

4.3 The Temple-Men

4.3.1 Introduction

As Chapter 3 has already shown, in the ITP (CTH 264) the Temple-Men are usually referred to as a group of cult personnel that includes all temple workers at the level of priesthood whose duties were within the temple and its surroundings (see especially 3.9.3.1 above p.110). In the following I shall try to present the data collected from the Hittite texts in which the Temple-Men are mentioned to see whether their activity and status resemble the conclusions arising from Chapter 3, and to ascertain whether they played a role in the cult during all periods of the Hittite kingdom.

What follows is a list of texts upon which the survey relies, presented according to their CTH number. Under each CTH only the text mentioning the title ^{LO}É.DINGIR^{LIM} or ^{LUMES}É.DINGIR^{LIM} is indicated.

470 Creation of man by Gulšeš Deities and other fragments

KUB 39.54 obv.? 9'

482 Transfer of the Deity of the Night

KUB 32.133 i 6

508 Inventory of Mt. Ziwana

KUB 38.32 obv. 9;

525 Inventory of sanctuaries by Tudḫaliya IV

KBo 26.188 iii 2;

KUB 42.100; KUB 25.23 i 10;

530 Inventory fragments

KBo 13.250 col. s. 7'

566 Oracles on the cult of Arušna

KUB 22.70 rev. 58;

567 Oracles on the cult of Ištar of Niniveh

KUB 5.10 obv. 2, 21; KUB 16.83 obv. 39, 40, 48 (= KUB 16.33 obv. 6' 14')

572/ 573 KIN oracles

KUB 16.80 obv. 6', (+)16.21; 16.82 iv 12'; 50.15 3'; [50.97 7'];

574 Hurri- bird oracles

KUB 5.7 obv. 2, 9, 18, 20, 24, 27, 41, 43, 55, rev. 3, 6, 19, 27;

KUB 18.18 rev?. 7' 9' (=18.19 rev? 6' 14'); KUB 18.24 iii 3'; KUB 18.27 obv.? 11'

IBoT 2.129 obv.2 18 = KUB 16.35 2, 16;

577 Oracles

KUB 16.48 obv. 18'; KUB 18.29 i 14'; KUB 49.7 iv 22;

578 SU and KIN oracles

KUB 5.5 ii 29; KUB 50.44 ii 7' 10';

- 579 SU and bird oracles
KUB 16.34 i 5, 6, 8, 19; 18.63 i 27; KUB 49.30 rev? 13; KUB 49.89 8' 13' 20';
- 580 KIN and bird oracles
KBo 24.122 20';
KUB 5.13 i 3; 18.9 iii 13;
- 582 Oracle fragments
KBo 23.109 rev. 6;
KUB 16.38 i 28, 24; 18.38. 4' ; 18.39 obv. 4';
- 590 Fragments of vows
KBo 13.72 rev. 3' 4' 5'
- 633 *haššumaš*-festival
IBoT 1.29 obv. 24;
- 670 Festival fragments
KUB 41.30 iii 5' 13'
- 691 *Huwaššanna'* witaššiaš-festival
KUB 17.24 ii 6 iii 13'; 27.59 i 16, 17 iv 12';
- 692 *Huwaššanna'* witaššiaš-festival
KBo 14.96 ii 15';
KUB 27.49 iii 10, 24; 27.55 ii 17' iii 8; 27.66 ii 17' iii 10' 16';
KUB 32.125 7'; 32.126 ii 2'
- 693 *Huwaššanna'* šaḥḥan-festival
KBo 24.21 i 5' 9';
- 694 *Huwaššanna'* festival fragments
KBo 9.120 obv. 4' ; 14.95 i 5' ; 21.32 rev. 2' ; 24.38 iii 3
KUB 35.7 i 6; KBo 24.20 11'; KUB 46.51⁷⁶³

At first glance the CTH numbers show that the majority of the texts mentioning the $L\dot{U}^{MES} \dot{E}.DINGIR^{LIM}$ belong to the oracle texts. They also appear in the festival texts, but to be more precise, they appear repeatedly in the festivals celebrated to the deity *Huwaššanna*. Since many of the texts are in a fragmentary state, only texts which show the contexts in which this priestly title occurs will be presented.

The material is presented according to the genre of the texts, but only for reasons of convenience. Thus, the major genres are (a) oracle texts (b) festival texts. The picture which will appear from this presentation shall be summarized at the end. Since the bulk of the material belong to the category of oracle texts, I begin with these documents.

4.3.2 The occurrence of the title of Temple-Men in oracle texts

"Oracle texts" is a general term for texts preserving divine inquiries reflecting a quest for divine guidance in matters regarding the

⁷⁶³ For the ascription of this text to this CTH, see below 4.3.4 p. 300.

welfare of the king and the kingdom. The texts represent several techniques of inquiry, and are divided according to them.⁷⁶⁴

A) KUB 22.70 (CTH 566)⁷⁶⁵

This text includes a set of oracular inquiries, where the first question is about the source of the king's illness. Through this first oracle question, the main cause of the sickness is determined to be the anger of the deity of the town of Arušna.

After a series of oracle queries the result was that the deity of Arušna was supposed to receive precious utensils from the queen, but instead they were given to another temple. At the end it is concluded that utensils and other presents will be sent to the deity of Arušna and will be purified before being presented to the deity (rev. lines 54-57). The next inquiry is as follows:

Rev. lines 58-59: "The oracle question (is) just as follows: 'When they bring the utensils to the town of Arušna, the Temple-Men as they know, thus they will purify them. Ditto. Let the extispicy be favorable'. *tanani* was seen on top. Unfavorable".

The Temple-Men are seen in this passage to be those who are responsible for the utensils of the deity, the Hittite word for which is written in an Akkadogram: $\dot{U}-NU-TE^{MES}$. In this case they are two golden crowns, a golden falcon, a wine vase, and some precious stones. The term $L\dot{U}^{MES} \dot{E}.DINGIR^{LIM}$, Temple-Men, is used for those who will take care of the utensils once they have arrived. In ITP the $EN^{MES} \dot{U}-NU-UT$ are those responsible for the utensils of the deity, and we regard them as part of the group of the $L\dot{U}^{MES} \dot{E}.DINGIR^{LIM}$ (3.9.3.1 above p. 110-111). This passage may indeed strengthen our assumption.

The $L\dot{U}^{MES} \dot{E}.DINGIR^{LIM}$ are those responsible for the temple of the deity. It seems that we do not know the identity of the deity, except for the fact that it is the deity of the town Arušna. Ünal⁷⁶⁶ identified it as "a foreign deity with an unknown name, whose temple and cult is not in Hattuša but in Arušna. Still the Hittite court has close relations with her". Ünal then distinguishes between

⁷⁶⁴ On oracles and omens among the Hittites see van den Hout, *RIA* 10: 40-43, 78-89. See also Beal (2002) 13.

⁷⁶⁵ The text has been edited by Ünal, *THeth* 6. Part of the text was also recently translated into English (obv. 1-60) by Beckman in *CoS* 1: 204-6. See also Schuol (1994) 73-124, 247-304. A summary of this text in English can be found in Beal (2002) 14-19.

⁷⁶⁶ Ünal, *THeth* 6: 25.

the Hittite priesthood, which seems to have given up its efforts since it is inexperienced in this foreign deity's rituals, and the local priesthood of Arušna, which finally assumes care for the deity. New evidence may shed some light on this deity. The deity of the town of Arušna is mentioned in the treaty between the King Tudḫaliya IV and Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša, on the bronze tablet published by H. Otten in 1988.⁷⁶⁷ In col. iii lines 78-98, the deities are called to be witnesses to the treaty, and among the deities listed we find in line 94: ^dIš-ḫa-ra-aš DINGIR^{LIM} URU A-ru-uš-na ("the goddess Išhara the deity of the town Arušna"). She appears under a list of Ištar deities, and I believe she must be identified with the DINGIR^{LIM} URU Arušna since she is the only one who has the addition DINGIR^{LIM} before the name of the town. All other goddesses have the title ^dIštar, the determinative^{URU}, and the name of the town. If indeed the deity of Arušna is the goddess Išhara, we know that she has become part of the Hittite pantheon and must no longer be regarded as a foreign deity.⁷⁶⁸

In this text it is clear that the royal couple worships this deity with reverence and asks for the pacification of its anger. Thus, it seems likely that the priests of Arušna belong among the Hittite priesthood and, as such, will care for the temple of the goddess.

As for the dating of this text, A. Ünal dates it to the New Kingdom, as does A. Kammenhuber.⁷⁶⁹ They think it belongs to the time of Tudḫaliya IV. Th. van den Hout, however, dates it to the time of Puduḫepa and Ḫattušili III.⁷⁷⁰

B) Oracles on the cult of Ištar of Niniveh (CTH 567)

1. KUB 5.10⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁷ Otten (1988) 24.

⁷⁶⁸ On Išhara see Haas (1994) 339-350. However, in light of the latest comprehensive description of Išhara by Prechel (1996) based on texts from Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia, we are presented with a clearly cross-cultural deity in the figure Išhara. At Ḫattuša, according to Prechel (1996) 90-116, she is one of the main female deities in the Hittite pantheon, and she appears mainly during the New Kingdom period, probably as an influence from Kizzuwatna; in Prechel see especially pages 118-119.

⁷⁶⁹ Ünal, *ibid.*, 36-39.

⁷⁷⁰ Van den Hout, *StBoT* 38: 219-222.

⁷⁷¹ From obv. line 25 onward, the text joins KUB 16.83; see Vieyra (1957) 84-85 for KUB 5.10+16.83; see also Brandenstein (1943) 64-65.

Obv. 1-25

- 1 Regarding what they wrote me from the palace: Ištar of Nineveh
- 2 was established (angry?) inside the temple. We questioned the Temple-Men and they spoke as follows:
- 3 "The *zinzapušši*-singer has stolen the golden rhyton (of the bird?).
- 4 But, it has not yet been restored; The Hurrian garment and the gold which
- 5 the deity has on, they are the old ones, and the carriage
- 6 is broken away. Leather curtains they used to give from the palace,
- 7 but these have not yet been sent. When they celebrate the *ašraḫitašši*-festival,
- 8 from the palace, for the deity, they used to give one shekel of silver, red
- wool, blue wool, and one set(?) of leather curtains.
- 9 But now, the *ašraḫitašši*-festival they celebrated, but the silver, red wool,
- blue wool and curtains
- 10 they have not given. The woolen-*šurita*⁷⁷² is old. The calling festival of the
- 11 *kireštinna*-man, too, (was) not celebrated. The *ḫiyari*-festival, too, they
- used to celebrate yearly.
- 12 But now, it (has been) dropped." Are you, deity, angry over these sins?
- 13 May the oracle birds be unfavorable. Unfavorable.

14 If it is this only but there is nothing further, let the bird oracle be favorable. Favorable.

- 15 We made a counter-check through the *purammima*-signs.⁷⁷³ If it is only
 - these sins
 - 16 but there is nothing further, let the first signs be favorable, the following
 - be unfavorable
 - 17-18 (result matches what was asked: first signs favorable, following signs
 - unfavorable)
-

19 Regarding the matter of sacrilege (about which) they wrote me from the palace

- 20 (saying that) a sacrilege was established by oracle (to have happened) in
 - the temple of Ištar of Nineveh,⁷⁷⁴
 - 21 We questioned the Temple-Men. Thus they said: "A dog
 - 22 to the gate-house came up, and reached down to the *ambašši*-sacrifice."
 - 23 They killed it right inside the gate-house. Are you, deity, angry over that?
 - 24 Let *ḫurri*-bird be unfavorable. Unfavorable.
-

25 If it is these alone, Ditto. Let the bird oracle be favorable. Unfavorable.

(Too broken for translation.)

⁷⁷² A fillet of wool wrapped around the head of the sacrifice, *HW*: 200.

⁷⁷³ *CHD P/3*: 383^a gives: "In addition, we inquired by means of *purammima*-exta".

⁷⁷⁴ *CHD L-N*: 198^b.

This oracle text identifies the LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}, Temple-Men, as those who know very well, and in detail, everything that happens in the temple at which they serve. Twice, the Temple-Men of the temple of Ištar of Nineveh are questioned regarding the temple, after its deity was established by oracle as being angry at the royal court. As to the first question, regarding the anger of the deity, the Temple-Men's answer describes the disposition of the temple with respect mainly to its utensils (the deity's vessel, its garment, carriage, and curtains). Then they add information about the celebrations of the festivals which they (in this case, the priests) failed to fulfill as prescribed. Since the deity is still angry, however, they again ask the Temple-Men. This time the report is about a sacrilege that occurred in the temple (without specifying the time), when a dog entered the gate-house and approached the sacrifice. This is a grave sin, since the dog is considered to be an unclean animal; twice we saw this kind of sin emphasized in the ITP (3.9.4.4 above pp. 123-124). The fact that the question in this text is presented to the Temple-Men shows the responsibility for temple purity held by this class of workers, a point established in the commentary to the ITP where the responsibility for preventing the dog and the pig from entering the temple was instructed to the Temple-Men and kitchen attendants (above 3.6 §2, 20 p. 71; §14, 60 p. 80). In the ITP text we identified the priesthood and the kitchen attendants under the title LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}; they belong among those who work inside the temple. This text seems to confirm that statement.

The Temple-Men in this oracular text take care of all the wealth of the temple, a point also indicated in the ITP (above 3.6 §8, 30-33 p. 75). The singer identified in the inquiry has indeed stolen the vessel of the deity.

2. KUB 16.83+KUB 16.33

Obv.

- 12⁷⁷⁵ Concerning the fact that they wrote me from the palace regarding the matter of the lost utensils of the goddess Ištar of Nineveh.
 13' The goddess Ištar of Nineveh was determined (to be angry) inside the temple (regarding) the lost
 14' utensils. We have questioned the Temple-Men, and they said:
 15' "The golden horn of the deity ⁴Pi-te-in-ḫi-ni-bi⁷⁷⁶ (is) lost. The eyes of the *awiti*'s rhyton
 16' no longer have lapis lazuli in the back. The beak of the gold swallow

⁷⁷⁵ Brandenstein (1943) 64-65.

⁷⁷⁶ Gessel, *Onomasticon* 1: 362.

has no lapis lazuli (anymore).

- 17' The *ipulli* of the gold weapon has been knocked off from the stone macehead.⁷⁷⁷

This passage shows again the responsibility of the Temple-Men for the temple utensils and temple wealth. They are the ones who know where each decoration or utensil is, and what happened to them.

The palace, though, is the authority which inquires about the state of the temple's wealth once the anger of the deity has been established. From the palace they send a demand for the inquiry to one of the specialists in the field of oracle divination. The specialist then questions the Temple-Men in order to learn whether the anger of the deity has indeed been aroused because of the Temple-Men's sin or neglect. This is a bureaucratic procedure.

C) CTH 572 KIN-oracles

A certain group of Hittite texts describes a peculiar divination technique using the Sumerian sign KIN. In the research this was known as "lot oracle", but recently Beal has suggested calling it a "symbol oracle".⁷⁷⁸ Among these groups of oracles the Temple-Men are mentioned in relation to their temple.

KUB 16.82

A new search for the reason behind the deity's rage is conducted. A few deities are consulted, and the next stage involves questioning the Temple-Men:

- 12' ki-i ku-it NU.SIG₅-ma nu LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en
 UM-MA ŠU-NU-Ú[M-MA]
 13' EZEN₄ ŠA MU 2 KAM iš-ša-an-te-eš nam-ma KI.MIN

Regarding this which is unfavorable, we questioned the Temple-Men and thus they (said): 'The festival(s?) of the 2nd year (have been) done'. Further ditto.

⁷⁷⁷ See CHD P/3: 270^a.

⁷⁷⁸ Beal (1992b) 128^a. See also Popko, *Religions*: 138: "It was presumably a kind of game using figures and symbols. The figures represented familiar and unfamiliar persons, and the symbols stood for concrete and abstract ideas of a positive and negative meaning. The figures seem to have been active during the whole process of divination, but the factors in their activity remain unknown. It is also not known what the results of the augury depended upon". See Archi (1974) 113-144.

D) CTH 574: *hurri*-bird technique⁷⁷⁹1. IBoT 2.129= KUB 16.35 + 898/v (+) KBo 22.139⁷⁸⁰

Obv.

- 1 ^dU NIR.GÁL-kán ku-it ŠĀ É.DIN[GIR^{LIM}]x?
 2 SĪxSĀ-at nu LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} pu-nu-[u]š-[š]u-fu-l-en na-a[š
 me-mi-ir]
 3 A-NA DINGIR^{LIM}-u_a SISKUR pu-ru-ul¹-li¹-ja-aš-š⁷⁸¹-ja-an-za
 4 ŠA MU 7 KAM kar-ša-an
-
- 5 ^{GIS}a-ri-im-pu-uš-ša-u_a ^{GIS}KUN₄ ^{GIS}ti-ja-ri-ta
 6 ha-liš-ši-ja-an e-eš-ta ki-nu-un-ma-ua-ra-at-Ú-UL
 7 ha-liš-ši-ja-an ^{GIS}tap-ri-ja-kán pí-ra-an ar-ja
 8 IŠ-TU KÙ.BABBAR ha-liš-ši-ja-an e-eš-ta ki-nu-un-ma-a[t]
 9 Ú-UL ha-liš-ši-ja-an
-
- 10 ÉRIN^{MES} URU¹ Ku-ua-ar-pí-ša-ja-ua ŠA¹ KUR¹ I-šu-ua A-NA DINGIR^{LIM}
 'ar²-ha¹ x-x[?]]
 11 e-eš-ta ki-nu-un-ma-ua-ra-an-za-an LUGAL¹ I-šu-ua d[a-a-a]š
-
- 12 GEŠTIN-ja A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} URU¹ Na-ji-ta-za URU¹ Ji-li-ik-ka₄-za pé-e
 har-[k]ir
 13 ki-nu-un-ma-ua-ra-at kar-aš-ša-nu-ir MUN-ja A-NA DINGIR^{LIM}
 14 URU¹ Du-uh-du-uš-na-za pé-e har-kir ki-nu-un-ma-ua-kán ŪKU^{MES}-[u]š
 15 A-NA LÚ^{MES} IŠ.GUŠKIN pár-ra-an-da pa-a-ir MÜN-ma kar-ša-nu-ir
 16 LÚ¹DAM.GĀR-ja ku-iš A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} 1^{GAD} a-la-lu-ša 1 ZI GUŠKIN
 1 KUŠ
 17 1 UD.ZALLE KÙ.BABBAR 3 KUŠ pé-eš-ki-it ki-nu-un-ma-an-kán
 A-NA LÚ^{MES} É.G[A]L na¹-x-aš
 18 ar-ja da-a-ir a-pa-a-at-ma kar-ša-nu-ir 1 DUMU.MUNUS-ja
 LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 19 IŠ-TU KUR⁷⁷ ap-pé-eš-ki-ir ki-nu-un-ma-an Ú-UL ap-pé-eš-kán-zi
 20 LÚ¹ ŠU.ĤA₆-ja-za ku-iš ŠA DINGIR^{LIM} KU₆ da-li-ja-at nu LÚ ŠU.ĤA₆
 21 nu-u-ua har-kán-zi LÚ¹DAM.GĀR-ma-za-kán ku-in e-ep-ta
 nu KÙ.BABBAR
 22 na-úi₅ da-ru-up-pí-ja-nu-zi ^dUTU⁵¹-ja-kan ku-ua-pí Ú-UL É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 23 ú-iz-zi nu IŠ-TU É.GAL^{LIM} 1 EZĒN₄ še-ji-il-lin-zi pé-eš-ki-ir
 24 ki-nu-un-ma-aš kar-ša-nu-ir DINGIR^{LIM} ki-e-da-aš ua-aš-ku-ua-aš
 še-ir TUKU.TUKU-an-za
 25 nu MUŠEN HUR-RI NU.SIG₅-du SIG₅

⁷⁷⁹ This method of searching after divine contact was probably a form of extispicy conducted by the LÚ¹HAL (= "the seer"); see van den Hout, *RIA* 10: 80.

⁷⁸⁰ Berman (1982) 95.

⁷⁸¹ For the reading of the SISKUR *purulli*ašši as a Luwian form of the *purulli*-festival, see *CHD* P/3: 393^a. The text is dated here as NH.

- 26 ma-a-an-za DINGIR^{LUM} [d]a-me-e-da-aš [ua-aš]-ku-aš še-ir
 TUKU.TUKU-an-za
 nu MUŠEN HUR-RI NU.SIG₅-du nu S[I]G₅
-
- 27 ki-i ku-[i]t NU.SIG₅-ta [] LÚ¹ x x-x-x-x I-NA É.DINGIR^{LIM}
 28 [ka]r-ši-iš-kán-ta-ri KI.MIN. nu MUŠEN HUR-RI [NU] [S[I]G₅-du
 NU.SIG₅
-
- 29⁷⁸² [m]a-a-an-za DINGIR^{LUM} INIM LÚ¹MES¹ tap-ri-ti še-ir TUKU.TUKU-
 an-za KI.MIN
 nu MUŠEN HUR-RI SIG₅-ru NU.SIG₅
-
- 30 [k]i-i¹ ku-[i]t NU.SIG₅-ta nu LÚ¹MES¹ pu-ra-ap-ši še-ir ÈN.TAR-kán²
 nu me-mi-ir
 31 A-NA DINGIR^{LUM}-u_a nu-ra-ti-i-in pé-eš-ki-ir [k]i-nu-un-[m]a-ua-ra-an
 [n]a-úi₅
 32 SUM-u-e-ni⁷⁸³ KI.MIN nu MUŠEN HUR-RI NU.S[I]G₅-du NU.S[I]G₅
-
- 33 ma-a-an-za DINGIR^{LUM} INIM LÚ¹MES¹ tap-ri-[ti Ū] I[NIM]
 'nu¹-ra-ti-i-ja⁷⁸⁴
 34 'še-ir TUKU.TUKU¹-[an-z]a KI.MIN
 35 nu MUŠEN HUR-RI SIG₅-ru SIG₅
-
- 1 Regarding the mighty Storm-god [who] was determined to be [ang]ry²
 2 inside the tem[ple], we questioned the Temple-Men and th[ey said]:
 3 "The *purulli*aš-ritual/offering of the seventh year (which was)
 4 celebrated to the
 deity, (has been) omitted."
-
- 5 "The *arimpa*-pillars,⁷⁸⁵ a ladder and the *tiyarit*⁷⁸⁶
 6 were plated. Now they are no (longer)
 7 plated. The chair, along the front
 8 was plated with silver. Now i[t]
 9 (is) not plated."
-
- 10 "Also the troops of the town Kuwarpiša, of the land of Išuwa (that)
 to the deity [?]

⁷⁸² Here begins the duplicate KBo 22.139; see Berman (1982) 96.

⁷⁸³ Berman, *ibid*, restores here: [DINGIR-LUM *ke-e-da-aš* ua-aš-ku-ua-aš še-er TUKU.TUKU]U-an-za.

⁷⁸⁴ According to Berman, *ibid*.

⁷⁸⁵ The *arimpa* is basically a wooden stand used in rituals. See Puhvel, *HED* 1: 139; *HW*² A: 297-298.

⁷⁸⁶ See Tischler, *HEG* 10: 369. *tiyarit* may be some kind of a cart.

- 11 were [given]. But now, the king of the land of Išuwa took them to himself.”
- 12 “Also the wine for the deity, from the towns Naḫita and Ḫiliqqa they stored.
- 13 But now they have neglected it. Also salt for the deity,
- 14 from the town of Duḫdušna they stored. But now the people
- 15 went over to the golden-chariot drivers, and the salt they ceased (to deliver).
- 16 And the merchant, as well, who used to supply to the deity one garment *alaluša*, one golden ZI, one hide,
- 17 one silver metal object, (and) three hides, now, however,
- 18 they took him away to the palace officials [.....]. That, therefore, they ceased (to deliver). One daughter (i.e. young girl), too, the Temple-Men used to seize from the land. Now, however, they do not seize one.⁷⁸⁷
- 19 Regarding the fisherman, who kept the fish for himself,
- 20 they are still holding him, but (as for) the merchant, who took it⁷⁸⁸ for himself,
- 21 he has not yet collected the silver. Also, when His Majesty did not come
- 22 to the temple, from the palace they used to provide for the festival of consecration(?).
- 23 But now, they ceased.” Is the deity angry about these sins?
- 24 then let the *hurri*-bird be unfavorable. Favorable.
- 25
- 26 If you, O deity, (are) angry for other sins, let the *hurri*-bird be unfavorable. Unfavorable.

The lines that follow continue with the same procedure of presenting omens to ascertain the reasons for the anger of the deity.

In this text the Storm-god was confirmed to be angry. The anger influences the well-being of the king, as well as that of the country. The questions are sent to the Temple-Men of the temple belonging to the angry deity, and while the text does not mention where the temple is located, it gives names of towns in the land of Išuwa which care for this deity's temple. Three such towns are Kuwarpiša, Naḫita, and Ḫiliqqa. (The first town is assumed to be Nagidos, on the coast of Cilicia⁷⁸⁹).

As to the sins committed in the temple by the Temple-Men, several possibilities which may be the cause of the deity's anger

⁷⁸⁷ For this custom see Rutherford (2004) 381.

⁷⁸⁸ The supplies mentioned in lines 16-17.

⁷⁸⁹ RGTC 6/1: 279 and 6/2: 109.

are presented:

- 1) Cessation of the celebration of festivals/rituals. (lines 3-4)
- 2) Damage to religious objects belonging to the deity: their silver plating is stolen. (lines 4-9)
- 3) Departure of the troops who secured the temple (from the outside), taken by the king of the land of Išuwa. The temple is not protected. (lines 10-11)
- 4) Cessation of the supply of wine, salt, and special cloths to the deity, which had previously been delivered to the temple. (lines 12-21)
- 5) Neglect by the king to visit the temple and to provide, as he had in the past, for a certain festival (probably some conciliation towards the deity) when he did not come. Now there is no provision for the festival from the palace. (lines 22-25)

These issues reveal negligence in the worship of the deity and in the maintenance of its house, certainly a good cause to become angry. This text, moreover, draws a picture of the regular work going on in the temple and the way it was run. It regularly received its supplies from certain places and people, and was guarded by the troops of the kingdom.

2. KUB 18.18

This bird oracle text draws attention to the neglect of the festivals as this is reported by the Temple-Men. Interestingly, the neglect of the *HI-YA-RA*-festival is mentioned,⁷⁹⁰ as are the offering of daily bread and other rites.

3. KUB 18.27

- 11 LU^{ME}]Š É.DINGIR^{LIM} pu-nu-uš-še-ir nu me-mi-ir[
 12]šar e-eš-ta nu-ua-ra-at mar-ša-nu-u[a-an
 13 r]a-du ar-ḫa du-ua-ar-na-an [
 14]nu MUŠEN ḪUR-RI NU.SIG₅-du NU SIG₅ x[
- 17 k]u-iš-ki IŠ-TU NÍ.TE-ŠU mar-ša-nu-ua-an ḫar[-zi²
 18 É].DINGIR^{LIM} i-ja-at-ta-ri nu MUŠEN ḪUR-RI NU.SIG₅-du [
- 11 the] Temple-[Me]n they questioned and they said:[“
 12]... was/happened(?). And it (was) desecrated[
 13]... (it was) broken away” [
- 14] May the *hurri*-bird be unfavorable. Unfavorable x[

⁷⁹⁰ See Chapter 3 above, under the commentary to ITP §4, line 40 p. 96.

- 17 so|meone with his body ho[lds] desecration [
18 |walks into the temple. Let the *hurri*-bird be unfavorable.]

4. KUB 5.7⁷⁹¹

At the beginning of this tablet the oracle indicates that something “unfavorable” has been established regarding a temple in the town of Kizmara. The diviner, therefore, approaches the Temple-Men with an inquiry. The Temple-Men then answer regarding the omission of pouring wine to the deity from the *haršiyalli*-vessel. Next they tell of neglecting the offering of fresh loaves. They say that they neglected the celebration of monthly festivals.

The next time they question the Temple-Men, their answer reveals sacred objects, which were broken or from which the silver or gold was removed.

The next proposal for the deity is that the Temple-Men will be penalized one sheep, bread, and beer for the omitted monthly festival. Also, the festivals which they omitted will be made up for, with double supply. This is accepted by the deity. Each act by the Temple-Men is brought back before the deity to ask him/her whether that was the cause of the anger. The reply is revealed by the *hurri*-bird technique.

The next deity established as being angry is *Huriyanzipa*. Again, after questioning the Temple-Men several times, they answer that: 1. The temple building is shaky; 2. A festival has been omitted; 3. Some regalia discs for the cult stand are missing; 4. A dog came into the temple and disturbed the table with the sacrificial loaves. Also, the ration of the temple daily loaves was cut down considerably. Another question, whether the so-far revealed sins include all sins which occurred, is answered unfavorably. So the Temple-Men’s questioning continue as follows:

Obv.

- 27’ nu LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} pu-nu-uš-šu-u-e-en nu me-mi-ir 2 LÚ^{MES}
ku-kur-ša-an-ti-iš-ua-kán ŠA É.DINGIR^{LIM} pa-a-ir MUŠEN *HUR-RI* NU.SIG₅

We questioned the Temple-Men and they said: “Two mutilated⁷⁹² men, came into the temple.” *Hurri*-bird unfavorable.

⁷⁹¹ This text has been translated by Goetze in *ANET*: 497-8, and recently treated by Tognou (2004) 59-82. For previous treatments of the text see Tognou, *ibid*, 59 n. 1.

⁷⁹² Compare Puhvel, *HED* 4: 235.

- 28’ ma-a-an ki-i-pát KI.MIN (erasure) MUŠEN *HUR-RI* NU.SIG₅ na-aš
nam-ma pu-nu-uš-šu-u-e-en nu me-mi-ir iš-kal-la-an-ti-iš-ua-kán an-tu-uḫ-
še-eš 29’ ŠA É.DINGIR^{LIM} i-ja-an-ta-at MUŠEN *HUR-RI* NU.SIG₅ ma-a-an
ki-i-pát KI.MIN IGI-zi-iš MUŠEN *HUR-RI* SIG₅ EGIR-ma NU.SIG₅

If it is just this, ditto. *Hurri*-bird unfavorable. We questioned them again and they said: “slashed people came inside the temple.”⁷⁹³ *Hurri*-bird unfavorable. If it is only this, ditto. The first *hurri*-bird favorable. But the lastunfavorable.

Then follows an inquiry about the penalties for the temple on the neglect of the cult. Besides the obligation to celebrate the festivals, there is an additional penalty:

- 33’ NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{BLA} UD^{MI} ku-it kar-aš-nu-ir nu
30 NINDA.GUR₄.RA^{BLA} pí-an-zi MUŠEN *HUR-RI* SIG₅
Regarding the fact that they omitted the daily loaves, thirty loaves they will give. *Hurri*-bird favorable.
- 34’ UR.GI₇-ša-an ku-it^{GIS} BANŠUR-i ša-li-ik-ta nu NINDA.GUR₄.RA
UD^{MI} ka-ri-pa-aš^{GIS} BANŠUR ka-ri-pa-an-zi NINDA.GUR₄.RA
UD^{MI} -ma-kán 2-ŠU
- 35’ ḫa-pu-ša-an-zi za-an-ki-la-tar-ra 1 UDU NINDA KAŠ pí-an-zi
za-ḫa-an-zi-aš MUŠEN *HUR-RI* SIG₅
Regarding the fact that the dog approached the table and consumed the daily loaf, they will destroy the table. The daily bread they will make up for twice. For penalty: one sheep, bread, (and) beer they will give; they will beat them. *Hurri*-bird favorable.
- 36’ [ŠA É.DIN]GIR^{LIM} -kán ku-Kur-ša-an-te-eš is-kal-la-an-te-eš an-tu-
uḫ-se-eš i-ja-an-ta-at nu^{MUNUS} ŠU.GI^{URU} ḫa-at-ti ma-aḫ-ḫa-an
an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi
- 37’ [A-NA DIN]GIR^{LIM} QA-TAM-MA a-ni-ja-zi MUŠEN *HUR-RI* SIG₅
Regarding the mutilated (and) slashed people who came into the temple, the Hittite “old-woman” as she usually performs [for the deity], likewise she will perform (a ritual). *Hurri*-bird favorable.

The oracle questions continue, involving the god Ziparwa, the Hattian deity *Ḫalki*, and the deity *GIR*. In each case, there is a detailed description of sacred objects lost or broken, and the omission of festivals and bread loaves.

This oracle text describes in a most detailed way the failure

⁷⁹³ For the translation see Puhvel, *HED* 1: 414.

in the temples to maintain the sacred work and to keep the sacred objects unharmed. The text mentions many of the topics raised by the ITP.

5. CTH 578

Under this CTH number there are two fragments which mention the Temple-Men in relation to negligence and sins within the temple, which caused the anger of the deity.

1) KUB 5.5

This text includes a series of questions posed during an oracular inquiry. In col. ii lines 27-30, the LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} are mentioned as follows:

27 ^{DUG}ša-ša-an-na-an ku-it I-NA MU 2 KAM kar-šir
28 nu-kán 1 ^{DUG}ša-ša-an-na-an gal-la-ra-an-ni ti-an-zi
29 LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ja du-ud-du-nu-an-zi
30 DINGIR^{LUM}-za KI.MÎN

“Regarding the fact that they have omitted the *šašanna*-vessel for two years, they will present one *šašanna*-vessel for the unfavorable response of the oracle. The Temple-Men, too, they shall forgive, (When you), O deity, (are angry because of this). Ditto.”

The sin of not fulfilling the ritual with the *šašanna*-vessel for two years was established by the oracle. To remove the sin, a new *šašanna*-vessel is ordered and the Temple-Men, regarded as those responsible for the sin, are to be forgiven.

2) KUB 50.44

Obv. ii

6' nu-za DINGIR^{LUM} mar-za-<aš>-tar-ri-ma⁷⁹⁴ še-ir
TUKU.TUKU-u-ua-a[n-za
7' LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-aš EGIR-an ar-ḥa ʷa-aš-túl TU[KU?
8' ME-ir nu-kán DINGIR-ni da-pí-i [Z]I-ni [

9' DINGIR^{LUM} ku-it kar-ša-an-da-aš ḥa-zi-ʷi, x[
10' SIxSÁ-at LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} ÈN.TAR-en UM-MA [
11' 24 UDU 24 GU₄.NITA 7 SAR 48 PA ŽI.DA x[
12' ŠA EZEN₄ ITU KAM ŠA MU 4 KAM INA MU⁷¹ x[
13' ŠA ITU 1 KAM-ma-aš-ši 1 PA ŽI.DA [
14' A-NA PA-NI ŠEŠ⁴ UTU⁵¹ [

Broken

6' Are you, O deity, angry because of the deception [
7' The Temple-Men, however, after the offence ...[

⁷⁹⁴ See Starke, *StBoT* 31: 394.

8' they gave. To the deity with everything for the [wi]ll [of the deity?

9' In regard to the fact that the deity was determined to be
[as being angry] concerning
10' the neglected rites, we questioned the Temple-Men. Thus (they said):
11' twenty-four sheep, twenty-four bulls, seven plants, forty-eight
parisu-measures of flour [
12' of the festival of the month of the 4th year. On (that) year [
13' of the first month, for him (the deity?) one *parisu*-measure of flour [
14' for the brother of His Majesty [

Broken

This text shows the responsibility of the Temple-Men to repent when an offence is revealed. The last line of the text mentions the involvement of the king's brother in the cult, and thus one has to assume that we are dealing with the official cult, under the care of the royal family.

6. CTH 579

Under this CTH number there is one text describing a desecration which happened in the temple of the Storm-god of Ḫatti.

KUB 16.34

Obv. i

1 [ma-][a¹-an-za-kán [dU¹] [UR]^U KÙ.BABBAR-ti dLAMMA¹
^{URU}KÙ.BABBAR-ti
DINGIR^{MES} ḥa-[pa]l-ki-ja-aš
2 [ŠÀ] É^{MES} DINGIR^{MES} Ū-UL ku-e-iz-qa mar-[š]a-nu-an-te-eš nu
IGI-iš MUŠEN
HUR-RI SIG₅-ru
3 E[GI]R-ma NU.SIG₅-du IGI-iš SIG₅ EGIR NU.SIG₅

4 IR^{TUM} QA-TAM-MA-pát nu SU^{MES} SIG₅-ru G¹⁵ŠTUKUL GÙB-aš ŠA[?]
GABA NU.SIG₅

5 nu LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en nu me-mi-ir A-NA
EZEN₄ da-a-ḥi-ja-aš-ua-kan ku-ua-pí
6 DINGIR^{MES} dam-na-aš-ša-ru-uš GÁM ú-da-an-zi nu-ua LÚ^{MES}
É.DINGIR^{LIM} A-NA
LÚ^{MES} É. NA₄-DINGIR^{LIM}
7 an-da ú-e-ri-ja-an-te-eš GIDIM^{HI.A}-ja-ua-aš-ma-aš
da-ni-nu-ua-an-te-eš
8 LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-ua-aš-ma-aš an-da ú-e-ri-ja-an-te-eš
ua-ar-pa-an-zi-ma-ua-az
9 Ū-UL nu-ua-ra-at-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM}-pát i-ja-an-ta-ri DINGIR^{LUM}

- a-ši
[mar-ša l-aš-tar-<ri->in
10 i-ši-ja-aḥ-ta nu MUŠEN *HUR-RI* NU.SIG₅-du NU.SIG₅.

11 ma-a-an ki-i-pát nam-ma-ma ta-ma-i UL [k]u-it-ki nu IGI-iš MUŠEN
HUR-RI S[IG₅-du]
12 EGIR-ma NU.SIG₅-du IGI-iš NU.SIG₅ EGIR SIG₅.

13 na-aš nam-ma pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en nu me-mi-ir ŠÀ É
LU NINDA.DÙ.DÙ-ya-kán UR.[GI, an-da]
14 pa-it nu-ya^{GIS} pa-pu-u-un ar-ḥa ḥu-ru-ta-it nu-ya-kán NINDA.GUR₄.RA
UD^{MI}-pát[
15 LU NINDA.DÙ.DÙ-ja-ya GIDIM a-uš-ta ya-ar-ap-ta-ma-ya-za UL
nu-ya-ra-as A-NA x[
16 an-da ú-e-ri-ja-an-za e-eš-ta DINGIR^{LUM} a-ši mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-in
i-ši-ja-aḥ-ta
nu MUŠEN *HUR-RI* NU.SI[G₅-du

17 ma-a-an ki-i-pát KI.MIN nu IGI-iš MUŠEN *HUR-RI* SIG₅-ru
EGIR-ma NU.SIG₅-du IGI-iš SIG₅ EGIR NU.[SIG₅.]

18 IR^{TUM} QA-TAM-MA nu SU^{MES} SIG₅-ru ni-iš-kán ZAG-aš GAM-aš
ZAG-za GÜB-za UGU ú-da-aš [

19 na-aš nam-ma pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en nu me-mi-ir DAM^{MES} LU^{MES}
É.DINGIR^{LUM}-ya-kán[
20 ŠÀ É MUNUS^{MES} tap-ta-ra-aš i-ja-ta-ri nam-ma-ya-ra-at A[-N]A
LU^{MES} mu-k[i
21 [an-da] ú-e-ri-ja-an-te-eš LU^{MES} mu-ki-šu-nu-ma-ya-za [x []
22 [x-at-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LUM}-pát pa-a-ir DINGIR^{LUM} a-[ši
mar-ša-aš-tar-ri-in
i-ši-ja-aḥ-ta]
23 [nu IGI-iš M]UŠEN *HUR-RI* NU.SIG₅-du EGIR-ma SIG₅-r[u

24 []pát KI.MIN nu IGI-iš MUŠEN *HUR-RI*[

25 []pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en nu me-m[i-ir
26 []x-ya-aš-ši-kán aš-ku-uš[
27 traces.

- 1 If you, O Storm-god of Ḫatti, the Tutelary Deity of Ḫatti, gods' (statues)
of iron,⁷⁹⁵
2 (are) in no way desecrated in the temples, let the first *hurri*-bird be
favorable,
3 but the last be unfavorable. First favorable, last unfavorable.

⁷⁹⁵ Compare these lines with Puhvel, *HED* 3: 116.

- 4 (The same) oracle question thus. Let the extispicy be favorable.
Weapon stood at the meat. Unfavorable.

5 We questioned the Temple-Men and they said: "When for the
daḥiya-festival
6 they bring the *damnaššara*-deities down here, the Temple-Men are
called to the
7 men of the mausoleum. The dead have been arranged for them.
8 The Temple-Men, however, are called to them, but they do not wash
themselves,
9 and even inside the temple they walk." O, deity, have you revealed
the above mentioned
10 sacrilege? Let the *hurri*-bird be unfavorable. Unfavorable.

11 If this alone, is it but nothing further, let the first *hurri*-bird be favorable
12 but the last be unfavorable. First unfavorable, last favorable.

13 We questioned them again and they said: "A dog went inside the
bakery.
14 And he turned over the *papu*-implement. Only the daily bread []
15 Also, the baker saw a dead man but he did not wash. He [went into
the bakery]
16 having contacted the [dead]." O, deity, the above mentioned sacrilege
have you revealed?

17 If it is just this. Ditto. Let the first *hurri*-bird be favorable but the last
unfavorable. First favorable. Last unf[avorable]

18 Oracle query in the same way. Let the extispicy be favorable. The
NI IS came on the right; beneath by the right, standing [

19 We questioned them again and they said: "The wives of the 'Temple-
Men' [
20 went into the house of the mourning women, further to the
invocation men
21 they were called. The invocation men, however, []
22 [] ... even inside the temple they went." O, deity, the above
men[ioned sacrilege have you revealed?]
23 Let the [first *hurri*-bi]rd be unfavorable, but the last let it be fav[orable]

24 Another inquiry. Broken.

This text presents us with an offence against the gods, which was caused by sacrilege. The offence is connected with the temple personnel being contaminated in several ways. First, the Temple-

Men came in contact with the men of the mausoleum, which is to say that they were contaminated by being in contact with the dead. This necessitates washing, which the Temple-Men did not carry out. The second occurrence of sacrilege was in the bakery; a dog came in and made a mess, and the baker himself saw a dead man, which again demands purification. He did not do it. The last case of contamination occurring in this temple was the fact that the wives of the Temple-Men came in contact with the mourning women, and even let the invocation men come into the temple grounds. Again, this amounts to contamination from being in contact with the dead. It is interesting that the contamination is passed on even though it is the wives of the Temple-Men who came in contact with it, and not the Temple-Men themselves.

4.3.3 The occurrence of the title of Temple-Men in a fragment of a vow (CTH 590)

KBo 13.72 is a fragment of a vow, but it is not clear enough to determine who is making it. The king is named on the obverse as is a promise, which he may have made, for a celebration in the temple. Slaves are mentioned in connection with re-exemption and the geographical name given is the town of Liḫšina. The reverse side of the tablet mentions a Temple-Man (in the singular) who will be questioned again, and who will celebrate the deity. It may be that the vow includes a promise to the deity to inquire about its temple, to make sure that there are enough workers for it and that the festivals are celebrated on time.

4.3.4 The occurrence of the title of Temple-Men in festival texts

Most of the other documents mentioning the Temple-Men fall under a category that can be divided into two sections: 1) the inventory texts (CTH 508, 525), and 2) the festivals (CTH 614, 633, 670, 692, 693, 694).

A) *The inventory texts*

These texts give information on the cult in different areas of the kingdom. As already mentioned, they all belong to the New Kingdom period, and many of them to the time of Tudḫaliya IV.

1. KBo 26.188⁷⁹⁶

This is a small fragment written on both sides, with only a few lines. On the obverse there is an indication of the SANGA-priest providing from his house. Then are mentioned Mount Zaliyanu, the deity connected with the town of Nerik, and the name Tudḫaliya, which Hazenbos understands as Tudḫaliya IV. The reverse side reads as follows:

- 1 ʾlu^l-kat-ti-ma GIŠ.ZAG.GAR.RA-ni x[
2 LÚ^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM} an-da x[
3 GAL^{III-A}-kán aš-ša-nu-ṽa-[an-zi

The next day on the altar [
The Temple-Men in(to) [
t[hey] provide for the cups [

The Temple-Men seem to be mentioned in the same context as the regular SANGA-priest, performing a ceremony at the altar.

2. KUB 42.100⁷⁹⁷

This text mentions the Temple-Men three times in a context which may clarify their role within the temples. It is a rare record of the procedure of cultic renovations assisted by the king, and carried out by the temple's personnel. The content of this tablet refers to the state and the renovations of six temples in the town of Nerik during the New Kingdom. The deities are: Storm-god of Zaḫaluqqa,⁷⁹⁸ ZABABA, Storm-god of Heaven, LAMMA, Telipinu, and Ḫalki. For each deity there is a record of his SANGA-priest and how many other men serve him. Next, the festivals celebrated to each of the deities are counted with the material provided. The record of the current state of a certain cult is compared with older tablets found in the temples. For example, line i 17' says, "on a *kurta*(-tablet) of Muwatalli 12 m[onthly] festivals." (Other tablets, dealing with the other deities of His Majesty's grandfather, appear on iii 22' and iv 10'). The cases in which earlier tablets are mentioned record the cult regulations of the past.

The first mention of the Temple-Men in the text under discussion is at obv. ii 14'. Unfortunately, the column is broken and can be read only in part. Hazenbos correctly noted the usage

⁷⁹⁶ Hazenbos (2003) 25-26.

⁷⁹⁷ Hazenbos (2003) 16 (CTH 525.3)

⁷⁹⁸ For the restoration of the town's name see Hazenbos (2003) 15.

of the direct speech form *-ua(-)/-uar-* from line 1' to 11', suggesting that we have here a declaration of the Temple-Men or even an oracle report regarding the cult in Nerik.

On column iii 36'-40' there is another mention of the Temple-Men. Line 36' starts with *UM-MA* and the beginning of a statement by the Temple-Men:⁷⁹⁹

"Thus (said) the Temple-Men: 'Formerly the god was [at the rea]r end of the inner room and the community didn't see him. Now he is standing on the alta[r]'. The following lines (after a line divider) indicate who the workers belonging to the Storm-god of Heaven are: ^{39'} [LÚ]SA]NGA mLu-pa-ak-kiš 4 LÚ^{MEŠ} ⁸⁰⁰] 40' [] dU AN-E

The only person mentioned clearly by name is the SANGA-priest of the deity. He must be counted as one of the Temple-Men. According to the Temple-Men's reports, they seem to have belonged to the temple for a long time since they know all the changes it went through. The other possibility is that they are in charge of the temple records and can check the archives for all changes which occurred prior to their stay there.

This can also be seen in the fourth mention of the Temple-Men on this tablet. Column iv lines 10'-21' tell a story about the grandfather and father of His Majesty, Muršili and Ḫattušili, involving the shape of the statue of the god Telipinu.⁸⁰¹ Texts describing the *purulli* festival found at the town of Utruna tell how they made the deity in silver. According to this testimony the Temple-Men are in charge of all the development and activities occurring in a certain temple, and they have the records of the temple at hand when they need to check on the festivals or any other historical activities relating to that temple.

3. KUB 38.32⁸⁰²

This inventory text records the autumn festival of mount Ziwana,

⁷⁹⁹ Following Hazenbos (2003) 19, 23.

⁸⁰⁰ On the basis of column iv 30'-32 Hazenbos (previous footnote) restores these two lines as 4 LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} x] [SAG.DU.MEŠ] [ARAD.MEŠ]. However, line iv 30' does not read LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} but rather counts four members of the SANGA-priest's family: one male, one female, one son, and one daughter - four "heads", servants of the god Telipinu. I am very much inclined to accept Hazenbos' restoration, since this would make it definite that the LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} are the priesthood: the priest and his family.

⁸⁰¹ For the transliteration and translation see Hazenbos (2003) 20, 23.

⁸⁰² Rost (1963) 193-194; Haas (1994) 369, 461, 482, 496; *RGTC* 6/1: 515, 91-92 (German translation of obv. 1-21); Güterbock (1983a) 203-217.

while also indicating the activity of the priests.

Obv.

8 GIM-an zé-e-na-aš ki-ša-ri A-NA MU-UH-TU ITU 8 KAM[
9 pa-ra-a UD.KAM⁷¹ ua-ar-pu-an-zi LÚSANGA-za LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM} x[
10 E^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ}-kán ša-an-ḫa-an-zi ḫar-na-an-zi DINGIR.GE₆
ua-ar-[pu-an-zi

When it becomes autumn, at the beginning⁷ of the 8th month[
on the following day they wash. The SANGA-priest (and?) the
Temple-Men [
the temples they sweep (and) sprinkle. [They] was[h] the
Deity of the Night.

The Temple-Men in line 9 are mentioned next to a SANGA-priest. Therefore they seem to be in a different group than the priest, but they fulfill the same duties as priests: cleaning the temples and preparing for the festival, including washing themselves as well as the deity.

In CTH 456 (2.4.2 above p. 18), we saw that the members of the priesthood are responsible for cleaning the temples, or any royal house in the town, during the festival of *lela*. In that text it is the SANGA-priests and the AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, who bathe and dress in clean clothes. Line 9 here is broken at the end, but the missing words may include two possible restorations. One possibility is an indication of another group of priests: the first sign may be MUNUS, perhaps indicated by the missing *-ia* after Temple-Men, to count two groups only.⁸⁰³ Another possibility is the verb ŠE.NAGA, because of the particle *-za* after LÚSANGA. In this case, since the SANGA-priest is in the singular he could be the officiating priest, or even the high priest of that place, and the Temple-Men would include all other priests and temple personnel. "Temple-Men" here is a general term for the temple personnel, such as priests, and also possibly the family of the priests.

B) The festivals

Quite surprisingly, the term Temple-Men appears very seldom in the texts of festival descriptions or prescriptions. There are only two festival texts in which the Temple-Men appear, and they appear in plural form: LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM}, as well as in singular form LÚ É.DINGIR^{LIM}.

⁸⁰³ It is not used consistently in counting people in other texts, but in this text it is used, for example, in line 3.

1. An initiation rite for a prince (CTH 633)⁸⁰⁴

In the “festival of procreation”, as the colophon of this text names it, cult personnel sit in front of the prince as part of the ceremony conducted in the ritual. It is described as follows:

When the prince re[quests], inside the house of the cook, to eat, twelve SANGA-priest(s) sit down [be]fore [him]. SANGA-priest of the Storm-god, a man of the Storm-god, SANGA-pr[iest of the deity Ḫat]aḫga(?), SANGA-priest of Ḫalki, SANGA-priest of ZABABA, SANGA-priest of Ta[(šmišu)], SANGA-priest of a deity x], SANGA-priest of Ḫalmaššuiti, two SANGA-priests of Anzili [SANGA-priest of a deity x], SANGA-priest of Ḫašamili, one scepter-bearer, one augur, one ma[n of], two šarmi-men, one cupbearer, one table-man, one man [of], one pal[ua]talla-man, a smith of the god, three Temple-Men, three farmers. These, [in front of the p]rince they sit down to e[(at)]. And before they are [sea]ted to eat, towards the door at the gate of the cookhouse, a tazelli-priest (and) the SANGA-priests purify (themselves).

In the list we find twelve SANGA-priests, each belonging to a certain deity; then we have a scepter-bearer, an augur, and two šarmi-men whom I assume to be specialists connected with the cult. Then there are cult personnel who belong directly to the temple, since they are often mentioned in the cultic texts: a cupbearer, a table-man, a [pal]uatalla-man, a smith of the god, three Temple-Men and three farmers. Under the category of the Temple-Men may fall priests who are not SANGA-priests, such as the GUDU-priest (who is not mentioned in the text at all), or perhaps family members of the priests. Since the list is so accurate in counting the participants, I would assume those who used the term “Temple-Men” knew exactly to whom they referred.

2. KUB 46.51

This fragment of a ceremony conducted by a Temple-Man was ascribed by Laroche to CTH 614⁸⁰⁵ the “AN.TAḪ.SUM-festival 21? day”. Based on the contents of the fragment, however, it is more likely to be part of the texts belonging to the festivals of the deity Ḫuwaššanna. It must therefore be ascribed to CTH 694.

Rev. ?

x+5' na-at-kán ma-aḫ-ḫa-a[n

6' UŠ-KI-EN-NU nu 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA[

Then, when[

they prostrate. One thick bread[

⁸⁰⁴ This text is dated by the CHD Š1: 189^b as MH?/MS?. For more on this text see 5.2.2 p. 352.

⁸⁰⁵ Laroche, RHA 32 (1974) 69.

7'	pa-a-i	^{LU} É.DINGIR ^{LIM}	-ma-aš-š[a	he gives. But the Temple-Man[
8'	IŠ-TU	^{DUG} KU-KU-UB-BI	3-Š[U	from the kukubi-vessel three
				tim[es he libates?
9'	nu	BE-EL	SÍSKUR PA-NI	DINGIR ^{LIM} [The offerant in front of the
				deity[
10'	ti-ua-li-ja	ka-a-ša-at [powerful (deity) See! [⁸⁰⁶
11'	^{DUG} šu-ua-at-ra	ti-it-ta-[nu-an-zi		a šuwatra-vessel [they/he] arrange[

If we do not ascribe this to the AN.TAḪ.SUM-festival, then the title for a cult functionary Temple-Man/Men does not appear within the corpus of the large festival texts. The only festivals in which the title Temple-Man/Men appears are the festivals for the deity Ḫuwaššanna. The ^{DUG}šu-ua-at-ra in this text (KUB 46.51) also appears in another text, ‘the witaššiya-festival of the deity Ḫuwaššanna’ (KUB 27.59, CTH 691). The BE-EL SÍSKUR is also the main “client” of these rituals.

3. The festivals for the deity Ḫuwaššanna

Though mostly in a fragmentary state, this group of texts was identified as being of Luwian origin. The deity mentioned as being celebrated in them, the goddess Ḫuwaššanna, is related mainly to the town of Ḫupišna.⁸⁰⁷ Her name contains the component -anna, “mother”, so she may be considered a mother-goddess.⁸⁰⁸

These texts belong to the period of the New Kingdom, but there are also manuscripts that date back to the late 15th and early 14th century. The goddess Ḫuwaššanna appears in Hittite texts from Šuppiluliuma I, Mušili II, Muwatalli II, Ḫattušili III, Tudḫaliya IV and Šuppiluliuma II.⁸⁰⁹

The rituals of this goddess clearly belong to the state cult, especially evident since in the colophon of KUB 27.49 rev. iv 22', the words EZEN₄ šal-li (“a great festival”) appear. Also, lines 10-12 of col. iii count the following functionaries: “lords of the gods”, Temple-Men, women of the goddess Ḫuwaššanna, the men of the “sublime” Tutelary deity, the singers, and the cupbearers,

⁸⁰⁶ Tischler, HEG 10: 396 quotes KBo 29.92 iii 4-5', which is a ritual for the deity Ḫuwaššanna. The offerant or the priest says: “The deity Ḫuwaššanna, my powerful lord, see!...”, which is parallel to our fragmentary line 10'.

⁸⁰⁷ The area of Konya and Ereğlisi RGTC 6/1: 118.

⁸⁰⁸ RIA 4 (1972-5) 528-529. See also Popko, Religions: 94. Recently appeared a short summary on this Luwian deity by Hutter (2003) 244-247.

⁸⁰⁹ RIA 4 (1972-5) 528.

all of them described as the personnel conducting the festival. The number of personnel is quite large, so it must have been a large temple. There are several festivals described as being celebrated to the goddess *Huwaššanna*, which seem to strengthen their official status. Such are *EZEN₄ witaššiya* (“the festival of the year”), *EZEN₄ zena* (“festival of the fall”), *EZEN₄ KILAM*, *EZEN₄ dÍŠKUR MU⁷* (“the yearly (?) festival of the Storm-god”), and a special festival, *EZEN₄ šahhan*. As already pointed out by Frantz-Szabó and Güterbock, the king and queen are seldom mentioned as participating directly in the festivals, but there are special terms to indicate the celebrants: *BE-EL SÍSKUR*, “offerant” (lit. ‘the owner of the ritual’), next to the female *BE-EL-TI E⁷*, as well as the *EN SÍSKUR*, ‘offerant’.⁸¹⁰ This does indeed make these texts controversial in terms of whether they are festival texts or rituals belonging to the “exorcism” rituals, where the offerant is always termed *EN SÍSKUR* or *BE-EL SÍSKUR*. This is expressed mainly where the text indicates a difference in the social status of the offerant: “If he is poor or rich” (KUB 17.24 ii 16-18).⁸¹¹

Since our aim here is not to give a description of these festival texts but rather to understand their role within the cult, we conclude that these are certainly festivals and rituals originating in the Luwian realm; they may be described as part of the corpus of magical rituals originally celebrated by private offerants, but adopted by the Hittite royalty as part of the state cult, and celebrated thereafter on behalf of the king and queen. Indeed, the date of most of these texts points to the New Kingdom. Both their script and their language show the later phases of the Hittite texts, belonging to the 13th century.

The term Temple-Man/Men appears repetitively in these texts. The context is typically rituals conducted on behalf of the offerant, the person who presents his offering to the deities.

1) KUB 17.24 ii 4-7

4 LÚKISAL.LUH-ma-kán É⁷IM ḥar-nu-ú-i-iz-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa[-an-ma iš-na-an]
5 pa-a-pu-u-ḡa-an-zi zi-in-na-an-zi nu-za ŠA^{DUG} iš-nu-u-[ri iš-na-an]

⁸¹⁰ *RIA* 4 (1972-5) 529; also Güterbock (1962) 347. The term “offerant” was given by Beckman, *StBoT* 29: 167-168.

⁸¹¹ For more detailed descriptions on the special cult personnel of the goddess mentioned in these texts, such as the *alhuiṭra*-female cult functionary and the woman of the goddess *Huwaššanna*, see in Güterbock (1962) 349-351, Hutter (2003) 245, and Trémouille (2002) 351-369.

6 GA.KIN.AG LÚ^{MEŠ} NAR LÚ^{MEŠ} É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ja da-an-zi
7 UZU^U šu-up-pa-az ḥu-u-i-šu ar-ḥa šar-ra-an-zi⁸¹²

The purifier, however, sprinkles the house. When[, however, they] finish shaping(?) [the dough], for themselves, the singers and the Temple-Men take the [dough] of the bow[l] and the cheese, (and) they divide up the uncooked meat.

The handling of the dough and the meat for the sacrifice is usually referred to as a task for other priests. One example, involving the GUDU-priest, is in KUB 55.43 iii 30-34:

In the morning on the following day they immedi[atel]y take up [the dough. They take it into the bakery. They make three thick loaves of one *SUTU* (each). And when [they are baked(?)], they place them on the bread tray(?). The GUDU-priest covers them over [with] a cloth, and they take them into the house [of the Hunting Bag]. They recite(?) before (them). The sing[ers] sing. They also take [(a sacrificial animal)] from the house of the *uriyanni*-official, and that one they sa[crifice] before (the god).⁸¹³

It is quite clear from this example that the Temple-Men in the previous text (KUB 17.24) act like the GUDU-priest.

2) The Temple-Man/Men in these texts are often counted together with the singer/s. See the text KBo 14.96 ii as one example. As another, in KUB 27.66 ii 15'-18', the Temple-Man sings together with the singer. Since the line is broken we can not tell who it is in the next line who breaks the bread:

15' nu a-da-an-na ú-e-ik-kán-zi nu-za a-da-an-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-za
a-d[a-an-na]
16' zi-in-na-an-zi nu a-ku-ḡa-an-na ú-e-ik-kán-zi nu ḥa-an-te-iz-zi[
17' d Ḥu-u-ḡa-aš-ša-an-na-an TUŠ-aš e-ku-zi LÚ^UÉ.DINGIR^{LIM} ŠIR^{RU}
LÚ^UNAR-ma[
18' NINDA^Ata-kar-mu-un pár-šfi-ḡa na-an-za-an-kán I-NA^{GIS} BANŠUR-ŠU
da-a-i

They request food, and they eat. When they finish eating they request drink. First [] seated he drinks the goddess *Huwaššanna*. The Temple-Man sings, the singer, however, [] breaks the *takarmu*-bread. Then he places it on his table.

In the continuation of the ritual only the singer sings. So it may have been the offerant who breaks the bread, as is the case in the

⁸¹² This passage is restored in *CHD* P/1: 96^b.

⁸¹³ *CHD* P/1: 108^b, and McMahon (1991) 153.

following text.

3) In KUB 32.126 ii 2'-6 the Temple-Men are singing while the "woman of the goddess Huwaššanna" (^{MUNUS}huwaššannalli) calls out:

- 2' [š]a-an-na-an TUŠ-aš a-ku-an-zi [LÚ^MÉŠ É.[DINGIR^{LIM}]
 3' ŠIR^{RU} MUNUS^{RU} Hu-ua-aš-ša-an-na-al-li-iš pal-ua-a-iz-zi
 4' BE-EL SISKUR.SISKUR 1 NINDA¹ ta-kar-mu-un pár-ši-ja na-an-[z]a-kán
 5' I-NA^{GIŠ} BANŠUR-ŠU da-a-i nu A-NA LÚ^{MES} BE-EL DINGIR^{MES}
 6' a-ku-an-na pí-an-zi

Seated they drink the [goddess Huwašš]anna. The Temp[le-Men] sing. The woman of the goddess Huwaššanna calls out. The offerant breaks one *takarmu*-bread, and he places it on his table. They give the 'lords of the gods' to drink.

The Temple-Men take direct part in the process of the ritual. In this case they themselves sing.

4) Thus also in KUB 17.24 iii lines 12'-21':

- 12' na-aš-ta GAL DINGIR^{LIM} ša-an-ḥa-an-zi na-an IŠ-TU KAŠ
 13' šu-ḥun¹-na-an-zi na-an LÚ^É.DINGIR^{LIM} A-NA DINGIR^{LIM} pa-ra-a
 14' e-ep-zi nam-ma-an EGIR-pa ú-da-i nu-kán ú-iz-zi
 15' a-pa-a-at GAL DINGIR^{LIM} KAŠ A-NA^{MUNUS} al-ḥu-it-ra
 16' EN.SISKUR-ja kat-ta la-a-ḥu-i na-at-kán ar-ḥa NAG-an-zi
 17' GAL DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-aš-ša-an EGIR-pa zé-ri-ja-al-li-ja-aš
 18' da-a-i nu A-NA^{MUNUS} al-ḥu-it-ri EN.SISKUR-ja
 19' a-ku-ua-an-na pí-an-zi nu^dḥu-u-ua-aš-ša-an-na-an
 20' GAL a-ku-ua-an-zi nu EN.SISKUR 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA pár-ši-ja
 21' na-an-kán I-NA^{GIŠ} BANŠUR-ŠU da-a-i

Then they wipe off the cup of the deity. They fill it up with beer. Then the Temple-Man holds it forth to the deity. Then he brings it back, and thereupon he pours down that cup of beer of the deity for the *alḥuitra*-woman and the offerant. Then they drink it up. The cup of the deity, however, he puts back on the *zeriyall*-cult object. Then to the *alḥuitra*-woman and the offerant they give to drink. They drink the goddess Huwaššanna's cup. The offerant breaks one thick bread, and he places it on his table.

5) KUB 27.59 also sets a special context for the performance of the Temple-Man. The offerant brings to the temple the *ḥalkueššar*, "the produce (or farm products)" which he owes the temple, and presents it to the Temple-Man.

Obv. i

- 1 traces
 2]Hu-ua-š[a
 3 [DUG ḥar-]ši-ja-al-li-[iš
 4]x na-at-kán x[
 5 [DUG]ḥar-ši-ja-al-li-

 6 nu EN.SISKUR DUG₄ḥar-ši-ja-a[l
 7 nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i ti[
 8 BE-LÍ-IA ka-a-ša-at-ta Š[A
 9 DUG₄ šu-u-ua-at-ra]

 10 nu-mu-za BE-LÍ-IA ḥa-a-an ḥar-ak[
 11 ḥar-ak nu-mu QA-DU 1DAM-1A-DUMU^{MES}-I[A
 12 nam-ma EN.SISKUR 1 NINDA.GUR₄.RA 1 x[

 13 na-aš ša-ra-a A-NA É ka-ri-i[m-mi
 14 pa-iz-zi ma-a-an a-ra-aḥ-za-ma x[
 15 pa-iz-zi na-aš DINGIR^{LIM} UŠ-KI-E[N
 16 na-an A-NA LÚ^É1DINGIR?L^M?

 17 LÚ^É.DINGIR^{LIM}-ma-aš-ša-an A-NA^{GIŠ}BA[NŠ]UR DINGIR^{LIM} [
 18 KAŠ-ja ši-pa-an-ti nu me-ma-i ka-a-ša ŠA EZ[EN₄
 19 DUG₄šu-ua-at-ra^{11A} x[-]-un nu-mu-uš-ša-an ti-[
 20 ḥu-ua-aš-ša-an-na-aš 1A-NA¹ aš-šu-li ar-ḥu-ut am[
 21 ka-a-ša ŠA EZEN₄ [ú-i]-ta-aš-ša ḥal-ku-eš-ni EGIR-an x[
 22 nu-za ḥal-ku-eš-šar ḥa-n-da-a-mi nu-za EN.SISKUR ar-ḥa I-NA
 É[DINGIR^{LIM}

 23 nu-za ḥal-ku-eš-šar ḥa-an-da-a-iz-zi ma-aḥ-ḥa-an-ma-za ḥal-ku-eš-ša[r
 24 ḥa-an-da-a-u-ua-an-zi zi-in-na-a-i nu-za EZEN₄ nam-ma
 25 i-ja-u-ua-an-zi e-ep-zi

 26 [ma-a]-an EN.SISKUR ḥa-ap-pí-na-an-za na-aš-ta DUG₄ḥar-ši-1ja-l-al-li
 27 [a-pí-e-da]-ni UD-ti šu-un-na-a-i EZEN₄-ja-az a-pí-e-da-ni U[D-ti]
 28 [i-ja-u-ua-an-zi] e-ep-zi-pát ma-a-na-aš¹⁰MÁŠ[DA-ma
 29 [ḥa]l-ku-eš-ni ḥa-an-da-a-u-ua-an-zi[
 30 [(too fragmentary)

 2]deity Huwašš[anna
 3 [the ḥar]šiyalli-[vessel]

- 4] that
5 the *ḥaršiyalli*-[vessel
-----[
6 The offerant a *ḥaršiya*[*lli*-vessel
7 And thus he says: "...[
8 my lord, behold, to you...[
9 *šuwatra*-vessel [-----[
10 "My lord hold me in front[
11 hold! Me, together with my wife, my children"[
12 Further, the offerant one thick bread and one[-----[
13 Then he up to the sacred room [he enters. If however, outside .[
14 he goes. He bows to the deity[
15 Then him/it to the T[emple-]Man [he gives?-----[
17 The Temple-Man, however, on the deity's table [he puts
18 and beer he libates. And he says: "Behold, of the festiv[al
19 *šuwatra*-vessels I have..... For me [You, O *Ḥuwaššanna*, stand in favor! ...[
20 Behold, as the produce of the *ūtašša*-festival, back [I lay out the produce." The offerant [holds?] out in the te[mple? the
22 produce?]
-----[
23 He lays out the produce. While, however, the produce [he stops arranging. He, then, starts
24 celebrating the festival.
-----[
26 [I]f the offerant (is) wealthy, then a *ḥaršiyali*-vessel
27 [on tha]t day he fills up. And the festival on that d[ay?]
28 he starts to [celebrate]. If he is a po[or] man [[] for the produce [he stops?] arranging[
29 [] for the produce [he stops?] arranging[
30 too fragmentary.

Indeed, the Temple-Man/Men in these rituals for the Luwian goddess act in the same functions in which we expect the priests to act. They conduct the rituals; they speak on behalf of the offerant; and the most interesting description is our last example, in which the offerant brings the produce to the temple to offer it to the goddess and the Temple-Man receives it, helping the offerant to do it properly. This is exactly what was described in the ITP (above 3.6 §9, 61-69 p. 76):

If the right time to perform a festival has arrived, and the one (who is to perform it) comes to you, the SANGA-priests, the GUDU-priests, the

AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, and to them, Te[mple]-Men he seizes their knees (saying): "The harvest (is) before me," or marriage, or a journey, or any other matter, "Step back for me, and let meanwhile the aforementioned matter pass before me. When the aforementioned matter has passed before me, I shall make the festival accordingly." Do not act (according) to the man's will. He shall not make you be sorry (for him).

4.3.5 An išhiul: A text of Muršili II reporting on the cult of Šamuḥa

The text which closes our survey indicates the position of the Temple-Men within the temples and their power to control the way in which temples conduct rituals and festivals. The following is an historical anecdote told by king Muršili II:⁸¹⁴

KUB 32.133⁸¹⁵

Obv. 1

- 1 UM-MA dUTU^{SI} mMur-ši-DINGIR^{LIM} LUGAL.GAL DUMU mŠu-up-
pí-lu-li-u-ma
LUGAL.GAL UR.SAG
2 AB-BA-IA-za-kán ku-ua-pí mTu-ut-ḥa-li-ja-aš LUGAL.GAL
DINGIR.GE. IŠ-TU
É.DINGIR^{LUM}
3 URU^{URU} Ki-iz-zu-ua-at-ni ar-ḥa šar-ri-i-e-it na-an-za-an I-NA URU^{URU} Ša-mu-ḥa
4 É.DINGIR^{LUM} ḥa-an-ti-i i-ja-at nu-za ḥa-az-zi-ū^{IIA}-ta iš-ḥi-ú-li^{IIA} ku-e
5 I-NA É.DINGIR^{LUM} kat-ta-an ḥa-ma-an-kat-ta ū-e-ir-ma-at-kán
LUMES^{LUMES} DUB.SAR.GIŠ
6 LUMES^{LUMES} É.DINGIR^{LUM}-ja ua-aḥ-nu-uš-ki-ua-an da-a-ir na-at mMur-ši-
DINGIR^{LUM} -iš
7 LUGAL.GAL ap-pí-ja-az EGIR-pa a-ni-ja-nu-un nu zi-la-du-ua
ku-ua-pí
8 I-NA É.DINGIR^{LUM} URU^{URU} Ša-mu-ḥa ma-a-an LUGAL na-aš-ma
MUNUS.LUGAL na-aš-ma DUMU.LUGAL
9 na-aš-ma DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL I-NA É.DINGIR^{LUM} URU^{URU} Ša-mu-ḥa
ú-iz-zi nu ki-e
ḥa-az-zi-ū^{IIA}-ta e-eš-ša-an-du
-----[
11 [ḥa-a]n-te-iz-zi UD⁷ SISKUR du-up-ša-ḥi-ja-aš nu ki-i da-an-zi 1
tar-pa-la-aš....

1 Thus said Muršili the great king, son⁸¹⁶ of Šuppiluliuma the great king

⁸¹⁴ For the historical context of this text and the "renaissance" of the cult of the Deity of the Night during Muršili II and Hattušili III see Miller, *StBoT* 46: 387-389.

⁸¹⁵ For lines 2-7 see Goetze (1940) 24.

⁸¹⁶ DUMU translated "son" stands here for "descendant".

- the hero
- 2 "When my father Tudḫaliya, the great king, moved the Deity of the Night from the temple of the Deity of the Night
- 3 in Kizzuwatna, and he worshiped it in the temple of the
- 4-6 town of Šamuḫa, the scribes of the wooden-tablets and the Temple-Men came, and they had falsified⁸¹⁷ the ceremonies and regulations (or obligations) which he had mandated for the temple of the Deity of the Night.
- 7 Muṣili the great king on the spot rewrote it: "In the future when
- 8 to the temple of the Deity of the Night of the town Šamuḫa, if either the king or the queen or a prince
- 9-10 or a princess come to the temple of the Deity of the Night of Šamuḫa, let them perform these ceremonies:"
-
- 11 on the [fi]rst day a *dupšaḫia*-ritual (is performed). This they take: one *tarpali*-

(The subsequent lines include all the materials for the performance of this ritual).

This text tells a story revealing the power of the Temple-Men within the temples, and the struggle over this power with the royal court. Tudḫaliya III made some major changes in the cult of the Deity of the Night in Kizzuwatna when he moved the deity to the town of Šamuḫa, which actually introduced a new deity to this town. Since Kizzuwatna was not part of the Hittite Kingdom at the time, it means that he introduced a foreign deity to the established cult of a town. The priesthood, in this case called Temple-Men, with the help of the scribes wrote down the ceremonies for the deity, probably diminishing its status by giving it less attention, smaller quantities of offerings, etc. The king Muṣili II, who probably noticed it while on a visit there, rewrote the ceremonies and festivals, thereby determining the status of the deity.

4.3.6 Roles and duties of the Temple-Men: A summary

Following are the topics in relationship to which the Temple-Men are mentioned in the texts presented above. The texts can be divided into two main kinds: the oracle texts, which treat the Temple-Men from a very special angle as those responsible for the cult and temples; and the other texts, presenting them as officiating priests. Their roles and duties are as follows:

- Responsibility for the temple grounds: cleaning and guarding.
- Responsibility for the utensils: reporting on the loss and damage

⁸¹⁷ Kronasser, *EHS*: 318 "sie hatten verfälscht".

- of the temple's and deity's paraphernalia.
- Maintaining the purity of temple grounds and utensils: keeping away dogs and mutilated men, or preventing desecrations by contact with the dead.
- Responsibility for festival celebrations: reporting on neglect of festivals and rituals.
- Responsibility for material provided to the temple from different sources.
- Officiating as priests during rituals: at the altar, serving the deity's cup next to a SANGA-priest; receiving offerings; singing; reciting; assisting the offerant.
- Knowing all the rituals performed at the temple.

4.3.7 The office of the Temple-Man: a title of the New Kingdom

The ITP text indicates several main groups of temple personnel: SANGA-priests, GUDU-priests, AMA.DINGIR-priestesses, and last, the Temple-Men, which we can understand either as a separate group, or as a collective title for all the groups. I believe the second possibility to be more accurate, and in light of the actions of the Temple-Men in the texts presented above, they are indeed members of the priesthood. Why then use the title ^{LU}É.DINGIR^{LIM}, Temple-Man, and not specify the kind of priest?

The descriptions of the Temple-Men always connect them with activity taking place inside the temples. They are the ones responsible for knowing everything that happens in the temples, and therefore they can be responsible for changes in the practices of the ceremonies and the festivals. They may be part of the temple administration, but at the same time they function as priests, since they are the ones who perform the rituals during festivals, as was seen in the Huwaššanna texts.

The title ^{LU}É.DINGIR^{LIM} in the singular and in the plural forms appears extensively in texts from the New Kingdom, but does not appear in the large corpus of texts recording the main old traditions of the Hattic-Hittite cult. We have not found the title in the main festivals, for example, but rather in texts recording divination practices. Most of these texts come from the New Kingdom (the earliest may be from the end of the 15th century),⁸¹⁸ and mainly direct questions at the temple personnel who are always called Temple-Men. According to the questions and answers in

⁸¹⁸ For the early examples of these texts see van den Hout (2001) 423-440; also Schuol (1994) 73-124.

the divination texts, we know that the priests are held responsible for failures in maintaining the temple's regular work and purity. Those priests are the "Temple-Men" in these texts.

The inventory texts, which belong to the 13th century, use the term "Temple-Men" in the same way as the divination texts. The same is true for the *Huwaššanna* festival texts, which show that the title holder acts exactly like any other priest.

It should also be pointed out here that of all the texts examined above in Chapter 2 in an attempt to identify the various classes of priests, the *LU^{MES} É.DINGIR^{LIM}* appeared only in a NH text from Zippalanda (2.6 above p. 26).

The conclusion must therefore be that this title appeared towards the end of the Middle Kingdom, reflecting the new traditions incorporated by the royalty. The terms SANGA and GUDU must have had by then certain connotations connected with older traditions of the cult, and the temple workers who handled the newly adopted cults were named Temple-Men. In this regard, the Muršili anecdote in *Šamuha* may be illuminating. The people who were supposed to take care of the Deity of the Night when transferred from Kizzuwatna were named Temple-Men. This title was given to them by the administration, since the text KUB 32.133 is indeed an official administrative text pertaining to the cult.

In the *Huwaššanna* texts it is evident that the original cult functionaries of this tradition were kept in office. Such are the *MUNUS alhuitra* and the *MUNUS huwaššannalla*, the original priestesses in the cult of the deity. The priest who was appointed by the state was named *LU^É.DINGIR^{LIM}*, Temple-Man. I say this even though the only proof for it is the fact that the questioning by the oracle priests (who belong to the kingdom's administration) is directed at the Temple-Men. They must have been regarded as the ones who kept the communication with the central administration, though they may originally have been SANGA-priests. The title "Temple-Men" became common closer to the 13th century, and I believe this is the reason why it is seen exclusively in the first part of the ITP text when speaking about the priests (§§1-8), while in the second part (§§9-19), which I suggest is older, the specific groups of temple personnel are addressed (see 3.9.5 above p. 135).

The most illuminating example may be the *haššumaš*-festival, which shows an interesting combination of all kinds of priests: the SANGA-priests of different deities, the AMA.DINGIR-priestess (written in Hittite, *šiwanzanna*), and finally the Temple-Men. The

text in its current form is to be dated to the New Kingdom,⁸¹⁹ and it is interesting to note how the Temple-Men in the list appear between the smith of the god and the farmers, all of them at the end of the list. The three persons titled Temple-Men in this text seem incidental, certainly not important members of the priesthood. This may represent an early stage in the use of the term, before it became a near synonym for the priests. It should also be pointed out that the *haššumaš*-festival is rooted in the Hattian-Hittite tradition, in which the SANGA, GUDU, and AMA.DINGIR priests originally officiated.

The deities appearing in the texts reviewed in this sub-chapter 4.3, give a mixed impression. At first glance, several deities belonging to the fringes of the Hattian-Hittite cults stand out: Išhara of Aruša (KUB 22.70),⁸²⁰ Ištar of Nineveh (KUB 5.10), and the Deity of the Night (KUB 32.133). All of these deities are connected with the Hurrian influence on the Hittite religion.⁸²¹ On the other hand, the goddess *Huwaššanna* is connected with the Luwian cult. Accordingly, the geographical names mentioned in these texts relate to Kizzuwatna-Išuwa, the Hurrian area dominated during the New Kingdom by the Hittites, while the mention of *Hupišna* refers to the Luwian area.

The oracle texts also include names of other deities, however. We find the Storm-god of Hatti, the tutelary god of Hatti, the grain deities (KUB 16.34), as well as Zaliyanu, the deity connected with the town of Nerik (KBo 26.188). The names of the deities and the geographical names may point to stages in the acceptance of the title, "Temple-Men": it may indeed have started with the non-Hattian-Hittite cults and ended with the common cults of the New Kingdom.

One may say that the title *LU^É.DINGIR^{LIM}* entered the Hittite state religion sometime towards the beginning of the New Kingdom, and applied to priests who did not belong to the main stream of the old Hattian-Hittite traditions. Towards the end of the period it became a non-specific title which refers to all temple personnel.

⁸¹⁹ But, according to the *CHD* Š1: 189^b, possibly MH.

⁸²⁰ Haas (1994) 352-353, identifies the goddess of the Night with *Šauška* of *Šamuha*. Also Wegner (1981). Note also the discussion (in 4.3.2 p. 282) with Prechel (1996) 116, 182.

⁸²¹ Popko, *Religions*: 114.