2: 148ⁿ (Instructions NH). For the beginning of the text see Y. Cohen *THeth* 24: 134-136.

⁴³ Translation also with Tjerkstra (1996) 118 example 283. See also Souček (1961) 375-376.

⁴⁴ KBo 12.114 obv. 11' has the sign LI.

⁴⁵ *kán*- is missing in KBo 12.114 obv. 12'.

⁴⁶ KBo 12.114 has the sign -uš after MEŠ.

⁴⁷ KBo 12.114 obv. 13' has ú-e-eš-ši-ja-an-zi.

16 ša-me-nu-ʷa-an-zi

17 ma-a-an-kán ŠĀ URU^{LIM} -ma É.DINGIR^{LIM} É.LUGAL
 18 Ú-UL ku-it-ki e-eš-zi nu-uš-ma-aš É^{LU} MÁŠD'A¹
 19 ku-it-ki še-eš-ḥa-an-zi na-at-kán pa-ra-a
 20 ša-an-ḥa-an-zi a-ni-u-ur-kán EGIR-an (erasure)
 21 [ti]-ja-an-zi a-pí-e-da-ni-ma-za URU-ri
 22 [É^{LU} M]AŠDA ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ar-ḥa an-ni-eš-kán[-zi]
 23⁴⁸ na-a[t a-ni-u-u]r?-ma ar-ḥa a-ni-ja-an-zi []
 24 da-ga-an[-z]i-pu-uš ta-at-ta-ra a'n-zi-l[]
 25 šu-uḥ-ḥu-u[š pa-a]ḥ-ša-nu-ʷa-an-[-zi] []
 26 a-ra-aḥ-za x[]a-x []
 27-33 Fragmentary

Obv. ii

24' When the days of the *conciliation* festival arrive
 25' and if inside the town a statue of the son of the Storm-god
 25' or a temple of the son of the Storm-god is present/ exists,
 26' then, the SANGA-priests (and) the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, in
 advance

Rev. iii

1 wash themselves, and they take off the circlets
 2 from their (own) heads and they
 3 enwrap their heads with white head-bands
 4 They wear their white clothes, too,
 5 They sweep the temple
 6 They wipe the floors
 7 They sprinkle inside and outside the temple
 8 They must guard the roofs from leakage.
 9 If in that town a temple of the son of the Storm-god
 10 does not exist, but if some building of the king
 11 is left (there), that one
 12 they will sweep, and the floors
 13 they will wipe, the roofs they will keep out
 14 of leakage, inside and outside
 15-16 they will sprinkle. They will burn aromatic plants.

17 If, however, inside the town a temple (or) a king's-house
 18 does not exist what-so-ever, they will determine
 19 some *muškenu*-man's house for themselves, and they will
 20 sweep it, and they tend to the
 21 ritual. In this town, however,
 22 [When the house of the *mu*]škenu-man, th[cy] treat⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Here starts KUB 39.52 iii 1'.

⁴⁹ Puhvel, *HED* 1: 67, 69.

23 [the ritual] they complete[]
 24 [the fl]oors they will wip[e]
 25 [they] will keep [from leakage inside]
 26 (and) outside []
 27-33 Fragmentary

This text, too, offers a view of the place of the priesthood within Hittite society. The priests are an essential component in maintaining the town's religious life and purity. In the first part of col. ii (not presented above), it seems that some kind of a serious sin occurred with a person who arrived in town, and then was sent away early the next morning. The fact that a sin had occurred is made even clearer by the words which stress that the king is not to be regarded involved in the matter: ii 22'-23' "The king, however, let him stand away from a sin" or he must not worry himself with that matter.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, what happened that may be considered a sin involving the man who arrived in town is not clear.

The priests appear in male and female groups, and are expected to perform certain rituals in accordance with the sacred calendar. In the present text the calendrical moment of the festival mentioned is defined as *lelaš* UD.KAM^{HIA}, "the days of conciliation". Since there is a festival EZEN₄ *lelaš* recorded in other Hittite texts (mainly inventory texts⁵¹), it can be assumed that the term implies this well-established festival.

The temple personnel in this text are termed: LÚ^{MES} SANGA (male SANGA-priests) and MUNUS^{MES} AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} (AMA.DINGIR-priestesses). They take care of the ritual activity as described in this purification ritual, and their duties include the upkeep of the temple's buildings. The GUDU-priest is not mentioned here.

2.5 Cult inventory texts

Two texts of the genre "Cult Inventory" texts are treated in this section. Most of the cult inventories list the cult objects of a temple, the festivals that it is responsible for during the year, its personnel, and the quantities of offerings provided for the festivals.⁵²

⁵⁰ Neu, *StBoT* 5: 9 "Wenn er aber streitet, sollen sie ihn bestrafen, der König aber soll sich um das Vergehen nicht kümmern".

⁵¹ KBo 2.1 i 43; 2.8 i 15. Hazenbos (2003) 133.

⁵² Treatments of the inventory texts are in: Brandenstein (1943); Carter (1962); Rost (1963) 161-217; Hazenbos (2003).

2.5.1 The Karaḥna cult center (CTH 517)⁵³

This text contains an inventory of the temples, their personnel, and festivals of the year surrounding the Tutelary Deity of the town of Karaḥna. The text has come to us in two copies, both showing a late script (NH). The text indicates that the temple, the personnel, and the materials are either counted or held for -*ši*, "him, her" (the enclitic pronominal suffix). Puhvel identifies the deity as feminine, and translates: (i 4-5) "former *ḫilammatta*-men she had nine, and now she has nine *ḫilammatta*-men".⁵⁴ Beckman, on the other hand, identifies this deity as male.⁵⁵ McMahon also speaks of the Tutelary Deity of Karaḥna as a male deity.⁵⁶ He emphasizes the important status held by this deity among Hittite state cult tutelary deities. This deity is the only one besides the ^dLAMMA^{URU} Hatti to appear with a geographical place name. It also appears in the lists of gods in the Hittite state treaties. Beside the following cult inventory, there are the texts of the festivals of this town, Karaḥna, in which this deity is one of the gods celebrated.

The importance of this deity is indicated also by the fact that the cult inventory was kept in the capital. The existence of a copy of this inventory text shows that the cult center was considered important and was regularly taken care of. Despite the condition of the tablet - only some parts of each of the four columns is preserved - we can learn quite a few details about this center. I hereby present a translation of relevant passages of the text.

CTH 517 - Translated passages

Col.i

- 1 For the Tutelary Deity of Karaḥna silver and gold (were) counted.
- 2 Its inner temple (was) repaired, by a goldsmith (and) an engraver.
- 3 The deportees (were) counted for him (i.e. deity), /PAB/⁵⁷ The

⁵³ Text copies: A. KUB 38.12 B. KUB 38.15. For translation of the text into German see *RGTC* 6/1:177-180; Pecchioli Daddi (1982) 210-212 (partial transliteration).

⁵⁴ Puhvel, *HED* 3: 308.

⁵⁵ Beckman, *StBoT* 29: 29.

⁵⁶ McMahon, Diss.: 45-47. In his publication of the dissertation (1991) 36, he changes his mind and determines that the deity is female, on the basis of the Egyptian version of the treaty between Ramses II and Hattušili III. Hazenbos and van den Hout (1996) 184, reject this, on the grounds that the Egyptian scribe did not understand the Babylonian version he had in front of him.

⁵⁷ PAP/PAB is the sign used by the Hittite scribe to indicate unreadable place on the tablet he copied.

*hílammat*a- men⁵⁸
 4 (were) selected for him(=the deity). Previously (there were)
 5 9 *hílammat*a-men to him, but now after additional 9 *hílammat*a-men
 of the old temple
 6 they have selected, they (are) 18 *hílammat*a-men
 7 of the old temple.⁵⁹ Eight houses /PAB/ after the *šariku*ya-soldiers
 8 now they provided from the palace.
 9 The "standing"-men: spearman, gatekeeper, table-man, cult singer,
 10 *palwatalla*-man, *arkammi*-player, bird breeder, a potter
 11 they selected. Total: 26 *hílammat*a-men among whom: 1 GUDU-priest
 12 1 scribe, 1 wooden-tablet scribe, 1 exorcist, 2 musicians, 1 table-man
 13 2 cooks, 2 cupbearers, 1 spearman, 1 gatekeeper,
 14 1 cult singer, 1 *palwatalla*-man, 1 *arkammi*-musician
 15 1 beer brewer, 2 bakers, 1 water carrier, 2 purifiers,
 16 1 bird breeder, 1 potter, 1 barley grower,
 17 (as) *hílammat*a-men (and) a smith of the temple gear⁶⁰
 18 has been included for him (the deity). His festivals have been provided
 according to the *gaštarhata*-tablet.

Col. ii

1 One SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity of Karaḥna, one SANGA-
 priest of the [Storm-]god [of the town Karaḥna]
 2 One SANGA-priest of the Tutelary Deity of the forest, one
 AMA.DINGIR-priestess, fifteen women [
 3 Total: 19 *hazziwitašši*-people⁶¹
 4 They are not [included] in the counting of the *hílammat*a-men. [?
 5 Two temples of the Tutelary Deity of the town Karaḥna.

[skip lines 6-13]

14 Two new temples of the Storm-god of Heaven (and) the Sun-goddess
 of Arinna
 15 they built. The deportees (were) counted for him.
 16 Earlier, for him, there were two houses with twenty deportees
 17 of the men of Ḫatti. Now, for him, one house of twelve deportees
 18 the chief wooden-scribe gave back. Total: thirty two deportees
 19 The *hílammat*a-men for him (were) selected: six *hílam*[*matta*-men
 and also]
 20 a SANGA-priest, an exorcist, a scribe, a singer, a baker [
 21 stonemason, the chief scribe assigned [to the temple].
 22 The festivals are provided according to the *gaštarhata*-tablet [
]

⁵⁸ Puhvel, *HED* 3: 307, "frequently plural functionary, perhaps 'courtier'".
 Assuming this word comes from the noun *híla*- '(court)yard'.

⁵⁹ See for the passage *CHD* P/1: 111^a.

⁶⁰ Puhvel, *HED* 1: 70.

⁶¹ *LÚ* *hazziwitašši*- 'men of the cult/cult entertainment'. Puhvel, *HED* 3: 283.

[skip lines 23-26]

Col. iv

8' The palace attendants of ^mKantuzili keep providing.
 9' The town of Karaḥna (was) assembled.

 10' Finished tablet of the town of Karaḥna
 11' [Four] hundred thirty eight *hílammat*a-men
 12' and a hundred and forty one were given later
 13' Among these thirty four of *gidim*-man⁶²
 14' 11? *tapanuwant*-men
 15' [3?]6. The previous 26. AMA.DINGIR-priestess⁶³
 16' Total sum: 775 *hílammat*a-men
 17' Including SANGA-priest (class), AMA.DINGIR-priestess (class). The
 town Ḫurma
 18' and the town Kumma (are) not in(cluded in this tablet).

This inventory text shows the great amount of effort taken by the Hittites in maintaining the cult of their deities. The text reports of the restoration of the temples of Karaḥna, describes some of the work done there, and specifies the supply and personnel allotted to the temples. The central administration determines the quantities of food supplied for the regular festivals, and designates the institution that is to provide for it. The text starts with the repair work done at the temple of the Tutelary Deity of Karaḥna. A list of the original personnel of the temple is given, followed by a list of the new personnel provided from the palace. Lines, i 18-26 (not translated above), include a list of all the festivals to be celebrated to this deity, after which comes the amounts of food supplied for these festivals. The supplier is not known, for the tablet is broken at this point. The total number of *hílammat*a-men is twenty-six, with one GUDU-priest among them.

Col. ii starts by indicating the three SANGA-priests of three deities of Karaḥna and one AMA.DINGIR-priestess. These people belong to the two temples of the Tutelary Deity of Karaḥna. Following is a list of other deities with their festivals and the supplies for the festivals, including a mention of the construction of new temples for them. The deities are the Storm-god of the

⁶² The Sumerogram appears in the singular *LÚ*GIDIM.

⁶³ The title appears here in the singular form ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. Therefore there is a difficulty whether the number 26 refers to the priestess as a class. I understand the following line 17' *QA-DU* ^{LÚ}SANGA ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. "including the SANGA-priest (class) and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess (class)".

town Liḫzina, for whose festivals the palace attendants of Karaḥna provide, and the Storm-god of heaven with the Sun-goddess of Arinna. Two temples were built for these deities. Their festivals are also counted, including the food supplies, after which point the tablet is broken. The beginning of the third column is also broken; in the next preserved lines, the king's chief scribe on wood appoints a "man of the deity" (a kind of priest) to the temple. Thereafter a list of all deities and their *ḫuwaši*-stones is recorded, a total of 26 deities, 9 temples and 14 *ḫuwaši*-stones. Then comes a total of the supplies of the food for the festivals.

The colophon of the text, col. iv, specifies groups of temple workers and gives a total of 775 *ḫilammatta*-men, who are probably the workers of the temples of Karaḥna, yet the numbers mentioned in the colophon do not add up to 775. The colophon mentions two classes of priests: SANGA and AMA.DINGIR. Two other kinds of priests, the GUDU and the ^{LÚ}DINGIR^{LIM} ("man of the deity"), are mentioned in the text but not in the colophon.

The text regarding the cult of Karaḥna mentions two collective titles for cult personnel under which fall the priests: *ḫilammatta*-men, and *ḫazziwitašši*-men, with "men" standing for both sexes. The former is an encompassing term for all temple workers while the latter relates to the cultic activity, and therefore counts the SANGA and the AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} as well as 15 women of cultic role in the broken line. The GUDU-priest is not mentioned among them, but rather among the *ḫilammatta*-men.⁶⁴

The text shows how a cult center is being taken care of by the palace, by determining which institution is to provide for its festivals (the palace attendants of Karaḥna col. ii 11, or the palace attendants of Kantuzzili col. iv 8'), and how the personnel is transferred in and out of different temples according to royal decrees.

The Karaḥna cult center must have been a large one for the staff of 775 workers allotted to it to serve in different temples. The classes of priesthood mentioned are ^{LÚ}SANGA, ^{MUNUS}AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}, ^{LÚ}DINGIR^{LIM}, and ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ who is counted among the specialists and not among the priests.

2.5.2 Cult inventory of different towns (KUB 38.1 = CTH 501)

This text is an inventory of temples in different towns, detailing material and personnel. It is to be dated to a later phase of the

⁶⁴ See Güterbock (1972) 130-131.

New Kingdom. Following is the translation of the relevant lines from the first column referring to the SANGA-priest and the AMA.DINGIR-priestess:⁶⁵

Obv. i 1'-14'

The town of Tarammeka: The deity-statues⁶⁶ of the Storm-god (of) the army, (and) the god Marduk are two *yakšur*-vases of silver, their weight two mina of silver. We have made a new temple and [we] institut[ed] a SANGA-priest for them.

The town of Tarammeka: the deity ZABABA, a divine statue
One fist, its weight twenty shekels, two large metal shields
One metal supporter? three daggers, one spear
One weapon of bronze, one metal axe
That wraps up the equipment of the deity ZABABA.
We made a new temple and (instituted) a SANGA-priest to it.

Lines 19'-28' continue the description of the statues/temples and personnel of the town of Tarammeka:

[.....] [a statue of a woman (made of) wood set with silver
[with a ve]l [seated. Its height] one SIG.KUŠ⁶⁷. In its right hand a cup [of
silver she holds; some fruit]s of gold among which one of silver (is) on [her]
for[eh]ad. Total: 3 fem[ale] statues [.....] we made a new temple for
them. An AMA.DINGIR-priestess [we have instituted] for them. Formerly
the people of the land kept the deities, now, however, the people of the
palace and the slaves of the man Tattamaru keep them. That wraps up the
town of Tarammeka.

This quite typical cult inventory shows the creation of statues for local deities together with the construction of new temples for them, as well as the installation of cult personnel. Note here the installation of priests to male deities - the Storm-god, Marduk (AMAR.UD) and ZABABA - and the installation of a priestess to the three female deities, whose names are not preserved on the tablet (line 19').

From the fourth column of the tablet, however, we learn that in two other towns, Lapana and Tiura, the statues of the same deity, ^dIyaya, a female statue seated and plated with silver, is

⁶⁵ The translation follows von Brandenstein (1943) no.2, p.10; Rost (1961) 178.

⁶⁶ For the Hittite word *šuniyatar* indicating a divine representation see Collins (2005) 21-22.

⁶⁷ For the measures in Hittite see *RIA* 7: 520-521.

cared for by a SANGA-priest in Lapana, and by a AMA.DINGIR-priestess in Tiura (lines 7 and 14, see below 5.2.3 p. 358).

We may conclude here that the sex of the deity does not determine the sex of its priest.

2.6 A text mentioning the temple of the Sun-goddess of the Earth in the town of Zippalanda (CTH 670)

This text⁶⁸ gives a list of the personnel who take part in the festival of the bolts (^{GIS}SAG.KUL). The first mentioned are the court purifiers, who are also responsible for bringing flour and beer for the sacrifice from their house. Then comes a description of the preparations for the festival, as follows:

- 8' x-x pí-ra-an pa-ra-a UD-an
 9' ^{LÚ}SANGA ku-ru-ta-u-ua-an-za⁶⁹
 10' ^{LÚ}ta-az-zi-el-li-iš
 11' ^{LÚ}ha-me-na-aš ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂
 12' ^{LÚ}^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM} hu-u-ma-an-te-eš
 13' ua-ar-ap-pa-an-zi DINGIR^{MES}-ja
 14' ua-ar-ap-pa-an-zi
 15' ²^{MES}DINGIR^{MES}-kán pa-ra-a ša-an-ḥa-an-zi
 16' ḥur-ni-ja-an-zi

- 17' ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta
 18' ^{LÚ}SANGA ku-ru-ta-u-ua-an-za
 19' ^{LÚ}ta-az-zi-el-li-iš
 20' ^{LÚ}ha-me-na-aš ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{LÚ}^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ja
 21' hu-u-ma-an-te-eš ša-ra-a I-NA É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 22' ú-ua-an-zi

- 8' on the previous day
 9' The horned head-gear (= *kurutaanza*)⁷⁰ SANGA-priest
 10' the *tazzelli*-priest
 11' the *hamena*-man, the GUDU-priest (and)
 12' the Temple-Men (= ^{LÚ}^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM}), all
 13' wash themselves. The deities (statues), too

⁶⁸ According to Popko, *THeth* 21: 268-276 The texts should be as follows (joined on the basis of photographs by Popko): A. IBoT 3.44 (+?) KUB 41.30 B. KUB 51.37 iii(?) = A iii. The translation follows Popko, *THeth* 21: 270-1 rev. iii.

⁶⁹ Copy B KUB 51.37 omits this title here and probably also on line 18'.

⁷⁰ For the translation of *kurutaant-* as "horned-headware" or "helmet" see *CHD* Š:184 and Puhvel, *HED* 3: 286. See the discussion of this title below, 4.1.2.5 p. 153.

- 14' they wash.
 15' The temples of the deities they sweep
 16' and they sprinkle.

 17' When it dawns
 18' The horned headware SANGA-priest
 19' the *tazzelli*-priest
 20' the *hamena*-man, the GUDU-priest and the Temple-Men
 21'-22' all come up to the temple

The temple mentioned in the next line is ŠÀ É ⁴EREŠ.KI.GA[L - "inside the temple of the Sun-goddess of the earth". In the temple a certain ritual of breaking bread and drinking to the deities takes place.

The next mention of the temple personnel is on col. vi, where they are said to come out of the temple in a different order: the *tazzelli*-priest, the SANGA-priest, the GUDU-priest and the Temple-Men = ^{LÚ}^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM}. The text seems to indicate the temple men as a separate group of priests; they will be discussed further below.

The list of temple workers identifies the cultic personnel of the town of Zippalanda, which has additional classes of priests: the *tazzelli*-priest and the *hamena*-man. Contrary to what could be expected, no priestesses are mentioned in this list, for this festival.⁷¹ Popko, in his introduction to the cult at Zippalanda, gives a survey of cult personnel in the corpus of texts from this town. At the beginning of his survey he emphasizes that out of the numerous titles of temple workers there are few priests who can be identified. The titles already mentioned in this last text - from older Hittite texts to the later texts - appear in the same order: the SANGA-priest, the *tazzelli*-priest, the *hamena*-man and the GUDU-priest.

2.7 Priesthood as a characteristic of the Hittite royal family

Last in this list of examples is the text mentioning the appointment of the prince Tudḥaliya as a priest to the god. KUB 36.90 is an evocation text, used for drawing the Storm-god of Nerik to its festival. The text reads, in translation (obv. 14-19): "The next day

⁷¹ Popko, *THeth* 21: 70-81. The fact that the priestesses are missing can be a matter of texts in hand. It may be that in this specific ritual the priestess has no role. However, we do find the priestesses in several texts of the Zippalanda corpus. See Popko, *ibid* pp. 80-81.

to your festival come. On the next day they will anoint Tudḫaliya for priesthood (SANGA-UT-TIM) at your beloved places, the town of Ḫakmiš and the town of Nerik. On the next day come to your festival!"⁷² The name Tudḫaliya refers to the king Tudḫaliya IV. He was installed to be a priest of the Storm-god of Nerik according to other texts as well.⁷³

Other Hittite kings are called "priests" and "servants of the gods". The well known example is of Muwatalli II, who addresses the gods in the following prayer:⁷⁴ "Divine lords - Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and all the gods of the Land of Ḫatti, (my) lords - whose priest I am, who have conferred upon me, from (among) all (others), the rulership over Ḫatti. Now, gods, listen to me, to the word (and) plea of me, your priest (LÚSANGA-KU-NU), your servant (ARAD-KU-NU)." King Ḫattušili III and his wife Queen Puduḫepa are also called "priests" and "servants of the gods". As for Ḫattušili III, he tells us how his brother made him a priest of the Storm-god: (KBo 6.29 i 25-6) nu-mu I-NA URUḪa-ak-piš-ša dU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik LÚSANGA i-ia-at "and he made me a SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik at Ḫakpiš".⁷⁵ In a prayer of Puduḫepa to the Sun-goddess of Arinna she speaks of herself and of her husband as servants of the goddess: am-mu-uk-ma-za fpu-du-ḫé-pa-aš an-na-al-li-is GÉME-[K]A nu-mu A-NA mḫa-at-tu-ši-li ARAD-KA ku-e-da-ni [] a-ra-al-la-a-it "I, Puduḫepa, am your long-time servant. And Ḫattušili, your servant, to whom you made me a companion..."⁷⁶

Two queens were also called AMA.DINGIR-priestesses: Tawananna the wife of Suppilulyuma I and Danuḫepa, both of the New Hittite kingdom.⁷⁷ We will return to the subject of royal priesthood in the coming chapters.

When describing the priesthood of the royal family, the role of the prince will also be mentioned, and in particular the role of the princess, whose position is that of the NIN.DINGIR.

⁷² See Haas (1970) 179.

⁷³ See Bryce (2005) 295-297. Especially KUB 25.21 iii 13-16. See also below 4.1.8 p. 225-226.

⁷⁴ The translation follows Singer (1996) 8, 31-32, col. i 17-21.

⁷⁵ Haas (1970) 15.

⁷⁶ Sörenhagen (1981) 108-109.

⁷⁷ Bin-Nun (1975) 189-195.

2.8 Survey of titles

The above short survey of Hittite texts showed that the priesthood included three main groups of temple priests: LÚSANGA and LÚGUDU₁₂, and the female group MUNUSAMA.DINGIR^{LIM}. The additional group, LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM}, will be shown to include the other groups. Among the first three groups were also found some sub-groups which will be specified later, when discussing each main title.

This study will focus on the most prominent among the numerous titles of the cult personnel in the Hittite world, as they appear in the texts in relation to the function of the priests.

In the Hittite texts, the titles of many functionaries usually appear written in Sumerograms, which are well known from the Sumerio-Akkadian culture of Mesopotamia. Before the Sumerogram appears a determinative indicating whether the functionary is a male (LÚ) or a female (MUNUS), and also whether the text speaks of them as singular or plural (MEŠ).

From among the LÚ^{MES}É.DINGIR^{LIM}, the Sumerograms which indicate "Temple-Men", the following functionaries will be the main object of this study:

LÚSANGA-iš/niš, in Hittite, *šankunni* (but there is also LÚSANGA-aš, which is probably another noun of an -a- stem).

MUNUS SANGA; for this priestess there is no Hittite title in the tablets, but the CHD Š: 198^b suggests *šankunni*.

LÚGUDU₁₂; there is no Hittite title for this priest.
MUNUS AMA.DINGIR^{LIM}; in Hittite, *šiwanzanna*.

2.8.1 SANGA-priest and SANGA-priestess

Starting with the Sumerian word for the office of a priest, we learn that its equivalent in Akkadian is *šangû*, a loan word from Sumerian in Akkadian.⁷⁸ The question whether the office is the same has not yet been answered, since there is no comprehensive work on that title throughout the Mesopotamian history.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ SANGA = *šangû* is defined by the CAD Š: 377^a as "chief administrator of a temple". The Akkadian *šangû* appears from the time of Old Akkadian as a loan-word from Sumerian. A recent study by Charvát (1996) 181-192, shows some stages of development in the use of the title during earlier periods of Mesopotamian history.

⁷⁹ The two important works that partially treat the subject are the above-mentioned works by Renger (1967) 110-188, who treated the material of the OB period, and by Henshaw (1994), who gave examples of sporadic rituals in which the *šangû*'s work and activities are described.

The term passed from Sumerian to Akkadian, and then via Hurrian into Hittite. The transmission of the term to Hittite via the Hurrian language is evident from the noun-ending *-nni* as shown by H. Kronasser.⁸⁰ Goetze pointed to the Hittite reading *šankunni*- of the Sumerogram SANGA in his work on the manuscripts of the Apology of Hattušili III.⁸¹ Derivations of the usage of the Hittite noun *šankunni* are ^{LÚ}*šankunniyant* (“a priest”) and *šankunniyatar* (an abstract noun meaning “priestly status/ priestly office”).⁸² Hoffner pointed out KUB 59.60, which has the form ^{LÚ}SANGA *kumran*. He suggested reading ^{LÚ}SANGA as a determinative, standing for a generic meaning of male priest.⁸³

While in the Sumero-Akkadian texts the Sumerogram SANGA is always preceded by the determinative for male, ^{LÚ} as in ^{LÚ}SANGA, in the Hittite texts we also find the female office of the SANGA, written ^{MUNUS}SANGA.

2.8.2 AMA.DINGIR-priestess

This combination of the Sumerian ideograms AMA (“mother”) and DINGIR (“deity”), with the Akkadian suffix indicating the genitival case *LIM* (*ummu ilim*), does not appear in the Sumero-Akkadian texts. As already noted by Deimel in his *Sumerian Lexicon*, this combination appears only in the texts from Boğazköy.⁸⁴ Kronasser, therefore, suggested that it is a combination created by the Hittites themselves on the basis of the Hittite words *šiu(n)-šiu(ni)- šiu(na)* (“god”) and *anna* (“mother”). Kronasser points out the possible development of the Hittite word *šiwanzanna*, which is behind the Sumerogram: *šiwannant+s+anna* = *šiwanzanna*.⁸⁵ The Hittite texts always indicate the gender of the office-holder with the determinative: ^{MUNUS} (“female”).

The meaning of this title could be understood as “divine mother” or “god’s mother” as shown by Neu.⁸⁶ It does not exist,

⁸⁰ Kronasser, *EHS*: 244 indicates Hittite nouns ending with *-ni* as originating in Hurrian.

⁸¹ Goetze (1967) 8, 59-60.

⁸² Kronasser, *EHS*: 262, 290, showing the loaned word becoming part of the language. See already Goetze (1967) 59. And now *CHD* Š1: 200-201.

⁸³ Hoffner (1996) 151-156.

⁸⁴ Deimel, *ŠL* 2 (1927 nr. 237 sub 9).

⁸⁵ Kronasser, *EHS*: 125-126, also p. 103. The old Hittite form seen on a tablet in OH script is *ši-un-za-an-na-aš* KBo 20.16 obv.⁷ 7’.

⁸⁶ Neu, *StBoT* 18: 124 reads the combination **šiu(n)s/šiu(na)s* (old gen.) + *anna*.

however, in this form among the office titles in the Sumero-Akkadian texts; instead, there is a combination of Sumerian words AMA ^dINANNA appearing in MSL 12, (Akk. *amaluṭu/amalitu*). The meaning could be “the mother (who is) INANNA” or “the mother of INANNA”. In any case, in this text it is a title of a priestess who is a cult functionary.⁸⁷ It should be noted that during the third millennium we find the name of the deity Išhara written in Ebla with the Sumerogram ^dAMA-ra.⁸⁸ It has been suggested by Jacob Klein that the Sumerogram AMA was introduced in the third millennium to indicate a female deity and thus we have the combination DINGIR.AMA.⁸⁹ This is significant in light of three Hittite texts where the title is indeed written differently. In two Hittite texts we find ^{MUNUS}MES DINGIR.AMA (KBo 11.29 rev. 10’ and KBo 17.13 obv.⁷ 4’). Both texts show New Kingdom Script, but KBo 11.29 clearly presents Hittian tradition. In KUB 13.2 ii 27 (above 2.3 p. 12) we find an even more interesting way of writing the title in Sumerograms. In line 27 the title is ^{MUNUS}MES AMA.DINGIR (without the Akkadian ending *LIM*). In lines 41 and 45 we find only ^{MUNUS}MES AMA (repeated in col. iii 21). Taking into account the development of the usage of the Sumerogram AMA from the third millennium Ebla texts to the second millennium Hittite texts, the writing of the title AMA, DINGIR.AMA, AMA.DINGIR may point to a period when the title was not yet fixed.⁹⁰

2.8.3 GUDU-priest

The Sumerogram GUDU₄ (written UḪ+ME) is transliterated in Hittite GUDU₁₂ (written with the signs read in Hittite IM.ME). The Hittite word behind the Sumerogram is not known. The Akkadian word, on the other hand, is known from lexical lists and other texts and it is *pašišu*, derived from the verb *pašāšu* meaning “to anoint”. It can be translated “the anointed”. Hittitologists usually translate the title this way, in quotation marks. Haas already indicated that this type of priest belonged to the service of the Hittite pantheon in North-Central Anatolia, and that his main area of concern was with incantations.⁹¹

⁸⁷ See for this title in the *Sumerian Dictionary* (Pennsylvania: 1998) A: 201’.

⁸⁸ Prechel (1996) 5-9.

⁸⁹ Oral communication with Prof. Jacob Klein of Bar Ilan University.

⁹⁰ See more on the title under 5.2.5 below pp. 367-368.

⁹¹ Haas (1970) 28-30, 158-159. See also Beckman (1982) 20-21.

Hoffner suggested that KUB 59.60 line 9 records a single case of ^{LÚ}SANGA as a determinative to a noun, *kumra*. According to him, since the Akkadian *kumru* is written as ^{LÚ}GUDU₄ in Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia, it may also be the noun behind the Hittite Sumerogram ^{LÚ}GUDU₉₂.

Haas suggested that the ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ should be identified with the ^{LÚ}tazzelli-. This was rejected by Güterbock⁹³ and others, for the simple reason that the two functionaries appear in the same text. Popko, in his work on the cult of Zippalanda, indicated that the ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ is missing from the texts of this Anatolian cult-center, and that the one who usually performs the rituals is the ^{LÚ}tazzelli-.⁹⁴ Pecchioli Daddi, in a review of Popko's *Zippalanda*, mentions again the possibility of the ^{LÚ}tazzelli- being one of the readings of ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂.⁹⁵

Note: According to the representation of the titles above, the Sumerian titles of the priests will be used in the translations of Hittite texts without the Akkadian or Hittite complements. Thus: SANGA-priest, SANGA-priestess, GUDU-priest, AMA.DINGIR-priestess. For ^{LÚ}/LU^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} the translation "Temple-Man/Men" will be used.

⁹² Hoffner (1996) 151-156. He also suggests that the Hittite word behind the logogram "was an a- stem common gender noun", *ibid*, footnote 9.

⁹³ Güterbock (1972) 130 n. 24.

⁹⁴ Popko, *THeth* 21: 12.

⁹⁵ Pecchioli Daddi (1999) 156.