

4.2 THE GUDU-PRIEST

4.2.1 Introduction

In the Hittite texts, the ideogram GUDU₁₂ (henceforth simply referred to as GUDU without index number), is always preceded by the male determinative LU'.⁶⁰² For the title of this priest see section 2.8.3 above (pp. 31-32).

Looking at the attestations of the GUDU-priests on the basis of the CTH numbers, one may see that this title appears mainly in texts describing cultic activity. Especially prominent is that of ancient Anatolian traditions - the Ḫattian-Hittite religious traditions.

A) The following list shows at a glance the kinds of texts in which the GUDU-priests are mentioned, and which will be used to describe this office.

261 - Instructions for Commanders of Border Garrisons (ICBG);
 264 - Instructions for Temple Personnel (ITP);
 282 - KUB 30.68 (a shelf list for tablets of festivals);
 321 - Myth of Illuyanka; 375 - Arnuwanda and Ašmunikal prayer
 503 - Cult Inventory; 517 - Inventory of ḪLAMMA of Karaḫna;
 520 - The Queen deity; 525 - Inventory of sanctuaries by Tudḫaliya IV;
 530 - Inventory fragments; 580 - Bird oracles (regarding the cult);

591 - EZEN ITU (Festival of the month); 599 - Trip of the ^{KUŠ}kurša-bag in the winter; 604, 608, 609, 621 - AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival; 626 - Festival of Haste;
 627 - KILAM festival; 634 - Great festival at Arinna; 635 - Festival for the Storm-god of Zippalanda; 638 - Festival for the god Telipinu;
 645 - Festival for the Underworld Deities;
 647 - Festival celebrated by the prince;
 648 - Festival performed by DUMU-aš; 649 - Festival naming the NIN.DINGIR;
 650 - Festival naming the *zintuḫi*-women; 654 - Festival naming the people of Kuruštama; 662 - Offerings for local cults; 669, 670 - Festival fragments;

671 - Prayer to the Storm-god of Nerik; 675 - Cult of Nerik ;
 677.5 - Cult of Nerik; 678 - Fragments Cult of Nerik;
 733 - Invocation of Ḫattic Deities in Languages of men and Gods;
 737 - Festival of Nerik;
 743 - Ḫattic songs; 744 - Ḫattic texts; 745 - Ḫattic texts;
 760 - Ritual of Tunnawiya; 821 - The royalty divine law.

⁶⁰² He is a male functionary, and when a female is mentioned next to him, it is his wife, written DAM LU'GUDU₁₂ (below 4.2.5 pp. 271-272).

The above list shows the affiliation of the GUDU-priest with the cult on the one hand, and with the Hattian tradition on the other. Already attested in the oldest cultic texts,⁶⁰³ the GUDU-priests are a genuine part of the major traditional festivals of the Hittite kingdom, such as the ANTAḤŠUM-festival, the *nuntarriyašša*-festival, the KILAM-festival, and the regular festivals of Arinna, Nerik, and Zippalanda. This group of priests belonged to the mainstream cult of the Hittite kingdom through all the years of its existence.

In the following, a survey of the major characteristics of the GUDU-priest will be given, based upon the different texts in which he is mentioned.

B) In many of the texts the GUDU-priest is a single person. In the texts in which the title is written in the plural form LÚ^{MES}, we may find that there are only two priests.⁶⁰⁴ In the following texts we find written “2 LÚ^{MES} GUDU₁₂”: ABoT 13 vi 2’ 19’; KUB 2.15 v 3 and vi 16; KBo 25.176 rev. 5’; IBoT 3.54; KBo 21.69 iv 11[14]; KBo 8.122 rev. 9’; KUB 20.70 i 11’, 13’; KUB 34.124 obv.² 4’; KUB 41.51 iii [1’] 4’, 8’.⁶⁰⁵

Similar to the single GUDU-priest of the town Karaḥna, the towns of Kartapaḥa, Arinna, Zippalanda, and Nerik also have a single GUDU-priest. It may well be that a large town with several temples will yet have only one, or at most two GUDU-priests, as may be suggested from the Karaḥna text which counts no GUDU-priests for any temples except the ⁴LAMMA’s temple (KUB 38.12 ii 1-5).

An interesting picture can be derived from texts describing the GUDU-priest and the prince (DUMU-aš and DUMU.LUGAL). The GUDU-priest walks to different towns with the prince, as can be seen in KBo 25.112 ii+KUB 48.12 ii, which presents the trip between the towns Mišturaḥa, Ḥašhatatta, Taḥišama, and Katašera.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰³ See Neu, *StBoT* 26: 242-243.

⁶⁰⁴ In other texts where it is written LÚ^{MES} one cannot be certain that there are only two GUDU-priests.

⁶⁰⁵ In KBo 21.52+ 13’-14’ there are two GUDU-priests, one from Arinna and one from Zippalanda, but they are not termed “two”.

⁶⁰⁶ For this join see Forlanini (1984) 248.

4.2.2 GUDU-priests’ affiliation with towns and deities

A) Affiliation with specific towns:

It is possible that these towns are the place of origin of each priest or their permanent officiating place, or both.

The GUDU-priests are mainly related to the towns Arinna, Zippalanda, and Nerik. Thus in the ANTAḤŠUM-festival the GUDU-priests of Arinna perform in the palace (KUB 10.20 i 32-35; KBo 24.112+KUB 30.39 obv. 26; KBo 23.99, 30’). In the great festival of Arinna the GUDU-priest is led by the overseer of the king’s bodyguards (IBoT 2.14 obv. 7’-9’). In a festival fragment the GUDU-priests are again identified as originating in the town of Arinna (KUB 10.54 v 10’ and earlier on col. iv 8’ they are made to bow to the king; compare this text with KUB 2.15 v 3 and vi 16; KUB 46.5 rev.² 6’; KBo 8.102, 5’). In the KILAM-festival, among the men of the towns Arinna and Zippalanda who receive clothing from the administration, two GUDU-priests of Arinna are counted (KBo 25.176 rev. 5’), and in another fragment a GUDU-priest of Arinna and a GUDU-priest of Zippalanda are mentioned (KBo 21.52+ 13’-14’). Among ration lists related to the cultic functionaries in the old Hittite festival in Zippalanda, a GUDU-priest is mentioned as receiving meat and bread (KBo 16.71+ rev. 13’-17’ and obv.² 5’-6’).⁶⁰⁷ In a festival for the Storm-god of Zippalanda a GUDU-priest is mentioned together with the town’s people (KBo 25.103 obv.² 3’-5’). In the spring festival for Mount Daḥa the Man of the Storm-god calls the Storm-god of Zippalanda to protect the king, after which the cult functionaries come and bow to the god. Among them is a GUDU-priest (KUB 41.29 iii 14’).⁶⁰⁸ In the festival surrounding the *kurša* / hunting bag of the Storm-god of Zippalanda, a GUDU-priest is counted among the cult functionaries (KUB 20.25+10.78 and KBo 30.155; KUB 11.33).⁶⁰⁹

As for the town of Nerik, KUB 42.100 is a cult inventory for this town. It clearly identifies the priest as LÚ¹²GUDU₁₂ URU¹²Ne-ri-ik (obv. 8’). In a text reporting on the regular festival in the town of Nerik the GUDU-priest is mentioned as coming from there (KUB 28.80 iv 7’). He is also the main figure to conduct the evocation and prayer to the Storm-god of Nerik (KUB 36.89), and performs with other functionaries during the town’s *purulli*-festival as well

⁶⁰⁷ See Popko, *THeth* 21: 102; 118-119.

⁶⁰⁸ For this text as part of the Zippalanda cult see Popko, *THeth* 21: 214-218.

⁶⁰⁹ Popko, *THeth* 21: 304-317.

(KUB 58.11).⁶¹⁰

Other towns to which the GUDU-priest is related:

1. Kartapaḥa. Here the GUDU-priest provides for the festival *aškuuama* (HT 96 rev. 8'; KUB 11.33 iii 11, 20; iv 1'). The town is of Ḫattian origin and is related to Katapa and other towns in the area of the Ḫattian-Hittite center.⁶¹¹
2. Kaštama. In the group of texts mentioning the prince celebrating the festivals, a GUDU-priest often appears. In these texts the main celebration takes place in the town of Kaštama.⁶¹² (Thus in KUB 20.80 iii 6'; 20.81 3, 9; KBo 21.79 iv 10'; perhaps also KUB 28.94 i 2').
3. Taḫšamaš and Katašeraš. These two towns are mentioned in a text of Ḫattian recitation which may well be a mythological account by a GUDU-priest. The towns are mentioned in relation to a forest, and they are related to Zalpa on the shore of the Black Sea (KUB 48.12).⁶¹³
4. Urišta/Urešta. GUDU-priests are mentioned as arriving in this town for the celebration of the spring festival. The town is mentioned in this cult inventory text together with the celebration of deities from the town of Ḫakmiš (KUB 25.23).⁶¹⁴
5. Karaḥna. The cult inventory of this town counts one GUDU-priest for the temple of the LAMMA-deity of Karaḥna (KUB 38.12 i 11).
6. Zuppara/u. The town appears in KUB 60.152 i' 6' 8' 16' in relation to a GUDU-priest of that town.⁶¹⁵
7. Tiliura. The town is mentioned in an inventory of a new temple in the town (KUB 38.3 i 7-8).⁶¹⁶
8. Ḫattuša. There is no direct affiliation of GUDU-priests with Ḫattuša as there is with Arinna and Zippalanda or the other examples above. One must, of course, take for granted that these functionaries performed in Ḫattuša as well, as the ITP makes evident.

⁶¹⁰ Haas (1994) 741.

⁶¹¹ *RGTC* 6/1: 184.

⁶¹² *RGTC* 6/1: 193, though the GUDU-priest is identified by the town of Nerik.

⁶¹³ *RGTC* 6/2: 76, 153. For the relation of the Zalpa-tradition and the GUDU-priest, see below 4.2.4.4 p. 251 and 4.2.6 p. 276.

⁶¹⁴ *RGTC* 6/1: 461-463.

⁶¹⁵ The location of the town is unknown.

⁶¹⁶ The town was on the border between the Hittites and the Kaškeans. Only during the time of Muṣili II was the town rebuilt. See *RGTC* 6/1: 421-422.

The GUDU-priest is clearly affiliated with towns of central Anatolia, pointing to the strong connection between this office and the ancient Ḫattian traditions.

Since the priests are mentioned specifically in relation to towns, the question arises whether indeed all temples had a GUDU-priest, as can be assumed by a reading of the text ICBG (2.3 above p. 11). In order to attempt and present a possible answer, an examination to KUB 25.23 is suggested. This text dates from the time of Tudḫaliya IV and describes the cult of the towns Urešta and Ḫakmiš.⁶¹⁷ Col. i lines 8'-11': "When it becomes spring (and) it thunders, [they break open the *ḫaršiy[alli-]*vessel [and] the men of the town of Urešta mill (and) grind (the contents). The next day the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, the lords, the noblemen [] arrive in (town)⁶¹⁸. They carry (the statue of) Ḫalwanna up to the mountain." Next there is a ceremony with bread, beer and meat. Line 19': "Whatever towns (situated) around the mountain, they together bring bread (and) beer." They celebrate with eating, drinking and wrestling until evening when they "bring the deity home to the town, and place him inside the temple" (line 23'-4'). The next day "the SANGA-priest celebrates from his house for (mountain) Ḫalwanna the spring festival at the expense of his household" (lines 26'-7'). A list of all the food to be provided for the festival is presented; they fill the rhytons and eat and drink. "The next day they take up the deity and carry him home to Ḫakmiš. And he (is to stay) there" (lines 32'-3'). This description presents a situation in which the GUDU-priest, among other cult functionaries and administrative dignitaries, arrives in a town to perform a ceremony as part of the spring festival. That may explain the fact that a GUDU-priest resided in some towns and in others he was just a guest during the festivals.

Another example, referring to a year in which a war disrupts the normal procedure for celebrating the holidays, is described on the colophon of KUB 28.80.⁶¹⁹

Rev. iv

x+1 tup-pi ma-al-te-eš-na-aš⁶²⁰ ŠA E[ZE]N
2' URU Ne-ri-ik KA-IA-MA-NIM
3' ki-nu-na-aš GIBIL-an TUP-PI

⁶¹⁷ For treatment of the text see Carter (1962) 154; Hazenbos (2003) 30-40.

⁶¹⁸ This translation is based on the form *anda aranzi*.

⁶¹⁹ Kühne and Otten, *StBoT* 16: 27 transliterate and translate the text, dating it between Šuppiluliuma I and the closing of the 13th century BCE.

⁶²⁰ Read this form as singular.

- 4' ma-a-an ku-u-ru-ra-aš MU^U₁₂-aš
 5' EZEN^{URU} Ne-ri-ik [^U] ^{RU}Ha-ak-ka-mi-iš-ši
 6' iš-šu-ua-an da-i-e-ir nu LÚ^U d^UISKUR
 7' LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-ga-az a[r-h]a[?]
 8' ú-e-ir nu-kán ki-i ma-al-[te-eš]-ša[r]
 9' a-pé-e-da-aš da-a-e-ir na-a[t-ká]n[?]
 10' ka-ru-i-li-aš⁶²¹ ma-al-te-eš-na-aš
 11' na-at-ta ha-an-[t]a-a-a[n]

The tablet of the recitation of the regular festival of Nerik. Now there (is) a new tablet: "When they started to celebrate the Nerik festival, during the 'hostile years', in Ħakmiš, the Man of the Storm-god and the GUDU-priest came out of Nerik [over there]." They set this recitation for those (priests). The older recitation does not correspond.⁶²²

The priests depart from the town Nerik for Ħakmiš, in a situation of war, to celebrate the festivals for which they are responsible. They are the ones who know how to perform the celebration.

Another cult inventory text, however, suggests that when a new temple is constructed, its personnel includes a GUDU-priest as part of the regular staff. KUB 38.3 i 7-8 read as follows: "We have built him (i.e. the god) a new temple [] (and) previously (we have) [installed] for him a SANGA-priest, a GUDU-priest (and) a 'spear-man'".⁶²³

B) Deities with which GUDU-priests are affiliated

The GUDU-priests are often mentioned simply as LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ or LÚ^{MEŠ} GUDU₁₂ with no affiliation to a specific deity. Therefore the occasions in which the deity is mentioned should be examined.

1. LÚ^UGU]DU₁₂ d^UHal-ki[- IBoT 4.251. The text is too fragmentary.
2. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UHešta - KUB 20.4 v 13'.
3. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^U[na-a]r - KBo 25.31 ii 6'; and KUB 58.63 ii 12
 LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UI-na-ar.⁶²⁴
4. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UTelipinu - KUB 20.45 passim. KUB 34.128 rev. 10; IBoT 3.25,4'.
5. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UISKUR - KBo 22.197 i 9' 12'; KUB 20.88 i 24.

⁶²¹ The form is genitive singular.

⁶²² Compare with *CHD* L-N: 136^a.

⁶²³ This text is of Tudḫaliya IV and it may point to the changes undergone by the cult personnel. See Brandenstein (1943) 17; Haas (1994) 327 n. 101.

⁶²⁴ Is this priest the one who belongs to the d^ULAMMA temple in Karaḫna?

6. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UU - IBoT 1.10 iii 7', 11', 16'; KBo 34.191 r. col. 1'.⁶²⁵
 KBo 34.193 line 2'; KUB 34.128 obv. 5, 6, 8, 11 rev. 4; IBoT 3.41 3'.⁶²⁶
7. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UU^{URU} Nerik - KBo 3.7 i 1 (as has been restored⁶²⁷) iii 34⁶²⁸,
 KBo 21.79 iv 8'.
8. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UUTU - KBo 30.130 obv. 1; KUB 53.4 obv. 24-8.
9. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^ULAMMA - KUB 20.45+ iv 2.
10. LÚ^U GUDU₁₂ d^UKattaḫḫa - KUB 20.45+ i15-18.

This list reveals deities who all belong to the core of the religious tradition of the Ḫattian-Hittite religion.

There are, however, other deities mentioned in the rituals performed by the GUDU-priests, and they may be included in the cultic sphere of the GUDU-priest. These deities include: d^UMUNUS.LUGAL^{URU} katapa (KUB 44.4); d^UKUŠ kurša (KBo 30.155); d^UMezzulla (ABoT 13 vi 4'); d^ULelwani, d^UŠiuatta, d^UTašamma, d^UTašinmezza, d^UUD, d^UIštušiya, d^UPapaya, d^UḪašammili, Zilipuriya (all appear in KBo 17.15 obv. 8'-18', where the overseer of the cooks and the GUDU-priest are responsible for sacrificing to these deities); the Storm-god of Zippalanda (KUB 11.33 iii 1-3); the Storm-god of the town of Kaštama (KUB 28.94 i 1'-2'; KUB 28.90 i 7'); the Daḫangaili deity (KUB 58.11+IBoT 3.27 Obv. 17-21);⁶²⁹ on the reverse side of this tablet, appears a list of deities who are being drunk: Sun-god(dess), Mezzulla, Storm-god, Storm-god of Zippalanda, Zaliyanu, Tazuḫašši, the Tutelary Deity, the Day-god, the Storm-god of Nerik, and ZABABA; ZABABA and Zaliyanu appear also in KUB 20.80 iii 16'-17; in KUB 44.5 there is a mention of the deities Tazuḫašši and Zašḫapuna, likely next to the scepters of Zaliyanu; the prince drinks d^ULAMMA, and ZABABA also appears in a broken section a few lines latter; for ZABABA see also KUB 58.41 rev.[?] v 19'; the Storm-god of heaven (d^UISKUR ŠA-ME-E) and Zalipinu are also mentioned in KUB 58.16 i 14'-15', 22'; in KBo 11.29 we find the SANGA-priest with the GUDU-priest sacrificing to a group of deities: d^UISKUR, d^UŠulinkate, d^UKattaḫḫa,

⁶²⁵ [LÚ^UGU]DU₁₂ [d^UU]. See van Gessel, *Onomasticon* 2: 795.

⁶²⁶ Van Gessel, *Onomasticon* 2: 795 adds also IBoT 3.25, 11' [LÚ^UGUDU₁₂] d^UU pa-a-i.

⁶²⁷ Laroche (1965) 75; Haas (1970) 158.

⁶²⁸ Laroche (1965) 70.

⁶²⁹ Haas (1970) 214-219.

and the ^dŠalawani of the gate.⁶³⁰

All these deities are connected with the ancient cult of Anatolia, and some of them are well known from the Hittite myths of Hattian origin. Such are the Storm-god, the Sun-god, Inara, ^dTelipinu, and ^dḪalki, as well as the gods of Kaštama (Zaliyanu, Tazuwašši, Zašḫapuna), and the old Hattian deities (^dIštušiya, ^dPapaya, ^dḪašammili, Zilipuriya and ^dUD).

4.2.3 Named GUDU-priests

The GUDU-priests who are identified by name in the Hittite texts are but a few. They are: Kella, Taḫpurili, Wanni, and Zullanni.⁶³¹ The first two are involved with handing down and preserving the old Anatolian mythological stories.

A) Kella is mentioned as the priest who tells the Hattian myth of the Storm-god and the serpent in two versions.⁶³² The first version begins as follows: “(This is) the text of the *purulli*-(festival) for the [...] of the Storm-god of heaven, according to Kella, [the GUDU-priest] of the Storm-god of Nerik: When they speak thus - ‘Let the land prosper (and) thrive, and let the land be protected’ - and when it prospers and thrives, they perform the *purulli*-festival.” Hereafter follows the myth of the Storm-god and the serpent. The colophon of the second version ends as follows, identifying the priest: “Tablet one, complete, of the word of Kella, the GUDU-priest. Piḫaziti, [the scribe] wrote it under the supervision of Walwaziti, the chief scribe.”⁶³³ For the origin of the name of Kella, Laroche suggests the name of a river or spring (KBo 11.40 i 20).⁶³⁴

B) Taḫpurili appears in the myth just discussed as one who conducts the lot casting among the gods; he speaks with them and

⁶³⁰ For these deities see McMahon (1991) 272.

⁶³¹ One more name, *ua_a-ḫu-ut-ta-a-i-li*, has been suggested by Forlanini (1984) 247 n.8 and 253. He has combined KUB 30.68 rev. 6 with KUB 28.77 i 1-3. For these texts see below regarding the GUDU-priest as a reciter.

⁶³² These well known Hittite myths of Hattian origin were edited and translated by several scholars. Two important translations with comments and bibliography are those by Hoffner (1990) 10-14, whose translation is presented here, and by Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani (1990) 39-54.

⁶³³ DUB 1 KAM QA-T[I] ŠA ^mKi-e-l’a¹ ^{LU}GU[DU]₁₂ u[d-[d]a-na-aš ^mPi-ḫa-LÚ [^{LU}DUB.SAR] PA-NI ^mUR.MAḪ<LÚ?> GAL DU[B.SAR]^{ME}₁₅ according to Beckman’s edition (1982) 17-18.

⁶³⁴ Laroche, *NH* p. 278.

directs their participation in the ceremony to come.⁶³⁵ The name Taḫpurili appears in other texts of the Hittite corpus, including: KBo 16.81 i 3 as LÚ ^dU (“Man of the Storm-god”); KBo 25.9 i 6 as ^{LU}GUDU₁₂; and KBo 16.73 as ^{LU}AGRIG (“administrator”). Beckman has already discussed this issue, suggesting that “we are dealing with an office named after an early incumbent, or perhaps with an individual known by his professional designation.”⁶³⁶ Since not all the Taḫpurili’s were GUDU-priests, or at least did not have the same function in the cult, I would be cautious and suggest that it could have been a common name of the Hattian-Hittite corpus, or that it was a prestigious one. This is indeed a Hittite name originating in Hattic, as indicated by its ending *-ili*.⁶³⁷

C) Wanni and Zullanni, appear in the same text, KUB 18.9 ii 22’; iii 7, which is a report of an oracle inquiry. In the text both priests report of sins which occurred in their temple, for which the deity may have been angry. This oracle text mentions several names of men and women: ^mAnniniyami (i 5’), ^mKurša-^dLAMMA (ii 10), ^mNa-na-an-ta ŠA ^{LU}SANGA (ii 17’), the wife of ^mZulkiya (iii 2). Names of two towns were preserved as well: Zunauli (i 7’) and Arinna (iii 5’).

The names of the GUDU-priests are of Hittite-Luwian origin (especially the ending *-anni*).⁶³⁸ Zullanni, according to Laroche, must be of Cappadocian origin, from Zula.⁶³⁹ Another priest by the name Wanni appears in KUB 12.2 i 24. In this text the person named Wanni is a SANGA-priest, and he is related to ^dU ^{URU}Ḫa-ja-ša ^{NA4}ZI.KIN ^mWa-an-ni-i-iš ^{LU}SANGA (“Wanni the SANGA-priest of the *ḫuwašši*-stone of the Storm-god of Ḫayaša”).⁶⁴⁰ This text is a list of offerings demanded by different priests and priestesses. The land of Ḫayaša became a vassal to the Hittite kingdom in

⁶³⁵ Hoffner (1990) 13.

⁶³⁶ Beckman (1982) 23 §30 with n. 81. He follows here a possibility suggested by Neu (*StBoT* 25: 27 n. 72) regarding the name Taḫpurili, probably the ^{LU}AGRIG of the town Kaštama, in KBo 16.73 iii 5’-6’. Beckman also mentions a parallel with a title of Hittite kings, Labarna - the name of the first Hittite king which became a royal title, mainly in religious context. See also Pecchioli Daddi and Polvani (1990) 53 n. 23.

⁶³⁷ Laroche, *NH* pp. 251-252.

⁶³⁸ Laroche, *NH* p. 260.

⁶³⁹ Laroche, *NH* pp. 331, 212.

⁶⁴⁰ According to Laroche, *NH* p. 340, Wanni is a Luwian name meaning “block of stone”.

Šuppiluliuma's time,⁶⁴¹ and was in the northeast of Anatolia.

Regarding the other names in this text (KUB 18.9), Anniniyami should be of a Luwian origin because of the component *anni*, "mother", and the ending *-mi*. Zulkiya is based on the Hurrian deity name Zulki, and it appears in an Akkadian text (KBo 1.1 rev. 33).⁶⁴² The name Kurša-dLAMMA, meaning "the Tutelary Deity of the hunting bag", was a god worshipped throughout Hittite history, from Hattian texts to texts of the Hurrian cult.⁶⁴³ The name ^mNa-na-an-ta is formed of the noun Nana, meaning "brother", with the Hittite-Luwian ending *-(a)nta*.⁶⁴⁴

This combination of names of different linguistic origins in tablet KUB 18.9 may indicate the process through which the Hittite cult has passed. KUB 18.9 can be dated epigraphically to the New Kingdom, for it contains new forms (such are HA, DU, IT, TE), and displays a tendency to use more ideographic spelling. This may indeed suggest a change in the ethnicity of the priesthood. Since we cannot determine for which temple or temples the inquiry is conducted, we may say that the names of the GUDU-priests are of Hittite-Luwian origin, and no longer simply Hattian-Hittite.

4.2.4 The GUDU-priest as a cult functionary

In all the texts surveyed, the GUDU-priest is described in his cultic activities. These activities are always part of a larger ritual involving the participation of other cult functionaries, as well as priests of different deities. While it seems that he is never alone in his performance, this performance is conducted in front of the royal family: king, queen, the crown prince, princes, and princesses. Basically, we may divide his activity into two main actions: consecration and recitation.⁶⁴⁵ In the following his cultic roles will be surveyed.

4.2.4.1 Consecration roles of the GUDU-priest

The GUDU-priest appears consecrating certain objects, including animals. The verb used to denote the consecration is *šipant-*. This verb can be translated as "sacrifice" or as "consecrate, libate", the translation depending on the use of the particle *-kán* or its absence,

⁶⁴¹ Bryce (1998) 163.

⁶⁴² Laroche, *NH* p. 213.

⁶⁴³ McMahon (1991) 39-40.

⁶⁴⁴ Laroche, *NH* pp. 328-329.

⁶⁴⁵ It must be emphasized that he is not mentioned as slaughtering animals.

or according to the context.⁶⁴⁶ The meaning of "libate" can be grasped as part of the activity of consecration, since it entails libating liquids. The following text presents the consecration as procedured by the king.

A) The text KUB 20.87 obv. i 7-12 (consecration of a bull by the king) was transliterated and translated by Güterbock and van den Hout:⁶⁴⁷

The overseer of the bodyguards says (the name of the bull) to the men of the scepter. The overseer of the men of the scepter say it to the SANGA-priest, and the GUDU-priest gives the libation vessel of the deity to the SANGA-priest. The SANGA-priest, then, consecrates the bull.

Within a ritual of consecrating a bull by the king, the SANGA-priest performs the consecration: ^{LU}SANGA-ša GU₄.MAḪ ši-pa-an-ti. The verb *šipant-* clearly means "to consecrate" or "sanctify". The GUDU-priest serves the SANGA-priest by handing him the libation vessel. The GUDU-priest is in charge of the *išpantuzzešar*-vessel of the deity.⁶⁴⁸

It is often said of the GUDU-priest that he is *šipanti*/BAL-*anti*. In KUB 44.21 obv. 2-4, it is said: "The next morning the new

⁶⁴⁶ On the verb *šipant-* see Kronasser, *EHS* : 522-525. For the use of the verb for liquids as well as animals, with or without a particle *-kán*, see Goetze (1970) 77-92, who presented numerous examples for the use of this verb showing the meaning of libation next to sacrificing animals to the gods. See also McMahon (1991) 67, who indicates that the use of *-kán* is not always implied, and that the context must be considered as well. When the act following *šipant-* is *huk-* ("slaughter"), *šipant-* must mean "consecrate".

⁶⁴⁷ The text is transliterated and translated by Güterbock and van den Hout (1991) 62-63.

⁶⁴⁸ Another scene with bulls including the GUDU-priest is described in KUB 20.10 iv 9'-16':

(9') MUNUS^{MES} URU^U Ne-ri-ik-ma (10') ŠA GU₄.MAḪ^{HLA} ŠIR
(11') a-ya-an ka-it-ga-ḫi-il-lu-u (12') an-da-a-ru li-el-li
(13') li-ip-ḫa ip-pi-in ŠIR^{RU}

(14') LUGAL-uš EGIR GU₄.MAḪ^{HLA} i-ja-ta-ri
(15') 1 DUMU É.GAL 1 ME-ŠE-DI LÚ^{GU}
(16') ^{GIS}mu-u-kar ḫar-zi ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ (Edge of tablet)

"The women of Nerik sing the song of the bulls: a-ya-an ka-it-ga-ḫi-il-lu-u an-da-a-ru li-el-li li-ip-ḫa ip-pi-in. The king walks behind the bulls. One palace attendant, one bodyguard, the Man of the Storm-god holding the mukar-instrument, and a GUDU-priest." See also KUB 58.41 ii 11'-13': "Behind the bull are walking one [palace atte]ndant, one bodyguard, the Man of the Storm-god, a GUDU-priest and they [bow] to the king. [] the GUDU-priest holds a scepter."

SANGA-priest celebrates the festival of purifying the altar. The GUDU-priest consecrates (nu-kán ...BAL-*anti*) one sheep to the Storm-god. [At the a]ltar they slaughter. They place the meat.” The GUDU-priest does the first step of consecrating or sanctifying the animal, after which “they” (probably the cooks) slaughter it and then place the meat before the deity.

B) In KUB 58.11 + IBoT 3.27⁶⁴⁹ the GUDU-priest is described as follows:

Obv. 1-6

When the king [goes] into the *daḥanga*-room, in front [] and thus they do. The overseer of the scribes on wood, the ov[er]seer [of the palace [attendants], the scribe, the Man of the Storm-god and the GUDU-priest, walk in front of the *daḥa[nga]*. The Man of the Storm-god holds a *mukar*-instrument. They walk (and) they step on the pedestal(?)⁶⁵⁰ of the *daḥanga*, but they do not yet enter the *daḥanga*. The words of the evocation as they know thus they will speak.

Following this description, sacrificial animals and breads are sent from the palace and are listed. Then we read the following ritual:

Obv. 10-14

They bring all of this to the *daḥanga*. The Man of the Storm-god places the *mukar*-instrument in front of the “big tree”, while the overseer of the scribes on wood speaks forth the words. The GUDU-priest breaks three *danna*-breads to the Storm-god of Nerik, and three *danna*-breads to the deity ZABABA. They make one? *danna*-bread a mashed bread and the GUDU-priest makes rounds at the (holy) pl[aces]. Afterwards, with *tawal*, *walḫi*, and wine, he makes round at the (holy) places.

The GUDU-priest “makes rounds” (*irḥāizzi*). This verb denotes the idea of libating at certain places, written with the Akkadogram *AŠ-R^UA*. These places can be seen in other texts where the GUDU-priest libates during the ritual.⁶⁵¹

C) KUB 10.15 describes a ritual involving the participation of the king, who is assisted by the overseer of the table-men and a GUDU-priest:

Obv. iii

10' UGULA LÚ^{MES} GIŠ^{BANŠUR} 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA.GAL

⁶⁴⁹ Transliterated and translated by Haas (1970) 214-219.

⁶⁵⁰ See *CHD* P/2: 211.

⁶⁵¹ For a description and discussion of these sacred places see Haas (1994) 262-282.

11' LUGAL-i pa-ra-a e-ep-zi
12' LUGAL-uš QA-TAM da-a-i ta-an pár-ši-ja
13' LUGAL-uš-za EGIR-pa A-ŠAR-ŠU
14' e-ep-zi

15' nu UGULA LÚ^{MES} GIŠ^{BANŠUR} LÚ^{GUDU}₁₂-ša
16' 5 NINDA.GUR₄.RA pár-ši-ja-an-zi
17' nu-kán ZAG.GAR.RA-ni 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA
18' ḥar-pa-an-zi GUNNI-i
19' 12 NINDA.GUR₄.RA ḥar-pa-an-zi

The overseer of the table-men holds forth to the king one big thick bread. The king lays a hand (on it), and he breaks it. The king returns to (lit. takes back) his place.

The overseer of the table-men and the GUDU-priest break five thick breads and they pile on the altar three thick breads. On the hearth they pile twelve thick breads.

Edge of tablet

Rev. iv

1 LUGAL-u[š pa-iz-z]i iš-ta-na-ni
2 pí-ra[-an] ti-i-e-iz-zi
3 nu-uš-ši UGULA LÚ^{MES} GIŠ^{BANŠUR} LÁL pa-a-i
4 LUGAL-uš ZAG.GAR.RA-ni 3-ŠU da-a-i
5 UGULA LÚ^{MES} GIŠ^{BANŠUR} LÁL ḥa-aš-ši-i
6 3-ŠU da-a-i na-aš-ta LÚ^{GUDU}₁₂
7 IŠ-TU^{DUG} GIR.GÁN LÁL da-a-i
8 nu ḥa-at-tal-ua-aš GIŠ-i 1-ŠU da-a-i
9 LÚ^{GUDU}₁₂ ZAG.GA.RA-ni pa-ra-a pa-iz-zi
10 nu iš-ka₄-ru-uh GEŠTIN da-a-i
11 ta iš-ta-na-ni pí-ra-an 3-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti
12 GUNNI 3-ŠU ḥa-at-tal-ua-aš GIŠ-i 1-ŠU
13 ši-pa-an-ti

The king [goes and] steps in front of the altar. The overseer of the table-men gives him honey.

The king places (honey) on the altar three times. The overseer of the table-men places honey three times on the hearth. Then the GUDU-priest takes honey from a GIR.GÁN-vessel.

And on the wood of the door bolt he places once.
The GUDU-priest goes forth to the altar and takes the golden *iškaruḥ*.
Then in front of the altar he libates three times, at the hearth three times and at the wood of the door bolt (again) once he libates.

D) The GUDU-priest's involvement in this libation ritual in the temple at the wood of the door bolt, the altar, and the hearth is repeated in other fragments, such as KUB 20.46 iv 2'-10':

2'	[LÚ ^{GIŠ} BANŠU]R?-aš-ši	[The tabl]e ² -[man]
3'	[ša-r]a-a šu-un-na-a-i	fills (it) up for him.
4'	[LÚ ^{GIŠ} GUDU ₄ pa-iz-zi	The GUDU-priest goes to
5'	[išl-ta-na-a-ni	the altar, (and)
6'	pí-ra-an 3-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti	in front he libates three times,
7'	ḥa-aš-ši-i 3-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti	on the hearth three times he libates.
8'	^a Te-li-pí-nu 3-ŠU	To the god Telipinu three times
9'	ši-pa-an-ti ^{GIŠ} ḥa-tal-ḡa-aš	he libates, on the wood of the door bolt
10'	GIŠ-i 1-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti	once he libates.

E) KUB 20.70, according to its colophon (col. vi), describes the *nuntarriyašḥa*-festival. In col. i the GUDU-priest performs in front of the king as follows:⁶⁵²

The GUDU-priest [holds] *ḥarzazu*-bread [forth to] the king.
The king lays a hand (on it) and [the GUDU-priest]
at all the (holy) places makes rounds [?]

Afterwards with beer, wine, *tawal* [?]
(and) *walḥi* in the same way he makes rounds at the places.

The two GUDU-priests go back, and they take their place.
The king rises from prostration,⁶⁵³ and the GUDU-priests prostrate.

4.2.4.2 The libation implements used by the GUDU-priest

There are three implements - vessels or containers - which are mentioned as being used by the GUDU-priest: *išpantuzziššar* ("a libation vessel"),⁶⁵⁴ *iškaruḥ* ("a metal container used in libation"),⁶⁵⁵ and the *tapišana*-vessel.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵² Compare Nakamura (2002) 277-278.

⁶⁵³ See Puhvel's translation for LUGAL-uš *šarā UŠKEN*, lit. "the king prostrates himself up", in *HED* 1-2: 183.

⁶⁵⁴ Puhvel, *HED* 1-2: 439-441: *išpantuzziššar*. See also Kronasser, *EHS*: 290.

⁶⁵⁵ Puhvel, *HED* 1-2: 419-420.

⁶⁵⁶ Tischler, *HEG* 3/8 : 129-131.

A) The *išpantuzziššar*-vessel (ABOT 13 vi 11'18'):

11'	[LÚ] ^{MEŠ} > ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR ka-lu-u-ḥa-at
12'	[ša-r]a-a šu-un-na-a-i ^{LÚ} GUDU ₁₂ QA-TAM-MA
13'	[ši-p]a-an-ti LÚ ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR ka-lu-u-ḥa-at?
14'	[ša]-ra-a šu-un-na-a-i ^{LÚ} GUDU ₁₂ QA-TAM-MA
15'	[ši]-pa-an-ti LÚ ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR tu-u-ḡa-a-z
16'	[pa]-ra-a e-ep-zi ^{LÚ} GUDU ₁₂
17'	[i]š-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-ḡa-aš-šar KÙ.BABBAR ¹
18'	[EG]IR da-a-i ta-az A-ŠAR-ŠU e-e[p-zi]

The table-man fills up the *kaluḥat*. The GUDU-priest thus libates.
The table-man fills up the *kaluḥat*. The GUDU-priest thus libates.
The table-man from afar holds (it) forth. The GUDU-priest puts back the *išpantuzziššar*-vessel of silver, and he takes his place.

The *išpantuzziššar* may be made of silver or gold.

KBo 16.78 iv 2-4:⁶⁵⁷

[^Ḥh]i-lam-ni ^{LÚ}ḥa-mi-na-aš ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ [2 iš-pa-a]n-du-zi-ḡa-aš-šar RI-QU-TIM 1
ŠA KÙ.BABBAR [1 ŠA G]UŠKIN
[At the p]ortico the *ḥamena*-man (and) the GUDU-priest (hold) [two] empty
[*išp*]antuzziššar-vessels. One of silver (and)[one of g]old.

Other fragments mentioning the *išpantuzziššar*-vessel with the GUDU-priest are: KUB 10.56 3'; KBo 21.69 rev. iv 1-14 (dupl.? of ABOT 13 quoted above); KBo 22.198 i 1-7; and KBo 20.81 iii? 9'-11'.

B) The *iškaruḥ*

- 1) IBOT 3.17: "the silver-*iškaruḥ* the GUDU-priests (take?)"
- 2) KUB 10.15 iv 9-13: "The GUDU-priest goes forth to the altar and takes the golden *iškaruḥ*. Then in front of the altar he libates three times, at the hearth three times, and at the wood of the door bolt (again) once he libates".
- 3) KBo 11.29 obv. 8: in this passage it is not clear who the people holding the silver-*iškaruḥ* are. It needs to be emphasized therefore that this vessel is not used only by the GUDU-priest.⁶⁵⁸

C) The *tapišana*-vessel

The *tapišana*-vessel is a kind of pitcher or mug. This vessel, too, is

⁶⁵⁷ See Popko, *Theth* 21: 142 dating the text as NH, and as belonging to the corpus of Zippalanda.

⁶⁵⁸ KUB 28.104 iv 10'-12'.

not an object used exclusively by the GUDU-priest, but is used by him together with other cult functionaries for libation during the rituals. This vessel regularly appears together with the GUDU-priest/s in the corpus of texts involving the prince or crown prince. Thus KUB 20.45 col. i 11'-14'.⁶⁵⁹

- 11 ^{LÚ} GUDU₁₂ ^dTe-li-pí-nu ta-pí-ša-na-an A-NA DUMU.LU[GAL pa-ra-a e-ep-zi ^{LÚ} GUDU₁₂]
 12 ^dTe-li-pí-nu ZAG.GAR.RA-ni pí-ra-an 3-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti GUNNI-ši[an-dur-za 1-ŠU]
 13 nam-ma GUNNI-ši ta-pu-uš-za 1-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti DUMU.LUGAL UŠ-GI-EN [na-as-kán]
 14 [A-]NA É ^dHa-at-kat-ta⁶⁶⁰ [pa-iz-zi]

The GUDU-priest of the god Telipinu a *tapišana*-vessel [holds forth] to the prince. [The GUDU-priest] of Telipinu in front of the altar three times he libates, [inside] the hearth [once] he libates. Further he libates once at the side of the hearth. The prince bows. [Then] [t]o the temple of the deity Kataḫḫa [he goes].

In this text various GUDU-priests (of Telipinu, of the Storm-god, and of IMIN.IMIN.BI) hold forth to the prince the *tapišana*-vessel and libate at the altar and the hearth. A similar picture is presented in another ritual where the GUDU-priest and the king participate. KUB 25.36 col. v 1-8.⁶⁶¹

The GUDU-priest [gives] the Man of the Storm-g[od] a *tapišana*-vessel. The one, which the Man of the Storm-god holds, the GUDU-priest takes. The GUDU-priest holds the *tapišana*-vessel forth to the king, and the king from afar places his hand three times (on it). The GUDU-priest makes thus three rounds of libating to the deity ZABABA. The Man of the Storm-god with the libation vessel fills up (the *tapišana*-vessel) thus three times.⁶⁶²

The *tapišana*-vessel also appears in a ritual performed by the GUDU-priest of the Storm-god for the prince in KUB 34.128 obv.² 10', as well as in a ritual performed by the GUDU-priest for the NIN.DINGIR in KUB 34.93 obv.² 1'-12'.

The *tapišana*-vessels are carried by the cult personnel, as

⁶⁵⁹ Compare with KUB 20.45 rev. 25-27.

⁶⁶⁰ For ^dHaṭkatta = ^dKataḫḫa see van Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 228-209. See also the following lines 15-16.

⁶⁶¹ The text has Middle Hittite script. For the text see Haas (1970) 198-213.

⁶⁶² Compare a parallel scene in KUB 58.41 rev. v lines 3'-19'.

can be seen in the following description of the festival celebrated with the prince in the town of Kaštama (KUB 20.80 iii 14'-19'). After the prince is welcomed at the entrance to the town by different cult personnel, the *tapišana*-vessels are described as follows:

The cook of the god takes 2 *tapišana*-silver vessels of wine, and they (all cult functionaries mentioned before) run in front of the prince.⁶⁶³

In some of the cases in which the GUDU-priest libates, an indication is made that previously the GUDU-priest held forth the vessel on which the king or the prince have laid a hand, and only then does the priest libate. The laying of the hand, even from afar, identifies the sacrificer. The GUDU-priest acts on behalf of the sacrificer.

D) *zalḫai*-vessel

A GUDU-priest is mentioned in IBoT 2.14 obv. 10' as using a vessel called a *zalḫai*, made of gold.⁶⁶⁴ A *zalḫai* made of silver is mentioned in a broken context on line 4'. The GUDU-priest again uses this vessel for drawing wine.

- 8' [GAL].^{LÚ}MES ME-ŠE-DI ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{TÚG}še-ek-nu-un
 9' [e]l-ep-zi ta-an pe-e-ḫu-te-zi
 10' [t]a-aš-ta za-al-ḫa-it GUŠKIN
 11' GEŠTIN ḫa-a-ni
 [The overseer] of the bodyguards holds the GUDU-priest (by) the *šeknu*-coat,⁶⁶⁵ and leads him. With the *zalḫai*-vessel of gold he draws wine.

4.2.4.3 The GUDU-priest as purifier/sanctifier?

The texts mentioning the GUDU-priest as purifier are not clear enough in describing his actions. The first example is KBo 11.45+ col. iv 16'-19':

The prince takes a stand. They give him water for the hand. The prince washes his hand. The GU[DU-priest?], however, to the prince keeps pouring [. ⁶⁶⁶

The other text using the word *šuppiaḫḫ* ("to purify/ sanctify") is

⁶⁶³ See RGTC 6/1: 193-194 *Kaštama*.

⁶⁶⁴ For *zalḫai* see Kronasser, *EHS*: 207.

⁶⁶⁵ Compare for this translation CHD P/3: 259^a.

⁶⁶⁶ See the comment by Kammenhuber, *HW*² A: 225^a, for the verb *arra-* and *ḫurr. arš-*. See also Haas (1970) 233-234.

Bo 5478.⁶⁶⁷ It is a fragment mentioning the GUDU-priest with the prince and, later, the king.

Obv. i

3' [t]^UGUDU₁₂ DUMU.LUGAL šu-up-pí-ja-aḥ-ḥi x[

4' nu ḥu-kán-zi 1 GU, 20 UDU^{HI.A} ma-a-x[

5' ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ DUMU-li iš-pa-an-t[u-uz-zi-eš-šar?

The GUDU-priest purifies the prince [

Then they slaughter one ox and twenty sheep ...[

The GUDU-priest to the prince a lib[ation vessel gives?

One more text is KBo 8.102:

Obv.?

5']x ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ ^{URU}A-ri-in-na[

6']x ar-ta ṽa-a-tar iš-pár-nu-u[z-zi

7' LUGAL-]un šu-up-pí-ja-aḥ-ḥi

]a GUDU-priest of the town Arinna[

]stands. He sprinkles water[

]He purifies the [king?].

On the same side of the fragment the man who is acting upon the royal family is not identified, but it may well be the GUDU-priest:

10' -n]a MUNUS.LUGAL-aš Û DUMU.MUNUS^{MES} LUGAL i-ja-an-t[a-ri]

11' MUN[US.LUGAL-ri pí-ra-an ḥu-ja-an-da

12']x-na ṽa-a-tar iš-pár-nu-uz-z[i]

13' šu-up-p]í-ja-aḥ-ḥi LUGAL-un MUNUS.LUGAL-an-x?]

14']x pí-ra-an ḥu-ṽa-a-i LÚ[

15']x DUMU.MUNUS^{MES} LUGAL šu-up-pí-ja-aḥ-ḥi

]..the queen and the princes walk

] (are) running in front of [royal family?

]...he sprinkles water

]he [pur]ifies. The king and queen (acc.)

] he runs in front. The man[

]the princesses he purif[ies.

Another purification is mentioned in a text ascribed to the Zippalanda corpus by Popko, KUB 51.42 v 9'-11'.⁶⁶⁸ After the *ḥamena*-man libates with a silver *iškaruḥ*-vessel of wine before the alter and the *ḥuwaši*-stone, the following lines appear:

9' [EGIR?-]az ^{LU}ḥa-mi-na-aš ^{LU}GUDU₁₂

⁶⁶⁷ Neu, *StBoT* 25: 107-108.

⁶⁶⁸ Popko, *THeth* 21: 236.

10' [i]š-ka₄-ru-uḥ KÙ.BABBAR GEŠTIN da-a-i

11' [t]a an-da šu-up-pí-ja-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi

From [behind] the *ḥamena*-man, the GUDU-priest takes the silver *iškaruḥ* of wine, and they purify (it) inside.

However, these instances are only a few; it seems that the ideas of consecration and sanctifying are more characteristic of the GUDU-priest than that of purifying.

4.2.4.4 The GUDU-priest as a reciter

This characteristic of the GUDU-priest seems to be an important one among his priestly functions, and may even be regarded as the source of his priestly position in the Hittite-Ḫattic tradition. The verbs describing him in this function are *mema-* ("to speak")⁶⁶⁹ and *mald-* ("to recite").⁶⁷⁰ One may note here that the verb *mema-* sometimes also indicates recitation.⁶⁷¹

The GUDU-priest is seen reciting in several texts, and the recitation may be a short or a long one. Recitation held an important place in the beliefs of the ancients as a means of influencing the gods. The GUDU-priest, however, is not the only cult functionary who recites. Some examples of recitations by other functionaries can be seen in the following texts.

The ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉, a cultic figure participating in rituals, is also said to *mema-*, 'speak'.⁶⁷² His utterances must have been short ones (perhaps a blessing over the presented food, KUB 10.99 i 24-25⁶⁷³). It is indicated that he also does other kind of speaking (*ḥalzai/tezzil/maldi*), as well as singing. He is always part of a group of three functionaries at the last stage of a ritual: ^{LU}ALAN.ZU₉, *memai*, ^{LU}palwatalla palwaizzi, ^{LU}kita ḥalzai: "the *alanzu*-man recites, the *palwatalla*-man calls/claps, and the *kita*-man calls out" (KUB 2.15 vi 7, 19, 23-25).⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁶⁹ CHD L-N: 254-263. Recently, Justus (2004) 279 suggested that this verb originally goes to a secular verb *meld^b, meaning "solemnly announce", which replaced the Hittite *huek-* ("incant, say a spell"). This meaning makes the speech of the GUDU-priest, done on behalf of the king before the deity in the Ḫattic language, a solemnly truthful speech.

⁶⁷⁰ CHD L-N: 132-135.

⁶⁷¹ See for examples CHD L-N: 257².

⁶⁷² For a detailed description of this cult functionary's activity and the verbs used to describe it, and for recitations as well, see de Martino (1984) 131-148. See also Alp (1940) 65-77.

⁶⁷³ CHD L-N: 257^b.

⁶⁷⁴ There are many such instances in the rituals, among which the GUDU-priest

There must have been a difference between the contents and functions of the recitations of the GUDU-priest and those of the other cult functionaries. Following is a discussion of these types of recitation.

A) In KUB 28.91+58.6 (CTH 744) the GUDU-priest is mentioned briefly as reciting with other functionaries. This text was transliterated and translated by Popko,⁶⁷⁵ who suggests that it belongs to the *nuntarriyašša*-festival. The text celebrates the Storm-god of Zippalanda and the two other major deities of this town: the Storm-god of Heaven and the Sun-goddess of Earth. Only on column vi is there a mention of the GUDU-priest in a broken passage as follows: KUB 58.6⁶⁷⁶

Rev. vi

1	ú-ka-ua-ra-i-u	^{LÜ} GUDU ₁₂	te-ez-zi []
2	ma-a-ua-ua-ah	^{LÜ} ALAM.ZU ₆	te-ez-zi []
3	iz-zi-zi-ip-pu-pu-li-ja	ta	UŠ-K[I-EN-NU]	

This passage shows probably three functionaries who recite in Ḫattic: (Someone says:) “*ukawaraiu*”. The GUDU-priest says: “[] *mawawa*”. The *alamzu*-man says: “[] *izizippuliya*”. Then they bow.

This text seems to be a kind of conversation in Ḫattic, which is followed by the deliverance of the deity’s message by the Man of the Storm-god.

The GUDU-priest is part of the ancient tradition which celebrates the Storm-god of Zippalanda, and he recites in Ḫattic. This is seen in other passages as well (KBo 21.84 iv 1-3): ^{LÜ}GUDU₁₂ ma-al-[d]i ḫa-at-ti-i-li pu-ul-la ka-an-ni zi-il-la-[au-a?] an-ta-ši mi-iz []. Unfortunately, the Ḫattic is not yet translatable.

B) Another recitation of the GUDU-priest is found in several texts which show a similar ritual performed with the king and the prince. These texts come from the corpus of rituals related to Nerik: KUB 25.36 (with parallel passages in KUB 58.41); KUB 28.80; KBo 11.45+IBoT 3.87; and KUB 58.33. They were also appears. See also CHD P/1: 84².

⁶⁷⁵ Popko, *THeth* 21: 240-248.

⁶⁷⁶ Popko, *THeth* 21: 244-246.

transliterated and translated by Haas.⁶⁷⁷

The GUDU-priest recites in front of or behind the king during the rituals, with or without libation. KUB 58.33 iv 19’-21’ reads: “[The GUDU-priest] holds forth to the king a *huppar*-vessel. The king takes (it). The GUDU-priest recites.”

C) KUB 25.36 is a Middle Hittite ritual of the regular festival of Nerik (colophon vi 36?-38). Much of col. v is preserved and it shows a picture of the way the GUDU-priest recites during the ritual.

Rev. v ⁶⁷⁸

The king goes and bows to the Storm-god. The GUDU-priest steps behind him, while reciting in Ḫattic. When the GUDU-priest finishes reciting he slaps the king’s hands. The king bows and the GUDU-priest takes his place. The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa goes and bows to the Storm-god. He holds out his hands while reciting in Ḫattic, and the SANGA-priest of Ḫalipinu steps behind him. When the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa finishes reciting he bows and he goes back to his place.

The king goes (and) bows to ZABABA. The GUDU-priest steps behind him, while reciting in Ḫattic. When the GUDU-priest finishes reciting he slaps the king’s hands. The king bows and then he (i.e. GUDU-priest) takes his place. The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa goes (and) bows to ZABABA. He holds out his hands while reciting in Ḫattic, and the SANGA-priest of Ḫalipinu steps behind him. When the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa finishes reciting he bows and he goes and returns to his place.

The GUDU-priest holds forth to the king raw liver. The king places his hand (on it). They give all of the SANGA-priests, the palace attendants and the bodyguards, raw liver. They call it “*taḫala*”-liver. (Someone goes to the altar and the (meat) is placed in front of the deity).

There are four men in the first scene, divided into two pairs: the king with the GUDU-priest, and the two SANGA-priests, the Man of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa and the other the SANGA-priest of Ḫalipinu. The four of them prostrate in front of the Storm-god and ZABABA. The GUDU-priest recites in Ḫattic behind the king when he prostrates to the deities, and the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa recites while behind him stands the other SANGA-priest. The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫḫaluqqa here performs a role similar to the king’s.

⁶⁷⁷ Haas (1970) KUB 25.36 pp. 198-213; KBo 11.45+ pp. 228-237; KUB 58.33 pp. 260-266.

⁶⁷⁸ For lines 1-8 see 4.2.4.2 above p. 244.

The GUDU-priest appears again in KUB 25.36 vi in a broken context which was restored by Haas as follows:

20 [LUGAL-uš É. ħa-l]i-en-tu-u-az ú-iz-zi
21 [DUMU É.GAL LÚ^{MES}]ME-ŠE-DI LÚ^UGUDU₁₂
22 [LÚ^U d]ISKUR-ja pí-ra-an ħ]u-ja-an-zi

[The king] comes out of [the ħal]entua-house
[The palace attendant, the b]odyguards, the GUDU-priest
[and the Man of the Storm-god] run [in front of him].

It is important to note that the GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god are part of a “delegation” running in front of the king, probably to announce his arrival. This may explain the fact that the GUDU-priest carries scepters of the deity. See KUB 58.41, which partly parallels KUB 25.36 ii 13’: LÚ^UGUDU₁₂ GIŠ^UGIDRU ħar-z[i].

D) KBo 11.45+ shows a scene identical to the previous one of the kings’ prostration before ZABABA, but here it is performed by the prince. On col. iii 13’-21’ we read:

The prince goes to ZABABA (and) bows. The GUDU-priest takes a stand behind him. He recites in Ĥattic and he takes his place. The SANGA-priest of the deity Zaĥĥaluqqa bows to ZABABA. He holds his hands out, and he recites in Ĥattic. The SANGA-priest of the deity Ĥalipinu steps behind him, and bows. Then he takes his place.

E) To these texts KUB 28.80 adds the connection to the festivals of Nerik (cited in 4.2.2 p. 233). The colophon of this text begins by identifying the tablet as “The tablet of the recitation of the regular festival of Nerik”.

The content of the tablet itself, however, is quite difficult. All of its recitations are in Ĥattic, with short passages of instructions to the king and the GUDU-priest. We can read the following fragmentary lines of col. ii :

10’ When the GUDU-priest the king (acc.)
11’ the GUDU-priest thus [recites
16’ When the king (acc.)
17’ he purifies / sanctifies. Thu[s he recites

F) A clue to the content of the recitations may be retrieved from a group of texts which were collected by Laroche under CTH

733 (Invocations of Ĥattian Deities). The texts were first treated by him in an article regarding Ĥattian deities,⁶⁷⁹ and were later dealt with again by Neu as part of Hittite texts in old Hittite ductus.⁶⁸⁰ The texts in which the GUDU-priest appears are KUB 28.75 and the duplicate 28.77⁶⁸¹, KBo 25.112, KBo 25.114, and KBo 25.116. This group of texts presents two versions, one in which the cult functionary doing the recitation is identified as a LÚ^UNAR (“singer”), and the other version where he is identified as a LÚ^UGUDU₁₂.⁶⁸² A passage from the Hittite version with the GUDU-priest is presented here from KBo 25.112 ii.⁶⁸³

10’ When the prince [li]bat[es] wine on the road before the ‘field’
11’ the GUDU-priest says: “Be pleased the Sun-god! For mankind
12’ you are the Sun-god. Among the gods you are a source of light
13’ of the gods, A queen you are!”⁶⁸⁴

14’ The king purifies himself, (and) facing the ħalputi-instrument
15’ he recites these, too, in this way.⁶⁸⁵

16’ When the prince goes to the town Mišturaĥa
17’ As he arrives at the town Karikuriška the GUDU-priest says:

18’ Be pleased Kazitaieti! For mankind
19’ you are Kazitaieti, but among the gods
20’ the joy [?] the gods..., a queen you are!

21’ The king purifies himself (and) in the same way speaks.

The recitations in these texts are invocations to the deities, during which each of them is identified. The person to identify them is the GUDU-priest. It seems that the king and the prince are repeating the recitations of the GUDU-priest when they are told to speak.

⁶⁷⁹ Laroche (1947) 187-216.

⁶⁸⁰ Neu, *StBoT* 25: 190-203.

⁶⁸¹ These texts were shown by Laroche, *ibid.*, as creating one group of texts in Ĥattic and Hittite which have three parallel texts in Ĥattian only: KUB 8.41, VBoT 124, KUB 31.143, 143_a. Laroche divided all these texts from A to G and compared the Ĥattian text with the Hittite.

⁶⁸² See Forlanini (1984) 247-250.

⁶⁸³ For transliteration see Laroche and Neu in notes 679-680 above.

⁶⁸⁴ Compare with KUB 28.75 ii 20-23.

⁶⁸⁵ Compare with KUB 28.75 ii 1-2: “When the prince is just in the town the ħalputi-instrument [?] the GUDU-priest thus speaks [?”.

A parallel text, KUB 48.12, shows that the rituals take place in different locations. Forlanini suggests a possible join of KUB 48.12 with KBo 25.112, and KUB 28.76 with KBo 8.133, which shows a sequence of towns to which the prince travels together with the GUDU-priest, who recites.⁶⁸⁶

Forlanini, correctly, connected this group of recitations texts with the above mentioned texts of recitations associated with the GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god from Nerik, KUB 28.80 (4.2.2 p. 233) and KUB 25.36 (4.2.4.4 p. 249).⁶⁸⁷ The next question Forlanini posed was, during which festival were these deities called and at what place were they celebrated? Before following his conclusions, some more texts presenting the GUDU-priest as reciter should be examined.⁶⁸⁸

G) The most famous mythological text about the Storm-god was told by a GUDU-priest named Kella, as already mentioned above (4.2.3 p. 236). In this text another GUDU-priest, Taḥpurili, conducts a conversation with the gods before they go to be elected by lots at Nerik. After a statement on the greatness of the God Zaliyanu and his family, the following conversation ensues:⁶⁸⁹

8' Thus said the gods to the GUDU-priest Taḥpurili
9' "When we go to the Storm-god of Nerik
10' Where shall we sit down?"

11' Thus said the GUDU-priest Taḥpurili
12' "When you (pl.) sit down on a diorite throne
13' [and] when the GUDU-priests deposit the lot for themselves,
14' The GUDU-priest who holds the deity Zaliyanu
15' a diorite throne will be situated above the spring/water
16' and there he shall be seated."

14'A iv "All the gods will arrive
15' and deposit the lot for themselves. Of all
16' the gods of the town Kaštama
17' Zašḥapuna will be the greatest

18' Because she (is) the wife of the deity Zaliyanu

⁶⁸⁶ Forlanini (1984) 248.

⁶⁸⁷ Forlanini (1984) 251.

⁶⁸⁸ For the discussion of these texts see below 4.2.6 pp. 276-277.

⁶⁸⁹ The translation follows the edition of Beckman (1982) 11-25. See also Kellerman (1981) 35-46, and Hoffner (1990) 13-14, 22.

19' (and) the deity Tazzuwaši (is) his concubine
20' these three persons (=gods) will remain
21' in the town of Tanipiya."

This conversation points to a close relationship between the priest and the gods, a special relationship that allows him to predict a future change in the hierarchy of the deities. Here he predicts the elevation or election of one specific deity and his family. The story relates to the areas of Nerik, Kaštama, and Tanipiya.

H) IBoT 1.30, which deals with the legitimacy of kingship for Hittite kings, is another text identifying the GUDU-priest as a reciter.⁶⁹⁰

1 [LUGAL]-uš ku-ua-pi⁶⁹¹ DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš a-ru-ua-a-iz-zi LÚ⁴GUDU₄
kiš-an ma-al-di⁶⁹²
2 ta-ba-ar-na-kán LUGAL-uš DINGIR^{MEŠ}-aš a-aš-šu-uš e-eš-du KUR-e⁶⁹³
dU-aš-pát⁶⁹⁴
3 ne-pí-eš te-kán-na ÉRIN^{MEŠ}-az dU-aš-pát nu-za LÚ⁴La-ba-ar-na-an
LUGAL-un
4 ^{lu}ma-ni-ja-aḥ-ḥa-t[a]l-la-an i-ja-at nu-uš-ši URU⁴KÜ.BABBAR-aš⁶⁹⁵
KUR-e
5 ḥu-u-ma-an pa-iš [nu-uš]-ša-an KUR-e ḥu-u-ma-an la-ba-ar-na-aš
6 ŠU-az ma-ni-[ja-aḥ-ḥi-i]š-ki-it-du ku-iš-ša-an
7 la-ba-ar-n[a-aš LUGAL-ua-aš] NÍ-TE-aš ir-ḥa-aš-ša
8 ša-li-g[a-ri]⁶⁹⁶ na-a)n dU-aš ḥar-ni-ik-du

(The rest of the tablet is not written).

When [the king] prostrates to the gods, the GUDU-priest recites as follows: "May the Tabarna-king be dear to the gods! The land (is) only of the Storm-god, and the Heaven and earth troops (are) only of the Storm-god. He made the Labarna, the king, an administrator. To him he gave Ḥattuša and all the lands. Let the Labarna govern by

⁶⁹⁰ This is probably an OH text written in NS. It comes to us in three copies, which shows its importance. For the duplicates KUB 48.13 rev. 9'-16 and HT 67 rev. 1'-7', see Klinger, *StBoT* 37: 137 n. 39; see also Gilan (2004) 190.

⁶⁹¹ HT 67 rev. 1' GIM-an

⁶⁹² KUB 48.13 rev. 9' me-ma-i.

⁶⁹³ KUB 48.13 rev. 10' ut-ne-e.

⁶⁹⁴ KUB 48.13 rev. 10' dIM-na-aš-pát.

⁶⁹⁵ KUB 48.13 rev. 12' URU⁴Ḥa-at-tu-ša-an.

⁶⁹⁶ For the restoration of lines 7-8 see *CHD* Š1: 102^b.

hand (i.e. personally) the whole land.⁶⁹⁷ Whoever intrudes into the vicinity of the body of the Labarna [king], may the Storm-god destroy him!⁶⁹⁸

The recitation takes place during the interval when the king prostrates to the gods. There is a request from the gods, as well as from the Storm-god, to look with favor upon the king, the Labarna of the land. This is similar to the text of KBo 25.112, presented above (4.2.4.4 p. 251). It is a call for maintaining the kingship installed by the deities themselves.⁶⁹⁹

1) KUB 36.89 is a ritual for drawing the Storm-god of Nerik back to his town.⁷⁰⁰ This text starts by telling us that the Storm-god of Nerik has gone out of town. The GUDU-priest is involved in the rituals for bringing him back. He goes to two other towns, Nera and Lala, where he consecrates sheep for three deities: the Storm-god of Nerik, Ereškigal, and Uuruzimu. The animals are slaughtered into a pit in the ground to make contact with the underworld. Then they prepare quantities of food, part of which they throw into the pit.

After the preparation of the food, the GUDU-priest calls: “*wiwi purusael, purusael*”, which Haas translated as “come demon, demon”. Hoffner indicates that this call is in Hattic, and leaves it untranslatable. I would in this case follow Hoffner, since the meaning of the phrase is not clear. Also, there is no evidence in the relevant material to suggest that the GUDU-priest is involved in magical activity. Rather than uttering magical formulae, we can expect him to recite the accounts of the deities. I would also point to the following line 11:

nu-kán INIM-an an-da nam-ma me-ma-i

And the account thereby again he recites.

Here I translate INIM as “account”, since I believe it refers to the mythological story that the GUDU-priest is reciting from line 12’

⁶⁹⁷ Restoration and translation with CHD L-N: 165².

⁶⁹⁸ See for the translation CHD Š1: 102^b; and compare Güterbock (1954) 16.

⁶⁹⁹ A similar idea is pronounced in the ritual for the erection of a new palace, KUB 29.1 i 17-20: “To me the king, have the gods, the Sun-god and the Storm-god entrusted the land and my house. I, the king shall rule over my land and my house. You will not come to my house, and I shall not come to your house.” See Goetze, *ANET*: 357^a. See also Kellerman (1980) 25. Duplicates of this text are KUB 51.56 and KUB 60.113.

⁷⁰⁰ Transliterated and translated by Haas (1970) 140-174. English translation by Hoffner (1990) 22-23.

to rev. 24’. He tells of the Storm-god of Nerik who left his town, and he summons other deities to attempt to bring him back. In the course of his recitation he demonstrates his knowledge of the different deities and their relationships, a knowledge which is part of his expertise.

The aim of the call to the Storm-god of Nerik is stated on obv. 29: “Look upon the Tabarna, the king (and) the Tawananna, the queen, [with kind eyes].” Thus, at the end of the mythological account there appears a prayer for the well-being of the royal family, which I assume to be a continuation of the recitation of the GUDU-priest (rev. 37-61).

Immediately after the prayer, a Man of the Storm-god, by the name Huzzia, delivers the message to heaven (ne-pí-ši): “relent to me, relent Storm-god of Nerik! You relent to me! Storm-god of Heaven, Storm-god of Nerik kindly come down from heaven!” This may be compared with KUB 58.41 obv. 2-10’, which mentions the Storm-god of Heaven, ^dU AN-E, and ^dNIN.É.GAL. The king and the queen go to the *daḥanga* for a ritual and a prayer conducted with the GUDU-priest. The text runs as follows:

Obv. 2 ii

x+2 [k]i-it-ta-ri nu-kán G[U₄] ^dU AN-E
3’ ^{UDU}i-ja-a[n-ta-an] A-NA ^dNIN.É.GAL
4’ BAL-ti n[a-an-ká]n GUNNI pa-ra-a
5’ a-ni-i[a-z]i an-da-ma-kán kiš-an me-ma-i
6’ ka-a-[ša] LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL ^{GIS}da-ḥa-an-ga
7’ mu-u-[ga-u-an-z]i i-ja-an-ta-ri nu-ḡa ma-a-an
8’ an-[da ^{URU}N]e-ri-ik ku-it-ki TUKU.TUKU-u-an-za
9’ [na-a]t²-za ar-ku-ḡa-ar DÜ-zi nu-ḡa li-e
10’ iš-dam-ma-aš-zi KASKAL-za-ḡa-kán ar-ḡa ar-[ta?]

11’ I-NA EGIR GU₄.MAḤ^{MEŠ} i-ja-an-ta-ri 1 LÚ[]
12’ 1 ^{LÚ}ME-ŠE-DI LÚ ^dU ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ LUGAL-i x[]
13’ [] z]i ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{GIS}GIDRU ḡar-z[i]
14’ [] x-a ša-an-n[a
15’ [] -i-ja-[]

(something is) [p]laced. He consecrates an o[x] to the Storm-god of Heaven, a sheep for NIN.É.GAL. Then he prepares [it] on the hearth. Further, he speaks as follows: “Behold, the king (and) queen, proceed to the *daḥanga*-place for invoking (the god). Now, if in any way he (i.e. god) (is) angry at Nerik he will make a plea on that. And (if) he does not hear, he stands back off the road.

They proceed behind the bull. One [palace attendant] one body-guard (and) the Man of the Storm-god to the king [they bow?] [] the GUDU-priest the scepter hol[ds].⁷⁰¹

From lines 12'-13' it seems that either one of the two men performs the consecration of the animals and then the GUDU-priest, or the Man of the Storm-god, speaks. Because of the consecration of the animals and the deities mentioned, this activity seems to fit the GUDU-priest better, given the description in the text discussed above (KUB 36.89). On the reverse of KUB 58.41 appears a ritual of libation performed by the GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god in front of the king at ^dZABABA's place.⁷⁰²

All this indicates that the GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god operate together in rituals connected with Nerik and the Storm-god of Nerik.

J) To conclude this section on the GUDU-priest as a reciter, it should be mentioned, as pointed out by Forlanini, that the recitations of the priest were written down, and that they can be identified on the Middle Hittite shelf list of KUB 30.68 rev:⁷⁰³

- 1] ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{GIS}al-[lanza?
]-----[
- 2 Š]A EZEN₄ GAL pu-u-ru-l[i
]-----[
- 3]x EZEN₄ ^{URU}Ne-ri-ig-g[a
]-----[
- 4 ma-a]l-te-eš-na-aš ^mTa-a-at-ta ^{LÚ}ŠKUR
5 ^{LÚ}^{MES}NAR ki-i ŠA ^{URU}Ne-ni'-r[i⁷⁰⁴
]-----[
- 6 ma-al-t]e-eš-na-aš ^mWa_a-ḥu-ut-ta-a-i-li []
7]x ^{LÚ}NAR ^mḤu-uz-zi-ja L[^ÚŠKUR
8 ^{URU}Za-al-p]u-ṽa ma-a-an DUMU-aš A-NA DINGIR^{MES}
^{URU}Za-a[l-p]u-ṽa
9 -z]i ki-ma ma-am-ma-al-zi-kán-ta
]-----[
- 10 ^{URU}Ta-aḥ-ni-ṽa-ra I-NA ^{GIS}TIR pa-iz-zi⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰¹ This passage was earlier connected with the *dahanga*-ritual of KUB 58.11+. (see 4.2.2 p. 258).

⁷⁰² Compare KUB 25.36.

⁷⁰³ Laroche, *CTH*, p. 173f.; Forlanini (1984) 253. For the shelf-list see Singer, *StBoT* 27: 37-39.

⁷⁰⁴ For the town Nerik here see *RGTC* 6/1: 288.

⁷⁰⁵ See the walk of the NIN.DINGIR into the woods in KUB 11.32+ where the

- 11]-----
]x-ja pa-iz-zi ḥu-ik-zi
]-----[

Broken

This text does indeed show that there were written texts indicating the different festivals as well as the different texts of recitations associated with them: ma-a]l-te-eš-na-aš ^mTa-a-at-ta ^{LÚ}ŠKUR ("[Tablet] of the recitation of Tatta the man of the S[torm-god]"). Thus there is the man called ^mWa_a-ḥu-ut-ta-a-i-li, identified as a GUDU-priest,⁷⁰⁶ and a singer; "these they recite when the prince to the gods of Zalpa [prostrate?]s." From this line Forlanini makes the connection to the texts of CTH 733 (4.2.4.4 above p. 251) where the GUDU-priest and the singer appear in two versions reciting to the king and to the prince.

Regarding the connection of the GUDU-priest, the king, and prince with Zalpa and the mythological accounts, see below under concluding remarks.

4.2.4.5 Other activities of the GUDU-priest during the rituals

The GUDU-priest is described in several texts in relation to the liver, and in a few others he is mentioned as holding the deity or the scepter/s of the deity. These texts will be examined next.

4.2.4.5.1 The GUDU-priest and livers

As we have seen before, the GUDU-priest has nothing to do with the process of slaughtering the animals, except for the consecration. He is a libating priest and is therefore mentioned in association with libation vessels. However, it is interesting to note that within the ceremonies he presents the king with certain breads and with livers.

A) In KUB 25.36 v 34-41,⁷⁰⁷ after the king prostrated himself before various gods and the GUDU-priest and the SANGA-priest of the Storm-god finished their recitation, we read: "The GUDU-priest [holds] forth to the king raw liver".

towns of Tawiniya and Wargatawi are mentioned next to Ḫattuša, and the woods are encountered on the way. However, in the woods the goddess Tetešhapi, whom the NIN.DINGIR comes to worship, is situated inside a tent.

⁷⁰⁶ Above note 631.

⁷⁰⁷ See above 4.2.4.4 p. 249.

B) KUB 20.88 vi 11'-15'

The liver and the heart they roast by broiler.

The GUDU-priest of Telipinu three sweet thick breads of half *upni* gives to the prince. He breaks (them). Then, above the liver meat the cook woman places (them). And down in front of the wooden *ḫalputili* idol, over the raw and the fresh meat, she places it.

Lines 20'-23'

They make all the oily meat into dishes.

When the dishes arrive, the GUDU-priest of Telipinu goes to adduce/summon the prince,⁷⁰⁸ (and) the prince goes to the temple of the deity Kattahḫa.

C) KUB 34.128

6']The GUDU-priest of the Storm-god gives one thick bread to the prince[

7' The prince] breaks and places it above the liver meat[

8']... The GUDU-priest of the Storm-god behind [the altar]

9'] in front of the deity he places (it).

D) KUB 41.51 is a fragment which has on col. iii two GUDU-priests bowing to the king. Col. v makes note of the *palwatalla*-[man?] clapping and the *ḫaliyari*-men singing with the Inanna lyre. The GUDU-priest approaches the altar and places the liver on it.

Lines 3-4 :

^{LÜ}GUDU₁₂ pa-iz-zi ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG iš-ta-na-ni
[] xx ḫda¹-a-i.

Thus, the fragment KBo 34.193 also mentions the GUDU-priest with the prince in relation to the livers to be placed on the altar.⁷⁰⁹

4.2.4.5.2 The GUDU-priest and the bread

In some of the texts the GUDU-priest is described as holding forth the thick bread to the king or the prince, then the bread is broken and the GUDU-priest places it on the altar. Following are some examples:

A) KUB 20.70 i⁷¹⁰

The GUDU-priest [holds forth to] the king *ḫarzazu*-bread.

The king lays a hand (on it) and the GUDU-priest
at all the (holy) places makes rounds (with it).

⁷⁰⁸ Puhvel, *HED* 5: 22.

⁷⁰⁹ Bo 5478 obv. 7'-8' according to Neu, *StBoT* 25: 107-108, who mentions the GUDU-priest presenting liver probably to the king, who lays a hand (towards it) from afar.

⁷¹⁰ See above 4.2.4.2 p. 242.

B) KUB 58.11 obv., 10-13:

They bring all of this to the *daḫanga*. The Man of the Storm-god places the *mukar*-instrument in front of the "big tree", while the overseer of the scribes on wood speaks forth the words. The GUDU-priest breaks three *danna*-breads to the Storm-god of Nerik, and three *danna*-breads to the deity ZABABA. They make one⁷¹¹ *danna*-bread a mashed bread and the GUDU-priest makes rounds at the (holy) pl[aces].

C) KBo 10.20 i 32-35:

lu-uk-kat-ti-ma ^{KUS}gur-ša-an IŠ-[T]U É.[GA]L tar-kum-mi-a[n-zi]

nu ^{KUS}kur-ša-aš I-NA É^dNISABA [p]a-a-iz-zi

I-NA É^dNISABA EZEN₄ I-NA É.GAL^{LIM}ma LÚ^{MEŠ}GUDU₁₂ ^{URU}A-ri-in-na

NINDA.GUR₄.RA ḫi-in-kán-zi ^{URU}Ka-a-ša-ja-az-zi-ja SILÁ-an ú-da-an-zi

The next day th[ey] announce the ^{KUS}kurša from the temple. The ^{KUS}kurša goes to the temple of NISABA. In the temple of NISABA a festival (takes place). In the Temple, however, the GUDU-priests of the town Arinna offer loaves of thick bread, and from the town Kašaya they bring a lamb.⁷¹¹

D) KBo 17.88 ii 17-20

[^{UR}]Zi-ip-pa-la-an-ta-az ^{LÜ}GUDU₁₂ 2 NINDA.GUR₄.RA-i[š]

[na-]an GAL DUMU^{MEŠ}É.GAL tar-kum-mi-ja-z[i]

[te-i]t-ḫé-eš-na-aš NINDA.GUR₄.RA-iš na-an-ká[n

[^{LÜ}]GUDU₁₂ EGIR NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{ḫLA} ḫi-ik-z[i]

The GUDU-priest from the town of Zippalanda (brings) two thick breads. The overseer of the palace attendants announces it: "the thick breads of thunder". The GUDU-priest behind the breads bows.

E) KUB 10.15 iii⁷¹²

The overseer of the table-men and the GUDU-priest break five thick breads, and they pile on the altar three thick breads. On the hearth they pile twelve thick breads.

F) KBo 11.29 obv.

1 []-na?-x ú?-[]

2 []^{LÜ}GUDU₁₂ [1]? NINDA.GUR₄.R[A da-]ḫa-l-i

3 []^{LÜ}]SANGA-pát p[ḫa¹-a-i ^{LÜ}SANGA-ša

4 []-x-ra ^{LÜ}SUKKAL-ni e-ep-zi

5 []x-a-aš pí-ra-an da-a-i

] the GUDU-priest places two thi[ck] breads

] he gives only the SANGA-priest. The SANGA-priest

]... he lifts for the official.

]... he puts in front.

⁷¹¹ Compare Alp (1983) 137. See also Güterbock (1960) 82, 85, and Haas (1994) 774.

⁷¹² Above 4.2.4.1 pp. 240-241.

G) KUB 41.53: A fragment ascribed to the festival of Haste. Here the GUDU-priest is mentioned as follows (col. iv 6'):

^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ pá-r-ši-ja []. "The GUDU-priest breaks [the bread]".

H) KUB 34.115 rev. 10' reads:

^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ DUMU-li 2 NINDA.GUR₄.RA e[-ep-zi
The GUDU-priest h[olds forth] to the prince thick bread.

4.2.4.5.3 The GUDU-priest and the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-plant

The GUDU-priest holds forth to the prince the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-plant during the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival, celebrated by the prince with different GUDU-priests.⁷¹³ KUB 20.45+ describes how several priests are with the prince in the different temples he visits. The GUDU-priests welcome him when he walks into a temple and bows to the deity. Then a GUDU-priest holds forth to the prince an AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-plant and sets it on the holy places: on the altar, the wood of the door-bolt, the hearth, and the window. Next he does the same with the *tapišana*-vessel. Each time the priest lifts the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-plant, the prince lays a hand on it and then the priest goes around the various places.

4.2.4.5.4 The GUDU-priest carrying the scepters or a statue of the deity

Twice, in the context of a ritual, the GUDU-priest is mentioned carrying the scepters of the deity. In KUB 20.80 iii 17' and in KBo 21.79 the GUDU-priest carries the scepters of the deity Zaliyanu. KBo 21.79 iv 8'-13' reads:

8' []x-zi ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{dU} ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik
9' [^{GIŠ}GIDR]U^U^{LA714} ^dZa-li-ja-nu ḥar-[z]i
10' [^{LÚ}^{MES}SANGA ^{URU}kaš-ta-ma-ma MUNUS^{MES}
AMA.DINGIR ^U[^M]
11' [A-]NA PA-NI DUMU.LUGAL i-ja-an-ta-ri
12' [E]GIR-ŠU MUNUS^{MES} ŠIR ḥa-at-ti-li ŠIR^{RU}
13' [^{GIŠ}BALAG.DI ḡa-al-aḡ-ḡi-iš-kán-zi

[] The GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik
[] the scept[ers] of the deity Zalianu holds
[] the SANGA-pri[es]ts of the town Kaštama (and) the
AMA.DINGIR-priestesses

⁷¹³ Güterbock (1960) 89. The seventeenth day can be identified as this festival day.

⁷¹⁴ See van Gessel, *Onomasticon* 2: 572.

[] in front of the prince walk,
[] behind him the women singers sing in Ḫattic
[] the *balag.di*-instrument they repeatedly beat.⁷¹⁵

The GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Nerik is connected to a scepter in a cult inventory text from the New Kingdom. KUB 42.100 obv. 8'-16' mentions a GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Zaḫaluqqa.⁷¹⁶ This deity had a temple in Nerik and was celebrated there.⁷¹⁷ The passage is as follows:⁷¹⁸

8' ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ku-iš nu-kán šu-up-pí ^{GIŠ}GIDRU ^el[-ep-zi
9' ŠĀ É-ŠU ar-ta-ri nu ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ A-NA ^dU Za¹-ḡa[-lu-uq-qa
10' ¹²¹EZEN₄^{MES} 1 EZEN₄ zé-e-ni 1 EZEN₄ ḡa-me-eš-ḡi x x x[

The one that is the GUDU-priest of Nerik he ho[lds?] the sacred scepter [which] is set inside his house. The GUDU-priest to the Storm-god of Zaḫ[aluqqa celebrates?] [2] festivals. One festival of the fall, (and) one festival of the spring[]].

The opening sentence of this passage presents the GUDU-priest of the town of Nerik. There is only one GUDU-priest in Nerik, and his identification is made by the act of carrying the sacred scepter. It must be the scepter of the deity he is responsible for, but since the tablet is broken here we cannot be sure.

The GUDU-priest is also described as holding the deity or the scepter/s of the deity. There are only a few texts mentioning him holding the deity.

KUB 20.4 v 12'-14' describes a situation at the *ḡešta*-house, where the GUDU-priest of ^dḡešta holds this god.⁷¹⁹ It may well be that in the break another functionary is mentioned holding (the statue of) the deity.

12' At? the deity ḡešta's ga[te?
13' The GUDU-priest of the deity ḡešta[
14' the deity he holds [

⁷¹⁵ See also the broken context of KUB 44.5 1'-2' :

x+1 [DUMU.LU]GAL ^{NINDA}ta-ka-ra-mu-fun¹ [
2' [n]a-an ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ A-NA ^{GIŠ}GIDRU^U^{LA} d[
" [The pri]nce the *takarmu*-bread [

The GUDU-priest to the scepters of the deity [ties?] it]"

⁷¹⁶ For the treatment of this text see Hazenbos (2003) 17, 21.

⁷¹⁷ Haas (1970) 69-71.

⁷¹⁸ Compare Hazenbos (2003) 17, 21.

⁷¹⁹ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 78.

KUB 60.152 i 10'-11' describes the first visit of a new SANGA-priest at the town where he is posted.⁷²⁰ According to the following restoration, the GUDU-priests are holding the gods:

6' [] ja LÚ^{MES} SANGA 2 i-la URU^U Zu-fup^l-pa-ra pa-a-an-zi
 7' [] DINGIR^{LIM} kar-pa-an ħar-zi na-aš pí-ra-an ħu-u-ja-an-za
 8' [] m]a-aš-ša-an LÚ^U GUDU¹² URU^U Zu-up-pa-ra ar-ta DINGIR^{LIM} ħar-zi?
 9' [LÚ^{MES} Š]U.GI kat-ti-iš-ši a-ra-an-ta LÚ^U SANGA GIBIL UŠ-IĞI^l-[EN-NU
 10' [] LÚ^{MES} GUDU¹² DINGIR^{MES} ŠU-iš-ši ti-an-zi
 11' [] nu-uš ka]r-ap-zi

[] two SANGA-priests go to the town Zuppara.
 [] The deity?] he holds up, and he runs ahead.
 [At the gate?] the GUDU-priest of the town Zuppara stands. The deity [he holds?]
 [] The el]ders stand with him. The new SANGA-priest bow[s]
 [] Then the] GUDU-priests put the gods in his hand.
 [] and] he lifts [them].

Also on lines 19'-20' of this text, as possibly restored, the GUDU-priest lifts the deities and then puts them on the altar:

LÚ^U GUDU¹²-aš-[k]án DINGIR^{MES} [kar-pa-an ħar-z]i nu-uš-ša-an iš-ta-na-ni
 da-a-i

The GUDU-priest [hold]s [up] the deities and places them on the altar.

We can also mention here the scene of the GUDU-priests holding the deities in the mythological story of the divine family from Kaštama, as told by the priest Kella (4.2.4.4 above p. 252, especially line 14').

The GUDU-priest holds the scepter/s of the deity Zaliyanu in texts describing festivals celebrating the (crown) prince (KUB 20.80 iii 17' and KBo 21.79 iv 8'-9') and also in the following text, KUB 56.35:⁷²¹

1 []-hi⁷ ma-a-an lu-uk-kat-ta nu-za DUMU.LUGAL TÚG. DINGIR^{LIM} [
 2 [ša-ra-a] ūa-aš-ši-e-iz-zi KUS E.SIR^{BLA} BABBAR^{TIM} šar-ku-zi
 3 [LÚ^U GUDU¹² A-NA DUMU.LUGAL pí-ra-an ħu-u-ŭa-i GIŠIDRU
 4 ⁷Za-li-nu-ŭ-ja []
 4 [E]GIR LÚ^U GUDU¹² -ma LÚ^U dIŠKUR i-ja-at-ta-r[i
 5 []-ma? Ū-UL ku-it-ki EGIR LÚ^U dIŠKUR DUMU.L[UGAL

⁷²⁰ For treatment of the text see Taggar-Cohen (2002a) 143-147.

⁷²¹ Regarded as a duplicate to KUB 21.70 by Košak (1988) 147, but may also be a parallel text.

..... when it becomes dawn, the prince puts on the deity's garment, and he puts on the white shoes. The GUDU-priest runs in front of the prince and the scepter of the deity Zalinu [...]. Behind the GUDU-priest walks the Man of the Storm-god[
 [...]nothing. Behind the Man of the Storm-god, the prin[ce...

This text may be compared with KUB 58.33 iii 24'-42'.⁷²² The king, dressed ritually with the divine vestment, is led to a ceremony where he lays a hand on hides of the animals which were probably sacrificed earlier. Again the GUDU-priest and probably (as in the suggested restoration⁷²³) the Man of the Storm-god present the hides to the king. On the next column iv, after the GUDU-priest recites and places the *huppar*-vessel on the fire kiln, a number of hides of animals are brought in front of the deity, and then the king and probably also the GUDU-priest wash their hands.

4.2.5 The status of the GUDU-priest

The status of the GUDU-priest will be presented according to the following categories:

- a) His place among cult functionaries during rituals in the temple.
- b) His place among the functionaries outside the temple.
- c) The GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god
- d) His place in receiving rations of clothes and food.
- e) The household of the GUDU-priest, and the role of his wife.

A) The GUDU-priest's place among cult functionaries during rituals in the temple

Several texts provide us with an indication of the place of the GUDU-priest among other cult functionaries:

KUB 30.155. This text of the cult of Zippalanda,⁷²⁴ specifies the order of bowing to the deity: first the SANGA-priest and a *tazzile*-man, then *hamena*-man, GUDU-priest, and UMMEDA-man.

In KBo 21.25+ from the rituals of the KI.LAM-festival⁷²⁵ we find that:

13' The GUDU-priest of the town Arinna,
 14' The GUDU-priest of the town Zippalanda,
 15'-16' and the *UBARU*-men bow to the king.

⁷²² See above p. 249. For transliteration of the entire text see Haas (1970) 260.

⁷²³ He appears on col. iv 12.

⁷²⁴ Popko, *THeth* 21: 310 included this text among the trips made by the *kurša*-bag during the festival named *aškuwammaš*.

⁷²⁵ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 22-23.

- 17' The SANGA-priest of Arinna
 18' and the SANGA-priest of Zippalanda
 19' wearing a horned headdress,⁷²⁶
 20' take a stand, but
 21' they do not bow.

We may notice here a difference in status during the ritual.

KUB 20.87. In this text dealing with the consecration of a bull, the order of the functionaries is as follows: the overseer of the bodyguards, the men of the scepter, the SANGA-priest, the GUDU-priest.

KUB 58.11. This text, which describes a ritual at the *dahanga*-house, names the functionaries preceding the arrival of the king: the overseer of the scribes on wood, the ov[er]seer [of] the palace attendants, the scribe [of Nerik], the Man of the Storm-god, and the GUDU-priest.

In KUB 58.16 ii 13'-16', the functionaries are counted in the presence of the prince as follows: "The prince at the gate of the *dahanga* [], The GUDU-priest, the Man of the Storm-god, the SANGA-priests, bo[w] to the Storm-god of Heaven [..]. Then they take their place[.]"

From the inventory text KUB 25.23 we learn of this group of functionaries: "The SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, the lords, the noblemen [.....] arrive. They carry the (statue) of mount *Ḫalwanna* up to the Mountain."

In most of these texts it is clear that the place of the GUDU-priest is secondary to that of the SANGA-priest. When he is the only priest mentioned, he is preceded by palace personnel.

As for the *tazzelli*-man and the *ḫamena*-man, they appear to be special functionaries of the Zippalanda cult.⁷²⁷ The *tazzelli*-man seems to function similarly to the SANGA-priest, while the *ḫamena*-man functions similarly to the GUDU-priest. In one text on the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival of Zippalanda (KUB 28.91+ 58.6), the *ḫamena*-man is described exactly like the GUDU-priest in his practices at the temple.⁷²⁸ On the first column the *ḫamena*-man presents bread to the king and the king places a hand on it, whereupon the *ḫamena*-man places it on the altar of the Storm-god of

⁷²⁶ For this translation of *kurutaḡanza* see van den Hout (1995a) 567.

⁷²⁷ Popko, *THeth* 21: 74-76. These two priests act mostly in the texts of Zippalanda, and rarely outside of this corpus.

⁷²⁸ Popko, *THeth* 21: 240.

Zippalanda. He then libates at the regular places, the altar, the hearth, the window, and the door-bolts. Afterwards, he also honors the other deities, *Ḫašamili*, *Ḫalki*, and the Tutelary Deity. On col. v, together with the cook, the *ḫamena*-man presents the king an *iškaruḫ*-vessel of silver upon which the king places a hand. It is tempting to try and identify the *ḫamena*-man with the GUDU-priest, but they appear together on this same text; the GUDU-priest appears reciting on col. vi 1-3. Also, in KBo 16.71+ obv.⁷²⁹ 3'-5' they are counted together.

B) The GUDU-priest among the functionaries outside the temple

KUB 20.19 iii 6-12. When accompanying the king, the order of men is as follows: palace attendants, one bodyguard, a GUDU-priest, *mina*-men, the Man of the Storm-god, the Woman of the Storm-god, the *palwatalla*-[man], *ZITTI*-men.

In KUB 58.41 the order of the first few men is similar: palace attendant, one bodyguard, the Man of the Storm-god, and a GUDU-priest who holds a scepter.

In KUB 25.36 the order of the men running in front of the king is: palace attendant, bodyguard, GUDU-priest, and the Man of the Storm-god.

KBo 21.79. In the procession welcoming the (crown) prince at the entrance to the town, the GUDU-priest appears first, followed by the SANGA-priests of the town *Kaštama* and the *AMA.DINGIR*-priestesses. The last two groups are more prestigious for they come later in the welcome ceremony. However, in KUB 20.80, at the head of the welcomers as the prince arrives: "The SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, and the *AMA.DINGIR*-priestesses are in front of [him]. And they bow to the prince." In the procession with the prince on KUB 56.35, the GUDU-priest is first in front of the prince and the Man of the Storm-god follows him.⁷²⁹

C) The GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god

In several of the texts mentioning the GUDU-priest, we find the *LÚ ḫISKUR* / *ḫU*, "Man of the Storm-god", performing together with him, mainly in the presence of the king or the prince. It may be fruitful to look into the different roles of these two priests.

Recently, Ünal presented some Hittite and Hurrian texts from the site of Ortaköy (ancient Hittite *Šapinuwa*) northeast of

⁷²⁹ Above 4.2.4.5.4 p. 262.

Boğazköy.⁷³⁰ Among the texts is a letter mentioning a case involving the LÚ ^dISKUR, a “Man of the Storm-god”, and a ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI, “the old woman”. In his interpretation of this case, Ünal discusses the main characteristics of the Man of the Storm-god as a cult functionary.⁷³¹

Ünal’s discussion presents the picture of a cult functionary whose main duties include rituals related to water and rain, which in turn are related to fertility and also purification. On the one hand he instigates rituals involving rain and thunder,⁷³² and on the other he is in charge of purifying defilement caused by the body of a dead person.⁷³³

The importance of the description of this “colleague” of the GUDU-priest lies in his strong connections to the Hattian religious tradition. He is closely connected with the towns of Nerik, Zippalanda, and Ḫakmiš; he performs rituals in the main old Hittite festivals (*purulli*, KILAM, AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, and the *kurša*-bag of Zippalanda), and he even recites in Hattic during the rituals. In other texts this man is found invoking the myths of the disappearing goddess of vegetation⁷³⁴ and the Storm-god of Zippalanda, which will be quoted below.

KUB 41.29⁷³⁵ has been treated by Popko in his work on Zippalanda.⁷³⁶ I will present the text to show how the role of the Man of the Storm-god is parallel to the GUDU-priest. Col. iii 6’-11’ reads:

The Man of the Storm-god says: “Rise, the Storm-god of Zipl[anda] from a pleasant dream! Behold, the Tabarna, the king, the SANGA-priest of your mother, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, to mount Daḫa - your beloved (place) - he (is about to) take you.”⁷³⁷

The Man of the Storm-god invokes the Storm-god to a ritual to be conducted by the Tabarna king as a SANGA-priest, who will carry the statue of the Storm-god of Zippalanda to Mount Daḫa for the ritual.⁷³⁸ This invocation is followed by a description of the cult

⁷³⁰ Ünal (1998): see Introduction pp. 9-16.

⁷³¹ Ünal (1998) 67-82.

⁷³² Ünal (1998) 67-72. See also p. 75 KUB 32.135+.

⁷³³ Ünal (1998) 73-74, KBo 17.78.

⁷³⁴ KUB 28.92 obv. i 4.

⁷³⁵ With dupl. IBoT 4.92 2’-6’.

⁷³⁶ Popko, *THeth* 21: 214-217.

⁷³⁷ Compare *CHD* P/3: 346^b.

⁷³⁸ Another invocation of this kind may be seen in the activity of the Man of

personnel who go to the temple:

- 12’ É DINGIR^{LIM} ḫa-aš-ša-an-zi GAL ME-ŠE-DI
 13’ GAL DUMU.É.GAL šu-up-pi-is ^{LÚ}SANGA
 14’ ^{LÚ}ta-až-zi-el-li-iš ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂
 15’ ^{LÚ}ḫa-mi-na-aš ^{MUNUS} ^dU LÚ ^dU
 16’ ^{MUNUS}pal-ḫa-tal-la-aš ta-at-kán ḫu-u-[ma-an-te-es]
 17’ an-da pa-a-an-zi ta DINGIR^{LIM}-ni U[Š-KI-EN-NU]

They open the temple. The head of the bodyguards, the head of the palace attendants, the pure SANGA-priest, the *tazzelli*-man, the GUDU-priest, the *ḫamena*-man, the Woman and the Man of the Storm-god, the *palwatala*-woman, they all walk in and bow to the deity.

All the functionaries, including the GUDU-priest, bow to the deity. Among the functionaries we find the Woman of the Storm-god next to the Man of the Storm-god. In several texts these two are in charge of delivering a “message”. KBo 30.155 has a similar description:

- 10’ LÚ ^dU ^{MUNUS} ^dU ḫa-lu-kán tar-na-an-zi
 11’ ^{MUNUS}pal-ḫa-at-tal-la-aš pal-ḫa-a-iz-zi

 12’ ^{LÚ}ḫa-me-na A-NA ^{LÚ}SANGA IGI^{BLA}-it
 13’ i-ja-zi ^{LÚ}SANG[A] ^{LÚ}ta-az-zi-li
 14’ UŠ-KI-EN-NU EGI[R-a]n ^{LÚ}ḫa-me-na-aš
 15’ ^{LÚ}GUDU₁₂ ^{LÚ}U[MMED]A A-NA DINGIR^{LIM}
 16’ UŠ-KI-EN-NU x[a]n-da ti-ja-an-zi

The Man of the Storm-god and the Woman of the Storm-god deliver a message. The *palwatala*-woman cries out. The *ḫamena*-man signals with the eyes to the SANGA-priest. The SANGA-priest (and) the *tazzili*-man prostrate. Afterwards the *ḫamena*-man, the GUDU-priest, (and) the UMMEDA-man prostrate to the deity.

The Man of the Storm-god and his counterpart, the Woman of the Storm-god, deliver a “message”. This is also apparent in KUB 28.91+ KUB 58.6, a description of the *nuntarriyašḫa*-festival at Zippalanda according to Popko.⁷³⁹ In the sixth column the following the Storm-god of Heaven in KUB 58.41 obv. ? ii , 2’-10’ : Then the Man of the Storm-god of Heaven, to the deity NIN.É.GAL he libates. They celebrate him/her at the altar, further thus he says: “Now the king and queen are walkingat the *daḫanga*. If the deity..... somehow is angry,he makes an *arkuḫar*-prayer he shall not listen. He shall st[and?] away from the road.”

⁷³⁹ Popko, *THeth* 21: 244-246 rev. v-vi.

ritual takes place: the king leaves the *halentuwa*-house with his *kalmuš* to go to the temple of the Storm-god of Zippalanda, where he stands in front of the altar and the Man of the Storm-god delivers the message: “LUGAL-uš *I-NA É* ^dU pa-iz-zi ta-aš iš-ta-na-ni pí-ra-an ti-ja-zi LÚ ^dU ḥa-lu-kán tar-na-a-i”. Next follows a ritual involving the laying of the king’s hand on a liver, singing, and libating. The Man of the Storm-god delivers a message again, and the *palwatalla*-man and woman deliver a message as well.

Twice the Man of the Storm-god delivers a message, similarly to the *palwatalla*-man and woman, who are known from other texts as deliverers of messages.⁷⁴⁰ The message pertains directly to the Storm-god, however, and not other deities. Is there a difference between the Man of the Storm-god and other priests of the Storm-god? The answer is yes. The SANGA-priest of the Storm-god and the GUDU-priest of the Storm-god are not said to deliver messages, and seem to be conducting their regular temple rituals.⁷⁴¹ A ^LU GUDU₁₂ ^dIŠKUR in KBo 22.197 looks like a regular priest performing with a SANGA-priest of the god Telipinu. In KBo 21.79 iv 9’ the ^LU GUDU₁₂ ^dU holds the scepters of ^dZaliyanu.

In a few texts the Man of the Storm-god and the GUDU-priest join together in the ritual. In KUB 58.11 they are at the *daḥanga*-house conducting a ritual for the king. In this text the Man of the Storm-god precedes the GUDU-priest. In others he comes after him, such as in KBo 16.71+ KBo 20.16 iv 14’. In KUB 58.41 Rev.⁷ v 1’-19’, the GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god perform the ritual together:

The GUDU-priest [two? *tapišana*-vessels takes. The Man of the Storm-god puts the [*tapišana*-vessels. The GUDU-priest holds forth to the king a silver *tapišana*-vessel. The king lays a hand. The GUDU-priest fills up the *tapišana*-vessel. The king lays a hand once more. The GUDU-priest to the deity once more three times libates. The Man of the Storm-god further fills up. The man of the god again libates three times to the deity. He runs to the hearth. The Man of the Storm-god made smoke.

The GUDU-priest gives the *tapišana*-vessel to the Man of the Storm-god. The Man of the Storm-god takes the *tapišana*-vessel and he gives it to the GUDU-priest. The GUDU-priest holds forth the *tapišana*-vessel. The king from afar lays [a hand]. The GUDU-priest [once li]bates to the deity ZABABA. The Man of the Storm-god fills up. The GUDU-priest

⁷⁴⁰ They appear also in the texts mentioning the NIN.DINGIR (6.2 p. 403).

⁷⁴¹ Ünal (1998) 68.

again libates once to the deity ZABABA.

The two priests together perform a libation ritual to the deity ZABABA in front of the king, with the *tapišana*-libation vessels. They also perform together on the colophon of the regular festival of Nerik KUB 28.80 (4.2.2 above pp. 233-234).

Both the GUDU-priest and the Man of the Storm-god are priests of the old Hattian-Hittite religious traditions of central Anatolia. But the GUDU-priest is related more to the libation activity and to the legitimacy of the kingship, while the Man of the Storm-god is a purifier and one who calls the god, mainly the Storm-god to whom he is related. He deals with thunder and storms, whereas the GUDU-priest is not involved in such activity.

D) The GUDU-priest receives rations of sacrifice and food KUB 20.16 is a text restored by Popko according to KBo 16.71+ rev. iv.⁷⁴² It describes the parts of the sacrifice which the different cult functionaries perform, in this order: *tazzelli*-man, *ḥamena*-man, GUDU-priest, *šiwanzanna*-priestess, the man of the *arzana*-house, the *laḥḥiyala*-men, the elders of the town Zippalanda, the old woman of the palace, the Man of the Storm-god, the cook of the deity. KBo 25.176, belonging to the KILAM-festival texts,⁷⁴³ shows the hierarchy between the different functionaries based on the clothes they receive for the festival:

Rev.

- 4’ To three SANGA-priests [they give] first rank vestment.
- 5’ To two GUDU-priests [they give] second rank vestment.
- 6’ To the cupbearer (and) the singer they give two troops’ vestments.
[These to]
- 7’ the men of the town Arinna they give.
-
- 8’ To the SANGA-priest they give one first rank vestment.
- 9’ To the *tazzelli*-man they give one second rank vestment.
- 10’ To the *ḥamena*-man they give one second rank vestment.
- 11’ To the cupbearer (and) the singer they give two troops’ vestments.
- 12’ These, they give to the men of the town Zippalanda.
-
- 13’ To the *zilipuriyatalla*-men they give four rough fabric garments
-
- 14’ The man of the *Ḥešta* temple who holds up the *kurša*-bag

⁷⁴² Popko, *THeth* 21: 118-119.

⁷⁴³ Singer, *StBoT* 28: 93-94.

- 15' They give him one rough fabric garment
- 16' The *kantiputti*-man of the *kurša*-bag, who holds (it) up
- 17' They give him one rough fabric garment.

The list counts the priests according to their town of origin (Arinna and Zippalanda), and then three more groups according to their functions: the *zilipuriyatalla*-men, man of the *hešta*-house, and the *kantiputti*-man.

In all the texts presented in this section the GUDU-priest is never the first in status. He is among the group of men running in front of the king, where he is usually third or just before the last. In one text he goes first in front of the prince, but in this case there are no other functionaries except for the Man of the Storm-god, who is approximately equal in rank.

E) The GUDU-priest's duty to supply the cult is indicated in several texts. There are three examples which show that the GUDU-priest is responsible for providing for the cult from his household (KUB 42.87; KUB 11.33; and KUB 42.100), all inventory texts from the 13th century. KUB 11.33 mentions a few times the supplier of the cult: ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ ^{URU}Kar-ta-pa-ḫa *IŠ-TU* É-ŠU pa-a-i ("The GUDU-priest from the town Kartapaḫa delivers from his house"); the amounts of the animals and breads are counted just prior (col. iii 13-21). In KUB 42.87 on col. v, all paragraphs indicate the festival of the fall (zé-e-na-an-da-aš). Also, the festivals are celebrated to several deities, and each person among the cult functionaries is responsible for certain deities.⁷⁴⁴ Among the members of the cult functionaries the GUDU-priest also appears. The paragraph reads thus:

- 10' 1 UDU 3 PA ZI.DA 8 ^{DUG}K[A.GAG.A
- 11' 1 ŠA-A-DU GA A-NA ^{4x}[
- 12' Ū A-NA ⁴Ū-ru-u[n]
- 13' 1 DUG.GEŠTIN ^{LU}ZABAR.D[AB pa-a-i
- 14' ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ *IŠ-TU* É-ŠU ^{1e}l[eš-ša-i]
- one sheep three *parisu*-flour eight vessels of KA.G[AG-beer]
- one SATU-milk for the deity [...] and for Wuru[nkate]
- one vessel of wine the bronze-work[er gives
- the GUDU-priest ce[lebrates] from his house

KUB 42.100, already mentioned above (4.2.4.5.4 p. 261), speaks of the GUDU-priest of the Storm-god of Zahḫaluqqa and his

⁷⁴⁴ Popko, *THeth* 21: 320-325.

obligations to the festivals. The relevant passage is as follows.⁷⁴⁵

The GUDU-priest to the Storm-god of Zahḫaluqqa celebrates [two] festivals. One festival of the fall, (and) one festival of the spring [One sheep one *PARISU* three *SUTU* of moist flour, one vessel of KA.GAG-beer, one pot of vegetable (soup) [in the] s[pring] [one] *PARISU* of flour, one vessel KA.GAG-beer, one pot of vegetable (soup) in the fall. Total: one sh[eeep, four *PARISU* and five *SUTU*] of roasted and ground (grain), of the house of the GUDU-priest.

Total sum (of the supplies): three sheep sixteen *PARISU* and five *SUTU* of roasted and ground (grain) for [twelve monthly festivals]. And for the two festivals the SANGA-priest and the GUDU-priest fr[om their houses provide?].

F) The role of the GUDU-priest's wife in the cult

In a few texts the wife of the GUDU-priest appears as a cult functionary in the *hešta* temple. This building may have something to do with the deceased kings, possibly a kind of a mausoleum or a mortuary shrine.⁷⁴⁶ The texts mentioned here are IBoT 3.1 (related to the ANTAḪŠUM-festival of the spring); KBo 17.15 (with dupl. KBo 17.40⁷⁴⁷); and KUB 34.69+34.70 which is related to these texts.⁷⁴⁸

The wife of the GUDU-priest welcomes the king on his arrival in this temple. In IBoT 3.1 obv. 8'-16' the king leaves the *halentua*-house, where he is usually dressed and washed, and arrives by procession at the *hešta*-temple.

- 21' LUGAL-uš-kán an-da pa-iz-zi ar-ki-ú-i ti-ja-zi
- 22' ME-E QA-TI pí-an-zi UGULA ^{LU}MU tuḫ-ḫu-eš-šar pa-a-i LUGAL-uš
- 23' an-da-kán pa-iž-zi DAM ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ ŠA GÚ.GAL.GAL me-ma-al
- 24' ŠA ^{GIS}MA.SÁ.AB ḫar-zi KÁ-aš ar-ta
- 25' ta-aš-ši-kán DUMU.É.GAL DIB-zi ta LUGAL-i GAM-an šu-uḫ-ḫa-i
- 26' DAM ^{LU}GUDU₁₂ UŠ-KI-EN ta-aš É.ŠA-na pa-iz-zi

The king goes in, and steps at the *arkiu*. They give (him) water for

⁷⁴⁵ Following Hazenbos (2003) 17, 21.

⁷⁴⁶ Puhvel, *HED* 3: 319-323. He points to the relation between this name and the word *ḫaštai*, noting that the first is not derived from the latter, although they do appear in the same contexts and stand in parallelism. See Groddek (2001) 213-218.

⁷⁴⁷ According to *CHD* P/2: 185. The duplicate shows that the obverse and reverse are the opposite of what is now written in KBo 17.15.

⁷⁴⁸ There is another fragmentary mention of her on KBo 20.3 rev. 17' which Popko (*THeth* 21: 112-113) has attached to the great old Hittite festival in Zippalanda.

the hand (wash). The overseer of the cooks gives (him) the *tuhhueššar*-substance. The king, then, goes inside. The wife of the GUDU-priest standing at the door, she holds a wooden basket of big beans of groats. The palace attendant seizes (it) from her, and he scatters (it) down (at) the king's (feet).⁷⁴⁹ The wife of the GUDU-priest bows, and she goes to the inner room.

27'-32' The king then bows to the deity and seizes the KA.GAG-vessel. He steps down to the hearth, where the overseer of the cooks throws *hurneššar* to the fire. The king, too, throws *hurneššar* three times to the hearth. It seems he throws it in the direction of three people? Then, the SANGA-priest throws three times to the hearth.

- 33' LUGAL-uš É.ŠÀ-na pa-iz-zi ši-ú-ni UŠ-KI-EN
 34' DAM^L₁₂ GUDU₁₂ ŠA GÚ.GAL.GAL me-ma-al ta^{GIŠ} MA.SÁ.AB
 35' še-ra-a-ša-an 3^{NINDA} ši-lu-ḫa-aš ki-an-ta DUMU.É.GAL
 36' LUGAL-i pa-ra-a DIB-zi LUGAL-uš pár-ši-ja
 37' me-ma-al-la ḫa-aš-šu-ga-iz-zi ta ku-ua-zi
 38' DAM^L₁₂ GUDU₁₂ UŠ-KI-EN LUGAL-uš A-NA^{DUG} KA.GAG.GI[]
 39' UGULA^L₁₂ MU LUGAL-i ḫu[r-n]i-eš-šar pa-a-i GUNNI-i 3-Š[U]
 40' ^{GIŠ}pí-iš-ta x[]x QA-TAM-MA

The king goes to the inner room. He bows to the deity. The three *šiluḫa*-breads (which) the wife of the GUDU-priest had set above the wooden basket of big beans of groats, the palace attendant holds forth to the king. The king breaks (them), and he sifts the groats and crushes (it). The wife of the GUDU-priest bows. The king to the KA.GAG.GI-vessel [pours?]. The overseer of the cooks gives to the king the *hurneššar*. Three times on the hearth, the wooden *pišta* (and) [] the same way.

This text does not preserve an indication of the GUDU-priest himself participating in the ritual. A GUDU-priest of the deity of the *Hešta*-house is mentioned on a fragment of the KI.LAM-festival KUB 20.4 v 13'.

Another text, KBo 17.15 (which is similar to ABoT 13), describes a ritual at the *hešta*-house with the wife of the GUDU-priest. The GUDU-priest is mentioned on a broken line together with the overseer of the cooks, obv. 8'-18', presenting sacrificial animals to the deities while libation takes place. The activity of the wife is described on the reverse 13'-21':

- 13' DAM^L₁₂ GUDU₁₂ an-da-an ši-ú-na-aš É-ri ša[(r-ḫu-li)]-ja-aš
 pí-r[a-an ar-ta]

⁷⁴⁹ Güterbock and van den Hout (1991) 62 translate: "A palace attendant takes (it) from her and pours (it) out next to the king".

- 14' ^Lḫi-iš-ta-a ar-ta ŠU^{MES}-aš-ši me-e-ma-a[l] ^{GIŠ}e-ir-ḫu-it [(ḫar-zi)
 UGULA^L₁₂ MU]
 15' ḫa-aš-ša-a-aš kat-ta ki-e-it ar-ta 6 ḫar-na-a-i-šar ḫar-zi
^L[(^U ḫé-eš-ta-a
 16' ḫa-aš-ša-a-aš kat-ta e-di pár-ša-na-a-an ḫar-zi⁷⁵⁰ 6 ḫar-na-i-šar
 ḫar-zi [u(a-a-tar^{DUG} te-eš-šum-mi-ja
 17' la-ḫu-a-an an-da-an tuḫ-ḫu-i-šar iš-ḫi-ja-an ki-it-ta na-aš-ša-a[(n
 ḫa-aš-ši-i PA-NI^U GUR⁷⁵¹ ki-it-ta []-a? I-NA É ḫé-eš-ta-a
 pa-iz-zi)]

The wife of the GUDU-priest stands at the deity's house pillar in fro[nt of] the man of the *hešta*-house. With the basket, she carries the groats to his hands. The overseer of the cooks stands down at the side of the hearth. He holds six *hurneššar*. The *hešta*-man, too, down at the other side of the hearth holds the leopard. He holds six *hurneššar*. Water of a *teššumi*-vessel, too, (is?) poured to the *tuhhueššar* (which is) set bound. It is placed on the hearth in front of the deity U.GUR. [The *hešta*-man] goes inside the *hešta*-house.

- 18' [DUMU]É.GAL LUGAL-i pí-ra-an ḫu-ua-a-i na-aš ú-iz-zi DAM^L₁₂
^LGUDU₁₂ kat-t[(a ti-i-e-iz-zi)]⁷⁵²
 19' ši-i-ua-az 8 ua-ak-šar a-aš-zi LUGAL-uš-ša É ma-a-ak-zi-ja-az
 ú-iz-zi [na-aš]
 20' ^{GIŠ}ḫu-lu-ka-an-ni-ja e-ša LÚ^{MES} ZI-IT-DI LÚ^{MES} ḪUB.BI LÚ^{MES} ALAM[
 21' LUGAL-i pí-ra-an ḫu-ja-an-zi a-ar-[ka]-mi gal-gal-tu-u-ri ŠIR^{RU}1[

The palace attendant runs in front of the king. He comes, and the wife of the GUDU-priest stands next (to him). The day remains at eight *wakšur*,⁷⁵³ the king comes out of the *makziya*-house, [and] he sits down in the light carriage. The *zitti*-men, the acrobats (and) the *alam(zu)*-men[] run in front of the king. (With) the (musical instruments) *arkami* and *galgalturi* they sing.

The wife of the GUDU-priest is connected with the rituals of the mausoleum, which take place during the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-festival. She presents the king a basket with beans and bread at the entrance to the temple. However, she does not give it directly to the king, but rather bows to him at the point when she delivers the basket.

It should be noted that the wife of the GUDU-priest is mentioned only in the context of rituals at the mausoleum, where

⁷⁵⁰ CHD P/2: 185 KBo 17.15 dupl. KBo 17.40 iv 10.

⁷⁵¹ ^UNERGAL.

⁷⁵² KBo 17.40 rev. 13' ends here.

⁷⁵³ For this translation see CHD L-N: 123. See also Puhvel, HED 1: 188 "[on] the day, eight *wakšur* remain", with reference to Haas and Wäfler (1976) 82.

in all likelihood the spirits of the dead kings and queens are worshiped. This fact may relate to our observation that the GUDU-priest's position has to do with the legitimacy of the kingship.

4.2.6 Concluding remarks

The GUDU-priest, as presented above in this sub-chapter, is one of a number of cult functionaries assisting the king, queen, and princes in performing their cultic duties in various ceremonies. Our survey showed that the GUDU-priest is one of the principal cultic functionaries in the proximity of the king, although he is not at the very top of the hierarchy of the priesthood. This was already noted after the first survey of texts in Chapter 2 above, and the present survey has strengthened this first impression.

The GUDU-priest joins the royal family in performing the most sacred parts of the rituals, inside the temples of the different gods of Hatti. On these occasions he conducts the libating rituals on behalf of the sacrificers, and lifts the vessels, the bread, or the meat, all of which are to be presented to the gods.

The GUDU-priest's performance is rooted in the ancient Hattian-Hittite religious traditions. He is mentioned in the corpus of texts belonging to the Old Hittite period, such as the texts from the ANTAḪSUM-festival, the festival of Arinna, the Zippalanda festivals, and the group of the festivals of Nerik. This priest belongs to the core of the Old Hittite traditions, as revealed not only by the names of the towns he is related to, but mostly by the names of the deities for whom he is a priest. He is strongly affiliated with the Hattian ethnic tradition, as evidenced by the priests' personal names as well as by their recitation activity, which is performed in Hattic. The fact that the personal names of the GUDU-priests, whose recitations were recorded on tablets, were kept in the archives (KUB 30.68), should be taken as an indication of their established position in the cult.

A) According to the text ICBG (2.3 above p. 11), every town with temples in the Hittite kingdom should have its GUDU-priest, and if a town does not have such a priest, the commander's duty is to install one. The texts surveyed in this chapter reveal a different situation. It seems that during the Old Hittite period there were not many GUDU-priests officiating simultaneously, but rather there was one, or at the most two such priests in a given cult center, and these priests moved from place to place to perform their duties.

They even traveled together with the king, and most evidently with the (crown) prince. The ICBG text may be referring to a required or an optimal situation, which did not exist in reality. This text belongs to the Middle Hittite Kingdom, and there may have been a change in the status of the GUDU-priest at that time. In the inventory texts of the 13th century BCE it appears that in every cult center, big or small, once a temple is established, a GUDU-priest is installed as well. However, the inventory texts mentioning a GUDU-priest are but few, and perhaps they too reflect less an actual reality than an ideal one.

We do not know if the GUDU-priest actually resides in the specific temples mentioned in the inventory texts. We do learn from these texts, though, that he provides for the cult of certain deities in his own as well as in other towns. The phrase "the GUDU-priest provides from his house" should be understood to mean that he has the wherewithal to provide the required amounts of food and beverage for the festivals.

All things considered, a change in the character of the GUDU-priest's office seems to have occurred closer to the time of the New Kingdom. Previously, the priest was related to the royal religious activity; he is now related to different cult centers, and may have lost his special connection with the royal family's cultic duties. The presentation of the GUDU-priest on the inventory text KUB 42.100 obv. 8'-16' (see 4.2.4.5.4 p. 261) could indicate a change in the status of these functionaries, and their specialization as priests related to the court might have been lost once they were installed in various temples around the kingdom. This may be seen in the text of the oracle inquiry KUB 18.9, where the GUDU-priests report on sins which occurred in the temple, such as the theft or damage of a golden vessel or the fact that a pig walked on grounds to which it should not have gained access. Usually the results of the inquiry, as will be seen below in sub-chapter 4.3, were reported by "Temple-Men" who were not specified. But in this text (KUB 18.9) we find GUDU-priests reporting on their temple, and here they are counted among the Temple-Men, as they are also described in the pre-New Kingdom text ITP (Chapter 3 above).

B) The description of the GUDU-priest as a reciter seems to me to be of importance to the understanding of his characteristic activity as a priest. As shown in this sub-chapter, the GUDU-priest

had strong ties to the Hattic recitation for the king and the prince. His recitations deal with the legitimacy of the king to govern and the deities' support of his kingship. The GUDU-priest is well acquainted with the world of the deities and recites their names in praise. One is tempted to see him as the priest responsible for the creation or maintenance of the sacred legitimacy of kingship. This is most tempting when looking at his travels with the (crown) prince through the towns in which the Hittite religion originated. The attempt by Forlanini to connect the texts of the GUDU-priest's recitations with the town of Zalpa may be of some assistance in understanding the role of the GUDU-priest in relation to the legitimacy of the kingship.⁷⁵⁴

Zalpa, on the shore of the Black Sea, was one of the cult centers of the Hattian religion as the Annita text has revealed. The kingship insignia of the Hittite ruler are described as arriving from the sea: "To me the king, the deity of the Throne, brought rule (and) the carriage from the sea" (KUB 29.1 i 23-4).⁷⁵⁵

The GUDU-priest's special relationship to the *hešta*-house may also point to his role as a reciter of kingship ideology, since this temple is probably related to the spirits of the deceased kings. In this context the GUDU-priest's wife too assists in the cult, and performs before the king.

In light of these characteristics we may now understand the first position the GUDU-priest occupied among the priests in the ritual of Tunnawiya (2.4.1 above p. 15). He may endanger the royal family more than the others with his "evil tongue", since he has the power of communication with the gods in matters of royalty.

The fact that the GUDU-priest recites the mythological story of the deities Zaliyanu, Zašḫapuna, and Tazuwaši of the town of Kaštama may be related to the festivals the (crown) prince celebrates in this town, dressed in special clothes, and with the GUDU-priest accompanying him.⁷⁵⁶ It may be part of the prince's inauguration ceremonies, such as the one mentioned in KUB 36.90. This is an evocation text to draw the Storm-god of Nerik to his festival (obv. 14-19): "The next day to your festival come. On the next day they will anoint Tudḫaliya for priesthood at your favorable places the town of Ḫakmiš and the town of Nerik. On the next day

⁷⁵⁴ Forlanini (1984) 260.

⁷⁵⁵ See Neu, *StBoT* 18: 125 n. 303.

⁷⁵⁶ Such as KUB 20.80, 20.81, 28.90, 56.35//KBo 21.79, KUB 20.7.

come to your festival!"⁷⁵⁷ The name Tudḫaliya refers to king Tudḫaliya IV when still a prince. According to other texts he was installed as a priest of the Storm-god of Nerik.⁷⁵⁸

This special status of the GUDU-priest as taking part in inaugurations may also be seen in KUB 60.152 i², 6-11', which describes a first celebration to a new SANGA-priest at the town of Zuppara. The GUDU-priest (or priests) welcomes the new SANGA-priest and hands over to him the deities.

When the GUDU-priest is around the royal family he is among the functionaries running in front of the king or prince: the palace attendants, the bodyguards, the Man of the Storm-god, and SANGA-priests or AMA.DINGIR-priestesses. In processions he may walk closer to the singers and the acrobats. Inside the temple, however, he is very close to the king and performs in front of or behind him. But as we noticed, he is less important in these occasions than the SANGA-priests (IBoT 10 iii; KUB 25.36).

C) The status of the GUDU-priest seems to change once he is away from the royal court. This could, as suggested above, be a development occurring towards the time of the New Kingdom. Once he was stationed in remote towns, he may simply have been a libating priest. We see this in the Karahna inventory text, where he is counted among the *hilammatta*-men (KUB 38.12 i 11) and not with the SANGA and AMA.DINGIR^{LIM} priests (col. ii 1-5).⁷⁵⁹

D) Why was the title of this priest always written in the Sumerogram GUDU₁₂, while for other functionaries we found a Hittite or Hattian title alongside their Sumerogram? For example, the SANGA is *šankunni* and the AMA.DINGIR is *šiwanzanna*. We also find titles with no Sumerograms, such as *tazzelli*-man or *ḫamena*-man. This question may be difficult to answer, unless we accept the possibility that when this functionary received the Sumerogram, his functions were very similar to those of the priests of the Syro-Mesopotamian religions who bore the same title. The Sumerogram was already attached to the GUDU-priest during the Old Hittite period, since he appears in the oldest texts. It is clear that he is neither the *tazzelli*-man nor the *ḫamena*-man, for they appear

⁷⁵⁷ See Haas (1970) 179.

⁷⁵⁸ See above 4.1.8 p. 226, KUB 36.90, where the possibility that this text is an appointment to kingship is pointed out.

⁷⁵⁹ Above 2.5.1 p. 21.

together in the same texts.

Hoffner looked for a possible title in the texts of the pre-Hittite period from Kaneš, and suggested the priests called *kumra*- as a possible title behind the Sumerogram. The main reason is his assumption that the name behind the GUDU most probably is a noun of either i-stem or a-stem, since we have ^{LU}GUDU₁₂-aš⁷⁶⁰ or ^{LU}GUDU₁₂-iš-ša.⁷⁶¹ If we accept an a-stem, then the *kumra*-suggestion may stand. But what stood behind the i-stem form? Where this priest appears, the text has a definition of LU.SANGA before the *kumra*, which Hoffner suggests as a determinative.⁷⁶² But why identify the GUDU-priest as a SANGA-priest, when all along they are separated?

It may well be an accident that the original name of the GUDU-priest, which may have been of Hattian origin, was not preserved.

⁷⁶⁰ KUB 10.15 iii 15'; KUB 60.152 i', 19';

⁷⁶¹ In most of the occurrences of the Sumerogram GUDU₁₂, it lacks any complement. This does resemble other Sumerograms such as ^{LU}DUMU É.GAL, ^{LU}SAGLA, etc.

⁷⁶² Indeed, the *CHD* Š: 185^a suggests a possible reading of *kumra* for ^{LU}SANGA-a.